

**Traditional Approaches to Citizenship Education, Globalization,
Towards a Peace Education Framework**

by

Lawrence Gerard MacDonald

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

at

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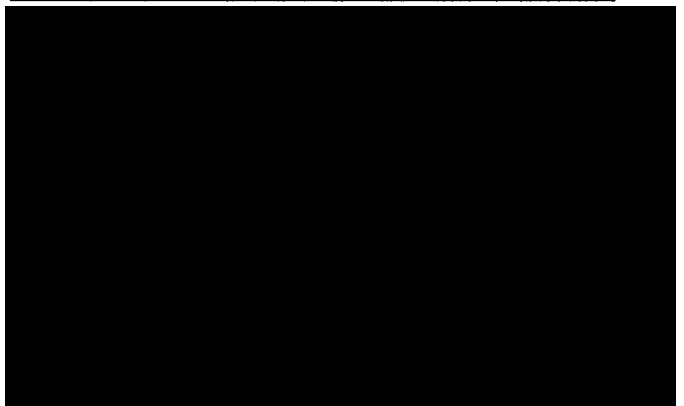
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Dedication

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Abstract

The Royal Society of Canada defines global change as the consequences of any biospheric, geospheric, atmospheric, oceanic or socioeconomic process that affects the global environment. Change in our global environment is being induced increasingly by human rather than natural forces. In this post Cold War global era, there is a growing interdependency of global forces which have implications for complex peace and human security issues. In light of this, it is questionable whether traditional approaches to citizenship and citizenship education in the realm of social studies are preparing students with the necessary knowledge, attitudes, skills, values, and modes of behaviour that will enable them to comprehend and effectively meet the challenges of the 21st century. If students in their adult life are going to meet these challenges, citizenship education will need to be reformulated and reconceptualized. This thesis argues that peace education is more capable of meeting the needs of students in the 21st century because it is more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological than traditional approaches to citizenship education. Citizenship education is, however, regarded as a fundamental and constitutive element of peace education.

The thesis is developed through an investigation of four major areas. The first area investigates the philosophical development and traditional approaches to citizenship and citizenship education. The second area investigates education for peace. The emphasis here is on peace rather than education and its widening conceptual parameters, including; 1. negative peace, 2. positive peace, 3. holistic Gaia peace and peace with the environment, 4. holistic inner and outer peace, and 5. culture of peace. The third area investigates the study of peace through education. The emphasis here is on education and some of the different approaches or themes to peace education, including; 1. peace education as teaching about nuclear war, 2. peace education as disarmament education, 3. peace education as peace and conflict studies, 4. peace education as peace and justice, 5. peace education as global education, and 6. peace education as citizenship/political education. The fourth area investigates the limitations and challenges of citizenship and citizenship education presented by forces of globalization. This is done by investigating the five major attributes of citizenship and citizenship education from a peace education perspective. These five major attributes include; 1. sense of identity, 2. rights and entitlements, 3. responsibilities, duties and obligations, 4. activism in public affairs, and 5. social values. Some potential objections to a peace education curriculum are also investigated.

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Chapter 1, Citizenship and Citizenship Education

1. Introduction

There have been a number of alternative approaches, guiding principles, and underlying values to citizenship education over the past century, but it is now questionable if they meet the needs of students who will soon be confronted with many unprecedented problems and challenges as we begin the 21st century. Today, we live in a world that is fast changing, increasingly complex, and globally interdependent. In this post modern and post Cold War global era, there are several complex, interlocking, and interdependent peace and human security issues that confront our global neighbourhood and cannot be fully comprehended or effectively taught in classrooms within the current framework of citizenship education. In recent years, the scope and degree of frequency of change in the world has been unprecedented and we are confronted with many new complex peace and human security issues. Traditional conceptualizations of citizenship and citizenship education are becoming less useful for preparing students to meet these challenges.

It is imperative that the fundamental organizing principles and values of citizenship education are not lost. They are imperatives for any framework of social education. The framework does, however, need to be reformulated and reconceptualized in light of the interdependency of global forces and their implications for complex peace and human security issues. This study proposes a peace education

framework for developing a curriculum for educating students for the 21st century. Peace education shares many of the same fundamental values and organizing principles of citizenship education but it is a more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological framework. It also shares a similar philosophic purpose, namely, to educate people for wisdom and goodness and to improve the world in which we live.

Chapter I investigates four major approaches and themes of citizenship education in Canada and some of the major social, cultural, political, and economic forces at work. During the period of the 1890's-1920's, citizenship education was primarily concerned with nation building, assimilative nationalism and Canadianization in the context of loyalty and patriotism to Great Britain. During the period of the 1920's-1960's, there was no one overriding theme of citizenship education. Nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization were still important but citizenship education also emphasized the importance of character building and socialization. It was also a period when a more self-consciously Canadian spirit of citizenship began developing. During the period of the 1960's-1980's, the major approach or theme of citizenship education was to focus on issues of identity and activism. During this turbulent period in Canadian history, Canada was faced with three major problems. The first was the problem of the French/English polarity and the demands of other ethnic, non chartered groups, for cultural inclusion in the Canadian ethnic mosaic. The second problem was the proximity of Canada to the United States and the cultural, economic, and educational implications of this. The

third was the problem of regional differentiation in Canada. Each region of the country has its own patterns of identification and faces its own social, cultural, political, and economic challenges. The period of the 1990's- marks the beginning of a decline in citizenship education in Canadian schools and a trend toward educating for economic prosperity. There is a trend toward vocationalism and individual entrepreneurialism. The curriculum in schools appears to be adjusting to the employment needs of business and industry who are trying to maintain their competitiveness in the global market economy. Greater emphasis is being placed on the development of essential employability and entrepreneurial skills.

Chapter I concludes by proposing a peace education framework for a curriculum in social studies education. Peace education embraces many of the same fundamental values and organizing principles of citizenship education and takes into account the changing nature of the world and the human and natural forces which contribute to this change.

The concept of peace education encompasses two major concepts, namely, peace and education. Chapter II focuses on the first concept, peace. It is titled "Education for Peace" and investigates the conceptual development of peace and the different conceptions of peace, namely; negative peace, positive peace, holistic Gaia peace and peace with the environment, holistic inner and outer peace, and a culture of peace.

Chapter III focuses on the second concept, education. It is titled "The Study of Peace Through Education" and outlines some of the various themes of peace education, namely; peace education as teaching about nuclear war, peace education as teaching

about disarmament, peace education as peace and conflict studies, peace education as peace and justice, peace education as global education, and peace education as citizenship and political education.

Chapter IV discusses the strengths of the peace education framework over more traditional organizing principles and values for educating for citizenship in this global, post modern, post Cold War era. It investigates some of the challenges confronting the major attributes of citizenship, namely; sense of identity, sovereignty, rights and entitlements, responsibilities, obligations, and duties, activism in public affairs, and social values. An attempt is made to address some possible criticisms of a curriculum developed on the basis of a peace education approach.

1.1. Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Canada

Citizenship is more than having a legal citizenship status in Canada or some other country. It is more than the political, civic, legal, social, cultural, and economic rights and freedoms that one has by virtue of being a legal citizen in a country, although these are very important for the exercise of citizenship. In fact, it is not even necessary to have legal Canadian citizenship status to exercise many of these rights and freedoms in Canada. It is only necessary to live in the country. Citizenship is, rather, a dynamic set of practices, political, civic, legal, cultural, and educational which have derived over time as a result of social movements, political struggles, and intellectual forces. It is the latter of these, educational, that will be the central focus of

investigation.

Citizenship is also about being informed and knowledgeable, having a certain sense of values and social attitudes, a sense of place, historical roots, and identity, and having the necessary skills to be an active and effective participant in community affairs. The task of formally educating students for citizenship is delegated to schools.

There is no uniform approach to education for citizenship in Canada. The reason for this is that Section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867, states that “in and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education” although “nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools...in the Province at the Union...or infringe on the “Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen’s Roman Catholic Subjects” or on “the “Dissentient Schools of the Queens’s Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec.”¹ This essentially meant that education was a provincial jurisdiction, that the rights and privileges of denominational schools were protected, and that Catholics in upper Canada and Protestants and Catholics in Quebec had a right to a separate education. There is not national ministry or federal department of education in Canada because of Section 93. The federal government has no legislative authority or legal competence over public school education. At the time of confederation, it was thought that the responsibility for legislating on education and developing educational policy was best left to the provinces since they were more in tune with regional and local needs, interests, and aspirations. The closest thing in

Canada to a national ministry or federal department of education is the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CME), which was established in 1967. CME is an instrument through which the provincial ministers of education can consult and act on matters of mutual concern and interest, and can cooperate with national organizations and the federal government.

According to Ken Osborne, the development and delivery of citizenship education in Canada has generally gone through four major periods.² The primary goal value orientation of citizenship education during each period is not fixed but overlaps and contains elements of other periods. It is now necessary to investigate each of these periods of citizenship education in Canada. This will also require some investigation into some of the major social, cultural, political, and economic forces at work.

1.2. Citizenship Education, 1890's to 1920's;

Nation Building, Assimilative Nationalism, and Canadianization

During this first period of citizenship education, the 1890's to the early 1920's, the primary goal value orientation of education for citizenship outside Quebec was nation building and the development of a Canadian national identity in the context of loyalty to the mother country, Great Britain. During this period, education for citizenship focussed on the assimilation and Canadianization of ethnic groups in Canada. Schools were regarded as effective vehicles of political socialization and were

used by the dominant ethnic chartered groups, British and French, as an instrument to transmit their values and culture. The social integration of migrant ethnic groups into Canadian values and culture was considered essential for their successful transition into Canadian society so they could be productive and contributing members. As increasing numbers of immigrants entered Canada and enrolled in schools, they became subjected to French-Canadian values and culture in French-Canada and English-Canadian values and culture in English-Canada.

This was a general period of world prosperity and this generated an interest in migration, economic expansion, and capital investment in Canada. A brief historical perspective on the early migration and foreign born immigrants in Canada and their ethnic composition is useful in understanding why the dominant ethnic groups felt the need to use the school as an instrument of political socialization in the transmission of their values and culture. A brief description of the nature of this economic expansion and investment which saw significant migration to Ontario and the prairies will also be provided.

1.3. Migration Patterns, Foreign Born, and Ethnic Composition

The French made up the majority of the population when the British took political control of what later became known as Canada, after the Seven Years War, (1756-1763). However, the emigration of British Empire Loyalists from the Thirteen Colonies after the American Revolution (1775-1783) provided the British with

numerical supremacy. By the time of Confederation, people of British origin made up 60.5 percent of the population, while the French made up 31.3 percent. The other ethnic groups were predominantly German with some Dutch and lesser amounts of Scandinavians, Russians, and Italians.³

Between 1881-1921 Canada experienced very significant increases in its population as a result of immigration. There was a 24 percent increase in population between 1881-1891 and a 64 percent increase in population over the next twenty years.⁴ In the decade, 1891-1901, the average decade total population in Canada was 4,833,000. This consisted of 326,000 immigrants that made up 6.4 percent of the average decade total population. The average total foreign born living in Canada was 644,000 which made up 13.3 percent of the average decade total population. In the decade, 1901-1911, the average decade total population in Canada was 5,371,000. This consisted of 1,759,000 immigrants that made up 28 percent of the average decade total population. The average total foreign born living in Canada was 700,000 which made up 13.0 percent of the average decade total population. In the decade, 1911-1921, the average decade total population was 7,207,000. This consisted of 1,612,000 immigrants that made up 20.2 percent of the average decade total population. The average total foreign born living in Canada was 1,587,000 which made up 22 percent of the average decade foreign born population. Between 1891 and 1921, Canada received 3,697,000 immigrants.⁵ The period of greatest immigration into Canada occurred prior to World War I and this is reflected in the increased percentage of foreign born in the decade 1911-1921.

Canada's foreign born population percentage by region in 1901 was; Atlantic provinces 6.7, Quebec 12.7, Ontario 43.3, Prairie provinces 20.3, British Columbia 11.3, Yukon and N.W.T. 2.7. In 1911, it was; Atlantic provinces 3.6, Quebec 9.2, Ontario 46.3, Prairie provinces 40.8, British Columbia 14.1, Yukon and N.W.T. 0.3. In 1921, it was; Atlantic provinces 3.4, Quebec 9.7, Ontario 32.9, Prairie provinces 40.7, British Columbia 13.3, Yukon and N.W.T. 0.1. The greatest percentage of foreign born populations were found in Ontario and the Prairie provinces.⁶

In 1901, the total population of Canada was 5,371,000 and in 1921 it was 8,788,000. The ethnic origin of the population in 1901 and 1921 was respectively as follows: (British Isles)-3,063,000, 4,869,000; English-1,261,000, 2,545,000, Irish-989,000, 1,108,000, Scottish-800,000, 1,174,000, Other-13,000; (French)-1,649,000, 2,453,000; (Other European)-458,000, 1,247,000; Austrian-11,000, 108,000, Belgian, 3,000, 20,000, Czech&Slovak- -, 9,000, Finnish-3,000, 21,000, German- -, 311,000, 295,000, Greek- -, 6,000, Hungarian-2,000, 13,000, Italian-11,000, 67,000, Jewish-16,000, 126,000, Lithuanian- -, 2,000, Netherlands-34,000, 118,000, Polish-6,000, 53,000, Roumanian- -, 13,000, Russian-20,000, 100,000, Scandinavian-31,000, 167,000, Ukrainian-6,000, 107,000, Yugoslav- -, 4000, Other-5,000, 18,000; (Asiatic)-24,000; 66,000, Chinese-17,000, 40,000, Japanese-5,000, 16,000, Other, 2,000, 10,000; (Other)-177,000, 153,000.⁷

In 1922, Clifford Sifton, the federal Minister of the Interior in the Laurier government, described his government's policy of immigration as follows.

...In those days settlers were sought from three sources; one was the United States. The American settlers did not need sifting; they were the finest quality

and the most desirable settlers. In Great Britain we confined our efforts very largely to North of England and Scotland...they were the very best settlers in the world...Then came the continent-where the great emigrating center was Hamburg...I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality.⁸

1.4. Economic Expansion and Capital Investment in Canada

Canada's immigration policy welcomed farmers and agriculturist but many turned to other types of employment as well. Most of the new immigrants arriving in the east coast of Canada were moving west and settling in the Ontario and the Prairie provinces. Ontario was attractive because it was the major focal point for United States manufacturing and resource development investment in Canada, which strategically located here to avoid protective tariffs and to get access to markets. For example, in 1913, there were 317 American branch plants, affiliates, and major warehousing operations in Ontario. Most of these were located in Toronto-94, Hamilton-46, and Windsor-26. The other provinces in Canada had relatively less; Quebec-78, Manitoba-33, Alberta-14, New Brunswick-6, Nova Scotia-2, British Columbia-2, Saskatchewan-2, and Prince Edward Island-0.⁹ By 1915, there were 80 pulp and paper mills in Canada and numerous mining operations for salt, gold, copper, nickel, iron, coal, and other miscellaneous minerals.¹⁰ By 1913, the total American investment in

Canada was 639.4 million dollars.¹¹

The period prior to World War I was a time of world economic prosperity and this generated an interest in capital investment, economic expansion and immigration. The increasing world demand for wheat generated by increasing urban populations in the United States and Europe made the prairie farm lands attractive to prospective farmers and farm labourers. Factory workers needed bread and cereal grains. Canada was a vast area of rich and undeveloped farm land. Advances in farming technology, chilled-steel ploughs, mowers, and binders made the prairie land more cultivatable. The invention of an early maturing wheat by the Canadian Charles Marquis, and the experimentation by Ontario's David Fife with a different wheat strain, Red Fife, both of which needed fewer frost free days, and the improvement in the design, speed, and capacity of bulk grain carriers, made it possible to cultivate wheat and get it to market more quickly. The Canadian Pacific Railway was ready for business to transport people and cargo across the country. Canada needed immigrant workers to develop the prairie farmland. Anxious to attract new immigrants to the prairies, Canada described itself throughout the United States, Great Britain, and Europe as the "world's bread-basket" and the "land of promise". By 1902, Canada was advertising in more than 7000 agricultural periodicals throughout the United States. It brought Members of the British Parliament to see the "land of promise" in hopes of luring some of their constituencies. Free land grants of 160 acres were provided by the Laurier government to newly located prairie farmers. A London steamship booking agent, The North Atlantic Trading Co., was paid a bonus of \$5.00

for every head of family and \$2.00 for each individual who came to the new “land of promise”. Of the nearly three million immigrants that entered Canada between 1897 and 1914, more than forty percent of them settled in the prairies and British Columbia.¹²

Several new industries developed as a result of the opening of the prairies agricultural frontier and expansion of grain cultivation, including International Harvester, an American firm that manufactured wire-and-fencing and agricultural implements. Another example was the American Cereal Company, Quaker Oats, which set up business in Peterborough in 1901.¹³

1.5. Canada’s British Connection,

The Basis for its Institutional Organizing Principles and Values

In English-Canada, the concept of nation building was closely associated with Canada’s British connection and shared sense of history. Unlike the United States, who revolted and fought a war of independence against Great Britain, Canada’s evolution was more peaceful, orderly, and exemplified more respect for and deference to authority. The nature of Canadian society and government is based on a different set of organizing principles and values than that of the United States. For example, Seymour Martin Lipset in the Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada, provides a revolutionary and counterrevolutionary thesis as a means of conceptualizing their different political, legal, and religious institutional

development. Accordingly, Lipset asserts;

the two nations once part of British North America were separated by the outcome of the American Revolution. One, the country of the Revolution, elaborated on the populist and meritocratic themes subsumed in stating the objectives of the good society as “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” The founding fathers of the counterrevolutionary nation defined their rationale as “peace, order, and good government” when they put together the new Dominion of Canada in 1867. The source of authority for one, as stated in the preamble to its Constitution, was “the people,” and the document was submitted for ratification by the state legislatures. The other saw its new government as a continuation of the English monarchy and sent its constitution to London to be enacted by the British Parliament and proclaimed by the Queen. The revolutionary Republic was suspicious of state authority and adopted a power-constraining bill of rights, which produced a strong emphasis on due process, judicial power, and litigiousness. The counterrevolutionary dominion followed the Westminster model, with power centered in a cabinet based on a parliamentary majority and with no limits on the authority of the state other than those derived from a division jurisdictions between national and provincial governments. The American Constitution rejected church establishment; the Canadian did not.¹⁴

By following the British model, Canada established the grounds for its loyalty to Britain, and by doing this, it shielded itself from the encroachment of Americanization.

Canadian nationalism, during this period, therefore, was perfectly compatible with our British connection and respect for and loyalty to the motherland. Canada's close connection with Great Britain is the consequence of its political heritage and at an institutional level this is evident in its form of parliamentary democracy, constitution, and common law legal system.

1.6. **Citizenship Education as Nation Building,
Assimilative Nationalism, Canadianization**

The infusion of immigrants into the country altered existing settlement patterns, ethnic composition, and class structures. Two of every three immigrants coming to Canada were of British or French ethnic descent and tens of thousands of other people from other ethnic groups arrived from other parts of continental Europe and Asia. Because they had different cultural practices and languages, migrants were often subjected to stereotyping and treated with distrust and suspicion. Nativism was particularly problematic in western Canada among Anglo-Canadians.¹⁵ However, the general feeling was that schools could play an important and effective role in politically socializing the children of the immigrant population so that they would learn the necessary attitudes, values, and skills to functionally adapt and become productive and contributing citizens in their new country. "Assimilation of the immigrants through education was seen as the eventual answer to all social problems and as necessary for social integration and for democracy, which presupposed a literate electorate. Between

the 1890s and 1916, the predominant aim of the school system was to inculcate the values of British-Canadian nationalism, individualism, and the Protestant work ethic."¹⁶ This process of nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization was directed at immigrant children from all ethnic groups and cultural backgrounds in an attempt to nurture loyalty and allegiance to a new homeland which maintained a close political, economic, social, and cultural association with its motherland. However, the challenge of nation building was more problematic in the prairie provinces and British Columbia since they received the bulk of ethnic groups other than English and French. Assimilation and cultural integration was more challenging in these provinces. In Ontario and the Maritimes, it was not as problematic. Although in the Maritimes there were also strong attachments to local and regional loyalties. Quebec saw nation building as a threat to their distinctiveness and identity.¹⁷ Throughout this period, public policy on education was a matter of intense political interest. It was felt that students must be prepared for productive participation in society and not be a burden on, or an expense to, the state. Attendance in schools became compulsory in all provinces except Quebec.¹⁸ As previously indicated, this was a period of economic prosperity which witnessed the emergence of a United States branch plant economy and a manufacturing and resource development base in Canada. This period of industrial capitalism required a properly trained labour force and a good work ethic to sustain it, unlike the pre-industrial worker who was a seasonal employee and whose work was task orientated and corresponded largely to general community activities and rituals which allowed for considerable leisure time

and personal choice. The new economic order required that workers be discipline, reliable, consistent, and of sober mind. The school with its daily routine, regiment, and discipline was thought to be an ideal training ground for such potential employees. The economic well-being of the nation was the national well being of the nation. In this sense, schools performed a dual role by producing national citizens and reliable workers.¹⁹

The ability to speak English was considered important if one was to become a fully Canadianized, assimilated, and loyal citizen in an English-Canadian sense. English was Canada's mother tongue. The acquisition of this language skill in schools was thought to be an essential part of Canadian citizenship education, although many immigrant ethnic groups and French-catholic schools were intent on preserving their languages. An ability to speak English implied a sense of loyalty and patriotism to the "land of promise" and to its mother country.

