

STUDIA PSYCHOLOGICA ET PAEDAGOGICA
SERIES ALTERA CXIV

KARIN UTAS CARLSSON

VIOLENCE PREVENTION AND
CONFLICT RESOLUTION

A Study of Peace Education in Grades 4–6

Department of Educational and Psychological Research

Malmö School of Education

Distributed by:
Department of Educational and Psychological Research
School of Education
205 06 Malmö, Sweden

Copyright:
1999, Karin Utas Carlsson
ISBN 91-88810-07-0
ISSN 0346-5926
Elanders Digitaltryck
Angered, Sweden

To Markus and his generation

“Our world is threatened by a crisis whose extent seems to escape those within whose power it is to make major decisions for good or evil. The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking. Thus we are drifting toward a catastrophe beyond comparison. We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if man-kind is to survive.” (A. Einstein, 1946.)

“It would be a shift in thinking of a profound kind — like finding the earth is round and not flat — if we were to discover that conflicts have generally a win-win potential and not a win-lose one.” (J. W. Burton, 1986.)

Acknowledgements

A project like this is not an individual undertaking, even though it might be very lonely at times. There are a number of people without whom it would never have been realized.

First of all, I want to thank my family whose consistent support and encouragement have been a prerequisite from the very start when I decided to leave my job for something entirely unknown. I know it has been a privilege to be able to do this. My gratitude to Mats and Markus will be there — always.

Secondly, from the bottom of my heart I want to thank the teachers and pupils of all the classes where I was lucky enough to work for longer or shorter periods. Your names cannot be revealed since anonymity is an important part of the game. I cannot adequately express how much you have taught me. Maybe you will understand if I put it like this: You helped me find my path.

I hope that those children I interviewed who wished that the work we did would help in making a change — to reduce violence and social injustice — will find that a change is possible, and that we are all responsible to the best of our abilities. Thank you all! I hope no one will have felt exploited although there is always this risk: the researcher will benefit — about the world we do not know — whereas some of those subjected to research may feel dissatisfied or disappointed.

There are colleagues who have taken part in the work, supporting, encouraging and given advice. The foremost of these is Professor Åke Bjerstedt. The task is what is important to you as it is to me. A good piece of work would be the best way of thanking you.

Then there are others, professors at Malmö School of Education and research student colleagues. Thank you for all your advice! Some was adopted and, as you know and will see, some not. Here I turn with gratitude to Professor Gunilla Svingby, Martina Campart and Lena Stenmalm among others. I also want to thank Professor Horst Löfgren for your much appreciated support.

To go back in time for a moment, I want to thank the research group around Åke Bjerstedt: Gunnel Ankarstrand-Lindström, Evy Gustafsson, Andreas Konstantinides, Bereket Yebio and the rest of you, coming and going. You have a very special place in my heart.

I would like to express my gratitude not only to Åke but also to Professor Bertil Gran for accepting me so readily for research work at your institution, although I was not a teacher but arrived from another faculty. Thanks to you, I got a position from which to search for answers to my question: What can be done to make the world a better place?

There are others who have provided valuable help in this project of mine: Karin Dahlberg, always kind and helpful, and Ann-Britt Pramgård who never failed to assist me in search of titles of literature, a sometimes difficult and time-consuming undertaking.

Writing in English is not without problems to a Swede. Cynthia Hibbert, my dear friend from early years, introduced me to the mysteries of her language. It has been great fun. Gloria Fabriani, also a very dear friend, continued Cynthia's work. Your patience has been fantastic and our discussions on the topic wonderful. Thank you for your consistent encouragement! My friend Jean Wagner was always very helpful, whenever asked. Finally, I want to thank Richard Fisher for professional linguistic help.

Karin Utas Carlsson
Bökebäck, August, 1999.

CONTENTS

Preface	10
1 INTRODUCTION	12
1.1 Background	12
1.2 Problems in our society	14
1.3 The idea behind the study	16
1.4 Focus of the study	19
1.5 Development of methods for teaching conflict resolution	20
1.6 Aims and objectives	21
1.7 Contents of the study	22
PART ONE	
<i>A Theoretical Basis for Peace Education</i>	25
2 HUMAN NATURE AND AGGRESSION	28
3 BASIC HUMAN NEEDS	33
4 HUMAN NEEDS THEORY (HNT): AN ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM	43
4.1 John W. Burton	44
4.2 Two conferences on human needs	46
4.3 The fundamentals of HNT	46
4.4 My position regarding Burton's distinction between disputes and conflicts	50
4.5 The pot, a metaphor for feelings of self-worth	51
4.6 Discussion of HNT by some scholars	52
5 ESCALATION OF CONFLICT	58
5.1 Defining conflict	58
5.2 Galtung's conflict triangle and Cooper's and Fazio's expectancy/behaviour feedback loop	58
5.3 Destructive development of conflict	62
6 RESOLVING CONFLICT NON-VIOLENTLY	66
6.1 Mahatma Gandhi	67
6.2 Gene Sharp	68
6.3 Combination of non-violent defence with non-provocative military defence	70
6.4 Human Needs Theory: Resolution of conflict	70

6.5	Fisher and Ury: Negotiation as joint problem-solving	72
6.6	Cornelius and Faire: Everyone can win	74
6.7	Rosenberg: Non-violent communication	75
6.8	Conclusion	77
7	CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE MICRO AND MACRO LEVELS	79
7.1	Rubin and Levinger: Generalizations between levels should be pursued with caution	80
7.2	Linking micro and macro levels	84
7.2.1	Structural violence	85
7.2.2	Legitimization of violence	86
7.2.3	Brock-Utne's classification	87
7.2.4	Escalation of conflict	89
7.2.5	De-escalation of conflict	90
7.3	Conclusion	95
8	APPROACHES TO CONFLICT	97
9	SOCIALIZATION AND GROUP INFLUENCE	110
9.1	Ethnic prejudice	110
9.2	Ethnic conflict	112
9.3	Learning by modelling	114
9.4	Obedience and conformity	121
9.5	Bullying	126
9.6	Conclusion	128
10	REPRESSION, POWERLESSNESS AND EMPOWERMENT	130
11	CONCLUSIONS: MY THEORETICAL POSITION	138
11.1	Four cornerstones and a paradigm shift	138
11.2	Two spirals	140
12	CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE EDUCATION: AN INTERNATIONALLY EXPANDING AREA	142
12.1	A new way of thinking is emerging	142
12.2	Conflict resolution and mediation programmes with special reference to schools	143
12.3	Peace education	162
12.4	Conclusion	163

PART TWO

Developing a Teaching Programme in Violence Prevention and Conflict Resolution, Connecting the Micro and Macro Levels, Grades 4–6

	Background: An interview study on peace and the future	164
		165
13	PEACE EDUCATION: BUILDING A CULTURE OF PEACE	172
13.1	A brief review of conditions influencing peace education in Sweden	172
13.2	Theoretical basis for and objectives of the teaching programme of this study	176
13.3	The teaching programme of this study	180
	13.3.1 Teaching methods	181
	13.3.2 Relations between the theories, educational objectives and activities of our programme	182
14	RESEARCH DESIGN	189
	14.1 Method	189
	14.2 Study group and ethical considerations	196
	14.3 Study design	199
	14.4 Data collection	200
15	DEVELOPING THE PROGRAMME	203
	15.1 The curriculum: Violence prevention and conflict resolution connecting the micro and macro levels	203
	15.1.1 Concept of peace	204
	15.1.2 The pot, a metaphor for self-worth	209
	15.1.3 Different approaches dealing with conflict	213
	15.1.4 Positions and underlying needs	217
	15.1.5 Escalation of conflict	219
	15.1.6 Dealing constructively with feelings, especially anger	221
	15.1.7 Listening, frames of reference and perspective-taking	223
	15.1.8 De-escalation by means of non-violent communication: I-messages and the giraffe language	226
	15.1.9 Mediation, Class F	229
	15.1.10 Essays on visions of a good school. Class rules	232
	15.1.11 Cooperation activities, Class C	234

15.1.12	Roots of origin. Prejudice and role plays on oppression	236
15.1.13	Bullying: Role plays, essays	244
15.1.14	Forum play, a method for practising conflict resolution	252
15.1.15	Peacemakers. Visions of the future	259
15.2	Class F: Interviews about peace education and peer pressure	264
15.3	The process in Class F compared to that in Class D	289
15.3.1	Class F, grades 4–6	289
15.3.2	Class D, grades 5–6	302
PART THREE		
	<i>Summary and Proposals for the Future</i>	307
16	OPPORTUNITIES FOR AND OBSTACLES TO TEACHING VIOLENCE PREVENTION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION CONNECTING THE MICRO AND MACRO LEVELS	307
16.1	A theoretical basis	307
16.2	Children’s strategies for dealing with issues of global survival: Powerlessness and empowerment	310
16.3	Important findings: Opportunities for and obstacles to teaching conflict resolution	312
16.4	Discussion of the outcome of the study	319
16.5	Proposals for the future	323
REFERENCES		325
APPENDICES		344

Preface

My profession is that of a paediatrician. I am not a teacher although my research is in education. I had worked for 10 years in outpatient practice when, in 1987, I left my office to do peace research. The great, and increasing, abyss between the previously called underdeveloped and developed worlds — as far as material well-being is concerned — had worried me since I was very young. At the end of the '70s I became engaged in “The Future in Our Hands,” a movement emanating from the book by that name (Dammann, 1972). Dammann deals with the unjust distribution of resources on the earth and calls for a new way of living where the rich, industrialized countries treat the “developing” countries more justly. I have also been engaged in Svenska Läkare mot Kärnvapen (SLMK) [Swedish Physicians against Nuclear Weapons]¹, founded in 1980, as well as active in the ecological movement.

When I left my profession, I started studying peace and conflict at Lund University and then, in 1988, I joined Professor Åke Bjerstedt at the Department of Educational and Psychological Research at Malmö School of Education. Prof. Bjerstedt, who for decades had been doing research on issues concerning the future and peace, had gathered around him a group of researchers interested in these matters. I started working within this group and became engaged in studies dealing with children mainly in grades 4–6. The work — based on questionnaires and interviews of children — was concerned with their thoughts and feelings about their future and the future of the earth. (Utas Carlsson, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1999.) The teaching about issues of global survival was followed in a few classes during a two-year period (Utas Carlsson, 1995). The idea was to study the work being done *and* to try and find new ways for teaching these issues. At that time I observed lessons but rarely and marginally participated in the teaching.

Through this project I made contact with programmes on teaching conflict resolution in the United States, particularly Linda Lantieri's and Tom Roderick's work which first made me realize what opportunities there are for teaching when the micro (local) level is linked to the macro (national and global). Furthermore, I saw a natural connection between my previous

¹ Svenska Läkare mot Kärnvapen (Swedish Physicians against Nuclear Weapons) is an affiliated member of IPPNW, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

occupation as a paediatrician, engaged in social and psychological concerns, and my present work as a researcher of peace education. I discovered a positive response to conflict resolution. Teachers wanted to find ways to reduce the violence they noticed every day at school. So it happened that I continued to study ways of teaching violence prevention and conflict resolution at the micro and macro levels with the aim of contributing to a more peaceful, less violent, world at all levels.

The reason why I chose grades 4–6 for my studies in teaching conflict resolution was that I had previously been working with this age group under Prof. Bjerstedt's leadership in the project that I mentioned above.

There were, however, other reasons for choosing grades 4–6 for the kind of developmental work I was intending to do. During these years the capacity to think in an abstract and logical way increases, as does interest in the surrounding world. However, in early adolescence at the ages 11–12, when the children go to grade 6, there is a tendency to become more involved in one's own personal affairs. At school the children learn about other cultures and parts of the world, which provides good opportunities for work at the macro level.

There is a strong case for starting work with conflict resolution at the micro and macro levels very early, even before school age. Even though the empirical part of this study deals with age groups 10–12, the experience can be utilized for working with other age groups and grades and, above all, for teacher training. This is also my aim. Of course, one has to adapt to the group one is working with but probably, in many cases, this is fairly easily done. The important thing is that the teacher develops her/his thinking about preventing escalation of conflicts and promoting conflict resolution and then uses her/his knowledge about child development and learning to apply that thinking to her/his work.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Young people today grow up conscious of the great problems of the world in a very different way from what young people did only a few decades ago. I am thinking of the threats against the human race, indeed the whole planet Earth: threats from nuclear weapons, an increasing pollution of the environment, the population explosion, starvation and under-nourishment (i.e., “issues of global survival”). The entering of TV into our world has made the children aware of all these problems.

As far as I know (Utas Carlsson, 1988²), the first studies based on questionnaires about children’s conceptions of the nuclear threat were done in the ’60s. Somewhat later, interview studies were also conducted. Thus, people came to know that children were aware of and worried about threats against the Earth and all that are living on it as early as the beginning of school age (Raundalen & Raundalen, 1984).

The American researchers Escalona and Mack have taken up the issue that the development of children’s personalities might be severely damaged by the threat of nuclear weapons, because threats to life and the Earth will lead to feelings of powerlessness and resignation among children and youth (as well as large parts of the adult population I might add) (Escalona, 1982; Mack, 1981, 1984). The issues of global survival mentioned above, not only the nuclear threat, and their impact on children might be among the reasons for juvenile delinquency, truancy, alcohol and drug abuse, and also violence. However, this is a hypothesis not easy to verify.

H. E. Richter (1982a–b), during the days of the Cold War, hypothesized that those advocating the doctrine of deterrence repress the truth (the risk of nuclear war and its significance), and that this repression takes a lot of energy and gives rise to hatred as well as a need to find targets for one’s aggression. On the other hand, those individuals who feel powerless avoid thinking of the political situation so as not to be more depressed, Richter writes. They, as well as the ones in power relying on deterrence, experience fear. A repressed fear of death breaks down the will to live. Richter refers to a report from the Association of Analytic Child and Youth Psychotherapists in Western Germany who had written in a letter to the gov-

² In a literature review (Utas Carlsson, 1988), I have referred to studies made in the USA and Europe in the field of psychological effects on children and young people of the nuclear threat. Many of these studies were carried out during the 1980s.

ernment that they were worried about the increase in very deep mental disorders among young people of all social classes (Richter, 1982b).

During recent years, more and more attention has been given to pollution of the environment, the speed of its happening and its consequences. Young people have to a great extent started to worry about things like the ravaging of rain forests and the depletion of the ozone layer, just to mention a couple of examples within the area. Ethnic conflicts and wars within and between states as well as droughts and catastrophes of starvation are heard of in the daily news.

Anxiety about the nuclear threat has probably decreased, but worry about wars, refugees, unemployment and pollution is widespread, as are experiences of powerlessness with regard to these problems.

Children are concerned about the future, and our interview studies (Tvingstedt, 1989; Utas Carlsson, 1990) indicate that they rarely communicate this. A study of 60 pupils, 11–12 years old, in Malmö in 1988 (Utas Carlsson, 1990) showed that many were very worried about war in general as well as about nuclear weapons but that they did not talk about it. They felt powerless and had no experience of adults working for a world of peace or a world liberated from nuclear weapons. Likewise, Tvingstedt (1989) found in her study of 8-year-old children that they feared war without communicating it. There was a difference between the two studies: the younger children more often related the lack of communication to the adults, whereas the older children said that they themselves did not want to talk about the problems or their feelings about them.

I believe that adults do not talk about issues of global survival with the young because they do not see solutions. This leaves the children alone with their feelings without much support. The American teacher of world religions, who has given rise to an infinite number of workshops on living in the nuclear age, Joanna Rogers Macy (1983), has described how lack of communication generates feelings of powerlessness and fatalism. Her main thesis, rooted in psychoanalytical theory and verified by her extensive experience, is that power is released into action if the silence is broken and we talk about and work with these problems.

Mass media give, I believe, by their fragmented news very little help in understanding backgrounds and relationships. This applies above all to the young who do not read longer analyses or watch or listen to the more comprehensive information programmes, but only watch the news on television.

Osseiran (1996), for many years a council member of IPRA (International Peace Research Association) and its affiliate PEC (Peace Education Commission), discusses the role of the media as an indirect educator. She

claims that peace-building activities are not taken up, and that perspectives are biased. I fear that the lack of positive news, which could give reasons for optimism about solving central problems in our society, increases feelings of powerlessness, and in certain cases fatalism, among adults and young people. This is a threat to democracy and to society.

1.2 Problems in our society

I have already touched upon threats to all life on earth from weapons of mass destruction, environmental degradation, population explosion and an unbelievable mass poverty with a gap between the rich and the poor. All these problems are interrelated. To these may be added an internationalised economy that does not care about people's wellbeing nor about global mass unemployment.

Crowds of refugees are increasing because of the everlasting wars and oppression of groups of people. A structure and management of society leading to the above mentioned mass unemployment at the same time as the number of refugees increases will cause a situation where groups confront groups. Prejudice flowers when people feel threatened. We find hostility toward foreigners as well as growth of right-wing political extremism and racism. This is a reality that children in our culture meet. What I have called "the micro level" is linked to "the macro level"³.

Mass media spread a culture of violence through an endless stream of films that show violence as a normal way of dealing with conflicts which are usually handled in such a way that they give rise to new conflicts. Exercise of power, coercion and threats occur regularly, and this way of confronting problems is hardly ever questioned. Very few positive examples of conflict resolution are shown. Many authors have warned against the

³ The *micro level* refers to the interpersonal and inter-group level and the *macro level* to the national, international and trans-national level. Brock-Utne (1989, 1997) has suggested that violence at the micro level is to be defined as unorganized violence while violence at the macro level refers to organized violence whether it is direct (carried out by one or more actors as in war) or indirect (caused by structures of society). The now widely accepted concept of structural violence was introduced by Galtung (1969). (See further about violence footnote 6, p. 18.) My definition concurs with Brock-Utne's. A meso-level (inter-group level) is not considered necessary with regard to the objectives of this study. Connections between the micro and macro level are discussed in Chapter 7.

As a rule, *definitions of the important concepts* of the study are put as footnotes as is done here. This decision is taken in order to present them when they first are needed without disturbing the text. Also, it makes it easy to refer to them and find them.

prevalence of violence in TV. One example is “The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth” (Liebert & Sprafkin, 1988) which also gives insight into the political combat regarding this very controversial issue. Furthermore, Huesmann, Moise and Podolski (1997, p. 190) conclude from a metastudy that “over the past four decades, a large body of scientific literature has emerged that overwhelmingly demonstrates that exposure to media violence does indeed relate to the development of violent behavior”.

Structural problems in our society, some of them mentioned above, have led to basic human needs⁴ not being met. Such needs are material or physiological (some people being poor, lacking good health owing to malnutrition or lack of medical aid) as well as social and psychological: needs for a positive self-image (self-esteem), identity, security, love, belonging, knowledge and understanding, self-actualisation and meaning.

When these needs are thwarted, we find that violence between people occurs. This is in accordance with Human Needs Theory (Chapter 4). Official statistics of our country indicate that violence among young people has increased⁵. We were concerned and scared, hearing about escalation of violence to the point of murder in places such as Falun, Bjuv, Klippan, Kode and Stureplan in Stockholm. The offenders, and some of the victims, were young people, sometimes very young. Repeated harassment and bullying occur at schools and places of work. There is violence in the streets and homes. Another important problem is drug abuse with criminality as a consequence.

The relations within families are subject to great strain owing to problems in our society, a society undergoing considerable changes in a short period of time. I have mentioned internationalised economy and mass unemployment. The accelerated development of technology is another problem. It is daily experienced in preschools, schools and paediatric and child psychiatry clinics that children are among the victims when adults cannot cope.

A rapidly changing society may lose its grip on the development of the norms of the culture. Many feel that this is happening in Sweden and that it is a problem which we must not neglect. I agree with this view. Here we focus on children and young people. There are so many choices they have to make as compared to the situation in a more traditional society. For this

⁴ Basic human needs are here defined as needs that can be conscious but often are unconscious, the satisfaction of which is necessary if the life or the mental and physical health of the individual is not to be at risk. (Chapters 3–4.)

⁵ E.g., assault and aggravated assault, 15–17 years old, 1990–1997 (Statistical Yearbook of Sweden, 1992–1999).

they need norms, self-confidence, a sense of meaning, a belief in a positive future and, finally, support by adults.

If the children feel that society contains no solutions to the problems that they perceive as threats to their (and their children's) future, this ought to have some impact on their thinking and behaviour. This is well expressed in "Barn i atomalderen" [Children in the Nuclear Age] (Raundalen & Raundalen, 1984). Lack of competence to communicate in a purposeful way increases the problem.

1.3 The idea behind the study

In this study I will propose that a new way of thinking is necessary in order to build a culture of peace. I feel that the ingredients in this new paradigm are already there. In my view, Human Needs Theory (see Chapters 4 and 6) takes an approach that is very promising in this respect. There are also other relevant theorists and practitioners (Chapter 6). A shift from a culture of violence to a culture of peace is probably necessary in view of the threats to our entire existence which I have called "issues of global survival". The assumption is that the considerable problems in our society may be affected by education, starting at the primary level or, even better, before school. If we want to build a "peace culture," we have to work on a broad front with children and adults alike.

In one of his essays Galtung (1978) thinks along the same lines. After having discussed his idea of learning "conflictology" as a subject in school and the need for "democratization of conflict management," he touches upon the connection between the micro and macro levels:

"Thus, one will learn how to reduce the destructive tendencies inherent in conflict attitude and conflict behavior and turn the motivational energy into forces that can be used more constructively. And one will learn to stimulate one's own and other's imagination so as to resolve incompatibilities, not just to freeze them. In other words, *experiences at the lower level of social organization will constitute a reservoir that can be drawn upon at the more critical higher levels of social organization*, and make people less easily victims to the destructive forces of conflict polarization.

This may perhaps sound somewhat naive, but we tend to believe in the reality behind these words, for the same reasons as we tend to believe in democracy. It is a way of liberating people, of making them masters of their own destiny, of creating conditions under which people can mature." (Italics added, p. 507.)

He continues that this is not a simple process. There is no direct transfer from training in democratic participation and conflict management at one level of social organization to another level, he says. “This will have to be nurtured and cultivated and thought about over and over again” (p. 507).

These thoughts and ideas may be related to those brought forth in a recently published handbook on conflict resolution education by the “National Institute for Dispute Resolution” (NIDR) in the U.S. Here the authors (Bodine & Crawford, 1998) state:

“Although conflict resolution in and of itself is not a solution to preventing violence, it does have a significant place in any violence-prevention strategy. When considering the role of conflict resolution education in this framework, school decision makers should understand that conflict resolution as detailed in this book is not a reactive tool, but a proactive one. Conflict resolution is not a program for reacting to a violent incident in a school; it is a tool to further the educational mission of the school to develop and promote a safe environment and an effective citizenry. The relationship to violence prevention is that a conflict resolution education program affords youth the understandings, skills, and strategies needed to choose alternatives to self-destructive and violent behaviors when confronting intrapersonal, interpersonal, or intergroup conflicts” (pp. 10–11).

Furthermore, the authors draw attention to what they believe is necessary: a *systemic* change, a new pattern of thought. They advocate “institutional changes” that will “support the individual changes and allow youth to practice and live the behaviors of peaceful conflict resolution in a significant context of their lives,” the schools, and they continue: “When behaviors are consistently used in one context, they can become internalized; *this results in more prevalent use in other life contexts, present and future*” (p. 4, italics added). However, it is not easy to change patterns of thinking and behaviour. Bodine and Crawford state a prerequisite for this: “For the behaviors to be employed consistently in the original context, however, the organizational precepts and practices of that context must support and encourage the behaviors” (pp. 4–5). This is something we will return to in the final discussion of what can be done in schools and their environments.

To avoid any misunderstanding, I want to declare that I agree with the cited statement that conflict resolution *by itself* is not a solution to preventing violence, but I do believe that the kind of new thinking that is advocated in this study would be a good start as it places the meeting of “basic human needs” — the material and nonmaterial — at the centre of thought and activity whether at the micro (local, domestic) level or the macro (national, international). The reason for my hope that this new way of thinking would make a difference is that it calls for a truly systemic

change at all levels. *How* this can be done is subject to opposing views. Conflict theory related to the international system is essentially beyond the scope of this study but will briefly be referred to in Chapter 8.

In sum, problems of society are connected with violence⁶. In order to reach UNESCO's goal "a culture of peace" (Adams, 1997), a new way of thinking — a paradigm shift — is needed. It will have an impact on behaviours at the micro and the macro levels alike. New generations will develop their way of thinking and their norms by means of socialization. In this process preschool and school education are important and will be even more so if contacts with the families are increased and improved. Learning to resolve conflicts non-violently could be an essential part of socialization if we choose to make it so. Resolution of conflict⁷ means looking after and meeting people's material and nonmaterial basic needs. Provided that violence is thought of as a consequence of such needs being thwarted, it follows that *when and if this socialization is successful and conflicts are resolved*, violence in society will be reduced. The problem lies in making it successful.

⁶ *Violence* means injury to somebody (man or creature). It can be physical or psychical, direct (performed by one or more actors) or structural. Structural violence stands for oppression of living people or animals (the scope of this study is only people). Contrary to violence is *peace*. *Peace* is defined by some authors as the opposite to war and nothing more. This has been called "negative peace". Many others (including Galtung, 1990a, and Brock-Utne, 1989), with whom I agree, define peace as the absence of direct and indirect violence. Absence of indirect violence means the presence of social justice which, in its turn, is regarded as "positive peace".

⁷ *Conflict* means incompatibility of goals and the attainment of goals held by actors (see further Chapter 5). *Conflict resolution* means finding ways to resolve the conflict. The aim is complete resolution so that all the parties' needs are met and the conflict disappears. What you do to try to resolve the conflict is included even if complete solution is not reached. I distinguish between resolution and *regulation or settlement*. The latter allows coercion and violence to be used to reach the goal. Resolution is correlated to long-term solutions, whereas regulation or settlement only reach short-term solutions (See further Chapters 4, 6 and 8).

Being a prerequisite for life, change and growth, conflicts are not viewed as negative. What we want to prevent is the destructive development of conflicts through escalation leading to physical and psychical violence. Therefore the term *violence prevention* is used rather than conflict prevention. However, the term "violence prevention and conflict resolution" is too awkward to use frequently. *I venture to refer to conflict resolution only, thereby including also violence prevention*. This can be done as provided it is successful — constructive handling (resolution) of conflicts de-escalates and ultimately prevents violence.

1.4 Focus of the study

Violence prevention and conflict resolution at the micro and macro levels

The focus of this study is on violence prevention⁸ and conflict resolution⁹ at the micro and macro levels and the connection between these levels. I see peace education as dependent upon this very connection. Thoughts, feelings and activities of human beings influence what happens at the global as well as at the local level. Democracy itself stems from a belief in the connection between the levels.

The objective of peace education is to help young people find ways of acting which may lead to a more peaceful world. If they do not believe in making the world a less violent place, world problems will not get anywhere near their solution. It is of paramount interest to find out if they are feeling indifferent or powerless and, if this is the case, we need to try to find ways to change that attitude, to give them hope and competence, to empower them.

A social-psychological perspective is taken. To set limits to the study I have had to abstain from investigating theories on international relations which, however, will be touched upon in Chapter 8. A gender perspective would have been interesting as well, but this will have to be omitted for reasons of space.

Satisfaction of basic human needs — a navigation point in resolution of conflict

Conflicts may be regarded from different perspectives. As previously indicated, reasons for conflicts owing to structures, history and politics are beyond the scope of this study, which will deal with psychological and social mechanisms. This choice is made since I feel that these mechanisms need to be taken into consideration in politics¹⁰ more than they have been so far.

I will thus pay attention to basic human needs that have to be met if human beings are to live healthily. *Human Needs Theory* (see Chapters 4, 6 and 8) contributes in an important way to the theoretical basis for this study.

Taking the perspective here, that satisfaction of basic human needs is the important goal of activities, mechanisms of conflicts at the micro and macro levels have important similarities: psychologically, human beings function to meet their basic needs in very much the same way whether the conflict lies at the local or national (international) level. This *does not*

⁸ See footnote 7 above.

⁹ See footnote 7 above.

¹⁰ *Politics* means forming and administrating society in its different parts.

mean that I view individuals as being without interaction with each other or with society. On the contrary, interaction is at the centre of this study. People persistently influence each other individually and in groups of different dimensions. We do know a good deal about human group psychology. My point is that politics should take advantage of this increasing knowledge.

Exploring the possibilities for teaching¹¹ conflict resolution

The theoretical considerations mentioned above form the basis for the empirical study of the possibilities and obstacles associated with teaching school children, aged 10–12, conflict resolution. The teaching was inspired by two peace education programmes tried out in the U.S. (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988; Kreidler, 1994). A main part of the teaching programme we implemented concerns communication and empathy. What are the obstacles to and the opportunities for the successful implementation of such a programme?

1.5 Development of methods for teaching conflict resolution

We need to develop methods for teaching conflict resolution, methods that are useful for dealing with problems at the micro as well as the macro level. Lantieri and Patti (1996) write about a new vision of education. The goal is to “improve the social and emotional competence of children by teaching these life skills as part of their regular education” (p. 6). It will affect their way of thinking, their attitudes, values and behaviour.

The challenge is to teach the children as early as possible to handle conflicts without violence, i.e. to see the underlying needs and look for solutions that will satisfy both (or all) parties and, because of this, will be sustainable in the long run. It is to learn together, adults and children, to look at problems and conflicts from (many) different perspectives. It is to practise empathy and moral courage, standing up for what we believe is right.

My hypothesis is that, by stepwise showing children that change is possible at their private level, they will come to be more hopeful and empowered. Provided that the children do see an effect, that handling conflict in a new way will lead to better communication and to solutions which they will experience as positive, they will start to believe in utilizing the skills.

¹¹ Teaching is not taken as a top-down activity but rather as performed in collaboration between the individuals concerned. When it comes to training conflict resolution skills, the individuals have to reflect and practise. They may be instructed and supported but it is not a top-down activity.

Once they have done this, they will more readily practise them. As these skills mean something more than “a technical fix” — Lantieri and Patti talk about social and emotional competencies or emotional intelligence¹¹¹² — their way of thinking is changed and we will see a ripple effect.

Secondly, I hypothesize that *if* the children experience a positive change at the micro level and relate this to their new way of dealing with conflicts, they will come to believe that it is possible to contribute to a change also at the macro level. This will happen more readily if in school their attention consistently is drawn to connections between the micro and macro levels. Peace¹³ may be promoted at all levels, and these are interrelated. To take an example: the qualities “empathy” and “taking the other side’s perspective” are essential at all levels. If these can be trained and developed, peace will be promoted. Similarly, violence at one level will influence the other levels.

1.6 Aims and objectives

General aims of the study are

- 1) to contribute to development of *a theoretical basis* for teaching violence prevention¹³¹⁴ and conflict resolution, connecting the micro and macro levels,
- 2) to contribute to development of *teaching methods* in violence prevention and conflict resolution, connecting the micro and macro levels, with the aim of giving children skills in handling conflicts constructively (educational aims, see below Chapter 13).

Objectives

following on the second general aim:

¹² The abilities that Lantieri and Patti (1996) mention as part of “emotional intelligence” are (1) *self-awareness* — knowing what you are feeling; (2) ability to *handle emotions*; (3) *self-motivation*, which means “maintaining hope and optimism in the pursuit of your goals, even when things get frustrating, even in the face of setbacks” (p. 10); (4) *empathy* and (5) *social skill*, referring to the capacity to handle and to respond effectively to someone else’s emotions. “Emotional intelligence” is a concept suggested by Goleman (1995) and before him by Salovey and Mayer (1990).

¹³ About *definitions of peace*, see footnote 6, p. 18, above. The view here is to define peace as the opposite to direct and indirect violence. In other words, the more inclusive way of looking at peace as a process providing means for people to get their basic needs met is chosen. This means “positive peace”.

¹⁴ For the sake of clarity, in this paragraph I write the full concept “violence prevention and conflict resolution”. However, I will hereafter shorten it to conflict resolution as mentioned in footnote 7, p. 18.

- 1) to observe, analyse and interpret individual and group response by children, aged 10–12, to teaching violence prevention and conflict resolution (skills and attitudes),
- 2) to study opportunities for and obstacles to teaching violence prevention and conflict resolution,
- 3) to make proposals for teaching violence prevention and conflict resolution at the micro and macro levels.

The set limits of the study are: (1) conflict is looked upon as being between parties and (2) when dealing with conflict resolution, the primary focus is upon non-violent action and behaviour. Conflict regulation, where threat and force are used to reach one's goals, is here regarded as less favourable as it usually leads to continued conflict and future problems.

Conflict resolution is defined as distinct from conflict regulation or settlement (cf. footnote 7, p. 18).

My aims lead to an interdisciplinary study. This has implications. When trying to cover a vast field from a particular perspective (teaching conflict resolution in this case), at least two problems are encountered: (1) within the space and time given it is not possible to dig deeply, the result being that many will feel more material should be added in order to give a less simplified picture and (2) other people, not being experts within one or more of the fields in question, will fail to understand unless basic information is given.

These two opposing standpoints are the Skylla and Charybdis between which I have been navigating.

1.7 Contents of the study

Design: A theoretical part and an empirical study

The study consists of a theoretical part and a field study (1993–1996), presenting a teaching programme on conflict resolution, which was implemented in seven classrooms, grades 4–6. The children's responses are analysed.

The theoretical part deals with conflicts; their causes, escalation, de-escalation and resolution. The focus is on:

- 1) connections between the micro and the macro levels;
- 2) satisfaction of basic human needs as a navigation point in conflict resolution.

The field study (as well as an earlier one which included interviews held with 4th graders on peace and the future) confronted me with specific

problems, such as powerlessness and need for empowerment, children's resistance to practising conflict resolution, learning by modelling and, finally, peer pressure. I have therefore dealt with these issues in the theoretical part.

Contents of the different parts and chapters

In **Part One** of this work some theories are presented concerning conflict resolution with a special emphasis on connections between the micro and the macro levels. *The idea is to get a theoretical basis for teaching.* The activities of the teaching programme of the field study will be related to this.

Aggression as a part of human nature is considered in Chapter 2 as this is a fundamental point of departure when dealing with theories of conflict management¹⁵.

Basic human needs are discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 deals with Human Needs Theory (HNT) which is at the core of this work. Here, the writings of Burton (1969, 1979, 1990a–b) and Azar & Burton (1986) are heavily drawn upon. The theory is of special interest in relation to resolution of conflict. Chapter 6 addresses this.

Chapter 5 deals with escalation of conflict. Sociological and psychological mechanisms are emphasized. Chapter 6 reviews non-violent resolution of conflict in theory and practice.

Connections between the micro and the macro levels are discussed in Chapter 7.

The traditional way of regulating a conflict is compared with a fairly new approach; resolution of conflict. Human Needs Theory stands for the latter. I advocate the view that there is a need for a change of paradigms from the traditional power paradigm to an emerging, new paradigm. This is dealt with in Chapter 8.

Chapter 9 takes up some aspects of socialization and group influence, such as prejudice, obedience and conformity as well as the impact of models. Social-psychological aspects of bullying are considered.

The goal is to make the world a better and less violent place. Experience of powerlessness is an obstacle to change. The challenge is to transform it into "personal power," a feeling of competence. Repression (by some authors called denial when used in response to a real, objective, threat from outside which is the case here), an important mechanism of defence, gives rise to feelings of passivity, even apathy and powerlessness. This is considered in Chapter 10.

¹⁵ The term conflict management is here employed in order to leave out the distinction between resolution and regulation/settlement mentioned above, footnote 7, p. 18.

Chapter 11 concludes and gives my theoretical position. I suggest two spirals, one of powerlessness and one of personal power. One of the aims of the teaching programme was transforming powerlessness into personal power.

Chapter 12 gives a brief historical review of work done within conflict resolution and peace education with an emphasis on programmes on conflict resolution education and evaluations of these. The two teaching programmes which inspired our field study are presented.

Part Two, the empirical part, deals with the development of the teaching programme “Violence Prevention and Conflict Resolution Connecting the Micro and Macro Levels”. It built on experiences from an earlier field study, 1990–1993 (Utas Carlsson, 1992, 1994, 1995).

As a background I will summarize some of the findings of an interview study in 1990 (Utas Carlsson, 1999) which was conducted with forty 4th graders on their thoughts and feelings with regard to issues of global survival and the future, since these interviews constituted a starting point in search of methods for developing peace education.

Chapter 13 presents the teaching programme of this study: its aims, activities and relation to the theories mentioned.

Chapter 14 explains the study design, data collection and research method.

Chapter 15 deals with the process of developing the teaching programme in seven classes. There are also interviews with children and their teachers. These interviews give further information of the implementation of the programme.

Part Three. Chapter 16 summarizes the study: the review of the theories as well as the field study. Findings are discussed, conclusions drawn and proposals made for continued work in the field.

Summing up, in order to reduce violence in society, a new way of thinking is advocated where meeting basic human needs is taken as a navigation point. Socialization is emphasized. The ultimate aim of the study was to contribute to development of teaching methods promoting this socialization into a culture of peace. The perspective taken is a social-psychological one.

PART ONE

A Theoretical Basis for Peace Education

This is an attempt to integrate different theories relevant to teaching conflict resolution at the micro and macro levels and also, hopefully, to peace education at large. My intentions would be fulfilled if my work were to prove to be useful to teachers and teacher trainers. This theoretical part makes a necessary background to the field study (Part Two).

A peace culture is the goal

The goal is a culture of peace. Peace is defined as the opposite of violence, and violence as injury to someone (see also footnote 6, p. 18). Thus a peace culture would be a culture where people live without hurting each other. Of course, this is not possible. Therefore we have to moderate the concept: a peace culture is a culture where people live and let live, seeking to reduce violence as much as possible. In so doing they utilize the skills and the means available. From an early age, children are trained to do likewise.

Here a *peace culture* is defined as a culture where basic human needs are satisfied to the highest possible degree. This gives us a navigation point for building our societies (cf. Human Needs Theory, Chapter 4).

Year 2000: The International Year for the Culture of Peace

The General Assembly of the United Nations has proclaimed the year 2000 as “The International Year for the Culture of Peace”. UNESCO has been making preparations for some time. Member states are being mobilized, and other bodies of the United Nations system as well as other concerned organizations are inspired to take an active part in promoting a change aiming at a culture of peace. In the book “UNESCO and a Culture of Peace: Promoting a Global Movement” (Adams, 1997), UNESCO informs readers about its Culture of Peace Programme and about activities already carried out or planned. Here it is stated:

“In light of the human suffering caused by war and our broad experience of peaceful and constructive change, it is now recognized that we can and must transform the values, attitudes and behaviour of societies from cultures of war to a new and evolving culture of peace, which is the subject of this monograph. Peace, once defined as the absence of war, has come to be

seen as a much broader and more dynamic process. It involves non-violent relations between states, but also non-violent and co-operative relationships between individuals within states, between social groups, between states and their citizens and between humans and their physical environment” (pp. 9–10).

We notice that the concept *peace* has here been given the same connotation as is employed in this study. Some basic principles are proclaimed: A culture of peace cannot be imposed. It is a process that grows out of the beliefs and actions of people. It is “a body of shared values, attitudes and behaviours based on non-violence and respect for fundamental rights and freedoms, on understanding, tolerance and solidarity, on the full participation and empowerment of women and on the sharing and free flow of information” (p. 16).

What is meant by fundamental human rights that play such an important part in UNESCO’s vision of building a culture of peace? Worth pointing out is that the UN’s Declaration of Human Rights from 1948 includes social and economic rights as well as political and freedom rights. Article 3 says: “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person” (see appendix in Adams, 1997, p. 126), and Article 25: “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control” (p. 130). The International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights from 1966 further stresses these rights.

The conclusion may be drawn that the two concepts “human rights” and “satisfaction of basic human needs” are more or less interchangeable. During the Cold War social and economic rights were emphasized in the socialist states and political and freedom rights in the West. I believe that the time has come to integrate and take into account all the “rights”. It is interesting that UNESCO — elsewhere stressing human rights — among “ten bases for a culture of peace” introduces “satisfaction of basic human necessities, including not only material needs, but also those which are political, social, juridical, cultural etc.” (Adams, 1997, p. 40). This indicates that UNESCO agrees with my two points: the integration of all rights and the

inter-changeability of the two concepts *human rights* and *satisfaction of basic human needs*.

This study is in line with UNESCO's "Culture of Peace Program"

Among the general conclusions from the First International Forum on the Culture of Peace was the following: "a culture of peace requires the learning and use of new techniques for the peaceful management and resolution of conflicts" (Adams, 1997, p. 20). It was further stated that "the implementation of a culture of peace project requires a thorough mobilization of all means of education, both formal and non-formal, and of communication" (p. 20). Therefore, I feel that this study, setting the stage for continued work, promoting the teaching of conflict resolution connecting the micro and macro levels, is well in line with UNESCO's "Culture of Peace Program".

2 Human Nature and Aggression

Our thoughts on aggressiveness in human nature determine our acts to a certain degree. If we believe that there is a biological instinct of destructiveness, we tend also to believe that wars are inevitable. It is logical that this gives rise to passivity. I have met children and adults expressing their views that there is nothing one can do about wars because human beings are aggressive and evil and will always wage war. Of course, this kind of thinking constitutes an obstacle to peace education.

Definitions of aggression¹⁶. There is a problem inherent in the term aggression: Does the aggressive act have to *hurt or injure* to be aggressive and does it have to *be intended* to hurt?

Galtung (1964, p. 95) writes “We shall define aggression somewhat vaguely as ‘drives towards change, even against the will of others’¹⁷”. He goes on to differentiate between “the extreme forms” — such as crimes, including homicide between individuals, groups and nations — and “aggression as the driving force in history, as the motivational energy that moves mountains”.

Galtung’s definition is broad as it does not include injury as necessary even though, of course, the problematic extreme forms imply injury as well as a corresponding intention of harm. Dollard and Berkowitz¹⁸ presume such an intention. Galtung (1964, p. 114) agrees with Klineberg who writes that there is a considerable difference among authors in the definition of the term aggression and that this is a complication: One refers to the original meaning of a tendency to go forward, another one describes it as “the will to assert and to test our capacity to deal with external forces, and that it is this, rather than hostility, that is a fundamental characteristic of all living beings” (Klineberg, 1964, p. 11). However, Klineberg points out that it is hostility or destructive aggression that is crucial to international relations. Therefore he will use the term in this negative connotation.

Thus we notice that there are at least two meanings of aggression: one of striving for something (including defence against threats to values and

¹⁶ The term aggression refers to the act, the behaviour and also, at times, to the attitude. Aggressiveness refers to the attitude.

¹⁷ “This is different from standard definitions in the field, e.g., the famous definition given by Dollard that aggression is any ‘sequence of behavior, the goal-response to which is the injury of the person toward whom it is directed’...” (Galtung, 1964, p. 114).

¹⁸ Berkowitz (1993, p. 3) gives a definition similar to Dollard’s: “*any form of behavior that is intended to injure someone physically or psychologically*”. The intention is here definite, and when there is an intention, some kind of goal is implied even though the goal may reach beyond harm — sometimes other goals are more important.

interests) and one of hostility with the intention to do harm. As we will see, in polemizing with Lorenz, Fromm (1973) drew attention to this and distinguished between different forms of aggression.

Lorenz. The German zoologist and ethologist¹⁹ Konrad Lorenz' (1963, Eng. translation 1966) book on aggression has probably had an enormous impact on people's notions about the inevitability of war. This is ironic as it is quite clear from his writings that his intention was to make people react to prevent war which already in 1963 threatened all life on the planet.

Lorenz saw man as malfunctioning owing to his inherent aggressiveness which he regarded as instinctive, a tension which could be dammed up but which would finally search for its release. Aggression is necessary for life and can therefore not be eliminated but it can be "re-directed" and inhibited, he stated. This was his recipe for change. Man has a moral responsibility, he further maintained, but there are many temptations in modern life as there is so much more to want to possess compared with the situation far back in history. Lorenz' point of departure was Darwin's findings and theories of evolution and selection pressure. Lorenz hoped that by means of evolution and mutation²⁰ human nature would change in a manner similar to the breeding of domestic stocks of animals. He postulated that this could happen in the course of a fairly short period of time. His took an example of the Ute Indians whom he claimed to be aggressive by nature:

"If it is true that within a few hundred years selection brought about a devastating hypertrophy of aggression in the Utes, the most unhappy of peoples, we may hope without exaggerated optimism that a new kind of selection may, in civilized peoples, reduce the aggressive drive to a tolerable measure, without, however, disturbing its indispensable function" (Lorenz, 1966, p. 257).

Freud (1932–1936) likewise believed that there is an instinct of aggression in human beings and that it is dammed up but sooner or later will seek an outlet. However, he was more pessimistic than Lorenz. In his reply to Einstein's letter "Why War?" he suggests bringing Eros, the antagonist of the destructive instinct, into play but gives little guidance as to how this can be done (Freud, 1932 in translation by Strachey, 1986).

Fromm. The German psychoanalyst Erich Fromm (1973) has carried out a comprehensive study on human aggressiveness and destructiveness, drawing from different disciplines, such as neurophysiology, animal psychology and anthropology. He draws attention to the fact that "aggression"

¹⁹ Ethology is the study of the behaviour of animals in their normal environment.

²⁰ A change of the chromosomes (genes) of the cells giving rise to a corresponding change in the offspring.

has been given many different meanings and claims that this has given rise to much confusion in the literature on the topic.

He distinguishes between *benign* and *malignant aggression*, the benign type being biologically adaptive — ceasing when the threat vanishes — and life-serving. *Malignant aggression*, on the other hand, is specific to the human species and has no purpose for survival. It aims at destruction and cruelty and is lustful. In some individuals and cultures it is more prevalent and powerful than in others. It occurs much more seldom than the benign form. Fromm regards it as the result of an existential failure when man “has failed to become what he could be according to the possibilities of his existence” (p. 265). He writes that he “will try to show that destructiveness is one of the possible answers to psychic needs that are rooted in the existence of man and that its generation results from *the interaction of various social conditions with man’s existential needs*” (p. 218). Sadism and necrophilia (the attraction to what is dead) are forms of malignant aggression.

Fromm maintains that *the benign aggression* is more important since it is much more common. The important type within this category is defensive aggression, the aim of which is not destruction but preservation of life. A reason why it is more prevalent in man than in animals is that man reacts not only to present dangers but to threats as well, and may be persuaded by leaders to see dangers which do not exist. Furthermore, his range of interests is much wider than that of the animal. Here we touch on the really crucial point, since the aim of aggression is not only what is *necessary* for man [i.e., in order to satisfy his basic needs]²¹ but also what he feels is *desirable*. Thereby the concept of greed is introduced. Fromm points out that self-interest is a normal expression of self-preservation. It is legitimate to look after your own interests to live. Greed is rationalized as self-interest and in this way made legitimate too. Fromm writes: “In our culture greed is greatly reinforced by all those measures that tend to transform everybody into a consumer” (p. 209).

Fromm rejects the idea that defensive aggression is an instinct that searches for its outlet even without provocation. Instead it is a reaction (defence) against threats to that which is perceived as important to life. Wars are not caused by dammed-up aggression but by the instrumental aggression — a type of defensive aggression — of military and political elites planning war to get what they want, he says.

²¹ Square brackets are used in order to designate that the note is mine rather than that of the author, whereas round brackets are used to present the author’s writings. This way of marking the distinction is maintained throughout the work whenever I find it needed for clarification.

Fromm makes his proposals for developing a more peaceful society. He maintains that what must be done is to reduce the factors that activate defensive aggression. Therefore, everybody's need for enough material resources to ensure a "life in dignity" has to be satisfied. It is also essential that no group dominates another. Fromm emphasizes that in order to do this, the system has to be radically changed both socially and politically. Furthermore, he maintains that the malignant forms of aggression can be reduced as well as the defensive and benign aggression. This will happen when society changes, creating conditions that enable people to develop their genuine needs and capacities.

Discussion. Lorenz saw aggression as destructiveness and cruelty as well as life-serving (strivings to reach a goal as well as defence against threats to one's conditions of life). He did not consider the difference between these two forms, and thought that it was necessary to change human nature (the genes) in order to reduce destructiveness.

Fromm's great contribution was to make clear that the kind of aggression that is life-serving — the defensive type that is inherent in all human beings — differs in kind from what he called the malignant aggression that is not inherent in man but the result of mental malfunctioning. He regarded this malignant type as destructiveness. To get rid of it, a change of society and upbringing would be necessary, but human nature would not have to be changed as this kind of aggression is not an instinct.

Lorenz did not discuss social and political change as means to eliminate the menace of war. His suggestions to "redirect" and inhibit aggression have not appealed to people, probably as it seems too difficult a task to change human biological nature. Maybe, therefore, the result of his ideas of an instinct of aggression that is released spontaneously has become a justification for passivity. One may speculate upon why his thinking became so popular. Was it because of this justification for non-activity? War constitutes such an enormous problem that it is understandable if people prefer to forget about it and stay passive — as long as possible.

In contrast, Fromm (1955, 1973) discussed social and political change and envisaged a society where human material and nonmaterial needs are gratified (cf. Chapter 3). He envisaged a society where human beings are not used as means for other people to reach their goals, a society where all economic and political activity is subordinated to the aim of human development and growth, a society in which qualities such as greed and exploitation cannot be utilized for acquiring material goods or for raising personal prestige.

I agree with Fromm and feel that greed is one of the main problems in a culture such as the Western, which is highly materialistic and furthermore

spreading to all parts of the world. Man has distributed the resources of the planet unevenly, the effect being that world poverty goes side by side with wealth. This gives rise to suffering *and* conflict.

The position I have taken here is supported by twenty scientists from different disciplines who signed the Seville Statement on Violence in 1986 (later on several professional organizations endorsed the statement, Appendix 1). They declared that “the theory of evolution has been used to justify not only war, but also genocide, colonialism, and suppression of the weak” and stated that “it is scientifically incorrect to say that war or any other violent behavior is genetically programmed into our human nature” (Appendix 1; Adams et al., 1992, pp. 20–22). Referring to a famous passage in UNESCO’s constitution they finished thus: “Just as ‘wars begin in the minds of men’, peace also begins in our minds. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us.”

Conclusion. Life-serving aggression is distinguished from destructiveness that intends violence and harm for its own sake. There is much evidence that destructiveness and cruelty are not inherent in man and thus not common to *all* humans. This means that there is nothing *in human nature* to stop man from living more peacefully. It is a question of the society we construct. A social, economical, political and cultural change of this society in the direction of more peace and less harm and suffering should therefore be possible.

Satisfaction of basic human needs may be regarded as the goal of such a change. These needs will be discussed in the next chapter. There are material as well as nonmaterial needs. *A changed structure of society* is necessary to considerably reduce suffering owing to lack of material resources. This lack is more prevalent in some societies, but the responsibility lies with all of us. However, other needs are also thwarted, e.g., needs for love, identity, self-confidence, belonging, meaning and self-actualization.

3 Basic Human Needs

In his well-known theory on motivation, Maslow (1954) hypothesizes that “human urges or basic needs alone may be innately given to at least some appreciable degree”. The corresponding behaviour does not need to be innate but may be “learned, canalized, or expressive” (p. 127). He postulates that needs, “though instinctoid, yet are easily repressed, suppressed, or otherwise controlled, and that they are easily masked or modified or even suppressed by habits, suggestions, by cultural pressures, by guilt, and so on...” (p. 129). Fromm (1973) is in accordance with this view when he states that the higher an animal reaches on the phyletic scale, the less instincts (=organic drives) influence behaviour.

Basic human needs suggested by some authors

The group of needs that Maslow (1954) regards as basic are, apart from physiological needs²², needs for safety, belongingness and love, esteem (self-respect, self-confidence, worth, competence, as well as a need for recognition, appreciation and status) and self-actualization (self-fulfilment). He adds a need for knowledge/understanding and aesthetic needs. Moreover, he mentions some preconditions for satisfaction of basic needs: freedom to express oneself, freedom to defend oneself, freedom to search for information and, in addition, justice and honesty.

Others (e.g., Clark, 1990; Davies 1986; Fisher, 1990; Fromm, 1973; Galtung, 1980, 1990b; Lederer, 1980; Sites, 1973) have discussed basic needs. Many of Maslow’s suggested groups of needs reappear in the different texts. It is easy to recognize the similarities. Galtung (1990b, p. 309), for instance, gives as a “working hypothesis” a list of four groups of needs: “*security needs* (survival needs) – to avoid violence” (individual and collective violence), “*welfare needs* (sufficiency needs) – to avoid misery,” “*identity needs* (needs for closeness) – to avoid alienation” and “*freedom needs* (freedom to; choice, option) – to avoid repression”.

The welfare needs include physiological needs as well as needs for “self-expression, dialogue and education”. The identity needs cover needs for creativity, work, “self-actuation” for realizing potentials [what Maslow

²² Examples of physiological or material needs are air, nutrition, water, sleep, movement and protection against climate.

called self-actualization], affection, love, belonging, esteem, a sense of purpose and meaning with life as well as closeness to the transcendental. Apparently there is a correspondence between Galtung's list and that of Maslow. Both talk of groups of needs.

Some needs — like physiological needs, the need for security²³, love, recognition, self-esteem (self-worth, respect) and meaning — are mentioned by most of the writers. Identity is by some (e.g. Galtung) regarded as a need, by Sites (1973), however, as something like a framework within which the needs seek to be gratified.

Is there a hierarchy of basic human needs?

The nature of basic human needs has been discussed by many authors, especially whether there is a hierarchy, as Maslow thought, or not. A hierarchy means that some groups of needs are more imperative for sheer survival than others. According to this way of thinking, there is a stepwise ranking from the lower needs to the higher, the lower having to be satisfied before attention can be given to the higher ones or, as Maslow says, the higher ones emerge. In Maslow's list, the ranking is from the physiological needs, which are the lowest, to safety needs, needs for belongingness and love, esteem needs and need for self-actualization at the top.

This view has been opposed by many, e.g. Galtung (1990b). The idea that lower needs are to be pursued first, before attention to higher needs is given, may have considerable political implications as it may serve as a pretext for deliberate inattention to nonmaterial needs, he says. However, it may also be used to draw attention to the material deprivation so prevalent in the world which, of course, would be good. *All* the groups of needs should be considered. He thinks that a human needs theory may be beneficial because it may serve as a basis for a rich image of human beings and may demand of social constructions that they respect this richness. He warns against “any theory that tries to universalize the priorities, freezing them into a general law, and thereby decreasing diversity” (p. 311).

The discussion about hierarchy may look polarized; Maslow (1954) and Davies (1986) speaking for it, many others, e.g. Galtung (1980, 1990b) and Fisher (1990), against. However, even Maslow pointed out that hierarchy is

²³ It seems to me that security needs border on safety needs although Maslow referred to security needs as needs for belonging and love.

not rigid; one set of needs does not have to be fully satisfied before the next set emerges and in some cases people do satisfy “higher” needs before “lower” ones. Also Galtung (1990b, p. 310) does move away from an extreme position of being very much against the idea of a hierarchy when he writes that “there is no denial that a rock bottom basic physiology of human beings exists that — under what we are used to seeing as extreme situations — would seem completely to control human behavior”.

My position is that there is no point in discriminating between the different nonmaterial needs. It would be unwise to rank them and claim that the ensuing hierarchy is universally valid. Satisfaction of material basic needs is definitely necessary for survival, but so is satisfaction of non-material needs to some extent. The need for love and care, for instance, has been demonstrated by Spitz’ (1973) investigations of infants in nursing homes.²⁴

Are basic human needs universal or culture-dependent? False and unconscious needs. Basic and derived needs.

Another discussion has occurred regarding the universality of basic needs. Some authors, such as Rist (1980) and Roy (1980), deny any universality,

²⁴ René Spitz (1973, 1st ed. 1965) in his “psychoanalytical study of normal and deviant development of object relations” during the first year of life tells us about his observations which started as early as in 1935. His research team observed infants in two nursing homes (his research reports were published in 1945 and 1946 in *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*). In one of them the infants were kept lying supine in their cots without stimulation of any kind. After the first three months they were separated from their mothers. One nurse looked after eight children. In another three months after the separation the infants started to deteriorate: motor retardation and passivity were registered. There was progressive decline. Of the 91 infants staying in this home 27 died in the first year and 7 more in the next. The outcome in mortality may have been even higher than registered, as 32 infants were placed in foster homes and no information about them was given.

Also in the other home the children, who were deprived of affectionate care, developed symptoms of emotional deprivation: weepy withdrawing behaviour, weight loss, insomnia and retardation of personality growth in the development tests and examinations. These symptoms occurred only in infants who were deprived of their mothers for an unbroken time of at least three months. When the separation exceeded five months, the whole symptomatology merged into the prognostically poor syndrome of “hospitalism” that occurred in the home mentioned above.

Spitz’ findings have made the world understand the symptoms of emotional deprivation which he named hospitalism. The care of children has changed in hospitals and homes partly thanks to this research.

claiming that needs are always dependent upon culture. Others (Clark, 1990; Galtung, 1980, 1990b; Klineberg, 1980; Maslow, 1954) disagree on this point and see *basic* needs as common to all people across time and culture, although there is no common feeling of which, exactly, these basic needs are or to what degree they are universal.

Maslow (1954) sees his classification of basic needs as an attempt to account for the unity within the apparent diversity from culture to culture. He states that no claim is made that it [the classification of basic needs] is ultimate or universal for all cultures but that “it is relatively *more* ultimate, *more* universal, *more* basic than the superficial conscious desires, and makes a closer approach to common human characteristics” (p. 102). Galtung (1990b, p. 304) writes:

“The term ‘basic’ serves to further qualify the notion of a need as a necessary condition, as something that has to be satisfied at least to some extent in order for the need subject to function as a human being. When a basic human need is not satisfied, some kind of fundamental disintegration will take place.”

The universality, he says, applies to the needs, not to the satisfiers²⁵ which may vary more than needs. Above I have referred to Galtung’s list of basic needs. Included in this list are examples of satisfiers which are “held to be relevant in some societies” (p. 309). Examples are police and military as satisfiers related to security needs; food, water, clothes, shelter, medical treatment and schooling related to welfare needs; jobs, recreation, political activity, religion and ideology related to identity needs; and communication, meetings, media, organizations and labour market related to freedom needs.

By looking “deeper” you may find a need below what is expressed as a want, a desire or a demand (cf. conflict resolution, Chapter 6). Maslow (1954) recommends searching beneath the surface in order to find the

²⁵ To get a definition of a “satisfier” let us borrow Yona Friedman’s (1980) definitions of needs and satisfiers: “Needs can be defined in terms of biology as signals indicating the deviation of the state of living organisms from a desired state. As such, needs belong to the process of regulations by which the organism maintains itself in such a desired state. Satisfiers of needs could mean, in the same terms, the organism’s (or the environment’s) response to those signals. Thus, satisfiers are the means by which the organism reestablishes the desired state” (p. 151).

needs. He maintains that “everyday conscious desires are to be regarded as symptoms, as *surface indicators of more basic needs*” (p. 104).

Bay (1990, p. 237) observes: “The fact that human beings have individual needs that may differ from their wants will hardly be disputed by any thoughtful parent, social worker, or health professional; one has almost to be an academic to doubt it”. Thus, a wish may express a need. Also, a need may not be expressed at all. Here we touch upon a problem: Are there unconscious needs, and if so, who are to judge what constitutes basic human needs (Galtung, 1990b)?

Heller (1980) draws attention to this problem, posing the question: Who is to judge what is a real need and what is an unreal (false) one? She rejects the distinction to avoid elitism. However, she is not content to leave it at that and finds her solution in Kant’s categorical imperative²⁶ never to use human beings as means but only as ends in themselves. In this way, all those needs that create a dilemma [as the gratification of those needs will prevent others from meeting *their* needs] belong to the category whose satisfaction requires that man becomes mere means for the other — for example exploitation or oppression. Her conclusion is that “all needs should be acknowledged and satisfied with the exception of those whose satisfaction would make man into a mere means for the other” (p. 218).

Clark (1990) and others *distinguish between basic and derived needs* where the latter stem from one’s membership in a particular society. These *derived needs* may be met at the expense of the environment or through exploitation of others. The change required here, Clark states, is cultural modification, not suppression of our intrinsic selves or some kind of overcoming our genetic set-up. [I may give an example of derived needs: beautiful clothes, a lovely home or a lot of money. Cf. above, p. 30, Fromm’s thoughts about a distinction between what is necessary and what is desired with his reference to greed as a problem.]

²⁶ In his “Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals” (German: “Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten” orig., 1785) Kant (1964) expresses the categorical imperative in several ways. The “universal formula” is according to his own writing: “*Act on the maxim which can at the same time be a universal law*” (p. 104). Heller refers to what Kant calls “the practical imperative”: “*Act in such a way that you always treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end*” (p. 96).

There is also a feeling (Galtung, 1990b; Rist, 1980) that the needs concept has a Western bias. Galtung makes a thorough review of a “possible pervasion of a general theory of needs” adapted to “Western social cosmology and social structure” (1990b, p. 325)²⁷, adding that if this were needs theory he would be against it, but it is not: “It is not even Western needs theory, although there are strong inclinations in these directions” (p. 325).

Herbert C. Kelman (1990) — a past president of the International Studies Association, the International Society of Political Psychology and several other professional associations — has considerable experience of workshops for conflict resolution utilizing ideas based on Human Needs Theory (Chapters 4 and 6). He thinks it is best to use the concept of basic human needs but not to circumscribe it with too many specific assumptions. He finds no reason to organize needs in hierarchies, nor does he assume that human needs have to be considered universal although he believes that “certain basic needs are widely shared across cultures and societies” (p. 283). He does not assume that all needs somehow will be satisfied, although he is of the opinion that the large-scale frustration of basic needs is a threat to peace and social order.

My position. I think that it is important how the concept basic human needs is used. It does not have to be either individualistic or ethnocentric. The basic needs mentioned above are related to society — individuals in it and groups — as well as to individuals since the latter cannot satisfy their needs in isolation. On the contrary, individuals are dependent upon other human beings for fulfilment of their needs for love, belonging and meaning.

The discussion whether needs are universal or culture-dependent would benefit from *differentiation between basic needs and desires or wants*, ba-

²⁷ Galtung (1990b, p. 313 ff.) characterizes “Western social cosmology” by five points, here cited: 1. A Western-centered, universalist, conception of space (a tendency in the West to see itself as a universally valid model to be imitated); 2. A unilinear, present-centered, conception of time; 3. An analytic rather than holistic conception of epistemology; 4. A man-over-man conception of human relations; 5. A man-over-nature conception of relations to nature. Likewise Galtung characterizes Western social structures by five points: 6. A vertical division of labour favouring the center; 7. A conditioning of the periphery by the center; 8. Marginalization, a division between a social inside and outside; 9. Fragmentation, separation of individuals from each other; 10. Segmentation, separation inside individuals.

sic needs being universal whereas desires and wants are directly related to culture-dependent satisfiers to meet those deeper needs. One may also *distinguish between basic needs and derived needs* where the latter stem from one's membership in a particular society.

I agree with Kelman's view of basic human needs as he regards them when dealing with conflict resolution.

However, problems related to the nature of basic human needs remain. We do not know exactly which these needs are and to what degree they need to be satisfied if the life or the mental and physical health of the individual is not to be at risk (cf. our definition, footnote 4, p. 15). More research is also needed in relation to different cultures.

Identity

I have mentioned above that identity needs are postulated by Galtung (1990b) whereas Sites (1973) regards identity as a framework within which basic needs seek to be gratified. Identity needs are often linked to recognition, belongingness and esteem needs. This group of needs is of enormous importance within Human Needs Theory (Chapter 4). Therefore it is highly relevant to take up identity and the process of identification here. Moreover, peer pressure, models (pro-social as well as antisocial) and bullying will play an important part in the field study (Part Two). Development of negative (=antisocial) leaders is therefore considered here.

Identity may be referred to individuals as well as to groups. I will deal with both. How an individual develops his/her identity is subject to much theorization by psychoanalysts, Erik Homburger Erikson being one of the best-known writers on the topic.

(1) *Individual* identity. The way we as individuals behave depends partly upon our former life. According to Erikson (1968, p. 159), our personality is formed through a) *early introjection* (primitive incorporation of, in general, the mother's image) and b) *identification* with the parents and other members of the family, followed by c) *identity formation* when experience from interaction with other people and society is internalized. These are "the steps by which the ego grows in ever more mature interplay with the available models" (p. 159). At different stages children identify with those part aspects of people by which they themselves are most immediately affected, Erikson says (cf. p. 114).

There will be negative consequences to society when people develop antisocial and hostile personalities. We get *negative leaders* (children, youth and adults) who may bring about disaster if they acquire many supporters. This is a problem at the micro as well as the macro level. (About group influence, learning by modelling, obedience and conformity see Chapter 9.) Erikson (1968, p. 175) believes that *the negative identity* in some cases is “dictated by the necessity of finding and defending a niche of one’s own against the excessive ideals either demanded by morbidly ambitious parents or indeed actualized by superior ones”. He emphasizes the interaction between the individual and the society where he (she) lives. We see that society cannot disclaim its responsibility. The individual needs to feel recognized and will try to satisfy his (her) needs in some way or another.

Fromm (1973) also gives explanations useful for understanding how negative leaders are developed.

When circumstances are unfavourable, some people may develop malignant aggression. There is a psychic need, originating from the conditions of man’s existence: *Man attempts to make sense of his life*. He needs a frame (map) of orientation *and* a goal, an object of devotion beyond his ego. The answer may be a life of productivity and love *or* of destructiveness, he says, distinguishing between life-promoting and life-thwarting characters, the latter resulting from unsatisfactory interactions which lead to feelings of lack of self-respect, loss of identity, powerlessness and emptiness. When man looks for an object of devotion, he may find this in a leader who has a life-promoting *or* life-thwarting character. The latter makes a negative leader who may become dangerous if he gains many supporters and much power.

(2) *Group* identity. The individual develops an identity. Individuals come together, getting their needs, such as self-respect and belonging, more or less satisfied in the group. Individual identity is dependent upon the group, or collective, identity. To belong to an oppressed minority group *or* an exploiting majority group makes a great deal of difference to the individual identity.

People act not only for their own benefit but for the sake of the group to which they belong. Ethnic (and class) conflict (and violence) is closely related to group identity and to self-esteem. (See Section 9.2.)

Need for power and control

Power is of special interest to theories on conflict management (cf. Chapter 4, p. 43, and Chapter 8). Whether there is a need for power for its own sake or not is highly controversial. Davies (1986) has postulated a basic need for power but only as an “instrumental need,” i.e., power is not wanted for its own sake, only to gratify the other basic needs.

The need to dominate may be purely (or mostly?) cultural. It is common knowledge that competition differs between cultures (cf. also Fromm, 1973, who has studied reports about thirty primitive tribes written by different anthropologists).

It is difficult to determine whether an individual wants to dominate or have power for its own sake only, or to achieve something else: What appears to be a need to dominate may be a need for recognition, respect, love, meaning or freedom.

Maslow does not label power as a basic need or a precondition for such a need. When he explains esteem needs, he lists domination along with status, recognition and appreciation (1954, p. 90). He rejects the evolutionary argument that man is by nature aggressive or destructive for its own sake (p. 172).

Sites (1973) defines control as “the sending of messages which effectively change the behavior of the recipient” (p. 137). He has developed a “control theory” which builds on the idea of reciprocity of interaction: In the process of socialization the child learns to control his²⁸ behaviour in order to control the behaviours of others, i.e., initiate the desired response from them. This need to control himself, other people and the environment to satisfy his basic needs remains throughout life.

With the idea of a basic need for control as a starting point, Sites discusses and explains some prevalent theories, such as Freud’s theory on mechanisms of defence. Moreover, he claims that “aggressiveness in response to individual frustration can also be considered in terms of control” (p. 26). Frustration occurs when the individual is prevented from achieving gratification of certain needs or desires. When the individual is deprived of accepted means of control, he or she may turn to aggression in an attempt to overcome by force what stands in the way of need satisfaction. This, Sites says, appears to be unlearned behaviour. It may be pointed out that

²⁸ For reasons of convenience the child is referred to by the male pronoun only.

frustration does not have to lead to aggression. Human Needs Theory (Chapter 4) builds on Sites' thinking.

There is yet another aspect of Sites' control theory that is of importance to this study, dealing with non-violent action in managing conflicts (see below Chapter 6 on Gandhi and Sharp), namely, the idea of reciprocity of interaction in relation to control and power. Sites (1973, p. 76) writes:

“To enslave others is to enslave oneself to the rules and activities necessary for the enslavement of others. Both masters and slaves have control, the former by explicit activity in the form of force, and the latter because of the necessary control activity of the former”.

Conclusion

Basic human needs is not an unproblematic concept but there are advantages in utilizing it as a navigation point in constructing societies and managing conflicts. This will be further discussed in Chapters 4 on Human Needs Theory and Chapter 6 on resolution of conflict. Referring to Kelman's statement above (p. 38), I feel convinced that it is not necessary to have an answer to all our questions about basic human needs to make use of them in the ways suggested in this study.

4 Human Needs Theory (HNT): An Alternative Paradigm²⁹

Human Needs Theory (HNT) develops a new, or alternative, way of thinking as compared to that which for centuries has dominated politics (and people's minds) at the international level in particular. I am thinking of what has been called Realpolitik, power politics or realistic politics. It has its roots in the idea that human beings are fundamentally violent and aggressive with a drive, even an inherent instinct, to dominate. Therefore force has to be exercised by sovereign states to keep man from destroying himself. This view was persuasively advanced by Thomas Hobbes (1651), living in the middle of the seventeenth century in England, a society disrupted by civil war. I believe that today there is enough evidence to refute his idea of man as by nature a competitive creature driven by his quest for power, power for its own sake (cf. Chapter 2).

Carl von Clausewitz' (1832) philosophy of war as a rational means of politics (ideas developed in the times of the Napoleonic wars) has also had a great impact. Building on this tradition, Hans Morgenthau wrote his famous *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* in 1948. It provided the theory for the balance of power which has been important to waging politics right up to now. Deterrence by force was a means to keep peace. In spite of a radically changed situation — nuclear weapons threatening all life on the planet — Morgenthau (1967) did not substantially change his way of thinking although he was aware of many problems related to the idea of balance-of-power. According to his own writings, he could see no alternative. To my mind, HNT, Mahatma Gandhi, Gene Sharp (1973, 1990) and others (cf. Chapter 6) provide such an alternative that deserves to be further developed. The two paradigms — the power paradigm and a new, emerging one — will be compared in Chapter 8.

The American researcher of mathematics, psychology etc., Anatol Rapoport (1966) discusses the cataclysmic³⁰ and strategic views³¹ of inter-

²⁹ I have employed Kuhn's terms paradigm and paradigm shifts which he made accepted and known through his work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). Here it is used in the meaning world view or pattern of thinking.

³⁰ The cataclysmic view regards war as an affliction of mankind, determined by historical and social causes. Rapoport takes Tolstoy's historical novel *War and Peace* and Richardson's well-known work *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels* (1960) as examples.

national conflict and suggests a third which recognizes the existence of conflicting interests and commitments in human groups but which focuses on the *analysis* of these conflicts. In this view, not blind dynamics or strategic calculations but the issues are at the centre of interest (p. 284). Rapoport draws attention to the importance of our thinking of war:

“In a way war is what we think it to be, since war is a product of human thoughts and attitudes. Therefore it is less relevant to ask what the ‘true nature’ of war is than to ask which *view* of war is likely to perpetuate or to undermine war as an institution” (p. 271).

He advocates a new way of thinking, even more so in the light of the threat of nuclear weapons. One may also consider the amount of money and other resources spent on arms, personnel and research following from the present power paradigm — resources that are needed for social improvement.

Burton, the proponent of HNT, has built on this thought of a new way of looking at international conflict, especially taking an interest in communication and decision-making.

4.1 John W. Burton

John W. Burton was an Australian delegate to the United Nations Charter Conference in 1945. From 1947 he was in charge of the Australian Foreign Office. He later joined the academic field and from 1963 to 1978 he taught international relations at University College London where in 1964 he founded the Centre for the Analysis of Conflict. Later he was associated with the University of Maryland Center for Development and Conflict Resolution and the George Mason Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. He is the author of many books and articles on international relations, conflict and communication, among which are: *Conflict and Communication* (1969), *Deviance, Terrorism & War: The Process of Solving Unsolved Social and Political Problems* (1979) and *Conflict: Resolution and Provention*³² (1990a).

³¹ The strategic view emphasizes planned and rational decision-making by actors just as proponents of power politics do.

³² Provention is a word invented by Burton (1990a, the title page) used “to signify taking steps to remove sources of conflict, and more positively to promote conditions in

In 1966 Burton wrote an article “Conflict as a Function of Change” where he questioned the traditional thinking that man is by nature aggressive, that the quest for power is universal and a fundamental drive, that states are aggressive and seek power, that some states are more aggressive and more inclined to seek power than others and that each state is obliged to organize its defences against potential aggressive designs of others.³³

In 1969 Burton developed his thoughts further in *Conflict and Communication*, suggesting what he called “controlled communication”:

“The virtue of controlled communication is that it is based on face-to-face discussion in which persons have to represent a viewpoint, thus forcing upon states a need to clarify their own thinking and, more importantly, forcing upon each party a recognition that the conflict relates to internal problems on both sides which have to be understood, if not solved, before there can be any measure of agreement. From the point of view of analysis, it draws attention to the possibility that international conflict is in reality a problem, not of international organisation and repression of aggression, but of internal political organisation within states. The seeds of conflict are probably not within the international system; they may be found within the decision-making processes of states” (Burton, 1969, p. 23).

Thus analysis of the conflict is central. One purpose of controlled communication is to identify the motivations and perceptions of the parties³⁴. As typical origins of conflict behaviour Burton saw fear and threat; denial of participation rights; perceived injustice; and disappointment in expectations. Misperceptions of the environment were also regarded as a common cause of conflict. He thought that conflicts of interests are subjective and that experience and knowledge may alter certain components constituting the conflict, thus producing altered relationships. Communication, when needed facilitated by a third party, would help in the process.

Burton saw failure of the political system to satisfy demands as a cause of conflict. Later he would rather talk of basic human needs not being satisfied.

which collaborative and valued relationships control behaviors”. Thus: prevention + promotion = provention.

³³ These are key thoughts that can be recognized in Hobbes’ (1651), von Clausewitz’ (1832), Morgenthau’s (1948, 1967) and others’ writings.

³⁴ Already here, in 1969, Burton discussed communication of parties at the macro as well as the micro level.

As we have seen, professionally Burton was domiciled in the theory and practice of international relations (the macro level) but since he thought in terms of communication and decision-making, his perspective included psychology and sociology — with an emphasis on interaction — at the micro level. We find the macro level being connected to the micro. This is one of the reasons why his thinking is of such interest to a peace educator.

4.2 Two conferences on human needs

In 1978 an international conference was held at the International Institute for Environment and Society, Science Center in Berlin. It was carried out in cooperation with the GPID (Goals, Process, and Indicators of Development) Project of the United Nations University. Galtung was the coordinator. A book with articles from the conference was published in 1980, Katrin Lederer being the editor. Its name is: *Human Needs: A Contribution to the Current Debate*. The first concern of the conference was development, not conflict resolution, although the topics do have a lot in common. The contributions focused on needs theory.

A decade later, there was a follow-up when a second international conference on human needs was held at the Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University in Virginia. Burton was the editor of the book that followed in 1990: *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*.

Several of my references, related to the previous chapter on Basic Human Needs as well as to this chapter, originate from the anthologies following upon these two conferences.

4.3 The fundamentals of HNT

The individual seen as the basic unit of consideration. We have above (pp. 41-42) been introduced to Sites' (1973) control theory. Sites polemized with sociologists and functionalists who put society prior to the individual. He had the opposite view, emphasizing that the individual is the actor, making up the structures. There is a reciprocity with other individuals and with society but the individual is prior to society, he said. This view of

the individual as the basic unit of consideration where everything starts was taken up by Burton (1990a).

Burton's view on basic needs. Building on Sites' list of basic human needs³⁵ Burton (1979) drew attention to the individual's struggle for security, control and identity. Perhaps these needs could be grouped together within the conceptional notion of a 'role': "the individual attempts to secure a role and to preserve a role by which he acquires and maintains his recognition, security and stimulation" (p. 73). In a conflict it is important to see the perspective of all the parties involved. Therefore "role defence" or "the protection of needs once they have been acquired" (p. 73) is recommended by Burton to be added to the lists of needs.

Disintegration a risk at the individual and the society level. What happens if basic human needs are not met? Maslow (1954) pointed out that thwarting of basic needs gives rise to psychopathology. Galtung (1990b, p. 305) observed that when a basic need is not satisfied (at least to some extent), some kind of fundamental disintegration will take place. At the individual level mortality or morbidity may occur. Society may also suffer: sometimes social disintegration will occur.

Needs, values and interests. Burton (1990a) distinguishes between needs, values and interests. *Needs* are universal, related to growth and development. *Values* are acquired. They are "those ideas, habits, customs and beliefs that are characteristic of particular social communities" (p. 37). *Interests* refer to the occupational, social, political and economic aspirations of the individual and of identity groups of individuals within a social system.

Needs and values are not negotiable, but interests are. Typically, interests are competitive, having a high win-lose component. They are transitional, altering according to circumstances, and they are negotiable. Values may be changed in one or two generations while needs are basic, therefore not malleable. (Burton, 1990a.)

Basic needs pursued regardless of circumstances and costs. Burton (1990a, pp. 32–33) writes:

³⁵ Sites (1973) saw basic human needs as developed out of the infant's socialization process of reciprocity. He recognized the following needs: need for (consistent) response, stimulation, security and recognition. Since these needs never could be "immediately and consistently satisfied" (p. 43), there were four more needs: need for distributive justice, need to appear and be rational, need for meaning and need for control.

“We are catching the first whispers of a theory of human behavior that argues that the human being, whether or not by nature evil or anti-social or requiring socialization by parents and society, has certain needs that are basic, that are not malleable, that must be satisfied if there is to be individual development leading to conforming behavior. — — — there is no malleability in acceptance or denial of needs such as recognition, autonomy, dignity and bonding — all of which could be regarded as a precondition of individual development. It follows that systems, no matter how coercive — including, by the way, the isolation of nations and personal incarcerations — that neglect human needs must generate protest behaviors and conflict.”

I cite Burton further, as this is a central point:

“Once one denies the traditional assumption about the social malleability of human nature, and asserts the existence of some human needs that *will be pursued regardless of circumstances and consequences*, some important insights emerge into the nature of conflict, its resolution and prevention. Deterrence theory, the basis of domestic enforcement and international strategic policies, is undermined, *because deterrence cannot deter in conditions in which human needs are frustrated*” (p. 33, italics added).

Burton concludes that “If conflicts can not be settled by coercively controlling people or nations, there is no option but to seek their prevention by dealing with their environmental origins” (p. 34).

Summing up, HNT places the individual as the basic unit of consideration. Individuals and their identity groups cannot be subjugated without grave consequences. Therefore settlement of conflict is not enough. Resolution becomes a necessity to lasting peace.

Resolution of deep-rooted conflicts. It is important to Burton (1990a, 1996) to distinguish between conflicts and disputes as the treatment will differ. *Disputes* are related to interests, such as material resources, and may be settled by negotiations leading to compromise and by legal processes, whereas *conflicts* are related to basic needs and values, as well as to interests, and therefore have to be analysed and resolved to reach a lasting solution.

He explains the term *deep-rooted* which he applies to conflicts, not disputes: “The term is intended to imply an inability to conform, an absence of malleability, *when there are certain human needs involved*” (1996, p. 24, italics added to draw attention to the connection with human needs).

I have above, footnote 7, p. 18, defined *resolution* and *settlement* or *regulation* of conflict in a way that is used by Burton (among others). Bur-

ton applies resolution to conflicts that he defines as deep-rooted. It is in this type he is interested, not disputes. “By *resolution* of conflict we mean the transformation of relationships in a particular case by the solution of the problems which led to the the conflictual behavior in the first place,” he writes and continues: “We thus make a distinction between *resolution*, that is, treatment of the problems that are the sources of conflict, and the suppression or *settlement* of conflict by coercive means, or by bargaining and negotiation in which relative power determines the outcome” (Burton, 1990a, pp. 2–3).

Problem-solving conflict resolution has, therefore, a special meaning. “Its practice is analytical, and designed to assist parties to conflicts to understand and accurately to cost the consequences of their behaviors,” he writes, claiming that this is “a reconstructed sense of political realism, a realism that takes fully into account the inexorable nature of human behaviors. For this reason it is conceptually and in practice removed from traditional forms of dispute and conflict *settlement* or *management*. It does not include deterrence strategies as applied to domestic or international situations, or repression and containment of conflict” (p. 3)³⁶. Burton asserts that the traditional ways of handling conflicts do not work in modern society. To control in an authoritarian manner, utilizing coercion and threat, does not function theoretically nor pragmatically, he writes (1990a).

Building the good society. Burton (1979) regards basic human needs as a navigation or reference point in building a good society. Provided basic needs are universal, we would have a firm basis from which to evaluate the ways in which authoritative knowledge and policy are applied, he says. A legitimized regime derives its authority from those over whom it is exercised, and the test is how far it succeeds in satisfying the needs of everyone, not just those of privileged or majority groups.

³⁶ We find here that Burton mentions “management” of conflict as related to “settlement” and opposed to “resolution”. Settlement and management involve coercive methods of different kinds, and one or more of the parties concerned may not feel content with the agreement which is not a long-term solution. In my definitions for this study, footnote 7, p. 18, I have employed the same kind of thinking as Burton but equaled the term “regulation” to “settlement” and saved “management” for a neutral meaning when resolution or settlement in Burton’s sense is not determined. This is done because such a term is needed, although some authors use management as having the same meaning as settlement.

4.4 My position regarding Burton's distinction between disputes and conflicts

My position in this study is very much influenced by Burton's thinking — one could even say that the perspective taken is a human needs perspective — but I do disagree about the practicability of a distinction between disputes, as related to interests in the meaning given above, p. 47, and conflicts related to threatened basic human needs. The reason for this is that 1) there is a mixture of interests and needs, such as esteem needs, in most conflicts and in praxis one usually cannot draw a line between disputes and conflicts, and 2) simple disputes of interests often escalate to conflicts which become ever more destructive as basic human needs are thwarted.

When Burton (1996) returns to the distinction between disputes and conflicts in a later publication, he keeps it and explains it further. So, for instance, he writes about “interests” that they include hobbies, ideologies and belief systems as well as property. Then he observes: “The significance of interests in a problem-solving frame is that, whereas material interests are usually negotiable, others tend to be associated with identity and are not negotiable. It is this difference between material interests and identity interests that is the basis of the distinction made between disputes and conflicts” (p. 32).

Clearly, Burton (1990a) is not unaware of a problem inherent in upholding such a distinction since he points out that underlying causes may not be evident and it may not be until the treatment process is under way that one can determine whether it is a dispute or a conflict. He takes a dispute of wages as an example that he says may look as a “withinsystem, normal dispute” but may turn out to be a conflict. He suggests that even disputes “should be dealt with by persons trained at least to be able to detect the symptoms of a conflict if they should emerge” (p. 248).

I find disputes of wages to be a good example of a conflict where a mixture of interests and threatened feelings of self-worth/identity are involved. Contrary to Burton, I feel that such an intermingling of interests and basic needs is the rule in conflicts between individuals as well as between groups and nations. Maybe this is because his main perspective is that of international conflicts even though he attributes his thinking to all levels, whereas my perspective, as a health worker and an educator, is more from the micro level.

However, I do not feel it is necessary to draw this line between disputes and conflicts to appreciate and utilize HNT. *On the contrary, I believe that the theory is even more useful if it is applied also to “disputes” as in personal and group conflicts needs for identity, involving self-esteem, love and belonging, come to the fore.* In order to resolve conflicts (and disputes in Burton’s terminology) in a way that makes all parties feel satisfied — a win-win solution rather than a win-lose settlement³⁷ — one has to consider these needs.

It is not easy to decide when coercion may be used and when it is contraindicated, but I believe that the solution to the problem is not to draw a line between disputes and conflicts as I understand that Burton does. It is rather a question of when limitations *have* to be set by force to stop a dangerous or evil behaviour. It may have to be done in child rearing and in keeping order in a society by the law and the police force. Here the rule of distinguishing the person from the deed may be helpful: This behaviour is not acceptable but I respect you as a person and want to do no harm to you.

4.5 The pot, a metaphor for feelings of self-worth

From my perspective, taking an interest in personal conflicts in schools and homes, I have found it fruitful to link Burton’s thinking with that of the American psychotherapist Virginia Satir. Burton’s frame of knowledge is within the macro, international, level although he also accounts for deep-rooted conflicts at other levels. Virginia Satir’s frame of reference is the individual and the family, i.e., the micro level. In many conflicts the individuals or the groups feel that their self-esteem/identity is threatened. Satir (1972) has suggested a metaphor for feelings of self-worth (self-esteem) which I find useful in peace education (see Part Two) as this basic need is so often jeopardized. The metaphor is as follows.

³⁷ A win-win solution implies that both parties get their needs met. This is consistent with *resolution* of conflict. A win-lose settlement implies that one party gets its needs met whereas the other party does not. In line with the definitions used here of conflict resolution and settlement, a win-lose situation belongs to the latter.

“Win-win solution” is a term utilized by many. It stands as opposite to “win-lose” and “lose-lose” which indicate competition. However, “both win” would be more consistent with the idea of cooperation as pointed out by Pikas (personal communication). Thomas Gordon (1970) called it the “no-lose” method or Method III.

We all carry an invisible pot. When our pot is “high” (fairly full) we feel that we matter. We have faith in our competence. Appreciating our own worth, we are ready to see and respect the worth of others. Conversely, when our pot is “low,” we have low self-esteem, feel we do not matter and are not loveable.

Satir had found in her clinical work with difficult family relations that the metaphor was useful, making it easier for people to express feelings of worth or guilt, or of uselessness, feelings that had been difficult to talk about before. She says: “I truly believe that most of the pain, problems, ugliness in life — even wars — are the result of someone’s low pot, which he really can’t talk straight about” (p. 23). She also states that she is convinced that the feeling of worth is *learnt*. During the first five or six years the pot is formed almost exclusively by the family. Later on outside forces will be important, too, but they tend to reinforce the feelings of worth or worthlessness that have been learnt at home. However, it is never too late to learn new things and change, she says.

4.6 Discussion of HNT by some scholars

Galtung’s position

Galtung (1990b) states that “a basic needs approach (BNA) is not *the* approach to social science in general or development studies in particular, but only one approach” (p. 301). He points out that there are others which may focus on structures (particularly on production-consumption patterns), on processes and on how structure and process are constrained and steered by culture and nature, just to mention some. His position is that “a BNA, although not sufficient, is at least necessary; that a basic needs approach — or its equivalent in other terminologies — is an indispensable ingredient of development studies” (p. 301).

According to Galtung, the major strength of BNA is firstly, that it *serves to set priorities*, focusing on what is essential and basic. Secondly, it may give a very rich image of the human being when the interpretation is not too narrow and, thirdly, it indicates a very rich and open future agenda for development. This is done through paying attention to true versus false needs and true versus false satisfiers. What is important? How will we be able to satisfy our needs without hurting others?

In Galtung's view, the major weakness of BNA is that it does not give the cause of misery. There is the problem of inequity and inequality; somebody's satisfaction of needs may be at the expense of somebody else. Additional perspectives, theories and approaches are called for; most important of all are theories about how misery is produced and reproduced. Such theories do exist. They are indispensable in getting at the roots of the phenomenon. Then, a theory of conflicts needs to be added, as there is often a shortage of satisfiers.

Galtung suggests further investigations, especially employing empirical methods, to increase the understanding of basic human needs.

Risk of emphasizing the individual at the cost of society

Ramashray Roy (1980) in his criticism of HNT draws attention to the possible incompatibility between the individual's struggle to satisfy his/her needs and the favourable development of society as a whole. He claims that it is a question of morality; it is not enough to abstain from hurting others. The individual must voluntarily and consciously do good to others.

Roy regards self-actualization as an essentially aristocratic conception which the needs theorists "propose to democratize" (p. 137). Equality and freedom are not enough. Fraternity must be included. This view may be compared to Rader's (1990) analysis presented below (p. 55).

Others, e.g. Galtung (1990b), have drawn attention to the fact that the concept of human needs takes the individual as the starting point of analysis. They direct attention to the risk that individualism — and implicitly also egoism — will be the outcome if HNT (BNA) is misused.

HNT: a basis for achieving resolution of conflict. Drawback: the lack of consensus on the nature of basic human needs.

Christopher Mitchell (1990) reviews HNT³⁸ as a basis for achieving resolution of conflict. He sees a possibility of getting an answer to the question: how can one tell when a conflict is successfully resolved? As yet, HNT cannot be accepted as a general theory of conflict resolution. The lack of consensus regarding *the nature of basic human needs* is a problem.

Are basic human needs benign or neutral, or are there also some *malign* basic human needs which promote conflict? Mitchell suggests the possibil-

³⁸ Mitchell calls HNT Basic Human Needs approach, BHN.

ity that need for “security” could “easily” become a need for “dominance,” the need for “identity” could become the need for an out-group and an enemy and the need for “love” could become the need for “admiration” or “status” or “success at the expense of others” (p. 156). (Cf. Chapter 3.)

Concerned about the nature and form of basic human needs, Mitchell raises the issue if these are absolutes, so that one either has one’s needs (or any one particular need) fulfilled, or one does not. Is it meaningful to talk about *degrees of fulfilment* of basic human needs? Are these basic needs *divisible* and are they *substitutable* one for another? If varying degrees of basic human needs satisfaction are offered to the adversaries, when will a conflict be said to be resolved and when only settled? Mitchell (1990) makes the observation that if we believe that basic human needs may be satisfied only partly, that means that the neat distinction between resolution (durable, acceptable and permanent because it fulfils all previously frustrated needs completely) and settlement (incomplete and temporary) may dissolve (p. 172).

Another question Mitchell raises is: how will one be able to clearly tell what (if anything) is *not* a manifestation of basic human needs? There is also the uncertainty about the hierarchy mentioned and discussed in Chapter 3.

Problem-solving workshops, a process for conflict resolution

Kelman’s (1990) contribution gives insight into applied HNT with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian case. Problem-solving workshops were carried through with political actors, such as parliamentarians, party activists or advisors to political leaders as representatives of the parties concerned. A group of academics acted as facilitators. (Kelman’s view on the usefulness of the concept basic human needs is mentioned above, p. 38.)

He mentions the following “collective” psychological needs as important to consider in international conflicts and conflict resolution: needs for identity, security, recognition, participation, dignity and justice. “Failure to fulfill these needs or threats to them contribute significantly to the causes of conflict and perhaps even more so to the escalation and perpetuation of conflicts” (p. 284), he says, adding that in order to break through resistances, *conflict resolution efforts must address the parties’ needs and fears*.

Basic human needs as interrelated and inseparable

The *inter-relation of basic human needs* is also stressed by Victoria Rader. In her paper (Rader, 1990), she draws from her experiences of homeless Americans in a city and of poor peasants and Indians in Mexico. She objects strongly to any — even for analytical purposes — separation of needs:

“The idea of a needs hierarchy, for example, that begins with material requirements, may be accurate at a purely biological level, but it does not reflect the way real people behave. Such an analysis also plays into the hands of authorities who approach popular unrest by offering material aid in ways which deflect attention from the economic, political and cultural oppression which poor people suffer” (p. 231).

Rader talks about “victims of modernization” and antipoverty programmes that “further weakened traditional sources of identity, recognition and support” and “then when the relief programs were drastically cut in the 1980s, the poor found themselves without either the traditional community or state support system” (p. 226). While needs such as dignity and autonomy are denied in domestic welfare and international aid ideologies, they are not as easily extinguished in real human beings. “People on the streets and in the shelters of D. C. have developed their own understanding of irreducible human needs: people need food and shelter for biological survival, but they need dignity and love to remain human beings” (p. 227).

She observes that “One very valuable aspect of human needs approach of such scholars as Burton and Galtung is precisely the inclusion of social *and* physical requirements for a human life” (p. 231).

The concept “needs” focuses on scarcity

Rader points out that ‘needs’ is derived from an industrial mode of thinking with its focus on scarcity: “The concept of ‘needs’ too easily leads to a view of individuals as having certain deficits, transforming poor people in particular into the ‘needy’ suffering a condition to be alleviated rather than an oppression to be challenged and redressed. Such a conceptualization, no matter how sympathetic, ultimately blames the victim and distracts us from the structural origins of the injustice poor people face” (p. 232).

Rader very clearly expresses *the positive aspects* of HNT (or approach), as she sees them. We notice the similarity to Burton:

“The essence of the human needs approach is that there exist certain irreducible needs which individuals *will* pursue. When they cannot meet those needs by conforming to society’s norms, people will deviate from the norms, eventually leading to deep seated conflicts and social disorder. From this point of view, the satisfaction of individual needs is the essential requirement for a harmonious society rather than the other way round. The focus here becomes the individual rather than society as a whole. This approach is quite the opposite of the conventional model of industrial modernization which takes the needs of the system as the primary concern of development...” (p. 220).

Commentary. Maybe a few words are needed to relate Rader’s paper on HNT — dealing with poverty and development — to violence prevention and conflict resolution which is the topic here. HNT has been concerned with human development as well as with conflict resolution. That these problem areas are deeply interrelated becomes clear when resolution of structural conflicts at the macro level are considered.

HNT offers a “context”, i. e., an understanding of conflicts as well as a method for resolving conflict

Richard Rubenstein (1990) states that HNT offers to provide theorists and practitioners of conflict resolution with both “a context” and a method (p. 344). *The method* will be communicated below (Chapter 6). As mentioned, problem-solving workshops with academics as facilitators have been used in international conflict resolution (Kelman, 1990). As Rubenstein sees it, *the context* is the world full of conflicts where the authoritative elites lack legitimacy to the extent that basic needs of their subjects are not satisfied, a world where the authorities rely on coercion (armies, police, courts and power-based negotiations).

Rubenstein further takes up “identity-group violence”. HNT is of special interest to explain this problem and to designate methods to come to grips with it. (See Section 9.2, pp. 110–111 on ethnic conflict.)

Conclusion

HNT is taken as the main perspective of this study. It connects the micro and macro levels when it draws attention to the psychological and sociological aspects of conflicts (this connection will be further dealt with in Chapter 7). HNT may be even more useful when applied to personal eve-

ryday conflicts than Burton has suggested (see the discussion regarding disputes and conflicts and the use of Satir's pot of self-worth above). There is yet another way in which I modify the theory (or approach) a little: I feel it may be combined more with psychodynamic (and traces of psychoanalytic) theory than Burton does. So, for instance, we cannot overlook mechanisms of defence in spite of the fact that unconscious repression and projection may be a complication. All the same, it is the parties' *conscious* thoughts and feelings that are dealt with in practical conflict resolution.

An important aspect of HNT is that by stressing satisfaction of material *as well as* nonmaterial needs we are made aware of the connections between structures of society giving rise to inequitable distribution of material resources and other structures (probably partly the same) giving rise to distress owing to unmet nonmaterial needs. The former is often referred to in terms of development (lack of development of parts of the so-called Third World and mal-development in the so-called First World); the second is less discussed in traditional studies of international relations. HNT inspires a holistic way of thinking, much needed today.

I agree with Galtung that HNT is not *the* theory explaining everything. It certainly needs to be supplemented by others.

In spite of the many problems related to the nature of basic human needs, I feel that HNT is useful for practical purposes as implied by several scholars referred to above. Kelman's and others' (Montville, 1991) experiences of the use of workshops are promising. Regarding HNT's method for conflict resolution, see Chapter 6. As mentioned, HNT is also very useful for understanding ethnic conflict (Chapter 9).

5 Escalation of Conflict

This chapter will be devoted to escalation of conflict and the next one to de-escalation with the aim of resolving — or transforming (Galtung, 1996; we will briefly return to this, p. 66) — the conflict in such a way that all the parties concerned have their needs met (become durably content). Non-violent action is the means, and means are regarded as part of the goal in a Gandhian manner.

5.1 Defining conflict

Galtung (1978, p. 486) defines conflict as “*incompatibility between goal states, or values held by actors in a social system*”. This is a fairly comfortable definition to utilize.

In his more recent contribution Galtung (1996, p. 71) gives three components working together in a conflict: attitudes/assumptions, behaviour and contradiction/content [or issue of the conflict] where contradiction stands for “incompatible goal-states in a goal-seeking system”. He explains that the contradiction has to involve something wanted, which he calls a goal, its attainment “a goal-state”. The three components of a conflict are depicted below in figure 5.1.

5.2 Galtung’s conflict triangle and Cooper’s and Fazio’s expectancy/behaviour feedback loop

Galtung’s conflict triangle and Cooper’s and Fazio’s expectancy/behaviour feedback loop deal with social-psychological aspects of escalation. They apply to the micro and macro levels alike.

Galtung’s three components of a conflict, attitude/assumptions, behaviour and conflict content/contradiction, are placed as corners of a triangle, the conflict triangle (figure 5.1).

The manifest side of the conflict is the behaviour (B). It can be observed. Underneath there is the content of the conflict (C) as well as atti-

tudes and assumptions (A) about it³⁹. What A and C represent may be more or less hidden to the actors, but awareness may be developed through inner and outer dialogue. Thereby the understanding of oneself and the other may increase.

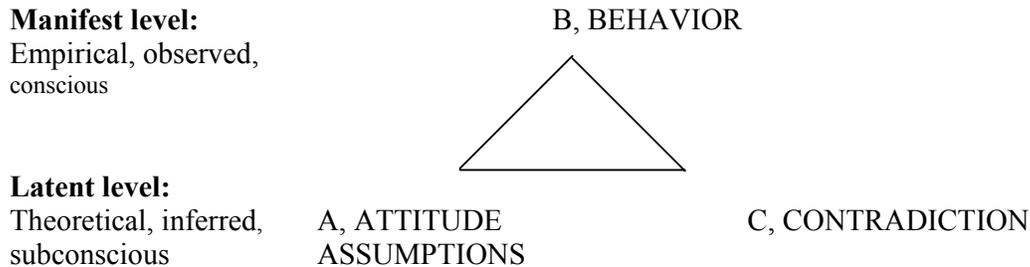


Figure 5.1 The Conflict Triangle (Galtung, 1996, p. 72).

The triangle has been somewhat developed since 1978 when it appeared in an article, widely read (Galtung, 1978, p. 487). At that time the corners were Attitude, Behaviour and Conflict. Galtung’s explanation of the triangle helps us see the pattern of mutual reinforcement leading to escalation of conflict. The spiral may be started at any corner, he says. Parties may discover that their goals are incompatible and that they stand in the way of each other; there is a conflict (or “contradiction” in the figure). They will get frustrated. This leads to aggressiveness (an attitude) which may lead to aggressive behaviour. Something one party values may thereby be destroyed, even on purpose. The other party will react with hostility. This gives rise to new conflicts added to the old one.

Also, the development may start at the behaviour corner by one party doing something the other one interprets as having a negative intention. This other party accordingly reacts with hostility, which may give rise to behaviour that constitutes a threat to something the first party values.

The spiral may also start at the attitude corner with a negative attitude that may be transmitted through ideology or tradition. To justify his negative attitude⁴⁰ the actor will look for a conflict — some threat from outside

³⁹ Galtung (1996, p. 74) interprets assumptions as “pre-cognitions, pre-volitions and pre-emotions in the deeper layers of the personality, between the conscious and the unconscious, not easily available for recall”.

⁴⁰ Festinger’s (1968) theory of cognitive dissonance is central to the understanding of many conflicts: There is a drive towards consistency of one’s (world) view and a corresponding drive away from inconsistency. In order to keep one’s world-view consistent

— and will find one. His attitude will generate negative behaviour that, in turn, will add to the conflict material. The problem of projection⁴¹ and scapegoats belongs here. I will return to this below when dealing with prejudice, Chapter 9. The energy for escalation of conflict is provided by negative feelings that may be strong, and in any case are enhanced during the escalation spiral.

Galtung explicitly states that his triangle works at all levels: individuals, groups or nations. The psychology behind escalation of conflict is very similar at the micro and macro levels.

However, escalation may be stemmed. Galtung (1978) observes that the conflict triangle gives us some cues how conflicts can be handled. Since a conflict can start at any corner, it can also be stopped from any corner. He distinguishes between conflict control, which indicates efforts towards regulating attitudes or behaviour, and conflict resolution which denotes efforts towards resolving the incompatibility underlying the conflict.

One may approach the conflict triangle at the behavioural point, prescribing non-violent behaviour in all situations. This may or may not be combined with the Christian ideal regarding attitude, he says. A combination of attitude and behaviour would come close to the Gandhian approach: training one's attitude and looking after one's behaviour, remembering that the means are the goal. (Galtung, 1978, 1992.)

Closely related to Galtung's Conflict Triangle is Cooper's and Fazio's (1979) expectancy/behaviour feedback loop. Cooper and Fazio help explain mechanisms influencing attitudes which escalate conflict. Their purpose is to "understand the psychological principles that cause people in groups to distrust, dislike, and create conflicts with people in other groups" (p. 149). They refer to several experiments demonstrating distortions in accordance with people's assumptions, expectations and attitudes.

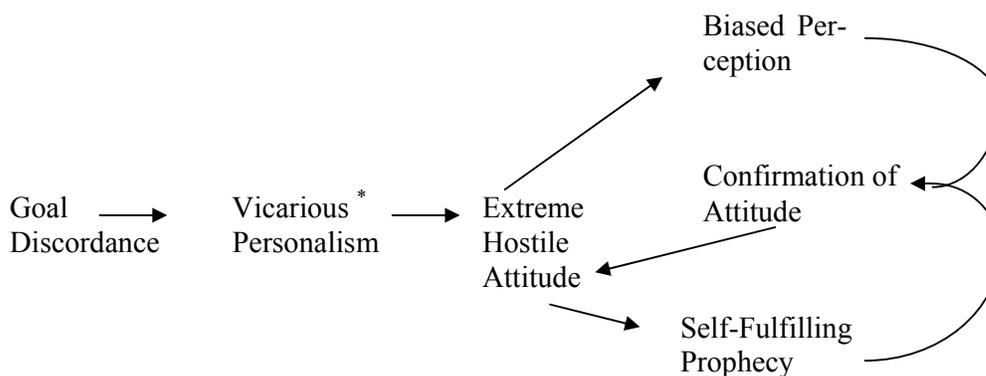
The development and maintenance of hostile inter-group attitudes within one group is depicted below in figure 5.2. The same kind of development of attitudes and assumptions may also occur in the other group as

and to prove oneself to be in the right cognitively and/or morally, there is a tendency to justify negative attitudes and behaviours.

⁴¹ Projection, as one of the defence mechanisms, is a psychoanalytical term for experiencing an inner harm as an outer one: We endow some other person with what is inside us that is unacceptable to us. In this way we get rid of the content of the imagination and do not have to take responsibility for the strong feelings it awakes. We maintain our inner balance.

there is interaction between the groups. The conflict escalation spiral depicted in the flow diagram has a special name: the expectancy/behaviour feedback loop.

We start with two groups with discordant (=incompatible) goals. This is the conflict content. One of the mechanisms influencing attitudes and behaviours is *vicarious personalism*, by which is meant the perception by members of one group that another group's actions are aimed at and intended for *them*. If this is assumed to be meant to harm, this may give rise to hostile attitudes. This, in turn, forms the basis for expectations regarding the future behaviour of the other group's (out-group as compared to one's own in-group) members. The expectations give rise to biased perceptions which will confirm the hostility felt and expressed. The hostile feelings will be validated by evidence which is "discovered" in favour of one's perception. Evidence (perceived behaviour) that is not in accordance with expectations will be discarded or attributed to a *situational factor*, an exception, or the like, whereas it will be attributed to the disposition of the *actor/s* when it is in accordance with preconception. In this way attitudes will be confirmed and not easily disconfirmed. The members of the group will support one another, thereby magnifying the effect of the mentioned mechanism.



Expectancy/Behaviour Feedback Loop

Figure 5.2 Flow diagram depicting the development and maintenance of hostile inter-group attitudes. (Cooper & Fazio, 1979, p. 157.)

* By *vicarious personalism* is meant the perception by members of one group that another group's actions are aimed at and intended for *them*, e.g., to hurt them. This is another factor that will increase the hostility.

The second mechanism, giving rise to the second loop — in the figure the one below the previously mentioned one — has to do with *the self-*

fulfilling prophecy: Behaviour as a function of expectations one holds can influence behaviour of the other individual and so produce a self-fulfilling prophecy. Like biased perceptions, they lead to confirmation of one's prior assessments concerning another individual or group. Consequently the initial perception is strengthened. The observer finds his/her "evidence". If a group is the object, this may exaggerate the process since groups represent many individuals with different characteristics. Through generalizations, negative perceptions of one individual may be attributed to the whole group (cf. Chapter 9).

5.3 Destructive development of conflict

In our society conflicts are often regarded in a negative manner as more or less dangerous, giving rise to discomfort and fear, but conflicts are necessary for development and growth.

So conflict in itself is not negative but a precondition for life. However, it may turn destructive. It depends upon how we handle it. If the parties get their needs met, being satisfied with the outcome, then the conflict has developed in a constructive way.

Morton Deutsch (1973) connects competitive processes with destructive development of conflict, the latter being characterized by *expansion and escalation*. Such a conflict, he says, often becomes independent of its initial causes and is likely to continue after these have become irrelevant and even forgotten.

Here I will present some characteristic features of destructive development of conflict as advanced by Deutsch as well as by Pruitt and Rubin (1986). This characteristic pattern refers to the micro as well as the macro level, although the latter makes an extensive expansion possible by allowing for more people to take part. Groups and individuals at the local (micro) level function in similar ways, the psychological make-up being the same.

The size and number of issues tend to increase and there is a change from the specific to the general. In the process, issues become precedents. Principles are believed to be at stake. New goals are developed. Motives expand and more participants will be gathered on each side. The initial investment must not be lost. Therefore the costs that the participants are will-

ing to bear in relation to the conflict escalate. What has already been suffered must not be in vain. The hope of reaching one's goal at the cost of the other party persists. Norms of moral conduct are not followed. The end justifies the means. The negative attitudes toward the other side grow ever more intense. Pruitt and Rubin observe that as the conflict escalates, simple self-interest is supplanted by a competitive objective. Now "doing well" means outdoing the other. The goals of the parties shift to include hurting the other. Retaliation and revenge come into the picture.

Deutsch points out that running parallel with the expansion of conflict there is an increasing reliance upon a power strategy and upon the tactics of threat, coercion and deception. Correspondingly, there is a shift away from the tactics of persuasion, conciliation and minimization of differences. Goodwill, trust and mutual understanding are lost in the process as the attitudes of the parties become increasingly negative towards each other. We get the spiral of conflict depicted in Galtung's triangle and in Cooper's and Fazio's expectancy/behaviour feedback loop.

Group influence on decision-making. Deutsch points out that there is a pressure for uniformity of opinion, i.e. conformity. Janis (1972) describes it very well in "Victims of Groupthink"⁴². He draws attention to the importance of group influence in decision-making. Some of the mechanisms he describes are as follows:

(1) The members of the group *stereotype the enemy* as either too evil for negotiations or too weak to be a threat (about stereotypes see p. 111).

(2) An *illusion of invulnerability* becomes shared by most members of the group. There is a thinking in dichotomies; the enemy stands for all the evil, one's own side for all the good.

(3) There is an *unquestioned belief in the group's inherent morality*, inclining the members to ignore the moral consequences of their decisions.

(4) There is also group support to *deny unfavourable evidence and rationalize adverse information in order not to shake cherished assumptions*. (About rationalizations, see Chapter 9, p. 112.)

(5) There is *direct pressure* on any member who expresses strong arguments against any of the group's stereotypes, illusions or commitments.

⁴² "Groupthink" is a term invented by Janis (1972) in analogy with "doublethink" and "crimethink" from George Orwell's famous book "1984".

(6) There is also *self-censorship* of deviations from the apparent group consensus, reflecting each member's inclination to minimize and not express doubts and counter-arguments.

Janis points out that conformity occurs not only in cohesive in-groups but also in groups where there is fear or recrimination. The one who fears the leader or the group may keep quiet about doubts or disagreement. The difference lies in the atmosphere: In a cohesive in-group the members are at ease with each other and contribute to the decision making in sharing their thoughts and giving judgements. Conformity in a cohesive in-group serves the purpose of reducing stress in difficult situations.

In his work on psychological aspects of nuclear war, Thompson (1985) adds to our picture of human shortcomings in situations of great danger and stress. Actors may develop a *tunnel vision* in which important pieces of information may be ignored. Another source of error in decision making is the human preference for confirming rather than disconfirming evidence. In other words: people cling to their views of reality rather than facing the strain of reconstructing their mental attitudes. Therefore they may persist with incorrect interpretation. (Cf. Festinger's theory on cognitive dissonance, footnote 40 on p. 59.)

Processes of escalation. Deutsch (1973) summarizes what happens in the course of escalation. There are three interrelated processes: (1) competitive processes involved in the attempt to win the conflict; (2) processes of misperception and biased perception; (3) processes of commitment arising out of pressures for cognitive and social consistency. Let us consider one after the other:

(1) ***The first process.*** Deutsch mentions *three features of the competitive process*, namely: communication, power and a suspicious, hostile attitude.

Communication between the conflicting parties is unreliable and impoverished. There is lack of trust. Available communication and channels of communication are not utilized or they are used to mislead or intimidate the other. This increases the risk of reinforcing the pre-existing orientations and expectations towards the other.

Power. The competitive process stimulates the view that the conflict can only be "resolved" (not resolution in the sense it has been used in this study) if the other side experiences one's superior force or cleverness. Deception may be used in the process. The scope of the conflict is expanded

from the focus of the immediate issue to a conflict over the power to impose one's preferences upon the other.

Suspicious, hostile attitude. The competitive process leads to a suspicious, hostile attitude that increases the awareness of differences and threats. (This was shown for instance in the famous Robbers Cave study conducted by Sherif et al., 1961). Usually accepted norms of conduct and morality become less applicable. This leads to further hostile behaviour which in turn leads to more suspicion and hostility in an escalating spiral.

(2) *The second process* is exemplified above by Cooper's and Fazio's expectancy/behaviour feedback loop, by Janis' study on group influence in decision-making under great stress and by Thompson's work on psychological aspects of nuclear war.

(3) *The third process* is illustrated by Thompson and by Festinger's (1968) theory of cognitive dissonance. It will be dealt with further as we take up socialization, ethnic prejudice and group influences in Chapter 9.

Conclusion

I have drawn attention to some of the social-psychological mechanisms of escalation (and expansion) of conflicts as it may be helpful to have them in mind when dealing with conflict at all levels (cf. Chapter 7). The contents of conflict may vary infinitely, but at least some of the most important mechanisms fuelling them may be recognized. I am aware that I have not here dealt with them all. So, for instance, I have only mentioned one of the psychological mechanisms of defence, projection. It will be referred to again in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 will deal with repression, another defence mechanism, closely connected with powerlessness, as we will see.

A sense of powerlessness reduces our assertiveness to deal with conflict. It may make us try to avoid it; withdrawing, denying, ignoring, masking, postponing etc., with the effect that negative feelings may grow and chances to interfere and resolve or transform the conflict will be reduced. The teaching programme (Part Two) included lessons on escalation of conflict, the idea behind this being that if you can see the mechanisms working, you may intervene more successfully to stop the destructive development of the conflict — provided you have got the skills. This is another issue to which Chapter 6 will be devoted.

6 Resolving Conflict Non-violently

As previously stated, in this study Human Needs Theory constitutes a main perspective, or approach, dealing with conflict. This means that the aim is to resolve the conflict in such a way that all the parties concerned get their needs met and feel content. The goal is that after “resolution” of the conflict, the interaction between the parties will be cooperative and non-violent.

Galtung (1996) prefers to use the term “transformation” as he sees “conflict as something ever-changing, ever dynamic” and “basically conflict transformation is a never-ending process” (pp. 89–90). Old and new contradictions (terminology, see above pp. 58-59) open up. Because of this, a solution acceptable to all parties (actors) is a goal but can only be a temporary one. The ability to handle the transformations in an acceptable and sustainable way is a more significant goal, he says.

By this he draws attention to the fact that life goes on and conflicts will continually build up. If there is interaction, there are contradictions. In praxis, however, each conflict needs to be handled in order to reach a sustainable solution. It is just because the relationship between the actors (at all levels) is so important and their interaction will continue (in most cases) that resolution is generally preferred to settlement or regulation.

In a very direct manner the contents of this chapter make a theoretical basis for the teaching programme developed in the field study presented in Part Two.

Mahatma Gandhi, of course, was a pioneer in developing non-violent action in theory and practice. Gene Sharp’s standard work on non-violence will be mentioned in order to give an indication of methods for defending countries without military activity. I will also briefly introduce an idea for a combination of civilian-based defence with so-called “non-provocative” military defence, as suggested by Fischer, Nolte and Øberg.

Chapter 4 was devoted to Human Needs Theory (HNT). Here I will present the method for conflict resolution that its proponent Burton suggests. Very useful in praxis at the classroom level are the writings of Fisher and Ury, Cornelius and Faire and, finally, Rosenberg.

The reason for choosing Fisher and Ury, and Cornelius and Faire, is their well-written and wide-spread handbooks. Rosenberg’s book was not available until the onset of 1999 but his workshops and videotapes had

made him well-known and his “giraffe language” proved to be useful for our teaching.

6.1 Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhi was an ideologist as well as a practitioner. When he advocated non-violent strategies, he drew from his own experience. Much of Gandhi’s writings originate from weekly articles he wrote in journals he edited and from his enormous correspondence. Raghavan Iyer (1986, 1987) has selected the most essential parts of his writings, the result being three volumes that include a useful list of contents with specified entries.

Gandhi was a very religious man but his god was not a personal god, and even though he was a Hindu, he was trans-religious in many ways, taking an ecumenical position in relation to the other main religions of the world (Khanna, 1985). Morality was to Gandhi the basis of religion. For an act to be good the intention has to be good. Moreover, the act should be performed without compulsion or fear. The outcome of the action is not within our control. Our duty is to look after the means. The end will then look after itself⁴³.

Man’s aim in life is self-realization. The means of attaining this is to spend one’s life serving humanity in a true, altruistic spirit. By devoting oneself to this, one realizes the one-ness (unity) of life. Equality of man, a fundamental principle, follows from unity of life.

Truth is God, Gandhi says. To pursue truth is to act non-violently and with love. Ahimsa (non-violence) is our duty. It has certain implications.

Exploitation and injustice are not to be accepted. Conflicts should be solved and not swept under the carpet. They give us opportunities to develop and are therefore good. Distinguish the evildoer from the evil. The evildoer is a human being while evil is in the structure that can be changed. The aim is to work for this change together with the opponent. It is important to understand the other party. It means listening to him, putting oneself in his shoes, not humiliating him, giving him the necessary time and taking care of his needs.

⁴³ This does not in any way mean that the goal is not important. The means have to be consistent with the goal, see below, p. 68.

In non-violent action (satyagraha) the aim is to change the structure by transforming all the actors, including oneself. Coercion is to be avoided. The exploited have to be liberated from misery and allowed to gain self-respect. The exploiters have to be liberated from dependence on others and the constant fear of losing control. If this were to happen, everyone involved would gain through personal growth. Conflicts are seen by Gandhi as potential positive sums rather than zero-sum “games” (Galtung, 1992).

Another important principle in satyagraha is that the action has to be “goal-revealing,” i.e., the action itself should be consistent with the aim. If a non-violent action is negative in the sense that it is taking something from somebody, then it is combined with a positive action, building something. An economic boycott on imported textiles was combined with making clothes at home as well as with communicating with those who lost their market (in this case textile workers in England), explaining the situation and the goal to them.

Secrecy does not go with satyagraha, nor does passivity. Suffering, Gandhi emphasizes, cannot be avoided. Non-violent struggle is for the brave. He and his co-workers managed to get an entire, enormous nation on its feet. Gandhi and his countrymen practised non-violent struggle for independence, against the caste system and for the *harijans* (untouchables), against economic exploitation, for a new economic order, against communal strife between Muslims and Hindus and for liberation of women (Galtung, 1992). They employed different means to achieve their goals: demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, non-cooperation and civil disobedience. Gandhi himself fasted when he felt it was necessary. His fasts were a way of communicating his message.

6.2 Gene Sharp

Gene Sharp (1973) has written a comprehensive account of the nature and dynamics of non-violent struggle. He there gives a long list of methods of non-violent actions, describes them and supplies historical examples.

Political power is dependent upon many

Non-violent action is based on the view that governments depend on people, that power is pluralistic and that political power is fragile because it depends on many groups (Sharp, 1973, p. 8).

Sharp (1973, 1990) points out that the power of a ruler depends intimately upon the obedience and cooperation of his subjects. The people may regard the ruler as illegitimate and his authority will diminish; his power will ultimately disintegrate. A ruler may employ sanctions in maintaining political power but the ability to impose these sanctions derives from obedience and cooperation of at least some subjects. Moreover, whether those sanctions are effective is dependent upon the response of the subjects against whom sanctions are threatened or applied. People may withdraw power from a disliked ruler. Sharp's description of almost two hundred methods of non-violent action (1973) indicates in what ways this can be done. These methods are categorized into the following classes:

- * non-violent protest and persuasion,
- * social non-cooperation,
- * economic non-cooperation such as economic boycotts and strikes,
- * political non-cooperation such as rejection of authority and non-cooperation with the government and finally,
- * non-violent interventions, subdivided into psychological, physical, social, economic and political intervention.

Examples are fasts, sit-ins, non-violent obstruction, alternative social institutions, alternative markets or transportation systems, seeking imprisonment and civil disobedience of laws.

Sharp (1973) summarizes the three most important factors in determining to what degree a ruler's power will be controlled or uncontrolled by the people: "1) the relative desire of the populace to control his power; 2) the relative strength of the subjects' independent organizations and institutions; and 3) the subjects' relative ability to withhold their consent and assistance" (p. 29). (Regarding obedience, see Chapter 9.)

Civilian-based (non-violent) defence

Sharp (1990) has portrayed a possible civilian-based (non-violent) defence against internal usurpers and foreign invaders. He emphasizes that this kind of alternative defence needs much training and resources. This has never been carried out. One cannot expect non-violent defence to be successful

without organization and training. Military defence would not be. He describes four historical cases of improvised and yet remarkably successful defences against usurpers and foreign invaders (two cases of each) in order to give an indication of what could be done through change of policy.

6.3 Combination of non-violent defence with non-provocative military defence

Realizing that people need to feel safe and are not ready to do away with their military defence without having an alternative, Fischer, Nolte and Øberg (1989) have built on Sharp's ideas, suggesting a defence which combines non-violent action in the cities and towns with non-provocative military defence in the countryside, starting at the borders. The non-violent defence would consist of the kind of civilian defence existing today as well as civil disobedience and other activities already tried out in history. People would have to be trained, of course. This kind of civilian-based defence implies that the whole nation is determined to resist an invader or a usurper.

Non-provocative military defence means that it is designed not to threaten anyone outside one's national borders. The authors advocate a change of thinking. They want to create a peace culture where wars are no longer accepted as a way of dealing with conflict. Their proposals indicate a transformation of the society of today into a more open, less vulnerable society that builds on cooperation and human resources.

6.4 Human Needs Theory: Resolution of conflict

Burton (1990a) explains the ideas regarding resolution of conflict as follows. Conflicts are regarded as problems that have to be solved. All the parties concerned take part. The most important ones are those most affected by the problem.

The problem is first analysed. The nature and origin of the problem are investigated. HNT emphasizes that it is *the perspectives of the parties that count*. The perception of the reality of the parties is central to problem-solving. There might be a change during the process but it cannot be im-

posed. Besides, the parties are often represented by individuals. These have to report back and must ensure that confidence in them and in the process is not lost. Negotiations concerning complicated, maybe international, conflicts, therefore need to be divided into sessions.

Problem-solving frequently requires a change in conceptualization of the problem. During the process the parties gain new knowledge — about the other side and about themselves.

Assumptions are questioned. In this process of analysis, assumptions are questioned. These are often implicit and perhaps even unconscious. One such assumption may be that deterrence deters. However, this might not be the case if basic needs of groups of people are threatened, needs such as their identity (cf. pp. 47-48). Another one is that conflicting relationships are “win-lose”: what one party wins the other loses. HNT claims that there are “win-win” (=both win) opportunities. Unlike material resources (such as pieces of land, food or money), security, love, esteem and meaning are not in short supply; on the contrary, when satisfied — or partly satisfied — there is more to share. The art is to distinguish non-negotiable needs from strategies and tactics. The means are often confused with the goals, thus giving rise to lasting conflicts. The means may be resources of short supply, like a piece of land, whereas the goal is security, which is a basic need.

Options gratifying the needs of all are explored. The aim is to find options which gratify the needs of *all* the parties. There is a differentiation between positions and needs. When negotiations are carried out in accordance with the principles of HNT, positions are not stated at the beginning of the process. Needs *underlying* the wishes and positions are looked for (cf. above pp. 36-37). The parties will choose from many options those satisfiers (definition footnote 5 on p. 36) that are not a threat to others and which will lead to valued relationships between the parties in the future.

The mediator facilitates the communication between the parties without making proposals for solutions. HNT suggests mediation in the form of a third party who facilitates the process by making practical arrangements and by promoting communication. The mediator (in a complex conflict a group of people) does not make proposals. Coercion and threat are not employed. The parties have to reach their solution through communication and work. The solution is *theirs*, not that of the mediator. This increases

the chances for cooperative and constructive interaction after the agreement is reached. (Cf. Galtung about conflict transformation on p. 67.)

6.5 Fisher and Ury: Negotiation as joint problem-solving

Based on the work of the Harvard Negotiation Project, Fisher and Ury (1981) have written a bestseller on negotiation, *Getting to Yes*. The second edition, to which I will refer here, was written by Fisher, Ury and Patton (1991). They regard negotiation as problem-solving. Their way of thinking and their recommendations apply to the micro level as well as to the macro level. They sum up their method in four points:

1. Separate the people from the problem (issue of the conflict).
2. Focus on interests, not positions.
3. Generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do.
4. Insist that the result be based on some objective standard.

Re point 1. It is important always to treat people with respect and not make them feel threatened or lose self-esteem (“losing face”). (Cf. also Gandhi about distinction between the actor and the system, above, p. 67; HNT: consider satisfying basic human needs.)

Re point 2. HNT advocates looking beneath or beyond stated positions for deeper needs (above, p. 71). It is clear from Fisher’s, Ury’s and Patton’s further writing that they think in accordance with Burton although they use the word “interest” in a somewhat different manner (cf. above p. 47). They suggest that you take the other party’s perspective and ask not for justification of their position but for *a deeper understanding* of the needs, hopes, fears or desires that it serves. Ury (1993) mentions *intangible* motivations driving behaviour. The following statement is also very close to HNT: “By satisfying the other person’s basic human needs, you can often turn the person around” (p. 117).

Re point 3. This is also suggested by Burton (see above p. 71).

Re point 4. We are strongly advised to use objective criteria in order to reach a “fair” agreement. Ask the other side what standard they use when they bargain from their position. Objective criteria should apply to both sides: use “the test of reciprocal application” to tell whether a proposed criterion is fair and independent of either party’s will (Fisher, Ury & Patton,

1991, p. 86), i.e., if I were in the other party's shoes, would I regard the solution to be fair?

Ury's five-step strategy

Ury (1993) explains five "barriers" to cooperation. These barriers have to do with negative feelings on your side and on the other side, as well as the assumption that it is a question of power over and win-lose instead of a problem the two parties have to solve satisfactorily for both. Here I will present his five-step strategy:

The first step Ury advocates is to resist one's "natural reaction" to show negative emotions *or* to give in. He gives advice for regaining a mental balance. His name for this is to "go to the balcony".

The second step is to overcome the other side's negative emotions, such as defensiveness, fear, suspicion and hostility. Do not give in to your temptation to argue but help the other side regain their balance by creating "the right climate for joint problem-solving". He says: "Step to their side" (p. 12). You can listen to and acknowledge their point of view without agreeing with it. It may be accepted as one valid point among others.

The third step involves rejecting the positional "game" and instead inviting the other side to a "game" of mutual problem-solving. Take their position and probe behind it. (This is similar to point 2 above.)

The fourth step is to "build them a golden bridge". Ury says: "You need to bridge the gap between their interests and yours. You need to help them save face and make the outcome look like a victory to them" (p. 12).

The fifth step is closely related to the fourth step. It is to "use power to educate" (p. 13). Make it easier for them to say yes and at the same time harder to say no.

BATNA means "Best Alternative To a Negotiated Agreement". It is discussed already in *Getting to Yes*. When you are in a conflict, analyse it as a problem and think what your BATNA is. This will make you strong in negotiations. You should develop your BATNA and make it as realistic and favourable as you can.

In the fifth step you demonstrate your BATNA only when it is necessary. Here Ury discusses an interesting problem: when we use power, there is the risk that the other side will take it as a threat. Ury advises us to warn and not to threaten and explains the difference. How we frame our message is of utmost importance. A threat is an announcement (also implicit) that

we may inflict some injury or punishment whilst a warning is that this might happen regardless of what we do.

6.6 Cornelius and Faire: Everyone can win

The Conflict Resolution Network (CRN) in Australia has worked since the International Peace Year in 1986 to “develop, teach, implement, and learn the skills of conflict resolution for personal, professional, and international effectiveness” (Cornelius & Faire, 1989, p. 7). We notice that they link the micro to the macro level. Their way of thinking lies very close to that of Fisher and Ury. However, they have much to add that is useful in teaching conflict resolution. Their recommendations are very closely related to the teaching programme we used in the field study presented here (Part Two), which was derived from Lantieri’s and Roderick’s (1988) as well as from Kreidler’s (1994) teaching guides.

Here I will only mention a few points.

Cornelius and Faire ask us to *choose* our approach in a conflict: withdrawal, suppression, the power struggle win-lose, compromise or finally win-win (where everybody’s needs are met). The win-win approach is preferred, although not in all situations.

The authors give much advice regarding communication. They emphasize empathy and our responsibility for how we convey our message. We come to learn to affirm the speaker when we listen actively. They provide us with a long list of “communication killers” and ask us to examine the way we communicate if we feel excluded.

The worst thing one can do is to blame the other person or party. The most common way of accusing someone of something is to give a negative *you-message*, telling someone what we think they *are*, something we do not like. Then, also, we confuse the issue (problem) with the person. An example would be: “You are selfish”.

Cornelius and Faire suggest that we give *I-messages* (I-statements) instead.⁴⁴ Let us first look at one of their examples (Cornelius and Faire, 1989, p. 66): The situation is such that “you are being told rather than being asked”. They suggest that you express your feelings about the situation

⁴⁴ Thomas Gordon (1970) was the pioneer in this field.

and your preferred outcome as follows: “When I am told about changes to our plans, I feel I don’t count and I would like to hear about the changes before they are decided.”

An I-message describes *the action* or the situation that is causing the problem. This should be done objectively without casting blame. An event is easier to describe objectively than a behaviour. Cornelius and Faire suggest that we explain our interpretation of the situation: “What I hear...”.

The second part of the message consists of *the response*, for instance, I feel hurt, angry, ignored, helpless or guilty. This is a difficult part. It may be easier to tell people what I do, like “I withdraw although I don’t want to” or “I do everything myself”. Another way is to let the other person know about my impulse that I resist, for instance, “I feel like ignoring you” or “I want to walk out”. Cornelius and Faire call it a *clean* I-message when I do not blame anyone for how I feel or what I do. It is very important to make it “clean” although, admittedly, it is difficult at times.

Finally you tell *your preferred outcome* with no demands. Give as many options as possible and leave the solution to the other person/s.

6.7 Rosenberg: Non-violent communication

The American psychologist Marshall Rosenberg is the founder of the Center for Non-violent Communication in Texas. In his workshops, for pedagogical reasons, he demonstrates communication by means of pup-pets: the giraffe stands for non-violent and the wolf for violent (attacking and blaming) communication. The children in the field study were trained in “the giraffe language” of non-violence. It includes I-messages, active listening and dealing with feelings constructively. We made use of a short video-recorded interview. Rosenberg’s book (1999) was not yet published.

Compassion (empathy) is at the centre of the method. In order to improve our communication, we should learn to become aware of what we feel and need and to empathize with other people, trying to find out what *they* feel and need. This is done also when they act violently in relation to us, blaming and accusing us unfairly.

By giving you-messages, telling people how they *are*, we judge and diagnose people. We may express our anger and irritation, and whatever feel-

ings we have, but we should avoid attacking, criticizing, judging, punishing or labelling people.

The four components of Rosenberg's model of non-violent communication are similar to those of the I-message (above, pp. 74–75) but, in my opinion, a bit more developed. Those three components are the same with one added, namely number 3 here. I offer comments when I feel Rosenberg's contributions are particularly valuable:

1. *Observation without evaluation.* Judgements will “disconnect” us from the other person and lead to defensiveness and escalation.

2. *Feelings.* Next we state what we feel when we observe the action. When we express our feelings, we take responsibility for them and do not blame others. Rosenberg tells us to think that you do not *make* me angry, it is how I *am taking* it. It is my interpretation and thoughts that give rise to my feelings.

3. *Connect our feelings to our needs.* We acknowledge our needs behind our feelings. (Cf. p. 72, the second point.) When someone communicates negatively, we have four choices, Rosenberg (1999, p. 51) says: “(1) blame ourselves, (2) blame others, (3) sense our own feelings and needs, (4) sense the feelings and needs hidden in the other person's negative message.” The third and fourth choices open up to problem-solving. The fourth may be the safest behaviour to start with if someone is angry with us. In those cases we are recommended to use empathy and to *listen for underlying needs before we try to make ourselves heard* (this is also emphasized by Cornelius and Faire.) We may use *paraphrasing*, reflecting back what we hear of facts and feelings.

4. *Requests not demands.* Cf. above pp. 74–75.

Rosenberg makes it clear that there is yet another aspect of non-violent communication which consists of “receiving the same four pieces of information from others. We connect with them by first sensing what they are observing, feeling, and needing, and then discover what would enrich their lives by receiving the fourth piece, their request” (p. 5). Actually, if we paraphrase as suggested under point 3 as an alternative to expressing our own feelings and needs, this is what we are doing.

Commentary. We notice that Fisher, Ury and Patton, Cornelius and Faire and, finally, Rosenberg have much in common and that HNT lies very close to their ways of thinking. They all tell us to search for underlying needs (and values) and deal constructively with the feelings of *all* the

concerned parties. We learn active listening (paraphrasing), I-messages and how to resolve conflicts to meet everybody's needs. Rosenberg deals with communication only and expects non-violent, compassionate communication to lead to resolution of conflict. He does not consider the decision-making process like the others.

In education, I feel *the choice of method for handling a conflict* is an important point. Many children, and adults, allow themselves to react straight away (contrary to Ury's advice), not considering that if they stop and think, they may reach a better result. Some children act aggressively at the least provocation, others withdraw and suppress at all times, burdening themselves unnecessarily and giving rise to dammed-up feelings that destroy relationships in the long run. One task in peace education (and conflict resolution) is to practise the third approach; problem-solving in order to reach a win-win solution.

A second point I want to emphasize is that our first I-message will often not lead to the desired outcome. Then we must try again and again. When there are bad feelings and lack of trust, the other party may think that we are assigning blame when we think we are not. I-messages have to be practised. It is not just a technique. *It is a way of living*. One's outlook changes. This kind of communication involves empathy and seeing a situation from more than one's own perspective.

"Separate the people from the problem" is an important device in conflict resolution. We may blame the *structures* that we can try to change. This is what Gandhi did. He kept the channels of communication open to his adversaries and stressed that it was the system that was inequitable and unjust. In the Gandhi museum in Delhi there is still a pair of sandals that Gandhi made in prison and gave to General Smuts of South Africa during the struggle there.

6.8 Conclusion

We started the chapter at the macro level with Gandhi, Sharp and, finally Fischer's, Nolte's and Øberg's proposal for a civilian-based defence combined with a non-provocative military defence. We continued with HNT, which is developed for so-called deep-rooted conflicts at the macro and micro levels, and went on to negotiation strategies suggested by the Har-

vard Negotiation Project to be used at all levels. The recommendations proved to be very similar to those proposed by the Conflict Resolution Network in Australia (Cornelius & Faire refer to Fisher & Ury). This latter group, as well as Marshall Rosenberg, is concerned with communication at the micro level, particularly the interpersonal one. It is fascinating to see that the way of thinking is so similar whether the “target” group is at the macro or micro level — with some exceptions of course, prominent in Sharp’s and Fischer’s, Nolte’s and Øberg’s writings.

7 Connections Between the Micro and Macro Levels

I have defined the *micro level* as referring to the interpersonal and intergroup level and the *macro level* to the national, international and transnational level. This is the distinction that Rubin and Levinger (1995) make. I will here discuss an article by these authors about similarities and dissimilarities between the levels. Brock-Utne (1989, 1997) has suggested that violence at the micro level is to be defined as unorganized violence while violence at the macro level refers to organized violence whether it is direct (carried out by one or more actors as in war) or indirect (caused by structures of society⁴⁵). Thus the micro level refers to the individual and the macro level to the collective (1989, p. 43). I have taken up Brock-Utne's definition (i.e., should there be *organized* war between groups, it would be referred to as belonging to the macro level). I have considered a meso level as not being necessary for the purpose of this study.

Examples of the *macro level* are: war, migration of refugees, pollution, poverty and racial discrimination caused by the main structures of society (it is organized by the system, sometimes even specific direct actors). The *micro level* refers to the interpersonal, local or domestic level. Many situations in reality will relate to both levels. This is the case in the following two examples: An African child is harassed in his class owing to the colour of his skin. A man abuses his wife as a result of frustrations owing to long-term unemployment which, in its turn, is caused by the prevalent structures of society. However, as it is difficult to really know the causes of happenings or situations (like the reason for unemployment in this example), I prefer to classify these two examples as belonging to the micro level, pointing out the connection(s) with the macro level. This is in accordance with Brock-Utne who refers wife batterings to the unorganized level although it has been called "the war against women" (1989, pp. 42, 47).

The reason for my interest in the connections between the levels is that I see increased opportunities for teaching peace, including conflict resolution, at the macro level if there is such a connection. An individual will do something (learn, act) if he/she thinks it makes a difference. I have *hypothesized* that good experiences from resolution of conflict at the micro

⁴⁵ The now widely accepted concept structural (= indirect) violence was introduced by Galtung (1969) (see further on p. 85 below).

level will — provided certain circumstances prevail — reduce feelings of powerlessness regarding problems also at the macro level and will result in increased preparedness to act in regard to “issues of global survival” (definition Part Two, footnote 80, p. 165). (See Chapter 1, p. 21 f.; Chapter 11, p. 140f..) This depends upon the presumed connections between the levels.

Connection (in this case between the levels) may have more than one meaning. It stands for similarity *or* influence (from one level to the other). This study deals with both these meanings. I claim that an assumed connection between the levels is beneficial to peace education — according to the reasoning above — whichever meaning is considered. When connection means that there is a *similarity* between the levels, then it is reasonable to believe that the same way of thinking and acting which has a desired effect at a local level may be generalized to another level.

Another meaning of connection is *influence*. Conditions at the macro level influence the micro level and vice versa. Different theories about power and authority have briefly been mentioned above (Chapter 3, pp. 41–42; Chapter 4, p. 43; Chapter 6, pp. 68–69). “The emerging paradigm” (Chapter 8) regards power as arising continually from many parts of society. The perspective is that of interaction among these parts. Conversely, the power paradigm looks upon power as emitted from the few. With this latter way of thinking, evidence of influence from the macro level to the micro will not be beneficial to our hypothesis (if only authority has power, what do I matter?), whereas “the emerging paradigm” will speak for it (authority does not alone have power, therefore evidence of influence from top to bottom will also indicate influence from the people, bottom-up).

Let us look at some different aspects of connections between the levels, beginning with dissimilarities and similarities. After this, some links between the micro and macro levels are considered. Here the meaning *influence* is important.

7.1 Rubin and Levinger: Generalizations between levels should be pursued with caution

In their paper “Level of Analysis: In Search of Generalizable Knowledge” Rubin and Levinger (1995) compare conflicts at the international level with conflicts at the interpersonal level. They make some comments on

conflicts at the levels between these as well (i.e., the inter-organizational and inter-group levels) . *Their conclusion is to warn against generalizations from one level to another, emphasizing, among other things, the complexity, the power asymmetry and the lack of trust in international conflicts.*

They point out that there is *a larger number of parties* in international conflicts than in the interpersonal ones. Moreover, there are *representatives* dealing on the behalf of people, a state or some other organization. The latter fact has implications, one of which is that agreements reached may be jeopardized if representatives are replaced. Rubin and Levinger observe that exchangeable personnel may be a source of greater difficulty but also of greater opportunity; the representatives have “special expertise”. They fail to mention another possible advantage of a conflict at the macro level (or any level) where representatives negotiate: a stalemate may be discontinued through a change of leadership.

Rubin and Levinger state that *the large number of issues* at international conflicts means increased difficulties but also that more issues imply additional opportunities of “assembling packages” and that this increases the possibilities for what Cornelius and Faire (1989) call “dovetailing” (the parties trading what is less valuable to them and more valuable to the other party for something that is more important to them and less to the other party). However, dovetailing is also possible in negotiations at the lower levels, including the personal level.

Another essential difference between conflicts at the different levels is that it is easier to settle⁴⁶ conflicts at the lower levels by means of *a powerful authority*. At the international level there is the authority of the United Nations and the International Court of Justice, whereas at the national level there are courts, parliaments and governments. Also, Rubin and Levinger claim that there are more opportunities for effective *third-party interventions* in the interpersonal, inter-group and inter-organizational relations than in international conflicts. They mention mediation, arbitration, fact-

⁴⁶ Note that Rubin and Levinger (1995) accept settlement (regulation) of conflict without discussing resolution as an alternative that would be more valuable in the long run. In this they disagree with Human Needs Theory, without, however, discussing this theory (or approach). Furthermore, they do not mention any differentiation between positions and underlying values and needs.

finding, conciliation and finally persuasion by “an older, stronger, respected third party” (p. 27).

A key difference between the macro levels (international and national) and the lower levels is that the former “tend to develop *powerful institutional structures* — such as armies and intelligence agencies — that may benefit from the perpetuation of conflict and mistrust” (Rubin and Levinger, 1995, p. 30, italics added). Rubin and Levinger give the following example: Senate testimony has confirmed that American intelligence estimates regularly inflated Soviet defence capabilities and derogated corresponding U.S. capabilities in order to justify enormous increases in the U.S. military budget during the Cold War. Furthermore, the authors draw attention to the problem that military and intelligence institutions resist attempts to reduce their power after the need for them is diminished and that there is no parallel to this at the interpersonal level.

Rubin and Levinger stress the importance of *power asymmetry* in international conflicts as compared to those at the micro level. Their reasoning here indicates that they think in terms of power *over* and power balance [like Morgenthau (1948, 1967)]: “for interpersonal relationships to be stable, the parties must be roughly equal in power. If not, the more powerful party will attempt to exploit its less powerful counterpart; in turn, the latter will attempt to withdraw from the relationship (though in some interpersonal relationships withdrawal is not immediately available)” (Rubin & Levinger, 1995, p. 25). However, they believe that in these relationships at the interpersonal and inter-group level “these inequalities typically diminish” as the children grow up and the groups and organizations move toward symmetry or else less powerful entities move away.

Discussion. Rubin and Levinger are right when they point out that resources are distributed very unevenly among the states and that those with greater power behave in ways that cause them to become even more powerful, while the less powerful tend to be locked into less favourable positions.

To my mind, Rubin and Levinger underestimate the importance of power asymmetry between parties at the micro level (avoidance and the passage of time are poor remedies to broken relations) and overestimate the equal distribution of power as a necessity in order to avoid conflicts at the macro level. They do this because their thinking is in line with the power paradigm, where power is regarded in terms of power *over* and

power balance rather than power *to* or power *with*, used to meet everybody's needs. I believe that power asymmetry at *all* levels may give rise to destructive conflicts, but it is not *necessary* that this is the outcome since unequal distribution of power does not have to lead to oppression. *Legitimization of authority* as well as *dependency* of one party on the other are other factors of importance.

Rubin and Levinger also discuss trust in and information about one's counterpart. They claim that "international conflict is more susceptible to selective perception and other forms of cognitive distortion than interpersonal, inter-group, and inter-organizational relations. It is generally more difficult to pinpoint the other party's preferences, intentions, and expectations" (p. 29). About trust they write:

"Given less reliable information about the other party in international conflicts, as well as the other obstacles noted earlier, international conflicts appear far less conducive to trust and empathy than interpersonal ones (with inter-group and inter-organizational conflicts lying somewhere in between)" (p. 29).

Correctly they state that trust develops "from a lengthy series of mutually positive experiences" (p. 29). What they do not seem to take into consideration is that such positive experiences give rise to expectations and when these are not fulfilled there may be frustrations and a turn of love into hatred, *also at the interpersonal level*.

It is true that trust is low in destructive conflicts and also that information is concealed. However, the argument that this is worse in international conflicts than in conflicts at any other level is not convincing unless the larger number of groups and organizations involved is a reason that alone may justify the standpoint. My view is that trust may be extremely low in interpersonal conflicts and that frustrations and hatred may make a resolution next to impossible. Information is withheld in interpersonal and inter-group conflicts as well as in conflicts at the macro level. Often motives are unconscious. Defence mechanisms, such as projection (footnote 41, p. 60), may make any resolution as well as settlement fail.

Rubin's and Levinger's reasoning seems to lack understanding of conflicts at the micro level (experience from clinical work at that level makes this clear), and it disregards the common qualities in conflicts at different levels (cf. Chapters 5 and 6 regarding escalation and de-escalation of con-

flict; see also below) that may fruitfully be taken into consideration when acting to prevent conflict from turning destructive. HNT is helpful in making us realize these common qualities (cf. Chapters 4 and 6, pp. 70– 71).

However, Rubin and Levinger deserve credit for pointing out many of the important dissimilarities between conflicts at the different levels. One such issue is the fact that international — and ethnic — conflicts may have *a very long history* of distrust and negative actions, leading to much suffering. Such a long history is not common in interpersonal relationships. Also *the idea of a Chosen People* (extreme nationalism) is not relevant at the micro level, although self-righteousness and intolerance are. Group pressure may be very strong at all levels but *a repressive dictatorship at the national level* is more frightening to more people than a negative leader at a lower level may become. Here we have an example of *degree and complexity* that Rubin and Levinger emphasize make a great difference. This, of course, can never be refuted. To the individual or the group, however, a conflict at the interpersonal or inter-group level may be extremely difficult, threatening mental and physical health as well as life, and help may be very hard to get.

7.2 Linking micro and macro levels

Turpin and Kurtz take a position which is opposite to that of Rubin and Levinger. *The Web of Violence: From Interpersonal to Global* (Turpin & Kurtz, 1997) contains contributions from different fields. In their introduction they examine the major disciplinary approaches to violence and find that on the whole the micro/macro link is ignored. They regret the tendency of the academic disciplines to compartmentalize the study of violence due to their respective conceptual frames, and they call for interdisciplinary work.

They see four fields in which there is “significant forward movement on the micro/macro question in the study of violence” (p. 9). These fields are: “critical criminology” (which links macro structures and culture to violent crime), gender studies, peace and conflict studies, and public health. Turpin and Kurtz give an overview with a list of references, but educational work is not mentioned.

They conceptualize violence as a “web”: “the *causes* of violence, from interpersonal to global, are connected, as are the *consequences*. *Discourse* about violence from interpersonal to global also frames violence in a similar fashion. Finally, *solutions* to violence, from interpersonal to global, are generally framed in the same way” (p. 12, italics added).

7.2.1 Structural violence

Galtung (1990a) proposes a new definition of violence: “I see violence as avoidable insults to basic human needs, and more generally to *life*, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible. Threats of violence are also violence” (p. 292). This may be expressed even more briefly: “violence is needs-deprivation” (p. 295). We notice the connection with Human Needs Theory and that physical, psychological and social harm are included in this definition.

Galtung’s (1969) concept *structural violence* has been helpful in drawing attention to situations in which people are oppressed by structures rather than by specific actors. He writes: “The violence is built into the structures and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances” (p. 171). In “direct” and “personal” violence there is an actor [alone or collectively] who commits the violent deed as opposed to structural, or “indirect,” violence where there is no such actor. Social justice means absence of structural violence. In order to have peace, not just “no war,” justice is required. When this prevails, there is “*positive peace*”.

Commentary. When we contemplate social justice, we see connections between the levels. Social injustice is an important source of conflict. It leads to war at times. These days, when we experience globalization in terms of economy, trade, information etc., our interdependence on the globe has become generally acknowledged. The macro level is constantly influencing the micro.

The linkage goes the other way as well: there is an influence of the micro level on the macro. This is referred to in the next section.

7.2.2 Legitimization of violence

Galtung (1990a) defines *cultural violence* as: “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence — exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) — that can be used to *justify or legitimize direct or structural violence*” (p. 291, italics added).

The concept “legitimize” stands for acceptance in society. Here we have a link between the micro and macro level: what is carried through at the macro level needs to be accepted at the micro level, at least to a certain degree. Sites (1973), having much in common with the symbolic interactionists, emphasizes the reciprocity in social interaction. He points out that there is no one completely powerless. Those with a lot of power are restricted by the rules set up to enforce their superiority. They need to act in certain ways in order to maintain their position and the basis of legitimacy.

Sharp (1973, 1990) thinks along the same lines when he discusses sources of political power. He points out that the sources of a ruler’s power depend *intimately* upon the obedience and cooperation of the subject. The people may regard the ruler as illegitimate and his authority will become small. His power will ultimately disintegrate as people through withdrawal of cooperation may reduce the power of a disliked ruler. This way of thinking is at the very basis of political non-violent action. Mahatma Gandhi writes about “the immeasurable power of *ahimsa*” (= non-violence): “And it is wrong to say that a person is unarmed in the sense of being weak who has *ahimsa* as his weapon” (Gandhi in Iyer, 1986, Vol. II, p. 231).

Rapoport (1982) points out that political reality includes what men think it is. Man may perceive war as a normal stage in the relations among states; then he will prepare accordingly. On the other hand, man may think that peace is possible. UNESCO’s constitution declares that since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed (Adams, 1997, p. 26).

Smith (1997) writes that narratives provide “moral frames through which people can interpret social life” (p. 95). He gives examples that elucidate the role of mass media. Mass media spread narratives and may legitimize violence or illegitimize it. The perspective we get through them may be very one-sided, casting blame on some “enemy” or other.

Elias (1997) describes “a culture of violence,” claiming that violence has become a way of life. He writes about the United States but I recognize much of what he says as a part of Swedish culture as well. The overwhelming amount of violence in the news, and the visual entertainment from television and videos to films, teaches the children that violence is accepted as a means of solving problems. You only have to be on “the good side”. And who regards himself not to be? Elias writes:

“Violence has become an increasing part of our children’s play: it is in the cartoons and the other television programs they watch, in the movies they see, and in the computer games that now overwhelm so many of our households. But this violence is not play: it is neither appropriate as play in the first place, nor is it play when it makes us and our children more violent in our daily lives” (p. 120).

Elias clearly shows that the way of thinking applies to all levels. There is no barrier between the domestic and the global level. Thinking is consistent and has to be so to make the world view coherent (cf. Festinger’s theory of cognitive dissonance, 1968, footnote 40, p. 59). Elias mentions some assumptions behind the U.S.’s use of violence at home and abroad: (1) violence is considered natural and inevitable, (2) the U.S. and the men who run it are entitled to control, (3) violence is permissible because it helps achieve appropriate ends, (4) U.S. male aggressors are acting morally, (5) violence is effective, (6) suffering is predestined, not created (p. 130). (About television and violence see also Liebert & Sprafkin, 1988.)

7.2.3 Brock-Utne’s classification

Brock-Utne (1989, 1997) relates the micro and macro levels to the concepts negative and positive peace, where *positive peace* stands for absence of indirect violence and presence of social justice in accordance with Galtung’s (1969) terminology (p. 85 above), and *negative peace* refers to absence of personal physical and direct violence at the micro (individual) as well as the macro (collective) levels. As mentioned above, p. 79, Brock-Utne calls the micro-level violence *unorganized* and the macro-level violence *organized*. *Positive peace* refers to absence of violence causing shortened life span or reduced quality of life in spite of no physical or direct violence. It may relate to the micro (unorganized, individual) level as

well as the macro (organized, collective) level. Therefore we get a table of six cells (table 7.1).

In order to simplify the table, I will exclude the expression “absence of” which has to be repeated in every cell if the concepts are negative and positive peace as in Brock-Utne’s original writings. Let us therefore modify her table of the concepts of peace into one of the concepts of violence. Also, I equal “the unorganized level” with the micro level and “the organized level” with the macro level in the table. This is done in accordance with her writings but not with her table.

Table 7.1 Concepts of violence, direct and indirect, at the micro and macro levels (modification of Brock-Utne’s table on concepts of negative and positive peace, 1989, p. 47; 1997, p. 154).

	Personal, physical and <i>direct violence</i>	<i>Indirect violence</i>	
		shortening life span	reducing quality of life
Unorganized (micro level)	e.g. wife battering, rape, child abuse, street killing	inequalities in micro-structures, e.g., within homes, leading to unequal life chances	repression in micro-structures, leading to less freedom of choice and fulfilment
Organized (macro level)	war	economic structures in a country or between countries so that the life chances of some are reduced. Effects of pollution, radiation, etc.	repression in a country of free speech, the right to organize, etc.

The table’s six cells are logically independent of each other, Brock-Utne (1989, 1997) writes but in reality there are connections. Unorganized direct violence at the micro level is linked to organized structural violence at the macro level. One example given is that, according to research findings, women receive more beatings in periods of high unemployment (1997, p. 153).

Brock-Utne, who has studied the final documents from the UN Decade for Women conferences in Mexico, 1975, in Copenhagen, 1980 and in Nairobi, 1985, states that the concept of peace has gradually changed to in-

clude the absence of violence against women. The last one from Nairobi expresses a linking between the micro and macro levels, arguing that there is no peace as long as women are being beaten and mutilated (1997, p. 155).

7.2.4 Escalation of conflict

Escalation of conflict has a certain pattern, the core of which is applicable to all levels of conflict from the interpersonal to the global levels. Feelings of anger, fear, grief and distress are connected with behaviour, and these feelings provide the energy for escalation. There are other feelings also, such as frustration, hatred and wish for revenge. Furthermore, there may be wishes to dominate and to be in power or, probably more often, to prove to be “right” or to be “better”. At the centre there are endeavours to defend oneself (or one’s group) aiming at meeting basic needs, such as wishes to establish self-esteem or to provide for a safe future for oneself, one’s family or one’s identity group. These feelings and strivings occur within the individual but also within groups. They may be magnified by interaction within the groups and between them. (About relations between in-groups and out-groups, see Chapter 9.)

Let us look at the pattern of escalation of conflict, *applicable to all levels*, from the interpersonal to the global (international).

There is a problem, a conflict, between two or more parties. The first step up the escalator is taken when the issue is complicated by *personification*. Now the person (or group of persons) instead of, or as well as, the problem gets to the centre of the conflict. There are attacks and accusations and, as a consequence, defensive attitudes which fuel the escalation further. Suspicion of motives and characters of the other party occurs. Negative expectations are commonplace. Perceptions become biased and attitudes confirmed. We find that Cooper’s and Fazio’s expectancy/behaviour feedback loop will work, and so will Galtung’s conflict triangle (Chapter 5, p. 58 ff. above): conflict issues, attitudes and behaviour will interact, leading to mutual reinforcement and escalation of conflict. The intensity of negative feelings increases.

Expansion of conflict. This is described above on pp. 62-63.

Communication between the parties closed. Each party communicates with its own side and tries to gain support among old friends and from new groups but closes contact with the other side. Alliances stand against each other. There is little listening to arguments and explanations expressed by the other side. Empathy disappears. Scapegoats are selected and persecuted.

Polarization. Physical segregation. The enemy image is there (e.g., Wahlström, 1989, 1991b). Our side stands for all that is good and the other side for the evil. Parties may try to close contact completely. This may be difficult in certain circumstances, as within a family, at work, in the global community. There may be divorce, or the job is given up. The diplomatic contacts may be broken off, economic and trade blockades undertaken etc. Feelings of revenge often prevail. It is difficult to work for understanding and peace. To express the other side's perspectives means an disloyal act to the point of treachery.

Open hostility, attacks and counterattacks may occur at any stage of escalation. The degree of hostility escalates. We get psychological and physical hostility: at the micro level bullying and at the macro level war.

Intensification may occur within each one of these steps of escalation. So, for instance, personification, with its accusations, will lead to scapegoating and ultimately to enemy images at the top of the ladder. Formation of alliances and expansion of issues may continue after there is physical segregation.

Actions can be taken to prevent escalation. Let us now turn to these.

7.2.5 De-escalation of conflict

There is a similarity of actions that are taken in order to resolve⁴⁷ conflicts at all levels. This includes interventions to prevent them from turning destructive. As we will see, in many respects the same kind of thinking can be applied regarding conflicts at all levels. Actions are related to frame of thinking (paradigm) and attitudes.

⁴⁷ *Resolve* is important as what is here put forward applies to resolution, not to regulation.

Thinking about *causes* of conflicts is a starting point. This study has to a large extent been built on Human Needs Theory (HNT), which applies the same way of thinking to destructive conflicts at the micro as well as at the macro level: If basic human needs are not satisfied, people will strive to meet them. According to Burton (1979, p. 76), needs are satisfied by either deviant or pathological behaviour when other means prove to be futile. Deterrence does not work when unmet needs are strong enough (see pp. 47–48 above).

It is worth emphasizing that one of the fundamental ideas of HNT is that the parties may find solutions that meet everybody's needs by exploring these needs rather than stating positions (and making ends out of strategic goals). Unlike material resources (to satisfy material needs) security, esteem/identity/dignity and meaning are not in short supply. This gives opportunities for solution. About conflict resolution as a problem-solving process, see above on pp. 70–72.

HNT's usefulness in dealing with macro-level conflicts has been demonstrated in problem-solving workshops. An example — work on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict — is given by Kelman (1990). (Cf. p. 54 above.)

In her work with homeless Americans in a city and with poor peasants and Indians in the countryside in Mexico, Rader (1990) has experienced that human needs are interrelated and non-separable. Her paper is a demonstration of the interrelatedness between the micro and the macro levels. Poverty is often the result of structural violence at the macro level suffered at the personal level. Identity needs are experienced at the personal, group and national levels⁴⁸. They are thwarted in conditions of oppression and deprivation of material resources where dignity and autonomy are undermined. (Cf. p. 55 above.)

Within the frame of explanation borrowed from HNT, Rubenstein (1990) considers thwarting individual and group identity as a cause of war and also of riots, police violence, terrorism and communal violence.

Gandhi, a practitioner and theorist, also points to the links between the levels. The following quotation is taken from a context where Gandhi replies to an opponent who thinks that he is “grouping identities” when he should take up “the larger mission of uniting the world”:

⁴⁸ Regarding the connection between individual identity and social identity, see Chapter 9, pp. 112–113 below.

“And if we can only serve our immediate neighbours by ceasing to prey upon them, the circle of unities thus grouped in the right fashion will ever grow in circumference till at last it is co-terminus with that of the whole world. More than that it is not given to any man to try or achieve. *Yatha pinde, tatha brahmande* (as with the body, so with the universe) is as true today as ages ago when it was first uttered by an unknown *rishi*” (Gandhi, 1920, in Iyer, 1986, Vol. I, p. 45).

Gandhi was deeply religious in the sense that he lived his religion. Religion and ethics connect the micro level with the macro as well as the worldly with the transcendental. This was exceptionally clear in Gandhi’s thinking and life. He rejected division of life into compartments. One of his fundamental thoughts was that of *unity of life*. If all life is one, as he said (in Iyer, 1986, Vol. II, p. 90), this means caring greatly for all life, at all levels, always.

Now, let us look at some of the suggested ways of dealing with conflicts in order to de-escalate them with the aim of resolving them and, *in doing so, let us imagine whether these ways may be applicable to interpersonal, inter-group, inter-organizational, international and global conflicts*. I maintain that they are and refrain from giving examples as this is hardly necessary.

Analyse the problem: Question assumptions. Problem-solving frequently requires a change in conceptualization of the problem, Burton says (1990a). Take the perspective of the other side as well as your own and use your empathy (Cornelius & Faire, 1989; Fisher, Ury & Patton, 1991; Rosenberg, 1999).

The problem has to be solved in the context of each party’s perspective (Burton, 1990a) which may change during the course of time and negotiations. However, it is always valid.

Separate the people from the problem (Fisher, Ury & Patton, 1991; above, p. 72). Do not personalize. “People” here may mean one person or groups of persons, or even nations. Gandhi talked about the evildoer and the deed. The evil-doer is our brother or sister. It is the *deed* we may condemn. When we do separate the person from the act, feelings of revenge will disappear. Escalation may be stopped. Communication will be kept up. When isolation and segregation are not allowed as a means to deal with conflict, again escalation is stopped and de-escalation may occur.

Focus on needs and interests, not positions. In other words, look behind stated positions for what is really needed, basic human needs — yours and those of the other side (HNT and Fisher, Ury & Patton, 1991; above, p. 72). Don't thwart these needs, such as needs for physical and mental security, recognition, self-esteem, identity (also group identity), meaning etc. Thinking along these lines, you will find that "saving face" is legitimate and has to be taken into consideration.

Do not confuse means (tactics) with goals and keep to the goals (Burton, 1990a; p. 71 above).

Utilize communicative skills. Ury (1993) advises us to resist our own "natural reaction" to attack, yield or withdraw and recommends us to "go to the balcony" to regain balance before deciding what approach to take and what to do (p. 73 above). Examples of communicative skills are active listening, affirmation of the speaker and taking the other's perspective. Ury (1993) advances the expression "stepping to their side". Cornelius' and Faire's (1989) recommendations are: Use I-statements (=I-messages) instead of negative you-statements, avoid communication killers and barriers, express your needs, fears and concerns and try to find out what are those of the other side, and do not blame or demand (above, pp. 74-75). Non-violent communication (Rosenberg, 1999) includes the same constituents. Some more are added: distinguish between your thoughts, opinions and feelings, connect your feelings to your needs, do not judge, evaluate, label, diagnose or punish your counterpart but use compassion and see the human being in him/her (see above pp. 75-76).

Generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do (Fisher, Ury & Patton, 1991). Avoid looking at the conflict as a contest where you push your wishes to "win". You have a common problem that needs to be solved in a way that meets deeply felt needs and interests of both sides. Cornelius and Faire (1989) write: Be partners, not opponents. A "win-win approach" is needed to reach a lasting resolution. You are partners in finding options to choose from. Burton (1990a) emphasizes that the solution is the product of analysis.