The Manitoba school question became an issue of national importance in the period leading up to the election of Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier in 1896. It pitted English against French, protestant against catholic, dualism against uniformity. The new migrant English speaking protestant upset the balance of the French/English speaking population, which was fairly even at the time of Manitoba's entry into confederation in 1870. Although the Manitoba Act, 1870, protected the dual system of education and guaranteed the rights of English-speaking inhabitants in protestant schools and French-speaking inhabitants in catholic schools, by the late 1980s, there was a call for a system of public school

education to replace church run schools. The reasons given for this were that education would better foster a provincial unity, a democratic spirit, French catholic schools were a privilege and not a right, and that a dual system of education was too expensive for such a sparsely populated province. The provincial Liberal government of Premier Greenway passed legislation, the Public Schools Act, 1890, which created a single secular educational system. This enraged French Canadian Catholics and the leaders of the Roman Catholic church in Quebec who felt such legislation was in violation of the Manitoba Act, 1870, and they petitioned the federal government to pass remedial legislation pursuant to Section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867. The government of Prime Minister Mackenzie Bowell, the former Grand Master of the Orange Lodge, remained split over the passing of a remedial act. Bowell was replaced by Nova Scotia's Sir Charles Tupper whose government went down to defeat to Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier. Tupper campaigned on the grounds that the federal government had a right to interfere to protect religious minority rights in education. Laurier, on the other hand, stressed the importance of the Liberal principle of non interference in constitutional provincial rights and although he was a faithful catholic he was not about to allow the catholic church to run the political affairs of the country.²⁰ Shortly after his election victory in 1896, Laurier, the new Canadian Prime Minister, and Greenway, the Premier of Manitoba, arrived at a settlement, the Laurier-Greenway compromise. In this agreement, provisions were made for bilingual schools. Languages other than English were permissible as the language of instruction, if and

whenever ten people spoke a language other than English as their mother tongue. This compromise was made in 1896, before the large scale influx of central and eastern European immigrants to the prairies and western Canada. As a result, many ethnic groups other than the French, such as German, Ukrainian, and Polish took advantage of this agreement to justify the existence bilingual schools. The creation of bilingual schools in Manitoba was not without its Anglophone critics. They regarded bilingual schools as educationally inferior, ineffective in teaching English, and a threat to assimilation. The Manitoba Free Press carried over 100 editorials between 1910 and 1914 regarding the issue of bilingual schools. John Dafoe, its editor, stated that “we must Canadianize this generation of foreign-born settlers, or this will cease to be a Canadian country in any real sense of the term.”²¹

Saskatchewan and Alberta did not make any such provision for bilingual schools but they, nonetheless, had to deal with pressing concerns of migrant ethnic groups for mother tongue language instruction. In Saskatchewan, accommodations were made for instruction in languages other than French or English, but this was for only one hour a day between three and four in the afternoon. Politicians, not wanting to lose the ethnic vote, supported such an accommodation on the basis that this was the best way to get the children of migrant ethnic groups into schools, which in turn would assist in their assimilation. In Alberta, it was only permissible to teach languages other than French and English in after school hours. However, no provisions were made to train teachers in ethnic languages. A major conflict broke out in 1913 when a group of qualified Ukrainian teachers were brought in by

Ukrainian families in one school district when there were no Ukrainian trained Alberta teachers available. The Minister of Education for Alberta prohibited these teachers from providing instruction in after school hours. He stated “this is an English-speaking province...and every Alberta boy and girl should receive a sound English education.”²² With the outbreak of World War I, public sentiment toward bilingual schools, other than French and English, diminished in the prairie region. The teaching of languages, other than English and French, especially those that might be associated with the enemy, Germany and the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, at a time when Canada and her mother country were at war, was regarded as disloyal and unpatriotic. By 1918, all provisions made for the teaching of foreign languages in schools, other than French and English, in the prairie provinces, were eliminated. Unilingualism and patriotism were seen in the same light. English was regarded as the superior language and a positive contributor to the social cohesion of the nation.²³

In British Columbia, the greatest challenge to educational authorities was not the central Europeans and religious sects, but rather Chinese and Japanese immigrants. “In 1921, the number of Chinese living in Canada was 39,568; of these, 23,533 were living in British Columbia.”²⁴ With a shortage of labour in Canada, their labour was important in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Educational policy toward these immigrants was blatantly racist and discriminatory. They were viewed as non whites and not capable of being assimilated into Canadian society. No attempt should be made to assimilate them

either. Since they were regarded as a threat to the moral values of white children, attempts were made to segregate them from the schools of white children. In Vancouver and Victoria attempts were made to remove Chinese students from schools or to place them in separate classrooms. These actions were met with resistance from Chinese parents who organized demonstrations and boycotts. Although the Japanese arrived later than the Chinese, they were also subjected to similar racist and discriminatory views. Their situation was less conspicuous because their numbers were not as large and their arrival into British Columbia was on a more gradual basis.²⁵ “The number of Japanese in Canada in 1921 was 15,868, the number in British Columbia, 15,066.”²⁶ Racist and discriminatory practices against the Chinese and Japanese resulted in the Vancouver riots of 1907.

The South Asians were also discriminated against in schools but their numbers were even far less than the Japanese. Between 1905 and 1908, approximately 5,000 Sikhs, who were commonly called Hindus, immigrated to British Columbia to find unskilled labour jobs in railway construction and logging camps. However, an new order in council required “a continuous journey from country of origin” and this prevented any further immigration of coloured into Canada. In 1914, the Japanese steamer, the Komagata Maru, was hired by a Sikh entrepreneur called Gurdit Singh, it transported 376 East Indian passengers to Vancouver that made the required “continuous journey from country of origin”, but were refused entry and returned back to the orient after a Supreme Court decision.²⁷

The education of other ethnic groups in the Maritimes and Central Canada was not as controversial. The ethnic composition of the Maritimes was not affected by the immigration of ethnic groups other than English and French into Canada since the Maritimes was merely a transition point along the way to a more desirable western destination. More people were leaving the Maritimes than taking up permanent residence. The only major issue relating to minority education rights at this time in the Maritimes was the education of blacks. In 1884, blacks in Nova Scotia received access to public schools, however, by 1918 most of the black population were still attending segregated black schools or private schools run by religious organizations. The major problem with these schools was that educational instruction was often below standard.

In the Maritimes like everywhere else, it was believed that educational achievement was important for occupational attainment. However, certain structural economic and political conditions associated with Sir John A. MacDonald's National Policy of 1878, including protective tariffs and the building of the railway seemed to favour central Canadian and western economic development and leave the Maritimes in an economic dependency relationship. Much of the political focus in the Maritimes at this time was not matters of educational policy but rather on the inequity of central government policy which hampered local economic initiative and development. This resulted in the Maritime Rights movement in the 1920's which received widespread support from local boards of trade, and editorial support from the Halifax Herald, Halifax Mail,

Dartmouth Patriot, Maritime Merchant, and Eastern Chronicle.²⁸

In Ontario most of the segregated black schools disappeared by the beginning of the 1900's, but legislation permitting them remained in effect until 1964. Segregated black schools in Ontario were much like those in Nova Scotia. Teachers were poorly trained and often underqualified. Teachers were ill equipped with instructional resources. School buildings were often dilapidated and overcrowded creating an environment that was not conducive to learning. The only other minority group in Ontario significant enough to demand bilingual schools were the Germans. Egerton Ryerson, the Superintendent of schools from 1844-1876, was supportive of such schools as long as English was taught, but his successor, George Ross, was less understanding and determined to eliminate German language schools. By World War I, there was a significant decline in the number of these schools because of change in educational policy and the assimilation of the German people.²⁹

Schools were charged with the responsibility of teaching students of all ethnic origin about the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. The curriculum and the whole atmosphere of the school contributed to nation building, assimilative nationalism, and the Canadianization of students in the context of loyalty and allegiance to Great Britain. Patriotism, the power and responsibility of the British Empire and its contribution to civilization, were major themes of an early twentieth century Ontario Department of Education history curriculum document.³⁰ Harney and Troper describe the efforts of Canadianization in Toronto schools as follows.

Canadianization was not a hidden curriculum. Teaching of the Canadian way permeated every facet of the school's program. The three R's proved no exception. The working of routine mathematics problems was no exception. The working of a routine mathematics problem sanctified growth, progress and competitive business practices. Through the study of literature, reading material promoted nationalism and Protestantism, often as if it were one and the same. As late as 1928, Toronto's Chief Inspector of Schools boasted of one institution, "The teachers of this school are teaching English to their students, but they are also not losing sight of the broader aim, the Canadianization of our foreign born population."³¹

Throughout English-Canada, subjects such as Canadian and British history, language and literature, civics, and geography were all considered to be of prime importance. Physical education, music, gardening, and domestic science were also important in fostering citizenship. The curriculum was supported by a general atmosphere in the school that celebrated events such as Empire Day, royal deaths, jubilees, and coronations. Symbols were also important in fostering citizenship, including flags, anthems, and wall maps.³² In 1907, legislation was passed in Manitoba requiring that schools raise the Union Jack and fly it daily.

The province of Quebec disagreed with the citizenship message of schools in English Canada. Two factors helped provide insulation from this rhetoric in schools. The first was that schools were run by the Catholic church and the second was that French was the spoken language. Quebec had its own history and since the

Conquest of 1760-1763, it felt that its culture, customs, religion, and language, were threatened by forces of nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization in English Canada. Quebec's opposition to forces of Canadianization was evident in their opposition of Canada providing military troops to Britain to fight in the South African War (1899-1902), as well as in their opposition to French Canadian participation in World War I (1914-1918). The premier of Quebec, Henri Bourassa, in his stand against conscription stated "all Canadians who want to fight conscription...must have the courage to say and repeat everywhere: no conscription! No enlistment: Canada has done enough... It is useless to disguise the truth: two million French-Canadians are united against conscription."³³

The two most numerous migrant groups to arrive in Quebec prior to World War I were the Italians and Jews who settled primarily in and around³⁴ Montreal. Since the Italians were Catholic, they attended the catholic school system and were permitted instruction in Italian, English, and French. The Jews, on the other hand, attended generally protestant schools. The reasons for this were that they were too poor to attend private schools and protestant schools provided better access to the English language and community institutions. The Jews, however, faced much discrimination in the protestant school system. For example, in a 1902, in a controversial court case, the court upheld a decision of the protestant school board to refuse a scholarship to a Jewish student. In 1903, an agreement was made between the protestant school board and the Jews. The Jews would be categorized

as protestants for educational purposes but they could receive no instruction in Hebrew and there could be no Jewish teachers. This anti-Semitic attitude in Quebec was also popular among French Canadians in Quebec. For example, in 1906, Henri Bourassa stated in the House of Commons that Jews “are the least remunerative class that we can get-that class which sucks the most from other people and give back the least-they are the most undesirable class that can be brought into the country and vampires on the community.”³⁵

Trade unions criticized schools for teaching an unequal citizenship by discriminating against working class children. They criticized the militaristic bias in history and military cadet training in schools. The farmers movement was also critical of citizenship education because it failed to provide a social interpretation of history or any type of presentation of public affairs that would prepare students for active citizenship.³⁶ The growth and influence of farm organizations including Grange, Patrons of Industry, Farmers’ Association of Ontario, Territorial Grain Growers Association, United Farmers of Alberta, Grain Growers Grain Company, and the Canadian Council of Agriculture were indications of the rising importance of Canadian agriculture and examples of powerful and active organizations bent on improving the lot of Canadian farmers. The Canadian Council of Agriculture and its ‘Seige of Ottawa’ in December 1910, in hopes of pressing the government of Sir Wilfred Laurier into a reciprocity agreement with the United States³⁷ was an example of the type of social history, public affair, and active citizenship, that these organizations felt students should be learning.

Canadian citizenship education, in public schools, as nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization, within the context of loyalty and patriotism to Great Britain, was unsuccessful in French Canada and was also largely unsuccessful in communities with immigrant ethnic groups other than English and French, in the rest of Canada. Accordingly, Jack Granatstein states, “public school education, while compulsory, did little to crack such ethnic exclusiveness. The singing of ‘God Save the King,’ ‘Rule Britannia,’ and ‘The Maple Leaf for Ever,’ and the reciting of patriotic poetry, could do little in and of themselves to teach the values of the wider Canadian community.”³⁸ The non-British ethnic groups in Canada, including, the Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, and Italians, were much like the French in that they did not see Britain’s war as theirs. This view was reinforced by “the almost automatic firings of foreign-born workers at the outbreak of war in 1914, the internment of citizens of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and the wholesale gerrymander of 1917, when the Wartime Elections Act stripped recently naturalized Canadians of the franchise, all reinforced a natural tendency to keep to one’s own kind.”³⁹ When the war was over, Granatstein argues that Canada did very little to heal the internal wounds of the country and made little attempt to integrate those of non-British origin into the life and values of the country.⁴⁰

On the whole, teachers charged with the responsibility of teaching citizenship and imparting in their students the values and attitudes of Canadian citizenship were often poorly trained and ill equipped with few resources, especially in the rural areas. Classes were often criticized for being too boring, rigid, and routine.⁴¹ In

rural English-Canada and rural Quebec, the one room school house was typical. Students ranged in age and grade, the school year was usually geared to the agricultural season, and girls usually attended more often and longer than boys. Many of these schools were run by schoolmistresses. The challenges they faced included finding appropriate accommodation, disciplining usually older and larger males, and the responsibility of organizing cultural activities within and outside the school.⁴² “The most common Quebec school in the 1913 census was one-roomed, built at a cost of \$1,200, with a young female teacher, paid less than \$200 annually, whose pupils ranged from ages 6 to 14. In both French and English Canada, some external standards were maintained by the school inspector, appointed by the province, who visited the classroom once a year to assess the teacher’s performance and the school’s facilities. In Quebec the inspector was usually accompanied by the parish priest.”⁴³

1.7. Citizenship Education, 1920's to 1960's, Character Development and Self-Consciously Canadian Spirit of Citizenship

The second period of education for citizenship, 1920s-1960s, did not have any overriding theme, but it was now beginning to focus on the personality and character development of the child. However, the goal value orientation of citizenship education as nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization of immigrant ethnic groups, other than French and English, was

still prevalent in the inter war years. At the end of World War I, there was still concern about unassimilated ethnic groups. By 1921, approximately fifty percent of the population of Alberta and Saskatchewan were foreign born. Eighteen percent of the population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan were of Slavic descent. Fifteen percent of the population in Alberta were also of Slavic descent. These immigrant people from central and eastern Europe were looked down upon as poor, sick, and illiterate, and as a threat to British institutions and values. In keeping with post war nationalism in western Canada, bilingual and multilingual schools were replaced by English speaking unilingual schools. Educational officials such as J.T.M. Anderson, the Director of Education for new Canadians, in Saskatchewan, stressed the need for closer government inspection of parochial schools, enforcement of school regulations, and the need for better teachers and more effective teaching methods. Conflict over schooling resulted in the emigration of 4000 Mennonites from Manitoba and 1000 from Saskatchewan. Further unsuccessful attempts were made to segregate the Chinese and Japanese in British Columbia. By 1923 the immigration of Chinese and Japanese was no longer a factor because of discriminatory immigration regulations. In 1932, the Sons of Freedom, a sect of the Doukhobors, carried out nude marches and demonstrations protesting compulsory rigid school regulations in British Columbia.⁴⁴

1.8. Citizenship Linked with Personal Values and Character Building

Although nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization were still a part of citizenship education during this period, citizenship education was beginning to focus on personal values and character building. These were always considered an important part of education. For example, New Brunswick's Parish Schools Act, 1858, stated that:

every teacher shall take diligent care and exert his best endeavours to impress upon the minds of the children committed to his care, the principles of Christianity, morality and justice, and a sacred regard to truth and honesty, love of their country, loyalty, humanity, and a universal benevolence, sobriety, industry and frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance, order and cleanliness, and all other virtues which are the ornaments of human society.⁴⁵

The emphasis on personal values and character building was now being explicitly connected to the concept of citizenship in Canada. This was largely the result of the progressive movement in education in the United States during the inter war years period. The proponents of this movement, such as Dewey, stressed the importance of meeting the needs of the student and educating the whole child. It was no longer a question of the student meeting the needs of the curriculum, but rather the curriculum meeting the needs of the student. The social, psychological, and moral development of the child was regarded equally important as its intellectual development. In Canada, the emphasis on character building in schools was reinforced by social organizations and community groups such as Boy Scouts, Girl

Guides, 4-H Clubs, Canadian Girls in Training, and the Junior Red Cross.

Citizenship was more than a personal matter, it also had a social dimension. During this period, citizenship became increasingly linked to service and volunteer work in the community. This more holistic approach to citizenship education was thought to produce the good citizen and for the progressive school of thought, the multiples of good citizens so united would produce the good society.⁴⁶

1.9. De-politicalization of Citizenship

Osborne argues that this new approach helped de-politicalize the concept of citizenship in two major ways. The first was that greater emphasis was placed on cooperation and consensus, and less on issues of conflict and power. In the post World War I/Winnipeg general strike era, Canadians were beginning to think of citizenship in terms of cooperation and consensus. Canadians learned a valuable lesson in the trenches of World War I and during the recent period of labour unrest. A new attitude of cooperation and consensus was becoming part of the thinking of the corporate world, the Christian Socialists, the Progressives, and reformist Liberals. The second was by the increasing perception that citizenship service could take place in realms other than political activity and political participation, such as volunteer work in charitable organizations, community groups, church functions etc. The thinking was that each individual had a duty and a moral obligation to work cooperatively to achieve more equitable conditions for all citizens in their

community. One did not have to be active in a political partisan sense in order to effect change.⁴⁷ Social amelioration could be achieved in other ways beyond the political realm as long as there was community spirit, cooperation, and consensus.

This type of citizenship which stressed social obligation and community service in the interest of the public good served also as a means of preventing political radicalism in Canada. In previous decades, schools were already playing a role in nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization in the context of loyalty and patriotism to the mother country, but now the focus was beginning to turn more inward to a concern for Canada's social amelioration, even at a local level. Cooperation, consensus, unity, comradeship, and community spirit were underlying values of citizenship and the values which promoted character development in individuals. These values also served to resist temptations toward far left or far right political radicalism. This was especially important since this was a period of, labour unrest, economic depression, the rise of fascism and communism in Europe, World War II, and the Cold War.⁴⁸ Osborne cites an example of the educational rhetoric in a 1925 Putman-Weir Survey of British Columbia which stated that "the development of a united and intelligent Canadian citizenship accentuated by the highest British ideals of justice, tolerance, and fair play, should be accepted without question as the fundamental aims of the provincial school system."⁴⁹ An intelligent citizenry would presumably read between the lines when it came to radical political ideologies.

1.10. A Canadian Spirit of Citizenship Entering Citizenship Education

Since Canada was a form of liberal democracy, this also implied the need for an intelligent and informed citizenry that could participate in political affairs and effect change in their community. However, this never really extended beyond a rudimentary understanding of the functioning of Canada's political institutions. In terms of political activism, citizenship was generally limited to voting at election time assuming one was even old enough to vote. In any event, Canadians were becoming more interested and aware of their citizenship and in controlling its future destiny. There was "a more self-consciously Canadian spirit entering citizenship education."⁵⁰ There were two basic reasons for this.