Insist that the result be based on some objective standard (Fisher, Ury & Patton, 1991). Objective criteria should apply to both sides. Put yourself in the position of the other side: Is it fair? If you had been the other party, would you have been content? The aim is to reach a mutually acceptable

outcome. Ury (1993, p. 247) asks us to “build them a golden bridge” (above, p. 73).

The authors mentioned here regard their recommendations as applicable at the macro level as well as the micro.

Commentary. Perhaps most people regard these skills as appropriate in dealing with interpersonal conflicts, and maybe inter-group conflicts as well, but not with international ones. However, I believe, agreeing with Burton and others, that in negotiations and in dealing with “the other side” in a conflict these skills are needed to avoid escalation. *It is not a question of technical tools but of attitudes and of ways of thinking.*

Not only the negotiators and the leaders will benefit from the way of thinking that is advocated here, but also those groups of people who have to accept the outcome of the negotiations and *afterwards live in constant interaction* with each other. As Burton (1990a) points out, the solution is not an end-product. “It establishes another set of relationships that contains its own set of problems” (p. 202). This is what makes Galtung (1996) talk of transformation of conflict rather than resolution (above, p. 66).

The way of thinking mentioned above will be helpful in searching for a settlement (short-term with great risk of continued deep conflict) or — which is preferred of course — resolution (long-term). A resolution is more likely if people look upon the conflict as a problem to solve together instead of a contest to win. Even if needs cannot be fully gratified, people will be more content when *the process* has been such that they have been acknowledged and they have participated in reaching the solution. This applies to all levels, whether the conflict is interpersonal, inter-group, national or international.

It is extremely important that people learn to stand up for their values and are not misled by propaganda, group pressure and “groupthink” (Janis, 1972 above, p. 63). Furthermore, they (we) must not allow bad leaders⁴⁹ to come to power. This applies to all levels. At the local level obedience and conformity are related to group influence and at the global level to group influence as well as war propaganda. It is a question of responsibility for our actions, something highly relevant at all levels. Here lies an important task of education at school.

⁴⁹ Here the expression “bad leaders” stands for violent, oppressive leaders, relentlessly searching to dominate.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed connections between the micro and macro levels from two different perspectives. Rubin and Levinger have emphasized the dissimilarities between the international level and the interpersonal one, whereas Turpin, Kurtz and others have emphasized the similarities from the point of view of causes of conflict, consequences and solutions. This latter perspective is consistent with HNT and the paradigm that I have here called “emerging”.

There are some major differences between international conflicts and conflicts at lower levels: (1) The former involve a larger amount of people and issues and are therefore, naturally, more complex; (2) the history of conflict is often longer at the macro level than for individuals and most groups; (3) there is a weak jurisdiction at the international level; (4) at a national and international level there is the so-called bureaucratic-military-industrial complex which refers to the national (and trans-national) military organizations and to bureaucracies linked to business interests. I think I can add to these points: (5) Negative leaders are more common in conflicts at the macro than at the micro level — thus obedience to such leaders is a problem, and fear may be greater at this level; (6) greed is more common as a cause of a conflict at the macro than the micro level.

These differences notwithstanding, here I have taken the position that the micro and macro levels are in many ways closely interconnected. This can be shown in different fields. Violence — deprivation of needs — at one level will frequently affect the other level.

Moreover, the causes of violence at different levels are often similar. We find inequality, oppression and injustice. Basic human needs are threatened or unfulfilled. This has implications at all levels, giving rise to a spiral of escalating violence. Escalation and de-escalation of conflict at different levels have much in common.

Our way of thinking affects all levels. The thinking — the ideology — is coherent: if we believe in violent solutions, we tend to do so at all levels; if we advocate non-violent solutions, dealing with causes, we tend to do so at all levels. Our needs, concerns and fears are important in the process and so is the cultural climate in which we live. Human beings and groups are

responsible for the social norms developed. People's ways of thinking determine the organizations, bureaucracies and industries. Systems may be changed. The main obstacle is probably our collective feeling of powerlessness. There is little doubt that the structures and norms of society are important to the life of the individual. It is all the more important that we do not allow society to develop as a result of blind forces beyond our control.

8 Approaches to Conflict

It is not within the scope of this study to discuss conflict theory in any depth. However, I will briefly compare three approaches to conflict, taking writings by B. Hettne (1990) and A. J. R. Groom (1990) as a starting point. Both are scholars dealing with international relations, one working in Sweden, the other one at Canterbury in England. Groom, the Director of the Centre for the Analysis of Conflict, begins his article by considering international relations and ends it by comparing approaches to dealing with conflict.

The two authors refer to three paradigms⁵⁰, which are: (1) the “realist,” or anarchy approach (Groom and Hettne respectively); (2) the world society approach (Groom and Hettne); and (3) the “structuralist” approach (Groom) or the world system approach (Hettne). The authors’ categorizations prove to be compatible although their terminology differs somewhat.

Let us first take a look at the different approaches one by one — as they are described by Groom and Hettne — then compare them, referring to Groom’s analysis. Finally I shall try to make a pragmatic synthesis and compare only two paradigms of thinking instead of three, although a dichotomy may give an impression of very rigid boundaries, whilst in reality one cannot compartmentalize.

Three approaches

1) *The realist or anarchy approach.* We recognize this approach as related to the power paradigm⁵¹. I have briefly mentioned it above on p. 45,

⁵⁰ Groom’s (1990) article is called “Paradigms in Conflict: The Strategist, the Conflict Researcher and the Peace Researcher”. The author relates his choice of approaches to conflict — *the “realist” approach, the “world society” approach and the “structuralist” approach* — to the types of researchers mentioned in the above order.

Hettne (1990) stresses the need to look at the world from different perspectives. He uses the paradigm concept in much the same way as I have done in this study: a /world/ view which determines the choice of theories and their interpretation. His different paradigms are: *the anarchy* (often called “the power realistic”) *paradigm, the world society paradigm and the world system paradigm* .

The monograph by Hettne (1990) referred to here is in Swedish and the translations are mine.

⁵¹ The Swedish peace researcher Wallensteen (1994) refers to this paradigm as “*the rational actors’ perspective*”.

referring to Hobbes (1651), Clausewitz (1832) and Morgenthau (1948, 1967). Both Hobbes and Morgenthau take as a starting point the idea of a human instinct of domination. Clausewitz sees two motives leading men to war: “instinctive hostility” and “hostile intention”. There is an instinct of hostility, but at the same time war is an intelligent act. It is an instrument of the political will. Groom and Hettne both refer to Morgenthau and his influential work *Politics among Nations*.

The international system is made up of relations between established sovereign states. They are conceived to be well integrated internally and act externally as clearly defined units. The primary concern is power and the national interest is defined as power. Coercion, threats and violent force are employed. Deterrence is highly ranked in stopping the other party/parties — seen as adversaries — from using *their* power. Thus, balance of power is an important concept (Morgenthau has discussed it in detail and taken a stand for it as a necessity). It is supposed to be the means of achieving and, hopefully, maintaining peace. Peace is regarded in the restricted sense as meaning not war. Resources are considered to be in short supply. The most powerful party tries to get what it wants in terms of win-lose (also called zero-sum): that which, in competition, one will gain, the other will lose. Settlement is trusted more than resolution.

Hettne takes up criticism that has been levied on the paradigm and describes some changes in the “neo-realistic school”. As a result of changes in global society, the neo-realists accept that there are other actors in the international system, yet the states are still the most important ones, and assumptions are not radically changed. The state is the unit of analysis as before, but nowadays there are other goals in addition to that of security, which was fundamental to the classical realist school, he says. Economy is also considered. The combination of goals of security and welfare should be at an optimal level. The neo-realists see the international system as causing the behaviour of states. There may be hegemony, a bi-polar system or a balance of power where three or more states are involved.

2) *The world society approach.* In describing this approach, Groom writes that systems of transactions transcend state boundaries and there is no real cohesiveness within states. Therefore, taking the nation state as the unit of analysis is not relevant. Within this paradigm man is not regarded

The monograph by Wallensteen (1994) referred to here is in Swedish and the translations are mine.

as aggressive by instinct. Thus aggressive behaviour at all levels results from other factors: a learnt response in certain conditions, a response which depends upon environment. Peace in the sense of being more than mere absence of overt violence is therefore possible.

Hettne observes that world society is described as a web with threads linking different international actors, some trans-national and some sub-national. There are companies, political parties and other organizations such as NGOs (nongovernmental organizations). Ethnic movements are sub-national, but often with links across borders. Ecological and peace movements are taken as examples. The world society approach is advanced in Burton's earlier works, among them *World Society* (Burton, 1972). One important aspect is global interdependence. The economic integration has been much more developed than the political one, Hettne writes, drawing attention to the fact that there is "no real theory of world economy existing as yet" (Hettne, 1990, p. 25).

This means that the globe is regarded as a system as in our third category (below). There are structural-functionalists and general system theorists, but Groom and Hettne both refer to Burton.⁵² As we have seen, Burton developed Human Needs Theory (HNT). Groom (1990, p. 76) explains how Burton's position was "an escape from those institutional values that have permeated thinking about international relations. Politics was about structures ... and people were thus seen as the temporary guardians of the structure and made important essentially by their role in that structure or as part and parcel of it". He points out that Burton had been one of the pioneers of the world society framework. In his more recent works Burton placed the individual as the unit of analysis and the starting point. This was "something of an innovation" (p. 76).

3) The "structuralist" or the world system approach. The world system is structured vertically: there are top-dogs and underdogs in international

⁵² In his monograph *Från krig till fred: Om konfliktlösning i det globala systemet* [From war to peace: About conflict resolution in the global system] Wallensteen's (1994) perspective is confined to dealing with conflicts. His categorization is therefore not completely compatible with Groom's and Hettne's. However, there are similarities. Wallensteen, who advances three approaches to conflicts and their management, one of which is "the rational actors' perspective," takes Burton's approach about needs that are frustrated as the third one, whereas Galtung's perspective is taken as the second, called the dynamic approach to conflicts.

relations. One may also refer to the system as one of centres and peripheries where there is asymmetry of power (Hettne).

Groom, like Hettne, refers to Hobson and Lenin and their views on imperialism. Groom (1990, p. 80) states that until recently the advocacy of structuralism “was a passport to exclusion from the mainstream in the Western study of International Relations”.

However, other streams of thought developed, e.g. the theory of dependency in Latin America. The international economic division of labour is considered the most important obstacle to development (Hettne). There are countries at the centre and at the periphery. The former exploit the latter, previously through colonialism, now through neo-colonialism where rules and systems of trade are important.

Both Groom and Hettne take Galtung as the main proponent of the structuralist or world system approach. Violence is built into the structure and people are oppressed by the system rather than by actors who may be identified.

Groom (1990, p. 94) differentiates between two types of structuralists, namely “the constructivist” and “the critic neo-Marxian” peace researcher. The former, like the proponent of the world society approach, sees peace as the “absence of physical and structural violence” whereas the critic sees peace as the “absence of structural violence but not necessarily of physical violence”. It is obvious that Galtung belongs to the “constructivists,” advocating social transformation (Galtung, 1996).

Groom’s comparison of the approaches in relation to conflict

Groom relates the three approaches of the realist, world society and structuralist to three categories of researchers: “the strategist,” “the conflict researcher” and “the peace researcher” respectively. [However, I shall refrain from referring to “peace researchers” in this specific sense and rather keep to “structuralist”.] The following is taken from his writings (Groom, 1990, pp. 71–98).

Conflict as an objective or subjective phenomenon. Like the strategists, the structuralists argue that conflict is an objective phenomenon in the sense that it emerges from a real clash of interests.

The conflict researcher, on the other hand, regards conflicts as subjective in the sense that the perceptions of the actors are important and that these can be changed during the process. Dealing with conflict is not a

zero-sum game and the reasons for this are as follows: The parties can change their goals. At least theoretically, the importance of one value, in terms of other actual or potential values, is always subject to reassessment. In contrast to the strategist, the conflict researcher finds long-term conflict resolution not as an impossible dream, *especially not moves in that direction* (italics added, indicating that the position is not all or none, thus no compartmentalization). The reasons for this lie on two levels: One is rational decision making where the totality of goals is considered. There may be trading to minimize the costs on both sides and “maximize the wants”. However, power politics may give rise to a response leading to failure. Then there is another opportunity: “Basic social needs are not necessarily in short supply” (Groom, 1990, p. 88). Values mentioned are security, identity, participation, and esteem: “...all actors can partake of them to their full satisfaction. In many circumstances today not all actors are able to do so, but there is no immutable barrier to their doing so. The sense of identity — individual, ethnic, racial or whatever — of one man need not necessarily be at the expense of another although, lamentably, it often is in today’s world and it gives rise to complex protracted conflicts”.

This is where the conflict researcher comes into the picture, providing the supportive framework. Techniques are developed for this purpose. (Chapters 4 and 6.) Negotiations employed by the strategist are radically different from the ones advocated by the conflict researcher.

Settlement vs. regulation. The strategist, Groom says, because of his assumption of a ubiquitous drive to dominate, or the prevalence of power politics, cannot envisage anything other than settlement or stalemate of a conflict. Deterrence or coercion is employed by the victor or a third party who takes sides. This is in contrast to the conflict researcher who argues that “the resolution of conflict is, in theory, possible even though in practice men may need to be restrained in particular circumstances. By resolution is meant a situation in which relationships between the parties are legitimized and self-sustaining without the intervention of third parties and without the imposition of behavioral patterns” (Groom, 1990, p. 89).

Similarities between the strategist’s and the conflict researcher’s views. The two approaches regard *actors* to be at play and assume that *decision making* of the parties in dispute (conflict) is rational in the sense that in the minds of the actors there are some criteria by which goals are set and poli-

cies adopted for their achievement. In other words, the actors behave in a purposeful way, their acts being neither random nor predestined.

The asymmetry of conflict. The structuralist argues that in asymmetric conflict the analyst and activist should side with the underdog in order to empower that party to overthrow the oppressive structures that are benefiting the top dog. The strategist sides with the top dog to maintain the status quo. The conflict researcher, thinking he⁵³ can best help solve the problem by being non-partisan, takes no side. Therefore he is accused of being an unwitting tool of the status quo. His approach is to make the parties symmetrical, Groom writes. The idea is to look at the conflict as a problem and treat the parties without bias, using the tools of conflict resolution.

Similarities between the structuralist's and the strategist's views. Like the strategist, the structuralist argues that *conflict is an objective phenomenon* — emerging from a real clash of real interests rather than from a perceived clash. Destruction of oppressive structures is the goal and this implies win-lose, zero-sum. The structuralist does not attempt to increase behavioural or attitudinal integration. On the contrary, Groom states, he seeks to polarize conflict and to make it manifest. The difference between the strategist and the structuralist lies in their values. The strategist, supporting the status quo and the top dogs, is opposed by the structuralist who, as mentioned, takes a stand for the underdogs. In cases where the structuralist is prepared to use force (the critic view according to the above mentioned terminology) to reduce structural violence, he will be on the other side of the barricade from the strategist but their way of thinking in terms of power and force will be very similar.

Discussion of the three approaches and an attempt at a pragmatic synthesis of the views of the conflict researcher and the structuralist

Wallensteen (1994, p. 38) writes that Burton emphasizes the individual, “not primarily the demand for change of society”. Such an impression may be given, considering that the conflict researcher (by Groom’s terminology) prefers to take a non-partisan stand in conflicts with the aim of supporting the parties in reaching a resolution. However, Burton repeatedly states that meeting basic human needs should be regarded as the navigation

⁵³ For the sake of convenience only the male pronoun is used but it refers to both sexes.

or reference point in building a good society. We would have a firm basis from which to evaluate policies, he says, provided that the needs are universal (cf. p. 49 above). The aim, no doubt, is to build a society where to the highest possible degree human beings have their needs fulfilled. Therefore, I cannot agree with Wallensteen's proposition. A change of society to make it less violent (satisfying basic human needs) is the goal.

Above, I mentioned that the constructivist structuralists and conflict researchers have the same aim of attaining absence of physical as well as structural violence. I think it is possible to make a pragmatic synthesis between these approaches and that it fits well into HNT. Though warning of misuse, Galtung regards a basic needs approach favourably, provided conflict theories are added (cf. above, pp. 52-53).

To my mind, it does not imply a contradiction to hold the two views — that of HNT (the conflict researcher) and of the constructivist — simultaneously, although different actors in different situations will take different stands for action: siding with the oppressed party *or* taking part as a non-partisan mediator with the aim of attaining a resolution to the highest possible degree, looking after the needs of the oppressed as well as the oppressor. Settlements are not good enough since violence will usually continue in one way or another. Therefore the oppressed party will benefit from professional non-partisan help in resolving the conflict.

Also, I believe that in different situations one has to take a decision *and choose* what is best to do. There are possibilities of *non-violent action*, taking the side of the oppressed, as is shown in Chapter 6, pp. 66–70. Gandhi said that the action has to be goal-revealing, i.e., consistent with the aim (p. 68 above). Sharp (pp. 68–70 above) points out that training is needed if non-violent action is to be trusted [people need to feel secure]. Non-violent defence at a community level should therefore be established.

One hears criticism of Burton's approach that it is "unrealistic" in a world largely governed by the power paradigm. Groom writes that in the conflict researcher's view there is an idea of a continuum between a pole of power and a pole of legitimacy. When the transactions are acceptable (without coercion, either overt, structural or latent) to the parties, then they are at the pole of legitimacy. The agreement may also end up further towards the pole of power [in spite of attempts to reach resolution]. This imagined continuum means that there is no clear distinction between an agreement where coercion is used and one where it is not used, but the aim

is to come as close to the pole of legitimacy as possible. Within the power paradigm, such a continuum is not conceived. The realists view all politics as being necessarily power politics (Morgenthau). Thereby the strategists limit themselves unnecessarily, Groom says.

I believe that the way of thinking that HNT stands for is worth adopting, but one can not expect always to attain resolution in the sense that all parties get their needs met. Each type of situation will demand a choice. Of course we have to keep police forces and stop people from hurting themselves and other people (and animals). However, we may do as Gandhi and others have said, distinguish between the person and the bad (evil) act, which means that criminals are also to be treated with respect.

Having made my point clear that there is a possible synthesis between the structuralist (constructivist) approach and HNT with supplementation from Gandhian thinking and that the power paradigm cannot be completely rejected in all situations, I think there is time to venture to compare the power paradigm with a new, emerging one similar to Burton's Set B (1986). I believe that even when power has to be used to stop violent behaviour, the thinking made evident by the emerging paradigm is quite possible. Furthermore, this approach is necessary in order to make a change very much needed. Groom's view — expressed in his writing about the approach of the conflict researcher — avoids compartmentalization and I agree with it. The situation on our globe is such that a new way of thinking and acting is necessary. The traditional paradigm of power has proved to be inadequate, as the consequences of its prevalent use have been disastrous and the situation on the globe today is such that people suffer from all sorts of violence — direct, structural, manifest and latent. I venture to call the paradigm advocated here “new” or “emerging” in spite of the fact that this thinking goes back to old thoughts in most cultures and religions.

Comparison between the power paradigm of the strategist and a new, emerging paradigm

Power is regarded by the strategist/realist as power *over*, not power *to* or power *with* as in the new paradigm. *Negotiations* of the strategist take the form of bargaining in which power confrontations often are of great importance. Mediators may use threats and coercion and they regularly make proposals for solutions. The parties declare their positions, bargain and make compromises without looking into deeper underlying social-

psychological motives, the aim being to “win” as much as possible. As we have seen above, HNT advocates a different method. This lies within the new paradigm. In the power paradigm tactics and goals are often mixed. According to the emerging paradigm they are kept separate.

The other party is viewed quite differently in the two paradigms. Within the power paradigm the other party is regarded as an opponent, an adversary and someone not to be trusted. Within the new paradigm conflict is viewed as an opportunity for growth and the specific conflict as a problem that the parties have come to solve together. In this they are partners, not opponents. They behave in such a way as to increase trust. Therefore they work openly, trying to communicate with the other party.

The perspective of authority is different in the two paradigms. Within the power paradigm power is regarded as coming from very few people. Authorities owe their legitimacy to effective control and foreign recognition, their role being to preserve the institutions and values of society. Within the new paradigm, the role of authorities is to manage relationships so that human needs are satisfied (Burton, 1986). Power is seen as arising continually from many parts of society. No one is completely powerless, as there is reciprocity in interaction. Those in authority need to consider their subjects: cooperation may be withdrawn (Sites, Sharp and Gandhi; cf. above, Chapters 3, pp. 41-42 and 6, pp. 67–70). Finally, in the new paradigm “the role of authorities is to manage relationships so that human needs are satisfied” (Burton, 1986, p. 112).

In the power paradigm the end justifies the means. This is not accepted in Gandhian philosophy. Our duty is to look after the means. Means should be consistent with the goal. The law for humanity is love (Gandhi in Iyer, 1986–1987).

Burton (1986) has compared the two paradigms which he calls Set A and Set B, the former standing for the power paradigm, the latter for an alternative way of thinking, Human Needs Theory. I have built on this idea and developed my own table - here below - where I refer to the texts cited in this study. In the table the first edition of the references is given. An exception is made when there is a quotation.

Here follows a comparison between the power paradigm and the new, emerging paradigm regarding violence prevention and conflict resolution. HNT = Human Needs Theory:

	<i>The power paradigm</i>	<i>The emerging paradigm</i>
<i>View of conflicts</i>	Conflicts are negative, bad. They should be avoided as far as possible	Conflicts are necessary for growth and life. They are inevitable and <i>potentially</i> good. They give <i>opportunity</i> for change and growth of <i>all</i> parties. Destructive <i>handling</i> of conflict is to be avoided.
<i>Unit of analysis</i>	Structures and institutions are the appropriate units of analysis, explaining political phenomena (Burton about the paradigm, 1986).	The individual and the identity group are the units of analysis. This applies to all levels. Conflicts at the micro and macro levels have many things in common. They are handled in accordance with the same principles (HNT).
<i>Problem of conflicts</i>	Human aggressiveness and scarcity of resources. According to some (Clausewitz, 1832; Hobbes, 1651; Lorenz, 1963; Morgenthau, 1948, 1967), there is an inherent aggressive instinct or drive for power (and dominance) for its own sake. Others, more modern proponents of this paradigm, believe that scarcity of resources together with aggressiveness is the problem.	The core of the problem is <i>not</i> human aggressiveness (cf. Fromm, 1973). "Humans maximize their goals by responding to the environment to the best of their abilities within limits imposed by structural conditions and knowledge of possible options open" (Burton about Set B, 1986, p. 111). Often scarcity of resources is an issue but there are basic needs such as needs for security, recognition, belonging, participation, stimulation and meaning, the gratification of which makes supply increase. This happens when human relations are improved. Herein lies the opportunity for win-win solutions (HNT).
<i>Focus</i>	Positions are stated. Declared issues are those on which settlement is sought, sometimes as a compromise.	<i>Underlying</i> needs, values and concerns are sought through analysis. The analysis, performed together with the other party, will lead to formulation of options.
<i>Aim</i>	The aim is to win the conflict	The aim is that all parties' needs are

which is win-lose (zero-sum) in its out-come as there is scarcity of resources; what one wins the other loses.

met, win-win. Conflicts have potentially positive sum outcomes. The challenge is to achieve these. There are immaterial needs of no short supply (see above). Both sides' gratification of needs may grow simultaneously, e.g., security, love, self-esteem and belonging.

Power
(see further below authority and political power)

Outcome is based on power. There is a struggle for power. (Morgenthau, 1948, 1967.) Conflicts are settled by relative power and/or by application of legal norms. Use of power is effective.

The balance of power is decisive to the outcome. Balance of power is *necessary* at the macro level (Morgenthau, 1948, 1967).

There is no alternative. Power is regarded in terms of power *over* (domination).

Outcome is based on objective standards, also legal norms (Fisher & Ury, 1981). Conflicts are settled but not resolved by coercion/use of power. Thwarting needs leads to conflicts, disintegration, unhealthiness. Use of power (=domination) is not effective for *resolution* of conflict.

There are *alternatives to politics based on balance of power*. These should be developed. Power is used *in favour of* reaching a mutual aim with the other party. Power is regarded in terms of power *to* as well as power *with* and power *over one-self*; self-control (Gandhi in Iyer, 1986-1987, e.g., in Vol. II, pp. 231– 232).

View on deterrence, threat and coercion

Defence builds on the idea of deterrence and threat, not primarily on trust and goodwill.

Deterrence, threat and coercion are not effective when basic human needs are at stake. Threat and coercion may easily be counterproductive by reducing trust (Gandhi; HNT). This applies to all levels.

View on the other party

The other party is looked upon as *adversary* or enemy. The problem is often not separated from the person or group of persons viewed as the adversary.

Parties are looked upon as *partners* in solving the conflict. The problem is separated from the person or group of persons viewed as the other party (Fisher & Ury, 1981).

Relations between the parties

One's own party is subject, the other party is object. Responsibility may be placed on the other party (Vindeløv, 1997, p. 473).

Interrelation between subjects. Responsibility lies with both parties (Vindeløv, 1997, p. 473).

<i>Contact with the other party</i>	<p>Contact with the other party is allowed to be closed <i>or</i> used for pressure. Ury, (1993, p. 130–131) writes about the “power game”: “you switch from listening and acknowledging to threatening, from reframing the other side’s position to insisting on your own, and from building the golden bridge to forcing them down the gangplank. You use all your power to force them to do what you want them to do...”. Closure of contact leads to polarization, which is accepted.</p>	<p>Contact with the other party should be maintained, the problem and the person/group/party should be separated and the other party always treated with respect. Polarization is not accepted (e.g., Fisher & Ury, 1981; Gandhi).</p>
<i>Process</i>	<p>The process is one of <i>settlement</i> or <i>regulation</i> (although resolution would have been preferred). Methods used are courts’ verdicts, arbitration and mediation where the mediator makes suggestions for compromise or conciliation.</p> <p>Coercion is often used. Negotiation is in the form of bargaining where power confrontation is generally of great importance. Positions are declared from the start. Under lying needs are not in focus – the other side may well be allowed to lose face; in fact, it is seen an advantage in the “power game”.</p>	<p>The process is one of <i>resolution</i>: The <i>assumptions</i> are questioned (HNT). The <i>mediator</i> works as an impartial facilitator (or a group of them). He/she/they do not make suggestions on solution but assist the parties in joint <i>problem-solving</i> by facilitating dialogue and creative search for alternative options that aim at meeting all parties’ needs and interests. The other side is not allowed to lose face (HNT).</p> <p>The <i>perspective</i> of the parties is at the centre. Solution is never forced upon the parties. Status and power may be of no help. Power is used to educate, not force (HNT; Ury, 1991).</p>
	<p>Tactics and goals are allowed to be mixed.</p>	<p>Tactics and goals should be kept separate (HNT).</p>
<i>Solution</i>	<p>Settlement may be forced upon the other party. Short-term solution is accepted.</p>	<p>Long-term solution is the aim. Short-term solution is not accepted.</p>
<i>Authority</i>	<p>Up-down perspective. “Authorities have a right to expect obedience and others a duty to obey” (Burton about Set A, 1986, p.</p>	<p>Down-up perspective. “Authority finally rests on values attached to relationships between authorities and those over whom authority is</p>

	112).	exercised” (Burton about Set B, 1986, 112).
<i>The nature of political power</i>	<p>People are dependent on the decisions, support and good will of their government or of any other hierarchical system to which they belong. Power is emitted from the few.</p> <p>“Authorities owe their legitimacy to effective control and foreign recognition” (Burton about Set A, 1986, p. 112).</p>	<p>Power arises continually from many parts of society. No one is completely powerless, as there is reciprocity in interaction. Those in authority need to consider the subjects. Furthermore, those in power rely on others to obey and cooperate. Cooperation may be withdrawn. (Burton about Set B, 1986, p. 112; Sharp, 1973; Sites, 1973.)</p>
<i>The role of authorities</i>	<p>“The role of authorities is to preserve the institutions and values of society” (Burton about Set A, 1986, p. 112).</p>	<p>“The role of authorities is to manage relationships so that human needs are satisfied” (Burton about Set B, 1986, p. 112).</p>

9 Socialization and Group Influence

As mentioned in Chapter 5 (p. 65), Deutsch (1973) classifies three processes working in the course of escalation, one of which is *commitment arising out of pressures for cognitive and social consistency*. We will now deal with some mechanisms closely related to this process, starting with development of ethnic prejudice and rise of ethnic conflict, and continuing with learning from modelling. Obedience and conformity are also important phenomena, the role of which is of great importance at the macro as well as the micro level. Obedience to negative leaders at all levels constitutes a problem that calls for attention in education. Conformity in society is a necessity but also a risk, as we may conform to violent patterns of behaviour. This becomes clear in the currently very familiar problem of bullying, some social-psychological aspects of which we will deal with here.

9.1 Ethnic prejudice

It is well-known that prejudice against minorities, ethnic and others, is a problem in schools and society at large. So is ethnocentrism when it leads to feelings of superiority. Understanding some mechanisms behind prejudice may help us deal with it.

Escalation of conflict is likely to occur when in-groups feel threatened. It may be regarding basic human needs or cherished values. Thinking in terms of “we” and “they” constitutes a further mechanism of escalation.

In his standard work *The Nature of Prejudice* Allport (1954) emphasizes that there are many different causes of ethnic prejudice. He brings to light a number of important social-psychological aspects.

Allport explains the development of prejudice. He distinguishes it from prejudgement: “We cannot handle each event freshly, in its own right,” he says. “If we did so, of what use would past experience be?” (p. 20). Classes and categories are formed for guiding daily living. Once formed, they are the basis for prejudgement. Often when forming an opinion, we are ignorant of the facts. Problems arise when we disregard evidence and do not correct ourselves accordingly. Irrational categories or prejudice are probably formed more easily than rational ones owing to intense emotional feelings, Allport observes.

Categories are sometimes formed in such a way that they contradict facts. Allport calls it “*refencing*” when, in the face of much contradictory evidence, we cling to our prejudgements which then become prejudices by allowing for exceptions. So, for instance, if a person with a strong bias towards a certain category of people is confronted with evidence favourable to that category, he or she makes up an exception in order to justify and hold on to the old way of thinking (cf. pp. 61-62).

Our way of classifying phenomena into categories is helpful in making our view of the world consistent. We recall Festinger’s (1968) theory on cognitive dissonance. We need consistency and shun inconsistency. It is important for us to understand. We search for explanations. Our cultures supply many of the answers. We are socialized into attitudes. Children learn prejudice from adults “through example and short-cut dicta” (Allport, 1954, p. 95). (See further about modelling below.)

Ethnocentricity may be defined as a disposition towards judging and interpreting other cultures from the perspective of one’s own. Allport points out that the familiar is preferred to the alien. Even though one’s own culture and way of thinking may be regarded as superior, there is not necessarily hostility towards what is different. Prejudiced attitudes are partly based on the need to conform to custom, thereby maintaining the cultural pattern, he says. A need for greater personal security or a need to feel part of the group may underlie the drive for conformity.

Individuals differ very much in their tendency to be prejudiced. Adorno et al. (1950) investigated college students and other adults in California and found that people who were prejudiced against one group of people often were prejudiced against other groups as well. Allport refers to this study, taking the stand that prejudice is basically a trait of personality. He calls these highly prejudiced individuals “islanders,” thereby indicating their deep need for safety. Hostility comes from perceived threat. These people build defences. The phenomena of the self-fulfilling prophecy and Galtung’s conflict triangle, mentioned above, may very well start a vicious spiral of escalating conflict (cf. pp. 58–62).

According to Sherif and Sherif (1953), *stereotypes* are maintained to justify prejudice against groups. A stereotype is “an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to *justify* (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category” (Allport, 1954, p. 191). It may be favourable or unfavourable. Thinking in stereotypes implies *generalizations*.

Allport explains *rationalizations*. People are often unaware of prejudiced thinking. As a rule they have more respectable reasons to offer. Rationalizations often obey the following two rules: 1) They tend to conform to some accepted social canon; 2) They tend to approximate as closely as possible the canons of accepted logic. It *sounds* sensible although it is not the real reason.

We have talked about justifications and rationalizations. The phenomenon of *projection* is closely related to these. We look for explanations but we are not prepared to take the blame ourselves. We often personalize problems, casting blame on people rather than on impersonal causes, such as economic conditions or structures. According to psychoanalytical theory, unconscious feelings of guilt cause us to project onto somebody outside us what we cannot bear to experience within ourselves. The evil is attributed to an outside source — an individual or group of individuals — referred to as a scapegoat. This problem is found in many conflicts at all levels. It occurs between individuals, groups and nations. In cases of bullying, projection may be one of several psychological causes.

Projections constitute a grave obstacle to resolving conflict, especially as, generally speaking, they are unconscious, constituting one form of defence mechanism. The perception of reality is gravely influenced by projection (cf. Cooper's and Fazio's expectancy/behaviour feedback loop, pp. 60–62). The outcome is escalation of conflict.

9.2 Ethnic conflict

Ethnic violence may be considered as violence related to one or more identity groups. “Ethnic” covers difference in culture, language and tradition (Allport, 1954). Ethnic and class violence are often interrelated and constitute a cause of war. Religion may come into the picture, not seldom in combination with ethnicity and class. The Northern Ireland conflict may be taken as an example.

According to HNT, thwarting individual and group identity is a cause of war as basic human needs are non-malleable and intractable (Burton, 1990a). In certain situations basic human needs will be pursued regardless of the consequences. Rubenstein (1990) observes that there are similarities between seemingly disparate forms of conflicts, such as found in riots, po-

lice violence, terrorism, communal violence, state terror and war. An essential component in all these cases may be that different groups defend what they feel is their threatened identity. Group identity is closely linked to individual identity. The individuals' needs for belongingness, recognition, self-worth, love, security and meaning are gratified through the group.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) discuss social competition between groups. People react to negative or threatened social identity⁵⁴. The aim is to recover self-esteem individually or by means of heightened perceived status of the in-group to which one belongs. Tajfel and Turner stress that meeting esteem needs is a very important factor which affects inter-group relationships quite apart from the so-called realistic issues of conflict such as incompatibilities in reaching materialistic goals, often resources in short supply. This is very much in accordance with HNT

Minority groups, based on ethnicity or class inequalities, or both, may, as a result of felt discrimination, experience a sense of insecurity and a drive for autonomy. Burton (1990a) points out that the system of majority rule may become repressive and create conflict when applied to societies that are divided by minority groups. Values may not always be shared. The idea of integration as a goal may lead to its opposite: disruption caused by the coercive activities of a leader. This may cause fear and aggression. Alienation will result when participation and identity are denied. Integration is not an end in itself. The end may be security or welfare. Conditions that make integration possible should be focused upon. One should not attempt integration before communities are ready for it.

Allport (1954) expresses a similar view: "What is needed is freedom for both assimilation and for pluralism to occur according to the needs and desires of the minority group itself. Neither policy can be forced" (p. 240). The process must be allowed to take its time. Burton suggests local autonomy in the short term to make integration possible later on.

⁵⁴ Social identity refers to those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories (groups) to which he or she belongs. Some groups are more important than others to the individual's feeling of self-worth or status (Fisher, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

9.3 Learning by modelling

Findings of my interviews with children about issues of global survival indicated an interesting impact of pro-social models (p. 164 below). This led me to take a special interest in models: socialization and learning as well as what constitutes the effectiveness of a model, be it a pro-social or an anti-social one. The development of a negative (=antisocial) identity is referred to above, pp. 39-40.

Erikson writes (1968, p. 158) that the growing child forms his identity by observing parents, other significant persons, persons in the neighbourhood and in the school to find idols and ideals as guardians. The children do not identify with the whole person but with those part aspects of people by which they themselves are most immediately affected, whether in reality or in fantasy.

Albert Bandura is well-known for his work on observational learning from models. He writes: "Observers rarely pattern their behavior exclusively after a single source, nor do they adopt all the attributes even of preferred models. Rather, observers combine aspects of various models into new amalgams that differ from the individual sources" (Bandura, 1977, p. 48).

In accordance with Erikson, the Swedish psychiatrist Ramström (1991) thinks that identifications with people, their characters and values as well as with group behaviour and ideals, are important for identity formation and that these identifications to some extent have to be in harmony with *some basic internalizations* that the adolescents have received from their parents.

In sum, somewhere in the process of learning from models, the child/adolescent will return to standards based on earlier learning from their parents (internalization) and also later in life children will identify with *partial* aspects of preferred models.

Experiments

Bandura and others have shown that models influence the behaviour and thinking of children (Bandura, 1965, 1977; Bandura & McDonald, 1963; Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1961, 1963a–b; Rosekrans, 1967; Rosenhan & White, 1967; Walter, 1961 and many others). The preschool children who had observed an aggressive model reproduced a good deal of physical and

verbal aggressive behaviour resembling that of the models. The difference was (statistically) highly significant comparing this group of children with those who had watched the non-aggressive model or no model at all.

Urie Bronfenbrenner (1970, pp. 110–115), having reviewed the literature on the modelling process, gives examples — apart from those of Bandura, Ross and Ross (1963a) — of experiments on the effect of violent films⁵⁵. The experimental subjects were adults and adolescents. The findings were similar to the previous ones of experiments with preschoolers by Bandura and co-workers showing the influence of aggressive models.

Bandura and McDonald (1963) report an experiment with boys and girls, 5–11 years of age, demonstrating that children's moral orientations can be altered and even reversed through the influence of a social model.

Observational learning and reinforcement

Bandura named his theory “the social learning theory”. It explains how an individual (the observer) can draw upon the contributions of others (models) and build something new from their experiences. By observing a model behave in the favoured way, an individual forms an idea of how to respond to produce the *new* behaviour. “People guide their actions by prior notions rather than by relying on outcomes to tell them what they must do” (Bandura, 1977, p. 35). This was said in opposition to the theory of behaviourism, prevalent in the '60s, in which rewards and punishments, reinforcing the response to a stimulus, were regarded as *the* way of learning.

Bandura explains how reinforcement plays a role in observational learning: *Anticipation* of reinforcement is one of several factors that can influence what is observed and what goes unnoticed. Moreover, anticipated benefits can strengthen retention of what has been learned observationally through the model, i.e. motivation is increased. This differs from reinforcement theories in which it is the response that is reinforced through rewards or punishments.

Processes of observational learning

According to Bandura, observational learning is governed by four component processes: attentional, retention, motor reproduction and motivational

⁵⁵ References given are Berkowitz, Corwin & Heironimus, 1963; Berkowitz & Geen, 1966; Berkowitz & Green, 1962; Berkowitz & Rawlings, 1963; Walters & Thomas, 1963.

processes. Here I will briefly review his explanation of these (Bandura, 1977, p. 24 ff.).

Attentional processes. People do not learn from observation unless they attend to and perceive the modelled behaviour. Their “*perceptual sets*,” deriving from past experience and situational requirements, affect their selection and interpretation of what they see and hear. Bandura emphasizes the importance of the *functional value* of the behaviours displayed by the models. The *interpersonal attraction* of the model determines how effective the learning will prove to be.

Retention processes. In order to be influenced by observation of a modelled behaviour, the individual has to remember it. Behaviour and events are coded as symbols — images and words — and as such represented in memory. Repeated exposure to the modelling stimuli increases the penetrating power. Rehearsal and performance of the acts will serve as important memory aids. In early years, the child’s imitative responses are evoked directly and immediately by models’ actions. Later in life, Bandura says, imitative responses are usually performed without the models present, long after the behaviour has been observed. Delayed modelling may occur because the absent events are represented in memory in symbolic form. This requires cognitive functioning which is not needed when an act is immediately imitated.

Motor reproduction processes. In order to be able to convert symbolic representations into appropriate actions, the individual needs certain physical skills. These are developed by modelling and practice. An action is observed, the individual achieves a close approximation of the new behaviour by modelling and refines it through self-corrective adjustments on the basis of informative feedback from performance.

Motivational processes. Individuals are more likely to adopt modelled behaviour if it results in outcomes they value than if it has unrewarding or punishing effects. Those behaviours which seem to be effective for others are favoured over behaviours that are seen to have negative consequences.

Characteristics of models who increase effectiveness of learning

As mentioned, Bronfenbrenner (1970) has reviewed the literature on the influence of models in learning. He gives some *characteristics of models* which increase effectiveness of observational learning as he sees it (p. 132 ff.). We notice that some of these are also expressed by Bandura.

1. The potency of the model increases with the extent to which the model is perceived as possessing a high degree of competence, status and control over resources.
2. The inductive power of the model increases with the degree of prior nurturance or reward exhibited by the model. [Add to this what Bandura (1977) says about increased effectiveness when the model is highly valued.]
3. The most “contagious” models for the child are likely to be those who are the major source of support and control in his environment; namely, his parents, his playmates and older children and adults who play a prominent role in his everyday life.
4. The inductive power of the model increases with the degree to which the person perceives the model as similar to himself (cf. Rosekrans, 1967)
5. Several models, exhibiting similar behaviour, are more powerful inducers of change than a single model.
6. The potency of the model is enhanced when the behaviour exhibited is a salient feature in the actions of a group of which the child already is or aspires to be a member.
7. The power of the model to induce actual performance (as distinguished from acquisition) is strongly influenced by the observed consequences for the model of the exhibited behaviour.

Bandura and co-workers (Bandura, 1965; Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1963b) have demonstrated that preschool children in a situation where models are punished — either by an adult or by defeat in the fight with a peer — performed significantly fewer aggressive matching responses than did children who had watched a model who was rewarded or who had experienced no consequences of his actions.

Bandura (1965) has also shown that children in all the experimental groups (dealing with a situation when the model was either punished, rewarded or met with no consequences) remembered the aggressive acts, including much of what had been said aggressively. The inhibition about performing what they had learned had been greater when the model was punished. This applied to the girls in particular.

Commentary. How learning is facilitated and how attitudes are influenced are of major importance for the topic of this study, which is how to help children learn to resolve conflicts constructively. To understand and

consciously utilize learning through modelling seems to me to be of great interest and value. (This does not mean that I regard this as the only way that children learn.)

From Bronfenbrenner's list of characteristics of models we find that the most effective ones are those giving most support (points number 2 and 3). The esteem in which the model is held is important. Parents head the list. Appreciated teachers, playmates, siblings and other relatives belong here. The motivation is increased when the model is highly valued and when the observed behaviour has a functional value to the observer.

The competence, status and perceived control of the model (point number 1) are very important to its effectiveness. Consequently, rewarding and supporting the model is a means to increase learning. Bearing this in mind, a good relationship between school and home stands out as something to which priority should be given. Models at home should reinforce models at school and vice versa. When there are problems, they should be dealt with. Another implication is that headmasters and other prestigious persons in schools need to support teachers, particularly so when they meet with problems in the class.

Closely connected with what we have said above about status and control is point number 7, which draws attention to the impact on the child of how the model is treated — rewarded or punished. The child may well have acquired knowledge and understanding through observational learning, but will not perform the behaviour when the model has been maltreated. This point illustrates the importance of a quick reaction in order to stop bullying whenever it occurs.

It follows from point number 4 that peer models, being more similar to the youngster than adults, may be very effective. Consequently, it may be expected that the children will benefit from being assisted by other children in the class and/or school. Older children may be very good models for younger ones.

According to the social learning theory, the group of gender, class or ethnicity to which teachers and other adults belong may be an important factor influencing the effectiveness of learning.

Points number 5 and 6 bear on influence of the group of peers. Bandura's and others' research is of importance to the problem of bullying (see further p. 126 ff.).

Self-reinforcement and the kernel of personality, a discussion

Observational learning plays an important part in socialization. As Bandura (1977, p. 43) points out, moral standards of conduct are established by tuition and modelling. Gradually internal controls come to replace external sanctions and demands.

Bandura writes that behaviour is “regulated by the interplay of self-generated and external sources of influence” (p. 129). Some activities are maintained by anticipated consequences, but most of them are under self-reinforcement control. Self-reinforcement includes self-evaluation, often accompanied by corrective improvements.

What, then, are these “self-generated sources of influence”? According to my view, people do get impressed by and learn from models but they still act, at least to some extent, in accordance with their personal ideological and moral standards laid down in the processes of identification and identity formation (Erikson, 1968; Ramström, 1991, cf. pp. 39, 114 above). The above-mentioned processes of attention (perception) and motivation of operational learning are influenced by these personal standards.

However, there are also other personal sources of influence that operate in conjunction with environmental factors to determine behaviour. Such a source is human needs which are felt to be ungratified (Chapter 3). Bandura does not write about human needs. He explicitly rejects that people are driven by inner forces:

“In the social learning view people are neither driven by inner forces nor buffeted by environmental stimuli. Rather, psychological functioning is explained in terms of *a continuous reciprocal interaction of personal and environmental determinants*. With this approach symbolic⁵⁶, vicarious⁵⁷ and self-regulating processes assume a prominent role” (pp. 11–12, italics add.).

It is possible that Bandura thinks of “inner forces” as equivalent to Freud’s psychological instincts. This matter is somewhat elucidated in Bandura’s recent work: *Self-efficacy. The Exercise of Control* (1997). Inborn drives are seen as motivators seeking their release: “drives push action, anticipated incentives draw it” (p. 16). The question is raised whether “the exer-

⁵⁶ “Symbolic” refers to delayed modelling where the absent events are represented in memory in symbolic form as pictures, acts or words.

⁵⁷ By “vicarious reinforcement” is meant that the model, not the subject himself/herself, is rewarded or punished.

cise of personal efficacy is impelled by an inborn drive for control or is motivated by anticipated effects” (p. 16). According to his view, people exercise control for the benefits they gain by it. The quest for control is not a drive in its own right⁵⁸. Furthermore, he states that “theories that contend that striving for personal control is an expression of an innate drive discourage interest in how human efficacy is developed, because people allegedly come fully equipped with it. Instead, such theories dwell heavily on how the drive is socially thwarted and weakened” (p. 2).

It seems to me quite probable that Bandura takes very little interest in inborn drives (and basic human needs) since these are given by nature. It is more important to him to investigate how human efficacy is developed, this being something that can be acted upon (cf. Chapter 10 about empowerment, pp. 134–135).

However, I see no reason why the idea of ungratified basic human needs as determinators of human behaviour should be incompatible with Bandura’s social learning theory. To my mind, learning from observation of models as described above, as well as Bandura’s view on “a continuous reciprocal interaction of personal and environmental determinants,” goes well with HNT.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ I have briefly discussed whether there are needs (=inborn drives) for power (=dominance) and for control, i.e. if either of these is executed for its own sake (above, pp. 41– 42). Explaining his control theory, Sites (1973) states that in regarding control as a need, he does not mean to imply that individuals attempt to control specific situations for the purpose of gratifying specific needs even though at certain times this happens. What he means is that the individual comes to take a *control orientation* in relation to his environment in order to optimize the possibility of total need gratification (p. 28).

Furthermore, “this control orientation may at times be so strong in particular individuals that it *nearly becomes an end in itself*” (p. 28, italics added). He suggests further research to specify conditions under which the individual exerts control for its own sake and hypothesizes that control becomes such an end in itself “in those individuals who experience a socialization process filled with threat and insecurity” (p. 43). Fromm’s theory on malignant aggression (not an inborn drive) comes to mind (cf. p. 30).

⁵⁹ Also Bronfenbrenner (1970, pp. 141, 143, 157) seems to see no contradiction between the social learning theory and thinking in terms of needs, as he considers meeting basic needs to be important.

9.4 Obedience and conformity

Milgram's (1974) famous experiments on obedience to authority deserves to be recollected in this context, as one cause of violence at all levels is that people follow and support negative leaders (cf. negative identity, pp. 39–40).

Milgram's experiments on obedience to authority

Milgram made a series of experiments in which people, most of them adult males in the U.S., who had agreed to assist in a study on learning and memory, actually, without knowing it, were subjected to a study on obedience to authority⁶⁰. The subject was asked by the leader of the experiment to give electrical shocks of increasing voltage to a person whom they did not know. Actually, it was an actor and no shocks were given but the subject thought he was giving *very* dangerous shocks. When he hesitated, he was told that the experiment required him to go on. This was called off when the maximal shock had been given three times in a row. If the subject did not disobey before this, he was called “totally obedient”.

Out of 40 men, 25 were totally obedient when they could see and hear the victim. With women tested, the result was the same. However, the number of obedient males was reduced to 12 when the subject had to place the victim's hand on the panel to receive the shock. In yet another experiment the effect of a peer who rebelled was also tried out. When he was allowed to break off the experiment, 4 subjects (out of 40) continued to obey right up to the end. When the experimenter left the room, only one subject out of 40 obeyed (no peer was involved this time). There was a situation when the subject was to decide the voltage level. Now almost all stopped when giving very low voltage shocks. One continued to the end.

Interpretation of the findings. How is it possible that people can give what they believe to be very dangerous electric shocks to completely unknown people whom they neither hate nor fear? Milgram carried out experiments at the micro level but saw the connections with the macro level. *The problem of obedience* would be there even if Nazi Germany had never existed, he writes, pointing out that the problem is not restricted to dicta-

⁶⁰ There is an ethical problem here as these types of experiments involve a deception of the subjects. Milgram (1974) discusses the ethics in his book.

torships. Authority is also present in democracies. People obey, even against their conscience. He takes as examples atrocities committed in the Vietnam war.

Milgram (1974) rules out aggression as a common cause of the findings. What we see is the consequences of “obedience to authority”. The status of the experimenter was very important. The individual was inhibited by his/ her conscience, but this was eased *in a hierarchical system* where control and ethical considerations were transferred to the authority. When the individual saw himself as an agent for executing the will of another person rather than acting out of his own purposes, he got into what Milgram (1974, pp. 132–148) calls “*the agentic state*”. Then he defined the situation in a way that was different from his normal “autonomous state”. The ideological interpretation was left to the authority and the individual accepted it and obeyed. Responsibility for his actions was shifted to the authority: “I only did my job. It was my duty”. We recognize this way of reasoning from the Nuremberg Trials.

In these experiments the subjects obeyed willingly without being threatened. They regarded the authority as legitimate and accepted his definition of the situation. They felt that they had undertaken a commitment to assist in performing the learning experiment [as they were informed about it] and that it was their duty to do so in spite of the terrible conflict of which they found themselves to be part: the experimenter demanding them to go on and the victim calling out in agony.

Milgram draws attention to the “*binding forces*” that keep the individual in the “agentic state”. It is these forces that prevent him from standing up against the authority to disobey. One such binding force is what Milgram calls the “*sequential nature of the action*” (p. 149, italics added). Each action leads to the next one in rapid sequence. Milgram explains it thus:

“The recurrent nature of the action demanded of the subject itself creates binding forces. As the subject delivers more and more painful shocks, he must seek to justify to himself what he has done; one form of justification is to go to the end. For if he breaks off, he must say to himself: ‘Everything I have done to this point is bad, and I now acknowledge it by breaking off’. But, if he goes on, he is reassured about his past performance” (p. 149).

Thus the subject gets more and more involved in destructive actions.

Yet another binding force is that when people come together, *behaviour is implicitly regulated by etiquette*. To take a conflicting stand on how to define the situation is incompatible with good manners.

It was obvious during the experiment and from the interviews afterwards that the subjects experienced great conflict and stress. The pressure to obey was reduced when the experimenter left the room and when a peer refused to continue.

When the victim was moved from the adjacent room to the experimental room, and when the subject had to place the victim's hand on the plate to give the shock, the experienced stress increased to such a degree that disobedience, likewise, increased.

Milgram discusses how the strain was resolved by the subjects. Disobedience was the radical way out. However, everyone could not break off the experiment and defy authority owing to the binding forces mentioned above. Then other methods were employed. These were to avoid, deny or try tricks.

The subject avoided experiencing the consequence of his actions by looking away, reading louder so as not to hear the protests from the victim and by taking more interest in the technicalities than in the information from the victim. It also happened that the subject denied what he had experienced, just as the extermination of Jews was denied, Milgram reminds us. Some subjects could deny that the shocks were painful or that the victim was suffering [apparently also these subjects believed in the true nature of the experiments]. The most common reaction, however, was that obedient subjects denied not what had happened but their responsibility for it. Some subjects tried to reduce the effect of their actions by giving the shortest possible shock, others signalled the right words by stressing them. Thus, they were willing to undermine the validity of the experiment but not to break openly with the experimenter, Milgram observes.

Some subjects opposed the experimenter by expressing a divergent opinion. This could be either the beginning of breaking off by trying to make the experimenter change his line of action, or it could be a means to reduce the strain as some of these subjects continued to give the shocks.

Milgram interprets disobedience as a form of lawlessness, a "reformulation of the relationship between subject and authority" (p. 162). Also, there is insecurity as to what will happen next.

Reasons for obedience

Sharp (1973), whose frame of reference is the macro level, discusses reasons for obedience. He does not think that people obey rulers solely out of fear. There are many additional factors. He classifies the factors as habit, fear of sanctions, moral obligations, self-interest, psychological identification with the ruler, indifference and absence of self-confidence among the subjects. I will take up a few of these factors, referring to other authors as well.

Habit may include factors such as custom, prejudice, utility and a perception of the expediency of political government. I believe that convenience is an important reason that belongs partly to this category and partly to that of self-interest.

Allport (1954) differs from Sharp and Milgram in discussing conformity rather than obedience. However, I feel that his reasons for conformity come close to what Sharp refers to as one cause of obedience, namely habit. Allport states that many conformists have no deeper motive than avoiding a scene and so follow the principle of least effort. A need for greater personal security or a need to feel part of the group may underlie conformity, he says, alluding to basic human needs.

Moral obligations constitute one of Sharp's categories that is illuminated by Milgram's experiments. People obeyed because they saw a moral obligation to do so since they had agreed to help in the experiment. The perceived legitimacy of the command proved to be a very important reason for obedience.

Lack of self-confidence in the subjects will increase obedience. It may be one of the most essential factors (Sharp, 1973). However, *it is possible to change*.

Obedience and conformity — a choice

One important point that Sharp makes is that it is not sanctions themselves which produce obedience but the fear of them. *Obedience is a choice* although sometimes a very difficult situation may demand considerable courage not to obey. As mentioned, Sites (1973) (above, p. 41) maintains that reciprocity in interaction makes no one completely powerless. I would like to add: *conformity is also a choice*.

Distinction between obedience and conformity

Milgram (1974) makes a clear distinction between obedience and conformity.

Conformity is related to peers and groups, whereas obedience is related to authority in a hierarchical structure. Equal status goes with conformity. In conformity there is imitation, whereas there is none in obedience but rather compliance with authority. In conformity the action is spontaneously adopted by the subject. There are implicit expectations, whereas in obedience there are explicit demands and orders.

In conformity the subjects deny conformity as explanation of their actions, whereas in obedience the subjects embrace obedience as explanation of their actions to the degree that they let go of their responsibility for them. Responsibility is transferred to authority. Interpretation of the situation is left to the leader. When conforming, the subject gives other reasons for his/her behaviour but does not relinquish responsibility. This could be to preserve his self-esteem. The individual who is subject to conformity interprets his behaviour as voluntary. He cannot pinpoint a legitimate reason for yielding to his peers, so he denies that he has done so, not only to experimenters but to himself as well, Milgram states. In obedience the opposite is true. Commands are explicit and the situation is defined as one devoid of voluntarism.

Commentary

Milgram's clear distinction between conformity and obedience is not always easy to uphold. Janis (1972) writes about conformity and dissolved responsibility in cohesive in-groups (cf. pp. 63–64 above) where conformity helps to reduce stress. However, also in those groups (American political leaders) there was a hierarchy. I believe that often, e.g. in groups who are bullying, there is a mixture of obedience and conformity. There may be a hierarchy more or less explicit, more so in cases of competition (Sherif & Sherif, 1953; Sherif et al., 1961).

It is important that schools train children in moral courage. Destructive and negative leaders *at all levels* should be defied. Cooperation among the oppressed constitutes a possibility that may be increased through training and preparation. Also self-confidence may benefit from appropriate training as well as from good experiences of conflict resolution skills that work. (About empowerment see Chapter 10; Bandura, 1997. About training con-

flict resolution, which raises self-esteem and feelings of mastery, see Avery et al., 1999; Deutsch, 1992.)

9.5 Bullying

The Scandinavian psychologist Dan Olweus (1978, 1986) is well-known for having studied bullying, especially among boys. Being in the forefront, he has considerably increased our knowledge. Here I will omit observations on personalities of bullies and victims as well as proposals for actions, group dynamics being the issue.

Olweus (1986) refers to Bandura's studies: Children and adults may behave more aggressively after having seen another individual, *a model, being aggressive*. The effectiveness increases if *the model is valued favourably* by the observer. Those pupils, Olweus says, who are more insecure and dependent will probably be more affected than others. This applies to those who want a better status among their peers. They may make up the supporters that the bullies need in order to dare to perform and continue their aggressive acts.

When *a model gets rewarded for his/her actions*, this tends to *reduce the inhibitions* against such behaviour on the part of the observer. Conversely, when there are negative consequences (punishment) for the aggressor, the inhibitions of the observers will be reinforced.

In the situation of bullying, the bullies usually get "rewarded" through their "victory" over the victim. If there are no negative consequences, the risk is greater that the observers will take part as supporters. They may be active or signal their support through simple body language.

Yet another factor explaining why some usually decent, but maybe easily influenced, pupils take part in bullying is, Olweus writes, *a feeling of decreased individual responsibility*. In a group of people acting together, each individual will feel less personal responsibility than when being alone. The responsibility gets diffused. As we have seen, in his experiments Milgram (1974) shows that this is an important mechanism in obedience. To my mind, this happens not only in cases of obedience but also whenever there is conformity, although perhaps to a lesser degree (cf. pp. 285-288 below). This is also shown by Janis (1972). A cohesive in-group

will react in certain ways to support each other in decision-making. There is pressure on the individuals to conform.

Finally, Olweus mentions that *the peers' views on the victim* of the bullying may undergo a change over time. As a consequence of the perpetual attacks and put-downs, the victim will gradually be regarded as a rather worthless individual who “almost asks for it” and deserves to be harassed⁶¹. In order to silence one's conscience, one tries to *justify one's actions*. One way of doing so is to cast the blame on the victim. Milgram (1974) gives examples of such reactions. Their mechanisms of defence help the bullies and their supporters to maintain self-respect and mental balance.

Justification of one's actions in ways similar to the ones mentioned above is also considered by the Swedish educator Gunnar Höistad (1994) who has written a book which I find very useful for daily work. He gives many examples from his practice, contributing further to the understanding of bullying. That he takes up two basic human needs, namely, *the need for belonging* and *the need for identity* is of special interest to this study, which deals with basic human needs and its implications which are looked upon as essential for understanding conflicts and for dealing constructively with them.

The victim needs to belong to peer groups but is refused gratification of his/her need. Then, Höistad observes, the child may defend himself/herself by denying the need, growing more and more isolated. This may start a vicious circle where the individual's company is not asked for by anyone.

Höistad draws attention to the bully who acts as a leader in the class. This is a leadership that must always be confirmed in order not to be lost. He points to two phenomena prevalent in a group acting destructively, namely, *power* and *fear*. He thinks that these may constitute the impelling force which makes some children [the supporters] seek the company of the bully. What they are trying to do is to avoid becoming the victim themselves. Thus, the bully's popularity may be rather shallow as one does not make real friends in this way. In any case, the group may become cohesive.

Höistad, like Olweus, points out that the bully needs support to be able to bully. This is given by supporters who sanction the activities in some-

⁶¹ According to Sherif's and Sherif's experiments (1953; Sherif et al. 1961), a ranking of the individuals will take place in competitive groups. Olweus (1978) has shown that the victim is assigned a lower status than anyone else.

times concealed and silent ways. Höistad and Olweus draw attention to the climate in the class. Is the class giving the bully (bullies) high status or not? Here the teacher and the other adults in the school are immensely important. Do they signal and take actions to stop the bullying, not accepting the behaviour, or do they look away? The findings of research on models, referred to above, indicate the importance of which action is taken. Not only peers (some more than others) are models but also teachers, although in a different way. This makes crucial the teachers' way of dealing with conflicts such as bullying.

Let us also consider the need for identity. Höistad gives an example of a boy who for two years had built his identity on being regarded as disgusting by his peers. His role was very negative indeed and he suffered a great deal from it. All the same, Höistad tells us, *it was better than being nobody*.⁶² With professional help the boy managed to develop better relations to his peers for a period during which he succeeded in giving up his role. Later on he had a relapse and Höistad looked into the case once more. He writes (in my translation): "The fear of losing his identity and the expectations of others made Dan relapse into his old behaviour" (p. 90).

9.6 Conclusion

Socialization forms our attitudes towards so-called out-groups (groups to which we feel we do not belong). Our need for cognitive consistency and understanding, as well as needs for security, belonging and identity, concur to develop ethnic prejudice. Allport calls it "refencing" when we stick to our views in spite of evidence to the contrary, refusing to take in new information, thereby turning prejudgement into prejudice. Justifications, or rationalizations, sometimes even projections (scapegoating) further help us keep our (world)view and self-esteem. These are some of the important mechanisms. Not everyone has the same tendency to develop prejudice.

Social identity (or group identity) refers to those aspects of individuals' self-images that derive from the social groups to which they belong. It may become extremely important to oppressed minority groups. Human Needs

⁶² It is well-known in child psychiatry and paediatrics that often a child unconsciously prefers to be given attention through some physical or mental dysfunction rather than going unnoticed.

Theory draws attention to this fact and, in my view, helps to make it clear how strong the forces may be which are at play in ethnic conflict. Ethnic prejudice as well as thwarted needs for identity are causes of conflict and increase escalation.

We have here looked into the process of learning by modelling and seen strong pressures making us obedient to authority or conforming to groups. The risk lies in obedience or conformity to negative leaders or oppressing structures. I call for training in moral courage to help young people to learn to discover antisocial leaders and resist them. This has a bearing on the psychological climate in the classroom as well as development of democracy at the macro level. At the micro level bullying is the result of failure. It may occur between peers but also between adults as well as between adults and children.

10 Repression, Powerlessness and Empowerment

In private life, when interviewing children and when working in classrooms with issues of global survival (war and peace, environmental degradation and the poverty gap), I have often found that there is a very strong sense of powerlessness among adults and children. It is not that they seem to lack interest. On the contrary they show involvement combined with feelings of exasperation, frustration and helplessness. As I see it, feelings of powerlessness are a great obstacle to change. I have above referred to self-fulfilling prophecies. Below, I will take up “learned helplessness,” a concept coined by the American psychologist Martin Seligman. It has later been generally applied. First, however, let us look at repression which, as we will see, is closely related to powerlessness.

Repression

Psychoanalytic theory has given us our understanding of psychological mechanisms of defence. Anna Freud (1946) regards repression as a basic method of defence that the ego employs when instinctual impulses constitute a threat. When repression is successful, the ego does not know about the repressed material. Methods of defence may be used against the emergence of instinctual impulses, or effects caused by these, but also against pain that has its source in the outside world. It is the latter that is of interest here. We live in a world with many problems.

Anna Freud sees a parallelism in methods adopted by the ego for avoidance of pain from external and internal sources in the following way: repression is a method employed to defend the ego from internal sources of pain (and anxiety) by warding off unaccepted impulses, whereas denial is employed to reduce suffering from external sources.

Cullberg (1984) regards denial as a special case of repression “where the individual avoids awareness of threatening aspects of the inner or outer reality” (p. 76, my translation). He points out that there is an indistinct boundary line between situations where the defence mechanism is necessary for the individual to function and where it has become an obstacle to his adjustment to reality.

“Svenska Läkare mot Kärnvapen”⁶³ has published an anthology on psychological aspects of nuclear weapons. Here Cullberg (1982) explains how denial is facilitated: (1) the mass destruction that may be the consequence of a nuclear attack is regarded as unreal, unbelievable and abstract; (2) people have slowly become habituated to the idea of a nuclear war; and (3) more than thirty years [at that time in 1982] had passed and nothing very serious had happened [after Hiroshima and Nagasaki].

In this study we deal with psychological mechanisms of importance to all human beings and with feelings of threat from external sources (threats to all life on the planet from weapons of mass destruction, unequal distribution of resources and environmental pollution and depletion) rather than from internal sources in the form of prohibited impulses as Anna Freud saw it. Is it preferable to call normal psychological reactions to external sources of threat repression or denial? Cullberg has chosen the term denial — even collective denial as we all share it to some degree — stating that it is a form of repression. The same phenomenon is called repression by the German psychoanalyst and peace activist Horst E. Richter (“Verdrängung”) (1982b) but also denial in Swedish translation (1982a)⁶⁴. Macy (1983), to whom we will now turn, has decided to call it repression. I prefer this term since I refer to some painful and threatening information from the outside world being repressed from people’s feelings and thoughts rather than being actively denied⁶⁵. The latter may also be the case, perhaps more often by decision-makers and other adults than by children. However, the choice of terminology is of no major importance. What is important is the phenomenon, which is commonly accepted as existing. The term denial could also have been employed.

Macy: Cause and effect of repression in the nuclear age. Remedies.

⁶³ Svenska Läkare mot Kärnvapen (Swedish Physicians against Nuclear Weapons) is an affiliation of IPPNW (International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War).

⁶⁴ The term denial is used in the anthology by Svenska Läkare mot Kärnvapen mentioned above.

⁶⁵ However, there is yet another term, suppression, which can be utilized in cases when repression is not complete. i.e., when there is some awareness: the repressed/suppressed material may be made conscious fairly easily by communication and/or events, as happened in the interviews referred to below (pp. 165 ff.).

The American teacher of world religions, active in movements for peace and justice, Joanna Rogers Macy (1983) has made great impact on many people through her well-known book *Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age* as well as her workshops. Her concern is to cope with feelings of distress caused by the nuclear threat.

She explains and discusses causes and consequences of repression. Its basic cause is pain, in this case owing to the situation of the world. Its objective is to reduce pain. However, the price of repression is high as it tends to paralyse; it builds a sense of isolation, alienation and powerlessness. It also fosters resistance to painful but essential information. The apathy and passivity that result from feelings of powerlessness constitute obstacles to change. In order to do something about global problems, we need to tackle repression and feelings of powerlessness. Regaining personal power is the first step. When feelings of powerlessness are overcome, repression will be reduced, with the result that people will feel better.

Macy maintains that by acknowledging and talking about our feelings and sharing them with others, we retrieve energy.⁶⁶ Personal power, formerly restricted by the mechanism of repression, will be released. Also, we feel interconnected with other people and with life itself. This has been experienced by people attending Macy's workshops.

From what is said, it follows that Macy considers it important to communicate our feelings regarding the nuclear threat⁶⁷. She claims that *silence* conveys fatalism and indifference. Furthermore, it reinforces repression and breeds cynicism and anger. Therefore she gives twelve guidelines on how to meet our children (pp. 52–54).

(1) Know your own feelings, (2) invite children to share their feelings about the world, (3) give your “complete attention,” (4) “let yourself listen,” (5) help children define their feelings (what remains unspoken and unacknowledged is far more frightening than a danger you can see and label together), (6) let them know that they are not alone in these fears, (7) acknowledge what you don't know, (8) don't feel that you must relieve

⁶⁶ This is in accordance with psychoanalytic theory, which holds that by bringing repressed material to the surface, we can work with it and reduce symptoms. Richter (1982a–b), like Macy, emphasizes the negative effects of repression, reducing personal power and our wish to live. He also points out that our active resistance to violent politics of deterrence is undermined by repression.

⁶⁷ To my mind, this applies to any perceived threat to the survival of life on the planet.

your children of their painful feelings, (9) let children make choices and build their own sense of power, (10) take joy in life with your children, (11) show them that you care enough about them to engage in actions to avert disaster, and (12) support children in taking action in their own right.

Learned helplessness

Powerlessness is a concept close to helplessness. Seligman and Maier (1967) coined the term “learned helplessness” after having watched dogs in experiments. Dogs, who had been pre-treated *not* to be able to solve a simple problem, such as escaping an electric shock by jumping across a low barrier, remained passive, lying still, whining because of the pain of the shock. Similar tests were carried out over and over again on dogs, other animals and human beings. The findings were similar: about two thirds of the experimental subjects had learned helplessness. This was a remarkable difference from groups who had not been pre-treated or who had learned that they could do something to escape the adverse situation. They were seldom passive but escaped.

Hiroto (1974) found that learned helplessness can be experimentally produced in man. Men, like animals, show significantly longer latencies and more failures to escape when they have been pre-trained with inescapable aversive events than when they have been exposed to escapable aversive events or received no pre-treatment at all.

Also, to fail when one expects to do so is an everyday experience. A more optimistic outlook comes from experiences of success. You learn helplessness, or you learn the opposite: that you are capable.

Learned optimism: Explanatory styles

Seligman was interested in what makes people less helpless apart from the experience of success (actions that are effective) and so he continued his investigations. In his book *Learned Optimism* (1992) he discusses different *explanatory styles* that people have regarding bad and good events that happen to them. He distinguishes between 1) “internal” and “external”, 2) stable and unstable, and 3) global and specific ways of explanation.

1) If you experience a bad event, you may think that it occurred because of your personal shortcomings, such as lack of skill (others would not have failed), *or* you may think that it was bad luck, that someone else was to

blame, the task was unsolvable etc. The former way of thinking is the “internal” or “personal” explanation, the latter the “external”.

2) Stability refers to chronicity over time: If something bad happens to you, you might think that this is what generally occurs to you *or* that it was just this time. Failure may be regarded as long-lasting, permanent, or of short duration.

3) The third dimension of explanatory styles concerns generality across situations, also called pervasiveness: Do I tend to find explanations that go far beyond the specific situation or not?

When a person deals with an uncontrollable adversity, his or her explanatory style will determine how he or she will react. Those who see failures or adversities as caused by *personal, internal* rather than external, short-comings and who see them as *stable, permanent* in time, rather than as unstable, and *pervasive, “global”* rather than “specific,” will experience more helplessness and grow depressed more easily than those having the opposite explanatory style. By learning to interpret and think of your shortcomings in an optimistic way, you may empower yourself, Seligman maintains. This is in line with the cognitive-behavioural perspective on learning.

A cognitive-behavioural perspective on learning

Bandura’s recent contribution (1997) focuses on cognitive aspects of learning and acting (“a social cognitive theory”), particularly on “self-efficacy” which he explains thus: “perceived self-efficacy refers to beliefs in one’s capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments” (p. 3). He points out that if people believe they have no power to produce results, they will not attempt to make things happen (p. 3). “The inability to exert influence over things that adversely affect one’s life breeds apprehensions, apathy, or despair” (p. 2). Thus, self-efficacy is important to health and also to preparedness for partaking in change.

Raised perception of efficacy means empowerment. It is important to consider how this happens since it has implications for teaching. Bandura (1997, p. 93) observes: “Seeing effective problem-solving strategies modeled raises the performance attainments of groups partly by enhancing their member’s collective sense of efficacy”. Thus, the advantage of a class is that this “collective sense of efficacy” may be experienced. On the other hand, if the problem-solving is not successful, the reverse may be the out-

come: not seeing the desired effect among the peers will reduce motivation and increase powerlessness (cf. Part Two).

As noted in the previous chapter, Bandura emphasizes the role of learning by modelling. He continues:

“The impact of symbolic modeling on efficacy beliefs can be further enhanced by cognitive rehearsal. Visualizing oneself applying the modeled strategies successfully strengthens self-belief that one can do it in actuality. Thus, modeling with cognitive rehearsal builds stronger perceived efficacy than modeling alone; modeling alone, in turn, surpasses verbal instruction in the same strategies” (p. 93).

Bandura particularly stresses that modelling is not confined to behavioural competencies, nor is it merely a process of behavioural mimicry. In abstract modelling, people learn the rules and they can apply them widely and adjust them to changing circumstances.

Furthermore, if the models verbalize their thought processes and strategies aloud as they engage in problem-solving activities, the effectiveness of learning may increase (p. 93). Bandura refers to research by Dweck and Meichenbaum — among a wealth of others. I will now briefly present a piece of their work.

Diener and Dweck (1978, 1980) have found that what they called helpless children (identified by the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility scale) attributed failure to lack of ability, whereas mastery-oriented children were less concerned about the cause of their failures and more engaged in self-monitoring and self-instructions, focusing on remedies.

Following success the helpless children tended to attribute it not to their ability but to outer factors, such as an easy task, whereas the mastery-oriented children stressed their ability as an important factor. There was a tendency of helpless children to view failure as predictive of future performances and to discount their previous successes. This was in contrast to the mastery-oriented children who discounted failure, instead taking it as a challenge.

In his article *Teaching Thinking: A Cognitive-Behavioral Perspective* Meichenbaum (1985) discusses this research as well as that of others, related to so-called meta-cognitive aspects of learning. His co-worker Henshaw studied “high-” and “low-creative” college students by means of think-aloud protocols while they engaged in various problem-solving tasks.

Meichenbaum writes that highly creative subjects were significantly more likely than less creative subjects to emit “facilitative cognitive ideation and expressions of positive affect”, e.g. saying: “Just try to think of possibilities”. About the “less-creative” individuals he states: “It is as if one’s cognitions became self-fulfilling prophecies that merely reconfirm one’s negative beliefs; thus the cycle is self-perpetuating” (p. 420).

Meichenbaum explains the training regimen he and his co-workers have designed⁶⁸. It aims at teaching children to spontaneously generate and employ cognitive strategies and self-instructions⁶⁹. The children are to learn a strategy for controlling behaviour and acting more effectively under various circumstances⁷⁰. The training is carried out by means of models [see also the previous chapter] and reflection. Meichenbaum writes: “Our hope (or delusion) is to eventually develop a program to teach cognitive and metacognitive skills from kindergarten to graduate school”. It is meant to supplement the already existing school curriculum. He emphasizes that any training program of this kind must consider “the child’s feelings and the accompanying images, self-statements, attributions, appraisals, and expectations” (p. 420).

Conclusion

I have considered some aspects of powerlessness and empowerment as I think they are of vital importance to our work in the classroom. If we are nurtured with negative information that there is nothing that can be done about major problems in society, such as violence at all levels, most of us will feel powerless. Likewise, if we fail at the local level when we attempt to resolve conflicts and if we see others not even making an effort, we will probably feel that it is not worth trying. We “learn helplessness”.

I have stated the importance of reducing repression and retrieving energy in order to live more healthily and gain power to take part in pro-

⁶⁸ Originally the intention of the training was to teach impulsive children to talk to them-selves as a means of developing self-control (Meichenbaum & Goodman, 1971).

⁶⁹ Meichenbaum (1985, p. 409) gives his definition of self-instruction: “verbal statements and images to oneself that prompt, direct, or maintain behavior”.

⁷⁰ According to Meichenbaum performance-relevant skills are: problem definition, focusing attention and response guidance, self-reinforcement and self-evaluative coping skills as well as error-correcting options.

social activities. Macy's recommendations for how to meet children who are worried about the situation in the nuclear age have been presented.

The concept of learned helplessness has been introduced in order to draw attention to the importance of our expectations, derived from our previous experiences as well as our personalities and ways of thinking. In accordance with the cognitive-behavioural perspective on learning, we may practise how to think in order to solve problems and cope better, raising self-efficacy. Schools may provide this kind of training. Also, experiences may be affected by school activities. I am particularly thinking of children's experiences of how to deal with conflicts. It is important to state that a cognitive-behavioural approach does not imply that the role of affects is overlooked. By (earlier in this study) emphasizing human needs I have indicated the importance I place on motivation and sentiments.

11 Conclusions: My Theoretical Position

Opening this theoretical part of the study I drew attention to UNESCO's coordinating work to promote "a culture of peace" aiming at a profound change in thinking, attitudes and behaviour (above pp. 25-27). I have here tried to make a contribution by painting a picture of what such a culture could be like, also giving an indication of some tools.

In so doing I have agreed with some theories and opposed some others. I have advocated a "paradigm shift" (Chapter 8), a change of thinking as compared to what has been customary. Such a change is necessary in order to reduce suffering on a planet threatened by weapons of mass destruction, pollution and depletion of non-renewable resources as well as by an increasing population.

To my mind, this paradigm shift is already emerging⁷¹ but two things stand in its way, namely, lack of vision of a more peaceful (less violent) world and lack of knowledge about available ways to proceed. This, in turn, gives rise to feelings of powerlessness. The outcome is repression — or at least suppression — in order not to experience the threats. This is natural as our pain would be unbearable without this mechanism of defence. The alternative is to maintain and promote a vision of a better world and make use of all the "tools" that, in fact, there are. This study is a contribution pointing to theoretical and practical tools available.

11.1 Four cornerstones and a paradigm shift

There are four cornerstones in the theoretical basis for peace education that I have chosen:

1. *Aggression and human nature*: Today some conflicts lead to war. War is not an inevitable outcome, originating in human nature. "The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsi-

⁷¹ Indications of this are the development of conflict resolution in theory and practice; peace research and education; ecological, peace and solidarity movements; research and activities for liberation of women and against racial discrimination etc. Some of this is referred to in this study, some is beyond its scope. Also, in politics we find some traces of a new way of thinking: for instance, (1) the exchange of regimes followed by the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and (2) the agreement in 1998 between the parties concerned regarding the conflict in Northern Ireland.

- bility lies with each of us” (The Seville Statement on Violence, Appendix 1).
2. *Human Needs Theory*: Basic human needs will be pursued even in cases of deterrence and coercion. Therefore deterrence may not work. This explains much violence, including ethnic wars. Satisfying the basic human needs of everyone (even minority groups) should be made a navigation point for building society.
 3. *Connections between the micro (local) and macro (global) levels*. The way of thinking determines behaviour which, in turn, determines how society is built. The ways conflicts are escalated and de-escalated at the different levels are very similar from a social-psychological perspective. The skills to deal with conflict can be trained. The military-industrial-bureaucratic complex at the global level is dependent upon individuals and groups. This bears on the fourth cornerstone.
 4. *Socialization* takes place in daily living. Norms and values are conveyed to children. We, adults and young people, function as models: our actions have a bearing. Conflict resolution skills need to be practised by adults and children alike. If we want young people to have moral courage and not conform, support and follow bad leaders, we need to take a stand.

These four cornerstones make up the foundation of a building that constitutes the paradigm; the world view and mode of thinking. In this study I have maintained that *a new paradigm is emerging*, a paradigm where

1. meeting basic human needs is the navigation point for building society and for preventing violence and resolving conflict,
2. violence prevention and conflict resolution skills are valued and trained to be applied at the micro as well as the macro levels,
3. the concept of power is transformed from power *over* to power *to* and power *with*,
4. balance of power is not an accepted ideology for organizing international relations,
5. civilian-based defence and non-violent strategies are tried out.

However, whether there will be a paradigm shift or not depends on us, the people on the Earth.

The goal is to build a culture of peace and in order to do this, *powerlessness has to be transformed into personal power*. Schools and teachers colleges have an important role to play.

11.2 Two spirals

I visualize two reverse spirals functioning with regard to people's conception of the global problem of direct and indirect violence. The first spiral depicts a feedback process of increasing feelings of powerlessness, the second one a similar feedback process of growing feelings of personal power and competence. These two spirals are illustrated in figures 11.1 and 11.2 below.