The first reason had to do with the significant role played by Canada during World War I. As a result of its great contribution, it began increasingly to see itself as a separate and independent nation from Great Britain. This self-consciously Canadian spirit of citizenship began developing in Canada even before the end of World War I. The social, psychological, and economic costs of war were leaving their imprint on the Canadian consciousness and many began to question the legitimacy of a policy that brought Canada into harms way in international affairs. The French were generally isolationists and did not want to get tangled up in a future British war by virtue of their place in a commonwealth nation. They were also upset with an Ontario statute, known as Regulation 17, which restricted the teaching of French in early grades and thus prohibited the development of complete

French language schools, and the fact that Manitoba discontinued bilingual schools in 1916. English-Canada was also questioning whether Canada should automatically endorse British foreign policy. On the whole, Canadians were no longer looking for imperial citizenship because the costs were too high. They were, rather, looking for Canadian citizenship and greater political autonomy and sovereignty. Desmond Morton takes the view that “imperial nationalism did not survive to 1919. Tested in war, imperial federation and imperial citizenship broke down. In a host of ways, practical, legal, and above all emotional, the First World War was Canada’s War of Independence. Britain was an ally, not an enemy, but our route to independence was clear from the fall of 1916. Citizenship in the empire was too costly and, as two more generations would discover, of too little value.”⁵¹ Imperial citizenship between 1914 and 1919 had cost Canada two billion dollars and 60,000 lives. In World War II, the economic costs were not as great, however, the human costs were still 44,000 people.⁵² The two World Wars seriously weakened Britain’s military power and this was all the more reason for an overdue Canadian citizenship. As Morton states “being a British subject-was no longer either glorious or free.”⁵³ Canadians got their Canadian citizenship status from Paul Martin, Secretary of State in the MacKenzie King government when it received royal assent on 27 June 1946, was then proclaimed by the Governor General on 1 July 1946, and then entered into force on 1, January 1947. World War I served to change the Canadian psychic about who they were and who they could be in the future. In a certain sense, Canadians wanted to sever the political umbilical cord with Great

Britain and breath in life's challenges as a developing and independent nation state, but they were not yet ready to be weened completely from their mother country who was still very much attached politically and in constitutional affairs. However, there was a growing awareness of Canadian distinctiveness.

The second reason is less social and psychological and more political and legal, nonetheless, it is in a sense an outgrowth of the first, and has to do with the trend towards Canada's increasing political autonomy and presence in international affairs. Canada had already proven herself to the world as a major presence in World War I, but at a great social, psychological, economic, and human cost to the country. In the future, Canadians did not want to be bound automatically by British foreign policy. The passing of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, provided Canada with greater political and legal autonomy to legislate their own domestic laws and to enter into international agreements, treaties, and conventions with foreign countries, both of which were denied previously by the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865. Canada now had independent contact with not only Britain and the United States but also the Commonwealth and with other nations throughout the world as it began filling diplomatic posts. It also had a separate membership in the League of Nations and continued its policy of no commitment by protesting Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which provided for collective action by all member states against any country endangering world peace.

Throughout the interwar period, patriotic themes and love of mother country continued to be part of citizenship education, however, there was also emerging a

greater awareness of Canadian distinctiveness and identity. As Canadians became more aware of their distinctiveness, multi-ethnic composition, and the particularistic nature of their society, citizenship education began placing less emphasis on nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization in the context of loyalty and patriotism to England. Canadians were, rather, beginning to look inward toward themselves. and to see themselves more in terms of a mosaic and a multicultural society. The assimilation of migrant ethnic groups was becoming less of a priority. The sense of loyalty and patriotism to Britain that was characteristic of the previous period of citizenship education was now becoming less evident in Canadian culture and intellectual life. Art, music, literature, and sport were now viewed as Canadian and valued as such. For example, Canadian history textbooks displayed such titles as Building the Canadian Nation, Canada, A Nation and How it Came to be; and From Colony to Nation. Canadian history was no longer taught along side British history but was taught as a subject in itself. Canadian content was respected for its own worth. This also included the field of sport. For example, hockey was regarded as Canada's sport. Canadians dressed for the rosters of the Toronto Maple Leafs and the Montreal Canadians and they generally filled the rosters on all other teams in the National Hockey League. There was, however, a developing concern between the wars about the increase in Americanization of Canadian life by the media, including radio, film, magazines, and comics.⁵⁴

On a political level, two factors contributed to the particularistic nature and distinctiveness of Canadian society that set it apart from the seemingly more

universalistic and nationalist oriented United States. The first was the number and vitality of regionally based third parties. The second was the strength of provinces in terms of political power and provincial rights in the Canadian federal system. In the United States, there were no regionally based viable third party alternatives, and at union the American states were not given equivalent political powers to the provincial provinces.

1.11. Effectiveness of Citizenship Education

According to Osborne, there were three major omissions of citizenship education during this period which also existed during the previous period. The first relates to the education of aboriginal children which he describes as crudely assimilationist. The aboriginal people were either ignored in the provincial curricula or they were portrayed in old stereotypes. The second omission of citizenship education was that the curricula either ignored the role of women and girls or it confined them to traditional stereotypes. Education for citizenship tended to be viewed from a male perspective. The third omission deals with the failure of citizenship education to deal with the question of bilingualism and biculturalism. School history books tended to pass over the significance of Quebec's history, the distinctiveness of its culture, and Quebec's reservations about confederation. School history books regarded the British Conquest as something that was good for Quebec and they placed little emphasis on Quebec's struggle to resist forces of

assimilation. In English Canada, there were no policy measures or laws to provide for the development of a bilingual and bicultural nation. French was taught as a foreign language subject. In the province of Quebec, students learned similarly little about the history of English Canada. There existed a mutual ignorance of each other's history, a fact brought to light in the 1940's by the Canadian Education Association and later in the 1960's by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.⁵⁵

Osborne states that it is "difficult to ascertain to what extent classrooms actually served as models of citizenship ... one can find a steady stream of complaints that too many classrooms were dull and boring, and that teaching and learning were dominated by the drive to prepare for public examinations, which themselves emphasized a little more than the memorization of facts."⁵⁶ History books were criticized for being factualized and uninteresting. Routine, drill, and repetitiveness provided little evidence of innovative or creative teaching that nourished critical thinking or the development of spontaneous intellectual thought among students. Because many schools were starved of curriculum and teaching resources, teachers tended to concentrate on the task of exam preparation as a matter of sheer survival. This situation was illustrated in Max Braithwaite's Don't Shoot the Teacher, a semi-autobiographical description of teaching in the 1930's.⁵⁷

Keith McLeod states that "didactic thought, recitation, memorization, and largely passive learning remained the rule and by overwhelming agreement, the norm."⁵⁸ There was little evidence of democratic participation in the schools. A call

for educational reform in the 1920's resulted in only minor changes, namely some success in reducing corporal punishment, the initiation of student councils and some improvement in methods that were student centered. Further attempts at reform were negated in the 1930's by the depression and in the 1940's by World War II. The most significant calls for reform came in the 1950's and 1960's from within the teaching profession. The teaching profession argued that the quality of education was as only as good as the quality of the person attracted to the teaching profession.⁵⁹ The 1950's and 1960's saw the greatest improvement in teachers salaries and benefits. By the late 1960's, there were increasing pressures for educational reform, "better schools, better teachers, more and better Canadian Studies in a variety of subjects, more democratic educational practices, less reliance on physical punishment and penalties, more student centered learning and instruction, alternative schools, access to bilingual education, and even the first rumblings of multicultural and non-sexist education."⁶⁰

Ann Wood describes this period of citizenship education as one in which the curious effect of the conservative implementation of progressive education in Canada, coupled with our national policy of glossing over controversial issues, resulted in a bland, ineffectual form of citizenship...what progressive educators had been promoting 40 years earlier as a vital, community-orientated view of citizenship now had become an authoritarian model...they believed that efficient administrative practices, more practical programs of study and an English protestant vision of nationality would win

allegiance from disparate ethnic, regional and class groups. Their paternalistic indoctrination of this monolithic viewpoint became increasingly inappropriate for Canadian citizens in the 1960s.⁶¹

During this period of education for citizenship, classrooms adopted generally a transmission view of education. Students were more or less viewed as a tabula rasa, a blank slate, or an empty vessel and the teachers role was to provide the contents for this empty vessel. This approach entrusted enormous power and authority in the teacher. They were regarded as the major source of knowledge and wisdom. Teachers played an active, dominant, and powerful role where students played a subordinate, docile, and powerless one.⁶² Students were overwhelmed with isolated facts and bits of information from teachers lectures and textbooks that were deemed essential for their intellectual growth and social understanding. Success was largely determined by how well students could memorize them and regurgitate them back in written or oral form rather than the degree to which students could demonstrate an intellectual capacity to address a problem. There are several criticisms of using this type of teaching methodology in preparing students for citizenship. John Dewey recognized the inadequacy of the transmission approach when he stated that:

learning here means acquisition of what already is incorporated in books and in heads of elders. Moreover, that which is taught is thought of as essentially static. It is taught as a finished product, with little regard either to the ways in which it was originally built up or to changes that will surely occur in the

future. It is to a large extent the cultural product of societies that assumed the future would be much like the past, and yet it is used as educational food in a society where change is the rule, not the exception.⁶³

In How We Think, Dewey argued that the aim of this approach often seems to be to make the student a “‘cyclopedia’ of useless information.”⁶⁴ In Experience and Education Dewey argued that “since the subject matter as well as standards of proper conduct are handed down from the past, the attitude of pupils must, upon the whole, be one of docility, receptivity, and obedience.”⁶⁵ John Goodland criticized this type of approach as one where

students rarely planned or initiated anything, read or wrote anything of some length, or created their own products. And they scarcely ever speculated on meaning, discussed alternative interpretations, or engaged in projects calling for collaborative effort. The topics of the curriculum, it appears to me were something to be acquired, not something to be explored, reckoned with, and converted into personal meaning and development.⁶⁶

Alfred North Whitehead was critical of schools that promoted the proliferation of inert ideas, “ideas that are merely received into the mind without being utilized, or tested, or thrown into fresh combinations.”⁶⁷ Charles Silberman argues that much of what is learned in the classrooms using the transmission approach is mindlessness and without educational purpose. He states that “what tomorrow needs is not masses of intellectuals, but masses of educated men - men educated to feel and to act as well as to think.”⁶⁸

The transmission approach was essentially teacher centered. There was little or no emphasis on process of learning. The authoritarian nature of the classroom did not allow for democratic participation or the development of critical thinking. The transmission approach dominated teaching practices in Canadian schools throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

1.12. Citizenship Education, 1960's to 1980's, Identity and Activism

The third period in the development and delivery of citizenship education in schools occurred between the 1960's and the 1980's. This approach took its inspiration from the need to counteract the view that Canadians knew very little about their country and their fellow Canadians. Unlike the earlier assimilationist approach which stressed nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization, in the context of loyalty and patriotism to Great Britain, this approach stressed the need for a pan-Canadian understanding.

**1.13. A. B. Hodgett's Report, What Culture? What Heritage?
A Call for a Pan-Canadian Understanding in Light of the
Three Major Problems Facing Canada**

The major impetus behind this approach to education for citizenship was the 1968 National History Project study of 951 elementary and high schools titled What

Culture? What Heritage?. The author and Director of the Project, A.B. Hodgetts, in his summary and recommendations, asserted that “Canada had too much nationalism, not too little. ...National unity in the usual meaning of the phrase is a will-o'-the-wisp; it is both futile and undesirable to search for it in a vast, multi-ethnic country like Canada.”⁶⁹ Rather, in his report, Hodgetts advocated the need for a civic education not for national unity but for national understanding. This civic education was to be based on a concept of pan-Canadianism which recognized the pluralistic and multi-ethnic nature of Canadian society and the particular set of problems that the people faced at any given time. According to Hodgett, “the extent to which Canadians are aware of their identity depends on the depth of their understanding of these problems.”⁷⁰ Among all the problems facing Canadians, he identified three major ones. The three major problems included; the challenge of French/English polarity and of other ethnic groups, the challenge of Canada’s proximity to the United States, and the challenge of the forces of regionalism.

1.14. The Challenges of French/English Polarity and Other Ethnic Groups

The first of these deals with the challenge of two entirely different linguistic and cultural communities in Canada. The second deals with the challenge presented by the presence of other ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups in Canada. We shall examine briefly the first of this twofold major problem identified by Hodgetts in his Report. This will, however, require some understanding of the Quiet Revolution in

Quebec and the development of a Quebecois consciousness.

Pierre Trudeau had used the metaphor of two scorpions in the bottle, English versus French, to depict the cultural and linguistic polarity in Canada's history. The French scorpion in the bottle attempted to protect its social, cultural, linguistic and economic integrity by seeking greater autonomy for itself, while the English scorpion in the bottle sought to protect the status quo and its social, cultural, and economic interests by cultural and linguistic integration. It was during the 1960's, the period known as the Quiet Revolution, that there began emerging a self-identity in Quebec and the Quebecois or French nationalists began questioning Quebec's place in confederation with the rest of Canada.

1.15. The Development of a Self-Identity in Quebec

It is now necessary to briefly explain the development of this self-identity in Quebec and the social and political movement toward French nationalism. This will first require a brief discussion on how the conception of a French-Canadian nation changed during the 1960s as French nationalists in Quebec began developing a new sense of identity. Prior to the 1960's, a French-Canadian nation was generally understood by nationalist as a type of cultural, linguistic, space that existed throughout the country and even into the northeastern part of the United States. However, by the early 1960's, the spatial conception of a French-Canadian nation was beginning to narrow and to be understood solely in terms of the political

boundaries of the Province of Quebec, and it was also beginning to be perceived in the context of a nation state. Dale Postgate and Kenneth McRoberts provide the tone when they stated that “there was an increasing refusal to merge the primary identity of Quebec Francophones with that of Canada as a whole. Quebec Francophones might share a Canadian identity for some political purposes, but they were first and foremost Quebecois. Such an ambiguous compound term as “French-Canadian” was no longer acceptable and fell into disuse. For all intents and purposes the “nation” and Quebec had become the same.”⁷¹ The term French-Canadian became a less popularly used term in Quebec while the term Quebecois gained increasingly popular usage. The reasoning for this was that Quebec society was becoming more aware of itself as an unique society and not merely a shadow of the society of English Canada. The participants of this society were becoming aware of themselves as a separate cultural and linguistic group with a unique history in Canada. As a society, they were able to differentiate themselves from other linguistic and cultural groups in Canadian society. In the next decade, in the mid 1970's, Rene Leveque and the Parti De Quebecois would begin advocating a Quebec as a separate nation state with a sovereignty association with the rest of Canada.

A second factor that contributed to the development of a new self-identity in Quebec related to the shift in thinking about Quebec's social and economic development. This represented a major shift in ideological thinking among the Francophones of Quebec. They no longer viewed the social and economic development of Quebec as a threat to the integrity of Quebec's identity. There were

four major indications of this, a social class consciousness, urbanization, education, and nationalization.

The French speaking people of Quebec not only found themselves in a minority economic status position with the rest of Canada but also within Quebec itself. The English speaking people in Quebec controlled the major means of production whilst the French speaking people were forced to sell their labour for a wage which was often well below that paid to English speaking workers. “Although English speaking Quebecers made up only 13 percent of the population, they controlled-together with British and American interests-all the important sectors of the economy; banking and finance, manufacturing, and the resource industries. In Quebec manufacturing industries, French speaking Quebeckers formed the bulk of the lowest-paid earners, and in 1961 French-speaking workers earned an average income 60-65 percent less than that of their English-speaking counterparts.”⁷² The French-speaking population of Quebec felt they had been colonized by the English speaking capitalists and forced into a life of economic servitude. They were becoming increasingly more aware of their economic chains and shackles and began to see themselves as a distinct social class from the bourgeoisie English.

The majority of the Francophone population by the early 1960s were living in urban centres. For example, in 1961, 68.2 percent of the French lived in urban areas. By 1971, this figure had risen to 75.9 percent.⁷³ French-Canada was no longer regarded as a rural and agricultural society. This new French urban middle class began emerging during the last years of Premier Maurice Duplessis’ political

regime.

This new emerging urban middle class began to move away from traditional French-Canadian professions, such as law, medicine, journalism, and the church, and rather entered programmes relating to business, engineering, and the social sciences. Others furthered their education by enrolling in American and British graduate schools. Their fundamental goal was “*ratra-page*”, “*catching up*”, with the social and economic development of the rest of Canada. With a new sense of confidence and direction, this newly educated and politically aware social class of urban Francophone nationalists sought to transform Quebec into to a more autonomous, efficient, and technological society. It would be managed and directed by the state and the Quebecois who would control their own destiny.⁷⁴

“*C’est le temps pour change*”, “*this is the time for change*” was the campaign slogan of the newly elected provincial government of Premier Jean Lesage in the early 1960's. The three pillars of “*la survivance*”, “*the survival*”, namely, religion, language, and the French-Canadian family, would now be protected by the State rather than the church. Rene Leveque, Minister of Natural Resources and one of the chief architects of the reform programme of the Lesage government stated that the role of the state “*must be more than a participant in the economic development and emancipation of Quebec; it must be a creative agent...It is alone, through our state, we can become maitres chez nous, masters in our own house.*” The Lesage government cleaned up corruption in the government’s administration, laid the groundwork for major educational reform, and began nationalizing vital resources

of Quebec. In 1962, the Shawinigan Power Company and ten other private utilities were nationalized as part of the new Hydro-Quebec. Later in 1962, an election was called to secure a mandate for the nationalization programme. The Lesage government, upon re-election, nationalized the remaining hydro-electric projects in Quebec.⁷⁵

1.16. **Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,
the Emergence of Concerns from Other Ethnic Groups**

In April, 1963, the Progressive Conservative government of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker was defeated in a general election before it could deal with the perplexing problem of Quebec. The new federal Liberal government of Prime Minister Lester Bowles Pearson which was heavily depended upon political support from Quebec adopted a form of cooperative federalism with Quebec. Faced with the brewing disquietude in Quebec, the growing linguistic and cultural polarity between English and French Canada, and the demands for fuller constitutional powers, Pearson set up a ten-person federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which was headed by co-chairs, Andre Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton. The mandate given to the Royal Commission was to “inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of equal partnership between the two founding races.”⁷⁶

The Commission identified the problem of Canada and Quebec in the following context.

...There have been strains throughout the history of confederation... They have been driven to the conclusion that Canada, without being fully conscious of the fact, is passing through the greatest crisis in its history... The source of the crisis lies in the province of Quebec...Although a provincial crisis at the outset, it has become a Canadian crisis, because of the size and importance of Quebec, and because it has inevitably set off a series of chain reactions elsewhere...The state of affairs established in 1867, and never since seriously challenged, is now for the first time being rejected by French Canadians in Quebec.⁷⁷

Volume I of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism focussed exclusively on the Canada's unique status of having two major international languages, French and English. Accordingly the Report states:

English is today the mother tongue of more than 250,000,000 people. To this figure should be added some 200,000,000 who speak English as their second language or who have a good working knowledge of it. French, for its part, is the mother tongue of around 65,000,000 people and is constantly used by another 150,000,000 throughout the world. These two languages thus have worldwide prestige.⁷⁸

The mandate given to the Commission was soon met with expressions of animosity amongst non-British and non-French ethnic groups who felt that

Canada's ethnic multiplicity should also be recognized. One of the commissioners, Ukrainian Jaraslov Rudnyckyj, felt so strongly about Canada's mosaic and cultural pluralism, that he provided a separate statement to this effect in Volume I of the Report. As a result, the terms of reference were widened to take into account: "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard this contribution."⁷⁹

Notwithstanding the numerous representations to the Commission regarding Canada's multi-ethnic and cultural plurality, many of the commissioners in the Report held on to the concept of Canada as a cultural and linguistic duality. In Book IV of the Report titled "The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups", the Commissioners stated that:

it is highly desirable that newcomers to Canada receive full and clear information about their new country...(they) should know that Canada recognizes two official languages and that it possesses two predominant cultures that have produced two societies-Francophone and Anglophone-which form two distinct communities within an overall Canadian context...Immigrants, whatever their ethnic or national origin or their mother tongue, have the right and are at liberty to integrate with either of the two societies.⁸⁰

One is left with the view that some of the commissioners felt that to recognize Canada's linguistic and cultural plurality could result in the Balkanization of Canada.⁸¹

The federal Liberal government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau formalized the concept of linguistic duality by passing the Official Languages Act in 1969. The goal of the Act was to ensure the equality of status of French and English in the federal parliament of Canada and Canadian courts pursuant to section 133 of The Constitution Act, 1867, and also throughout federal government institutions. The Act stated accordingly that its purpose was to:

ensure respect for English and French as the official languages of Canada and ensure equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all federal institutions, in particular with respect to their use in parliamentary proceedings, in legislative and other instruments, in the administration of justice, in communicating with or providing services to the public and in carrying out the work of federal institutions; support the development of English and French linguistic minority communities and generally advance the equality of status and use of English and French languages within Canadian society; and set out the powers, duties and functions of federal institutions with respect to the official languages of Canada.⁸²

Canada's Official Languages Act was updated again in 1988 as a result of the patriation of the Constitution Act, 1982 and the entrenchment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. These changes were made pursuant to sections 16 to 20 of the Charter dealing with the official languages of Canada and section 23 dealing with minority language educational rights. This further enhanced

bilingualism in Canadian institutions, since the Charter legally obligated all federal government institutions and any other office of such institutions , including those of the courts, as well as those applying to the province of New Brunswick, “to provide services in both official languages, as well as the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of a province.”⁸³

1.17. Federal Government Policy on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism

In 1971, the Trudeau government responded to Book 4 of the Report of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, titled The Cultural Contributions of Other Ethnic Groups, 1970. The government announced that it would accept all the recommendations of the Report and announced a government policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. The government indicated its support for the policy in four ways.

- 1. Resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, and a clear need for assistance, the small and weak groups no less than strong and highly organized.**
- 2. The government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.**
- 3. The government will promote creative encounters and inter-change among**

all Canadian cultural groups in the interests of national unity. 4. The government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.⁸⁴

When the Trudeau government announced the adoption of its policy of multiculturalism, it is important to remember that Canada was, however, a country of many other cultural and linguistic groups, in addition to French and English. Canada had become a country of multicultural pluralism and a mosaic of Canadian national regions. The policy remains controversial in Canada today and is not without its critics. For example, Bissoondath criticized it as one which "highlighted our differences rather than diminished them, has heightened division rather than encourage union...the policy has led to a ghetto mentality...we face a future of multiple solitudes with no central notion to bind us."⁸⁵ Other critics, such as journalist Richard Gwyn regarded it as political opportunism to buy votes rather than any type of progressive social policy. Accordingly, Gwyn states:

Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's imperative, post 1972, changed from doing what was right, rationally, to doing what was advantageous politically. So Trudeau had been criticized for ignoring the Queen; in 1973, the Queen came to Canada twice...with Trudeau at her side every step of the royal progress. So he has been accused of sloughing off the ethnics; up sprang a trebled multiculturalism program that functioned as a slush fund to buy ethnic votes.⁸⁶

These were two of the criticism of the policy of multiculturalism in academic and journalistic circles. It was a seemingly bold and ambitious commitment of the Canadian government to appease the two founding groups and other multi-ethnic groups without any sense of a coherent vision of Canadian unity. It was also seen in the public eye as a ploy by the federal liberal party to get re-elected with the support of ethnic votes.

1.18. The Transformation in Canada's Immigration Policy; Multicultural Pluralism and the Mosaic of Canada's National Regions

Multicultural pluralism and the mosaic of Canada's national regions were largely the consequence of a major shift in Canada's immigration policy. In order to fully understand this shift, it is necessary to understand the underlying historical, social and political forces that served to shape Canada's policy of multiculturalism in 1971.

Between 1926 and 1945, the percentage of immigrants by ethnic origin groups for Canada were; British Isles 47.8, Northwestern European 24.4, Central and Eastern European 19.1, Southeastern and South European 4.5, Jewish 3.4, Asian and Other origins 0.8. Between 1955-1966 the percentage of immigrants by ethnic origin groups for Canada were; British Isles 32.9, Northwestern European 20.7, Central and East European 7.7, Southeastern and South European 29.9, Jewish 2.2, Asian and Other origins 6.5.⁸⁷ By the late 1960s, the number of

immigrants from non-European countries began increasing, while at the same time, the number of immigrants from European areas began decreasing. The ten leading source countries of immigrants in 1951 were Britain, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, France, United States, Belgium, Yugoslavia, and Denmark.⁸⁸ In 1973, the ten leading source countries of immigrants were Britain, United States, Hong Kong, Portugal, Jamaica, India, Phillipines, Greece, Italy, and Trinidad.⁸⁹ The shift to non-European immigrants is the result of the elimination of a discriminatory immigration policy based on race and ethnicity, as well as the pressures of emigration in third world countries.⁹⁰

In the post World War II years, the percentage of immigrants with ethnic origin from the British Isles, Northwestern Europe, Central and East Europe decreased significantly, whereas the percentage of immigrants with ethnic origin from Southeastern and South European, Asian and other origins increased significantly. The reasoning behind this was that Canada's restrictive policy of immigration based on race, colour, and country of origin could no longer be justified. The war with the Nazi regime, the holocaust, and the post war concern with human rights, all contributed to Canada's awareness of its racist immigration policy and its discrimination against ethnic groups in Canada. It was a time when Canada had participated in numerous human rights conferences and had become a member of the United Nations and party to numerous international human rights covenants, including; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966, and the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, together making up the International Bill of Human Rights. The Immigration Act of 1910 had prohibited “the landing in Canada of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character.”⁹¹ This provision in the Immigration Act was interpreted in such a way that it excluded non white immigrants. Immigration restrictions were placed on blacks because it was supposedly scientifically proven that blacks could not endure cold climates. The policy also discriminated against Jews who were regarded as unassimilable. During the 1930s, Canada turned away Jewish refugees fleeing eastern Europe and the Nazi regime of Adolf Hitler. The 1920's is known as the decade of the Chinese Immigration Act. “All Chinese except university students, merchants, Canadian-born Chinese returning from abroad, and diplomatic personnel”⁹² were excluded from Canada. Prime Minister MacKenzie expressed the tone of his government when he stated that “the people of Canada do not wish...to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population.”⁹³ The new Immigration Regulations in 1967 eliminated restrictions based on race, colour, and country of origin and introduced a point system that rated applicants on the basis of formal education and the work experience needs of the Canadian economy. ⁹⁴ In 1971, the people of non-British and non-French origin accounted for 26.73 percent of Canada’s population⁹⁵ and there were 75 ethnic or cultural distinctions in the country.⁹⁶

In 1971, the percentage distribution of population by ethnic groups in

Canada were; British 44.62, French 28.65, German 6.10, Italian 3.38, Ukrainian 2.69, Netherlands 1.97, Scandinavian 1.78, Polish 1.46, Jewish 1.37, Hungarian 0.61, Greek 0.57, Yugoslavian 0.48, Czech and Slovak 0.37, Russian 0.29, Finnish 0.27, Belgian 0.23, Austrian 0.19, Romanian 0.12, Lithuanian 0.11, Indian and Eskimo 1.45, Other Asian (e.g. Indian, Pakistani, Filipino) 0.60, Chinese 0.55, Japanese 0.17, Negro 0.15.⁹⁷

There are four reasons why this statistical data on the Canadian ethnic mosaic is more significant than it appears at first glance according to sociologist Harry Hiller, in Canadian Society, A Sociological Analysis.⁹⁸ The first reason is that the English and French were the first ethnic groups to migrate to Canada from across the Atlantic, and because of this, they were in a position of power to determine immigration policy in Canada. Hiller borrows John Porter's concept of charter group to refer to these two ethnic groups. In the Vertical Mosaic, John Porter explained this concept in the following.

In any society which has to seek members from outside there will be varying judgements about the extensive reservoirs of recruits that exist in the world. In this process of evaluation the first ethnic group to come into previously unpopulated territory, as the effective possessor, has the most to say. This ethnic group becomes the charter group of the society, and among the many privileges and prerogatives which it retains are decisions about what other groups are to be let in and what they will be permitted to do.⁹⁹

The two charter groups were by no means of equal strength. The English were the

higher charter group and the French were the lower charter group. Since the English outnumbered the French, they possessed greater political power and influence over government policy and decision making. The effect of this power role was to make native ethnic groups and other ethnic groups permitted entry into Canada aware of their subordinate status and power. Discriminatory practices by the dominant ethnic group reinforced their dominant position in society and the feeling of apparent insignificance of the other ethnic groups. The result was the strengthening of a group consciousness among the other ethnic groups.¹⁰⁰ Porter refers to these other ethnic groups, as “less preferred ethnic groups” who assumed an “entrance status”.¹⁰¹ “Entrance status implies lower level occupational roles and subjection to processes of assimilation laid down and judged by the charter group.”¹⁰²

The second reason why this ethnic diversity is more significant than the apparent statistical data reveals is that the minority ethnic groups, because of their subservient position and exposure to the dominant and propagating culture of the majority group, had to find some way to retain their cultural identities. To this end, they often recreated social patterns of behaviour evident in their homelands. This was the case for the Ukrainians who attempted to combat any socialized sense of inferiority by the two dominant charter groups. As the charter groups policy of immigration allowed the entry into the country of similar ethnic groups such as the Germans or new ethnic groups such as the Chinese, this fostered cultural practices and ethnic traditions. Subsequent waves of new immigrants into already

established ethnic minority groups served to invigorate the ethnic minority group's culture.¹⁰³

A third reason why ethnic diversity is more significant than the statistical data reveals is that minority groups ethnic counterforce to the charter groups domination and propagation of culture set a pattern of behaviour for other ethnic groups to maintain similarly their ethnic loyalties and identities. In Canada, because there was no one dominant charter group, there was no one dominant culture. The fact is that the two charter groups, the English and French, were in conflict with each other over the specific nature of their culture and in that sense Canadian society had a built in tolerance for culture differentiation, and for the propagation of different ethnic identities and ways of life. The non-charter minority ethnic groups in Canada composed over one quarter of the Canadian population in 1971. Canadian society was not only polarized into the two charter groups, English and French, but was also further divided into multi ethnic groups and their allegiances.¹⁰⁴

The fourth reason why ethnicity is more important in Canada than the statistical data indicates is that there are regional variations in ethnic strength. For example, Italian and Ukrainian ethnic groups in Nova Scotia and British Columbia are small in comparison to Saskatchewan and Ontario. There are few French in British Columbia relative to New Brunswick. There are more Chinese in British Columbia than there are in Nova Scotia. There are more Italians in Ontario than any other province in Canada. These regional variations create their own set of

peculiar ethnic tensions among regional populations.¹⁰⁵

The Canadian Policy of Multiculturalism announced in 1971 was the culmination of a number of historical, social, political, domestic, and international forces. Within Canada, this included the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and the French/English polarity, and the growing awareness of a Canadian ethnic mosaic of national regions and the demand for cultural and linguistic inclusion. The Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which promoted the idea of a bilingual and bicultural Canada throughout the 1960's was faced with the pressures and demands of regional forces and multi-ethnic groups. If the State was going to chart a course that would determine the future of the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society and the development of its national identity, then the different regions of the country and its ethno-cultural groups wanted inclusion in this process. As previously stated, by 1971, multi-ethnic groups, other than the two charter groups, comprised over one quarter of the aggregate of the Canadian population. It is, therefore, not surprising that by the early 1970's, there was pressure for bilingualism and multiculturalism rather than bilingualism and biculturalism. The Canadian Policy of Multiculturalism was also affected by international forces including the political independence of former British and French colonies in Africa and the civil rights movement in the United States.

1.19. The Challenge of Canada's Close Proximity to the United States;

Cultural, Economic and Educational Implications

The second major problem facing Canada identified by Hodgetts related to its close proximity to the United States. There are clearly cultural, economic, and educational implications of this. Hiller devotes an entire Chapter in his book to the effects of these external forces on Canadian society. He argues that the autonomous development of Canadian society has been thwarted by these forces. He refers to a society “whose sense of independence and uniqueness is obscured by the cast of continuous alien influences”¹⁰⁶ as a shadow society. Given Canada’s close proximity to the United States, it could be argued that it was a shadow society of the United States in terms of culture, economics, and education.

In terms of culture, Canada was very susceptible to American print and visual media. In describing Canada’s situation, Hiller states that “the underdeveloped nature of the visual media in Canada, the lack of variety of printed media, and the resultant flooding of the Canadian market with foreign films and magazines have created a dependency on foreign culture and its media.”¹⁰⁷ He argues, furthermore, that American radio and television signals are received into Canadian homes and compete with Canadian television and radio. As a result, Canadians are sometimes more in tuned with events going on in the United States than in their own country. For example, cable television provides an array of American television networks in Canadian homes notwithstanding Canadian Radio and Television policy regulations relating to required percentages of Canadian content and programming. The entertainment industry is another area in which Canadian culture is influenced by the United States. The entertainment industry

was defined largely in terms of Hollywood, Nashville, New York, London and Paris. It was very difficult for Canadian entertainers to make it big without moving to one of these cities.¹⁰⁸

Canada had moved from an economic shadow society of Britain to an economic shadow society of the United States. Kari Levitt's Silent Surrender: The Multinational Corporation in Canada investigates Canada's slide into a position of economic dependence on the United States.¹⁰⁹ Three quarters of foreign investment in Canada prior to World War I was British. British investment was known as foreign portfolio investment and included capital investment in the form of bonds and loans with fixed rates of return with little legal control over the way in which these investments were used in Canada.¹¹⁰ According to Levitt, Canada, prior to World War I, "was the prototype of a borrowing country, old style. It contained the highest concentration of British portfolio investment to be found in any major area of the world; 14 percent of all British foreign capital was invested in Canada, compared with 20 percent in the United States and 20 percent in all Latin America."¹¹¹ Foreign investment in Canada until World War II had been largely in the form of British portfolio investment. In subsequent decades there was an acceleration of American foreign direct investment and an economic re-colonization of Canada by U.S. international corporations which transformed Canada into the world's richest under-developed country. This foreign direct investment in Canada had a variable rate of return and the investor could participate in economic decision making by way of shareholder vote. Foreign direct investment in Canada meant

that outsiders, namely, Americans, through their stock voting control, could make important economic decisions based on personal ambitions that could adversely affect Canada.¹¹²

In 1950 the book value of U.S. direct investment assets abroad was a mere \$11 billion; by 1960 it had grown to \$32 billion and in 1966 had reached \$55 billion. The value of assets of U.S.-controlled manufacturing facilities abroad increased from \$3.8 billion in 1950 to \$22.1 billion in 1966. Thirty-five per cent of all U.S. manufacturing assets and 31 per cent of total direct investment assets are located in Canada. The book value of U.S. subsidiaries in Canada exceeds the amount of total U.S. direct investment in Europe, and total U.S. investments in Central and South America.¹¹³

According to Levitt, "by 1964, 80 percent of long-term foreign investment in Canada was American, 12.9 billion in the form of U.S. direct investments in branch plants and subsidiaries...Some 60 percent of Canada's manufacturing industry, 75 percent of her petroleum and natural gas industry and 60 percent of her mining and smelting industry are now in the control of foreign corporations."¹¹⁴

Canadian education was also a shadow society of the United States. Universities developed more slowly in Canada and did not have the status or prestige of those in Great Britain and the United States where major research developments were taking place. As a result, there was a brain drain of Canadian students to American and British universities. This brain drain was then followed in the 1960s by a brain swamp of foreign (usually from the United States and Great

Britain) skilled workers into Canadian universities. Canadian faculty were a minority in Canadian universities.¹¹⁵ According to Robin Matthews and James Steele, “58 percent of the new appointments in 1963-65, 72 percent of the appointments in 1965-67, and up to 86 percent of the appointments in 1968 went to non-Canadians.”¹¹⁶ In an attempt to counteract this trend, Canadian universities began offering a variety of graduate programs. In another article, Matthews argues that since Canadian universities have become Americanized and “homogenized into the U.S. higher education system by means of imitative educational policies, by curriculum focus, and by faculty recruitment and the admission of graduate students...the rest of the system follows, since the higher education system qualifies the personnel for the rest of the system.”¹¹⁷ Furthermore, he argues, that given this Americanization of Canadian universities, Canadian students are learning that the “fundamental concerns of Canadian life are parochial, or central only insofar as they relate to U.S. concerns. They are teaching Canadian students that the reality of man in modern society is the U.S. reality, that Canadian philosophical roots are inept, incomprehensible, outdated, impracticable.”¹¹⁸ In his view, Canada has only one of two choices, either surrender to the American way or take revolutionary action to reclaim Canadian hegemony of Canadian education. James Lorimer provides a personal account of his encounter with the U.S. branch plant publishing house in Canada and how U.S. corporate values make their way into Canadian text books.¹¹⁹

1.20. The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic, the Challenge of Forces of Regionalism

The third major problem facing Canada according to Hodgetts was that of regionalism. Leo Driedger, in his study titled “Ethnic Identity in the Canadian Mosaic”, argued that Canada is regionally, ecologically, and demographically a highly differentiated nation. He identifies and describes the mosaic of Canadian national regions in terms of ; 1. The Northlands: Multiculturalism and Multilingualism, 2. The West: Anglophones and Multiculturalism, 3. Upper Canada: Anglophones and Multiculturalism, 4. Lower Canada: Francophones and Multiculturalism, 5. The Maritimes: Anglophones and Anglo-culturalism, and 6. New Brunswick: Bilingualism and Biculturalism.¹²⁰

1.21. The Northlands: Multilingualism and Multiculturalism

This region includes the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and approximately the northern two-thirds of the six most western provinces in Canada, namely, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec. According to Vallee and DeVries, in 1971, 69 percent of the people living in this area were of native origin and 56 percent of these individuals spoke their native tongue.¹²¹ They argue that notwithstanding European influences these Native peoples tend to perpetuate multilingualism and multiculturalism. The Native people in this area make up a small percentage of the population and they lack any real

political and economic power.

1.22. The West: Anglophones and Multiculturalism

This region includes approximately the southern one third of the four most western provinces, namely British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Although once the domain of the Native people, it is now occupied primarily by immigrants of European origin, namely, British, German, Ukrainian, and French. There is no particular ethnic group that makes up the majority population in this area although the British make up the largest ethnic group. Since there is no one dominant ethnic group, each ethnic group tends to promote their own language and culture. However, according to Vallee's and DeVries' 1975 study, 85 percent of the population in this area speak English.¹²²

1.23. Upper Canada: Anglophones and Multiculturalism

This area consists of the southern region of Ontario and until recently was heavily populated by the British charter group who supported the industrial and financial base of the area. However, this industrial and financial base of southern Ontario attracted many new immigrants from northern and southern Europe to the area to work. According to Driedger, almost half of all the new immigrants arriving into Canada during the 1970's went to the city of Toronto. Since many of these new

immigrants are competing for jobs, they are learning to speak English. Therefore, the area is linguistically English. According to Vallee and DeVries, 75 percent of the people in Ontario speak English at home and about 5 percent speak French.¹²³ English lingualism remains the dominant language in this area while other linguistic groups make up the minority.

1.24. Lower Canada: Francophones and Multiculturalism

This consists of the southern area of Quebec. The vast majority of the population in this region speaks French. This is the largest regional ethnic block in Canada. The economic elite in this area are English and control the financial and industrial base. Two factors, however, contribute toward the possibility of greater French lingualism. The first is the departure of the English economic elite to the expanding financial and industrial base of Toronto. The second is the provincial legislation which favours the use of the French language over English.¹²⁴

1.25. The Maritimes: Anglophones and Anglo-culturalism

This includes the three most easterly provinces, namely, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. The area is of British unlingualism and uniculturalism. According to Vallee and DeVries, 95 percent of the people in this area speak English at home. The area makes up only 5 or 6 percent of the total

Canadian population so its impact on the national mosaic is limited. There are few immigrants moving into this area so it is unlikely that it will develop a heterogeneous mosaic. Both the native and black populations in the area are small.¹²⁵

1.26. New Brunswick: Bilingualism and Biculturalism

The Province of New Brunswick is the only bicultural and bilingual region of the country. It makes up approximately 2 or 3 percent of the population.