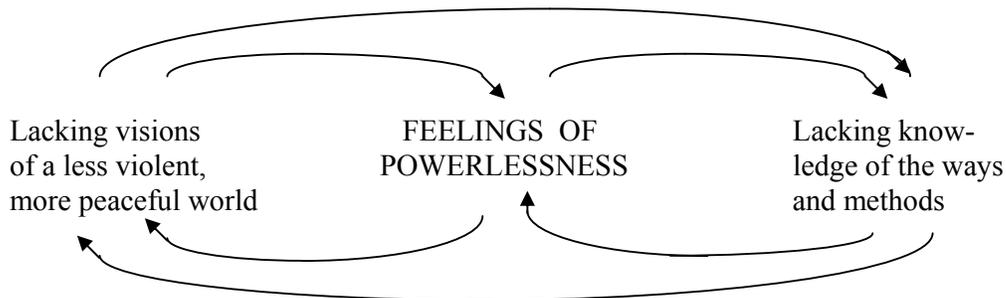


Figure 11.1 Vicious spiral depicting a feedback process of growing feelings of powerlessness regarding violence.

Feelings of powerlessness are prevalent regarding violence in society. This has to do with two things: lack of visions of how a less violent world would function and deficient knowledge about — and belief in — available methods of creating such a world.

Lack of visions gives rise to feelings of powerlessness which lead to pessimism. The quest for knowledge of ways and methods is curtailed. Repression is important here, something I have shown in a field study to which I will briefly refer as a background to the later study (Part Two). Lack of knowledge of methods, in its turn, leads to even more feelings of powerlessness and this makes the vision even fainter.

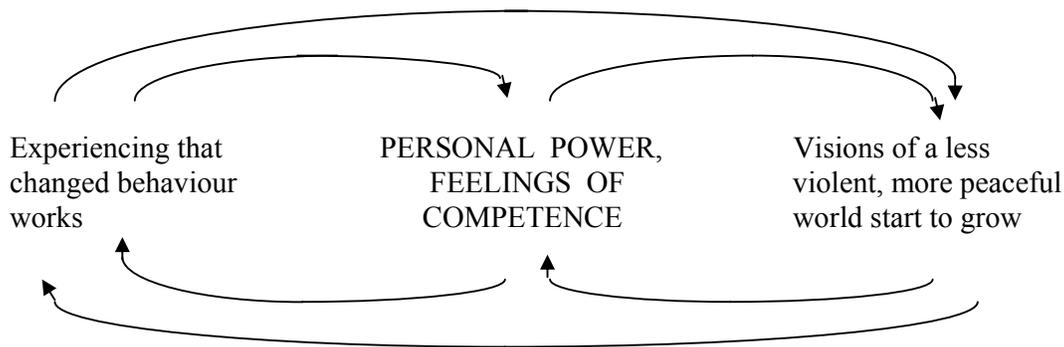


Figure 11.2 Beneficial spiral depicting a feedback process of growing feelings of personal power and competence regarding change aiming at a less violent, more peaceful world at the micro and macro levels.

The second spiral is beneficial. *Now, individuals or groups of people are gaining experience of changed behaviour that works.* They may have learnt and tried out some conflict resolution skills with good results or they may have been involved in solidarity work or activities for a better environment and experienced positive change. According to this way of thinking, this will reduce their sense of powerlessness and increase feelings of personal power and competence. Their vision of a less violent, more peaceful world will start to grow. This, in turn, will lead to feelings of personal power and hope, and the individuals and groups will be prepared to engage in more activities, gaining new positive experiences.

Furthermore, knowledge will grow and positive experiences will increase as more and more individuals become committed and influence each other: the ripple effect. More people may move from the first spiral to the second.

Schools should empower their pupils. If they are successful, apathy, passivity and feelings of lack of meaning would be reduced. So would violence, as basic human needs would be met to a greater extent. These effects will be experienced at the micro level. Children who have built this foundation will be more competent and less passive when it comes to problems related to the macro level, such as the oppressive structure of society and issues of global survival. Their preparedness to act for a change aiming at less structural as well as less direct violence will increase. This is the hypothesis (see also above pp. 79–80) that gave rise to the field studies.

12 Conflict Resolution and Peace Education: An Internationally Expanding Area

Above I have presented and discussed Human Needs Theory (Chapter 4), in particular Burton's work (1969, 1979, 1986, 1990a and 1996), and advocated a paradigm shift (Chapter 8).

12.1 A new way of thinking is emerging

Burton (1986) writes that it was not until the early 1960s that there was any effective challenge to the normative and authoritarian approach of classical theory. *The shift in thinking was from the use of power towards understanding the nature of the conflict by the parties concerned.*

This, of course, had been applied in the social field and in family counselling long before the '60s. An early example from another field was the central treaty in 1938 at Saltsjöbaden in Sweden between the parties of the labour market: the employers' organization (SAF) and that of the workers (LO). Here cooperation for the benefit of all was the leading principle.

In 1959 a Center for Research on Conflict Resolution was established at the University of Michigan. It published the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* which was started two years earlier. Also in 1959 Johan Galtung founded the Peace Research Institute in Oslo, and five years later *Journal of Peace Research* was first published by the institute. In 1964 the Centre for the Analysis of Conflict was established at the University of London.

Thomas Gordon wrote what was to become a best-seller, *P. E. T. Parent Effectiveness Training*, in 1970. Already here we learn about active listening and I-messages and what he called the third method in resolving conflicts. He developed his thinking to involve school situations and four years later he published *T. E. T. Teacher Effectiveness Training* (Gordon, 1974).

Since the 1980s a number of centres on conflict resolution and mediation have been founded in many countries. One is situated close to us: The Danish Center for Conflict Resolution in Copenhagen which was opened in 1994. It gives courses in conflict resolution, workshops, seminars and lectures dealing with conflict resolution at the macro and micro levels. During the same period, the last two decades, the numbers of conflict resolution

programmes in schools have increased and developed to a considerable degree.

The shift of thinking, or the new paradigm, was actually not new. Gandhi had used non-violent methods already during the first decade of the twentieth century in the struggle for equal rights in South Africa. His practice and thinking was to develop in the coming years and, as we all know, he was to attract followers, such as Martin Luther King Jr. during the 1950s and 60s.

The end of the Cold War and the fall of communism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block occurred to a great extent non-violently, even though there were — and are as I am writing this — some terrible exceptions like the wars in the former Yugoslavia. The turnover in South Africa took place without any major bloodshed, the official policy under Nelson Mandela being that of non-violence. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up to deal with offences against the people in order to make reconciliation possible. The Dalai Lama is working non-violently to liberate Tibet, so far, alas, without success.

As mentioned (Chapter 6), Gene Sharp (1973, 1990) developed considerable knowledge of non-violent methods.

12.2 Conflict resolution and mediation programmes with special reference to schools

After having presented a brief historical overview of conflict resolution programmes⁷², I will utilize Richard J. Bodine's and Donna K. Crawford's (1998) categorization and present some basic characteristics of these different programmes. Some evaluations of such programmes will be reviewed. Special attention will be paid to the programme that, above all, inspired the field study, the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP).

⁷² There is a bias, as most of the programmes presented are of North American origin. The main purpose is not to write a comprehensive historical review but to give insight into available programmes and ideas related to conflict resolution and mediation. These programmes have very much in common. This is true also of the programmes of Conflict Resolution Network (CRN) carried out in Australia as well as the one created by UNICEF. The same applies to work on conflict resolution and mediation in the United Kingdom.

Brief historical overview of teaching programmes

Bodine and Crawford (1998) are the authors of a very informative handbook of conflict resolution education in the United States. Here we learn that in the mid-1960s the Teaching Students to Be Peacemakers (TSP) program began at the University of Minnesota. Educators were trained how to resolve conflicts constructively and teach students how to do likewise. The main creator of the programme was David Johnson, who is the co-author of some well-established manuals (Johnson & Johnson, 1991, 1995b). Over the past thirty years many children from preschool to high school as well as teachers and administrators have been trained in how to implement the TSP programme (provided by the Cooperative Learning Center) throughout North America. The programme has been utilized in several countries in other parts of the world as well.

Children's Creative Response to Conflict (CCRC) grew from the Quakers' Project on Community Conflict in New York City which provided non-violence training. CCRC started work in some schools in 1972. Pioneering peace education work was carried out by Priscilla Prutzman (1978). Prutzman's manual *The Friendly Classroom for a Small Planet* contains many activities for promoting a good psychological climate, cooperation and conflict resolution. The importance of affirming everyone is stressed.

Stephanie Judson (1977) was another pioneer. She conducted the Non-violence and Children Program in Philadelphia.

The Community Board Program (CBP) was yet another conflict resolution organization early established — in 1976 in San Francisco. A few years later it began teaching mediation in schools. In the mid-1980s it shifted from mediation, which had simply reacted to school conflicts, to more comprehensive classroom curricula, aiming at preventing destructive conflicts. Students who learned effective communication and problem-solving skills in the classroom were considered to be better prepared to deal constructively with conflicts.

William Kreidler (1984) built on Judson's and Prutzman's work when he set about writing his own manual: *Creative Conflict Resolution: More Than 200 Activities for Keeping Peace in the Classroom K-6*.

Linda Lantieri, at the New York Board of Education, and Tom Roderick, at Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) in New York City, started their work in District 15 in New York in 1985: The Resolving Con-

flict Creatively Program (RCCP). They, in their turn, built on Prutzman's and Kreidler's above mentioned manuals (Lantieri & Patti, 1996).

In the 1960s and 1970s there was growing concern about social justice. In 1969 Galtung had published his article on structural violence (p. 85 above). The organization Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) was founded in the USA in the early 1980s. It focused on causes of violence. The organization provides on-site school training, preparing educators to teach conflict resolution, communication and inter-group relations. Shorter workshops are also offered. ESR distributes educational materials to support peaceable classrooms across the United States. The themes are as follows: conflict resolution, social responsibility, diversity education, violence prevention and character development.

In 1984 a group of educators, activists and community mediators formed the National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME) at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. In 1995, NAME merged with the National Institute for Dispute Resolution (NIDR) and became the Conflict Resolution Education Network (CREnet). These organizations provide support and materials to schools. Their journal is called "The Fourth R".

In 1986, in the International Year of Peace, the United Nations Association of Australia founded the Conflict Resolution Network (CRN) as part of their peace programme in order to "develop, teach, implement, and learn the skills of conflict resolution for personal, professional, and international effectiveness" (Cornelius & Faire, 1989, p. 7)⁷³. Since then CRN has given a large number of courses directed at different categories in society, including schools. The organization has produced education aids, such as manuals (e.g., McMahon, 1996) and videos. Cornelius and Faire published *Everyone Can Win* (1989). Its message is presented to some extent above (p. 74 ff.)

Morton Deutsch and Ellen Raider are heading the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution (ICCCR) at the Teachers College, Columbia University in New York. It was established in 1986. Its general purpose is to advance the fields of cooperative learning and conflict resolution through such activities as theoretical analysis, research, education, training and consultation.

⁷³ We notice a connection between the micro (personal and professional) and macro (international) levels.

In the middle of the 1990s, at the request of UNESCO, Morton Deutsch prepared a study identifying school-based programmes involving conflict resolution and mediation in different parts of the world. Lim & Deutsch (1996) wrote in conclusion of the study that a similar upsurge as that in the United States in the 1980s now appeared to be starting in other areas of the world — Europe, Australia, South Africa, Israel, Northern Ireland, etc. In Europe a number of Centres had emerged, and in 1990 a European Network for Conflict Resolution in Education was formed. They called for systematic research, comparing the major models of training.

The Program for Young Negotiators (PYN) was founded in 1993. The principles of the Harvard Negotiation Project as presented by Fisher, Ury and Patton in *Getting to Yes* (1991) are utilized (cf. above p. 72).

Education for Conflict Resolution: A Training for Trainers Manual (1997) is a recent contribution by UNICEF.

Categories of teaching programmes and their characteristics

Bodine and Crawford (1998) give an overview of “exemplary programs” in the U.S.

There are four basic approaches to conflict resolution education operating in schools. In practice there is an overlap between the categories. There is a gradual expansion from one approach to another.

The process curriculum approach. The programmes within this category are conducted as a separate course, distinct curriculum, or a daily or weekly lesson plan. An example is the Program for Young Negotiators (PYN). It has spread from the Boston area to other states and Canada as well. It provides curriculum materials, training seminars and ongoing support to schools and other youth-service organizations. There are workshops designed for parents. Teaching negotiation in schools is linked to community-based programmes. PYN collects and makes use of a wide range of cases that have been submitted to them over the years.

The Teens, Crime, and the Community (TCC) program was formed in 1985 through collaboration between Street Law Inc. (formerly the National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law) and the National Crime Prevention Council. Conflict resolution education curricula and manuals are designed for students of elementary and secondary schools.

The mediation programme approach. Selected individuals (adults or students) are trained in the principles and skills of conflict resolution and in

the mediation process in order to provide neutral third-party facilitation helping those in conflict reach a resolution. The mediator is responsible for controlling the process, whereas the disputants control the outcome. Peer mediation programmes have emerged as one of the most widely used types of conflict resolution programmes in schools. The training takes a minimum of twelve to fifteen hours with ongoing follow-up. Bodine and Crawford (1998, p. 70) write: “Infusing training activities and simulations with cross-cultural and social-justice issues provides an effective, relevant method to prepare peer mediators to deal with conflicts deriving from diversity.” – – – “Recommended follow-up lessons include bias awareness, cultural competency, prejudice reduction, power issues, practice with difficult mediations, support group discussions, and self-evaluation”.

The peaceable classroom approach is a “whole-classroom methodology” (p. 61) that includes teaching students principles and skills of conflict resolution. The conflict resolution education is incorporated into the core subjects of the curriculum and into classroom management strategies. It makes the building blocks of the peaceable school. Teachers learn the skills and create classroom environments that support conflict resolution and pro-social behaviour. William Kreidler is mentioned by Bodine and Crawford as a pioneer of the peaceable classroom, which is described as “a caring and respectful community wherein five qualities are present: *co-operation, communication, emotional expression, appreciation of diversity, and conflict resolution*” (p. 77). Learning activities in peaceable classrooms include the utilization of “teachable moments”. The students are encouraged to choose options that are non-violent, meet the needs of the people involved and improve relationships.

ESR (Educators for Social Responsibility) offers resource material providing examples for infusing conflict resolution into the core subjects of the curriculum.

One example of a programme designed for a peaceful classroom is Teaching Students to Be Peacemakers (TSP), mentioned above. It aims at training children every year from first through twelfth grades. The children are supposed to practise until the pattern of behaviour is automatic. (Evaluation, cf. pp. 157–159.) Bodine and Crawford write: “In order to be successful, teachers must effectively model the behavior they seek to teach through direct instruction, and schools must reflect the values they seek to

nurture among young people throughout all facets of their program” (p. 86).

The peaceable school approach is a comprehensive whole-school methodology that builds on the peaceable classroom approach. Conflict resolution principles and processes are learnt and used by every member of the school community: librarians, teachers, counsellors, students, principals and parents. Parent education is carried out and community initiatives are taken. Youth clubs may be involved. Bodine and Crawford write:

“The objectives of peacemaking are to achieve personal, group and institutional goals and to maintain cooperative relationships.” – – – “Peaceable school programs infuse conflict resolution into the way the school conducts its business, between students, between students and teachers, between teachers and administrators, and between parents and school personnel. Developing effective conflict resolution behavior requires a relationship of mutual appreciation and trust between the teacher and each learner.” – – – “The most important challenge of an educator in the peaceable school is to relate consistently and non-coercively to each learner. The same notion holds equally true for the interactions between and among adults“ (pp. 92–93).

The authors point out that policies and practices inherent in the operation of schools often provide powerful contradictory messages to peaceful resolution of conflicts and they call for “systemic change” (p. 94). They name competition, promoted or demanded within the system, as one such area of contradiction, another one the manner in which behavioural expectations are enforced. It is important that each student takes part in building the school system. The authors suggest that rules are few and simple and that the consequences for inappropriate behaviour “are known, non-punitive, and consistently applied” (p. 95). The goal is to create a school-wide discipline programme focused on empowering students to regulate and control their own behaviour. The problem-solving strategies of conflict resolution are presented as tools to enable individuals to plan for new, effective behaviour.

The Illinois Institute for Dispute Resolution (IIDR) is taken as an “exemplary school” (like RCCP, below). This extensive six-phase programme is designed for students and adults. Everyone in the school community is challenged to use conflict resolution processes in their daily lives. Schools and school districts are helped by the staff to develop a comprehensive plan

based on their needs and resources. Peaceable school workshops have been conducted in several states of the U.S. as well as in Canada and Australia.

Bodine and Crawford list the following skill areas fundamental to achieving a peaceable school: (1) *Building a peaceable climate*, where cooperation and responsibility are the foundations on which all the other skills are built. (2) *Understanding conflict*. The following citation is of particular interest to this study: “The idea that psychological needs are the underlying cause of conflict is particularly useful to students as they seek common interests to resolve disputes” (p. 99). (3) *Understanding peace and peacemaking* activities are designed to help students comprehend the concept of peace and put it into practice. Students are taught to observe peacemaking and peace-breaking behaviours. The principles of conflict resolution — appreciating diversity, understanding perceptions, empathizing, dealing with emotions, managing anger, countering bias, and communicating — are taught as behaviours of peacemaking. (4) *Mediation*. Peers learn to mediate, i.e. as neutral third parties facilitate conflict resolution. (5) *Negotiation*. This applies to unassisted conflict resolution. Disputants learn to state their individual needs, focus on their interests rather than their positions and generate options for mutual gain. (6) *Group problem solving*. This is presented as a creative strategy to deal with conflicts that involve a number of students within groups and between groups. Each group is responsible for working to achieve a consensus decision that is implemented to resolve the conflict.

Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP)

RCCP is a peaceable school programme disseminated by Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR). Its curricula were developed in close collaboration with participating teachers.

Lantieri (1992) writes that during the 1992–1993 school year the programme would involve over 4,000 teachers and more than 120,000 students from 200 schools throughout the U.S. By 1998 the RCCP had spread from New York City to 12 other sites around the country (Roderick, 1998).

The teaching guide *Resolving Conflict Creatively: A Draft Teaching Guide for Grades Kindergarten through Six* by Linda Lantieri and Tom

Roderick (1988) was, as mentioned, *my initial and main source of inspiration*⁷⁴.

The key themes in the manual are: communication, dealing constructively with feelings [especially anger], creative conflict resolution, cooperation, affirmation [i.e. building self-esteem], celebration of differences [understanding cultures], equality and “making a difference” [by which is meant ways of working to empower the children]. A key word is “peacemaker”.

In 1992, when I first encountered the manual (the first version), I was impressed by the clear connection between the micro and macro levels as well as the creativity of the activities. This inspired me to undertake the translation mentioned and to try out some activities in the schools where I was conducting a study at that time.

The following approaches are advocated: *workshops* (the children being active and the teacher a facilitator), *infusion* (infuse parts of the programme into the different subjects of the curriculum), *teachable moments* (it is a question of catching the moment, inside or outside the classroom) and *class meetings*. It is recommended as an ideal to use a combination of these approaches.

A later version of the manual (Lantieri, Roderick, Ray & Alson, 1993) is revised and considerably developed. So, for instance, teaching mediation and bias awareness (dealing with prejudice) are given much more space in this version.

Teachers interested in working with the programme receive a 25-hour *introductory training course* (at the onset it lasted 20 hours). In the second year they get five hours more training. Usually five teachers in a school start simultaneously. Year by year, more teachers at the same school are involved. RCCP staff developers give ongoing support to the teachers, pro-

⁷⁴ With Lantieri’s consent this teaching guide was translated and revised by me: *Kreativ konfliktlösning för mellanstadiet* [Resolving Conflict Creatively: A Guide for Grades 4–6] (1993). The bibliography was exchanged for one adapted to Swedish conditions. Activities for children aged 5–8 were excluded.

Gunnel Ankarstrand-Lindström translated a similar guide by Lantieri, Roderick and Ray (1990): *Kreativ konfliktlösning för högstadiet* [Resolving Conflict Creatively: A Guide for Grades 7–9] (1994). In a supplementary part of the manual G. Ankarstrand-Lindström added examples of peace education from her own experience since the original did not include peacemaking activities at the macro level to the same degree as the guide intended for the lower grades.

viding demonstration lessons, lesson preparation, co-teaching and classroom observation and feedback. They also regularly conduct follow-up meetings for teachers. During the first year the teachers are visited between six and ten times, during the next year two or three times.

The support by *school leaders* is regarded as essential. Therefore two full days of training per year for principals and assistant principals are given. *Peer mediation programmes* are run in some schools, but not until the children and their teacher have participated for at least one year in the RCCP. The school selects (in different ways) 25–35 pupils from grades 4–6 to participate in the initial training which lasts for three full days. They attend biweekly meetings to receive additional training, review difficult cases and foster group cohesiveness. (Aber et al., 1996.).

Staff developers also conduct 10–12 hours of *parent training* with an average of 25 parents per school. The latest development of the programme is “*targeted intervention for high-risk youth*”. Two trained adults work with groups of 20 fourth and fifth grade children, half of them being “high-risk” youngsters, the other half being positive peer leaders.

The first evaluation (by Metis Associates, 1990), conducted after three years of work, was encouraging. The evaluators recommended that the participating teachers should receive more support and that parents should be involved with the programme. They wrote: “It is important that children receive consistent reinforcement of the conflict resolution and relational skills they are learning and practicing in school” (p. 13). It was stressed by the responding teachers and evaluators that participating schools should engage a greater number of classes in the curriculum and training.

The next evaluation was conducted during 1994–1995 and 1995–1996 by the National Center for Children in Poverty at Columbia University’s School of Public Health. Aber et al. (1996, 1998) describe the preliminary results as promising. Analysis from the first year (1994–5) includes 5,000 children from grades 2–6 in 11 elementary schools in New York City (the whole study focused on over 8,000 children and nearly 400 teachers).

Utilizing previous research on developmental processes in children, Aber and co-workers decided to test the children by measuring their aggressive negotiation strategies, competent problem-solving strategies, aggressive fantasies and hostile attributional biases (assessing the extent to which the children attribute hostile intent in ambiguous situations). The authors write that previous research has shown that children’s scores on these

measures are correlated with their actual behaviour. They reason that if participating in the RCCP has a positive impact on the children's way of thinking and acting according to the measured constructs, it would reduce the risk for future aggressive, violent and antisocial behaviour. The children were tested at the beginning and the end of the school year for two years. Self-reported conduct problems and indications of depressiveness were also scored, and academic achievements registered. Data were collected regarding teachers' previous participation in the RCCP training and how many lessons they had taught in class.

Findings: In the course of the school year (data are only available from the first year, 1994-5) — irrespective of their participation in the RCCP — the children reported significantly higher levels of hostile attributional biases, aggressive interpersonal negotiation strategies, aggressive fantasies and conduct problems and significantly lower levels of competent interpersonal negotiation strategies. This placed the children at risk for future aggression and violence. Furthermore, the children's mean levels of aggressive cognitions, behaviours and symptomatology also increased with grade level, indicating that the time effect was not due to a possible measurement bias (Aber et al., 1998, p. 197). This finding of increasing aggressiveness with age was consistent with prior research (Dryfoos, 1990; Farrell & Meyer, 1997; Grossman et al., 1997).

However, the children in the group exposed to teachers who had taught many RCCP lessons (these teachers had received moderate training and coaching from RCCP's staff developers) did significantly better than the two groups of children having received little or no training from their teachers. Increases over the course of the school year in the children's attributional biases and aggressive interpersonal negotiation strategies and decreases in competent negotiation strategies were significantly slower (in some cases there was no increase at all) for children exposed to many RCCP lessons than for those having had few such lessons or none at all.

Aber and co-workers (as well as Roderick, 1998) discuss a finding which surprised them: Those children whose teachers had received a lot of training but who had taught only a few lessons did worse than those children who had received no instruction at all. Causes could be that these teachers were less skilled at teaching Resolving Conflict Creatively or less committed to the programme, or they had faced greater administrative hurdles and received less administrative and parent support than the teachers

giving more lessons had done. The authors conclude that additional research is needed⁷⁵.

In sum, when the RCCP lessons were taught, there was a positive effect to the extent that the rise in aggressiveness normally occurring over the school year (the children growing older) was dampened. The evaluators write that the intervention appeared to be effective for boys and girls and for younger and older elementary school children. There was no evidence that the effect of teaching the programme was weaker depending on the children's risk status (as operationalized by low depression and low academic achievement scores).

Were the findings robust across different settings? The positive effects on two developmental process variables (hostile attributional bias and aggressive fantasies) of the RCCP lessons were not consistent in class-rooms where there were low normative beliefs about aggression (aggression was regarded as "perfectly OK") (Aber et al., 1998). This indicates the importance of group influence and prevailing norms, and that these factors need special attention when the programme is further developed.

Kreidler: Conflict Resolution in the Middle School

Conflict Resolution in the Middle School: A Curriculum and Teaching Guide by William Kreidler (1994) reached me after I had started my field study in 1993. It proved to have many activities that could be used as a complement to those in RCCP. This led me to translate some of them into Swedish (for personal use) and introduce them in the classroom as part of the project.

⁷⁵ In an earlier paper the evaluators write: "Conflict resolution should not be thought of as a set of skills but as a way of life. Teachers must carefully examine their own actions and then teach this way of life to students" (Aber et al., 1996, p. 88). This is a very important reflection which — from my experiences — I feel holds a profound truth that probably explains much of the problem [note that there is no indication in the report, either in words or in the graphs, that the children whose teachers had received a lot of training but had taught only few lessons were more aggressive at the beginning of the first school year]. Teachers may get a lot of training, for one reason or the other, but they may still not change their own conduct. It is a question of personality and of world-view.

The finding, which surprised the researchers, seems to me to be very important since it indicates the deep dimensions of teaching conflict resolution. There are many obstacles as we will see in the field study. These are discussed in Chapter 16.

The manual has three parts. *Part One*, “Conflict Skill Lessons,” contains 20 lessons dealing with the micro level. The content is similar to what is found in RCCP and the UNESCO and Australian manuals. It is about escalation of conflict and de-escalation, dealing with emotions, win-win resolutions, perspectives, the difference between “demands” and what you “really need”, negotiation and mediation. *Part Two*, “Diversity and Conflict Lessons,” focuses on prejudice and discrimination owing to cultural and economical differences between groups. *Part Three*, “Infusing Conflict Resolution into Curriculum,” suggests, among other things, where in the daily routine the class can work with the issues. One chapter gives guidelines for role-plays.

One difference from the RCCP manual (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988) is that in Kreidler’s guide there are more examples of conflict situations that can be utilized. On the other hand, the connection between the micro and macro levels does not stand out as in the RCCP. In my opinion, there is less attention to conscious peace building and less focus on visions. However, there has been no problem in combining the two models.

Related evaluations

Lam’s (1988) meta-study of six school-based peer mediation programmes from six areas of the U.S. was prepared for the National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME) in January 1988 (about NAME see p. 141). By that time, the authors state, little research had been conducted on such programmes although they had multiplied from a handful to over one hundred in only three years.

Students from elementary, middle and high schools were selected for a peer mediation programme, usually lasting 14–20 hours. In some cases classroom lessons on conflict resolution skills were added. Findings suggest that students’ self-esteem improved. However, the authors state that findings are inconclusive because the studies did not use the same evaluation criteria. In nearly every case, the qualitative and anecdotal evidence was stronger than the quantitative evidence. Many of the comparisons were made without a control group and the programmes, which did have controls, did not establish the comparability of the treatment and control groups. This was advanced as a problem by the authors. Self-selection and teacher recommendations into the mediation programme were commonly

performed. Also, students in control groups may have been influenced by the programme if they attended the same school as the treatment group. Maturation and other factors may have influenced the results.

*The Child Development Project (CDP) (1991)*⁷⁶ was a project “to bring about caring and responsible attitudes in students in kindergarten through grade 6”. The programme started in San Ramon, a suburban school district in California, in 1982. By 1991 it had fairly recently been introduced into yet another district. The teachers received the equivalent of 11–13 days of in-service training over the course of a year. Five of these days were during a summer institute. The remaining days were spaced over the school year. Each teacher was also observed in his or her classroom by a CDP staff member or fellow teacher once every week or two during the year. These observations were the basis for follow-up discussions and coaching. Two or three years of involvement were deemed necessary for teachers to become proficient at using the entire programme.

CDP’s approach to classroom management and discipline was called “developmental discipline”. Its goal was self-discipline and a strong personal commitment to core values. It focused on building the child’s sense of being part of a caring, mutually respectful classroom community. The idea was that children should help develop rules and norms and participate in planning and problem-solving in the classroom, using teaching situations as teaching opportunities. Another approach was cooperative learning that focused on children’s academic and social learning simultaneously. It made both kinds of learning the subject of explicit discussion and review with the children. Extrinsic motivators, such as group grades and inter-group competitions, were avoided. Students were provided with challenging academic group tasks to establish small-group dynamics that foster collaboration and concern for the well-being of others.

In San Ramon the implementation of the programme started in kindergarten, a new class being involved each year. An extensive evaluation was conducted from the beginning, examining how well the programme was carried out in classrooms and what outcomes it had for students. Data — classroom observations, teacher and student questionnaires and interviews

⁷⁶ Reference: *Evaluation of the Child Development Project: Summary of Findings to Date (1991)*. Developmental Studies Center, San Ramon, CA.

— were collected from three programme schools and three similar comparison schools. The evaluation report was presented after eight years.

Each year a new set of observers were trained. They did not know which school implemented the programme when they carried out observations. According to the report, they found that teachers in classes using the programme (1) made greater use of “developmental discipline” and cooperative learning, (2) involved the students more in helping activities, and (3) promoted pro-social values and interpersonal understanding more than teachers in non-programme classrooms.

Observations indicated that students in programme classrooms exhibited more pro-social behaviour than students in non-programme classrooms. Interviews and questionnaires further suggested that students in programme schools had better-developed conflict resolution skills and were more committed to such values as standing up for one’s opinion — even when unpopular — and giving others involved in a decision a chance to express their views than students in non-programme schools.

Tricia S. Jones (1998) reports positive findings from *a two-year peer mediation evaluation project* which investigated the impact of cadre [meaning that selected students were trained] and whole-school peer mediation programmes on students’ conflict attitudes and behaviours, school climate and the use of mediation as a dispute resolution process. Twenty-seven schools in Philadelphia, Laredo and Denver participated in the project. In each community, respected training organizations provided training and helped schools implement the programmes. Three educational levels were investigated: elementary, middle and high school. The study included control schools.

Jones reports that the evaluators stated that the data clearly demonstrated that exposure to peer mediation reduced personal conflict and increased pro-social values, decreased aggressiveness and increased perspective-taking and conflict competence. Especially for peer mediators, these impacts were significant, cumulative and sustained for long periods (p. 21). The findings regarding the effectiveness of cadre programmes as compared to whole-school programmes were not regarded as conclusive. The author writes: “Our results do not support the assumption that whole school programs are clearly superior to cadre programs. Based on this evidence, schools that cannot afford a whole school approach may secure similar, or even superior, benefits with a cadre program that is well implemented” (p.

27). The programmes were regarded as having had strong impact on school climate at all levels. This was particularly evident for elementary schools, the report says. In these, mediation was performed in very informal settings such as the playground.

Between 1988 and 1994 Johnson and Johnson (1995c) conducted *seven studies*⁷⁷ in six different schools in the U. S. and Canada, examining the effectiveness of the *Teaching Students to Be Peacemakers (TSP) program* (cf. pp. 144, 147). The students involved were from first through ninth grade. Five of the studies included control groups. In three cases classrooms and/or controls were selected randomly. Teachers were rotated across conditions in four studies. Two approaches to peer mediation were examined: total student body and school cadre. The amount of training varied across schools. Cadre training programmes lasted 1.5 days, those of whole class from 9 hours over 15 days to 14 hours over 12 weeks.

The programme was based on theories of constructive conflict (Deutsch, 1973), perspective-reversal, communication in conflict situations and integrative (= problem-solving to attain true conflict resolution) bargaining. All students in a school learnt how to negotiate integrative agreements to their conflicts and how to mediate schoolmates' conflicts. Mediation was rotated throughout the entire student body. The norms, values and culture of the school promoted and supported the use of the negotiation and mediation procedures.

Following training, students were given some tests: (1) they were to write down from memory the steps of negotiation and the procedures of mediation; (2) they were asked to respond to conflict scenarios in writing, in an interview and in role-playing; (3) the students reported spontaneous use of negotiation and mediation procedures in non-classroom and non-school settings; and (4) there were observations four months after the training had ended, the observations of students lasting for the entire school day for 10 days. (5) There were also interviews with teachers and principals.

Synthesis and summary of the results.

⁷⁷ References to the following studies are given: Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R., Cotten B. et al. (1995); Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. and Dudley, B. (1992); Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R., Dudley, B. and Acikgoz, K. (1994); Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R., Dudley, B. and Magnuson, D. (1995); Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R., Dudley, B., Ward, M. and Magnuson, D. (1995); Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R., Mitchell, J. et al. (1996); Stevahn et al. (1995).

Before training, most students were found to be involved in conflicts daily: put-downs, teasing, playground conflicts, possession conflicts, physical aggression, academic work conflicts and turn taking. They did not know how to negotiate a mutually acceptable agreement. They used destructive strategies that tended to escalate the conflict and they referred their conflicts to the teacher to a large degree.

After training, 85–94% of the students in the experimental condition accurately recalled all of the negotiation steps. In one study (Stevahn et al., 1995), 85% of the trained students recalled all the steps and 15 % nearly all the steps, whereas 70 % of the untrained student listed zero steps and the remaining 30% one or two steps. The trained students were able to apply the negotiation and mediation procedures to a variety of conflicts and transfer the procedures to non-classroom and non-school settings, also in their families. When they were placed in a negotiation situation where they could try to win (win-lose approach to negotiations) or maximize joint outcomes (the integrative approach), almost all trained students focused on maximizing joint outcomes, whereas no student in the control condition did so. This effect was consistent in the sixth through ninth grades.

Interviews of six participating teachers and principals (Johnson, Johnson, Dudley & Magnuson, 1995), all endorsing the programme, reported that the training resulted in conflicts among students becoming less severe and destructive and, therefore, the classroom climate became more positive. The teachers stated that students managed their own conflicts constructively and the teachers and principals spent much less time resolving conflicts among students. Parental interest in the programme was significant and positive. Many times students related stories of how they mediated conflicts at home and in other contexts outside the school.

In the Stevahn et al. (1995) study the conflict training was integrated in a 2-week high-school English unit. The students were randomly assigned to experimental or control groups. The task was to study an English novel. Students in the experimental group also learnt the negotiation procedure and role-played each of the major conflicts of the novel using the integrative negotiation procedure. There was an achievement test taken by all the students on the last day of the instructional unit. Students in the experimental condition scored significantly higher on this test than those in the control condition, who had only studied the novel. Referring to these results, Johnson and Johnson (1995c, p. 434) write: “Because much of literature,

history, and science deals with conflicts, the possibilities of integrating conflict resolution training and subject matter learning seem quite possible and promising”.

However, knowing the procedures for integrative negotiations does not mean that students will also act in accordance with their knowledge. The authors suggest that all students receive 12 years of training, including the following steps:

1. Establish a cooperative context by structuring the majority of learning situations cooperatively (Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Johnson, Johnson & Holubec, 1993).
2. Use academic controversies⁷⁸ to increase achievement and motivation to learn.
3. Establish a peacemaker programme [to teach conflict resolution].

There is yet another study indicating a positive outcome, *The Effects of Training in Conflict Resolution and Cooperative Learning in an Alternative High School* (carried out at the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution at the Teachers College, Columbia University in New York, Deutsch, 1992). Two years’ training in the form of extracurricular workshops was provided at three campuses. The training model used for cooperative learning was the one developed by Johnson and Johnson, mentioned above. There was also training in conflict resolution includ-

⁷⁸ According to Johnson and Johnson (1995c, pp. 420–421), “academic controversy exists when one student’s ideas, information, conclusions, theories, and opinions are incompatible with those of another, and the two seek to reach an agreement”. Over the past 25 years the authors have developed a theory of controversy, tested it by conducting several experimental and field-experimental studies and developed a series of curriculum units on energy and environmental issues, structured for academic controversies. They have trained teachers to use such controversies in schools and colleges. The students have been taught to prepare scholarly positions, advocate them, refute the opposing positions while rebutting criticisms of their position, view the issues of both perspectives and come to a consensus about their “best reasoned judgment” based on a synthesis of the two positions (Johnson & Johnson, 1979, 1989, 1995a).

Avery et al. (1999) give a fair understanding of teaching academic controversies. They explain the method and claim the following results as compared to concurrence seeking, debate and individualistic efforts: greater mastery and retention of content, higher-quality decisions, more creative problem-solving, a greater exchange of expertise, greater perspective-taking accuracy, more positive relationships and higher self-esteem, adding: “cognitive and social skills are mastered that are essential for the constructive resolution of conflict and the understanding of war and peace” (p. 277).

ing mediation skills. The programme consisted of about two hours of training workshops about twice a month with the trainer on campus one day per week for individual staff development.

Data collected included questionnaires before and after training, performance ratings of students, evaluations of behaviour by teachers and supplemental interviews. The report summarizes that the students improved in managing their conflicts and that they experienced increased social support. This improvement in social relations with others led to increased self-esteem as well as a decrease in feelings of anxiety and depression. Higher self-esteem, in turn, produced a greater sense of personal control. This led to higher academic performances.

However, the author states that they were unable to draw any definite conclusions about the relative effects of the training in conflict resolution as compared with that in cooperative learning. There were differences between campuses and the training was not the same for all students.

The Ohio School Conflict Management Demonstration Project (Wheeler et al., 1994) was conducted in twenty schools between 1990 and 1993. Information was gathered from student questionnaires, disciplinary reports and interviews conducted by independent researchers.

The approaches employed in the schools were the (1) mediation, (2) classroom and (3) comprehensive approach.

(1) There were school peer mediation programmes, student-teacher and parent-teacher mediation programmes. Typically 10–20 students per school were trained, and so were adults, in order to assist disputing adults in resolving their problems. Student-teacher mediation programmes were usually an outgrowth of established adult and student mediation programmes.

(2) The classroom approach gave all students an opportunity to learn and practise conflict management concepts and skills. Infusion into existing curricula was utilized. Conflict management courses were provided for students and conflict management was infused into the teachers' classroom management style.

(3) The comprehensive approach involved mediation and classroom approaches and offered conflict management knowledge and skills to all students, school personnel and parents. Complementary programmes, such as drug-free initiatives and multicultural education, could be included and schools could cooperate with community organizations, such as police, ju-

venile courts, recreation centres, children's services and adult volunteer mediation centres

The findings of the Demonstration Project were gathered by the Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management. Twenty schools (controls excluded) participated. The programmes varied, as we have seen, but overall, according to the final report, the information indicated that most students improved their attitudes toward conflict, increased their understanding of non-violent problem-solving methods and enhanced their communication skills. It is also reported decreases in disciplinary action e.g., suspension. School climate was improved.

One middle school, which implemented both mediation and conflict management curricula, showed only a small rise in students' willingness to stop a fight but a similar school, without conflict management initiatives, reported that students' willingness to stop fights decreased during the year. [This is consistent with other reports, indicating that aggressiveness increases as children grow into adolescence, as well as with the results reported by Aber et al. (1998) from the RCCP (see above pp. 151–152)].

The Ohio Commission further states that "solid results" usually take time to develop and that on-going commitment to conflict management initiatives must be made by students, teachers and administrators. If these programmes are treated as one or two years projects, many of the positive changes made in the students' attitudes and behaviours will be lost in the long run. Changes occurred at different times for different schools during the three years long project. In some schools positive changes took place in the first year or 18 months and then held steady. However, in other schools, positive changes in students' attitudes were not evidenced until the second or third year of a program's existence.

The variety of the conflict management programmes in the different schools gave rise to different outcomes. The report states that many factors could account for modest or mixed results. Several schools lost their conflict management coordinators due to budget cuts, transfers and promotions. This clearly affected the strength of several programmes and resulted in the termination of programmes in three schools, the report says, adding that also events outside school, in society, may have affected the students' attitudes about resolution of conflict.

Bodine and Crawford (1998, pp. 103–114) review "research findings on what works". Among those are the studies by Johnson and Johnson, the

Ohio Commission (Wheeler et al., 1994) and Deutsch et al. (1992) at Columbia Teachers College in New York presented above. Evaluations of quite a few more studies are made known. We are told that comprehensive evaluation studies are currently being conducted in the two “peaceful school” programmes, the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP) (above, pp. 149–153) and the Illinois Institute for Dispute Resolution (IIDR) (above, pp. 148-149). Bodine & Crawford (1998, p. 111) conclude that further research and evaluation of conflict resolution education is anticipated, adding: ”but it is unlikely to alter the impression of the efficacy of conflict resolution education”.

12.3 Peace education

This study has concentrated on violence prevention and conflict resolution within the broader field of peace education. References to work done are therefore mainly restricted to conflict resolution or theories on which I have built. Here, however, I will venture to give some references to peace education at large.

UNESCO’s “Recommendation concerning education for international understanding,” adopted in 1974, is of special importance to peace education, considering UNESCO’s status as part of the UN organization.

During recent decades a number of educators and psychologists have contributed to peace education. Two examples are Burns’ and Aspeslagh’s (1996) anthology on peace education and Raviv’s, Oppenheimer’s and Bartal’s (1999) contribution on children’s understanding of war and peace.

In Scandinavia I would like to mention the following authors and their works (in alphabetical order): Ankarstrand-Lindström (1992), Brock-Utne (1985, 1989), Haavelsrud (1991), Jensen & Keldorff (1984), Johansson (1994), Nordland (1994), Pikas (1983, 1985, 1999), Rudvall (1986), Thelin (1991) and Wahlström (1991a–b).

Åke Bjerstedt, Malmö School of Education, has dealt with peace education in different countries (Bjerstedt, 1988; 1996a). He has discussed the relation between peace education and conflict resolution (1995) and compiled bibliographies on monographs and paper collections on peace education (1997), on articles on peace education (1998a) and on peace education aids (1998b).

For many years he has edited “Peace, Environment and Education,” a journal related to PEC, the Peace Education Commission, a subgroup of the International Peace Research Association. An overview of the papers presented at the PEC conferences 1990–1996 gives a fair indication of activities in the field of peace education during these years (Bjerstedt, 1996b). Attention has there been paid to conflict resolution and related subjects (such as cooperation, culture of peace, democracy, enemy images, non-violence and prejudice).

12.4 Conclusion

During the last four decades we find a tremendous expansion of work related to conflict resolution. Organizations were founded and journals produced. This was followed by a likewise impressive expansion of education programmes directed at schools particularly but also the community at large. Mediation cadre programmes were common. However, development has occurred and ever more whole schools and communities are getting involved. There are many positive citations from people exposed to the programmes, but empirical research is still deficient, something which is widely stated. This applies not only to conflict resolution but to peace education at large. Research is needed in virtually all areas. The effectiveness of programmes has to be documented in order to make the public and policy makers take interest. Two areas of special importance are promotion of intercultural understanding and activities to improve at-risk youth’s mental health.

PART TWO

Developing a Teaching Programme in Violence Prevention and Conflict Resolution, Connecting the Micro and Macro Levels, Grades 4–6

During the years 1993–1996, building on experiences from a previous field study, a teaching programme was tried out in seven classes, grades 4–6, at four schools in the south of Sweden. The children were between 10 and 13 years old.

Chapter 13 gives a background of conditions influencing peace education in Sweden. The aims and objectives, contents and methods of the teaching programme of this study are presented. The theoretical basis and educational objectives are related to the different activities of the programme.

Chapter 14 deals with the design and methodology of the study, which was conducted as a piece of developmental work within the field of action research.

Chapter 15 gives an account of the development of the programme. The presentation of the lessons includes the findings as we go along. The process was registered and analysed more thoroughly in one of the classes, F, which was included in the study from late grade 4 to the end of grade 6. Some space is also given to Class D, in certain respects a contrast to Class F. In order not to burden the reader too much, I will only give examples rather than make a total review of the programme.

The idea was to try out some activities in order to gain experience in the field and, during the process, to draw from these the main findings, the aim being an increased understanding of the opportunities for and obstacles to teaching violence prevention and conflict resolution connecting the micro and macro levels. These findings will be discussed in Chapter 16.

However, I will begin by briefly summarizing the findings of some interviews in an earlier field study. This is to be regarded as a background to the subsequent development of our teaching programme.

Background: An interview study on peace and the future

“If the children and youth of a nation are afforded opportunity to develop their capacities to the fullest, if they are given the knowledge to understand the world and the wisdom to change it, then the prospects for the future are bright. In contrast, a society which neglects its children, however well it may function in other respects, risks eventual disorganization and demise.”

(U. Bronfenbrenner, 1970, p. 1)

Internationalization of Education: Obstacles and Opportunities was a comprehensive research project led by Professor Åke Bjerstedt. The interview study of forty 10-year-old children — findings of which I will refer to here — constituted the very beginning of a project dealing with peace education in grades 4–6 in two schools in Malmö. This was part of the major research project. The interviews were held in October and November, 1990.

The *objective* of the interviews was to learn about the pupils’ thoughts and feelings⁷⁹ about and attitudes towards issues of global survival⁸⁰.

The concept *peace* was used in a broad sense: welfare, freedom and justice in national and global society, mental peace and nature in ecological balance. It meant freedom from militarism, violence and oppression. It did *not* mean freedom from conflict.

I interviewed 10 pupils from each of four classes, belonging to two urban schools, one of which was formerly known to us, the other one selected because it differed in many respects from the first one. One school was situated in an area with many immigrants and refugees, the other with few of them. The latter was more affluent than the former. Half of the in-

⁷⁹ The framing of the questions in the interviews were such that the children’s thoughts and feelings about issues of global survival were asked for. Some of these questions had been raised to the children in questionnaires given to them a couple of months earlier. The interviews were conducted as a supplemental follow-up in order to gain more insight.

⁸⁰ The *definition* utilized in the project ran: By issues of global survival we mean issues of war and peace, including weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons; pollution and other environmental problems; unjust distribution of resources and human rights.

interviewees were girls and half were boys. Altogether I interviewed 40 children. Only 39 have been included in the report (Utas Carlsson, 1999) owing to a mistake made⁸¹. The sample was unbiased as all the children accepted (lots were drawn). The interviews, all of them conducted by me, were individual, tape-recorded, semi-structured and confidential. The interview guide is included as Appendix 2.

The method utilized to analyse, organize and, finally, structure the presentation was performed according to a modification of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), a modification as the data collection was already completed when I carried out the analysis.

In the report, findings are presented in two ways:

1. Illustration of *the variation of the phenomenon* — the children's thoughts and feelings about and attitudes towards issues of global survival and their strategies to deal with the problems as they saw them — without regard to the individuals.
2. *Portraits* of four of the interviewees, selected to depict different ways of responding to issues of global survival. One of these portraits is included in this study as Appendix 3. This was a verbally talented boy who became inspired and empowered by the interview, someone listening to him. It gives evidence of a transformation from powerlessness into exhibition of a great deal of personal power⁸². However, what he

⁸¹ At the time of the interview, owing to delays and a communication failure, one of the children had already met one of our staff in a follow-up lesson after answering the questionnaires. This interview was excluded.

⁸² *In this particular interview study, powerlessness is defined as lack of awareness of or belief in solutions to problems at the global level. In the analysis the term is used in a restricted, instrumental sense, referring to what the children uttered in the interviews regarding issues of global survival. If they made no proposals for action to reduce the problems asked about in the interview, they were considered to be "powerless" regarding those issues. (They could be more "powerless" in relation to one problem than another one.) If they made proposals but showed that they did not believe in their feasibility or effect, they were also regarded as "powerless". There was a continuum between "personal power" and "powerlessness" on which the individual interview was placed.*

The children were not asked about their *feelings* of personal power and powerlessness, only what could be done about a specific problem. Therefore, in the analysis, I wrote to "be powerless" and "have personal power" (*in the above, instrumental sense*) rather than indicating that they had "feelings of powerlessness" or "feelings of personal power" although they may have had such feelings as well. Lack of awareness may imply repression of feelings as a result of a mechanism of defence, the purpose of which is to reduce pain (see Chapter 10). However, feelings and thoughts may also be *sup-*

said about many things had been said also by others. Thus he was not very odd, but very eloquent.

Here I will briefly summarize some of the findings that are of special interest to the development of peace education.

Findings. The 39 interviews held with 10-year-old children vary considerably.

Many children expressed *concern* about war, victims of war, nuclear weapons, environmental problems, such as pollution or cutting down rainforests, and poverty, especially poor children. Some of them gave evidence of concern about most of these issues, some about one or two of them. The children could say that they worried a lot, a little or not at all. Some indicated repression of thoughts and feelings, leading to lack of awareness when repression was successful. Others suppressed them. Frequency of thoughts and worry/concern varied. Duration of worry, and even more so of fear, was generally said to be short. The children's answers about their thoughts have been related to what they — according to the interview — knew about the respective issue.

Knowledge about issues of global survival varied greatly. A few children knew a good deal about nuclear weapons, even about their late effects, and some expressed a vague feeling that nuclear weapons are “stronger” and more destructive than conventional ones. Quite a few children felt that nuclear weapons threatened the planet or at least part of it. Some did not know the difference between conventional and nuclear weapons. A minority of the children seemed not to know about pollution. When asked about environmental problems, this group of children only talked about cutting down rainforests and/or littering the environment.

Children said that they thought about the discussed issues when they were watching the news, when adults talked or when they noticed pollution in nature, like smoke from a lorry.

pressed. Suppression means that awareness will be more easily awakened. It was difficult for me to draw the line between repression and suppression. Both are referred to and there is no definite border between them.

Personal power means competence and “copefulness” (Macy's term, 1983). It is the opposite of powerlessness. It is used here in relation to problems encountered. Preparedness for taking part in work aiming at a change for the better was increased when the child had personal power.

The impact of mass media was strong. In particular, this applied to a TV programme which described some Rumanian orphanages with children living under appalling conditions. There was evidence of sometimes deep empathy among the interviewees.

A high degree of knowledge about issues of global survival led in some cases to worry or concern, but it also happened that it did not. The reason may be repression, or suppression, since children, naturally, wanted to think of issues easier to cope with.

Sometimes children made proposals for solutions related to poverty and/or environmental problems but did not think there was anything that could be done about war. In this case I classified them as “being partly powerless” (cf. footnote 82, pp. 166-167). Some children suggested solutions to all the problems, some to none.

There were many examples of children “being powerless”. It happened that such a child did express some degree of “preparedness to act,” by which we meant “ability, willingness and commitment to act in order to make a change for the better” regarding one or more of the issues of global survival we discussed. However, usually the “powerless” children did not.

There were children giving evidence of “preparedness to act,” sometimes to a considerable degree. Those children also suggested solutions and, thus, they were classified as “having personal power” (cf. footnote 4).

Indications of repression or suppression were given by some children. They could explain how they voluntarily avoided thinking about issues that would worry them. Also, there were children who knew a great deal about threats to the earth, who saw no solution to the problems and had no experience of anyone close to them caring about these problems, children who did not seem committed. The repression in these cases was more effective, completely or almost completely blocking out feelings and thoughts that could cause pain. In some cases one could suddenly find an expression of commitment.

Having more knowledge did not seem to lead to more talking about issues of global survival or feelings related to them. No child said that he or she talked about these issues with any of their teachers. Some of them talked to their parents, often the mother, but there were many obstacles to communication. These were looked into.

One important reason for lack of communication appeared to be that the children connected talk with action and, finding no feasible solutions to the

problems (what I have called powerlessness), they could see no use talking about them. The child might feel unhappy or scared thinking about the problem and, therefore, preferred not to think about it. One reason not to talk about these problems, even if the child worried, was that it was not a thing one did in their family (impact of culture), another that it was no use to worry in advance since it might be in vain. Protecting the parent from pain was yet another cause not to talk. Children could express fear of being ridiculed, regarded too small, or worry that the other, valued person would not understand or not be committed. According to the interview, some children did not have experience of support in talking about any problems, not even personal ones. In a few cases the child thought that the feared event might happen if one talks about it (superstition).

Conditions facilitating communication were to a considerable extent the opposite conditions to those preventing it. It happened that children had experienced support when talking to parents about issues of global survival. In some cases the parents took action such as supporting an environmental or solidarity organization or even sponsoring a particular child. Then the interviewee experienced shared feelings of commitment.

There were clear indications that those children who had experienced pro-social models, often in the family, made more suggestions for what to do about different issues of global survival discussed in the interview than those did who did not report any such model during the whole interview. The pro-social activity was often financial support to an organization such as Greenpeace, Save the Children or the Red Cross.

Commentary. One important finding is that to a great extent the children were left alone with their questions and feelings. It is sad to see how adult society had not managed to give children positive visions of the future, nor security and self-assertiveness regarding important global issues. This is a challenge for action.

Macy's (1983) theoretical and practical work bears evidence that lack of communication regarding these issues, which worried and disturbed the interviewees, was a cause of as well as a result of repression (Chapter 10).

The interviews indicate that having experiences of a pro-social model, who cared and did something to improve the situation, made the children more prepared to act, more empowered. This was in accordance with other findings, giving evidence of the children's way of emphasizing action. So, for instance, they were interested in talking to their parents and others

about these issues above all when they felt that it might lead to change, and they were less interested in learning about world problems at school if remedies were not discussed. If they saw no solutions, such talk and work made them feel sad. Then they felt that it was better to avoid the whole thing. The war–peace issue was the most difficult one to handle. Therefore it was more often avoided than environmental problems.

The children's way of connecting concern with action was also evident in reply to the questions whether they thought their parents worried or not about environmental issues and war. They thought that worry was a good thing if they felt that it mattered in any way: More concern might lead to action. If, on the other hand, they were pessimistic about change, they felt it was better if their parents did not worry.

Unfortunately few children seemed to have contact with peace, environmental or solidarity organizations. Experiencing work carried out could help to reduce feelings of powerlessness and pessimism that, as mentioned, are prevalent in the data.

Also at school the children seemed to get very little help to deal with their fears and concern. They encountered many problems but few solutions. As a rule they did not think about party politics and voting. The children knew about political leaders and they associated power with them. Why did they not think about how they become leaders and how they get and keep their power? Considering the advanced thoughts that the children expressed about the problems, as well as feasible and less feasible activities to solve them, I think that one should not simply refer to their low age. Democracy is one of the values of our society. It needs to be more than a word.

A few children expressed frustration and anger with adults for the state of the world. At the same time they showed solidarity, particularly with their parents. It was important for them to see that their parents and other adults cared. Unfortunately, this was often not within their experience, as their communication with adults about issues of global survival was minimal and as they knew very little about work being done, by individuals and in organizations, to bring about change.

In the interviews it happened at times that children connected different issues of global survival (war–peace, environmental issues and the poverty problem) with each other and also linked problems at the local level to those at the global, indicating that they were prepared to see not only prob-

lems but also solutions as interconnected. This is in accordance with the theoretical basis for this study.

The interviews summarized here were conducted before the invasion of Iraq by the UN alliance. The Yugoslavian war had not yet started at the time of the interviews, nor had the Swedish recession and rise in unemployment. Therefore, similar interview questions would probably elicit partly different answer patterns today.

13 Peace Education: Building a Culture of Peace

13.1 A brief review of conditions influencing peace education in Sweden

The Compulsory School Curriculum of 1962 underlined the importance of internationally oriented teaching, e.g. regarding human rights and international understanding and cooperation.

The Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) was founded in 1965. The National Board of Education and SIDA were requested by the state to develop teaching material regarding international issues. Workshops for teachers were also organized. There were two motives for an internationalized school, namely (1) international solidarity and responsibility and (2) the need for knowledge and abilities suited to business and an international labour market.

The 1980 compulsory school curriculum was in force when the teaching programme presented here started in 1993. It requires schools to “actively and deliberately condition and encourage children and young persons to embrace the fundamental values of our democracy and to express those values in practical, everyday action.” It continues: “Schools must therefore develop within their pupils such values as are capable of sustaining and strengthening the democratic principles of tolerance, partnership and equal rights” (Swedish National Board of Education, 1980, p. 9). Schools must work to promote the equality of men and women (p. 10).

The curriculum further states that “schools must make pupils realize that nobody must be subjected to oppression and that no person with problems and difficulties must be left to his fate. Everybody is duty bound to try to alleviate the pain, suffering and degradation of others” (p. 9). “Schools must endeavour to lay the foundations of solidarity with disadvantaged groups in this country and abroad. They must actively promote the inclusion of immigrants in this country in the community” (p. 10). “Schools must inculcate an understanding, based on the children’s everyday experience, of the major problems of survival which are confronting the world” (p. 9).

It is stated that “schools must make active efforts to enable pupils to understand the problems of the developing countries and our dependence on those countries” (p. 23).

The curriculum requires schools to “lay the foundations of a determination to seek peaceful solutions to conflicts. This means that schools must aim to develop in pupils a capacity for empathy and for understanding other people’s conditions, and also a will to act in the best interest of other people as well as oneself” (p. 10). “The discussion of conflicts and their resolution must form a natural element of many instructional contexts in school” (p. 25).

Furthermore, schools must train pupils to look for causes of antipathies and conflicts and to help them understand how conflicts between individuals, between groups and between nations have arisen in the past and may arise today, what the grounds for conflicts may be and how they can be averted and resolved. Teaching must be aimed at strengthening respect for fundamental human rights and liberties. It must create a preparedness to strive for peace and enhance understanding of the necessity for international solidarity. Also, pupils should be made aware of opportunities for change. (Läroplan för grundskolan, kursplaner/syllabi/, 1980, p. 120).

In 1985 the Swedish National Board of Education (NBE) published a so-called service material on peace education, entitled “Peace Education. Peace — Liberty — Development — Human Rights” (English translation in 1986) (Swedish National Board of Education, 1985). The initiative was taken by Bengt Thelin, Director at the NBE, who, during many years, devotedly worked to legitimize and develop peace education in Sweden. The material was an important contribution to the initial and further training of teachers. Conferences and courses for teachers and teacher trainers were run (Thelin, 1992).

The NBE published an “Action Programme for the Internationalization of Education” in 1988 (Swedish National Board of Education, 1988). It was an appeal for stronger attention in curriculum and education to such issues as peace, human rights and environment. In this document the term internationalization stood for global ethics and solidarity. The financial support requested by the NBE was refused by the government but it is likely, Thelin (1992, p. 12) writes, that this action programme, which was sent out to all schools in the country, gave further support and inspiration to intensifying instruction on global issues.

Already from an early stage in the development of peace education the words *Knowledge*, *Feeling* and *Action* were used by the NBE to characterize peace education. Thelin (1991) advocates their use also for environ-

ment education. Knowledge, of course, is fundamental. Here several academic disciplines are involved. Cooperation between teachers and team teaching are recommended.

Thelin (1992) points out that we are here dealing with existential issues in the original meaning of the word and that everyone, who seriously tries to make her- or himself familiar with them, is likely to experience feelings of indignation, anxiety, fear, wrath or whatever. [I would like to add powerlessness, pain and sadness. I am sure there are more.] He draws attention to the urgency of adapting instruction to the level and maturity of the pupils and, above all, not to frighten them (p. 15). Speaking in favour of teaching these issues is the fact that children, through mass media, are exposed to “many frightening, anxiety-inducing impressions and bits of information, whether questions of war, violence and environmental catastrophes are approached in school or not” (p. 15).

Thelin observes that it is “of greatest importance to channel such feelings, whatever they are, into productive paths and thus use them as a power and resource for positive and hopeful activities” (pp. 15–16). He further discusses possible actions and gives the following examples: sister or twin schools in the developing countries, cooperation with humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross, Save the Children, Amnesty International, environmental groups and organizations etc. (Thelin 1991, 1992).

A new national curriculum was passed in 1994 (Swedish Ministry of Education and Science, 1994). This occurred while the teaching programme presented here was still working. Now decentralization of schools had taken place and the functions of the curriculum had changed into “overall goals and guidelines for school activity with the municipalities being responsible for their implementation” (p. 2). Directions are now given but not detailed prescriptions. However, “the curriculum contains binding regulations for the school and thus steers its activity” (p. 2). The curriculum sets forth fundamental values and the tasks and responsibilities of schools.

The curriculum states that democracy forms the basis of the national school system. It is the task of the school to impart, instil and form in pupils those values on which our society is based: “The inviolability of human life, individual freedom and integrity, the equal value of all people, equality between women and men and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable – – – this is achieved by fostering in the individual a sense of justice,

generosity of spirit, tolerance and responsibility” (p. 6). Understanding and compassion are emphasized and the school is requested to “actively resist any tendency to bullying or persecution”. It is stated that “xenophobia and intolerance must be actively confronted with knowledge, open discussion and effective measures” (p. 6). Moreover, there is reference to the international declarations and agreements to which Sweden has pledged to pay regard in the school (p. 4). I venture to mention them by name here although the curriculum does not: The UN Conventions on Human Rights, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, The UN Recommendation on International Understanding and the UN Declaration and Recommendation on Education for Environmental Issues.

One more fundamental value is introduced by the documents steering Swedish schools⁸³, namely, respect for our common environment. This is stated in a report by a governmental committee — *En värdegrundad skola/A Value-Based School/* (Swedish Ministry of Education and Science, 1997). The School Act prescribes that schools should be run in accordance with fundamental democratic values and that each person working within schools should promote respect for the worth of every human being [this is also stated in the curriculum]. The staff should strive to prevent any attempt by pupils to degrade others. The report by the governmental committee observes that it is important that all adults in the school be good models since norms and values are promoted by them. The curriculum states that responsibility for creating the right climate in accordance with the prescribed values lies with the principal. Participation and influence by pupils and parents are emphasized.

Obviously, peace education is, and should be, part of the curriculum. However, documents are one thing, implementation another.

First I will introduce the theoretical basis as well as the aims and objectives of the teaching programme of the study (the objectives of the *study* will be taken up in Chapter 14). Section 13.3 will present the programme of this study, its contents and methods used. Finally, the different activities of the programme will be related to the theoretical basis and the educa-

⁸³ These documents are the School Act and the curricula for compulsory and voluntary schools.

tional objectives previously provided. This is given as an ideological background of the lessons carried out within the field study (Chapter 15).

13.2 Theoretical basis for and objectives of the teaching programme of this study

The ultimate educational aim of the teaching programme was to reduce violence and suffering in the world, contributing to a culture of peace. *If successful*, a higher quality of life at the micro level (i.e., human needs gratified to a higher extent) would be the outcome. At the macro level, when developed and undertaken by many, such a programme would possibly contribute to a safer, less unjust world with less oppression of fellow human beings and less exploitation of nature, the aim being a humanistic and ecologically sustainable society.

This is a grand goal! In my opinion it is worth working for even if the task is enormous and a less holistic approach might give quicker results. This programme should be seen as part of a worldwide movement, although in Sweden it was one of the initial stepping stones.

Existential questions, including norms and values, are touched upon in this kind of education. Cooperation and participation of the parents are essential. It is also important to involve many parts of the school and preferably of its neighbourhood in order to make a greater impact (see above Section 12.2).

By working with issues of global survival in a positive and inspiring manner, it should be possible to give the pupils a means of handling these issues in such a way that they themselves and society will benefit.

Let us relate the objectives of the teaching programme to some theories presented in Part One.

The first three objectives of our teaching programme were (seven more will be presented below):

1. *To inspire the individual to search for methods of violence prevention and conflict resolution that will aim at satisfying the needs of all parties.* (Human Needs Theory, HNT, Chapter 4; resolving conflicts non-violently, Chapter 6.)

2. To *empower* the individual *to use these methods* of conflict resolution at all levels and in all walks of life. [1. Psychoanalytic theory: Macy (1983). 2. Theories on learned helplessness and learned optimism as well as studies on helpless contra mastery-oriented children (cf. Chapter 10; about conflict resolution skills cf. Chapter 6)].
3. To *increase the preparedness* of the individual *to work for a more peaceful world at both the micro and macro levels* by giving pupils tools to handle conflicts constructively. This is closely related to point 2. The underlying theory is as follows:

Positive experience will empower the child. Empowerment goes with increased preparedness to act⁸⁴ (this was very evident in the interview study presented above; see also the interview with Martin, Appendix 3). I have described two spirals above (Section 11.2). The goal is to move from the spiral of feelings of powerlessness to the beneficial spiral of feelings of personal power and competence regarding change that aims at a less violent, more peaceful world at the micro and macro levels. In order to make this happen, positive experiences are needed, experiences that new ways of thinking and behaving do work.

Another important factor, closely related to feelings of personal power, is *communication* about issues of global survival. By talking about problems and showing what is being done — and what can be done — to overcome them, children will gain more hope; this is the hypothesis. In turn, this hope will empower them (cf. Chapter 10, p. 133). It is important that pupils feel free to communicate their feelings. Ability to adequately and non-aggressively⁸⁵ communicate negative feelings is generally regarded to be of value to the individual's mental and physical health. It is important to

⁸⁴ *Definitions. Preparedness to act:* Ability, willingness and commitment to act in order to make a change. In this situation the direction of change is a less violent, i.e., more peaceful world – at any level. The concept *empowerment* is closely related to personal power but has a connotation of activity — to give ability, to enable — whereas personal power is something you are in possession of, you have. The *instrumental* definition of powerlessness (footnote 82 p. 166-167) utilized in the interview study summarized above as a background is not valid outside that study. Here *powerlessness* has the usual meaning of lacking strength and trust in one's own ability/competence. *Personal power* (competence, ability to cope) is the opposite of powerlessness.

⁸⁵ The meaning of *non-aggressive behaviour* is to behave/act without casting blame on or assaulting the other party (Cornelius & Faire, 1989; Rosenberg, 1999; Chapter 6).

society as well, since dammed-up feelings of aggressiveness will be prevented. It constitutes means and ends of peace education.

Peace education will aim at *increased awareness* of how we live together and how it can be improved. *Therefore, training in good communication skills* is important. *Conflicts will be utilized as learning processes.* At best, young people will develop a more positive and a less fearful attitude to conflicts, which will be looked upon as a way to learn and grow. With proper means to handle conflicts, they may be less painful and more constructive. (Conflicts to be regarded as positive: Galtung, 1978. Conflict resolution skills, communication skills: Cornelius & Fair, 1989; Fisher, Ury & Patton, 1991; Ury 1993. These theories are presented in Chapter 6.)

Basic human needs, in particular the importance of experiencing *self-worth*, were emphasized in our study (HNT and Satir, 1972, in Chapter 4). Also, it was stressed that this feeling of self-worth is dependent upon the respect, encouragement and affection that we show each other (see also above about fundamental values in the documents steering the Swedish school). One objective was to make pupils aware of this in order to help them avoid unnecessary escalation of conflict. This, of course, is closely connected to empathy.

One important way to increase interest in school work and to reduce feelings of powerlessness is actually to allow pupils to *have an influence on their working situation and environment*, in short, not just to talk about democratic ideals but to implement them in daily decision making. This is related to the importance of showing respect for everyone at school, irrespective of age or working position.

There are negative leaders as well as positive ones. Children need to be trained to stand up against group pressure which is destructive in its consequences and to withstand destructive leaders. Therefore training *moral courage* (Swedish: *civilkurage*) is included in the programme.

From what has been said it follows that there are some more objectives that are connected with the three mentioned above:

4. *To train pupils in communication skills including non-aggressive expressions of feelings and needs.*

5. *To increase pupils' awareness about different ways of dealing with conflicts and the consequences of the approach chosen. This includes increased awareness of one's own and others' ways of functioning.*

6. *To make pupils aware of the importance of feelings of self-worth to violence prevention and conflict resolution.*
7. *To increase empathy.*
8. *To increase moral courage, standing up to negative leaders and destructive group pressure — at the micro level and, later in life, at the macro level as well.*
9. *To reduce feelings of powerlessness by showing ways of having influence and, whenever possible, testing these ways. This applies to the micro and macro levels.*

And closely related to this:

10. *To encourage pupils to take a greater part in decision-making by implementing democratic ideals.*

These objectives will be discussed below in relation to the different activities that we included in our programme.

Pedagogical reasons for bringing together conflict resolution at the micro and macro levels are:

- a) Physical as well as psychical violence at the micro level (e.g. bullying) are experienced as a problem by pupils, teachers, parents and society as a whole. There is a definite interest in reducing violence and consequently in learning and teaching better ways of dealing with conflict.
- b) By bringing together and showing connections between the micro and macro levels, one may consider possible actions at both levels and, through these actions, reduce feelings of powerlessness with regard to interpersonal, inter-group *and* global problems. Linking the micro to the macro level might make it easier to work, in a positive way, with issues of global survival. To do this is important to mental health, since feelings of powerlessness easily lead to reduced zest for life, depression, fatalism and destructiveness against oneself or others, including society as a whole (Escalona, 1982; Mack, 1981; Macy, 1983; Richter, 1982 b).

- c) When children feel able to deal with conflicts in a positive, constructive way, their feelings of self-worth will grow stronger. It is plausible that, as a consequence, their preparedness to act at the micro *and* macro levels will increase, especially when connections between these levels have been thought about and discussed. In other words: empowerment regarding the micro level will spread into the sphere of the macro level. This is my hypothesis (p. 141 above, cf. also Bodine & Crawford, 1998, referred to above, p. 17).

This theoretical basis was utilized when setting up the teaching programme.

13.3 The teaching programme of this study

The classroom work was developed without any exact plan of the items that would be taught. The contents differed among the seven classes of the study. The choice was made in cooperation with the teachers and the class. Whether the work should have an emphasis on the micro level or the macro was to a large extent decided by the teachers. This means that not all the activities were carried out in all seven classes. The two teaching guides Lantieri and Roderick (1988) (cf. p. 149 ff.) and Kreidler (1994) (cf. p. 153 f) have inspired the programme, an overview of which is presented as Appendix 4.

Some of the activities were of our own making: The pot; bullying; group activities on cooperation which were video-recorded and played back; utilization of the film *A Class Divided* (the famous classroom experiment on discrimination according to colours of the eyes, invented and carried out by Jane Elliott) with ensuing role plays on discrimination and other types of oppression; learning about the Romany people; roots of origin; visions of a good school, followed by working out class rules; and, finally, visions of the future (the pupils wrote essays and I put citations from these into a class essay that was read back to them).

A brief overview of teaching methods used will be presented, followed by a review of the activities of the programme put in relation to the theoretical basis and educational objectives.

13.3.1 Teaching methods

The following teaching methods were used: Relaxation, at times leading on to drawing (with or without music); brainstorming⁸⁶; talks and discussions in the whole class or in groups of different sizes; group work 1) to train listening skills and expressing oneself or 2) to prepare work presented to the class as role plays; video-recording children's role plays, playing back the result to the class (or the group of children) for further discussion; forum play⁸⁷; watching films; essay writing; making and presenting exhibitions; interviewing; and observations of conflicts as a basis for role plays and discussions.

Notebooks and thought books. To get feedback for the sake of research, but also to increase participation and influence of the pupils, we used notebooks where the pupils answered questions of different kinds. There were two kinds of notebooks: (1) an ordinary one with the pupil's name and (2) one where the pupil wrote anonymously, "thought books". The latter was reserved for me.

Infusion of conflict resolution into school subjects (apart from that of the Swedish language) occurred very seldom owing to the fact that I did not belong to the school. My mandate was very restricted (see further below about implications of being an "outsider"). A couple of times it happened that I was invited to give a lesson on rural life in Mozambique, telling and showing the children — by means of pictures — some solidarity

⁸⁶ Brainstorming: The children are asked to give their thoughts on some issue. All contributions are accepted without evaluation. New ones may build on earlier ones. The class may ask questions in order better to understand the contribution.

⁸⁷ Forum play: A play where the audience, the class in this case, takes part in searching for new solutions to the problem. In our case, a group of children decided on a problem they wanted to illustrate. They began by enacting a story as far as necessary in order to make the audience understand the problem. After this, they started again from the beginning. Now, the children in the audience were free to take the place of one of the actors and make a change that aimed at a solution. The idea is that the oppressed party is replaced. A so-called joker directs the play, assisting the children to take it in turns changing places with the actors. In this way, several approaches to the problem (conflict) may be tried out. The forum play used as a pedagogical drama in classrooms is developed from Augusto Boal's forum theatre. Our source of inspiration was a book by Byréus (1990) where the idea of forum play is presented in such a way that any teacher may learn and start directly in the classroom without any previous education in drama.

work carried out by DAPP (Developmental Aid from People to People), an organization in which my sister had worked for many years.

Teachable moments means utilizing situations in lessons, breaks, meetings etc. for training. It is important *that the pupils continuously put into practice what they have learnt* whenever it is applicable. For this they need constant support and encouragement. The teacher has to practise the same skills — e.g. perspective-taking, active listening, I-messages and mediating — whenever in contact with pupils, parents, colleagues and others.

13.3.2 Relations between the theories, educational objectives and activities of our programme

Connections between the micro and the macro levels, empowerment

A main idea behind the work was to connect the micro and macro levels, the assumption being that powerlessness at the macro level can be decreased when changed behaviour at the micro level has had a, hopefully, desired effect (Chapter 7; Section 11.2; above p. 179).

In the programme mentioned, linking between the class here and now and the world is done constantly. Infusion into all sorts of subjects is important.

The following activities and groups of activities were particularly useful for connecting the levels and empowering the children: the Peace Web, Peacemakers, Escalating and de-escalating conflict and, finally, Prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination and Visions of the future (cf. the activities of the programme, Appendix 4).

The Peace Web (the children are asked: “What comes into your mind when you hear the word ‘peace’?”). The idea is that children’s associations about peace may be at the micro as well as the macro level. In brainstorming, many suggestions and ideas come up, building on each other. Also activities related to different aspects of peace may be suggested. The common silence about issues of global survival gets broken. Feelings of powerlessness may be reduced and transformed into personal power.

Peacemakers. In this activity children learn about famous peacemakers who have acted in different ways at different levels. Ideally, this gives them the notion of a peace culture being built here and now. In order to make this clear and to increase personal power, further work (interviews,

visits by activists etc.) is suggested to learn about peace, environmental and solidarity organizations (this is also mentioned in the Swedish national curriculum from 1980). Lantieri and Roderick (1988, p. 10) propose an activity: “Contacting the Peacemaker within You” including a “micro-lab”: “Making a Difference”. This may be something big or small.

Escalating and de-escalating conflict. This is at the very core of the programme. The theory behind our teaching on the connections between the levels is presented in Section 7.2. (Cf. also Chapters 5 and 6).

When children learn to be aware of the mechanisms of escalation, their attention may be drawn to the fact that escalation at the macro level is similar in many respects to that at the micro level. Examples may be taken from the news, history and literature. Alternative ways of acting in relation to situations discussed may be worked out.

De-escalation means making use of skills, such as perspective-taking; dealing constructively with feelings; active listening (including paraphrasing); I-messages (rather than negative you-messages) and the “giraffe language” where you express your feelings and needs without laying blame on anyone or making demands; problem-solving which involves looking for alternative options meeting everybody’s needs; and decision making including follow-up.

These skills or tools may be used *at all levels*. The idea is that children are made aware of existing conflict resolution skills and of prevailing opportunities and that people’s way of thinking — also theirs — is what makes a difference. Examples, at the micro and macro level, are pointed out. Hopefully the children will be empowered when they observe that other people utilize conflict resolution skills.

The aim is to build a culture where this way of thinking and behaving is generally implemented. Taking part in creating this change into a peace culture is expected to reduce feelings of powerlessness. The process hoped for is that “learned helplessness” (Chapter 10) will turn into optimistic action. The immediate and super-ordinate goal (cf. Sherif, 1979) is to build a culture of peace in the class and the whole school, “the peaceable school” (cf. p. 146 ff.). Children may be encouraged to see this as part of a general shift of paradigm. (Cf. UNESCO’s coordinating work p. 25 ff.; a paradigm shift, Chapter 8.)

Prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination. Children live in a multicultural society. Cultures vary within and between ethnic groups. The aim

is to make children see that people have much in common whatever culture they may belong to (basic human needs, Chapter 3) *and* also that people are different, this being a source of constant challenges and excitement making life worth living. In other words: children learn to “acknowledge similarities and celebrate differences”. (About identity needs, see below p. 185.)

Classrooms often include children with very different cultural backgrounds. In these cases, we see a link with the rest of the world. There is also a connection with the macro-level problems when children of refugees are part of classes and schools. Sometimes these children are refugees themselves. Learning about people living under different conditions increases empathy *provided* children do not feel threatened (cf. HNT) and defend themselves by means of repression (denial) or projection or in other ways. In order to prevent feelings of being threatened, as well as prejudice, it is essential that children learn about positive ways of dealing with issues of global survival, including unemployment. This is especially true having in mind that children often experience threat and insecurity owing to various routes of information from society — the news, newspapers, TV, the family, adults, peers etc. Insecurity is prevalent in our society today (cf. the Introduction, Section 1.2).

Visions of the future. The children wrote essays and made drawings on their visions of the future at the micro (the school) or macro (the world) level. The idea here is to break the silence and empower the children.

Training pupils in communication skills. Basic human needs. Affirmation.

Human Needs Theory tells us that people *will* try to meet their basic needs and that, as a consequence, deterrence and threats may not work (pp. 49–50). Therefore, it is necessary that we treat conflicts as problems that we have to solve together as partners, not as adversaries. Also, conflicts have to be analysed and perspectives of different parties considered. Underlying needs of the parties have to be explored in search of solutions.

Important needs are self-esteem and identity needs, belonging and love needs, safety and security needs. These were emphasized in our programme. Affirmation helps communication because it increases feelings of self-worth and security. Learning to be aware of and to communicate your

feelings in a non-aggressive⁸⁸ way is helpful because other people's basic needs are not threatened. Therefore they do not feel that they have to defend themselves. This prevents conflicts from escalating and becoming destructive. Children may even find that a beneficial feedback process develops. This is simple and self-evident but not generally practised.

Satir (Section 4.5) saw the importance of gratifying esteem-needs and that this applies to people functioning at the micro as well as the macro level. Therefore she invented *the pot metaphor* (p. 51 above), which our programme adopted.

Appreciation of the significance of meeting basic human needs in general, and esteem needs in particular, paves the way for understanding the fundamental importance of *identity needs*, not only the individual identity, but also social or group identity (HNT; Rubenstein, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Section 9.2). Ethnic wars become comprehensible. Here is yet another link between the levels; meeting of esteem and identity needs of individuals and groups are important at all levels.

Our programme included the following activities and groups of activities dealing with these issues: The pot; Escalation and de-escalation of conflict, including dealing with feelings; A choice of approach in dealing with conflicts; Methods for solving the problem; Win-win solutions; Mediation; Learning about other cultures and Roots of origin.

The pot. The metaphor is explained to the children. Through our activity (see below Section 15.1.2) the importance of affirmation is introduced. The idea is that children (and adults) should always keep in mind that *all of us* need to feel appreciated, loved and belonging to our groups. Whenever in conflict, this should be where we start thinking when we analyse and search for solutions.

Conflict resolution skills. All the activities which have to do with conflict resolution build on HNT, which tells us to explore options that will gratify basic human needs, other people's as well as our own. Feelings are closely related to needs. Therefore it is important that we learn to communicate our feelings. Before this can be done, we need to be aware of them. There are lessons on dealing with feelings, especially anger. In everyday life the teacher (as well as other adults) helps children express their feelings, not only anger but others as well.

⁸⁸ Non-aggressive means non-blaming and non-threatening.

Mediation is taught and trained once other skills (cf. p. 183) are learnt. An alternative to I-messages is the “giraffe language” (Sections 6.6–6.7). Utilizing this language, you may also mediate, i.e. facilitate other people’s communication so that they may find solutions to their conflict.

Intercultural studies. The programme involves studies about other cultures as well as the activity “Roots of origin”. These activities are helpful in making children experience their own cultures in a wider perspective and understand the deep human need for identity — including everybody’s wish to feel proud of his/her identity group. Besides, these activities promote experiences of connections of the micro and macro levels. The activity “Roots of origin” aims at increased feelings of self-worth and belonging to the class, since the children come to know each other better. Empathy is practised.

Choice of approach in dealing with conflicts. Consequences of choice.

It is important to make a conscious choice of how to think and behave, rather than just let one’s feelings of frustration, anger, guilt etc. take over. Ury (1993) recommends that we “go to the balcony” in order to regain mental balance (p. 73 above).

Cornelius and Faire (1989) emphasize that we make a choice of approach in a conflict: withdrawal, suppression, the power struggle win-lose, compromise or finally win-win (p. 74) above. By role-playing different ways of behaving in conflicts, children may relate the chosen behaviour to different consequences. Another teaching method is forum play.

The anticipated effect of these activities is that children will learn better to control their ways of dealing with conflicts. In case of success, the child will be empowered. However, there is also a risk of no success. Then the child (or the group of children) needs support in order to try again. This is given by the teacher, and hopefully, the peers in their daily communication. Another objective of our peace education is *increased awareness* of how people, including oneself, function. Consistent training will lead to this.

Empathy training and perspective-taking

Another objective of the programme is to increase children’s empathy. Children who are loved and respected, whose needs for self-esteem are well met, do not have to defend themselves against a hostile world. They

will feel empathy. A caring psychological atmosphere with mutual respect in the class is a means and a goal of peace education.

Empathy was trained through reading literature, writing essays, role-playing etc. These methods were utilized when we took up bullying. Watching films, of course, could be added. Perspective-reversal is another skill we trained. The children rewrote fairy tales, taking the perspective of the party that is regarded as evil in the original story.

Training cooperation

Like perspective-taking, cooperation is trained daily according to the idea of the programme. Awareness among children of what happens, and why, may be raised by talking about it, utilizing the theoretical framework that I have presented here.

We tried out cooperation activities, utilizing the video camera to discuss with the children what had occurred, reasons for this and also alternative behaviour. This was done in groups of about six. Group dynamics including problem solving, decision making, leadership and other roles in the group were examined.

Moral courage

We have discussed obedience and conformity (Section 9.4). Negative, oppressive leaders at all levels should not be followed but assisted, whenever possible, to change into a pro-social pattern of behaviour. Children and adults need to practise moral courage in order not to support destructive actions out of conformity. The idea is to support positive leadership and deal with conflicts in such a way that growth of all parties is promoted.

The method “Opinion continuum”⁸⁹ is utilized to encourage children to reflect upon their values and to compare them with those of their peers. By

⁸⁹ *Opinion Continuum*: The children are given a statement chosen in accordance with the objective of the lesson. They are invited to assess their own opinion about the statement. If they agree altogether, they are asked to stand at one extreme of the continuum; if they disagree altogether, they are requested to stand at the other extreme. Different degrees of agreement are indicated by standing in different positions along the line. This being accomplished, the children explain why they have taken their different positions. Quite a few statements may be given, one after the other. The topics may vary.

A similar activity is the “Four Corner Valuation” activity where the participants likewise assess their opinions about a statement, this time expressing it by moving to the

observing the great diversity of opinions, their own views come into perspective. They may also learn to stand up for their values.

Activities on bullying brought out the conformity problem and the need for moral courage. Individual interviews taking up group pressure also aimed at increasing moral courage.

Pupils taking part in decision-making regarding their work

The Swedish national curriculum emphasizes democracy as a fundamental value. It is also regarded as important to train children to be responsible in relation to other people and to society.

A strong and vital democracy is dependent upon citizens who know of and believe in non-violent means to solve problems. We have discussed empowerment above. Training problem solving (including conflict resolution) and decision-making seems to be one of many important tasks of the school. Participation and cooperation are necessary to reach the goals set in the national curriculum. Children must feel that they matter and that they take part in decision-making regarding important issues at school including their own studies.

In the teaching programme, children were asked to participate in planning our work. This was mainly done at the beginning of the term. Also, they expressed ideas during lessons and in their “thought books”.

School culture determines distribution of power (= influence over what is done and how). The system of the school may be changed by dedicated work from within and by influences from parents and the political leadership. It was not within my mandate to suggest such changes.

different corners of the room. They get three alternatives and a free choice. Following from the arguments uttered they may change positions.

14 Research Design

The field study had two levels: (1) developing the teaching programme, and (2) analysing that work.

14.1 Method

Implications of the aims and objectives of the study

The general aim of the study is given above (p. 21): to contribute to development of *teaching methods* in violence prevention and conflict resolution, connecting the micro and macro levels, with the aim of giving children skills in handling conflicts constructively.

The objectives following from this were to observe, analyse and interpret individual and group response by children, to study opportunities for and obstacles to this kind of education and to make proposals for the future.

My *theoretical* starting point for a teaching programme was theories on conflict resolution, basic human needs and aggression. Reading Burton's works on Human Needs Theory was illuminative. It was also clear from the beginning that our way of thinking about aggressiveness in human nature is decisive for how we look upon conflicts and opportunities for resolving them. Therefore different views on aggression were studied (Chapter 2).

It was also evident from the start that the project had to be carried out as a piece of *developmental work*. The idea of connecting the micro and macro levels in teaching conflict resolution, thereby making a contribution to peace education, had earlier been tried out in this country by Anatol Pikas (1983, 1985), a pioneer in the field. However, time seemed not yet to have been ripe. Not very many had followed in his footsteps, perhaps in practice but not in writing. In any case, my work in the classrooms would have to be path-finding. As we have seen above (Chapter 12), for a decade and a half there had been a fair amount of activities carried out in a number of other countries. (Our programme started in 1993.) Therefore it was a case of building on experiences from other places and adapting them to be applicable to Swedish conditions.

Who would lead the work in the classroom, the teacher or I, or someone else? I ruled out the idea of attempting a big project that required funding, and settled for trying out the programme myself in collaboration with some teachers and classes. I will return to this below.

Would it be *a case study* or *a cross-case study*? For a case study one would be very dependent on one (or perhaps two) classes. The school administrators, teachers, children and parents would have to be motivated to accept a lot of interference, and they themselves would have to take part to a great extent. It would probably be very difficult to generate interest, considering how new and little known this field was among us in Sweden. Moreover, even if a school and a class were motivated enough for this and work would be started, I would still run the risk of not being allowed to continue my study as long and thoroughly as needed. I decided that it was better not to put all my eggs in one basket.

Thus, work in several classes to gain experiences from implementing the programme would be carried out. It would have been preferable to treat all these classes as case studies, maximizing collection of data by means of interviews and diaries from all of them, but that would have meant funding and more resources. Also, in this case, motivation for extensive interferences would be needed and this was a sore point, as mentioned. My task would be to prove that the kind of work that my programme included was valuable. Not until then could I expect to be welcome to lay claim to teachers' and children's time for activities not normally within the curriculum.

Thus it happened that a cross-case study was the method on which I would have to rely, collecting data and gaining experiences from several schools and classrooms. The intervention would have to be such that schools, children and parents would be interested in it and accept it. I would always run the risk of having the programme discontinued and if this occurred, I might not be allowed to investigate reasons.

In a cross-case study it is the phenomenon that is investigated (rather than individuals or other entities), in this case the development of teaching methods related to skills. The children's response (way of thinking, attitudes and behaviours) was fundamental.

Would I best study particular children or relate everybody's response to specific lessons and skills in a more fragmented way? The objective was to try and change attitudes in favour of a less violent and more peaceful way

of living. Attitudes of single children and groups of children would be of interest. Although it would have to be a cross-case study — in order to gain as many experiences as possible from the study group — I still would like to come to know the children's response, not only immediately but, if possible, in the course of a longer process.

Thus I took a special interest in Class F (the study group and names of classes, see below), although it was not until late in the process that I knew that this would be the class I would present somewhat more thoroughly. The main reason for this, late, decision was that I never knew when a teacher and her/his class would discontinue. In fact, two classes left after the summer vacations, when we had been working together only for a couple of months.

When interviewing the children in Class F, I was particularly interested in the “negative” leaders, since I thought that the answers to resistance I had met, and thus obstacles to the teaching programme, would be possible to find in their way of thinking.

For all these reasons one might get an impression that the two models, a cross-case study and a case study, have been mixed in this study, although the former is predominant.

Why I led the work in the classroom myself

I mentioned above that the choice stood between the teacher, in this case the class teacher, and myself, leading work in the classroom. According to my experiences from an earlier field study (1990–1993), it was *very* difficult to develop teaching methods when I, myself, was not leading the lesson. My influence was too weak and too little happened within my field of interest.

A second reason for my taking an active part in teaching was that I needed the communication with the class to be able to really try out new methods. The design would not be fixed, but flexible enough to be changed in accordance with experiences during the process.

When introduced to the idea of participation in the study, the teachers were asked to make the choice whether I was to give most of the lessons or they were. They all preferred me to do it. The reason for this was their feelings of incompetence in this specific field. Here, again, it is a question of resources. We have seen for instance that “Resolving Conflict Creatively

Program” (RCCP) organized introductory courses of 20–25 hours to interested teachers, five from each school. It was not possible for me to do so.

The programme not fixed in advance; a prerequisite and a disadvantage

The fact that the programme was not set in detail had the following consequences:

The study could not be given a fixed and well thought out design with evaluation built in.

On the other hand, an open design was the very prerequisite in searching for and finding new methods. It was also necessary in order to continuously draw from experiences gained. Because the work would come to differ in each class, more varied knowledge and experience would be obtained.

The objective was a study of the process rather than evaluation

I decided to concentrate on *the process*, developing and trying out teaching methods, rather than to evaluate the effect of the programme in relation to the objectives of education (Chapter 13, pp. 176–180). There were several reasons for this:

As mentioned, this was a path-finding programme just about to start. Time would be needed to gain insights and experiences that could later be utilized for further development of teaching methods. At that later stage a design including evaluation could be implemented.

At this point, I, an outsider, would do the main part of the teaching. It would not be possible to generalize in any sense. Therefore evaluation would be meaningless right now.

If evaluation were to be carried out, someone else would have to do it because I would be biased.

Evaluation would demand extra resources and prolong the project *or* take time and energy from developing the programme.

The process was studied and documented

The programme was not prepared in detail. What was carried out in the seven classes depended upon the situation: the teacher, the children and the individual and group response in the class. The teaching changed according to feedback. This *process* was documented and qualitatively analysed. I compared my diaries with information from the pupils’ “thought books”

(see below, data collection), the products from the work done by the children, the interviews with the children and their teachers and the answers to the questionnaires to the parents (Class F). I interpreted what I saw and looked for diverse and opposite perspectives. It was important to document variations. I searched for interrelations, trying to understand what happened in the child's mind — causes for his/her response.

Action research and degree of participation of informants⁹⁰

The study had an ultimate aim of promoting change in society (see above, educational aims pp. 176–177). As a researcher I would go out into the field. It may be called an *intervening design of action research* when the researcher intervenes in the field to be studied in order to improve it (Kalleberg, 1993). In this case, there was a definite intention to improve the situation concretely in the different classes as well as to gain experiences for future work to improve school and society at large.

The informants may participate in research to different degrees. It is like a continuum, where at one extreme the informants are not doing any research work but submitting to being the “objects” of research. (This is how research has usually been conducted.) From this end of the continuum towards the other there is increasing participation. At the other end the informants participate in collecting data, interpreting, analysing, drawing conclusions and, finally, also reporting the findings. This has been done in developmental work where people who want to change something work together assisted by one or more researchers.

In our case, the teachers could participate a lot before, during and after the lessons. Actually they did. They could also write diaries with their own observations and interpretations. Unfortunately, this was seldom done. Instead, not to burden them unnecessarily, I talked to them after lessons and wrote my diary. The teachers did not take part in the analysis and synthesis of data.

Action research: Advantages and disadvantages. Credibility.

Action research where the researcher is in the middle of the process, or even leading the work, means problems as well as opportunities.

⁹⁰ Different terms have been used to designate the people with whom the researcher works. I know of no really good one. Here I prefer “informants” to “respondents”.

Advantages of the setup

As previously noted, I believe that it would have been difficult to get far enough in developing teaching methods if the researcher had only observed without participating. When you are in charge of a classroom, you may try out different methods. You may say and do things and reflect upon the responses and reactions. You may change your activities according to response. By leading the work, you are free to make things happen. This advantage is of paramount importance.

You obviously become more personally involved, which has its pros and cons. This close involvement heightens your sensitivity: you react and respond more, and you learn more. On the other hand, it may not be easy to maintain the degree of detachment that a researcher needs. Even though the advantages described above determined my design, I will now acknowledge the disadvantages.

Disadvantages and problems of the setup, a discussion

1. *Observation at the same time as teaching is difficult.* You can not observe all the children and their interactions, or take notes as well, when you are teaching as opposed to when you are only observing, since much concentration is focused on making the lesson flow. This probably applies even more to someone inexperienced in teaching, as in my case.

This point stands as a major disadvantage in the setup of the study, but I felt that the advantages of leading the work prevailed. It would have been better if I could have video-recorded the lessons, but this was ruled out to avoid disturbing the work.

2. *There is an unavoidable conflict between the teacher role and the researcher role.* This point has several implications:
 - a) It is easy to be too much of a practitioner and too little of a researcher when you are in the midst of developing a method of teaching. It is possible that, involved as I was in the practical work, I might have missed doing or documenting things of interest which were not apparent at the time. This has to do with the first point; the difficulty in observing and taking notes when involved in teaching.
 - b) There was definitely a conflict between the teacher role and the researcher role. The research may be regarded as divided into developmental work in the classroom (including planning and discussions with

teachers afterwards) and follow-up research work of interpretation, analysis and synthesis. The relative importance of one role in relation to the other changes over time. However, the roles might become unsatisfactorily mixed, giving rise to confusion.

3. *Difficulty in being sufficiently detached means a risk of bias.* Not being detached enough might blur your vision when analysing and interpreting the response.

It was essential to me to understand what was happening in order to develop the work as favourably as possible. Doing a good job as well as gaining experiences was important. This means involvement — the opposite of detachment — in relation to leading the lessons. However, detachment is important when interpreting and analysing the data, not when wearing the teacher's hat. Thus, the issue of detachment is closely related to the problem of refraining from confusing one role with the other.

The risk of bias is a less important disadvantage if the work aims at learning about the process and not at evaluation. Some evaluation of effects will, of course, always be there but in this case it was not an objective in itself. The objective was to gain knowledge of opportunities for and obstacles to the implementation of our programme.

4. *The pupils' acceptance of the researcher is a crucial point when the researcher is playing a leading role in the classroom.* The children regard you as someone who wants to influence them and teach them, and they will have attitudes to you accordingly. They might also like you or dislike you as a person. This can easily be a disadvantage when doing research. They might not give their opinions honestly, either being too polite and considerate or holding back their feelings and thoughts because they do not want to be helpful. They might also resist the work in the classroom.

The fact that I was an outsider meant a definite problem in teaching. It could be exciting to have somebody new but this was a short-lived effect. This problem was, I believe, increased as the teaching had to do with ethics and behaviour as well as with existential issues. The class teacher was a model to the pupils that I could never expect to become. My position was shaky.

To be an outsider, however, could be an advantage from a research point of view. It was easier for the children to be candid, particularly in

the anonymous thought books and during interviews, when the relationship was not a very close one, I being neither a model to them nor very important.

5. *Personal-professional relationship with the teacher.* The teacher's feedback to the researcher is also affected by a personal relationship. Consideration and politeness may affect the honesty with which the teacher gives her/his opinions. Good cooperation between the teacher and the researcher is a prerequisite for the work.

One way of reducing the problem of overly polite teachers was to make them feel comfortable enough to be candid. The problem has to be taken into consideration in the analysis.

I have tried to be conscious of the problems mentioned above and reduce their effects as much as possible by being as honest as I can and by looking for negative outcomes as well as positive ones. Whenever there was a negative response, I tried to analyse it and benefit from it.

As mentioned, I decided to *concentrate on the process rather than evaluate the effects in relation to the objectives of education*. The objectives of the project were to study opportunities for and obstacles to teaching violence prevention and conflict resolution. This means that what was important was experiences gained from development of methods. Therefore, negative experiences were as important as positive ones, probably more so.

14.2 Study group and ethical considerations

The study group included the class teachers, their pupils (grades 4–6) and, to a lesser degree, the pupils' parents. The latter were in indirect contact with the programme and some of them answered questions in writing.

Selection of teachers and classes

My translation of Lantieri's and Roderick's teaching guide proved to be helpful in finding teachers interested in developing and testing a teaching programme on conflict resolution, connecting the micro and macro levels.

There were two factors besides *consent* and *teachers' interest* that determined the selection of schools, classes and teachers:

- (1) *Chance*, as the knowledge of the teachers' guide was not widespread and as personal contact was in most cases by chance (no one was refused).
- (2) *Distance*. The geographical area to cover had to be fairly restricted as I was to visit the classes once a week.

Classes, numbers of pupils and period of working with the programme

Seven classes from some rural, suburban and urban schools were included in the field study. The classes were called Class A–G and the teachers were given names starting with the letter corresponding to the name of the class. So, for example, the class teacher of Class F was called Fanny.

The size of the classes varied from 18 to 28 pupils.

The first two classes, Class A and Class B, took part in the programme from the beginning of the autumn term of '93. Class C followed very soon after. This was a class with special problems related to the class climate. The other classes were "normal". Classes D and F started around Easter '94 and Classes E and G at the same time in the following year.

Data about the classes are given below in table 14.1. They include the number of pupils belonging to the different classes and grades, as well as the period during which the teaching programme took place in these different classes. Two classes (Classes A and F) took part in the programme for two years and two (Classes E and G) for only 2–3 months. The pupils were between 10 and 12 years of age. See next page!

Table 14.1 The number of pupils in the different classes and grades as well as the periods of teaching the programme. Intervals included are the winter, Easter and summer vacations and a few shorter ones in the different classes (max. 2 months in spring '95 in Class F).

<i>Class</i>	<i>Grade</i>	<i>Number of pupils</i>			<i>Period of teaching the programme</i>		
		girls	boys	total	from year	to year	total number of months) (intervals included)
A	5–6	11	11	22	'93	'95	24
B	5–6	8	10	18	'93	'94	14
C	6	6	12	18	'93	'94	7
D	5–6	9	13	22	'94	'95	14
E	4	15	13	28	'95	'95	3
F	4–6	6	12	18	'94	'96	24
G	5	8	13	21	'95	'95	2

Teachers

Apart from Class D, which had two class teachers, all classes had one teacher who taught most subjects. It was common to have a different teacher for music and sports. Seven of the eight class teachers were women who were all experienced. The two youngest ones, a male and a female, shared responsibility for Class D. There was no change of class teachers in any of the classes during the period of the study. The turnover of pupils in the classes was very low.

The process was studied more closely in one class

There is one class, called Class F, to which special attention is given in the study. Here I was able to closely study what happened during the two years of the programme, from Easter time in grade 4 to approximately the same time in grade 6. Class D is considered for the sake of comparison (Section 15.3.2).

Class F, situated in a rural area, included few immigrants whereas Class D, in an urban area, was truly multicultural with about half of the children from families of non-Swedish background. However, no specific information about places of birth etc. was collected.

Many children in Class D had great difficulties in reading and writing Swedish, whereas this was not the case in Class F where the children were regarded by the teacher, Fanny, to be of fair academic standards when we started the programme at the end of grade 4.

Ethical considerations

Consent of the principal of the school and of the children's parents was obtained. The parents, children and, of course, teachers were fully informed about the project and its objectives. All the parents received letters with the information. In most cases I was invited to parent-teacher meetings early in my work in the class, sometimes also at a later time. I found the parents very positive towards the programme and no one objected to it.

It was compulsory to take part in these lessons as in any other school activity. Interviews held with children were strictly confidential (Class F, grade 6). Parents or children could abstain. (One child did so half-way through the interview.)

The recorded videotapes were not shown to outsiders lest any child be identified. The presentation of the study is such that the names of the participants and the schools are fictitious. All details about schools, teachers, children and, of course, parents, are omitted to prevent any identification.

Some teachers asked the children whether they wanted to take part in the project or not. In Class D, for instance, this was done twice: (1) before I began working in the class and (2) before the beginning of the 6th grade. The project was accepted.

14.3 Study design

Collaboration with the teacher in the classroom

In accordance with the teachers' choice, I conducted most of the teaching related to violence prevention and conflict resolution myself. Collaboration with the teachers was close. We planned the lessons together and discussed them afterwards when opportunity arose. With very few exceptions the teacher participated during the lessons. Thanks to this system, I received continued feedback not only from the pupils but also from the teachers. Rarely, the teacher took the lead during the lesson. However, the choice was theirs. When they did, I observed and participated from the floor.

There was one exception: In Class A the teacher, Anna, carried out the teaching herself and I observed the lessons. This was during the first term after I had introduced myself and the work. Anna was particularly interested in peace education. The other teachers were mostly interested in conflict resolution at the micro level and, related to this, the class climate. All accepted the fact that we linked the micro level to the macro. Anna decided the curriculum to a greater extent than the other teachers did. So it happened that the class spent some months working with the children's "roots of origin".

Economical and other limitations

Unfortunately, I did not manage to influence those teachers who took only a few lessons with the classes to participate in the programme. These taught for instance music, handicrafts or sports. I had to conform with the wishes of the school. One prerequisite was that my work in the school must not give the school any extra expenses. The teachers' completely voluntary work with the project was unpaid. No courses in relation to the programme were given to the teachers and the staff of the schools. The teachers had received *Kreativ konfliktlösning för mellanstadiet* (1993) [Resolving Conflict Creatively: A Guide for Grades 4–6], i.e. the manual by Lantieri and Roderick translated and revised by me.

My contact with the classes was limited to once a week. The lessons lasted between 40 and 60 minutes, very seldom more than one hour. There were at times short intervals of usually a week or two when my visit was postponed for some reason or other. The longest break was in Class F where the programme was temporarily discontinued for a couple of months at the end of the spring term in '95.

14.4 Data collection

Diary

After each lesson I wrote a diary, where I marked the length of the session, described the work being done and indicated the response from the pupils as well as my own feelings about the lesson and feedback from those present, including the teacher. The main questions to answer were: What was the atmosphere like between all those present? Were the children moti-

vated? Interested? Was there resistance among the children? Why in that case? Was there any difference between the children? Were the aims of the lesson — as far as I could make out — reached or not? Why? Why not? How could the lesson be improved? How should we continue?”

Anonymous notebooks, “thought books”

The children were sometimes asked to write anonymously in special notebooks in order to provide feedback. These were called “thought books”. The teachers, who knew the children’s handwriting, did not read those notes and the children knew this. The idea was to get honest feedback. However, thought books were not used in all the classes. (Since the children also used ordinary notebooks for their work, some teachers felt that it would be too much to have an anonymous one as well.)

Products of classroom work

There is documentation in the form of products from the pupils, such as essays, poems, drawings and exhibitions. In addition there are videotapes from role plays and forum plays. The video was used for pedagogical reasons, not to document the lessons for research.⁹¹

Interviews with pupils in Class F

The pupils in Class F, grade 6, were individually interviewed by me during October–November in 1995. The interviews were tape-recorded. They were semi-structured. The questions were about the work we had been doing, what the children remembered from earlier tasks and what they thought about peer influence (Section 15.2).

Interviews with the teachers

There were tape-recorded interviews with Fanny, in Class F, at the beginning (cf. the guide, Appendix 9), in the middle and at the end of the programme. I also held an interview with Daniela, in Class D, at the beginning of our work and a telephone interview after the programme was discontinued in June ’95.’

⁹¹ Tape-recording for research reasons was ruled out as I felt it might distract the pupils as well as jeopardize my position in the class. There was always a risk that the programme would have to be discontinued owing to a decision by the teacher who was influenced by the children.

Parent-teacher meeting followed by a questionnaire to parents, Class F

I met the parents of the children in Class F at the end of our study. They provided feedback to our work. The parents responded anonymously to a questionnaire after this meeting. All 18 families responded. (For the format of the questionnaire, see Appendix 10.)

There is an overview of the proceedings of the programme and of the data collection in Classes F and D, Appendix 5. The lessons within the programme carried out in these classes are listed, Appendix 6.

15 Developing the Programme

The idea was to develop a teaching programme in violence prevention and conflict resolution which would provide the children with certain skills that could be utilized throughout life in relation to conflicts at the interpersonal and inter-group level, but would also be beneficial in relation to conflicts on the global (national and international) level where the children would be part of public (world) opinion. It is important to note that these skills are not some kind of technical “fix” but a way of thinking as well as behaving, in other words, a lifestyle. Moreover, the idea was to empower the children. The educational objectives are discussed in Chapter 13 pp. 176–180).

The presentations of the lessons will have to be fairly brief since the programme was rather comprehensive and the text cannot be burdened by too many details. Most important are the main *teaching methods* and *findings* related to these. The findings consist of indications of opportunities for and obstacles to the training. The children’s response, as well as possible causes, is therefore discussed. Furthermore, I draw from the experiences gained in order to perceive and discuss opportunities for the future.

Section 15.1 deals with the implementation of the curriculum and Section 15.2 with interviews with the children in Class F at a time fairly close to the end of grade 6. Section 15.3 is devoted to a comparison between Classes F and D regarding the implementation of the programme.

15.1 The curriculum: Violence prevention and conflict resolution connecting the micro and macro levels

An overview of the programme is presented in Appendix 4; teaching methods have briefly been mentioned in Section 13.3.1 and an explanation of the programme in relation to theories and educational objectives has been given in Section 13.3.2. These presentations are of special significance as it is possible here only to give examples of work done. Most of these examples will be taken from Classes F and D. The actual work in the other classes will be referred to only briefly, but the discussion of findings will build on experiences from all the classes.

Some of the lessons will be presented in more detail, including background, aims, method, observations and discussion of findings, whereas in many other cases I have had to omit a fair amount of this information.

The references to the two teaching guides that inspired the work, Lantieri and Roderick (1988) and Kreidler (1994) will be cut short. They will be called L & R, 1988 and K, 1994 in footnotes which will indicate my indebtedness to these works⁹².

15.1.1 Concept of peace⁹³

The concept of peace as children of different ages relate to it is dealt with in a recently published anthology (Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999). In their introduction the editors state that “the study of children’s and adolescents’ understanding of peace, conflict, and war contributes to efforts aiming at the attainment of a culture of peace” (p. 4). Socialization and education are fundamental processes in work for peace.

Vriens (1999, pp. 29–30) advocates “a balanced concept of peace education” where attention is paid to children’s perspectives. Too often peace education is goal oriented and lacks knowledge about children’s lives and their perspectives about war and peace, he claims. The aim of peace education is to make young people conscious of their own responsibility for peace. They have to arrive at their own standpoint regarding their situation and their influence on and contribution to the peace process at both the personal and structural level, he says.

I have defined peace as the opposite to violence. Galtung (1996) regards peace as absence or reduction of violence. He (1965) introduced a broad concept of *violence* and *non-violence*. Non-violence means “any activity that aims at *enlarging action-spaces by including actions or making them more attractive*” (p. 236, italics added). He draws attention to a “*positive approach*” of non-violence. By this is meant that a party performs actions

⁹² As mentioned above, Lantieri’s and Roderick’s (1988) teaching guide was (partly) translated and revised by me, *Kreativ konfliktlösning för mellanstadiet* [Resolving Conflict Creatively: A Guide for Grades 4–6] (1993). All the activities were translated. Further reference to this translation will be omitted (with one exception).

⁹³ Three activities were designed to introduce the children to a broad concept of peace, namely, The Peace Web, A Moment of Peace and Dynamic Peace, L & R, 1988.

positive in value to the other party. Violence may also be seen as needs-deprivation (Galtung, 1990a, cf. p. 85 above). In his famous paper on indirect or structural violence Galtung (1969, p. 171) refers to structural violence as social injustice. When the opposite, social justice, prevails, there is “*positive peace*” (Section 7.2.1; Brock-Utne’s classification: Section 7.2.3). Furthermore, Brock-Utne (1989, 1997) differentiates between peace at the micro level as absence of unorganized violence and peace at the macro level as absence of organized violence.

In one of the contributions of the anthology mentioned, “positive peace is defined by dynamic, interactive processes (cooperation patterns) which aim at the collaboration between groups and nations, as well as by the absence of ‘indirect violence,’ for example, structural violence in society” (Hakvoort & Oppenheimer, 1999, p. 72). The authors claim that, during childhood, peace is related to collaborative and cooperative processes between countries as well as at an individual level (for example, friendship). However, “the inclusion of dynamic interactive processes dealing with tolerance and respect between countries, groups of people, and individuals, as well as those dealing with democracy, only emerge from the onset of adolescence” (p. 74).

Aims. (1) To learn about the children’s perspectives and thoughts about peace as a starting point for peace education. (2) To give the children an increased understanding of the concept peace, thereby connecting the micro and macro levels; (3) to link knowledge of war and peace to feelings and actions, even if only imagined (empowerment).

The Peace Web

Method. The method used was brainstorming (cf. footnote 86, p. 181 above). The children of all the classes were asked: “*What comes to mind when you think of ‘peace’?*”⁹⁴

Observations. The children in **Class F** (grade 4) worked very well, contributing to the web in what I felt was a good working climate. The children thought of peace on the micro and macro levels. Of special interest was that they considered and suggested positive aspects of peace — what it *is* rather than what it is *not* — and that they suggested many solutions to

⁹⁴ The Swedish word “fred” stands mainly for outer peace. There is another word for inner peace (“frid”) but it is possible to use “fred” for both kinds. “Fred” is the word I wrote on the blackboard.

An overview of all the classes. However, in all the other classes the children soon thought about *positive aspects of peace*, as we have already noticed in Class F. They very clearly expressed concern that *basic human needs* would be met: food, water, clothes and lodging for everybody (or in general terms: “all get what they need”); love; solidarity; trust; unity; security; freedom; good health; having jobs. Also, they mentioned *human rights* and equality. They elaborated on freedom, sometimes thinking of victims of war (some were children of refugees), sometimes of people, probably most often children: everyone can go back to her/his home country; everybody may express his/her opinion; everybody born may live his/her own life; release the prisoners etc. They also expressed concern about child abuse and child labour, wishing there were none.

The need for belonging and love was expressed in various ways. Some children pointed out that peace is having a home, good parents and nice brothers and sisters. “The family is together” was mentioned by one child, and another one expressed the wish that “all listen to each other”. Others said: all are friends; everybody is happy, and they went on picturing: singing; laughing; cooperation; being kind to all; school; knowledge; peace and quiet; be left in peace. The latter two expressions are interesting as they so clearly connect peace to the micro level. Also, they refer to inner peace.

There were only a few children who alluded to *human beings living in peace with nature*: good environment; Greenpeace; and protected flowers.

Some children mentioned models — individuals or organizations — for charity work and other kinds of peace work (Gandhi, Greenpeace).

One child said that *world peace is impossible to get*. However, there were other children, expressing less powerlessness and more preparedness to act. One child said: “The future depends on us,” thereby indicating assertiveness.

After having brainstormed the peace web, we discussed the children’s contributions to the web in terms of the macro and micro levels, and continued by considering some connections between the levels.

Discussion of the findings. *The children’s understanding of the concept.* The children displayed awareness of hardships and suffering in the world and they expressed longing for what may be included in “positive peace”. Empathy was prevalent and there were suggestions of activities which aimed at helping others in need. Protection of the environment was considered to a minor degree. In accordance with Hakvoort and Oppen-

heimer (1999), we found that these 10-year-old children thought in terms of relationships at an individual and group level but not in terms of positive interactive processes between countries, such as disarmament and other agreements, nor of democratic free elections or structures.

It was interesting to note that children in the class who experienced a negative psychological climate found it very difficult to associate to peace in other than negative terms, whereas children in other classes experienced no difficulty in depicting positive peace.

Advantages of the activity. It made a good start to take up the topic of peace and connect it with the children's daily life. The children expressed a great deal of their thinking about these issues. There were indications of their preparedness to act (or feelings of powerlessness) in regard to peace.

Proposal. The activity may be extended by encouraging the children to consider in greater depth a question that was raised at the end of the lesson after our brainstorming session: "*What has world peace or world problems got to do with our way of living here and now?*" They may work in groups of two or write their thoughts down in an essay (or a poem). It would be an advantage to change the activity, thereby challenging more children to become active.

A guided imagery: A Moment of Peace. Relaxation.

Method. A simple relaxation technique was introduced⁹⁵ and the activity explained: The children were to draw or paint pictures of something nice, beautiful and peaceful that they had experienced or could imagine. The pictures would be called "*A Moment of Peace*". Before they "woke up" from the relaxation, prior to drawing, I would ask them to think of this moment.

Relaxation. The children of two classes wrote in their thought books about relaxation. Most children liked to do it. Therefore, in some classes we started some of the following lessons in this manner. It could help in improving the climate in the class, I think. However, it is difficult to make it work when basic security is not there. Not surprisingly, those children who found it most difficult to follow the instructions of relaxation were those who were tense and difficult to handle in the classroom.

⁹⁵ L.-E. Uneståhl and S. Setterlind (tape): *Avslappning i skolan: Låg- och mellanstadiet* [Relaxation in School: Grades 1–6], Örebro, Sweden: Veje. The short first programme was used. It was somewhat revised to be adapted to the exercise.

Commentary on the activity “A Moment of Peace”. Generally speaking, the children worked well, at times with enthusiasm. They drew and painted pictures of peace at the micro or macro levels, also peace in nature, e.g., how not to pollute forests. Some children found it difficult. After having finished, the children shared with the class, or with each other, what was peaceful about their pictures. Exhibitions were put up in the classroom.

Proposals. In Classes F and D we performed this activity one week after The Peace Web. The children would probably have benefited from a continuation from one activity to the next one (after a break). It would have provided a mixture of cognitive work (The Peace Web) and artistic, affective, creative work (A Moment of Peace). The connection between the micro and macro levels could come out in the former activity and be developed in the minds (and the hearts) of the children in the latter.

15.1.2 The pot, a metaphor for self-worth

Above, p. 51, I have described *the pot metaphor for feelings of self-worth* (= self-esteem), which was invented by Satir (1972). I also utilized Lantieri’s and Roderick’s (1988) chapter on affirmation. They point out that put-downs (disparaging, derogatory and suppressing behaviour) are a part of the culture. They interfere with learning, and undermine trust.

A person whose “pot is high” feels that he or she matters and that he has faith in his competence. The person whose “pot is low” feels the opposite; he has low self-esteem and does not feel lovable. Satir says “I am convinced that the crucial factor in what happens both *inside* people and *between* people is the picture of individual worth that each person carries around with him — his *pot*” (p. 21).

Aims. (1) To draw attention to the importance of gratifying esteem needs in order to increase everybody’s feelings of well-being and, as a result, also improve the psychological climate of the class; (2) to increase the children’s awareness of affirming and suppressing (putting down) kinds of behaviour and their related consequences; and (3) to lay a basis for the coming training of conflict resolution.

Method and observation. First, the metaphor was explained to the children. I brought a pot to the class and filled it halfway with water in order to

help them better remember. As in the activity on the peace web, we utilized brainstorming, writing the children's suggestions down on the blackboard. I asked the children: "*What can you do or say that will **decrease** the level of somebody's pot?*" After having received the children's contributions, I cleaned the blackboard: "*Now, what can you do or say that will **increase** the level of somebody's pot?*" Again the children were asked to give examples of both words and actions, body language included. This time the result of the activity was left on the blackboard throughout the lesson.

When the children's ideas started to run low, we went on to discuss the work done and its result. Had it been as easy to do the second as the first part of the brainstorming? In which case had we obtained the most contributions? If putting-down was easier than putting-up, why was that? If the reverse was the case, why was that? At the end of the lesson I asked the children whether it would be different if everyone in the class tried to raise each other's pots. To this they generally answered "Yes".

When I had put this question in **Class F** (grade 4), I asked the children whether they wanted to try. Not all of them were so sure. At the request of a pupil we prolonged the lesson and finished with a "guided imagery" where the children were asked to "see" how they filled each other's pots. Soft music was played while they relaxed. After waking up, there was a discussion in the whole class and then the children wrote in their thought books. I asked them "In what way does our 'level' affect our way of interacting with others?" Someone said that a low pot may make you put down others. One girl took an example from a book about bullying.

Thought books, Class F. One child wrote what s/he [the book was anonymous without information about sex] saw during relaxation: "We have learnt to raise other people's self-confidence. I saw an empty pot with a ladder down into it. It was the pot of Class 4. There was a rubber tube hanging down. Then I saw the children in our class playing. There was water coming out of the tube into the pot. All the children played and there was more and more water spouting out. It was the self-esteem of the class that started to rise. Finally everyone played a lot. There was even more water spouting into the pot. And in the end the self-esteem of the class had reached its peak! END."

One child connected the micro with the macro level: "To be kind to each other, help people in need. One should not tease each other. When I relaxed, I saw a circle of kids calling at me and everyone wanted to be with

me. I wanted very much to play with my mates. I hope there will be peace and not war. The best thing I know is to be friends with everyone.”

One child evaluated, mostly positively, all the lessons within the project they had had so far and made suggestions for the coming work, suggestions like sitting in a circle and playing a skit: “... It is rather fun, especially as it is not like other lessons. We may decide more. ... I think that most of us have learnt something. One does if one only cares a little. ... The metaphor of the pot was good.”

Almost all the children told something of what they had learnt and they seemed to have understood the meaning of the metaphor. A few expressed positive feelings; one was negative.

Experience from the other classes

Class C (grade 6) was the class with the destructive atmosphere. Here the children found it very much easier to give examples of put-downs than of affirmative behaviour. When I asked why that was so, one of the boys said: “It is easier to tease because then you don’t have to think. If you are to say something positive and appreciative, you have to think, be honest.”

In **Class A** (grade 5) the response was very different: Positive and affirming behaviour was easy. Anna, the teacher, saw a chance to tell the children something that was important in her relationship with them: “As a teacher my task is to raise your pots. Sometimes you don’t understand this and get envious of each other.” One of the girls said that she often thought this way. This honesty indicated a trusting climate, I think. Unfortunately it grew tougher with increasing age (grade 6).

The children in **Class E** (grade 4) remembered the metaphor after two weeks and were positive regarding it whilst the children in **Class G** (grade 5) did not remember (after three days) or had misunderstood it. The teacher of Class E, Erica, had utilized the metaphor but Gisela (the teacher of Class G) had not. Moreover, in Class G one of the boys had resisted the idea that the metaphor stands for self-esteem. It should be about being happy or sad, he had said, not accepting my explanation.

All the children in Classes E and G wrote about the metaphor in their thought books. The children in Class G seemed to have misunderstood the metaphor or not accepted it, just like the resisting boy in their class. They described the pot as a metaphor of feelings of happiness or sadness, not feelings of being liked, loved or clever. Others, giving their opinion of the

metaphor, said that it was not good, at least not useful in *their* case. Some thought that those who did not dare to talk about their feelings should use it. They, themselves, did not have any problem talking about their feelings.

The children in Class E were positive just like the children in Class F, even though some of them put emotions of being happy or sad *before* the feeling of self-esteem: “When you are happy self-esteem is raised and when you are sad it is lowered”. Other examples of evaluation were: “I think that a lesson like this one is good. There will be less violence in the class” and “I think that the pot of self-esteem is good. I think that one should believe in oneself and not lose heart. One must help others in need and not bully. I think that to say good things is the easiest. I know that there is peace in every heart.” Yet another child wrote: “I think that the pot of self-esteem is good. I hope to be able to utilize it when I am sad.”

Most of the children in **Class B** (grade 5) understood the metaphor and were positive to it. There were, however, a few who thought that the lesson was boring: “It was boring. The dirty words were easier to think of than the nice ones. Because one hears almost only nasty words.” The other one who thought it was boring wrote: “I didn’t come to think of anything at the end [i.e., to raise the pot] but it was easy to lower the pot, but I didn’t dare to say anything because you would have fainted.”

Discussion of the findings. Satir (1972) emphasizes that feeling low is not the same as a low pot. She continues: “Low pot essentially means that you are experiencing undesirable feelings at the moment and are trying to behave as though those feelings did not exist. It takes a lot of trust to express your self-esteem feelings. Low pot is a form of lying to yourself and others” (p. 24). Low feelings (e.g. sadness) are not something you are ashamed of to the same extent. It is quite another matter not to be loved or liked or not to be good enough.

As indicated above, some children mixed feeling sad with sentiments of low self-esteem. Furthermore, some did not acknowledge that they ever experienced low self-esteem. This was very clearly the case in Class G. To deny this is a way of defending one’s self-esteem. Just as Satir says, the child tries to behave as if those feelings did not exist. Some of the responses in Class G are examples of this. The fact that we got negative and similar replies from the children in this class after one of the boys had expressed resistance indicates group influence. Besides, the teacher had not utilized the metaphor, thereby legitimizing it and giving it status. Here we

find explanations for the difference in responses between Classes E and G that belonged to the same school and were closely related.

In a few cases the children who did not like the metaphor wrote that the lesson was boring. They expressed aggressiveness. Perhaps they felt uncomfortable because they heard put-downs and used them themselves. It was not fun. It is possible that they felt their own aggressiveness, not knowing how to deal with it. The whole activity might have been experienced as an attack on them. *Their* self-esteem may have been lowered.

In Class A one comment was: “Maybe one can have too much self-confidence”. This thought could start a new activity on “communication killers” or pitfalls in communication (see Cornelius & Faire, p. 74 above). It also borders on compensatory behaviour to make up for low self-esteem regarding some aspect of life.

It is necessary to continue utilizing the pot metaphor after the introductory lesson if it is to be of any use. My problem was that I was an outsider. The teachers did not take up the idea as *theirs*, and so it may have fallen on barren ground.

In what way the metaphor may be utilized will probably be made clearer as we go on in the text. Below we will take up win-win solutions where the aim is to meet the needs of all the parties. Escalation and de-escalation will be considered. Self-esteem needs are very important in all conflicts, but particularly in personal ones.

Conclusions. The metaphor of self-esteem may be taught to children at least from 10 years of age. Most of the children liked it, but it had to be used repeatedly in order to be remembered and appreciated. Children who behave in an aggressive manner may feel attacked and defend themselves through resisting this and related activities. This requires special attention.

15.1.3 Different approaches dealing with conflict

Aggressive, avoiding and problem-solving approach. Win-win solutions⁹⁶.

Aims. (1) to make the children aware of the *choice* of approach when in conflict as well as of the consequences of this choice; and (2) to give them

⁹⁶ L & R (1988); Kreidler, 1994 (utilized to a lesser extent); Section 6.6.

skills in resolving conflict, i.e. solving the problem in such a way that all parties' needs are gratified.

Method. The children were informed about the choice among three different modes of behaving when angry or in conflict: the aggressive (assaulting), the avoiding, and the assertive (problem-solving) one. We needed to train the assertive ("strong") one as it helps solve problems without people getting hurt and because it is utilized too little. Being "strong" means standing up for oneself and trying to get what one wants without being mean or trying to hurt the other person.

Our mode of action when in conflict determines the outcome. The goal is to see that all parties have their needs met. One may discuss what needs people have, but it is also possible to postpone doing this and only say that the goal is to allow both parties to get what is important to them. The children were reminded of the pot metaphor.

Between two parties, the outcome of a conflict may be that both "lose" (i.e. do not have their needs satisfied), one party "wins" and the other "loses," or both "win". The preferred outcome is that both win.

A story about a simple conflict between two children was told. The pupils were asked to role-play solutions. Their sketches were enacted and discussed. The different solutions that the children presented were given as examples of all four different outcomes (win-win, win-lose, lose-win, lose-lose). It was demonstrated that the outcome was linked to the behaviour. Avoiding (withdrawing, ignoring, suppressing etc.) behaviour might lead to win-lose outcomes, maybe also to lose-lose ones as conflicts not resolved may give rise to hard feelings and bad communication. A win-lose outcome may easily become a lose-lose one in the long run. In their role plays the children needed help in order to find win-win outcomes.

Three lessons in *Class F* (grade 4) were devoted to work on this activity. The children role-played their own sketches which were filmed, played back and discussed.

Carrying out in different classes. In one class we made an *opinion continuum*⁹⁷ where the children were to respond to the statement: "In every conflict there is a winner and a loser". In *Class G* (grade 5) we tried *hassle*

⁹⁷ Opinion continuum, see footnote 89, p. 187-188. It is described in K, 1994 (pp. 15-16) where statements on conflict are also proposed.

*lines*⁹⁸ dealing with the conflict in question. The advantage of this method is that all the children may practise at the same time. Unfortunately there was resistance emanating from strong informal leaders. The small group of girls was rather passive.

The children in **Class B** (grade 5) enacted a sketch from real life. During the break one of the boys of foreign origin had been teased about this and excluded from the play by his mates. A teacher had intervened and the outcome was very successful: all the children playing hide-and-seek together during the break. The children delightfully played this back in the classroom.

Discussion of the findings. With a few exceptions the children liked role-playing but they found it difficult to attain solutions to the conflicts. They often acted aggressively in their sketches. If not, they withdrew or occasionally expected adults to come and solve the problem for them. The adults utilized threats or arbitrated. Neutral mediation was not enacted or mentioned by the children.

One way of handling conflicts employed by the children was to let one party ask forgiveness. This was portrayed in several plays, not only in this activity. I find it counterproductive to do this as it comes before any analysis or reflection and does not seem to come from the heart. The children may learn to suppress their feelings, simultaneously being untrue to themselves. They asked forgiveness in their plays because they did not know of any other way to solve the problem non-aggressively and, perhaps, because they thought that the teacher and I would be pleased.

At the beginning of practising conflict resolution skills the assertive way of behaving is often confused with the avoiding, suppressing mode. The assertive approach means standing up for what one feels is right in order to get *a fair solution*. This requires courage that may be discussed in relation to the children's plays and examples to make the children see this.

Most of the children were positive to the work we did in role-playing but it did happen in a few classes that there was *resistance*. It was especially the case among the children in Class G. Some children found it diffi-

⁹⁸ *Hassle lines* (L & R, 1988, p. 34): The children are to stand in a line in pairs facing each other. They play roles in a conflict. After some minutes the leader shouts "Freeze!" The children may reverse roles and some pairs enact their sketches to the class which afterwards discusses the contents with regard to the objectives of the lesson.

cult to learn about different ways of handling conflict and several sessions were needed.

Conclusions. I believe that the best effect is achieved when the methods, in which we want to train, are employed in *dealing with real conflicts* that are of immediate interest to the children. This takes a lot of time as attitudes and habits have to be changed. *The children's knowledge of assertive ways of handling conflicts proved to be poor.*

Further elaboration on approaches: A, E, I, O and U

The activity to which I will refer here was postponed in our programme.

Lantieri and Roderick (1988, pp. 67–69) suggest categorizing behaviour in situations of conflict and anger into an “A, E, I, O, U scheme” where A stands for attacking⁹⁹, E for evading¹⁰⁰, I for informing¹⁰¹, O for opening¹⁰² and U for uniting¹⁰³ behaviour. Marianne Bokblad, a teacher from Söderköping who tried out some of the activities, had made a triangle where the symbols of attacking and evading behaviour were placed at the bottom angles and those of the informing, opening and uniting behaviours at the top.

Informing, opening and uniting behaviour tend to de-escalate conflicts. One example of *opening* behaviour is questions to learn about the other party's perspective. *Informing* behaviour is connected to giving your own perspective. This was trained as I-messages and the “giraffe language” (Section 15.1.8). The conflict may be analysed through this communication (cf. Section 6.4 about analysing the conflict). *Uniting* behaviour comes easily to children when they are no longer angry. It bears on solutions.

The activity of Bokblad's triangle of different approaches to conflict was conducted in **Classes F** (grade 5) and **D** (grade 6). The children had

⁹⁹ e.g., hitting, threatening, name-calling or (negative) you-messages (cf. above p. 74).

¹⁰⁰ e.g., avoiding, escaping, ignoring, running away, withdrawing or suppressing.

¹⁰¹ e.g., telling the other person how you are feeling without attacking. I-messages are examples of informing behaviour (cf. above, p. 74).

¹⁰² e.g., asking a question that encourages the other person to open up, to give his or her point of view, etc.

¹⁰³ e.g., statements like “I hope we can find a way to work this out together” and “Perhaps if we do ... , we can both get our needs met.” (Cf. joint problem-solving and the approach “not opponents but partners” that Cornelius and Faire, 1989, advocate.)

previously learnt about the three approaches mentioned above, and they had practised I-messages and the giraffe language.

Informing the children, I handed out some sketches of conflict situations that they would role-play in groups of two. Observed conflicts, previously written down in their thought books, or newly invented ones could be utilized instead. The children play-acted different modes of behaviour, giving rise to various outcomes. The class was to tell what approach was pictured; A, E, I, O or U. The video recorder was utilized.

Conclusions. The role-playing worked fairly well, the children enjoying it. It took some time but at least when playing the video back, there seemed to be an understanding among the children of the different ways of behaving. The skills needed to be trained daily in real conflicts (see further Section 15.1.8).

15.1.4 Positions and underlying needs

HNT emphasizes analysis of the conflict jointly by the parties (cf. above pp. 70–71). So do Fisher, Ury and Patton (1991) as well as Cornelius and Faire (1989). The analysis involves looking deeper than to the parties' expressed wants. Fisher, Ury and Patton (1991, pp. 10–11) recommend that we “focus on interests, not positions”. “A negotiating position often obscures what you really want” (cf. Section 6.5).

Aim. To encourage the children to go beyond the stated positions and search for the underlying needs, concerns and values in order to increase the chances of attaining a win-win solution where all the parties have their needs met.

Method. This lesson was given only in **Class D** (grade 6). At that time we had worked together for a year.

First I explained the idea of basic needs and the difference between positions and needs. The children suggested what basic needs there are. They said among other things: to love, and to live and be together.

The conflict situation that we had played when learning about win-win solutions was again referred to. I asked the children what they thought the children in the play *needed*. Knowing (in this case, inventing) the context, it was possible to discuss this.

Then we borrowed a conflict situation “What Are Friends For?” from Kreidler’s manual¹⁰⁴. The story is made up for a role play. It may also be used as a problem to discuss in the whole class or in pairs. I wrote the demands (=positions) of the role figures on the blackboard and asked the class what they thought the two parties, Christopher and Suzanne, felt they needed. This was the first step. Then the class was asked to consider what the two could have said to avoid escalation of the conflict.

Discussion of the findings. I have noted in my diary that I think that this example from Kreidler’s manual was useful but also that the *children needed training in expressing needs*. Many found it difficult to conceptualize what needs Christopher and Suzanne had. Expressing those needs was perhaps even more difficult. Cornelius and Faire (1989) write about needs and *concerns*. It may be easier to talk about concerns than about needs, interests and wants. Suzanne was concerned not to lose her friend. Concerns are linked to needs. They are easy to understand. We all feel afraid and concerned at times. Needs may not be so obvious to children.

I do believe that activities regarding positions and underlying needs (and concerns) are among the most important ones in the programme. The way of thinking that is prevalent here is at the very core of this work: basic human needs have to be considered and when we do, we will find that there are options that may lead to true resolution of conflict, i.e. win-win solutions.

I think that, much earlier than was done in this programme, children should learn to distinguish between positions and underlying needs. When win-win solutions, I-messages and the “giraffe language” are practised, underlying needs should be explored. *Probably it is easier to find ways to express oneself along these lines if we first look for underlying needs and concerns without thinking about how to express them.* In this way we get a step-wise approach that I think could be fruitful. The children may understand it better and find it more natural if we focus on underlying needs and concerns rather than starting with behaviour when dealing with conflict. This should be tried out.

Proposals. Work on position and underlying needs lends itself to group work. Modes of presentation may vary. The children may write essays, po-

¹⁰⁴ K, 1994, distinguishes between “Demands” and “ReallyNeeds”. The activity presented here was inspired by this manual.

ems, songs, draw and paint comics with talk and thought bubbles, role-play etc. They may also make exhibitions of different kinds of products.

Training in the classroom is not enough. The mode of thinking must be utilized *in daily life*. Practice in distinguishing positions from underlying needs can be gained with examples from the children's own daily life, preferably when conflicts occur.

Conclusion. It was a mistake not to work with underlying needs and concerns earlier in our programme in all the classes and in close connection to some of the other activities on escalation and de-escalation.

15.1.5 Escalation of conflict¹⁰⁵

Aim. To make the children aware of escalation mechanisms in order to help them early recognize what is happening, thereby giving them a better chance of preventing or stopping escalation and employing the skills gained in the other activities.

Method and observations. Drawing steps on the blackboard (fig. 15.2), I told the children that a conflict escalates when it gets worse. Someone says or does something that upsets us. We react by getting angry or feeling sad, frustrated etc. Especially anger releases energy, escalating the conflict. One action makes the other party react and, in turn, act in a way which makes the first party react and act etc. The feelings grow stronger and stronger as we go up the escalator.

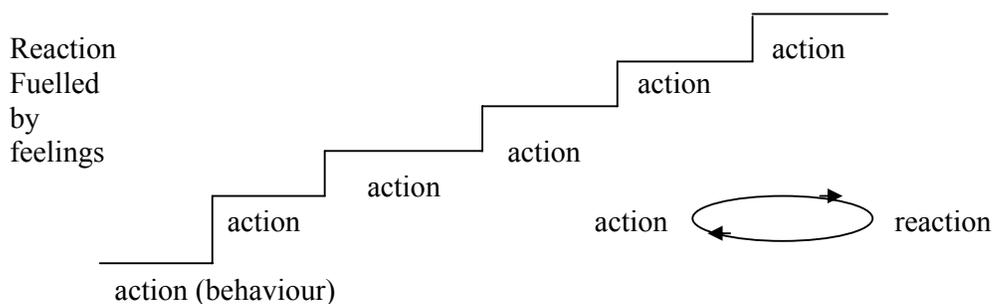


Figure 15.2 Conflict escalator and the spiral of actions (behaviour) and reactions. Feelings, such as anger, disappointment, etc., release energy for escalation. (Inspired by Kreidler, 1994, p. 26.)

¹⁰⁵ I was inspired by activities on escalation of conflict in K, 1994.

The children were given an example of a conflict situation and we plotted feelings going up the escalator. In one of the classes, **Class E** (grade 4), two girls played a sketch that they had written during the previous lesson. This illustrated the escalator. The children had just learnt about the three ways of dealing with anger or conflict.

In **Class F** (grade 5) I asked the children to observe one or more conflicts before our next meeting. This was done in order to make them more aware of conflict escalation and to gather material with which to work in the future. They received a form to fill in. The conflict was to have a title.

The next activity was related to answering the question: “*What do you do when you cause a conflict to escalate?*” This was done in pairs. Many wrote: “put-downs” and “fight”. The blackboard was utilized in a brainstorming session where more subtle behaviours were exemplified. An alternative question was: “*What words or actions make you angry or sad?*”

After this the children were presented with Kreidler’s five categories of escalating behaviour¹⁰⁶. In **Class E** (grade 4) they were divided into five groups and each child was given a slip of coloured paper. The children were asked to give examples within the category of behaviour to which the colour of their paper belonged.

Then they were asked the following question: “*Why do you think that we are working with escalation of conflict?*” This led to an interesting discussion where many participated. I got the impression that the children did see why. One boy, Erik, took up the link between the micro and macro levels, asking about it. Another one, who was not too positive towards our work on conflict and conflict resolution, said that he did not think that their fights in the playground cause wars but that there is some other connection. “Which one?” I questioned. Erik said something like: “The children grow up and learn to fight. Then they continue.” One girl said: “It is like the ripple effect. It disseminates.” Here I think they really spontaneously thought in terms of culture. There may be a warlike, violent culture and there may

¹⁰⁶ “*Bulldozing*” (to “run-over” and intimidate the other person by all kinds of aggressive behaviour), “*conflict archeology*” (bringing up past failures or wrongdoing that is not about the current conflict), “*global statements*” (generalizations like “you always”), “*counterattacks*” (the other’s personality is attacked, or one throws back one’s own complaints instead of listening to the other person’s point of view) and “*above it all*” that means acting as if the other one is stupid to care about such a trivial matter, (K, 1994, p. 43).

be more of a peace culture. What the culture will be like is determined by the people living there.

Discussion of the findings. Some of the children found it difficult to plot the escalating behaviour and the reactions. When they utilized their own examples, more life was poured into the exercise. I felt that the activity was successful in Class E, where the children got the coloured slips of paper and invented their own examples.

The children in this class (grade 4) realized that it would be advantageous to prevent a conflict from escalating, but the children in Class A (grade 6) opposed this intensely. They brought up the feeling of relief when your anger is released. This is true: It is important to release one's negative feelings. Therefore one needs to learn to deal with one's anger in a way that does not include casting blame on the other party. In order to be able to stop escalation, it is necessary to learn to de-escalate.

Proposals. Kreidler's five different categories may be role-played. It is also possible to write an essay, or a poem, or draw and paint a situation. This may be done as individual work or in groups.

However, I suggest a modification by dividing the fourth category (footnote 106, p. 220 above) into two: (1) a simple counterattack without attacking the other's personality and (2) personalization.

It is important to discuss with the children ways of releasing one's negative feelings. We will now consider de-escalation. Feelings of all parties need to be acknowledged, also our own.

15.1.6 Dealing constructively with feelings, especially anger

When introduced to the different ways of dealing with conflicts, children may falsely get the impression that the problem-solving approach is similar to the avoiding one and that they are not allowed to show or express their feelings. Therefore they may resist training. It is important to get across to them that what is needed to act in a problem-solving way is to learn to *thoughtfully* respond, expressing feelings and needs. If you learn to slow down, "go to the balcony" (Ury, 1993) and *then* respond utilizing your skills in communication and conflict resolution, you will have a better chance to deal with conflict constructively and avoid defensive reactions

leading to escalation. Ideas for activities were given in the teaching guides¹⁰⁷.

Aim. To give the children tools to deal with their feelings, especially anger, in such a way that their emotional energy is released, without fueling escalation of conflict, but rather channelled into positive change.

Drawing and painting feelings of anger. Anger web. In *Class D* (grade 6) we warmed up by making a web on anger together (like the peace web before). Then the children were asked to close their eyes and think of anger or hatred. They were to picture a situation when they felt this way. After waking up, they made a drawing which they gave a title. One child at a time showed his/her picture to the class, explaining it. There were so many who wanted to do this that there was not time for them all. This was a pity. An alternative would have been to work in pairs. Then each child would have been talking to his mate about his work.

We also drew the “**anger thermometer**”¹⁰⁸ suggesting *words depicting anger* of increasing strength going up the thermometer. “*Anger cues*,” i.e., physical signs of anger, were written on the other side of the thermometer. The children were asked to think individually or in pairs about *what makes them angry*, in other words, what triggered their anger? Their notebooks were used. We discussed *when anger is beneficial*.

Dealing with anger in conflicts. The first step down the conflict escalator is to *calm down* or *cool off*. Cooling off is like bringing the mercury in the thermometer down. The children told the class what they did to calm down. Counting, relaxing and talking to oneself were ways mentioned. Kreidler’s (1994, p. 62) idea of “Anger Thought Balloons” was explained to them: Recognize anger cues, distract yourself, relax your body and talk to yourself.

Discussion of the findings. The children in Class D cooperated well in the activities mentioned here. A few weeks after the lesson they were asked whether they had used the method of the “Anger Thought Balloons” to calm down before responding. Actually, five or six pupils, mostly boys, raised their hands. Two told their stories voluntarily and said that they had felt good.

¹⁰⁷ L & R, 1988; K, 1994.

¹⁰⁸ K, 1994. It is an old-fashioned mercury (or spirits) thermometer.

Conclusion. Children might misunderstand our teachings owing to lack of knowledge of conflict resolution skills. Therefore we need to make very clear to them that we do not want them to suppress their feelings, but we advise them *first* to cool down and *then* to act in a way that may give the best results. Showing anger and other feelings is alright, yes, necessary to stay healthy.

15.1.7 Listening, frames of reference and perspective-taking

De-escalation: The art of listening¹⁰⁹

The children role-played sketches where they demonstrated bad or good listening. We got some good examples of both good and bad listening, but the latter were more enjoyable to watch.

In **Class E** (grade 4) the teacher, Erica, and I performed a role-play to demonstrate bad listening. After this we asked what the children had noticed. What happens when one does not listen? What are the feelings of the parties? The children role-played sketches in hassle lines: one child telling a story, the other listening badly or well. They changed roles.

Next the children were to write in their notebooks examples of *not* listening. They also wrote what you do when you do listen. We put two columns on the blackboard: not listening and listening.

For the following lesson I had brought the video camera. Now the children were to make up their own sketches, exhibiting listening and not listening. They did not need any help to invent stories. A few, who did not want to act, wrote their stories instead. When the children were ready, four groups played to the class (and the camera). The plays were discussed. The children suggested what you could say if you get bored when someone is talking.

Discussion of the findings. The lessons on good and bad listening were on the whole quite successful. The fourth and fifth graders worked well. Probably even younger pupils could benefit from these activities.

We also tried paraphrasing in Classes F and D but it did not work out well. It was too artificial when the situation was not occurring naturally.

¹⁰⁹ L & R, 1988; K, 1994.

Proposal. I suggest that active listening be trained in conflict situations in connection with the giraffe language and I-messages. Situations in real life, rather than fictitious ones, would be best, but also role plays and forum plays would be useful for training.

Frames of reference and perspective taking

For joint problem-solving the parties need to understand each other's frames of reference and see each other's perspectives. Empathy is fundamental in communication. Rosenberg (1999) advises us to listen for needs and feelings under the surface. (Chapter 6.)

Methods.¹¹⁰ (1) Frames of reference; (2) "perspective glasses" made out of coloured pipe cleaners¹¹¹; (3) role play and exchange of roles; and (4) rewriting fairy tales from a new perspective.

Class F (grade 5). A series of statements to which the children were to agree or disagree was presented to them in order to explain what a frame of reference is. Examples of such a statement are: "Football is the best sport" and "Sweden is the best country to live in".

The metaphor of perspective glasses was introduced: Kreidler (1994) tells us that we look at the world as if we look through a pair of invisible sunglasses. Everything we see and experience is filtered through these. Many things in life contribute to the colour of the lenses. He gives the following categories of influence: experiences, goals, feelings, values and needs. I drew a pair of glasses on the blackboard and asked the children what it is that makes people have different points of view, different perspectives on things, as they had just had in the previous activity. I had brought pipe cleaners of different colours and the children made their own perspective glasses out of these. They were very creative and in just about 10 minutes they had reached a very good result.

The next activity was exchanging roles in a role-play. The children invented the play which was about a father and a boy of 18 who wanted to borrow the car. The children were paired and worked in hassle lines. After

¹¹⁰ K, 1994: The activity on the "P.O.V. Glasses" (P.O.V. stands for point of view) (pp. 131–141). Activities from L & R, 1988: (1) Frames of reference (p. 26); (2) exchange of roles (pp. 27–28) and (3) rewriting fairy tales from a new perspective, taking as an example *Little Red Riding Hood* written from the perspective of the wolf, "The Malignant Wolf" (pp. 25, 45).

¹¹¹ Marianne Bokblad, Söderköping, came up with the idea of making perspective glasses out of coloured pipe cleaners.

a few minutes, the children exchanged roles. Taking the opposite perspective, they changed the perspective glasses that they had used.

The class was to rewrite old fairy tales from a new perspective. The fairy tale “Little Red Riding Hood” was presented after which Fanny read my Swedish translation of “The Maligned Wolf” to the class (see footnote 19 above). After having picked a fairy tale of their own choice, the children wrote essays, reversing the perspective. It was important that they chose a fairy tale where one character is good and another one evil. An 80-minute lesson was spent on this activity. Some of the children finished their essays at home. In the following lesson they wrote evaluations in their thought books and then listened to one of the essays that was read to the class.

Two examples of the rewritten fairy tales are given in Appendix 8.

Evaluation of the activities in thought books. All the evaluations were positive, some very positive, as the children asked to do more things like this. They wrote that they had enjoyed writing the fairy tales from a new perspective but some mentioned that it had been difficult too.

The exchange of roles was also mentioned and appreciated. One child did not like the work on perspective glasses: “It was a bit boring with the glasses. But writing stories was fun. The most fun of all is to role-play.” Others liked making the glasses: “... It was fun to write the fairy tales when you thought how others felt. It was cool to make the glasses. And I want to do it again.”

Discussion of the findings. We did the activity of making perspective glasses out of coloured pipe cleaners in three classes, grades 5–6. The children enjoyed the practical, creative work and did not seem to think that it was too childish. The resulting glasses were in some cases wonderful.

The activities with the perspective glasses, the exchange of roles and the rewriting of fairy tales involved many of the senses. This could help the children to remember. One girl commented on exchange of roles that one did not really *feel* the different roles. I believe she is right. It was more a question of introduction.

I am sure that it would have been better if our work with perspectives had been kept alive in the children’s minds by frequent use when conflicts occurred. From what I understood by interviewing the teacher and children (Class F) later on, this was done only to a minor degree.

Conclusion. The activities tried out need to be followed up by utilizing the skills of perspective taking in daily life.

15.1.8 De-escalation by means of non-violent communication: I-messages and the giraffe language¹¹²

I-messages are described by many, e.g. Thomas Gordon (1970, 1974) and Cornelius and Faire (1989, cf. pp. 74–75 above). Rosenberg's (1999) special form of non-violent communication was called "the giraffe language" (above pp. 75–76).

In Classes D and F activities on I-messages and non-violent communication were carried out *after* lessons on escalation and listening but *before* those on perspectives and constructively dealing with feelings (especially anger), although here I have changed the order. The reason for this is that I-messages and the giraffe language actually constitute *one* of the ways of dealing constructively with negative feelings like anger.

Aims. (1) To learn to express thoughts and feelings in a way that does not place blame on or in any way attack the other party; (2) to make the children see that this method is useful and greatly increases the opportunities for reaching a win-win solution; (3) to give the children an increased understanding of what the problem-solving approach is, making them see the difference between this and the avoiding approach (Section 15.1.3).

Activity 1. I-messages. I introduced I-messages to the children and also compared them with you-messages, which involve blame. The children were told that this is a tool to prevent conflicts from becoming destructive (worse). The format "I feel ... when ... because ..." was employed. I took one or two examples to explain how it could be used to avoid casting blame on the other person.

As a demonstration of what the skills are like, the children were given an example of a conflict between two roommates where one did not keep the room tidy, the other being disturbed by this¹¹³. At first the conflict was handled destructively. Then an I-message was used and the problem could be solved thanks to a better understanding between the parties.

¹¹² Activities on I-messages are found in the manual by L & R, 1988 (pp. 63–65, p. 81) and the one by K, 1994 (p. 67 ff.). Rosenberg (1999) calls his recommended way of communication "nonviolent communication". He has also used the term "giraffe language" for pedagogical reasons (he works with giraffe and wolf puppets). Finding them good, I have borrowed both his terms here.

¹¹³ K, 1994 (pp. 72–73).

The children were given *six situation cards* taken from Kreidler's teaching guide (1994, p. 74), one of them being: "One of your good friends has been ignoring you lately. You don't know if something's wrong." The children were to deal with the six problems and make use of I-messages. The results of the children's efforts were video recorded.

Activity 2. *The giraffe language.* The children watched a 15-minute *video film* where Marshall Rosenberg was interviewed¹¹⁴, explaining the "giraffe language" and "wolf language". In the film there was also a Swedish social worker who illustrated with puppets how she mediated between two individuals, asking "what does X *do* that upsets you?" and then similarly "what does Y do that upsets you?" making them express feelings and needs without accusing or attacking the other. The point was to "separate the person from the problem" (cf. p. 72).

Activity 3. *Making advertisements on TV (the video) for courses in the giraffe language.* We invented this activity in order to make the children think positively about the giraffe language, to have some fun and to make them remember it.

Observation, Class D (grade 6). The children learnt about the giraffe language (they watched the film) parallel to I-messages. They were to play two versions of the situation cards from Kreidler's teaching guide (activity 1): one aggressive version and one using the giraffe language or an I-message. We worked with this for two to three lessons, making video recordings and finally playing the film back to the class.

The children had found I-messages difficult but they did manage to express their feelings in a non-accusing fashion. The reality of the plays could be regarded as minor as the other party at once turned kind and friendly. No one needed to repeat an I-message to get through. The children liked the role-playing. Some of them were really eager.

After this we continued with yet another task: making advertisements for TV (in reality the video) for courses in the giraffe language. The children worked earnestly on their advertisements. When they had finished, we recorded them. They used their imagination very nicely and one could see that they had understood the idea of the giraffe language fairly well. (It is quite another matter to *use* it.) This was a class which consisted of very many children from foreign countries, many of them experiencing great

¹¹⁴ Subscripts in Swedish.

difficulty in reading and writing. This activity appealed to them and the work climate was very good.

Evaluation, thought books in Class D. Four months later the children were asked to write in their thought books what they thought about the giraffe language. Is it useful or not?

Some children expressed that they liked the giraffe language and that it is good. One child was very positive about it: “The giraffe language is very good because it does not end with fights. You tell what you feel and why. I want everyone to speak the giraffe language”. This was said earlier, spontaneously in her/his thought book. Later, by request, the same child wrote: “The giraffe language is very good, difficult but good for you. You can use it if you make an effort. ... if you know the giraffe language, it is easy to think of. It works. Honestly.” One child said that the giraffe language may come in handy and that it is much better than the wolf language.

A few thought that the giraffe language could definitely not be used. One said that it is good to “learn to control one’s feelings and sort of control oneself” but the lessons could be boring when there was too much talking.

Observation, Class F (grade 5). After an introduction, the children worked with the situation cards in hassle lines. It proved to be too difficult for them and we worked together in the class to make them all understand. They would continue to practise as homework.

As usual they did not seem to have worked much at home, but we continued at school during the following lesson. My idea of involving the parents through the children’s homework had not been successful. (The parents had not received any special information.)

To try to reach the same goal by a different method I showed the children the film on the giraffe language (activity 2). They seemed to understand the film, and now I left out the I-message format in order to practise the giraffe language. I told the children to express their needs and feelings without attacking. When someone speaks the wolf language, *try to look for feelings and needs underlying the surface* instead of responding in wolf language (cf. position and underlying needs Section 15.1.4).

Now the children chose conflict situations from their thought books and play-acted them in the wolf language. Then they were to try to resolve the conflicts by speaking the giraffe language. I reminded them of the three ways of behaving in a conflict; the aggressive, the avoiding and the

“strong,” or problem-solving, approaches (Section 15.1.3). This was six months after their previous lessons and they had forgotten about it (*apparently they had not utilized the way of thinking in daily life as my intention had been*) but they remembered what win-win solutions are.

Working with interest, the children created their role plays assisted by Fanny and me. The video camera was used and some recordings were played back and discussed.

Discussion of the findings. The children tended to feel that I-messages — also paraphrasing — are artificial and strange. The challenge is to make them accept the new behaviour and see its advantages.

Their normal life is so full of “wolf language” that it is hard for an adult (especially a non-teacher) to really understand it. Some children defended themselves against the demands to change behaviour. The new skills were strange to them and they had not seen them used. Very often I-messages do not function the first time and one has to try over and over again. To do this, one has to be very motivated. Then models are necessary. Frequent practice is needed. The “giraffe language” is really not a method. It is a lifestyle.

Very few, the negative leaders, may have felt that they had to defend their way of behaving in order to keep their power and position in the group. They might have felt attacked by the training as they often did not behave in a way that was accepted or appreciated. In order to save face and self-esteem they had to defend themselves and their style even more. (See further Section 15.2, since the interviews with the children in Class F will cast light on this problem.)

Conclusion. Problem-solving, I-messages and giraffe language need to be practised daily. It is a lifestyle. The teacher and the rest of the staff act as models.

15.1.9 Mediation, Class F

We tried to teach the pupils of only Class F mediation skills. This was at the beginning of the spring term in grade 6 after the class had been exposed to the skills presented above. The children were to learn impartial mediation, facilitating the parties to reach a solution. The mediator was not to suggest or direct them towards a particular solution.

I utilized a later, revised version of *Resolving Conflict Creatively* by Lantieri et al. (1993). From here I borrowed a short guide on how to go about mediating. It was translated and slightly revised. The children are here taught how to set the stage for mediation (the parties have to agree to talking, to mediation and to a rule forbidding the use of put-downs and interruptions). The mediator asks the parties, one at a time, what happened and how they feel. The parties are to paraphrase facts and reflect feelings. Then they are asked what they could have done differently. Following this, the mediator asks the parties, one at a time, what they can do here and now in order to solve the problem. The mediator is supposed to help the parties find a solution that satisfies their needs. Finally, the solution is to be repeated and the parties are asked whether they agree to try it. A time and place to meet again for follow-up is arranged.

I introduced the children to mediation and they tried role-playing but it did not work. Evaluations in the thought books proved this further. Some of the children did not even believe in the idea.

Discussion of the findings. What went wrong? Obviously the children were not sufficiently prepared for the activity. Here the children would have to try to attain win-win solutions. Earlier they had found it difficult to paraphrase and also artificial to give I-messages and speak the giraffe language. They had not practised the skills in daily life, nor had they seen them utilized. (In Section 15.2 this will be verified by the interviews with the children.)

The mediation technique was completely new to the children, who had probably little experience of others utilizing it. One of the boys, who used to like role-playing very much, said that a mediator *could not* be un-biased. As we will see in the interviews with the children (p. 279 below), which were performed a couple of months earlier, there were three boys who used to “mediate” between children in conflicts but they had different techniques and were not unbiased.

I made many mistakes. One of them was that I tried to follow the guide from Lantieri’s and Roderick’s manual too strictly. Only one brief, unsuccessful trial to practise “positions and underlying needs” had been performed in this class. This was another mistake.

Above, I have mentioned Rosenberg’s method to let the mediator ask the parties one by one: “What does X *do* that upsets you?” making the parties distinguish between what a person *does* and what he *is*. This was dem-

onstrated on the video that the children had watched. It could have been presented to them again to introduce their work on mediation that was a good year later. I think that the idea of facilitating communication and helping the parties express their deeper needs *and* concerns would be a good method of teaching mediation¹¹⁵.

Not to be allowed to use put-downs is a dubious rule — at least at this stage of the pupils' training (obviously, it works in the RCCP, Resolving Conflict Creatively Program). It makes the activity very unnatural for children, unless they are better motivated. It will require a lot of practice to see that they may release their negative feelings in other ways than by attacking. *Unfortunately, in spite of our lessons, it seemed to be beyond many children's experience that there are other modes of action than the aggressive or avoiding (withdrawing) one.* This is why mediators are needed. It is their task to help the parties get past their aggressive way of expressing themselves and see the needs and concerns behind the angry surface of the other side.

Even with amendments it might be difficult to train a whole class *if they have not seen adults impartially mediate conflicts in daily life.* The best way to make the children see that our tools are useful is to employ them daily.

Others (like RCCP) have trained selected groups of children who know quite a bit about conflict resolution skills and who are particularly interested. To try with a whole class without having very much experience was — in retrospect — *very optimistic.*

Conclusion. Mediation techniques build on conflict resolution skills — perspective-taking, paraphrasing, I-messages, the giraffe language and differentiation between positions and deeper values, needs and concerns. The children in the class had not utilized these skills in daily life. Therefore they found mediation strange. Models (staff of the school and, ideally, parents and youth leaders as well) need to practise the conflict resolution skills, including mediation, for children to be motivated to learn.

¹¹⁵ This is a method of teaching mediation applied by K, 1994 (p. 189).

15.1.10 Essays on visions of a good school¹¹⁶. Class rules

If you have visions of a less violent, more peaceful world at the micro and macro levels as well as positive experiences of changed behaviours, powerlessness will be reduced and personal power will grow. This is my hypothesis (Section 11.2). In other words, in order to work for a goal one has to have a vision of something better that one wishes to attain.

The children in *Classes F* (grade 5) and *D* (grade 6) were asked to write essays on their visions of a good school. What kind of school would they like to go to? Following from this, a number of class rules were developed in *Class D*.

Method. The class teachers suggested the following topic for an essay: “The School of My Dreams”. It was at the beginning of the new term. In Class F, the lesson started with relaxation where the children were led to imagine the school of their dreams.

In order to make *a class essay*, I put sentences from each child’s essay together. These class essays were read to the respective class. The children of Class D, by request, got a copy each. They agreed to continue the work and make decisions on class rules to propose as a treaty to be signed by all the pupils in the class. This was done by means of two voting sessions.

Observation. The class essays are enclosed (in translation) as Appendix 7. They are fairly different. The children in Class F wrote more creatively materialistic essays than the children in Class D, whereas the children in Class D wrote very much about relationships. The latter expressed fear of many things and they visualized a truly peaceable school. The children of both the classes desired a friendly and democratic atmosphere where the pupils’ influence on school work was very much increased.

I find it particularly touching to read the class essay by Class D. The children had obviously experienced bullying, hitting, letting down, gossiping, put-downs and what not, even some pupils carrying knives. They dreamt of another psychological climate, order and assistance from the teachers. They wanted to help and be kind to each other. Empathy was displayed.

In *Class D* class rules were discussed. The children made proposals and voted. The final result was: 1. To be fair. 2. To treat others as you want to

¹¹⁶ Kreidler (1994) inspired the activity.

be treated yourself. 3. To be positive. 4. To be yourself. 5. To keep these rules and the rules of the school.

All the children signed. There was a treaty. The rules of the treaty were kept on the wall throughout the year until the children left.

Commentary. As most of the time I was not in the class (or the school), I could not take part in implementation of the rules, but I do not think that the children ever managed to decide about the sanctions in case of violations or that they determined any other way of making people keep the treaty. We had tried to take it up during the first lesson, but it was difficult and we had had to leave it. It was evident that the crucial part was sanctions. In the interview at the end of the school year Daniela informed me that they had made use of the rules (Section 15.3).

Proposal. The interest in the essay on the school of their dreams was obvious. The result could perhaps have been utilized more. One way would have been to let the children read the class essay and then *write a new essay about how to come closer to this vision*. Their second essay could have been written in a new way, getting the children involved in each other's proposals by working in groups.

Conclusion. Making up class rules after having written and discussed an ideal school seems to be a good idea. Another is to use the Four Corner Valuation activity (Byréus, 1990)¹¹⁷ to make the children consider firstly, what they appreciate most in a friend and secondly, how they hate to be treated by their peers.

¹¹⁷ The Four Corner Valuation activity is described in detail by Byréus (1990, p. 38 ff.). The participants in the activity express their opinions by walking to the corner of the room that is assigned to the chosen alternative. There are always three given alternatives and one open where those go who do not find the other alternatives consistent with their opinion. In this case the first question to respond to runs: "What do you appreciate most about a friend?" The three given alternatives are: 1. "You can talk about anything." 2. "You have the same interests." 3. "You can laugh together." The second question runs: "How do you least want to be treated by your mates — What are the worst things they can do?" The three given alternatives are: 1. "They lie or spread false rumours about you." 2. "They always come on to you with disparaging remarks" 3. "They let you down." (My translation.)

When the corner has been chosen by the pupils (or participants), there is a discussion. The pupils may change position if they change their minds. Cf. opinion continuum footnote 89, pp. 187-188 above.

15.1.11 Cooperation activities, Class C

Deutsch (1973) connects competitive processes with destructive development of conflict, whereas cooperation gives rise to constructive development of conflict (Section 5.3). Cooperation is practised daily in schools but it is not always taken up as a topic of investigation and teaching.