According to Vallee and DeVries, approximately one-fourth of the population speak French at home, two-thirds speak English at home, and less than 10 percent speak other languages at home. Biculturalism and bilingualism are not threatened because of the small percentage of other ethnic groups and the proximity of New Brunswick to Quebec.¹²⁶

Although there were common challenges facing the nation as a whole, each of the above six regional mosaics had their own particular set of patterns of identification and social, cultural, political, and economic challenges. Canada, in Driedger's view, was a country distinguished by a mosaic of Canadian national regions. Similarly, David Jay Bercuson argued that "Canada is a country of regions...distinguished by geographical setting, economic role, history, culture, and even different ambitions for the same Canada to which they all belong."¹²⁷ It is because of these "distinctive regional cultures" that Ralph Matthews calls for a regional sociology as opposed to the overarching concern of Canadian sociologists

with the nature of Canadian unity and Canadian identity.¹²⁸

**1.27. A.B. Hodgett's Report; What Culture? What Heritage?
Criticisms of Curriculum and Teaching Methods
and Recommendations for Change**

It was against the backdrop of these three major problems, the French/English polarity and the emergence of multi ethnic groups in Canada, the threats of Americanization because of Canada's proximity to the United States, and the challenges presented by the forces of the mosaic of Canada's national regions, that Hodgetts wrote his landmark report. In the Report, he called for a new programme of Canadian studies and for new materials and teaching strategies that would provide students with a deeper understanding of the various complex social problems facing Canadians. He felt that "the extent to which Canadians are aware of their identity depends on the depth of their understanding of these problems."¹²⁹ He argued that Canadians were learning very little about themselves or the society in which they lived. In his assessment of Canadian schools, Hodgetts states that "in all the infinite variety of modern education on display, there was little evidence that the sociological needs of the students or the expectations of their society were being carefully nurtured."¹³⁰ According to Hodgetts, the curriculum and teaching methods were less than adequate. Accordingly, he states that:

the great majority of the Canadian studies we observed were trapped within the pages of a single textbook. Seventy-five percent of the classes in our survey were struggling with one or other of the two most universally condemned teaching methods. In some cases, the students were “bench bound listeners,” lined up in rows, sitting passively, while a “talking textbook” rhymed off material that they could have read and digested for themselves. More frequently, they were going through the mechanical, question-answer routine based on the discrete, factual recall of a few assigned pages in the textbook. Even if the deficiencies in subject matter were corrected through the development of new programs, very little would be accomplished unless we also overhauled the teaching methods now being used in most of the Canadian studies classrooms.¹³¹

Canadian history courses were taught as a “bland consensus story,” “a dry-as-dust account of uninterrupted political and economic progress” “told without the controversy that is an inherent part of history.”¹³² The seventy-five civics classes observed taught a “lifeless study of the mechanical functioning of governments.”¹³³ Hodgetts concludes that “the majority of English-speaking high school graduates leave Canadian studies classrooms without the intellectual skills, the knowledge and the attitudes they should have to play an effective role as citizens in present-day Canada.”¹³⁴ Hodgett’s Report recommended “a national curriculum development plan designed to make radical changes in the scope, content, and teaching methods of Canadian studies in the elementary and secondary schools of Canada.”¹³⁵ The

Report also recommended the establishment of a Canadian Studies Consortium to implement the programme. The Consortium was to be established on the basis of six major principles. The first recommendation was that it should be designed to function as an interprovincial organization. The second recommendation was that it should be an autonomous organization free of all political influences. The third recommendation was that it should be strategically located in the different regions of the country and have a national executive to decimate information and resources to the different regions. The fourth recommendation was that its sole purpose was to develop and distribute Canadian studies curriculum and teaching methods for elementary and high schools. The fifth recommendation was a call for position papers based upon the findings of the Report and other studies. The sixth recommendation was that individual provinces should determine what resources and materials they wanted to use.¹³⁶

**1.28. The Institutionalization of the Canada Studies Foundation
and the Promotion of a Pan-Canadian Understanding**

Hodgett's Report resulted in the establishment of the Canada Studies Foundation in 1970. The Foundation was an independent and well financed organization that produced a plethora of curricula resources for the teaching about Canada. Its major aim was not only to improve the curricula content of Canada studies, but also to improve the delivery of the curricula by providing teacher

training programmes. The development and delivery of the curriculum relating to Canada improved significantly throughout the 1970's and 1980's but it did not adequately deal with the major problem of the French/English polarity which was identified by Hodgetts in his Report. The curriculum in both the Francophone and Anglophone schools did little to contribute to a mutual understanding of French and English cultures. In the curricula of Anglophone schools, Quebec was presented as an issue or problem for the rest of Canada. Similarly, in the curricula of Francophone schools, Canada was treated as a problem for Quebec.¹³⁷

The Canada Studies Foundation embraced Hodgetts' call for a pan-Canadian understanding. The Foundation was not called the Canadian Studies Foundation because that implied a sense of what it meant to be Canadian. Since Canada was clearly a multi-ethnic pluralistic society with several regional mosaics, there was no national homogenous sentiment, national consciousness, or collective awareness of what constituted a Canadian national identity. That is to say, there was no shared collective visionary sense of cohesion, belonging, or awareness of unity. A national identity formation did not take place, because the process of self-discovery which is the result of social interaction with others applied more to the interaction within specific ethnic groups and not among ethnic groups. There was no unifying cultural integrative force, and as a result, Canada did not have a national identity formation, a collective awareness of unity that would allow the multi-ethnic citizens of Canada to see themselves as Canadians and to be able to differentiate the in-group, Canadians, from the out-group, other nationals. Canada,

was, rather, a nation of multi-ethnic cultural groups, regions, and social classes with dividing allegiances and loyalties. In the words of J.M.S. Careless, Canada was a country of “limited identities” of region, culture and class,¹³⁸ or to use Bissoondath conceptualization, a country of hyphenated Canadians with divided loyalties.¹³⁹ This is why the Foundation was not called the Canadian Studies Foundation. The term Canada was a less contentious term than Canadian because it was not explicitly suggestive of what was Canadian. There could be no pan-Canadian understanding of what was Canadian studies but there could be a pan-Canadian understanding of Canada studies. The latter was a relatively open concept with no preconceived ideas of what was Canadian. The Foundation produced a plethora of curricula resources about the different aspects of Canada. The curricula, however, reflected local and regional priorities and lacked any coherent or guiding vision for a united Canada.

1.29. The Decline of Citizenship Education in the 1990's-

In the late 1980's and early 1990's, schools are less concerned with citizenship as an educational objective and more concerned with educating for economic prosperity. This period has witnessed a trend toward vocationalism and individual entrepreneurialism in the curriculum. Schools are preparing students for employment by teaching them the essential employability skills and by providing them work experience. This way both they and the industries they work for can be

competitive in the global market economy. Less consideration in the newly developing curriculum in the 1990's is given to critically analysing the underlying human and natural forces of globalization and their social, cultural, political, economic, and technological implications and interdependencies. Citizenship education is not all together abandoned, but is rather challenged by a more economically deterministic and global market driven curriculum. The underlying values and organizing principles behind this new curriculum are private property, freedom of enterprise, profit motive, competition, productivity, cost efficiency, and economic rationalism. Whereas schools in the past century stressed the importance of preparing students for citizenship, schools in the 1990's are preparing them for employment in business and industry and teaching them the skills of creating new entrepreneurial enterprises. This trend is based on the assumption that, in a globalized world where space and time have shrunk, there is a greater need for increased cost efficiency and productivity among business and industry so as to maintain their competitive advantage. The indications are that business and industry are being successful in getting their message out to schools and educational institutions, and in articulating to them, the type of employability skills they are looking to hire so that their enterprises can continue to be competitive in the globalized market economy.

1.30. Market Driven Curriculum, Emphasis on Employability Skills

An example of this is the Conference Board of Canada's "Employability Skills Profile". The "Employability Skills Profile" is found on the classroom walls in schools throughout the province of New Brunswick. It identifies the critical skills required of the Canadian workforce. These include academic skills, personal management skills, and teamwork skills. The chart states that academic skills are those skills which provide the basic foundation to get, keep, and progress on a job and to achieve the best results. Canadian employers are looking for a person who can:

Communicate; -understand and speak the language in which business is conducted, -listen to understand and learn, -read, comprehend and use written materials, including graphs, charts, and displays, and -write effectively in the language which business is conducted. Think; -think critically and act logically to evaluate situations, solve problems and make decisions, -understand and solve problems involving mathematics and use the results, -use technology, instruments, tools and information systems effectively, and -access and apply specialized knowledge from various fields, for example, skilled trades, technology, physical sciences, arts and social sciences. Learn; -continue to learn for life.

The personal management skills are those combination of skills, attitudes and behaviours required to get, keep, and progress on a job and to achieve the best results. Canadian employers need a person who can demonstrate:

Positive Attitudes and Behaviours; -self-esteem and confidence, -honesty,

integrity and personal ethics, -a positive attitude toward learning, growth and personal health, and - initiative, energy and persistence to get the job done. Responsibility; -the ability to set goals and priorities in work and personal life, -the ability to plan and manage time, money and other resources to achieve goals, and -accountability for action taken.

Adaptability; -positive attitude toward change, -respect for people's diversity and individual differences, and -the ability to identify and suggest new ideas to get the job done creatively.

The teamwork skills are those skills needed to work with others on a job and to achieve the best results. Canadian employers need a person who can:

Work with others; -understand and contribute to the organization's goals, -understand and work within the culture of the group, -plan and make decisions with others and support the outcomes, -respect the thoughts and opinions of others in the group, -exercise "give and take" to achieve group results, -seek a team approach as appropriate, and -lead when appropriate, mobilizing the group for high performance.

The "Employability Skills Profile" was a joint venture of the New Brunswick Department of Education, Danka, the Port of Saint John, Employers Association, J.D. Irving Limited, The Conference Board of Canada, and the ADI Group Limited.

The "Employability Skills Profile" is given a high profile in New Brunswick's schools. These skills are regarded as most important for the successful functionality of employees within the setting of a business or industry. Its prominent place in

New Brunswick schools serves as a reminder to teachers and students of the types of skills now required in the competitive workforce. However, the “Employment Skills Profile” also serves as an example of how business, industry, and government agencies shape the curriculum of schools to conform to the needs a global market driven economy. Walt Warner cautions against special interests groups outside the school that try to define the rationale and content prescriptions for schools by disseminating resource packages, print and no-print materials to classroom teachers. He argues that special interest groups have a message to get out to the public and view the school as a vehicle for its transmission. Since many teachers are often overwhelmed with a variety of subjects to teach and busy learning the existing curriculum, they have little time to determine the relevance of these resource packages for their classroom.¹⁴⁰ “Educators find it difficult to identify those concepts and goals that could focus their classroom work, or to sort out the teaching strategies implied by the various content prescriptions”¹⁴¹ of these resource packages. The basic argument of these special interest groups to justify the inclusion of their content in the curriculum is what Werner calls a prudential argument. That of “enhancing national or regional trade, our standard of living, spheres of influence in the world, or even national pride.”¹⁴²

It is clearly important for teachers to establish links with the world outside their classrooms to make the curriculum relevant but it is also important for them to be critically aware of those forces which have their own hidden agenda and attempt to shape the curriculum and its outcomes. Although the example of the

“Employability Skills Profile” was used for purposes of identifying the types of skills that employers are looking for in employees, it also serves as an example of how business and industry get their message out to the public, and how the market and corporate world can shape the curriculum. When evaluating resources from outside the school for inclusion in the classroom, teachers need to be Socratic and ask critical questions. 1. What are the sources of knowledge in the curriculum content? 2. What are the vested interests of these sources of knowledge? 3. What are the underlying values associated with these sources of knowledge? 4. How do the vested interests and underlying values of these sources of knowledge conflict with others? They must remember the allegory of Plato's cave. Teachers must not develop cave like mentalities

1.31. Infusion of Information and Communication Technology

Throughout the 1990's, schools have largely played a role in career preparation, but as one might anticipate from the influence of the market, business, and industry, this entailed a major adjustment to the existing curriculum and greater emphasis on science and math. High school science and math graduation requirements have increased whereas the requirements for social studies have decreased. This period has also witnessed the infusion of information and communication technology into the curriculum. For example, the high priority given to information and technology is exemplified in a New Brunswick Department

of Education policy document on strategic planning in schools. It states that “each student will be able to use information and communication technologies to help...develop the attributes needed for a life long learner, to achieve personal fulfilment, and to contribute to a productive, just, and democratic society.”¹⁴³ To achieve this end, the document sets the following goals.

1. Each student and educator will have access to current, fully functioning information and communication technologies.
2. Each student will have the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to use information and communication technologies.
3. Educators will have the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to use information and communication technologies. They will also be skilled as facilitators to incorporate these technologies in to a variety of pedagogical strategies throughout the curriculum.
4. Information and communication technologies will be incorporated into the development, content, and delivery of all curriculum.¹⁴⁴

In-service programmes, teacher conferences, and professional development days were organized to assist teachers in developing the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to use information and communication technologies in their classrooms. Teachers were taught to be skilled facilitators and to incorporate these technologies into a variety of pedagogical strategies throughout the curriculum.

1.32. Vocationalism and Educational Partnerships, Linking the Curriculum to Essential Employability Skills of Business and Industry

The 1990s was also a period in which schools began developing educational partnerships, with business and industry, and began focussing on entrepreneurialism. Social obligation, community service, and activism for the public good which were underlying values of citizenship education in the previous decades now appeared to lose favour to a curriculum which promotes vocationalism and entrepreneurial individualism. Educational partnerships were established between local school districts and business and industry. For example, the New Brunswick Youth Apprenticeship Program provides students with an opportunity to obtain on the job training and work experience and to acquire the knowledge and employability skills outlined by the Conference Board of Canada. Students are provided with 200 hours of paid employment for two consecutive summers and the opportunity to receive workplace mentoring. This program is regarded as having benefits for both the employer and student. The employer benefits are recognized as follows.

1. Develops a work force of young people who have employment skills and on the job experience.
2. Helps identify potential future employees.
3. Encourages students to have a positive attitude towards productivity in the workplace.
4. Enables employers to participate directly in education of students and to keep educators informed of their requirement with respect to future employees.
5. Develops supervisory skills in full-time employees.¹⁴⁵

The student benefits are recognized as follows.

1. Paid summer employment (minimum of 400 hours-two summers).

2. Acquisition of 100 plus hours of employability skills training from professionals in the business community. 3. An opportunity to “network” with employees. 4. An opportunity to gain valuable work experience while still in high school. 5. Gaining an understanding of employer expectations. 6. YAP employability workshops and work experience helps prepare students for the transition to post-secondary school or work. 7. An opportunity to explore a career field before entering post-secondary education. 8. Develops maturity and increased self-confidence. 9. Completion of a “Record of Achievement” outlining all the employability workshops the students attend. An excellent document to include in a student’s portfolio for future employment opportunities. 10. Guaranteed seat at NBCC or preferred status at UNB and in a program aligned with their work experience.¹⁴⁶

Youth apprenticeship programs operate outside school hours and are offered to grade 10 and grade 11 students.

Cooperative education programmes, which provide work experience to students, are offered as credited courses in high schools, usually for grade 12 students. In New Brunswick, students participate in either the first or second semester for usually half days, mornings, or afternoons, depending on the student’s personal school timetable. The student receives no pay for co-op hours worked and students are covered by workers’ compensation. A training plan is jointly developed by the trainer, the work site supervisor, the co-op teacher, and the student, which identifies the work skills and learning objectives to be pursued at the training site. Students are expected to produce a career portfolio at the end of the

program. Although students do not get paid in this program, they do receive work experience that will assist them in planning for a future career. The program serves as a free source of labour for business and industry. Co-op education programs are also prevalent in universities and community colleges. For example, the University of New Brunswick's Faculty of Arts offers the Innovative Career Ready! Program to address the problem of no experience, no job; no job, no experience cycle. Work internships are established through such programs as "Career Connections", a partnership with J.D. Irving Limited, and the Media Internship Program, a partnership with Brunswick News Ltd. These programs provide students with field-related work experience and guaranteed them three years of summer employment. The university also offers a Bachelor of Business Administration Co-op program that offers placements in local firms, and with companies in Eastern Europe, the United States, China, and throughout Canada.¹⁴⁷

School District 6 in New Brunswick instituted an AWAL program (Applications of Workings and Learnings) for administrators and teachers so they link the curriculum taught in schools with the skills (Canadian Employability Skills) employed on the job. Each teacher or administrator selects a particular business or industry that they want to learn more about, and then sets up an interview with the human resource manager to find out the kinds of employment skills the company requires and its employment practices. The teacher then tours the facility and interviews front line employees about the skills, mathematical, literacy, critical thinking etc., that would be necessary to work there, and inquires how the school

can better prepare students for employment in that business or industry. Upon reflection of their visit, teachers then compare the skills defined in the Essential Employability Skills to those required on the job site, and then develop a lesson plan based upon their experience. The fundamental purpose of this program is to connect the classroom learning to the actual need for employment. AWAL lesson plans are placed on an internet database for the benefit of other teachers.¹⁴⁸

1.33. Entrepreneurialism and Enterprise Education

Entrepreneurship was introduced as a separate course of study for grade eleven students in many provinces in the late 1980s and early 1990s. One curriculum document produced by the New Brunswick Department of Education lists six major general curriculum outcomes of Entrepreneurship 110 which reflects the essential graduation learnings. The first general outcomes relates how students will understand how personal attributes and experience can facilitate success in an entrepreneurial culture. It states as follows:

through the completion of this course, it is expected that students will; 1. understand how their personal interests and experience relate to entrepreneurship, 2. utilize their personal attributes to contribute to an entrepreneurial venture, 3. understand the relationship between personal and entrepreneurial achievement, and 4. demonstrate the value of the learning process within the context of personal and entrepreneurial

development.¹⁴⁹

The second general outcome relates to how students will identify and demonstrate attitudes and thinking strategies to develop entrepreneurial ideas. It states as follows:

through the completion of this course, it is expected that students will: 1. apply a variety of thinking and problem solving strategies to develop entrepreneurial ideas, 2. recognize attitudes that reflect an entrepreneurial spirit, and 3. recognize the role that an entrepreneurial spirit may play in life-long learning.¹⁵⁰

The point here is not just to provide two examples of the course outcomes of Entrepreneurship 110 but to provide another example of how the curriculum is being driven by the thinking of the corporate world and marketplace. The teaching of entrepreneurship in schools represents another source of career preparation. The youth apprenticeship and cooperative education programmes provide experience and on the job training while entrepreneurial education encourages students to draw on that experience and training to become the entrepreneurs and the business and industry leaders of tomorrow. Entrepreneurial education is encouraged at all grade levels in New Brunswick. Teachers are encouraged to develop enterprise opportunities within the curriculum to nurture an enterprise culture. Mount Allison University's Project Entrepreneurship Project, (PEP) in collaboration with the New Brunswick Department of Education established a programme for enterprise education in New Brunswick schools. The programme attempted to

infuse the concept of enterprise education in the curriculum throughout the schools of New Brunswick at all grade levels. According to one PEP document, enterprise education would “provide young people with the learning tools necessary to be successful in the workplace and to contribute positively to growth and development within their communities.”¹⁵¹ Enterprise education stressed the process involved in developing an enterprise within the classroom environment. The four major components of this enterprise education were as follows.

1. Student ownership, students will take control and responsibility for their own learning.
2. Experiential learning, students will learn by doing.
3. Teamwork, students will share ideas and learn from each other to complete group initiatives.
4. Reflection and review, students will participate in guided review and sustained reflection on the task they have undertaken and determine how they can enhance performance in the future.¹⁵²

One noteworthy PEP initiative was a partnership developed between Irving Pulp & Paper in Saint John and Hampton High School whereby students in control technology constructed a detailed scale model of the pulp and paper mill with three working models using Programmable Logistic Controls. The project won a Conference Board of Canada award and was put on display at a central location of the Irving company. In speaking about the project, one Irving official stated “Irving Pulp & Paper is grateful for the opportunity to foster a more cooperative relationship between industry and education. We feel that this is the direction that education needs to take and hope that we can continue to work with area

schools.”¹⁵³

Teachers were encouraged to seek placements with business and industry, one to five days, with the intention of establishing enterprise education links. Each placement was to have “clearly negotiated objectives with outcomes leading to links being formed between the organization and education that enhance and enrich the learning that is apart of the school’s curriculum. Placements also provided professional development for teachers and help them to prepare students for the world of work.”¹⁵⁴

The major benefactor of the PEP initiative was Shell Canada Limited. Like other business and industries, Shell Canada recognizes the importance of competitive advantage and the role of education in preparing a highly skilled labour force to ensure this. A foreword in one PEP document is typical of the thinking of most businesses and industries and educational institutions today. “Shell Canada Limited believes that a strong, healthy Canadian economy is greatly dependent upon a well-educated highly skilled workforce. The company can play an important role in ensuring the long-term competitiveness of both country and the industry by supporting education. We are pleased to provide funding to this important initiative that fosters cooperation and communication between business and educators.”¹⁵⁵

The teaching of entrepreneurship trains students to think of their future career as one which creates business and industry. They are taught skills of opportunity identification, to recognize entrepreneurial opportunities as needs,

wants, and problems, which can be addressed by thoughtfully planned business ventures.

The trend toward vocationalism and entrepreneurialism in the curricula is providing students with the opportunity to get a head start on the knowledge and essential employability skills demanded by business and industry and the knowledge and skills necessary for starting a business venture. The 1990's has seen a proliferation of newly developed curriculum for courses relating to computers and control technology, computers and information and communication technology, youth apprenticeship and cooperative education programmes, business technology, and entrepreneurship.