As briefly mentioned above, the climate in Class C was destructive. Therefore, we decided to try a cooperation activity.¹¹⁸

Aims. (1) To increase the children's awareness of group dynamics: the roles taken and the modes of decision-making and problem-solving; (2) to improve cooperation as a result of increased awareness.

Method and observations. The topic of the first activity was "*Building a stable, beautiful or high tower*". The children were divided into two groups of eight. No more information than what is implied by the name of the activity was given. The pupils were given a pack of newspapers, two pairs of scissors and tape. They got no more tools or material. After the activity was finished, the observers of the groups (the teacher and I) discussed with the participants what had happened. Points to discuss were: (1) What had the psychological climate between them been like? (2) About work, did they all participate and how did they like their performance? (3) Who had decided? Did they all have their say? Did they listen to each other? Did they affirm each other (the "pots")? How did they feel?

I found that watching my group was very informative. One, usually very quiet girl, had taken the lead and others had followed. Practically no planning had been expressed by words. In the discussion afterwards the boys and girls did not agree in their interpretations of what had happened. The boys thought that the girls had decided everything and the girls that the boys had been lazy. I felt that there had been ample opportunity for taking initiatives and that the boys had been passive, letting the girls make the decisions (without words). This gave me the idea to make a new activity and use the video camera to confront the children with their own behaviours, and those of the others.

The second activity was performed one month later. The topic now was: "*Make a drawing on our peace education: peace, war, environment, conflicts or the future*". I decided the topic in order to make it broad, requiring

¹¹⁸ We were inspired by L & R, 1988 where there is a chapter on cooperation.

decision making by the children. The groups were given a large sheet of white paper and the usual pencils and colour pens. The rules were that everyone should take part in decisions as well as work.

This time the children realized that the exercise was about cooperation. We added video recording, and the discussions were left until later when the films were shown to the different groups. Three groups of six pupils were observed by the teachers or filmed by me. I moved from one group to the other. The scheduled time was one hour and a half. The children were told that the video would be shown only to the respective groups that had been filmed.

Two groups drew very negative paintings: *School in Crisis Year 2200* and *Year 2050* respectively. There were narcotic trade, electrified fences, alarm systems and a guillotine in the school. The other one was no better: People were monsters and there was an atom bomb. The title was nicely painted and someone had drawn swings. The personalities of the different children who had been drawing thus came out in the picture. There was evidence of lack of coordination.

The third group of children found it very difficult to decide what to draw. I arrived with the camera after 9 minutes. By then the work climate was destructive: children fooling around, one girl with her feet on the table etc. When I did not get anywhere by repeating the task according to the set of rules decided upon beforehand (not by the children, though), I despaired and finally said something that turned out to have a tremendous impact: I said: "I think I'll change my mind. It could be a good thing to show this film to your parents!"

The effect was remarkable! *Immediately* the two boys stood up, concentrating on the sheet of paper. The girl with her feet on the table sat straight up. One girl said: "We don't know what to draw." One boy said: "I don't know how to draw". I said: "Then paint!" Within *forty seconds (!)* they had decided to draw a globe making one part green and alive and the other dead from war and environmental destruction. After this they worked very well, better than the other groups. The drawing was called *War and Peace* and the parts *The World of Paradise* and *The World of Hate*. After-wards the children were very pleased. They had enjoyed working.

Discussion of the findings. The effect of my words stands very clear in my memory as a revelation of how important contact between the school and parents is. This is why I tell the story. In fact, I feel a bit ashamed of

having said what I did. I would never advise anyone to do so. It was not planned but very spontaneous. From an ethical point of view it is doubtful.

The first activity was quite popular. Many of the children enjoyed the creativity and playfulness. The idea of video recording the second activity and showing the films to the children was good. The discussions when watching the films with the respective groups afterwards were worth the effort. The activity as well as the impact from watching the film of their work could have increased self-knowledge and been helpful in changing the work climate in the class for the better. However, I cannot say that I noticed any change after this activity. There were many reasons for this but that is another story.

It was interesting (and sad) to see the negative and destructive drawings of two of the groups. Was the atmosphere in the class destructive because of negative feelings of many of the pupils? Or was it the other way round: Did the children think as they did because the psychological climate in the class was negative? I think it was a vicious circle or spiral. In one group the destructiveness that the children had displayed changed remarkably into cooperation, with the resulting product indicating creativity. It makes me think: What would a constructive, caring climate not do for the children!

However, there are alternative reasons for the negative and destructive drawings, such as a certain fascination with negative dramatising. Studies indicate that the concept of war is easier to comprehend than the concept of peace — it is difficult to formulate *activities* that relate to peace (Lourenço, 1999; Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999).

Conclusion. This kind of activity on cooperation may increase the pupils' awareness of group dynamics. Video recording was helpful. A class teacher may utilize the experience in follow-up work and discussions.

15.1.12 Roots of origin. Prejudice and role-plays on oppression

Roots of origin is important to our feelings of identity, individual as well as social (Section 9.2). Identity is here regarded as a basic human need closely related to esteem-needs. Development of prejudice is dealt with in Section 9.1.

Roots of origin¹¹⁹, Class A

Aims. (1) To increase the children's understanding of their own cultural background and those of their peers. (2) To enhance individual and group identity.

Only one class worked with "roots of origin". The class (grade 5) consisted of pupils coming from many parts of the world, mostly Europe and South and North America. Some of the children belonged to refugee families.

Personal family trees and visits by family members. The pupils learnt about their ancestors and families and made family trees. A Swedish map and a world map were utilized to show the places of origin.

The work on the family tree was mostly carried out at home. It involved interviews with different family members. Some children managed to go very far back in history. One child's grandfather had carried out research in genealogy. He visited the class, inspiring the children. The resulting family trees were presented to the class and put up on the wall. Many were very attractive with photos of the child, sometimes of others in the family.

One refugee mother, who had been a political prisoner, came to the class and told her unforgettable story to the children, giving a lot of information also about her country before a treaty of peace was agreed upon. She told us about her conflict: staying with her family or going back for the sake of her people. This put our lives into perspective. The children asked her many questions.

Another family member visited the class, showing a film from his country and life there.

A film about a girl who had to flee from her country. Essays. The children watched a film, *Akin hittar hem*¹²⁰. It is about a six-year-old girl who, in haste, has to flee from her country with her parents. Her arrival in Sweden and her first years here are shown. She and her family had to wait for a long time before they got a permit to stay. The class was given a very concrete illustration of what it could be like being a refugee.

¹¹⁹ The manual by L & R, 1988 suggests discussion of the concept of one's roots in an activity called "multicultural education". We got inspiration for the family tree from *Fördomar och mobbning* [A Handbook for Working with Ethnic Prejudice and Bullying], 1983. Here the family tree depicts the *two* sides: both the father and the mother.

¹²⁰ Kristal-Andersson, B. (Ed.). *Akin hittar hem* [Akin Finds Her Home]. Stockholm: Utbildningsradion, 1985. Video.

This film introduced the children's essay writing about fleeing from home because of war. The idea was taken from *Världen i förskolan* 1¹²¹. The teacher, Anna, was pleased with the resulting essays.

The pupils' evaluation of the work on the family trees. Anonymously, 21 children answered a simple questionnaire about their work on the family trees that had lasted for two months.

A great majority of the children were positive or very positive to the work they had done. Many had enjoyed working with their family trees but quite a few said it had been hard work to write and rewrite them well enough for presentation.

Many said that it was good, interesting or fun to learn about their own family and those of their classmates. One boy explicitly mentioned as positive the increased contact with the family to get information. Quite a few found it inspiring to listen to the grandfather who had carried out research. One girl mentioned that it was good to keep the family tree for the future.

About two thirds of the children said it was fun or in other ways positive to tell their stories. One girl wrote that she was "almost a little proud of some people" in her family. Some of the children found it awkward to present their family trees to their classmates.

Commentary. Important parts of the work were successful: The children became involved; the contact with their families, also extended families, increased. They got a chance to talk about themselves and their families and saw that the classmates listened. This, I believe, enhanced their experience of identity. However, the presentations could have been more inspiring. Conditions of living and different customs could have been discussed more than was done. The visits to the class were very successful. They coloured our work, giving it life. The children got to know each other better.

Prejudice and discrimination¹²². ***Role plays on oppression***

Aims. (1) To reduce the children's prejudices against people whom they regard as being different and to encourage the children to see that human beings are similar in having the same basic needs, but that the way of satis-

121 [The World in Preschool 1] by Carlson, Wall & Sandegård, 1983.

122 L & R, 1988 and K, 1994 present activities on discrimination, prejudice, stereotyping and conflict.

fying these needs may vary in different cultures — we are different *and* similar and our differences enrich our lives; (2) to supply the children with tools to stand up against oppression; and (3) to increase empathy.

Watching a video film on racial discrimination. We showed a video on Jane Elliott's well-known experiment on discrimination according to eye colour: *A Class Divided*¹²³. The part of the film dealing with the experiment in the classroom lasts for 15 minutes.

Following this, there was a *general discussion on prejudice and discrimination*. Apartheid was taken up as an example. The pot metaphor was mentioned. I reminded the children of the Sioux Indian prayer to which J. E. refers in the film: "Oh, Great Spirit, keep me from ever judging a man until I have walked in his moccasins".

Video-recorded role-plays on oppression. Now the children (this was done in several classes) were divided into groups to make up their own role-plays on oppression. They were to rehearse them and then play-act to the class, not necessarily on racial discrimination as in the film. Some of the plays were on other issues, such as betrayal between girls and bullying. The role plays were video recorded and later played back and discussed.

Class G (grade 6). When the children had watched the first part of the film, the one on the experiment in the classroom, I asked them to write down in their notebooks what they thought and felt, but since they found this was too difficult, the task was changed: they were to tell about the film. Then they wrote eagerly but the time was too short. The teacher and I read through some of their writings. They had got the message and some had expressed an opinion not to treat anyone badly owing to the colour of his eyes. This was the first lesson.

By request this class was shown more of the film than the others: a part where Jane Elliott made her blue/brown eye experiment on adults, staff in a prison. This was done during the second lesson.

The film was stopped now and then for discussions in the class. The teacher, Gisela, led them competently, making the children express feelings and experiences in relation to what they had just watched. She asked the children why the blue-eyed persons did not react and help each other. Thus, she brought up the problem of moral courage. Those who were discrimi-

¹²³ Swedish: *Experiment i fördomar*.

nated against got support neither from the others in their group nor from people in the other, brown-eyed group.

We concluded that discrimination does not have to be according to skin or eye colour but that it may be against any group or individual. We have to be careful not to take part in oppression. Awareness is the first step in avoiding it. Here the pot metaphor comes in useful.

Plays on oppression. The third lesson, when the children created role-plays and play-acted them, lasted for 75 minutes. The following titles of their plays were suggested by them: “Bullying,” “Moccasins” and “Discrimination”. There were five groups of children who now worked with their plays.

It was wonderful to see the joy and commitment the children displayed while working, especially considering that some of the boys had been quite negative to our work right up to this activity. Just before this lesson they had even asked if they had to have peace education. The girls were in a minority in the class and usually very silent. Now, as they worked with the role-plays, they felt free and looked very happy. I recorded the work on video. After only about 20–25 minutes the children were ready to play to the class.

All the sketches, a few minutes long, were presented and video recorded during the same, prolonged lesson. The discussion was left until the following week. The sketches were very different.

One group of girls referred humorously to the (American) Indian prayer about not judging anyone until you have “walked in his moccasins,” another one made a play on bullying and all three groups of boys worked with ethnic discrimination. One of the sketches showed this in a school setting that was easily recognizable. This was illuminating as it illustrated how children may regard adults’ way of acting, in this case the teacher, the principal and a mother. It was not a very favourable picture, but funny, I think. This provided good material for further discussion.

Observation, Class F (grade 6). The children watched the film on J.E.’s experiment silently and with interest. One week after this we continued by dividing the class into four groups which would create role plays on different kinds of oppression.

One group acted out a play on discrimination against a dark-skinned person making friends with a light-skinned Swedish girl. I asked the class: “What happened?” and “How did the persons in the play feel?” The chil-

dren started to argue as the “racists,” they said, would have done but very soon it was obvious that they were expressing their own opinions that were prejudiced. There were examples of generalizations and stereotypes. I asked what kind of feeling is revealed when someone says that “they” take our jobs. Hatred and anger, the children replied.

Discussion. I was not prepared to meet the degree of hostility that came to the surface during the lesson. The children did not seem to realize that there was fear behind the negative attitudes. They talked about unemployment. The fear that someone will take their and their parents’ jobs was there, fear of poverty and losing security, too. With fear, empathy is lost. What could be done to reduce these fears? I believe empowerment would.

When we finished the lesson, I felt ambivalent: Was it good to allow all these negative feelings to come forward and then contradict many of the “facts”? Had I made a bad thing worse? One does not change attitudes through proclaiming that all human beings have equal value. I remember how a thought suddenly struck me during the lesson: Our society is hypocritical in talking about everyone’s equal human value when one billion people are very poor, malnourished and some even starve to death, while just as many are rich (de Vylder, 1995, p. 27¹²⁴). The systems ruling the planet do not function in accordance with the UN’s declarations and conventions on human rights and everybody’s equal value. Are the children less hypocritical? The answer to the problem is to try to change the structures once we see how they work.

Lantieri and Roderick (1988) make suggestions for how to deal with controversial issues (pp. 287–289). There is an activity called “A Ten-Point Model for Educating Elementary School Students about Controversial Issues”: The students take responsibility for their own learning. They decide what questions they want to investigate and then seek the information while the teacher acts as a facilitator.

Maybe this is what we should have done. As it happened, many children did not contribute. I think that the children who were negative to foreigners were given too much talking space while the others felt group pressure and kept quiet. After the lesson Fanny commented that there was evidence of a great deal of prejudice and that she thought it important to con-

¹²⁴ See also Human Development Report, 1997, 1998 (UNDP).

tinue to try to work against it. I felt it was essential not to leave the class in this way.

Project work on the Romany people.¹²⁵ The children in *Class B* (grade 5) carried out project work on the Romany people (the Gypsies). They were to watch a film about the people, learn about their history, read books and make an exhibition. The teacher, Birgit, read a book to the class. It was informative but partly fictitious (Lundgren et al., 1976). The class also watched a film (*Zigenare i Europa*¹²⁶), which was connected to the book, the narrator being the same 12-year-old girl as in the book.

A very well-known Swedish Romany author, Katharina Taikon (1969), has written a series of novels about a girl, *Katitzi*. One of the girls in the class suggested that they read some books in this series and tell each other about what they had read. This was done.

After these studies children, divided into groups of three to five, started their group work on the theme. They were to make up a play, write a story or a poem, or draw and paint. When they were ready, we put the work together to make an exhibition. The children presented their work: essays, a poem, interviews and paintings, informing about the people and also sharing their own impressions with the class. There had been work on a role-play but it was discontinued. This will be discussed below in Section 15.3, “the critical moment,” pp. 294–295.

Evaluation in the thought books, Class B. Straight after having watched the video film, *A Class Divided*, the children wrote in their thought books about it. They thought that it was good and that they and others could learn from it. One child wrote: “It was fun and good to take this up in order to make those teasing others for this [colour] stop doing it, because imagine if they had been teased themselves, how would they have felt?”. However, a couple of children expressed ethnic prejudice, one of them adding that they could learn from the film and benefit from it when they grew up.

The eighteen children wrote about their *work on the Romany people* as well. Quite a few of them were positive towards the work done (two very

¹²⁵ L’s & R’s manual, 1988, was a source of inspiration although the activity was created by us and adapted to the books and films that were available. It is described in the revised translation *Kreativ konfliktlösning för mellanstadiet*, 1993 (pp. 137–138).

¹²⁶ Jacobson, L. & Lundgren, G. *Zigenare i Europa* [The Gypsies in Europe]. Stockholm: Filmcentrum, 1972, video.

positive and seven positive), some were ambivalent and two were completely negative. (One of the negative evaluators had expressed prejudice when writing about the film.) Five did not express their feelings clearly.

A third of the children said things like one should not judge by the colour of the skin or that s/he had learnt a lot about how the Gypsies lived.

One child wrote: "The work was fun but hard. One has learnt a lot, for example, about how they live and what it is like. ... fun ...very interesting." Another one wrote: "I thought it was very interesting and great fun to work on the Gypsies and I learnt that it is inhuman to throw people out of their country".

One child wrote: "I feel sorry for those people because they have to move around all the time and the caravans were not good."

"It was fun to get many facts about the Gypsies, their houses, animals etc. But we need to rehearse the presentation and speak louder and more clearly. If everyone works on their own we get a better result."

Summing-up discussion of the findings. The film *A Class Divided* was a good choice to introduce work on racial discrimination and oppression. The children in the fifth and sixth grades seemed to understand the classroom experiment. They were very interested. They worked well, with joy and commitment, creating role-plays and presenting them to the class. An awareness of the problem of discrimination and oppression was probably raised, but it is difficult to say whether the impression would be lasting or not.

Prejudice against people from other countries and cultures was displayed in some cases, but also concern not to discriminate. This was evident in Class F, particularly. We had a discussion in the class when some boys proved hostile, probably owing to what they had heard as well as fear of unemployment. More work was needed.

A few children in Class F took it in a literary fashion that it was the colour of the eyes and not the colour of the skin that was a cause of discrimination. That this made some prejudiced children disregard the message was not realized by me until I interviewed these children. The argument went: "That kind of thing does not happen here. No one is discriminated against because he is blue-eyed or brown-eyed" (cf. Section 15.2, p. 280).

The project work on the Romany people constituted a good example of how such work may help to spread information about different cultures. It

could have been very interesting to invite a representative of the people to the class. Unfortunately this was not done.

Conclusion. Work on the family pedigrees may be developed to consider different cultures in time and space.

Role-plays on discrimination and oppression may be introduced by a film such as *A Class Divided*. Video recording for later follow-up was successful and may be utilized even more.

Teamwork on different cultures may be carried out in ways similar to ours, but preferably including contact with relevant groups in the nearby community.

15.1.13 Bullying¹²⁷: Role-plays, essays

Bullying is taken up in Section 9.5, obedience and conformity in Section 9.4 and moral courage has repeatedly been referred to. The American teaching guides, Lantieri and Roderick (1988) and Kreidler (1994), do not deal directly with bullying as such, but their programmes aim at preventing and dealing with violence. Successful work to improve the psychological climate in the classroom should reduce bullying. When a school takes up teaching conflict resolution skills, it also provides tools to deal with this very important problem.

During the period of our work (1993–1996) schools in Sweden, including the schools of this study, had started making up and implementing “anti-bullying programmes”. However, my mandate did not include taking part in any of those, nor dealing with specific children and conflicts.

Aims. (1) To increase the children’s empathy and to give them tools to resist all kinds of bullying including derogatory behaviour in general and (2) to increase the children’s moral courage.

Methods. Role-plays on bullying and harassment were performed in Classes B, G and F after the children had watched *A Class Divided*. Fanny

¹²⁷ By bullying I mean long-lasting mental or physical derogatory treatment of one or more persons by one or more persons. Also many children seemed to regard as a necessary part of the definition that the treatment has lasted for months. However, there is an indistinct borderline between harassment and bullying. The former develops into the latter. The children who wrote essays about “bullying” did not in all the cases describe the amount of time that had passed or define the term in any other way.

read aloud a book on bullying at school: *Mod, Matilda Markström!* [Courage, Matilda Markström!] ¹²⁸. After this, the children wrote essays on bullying and shared them with their classmates.

Observations, role plays Grades B and G

One group of girls in **Class B** (grade 5) presented a play about bullying a poor girl who did not wear fashionable clothes. The play was very much appreciated by all. Afterwards the actors were interviewed in front of the video camera. The girls explained how they had worked and what it had felt like treating the comrade so badly and then asking forgiveness. They said it had been difficult to bully her and also to ask forgiveness at the end of the play. They had felt ashamed. The one who played the victim had also taken it very seriously and felt sad. It was a good thing to make a play like this, they said, adding that other children should do the same. It could prevent bullying.

At the end of the play the poor girl had suddenly turned rich. She had only pretended to be poor in order to put the others to a test. In the course of discussion, the girls expressed feelings that one does not have to be rich in order to be accepted.

A group of girls in **Class G** (grade 6) made a role play after having watched *A Class Divided*. This showed how at first the three girls in the play did not allow a peer to take part in skipping rope. They harassed her, daring her to try. Then they made fun of her. Suddenly, in spite of the harassment, she turned into a good player — and so, was accepted.

Commentary. The way these two groups chose to resolve the conflict was to make the oppressed party become rich in the first case and clever and pass the test in the second case. This was a common way of handling conflicts. The oppressed party became clever, rich or beautiful. Because of lack of skills in reaching a resolution of a conflict, the children tended to take an easy way out. Another way out is to suddenly, without any clear psychological reason, make friends or apologize. These ways of solving the problems may be discussed with the children. Other solutions may turn up after some more thought.

Are children's concrete ways of thinking a cause of the lack of psychological depth? I believe that children may be supported to think further and,

¹²⁸ Holm, 1993.

finally, manage to enact plays which end with increased understanding between the parties and release of tension. The essays by the children in Class F (see below) indicate that there is a wealth of knowledge and understanding that is ready to be brought to light and shared.

Observation, Class F (grade 6)

*An attempt to make a forum play*¹²⁹. One of the plays that the children created after having watched *A Class Divided* was about prolonged bullying of two immigrant boys by three native-born Swedish boys. It started with a fight when they were playing football. The boys were brought to the principal who could not deal effectively with the situation. The sketch was video recorded. After having played the scene back, I tried to make a forum play in order to explore possible solutions. This proved to be difficult. The children had hardly any ideas, and it was obvious that there was peer pressure from the negative leaders (see Section 15.2 about peer pressure, p. 284 ff.) to make everyone resist taking part.

I asked the children to make it homework to find solutions. They could talk to their parents and others about what could be done. Unfortunately they did not follow the instructions and there had not been much progress when we met again.

The next lesson the children were asked to write down some proposals but these proved not to be very helpful since they did not really indicate what action to take. There were suggestions of leaving the victims alone; of letting the victims try the giraffe language (but not anything about how to implement it); of asking for help from the parents, the teacher or the principal (no indication of what they would do); or of calling the police. There was no clear proposal of what the classmates and other peers at the school could do to intervene in the bullying. Considering all the answers, we still had very little to go by when making up a play to solve the problem.

The children were divided into groups to create plays. There was one group dealing with activities that the peers could take, another one was to play-act the parents, a third one the principal and a fourth the police. No group wanted to find a role for the teacher. The principal was preferred as having more power. The plays were performed but poor in finding solutions. The principal got into serious trouble but the play with the policeman

¹²⁹ About forum plays, see next section; also footnote 87, p. 181

was more successful. The police (play-acted by Erik), who had happened to watch the boys' fight in the playground, intervened. He was to talk to the bullies' parents *and* he would keep his eye on them.

After having discussed the play picturing the weak principal, I told the children what I thought that she should have done. I informed them about Höistad's book (1994) in order to make them realize that there is something one can do to make bullies and their supporters stop their harmful behaviour. It is the duty of adults to see to this, I said. It is not telling tales to inform the adults about those children who are treated badly.

Fanny explained to the children the programme they had in the school for dealing with bullying. She also told them the names of the teachers who were part of the special anti-bullying team of the school.

Discussion of the findings. It was clear to both Fanny and me that the children knew very little about dealing with bullying. In fact, the work that the school did was not at all known by the children! These had few suggestions and their play-acting was often insecure. Originally, I had intended to make a forum play with children sitting in a circle. The audience would invent solutions to the problem and try them out in acting. However, this plan was not successful and we continued the work as indicated above.

There were three main reasons why the forum play failed: 1. The problem was too difficult. I was not prepared for the children's powerlessness in the situation. 2. We had not worked with forum plays before. 3. Sitting in a circle was experienced as uncomfortable owing to peer pressure.

An extra difficulty is that the problem of bullying differs from many other conflicts, as here we have to put an end to unacceptable behaviour. Mediation is not to be recommended in these cases, nor is the ordinary way of analysing a conflict with the aim of a win-win solution. Bullying has to be stopped through help from the adults and prevented through moral courage among the children. These have to learn not to follow and support the bullies in their derogatory acts. However, bullies have also needs, very much so. It is necessary to teach the children to distinguish the "evil-doer" from the evil deed or, in other words, the person from the problem (Gandhi in Iyer, 1986 Vol. I, pp. 47-48 and above p. 67; Fisher, Ury & Patton 1991, p. 72 above).¹³⁰

¹³⁰ The Swedish pedagogue and peace educator Anatol Pikas (1999) sees a danger in "demonising" the bullies. He suggests that conflict resolution and mediation techniques be applied to group bullying. His method differs somewhat from the one recommended

Having given up the idea of enacting a forum play, the work continued somewhat better but it was a disappointment that the children did not do their homework and discuss solutions as I had intended. It was a definite setback that conflict resolution skills were not practised outside the lessons — at least, they seemed not to be. The idea of involving the parents in a positive way had failed. This part of the programme needs to be developed.

Reading about bullying. We decided that Fanny would read *Mod, Matilda Markström* [Courage, Matilda Markström] to the class. It is about a class where some boys bully a girl. The teacher looks away, being of no support. For a short time there is a substitute teacher who is somewhat helpful but who does not really intervene. In the end, the children take the problem into their own hands. The girls cooperate, making the boys stop their harmful behaviour. It is a humorous story giving some insight into bullying. It gives credit to courage and cooperation, but the adults seem rather powerless and even negligent. Fanny read the book to the class during the autumn term. They discussed it and, finally, all the children wrote their own essays on bullying.

Essays. The eighteen essays bear witness of occasionally deep feelings, empathy, knowledge and commitment. Two children seemed to write from their own experiences of being bullied. Several put themselves in the victim's shoes. A few said that they had no personal experience but still they gave proof of knowledge and understanding. Four children wrote about racial discrimination, a couple of them giving considerable evidence of put-downs. Nine of the essays were about boys being bullied, four about girls.

I will here briefly relate the children's writings to Olweus' (1978) findings.

What significance looks, handicaps and way of speaking have in bullying. Many indicated that those being bullied looked or were different in some way. It happened that victims of the children's stories were regarded as ugly, overweight, or as having some defect like no eyebrows. They could be considered grey and boring or they could be looked upon with suspicion because they had moved from some other place, Stockholm or Finland or from further away like Africa or China. Difficulties in speaking

in this study, as the mediator meets the parties in "shuttle diplomacy" and makes proposals for constructive resolutions that the parties consider before they finally meet. It is emphasized that the mediator is impartial and does not apply methods that express the "self-righteousness of a prosecuting judge" (p. 2).

Swedish, strange and foreign names and looks were mentioned. The victim could also be rich and regarded with envy.

One child wrote: "Bullying is when many put one or many down. Always. Often for nothing in particular! Many are bullied because they are fat, thin, tall, short, ugly, beautiful or almost anything. *But this is probably not the real reason why they are bullied. It is because there is something different about that person.* For instance, if the person is shy, frightened or something else. All the same, one should not bully. Before, there was one (two) in our class who was (were) bullied but not any more" (italics added).

This child's opinion regarding the significance of looks is similar to Olweus' position. He states that his findings indicate that discrepant looks have been overestimated. Possibly they may be considered as risk factors that are, however, rather insignificant. What he had found was that, statistically, victims were less strong physically than bullies.

Being different is something that yet another girl referred to. She advocated tolerance: "...They cannot help that they are not exactly like someone else wants them to be. They are allowed to be as they like. ..."

The victim's isolation and fear. Some children wrote about the victims' isolation, having no friends and no one to turn to, and about their shyness and low self-confidence. Their fear was vividly described by many. There were victims running, running and running, hiding, pretending, screaming for help without a sound, etc. Some had stomach pain, could not sleep at night, did not dare to go to school or did not talk to anyone. There were children writing about depressed victims and children describing the deaths of the victims, even suicide as a last resort.

Descriptions of bullying. There were many accurate descriptions of bullying. Many wrote about a long period of suffering, sometimes many years. The children seemed to be aware that bullying is something lasting for months or years, not just teasing and name-calling of short duration. Bullying was described in a varied fashion: more or less beating up, sometimes downright assault and battery with a broken nose in one case and a concussion of the brain in another; constant name-calling, put-downs, nasty pushing and often laughing and making fun of the victim. The victims were left alone without friends and pals, with no one to talk to.

Leaders and supporters — and moral courage. A few children wrote about leaders and supporters. One wrote a very touching story of a girl be-

ing hit by the boys, other children observing and supporting. Finally one admired new girl in the school rescued her. There was yet another child, a boy, writing about leaders and their supporters. There is a heart-breaking and realistic description of the details of bullying. Was it a coincidence that this writer, too, happened to give an example of moral courage in his essay? Maybe both these authors had thought more about this than some of their classmates. Both were good writers.

Actions taken to solve the problem. These two stories had happy endings — if one may call it “happy” after very much suffering with the risk of permanent damage. In these stories there were strong persons, showing courage. Unfortunately, this is not common in the material. There were, however, actions taken to solve the problem. Sometimes they were successful, sometimes not. One of the victim’s parents tried to help by calling the bullies’ parents, but then it got worse. The victim, or victim’s parent, could turn to the teacher for help but it happened that s/he met no understanding, no caring. In one case, however, after some time the teacher changed and took action, having been told by the victim what gang committed the derogatory acts. She organized interrogations and the bullying children confessed, asked forgiveness and even invited the victim to join their gang. This ended happily. When they had grown up, the victim and the bully went to schools to tell the children about bullying in order to prevent it.

However, there were children who had no one to turn to. One child wrote: “... I have not dared to tell my parents or teachers because the teachers do not care. I have thought of committing suicide several times but my big brother has stopped me. Otherwise he doesn’t care about me. He hasn’t said anything to our parents. I don’t know why. My parents are not any better. They notice that I am in pain but they do not care. Soon I will jump off a steep mountain.”

There is one description of a girl being bullied by girls. The story is very close to the one Fanny told me later had happened in the class. The author wrote: “... I know precisely how important it is to talk to adults or someone else.” Then she gave the following advice:

1. Try not to listen.
2. Pretend that it is not about you but about someone else.
3. Try to laugh, not cry.
4. It is important that you are true to yourself.
5. Try not to be shy but for instance ask those bullying you if you may join them.
6. Do not bully yourself to show you are cool because you

are not.” This story ended with the victim getting help from an anti-bullying team.

About the bullies' situation. Most of the stories did not explain the psychology of the bullies. Lasse, who in reality was an aggressive leader playing at being important, wrote: “I do not like bullying very much but when you are with your pals, it is quite different because you have to be tough not to be thrown out of the gang. But it is not good, bullying, because people are disconnected [from each other].” Then there is a drawing of a bully and a victim, the former putting the latter down by name-calling and laughing, the latter crying.

Yet another child described the bully as being afraid: “The bullies may be afraid that they are less tough if they do not bully. The bullies may have low self-confidence and have to put others down to be cool.”

Shame. Indicating what prevents you from asking help from your parents the same girl continued: “You may go to your parents but most often you dare not talk about it at home because then the parents may be disappointed, angry, sad, etc. You would rather that it [you being bullied] is not revealed to the public.”

Strangely enough this is the only one who mentioned *the shame of being the victim*. I wonder why that was so. Maybe because of the shame! Maybe because those who had not been bullied could not imagine this, not having enough empathy.

Anger, an eye for an eye. There were indications of anger with the bullies. One girl thought that they deserved to be bullied themselves. Similarly, another one felt that at least some of the bullies needed to experience being bullied in order to change.

Summary. After having run into difficulties finding solutions to a problem of bullying in a play that some of the children had invented, finally, the children in Class F got involved in their work on bullying. The decision to follow up the role-play by reading the book *Courage, Matilda Markström* and by writing essays proved to be successful. We noticed a positive development from the children's work with the play to their essays. I believe that they found it much easier to write the essays *and*, perhaps also, that they benefited from what they had learnt in the earlier activities. That they had experienced bullying in their class and probably in the rest of the school as well was clear. This was brought out in the essays.

Conclusion. The difficulties we experienced when trying out solutions by means of a forum play and later role-plays were illuminating and call for increased activities to deal with bullying at school level. The children did not seem to know about the anti-bullying team, nor about principles of actions to be taken. At an initial stage of our work, their powerlessness in regard to bullying was considerable. Our prolonged effort to deal with the problem must have increased insights but perhaps not personal power and ability to resist bullying. The latter depend upon the climate of the class and school. The anonymous essays could have been printed out, made up into a booklet and distributed. It was discussed but to my knowledge not implemented.

15.1.14 Forum play, a method for practising conflict resolution

We tried forum plays¹³¹ in two classes, F and D (grades 6). The method was originally utilized to increase the resistance to oppression. The oppressed party is the one that is exchanged. In this way new ideas on how to resist may be tried out. In our case, the objective was to resolve conflict with the aim of reaching a win–win solution.¹³²

Observations, Class D

I had worked with this class for one year and I supposed that the children had some knowledge of conflict resolution skills by now. Their interest in role-playing had been great. Together we decided upon trying to perform a forum play following Byréus' (1990, pp. 83–106) book.

I explained to the children that we would practise conflict resolution by role-playing in a new way. They would be divided into groups by the topic they chose. They would rehearse their plays as usual. The rules of forum plays were given: The first time the group of actors will play right up to the crisis once, and then they will do it again. During the second performance

¹³¹ The method is explained in footnote 87, p. 181.

¹³² Of course, if there is an oppressor, it could be a question of putting an end to his/her evil behaviour. We separate the person from the problem, i.e., the person is respected even though his deeds are resisted. In the case of bullying, for instance, the school must prevent the acts but still care for all the children concerned, even the bullies. This is mentioned above.

peers in the audience, sitting in a circle around the actors, will raise their hands and shout “Stop!” when they have an idea about how to interfere in order to help those in need or, according to the idea of forum theatre, those who are oppressed. Anyone who has such an idea can change places with one of the actors, taking over the role. The one taking over will decide from where the play will now be started. The remaining actors will continue with this new actor and the play will take a new turn. One actor at a time will be replaced, but many changes may occur. The play may be taken up at different points repeatedly. There are many ways of resolving a conflict.

It is the responsibility of the leader, “the joker,” to see to it that the play will go on in an interesting and realistic fashion. S/he will decide who will get a turn at changing places with an actor. Those willing to have a try will line up by raising their hands. It will be possible to make short or long contributions but all will be voluntary. It is also possible to talk in big or small groups before play-acting.

The topics which the children selected for their plays were: “Unfairness at School,” “Family Crisis,” “Betrayal” and “Unhappy Love or Friendship”. Slips of paper with the topic were put on the floor and the children assembled around the topic they preferred.

Unfortunately, we had to wait for a week before we could watch any of the plays and work with them in the group. The first play was “Family Crisis”. I acted as the joker (when they are more used to forum plays, a child can do it). We had time for only one play. It was about a father who was left alone with two children, 5 and 2 years of age, for a fortnight. He found it difficult to handle the children as they needed a lot of attention. A young boy of about 15 also belonged to the family. He arrived home at 5 o’clock in the morning, drunk.

Several pupils wanted to replace the father, whom they regarded as weak. We decided that he was the one to exchange. The ideas on how to deal with the situation were few and it took some time for them to develop. A child who was tougher at setting limits replaced the father. Now threats and punishments were utilized as tools.

A new idea came up. Katty, who had ideas but was too shy to act, whispered them to Martina who volunteered. The father was to talk to the boy in the morning. The talk was about making the youngster admit that he had been drinking. However, he refused. Now, Martina found it difficult to

continue acting out the idea. Some other children wanted to play-act the father. Ideas put forward were to ask for help from outside like the mental hospital or the police. When time was up there was still someone who had another idea to try.

The boy was played with consistency. There were many contributions from the audience. Those changing places with the father play-acted their suggestions. For a period the classmates wanted to replace the actors too quickly, but I explained that the one taking over had to have time enough to show his/her idea. The objective was to find solutions where everyone got his needs met and there were many ways.

Discussion. The children displayed interest during the play. Those acting and also the audience worked seriously. At the end some children indicated impatience. The replacements of roles worked. The topic was difficult for the children to handle, especially as they got the impression that the young boy's problem with alcohol was serious. Another difficulty we met with was that it was not clear that one individual was oppressed and the other one was not. I think we could also have replaced the boy in order to make him express his feelings and needs. In many conflicts there is no definite oppressor, but parties with feelings and needs. However, the replaced father could have asked questions in order to find out the boy's feelings and needs.

The teacher Dick was quite enthusiastic and thought that there were good possibilities in this. Considering that this was our very first effort, I also feel it was fairly successful and definitely of interest. Daniela said that it probably would have been easier for the children to handle if they had been told that this was the first time the boy had got drunk. Now the topic was too difficult for them. This is true, but perhaps it was better that we did not interfere regarding this. The children's choice of topic was accepted, as were their ways of solving the problem. They had had a chance to practise different ways of dealing with a problem and we had seen that the method could work.

We did perform a new forum play during the following session that, unfortunately, did not occur until four weeks later. A group of girls had been very disappointed that we had not had time for their play during our previous session. The topic was "Betrayal". This forum play worked at least as well as the first one.

Observation, Class F

As mentioned above, the children made up plays on oppression after having watched *A Class Divided*. These plays were video-recorded and played back to the children. A discussion followed about the problem-solving. A group of girls created a play, "Betrayal," which took up an urgent topic: Petra in confidence told her friend at school, Josephine, that she had met a nice guy last summer, Pelle. Josephine talked to her other friend, Lisa, telling her what Petra had said, adding "if you believe her". The following day Josephine was ill and Petra talked to Lisa who told her what Josephine had said. Of course, Petra felt hurt but she did not show it at the time. Soon a new girl arrived in the class. Her name was Stina. In the play we saw Josephine walking about talking to Lisa. Petra showed Stina around asking her if they could be best friends.

After the play was shown on video, we discussed the girls' feelings, especially Petra's. The children said that she was sad, angry, betrayed and disappointed. They suggested that the reason why Petra tried to make friends with Stina was in order to take her revenge.

What did the audience think about the ending? Were the girls happy and satisfied? No, Petra was not. I asked: "What can we do to help Petra?" Erik now volunteered to play Petra. I asked Doris whether she would like to take her part again as she had done before.

The new Petra (Erik) told Josephine (Doris) during a break that she did not feel too good because Josephine had told the secret to Lisa. Josephine replied that she had not thought of it as a secret. Petra kept to her position and said that Josephine ought to have understood that it was. No, she hadn't. Petra asked how she would have felt if it had happened to her. Josephine did not reply to this but said that she had not revealed any secret because Petra had said nothing to her about a secret.

I asked the class how they thought Petra would feel now. Some thought that now it was clear that there had been a misunderstanding and the best thing to do would be to forget it. Erik thought that Petra was not quite satisfied but maybe she would get over it. There was a good discussion on how to deal with the conflict. There were three good things about talking about it as Erik (the new Petra) had done: Petra could get relieved of pent-up feelings, Petra could find out the other one's position and see the "misunderstanding" and Josephine got to know why Petra was cross with her.

There was a risk also, the children said: Josephine could take her revenge, making the conflict escalate.

In a forum play we could have continued to find an even better solution, maybe by looking more at Josephine's position, needs and feelings. To get further, I think Petra could have induced Josephine to act, maybe by taking up the question of being friends, expressing her own feelings about this or asking Josephine about hers. For a variety of reasons we did not continue the play. Instead I wrote three ways of behaving on the blackboard:

1. Attacking by fighting physically or verbally.
2. Avoiding, i.e., pretend nothing is wrong and keep one's feelings to oneself.
3. Talk it over and work it out (in Swedish "reda ut").

The children were now to write in their books which alternative they thought was best and explain why they thought so. They had a few minutes to do this. Lasse objected by writing in his book that it was "stupid, very stupid, and superstupid," showing it to Karsten who often copied Lasse but did not do it this time. (We will learn more about Lasse and Karsten in Section 15.2.)

Thought books, Class F. There were 17 replies. Nine wrote that the third alternative, to talk it over, was the best one.

One child preferred this method because "it is important to know" what the partner thinks. Another child said that it is good to find out what happened in order to avoid misunderstandings. A third one explained his/her choice very well: "3. Talk it over. Because then one may arrive at something that both will agree to. Then one understands what the other one feels." One child was very optimistic: "It is better to talk than to avoid it. Because it will always turn out right. One makes friends again. And one feels better".

One child chose avoidance, writing: "2. Just because one does not create a conflict," whereas one wrote that all the three ways are equally good. There was no explanation: "It just is like that".

One child suggested *a combination between attack and talking it over*: "... If you attack a little and then start to talk it over, then I think the other one will start to think a bit more. And you have to show that you are really cross and angry, otherwise one may just as well keep quiet".

My reaction to this reply is sympathetic. I believe that this child feels that you must be allowed to express your feelings and be self-assertive.

Probably s/he thinks that “talking it over” alludes to showing no feelings of anger at all. The problem that the children (and adults as well) easily come to believe that the problem-solving approach means concealing your feeling has been discussed above. It is sad that, in spite of the training they had had, at least some children did not see that it is possible to express anger and other negative feelings without attacking, blaming (and escalating). It is difficult for them to think along these lines. It takes time and training! And good models!

Two children suggested attack giving no explanation. Another one thought the same, explaining that aggressive feelings would be released, at least those of the victim.

Commentary. This lesson on the play “Betrayal” was successful. Fanny and I thought so with relief because the previous lessons on bullying had been difficult. Looking back at this lesson and the spontaneous way of utilizing a simplified forum play, I feel that here we attained something important: the technique may be employed at an early stage of training conflict resolution in the classroom. What made a success of this lesson, many children happily participating, was that they recognized the issue of the conflict and could see possible ways of handling it.

Discussion of the findings

Forum play is a method that can be used for practising different solutions of conflicts. It cannot replace other methods since the teacher, or joker, should not interfere to correct the children. The play needs to flow. For this ideas are needed. When there are none, the joker may generate new thoughts by encouraging the children. This is incompatible with corrections.

Before acting in forum plays and parallel to this, in daily life, the children need to learn specific tools to be used, such as dealing with anger constructively, active listening, perspective-taking, I-messages and the giraffe language. The same applies to negotiation and mediation skills.

Forum plays take a long time, which makes it difficult to allow all the pupils in a class to present their plays if they all have prepared as they had done in Class D. It is possible to video record the forum play and then play it back and take it up again to try out new solutions to the problem. For this a good, well-placed video camera is necessary. The problem of micro-

phones also has to be looked into. This kind of work would open up new opportunities.

In Class F we did not follow the method completely according to the rules. Ordinarily, in forum plays you place the audience in a circle around the actors but in this case the children remained seated at their desks and the replacement of actors occurred when we played back the video we had previously recorded. It was more of a spontaneous activity to get new endings to the children's play in order to improve the presented resolution of the conflict.

In this case the actors took up their parts again — one of them being replaced — when we decided to try a new ending. Of course, the same method may be applied the first time when the children have enacted their role-play. No video is needed. The advantage of using a video is that it enables you to take up the work again, later.

Thus, as had happened in Class F, one may utilize *a simplified method* which is something in between a role play and a forum play. It may be very helpful in order to make use of the resources in the audience (the class). This can be done without previous training. Also, when necessary, teachers may make an idea or conflict resolution skill understandable to the children by taking a role. This may happen when the task gets too difficult for the children.

In forum plays the oppressed party is replaced. However, often in conflicts there is not this distinction; all parties have feelings and needs and all their perspectives are relevant to the conflict, even though they may change during the play. Therefore, I think, when utilizing forum plays for this kind of work on conflict resolution, one may replace more than one person but usually not at the same time.

Theoretical considerations. There is a theoretical contradiction in utilizing forum plays as a way of teaching conflict resolution skills since consideration of all parties' needs and concerns lies at the core of these skills, whereas forum theatre (from which the forum play method is derived) has been developed from a theoretical standpoint of asymmetry, with one party oppressing the other. The aim of forum theatre is to provide the oppressed party with tools (thereby increasing its assertiveness and power) to act to put an end to this asymmetry.

Previously (Chapter 8), I have briefly discussed the “structuralist's” approach (concerned with asymmetric relationships at the international level)

and related this to the approach of the conflict researcher (aiming at meeting all parties' underlying needs). I have attempted a pragmatic synthesis between the two (above pp. 102–104). This problem of unacceptable oppression has also been considered in relation to bullying in the previous section (p. 247). Thus, it is relevant at the macro as well as the micro level.

Conclusion. Forum play proved to be an interesting, promising method for teaching conflict resolution since children may try out different ways of acting to resolve a conflict.

There is a theoretical contradiction mentioned above but in practice this can be overcome. In cases of bullying or when other unacceptable behaviours occur, it is still relevant to consider *all* parties' needs and concerns but, at the same time, the behaviour must be stopped, sometimes by force. The standpoint here is to separate the people from the problem, the evildoer from the act, which means that initiatives are taken to put an end to the behaviour in question but *also* that the needs of the oppressing person/s are considered, often by different persons or groups of persons.

15.1.15 Peacemakers. Visions of the future

Peacemakers

One chapter in Lantieri's and Roderick's teaching guide (1988) deals with peacemakers. A lot of space is given to Martin Luther King Jr. However, it is not enough to learn about some important people as peacemakers. In order to empower children, helping them see that they themselves and others they know can make a difference, we need to encourage them to recognize good activities performed by themselves and others. Connecting the micro and macro levels is done in the manual by taking up the child's nearby reality. See also above (pp. 173-174, Chapter 13) the idea of *Knowledge, Feeling and Action*.

Aims. (1) To give the children a notion of building a peace culture (connecting the micro and macro levels). (2) To make known to the children that many people, here and everywhere, work to make the world a better place. (3) To empower the children by giving them good pro-social models. (4) To provide the children with tools to participate in building a peace culture.

Methods. Parts of Attenborough's (video, 1985) film on Gandhi — the one from South Africa when the passports were burnt and the one from the Salt March and the demonstration outside the Dharasana salt factory in India in 1930 — were shown to and discussed with *Classes F* and *A* (both grades 6). The children also watched a 20-minute long video on Martin Luther King, Jr. and his work¹³³.

The children were divided into groups to do project work on different well-known personalities, their work and significance. They got information about some good examples and were allowed to choose among these or decide on someone else. Models chosen were: Mahatma Gandhi¹³⁴, Martin Luther King¹³⁵, Mother Teresa¹³⁶, the Dalai Lama¹³⁷ and Helen Keller¹³⁸ about whom there were books available within the series "People who have helped the world". The reading was simple, adapted for this age-group. Other models chosen were: Anne Frank, Olof Palme, Bamse (the leading role of a Swedish comic magazine), a bear who is very strong when he gets honey and always acts non-violently in his daily life. The pupils wrote essays on these and made exhibitions that were presented to other people in the school. There were discussions on peace work at the micro and macro levels and connections between these levels.

The work in Class A differed from that in *Class F*. For inspiration, the children in Class F each received a copy of a magazine, *Globen* [The Globe]¹³⁹, dedicated to good examples of well-known personalities, such as Martin Luther King, Anne Frank and the boy, Iqbal, who was murdered because of his successful efforts to draw attention to children's slave-labour (making carpets).

¹³³ Produced by E.B.E. Encyclopedia Britannica, 1983.

¹³⁴ Nicholson, 1991.

¹³⁵ Schloredt & Brown, 1991; Craig, 1984.

¹³⁶ Gray, 1990.

¹³⁷ Gibb, 1990. This book, however, was available only in English which meant a problem for our children.

¹³⁸ Macdonald, 1992.

¹³⁹ The review *Globen* [The Globe] is published by Barnens Värld [the Children's World] run by "Lutherhjälpen" [an affiliation of the Lutheran World Federation], Naturskyddsföreningen [a Swedish environmental organization] and Save the Children, and supported by the Swedish International Development Authority, SIDA. It is written for children of this age-group. The issue used was "Nån att se upp till" [Somebody To Look Up To], (2-3), 1995.

The idea was to turn from the famous personalities to the local level. Therefore, in Class F the children were asked to learn about different peace, environmental or solidarity organizations through interviewing active people representing them. However, the children were reluctant and did not know any organizations. Therefore they ended up by interviewing relatives and other acquaintances.

The children in *Class A* translated Martin Luther King's speech "I Have A Dream" into Swedish during their English lessons. On UN Anniversary Day, the 24th of October, Class A presented a musical on the Montgomery bus boycott to the rest of the school. They read their translation of "I Have A Dream," recited a poem and danced "Free At Last". The choreography was their own creation. Some peace songs were sung. The performance was beautiful and very impressive. They also made a 15–20-kilometre walk for peace in cooperation with another class they had found on the Internet. When they arrived at their destination they conducted a little performance for the public in the street.

Discussion of the findings The work in Class A was very dependent upon the teacher, Anna, who had a gift for inspiring the children to make wonderful musicals, this one and another one I watched.

Quite a few of the children in Class F commented in their thought books favourably on the peacemakers they had studied and even on their own work. However, let us here discuss the considerable negative feedback we received. There were some comments in the children's thought books indicating powerlessness and lack of interest and, no doubt, the interviews had been a failure. It was a mistake to try to make the children conduct any interviews at all when we noticed that there was a resistance.

Furthermore, if we wanted to empower the children, we should not have left the original idea of learning about people active in organizations. We noticed that the answers that the children had received to their questions to relatives about issues of global survival (the children had themselves invented the questions during a lesson) often indicated powerlessness. We also found that the effect of their work on the interviews was contrary to our intention, which was empowerment. We could have invited people from some peace, environmental or solidarity organizations. We could also have shown films, for instance from Greenpeace, an organization which often interests children and which, among other things, works with and for schoolchildren.

Did the children object to parts of our peace education because they felt compelled to take a moral stance that they were not prepared to do? One comment in a thought book indicated this. The children may not have been used to thinking in these terms of better and worse, responsibility etc.

It was clear that some children felt powerlessness and our objective of empowering these children through work on peacemakers as well as in other ways had failed, at least to some considerable degree. I am sorry to say that a majority of the children in Class F seemed not to have enjoyed the work with the peacemakers. They had not been involved. Few had studied and made an effort, either in school or at home. One boy, new to the class in the autumn of grade 6, had been very positive at the beginning and worked extremely well. Now he had joined the passive children. The reasons for the resistance and lack of involvement will be discussed in Section 15.3 as this was brought up in the interview with Fanny and questionnaires to the parents. The interviews with the children, Section 15.2, will also cast some light on the problem.

The children were looking ahead, longing to leave the middle level of the comprehensive school for the senior level. Being involved in their own growth processes, seeking and struggling with their own identity, they turned inward and might have been less interested in global issues. Maybe they wanted to forget all about it because they worried. I noticed similar problems of increasing resistance in other sixth-graders.

*Visions of the future*¹⁴⁰

Young children that I had previously interviewed had indicated considerable knowledge about global problems, especially about threats of environmental degradation and war, including nuclear war. They had also given proof of feelings of powerlessness and fear (above pp. 160–165; Uta Carlsson, 1990, 1999). Elise Boulding (1978, 1988) is well-known for her work on peace education where students are encouraged to envision a positive future. Macy (1983) is another source of inspiration.

Aims. (1) To encourage the children to talk about their feelings about the future; (2) to support them and make them feel that they are not alone; and (3) to empower them.

¹⁴⁰ The activities were inspired by the tenth chapter of L's & R's teaching guide, 1988: "The Future: A Positive Vision".

Class C (grade 6). I told the children that we would think about a future they would like. They made *drawings* some of which were shared with the class. Together we also brainstormed *a web* about the concept: “A Different and Good World”. Many children took part and worked seriously. A lot of suggestions for a better world were made.

The pupils were to share their thoughts about the future in an *essay* on the topic “In Thirty Years Time”. They wrote about private, happy life as well as world problems. In a few of the essays global conflicts and problems had multiplied. I made a class essay of citations from their individual essays, ending on a very positive, hopeful note, and read it to the children who were very proud and happy about their product. It was put up in the staffroom.

The titles of the essays in **Class B** (grade 6) were “The World of My Dreams”. Two boys wrote: “If I Were Ruler of the World”.

The essays were short. Many wrote about less violence in the streets and fewer, or no, wars. The technology was in many cases like that of the old days with horses, carriages and bicycles instead of cars, and villages and farms instead of towns and industry. This was in order to solve the pollution problem. One of the boys, who decided to write about how to change the world, said that wars had come to an end and that all cars and houses used solar energy.

Medicine was known for every disease. To find solutions people would talk and narrate. Some children wrote about criminals, such as burglars and those selling narcotics. They would be punished. One girl imagined that there would be less need for policemen and that all children played with each other.

Another girl imagined a world without unemployment and with less bullying in schools. The children there would work with more interesting subjects. She also dreamt of a world with no nuclear weapons, no wars and no injustice.

One boy imagined an earth that was destroyed. All forests and woods were gone as the wood was used up as fuel. Human beings were organizing an evacuation to Venus. This was in spite of a topic that suggested a positive vision.

I wrote a class essay of their contributions and read it to the class. After this the children painted pictures of their dream worlds.

Commentary: The topics of the essays in Classes C and B differed somewhat as the children in Class C were not requested to write about a positive future but could choose freely, whereas the children in Class B, who had not worked with brainstorming or drawings of a positive future before writing their essays, were asked to think about a good world.

It proved to be difficult for the children to give very many details about a positive future. They seemed to see many problems but to know of fairly few solutions. Previously, we have seen that the children in Class C produced negative pictures of the future (on cooperation, Section 15.1.11).

The information given by the mass media is often negative and shows problems rather than solutions. There are comparatively few reports on people and organizations doing a really good job in dealing with the problems presented. Perhaps it is not surprising that the children paint dismal pictures of the future and to a large extent lack positive visions. But where will it lead us?

Conclusion. Our work on visions of the future included brainstorming, drawings, which were shared with the class, and essay writing. The idea of a class essay of parts of everybody's contribution was received favourably. The work indicated a need for developing visions of a positive future — provided we accept the beneficial spiral (depicted on p. 140 above) and the hypothesis put forward in Section 11.2 (p. 141).

15.2 Class F: Interviews about peace education and peer pressure

The pupils in Class F, 12 boys and 6 girls, were interviewed individually by me during October and November '95 when they were in grade 6. All the children agreed to be interviewed. However, Lasse did it reluctantly and discontinued the interview prematurely. The children were informed that they did not have to answer the questions and that all that they said was strictly confidential. The tape recorded interviews lasted between 15 and 65 minutes, most of them between 20 and 40 minutes. They were held in Swedish. The tapes were transcribed by me.

The situation when holding the interviews. Considerations regarding research value.

The class and I had worked according to the programme for about one and a half school years when the interviews were carried out. The activities we had performed by October 1995 (see Appendix 6) as well as the perceived psychological climate constituted the context of the interviews.

The immediate reason for conducting the interviews was not a scientific but a pedagogical one. I had met with an increasing problem in the class: Group pressure and resistance toward taking an active part in our work. There were three peer leaders, Karsten, Lasse and, to some extent, Peter, who did not like some of the activities. They expressed this in a negative fashion. There were continued disturbances carried out by these boys. Fanny (the class teacher) and I had noticed how the other children had become more prone to follow. They were now quieter and more passive during my lessons than they had been at the beginning.

Through the interviews I wanted to get a deeper understanding of the mechanisms operating in the class, particularly peer-pressure. I wanted to understand the various causes of resistance. Furthermore, I wished to try to influence the children in order to improve the result of our work. Obviously, there was a conflict between the research and pedagogical objectives (cf. Section 14.1, pp. 194–196). At the beginning of a question I wore the researcher's hat; sometimes, before starting on a new topic, I changed to the teacher's hat. This reduces the research value of the interviews. When analysing the material I have been conscious of this and I have excluded remarks from the pupils that might have been influenced by the interviewer. The fact that I had taken certain positions during the lessons made me less ideal as an interviewer from a scientific point of view.

On the other hand, what was against me as a teacher was in my favour as a researcher: I was an outsider who did not really matter very much. The children might have been more polite than in anonymous writing (like the questionnaires) but generally speaking, I felt that they did not really try to please me through their answers. In my experience, Swedish children are fairly outspoken when relating to adults. This was also in my favour as a researcher performing the interviews.

Objectives and questions

As mentioned above, there were two objectives of the interviews; a research one and a pedagogical. These were: (1) to find out what the pupils thought and felt regarding peace education as well as to understand their

thoughts about the psychological climate in their class, including peer influence and (2) to make the children stand up for themselves and their thoughts in order to improve cooperation. The first objective had pedagogical implications as well as scientific ones while the second one was designed out of a pedagogical need.

The idea when analysing the material is to obtain the variations and as much information as possible. A few children have been given names, which makes it possible to follow them through the text. The three leaders, Karsten, Lasse and Peter, are of special interest since they opposed considerable parts of the education. Understanding their way of thinking gives me important insight into resistance to the work (=obstacles to the programme, one of the objectives of the study). As leaders they influenced their peers and the climate in the class more than most of the other pupils. The reason I have not given all the children names is that I feel that too many names would disturb the reading.

The interviews were semi-structured. There were five key questions:

1. "When you think about the future, what do you imagine?"
2. "What do you think could be done to make the world a better place?"
3. "What do you think are the aims of peace education?"

This question is closely related to the former one. It was added after a few interviews since I think that motivation is very important for learning. I also wanted to study how the children related the micro to the macro level. The question was raised for research as well as pedagogical reasons.

4. "What is your general idea that peace education should be like in order to be good (contents and methods)?"
5. "What do you think about the psychological climate in your class?" This was followed up by: "What could be done in order to improve the psychological climate in your class?" The two most important follow-up questions were: "Who makes the decisions in your class?" (relates to peer leadership) and "In your class, do people dare to stand up for what they think even though they have the impression that the others think differently?"

Thoughts about the future

A few boys expressed concern about unemployment. Karsten worried about refugees competing for jobs. In lessons he had demonstrated a nega-

tive attitude to foreigners. Another boy, Carl, who was ethnocentric in his outlook, feared that immigrants might start a civil war. He had a pessimistic view of people who “do not understand how to act” and thought that this was a cause of war.

Svante was of a different opinion. He worried about violence but had an optimistic view of people, thinking that they “will consider what they do”. When he talked about peace, he referred to nations, big groups and people, i.e., the macro as well as the micro level.

Since the objective was to get a background to the answers of the following questions, I refrain from further presentation of details.

How to make the world a better place

The question was framed in such a way that the interviewees would suggest actions that could be taken by people in general. I did not ask what nations, the UN or any other institution could do.

Powerlessness. The children did have some ideas. There were few children who did not find anything to suggest or who said that it was impossible to do anything. It is interesting that among these very few were the two peer leaders, Karsten and Peter (the third one, Lasse, did not reply to this question) who were negative to our work. The third one who lacked ideas was Carl, who had a negative outlook on immigrants.

*Reduction of human action-spaces*¹⁴¹. A couple of boys thought in terms of tougher rules, harder punishment and threats of punishment; one of them at the international level, the other one at the street level. The former pro-posed that the UN and others may use threats to bombard weapons and also that they carry out food blockades. The latter suggested more guards.

Trade in weapons. Stop producing and selling weapons. Karsten suggested this but added that it was not possible since industry would lose money. Hanna was of the same opinion. One boy suggested that other countries should make up for the loss when a country was dependent upon arms exports.

¹⁴¹ Galtung (1965, p. 236) defines violence as “any activity that aims at reducing human action-spaces by excluding actions,” and nonviolence as “any activity that aims at enlarging action-spaces by including actions or making them more attractive”. See also above pp. 204-205.

Linking the micro and macro levels. The longest-lasting interview of all was the one with Erik. Like many others he linked the micro to the macro level and he did so repeatedly. His starting point was that the world “gets worse and worse” regarding violence. Therefore he thought that something has to be done. He suggested negotiations (also techniques in this, such as trading) and, if the parties would not agree, arbitration (not using the word, though). He imagined that “a system” would be invented to replace the use of violence. Fights between gangs might be good because the youth would learn to deal with conflicts in a constructive manner. Fear and threats lead to aggression starting wars (cf. HNT, Chapter 4).

Negotiations. Like Erik, quite a few children mentioned negotiations or talks.

Building a peace culture by means of education. There was a girl who thought that one way to stop wars was to “talk about it” adding: “In order to make them (the children) later on when they are adults not start a war.” This indicates that she actually saw a connection between the micro and macro levels and also the significance of culture.

International cooperation. Structures. Erik imagined that the whole world would need the same judicial system. When the interviewer asked him whether he thought this was realistic, he took the European Union and especially the European Monetary Union as an example of a first step. Of special interest to me was Erik’s comment, “and then you notice that it works,” related to taking steps towards a goal, since it implies an idea that experience leading to desired results will cause further stepwise action (cf. Section 11.2, pp. 140-141, the second spiral and my hypothesis).

Doris and a couple of other girls suggested cooperation. Doris said: “if two countries make war, one should help them solve their problems.”

Attitudes. Richard, who was a very non-aggressive person, found it important that everyone be kind. If they were, the world would be a better place. Doris thought that one should “help countries” but also “each other”. She expressed empathy with the civilians: “Really it is the soldiers’ fault. It always happens that the civilians die, children and others. I think that it is unfair because they cannot help it that there is a war, at least not the children.”

Democracy. Apart from more negotiations Bertil suggested a closer contact between politicians and people.

Influence by mass media (may be regarded as a subgroup of democracy). Richard said that one way to influence people would be via TV.

Contact with other cultures. No discrimination. Agneta thought that one can learn how children in other places live. This does not have to be done at school, however, as what you learn from mass media is enough. She wished justice and empathy. Everyone should try to be fair but they don't, she said. One boy recommended no discrimination of people — for instance the Blacks and the Whites — as well as increased contact between people from different cultures.

Environment. Environmental degradation was mentioned by many. Erik and several of his classmates suggested actions to reduce pollution. Problems such as devastation of forests and hunting animals threatened by extinction were mentioned. Someone hoped for development of better techniques and others proposed that consumers buy environmentally sound products and sort refuse.

Discussion of the findings. My overall impression is that the children did not express powerlessness. Two of those who indicated hopelessness were the leaders who sometimes obstructed our work. Thus, their lack of motivation was partly explained.

One boy who regarded immigrants negatively had a pessimistic outlook. This indicates fear, the immigrants being a threat.

To my mind, many of the suggestions are well in line with a way of thinking which I have called an “emerging paradigm;” for example, it was common to connect the micro and the macro levels, this being even more obvious in reply to the next question.

There were also proposals belonging to the “old paradigm” (Chapter 8): increased punishments, more guards, using threats to make countries and people obey. One boy suggested food blockades and threats of bombing.

The aims of peace education

The children's own experiences of peace education were the starting point.

Increased knowledge of peace and peace strategies. Bertil said that the aim of peace education is to know more about peace and how to make peace.

Learning conflict resolution skills has implications at the macro level as well. Moral courage. Svante and others stated that the idea is to make those who receive peace education solve conflicts without fighting, the result be-

ing that they will not be violent when they grow up. The interviewer (I) asked whether one could learn to deal non-violently with problems. S: “Yes.” I: “When you are an adult?” S: “Yes, and also when you are a child.” I: “Do you think that it could have an effect on the relations between groups and nations as well?” S: “Yes — in fact (sounds convinced), if they are not violent and manage to say ‘no,’ then there won’t be so many wars and fights.”

Culture. One boy thought that he himself could not make a change and neither could peace education — maybe *some* change but not much. Referring to the importance of culture he said that people were accustomed to hit back rather than talk. It would take a long time to change this.

Attitudes: empathy, compassion, tolerance, helpfulness. One girl emphasized empathy and compassion with those in need while Hanna thought it important to accept people as they are. One boy mentioned that all should help each other.

Better behaviour in schools. Yet another goal is that the school will improve, that people will learn to behave better, he said. Doris, who had been bullied during her early school years, mentioned only one aim of peace education, namely, to reduce bullying in schools.

Obstacle: this is only a tiny experiment. Erik said that the aim was to make the world a better place but it was difficult to tell [whether it would make a difference] since [what was done in] their school was just a tiny experiment. The goal was less violence; fewer wars as well as less violence with knives. An unusual standpoint was that it might be difficult to stop wars in democracies. If people want war there, the leaders cannot stop it, he said.

Opportunity: the ripple effect. Carl said that the aim was not to fight and explained the ripple effect — he could tell his relatives.

Discussion of the findings. We notice a belief in conflict resolution skills as being applicable at the micro as well as the macro level. The effect, however, was a different matter. In accordance with the framing of the question the children expressed the aims of the education more than opinions of degree of feasibility. Svante uttered a belief in the idea of changing attitudes by means of peace education, referring to moral courage as a prerequisite. There is an obstacle, though, since a class cannot change the world by itself. On the other hand, more people can learn by means of the ripple effect.

The triumvirate — Lasse, Karsten and Peter — and their thoughts on the aims of peace education. Obstacles.

In order to better understand obstacles to our programme, I here temporarily leave the cross-case study — referring to different thoughts about a phenomenon — for something more like a case study where I want to understand the thinking of the three leaders who obstructed the education, something which was the case before the interviews were conducted.

Lasse said that the aim of peace education was less violence at all levels. Everyone should do his best.

Karsten's reply to the question about the aims ran: "I do not think that it makes any difference as it is only our class that is having peace education." I asked him in what way the world could be changed if *lots* of people had peace education. He replied that the world might get less violent if more people had learnt it. However, I doubt that this was deeply felt as he could offer no other alternatives to aggressive acts than avoidance and suppression — walking out or not caring — something which is remarkable after one and a half years of training.

Peter said that the aim of peace education was to make the world a better place, namely, less fighting and less racism, explaining further that he meant fighting at school and also in life when the children had grown up. Fights could lead to someone getting killed. Conflict resolution skills might help when one gets into a fight but he thought that in his class peace education was meaningless because he had not learnt anything.

I asked him what prevented him from learning. He said that he did not know but there was not less fighting than before. I: "What makes it so difficult here?" P: "... You cannot just say you are sorry before you are friends again." I agreed, but on the other hand, I had never recommended that anyone apologize, in any case not until the person *feels* ready for it. This might happen late in the process but most often does not. P: "No, but I do not remember anything else. Also, you do not come to think of such things [meaning skills] when there is a fight or something." He thought that it might be possible to train children in other classes and also that some of his classmates had probably learnt but not all of them.

I: "Why do some learn while others don't?" P: "Some cannot pay attention to the lessons, they hardly want to learn." Again I asked why and the answer was: "Boring". Then he said that role playing was fun and that you [he himself] might learn a little then. Watching video recordings of the role

plays was also rather fun. I confronted him with my hypothesis that some people might feel it is better that no-one learn conflict resolution because “my mates are OK and stand by me. I don’t want it to change. ... I know what I have but not what I will get”. This provoked Peter to the extent that he violently rejected it and firmly stated: “I do not believe in conflict resolution,” adding “If I don’t think it works, I don’t pay attention.”

The aims of peace education — conclusion

I believe that all the interviewed children, even the leaders, had gained a general idea of the aims of peace education although they emphasized different aspects. Many of them related the micro to the macro level.

Some regarded conflict resolution skills positively whereas others, like Karsten and Peter, were more sceptical. Erik and Karsten pointed out that our work in the class was just a small experiment. This alone could not change the world. This feeling, which they gave vent to, must have negatively influenced the children’s motivation to learn.

Karsten revealed the he had not learnt what was at the core of the programme, namely, that there is a choice of approaches when dealing with conflicts and that you may learn to resolve them without behaving aggressively. Peter also expressed this lack of understanding when he opposed the idea of apologizing too early — something never advocated by me — then saying “I don’t remember anything else”.

The interview with Peter pointed to an interesting vicious spiral. See the figure below.

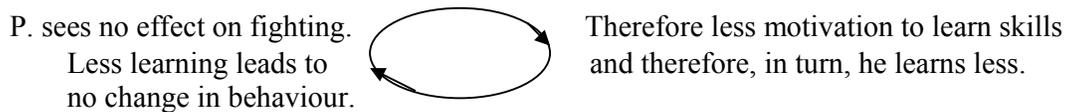


Figure 15.3 A vicious spiral pointed out by Peter (P). He has not experienced less fighting at school owing to our conflict resolution programme. Therefore he gets less motivated to learn conflict resolution skills that, in turn, makes him learn less. When he and others do not learn, there is no change in their behaviour regarding fights. As he is a leader, the significance increases.

This is also an example of the self-fulfilling prophecy (Section 5.2, pp. 61–62). I do not think that Peter’s explanation of the problem applies to him alone but to everybody, more or less. It shows how important it is that chil-

dren experience and notice positive effects of what they do. Then the vicious spiral may be changed into a beneficial one.

In Peter's case this vicious spiral may not have been the sole explanation of his lack of interest (which, by the way, fluctuated depending upon whether he liked the activity or not). I revealed to him my hypothesis that some people might feel that conflict resolution skills may not improve the situation but, on the contrary, change it for the worse. He might not *want* a change in relation to his mates who followed him. (I thought something more, which was not uttered, namely, that *he might feel a threat to his position, his power over his peers.*) He may well have seen the point since he violently rejected my hypothesis. Perhaps he felt that there was some truth in it but preferred to explain his lack of interest in the way mentioned above. His statements later in the interview speak in favour of the hypothesis: He did not regard the mechanism which makes people support the bully as something bad in itself but rather pleasant for him if he was the one who fought and got supporters whereas it was bad for the victim. As we will see, he also expressed satisfaction thinking about his increased power in a situation where people support him (p. 287 below).

Three attitudes in relation to peace and strategies for peace

The three attitudes in relation to peace and strategies for peace that I found in the interviews were:

1. Strategies of the type Galtung (1965) calls "*increasing action-spaces*" (cf. pp. 204-205 above and footnote 141, p. 267). Conflict resolution was mentioned, often connecting the micro and macro levels. This has to do with education and culture — our habits and customs [and values, although not particularly mentioned by the interviewees]. However, this was difficult, and peace education in just one class will not make a difference. No export of weapons, improved democracy, care of environment and help to the poor and to poor countries — sharing, negotiations — was mentioned.
2. "*Reducing action-spaces,*" i.e. harder punishments at the international and street level, more guards, threats of different kinds and food blockades [more soldiers and police were not mentioned in these particular interviews, but sometimes mentioned by children].
3. *Powerlessness*. There is nothing to do.

By far the most common attitude among the interviewees was the first one, which was in accordance with our peace education programme. It is quite probable that the fact that I conducted the interviews myself increased the proportion of responses belonging to the first category.

More thoughts about peace education generally and in relation to our programme

I asked: “*What is your general idea that peace education should be like in order to be good?*” As the pupils had no experiences other than the work we had done together, this was the starting point. To make them talk, I often reminded them of what they (we) had done. Their answers included evaluations of activities performed.

There was hardly any criticism of the kind of peace education they had had. This was for three reasons: (1) the pupils had no other experiences with which to compare, (2) the framing of the question called for positive aspects, hardly negative ones, and (3) the fact that the children were facing the person who had acted as their teacher, leading the work. Even when I asked for bad experiences as well as good, they confined themselves to the latter. However, they did tell when they had forgotten something or when the activity had made no impression upon them. They also shared their thoughts about the difficulties they experienced in utilizing the conflict resolution skills that they had practised. This was important as it added to my understanding of the obstacles — a main reason for performing the interviews.

Many of the activities we had performed were not discussed in the interviews, as the main objective was not to evaluate them. Here I will draw from the data the different aspects that I find important in order to illuminate opportunities for and obstacles to the teaching programme we had carried out.

General aspects of peace education. Micro and macro levels. There were children who thought that peace education should deal with the macro as well as the micro level. According to one view, these levels were equally important and according to another, the micro level should weigh more in their case. The class had worked mostly with the micro level — especially conflict resolution skills — and this was something the children did not object to.

Causes of war. However, one of the girls was mostly interested in world problems. She wished to know more about why there are wars between nations. As far as I can remember this had not been very much discussed during our lessons, probably firstly, because we had dealt very much with the micro level and secondly, as a result of our programme being something quite apart from the ordinary curriculum, not infused into the subjects as the ideal would have been.

Poverty, equal worth and discrimination. Richard wanted to learn about what those who are hungry and poor feel. He had said earlier in the interview that many groups do solidarity work and he had mentioned Save the Children and the Red Cross. One girl also wished to learn about how others in less favourable circumstances feel, as well about everybody's equal worth. Another girl expressed a desire to learn not to tease someone for having a different skin colour.

Possibilities of effect. One boy said: "I do not think that it is possible to change much in the world when only some classes do it (peace education) but in any case their environment might learn too."

Building of peace. Answering the question whether peace education may be of importance to the world, one boy speculated that, if they learn, perhaps their children will teach their children who will teach theirs etc. and it may have an effect in fifty or a hundred years' time.

Positive effect important to motivation. Asked about methods of peace education, the same boy said that just about all that we had done was fun. It had had positive effects in the sense that nowadays there were fewer fights during the breaks. He thought that they had learnt gradually and stated that it was important to see the effect in order to increase motivation for the different activities. It would also make the work more fun, he said.

As a supplement to classroom education, special training to individuals particularly in need. Erik wished peace education to be more individual with more training for those who need it more. The teachers should talk to the children privately and learn about their social backgrounds. They should take an interest in why the pupils get angry about certain things and build on this. There should be peace education in the classroom as well.

Group work. The girl who wanted to know more about poor people and about "equal worth" preferred to work in groups or at least in pairs.

Bertil said that he liked to work in a group with others. Then ideas might develop better.

Conversely, Agneta strongly emphasized that she wanted to work with her best friend. She argued that it was possible to cooperate with everybody “if you make an effort” but the results would be better if they were allowed to choose freely with whom to work. She thought it would be easier to put your heart into the work together with your friend. I understand this. She and a friend did a very good job on the activity “peace-makers,” in their case Helen Keller. However, the following comment of hers made me reflect further. She said: “I do not think that it matters so much if I fall out with someone who is not my best friend.”

In that case it would not worry her too much — as it would, had it been a friend — if they quarrelled and then avoided solving the problem. There is the obvious risk that if children will only work with their friends, we will miss opportunities to train them in resolving conflicts with people whom they do not care so much about.

Role plays and forum plays. *General attitude towards the plays.* An overwhelmingly positive attitude among the children in relation to role-plays was revealed. No one wanted to do away with them and many mentioned them favourably. One boy thought that the plays that the children had acted out were realistic and good. Peter expressed a liking for role-plays and forum plays and a dislike for talking. He wanted to be active.

The most negative remark was made by Agneta, who observed that there had been *too* much role-playing.

Involvement and depth. No one works with the plays very much, Agneta said, or at least *she* did not, because there was not time enough in the lessons and during free time they had other things to do. This was even more so if the other ones in the play were not your very good friends. In spite of a positive attitude to the plays, Erik expressed his opinion that there had been lack of involvement. The work had not been serious and deep enough. However, there were exceptions. He mentioned one: The girls’ role-play “Betrayal”. That one was *really* good, he said.

Carl, on the other hand, said about forum plays that you get involved and that you feel what it is like to be teased.

Experience of different perspectives, e.g. those of refugees. Erik liked role plays and forum plays because they make you see and feel different perspectives and you may experience someone else’s situation, that of a refugee for instance.

The meaning of work with role-plays: See different perspectives, learn solutions. Lasse (one of the leaders) said that role plays were fun and observed that the idea of the role plays was to see the situation from the other's perspective and to be aware of what the other one feels — if he was put down or something. One girl said that the meaning of our work with forum plays was to learn to think of all the solutions.

Suggestions. Doris, who had been bullied over the years, suggested that forum plays could be useful to make the bullies realize what they are doing. She suggested that you may change roles so that the bullies are made to play the victims who have to find a solution. She was convinced that otherwise they would not take it in.

Conflict resolution skills. I. Generally about conflict resolution skills:

a) Skills helpful for communication. Erik thought that it would be helpful to understand what others mean when they communicate and to feel what they feel. He knew, he said, because he quarrelled a lot with his sister. He further stated that through peace education you may learn to acknowledge a coming conflict and prevent it. You may learn to discuss issues without developing a conflict. According to his experience, some people threaten as soon as they feel they are inferior in a discussion.

Others did not have this positive feeling. We have seen above that Karsten and Peter had not learnt to see and make use of the advocated problem-solving alternative and that Peter thought that was particularly difficult in his class.

b) Suggestions. Erik said that there are the police and the social services but a *new* organization is needed for peace education and for learning to “see things”. For instance some deviant has a problem; he might have assaulted and battered someone. He may be found to need some therapy, not psychiatric care but rather how to learn to see how other people feel and think.

He made yet another suggestion: To provoke pupils in the class and then utilize the skills. In that way it would be more seriously felt.

II. “The giraffe language.” Other children talked about the difficulties they experienced in dealing better with conflicts and fights. They had watched the film on the giraffe language but thought it was very difficult to use it in daily life. In the data there are examples of many *reasons for failure to employ the giraffe language* (or I-messages):

1. *Application of skills difficult.* Even if the children had understood it during the lesson, they found it difficult to stop and think about it at the moment when it was needed.
2. *No positive models.* People have their roles and do not behave like a “giraffe,” or in other words: the children did not see others using it.
3. *Habit.* The children were accustomed to hit back or to avoid the conflict and suppress their feelings.
4. *No trust in a positive effect.* The children did not trust the effect of acting in a way different from what they were used to. Their talking might be negatively received; the other party might get angry again.
5. *Unawareness of the use.* If the children — or others — used the giraffe language, they were not aware of it (or made aware of it).
For example, Richard said that he and his mother talked about a problem straight away, listened to each others’ perspectives and decided what to do, but he had not thought that they used the giraffe language. He believed that it may be taught and could be useful, but he thought that there are not many people who use it.

Another reason for not utilizing the giraffe language was lack of motivation:

6. *No need for change.* The children felt no real need for change and this was due to lack of experience of really destructive conflicts.
For example, Agneta said that when she quarrelled with her friends, it took a few days and then they became friends again without employing any special skills. She did not envisage how her ways could be improved. It would take too much of an effort. She said that if you are to use it, you must come to think of it of your own accord. You cannot *learn* it. You have to think it is needed.
7. *Lack of motivation among negative leaders.* Lack of motivation for any change among negative peer leaders who preferred to keep their power over and their status among their peers.
8. *Lack of understanding of the skills.* For example, Agneta and Hanna said that you cannot always be friends. Quarrels are necessary. These children and some others saw no alternative to aggressive actions, suppression, avoidance and taking the blame when in conflict. One boy expressed the thought that the only thing that works is to hit back. Talking might help *sometimes* “if you agree and take the blame”. This indicates no experience of conflict resolution.

III. Mediation prior to education. The interviews were conducted before our lessons on mediation in the class. The following is a description of methods that three boys told the interviewer they had employed spontaneously when mediating among their mates.

Their “mediation” could at times include making the opponents shake hands, or say that they were sorry, without any previous change of feelings.

When one of these spontaneous mediators was asked whether he would like to learn mediation, he answered that in that case he wanted to try something that would have a really good effect but added that there is no such thing. My impression from the interview is that he lacked knowledge and positive experiences of conflict resolution including mediation.

The second one, Carl, explained how he talked to first one and then the other and listened to their views. “One says that he did this and the other one did this and he did that. Then I just tell them ‘now you are friends again’”. However, then they may start to fight again. According to his view, you have to force people to keep peace at the micro as well as at the macro level.

Erik, however, had a different and more sophisticated method. He used to listen to the two parties, one at a time, and then reveal certain parts of the information in order to make them see misunderstandings, if there were any, or whatever could be useful to make them friends again. This had worked, he said, being the only one to claim that his method worked.