1.34. **The Decline in Canadian Citizenship Education,
The Trend Toward Vocationalism and Entrepreneurialism,
Limitations of Doctrine of Adjustment**

The early 1990's marks the beginning of a trend toward the decline and down-grading of citizenship education in Canadian schools. The present curricula in schools appear to weigh more heavily toward educating for economic prosperity. Vocationalism and entrepreneurial individualism are given a more central stage and prominent place in the curricula. Osborne states "the fashion of the 1990's was not for political activism or community service, but for school-business partnerships and a new vocationalism."¹⁵⁶ Although citizenship education is not completely

abandoned, it has taken a backseat to this new priority in education. Social subjects, social studies, the social sciences, and humanities have been regulated to the sidelines, whereas subjects in math, science, and technology now figure more prominently. A report on Canada prepared for the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, in collaboration with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO states that

during the first half of the 1990's...citizenship education received less emphasis as policy-makers became more concerned with developing the employability skills that youth were believed to require to ensure Canada's competitiveness in a globalizing economy. In many jurisdictions, curricula gave renewed emphasis to "the basics" in mathematics, science, technology, and communications and aimed to promote a spirit of entrepreneurship and competitiveness.¹⁵⁷

The recent trend has much to do with the forces of the globalized market economy and the need for business and industry to maintain a competitive advantage. Their interests and concerns are influencing the thinking of education policy makers and the curricula is being adjusted accordingly.

The trend of schools training students for work appears to have significant support among Canadians. A major poll conducted by COMPAS Inc., of nearly 800 Canadian respondents, asked, what is the most important purpose of education to you? Thirty two percent of the respondents said to train youth for the work world, twenty three percent said to create good citizens, seventeen percent said to develop

inquiring minds, seven percent said to teach ethics, seven percent said to create happy people, four percent said to teach religious values, three percent said to produce good parents, and two percent said to encourage people to question authority.¹⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that almost one third of Canadians felt that the major purpose of education was to train students for work whereas only seventeen percent felt it was to develop inquiring minds. Given the fact that such a significant percentage of the population feel that the major purpose of schools is not to encourage intellectual growth and the desire for learning, but rather to train youth for work, it is not likely that the support for education for citizenship is going to come from the public.

What we see happening to the curricula over the past decade is not new. Robert Hutchins, in the Democratic Dilemma, criticized the curricula of university education in the 1950's. He argued that universities were becoming centres of vocational training and not of independent thought and criticism. Students were being trained for the profession rather than to criticize the profession. They were taught to adapt to the needs of the environment. The curricula was developed on the basis of a doctrine of adjustment.¹⁵⁹ The curricula in Canadian schools in the 1990's- appears also to be based on a doctrine of adjustment and is driven by a global market economy and the interests and concerns of business and industry.

Political and economic forces from outside the school are shaping and moulding the curricula. The globalization of the economy, the increasing pressures of free trade, the need to maintain a competitive advantage, and the increasing

demands for greater efficiency and productivity require business and industry to have an available pool of highly trained and skilled workers. For them, the sooner this training begins, the better. Throughout the 1990's-, they have been very successful in getting this message out to governmental officials and educational policy makers.

A major limitation of this new curricula for economic prosperity is that it is over looking some of the basic knowledge, skills, and underlying values and organizing principles of citizenship education. Students are given little opportunity to learn about history, sense of place, and identity. The new curricula does not adequately teach the skills of critical thinking and freedom of thought. Hutchins, in Education for Freedom, argues that “the proper task of education is the production of such free minds”.¹⁶⁰ In The Learning Society, he states “the vitality of an intellectual community requires that it be free from such interference.”¹⁶¹ Although schools are not universities, they are, nonetheless, centres of learning for our youth, and as such, it is incumbent on schools to teach critical thinking skills so that they will develop free and critical minds and not develop the cave like mentalities that Plato criticized as the want of education in his time. The new curricula also does not teach adequately the attitudes and values of social obligation, community service, and activism for the public good. These are no longer the major priorities in the new curriculum which stresses more vocational and entrepreneurial individualistic economic imperatives.

1.35. Toward a Peace Education Framework

Given this new trend in the curricula of schools in the 1990s-, the question arises whether or not schools are adequately preparing students for life or are they merely training them for work? What is the philosophic purpose of education? If it is to improve humanity and to contribute to some wisdom and goodness, then education must be directed toward the fullest development of humanity's intellectual, rational, emotional, moral, and spiritual powers. As Hutchins argues, "society is to be improved, not by forcing a programme of social reform down its throat, through the schools or otherwise, but by the improvement of the individuals who compose it."¹⁶² Schools can help improve society by better preparing students for citizenship and by educating them for peace. Since there are limitations to traditional approaches to citizenship education in this global, post modern and post Cold War era, which will be investigated further in chapter IV, it is necessary that a curriculum for education for citizenship and peace be based on a more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, systemic, integrative, and ecological framework, that is capable of comprehending and teaching about an interdependency of past, present, and future peace and human security issues. A curriculum based on a peace education framework is capable of nurturing within students the necessary knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, and modes of behaviour that will assist them as citizens of the 21st century in critically addressing the many complex, interlocking, and interdependent peace and human security issues facing our global

neighbourhood. "Social change will not come to us like an avalanche down the mountain. Social change will come through the seeds growing in well-prepared soil- and it is we, like the earthworms, who prepare the soil."¹⁶³ The terms seeds, well prepared soil, and earthworms are an allegory for students, education, and educators. These simple but compelling words of Ursula Franklin underscore the imperativeness of developing curriculum that will contribute to peace and meet the needs of students in the 21st century.

Peace is a pervasive , comprehensive, holistic, systemic, and ecological concept. Over the years the conceptual parameters of peace have widened. There are various conceptualizations of peace. It includes negative peace, the absence of direct violence, such as; murder, assault, rape, torture, and terrorism. It includes positive peace or social justice, the absence of indirect or structural violence, such as; racism, discrimination, xenophobia, homophobia, gender inequity, poverty, hunger, homelessness, disease, and underdevelopment. Peace is also conceived as holistic Gaia peace and peace with the environment, and holistic inner and outer peace.

Chapter II will investigate each of these conceptualizations of peace which are central to the study of peace education. Chapter III will investigate some of the different themes and approaches of peace education, including peace education as teaching about; nuclear war, disarmament education, peace and conflict studies, peace and social justice, global education, and citizenship/political education.

Whereas chapter II investigates concepts of peace, chapter III provides for the study

of peace through education. Taken together, the different concepts of peace and different themes and approaches of peace education, they provide for a more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, systemic, integrative, and ecological conceptualization of peace education. Chapter IV, the concluding chapter, will outline the strengths of a peace education framework over more traditional organizing principles of citizenship education in this global, post modern, post Cold War era. It will investigate some of the challenges facing the traditional attributes of citizenship, namely; sense of identity, rights and entitlements, responsibilities, obligations and duties, activism in public affairs, and social values. It will also attempt to address some possible criticisms of a curriculum based on a peace education framework.

1.36.

Summary

In summary, this chapter has investigated the development and delivery of four major periods of citizenship education in Canada. The first period, 1890's-1920's, citizenship education was viewed as nation building, assimilative nationalism, and Canadianization in the context of loyalty and patriotism to the mother country, Great Britain. The second period, 1920's-1960's, there was no overriding theme of citizenship education but it was generally viewed as a process of character building and socialization. It was also a period when a more self-consciously Canadian spirit of citizenship began developing. The third period,

1960's-1980's, the major theme of citizenship education was on issues of identity and activism. The fourth period, 1990's-, marks the beginning of a decline in citizenship education and a trend toward educating for economic prosperity. Some of the major social, cultural, political, and economic forces at work during these different periods were also investigated as a backdrop to these different periods in the development and delivery of citizenship education in Canada. The chapter concluded by arguing that in this global, post modern, post Cold War era, many complex, interlocking, and interdependent, peace and human security issues facing our global neighbourhood can be more adequately comprehended and taught within a peace education framework than in more traditional approaches to citizenship education.

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Chapter 2, Education for Peace

2. Introduction to Peace Education

Peace education is sometimes controversial because of the nature of the discipline. There are several conceptions of peace education but generally they include a focus on issues, knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and behaviours. Peace education is about fostering conditions for peace and creating the conditions for the absence of violence, both direct and indirect. It promotes disarmament, non-violence, tolerance, international and intercultural understanding, social justice, gender equity, sustainable development of natural resources and peace with the environment. Peace education is not propaganda or indoctrination but is rather a process of critical inquiry. It does not teach students what to think but rather how to think. It encourages open mindedness and discourages close mindedness. Peace education fosters the pursuit of knowledge and critical thinking skills so that we can more fully comprehend complex peace and human security issues associated with the present forces of globalization. It can provide students with the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour to participate in political decision making and help guide social and economic policy affecting our community. Peace education is about asking questions and not being able to find definitive answers but only justifiable answers. Peace education is about discovery and problem solving and the democratic participation of students in the learning

process. It involves a critical examination of peace issues, local, national and global and it requires us to think about preferred choices and alternative futures. Peace education is about fostering citizenship and social action. It is a process of personal and social transformation. It has both an inner and outer dimension. It aims at promoting the development of culture whereby individual modes of behaviour and institutional practices are transformed because of a commitment to a set of values and guiding principles, and foremost among them is the respect for human dignity. Peace education takes place in both formal and non-formal institutions of learning. It is not just one thing, it involves many things which results in some confusion over its conceptual clarity.

For purposes of this chapter and the next, it is necessary to distinguish between the two major perspectives of peace education. Since peace education encompasses two major concepts, namely; peace and education, it is, therefore, possible to interpret peace education from two different perspectives. The first is education for peace. The second is the study of peace through education. In the former the emphasis is on peace, while in the latter it is on education. This chapter will investigate the former, education for peace. It will investigate some of the conceptual constituent elements of peace that contribute to its widening conceptual parameters. It will demonstrated that peace is a pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological concept. As a result, the study of peace through education must be based on a similar approach. Chapter 3 will, therefore, focus on the educational component, the various educational approaches to the study of

peace through education. It is now necessary to investigate the conceptual development and parameters of peace.

2.1. Conceptual Development and Parameters of Peace

There are two major conceptual categories of peace, namely; negative peace and positive peace. Each of these were conceived during a certain time frame in the peace education movement. The concept of negative peace developed in the early part of the twentieth century. The concept of positive peace developed in the late 1960s. Within each of these major conceptual categories of peace, there are conceptual constituent elements and perspectives that build on previous ones. The concept of positive peace is a more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, and ecological concept than the concept of negative peace. The idea that peace can be explained by a single factor theory, such as the absence of war (a form of negative peace), has been replaced by more multi-factored theories that take into consideration other conceptual elements such as the different types of personal violence (rape, murder, assault, etc.), the concept of peace as a balance of forces in the international system, structural violence, a feminist perspective, the concept of Gaia peace with the environment and the concept of inner and outer peace. The level of analysis has expanded from the state level to include more complex and multiple levels of analysis. The evolution in our thinking on peace has been toward a more holistic inner/outer paradigm.¹ In the late 1980's, peace researchers and

educators began conceptualizing peace in terms of a culture. Much of the current focus is on building a culture of peace.

In the past century and particularly since World War II, a number of social and political forces have profoundly affected the development and direction of peace research and education. These forces have been largely associated with the Cold War and national security issues between the former communist Warsaw Pact countries in eastern Europe and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries in western Europe and in North America. The Cold War was a critical and dangerous time because of the threat to the planet of a nuclear war between the two world super powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. This sense of urgency and its ramifications served as the initial impetus behind the peace education movement. Other forces that have had a profound effect on the peace education movement were the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1960's, the growth of the women's liberation movement in the 1970's, the increasing concern for the environment in the 1980's and the concern for human security in the 1990's. The conceptual constituent elements of peace continues to develop and evolve thus widening its conceptual parameters.

It is now necessary to analyse the meaning of peace and its conceptual formulation. Teachers and curricula planners must have a clear understanding of the concept of peace before schools can introduce curricula for the study of peace through education. To this end, it is necessary to examine the underlying value orientation of other associated concepts which are conceptual constituent elements

of peace and serve to determine the breadth of its conceptual parameters.

The central core value in educating for peace is the concept of peace. Stated most succinctly, the concept of peace is the absence of violence. The concept of violence encompasses two other concepts, namely; direct and indirect violence. It is necessary to explicate both concepts and to reveal their underlying value orientation.

2.2. Negative Peace

Negative peace can be conceptualized as, the absence of war or interstate violence, the balance of forces in the international system, stable and unstable peace, the absence of intrastate violence, and the absence of personal violence, It is now necessary to investigate each of these conditions of negative peace.

2.3. Negative Peace as Absence of War or Interstate Violence

The concept of direct violence initially referred to conditions of war between states or interstate violence. The level of analysis was at the state level. Peace was therefore understood as the absence of war between states. This is regarded as a type of outer peace because the focus is external to the attitudes, values, and assumptions of the individual, inner peace. This concept of peace prevailed during the first half of the twentieth century.

For example, this conceptualization of peace was evident in 1918 when United States President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) presented his Fourteen Points to the United States' Congress so that "the world was made fit and safe for every nation and that would guarantee that each nation would be safe against force and aggression."² Wilson's Fourteen Points served as the basis for the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, the peace agreement that ended World War I (1914-1918) and the basis upon which the postwar League of Nations was formed, the precursor to the United Nations. Interstate violence during World War I between the Triple Entente (Russia, France and Great Britain) and the Triple Alliance (Austria/Hungary, Germany and Italy) had accounted for the deaths of nearly sixty million people. This was largely due to new instruments of warfare and direct forms of violence, such as, the machine gun, poison gas, tanks, aeroplanes, and the submarine.³

Another example of this conceptualization of peace as the absence of war occurred in 1938 when Britain and France adopted a policy of appeasement toward Germany rather than risk war. The British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), and the French Premier, Edouard Daladier (1884-1940), effectively surrendered the Sudetenland (1938) to Germany without Czechoslovakia's permission in return for Hitler's promise of no more territorial expansion. Chamberlain's "peace in our time" lasted until March 1939 when Hitler continued his quest for lebensraum (living space) and proceeded to take the rest of Czechoslovakia (1939) and then invaded Poland (1939). He had already taken the Rhineland (1936) and achieved Anschluss (union) with Austria (1938).

2.4. Negative Peace as the Balance of Forces in the International System

In 1942, Quincy Wright, the eminent professor of international law at the University of Chicago, published a two volume study titled A Study of War, in which he modified and further developed the concept of negative peace as the absence of war. Wright argued essentially that peace was the result of a dynamic balance of political, social, cultural, and technological forces, and war resulted when this balance was broken. This dynamic balance of forces in the international system consisted of an overall pattern of relationships, namely; between nation states and international governmental organizations (IGOs), between nation states, and within nation states. Wright's equilibrium model of negative peace assumed that any change in one factor that was significant to the peace balance would require corresponding changes in other factors in order to preserve the peace balance. Accordingly, Wright states the problem of preventing war "is essentially one of maintaining adaptive stability within the world community, only possible if large sections of the public persistently view that community as a whole."⁴ Wright's adaptive stability theory assumes that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts and therefore change in patterns of relationships in one political, social, cultural, or technological factor would not serve to destroy the equilibrium of the whole, peace balance, if corresponding and necessary adjustments were made in other factors without too much time lag.

An example of Quincy's adaptive stability model was the hope that the

League of Nations would usher in a new era of peace and security after World War I and act as a form for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Covenant of the League of Nations was incorporated into the peace treaty with Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria, and this meant that as signatories to the treaty they would become members of the League. The new League of Nations would protect the political independence and territory of all nations. It was to be an international form for the peaceful resolution of disputes. The hope was that this international adaptive stability model would check future social and cultural forces of nationalism and technological forces of the arms race which contributed to war. Another example that takes into consideration change in the technological factor would be the conception of the global political institution of the United Nations in response to threats to peace and world security because of the technological development of the atomic bomb. In this case, political forces at the international level are again readjusting to account for technological change and its possible adverse implications for peace and human security.

Two examples of the time lag that Quincy alludes to would be Chamberlain's and Daladier's policy of appeasement and the Nazi-Soviet Non-aggression Pact (1939). If these state actors, England, France, and Russia had been more pro-active in their intervention, it is possible that Hitler would have been stopped and World War II could have been prevented.

Quincy's adaptive stability model of negative peace assumes some conflict, due to the interplay of social, economic, political, cultural, and technological forces.

However, he believes that conflict is something that can be managed by adjusting the balance of forces which allow for a stable peace. Wright's model of peace applied to all levels of analysis, global, international, national, and local.⁵

2.5. Negative Peace as Stable Peace and Unstable Peace

In a book titled Stable Peace, Kenneth Boulding, one of the most distinguished pioneers of American peace research, put forward the concepts of stable and unstable peace to help explain situations of peace that cannot be conceptualized under the traditional definition of negative peace as the absence of war. He defines stable peace as a “situation in which the probability of war is so small that it does not really enter into the calculations of any of the people involved.”⁶ Stable peace goes beyond the traditional concept of negative peace in that it not only indicates the absence of large scale violence but it suggests an expectation that this behaviour will be observable into the future. An example of this would be the relations between Canada and the United States. In terms of the historic relations of these two countries, there have been threats and incidents of violence but these are not within living memory. The expectation is for peaceful relations between the two countries notwithstanding any differences which might arise.

Unstable peace is a situation where there is no observable large scale violence but the threat and potential for it to take place is present. An example of this would

be the Cold War relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Although these two countries have never engaged each other in any real large scale physical violence, their foreign policies and defence expenditures implied that the threat of large scale violence was real and possible. This was evident in that each country feared a nuclear attack from the other side and the belief that only thing that prevented it was the fear of retaliation. The expectation here is that peaceful relations between the two countries would not continue into the future.

In comparing the two situations discussed above, it is more likely that the relations between Canada and United States would be regarded as more peaceful than the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. This, however, cannot be explained by the traditional definition of negative peace as the absence of war because in both cases that condition applies. The real difference between the two is in terms of expectation. In the case of relations between Canada and United States, the expectation is for peace, whereas this is not the expectation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The traditional concept of negative peace as the absence of war also does not take into account situations where war is not expressly declared by a state such as the case of the war between the United States and Vietnam. In this case, the United States Congress never formally declared a war against Vietnam, but there is little doubt about the large scale physical violence between the two countries. The point to be made here is that the absence of war as a sole determinate of negative peace is too vague and ambiguous.

Boulding is an opponent of the traditional formulation of negative peace as the absence of war. This concept of peace also implies a reduction and elimination of warfare but, moreover, it brings attention to the need for knowledge and skills that will help in managing conflict and enhance and inform a larger social order for peace. Boulding states:

On the positive side, peace signifies a condition of good management, orderly resolution of conflict, harmony associated with mature relationships, gentleness, and love. On the negative side, it is conceived as the absence of something—the absence of turmoil, tension, conflict, and war.... On the other hand, there is a high valuation of the positive concept of peace, which is seen as a skill in the management of conflict and the development of a larger order than that which involves warring parties. The opposite of this kind of peace is then seen as a clearly pathological state of some kind of war. War or "not peace" involves the inability to manage conflict, to the cost of both parties. It involves disruptive dialectic, unnecessary confusion, childish quarrelling, immaturity of political form. Peace in this larger, more positive sense is quite consistent with conflict and excitement, debate and dialogue, drama and confrontation. But it provides a setting within which these processes do not get out of hand, become pathological, and cause more trouble than they are worth. In this sense of the word, peace is one of the ultimate time's arrows in the evolutionary process, an increasing product of human development and learning.⁷

The presence of conflict, excitement, debate, dialogue, drama and confrontation are consistent with his concept of stable peace because these are conditions that can be managed and not allowed to get out of hand. Although his concept of stable and unstable peace take into consideration situations of peace other than the absence of war, they do, nonetheless, define peace negatively because they assume conditions of conflict as necessarily inherent in society but ones which can be managed with proper knowledge and skills. This concept of peace is the basis on which Theodore Lentz at the Lentz Peace Research Laboratory studied the concept of conflict resolution. Lentz concluded that "the problem of world peace includes the problem of utilizing differences, minimizing conflicts and harmonizing purposes of the members of any group which functions...for world peace."⁸

2.6. Negative Peace as Absence of Intrastate Violence

The conceptualization of negative peace as the absence of war also applies to cases of civil war, violence and conflict within states, (intrastate violence). A recent example of this is the civil war in the former Yugoslavia, the genocide and ethnic cleansing of Muslims in Bosnia and the ethnic Albanians in Kosova by Serbian para-military forces, the 'Red Berets' or 'Frenki's boys'⁹ and the Yugoslavian military regime of Slobodan Milosevic. "Some two hundred thousand people were killed in the Balkan wars of the 1990s, most of them in Bosnia. No one knows how many died as a result of atrocities. Nor is it known how many of the tens of

thousands of Serbs who fought knowingly participated in war crimes."¹⁰

2.7. Negative Peace as the Absence of Personal Violence

The concept of negative peace included not only the absence of interstate and intrastate war but it was extended to include the general absence of personal violence. Personal violence is a situation where an individual directs violence against another, such as murder, rape, assault, torture, terrorism, or war. The value orientation is to harm, hurt, inflict pain or kill. Personal violence can be carried out at the individual level or the state level.