Rewriting a fairy tale from a new perspective (cf. Section 15.1.7). *Memory of the activity.* Not all the children remembered straight away what fairy tale they had chosen for the activity they had performed eight to nine months earlier. They had, however, a clear idea of the meaning of the work they had done: “One would feel what the other one felt” and “one would imagine what the other one thought” etc.

Practical applicability: empathy, avoid judging from appearance, better understanding of the other, better relationships. Some of the children were asked whether they had thought about the activity later on. They had not. However, they could see the practical applications now that they were asked for them.

One boy said that one should be empathic (although he did not use the word). He thought that he might have learnt from the activity, although

“not directly”: “One should not look at the appearance only. The person might be kind inside.”

One girl explained what could be good about “imagining how others look at you”: “You may understand why they are cross and what they think. ... perhaps to quarrel less and agree more easily, get friends more easily, too.”

Doris observed: “If I think from my point of view, I see one thing and if I see from somebody else’s point of view, I see something else. Thus, one should probably think and look into both before one makes up one’s mind. In a marriage I think one should look at both perspectives before one says ‘No, I don’t think so!’”

Early learning makes us different. I asked Erik: “Why do we not see the same truths?” E: “Simply because we are different. We have learnt very different things.” This had happened already before starting school, he stated.

A Class Divided (Section 15.1.12). Karsten’s reaction to the film was of special interest since it shows how important it is that the educator finds out the children’s — sometimes very special — way of thinking. Karsten’s objection was that the children depicted in the film were small (third-graders). Furthermore the film was about eye colour, not skin colour (cf. above p. 235). He did not think that the film applied to him.

Another boy seemed to think along the same lines but I think that his reason for doing so may have been different: He said that the teacher’s discrimination according to eye colour worked in the film but that “we” would not care about the colour of the eyes. To try to find out what he meant, the interviewer asked whether there is a difference between being treated as inferior because of brown eyes or because of brown skin. Then he said no. He saw no difference. I: “Why are people harassed because they look different?” After some reasoning about people acting tough, he made the following interesting connection with the slave trade: “Even then they were regarded as being of less worth. And it has lived on.”

In the lessons Karsten had indicated negativity against people from other cultures. He indicated that he had watched the film without taking it in, thinking that it was not relevant to him. The other boy, on the other hand, observed that his peers do not discriminate according to eye colour, but he did not take the chance to disregard the film because of this, at least I think that he might not have done.

Peace education — conclusion

There were many interesting aspects concerning peace education. The children took an interest in the macro level as well as the micro. They had more experience of work with the micro level, and therefore it was to be expected that they felt that this should weigh more in their situation. There were, however, indications of empathy and interest in the globe as a whole.

The methods for training conflict resolution that the children appreciated most were role-plays and forum plays. However, we encountered problems as some children were less motivated and some resistance could be noticed. This happened mainly when the children found it difficult to handle the conflict, as in the case of bullying. One important reason for the lack of motivation was that the children (who expressed this) did not see any effect at the local level (less fighting). It was probably important that they felt that their class was only a part of an “experiment” since not every class had peace education in the curriculum.

The activity of rewriting fairy tales was partly forgotten but, when reminded, the children seemed to have taken in the message. Maybe a seed had been planted.

The interviews with the children give evidence of some understanding of the potential of conflict resolution skills. However, the data also indicate the obstacles there are to training children. Some children did still not see that there are other ways of dealing with conflicts than the aggressive or the avoiding and suppressing approach.

One of the boys mentioned the slave trade as a cause of racial discrimination. It is an interesting point of view, coming from a boy of his age. It bears relation to the thoughts of, for instance, the famous historian specialized in African history, Basil Davidson (1984) who has claimed that true racism originated in the days of the slave trade when there was a need for justification of the extremely bad treatment of humans. The dilemma was solved by the decision that the slaves were not human, biologically.

Thoughts about the psychological climate in the class

All the children were asked what the climate in the class was like; if they were happy there and if they thought all the others were. The unanimous reply was that they were and that they thought the others were, at least the ones of their own sex.

Disturbances during lessons. According to some children's views, however, there was at times too much talking and disturbance. Richard mentioned Fanny's situation. He told the interviewer that some children said stupid things to her and did not pay respect. They disturbed on purpose, to be tough. Why? "Well, because they have been tough since they were children and they cannot stop and change to be good just like that."

The interviewer asked him whether anyone helped her. This was a new thought to him. He quickly decided that she was smart enough to help herself. What one *could* do was not to laugh when people tried to be funny but he found this difficult. He suggested that one should respect her and be quiet. The interviewer's idea that the other pupils, like he himself, should take an active part in the lesson was rejected. It would not work! When Fanny gets angry, one cannot speak.

Harassments and bullying of peers in the lower grades — now better. Pupils had harassed other children in the lower grades but they had been kind to their teachers. What had induced the change he could not tell. The other children were of the same view. They almost unanimously stated that the climate was better now than it had been from the second grade to the fourth when it had turned better. There had earlier been a lot of fighting and some children had been bullied. Change had been slow. The only reason given by the children was that they had grown more sensible and mature. They had started to think more.

Svante told me that he had been bullied in the early grades. He did not feel well and had even stayed at home. Questioned about his pot of self-esteem he said that it had been "completely dry". His parents had helped him and there had been a sudden change when they had turned to the school for help. Talking to the bullies' parents as well as to the bullies themselves had been enough. I asked him what he had learnt from his hard times. S: "Try to tell what you think without being angry and stand up against pressure."

The other child who had been bullied before was Doris. A boy, telling about her, said that the bullying had stopped when she had given the impression that she did not care and just walked away from the children who harassed her. In her essay on bullying Doris herself wrote frankly and sincerely about her experiences (Section 15.1.13).

Both Doris and Svante, with their experiences of positive change, expressed trust in non-violent conflict resolution. Doris was positive to peace

education carried out to prevent bullying. This is in contrast to the boy leaders whom I have called the triumvirate.

One of the girls talked about the harassments of Doris and Svante which had stopped by the fifth grade. The interviewer asked what it feels like when you stand there watching, not intervening to help. She thought for a moment and said: “It is probably mostly a fear of being teased.”

The leaders’ views. Karsten mentioned that his gang teased Doris in the lower grades. When the interviewer asked him what he felt when doing this, he denied that he had participated. Besides, it was better now. There are no put-downs now, he said. The girls are allowed to join in, but they must not decide the rules.

Peter thought that maybe everyone was not always happy as there were disturbances. I: “Do you not respect each other in your class?” P: “No (shaking his head), most of the time but not when someone speaks up with no regard for the others.”

Lasse claimed that he was happy in school but Fanny could be difficult sometimes as he and the boys always got the blame, never the girls. The reason could be that they, the boys, disturbed more and that “they needed more to be told”. It could also be that they could stand more, he observed.

Earlier in the interview Lasse had been asked about bullies. He thought that they put people down to be tough, perhaps their lives were miserable (here he swore) and they wanted to take revenge on someone else.

Conclusion. The climate in the class had improved since the fourth grade and the bullying of two classmates had discontinued, according to the children. (A nasty incident, many girls treating one girl very badly, happened in the sixth grade but it *may* have been after the interviews. I was not informed at the time.) Some boys disturbed and one child said that Fanny was not respected by the disturbers. There was an indication of a distinct dividing-line between the sexes. The girls were allowed to take part in the boys’ games — but not decide the rules.

Who are the peer leaders and why?

The question ran: “*Who makes the decisions in your class?*” Some children said that there were no leaders or that they did not know whether anyone decided things more than others in their class. Quite a few regarded Karsten, Lasse and Peter as leaders. Karsten was most often mentioned. Some interviewees thought that they were leaders because they were vio-

lent or had been violent. Others did not dare to stand up against them. No one said that they were leaders because their decisions were good or something equally favourable.

Erik explained it as follows: “Karsten is the most popular boy. When he does something, others want to join. He is not exactly the leader but when he has said something, then it is like that. This is because he does not wait to hit but does it as quickly as possible and those who don’t want to fight don’t stand up to him.” I: “Do they support him or do they not care?” E: “They don’t do what he wants them to do. They leave but then he gets support from all those who are scared. He gets support by many if he finds someone to hit.” ... “He doesn’t *ask* them to join, but they do. He *knows* that it is like that.”

Erik also mentioned Lasse and Peter as being dominant in the group of boys. They disturbed lessons by making people laugh. Sometimes the classmates told them off but they didn’t care. He explained that Fanny easily gets upset and then “if they do the least mischief, they have to leave the room for the corridor”. I asked what could be done about it and he replied that he thought they had to “mature at their own pace,” adding “You cannot change a human being just because he doesn’t meet all your needs.” Lasse needed to be seen, he thought.

Karsten did seem to be aware of his role, just as Erik had thought he would. In the interview Karsten observed: “They respect me sometimes.” Why? “Me and Lasse because earlier we bothered them a lot. Peter also. We were a gang as I said before.” However, this was in the first and second grade. I asked him if he had managed to get respect somehow and he replied: “Yes, probably they haven’t dared to do anything.”

The girls had another problem apart from the one described here. They were in a minority (only six). One of them explained the situation thus: “The boys decide on behalf of the girls. They seem to think that they are *the best*. They get the most.” No girl seemed to be a leader. One girl stated: “I decide for myself.” ... “I do what I want to do.”

There was also a question as to whether there was anyone who was more popular than the others in the class. The answer was “no”.

Conclusion. There were indications of a negative leadership. Three leaders were followed because the peers were afraid of their tough and violent ways. The children did not point to anyone as being more popular than the others. The girls acknowledged no leader among themselves. There was

a problem of gender; the girls feeling disregarded. Their minority status was at their disadvantage.

Peer pressure and moral courage

One of the most important questions in the interview ran: “*In your class, do people dare to stand up for what they think even though they have the impression that the others think differently?*”

Peer pressure applies to the other children only. Generally speaking, the children thought that they themselves dared to stand up for what they thought was right. However, although no one claimed that there was *a lot of* peer pressure in their classroom, many thought that the others sometimes did not dare. Some were very loyal to their mates.

Wish to belong and to be accepted. Svante had noticed that “if there was one of the leaders in the class, thinking they decide, then often all the others vote for it, thinking they are as tough as the leader”. He had seen this but it was not often. One feels bad if one conforms. He himself used to defend people badly treated. Not standing up for one’s views had to do with a wish to belong or, as he expressed it, “being as good as they are”.

Threats. He was asked why the girls were very quiet during the forum play [on the topic bullying, p. 246]. “They feel suppressed and they don’t feel good if they don’t do what the boys do. If they don’t support them, they may be afraid that they will be beaten up.” I: “Have threats like that occurred?” S: “Yes, earlier.” I: “Do they need to *say* it, or do you think that looking at them or something similar is enough?” S: “Angry looks, they glare,” as threats.

Afraid to be regarded as a coward. This was one fear among others.

Afraid to stand alone. One girl said that it happened that you conformed when you felt you were quite alone against the others. I asked her what the risk would be if she took a different stand. The answer ran: “Someone might get cross.”

Teasing. One of the girls was asked whether the girls had not dared to tell their thoughts during the forum play that day (4/10). She replied: “If you say something that the others do not think is good, they start teasing you.”

Afraid to feel stupid. Hanna denied group pressure. I: “But *if* you thought differently, would you say so or not?” She did not know. I: “What may be the reason for *not* standing up for one’s thinking?” H: “One might

be afraid or one doesn't *want* to, doesn't care about telling it [one's thoughts/opinion]". Asked what would there be to make anyone afraid, she said: "That the others will say it is stupid or something."

Strategies in order to conform: no wish to resist peer pressure, regard it not important to resist it, change one's mind, not care. Hanna had a strategy to conform: she never used to think differently from the others, she experienced no peer pressure and she did not want to say anything.

One boy thought that it did not matter to stand up against pressure. He admitted that there was some pressure to conform in the class but not very much. He himself joined his best friend. Another one observed that it was easier not to care than to stand up against the others.

One girl said that there was not much group pressure. In case she did give in to the others, she would change her mind, thinking that the other alternative might be better.

Keep responsibility for the act but not the consequences. I asked about her class, probing into the situation when people disturb a lesson. The girl said that she could not help laughing when the boys ridicule something. I asked whether that would be following the boys. Her answer ran: "No, I don't think so because I laugh because I feel I want to." I pointed out that there may be malicious laughter (quite a few had indicated that they were afraid of the others laughing at them) but she said that they did not intend any mischief and that the one they laughed at realized this. Her voice vanished into a whisper (perhaps thereby indicating a feeling that this may not be right, only her defence).

Powerlessness. One girl had said that the girls had kept quiet during the forum play because they were afraid of being teased. I asked her whether she would like to put an end to this group pressure. She did not think the boys would stop it even if the teacher had told them.

Difficult to train moral courage. One boy said "If you don't follow, they call you a coward or something. You don't want to be called that." According to his views, it would be difficult to train children and adults not to follow the leader but to stand up for what they think is right. To be prepared in forum plays for instance would not help. It would be easier not to care.

Quite a few children were asked *what was good and what was bad about following their mates when they did things that were against one's own view.*

Good about following peer pressure: cooperation. A good thing could be that a group could make a unanimous decision and act accordingly. A protest list was taken as an example.

Bad about following peer pressure: loss of personality. A disadvantage would be that one could not decide for oneself or speak one's mind. Agneta thought that it was not pleasant when someone imitates someone else. Besides, it is bad that your mates do not know you properly. This happens if you do not stand up for your own views.

Peter thought in similar terms: it is a sign of dependence to follow someone else just to be alike.

Lack of moral courage gives more wars. Speaking to one of the girls who thought that there was not very much group pressure in the class, I generalized the problem: "What might happen that would be bad if people do not stand up for what they think is right and do as all the others do?" Now, the girl thought for a long while. Then she said: "There will be more wars, because someone might want some other country and then others do not want it but change their minds because they want to belong."

Support of bullying. I asked the same girl what could be the disadvantage in a school. "Yes, if there is someone bullying and others support him in order to be tough."

Support of bullies may be good. It depends on the perspective, gives power to the fighter. I took the example of bullying. Peter replied: "Yes, then many follow." I: "Is that not bad?" P: "No, if I get into a fight, and then someone comes to my side, I don't mind, but for the others it is bad." ... "You get more power. If there is no one supporting you, then you don't get as much power." (Cf. above pp. 273.)

Conclusion. To a certain extent the children did feel pressure from their mates, but their awareness of it varied. Some children admitted that at times they found it difficult to stand up for their views, but most of them felt that they did not follow others against their own will. However, the others might do so sometimes. Altogether the children gave considerable evidence of peer pressure in the class. Their thoughts and feelings came across in the interviews. They indicated fear (often rather unspecified) not

to be accept-ed, not to belong, to be regarded a coward, to feel stupid, to be laughed at, that someone would get cross etc.

Very common in the interviews was indication of conformity. Milgram (1974) distinguishes conformity from obedience (Section 9.4, pp. 124–125). In the case of the former, full responsibility is taken whereas in the case of the latter, responsibility and blame are referred to authority. Some girls could see that the boys disturbed others but what they themselves did or did not do was from their own *choice* (indicating their responsibility for their acts such as laughing) not related to peer pressure and the suppressive atmosphere in their class (not assuming responsibility for the climate). An example of this is the girl's words: "I laugh because I feel I want to". She refused to see that laughs may be regarded as threatening and that in these cases they contribute to a less pleasant psychological atmosphere.

Some children were asked what was good and what was bad in not standing up for one's views. Generally speaking, they found it difficult to give examples of disadvantages. Strangely enough, support of bullies was not a common reply.

It happened that children defended conformity and passive support of antisocial actions. My interpretation is that they were loyal to the class but perhaps also felt that they themselves at times may have supported antisocial actions. Therefore, it is possible that they were defending themselves. The reason for their support was fear of punishment, which could include being rejected from the group. However, I believe that often it was lack of awareness of their participation in destructive activities. There was no demand for a change nor any wish to do anything about it. One could say that there was a mixture of powerlessness and lack of awareness.

The findings of the interviews make me wonder whether peer pressure and moral courage were topics seldom talked about in the class.

What can be done to improve the psychological climate in the class?

Answers to this question indicated lack of proposals for change. Some referred responsibility to the teacher, some to the children. The teacher could talk to the parents of the disturbing pupil or to the pupil outside the classroom, those breaking rules should be corrected, punished. Svante's proposal was not to care about the threats but stand up against them. Doris said: "One should try to be *friends* as much as possible and not put others down; help each other."

15.3 The process in Class F compared to that in Class D

The teachers, Fanny and Daniela, were interviewed about the psychological climate in their respective classes at the beginning of our work (interview guide, Appendix 9). We had started the programme in March in 1994 in both classes, and the interviews were held in June that year just before the end of the school term. The two teachers were interviewed at the end of our work together.

I will briefly describe the process of teaching the programme in *Class F*, utilizing the interviews with Fanny, the children's evaluation at the end of grade 4, presentation of planning the lessons with the children at the start of grade 6, presentation of a parent-teacher meeting and replies by the parents to a questionnaire. My own diary was also a source. The previous section gives indications of the children's views on peace education in general, some parts of our programme and, finally, the psychological climate, including leaders and peer/group pressure.

For comparison the situation in *Class D* will briefly be considered.

15.3.1 Class F, grades 4–6

The first interview with Fanny about the psychological climate in the class

Fanny had invited me to work in her class in order to improve the psychological climate. The children fought rather a lot, teased and put each other down. Some of the children refused to work with some others. One boy and one girl were not allowed to join in. The bullying and harassments had started years ago. Fanny had assumed responsibility for the class in the fourth grade.

There were three rather aggressive boys making trouble and often fighting. It happened now and then that they disturbed the younger children in the playground. She called them negative leaders. They were strong-minded and the other children could not stand up to them, but so far they did not support or follow them, she observed. For various reasons she had not received enough support from the parents.

The children's evaluation of our work at the end of grade 4

During the last lesson in grade 4, when we had worked together for a couple of months, the pupils in Class F replied anonymously in their thought books to some questions. There were 17 children out of 18 who answered. During the term we had carried out the following activities: The Peace Web; relaxation; guided imagery: A Moment of Peace; the pot metaphor; different approaches to conflicts leading to different outcomes: win-win, win-lose, lose-lose; and role-plays on dealing with conflict.

The children were asked whether they thought they could learn to deal better with conflicts. No one answered “no”. Three children said “perhaps”. Fourteen answered “yes,” a couple adding “I suppose so”. Two sounded certain, utilizing an exclamation mark: “Yes!”

The evaluations were generally very short, but fairly positive about working with conflicts, especially role plays. This was in accordance with my experience from the classroom. My diary memos from this period were also positive, although there was a recurring problem with a few boys disturbing the work from time to time. The other children did not follow or support them — yet.

There is another indication of a favourable evaluation by the children: at the beginning of the following term, the beginning of the fifth grade, when we planned the term’s work, there was a 17/0 vote which was positive to relaxation and 14 in favour of role plays. Two children wanted them but were reluctant to being filmed; only one was against.

Planning the work at the beginning of grade 6

Fanny and I had felt resistance during the previous term. Lessons had been disturbed, especially by Lasse and his two mates. There was not a good response from the class during the last two lessons in March (grade 5). I had tried to make the children search for underlying needs in short plays depicting conflicts when they were working with different ways of handling conflicts. However, this was not met with interest. Some of the children were not prepared to look beneath the surface and consider psychological factors. After some repetition of conflict resolution, we had discontinued the work for the rest of the term.

Fanny and I decided to try to get past any possible resistance by moving from the micro level to the macro. Also, we would involve the children more in the planning. I started, making a little speech to the children introducing them to my thoughts and goals and finished by asking for theirs in

writing. At first the children looked puzzled about what to write but then they started. My introduction had concerned itself with issues of global survival and feelings related to these (mine and those of children I had previously interviewed), feelings of powerlessness that could be transformed into personal power.

Considering this introduction, there is no wonder that the children's writings had to do with the macro level. Here follows a presentation of the children's responses in their thought books:

Concern about wars, the environment, starvation and living conditions. Many expressed concern that wars should come to an end. Others worried about starvation and the environment. Quite a few wanted to learn about people's living conditions in other parts of the world.

Activities for change at the macro level. There were several children who expressed interest in activities for change: One wanted to know how to get peace in the world; another one wished to write letters to people at war and learn about life in other countries; one wanted to make plays about putting an end to wars; others wished to meet people acting for a change regarding environmental degradation and war.

Role-plays and relaxation. No one wrote directly that they wanted to learn more about handling conflicts at the micro level but several wanted to make (role-)plays or do relaxation.

No goals. There were children wanting to watch films and make plays. Two children said that they had no goals. One of them wanted to "play some peace games" and the other one suggested theatre and plays.

Negative to our work. One child was negative to our lessons on the whole. This boy [the code on his book was a male name] had been negative in his earlier writings. He wrote: "... There are wars on our earth and will always continue to be, unfortunately...". I believe that since he felt powerless regarding the main problem (at the micro as well as the macro level?), he had no motivation, and so efforts were in vain. At the very beginning of our work together he had written a nice and positive fantasy of a class pot of self-esteem (p. 210 above). Perhaps he had become disappointed (cf. below questionnaires to parents). He must have longed for a better climate in the class and it was not really improving. Sad to say, his needs had not been met.

After reading what the children had written, I went back to the class as planned. I told them about what they all had thought and written, asking about a few things and praising them for their good contributions. The atmosphere was very pleasant and positive.

The children were given two alternatives for our coming work:

1. To study different well-known peacemakers (Swedish or foreign, living or dead). Each child would choose one, and we would then make up groups for teamwork. The children would make an exhibition and a performance after their work was finished. Later we would study local peacemakers.
2. To watch the film *A Class Divided* and make plays on oppression.

I asked the children to vote. Six children voted “yes” for peacemakers. There were 11 votes for the film followed by the children’s play-acting¹⁴². Some expressed wishes to practise relaxation.

Thus, during our first meeting of the term the children responded in a positive way.

Interviews number 2 and 3 with Fanny.

The second interview, Dec. ’95 (grade 6), was held after we had performed role-plays on oppression (having watched *A Class Divided*) and before our work on mediation, which turned out to be unsuccessful.

Fanny talked about the resistance to parts of the programme that had occurred from the fifth grade onwards. There was peer pressure, the negative leaders making the other ones quiet and passive. However, there had been many more conflicts and harassments between the children in the fourth grade than there were now, she said (thus verifying the children’s statements).

What skills had she been able to utilize in the classroom? She said that when the children were in conflict she had reminded them of what we had practised during the lessons. It could be looking at something from another person’s perspective or remembering the pot of self-esteem. However, she had seldom mentioned this metaphor. She liked it but had forgotten about it.

The third interview, June ’96. There had been resistance to our work at times. The negative leaders had continued to disturb and peer pressure had

¹⁴² The total number of children voting was 17.

got worse from the fifth grade onwards. During the autumn term in the sixth grade things had improved. They deteriorated again in the spring when we practised mediation.

Cause of resistance. What did Fanny think the resistance was caused by? One reason could be that the children felt frustrated when they did not know how to solve the problem, what to do [example: the play on bullying]. A second cause could be that some children felt that we wanted to change their behaviour and resisted. This applied only to the boys who disturbed.

Fanny believed that negative group influence could be noticed more during our lessons for two reasons: Firstly, the leaders may feel threatened in their position and role and secondly, viewed by the children, this kind of work was different from other subjects. They did not have the same motivation to be clever. If they were not active in our lessons, they were not requested to do more homework as they were in other subjects.

Change of motivation in the course of the two school years. The children lacked motivation to study subjects within the ordinary curriculum as well. This implied a change for the worse since the fourth grade. At that time Fanny had thought that the children were bright and worked well. Something had happened since then. There was peer influence against working. One boy who had entered the class at the beginning of the sixth grade had regressed. Fanny and I had both noticed it.

I asked Fanny whether one could change teaching in any way in order to raise the self-esteem of everyone, including these leaders. She thought about this for a long while and said that she did not know, but that the situation of the children bullied in the fourth grade had improved. She believed that some parts of our goals had been reached.

Disturbances in the class and reasons for lack of motivation. We discussed the problem of the misbehaving and disturbing children. She felt inhibited to take action when I was in the lead in the classroom. The situation, being as it was, made it difficult for both of us to handle the problems effectively. I was tied because I was not within the system and my restricted mandate increased the difficulties. Furthermore, the children did not seem to take our work seriously, as I was an outsider and the other classes did not take part in this kind of project. (This view about being the single class taking part in peace education was verified by the children in their interviews. It seemed to significantly reduce motivation.)

This drawback was verified by the children in their interviews.

Many activities good but lack of knowledge an obstacle. Fanny felt it a disadvantage that she did not know the subject. It would be easier the next time, she thought. She would like to utilize some of the activities: the pot of self-esteem, perspective-taking, and the ways of expressing needs and feelings. Even if the children had not always worked as well as she would have liked, she thought that they would remember some things.

Work on bullying positive. We talked about some activities that she had found to be positive. The children had taken an interest when she had read the book about the bullied girl. They had not discussed it very much but she could see that they had thought about their own class. They had also worked very well writing their essays on bullying.

Finally, Fanny was asked whether her outlook on conflict resolution had changed during this time we had worked together. She said that she probably had some knowledge of the skills at the back of her head.

Conclusion. The interview supported my belief that some negative leaders might have felt their self-esteem and role threatened by our teaching and that this was an important reason for resistance. It seemed to me, from this interview and those with the children, that the children and Fanny thought that the children's behaviour to each other had improved — although there had been a couple of nasty incidents during the spring — but that some children's attitude to Fanny had changed for the worse. Unfortunately, she had not managed to utilize the conflict resolution skills for solution of her own problems with the disturbers and she had not asked me. That was a disappointment.

The critical moment

In the autumn, grade 5, while we were working with the giraffe language there was a continuing conflict between Lasse, who tried to play the King thereby disturbing the lessons, and Fanny. We had an opportunity to do something about it when an acute conflict arose. The boy was to go to the dentist, meeting his mother outside the school at a specific time. Now it happened that Fanny and Lasse both forgot about it and the mother had to fetch Lasse in the classroom. Afterwards the boy played the mother against Fanny. He said that the mother had been very angry indeed, adding: "You remember everybody else's times but not mine. You are not fair!" It had happened before that he had complained about not being treated in a "fair" way.

Fanny heard only the wolf language and not the needs being expressed behind it. She got upset and sad and asked me afterwards what to do. She was even defending herself as someone does who feels attacked. This was a climax of a long-standing problem.

Fortunately, we were working with the giraffe language at the time, and I asked Fanny to “put on her giraffe ears” (referring to the interview with Rosenberg of which she was well aware) and listen to what Lasse needed. Maybe he needed to be cared for. I asked her to call the mother and listen for needs and feelings, not defending herself but telling the mother that she and Lasse sometimes were in conflict and asking her for her perspective and suggestions. In that way she might stop Lasse from using the home as a weapon against the school (Fanny herself). Doing so, she would try to make her conflict with Lasse (his disturbing behaviour and her need to work well with the class) a *common* problem to be solved between them.

Fanny talked to the mother and, since she had not been defensive, she felt that positive contact was restored. Unfortunately, she did not make full use of the situation. She told me afterwards that she had postponed talking to the mother about the problems in the class. This proved to be a mistake, as the conflict with Lasse and two of his supporters was going to increase throughout the following one and a half years.

This incident and another one in Class B have made me think of the concept “critical moment”¹⁴³ Sometimes we have a special opportunity that we should be careful not to allow to pass without taking action (like the previous example). Sometimes, too, there is an increased risk involved as in the following case.

An important incident occurred among some of the girls in Class B when they worked on a project about the Romany people (pp. 242-243). One of the very active, gifted girls felt deceived by her mates as they had asked her to write a play according to some principles they had worked out together and then, when she had spent a lot of time and effort doing this, they had changed their minds and wanted to do something else. Of course, there was a conflict. We lost a positive leader when the teacher, in spite of her efforts, did not manage to help the children solve the problem. Proba-

¹⁴³ The concept of a “critical moment” is devised by analogy with Zartman’s (1989) “the ripe moment”. Zartman has written about conflict management at the macro level, drawing attention to the fact that there are moments when opportunities to settle a conflict increase. He advocates a conscious utilization of such moments.

bly this was an important factor (among others) negatively affecting the future work in the class. It became less successful than before. Our work on conflict resolution lost trustworthiness.

The parent-teacher meeting in Class F in March '96 at the end of the sixth grade

I had previously met the parents at the beginning of our work in Class F. They had been very positive, but no more meetings with me had been arranged. The parents had received a letter in September '95 about the work we had done so far and what we intended to do. A parent-teacher meeting was held at the beginning of March. There were fathers as well as mothers. Only four (out of eighteen) families did not send any representative at all.

We all sat in a circle and the discussion was fairly candid. After a short introduction I narrated the stories of *The Hundredth Monkey* (Keyes, 1982) (which is optimistic about spreading knowledge and understanding) and Seligman's experiments on "learned helplessness" (cf. Chapter 10, p. 133). The idea was to make the parents disclose whether they felt powerless or not regarding society and the future, as I believe this is important to the children's views and feelings. The discussion that followed indicated pessimism.

The children did not seem to discuss conflict resolution very much at home, although some of them had mentioned the pot metaphor and the wolf and giraffe languages. One mother said she thought that the children had had enough by now and that our work had been met with more interest at the start.

Questionnaires were handed out to the parents who completed them after our meeting.

Questionnaires to the parents

The questionnaires (Appendix 10) were treated confidentially. All the eighteen families sent their questionnaires back, including those who had not attended the meeting. However, one person wrote that s/he had no interest in our questions and responded only to the first question (see below) indicating that s/he was "not powerless at all". I shall here refer to the most interesting findings¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴⁴ The questionnaire was in Swedish. Quoted answers are translated.

Powerlessness regarding peace. The parents were to indicate on a continuum the degree of powerlessness (from very powerless to not at all) they felt in relation to society. If they wanted, they could reply separately regarding “society at large” and “private life”. The replies expressed “powerlessness,” especially regarding peace (not asked about until the following question) but also society at large without reference to peace. This was in accordance with the impression I had had at the meeting. A few suggested some activities: cooperation, for instance in the UN. Love was mentioned. One answer ran: “Wars have always been prevalent and will continue. But perhaps we will be able to have some influence by treating our family and those we know well. We should not segregate according to colour and knowledge. We are all needed.”

Impact of our work on the child. The answers to the question about the impact that our programme had made on the child were not too encouraging.

No impact or no reply. Half the group indicated no impact or did not answer the question. This could be interpreted in such a way that the child had not said anything that the parent could remember or think of as being important; that the parent thought that there was no impact; or that the parents did not feel like answering.

Negative. There were a few negative remarks also: One parent thought that the children had found it difficult to understand what our work was about. One child had said that it was tiring to explain his thoughts. However, in spite of this, his parents were very positive to the work done.

Impact: talking at home. A couple of children had talked about the pot or the giraffe and wolf languages at home.

Children positive at first, then decline of interest. Three parents wrote that the children had been positive at the start but that there had been a change later on. One asked: “What had happened?” Another one said: “We have been told a lot and I think that the influence has been considerable even though it may be denied. I believe that there is a positive impact left, especially from the first period.”

Yes, what had happened? We got some indications from replies to different questions.

Disappointment when no positive results experienced. Already on question number 3, referred to here, two parents — both writing about more positive experiences at the start — took up the crucial question: Does what

the children learn (the skills) work in reality? One wrote: “We have talked about it at home at times. The children probably thought that what they learnt was positive. It seemed to be easy to resolve conflicts, for instance, but later on, when they tried to utilize it in reality, they met with difficulties, and I believe that they were a little disappointed that it did not work as in your lessons and in your role plays.” A similar response was: “The child told us a great deal about the work at the beginning. Later on less and less. The impression is that it did not work in reality.”

Commentary: It is important to know that the children were more positive at the beginning and that two families thought that the children later on had the feeling that it did not work in reality as we had taught them to think and behave. One parent mentioned *disappointment* that I think was a very accurate description. Compare also above “the critical moment”. In a way all conflicts make up such a critical moment. Trustworthiness is lost when the skills are not currently utilized in daily life.

Resistance to our programme. I was very interested in learning what the parents thought about the reasons for the resistance to our work that we had noticed in Class F and in other classes as well.

Criticism felt by the children. The contents of the work, the issue, is felt to be private. Two parents mentioned criticism that could be felt by the children: “Most people probably think from their own perspective and feel that they behave in the right way. They may experience criticism.”

Close to this explanation we find another one, namely, that this is a very personal and private issue. Two parents mentioned this: “Maybe the children are afraid to give themselves away.”

Peer pressure. Yet another parent brought up peer pressure: “That the children do not want to challenge their position in relation to their mates (leaders)”.

Lack of understanding and experience of applicability of skills. One parent thought that the children may find it difficult to understand, and another that one reason for resistance may be that it is difficult for the children to learn before they gain experience by being in a situation to which the skills may be applied. This latter parent was one out of two who expressed no interest in our education (question 7). One parent said: “The interest is low among the children. It is difficult to understand the usefulness — when to utilize it.” Contrary to the parent above who expressed a similar view, this parent was very positive to the education (question 7). S/he

suggested that the teacher start by attending a course in order to be able to deal with conflicts.

Methods of teaching deficient, not the topic. One parent thought that it was not the topic, conflict resolution and living well together, but the way of teaching that was the problem. The children would take more interest if they were allowed to be more creative. This parent was very positive to teaching conflict resolution (question 7).

Strategy: when to start training. One parent thought that it is important to begin earlier, when the children start school. Others replied the same. However, the opposite view was also expressed, namely that the children were too young when we started. This parent went on: “They are not developed enough to understand the urgency of these issues” and, in reply to question 7 about their view on learning/practising conflict resolution at school, s/he said: “I do not think that the children benefit very much as they do not get the impression that there is any result in the world at large.” (Note, again, reference to society — this time at the macro level — not applying the skills.)

The connection between the micro and macro levels. Question number 5 ran: “... *Peace in the world and how you live at home and at school etc., is there a connection? In that case, in what way?*”

Four of the replies said “yes, of course” or “absolutely” and seven affirmed it in some other ways. One said that religions are to blame and one that war is so distant from us and that our thinking is affected by this. There was only one definite “no”. Here is one example of the replies.

“Absolutely! If there is no peace, solidarity, tolerance and respect in the close environment, then there cannot be in the big world.” This parent, in reply to question 1, had indicated interest in activities for change through work in organizations and associations.

Building a culture of peace. Several parents mentioned the importance of a good upbringing. One observed the connection between this and the development of an individual’s way of thinking and acting. It is here we find the connection between the levels. One parent talked about “building peace” at home hoping for an effect on world peace. This was a parent who would like to see our kind of education started in the first grade.

Question about interviewing “peacemakers” and “models”. Our attempt to make the children interview people active in organizations was unsuccessful. The parents replied to the questionnaire while the children

were still working on the project on famous peacemakers. I asked the parents what they thought about the idea of interviewing persons working for “peace”. Included were humanitarian and environmental issues.

We got some replies that it was all right *provided* the children were interested and motivated. One parent did not think that the children in this class would be interested. Another one said that it was good if one could find the right person.

These parents proved to be very right. Our lack of success was related to lack of interest among the children and the fact that they did not find the right persons to interview.

Other parents were positive or very positive to the suggestion. One could not see the meaning.

The parents’ views on learning and practising conflict resolution at school. Considering the negative attitudes in Class F during the spring in grade 6 and the indications of this that we had in the replies to the questionnaire, I think it is remarkable that 14 out of the 18 expressed a positive or very positive (6 of the 14) view. Two did not reply.

Negative views on learning conflict resolution — not worthwhile. Only two were negative. One of them, who had not attended the meeting, referred to lack of results in the world and the other one said: “I do not think that it is very important. The children learn just as we have done.” This was a person indicating “very much powerlessness” in reply to question 1. S/he did not think that there could be peace in the world (question 2).

Necessary today. Those who were very positive said things like: “It is necessary in society today” and “The school cannot function without this kind of ‘education’. But it should be there from the first day and be a part of it all.”

Need for a new way of thinking. Another parent wrote: “It is good and perhaps a prerequisite for coming generations to think in a new way. It should be a part of education already from starting school.”

What could I have done differently? Would the parents have liked to participate more? Positive to more participation. Seven of the parents affirmed that they would have liked to participate more. A few thought that the children would have been more interested and the results better if this had been the case. One said that they would have understood the “signals” from the children better if they had participated.

Suggestions about plays. There were some suggestions of what we could have done better: More room for deeper involvement like making “real theatre”. Someone proposed that we utilize examples from the children’s experience and from the plays on TV [the latter was not done, the former was a constant effort on my part, but not always met with success].

Too much information too concentrated. One parent thought that there had been too much information during too short a period for the children to take it all in and that the children might be too young for utilizing some of what we discussed. However, the same parent also thought that training conflict resolution is good and should be carried out from the first grade. S/he would have liked to listen to lectures on this before the children had started school.

Commentary

It is interesting that quite a few parents thought that education on conflict resolution should begin very early and that it needs to be “a part of it all” as someone expressed it. Others pointed out that the skills have to be utilized in daily life and that otherwise the children will see no effect and lose trust in what they learn. One even implied the need for a new way of thinking.

Negativity seemed to be correlated to feelings of powerlessness: It is no use since the world is violent, not utilizing these skills.

Above all, it was encouraging that the parents were positive, even in many cases very positive, to training conflict resolution although the children seemed to have lost interest as time went by. The parents’ ideas regarding causes of resistance contribute to my efforts to understand better. So do also their suggestions for improvement. I agree fully with those who thought that the skills should be utilized daily and with those who proposed that teaching conflict resolution should start early.

As some parents indicated, it is very important that teachers learn the skills. I would like to add, as I have done before: It is not only a matter of skills. It is a new lifestyle. Therefore, the parents also need to be informed better. In fact, information is not enough. Teaching and training are necessary. (Cf. also Section 12.2, experiences in other parts of the world.)

15.3.2 Class D, grades 5–6

Class D was in many ways very different from Class F. I spent one year less in Class D. Many activities were the same in both classes, but others differed. We did no work on peacemakers and *A Class Divided* was not utilized in Class D. On the other hand, we spent more time on forum plays here and did it more according to the rules.

A short overview of the work and the atmosphere in the class

Our work together started in March (grade 5) after a preliminary talk to the two class teachers, Daniela and Dick. It was limited to the micro level owing to lack of time and the fact that the teachers dealt with the macro level — environment, politics, developing countries — in other lessons. Daniela had regular contact with her sister in a country in East Africa and the class was going to start a contact with a school there.

The class was multiethnic. Many of the children were born abroad and had difficulties in reading and writing Swedish. The atmosphere in the class was very different from that in Class F. At times there was a lot of talking and I got a feeling of disorder but also of tolerance. The children were candid, looking happy and gay. Some were very passive in activities other than role plays, whereas others were much more active.

It was very important that I got accepted by the peer-leader. This was a pro-social leader. It was a boy. In this class, as in Class F, the boys were in the majority.

I could notice resistance to analysing and talking about role-plays and other activities, and some were not a success, such as paraphrasing, but there was never the kind of peer pressure to keep people inactive and resisting participation that I had experienced growing in Class F. On the contrary, the children were proud of their achievements. Regarding the contents of the lessons see Appendix 6.

I met the parents only at the end of our work together. This was at a party at the school when the children showed a video from their trip to London and told us about the journey.

The first interview with Daniela at the end of grade 5

The interview was conducted just over 2 months after the work had started. Daniela told me a little about the class. The children related to each other

in small groups. There was no one left alone, but earlier one had been excluded. This person had joined one of the groups now. There had been one nasty conflict when several teachers had collaborated in order to make the children understand the seriousness of what they had done. Competition and put-downs occurred in the class. The children could also be aggressive and fight physically and verbally. This applied both to the boys and the girls. The teachers tried to make the children solve their own conflicts unless these were serious. In those cases the teachers mediated — or arbitrated.

A conflict among the children had recently occurred when they had gone for a three-day camp. The teachers were never told what it was about but quite a few children worked with it for three hours and then they told the teachers that they had solved it. They had refused any assistance. Daniela sounded proud and happy, telling me about this incident, "Maybe, they have received something after all." She thought that lately the children had learnt to handle minor conflicts on their own. This was the goal of the training. There were children mediators also, but Daniela did not know what kinds of methods they used.

The second interview at the end of grade 6

This telephone interview dealt with one question: "*Please, let me know your reactions to the work we have done in the class; how you like the programme, what was good and what was bad. Make suggestions for improvements.*"

Work at the micro level. "At times "concretely active" children. Daniela thought that it had been good that we had worked mostly at the micro level in the class. The children had been "concretely active" in several activities. It had happened at times that the children indicated that they actually had learnt something, although this was often at the verbal level. It was more difficult to live in accordance with knowledge. They had remembered and talked about the giraffe and wolf languages.

The giraffe language and different approaches dealing with conflict. Daniela thought that the giraffe language was useful, very concrete. She did not know how much the children would remember from the different approaches handling conflict, but she thought that "a lot of seeds" had been planted. Even if you do not see the results directly, I think it takes root and it is *good* for their future, she said.

Plays good. The small plays they have acted are very close to their reality. Watching the video again, you see this and probably the children do too.¹⁴⁵ She had liked the forum plays. In the plays they looked at the problems from new perspectives. She thought that it had worked very well and would like to develop this kind of activity in the future.

Teachers' views important. She thought that it was an advantage that we had recurrently worked with the programme. This had made it more significant. The children had realized that the teachers had regarded it as important. She thought that she would like to work with these issues in the curriculum and do it once a week in periods.

Parallel to our work there had been another activity going on: the children had been divided into groups for talking and the topics had been video violence, bullying and other issues close to our programme. There had been one group of girls and two groups of boys.¹⁴⁶

The pot. Had they used the pot metaphor of self-worth in the class? Not very much, but it had happened when some incident had occurred.

Class rules. What had happened to the class rules? (About their class rules, see Section 15.1.10, pp. 232-233) They had had class councils when they often referred to the rules. Sometimes someone had felt that it was not worthwhile having them, but they had kept them all this time. "I think that they supported them to keep them as a frame of reference. They had decided upon them together." The rule that they referred to mostly was probably the one to treat others as you want to be treated yourself. It was simple to utilize.

A trip to London — a test. The children and the two teachers had made a trip to London together. The children had worked out their problems and talked things over.

A common frame of reference and need for personal involvement. Daniela regarded our programme for teaching conflict resolution as an opportunity to get a frame of reference useful to teams of teachers. It would be easier to take action in conflicts if they all had the same kind of vocabulary [I would like to add: and a similar way of thinking]. You would gain

¹⁴⁵ We had collected parts of their recorded role plays and played them back to the class in the last lesson.

¹⁴⁶ These groups had already been working in grade 5. Daniela and Dick had thought that the programme on conflict resolution would contribute to what they had already started.

time, she said. These matters could be discussed at meetings. Also sanctions when something happens need to be discussed and decided upon.

She said, indicating a vision: “As a teacher you use the same kind of language — I-messages or the giraffe language which I think is very good — to say ‘I’ instead of ‘one’ or ‘you’. It improves the relationship between the children and the teacher. You are not only a teacher but a human being as well. . . . *That we work with ourselves as teachers and not only think that the children should learn something but that it is important to us adults as well*” [italics added]. She pointed out that this kind of teaching is not something you do on your own. Several teachers should simultaneously work in the different classes. It would be best if you start at the lower grades and teach the basics, utilize the skills in their reality. For instance the giraffe and wolf languages are easy to explain even to small children.

She would have liked to have had more time to work with the children’s real conflicts as a complement to the fictitious ones we had invented and acted out in plays in the classroom.

Commentary

To me the last interview with Daniela is very encouraging as I can see how she comprehended the ideas of the programme and appreciated them. Obviously, she and Dick were working in this direction already. They seemed to utilize the thinking and the skills in daily life, and Daniela had a vision of doing it even more together with other teachers having the same frame of reference. She made some suggestions for the future that included cooperation with the other teachers at the school and work starting already when children are small. She found it quite possible to explain the giraffe language to them and she also realized that the teachers themselves must use it. This is necessary to make it trustworthy.

It is difficult to know the effects on the children, but she thought that important seeds had been planted. Furthermore, they managed to resolve some conflicts on their own and they seemed to be aware of quite a few skills. Their trip to London had been a good test.

I think that one reason why I had fewer problems working in Class D than in Class F was that there was a peer leader who accepted me and our work together. As far as I could see, he was a positive leader, not using put-downs nor making friends through fear. He had nothing to lose from our work. In fact, when we parted he said: “It was nice having you.”

Another, extremely important, reason was that the teachers already worked in pairs with this kind of education. They could support each other and they utilized the skills in their daily work.

Fanny saw the importance of cooperation among the teachers just as Daniela did. She longed for this and believed in the change of organization that was about to be implemented in the school.

PART THREE

Summary and Proposals for the Future

16 Opportunities for and Obstacles to Teaching Violence Prevention and Conflict Resolution Connecting the Micro and Macro Levels

The goal of peace education is a culture of peace. Year 2000 is proclaimed by the UN General Assembly as “The Year for the Culture of Peace”. This study makes a contribution. The approach taken is a social-psychological one. The study is not about international relations, although some attention is paid to theories about these (Chapter 8). Neither is there a gender perspective. These approaches, also relevant to conflict resolution and peace education, need to be taken as well.

This chapter gives a summary of the study that consists of a review of theories — making a basis for peace education — and one field study. It deals with some of the more important experiences we gained regarding opportunities for and obstacles to teaching violence prevention and conflict resolution¹⁴⁷, connecting the micro and macro levels, and it discusses the outcome of the study, making proposals for the future.

16.1 A theoretical basis

The first cornerstone. I see a need for refuting Lorenz’ (1963) views on aggression as a human instinct causing war. Fromm’s theory on human destructiveness (1973) is advocated. The Seville Statement on Violence (Adams, 1992) from 1986 is also introduced (Appendix 1). It states that “it is scientifically incorrect to say that war is caused by ‘instinct’ or any single motivation”. Therefore human beings are not justified in acting violently because of their biological makeup. Wars — just like peace — are a result of human activities.

The second cornerstone. The approach utilized in this study is Human Needs Theory (HNT) that places satisfaction of basic human needs as a

¹⁴⁷ When writing about conflict resolution further down in this text, I include violence prevention.

navigation point for the development of a healthy and sustainable society. Furthermore, HNT has proved to be remarkably well suited as a basis for conflict resolution. Through stressing basic needs of individuals and identity groups it explains why the common use of deterrent strategies so often fails. It also directs thinking and acting in order to avoid destructive escalation of conflict. It is applicable at all levels.

The third cornerstone. There are connections between the micro (local) and macro (global) levels. The ways conflicts escalate and de-escalate are very similar from a social-psychological perspective. This is important because individuals and groups of individuals act in ways that, to a fair degree, can be predicted. When basic needs are threatened, people and groups will react and their psychological mechanisms of defence will work even if there is a risk of loss in the long run. This must be taken into consideration when dealing with conflict.

I have mentioned similarities between the levels. There are also influences from one level to the other. People's way of thinking is developed at the micro level, and common thought patterns build culture. These patterns of thought, paradigms, work at all levels — from the interpersonal¹⁴⁸ to the international. Structures and systems are built by people just as structures influence people and groups of people.

Our thinking determines our behaviour considerably. Power is here looked upon as emitted by many, even if the masses are often passive, or fairly passive, in relation to authority. No one can be in power without some support from others, passively and actively (Sharp, 1973, above pp. 68-70). Structures can be changed. In order to withdraw support for evil — actions by negative leaders and structures at the micro or the macro levels — we need moral courage. Obedience to authority and conformity have been discussed (Section 9.4). Linked to this, particularly conformity, is peer pressure which proved to be very important to our programme. This brings us to the fourth cornerstone.

The fourth cornerstone is socialization. It takes place in daily living, at school and elsewhere. Norms are conveyed to children by means of our way of living. We, adults and young people, function as models. These models are not always pro-social. Many influences in our society, unfortu-

¹⁴⁸ The *intrapersonal* level is not within the scope of this study. Of course, our way of thinking also has a bearing at the intrapersonal level.

nately also in our schools, promote violence. These unwanted influences have been attributed to “the hidden curriculum”.

Brock-Utne (1989) draws attention to attitudes and norms transmitted by our schools when history is taught as a series of wars and ecological and human consequences are not taken into account in studies on science. She claims that children learn obedience to authority and loyalty to rules, not critical thinking. They also learn competitiveness rather than cooperation. The system is such that it counteracts peace education. There are cherished values like democratic thinking, cooperation, creativity and critical awareness, but the means used in schools are incongruent with the aims, very much like the case in politics (pp. 175–177). Brock-Utne writes:

“The hidden curriculum of the school teaches a lesson in verticality and dominance – – – The hidden curriculum is often much stronger than the official one, especially since the first one is reinforced through a powerful system of grades and other sanctions.” (p. 12).

This gives rather a dismal picture of opportunities for peace education at school, but it challenges us to take steps to change the system, maybe little by little. From a feminist perspective, Brock-Utne sees opportunities. One recommendation would be “to have the teaching of constructive thinking and conflict management as part of the normal school curriculum” (pp. 172–173).

The challenge is to bring the hidden parts of the curriculum into the open and in the process change the negative influences into pro-social or, in Fromm’s terminology, life-promoting ones. Above all I want to draw attention to the fact that children learn ways to handle problems and conflicts from how people around them act. They learn from the culture of which they are a part, e.g., the mass media. They learn from their families as well as from adults and peers at school. *Therefore it is necessary that adults at school learn the skills to handle conflicts in a constructive way in order to be able to teach and train the children.* One of the teachers, Daniela, expressed this very well in an interview. She saw the need for a common frame of reference among the staff (pp. 304-305).

If we want children to respect people, we need to treat them respectfully. Regarding esteem and identity needs as of special importance in peace education, I have connected HNT with Satir’s metaphor for self-esteem at an individual level (p. 51 above). I believe that HNT may be ap-

plied to all sorts of conflicts, including disputes at a personal level (pp. 50–51 above).

Section 12.2 takes up “exemplary” conflict resolution programmes in the United States (Bodine & Crawford, 1998), one of which is the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP) which stands as the model of ours. The whole school needs to work toward the goal of becoming a “peaceable school” where cooperation is developed with its local society, particularly the families.

A paradigm shift, a new way of thinking (Chapter 8), is needed in a period of history when all life on this planet is threatened by violence (and preparations for violence) to humans as well as to nature as a whole, and when our knowledge of human beings, groups and structures is such that it should be possible to take actions against this violence. We need to cooperate in order to build a culture of peace.

A very important part of modern culture is played by mass media. Unfortunately, the mass media have not yet assumed responsibility for the development of our culture. This has to be changed. I hope that there will be an increased understanding of the need for visions of a peaceful, non-violent society (including social justice, cf. pp. 204-205 above). Children who lack this vision may grow up to be egoistic and violent, especially if they feel that they are powerless and not participating in building their society.

16.2 Children’s strategies for dealing with issues of global survival: Powerlessness and empowerment

Referring to a previous study (Utas Carlsson, 1999), I have given some glimpses of thirty-nine 10-year-old Swedish children’s thoughts about peace and the future according to interviews during the autumn of 1990. The interviews were carried out to gain increased understanding of children’s thoughts about issues of global survival. The idea was to learn about this before we started peace education. Their strategies for coping were of special interest.

Many children could give no, or very few, suggestions for dealing with problems they knew and worried about. They indicated powerlessness. In some cases I noticed a strategy of repression. Sometimes concern could

easily be awakened by questions. In these cases, probably suppression would be a more accurate term. Very often the children did not talk to anyone about their worries. Some of them seemed to carry a heavy burden (cf. the portrait of Martin, Appendix 3). In accordance with psychoanalytical theory (Cullberg, 1984; Macy, 1983; Richter, 1982b), I do believe that we lose energy through repression. If we retrieve lost energy, we may regain our spirits and zest for life. One aim is to reduce children's need for repression. This may be done by giving them knowledge about ways to deal effectively with the problems they see and are concerned about. This gives hope. Schools have an obligation to empower their pupils in order to reduce apathy, passivity and feelings of lack of meaning.

I see two spirals (pp. 140-141). One is a vicious spiral depicting a feedback process of growing feelings of powerlessness regarding violence (or issues of global survival). If children lack knowledge about ways to reach a less violent, more peaceful world, they will experience feelings of powerlessness and they will lack visions of such a world. This, in turn, will make them more pessimistic still. They will repress, or at least suppress, their feelings and see even less what is done and can be done to improve the situation. Some of the interviews with the children illustrated this.

On the other hand, Martin (Appendix 3) exemplified the other, reverse, spiral as he envisaged changes in behaviour, how it would spread throughout the world and make a change.

The beneficial spiral of empowerment and the rise of the field study

The idea of another, beneficial spiral of a feedback process of growing feelings of personal power and competence regarding change aiming at a less violent world at the micro and macro levels gave rise to the field study presented here. A basic hypothesis was that if children experience that changed behaviour works in preventing violence and resolving conflict, they will become more optimistic and gain competence to take further steps aiming at a less violent society. They will first notice a change at the micro level. Through education they will come to see the connections with the macro level, as the skills utilized are very much the same.

I decided to try out a programme on violence prevention and conflict resolution in cooperation with class teachers and classes that would volunteer. Two manuals inspired me and were utilized: Lantieri & Roderick (1988) — connected to RCCP, p. 310, 149 ff. — and Kreidler (1994).

16.3 Important findings: Opportunities for and obstacles to teaching conflict resolution

The general aim of the study was to contribute to development of teaching methods in conflict resolution, connecting the micro and the macro levels. The objective was to learn from the process about opportunities for and obstacles to teaching methods tried out. The children's response was therefore important. The objective of the study was not to evaluate the implementation of the programme.

I chose to conduct the teaching myself in cooperation with the class teachers. This was to gain more experiences. The "programme" was in no way set in advance. It came to differ to a fair degree between the seven classes in the study which was carried out as a cross-case study in order to allow for gaining experiences as varied as possible.

Opportunities

I have found that the theoretical framework that I have advocated in this study is helpful. So is the literature I have used: the manuals mentioned, Cornelius and Faire (1989), Fisher, Ury and Patton (1991) and Ury (1993). Rosenberg's teachings were useful (a video and a short course attended and then, finally, in 1999, his book). Byréus' (1990) book on forum plays was also most helpful. It inspired me and assisted my attempts at forum plays and some other activities working with values.

Satir's pot metaphor for self-esteem did not work as well as I had thought it would do. The children remembered the metaphor but I doubt whether they really utilized it for developing their empathy and resolving conflicts. The idea behind it was not implemented enough in daily life. I believe that this is the cause of the limited success.

The findings regarding our teachings on perspective-taking, I-messages and the "giraffe language" (pp. 74–77) indicate a similar result. The teachers did not seem to recurrently refer to activities done and utilize these in daily conflicts. The interviews with the children in one of the classes (F) at the end of our work suggested that they had some theoretical knowledge but found it difficult to apply the skills. The essays, role plays and forum plays were all right as activities in the classroom, since the children liked them and, at least sometimes, got involved, but the whole setup of ideas and terminology may not have been utilized enough by the teachers in

daily life to make a lasting impact. Forum plays proved to be well suited for making children actively search for alternative solutions of conflict.

In one of the classes, Class D, the teachers played an active part in making the children resolve their own conflicts at the same time as they supported them when they needed it. It is possible that the children in this class utilized the skills taught by us somewhat more than the children in some of the other classes where the teachers were less active. However, as mentioned, the study was not carried out to include evaluation.

In recapitulation, opportunities for teaching peace, connecting the micro and macro levels are:

1. a good theoretical framework,
2. drawing from experience of teaching programmes — and evaluations — from other parts of the world where they have started their work before us (ex., Lantieri's and Roderick's RCCP; Kreidler; Cornelius & Faire and CRN in Australia) (cf. Section 12.2),
3. children's interest in role plays, forum plays and other exercises where they are active and creative,
4. a situation at school where many different conflicts occur which provide ample opportunities for practice.

Lantieri et al. (1993) draw attention to “teachable moments,” recommending us to utilize conflict situations as they arise in the class to give students practice finding win-win solutions. On one hand, I believe that the whole situation in school is “teachable,” considering that conflicts are ubiquitous and teachers are models; on the other hand, I have observed that there are “critical moments” (see above pp. 294–296) that are particularly important to identify and utilize. At such moments there is an increased risk of losing children's confidence — or an enhanced opportunity to gain it.

Yet another opportunity is the fact that Sweden now is a multicultural society and there are many classrooms where people coming from different parts of the world meet. This connects the micro level with the macro in a very natural way. In an earlier field study (Utas Carlsson, 1995) one of the teachers saw many advantages. Also Classes A and D in the study reported here benefited from having many children from different cultures.

In addition, the present good and fast communications make it possible to reach almost all parts of the world. The change here during the last decades is tremendous, enhancing opportunities considerably. There are

many organizations and activities in which children may take part or by which they may be inspired. The interviews in the earlier field study indicated that children belonging to families in some ways involved in peace work, including environmental and humanitarian work, made more proposals about what to do about issues of global survival than did those who had no such contacts, or models as I call them.

Utilizing infusion into the ordinary curriculum gives ample opportunities for practising conflict resolution skills and for teaching issues of global survival. Causes of war may be discussed with young children as we have seen that wars do worry them. One finding in the earlier field study was that the children doubted that adults care when they do not show their feelings or talk about issues of global survival (Utas Carlsson, 1999).

Enumerating these additional opportunities, the following points arise:

5. utilizing teachable and critical moments (developed from point number 4),
6. classrooms are often multicultural. Children, as well as their families, constitute a wealth of knowledge and experience from which to draw,
7. infusion into different subjects at school. This may be almost any subject, including physical training and mathematics,
8. mass media, Internet and the surrounding community,
9. models. This point is related in particular to points 4 and 5. It will be further discussed below.

The need for a new way of thinking means an opportunity but may be an obstacle

As mentioned, one opportunity is the fact that we learn through models (Section 9.3). The interviews with the children in Class F indicated the importance of experience of others utilizing the skills (I-messages, the giraffe language and mediation) and seeing that they worked. When the children did not see others acting as they had learnt, they lost trust and interest. This was verified by the parents in their answers to questionnaires.

Let us first regard teachers as models. If adults learn the skills and utilize them in daily life, this will have an impact on the children. Skills mean more than a technical method. In order to be able to utilize them, your lifestyle has to be involved. It is a question of a change of thinking. In this lies an obstacle too. All teachers will not be prepared to work with themselves in such a way as Daniela (teacher in Class D) suggested in her interview

(pp. 304-305). The evaluators of the RCCP (Aber et al., 1998) have found that there are teachers who have received a lot of training within the programme, but who will still not make use of their knowledge in the classroom, with the result that there is no effect on the students (cf. above pp. 152-153). It seems probable that these teachers find it hard to change their way of thinking, their lifestyle in relation to dealing with conflicts. A person may receive lots of information but not change attitudes before s/he is ready for it.

Thus, the fact that teachers are models implies an opportunity but it may become an obstacle if they do not act in accordance with the principles of conflict resolution presented in this study, *or* if they do not teach the skills at all owing to demands for a new way of thinking.

Models and peer pressure

We learn through models. However, there are some models from whom we learn more (pp. 116-117). If we translate this into the school situation, we find that a liked and respected teacher will make a good model, especially at the lower grades, whereas in classes where the situation is such that the teacher is not particularly respected, peers might take over as models. In any case it is well-known that, with increasing age, peers become more important in this respect. In the field study, in Class F, we have seen the impact of negative leaders. Peer pressure increased as time passed.

Positive (=pro-social) models will increase opportunities for the effect of the programme whereas negative models will constitute an obstacle.

Peers may be positive or negative leaders. The term “negative” here implies that physical or mental violence is used and that the psychological and work climate is impaired. Group pressure may prevent the children from opposing negative leaders. Supporters of the latter increase the problem. Conformity is taken up in Section 9.4 and bullying in Section 9.5.

Peer pressure may reduce motivation for learning and give rise to resistance to the work. This constitutes a major obstacle to success. I interviewed the children in Class F in order to understand more about this problem. I also asked the parents in a questionnaire. I will here give some explanations, in this context returning to peer pressure and conformity.

Obstacles to our teaching programme

The topic of conflict resolution is difficult because teaching this implies that something needs to be changed. “Something” here means attitudes of human beings: teachers, children, parents etc. We all like to think that we are, if not perfect, at least good, reasonable and kind people. We might feel criticized and consequently defend ourselves — our self-esteem. If we happen to be negative leaders in the sense that our *position* among our peers depends upon our execution of power (=domination), then we may feel threatened by attempts to change the behaviour and attitudes of the peers and ourselves.

This interpretation was supported by the interview with the teacher in Class F, Fanny (p. 292), and the response of two parents (pp. 297-298). Also, indirectly, one of the “negative” leaders in Class F, Peter, verified this in my interview with him (p. 287). My own observations in some of the classes speak in favour of this hypothesis.

Some parents drew attention to the fact that the topic of conflict resolution touches the personality (p. 298). This might feel threatening. Probably these feelings get stronger as the child reaches adolescence. We noticed that our teaching met with less resistance in grade 4 and at the beginning of grade 5 than later.¹⁴⁹ There is reason to believe that one should start much earlier, just as several parents (p. 299) as well as Daniela suggested (pp. 304-305). I agree with Daniela and these parents that it should be quite possible to start in the early grades; in fact, I believe even before that. The methods and the language have to be adapted to the age. There are manuals and other educational aids for different age-groups. The same way of thinking is applied. The best way of teaching is by acting as a model. Therefore it is important that preschool teachers also learn the skills.

As indicated above, another reason for resistance to our work was peer/group pressure that has to do with the problem of conformity. We conform because we want to be part of (= belong to) the group. These feelings are strong as they are connected to a basic human need. In the group we also have esteem, identity and love needs gratified, perhaps also a need for a

¹⁴⁹ See also recent evaluations of violence prevention programmes which have shown increased indicators of aggressiveness as children grow older (the children were tested over the school year) unless they have participated in such programmes, in which case this may not happen (Farrell & Meyer, 1997; Grossman et al., 1997). In Grossman’s study second- and third-grade pupils were investigated, in Farrell’s sixth-graders.

meaning. Habit and convenience are other reasons for conformity. We do not bother to think or stand up for what we think is right. This was very clear in the interviews with the children in Class F (p. 285 ff.). These interviews illuminate the mechanisms behind conformity and verify Milgram's (pp. 124–125) observation that responsibility is not transferred to someone else in cases of conformity. Often the children gave other reasons for their behaviour than the demands of the leader or the group. (This is contrary to the case in obedience where, according to Milgram, responsibility is referred to authority.) Note that responsibility for the act was taken (no one else decides for me) but not for its consequences (I deny the bad effect of my actions) (cf. p. 286 above).

Children in a class who resist education owing to group pressure conform rather than being obedient. In cases of bullying, conformity is probably a much more common factor than obedience to a negative (antisocial) leader, but there may be a mixture. At the macro level, in politics, we find obedience to be common, particularly when it comes to war.

Moral courage should be trained at school. I think this is one important objective of peace education. Milgram's (1974) studies on obedience to authority illuminate the risks we take if we do not learn to stand up to evil or negative leaders. Moral courage is essential to prevent violence also at the micro level. Children need to learn to take responsibility for their acts and their consequences.

One very important obstacle to change of attitudes and utilization of conflict resolution skills was that the children did not experience the skills as implemented in their environment, and therefore resisted our teachings or at least were insufficiently motivated. This was clearly said in the interviews. The children did not see other people use the "giraffe language," I-messages or mediation skills, neither adults nor children. Peter explained this very well: He had not experienced any less fighting at school after our teaching had started. Therefore he was not motivated to learn conflict resolution skills, which, in turn, made him not learn. When he and others do not learn, there is no change in their behaviour regarding fights (pp. 272–273). This vicious spiral, which he explained to me, was even more relevant since he was a leader.

A few children mentioned that other classes did not have peace education — ours was just a "tiny experiment" (e.g. p. 270) — so what was the use? Fanny found that the children did not take our teaching seriously as it

was not within the regular curriculum. On the other hand, Daniela said that the children had noticed that the teachers regarded the issue as important because it was recurrent (p. 304). All these findings imply that the attitudes and behaviours of the teachers and the rest of children's environment are very important. Some of the parents explained the lack of impact upon the children as caused by the vast difference between the lessons and reality, both at the micro level (the school, cf. pp. 297-298) and the macro (the world at large) (pp. 299, 300).

The remedy for this is that the teachers learn and practise before they start the work and that they get support continuously while teaching. This support is best given by their colleagues at school. The school leaders are particularly important for setting the stage. Extra help is supplied by a team of consultants. This is recognized by the RCCP which simultaneously gives training to several teachers at the same school. This programme also organizes courses for school leaders and parents. Some children get training in mediation. (Section 12.2.) It is important to make a real change in the society around them. This is necessary for the teaching to be trustworthy. Some of the American programmes (Section 12.2) cooperated with organizations outside school to train youth leaders, among others.

Summing up, the main obstacles to teaching conflict resolution are:

1. *The topic touches your integrity* which gives rise to feelings of threat and defences (self-esteem needs).
2. *Negative leaders threatened in their role.* The first point applies particularly to antisocial leaders who also might fear losing their positions in the peer group.
3. *Peer (group) pressure may give rise to resistance to the education.* This is one reason for lost motivation.
4. *A change of attitudes* of adults and children — particularly teachers, parents, youth leaders and other important models — is needed to get really good results. The skills are not just a set of techniques but belong to a lifestyle.
5. *Lack of knowledge of the skills and lack of visions of change.* This applies to adults, who need to be in the lead, and children.
6. *It is difficult to be a pioneer* — people around you (adults, peers and people at the macro level) do not utilize the skills. This reduces trust in the skills that differ a lot from what has been generally applied so far.

7. *No immediate results.* Trust is lost when children (and adults) do not see results of the teaching and/or their own efforts.
8. *Powerlessness.* A negative view of people's nature and/or of the situation at the macro level gives rise to powerlessness: "what is the use?" If we do not believe in change, we are not going to make an effort. Repression increases apathy and passivity and drains us of energy [Chapter 10 as well as views expressed by parents in the questionnaire which indicated powerlessness regarding the state of the world combined with a negative attitude towards conflict resolution education (pp. 297, 300)].

16.4 Discussion of the outcome of the study

There were two kinds of objectives, research ones (p. 21) and educational ones (pp. 176–180). The latter were related to the teaching programme.

One limitation of the study as a research project was that it did not evaluate the impact of the intervention on the children and their change of behaviour. The objective was merely to "contribute to development of teaching methods in violence prevention and conflict resolution, connecting the micro and the macro levels, with the aim of giving children skills in handling conflicts constructively" and to learn about opportunities for this kind of education as well as obstacles to it. One very important reason for this limited objective is that evaluation should be carried out by someone unbiased. Furthermore, this was a developmental study to gain knowledge and experience for the future. I was an outsider taking some early steps. This is not how conflict resolution education is going to be conducted. It is obvious that implementation in the future has to be *carried out by teachers and other adults at school*, supported by consultants. Therefore evaluation at this stage was not relevant. This study was just a first step.

Going through the objectives of the teaching programme, as they are phrased above, I believe that we did work with these in mind. The different activities were related to these objectives on pp. 182–188. Unfortunately, it is unknown to me what seeds may have been planted which will come to grow. The goals of education were far-reaching, and through observations and responses to interviews (children, Class F; teachers, Classes F and D) and a questionnaire (parents of the children Class F) I draw the conclusion that these goals were not reached more than to a moderate degree or less.

The research objectives, however, were reached. We developed the intended programme fairly well, although more work related to connections with the macro-level problems, as well as more intense training in mediation with a small group of children, would have been preferable. We learnt about opportunities for and obstacles to this kind of education. Children's ways of functioning were illuminated, and experiences gained will be useful in future development of teaching conflict resolution skills.

Connections between the micro and macro levels have been illuminated in theory (particularly Chapter 7) and practice (through our programme and the registered responses to it). It was clear from the interviews with the children, Class F, that they readily linked the micro and macro levels [this was also the case in the interviews of the thirty-nine 10-year-old children (Utas Carlsson, 1999) referred to as a background to the study reported here]. This linking occurred during the lessons in all seven classes. The possibilities of connecting the micro and macro levels are amplified when infusion into the regular school subjects is carried out. Literature on peace education (cf. Section 12.3) is very helpful.

What were the reasons for not reaching the objectives of education to a higher degree?

1. *A first attempt.* This was a first attempt. To the teachers it was the first and to me almost the first as I had not conducted lessons related to the programme before and had only implemented very few ideas in an earlier field study. If I were to lead a similar programme today, I would omit certain activities and change others, including the order of some of them.

So, for instance, I would work more with underlying needs and positions: do it earlier and utilize daily opportunities, "real" incidents more. I would omit paraphrasing from fictitious situations and teach in a more natural way.

Ways of teaching mediation are discussed in Section 15.1.9. It is suggested that children should be taught to look for underlying needs and concerns when analysing the conflict before trying to find solutions to it. Above all, mediation needs to be modelled: when a conflict arises, mediation skills should be utilized whenever possible in spite of the fact that arbitration is quicker. The children learn less when the teacher or parent decides who is right and who is wrong, and they may very well feel that they have been treated in an "unfair" way.

2. *An outsider led the lessons.* The person conducting the lessons was most often myself. I am not a pedagogue and I had very little experience from teaching this age group. I was an outsider. My outsider status could have been helpful, but it was not utilized because my mandate did not include work with school administrators, staff, parents or children. My possibilities to influence, or understand, the culture of the school were very limited. I was in the class only about 45 minutes a week and could therefore not make use of teachable moments or infuse the different parts of the programme into the different school subjects. I was not a “natural” model in relation to the pupils.

One problem following from the fact that the teacher did not lead the lessons was that there was some uncertainty in handling disturbing children: the teacher and I both felt forced into more passivity than we wished (Fanny refers to this in her last interview, p. 293.)

3. *Lack of teacher training.* The teachers had received no previous training. All they could learn from was the contact with myself and our lessons, the literature and experience from implementation of the programme as it progressed, including the responses of the children.
4. *The entire school not involved.* The school as such was not involved or chose not to be involved. Few teachers apart from the class teachers took an interest. To my knowledge, there was no teamwork to implement the ideas of the programme with the exception of the two class teachers in Class D.
5. *Parents not trained and involved.* The parents were not trained and they were hardly involved. My ideas about contacts with parents and activities conducted at home to involve the parents were not implemented owing to the fact that I was an outsider.
6. *No status as school subject.* The work we did was not regarded by the pupils to have the same status as regular schoolwork like mathematics. This was probably so not only in the eyes of the children.
7. *We did not pass the threshold. Thus no multiplying effect of utilized skills.* We did not manage to teach the children enough to make them utilize the skills thereby giving rise to a multiplying effect. Training mediation was only done in one class and it failed.
8. *Resources minimal.* The resources of the study were minimal as there was no funding.

9. *The skills were not experienced as part of "reality"*. Children did not experience that the skills they learnt were part of "reality". They could not learn from models when they did not see any. This point is emphasized by Morton Deutsch in his foreword to the second edition of Prutzman's et al. (1988) manual: *The Friendly Classroom for a Small Planet*: "This book wisely stresses the importance of incorporating the processes of cooperation and conflict resolution into the day-to-day activities of the classroom. It is not enough to teach the concepts of creative conflict resolution; the child's classroom experience must exemplify the ideas taught".
10. *A new way of thinking*. We were dealing with a new way of thinking which is not prevalent in the culture. For a start I did not realize the enormous difference between the ideas behind our programme and children's everyday world (just think of the amount of put-downs they hear). They found it very hard to see that there is a third, alternative, approach in dealing with conflicts. Some of them (how many?) confused the problem-solving approach with the avoiding one in spite of our teaching. This is something that should be remembered in order to pay much more attention to this problem.
11. *Aggression and frequency of problem behaviours increase with age. We started late*. I noticed that the children, as they grew up, increased their resistance to the work. This is in accordance with other investigators (Aber et al. 1998; Dryfoos, 1990; Farrell & Meyer, 1997; Grossman et al. 1997) who have found that levels of aggression and frequency of problem behaviours increase with increasing age. Therefore it would be an advantage to start the work very early, already in pre-school.
12. *Impact of the psychological climate in the class and school*. The psychological climate of the classes and schools was extremely important to the effect. Negative peer influence counteracted some of our effort. Communication and relationships between some of the children and their teacher as well as myself were not positive enough.
13. *Children were not allowed to take enough part in decision-making*. Children were not enough involved in planning and decision-making.
14. *The hidden curriculum* mentioned above counteracted our efforts: The structure of the curriculum, the status of different subjects, the com-

petitive atmosphere, the cultural impact on the sexes in their relation to each other and the lack of democratic participation in the system.

15. *Unequal distribution of the sexes in several of the classes studied.* The boys happened to be in the majority in several of the classes studied, also in Classes D and F (cf. table 14.1 p. 198). This was a disadvantage. The girls were often very quiet, passive and not self-assertive. Negative leaders and disturbers were boys.

One reason for boys being in the majority may be the selection of the classes in the study. It is possible that the teachers of such classes experienced a problem and therefore were interested in joining the study. Classes F and C were examples of this.

As mentioned previously, this study did not take a feminist perspective, and special attention to gender was not paid. Obviously, gender is of great importance in peace education (cf. Brock-Utne, 1985, 1989). It would be interesting to investigate its impact on teaching conflict resolution.

16.5 Proposals for the future

Many of the problems mentioned above, which were part of the design, would be reduced if the teachers would do the work, if they were trained before starting, if several of them worked together, if the administrators and school leaders got involved, if there were consultants supporting the work and if parents were trained and taking active part in the programme. Also cooperation with institutions outside school, such as youth organizations and clubs, could be considered. All this could be implemented but not without any funds.

The RCCP (Section 12.2) constitutes a model for this kind of work as during these last ten years it has grown and developed along these lines. This programme also gives courses to groups of children outside the classroom. Children learn to mediate and in some courses there is special attention given to “high-risk youth”. Other programmes in other parts of the world provide further examples (cf. Chapter 12). Ample information about conflict resolution education in the United States is given by Bodine and Crawford (1998).

Our own experiences will help us in adapting the activities and the mode of thinking to our situation in Sweden. Each country needs its own organization. This applies also to smaller units like counties, cities and towns. If we want to build a culture of peace, it has to be within different cultures and systems.

My proposals for the near future include teaching violence prevention and conflict resolution, connecting the micro and macro levels, in all teacher training (including training of preschool teachers). Youth leader training should also be addressed. Moreover, it is important to give in-service courses to teachers in schools and preschools. Several interested teachers from the same school should start simultaneously. Active participation and involvement by school leaders are necessary. Those who want to work with the issue should further be given continuous support by consultants during the first years. These consultants could be of different professions but they all need profound knowledge of conflict resolution skills. Some teachers, drama pedagogues and psychologists could work in a team to spread the way of thinking and the skills and to help the teachers in the field implement the pedagogical methods. The drama pedagogue is essential as role-plays and forum plays proved to be excellent methods for this kind of training.

Work in schools should start whenever there are interested teachers. Although this study has been restricted to grades 4–6, I am convinced that the work can be carried out at all levels. The methods have to be adapted and most important of all, the teachers need to be models employing the skills themselves. I agree with the parent who thought that we should start when school begins. In Sweden this used to be when the children were 7 years of age. Nowadays almost all children start at preschool or school at age 6. Let us start there, or preferably earlier.

I hope that in this work parents will not be forgotten. The responses from the parents in Class F to our questionnaire indicate a definite interest. My contacts with other groups of parents during this field study pointed to the same positive interest. This is very encouraging.

As further research is concerned, I believe that first of all work in schools has to be started and developed. Evaluation of this should follow.

REFERENCES

- Aber, J. L., Brown, J. L., Chaudry, N., Jones, S. M & Samples, F. (1996). The evaluation of the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program: An overview. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 12 (Supplement, Youth violence prevention: Descriptions and baseline data from 13 evaluation projects), 82–90.
- Aber, J. L., Jones, S. M., Brown, J. L., Chaudry, N. & Samples, F. (1998). Resolving conflict creatively: Evaluating the developmental effects of a school-based violence prevention program in neighborhood and classroom context. *Development and Psychopathology*, 10, 187–213.
- Adams, D. et al. (1992). The Seville statement on violence. *Peace Review*, 4(3), 20–22.
- Adams, D. (Ed.). (1997). *UNESCO and a culture of peace: Promoting a global movement*. Paris: UNESCO. 1st ed. 1995.
- Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J. & Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Ankarstrand-Lindström, G. (1992). "Lång grynings färd mot dag?" *Internationalisering av undervisning (Fredsundervisning). Utvärdering och erfarenheter från skolförsök i åk 8 i Malmö* ["Long dawn's journey into day?" Internationalization of education (peace education). Evaluation and experiences from implementation in grade 8 in Malmö] (Pedagogisk-psykologiska problem, 570). Malmö: School of Education.
- Attenborough, R. (1985). *Gandhi*. Columbia Pictures International Video. 1st ed.: (1982). Carolina Bank Ltd. and National Film Development Corporation of India.
- Avery, P. G., Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T. & Michell, J. M. (1999). Teaching an understanding of war and peace through structured academic controversies. In A. Raviv, L. Oppenheimer & D. Bar-Tal (Eds.), *How children understand war and peace: A call for international peace education* (pp. 260–280). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Azar, E. E. & Burton, J. W. (Eds.). (1986). *International conflict resolution: Theory and practice*. Brighton, Sussex, Great Britain: Wheatsheaf Books.
- Bandura, A. (1965). Influence of models' reinforcement contingencies on the acquisition of imitative responses. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1, 589–595.

- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: Freeman.
- Bandura, A. & McDonald, F. J. (1963). Influence of social reinforcement and the behavior of models in shaping children's moral judgments. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 67, 274–281.
- Bandura, A., Ross, D. & Ross, Sh. A. (1961). Transmission of aggression through imitation of aggressive models. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 63, 575–582.
- Bandura, A., Ross, D. & Ross, Sh. A. (1963a). Imitation of film-mediated aggressive models. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 66, 3–11.
- Bandura, A., Ross, D. & Ross, Sh. A. (1963b). Vicarious reinforcement and imitative learning. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 67, 601–607.
- Bay, Ch. (1990). Taking the universality of human needs seriously. In J. W. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 235–256). London: Macmillan.
- Berkowitz, L. (1993). *Aggression: Its causes, consequences, and control*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Berkowitz, L., Corwin, R. & Heironimus, M. (1963). Film violence and subsequent aggressive tendencies. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 27, 217–229.
- Berkowitz, L. & Geen, R. G. (1966). Film violence and the cue properties of available targets. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3, 525–530.
- Berkowitz, L. & Green, J. A. (1962). The stimulus qualities of the scapegoat. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 64, 293–301.
- Berkowitz, L. & Rawlings, E. (1963). Effects of film violence on inhibitions against subsequent aggression. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 66, 405–412.
- Bjerstedt, Å. (1988). *Peace education in different countries* (Educational Information and Debate, 81). Malmö: School of Education.
- Bjerstedt, Å. (1995). "Kreativ konfliktlösning" och "fredsundervisning" ["Creative conflict resolution and "peace education"] (Särtryck och småtryck, 841). Malmö: School of Education.
- Bjerstedt, Å. (1996a) *Utveckla fredsberedskap: Mål, metoder, svårigheter och möjligheter i fredsrelaterad fostran och undervisning* [Developing

- readiness for peace: Aims, methods, difficulties and possibilities in peace-related education] (Educational Information and Debate, 106). Malmö: School of Education.
- Bjerstedt, Å. (1996b). What have Peace Education Commission papers dealt with in the 1990s? The contributions to six PEC Conferences: A guide and some comments. *Peace, Environment and Education*, 7(1), 31–60.
- Bjerstedt, Å. (1997). *Monographs and paper collections on peace education* (Peace Education Miniprints, 90). Malmö: School of Education.
- Bjerstedt, Å. (1998a). *Articles on peace education* (Peace Education Miniprints, 91). Malmö: School of Education.
- Bjerstedt, Å. (1998b). *Peace education aids: Examples of students' materials and teachers' guides, with a focus on the last 25 years* (Peace Education Miniprints, 93). Malmö: School of Education.
- Bodine, R. J. & Crawford, D. K. (1998). *The handbook of conflict resolution education: A guide to building quality programs in schools*. National Institute for Dispute Resolution (NIDR). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Boulding, E. (1978). The dynamics of imaging futures. *World Future Society Bulletin*, 12(5), 1–8.
- Boulding, E. (1988). *Building a global civic culture: Education for an interdependent world*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Brock-Utne, B. (1985). *Educating for peace: A feminist perspective*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Brock-Utne, B. (1989). *Feminist perspectives on peace and peace education*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Brock-Utne, B. (1997). Linking the micro and macro in peace and development studies. In J. Turpin & L. R. Kurtz (Eds.), *The web of violence: From interpersonal to global* (pp. 149–160). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1970). *Two worlds of childhood: U.S and U.S.S.R.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Burns, R. J. & Aspeslagh, R (Eds.). (1996). *Three decades of peace education around the world: An anthology*. New York: Garland.
- Burton, J. W. (1966). Conflict as a function of change. In A. de Reuck & J. Knight (Eds.), *Conflict and society* (pp. 370–401). A Ciba Foundation Volume. London: Churchill.
- Burton, J. W. (1969). *Conflict and communication*. London: Macmillan.

- Burton, J. W. (1972). *World society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Burton, J. W. (1979). *Deviance, terrorism & war: The process of solving unsolved social and political problems*. Oxford: Martin Robertson & Company.
- Burton, J. W. (1986). The procedures of conflict resolution. In E. E. Azar & J. W. Burton (Eds.), *International conflict resolution: Theory and practice* (pp. 92–116). Brighton, Sussex, Great Britain: Wheatsheaf Books.
- Burton, J. W. (1990a). *Conflict: Resolution and prevention*. London: Macmillan.
- Burton, J. W. (Ed.). (1990b). *Conflict: Human needs theory*. London: Macmillan.
- Burton, J. W. (1996). *Conflict resolution: Its language and processes*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Byréus, K. (1990). *Du har huvudrollen i ditt liv: Om forumspel som pedagogisk metod för frigörelse och förändring* [You have the leading role in your life: About forum play as pedagogical method for empowerment and change]. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Carlson, B.-G., Wall, H. & Sandegård, E. (1983). *Världen i förskolan 1: Leka, lära, överleva*. [The world in preschool 1: Play, learn and survive.] Stockholm: Tjänstemännens Bildningsverksamhet (TBV).
- Clark, M. E. (1990). Meaningful social bonding as a universal human need. In J. W. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 34–59). London: Macmillan.
- Clausewitz, C. von. (1982). *On war*. Ed. with introduction and concluding remarks A. Rapoport. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin. Orig.: (1832). *Vom Kriege*.
- Cooper, J. & Fazio, R. H. (1979). The formation and persistence of attitudes that support intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 149–159). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, div. of Wadsworth.
- Cornelius, H. & Faire, S. (1989). *Everyone can win: How to resolve conflict*. East Roseville, NSW, Australia: Simon & Schuster.
- Craig, M. (1989). *De vågade allt* (K. Gårsjö, trans.). Örebro: Libris. Orig.: (1984). *Candles in the dark*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Cullberg, J. (1982). Psykologiska och psykiatriska aspekter på kapprustning och kärnvapenkrig [Psychological and psychiatric aspects of arms race and nuclear war]. In G. Lidin-Janson & S. Cederblom

- (Eds.), *Kärnvapnen i psykologiskt perspektiv* [Nuclear weapons in a psychological perspective] (pp. 187–202). Stockholm: Svenska läkare mot kärnvapen [Swedish Physicians against Nuclear Weapons].
- Cullberg, J. (1984). *Dynamisk psykiatri* [Dynamic psychiatry]. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.
- Dammann, E. (1972). *Fremtiden i våre hender*. Oslo: Gyldendal. (1979). *The future in our hands*. Oxford: Pergamon International.
- Davidson, B. (1984). *The story of Africa*. London: Mitchell Beazley. (1984). *En kontinents historia* (G. & J. Ahnlund & G. Rydström, trans.). Stockholm: Bonnier Fakta.
- Davies, J. Ch. (1986). Roots of political behavior. In M. G. Hermann (Ed.), *Political psychology: Contemporary problems and issues* (pp. 39–61). San Francisco, London: Jossey-Bass.
- Deutsch, M. (1973). *The resolution of conflict: Constructive and destructive processes*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Deutsch, M. (1992). *The effects of training in conflict resolution and cooperative learning in an alternative high school. Summary report*. New York: Teachers College Columbia University.
- de Vylder, S. (1995). *Om fattigdomen och rättvisan i världen* [On poverty and justice in the world]. Stockholm: Forum Syd.
- Diener, C. & Dweck, C. (1978). Analysis of learned helplessness: Continuous changes in performance, strategy, and achievement cognitions following failure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36, 461–482.
- Diener, C. & Dweck, C. (1980). An analysis of learned helplessness, II: The processing of success. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39, 940–952.
- Dryfoos, J. (1990). *Adolescents at risk: Prevalence and prevention*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Education for conflict resolution: A training for trainers manual*. (1997). New York: UNICEF, Education for Development.
- Einstein, A. (1946). Telegram to *The New York Times*. May 25.
- Elias, R. (1997). A culture of violent solutions. In J. Turpin & L. R. Kurtz (Eds.), *The web of violence: From interpersonal to global* (pp. 117–147). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton.

- Escalona, S. K. (1982). Growing up with the threat of nuclear war: Some indirect effects on personality development. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 52, 600–607.
- Evaluation of the child development project: Summary of findings to date.* (1991). San Ramon, CA: Developmental Studies Center.
- Farrell, A. D. & Meyer, A. L. (1997). The effectiveness of a school-based curriculum for reducing violence among urban sixth-grade students. *American Journal of Public Health*, 87(6), 979–984.
- Festinger, L. (1968). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Fischer, D., Nolte, W. & Øberg, J. (1989). *Winning peace: Strategies and ethics for a nuclear-free world*. The Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research. New York: Crane, Russak.
- Fisher, R. J. (1990). Needs theory, social identity and an eclectic model of conflict. In J. W. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 89–111). London: Macmillan.
- Fisher, R., Ury, W. & Patton, B. (1991). *Getting to yes: Negotiating agreement without giving in* (2nd ed.). New York: Penguin Books. 1st ed. (1981). Fisher, R. & Ury, W. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Freud, A. (1946). *The ego and the mechanisms of defence* (C. Baines, trans.). New York: International Universities Press. Orig.: (1936). *Das Ich und die Abwehrmechanismen*.
- Freud, S. (1932–1936). *New introductory lectures on psycho-analysis and other works*. Translated from the German: Strachey, J. (Ed.), (1986). The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud, vol. XXII. London: Hogarth Press.
- Friedman, Y. (1980). About implicit limitations on satisfiers. In K. Lederer (Ed.), *Human needs: A contribution to the current debate* (pp. 151–162). Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Fromm, E. (1955). *The sane society*. New York: Rinehart.
- Fromm, E. (1973). *The anatomy of human destructiveness*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Fördomar och mobbning: Ett servicematerial för arbetet med etniska fördomar och mobbning. Del I, låg- och mellanstadiet.* [A handbook for working with ethnic prejudice and bullying. Part I, grades 1–6]. (1983). Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen och Liber Utbildningsförlaget.
- Galtung, J. (1964). A structural theory of aggression. *Journal of Peace Research*, 1, 95–119.

- Galtung, J. (1965). On the meaning of nonviolence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2, 228–257.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6, 167–191.
- Galtung, J. (1978). Conflict as a way of life. In *Peace and social structure: Essays in peace research*. Vol. 3 (pp. 484–507). Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen.
- Galtung, J. (1980). The basic needs approach. In K. Lederer (Ed.), *Human needs: A contribution to the current debate* (pp. 55–125). Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Galtung, J. (1990a). Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27, 291–305.
- Galtung, J. (1990b). International development in human perspective. In J. W. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 301–335). London: Macmillan.
- Galtung, J. (1992). *The way is the goal: Gandhi today*. Ahmedabad, India: Gujarat Vidyapeeth Peace Research Centre.
- Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful means: Peace and conflict, development and civilization*. London: Sage.
- Gibb, C. (1990). *The Dalai Lama: The leader of the exiled people of Tibet — and patient worker for world peace*. Series: People who have helped the world. Watford, Herts, Great Britain: Exley.
- Goleman, D. (1995). *Emotional intelligence*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Gordon, T. (1970). *P.E.T. Parent effectiveness training*. New York: Peter H. Wyden.
- Gordon, T. (1974). *T.E.T. Teacher effectiveness training*. New York: Peter H. Wyden.
- Gray, C. (1990). *Moder Teresa: Nunnan vars kärleksmission har hjälpt miljoner av världens fattiga* (K. Gårshjör, trans.). De gjorde världen bättre — en bildbiografiserie. Örebro, Sweden: Libris. Orig.: *Mother Teresa. The nun whose mission of love has helped millions of the poor of the world*. Series: People who have helped the world. Watford, Herts, Great Britain: Exley.
- Groom, A. J. R. (1990). Paradigms in conflict: The strategist, the conflict researcher and the peace researcher. In J. W. Burton & F. Dukes (Eds.), *Conflict: Readings in management & resolution* (pp. 71–98). London: Macmillan.
- Grossman, D. C., Neckerman, H. J., Koepsell, T. D., Liu, P.-Y., Asher, K. N., Beland, K., Frey, K. & Rivara, F. P. (1997). Effectiveness of a vio-

- lence prevention curriculum among children in elementary school: A randomized controlled trial. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 277(20), 1605–1611.
- Haavelsrud, M. (1991). *Fredslæring* [Learning for peace]. Tromsø, Norway: Arena.
- Hakvoort, I. & Oppenheimer, L. (1999). I know what you are thinking: The role-taking ability and understanding of peace and war. In A. Raviv, L. Oppenheimer & D. Bar-Tal (Eds.), *How children understand war and peace: A call for international peace education* (pp. 59–77). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Heller, A. (1980). Can “true” and “false” needs be posited? In K. Lederer (Ed.), *Human needs: A contribution to the current debate* (pp. 213–226). Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Hettne, B. (1990). *Att studera internationella relationer* [To study international relations] (3rd ed.). Gothenburg, Sweden: Padrigu Papers. Peace and Development Research Institute, Gothenburg University.
- Hiroto, D. S. (1974). Locus of control and learned helplessness. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 102, 187–193.
- Hobbes, Th. (1668) *Leviathan*. Ed. and introduction C. B. Macpherson. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Great Britain: Penguin Books. 1st ed. 1651.
- Holm, A. (1993). *Mod, Matilda Markström* [Courage, Matilda Markström]. Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren.
- Huesmann, L. R., Moise, J. F. & Podolski, Ch.-L. (1997). The effects of media violence on the development of antisocial behavior. In D. M. Stoff, J. Breiling & J. D. Maser (Eds.), *Handbook of antisocial behavior* (pp. 181–191). New York: Wiley.
- Human development report 1997, 1998*. (1997, 1998). United Nations Development Program (UNDP). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Höistad, G. (1994). *Mobbning: En bok om att förebygga, upptäcka och stoppa mobbning* [Bullying: How to prevent, discover and put an end to it]. Stockholm: Informationsförlaget.
- Iyer, R. (Ed.). (1986–87). *The moral and political writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. I–III. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jacobson, L. & Lundgren, G. (1972). *Zigenare i Europa* [The Gypsies in Europe] [Video]. Stockholm: Filmcentrum.
- Janis, I. L. (1972). *Victims of groupthink*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

- Jensen, J. P. & Keldorff, S. (Eds.). (1984). *Fredsundervisning — psykologi og pædagogik til fredsarbejdet* [Peace education — psychological and educational aspects of peace work]. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
- Johansson, M. (1994). *Det är ju ändå vi som ska ta över världen: Om grundskoleungdom och den nya fredsfostran i 1980-talets Sverige* [“We are the ones who are going to take over the world”: Compulsory school pupils and the new peace education of the 1980s in Sweden]. Lund, Sweden: Lund University, Department of Education.
- Johnson, D. W. & Johnson R. (1979). Conflict in the classroom: Controversy and learning. *Review of Educational Research*, 49, 51–61.
- Johnson, D. & Johnson R. (1989). *Cooperation and competition: Theory and research*. Edina, MN: Interaction Books.
- Johnson, D. W. & Johnson R. (1991). *Teaching students to be peacemakers*. Edina, MN: Interaction Books.
- Johnson, D. W. & Johnson R. (1995a). *Creative controversy: Intellectual challenge in the classroom* (3rd ed.). Edina, MN: Interaction Books.
- Johnson, D. W. & Johnson R. (1995b). *Reducing school violence through conflict resolution*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Johnson, D. W. & Johnson R. (1995c). Teaching students to be peacemakers: Results of five years of research. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 1(4), 417–438.
- Johnson, D. W., Johnson R., Cotten, B., Harris, D. & Louison, S. (1995). Using conflict managers to mediate conflicts in an elementary school. *Mediation Quarterly*, 12, 379–390.
- Johnson, D. W., Johnson R. & Dudley, B. (1992). Effects of peer mediation training on elementary school students. *Mediation Quarterly*, 10, 89–99.
- Johnson, D. W., Johnson R., Dudley, B. & Acikgoz, K. (1994). Effects of conflict resolution training on elementary school students. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 134, 803–817.
- Johnson, D. W., Johnson R., Dudley, B. & Magnuson, D. (1995). Training elementary school students to manage conflict. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 135, 673–686.
- Johnson, D. W., Johnson R., Dudley, B., Ward, M. & Magnuson, D. (1995). Impact of peer mediation training on the management of school and home conflicts. *American Educational Research Journal*, 32, 829–844.

- Johnson, D. W., Johnson R. & Holubec, E. (1993). *Circles of learning* (4th ed.). Edina, MN: Interaction Books.
- Johnson, D. W., Johnson R., Mitchell, J., Cotten, B., Harris, D. & Louison, S. (1996). Conflict managers in an elementary school. *Journal of Research in Education*, 89(5), 280–285.
- Jones, T. S. (1998). Research supports effectiveness of peer mediation. *The Fourth R. Conflict Resolution Education Network (CREnet)*, (82), 1, 10–12, 18, 21, 25, 27.
- Judson, S. et al. (1977). *A manual on nonviolence and children*. Philadelphia, PA: Friends of Peace Committee.
- Kalleberg, R. (1993). Konstruktiv samhällsvetenskap [Constructive social science]. In J. Holmer & B. Starrin (Eds.), *Deltagarorienterad forskning* [Participatory research] (pp. 27–49). Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur.
- Kant, I. (1964). *Groundwork of the metaphysic of morals* (H. J. Paton, trans. and analysis). New York: Harper & Row. Orig.: (1785). *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*.
- Kelman, H. C. (1990). Applying a human needs perspective to the practice of conflict resolution: The Israeli-Palestinian case. In J. W. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 283–297). London: Macmillan.
- Keyes, K. Jr. (1982). *The hundredth monkey*. Coos Bay, OR: Vision Books.
- Khanna, S. (1985). *Gandhi and the good life*. New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation.
- Klineberg, O. (1964). *The human dimension in international relations*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Klineberg, O. (1980). Human needs: A social-psychological approach. In K. Lederer (Ed.), *Human needs: a contribution to the current debate* (pp. 19–36). Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Kreativ konfliktlösning för högstadiet* [Resolving conflict creatively: A guide for grades 7–9]. (1994). (Pedagogiska hjälpmedel, 49). Malmö: School of Education. This is an experimental Swedish version of Lantieri, Roderick & Ray, 1990. Translation and revision with a supplement by G. Ankarstrand-Lindström.
- Kreativ konfliktlösning för mellanstadiet* [Resolving conflict creatively: A guide for grades 4–6]. (1993). (Pedagogiska hjälpmedel, 48). Malmö: School of Education. This is an experimental Swedish version of Lantieri & Roderick, 1988. Translation and revision by K. Utas Carlsson.

- Kreidler, W. J. (1984). *Creative conflict resolution: More than 200 activities for keeping peace in the classroom*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Kreidler, W. J. (1994). *Conflict resolution in the middle school: A curriculum and teaching guide. Field test version*. Cambridge, MA: Educators for Social Responsibility.
- Kristal-Andersson, B. (Ed.). (1985). *Akin hittar hem* [Akin finds her home] [Video]. Stockholm: Utbildningsradion.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lam, J. A. (1988). *The impact of conflict resolution programs on schools: A review and synthesis of the evidence*. Amherst, MA: National Association for Mediation in Education.
- Lantieri, L. (1992). Creating non-violent schools: Beginning with the children. *Blueprint for Social Justice*, 46(3), 1–6. New Orleans, LA: Twomey Center for Peace through Justice, Loyola University.
- Lantieri, L. & Patti, J. (1996). *Waging peace in our schools*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Lantieri, L. & Roderick, T. (1988). *Resolving conflict creatively: A draft teaching guide for grades kindergarten through six*. New York: Board of Education.
- Lantieri, L., Roderick, T. & Ray, P. (1990). *Resolving conflict creatively: A draft teaching guide for alternative high schools*. New York: Educators for Social Responsibility, Metro.
- Lantieri, L., Roderick, T., Ray, P. & Alson, S. (1993). *Resolving conflict creatively: A teaching guide for grades kindergarten through six*. New York: Board of Education. (Revision of the book with the same title, 1988.)
- Lederer, K. (Ed.). (1980). *Human needs: A contribution to the current debate*. Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Liebert, R. M. & Sprafkin, J. (1988). *The early window: Effects of television on children and youth* (3rd ed.). New York: Pergamon Books. 1st ed. 1973.
- Lim, Y. Y. & Deutsch, M. (1996). *Examples of school-based programs involving peaceful conflict resolution and mediation oriented to overcome community violence*. (ED-96/WS/10.) Paris: UNESCO.
- Lorenz, K. (1966). *On aggression* (M. Latzke, trans.). London: Methuen. Orig.: (1963). *Das sogenannte Böse: Zur Naturgeschichte der Aggression*. Wien: Dr. G. Borotha-Schoeler Verlag.

- Lourenço, O. (1999). Toward a positive conception of peace. In A. Raviv, L. Oppenheimer & D. Bar-Tal (Eds.), *How children understand war and peace: A call for international peace education* (pp. 91–107). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Lundgren, G. et. al. (1976). *Maritza — en zigenarflicka* [Maritza — a Gypsy girl]. Stockholm: AWE/Geber.
- Läroplan för grundskolan (Lgr 80)* [The 1980 compulsory school curriculum, including syllabi] (1980). Stockholm: Liber Utbildningsförlaget.
- Macdonald, F. (1992). *Helen Keller: Den dövblinda kvinnan som övervann sina handikapp och vigde sitt liv åt att hjälpa andra* (K. Gårshj, trans.). De gjorde världen bättre — en bildbiografiserie. Örebro, Sweden: Libris. Orig.: *Helen Keller. The deaf and blind woman who, with her teacher Anne Sullivan, fought to live a full life*. Series: People who have helped the world. Watford, Herts, Great Britain: Exley.
- Mack, J. E. (1981). Psychosocial effects of the nuclear arms race. *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 37(4), 18–23.
- Mack, J. E. (Winter, 1984). Research on the impact of nuclear arms race on children in the USA. *IPPNW-Report* (International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War), 7–8.
- Macy, J. R. (1983). *Despair and personal power in the nuclear age*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society.
- Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1983) [Video]. Chicago: E.B.E. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Swedish distribution. Danderyd, Sweden: Interfilm.
- Maslow, A. H. (1954). *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- McMahon, Ch. (1996). *Implementing conflict resolution & peer mediation skills into the school community: Trainers manual. A whole school approach*. Noosa Heads, Queensland, Australia: Conflict Resolution Network Schools Development.
- Meichenbaum, D. (1985). Teaching thinking: A cognitive-behavioral perspective. In S. F. Chipman, J. W. Segal & R. Glaser (Eds), *Thinking and learning skills*, Volume 2 (pp. 404–426). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc.
- Meichenbaum, D. & Goodman, J. (1971). Training impulsive children to talk to themselves: A means of developing self-control. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 77, 115–126.
- Metis Associates, Inc. (1990). *The Resolving Conflict Creatively Program: 1988–1989: Summary of significant findings*. New York: Metis Associates.

- Mitchell, Ch. (1990). Necessitous man and conflict resolution: More basic questions about basic human needs theory. In J. W. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 149–176). London: Macmillan.
- Milgram, S. (1974). *Obedience to authority: An experimental view*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Montville, J. V. (1991). Transnationalism and the role of track-two diplomacy. In W. S. Thompson, K. M. Jensen, R. N. Smith & K. M. Schraub (Eds.), *Approaches to peace: An intellectual map* (pp. 253–269). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1967). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace* (4th ed.). New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1st ed. 1948.
- Nicholson, M. (1991) *Mahatma Gandhi: Mannen som med ickevåldsmetoder ledde kampen för Indiens självständighet*. (K. Gårsjö, trans.). De gjorde världen bättre — en bild-biografiserie. Örebro, Sweden: Libris. Orig.: (1987) *Mahatma Gandhi. The man who freed India and led the world in non-violent change*. Series: People who have helped the world. Watford, Herts, Great Britain: Exley].
- Nordland, E. (Ed.). (1994). *Project for Ecological and Cooperative Education (P.E.A.C.E.): Report from the meeting March 7–10, 1994* (Peace Education Reports, 12). Malmö: School of Education.
- Nån att se upp till [Somebody to look up to]. (1995). *Globen*, (2–3), 1–124. Mariefred, Sweden: Barnens Värld.
- Olweus, D. (1978). *Aggression in the schools: Bullies and whipping boys*. Washington, DC: Hemisphere Press.
- Olweus, D. (1986). *Mobbning: Vad vi vet och vad vi kan göra* [Bullying: What we know and what we can do]. Stockholm: Liber Utbildningsförlaget.
- Osseiran, S. (1996). Peace education as a protest and resistance against marginalization and eurocentrism: Peace education in a violent context. The Middle East wars as a case study. (Original paper, 1987.) In R. J. Burns & R. Aspeslagh (Eds.), *Three decades of peace education around the world: An anthology* (pp. 237–251). New York: Garland.
- Pikas, A. (1983). *Fredsfostran: Studieförslag och utvecklingsaspekter* [Education for peace: Study suggestions and aspects of development] (2nd rev. ed.). Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen.
- Pikas, A. (1985). Fredsfostrans transferproblem [The transfer problem of peace education]. *Kritisk psykologi*, (3–4), 10–33.

- Pikas, A. (1999). *Peace-education experiences summarized: Which method will catch the interest of youngsters, motivate their teachers and provide long-lasting international effects?* <http://www.transcend.org/PIKAS.HTM>
- Pruitt, D. G. & Rubin, J. Z. (1986). *Social conflict: Escalation, stalemate, and settlement*. New York: Random House.
- Prutzman, P. et al. (1988). *The friendly classroom for a small planet: A handbook on creative approaches to living and problem solving for children*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society. 1st ed. 1978.
- Rader, V. (1990). Human needs and the modernization of poverty. In J. W. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 219–234). London: Macmillan.
- Ramström, J. (1991). *Tonåringen i välfärdssamhället: Om svårigheter att bli vuxen i dagens västerländska kultur* [The adolescent in welfare society: On difficulties in growing up in Western culture today]. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.
- Rapoport, A. (1966). Models of conflict: Cataclysmic and strategic. In A. de Reuck & J. Knight (Eds.), *Conflict in society* (pp. 259–287). A Ciba foundation volume. London: J. & A. Churchill.
- Rapoport, A. (1982). In C. von Clausewitz. *On war*. Ed. with introduction and concluding remarks by A. Rapoport. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Great Britain: Penguin.
- Raundalen, M. & Raundalen, T. S. (1984). *Barn i atomalderen* [Children in the nuclear age]. Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlag.
- Raviv, A., Oppenheimer, L. & Bar-Tal, D. (Eds.). (1999). *How children understand war and peace: A call for international peace education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace, and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms*. (1974). Paris: UNESCO.
- Richardson, L. F. (1960). *Statistics of deadly quarrels*. Eds. Wright, Q. & Lienau, C. C. Pacific Grove, CA: Boxwood.
- Richter, H. E. (1982a). Psykologiska effekter av att leva under hot om kärnvapenkrig [Psychological effects of living under the threat of nuclear war]. In G. Lidin-Janson & S. Cederblom (Eds.), *Kärnvapnen i psykologiskt perspektiv* [Nuclear weapons in a psychological perspective] (pp. 43–62). Stockholm: Svenska läkare mot kärnvapen [Swedish Physicians against Nuclear Weapons].
- Richter, H. E. (1982b). *Zur Psychologie des Friedens*. Hamburg: Rowohlt.

- Rist, G. (1980). Basic questions about basic human needs. In K. Lederer (Ed.), *Human needs: A contribution to the current debate* (pp. 233–253). Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Roderick, T. (1998). Evaluating the resolving conflict creatively program. *The Fourth R. Conflict Resolution Education Network (CREnet)*, (82), 3–4, 19–21.
- Roy, R. (1980). Human needs and freedom: Liberal, Marxist, and Gandhian perspectives. In K. Lederer (Ed.), *Human needs: A contribution to the current debate* (pp. 191–212). Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Rosekrans, M. A. (1967). Imitation in children as a function of perceived similarity to a social model and vicarious reinforcement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 7, 307–315.
- Rosenberg, M. (1999). *Nonviolent communication: A language of compassion*. Del Mar, CA: PuddleDancer Press.
- Rosenhan, D. L. & White, G. M. (1967). Observation and rehearsal as determinants of prosocial behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 5, 424–431.
- Rubenstein, R. E. (1990). Basic human needs theory: Beyond natural law. In J. W. Burton (Ed.), *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 336–355). London: Macmillan.
- Rubin, J. Z. & Levinger, G. (1995). Levels of analysis: In search of generalizable knowledge. In B. B. Bunker, J. Z. Rubin & ass. (Eds.), *Conflict, cooperation, and justice: Essays inspired by the work of Morton Deutsch* (pp. 13–38). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rudvall, G. (1986). *Fredsundervisning i lärarutbildningen: En enkätundersökning* [Peace education in teacher training: A questionnaire study]. Malmö: School of Education.
- Salovey, P. & Mayer, J. D. (1990). Emotional intelligence. *Imagination, Cognition, and Personality*, 9(3), 185–211.
- Satir, V. (1972). *Peoplemaking*. Palo Alto, CA: Science & Behavior Books.
- Schloredt, V. & Brown, P. (1991) *Martin Luther King: Medborgarrättskämpen som mördades för sitt engagemang för de svartas rättigheter i USA* (K. Gårshj, trans.). De gjorde världen bättre — en bildbiografiserie. Örebro, Sweden: Libris. Orig.: (1988). *Martin Luther King. America's great non-violent leader, who was murdered in the struggle for black rights*. Series: People who have helped the world. Watford, Herts, Great Britain: Exley.

- Seligman, M. E. P. (1992). *Learned optimism*. New York: Pocket Books, div. of Simon & Schuster. Orig.: (1991) New York: A. A. Knopf.
- Seligman, M. E. P. & Maier, S. F. (1967). Failure to escape traumatic shock. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 74, 1–9.
- Sharp, G. (1973). *The politics of nonviolent action*. Boston, MA: Porter Sargent.
- Sharp, G. (1990). *Civilian-based defense: A post-military weapons system*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sherif, M. (1979). Superordinate goals in the reduction of intergroup conflict: An experimental evaluation. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 257–261). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publ. div. of Wadsworth.
- Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R. & Sherif, C. W. (1961). *Intergroup cooperation and competition: The Robbers Cave study*. Norman, OK: University Book Exchange.
- Sherif, M. & Sherif, C. W. (1953). *Groups in harmony and tension*. New York: Harper Brothers.
- Sites, P. (1973). *Control: The basis of social order*. New York: Dunellen.
- Smith, Ph. (1997). Civil society and violence: Narrative forms and the regulation of social conflict. In J. Turpin & L. R. Kurtz (Eds.), *The web of violence: From interpersonal to global* (pp. 91–116). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Spitz, R. (1973). *The first year or life: A psychoanalytical study of normal and deviant development of object relationships*. New York: International Universities Press. 1st ed. 1965.
- Statistical yearbook of Sweden (1992–1999)*. Stockholm: Statistics Sweden.
- Stevahn, L., Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R., Green, K. & Laginski, A. (1995). *Effects of conflict resolution training integrated into an English unit on high school students*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Cooperative Learning Center.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. New York: Sage. 2nd. ed. 1998.
- Swedish Ministry of Education and Science. (1994). *1994 Curriculum for compulsory schools*. Stockholm: Swedish Ministry of Education and Science.
- Swedish Ministry of Education and Science. (1997). *En värdegrundad skola: Idéer om samverkan och möjligheter* [A value-based school:

- Some ideas about cooperation and opportunities]. DS 1997:57. Stockholm: Ministry of Education.
- Swedish National Board of Education. (1980). *The 1980 compulsory school curriculum*. (1980). Stockholm: Swedish National Board of Education. (This text uses the deviating expression: National Swedish Board of Education.)
- Swedish National Board of Education. (1985). *Fredsundervisning: Fred – frihet – utveckling – mänskliga rättigheter* [Peace education: Peace – liberty – development – human rights]. S 85:13/Service material. Stockholm: Liber. English version, 1986, S:86:3. Service material. Stockholm: Swedish National Board of Education.
- Swedish National Board of Education. (1988). *Handlingsprogram för skolans internationalisering* [Action programme for the internationalization of education]. Ur skolöverstyrelsens anslagsframställning för budgetåret 1989/90. Stockholm: Swedish National Board of Education.
- Taikon, K. (1969). *Katitzi*. Stockholm: Tai-Lang.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Theelin, B. (1991). *Peace education: A tentative introduction*. Stockholm: Swedish National Board of Education. R 91:11. Reports — Planning, Follow-up, Evaluation.
- Theelin, B. (1992). *Education for global survival: Reflections based on some Swedish experiences and examples* (Peace Education Miniprints, 33). Malmö: School of Education.
- Thompson, J. (1985). *Psychological aspects of nuclear war*. Chichester and New York: British Psychological Society and John Wiley & Sons.
- Turpin, J. & Kurtz, L. R. (Eds.). (1997). *The web of violence: From interpersonal to global*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Tvingstedt, A.-L. (1989). *Samtal med elever i årskurs 2 om krig och fred* [Conversations about war and peace [with Swedish children in grade 2] (Pedagogisk-psykologiska problem, 514). Malmö: School of Education.
- Uneståhl, L.-E. & Setterlind, S. (n.d.) *Avslappning i skolan: Låg- och mellanstadiet* [Relaxation in School: Grades 1–6] [Tape]. Örebro, Sweden: Veje.
- Ury, W. (1993). *Getting past no: Negotiating your way from confrontation to cooperation*. New York: Bantam Books. 1st ed. 1991.

- Utas Carlsson, K. (1988). *Psykologiska aspekter på kärnvapenhotet: Att leva under hot och att frigöra kraft till förändring* [Psychological aspects of the nuclear arms threat: To live under threat and release power for change] (Särtryck och småtryck, 628). Malmö: School of Education.
- Utas Carlsson, K. (1990). *Samtal om fred och krig med elever i årskurs 5* [Conversations about peace and war with Swedish children in grade 5] (Pedagogisk-psykologiska problem, 534). Malmö: School of Education.
- Utas Carlsson, K. (1992). *Globala överlevnadfrågor: Enkätundersökning i årskurs 5 vid två Malmöskolor* [Global survival: Analysis of a questionnaire in grade 5 at two schools in Malmö] (Pedagogisk-psykologiska problem, 571). Malmö: School of Education.
- Utas Carlsson, K. (1994). *Globala överlevnadfrågor: Enkätundersökning i årskurs 4 vid två Malmöskolor — Uppföljning i årskurs 6* [Global survival: Analysis of a questionnaire at two schools in Malmö, grade 4 — Follow-up, grade 6] (Pedagogisk-psykologiska problem, 595). Malmö: School of Education.
- Utas Carlsson, K. (1995). *Globala överlevnadsfrågor: Ett skolförsök på mellanstadiet i två Malmöskolor 1990–1993* [Global survival: A project of peace education at two schools in Malmö, grades 4–6] (Pedagogisk-psykologiska problem, 604). Malmö: School of Education.
- Utas Carlsson, K. (1999, in press). *Interviews with 10-year-old children on peace and the future* (Educational and Psychological Interactions, 121). Malmö: School of Education.
- Vindeløv, V. (1997). *Konflikt, tvist og mægling: Konfliktløsning ved forhandling* [Conflict, dispute and mediation: Resolving conflict through negotiation]. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Vriens, L. (1999). Children, war, and peace: A review of fifty years of research from the perspective of a balanced concept of peace education. In A. Raviv, L. Oppenheimer & D. Bar-Tal (Eds.), *How children understand war and peace: A call for international peace education* (pp. 27–58). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Wahlström, R. (1989). *Enemy images and peace education* (Reprints and Miniprints, 660). Malmö: School of Education.
- Wahlström, R. (1991a). *Growth towards peace and environmental responsibility: From theory to practical implications*. Jyväskylä, Finland: University of Jyväskylä, Institute of Educational Research.
- Wahlström, R. (1991b). Peace education meets the challenge of the cultures of militarism. *Peace, Environment and Education*, 2(1), 13–32.

- Wallensteen, P. (1994). *Från krig till fred: Om konfliktlösning i det globala systemet* [From war to peace: About conflict resolution in the global system]. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Walter, M. (1961). Preference for delayed reinforcement and social responsibility. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 62, 1–7.
- Walters, R. H. & Thomas, E. L. (1963). Enhancement of punitiveness by visual and audiovisual displays. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 17 (2), 244–255.
- Wheeler, T., Stephens, J., Kaufman, S. & Carlson, Ch. (1994). *Conflict management in schools: Sowing seeds for a safer society*. Columbus, OH: Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management.
- Zartman, I. W. (1989). *Ripe for resolution: Conflict and intervention in Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1st ed. 1985.

APPENDICES

1.	The Seville Statement on Violence	345
2.	Interview guide about peace and the future, the pupils, grade 4, Oct. 1990 (an earlier field study providing a background)	349
3.	Interview with Martin, 10 years of age, 1990	353
4.	An overview of the teaching programme Violence Prevention and Conflict Resolution, Connecting the Micro and Macro Levels, grades 4–6	359
5.	An overview of the proceedings of the programme Violence Prevention and Conflict Resolution, Connecting the Micro and Macro Levels, Classes F and D	361
6.	Lessons, Classes F and D	363
7.	Class essays on The School of My Dreams, Classes F and D	366
8.	Rewritten fairy tales from a new perspective, Classes F and D	369
9.	Interview guide: The first interview held with the teachers Fanny and Daniela, the beginning of June 1994	371
10.	Questionnaire to the parents, Class F, grade 6, on the 6th of March, 1996	372

The Seville Statement on Violence

“Believing that it is our responsibility to address from our particular disciplines the most dangerous and destructive activities of our species, violence and war; recognizing that science is [a] human cultural product which cannot be definitive or all-encompassing; and gratefully acknowledging the support of the authorities of Seville and representatives of the Spanish UNESCO; we, the undersigned scholars from around the world and from relevant sciences, have met and arrived at the following Statement on Violence. In it, we challenge a number of alleged biological findings that have been used by some in our disciplines, to justify violence and war. Because the alleged findings have contributed to an atmosphere of pessimism in our time, we submit that the open, considered rejection of these mis-statements can contribute significantly to the International Year of Peace.

Misuse of scientific theories and data to justify violence and war is not new but has been made since the advent of modern science. For example, the theory of evolution has been used to justify not only war, but also genocide, colonialism, and suppression of the weak.

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that we have inherited a tendency to make war from our animal ancestors. Although fighting occurs widely throughout animal species, only a few cases of destructive intra-species fighting between organized groups have ever been reported among naturally living species, and none of these involve the use of tools designed to be weapons. Normal predatory feeding upon other species cannot be equated with intra-species violence. Warfare is a peculiarly human phenomenon and does not occur in other animals.

The fact that warfare has changed so rapidly over time indicates that it is a product of culture. Its biological connection is primarily through language which makes possible the coordination of groups, the transmission of technology, and the use of tools. War is biologically possible, but not inevitable, as evidenced by its variation in occurrence and nature over time and space. There are cultures which have not engaged in war for centuries, and there are cultures which have engaged in war frequently at some times and not at others.

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that war or any other violent behavior is genetically programmed into our human nature. While genes are involved at all levels of our nervous system function, they provide a developmental potential that can be actualized only in conjunction with the ecological and social environment. While individuals vary in their predispositions to be effected by their experience, it is the interaction between their genetic endowment and conditions of nurturance, that determines their personalities. Except for rare pathologies, the genes do not produce individuals necessarily predisposed to violence. Neither do they determine the opposite. While genes are co-involved in establishing our behavioral capacities, they do not by themselves specify the outcome.

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that in the course of human evolution there has been a selection for aggressive behavior more than for other kinds of behavior. In all well-studied species, status within the group is achieved by the ability to cooperate and to fulfill social functions relevant to the structure of that group. 'Dominance' involves social bondings and affiliations; it is not simply a matter of the possession and use of superior physical power, although it does involve aggressive behaviors. Where genetic selection for aggressive behavior has been artificially instituted in animals, it has rapidly succeeded in producing hyper-aggressive individuals; this indicates that aggression was not maximally selected under natural conditions. When such experimentally-created hyper-aggressive [animals] are present in a social group they either disrupt its social structure or are driven out. Violence is neither in our evolutionary legacy nor in our genes.

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that humans have a 'violent brain'. While we do have a neural apparatus to act violently, it is not automatically activated by internal or external stimuli. Like higher primates and unlike other animals, our higher neural processes filter such stimuli before they can be acted upon. How we act is shaped by how we have been conditioned and socialized. There is nothing in our neurophysiology that compels us to act violently.

IT IS SCIENTIFICALLY INCORRECT to say that war is caused by 'instinct' or any single motivation. The emergence of modern warfare has been a journey from the primacy of emotional and motivational factors, sometimes called 'instincts,' to the primacy of cognitive factors. Modern war involves institutional use of personal characteristics such as obedience, suggestibility, and idealism, social skills such as language, and rational

considerations such as cost calculation, planning, and information processing. The technology has exaggerated traits associated with violence both in training of actual combatants and in the preparation of support for war in the general population. As a result of this exaggeration, such traits are often mistaken for the causes rather than the consequences of the process.

We conclude that biology does not condemn humanity to war, and that humanity can be freed from the bondage of biological pessimism and empowered with confidence to undertake the transformative tasks needed in this International Year of Peace and in the years to come. Although these tasks are mainly institutional and collective, they also rest upon the consciousness of individual participants for whom pessimism and optimism are crucial factors. Just as 'wars begin in the minds of men,' peace also begins in our minds. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us."

Seville, 16 May 1986

Signatories: David Adams, Psychology, Wesleyan University, Middletown (CT) USA; S. A. Barnett, Ethology, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia; N. P. Bechtereva, Neuro-physiology, Institute for Experimental Medicine of Academy of Medical Sciences of USSR, Leningrad, USSR; Bonnie Frank Carter, Psychology, Albert Einstein Medical Center, Philadelphia (PA) USA; José M. Rodríguez Delgado, Neuro-physiology, Centro de Estudios Neurobiológicos, Madrid, Spain; José Luis Díaz, Ethology, Instituto Mexicano de Psiquiatria, Mexico D.F., Mexico; Andrzej Eliaz, Individual Differences Psychology, Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw, Poland; Santiago Genovés, Biological Anthropology, Instituto de Estudios Antropológicos, Mexico D.F., Mexico; Benson E. Ginsberg, Behavior Genetics, University of Connecticut, Storrs (CT) USA; Jo Groebel, Social Psychology, Erziehungswissenschaftliche Hochschule, Landau, Federal Republic of Germany; Samir-Kumar Ghosh, Sociology, Indian Institute of Human Sciences, Calcutta, India; Robert Hinde, Psychology, Cambridge University, UK; Richard E. Leakey, Physical Anthropology National Museum of Kenya, Nairobi, Kenya; Taka M. Malasi, Psychiatry, Kuwait University, Kuwait; J. Martin Ramirez, Psychobiology, Universidad de Sevilla, Spain; Frederico Mayor Zaragoza, Biochemistry, Universidad Autonoma, Madrid, Spain; Diana, L. Mendoza, Ethology, Universidad de Sevilla, Spain; Ashis Nandy, Political Psychology, Center for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, India; John Paul Scott, Animal Behavior, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green (OH) USA; Riitta Wahlström, Psychology, University of Jyväskylä, Finland.

Organizational endorsements

American Anthropological Association (Annual Meeting, 1986); American Orthopsychiatric Association (1988); American Psychological Association (Board of Scientific Affairs, Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology, Board of Directors, and Council, 1987); Americans for the Universality of UNESCO (1986); Canadian

Psychologists for Social Responsibility; Czechoslovak UNESCO Commission (1986); Danish Psychological Association (1988); International Council of Psychologists (Board of Directors, 1987); Mexican Association for Biological Anthropology (1986); Polish Academy of Sciences (1987); Psychologists for Social Responsibility (US 1986); Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues (US 1987); Spanish UNESCO Commission (1986/ 1987); World Federalist Association (US National Board 1987).

Ref. Adams, D. et al. (1992). The Seville statement on violence. *Peace Review* 4(3), 20–22.

Field Study One

Interview guide about peace and future, the pupils, grade 4, Oct. 1990

(Translation from Swedish)

- 1 What are your interests (What do you like doing)?
- 2 When you think about something nice or fun, what do you think?
- 3 When you think about the future, what do you feel?
- 4 Do you *worry* about the future or not?
If **No**:
 - 4 a) What do you think? (Alt.: Why are you not worried?)If **Yes**:
 - 4 a) Why are you worried (afraid or concerned)?
 - 4 b) What are you worried (afraid or concerned) about the most?
 - 4 c) Are you a little or much worried?
 - 4 d) How often are you worried (afraid)?
When? In what context?
- To **everybody**:
 - 5 Do you know what nuclear weapons (atomic bombs) are? What would a nuclear war be like, do you think?
 - 5 a) Tell me! (Alt. if the answer was “no” or “don’t know”: Maybe you know something?)
What differences are there between nuclear weapons and other weapons? Do nuclear weapons have any late effect?
 - 5 b) Where have you heard about them? In TV? Radio? Newspapers? At school? Parents? Other adults? Children?
 - 6 What do you think and feel when you think about or hear about nuclear weapons?
 - 6 a) Do you feel worried or not?
 - 7 What is environmental degradation?
 - 7 a) What do you think and feel when you think about or hear about environmental degradation?
 - 7 a) a) Do you feel worried or not?
 - 8 What are developing countries (poor countries)?
 - 8 a) What do you think and feel when you think about or hear about developing countries (poor countries)?
- To **anyone who has given evidence of some problem**:
 - 9 Which one of these three issues — nuclear weapons and war, environmental degradation and poor countries — do you feel is the biggest problem?
 - 10 When you think about these problems, does it influence you, your life, in any way? Is it of any importance to you?

To **everyone**:

- 11 What will happen during your lifetime, do you think?
With the world?

- 11 a) When you think about these issues, these problems that we have mentioned here, what do you think will happen?
- 11 b) Even further ahead in the future, **after** your life, when your children and grandchildren live, what will happen?

If the replies give **evidence of a negative vision of the future:**

- 11 b a) What do you feel thinking about it?
- 12 Do you talk to your people at home about what happens in the world?

To the child who has answered that s/he **worries about at least one of the world problems mentioned:**

- 13 Do you *talk* to anyone about your worries (fear)?
- If **Yes:**
- 13 a) With *whom* do you talk?
- 13 b) *What* do you talk about? (Find out about facts and feelings. Ask the child to give examples of communication. Has the child been responded to in an emotionally positive manner?)
- 13 c) What do you feel, talking about these issues? (Does the child get support or not?)
- 13 d) Would you like to talk more about these issues?
- 13 d a) Why? Why not? (Depending upon the answer **Yes** or **No**.)

If **No:**

- 13 a) Why do you not do this ? (Talking to anyone about your worries.)
- 13 b) Would you like to talk to anyone about your worries?
- If **No:**
- 13 b a) Why would you not like to do this?

If **Yes:**

- 13 b a) Why?
- To **everyone:**
- 14 a) Do you think that your parents worry about nuclear war?
- To **everyone** either the parents worry or not:
- 14 a) a) What do you feel thinking about (alt. knowing) this?
Good or bad?
- 14 a) b) Why?
- 14 b) Are they worried about environmental degradation?
- 14 b) a) What do you feel thinking about (alt. knowing) this?
Good or bad?
- 14 b) b) Why?
- If **Don't know** (what they feel):
Would you like to know? [Applicable to 14 a) and 14 b)]

To **everyone:**

- 15 Do you talk to your parents (anyone else) about other worries, fear or when you are sad? I mean other worries than what we have talked about here (the world problems).
- If **No:**
- 15 a) Why not?
- If **Yes:**

15 a) What do you feel talking about it? (Support or not?)

What has the pupil said regarding communication about the world problems as compared to the personal ones?

If there is a **difference**:

16 You said that ... What is the difference?

To **everybody**:

17 Have you talked about and worked with these kinds of future and peace issues at school?

(Peace, environment, poor countries — that which we have talked about here.)

18 Give examples of what you have done!

18 a) Did you talk about what one can do about it?

19 How did you like it working with these issues?

20 Would you like to talk about or work with these issues more or would you like to do it less or is it just right the way it is? (At school).

If the pupil thinks that **they consider these issues too little at school**:

21 Why is it like this, do you think?

To **everyone**:

22 Have you yourself, or someone of your family experienced war? (Immigrant?)

23 Do you know of anyone actively working for peace, a better environment or for poor people in the poor countries? For instance, anyone who is a member of an association — a peace association, environmental association or solidarity association that works to help those in need?

24 a) How do you imagine peace?

24 b) Do you think that there is anything that can be done to make peace in the world? In that case, what?

24 c) Whose responsibility is it? Who is to do it (making peace)?

24 d) Can you do anything?

24 e) Together?

24 f) Can adults do anything?

25 Do you think that there is anything to do to reduce the environmental degradation?

25 a) In that case, what?

25 b) Whose responsibility is it? Who is to do it?

25 c) Can you do anything?

25 d) Together?

25 e) Can adults do anything?

26 We have talked about the poor countries. There are rich ones as well. What do you think about the fact that some are poor and some are rich? Is this good or bad?

To **those having replied that it is bad**:

27 Do you think that there is anything that can be done to reduce the difference between the poor and the rich countries?

- 27 a) In that case, what?
- 27 b) Whose responsibility is it? Who is to do it?
- 27 c) Can you do anything?
- 27 d) Together?
- 27 e) Can adults do anything?

To everyone:

- 28 What would you like to add?
- 28 a) Do you have anything to say to us researching and working with the problems/issues that we have been talking about?
- 29 How did you like it talking about these issues?

Interview with Martin, 10 years of age, 1990

(M stands Martin, I for the interviewer and q for number of question in the form, Appendix 2.)

At an early age Martin had an experience that made a lasting impact. He used to talk to a Jewish lady who had managed to escape Hitler's concentration camps in time. Her family had died there. She had seen her brothers go into the gas chamber. People were shot and fell into the graves. She was very old and she died when Martin was six.

Martin gives indication of knowing a lot about global issues of survival. He is mostly worried about environment: "If we destroy environment, we destroy the whole history".... "everything will disappear". He says that he worries about this when he sees indications of pollution and when he learns about it, reading the paper or watching the news.

He knows about nuclear weapons: "they are big bombs, destroying, annihilating things". ... "houses, human beings and life" ... "If I say it like this: There have been two world wars, they have used nuclear weapons, and I believe that, if there will be a third world war, the earth will vanish." He is scared that this will happen but he thinks more about nature. Worst of all, though, is the fact that there are children living in terrible conditions like the children in Rumania.

They talk very little about world problems at his home. Once he has asked his mother whether they could adopt a child like a Rumanian orphan but this was at a single occasion.

When the interviewer raises the question "Do you speak at all about your fear or worry about the future?" he replies: "I don't fear, yes I don't fear but I feel *pity* if (word not heard) is destroyed". The interviewer asks what he said. Did he say the earth? "Yes, if the children die or something." The interviewer reminds him that he had talked about the nuclear threat. Martin replies that he is scared that it will happen and he feels pity for the children who might die.

He doesn't talk to anyone about it. "No, I only keep it in my head." Furthermore, he wouldn't like to talk to anyone about it. I: "Why not?"

M: "It never comes up." ... I: "And you wouldn't like to talk about it. You can't see that it would help in any way?" M: "No. It doesn't help." ... "No because if only *one* family in society starts talking about it. It is clear if you

are really lucky, it *could* spread.” ... “it has got to reach *up* to those high up.” (q 13.)

He thinks that his parents might be a little scared that there will be a nuclear war. He feels bad about it, he says and continues:

“Because they might — fancy, if there wouldn’t be any nuclear war, then they need not worry...” I: “No, doesn’t that apply to you too? Fancy, if *you* worry in vain.” M: “No, I don’t. Yes, yes, I do worry but one doesn’t know whether there will be a war (or not).”

He says that he doesn’t know whether his parents worry about pollution. He would like to talk to them to do something about it. But he thinks that it wouldn’t help to talk.

He says that he can talk to his parents, particularly his mother, about private problems and then he gets support. She helps him “to work it out”. There is a difference between world problems and private ones. He can talk to his parents about the latter and get support but not about the former.

I: “When it comes to these world problems, you don’t talk to anyone you said.” M: “No, it is my backside somehow.” I: “Your backside?” M: “Yes, my backside, that is I mean I have a basket of ideas if you see what I mean. Then sometimes it pops up in my head.” I: “Oh, and this is the unpleasant basket?” M: “Yes.”

Then he explains that private problems don’t belong to the unpleasant basket, only the world ones. The interviewer asks what is the difference between talking about private and world problems.

M: “It is not our problems.” I: — ”No.” M: “No, it isn’t but you can always *try* but we haven’t tried.” I: “You haven’t tried?” M: “No, not in my family. It is possible that others have but we haven’t.” [The interviewer repeats what she has understood.] M: ”No, but it is our problems. It is everybody’s problems (sigh). But everybody pities the children sitting there [he is thinking about the Rumanian children].”

I: “... What is the difference?” M: “There is a difference that — we can’t work it out.” I: “... you think that there is *hope* when it comes to your problems. They can be worked out and it helps” M: (interrupting) “Yes but such — world problems — they are more — two people have problems, won’t they work it out? That’s what I mean.” I: “No, one feels *hopeless*, powerless.” M: “It is hopeless, almost hopeless.” I: “You feel.” M: “It is possible.” I: “It *is* possible, you say.” M: “But I don’t think it will work. That is *why* we do not do it.” I: “And that’s why you don’t talk about it?” M: “It doesn’t come up.” (q 16.)

The only work at school about these issues that he can think of is that the children just have started a subscription to Rumanian children. The interviewer asks him whether they have talked at school about environment, about what can be done. He replies:

“We can’t do anything. We can only hope for it to stop, pollution and —.”
... “Sometimes I think about the environment, sometimes I think about other things.”... “When I cross the street and there are bushes and trees and a tractor comes past and a lorry after. Then I can see how the chimneys let out such black, nauseous smoke. Then it comes up but it falls down again.” I: “Into that basket of ideas?” M: “Yes.”

The interviewer asks if he wants to work more with these issues at school or not. At first he says “less, because it is not fun.” He explains that it is not fun for Rumanian children to “sit in cages”. [Here there is an indication that children may say that they do not want to work with issues of global survival at school because they feel empathy or bad about the problems when they see no solutions.] When he is again asked whether he wants to work with these issues at school, he continues:

M: “— I want to work it out. I want to.” ... “To try and give them a good home, parents and such because everyone needs this.” I: “... Do you think that one should work with it at school or not?” M: “Work with it.” I: “These issues? Environment and nuclear war and such things?” M: “Yes, also that (light sigh).” I: “You just said the opposite (smile).” M: “Also cabinet ministers can talk about it and try and work it out and if it isn’t possible, it isn’t but one could always try.”

Again he comes to think about the Rumanian children:

M: “One should be able to help them. Imagine, Saturday nights we watch video films, eating chips and candy and everything while they sit in a cage.”
... “If that cage and those kids had been beside me, I would have given them thousands of tons of chips and candy and TV-sets and everything. If I had been able to. And I would have — if everybody would help. But I live in Sweden and they live in Rumania so it is fairly far away so I can’t do anything about it. I can’t stand up like he can, Kjell-Olof Feldt [the Minister of Finance at the time] and talk into this brown microphone and talk to all the people: ‘Now we are going to do this.’” I: “No, you don’t have that power, you mean?” M: “No, I can’t do anything about it.” (q 20.)

Here he gets his vision:

I: "Is it because you feel that powerlessness that you don't want to talk much about it at school?" M: "No, but I want to talk much about it at school but I, I can't do much about it." I: "You *want* to talk about it although you" M: (interrupting) "that *everybody* in the class should talk about it and other schools too so that at last *you* will come to schools and do, do as you are doing now, and so you are a bit superior to — us, aren't you, and then others will talk more. Then it goes higher up and then right up to the top to where he, Kjell-Olof Feldt, lives and then it gets to his brain-box. And it keeps on revolving there." I: "I think I know what you mean. It goes up in some power hierarchy [showing the ladder by the hands] and finally there will be changes."

M: "Yes, if everybody. If *I* start talking with one more, then we talk to one more and one more and one more and one more. In the end all the classes have talked about it. Then they talk in other classes and other classes and other classes. Then you will come and do this and then you listen to us, like you are doing now. Then you play it up to your superiors and they tell it to their superiors. Then finally it will reach him." I: "And then it is of importance when it comes to those having more power." M: "Yes, and then they can try. When *one* such high up person has realized it, then he may talk to his brother and his father and the whole — so they'll be a class and they can talk to other classes in other countries, other parties I mean, and they are much higher than a school-class. And, finally, it'll get to Rumania and there'll be a single chain between them, all the countries."

M: "Then they may talk about it, that we may give money and that we can take one child each and give them clothes and put them into hospitals with their brain damages and buy wheel-chairs and clothes and food and wash them and really rub everything off." ... "A chain across all the world." (q 20.)

Martin thinks that you have to destroy the weapons in order to banish wars. Destruction, though, involves a problem for environment. One could melt them to sheet-metal for cars. However, cars are not good for environment because of pollution. He suggests that the gunpowder can be used for New Year fireworks. The ministers and high politicians are responsible for work for peace but people like Martin himself and his family can help as he has just described.

When asked about what can be done to improve environment, he replies: "They have already started. Paper, perfume — environmentally sound products."

He has one more vision and this is about help to the poor. He suggests that all the money in the world is collected and distributed. The politicians

are responsible “Kjell-Olof Feldt and his pals (smile).” Martin himself can try to influence and give him (Feldt et al.) advice.

“Then I can’t do anything more. Then I have done my job.” I: “And what can the adults do?” M: “They can do more.” ... “They can influence even more — than we can. They are older.” I: “Yes what would they do then?” M: “If you say Kjell-Olof Feldt, he is in the Green Party. Let’s say that. He might not be. I don’t know.” I: “No.” M: “Yes, one may vote for a party this year.” [Then he again explains sharing money. He vividly and highly imaginatively expresses how all the money is distributed over the world — by helicopter.] (q 26.)

Finally he gets the question “Do you have anything to say to us researching and working with these global issues?”

M: “Yes, you may try and climb a rung higher and reach out real far to him Kje” (interrupts himself) I: “Reach the power, you mean?” M: “Yes.” [Martin explains that he doesn’t mean exactly Feldt. He has used his name for any powerful politician.] I: “Do *politicians* have power?” M: “It is all sorts. All the big ones.” I: “... Is this those having political power or those owning industries or those having — knowledge?” M: “I don’t know what it is but those who — (big sigh).” [Martin doesn’t know who has power. He wants to reach and influence Power. That’s all.]

Commentary: Obviously, something happened to Martin during the interview. He changed dramatically from being powerless to expressing considerable personal power. His commitment and preparedness to act were great. His vision carried him away. The interview with a listening partner constituted a condition that changed his old strategy to keep his thoughts and worries to himself into a new one, imagining all possible and impossible solutions (such as helicopters spreading money over the world). The interview is an example of how personal power may be released, and energy retrieved, by means of communication (cf. Macy, 1983).

His expression of the ripple effect was inspiring. However, his vision may not last for long and his old powerlessness may well return unless he will meet good models where he will be able to see implementation of his ideas or of other ones which he will find feasible.

The interview shows how communication is connected with possible action from the perspective of the child. Talking about world problems just to be comforted or to share feelings was not considered.

The importance of culture, determining whether there will be any communication about these issues or not, comes out very well in the interview.

Asked whether he would like to talk about world problems he thought about, Martin replied: “It never comes up” and “you can always *try* but we haven’t tried. Not in our family.”

Martin’s protection of his family is touching. He worried about nuclear war but did not want his family to think about it. If there would be no war, then they would have worried in vain.

Martin’s empathy with children in need was great. The TV-film on the Rumanian orphans had made an enormous impact which fuelled his imagination and thinking of solutions. Listening to this interview makes me feel what a fragile being a child is, still taking so much responsibility, often without having anywhere to go for support. Martin had his mother to go to when experiencing personal problems and still he was more or less left alone when it came to issues of global survival.

The interview is also interesting as regards a child’s thought about power and responsibility. The common man cannot run away from his responsibility but there is some Power, somewhere, so much greater. Here this Power got the name of the Minister of Finance at the time. It was a symbol. Martin did not really know who had this power. However, he mentioned political parties and elections as well. This was very unusual in the present interview data. I think he was the only one.

An overview of the teaching programme Violence Prevention and Conflict Resolution, Connecting the Micro and Macro Levels, grades 4–6

- * *The Peace Web*. The children were asked what comes into their minds when they hear the word “peace” (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988).
- * “*The pot*”, a metaphor for feelings of self-worth, self-esteem and love. (Satir, 1972, Section 4.5.)
- * *Visions of a good school*. Essays. Development of class rules.
- * *The conflict escalator*. How conflicts are escalated; the connection between behaviours and feelings, especially anger. (The escalator, Kreidler, 1994.) How to de-escalate: Active listening, perspective-reversal, empathy, I-messages and the “giraffe language” (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988; Kreidler, 1994; Sections 6.6–6.7).
- * *A choice in dealing with conflicts. The consequences of the choice*. In conflict there is a *choice* between attacking, evading, informing, opening and uniting behaviour. Informing, opening and uniting behaviours belong to ways of handling the conflict actively and constructively. The choice of approach will lead to different consequences (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988).
- * *Methods for solving the problem*: (1) Find out what the problem is and identify the needs; (2) distinguish between “demands” or positions (where the parties tell what they want) and underlying needs which are usually not expressed; (3) brainstorm possible solutions; (4) agree upon trying a certain solution; (5) follow up (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988; Kreidler, 1994; Sections 6.4–6.5).
- * *Win-win solutions* (where the two, or more, parties get what they need), lose-win (where one of the parties does not get what s/he needs but the other one does) and lose-lose (where neither party gets what s/he needs)¹⁵⁰ (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988; Kreidler, 1994; Section 6.6).
- * *Bullying*. Role-play situations of oppression, such as bullying. Find and train solutions: what to do. Reading and essays on the issue.

¹⁵⁰ A party may consist of an individual, a small or large group of people, or one or more nations.

* *Mediation*. The role of an unbiased third party, the mediator, who is there to help the parties work with the problem and find solutions (Lantieri et al., 1993; Section 6.4).

* *Cooperation*. Group activities to make the children learn something about group dynamics and their own behaviour: problem-solving, decision making and leadership. Video recording and playing back.

* *Prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination* according to race, sex, age or whatever. Hostility to strangers/foreigners including refugees. Films. Role-play recorded on video and played back.

* *Learning about other cultures*. This was connected with work in history and/or geography. Group work and exhibition on the Romany people (Gypsies) (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988).

* *Roots of origin*. The pupils learnt about their ancestors and families, made family trees and explained their origins to the classmates. Family members visited the class giving lessons (*Fördomar och mobbning* [A Handbook for Working with Ethnic Prejudice and Bullying], 1983).

* *Peacemakers* of different kinds. Models like Martin Luther King Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, the Dalai Lama, Mother Teresa and Helen Keller. Presentations: speeches, exhibitions etc. We ourselves as peacemakers (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988).

* *Visions of the future*. Anxiety about the future and positive visions. Essays. (Lantieri & Roderick, 1988.)

The two teaching guides by Lantieri and Roderick (1988) (cf. p. 149 ff. above) and Kreidler (1994) (cf. p. 153 above) have inspired the activities of the programme. Some of them were more of our own making, see p. 180 above.

An Overview of the Proceedings of the Programme Violence Prevention and Conflict Resolution, Connecting the Micro and Macro Levels, Class F

	Lessons start 94-03-16				Lessons end this term 95-03-28
	Parent meeting spring '94	Interview Fanny, 94-06-02		Term starts	
Class F	----- ----- ----- ----- -----				
43 lessons					
Teacher:	94-03-16	94-06-02	94-09-06	95-01-17	95-03-28
Fanny	grade 4		grade 5		
<i>Diary:</i>	Peace web,		Planning		Perspectives
Main	Relaxation		School of dreams		Anger
contents	Imagery: A moment of peace		Escalation		Dealing with conflict
of	Dynamic peace		Listening		Win-win
lessons	The pot		I-message		
	Win-win		“Giraffe-language”		
	Dealing with conflict				

Notebooks, “thought books”, video films of role-plays

					Interview Fanny 96-05-20
	Lessons start 95-08-30	Interview Fanny 95-12-04		Lessons end 96-03-27	
	Interview 18 pupils 95-10-02/11-15		Term starts	Parent meeting and questionnaire March '96	
Class F	----- ----- ----- ----- -----				
continued	95-08-30	95-12-04	96-01-17	96-03-27	96-05-20
	grade 6				
	Planning			Mediation	
	Film: “A Class Divided”			Peacemakers	
	And role-plays on oppression			Children’s interviews on peace and peacemaking	
	Bullying				
	Discrimination				

Notebooks, “thought books”, video films of role-plays, photos from exhibition on peacemakers.

An Overview of the Proceedings of the Programme Violence Prevention and Conflict Resolution, Connecting the Micro and Macro Levels, Class D

	Lessons start 94-03-18			Lessons end 95-05-17
tel.	Interview			Interview,
	Daniela 94-06-06		Term starts	Daniela 95-06-11
Class D	-----			
29 lessons	94-03-18	94-08-24	95-01-18	95-05-17
Teachers:	grade 5	grade 6		
Daniela and Dick				
<i>Diary:</i>	Peace web	Planning	Perspectives	
contents	Relaxation	“Opinion	Anger	
of	The pot	continuum”	Dealing with conflict	
lessons	Listening	about conflict	Forum play	
	Win-win	School of dreams	Position and underlying	
	Dealing with	Class rules	wants and needs	
	conflict	Escalation	Recapitulation:	
		I-message	Playing back some videos	
		“Giraffe language”		

“Thought books” and notebook, video films of role-plays.

Lessons, Class F (Chapter 15)

Spring '94. Grade 4 (children 10 years of age)

1. 94-03-16 Introduction. The peace web.
2. 03-23 Relaxation. Guided imagery: A moment of peace.
3. 04-06 Dynamic peace.
4. 04-20 The pot metaphor.
5. 05-04 Different approaches dealing with conflicts leading to the following outcomes: win-win, win-lose, lose-win and lose-lose. Role-plays.
6. 05-18 Continuation dealing with conflicts, role-plays, video recording.
7. 06-02 Continuation dealing with conflicts. Watching video film.
Evaluation of work done during the term (in anonymous thought books).

Autumn '94. Grade 5

8. 09-06 Planning the work. Reasons for peace education. Connections between peace at the micro and at the macro level.
9. 09-13 The School of My Dreams. Class essay.
10. 09-20 The conflict escalator.
11. 09-27 Escalation, continuation.
12. 10-04 De-escalation: Listening.
13. 10-14 Active listening, continuation.
14. 10-18 The "giraffe language". I-messages.
15. 11-08 The "giraffe language," continuation. I-messages. Video 15 minutes on the giraffe language (an interview with Marshall Rosenberg).
16. 11-15 Role-play, giraffe language. Video recording.

Spring '95. Grade 5

17. 01-17 Watching a video film of role-plays, giraffe language. Frame of reference, perspectives.
18. 01-24 Perspectives, continuation. Hassle lines.
19. 02-07 Presentation of rewritten fairy tales from a new perspective. Dealing with anger.
20. 02-14 Dealing with anger, continuation.
21. 02-28 More on approaches dealing with conflicts. Role-plays. Video recording.
22. 03-21 Dealing with conflicts, continuation. Position and underlying needs.
23. 03-28 Repetition conflict resolution.

Autumn '95. Grade 6

24. 08-30 Planning the work in the thought books.
25. 09-13 The film "A Class Divided" is watched.
26. 09-19 Role-plays on oppression. Video film from Mozambique.
27. 09-27 Role-plays, video recording, continuation.
Interviews start 2/10 (see Section 17.2).
28. 10-04 Role-plays, watching the video film, continuation.
29. 10-11 Bullying, forum play.
30. 11-08 Bullying, continuation. *Interviews end 8/11.*
31. 11-15 Role-play on betrayal of confidence.

32. 11–22 Essays on bullying. Role-plays on oppression, watching video film, continuation.
33. 11–28 Role-plays on oppression, watching video film on bullying of a child whose complexion is dark, continuation.

Spring '96, Grade 6

34. 01–17 Mediation.
35. 01–24 Mediation. Role-plays.
36. 01–31 Mediation, continuation.
37. 02–07 Mediation, continuation.
38. 02–14 Introduction to project work on peacemakers and models.
39. 02–28 Group work on peacemakers/models.
40. 03–06 Peacemakers, continuation. In the evening: *Parent-teacher meeting*
41. 03–13 Peacemakers, continuation. Presentation of work on Mahatma Gandhi. Watching parts of Attenborough's film on Gandhi (30 minutes). Presentation of work on Martin Luther King Jr., the first group.
42. 03–20 Peacemakers, continuation. Presentation of work on Martin Luther King Jr., the second group. Watching a film on his work (20 minutes). Presentation of work on Helen Keller.
43. 03–27 Peacemakers, continuation. Presentation of work on the Dalai Lama. Children's interviews on peace and peacemaking. Evaluation.

Lessons, Class D

Spring '94, Grade 5

1. 03–18 Introduction. The peace web.
2. 03–25 Relaxation. Guided imagery: A moment of peace.
3. 04–08 The pot metaphor.
4. 04–22 Listening.
5. 04–29 Different approaches dealing with conflicts leading to the following outcomes: win-win, win-lose, lose-win and lose-lose. Role plays.
6. 05–20 Continuation. Video recording.
7. 05–27 Continuation. Watching the videos.

Autumn '94, Grade 6

8. 08–24 Introduction. Planning. Votes on what to do. "Opinion continuum" regarding conflict (Kreidler, 1994; above footnote 7, p. 181).
9. 08–31 The School of My Dreams. Class essay. Class rules. (Class council a little later.)
10. 09–14 Class rules, continuation.
11. 09–21 The conflict escalator.
12. 09–28 Different ways of escalating conflict.
13. 10–05 Listening.
14. 10–26 Active listening.
15. 11–09 The "giraffe language". I-messages. Video film: An interview with Marshall Rosenberg including a demonstration of mediation.
16. 11–16 The "giraffe language," continuation. Video recording.
17. 11–23 The "giraffe language," continuation. Watching the videos.
18. 12–14 The "giraffe language," continuation. Advertisements on the video.

Spring '95, Grade 6

19. 01-18 Frames of reference. Perspective. Rewriting fairy tales (carried out after the lesson).
20. 01-25 Dealing with feelings, especially anger.
21. 02-01 The anger thermometer, continuation.
22. 02-08 Anger, continuation + introduction to dealing with conflict.
23. 03-01 More on approaches dealing with conflict. Recapitulation dealing with anger. Video recording.
24. 03-15 Dealing with conflict. Watching the videos.
25. 03-22 Dealing with conflict. Forum play.
26. 03-29 Forum play: Family Crisis.
27. 04-26 Forum play: Betrayal.
28. 05-09 Positions and underlying needs.
29. 05-17 Recapitulation: Playing back some of the videos.

Class Essay, Class F (grade 5), Sept. 1994

The School of My Dreams
(Translated from Swedish.)

“It is a big school where 1000 people work and it is rich and famous. The grades are from 1 to 9. There are white and black people at the school. The school buildings are all white or made of gold (suggestions in two different essays). The playground is marvelous with a water-chute all round the school and a Tivoli with a switchback railway and many other things. You can buy sweets, bread and drinks, and there is a very nice porter. There is a nice garden with fruits and there are horses. The allergic children have to go to another school. There are playgrounds for sports. You are allowed to go to the school on the weekends if you pay for it. Parents as well as brothers and sisters are allowed. They pay more.

It is a nice and quiet place where no one teases anyone. There are no fights. Everyone likes it there and has fun. There is no fighting or disturbing kids or teachers. You have many friends. Anyone who teases has to leave school at once and go to a different one.

Breaks are at various times. The breaks are between two and three hours a day. The dining-room is wonderful with fifty different courses to choose from. You order the food.

There is work also, the ordinary subjects and much sports, music, handicraft and arts. There are books and computers, lots of computers, and you often use them for playing.

There is democracy: The pupils decide the curriculum and with what they are to work. They take the role of the teacher and the teacher guards it all. There is a Pupils’ Council but nothing important is dealt with there as everyone thinks that the school is good. The reason for having it is that it gives a sense of belonging. The pupils have decorated the school and sewn the textiles.”

Class Essay, Class D (grade 6), Aug. 1994

The School of My Dreams
(Translated from Swedish.)

“You don’t have to be afraid to go to the school of my dreams. You don’t have to be afraid that anyone will tell tales about you and say nasty things or that someone will come forward to hit you when you talk to a friend. Instead, if you don’t like someone you may leave him alone. Teachers are kind to pupils and listen to them when they have problems. Pupils are kind to teachers and listen to them during the lessons.

If you feel bad for some reason you may go to some friend and they won’t tell anybody else in class. You can trust each other. If you feel bad you may talk to the teacher who will not reject the pupil.

Pupils and teachers are friends and the pupils will obey the teachers. These will see to it that the pupils don't shirk school. Teachers are fair to the pupils. Pupils and teachers respect each other and listen to each other. There is no violence in the school.

You are allowed to think what you like without others disliking you and gossiping behind your back. If you don't reach the expectations someone has for you, they won't think that you are good for nothing, ridiculous and count you as an idiot. There is no bullying and the pupils in the senior level don't fight. They don't carry knives. They don't hit those smaller than themselves. They don't smoke. The rules are tougher for them. They are not allowed to go into others' classrooms to disturb.

In the school of my dreams you don't have to be tough, play important and be the biggest and the best. You don't have to worry that you may be called a sissy. You dare to be who you are, that is, you dare to help each other and be kind to each other.

There are plenty of teachers and assistant teachers so that they can work a lot with the pupils having a problem with Swedish or some other subject. The school is tidy and so is the library. There are plenty of textbooks and other books. You learn a lot in my school of dreams.

Everyone has got a computer and we work according to the curriculum but on Fridays there is no curriculum. We need curriculum because otherwise there will be no order when everyone is running around not knowing what to do. Without a curriculum, homework would be difficult too. I want more alternatives and more freedom to choose during the lessons but we need a curriculum. Otherwise one would work with one's favourite subject all the time.

We work a lot in groups. We are allowed to decide ourselves what to write about. Groups in maths are very good. We learn to cook because we need to know how to do it when we grow up.

My school of dreams is clean, the corridors are clean. No scrawling on the walls. We are allowed to paint the walls and the classroom and corridor. There is one wall where we may draw and paint what we want. The toilets are *clean*. No bad smell. It is not sickening. All pupils in the school should pay 20 crowns for things broken and to erase scrawling. 5 crowns would be for new basketball gear.

There are three school nurses and a bigger resting room.

We have many sports. Every class has got a football and a basketball. There are many trees in the school yard and many benches to sit on. There is a large lawn and there are two sports halls. The school is done up on the outside.

The food is nice. The pupils don't throw away food and don't play with it in the dining hall. They don't throw peas at each other. They eat what they have got on their plates because just imagine what a lot of food is being thrown away and all those poor people who could have been satisfied if they had got it.

In the school of my dreams there are classes with mixed grades because if someone comes from another country, someone who is twelve and has started school at ten, it is bad for her to have to start in the sixth grade and work with too difficult things for her just because she is too old to go to the second grade. One more thing which is good about mixed grades is that you learn to cooperate also with those who are younger. You may teach them something they do not know.

There is more money so we can make trips together.”

Rewritten fairy tales from a new perspective

Class F (grade 5), by Agneta. Only the beginning of the fairy tale is given. Translated from Swedish.

The Truth About Snow-White

One day when I was shopping in the village, I was informed that a daughter had been born to the King of our country but that the Queen had died at her birth.

As I have always thought that our King is handsome and as he was now free to marry, I decided to pay him a visit and console him. But deep down I wanted him to fall in love with me for my beauty, knowing I was beautiful. I put on my best dress and sent for a cab. It was expensive but I had the money and wanted to make a good impression on the King.

As soon as I entered the castle, I noticed that the King thought I was beautiful. I sat down and talked to him and it honestly did not take more than an hour before the King asked me to marry him. Of course, I said “Yes” but the King would have to wait. It was unseemly to marry just a few days after the Queen’s death. But after two months we celebrated our wedding. A maid was to look after the King’s daughter whose name was Snow-White.

Just as we were about to put the rings on our fingers, we heard Snow-White’s piercing screams. And as the maid could not quieten her, my husband-to-be had to comfort her. The baby was not quiet until her father picked her up and as soon as he put her back in the pram she started up again. Therefore she was allowed to sit on his lap while we were exchanging our rings. Already at this point hatred started to grow within me.

Then when we had our own children, a girl Rosali, and a boy, Henry, Snow-White had grown up to be a beautiful 7-year-old girl. I did not want anyone to be more beautiful than me and I thought that Snow-White exaggerated in trying to show how amiable, kind and clever she was. Besides, she used to tease me and slander her brother and sister. When I found out that even my best friend liked Snow-White more than Rosali and Henry, I decided to finish her off. I sent for a clever hunter ...

Class D (grade 6), by Katty.
(Translated from Swedish.)

Cinderella

Once upon a time ... this is how all fairy tales start, also the one about my stepsister, Cinderella. In the fairy tale my sister, my mother and I are the evil and cruel people but here is the true story:

My mother had promised my sister and me that if she had not remarried before our 21st birthday, we would inherit all her money. Both my sister and I longed for that day. But

then Cinderella and her father arrived and spoiled everything. But there is nothing about this in the story.

One day an invitation to a ball at the castle came. My sister and I wanted to go both of us. But then Cinderella decided that she wanted to go too. But we did not want this. Because if any of us were to marry the prince, we would become rich and receive half the kingdom. But Cinderella was stubborn and wanted to accompany us. My mother said to Cinderella that if she cleaned the house first, she would be allowed to go. But she did not manage to finish in time. When we were at the ball, there was a strange girl who danced with the prince.

The following day, the prince's footman arrived bringing a glass slipper. The girl whom the slipper fitted was to marry the prince. My sister and I tried it on but it did not fit either of us. But then Cinderella arrived and the slipper fitted her. But I believe that she pulled in her toes in order to make it fit. She lived happily ever after but my sister and I never went further than becoming dressmakers. Thanks to Cinderella.

Interview guide:

The first interview held with the teachers Fanny and Daniela, the beginning of June 1994

Fanny's Class F, grade 4, Daniela's Class D, grade 5.

1. How would you like to describe the psychological climate in your class? What is good? What is bad?
Do you think that there is more of cooperation or of competition?
Are there any children who get teased or who are not allowed to join the group?
Do you mediate sometimes?
Are there often conflicts during the lessons or breaks?
Have you discussed bullying at all in class?
Do you think that the children listen to each other? Do you think they encourage each other or is it the opposite, that they put each other down?
Are there any children in your class that are definitely aggressive?
2. How do you think the children handle conflicts?
Are there children in your class who are afraid of conflicts, always withdrawing?
Is there any child in your class who spontaneously acts as a mediator?
3. Have you noticed prejudice among the children against people from other countries? Xenophobia?
4. Do you think that the children are pessimistic or optimistic about the future?
5. What are your views on teaching about issues of peace and environment?
6. What are your views on teaching about issues of developing countries?
7. Now that we start working with this programme, what are your expectations?
8. What do you think is most important apart from teaching the regular school subjects?

Questionnaire to the parents Class F, grade 6, on the 6th of March 1996. (The space is reduced.) Anonymous replies.
Translation from Swedish

1. When you think about your own life and the whole society of today, how do you feel: Do you feel powerless or on the contrary strong to influence your own situation as well as society?

Please, make a cross on the line below and write what you think is important. *If* you want to distinguish between your private life and society as a whole, please do that, utilizing the second line and indicate which refers to your private life and which to society.

I feel very powerless	fairly powerless	middle	a little bit powerless	I do not feel at all powerless
--------------------------	---------------------	--------	---------------------------	--------------------------------------

Comments:

2. Children and young people ask me quite often: Do you think that there will be peace in the world? What would you reply to such a question?
3. As you know, we have been working with issues of living together and conflict resolution in this class since grade 4. Has your child/youth told you anything about this? What? Has it made any impact (good or bad)? Try to remember as much as you can. I would be grateful if you ask the others in your family as well.
4. I have noticed that conflict resolution and living together are not an easy issue with which to work. There is resistance. What is the cause, do you think? Tell me!
5. In my teaching I have to some extent connected peace of the surrounding environment with that of the big world. I would like to know if you

think it is reasonable to do so, and I ask you the same question as I have asked the children/youth: Peace in the world and how you live at home and at school etc., is there a connection? In that case, in what way?

6. We are at the moment working with “peacemakers” or models. After this we intend to ask the children to interview people in their surroundings, people working with “peace”. We include environmental and humanitarian issues. How do you like the idea?
7. What do you think about learning and practising conflict resolution at school?
8. I would like you to tell me how you like the work for which I have been responsible. Should I have done it differently? Should the parents have participated more? In that case how? Please, tell me freely what you think!
9. It is quite possible that someone else in your family thinks differently from you about something here. I am interested in knowing this as well.

It is important to me to know whether you had the opportunity to attend the parent-teacher meeting now in March or not, as we discussed these issues there.

Yes, I was present at the parent-teacher meeting

No, I was not present at the parent-teacher meeting

Comment:

Thank you! I am aware that these questions may be regarded as private. Besides they may be difficult to answer. I hope you will be lenient with my asking. The answers are important to give my work quality and help me do a better job in the future.

Greetings
Karin Utas Carlsson
(address and telephone number)

[The questionnaire was given to the parents when they left the meeting. The four families who did not attend the meeting had it sent to them by post with a letter included. Of course, all questionnaires were treated confidentially.]