An example of personal violence carried out at the individual level is the assassination of the Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of the Austrian/Hungarian empire by Gavrilo Princip, a ethnic Serbian nationalist and member of the Black Hand terrorist organization, in the city of Sarajevo in 1914. The murder took place within Bosnia which was then a territory of the Austrian/Hungarian empire. The shooting was the spark that ignited the Balkans, the power keg of Europe, and resulted in World War I.

An example of personal violence carried out at the state level is the 'holocaust' during World War II (1939-1945). Hitler's and Nazi Germany's 'Final Solution' resulted in the deaths of six million Jews in major extermination camps throughout eastern Europe. Because of the 'holocaust' and the mass aerial bombings, this was the first time in the modern era of human history that the

number of civilians dead out numbered the number of military dead.¹¹

Direct forms of personal violence have permeated our society at every level, its presence is found not only in war between states (interstate violence), and civil war among sub-national actors within states (intrastate violence), but it is present at an interpersonal level in our communities and even in our schools. For example, students Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris, the executioners at Columbine High School, have left behind their progeny in Santee, Lake Worth, Florida, Fort Gibson, Oklahoma and even in Canada's Taber Alberta. In Santee, the fifteen year old Andy Williams "began saying he was going to 'pull a Columbine' on Santana High, two of his friends called him a pussy and dared him to do it."¹² "Six minutes of shooting and thirty rounds left Bryan Zuckor, fourteen, and Randy Gordon, seventeen, fatally wounded and thirteen others hit. It was the worst school shooting in the U.S. since the Columbine massacre two years ago."¹³ In each of these incidents, the student perpetrators of murder were themselves the victims of numerous and continuous forms of direct violence. According to an April 2000 poll in the United States, seventy percent of the adults surveyed felt that they believe a shooting was likely in their schools.¹⁴

The twentieth century has been the most violent in the history of humanity in terms of interstate and intrastate war. For example, we have endured two major world wars, World War I and World War II, a Cold War, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, numerous civil wars associated with the break up of the former Soviet Union and its satellite countries, civil wars in the former

Yugoslavia including those in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Kosova, Macedonia, as well as civil wars in the Congo, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Somalia, Afghanistan, and east Timor. Emerging from these events are dark, dreadful, and powerfully frightening concepts like 'holocaust', 'genocide', and 'ethnic cleansing', as mentioned previously. These concepts have now become part of our common vernacular. Our homes are bombarded with television images of the brutality of warfare and its callous disregard for human life. Women and children are affected the most, but yet they are most often not among the warmongers. Nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons, precision bombs and laser guided missiles, landmines, and child soldiers have become the instruments of modern day warfare.

2.8. Negative Peace and Curricula Implications

The conceptualization of negative peace as the "absence of war or more generally absence of organized violence between groups"¹⁵ has permeated the curricula of social studies education for most of the twentieth century. This is especially the case for those areas of the curricula that focus on history, world issues, and international relations. In the case of history, a significant emphasis is placed on studies of conflict, war, and revolution. For example, in the grade eleven world history the curricula focuses on the Seven Years War between Britain and France on the European and North American continent, the French Revolution including the Jacobin Reign of Terror, the Napoleonic Wars, the nationalist revolts leading to

the unification of Italy and Germany, the Russian Revolution, World War I, World War II, the Cold War and the Gulf War. Less emphasis is placed on studying the preventative measures to war, for example, developing peace making skills such as conflict resolution, mediation, and negotiation. Additionally, little emphasis is placed on studying war as an institution, examining its structural causes, our psychology, the material interests of groups, the polarization of groups, failures at diplomacy, secret alliances, forces of ethnic nationalism, imperialism, and colonialism.¹⁶ There is however "a long, long tradition, both in high and popular culture, of glorifying war, of praising its heroism and chivalry, its bravery and courage, and of saying much less about its waste of lives, its suffering, its hatreds, its devastation of mind and body".¹⁷ Students are left with a narrative of history based on exciting, adventurous, romantic, and heroic images of people like Alexander the Great of Macedonia, Napoleon Bonaparte of France, Prussia's Otto von Bismark, Italy's Giuseppe Garibaldi, Germany's Red Baron and Canada's Billy Bishop. The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are depicted in a non-controversial way. Students are left with the perception that it is the American payback for Pearl Harbour and the ace that ends World War II. There is little discussion as to whether the means justifies the end.

In numerous other print materials and media sources the enemy is dehumanized and presented as the 'other' and "deserving of the utmost contempt and deprivation of life and liberty so that we can kill them in order not only for our personal survival, but for the perpetuation of our valued way of life."¹⁸ School

libraries that house these print materials or similar audio-visual sources on war, are laced with biases and prejudices and promote hatred, racism, and intolerance.

According to Robert Aspeslagh (1992) and Robin Burns (1995), the processing of a nations history including its participation in recent wars is decisive for the new generations because it contributes to how they see themselves, understand their culture and their place in the world.¹⁹ Burns (1995) and Magnus Haavelsrud (1981,1993) argue that the context, space, and time in which issues are presented affect both the ability of the learner to understand the situation and also "the underlying transforming, reforming or reinforcing model of social phenomena."²⁰

The concept of negative peace was generally the intellectual basis of much of the thinking about peace until the late 1960s. It is still a widely held view among the general population and political leaders. The perspective, although narrow in focus, is viewed by peace educators as a legitimate one because the absence of war and more generally the absence of personal violence is a sine qua non, a necessary precondition for peace, and it forms the foundational basis for any wider conceptualization of peace. The value orientation was the physical security of the person from all forms of direct violence and at different levels of analysis, interstate, intrastate, and interpersonal.

2.9.

Positive Peace

In 1969, the notable Norwegian peace research theorist, Johan Galtung,

modified and expanded Wright's theoretical perspective in an article titled "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research" published in the Journal of Peace Research. Galtung introduces the conceptual category of positive peace. He felt that negative peace conceptualized much of the peace research up to this time and it was necessary to move beyond this thinking. He states "too little is rejected when peace is held up as an ideal...highly unacceptable social orders would still be compatible with peace."²¹ He defines negative peace as the absence of personal violence and positive peace as the absence of structural violence. He expands the conceptual parameters of negative peace by outlining additional types of personal violence. He develops a theory of structural violence which is central to his conceptualization of positive peace. According to Galtung, negative peace or "the absence of personal violence does not lead to a positively defined condition, where as the absence of structural violence, ... referred to as social justice, is a positively defined condition (egalitarian distribution of power and resources)."²² He argues that educating for negative peace does not adequately account for structural violence that results from value distributions among competing social actors in organized systems and social structures.

2.10. Positive Peace as the Absence of Structural Violence

The positive peace concept encompasses the conceptual constituent elements of negative peace and it addresses the need to limit and ultimately eliminate those

structures, processes and behaviours that contribute to social, structural and political violence.²³ Educators for positive peace believe that many forms of structural violence can be equally harmful to human beings, although it is difficult to compare the two in terms of the significance of their adverse effects. Structural forms of violence include economic deprivation, poverty, hunger, homelessness, environmental degradation and resource depletion, issues of human rights and freedoms such as social justice, racism, discrimination and apartheid etc.²⁴ The concept of positive peace links structural violence with political and economic policies that provide for an unequal distribution of power and resources. Such policies are believed to affect not only the physical well being and material interests of the individual but also the spirit and creative capacities that make up the human potential. According to Galtung positive peace is the "presence of patterns of co-operation, harmonious living together and in general integration between groups".²⁵ More recently, the concept of positive peace is linked to the notion of global justice, "justice in the sense of the full enjoyment of the entire range of human rights by all people."²⁶

Structural violence according to Galtung's theory is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations. The potential level of realization is "that which is possible with a given level of insight and resources"²⁷ and it is not always constant but can change over time. Violence is the "cause of the difference between the potential and the actual level of realization, between what could have been and what

is. Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and that which impedes the decrease in the distance.²⁸ Central to this concept of structural violence are the concepts actual and potential level of realization.

In order to fully appreciate Galtung's concept of structural violence it is necessary to further elaborate on what he meant by actual and potential level of realization. The terms are central to his concept of structural violence. Galtung illustrates both by way example.

In the first example, we are to assume that an individual dies from tuberculosis in the eighteenth century. He informs us that this would not be conceived of as violence because such a death may not have been avoidable at that time. However, if one were to die from tuberculosis today despite all the knowledge and medical resources available, then violence would be present. Violence is present because the potential level of realization, the conditions for making death avoidable are present, but are not utilized. To put it another way, when the potential level of realization is higher than the actual level of realization then violence is avoidable. However, the key point is the cause of the distance between the potential level of realization and the actual level of realization and one must keep in mind the level of insight and resources available at the time.²⁹ The cause of the difference between the potential level of realization and the actual level of realization would constitute structural violence. A life expectancy today of only thirty years, whether due to treatable diseases, war, or social injustice, would be regarded as an expression of

structural violence according to Galtung's definition.³⁰

A parallel can be drawn to more recent types of illnesses such as cancer or aids. Violence would not be present in the case of a person who died twenty years ago from cancer or aids because the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual level of realization is unavoidable, given the level of insight and resources available at that time. However, if one were to die from either of these two diseases, today, without any prolonged life expectancy, then violence would be present. Today, these diseases are treatable and are on the verge of being cured. Violence is not present when the actual level of realization is unavoidable even if it is at a low level as was the case for cancer and aids patients twenty years ago.

2.11. Broadening the Concept of Peace by Broadening the Concept of Violence

Galtung broadened the concept of peace by broadening the concept of violence. Within Galtung's typology of violence, violence can be intended or not intended, and it can be manifest or latent. It can also be broken down into two major types, namely; personal and structural. Within these two major types, violence can be physical or psychological and done with or without objects. It is imperative to briefly examine these conceptual elements of violence.

Galtung was of the view that most of focus on violence was on intended violence and not on unintended violence. This is evident in our legal system which is based on Judaeo-Christian ethics and Roman jurisprudence which tends to

associate the concept of guilt more with intent than with consequence. Whereas the conception of violence up to this point is clearly focussed on the consequence side and not on the intent side. The result is that our ethical systems intended to contain personal violence will not be sufficient to contain structural violence.³¹

Negative peace does not account for unintended violence such as poverty, hunger, homelessness, human rights abuses etc., that results from social, economic, political, and cultural forces. If peace is defined as the absence of violence, then it is necessary to take equal action to prevent both personal and structural violence. A definition of peace must take into consideration not only intended violence but also violence that is unintended.

2.12. Positive Peace as the Absence of Manifest Personal and Structural Violence

Manifest violence can be personal or structural. War, murder, rape, and assault are manifest forms of personal violence. Poverty, hunger, homelessness and unemployment are examples of manifest structural violence. The causal factor of manifest structural violence is more indirect than manifest personal and results from objective social structural arrangements. Dependency theory tends to adopt this structural view in relation to the underdevelopment of third world countries. In both cases, the violence is easily identified. The absence of manifest forms of personal and structural violence are both central to achieving conditions of positive peace.

2.13. Positive Peace as the Absence of Latent Violence

Latent violence is a hidden type of violence and is not as easy to detect as manifest violence. It does not appear to be present, yet it is there and can easily become a form of manifest personal violence. An example of latent personal violence would be a situation where an individual has deep rooted discriminatory and prejudicial views against people of a different colour, religion, sex, ethnic origin, language, or sexual orientation. In this type of situation, a little challenge could trigger a fight, a killing or an atrocity. "It indicates a situation of unstable equilibrium, where the level of actual realization is not sufficiently protected against deterioration by upholding mechanisms."³² An example of this would be the racial riots in the southern United States in the 1960s and more recently the brutal and unprovoked beating of Rodney King by police officers of the Los Angeles Police Department. Latent violence has triggered into manifest personal violence in ethno-religious protests and rebellions in the civil wars in Afghanistan, the former Yugoslavia, Sudan, Israel and Northern Ireland. The influence of religious frameworks often gives rise to religious discrimination against ethno-religious minorities. Jonathan Fox states that "any challenge to a religious framework is likely to provoke a defensive and often conflictive response from the adherents of that religious framework. This is true irrespective of whether the group challenged occupies a dominant or subordinate role in society."³³ For example, "the leading Taliban mullah, Mohammed Omar, declared that since the Koran forbade the

worship of idols, all idols in the country (meaning, for the most part, Buddhist sculpture made before the arrival of the Muslims in the 8th century) were to be destroyed."³⁴ In the words of Qadratullah Jamal, Taliban's Minister of Information and Culture, "the statues are no big issue ... they are only objects made of mud or stone."³⁵

2.14. Positive Peace as the Absence of Physical and Psychological Violence

Up until the publication of Galtung's peace theory, peace researchers had generally conceived of peace as negative peace, the absence of war and the absence of personal violence. Galtung introduces the concept of structural violence and argues that like personal violence this can take the form of physical and psychological violence. It is necessary to explicate the difference between physical and psychological violence.

Physical violence is when humans are hurt somatically even to the point of death. This type of violence works on the body. It may affect one biologically or affect one's physical movements. It reduces the somatic capability below the potential level of realization. Examples of physical violence include war, murder, rape, assault, torture, and terrorism. The absence of this type of violence is called negative peace as mentioned earlier. Although physical violence is typically overt and direct, structural violence is more indirect and covert. "Structural violence, however, exists where people are systematically prevented from meeting their basic

needs and/or developing their full potential."³⁶ People can equally be harmed or killed as a result of not being able to meet their basic needs and/or full potential. Slavery and apartheid are two examples of structural violence that, not unlike physical violence, hurt somatically, even to the point of death. "In South Africa, for example, the average life expectancy of a black person is over 15 years shorter than that of a white (54 versus 71 years for females; 50 versus 65 years for males). The infant mortality rate among black children is 115 per 1,000 whereas that of whites is 18 per 1,000,³⁷" An individual whose everyday life is controlled by a structure and external forces, is physically curtailed and could conceivably be injured or die, but is also prevented from reaching their psychological potential.

Psychological violence, on the other hand, is when violence works on the mind and soul. It serves to decrease our mental potentialities and our spirit. Examples of this would include; lies, threats, intimidations, brainwashing and various forms of indoctrination, and mental abuse. The following are some recent examples.

United Nations Electoral Officers observing the election vote on the independence of East Timor had witnessed not only numerous acts of physical violence but numerous acts of psychological violence. In addition to the numerous murders and incidents of disfigurement against the East Timorese population by the pro-Indonesia militias and their military taskmakers, there were also numerous cases of threats, intimidation, lies, and indoctrination. For example, the village of Laegatar in Zumalia was uprooted at night and forced to flee into the woods only

later to find sanctuary in the church grounds in Suai where they could be registered to vote. The parish priest of this church was threatened with death if he preached to the people. He was later found dead among others at the church when it was announced that of the 98.6 percent of the people who voted, 78.5 percent of them voted for independence.³⁸ The pro-Indonesian militias also forced many villagers to participate in blood drinking ceremonies. The ritual is sometimes used in East Timor by the inhabitants when they are faced with a difficult situation. A common oath is secured by the drinking of goat's blood. The goal is to get villages to support the existing political regime. Several United Nations Election Observers were also intimidated and threatened with the prospect of death by armed militia members for identifying West Timorese who were registering with false names and birth places.³⁹

It is interesting to note that certain words in the English language have undergone a semantic development and now apply to both physical and psychological violence. For example, the words 'hit' and 'hurt' have a doubleness in meaning,⁴⁰ a physical and psychological connotation. "The shooting death of my friend hit me like a ton of bricks," or the words, "you have hurt my feelings by calling me that name" are both examples of a doubleness of words that apply to both physical and psychological violence. The terms 'hit' and 'hurt' refer to a form of psychological violence in that they affect one's mental state. It is interesting to note that in the former, violence is carried out with an object, a gun, whereas in the latter it is carried out without the use of an object, it is done with words.

Galtung viewed the absence of both personal and structural violence as equally important goals. He argues that the two enter in a completely symmetrical manner: there is no temporal, logical or evaluative preference given to one or the other. ...Both values, both goals are significant, and it is probably a disservice to man to try, in any abstract way, to say that one is more important than the other. ... It is difficult to compare the amount of suffering and harm that has been caused by personal or structural violence; they are both of such order of magnitude that comparisons appear meaningless. Moreover, they seem often to be coupled in such a way that it is very difficult to get rid of both evils.⁴¹

2.15. The Importance of Galtung's Peace Research to the Concept of Positive Peace

Galtung's peace research is important because he widened the conceptual parameters of peace by widening the conceptual parameters of violence. He widened the concept of personal violence and he introduced the concept of structural violence. Through his theorization we are first introduced to the concept of positive peace. He provided the theoretical reasoning for comprehending peace as, not only the absence of personal violence but the absence of structural violence. He distinguished between violence that is intended and not intended, manifest and latent, physical psychological. His concept of positive peace, the absence of indirect

or structural violence, that results from social, economic, political, cultural and other structures, assumes negative peace as a precondition. His concept of positive peace brings attention to the need to break down the structures of violence and to build alternative and more positive structures. His concept of positive peace applies at the community, national, international, and global level of analysis.

2.16. The Inclusion of a Feminist Peace Perspective

During the 1970's and 1980's the concept of positive peace developed by Galtung was further developed by the inclusion of a feminist perspective in peace research. Betty Reardon in Sexism and the War System, argued "the need for an integration of a feminist scholarship with peace research in order to overcome the inadequacies of each in their separate attempts to abolish respectively sexism and war ... that only by the application of a theory of reciprocal causation giving equal consideration to both the psychological and structural causes of sexism and the war system can we gain a sufficient understanding of the problems and their interrelationships to transcend them."⁴² Her central thesis was that sexism and the war system were the result of the same theoretical constructs.⁴³ It is necessary to briefly examine these two central concepts, sexism and the war system, and their underlying assumptions and values.

2.17. Sexism

Reardon defines sexism as a "belief system based on the assumption that physical differences between males and females are so significant that they should determine virtually all social and economic roles of men and women. It holds that not just their reproductive functions are determined by sex, but that sex is the factor that rules their entire lives, all their functions in society and the economy, and their relation to the state and all public institutions and especially to each other."⁴⁴ The central attitudinal underpinning of sexism is the belief that men are intellectually and biologically superior to women and it is this belief that gives rise to male chauvinism, those ubiquitous and many headed behaviours of discrimination against women that are manifest in social, economic, and political customs and practices that legitimize and serve to maintain the existing social order and status quo.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Reardon argues that the presence of sexism, "the imposition of a specific sex-related identity, a sexually determined set of human attributes, and sex-prescribed social orders ... reduces the significance of nongender criteria in the self-development and definition of all human beings"⁴⁶ and if viewed in this context is "equally damaging to both sexes, poses a severe obstacle to the development of a more synthesized and human social order, and serves as a contributing factor in the maintenance of both the organized violence of warfare and the structural violence of economic exploitation, political oppression, and social discrimination."⁴⁷

2.18.

The War System

Reardon defines the war system as "our competitive social order, which is based on authoritarian principles, assumes unequal value among and between human beings, and is held in place by coercive force."⁴⁸ The war system is a social order of inequality that exists between males and females, it is based upon a set of male dominated beliefs and values and supported by institutions and the threat of violence. She examines the war system through four major subconcepts, namely; war, warfare, militarism, and militarization, and argues that the military is "the distilled embodiment of patriarchy" and the militarization of society "is the unchecked manifestation of patriarchy as the overt and explicit mode of governance."⁴⁹

2.19. A Feminist Perspective, Peace Research

Feminism is a response to sexism and the war system mode of governance in society. It is founded on the assumption that "women are of equal social and human value with men," and that the difference between the two, "whether biologically based or culturally derived, do not and should not constitute grounds for discrimination against women."⁵⁰ It holds that women should not have to adopt manifest male dominated values and behaviours to assert their equality and recognition, nor should they devalue feminine values, behaviours and capacities. It is imperative for women to assert their values in the social and political realms from which they have been excluded.⁵¹ Womens liberation is a public manifestation

of feminism and "calls for freeing women from the discrimination of social and economic structures that imprison them in perpetual inferiority to men and exclude them from the public sector and the exercise of political and economic power."⁵² The recent Canadian military policy of including female members of the armed forces in submarine training and exercises is a recent example of womens' liberation in the armed forces.

The feminist perspective holds that society can be transformed into a more equitable and non-violent social order and central to this is the actualization of equality for women and complete disarmament. The former adds social value to positive female traits and the latter diminishes social value of negative masculine traits. The institutionalization of a globalized peace system is premised on the equal participation of male and female in its development, maintenance, and restructuring.⁵³

Up until the demands for the inclusion of a feminist perspective in the positive peace concept, the study of peace was regarded as "much a male activity as the making of war. Despite the fact that some few women scholars in the field, and that women have been important peace activists, peace research expresses a male point of view."⁵⁴ This absence of a feminist perspective in peace research and the split between feminist scholarship and peace research in terms of their theories and strategies, brings attention to the need for convergence and synthesis of the two frameworks into a coherent whole. Accordingly, Reardon states:

The gap between the women's movements and the peace movement certainly

has its counterparts in the academic and research communities. This is probably a far more serious split in that it separates the theories and strategies that feminist scholarship and peace research apply to understanding and resolving conflicts that have their origins in the same fundamental causes. Thereby each field remains inadequate to the tasks of deriving truly relevant knowledge and devising effective policies. Both have become more conscious of the inadequacies of the other, but neither has the knowledge that these might be significantly reduced by a convergence of insights gained from their separate inquiries into their common concern with overcoming exploitation and violence.⁵⁵

Fellow feminist peace researcher Birgit Brock-Utne in Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective makes a similar argument.

Women's studies and peace studies ought to enrich each other and be involved in a mutual learning process. As there are links between the feminist movement and the work for peace, there are also similarities between women's studies and peace studies. Researchers trained in women's studies should be able to broaden the field to include direct and personal violence and to bring with them some very fruitful insights that would enrich peace research. There are also concepts and insights developed within peace research that may inspire thoughts and analysis within women's studies.⁵⁶

Brock-Utne also feels that it is essential for the inclusion of a feminist perspective in peace research since women are the victims of both direct and structural forms of

violence.⁵⁷ The two, she argues, are often linked. For example, during periods of structural violence, a national economic crises, women are not only affected in terms of employment opportunities and shortages of resources in the home, but they and children are often the victims of verbal and physical attacks. She makes reference to Elsie Boulding's published study titled "Women and Social Violence" in the International Social Science Journal, which states that women are the victims of "more beatings during periods of high unemployment" and that "women feel especially menaced when the level of general violence increases, because of the strong psychological nexus between violence and rape."⁵⁸

The infusion of a feminist perspective expanded the concept of positive peace by bringing attention to other dimensions of personal and structural violence. This emerging and more holistic concept of peace was not only premised on the abolition of macro level organized violence such as war but also on micro-level unorganized violence such as physical abuse or rape in war or in the home. The concept of structural violence was also expanded to "include personal, micro- and macro level structures which harm or discriminated against particular individuals or groups"⁵⁹ such as women and children. The feminist perspective was premised on the assumption that all forms of violence at all levels of analysis, from the individual to the global are unacceptable and this is regarded as a necessary precondition for a peaceful planet.⁶⁰

2.20. Positive Peace as Holistic Gaia Peace and Peace with the Environment

In the 1990's, the concept of positive peace was widened to include the idea of a holistic Gaia peace and peace with the environment. The concept of Gaia peace and peace with the environment was inspired by the images of the earth, top-down portraits, taken by the early astronauts in space. The pictorial images of earth were quite different from other terrestrial planets, such as Venus and Mars, in that the presence of an abundance of water and oxygen generated a dynamic appearance of blue and white, giving the impression of the planet as a super living organism. With this impression in mind, James Lovelock and Lynn Margulis formulated the Gaia hypothesis which said that "life, or the biosphere, regulates or maintains the climate and atmospheric composition at an optimum for itself."⁶¹ In other words, the earth is a self-regulating system able to maintain the climate, atmosphere, soil, and ocean composition in a stable balance favourable to life. Stated most succinctly, life (biosphere) supports an environment conducive to supporting life. This hypothesis was later modified by Lovelock who states that "it was not just life but the whole thing, life, the air, the oceans and the rocks."⁶² Lovelorn's Gaia theory now assumes that the evolution of organisms are so closely coupled with their physical and chemical environment that together they constitute a self regulating evolutionary process. The natural cycle in which mixture of gases are maintained by continual input from biological processes (life) serve to condition the atmosphere, oceans, and earth's surface to support life. In situations where these conditions are not favourable to sustain life the result could be fatal. According to Lovelock:

Thus the climate, the composition of the rocks, the air, and the oceans, are

not just given by geology; they are also the consequence of life. Through the ceaseless activity of living organisms, conditions on the planet have been kept favourable for life's occupancy for the past 3.6 billion years. Any species that adversely affects the environment, making it less favourable for its progeny, will ultimately be cast out, just as surely as will those weaker members of species which fail to pass the test of evolutionary time.⁶³

Gaia theory has recently gained substantial credence in the scientific community because it helps explain some geophysical phenomena that is affecting life on earth and it brings attention to the human forces that are disturbing the earth's natural balance such as global warming. Gaia theory presents a different world view of life and the environment than conventional scientific thought which assumes that as planetary conditions evolve, life either adapts to these conditions or is eliminated. The concept of Gaia is about continuity of life, past, present, and future, it is about a total planetary being. "Life and its environment are so closely coupled that evolution concerns Gaia, not the organisms or the environment taken separately."⁶⁴ The central focus of Gaia peace theory is building an awareness of the important ecological and interdependent relationship of humans with their bio-environmental systems.⁶⁵

2.21. Sustainable Development, Changing Our World View

The concept of ecological sustainability as a guiding principle for the global

ecological movement in peace education was first introduced in 1981 by Lester Brown in Building a Sustainable Society.⁶⁶ For Brown⁶⁷, the path to sustainability was in arresting and reversing unsustainable trends and in recognizing the tendency of negative trends to reinforce themselves. As resources come under heavy stress and excessive demand, and exceed the sustainable yield threshold, there is a tendency to place even greater stress on the remaining resource base. The psychological, social, and economic forces which contribute to this behaviour are similar in a sense to those in Garret Hardin's metaphorical concept of the 'tragedy of the commons' in that the desire for an ever increasing share of an ever decreasing resource base continues to increase, thus allowing the process to feed on itself. Brown believed that to arrest and reverse unsustainable trends would require institutional transformation and the great challenge of this would be in overcoming the vested interests of governments and corporations that serve to maintain the status quo. This institutional challenge would require the participation of universities, religious institutions, public interest groups, communications, and the media in changing values and shifting priorities.⁶⁸ Brown felt that if our values, attitudes and behaviours toward nature changed to allow for the development of a sustainable society then a more harmonious relationship with nature could lead to a more harmonious relationship with each other. Brown provides the following encapsulation:

If our attitude toward nature changes, as it must if a sustainable society is to evolve, we may find our attitudes toward each other altered too. In effect,

the value changes that lead to a more harmonious relationship with nature may also lead to a more harmonious relationship with each other. If we abandon our exploitative relationship with nature, we may be less inclined to exploit each other. At the international level, we may begin to see that the real threat to the long-term security of nations and of civilization itself lies less in military conflict than in the unsustainability of society as it is currently organized.⁶⁹

Fritjof Capra in The Turning Point, argues that the world view and value system at the base of our culture is one that needs to be carefully reexamined because it is one that is no longer capable of providing the concepts necessary to describe a new way of thinking that is necessary for achieving peace with the environment. According to Capra, the world view of the scientific revolution serves as the basis of conventional scientific thinking today. It is informed by two guiding principles, namely; rational thought and scientific knowledge. Descartes assertion "Cogito, ergo sum", "I think therefore I exist" epitomizes this world view and the emphasis of rational thought in shaping our culture. According to Capra our perception of identity is equated more with the rationalism of the mind than with our whole organism and it is this division between mind and body that keeps us from fully understanding and communicating with our natural environment and its rich variety of organisms.

The separation of the mind and body has resulted in a world view of the universe as a mechanical system consisting of separate building blocks whose

properties and interactions are determined by forces of nature. This Cartesian mechanistic world view characterizes much of the present day thinking in science about nature.⁷⁰ The "Cartesian view of the universe as a mechanical system provided a scientific sanction for the manipulation and exploitation of nature that has become typical of Western culture" and it provides the rationale for separating and dividing nature into separate parts to be exploited by competing interest groups.⁷¹ Capra describes the Cartesian world view as follows:

To Descartes the material universe was a machine and nothing but a machine. There was no purpose, life, or spirituality in matter. Nature worked according to mechanical laws, and everything in the material world could be explained in terms of the arrangement and movement of its parts. This mechanical picture of nature became the dominant paradigm of science in the period following Descartes. It guided all scientific observation and the formulation of theories and natural phenomena until twentieth century physics brought about radical change.⁷²

The mechanistic and reductionist approach to understanding nature was the basis of scientific inquiry until the early part of the twentieth century when scientists such as Albert Einstein (1875-1955), Max Planck (1858-1947), Niels Bohr (1885-1962), and Enrico Fermi (1901-1954) began investigations into atoms and their subatomic structures which eventually resulted in quantum theory, the theory of relativity, and nuclear fission. As these scientists began their scientific investigations, they became astonishingly perplexed with nature in atomic

experiments and realized that the language, concepts, and the general scientific framework of the Newton era was inadequate for understanding the properties of atomic phenomena. These scientists had to think in entirely different ways, develop new concepts and theories to understand nature and the interrelatedness and interdependence of subatomic structures. The culmination of their efforts resulted in a modern physics systems world view that transcended the mechanistic Cartesian view of the world.

Capra argues that our culture must also be encouraged to think about peace with our environment in an entirely different way if it is to be sustained. Just as the physicists in the early twentieth century had to think in different ways and develop new concepts to understand and explain natural phenomena in atomic and subatomic structures, we need to think in different ways and develop new concepts to help maintain peace with our environment. To this end, Capra, keeping in mind the development of modern physics, puts forward a systems paradigm, a view of life which looks at the world in terms of relationships and integration where "natural systems are wholes whose specific structures arise from the interactions and interdependence of their parts."⁷³

The underlying core value of Gaia peace and peace with the environment is the view that the system is greater than the sum of its parts, and that human life is embedded in nature, natural systems, and to deny this, is to endanger human life. Human beings are only one of many species living on earth bound up in a complex, "interactive, and multi-layered web, where relationship is everything."⁷⁴ Holistic

Gaia peace and peace with the environment thinking is against all forms of physical violence directed at people and their environment. It supports the view that sustainable development serves not only to maintain a healthy environment and ecological balance, but it also can have the effect of promoting more peaceful relations among competing social actors. It brings attention to the need for a new relationship of human society with its environment that is not just economically and ecologically sustainable, but is also morally sustainable. As Ian Burton and Peter Timmerman state;

our growing power over the planet, and the recognition that we live in a new context, exemplified by the pictures of our fragile globe hanging in black space, have altered the political and social chemistry of our time. Around us we see fragmentary attempts to forge rules that will be binding on all members of the global community-based on the principle that we must all hang together, or we will hang separately. Perhaps the time has come to set down explicitly, through negotiation, a formal global social contract for the emerging global community.⁷⁵

**2.22. World Commission on Environment and Development, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio Declaration, and
Agenda 21**

In the fall of 1983 the General Assembly of the United Nations created a

World Commission on Environment and Development and appointed Mrs. Gro Harlem Bruntland, the former Prime Minister of Norway, to head the Commission. The Commission was asked to prepare a global agenda for change. In March 1987, the Commission published its report called Our Common Future, sometimes referred to as the Bruntland Report. One of the major recommendations of the report was a call for a universal declaration and a convention on environmental protection and sustainable development. This resulted in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), known as the Earth Summit, which took place in Rio de Janeiro, in June of 1992. The Conference produced the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and a Program of Action for the 21st century called Agenda 21. Two other outcomes of UNCED included A Framework Convention on Climate Change and a Convention on Biological Diversity.

2.23. Reasons Why Peace Research Should Deal With Environmental Problems

Holistic Gaia peace and peace with the environment is fundamentally concerned with environmental issues. There are several reasons why peace research should deal with environmental problems. Lothar Brock (1992) identifies six reasons why peace research should deal with environmental problems as follows:⁷⁶

1. Environmental depletion may lead to large-scale social conflict including war;
2. Environmental modification can be used for hostile purposes in

intersocietal relations; 3. Environmental depletion constitutes a specific form of violence; 4. Ecological cooperation may help to build confidence and trust in international relations; 5. Countries or international organizations may resort to military action in order to enforce certain environmental standards or to ward off dangers to the environment; and 6. A healthy environment may be regarded as an integral part of comprehensive security.

2.24. Linkages Between Peace and the Environment

Upon review of these reasons Brock establishes four linkages between peace and the environment. The first is a causal relationship that “emphasizes the importance of natural resources as a source of conflict and the environmental impact of violence as well as possible environmental restraints on war and other forms of collective violence.”⁷⁷ The politics of diamond management and the depletion of diamonds in Sierra Leone has led to one of the most brutal civil wars in the African continent in the twentieth century. Diamonds are the economic underpinning of the eleven year civil war which has resulted in the “loss of tens of thousands of lives and the displacement of over 2.4 million of the country’s 4.5 million people, most of them living in neighbouring Guinea, Liberia or further afield.”⁷⁸ This resource based conflict has seriously threatened the stability of government and it has profound implications for the security of civil society. The depletion of the east coast fishery and the overfishing of straddling fish stocks on the

high seas were the major impetus behind the 'turbot war' which saw Canada's fishery patrol vessel, the Cape Roger, open fire with fifty calibre guns across the bow of the Spanish fishing vessel, the Estai. The environmental impact of a nuclear war would have a catastrophic effect on all living organisms including humans. The recent Gulf War between Iraq and NATO allied countries saw the shores of the Persian Gulf seethe with oil. The environment can, however, have the effect of restraining war and large scale violence in the sense that the availability of natural resources and suitable climatic conditions are crucial to successfully fighting wars.

The second linkage is an instrumental one where it "points to the possibility of using the environment to broaden the options of warfare and also to the possibility of instrumentalizing environmental activities for peace building."⁷⁹ For example, the oceans have traditionally been one of three major areas in which wars have been fought, the other two being land and air. At present, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea codifies international law relating to the governance of our of ocean space. The governance of ocean space is provided for under various regimes including; the territorial sea, the contiguous sea, the exclusive economic zone, the high seas, the continental shelf, and the deep sea bed. The United States practised environmental warfare during the Vietnam War by treating large wooded areas with chemicals to expose the Vietcong to airborne combat action. Chlorine gas was used by the Germans during World War I against the Canadians at the battle of Ypres. Saddam Hussein is believed to have used chemical weapons against the Kurdish people. It is also believed that Hussein was attempting

to produce chemical and biological weapons for mass destruction. This is the major reason for economic sanctions and the presence of United Nations weapon inspectors in Iraq. There are international laws prohibiting the use of chemical and biological weapons in warfare.

The third linkage is definitional and refers to the “correspondence between environmental destruction and war (or other forms of social violence) and to the identification of nature as an object of peace.”⁸⁰ Just as war kills and negates reproduction, so does environmental degradation. If war is a threat to national integrity and self determination so is environmental pollution which does not respect the boundaries of national jurisdiction. The massive increase in the emission of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere over the past two hundred years has resulted in the depletion of the ozone layer, global warming and sea level rise. It is interesting to note that President George W. Bush of the United States has recently withdrawn American support of the Kyoto Agreement on the basis that it was not in the United States's economic interests. Deforestation has resulted in soil erosion and desertification. It is estimated that a loss of one inch of top soil could take as long as one hundred years to get back. Deforestation contributes to the depletion of the ozone layer and desertification seriously hampers our ability to grow food. Peace with nature is a positive aspect of the definitional linkage and implies the need to transcend anthropocentric perspectives of the environment. It supports the view that all complex local and regional ecosystems are ecologically interdependent and that humans are also indissolubly interlinked and embedded in nature. Our

understanding of nature has not made us autonomous from the laws nature but has shown us how dependent we are on nature.

The fourth linkage is normative and “calls for a reorientation of security policies in the face of new nonmilitary threats to the life and well-being of humankind.”⁸¹ The concept of environmental or ecological security is based on the assumption that nonmilitary threats such as environmental pollution affect territorial integrity, the right to self-determination, and economic interests. This concept stresses the common security of all human kind, the importance of ecological interdependence, sustainable development, and the necessity of thinking globally and acting locally. It brings attention to the fact that environmental issues have a legitimate place in high level politics at both the national and international level, and that the international community must work together to achieve common ends. This is why The World Commission on Environment and Development recommended “that the General Assembly commit itself to preparing a universal Declaration and later a Convention on environmental protection and sustainable development.”⁸² This resulted in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development which produced the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21.

2.25. Positive Peace as Holistic Inner and Outer Peace

Holistic inner and outer peace is the final conceptual category of positive peace. This concept of peace stresses an inner spiritual dimension that is believed

necessary to achieve all aspects of outer peace. It is characterized by a dynamic interrelatedness and interconnection of the inner-self with the outer social and natural world. It is expressed in different ways depending on the culture, but can be found among the eastern mystics in many traditional cultures. For example, Taoism "offers one of the most profound and most beautiful expressions of ecological wisdom, emphasizing both the fundamental oneness and the dynamic nature of all natural and social phenomena."⁸³ According to Capra, Taoism and the new system approach are at the basis of an emerging deep ecology movement in which there is a profound change in our perception about ecological balance and the role of human beings in the planetary ecosystem. There is developing an "intuitive awareness of the oneness of all life, the interdependence of its multiple manifestations and its cycles of change and transformation. When the concept of the human spirit is understood in this sense, as the mode of consciousness in which the individual feels connected to the cosmos as a whole, it becomes clear that ecological awareness is truly spiritual."⁸⁴ Capra describes the world view of modern physics and its relationship to the spiritual views of eastern mysticism, his book The Tao of Physics.

Theodore Roszak, in Person/Planet, also links the development of personhood, inner world, with the well-being of the global environment, outer world. Roszak argues "the needs of the planet are the needs of the person. And, therefore, their rights of the person are the rights of the planet."⁸⁵ The journey outward and the journey inward are two mutually sustaining journeys. The character and well being of the person and planet are inextricably linked and

mutually interdependent. The more we understand about problems in our global environment, the more we understand about ourselves in terms of our assumptions, attitudes, values, and behaviours. The more we understand about ourselves, the more planet-conscious we become. Roszak provides the following social/psychological description of this interdependently connected inward and outward journey in the Unfinished Animal.

Suddenly, as we grow more introspectively inquisitive about the deep powers of the personality, our ethical concern becomes more universal than ever before; it strives to embrace the natural beauties and all sentient beings, each in her and his and native peculiarity. Introspection and universality: centre and circumference. Personal awareness burrows deep into itself; our sense of belonging reaches out further. It all happens at once, the concentration of mind, the expansion of loyalty.⁸⁶

The holistic inner and outer peace concept is similar to the holistic Gaia peace concept and the feminist perspective in that it applies to all levels of analysis, from the individual level to the global and planetary level. The central focus of this concept of peace is on nourishing peace within the self and with the outside world. Both are considered interdependent and mutually sustaining. This relatively new paradigm in peace research resonates with much of the spiritual thinking in traditional cultures and eastern mysticism.

2.26. Toward Developing a Culture of Peace

Beginning in the early 1990's, peace researchers and peace educators began conceptualizing peace as a culture. They speak of developing a culture of peace and of personal and social transformation. In this sense, culture is understood in a broad context and its level of application is similar to T.S. Elliott's three senses of culture, the development of an individual, of an group or class, or of a whole society.⁸⁷ Peace researchers, Linda Groff and Paul Smoker define culture anthropologically as "learned, shared, patterned behaviour, as reflected in technology/tools, social organizations (including economic, political, social, religious, educational, family, and other organizations) and ideas/beliefs."⁸⁸ In addition to the surface level and more apparent meaning of culture, they also define culture as "common symbols, rituals and hero figures (visible), shared by a group of people, based on a set of values and underlying assumptions about reality (hidden)."⁸⁹ These underlying assumptions include our relationship with others, nature, and God.

2.27. Defining a Culture of Peace

The concept of a culture of peace is values based and addresses this hidden, less visible aspect of our culture. The culture of peace concept conceptualizes peace as a presumed way of life, "a way of living and doing together in a society that can be taught, developed, and best of all, improved upon."⁹⁰ It implies a certain set of values, attitudes, and modes of behaviour. These include tolerance, mutual

understanding, cultural diversity, solidarity, the principle of pluralism, freedom of expression, and it is intrinsically linked to conflict prevention and resolution.⁹¹ The concept of a culture of peace is defined authoritatively in Article 1 of the United Nations General Assembly's Declaration on a Culture of Peace. It states accordingly that a culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, traditions, modes of behaviour, and ways of life based on:

Respect for life, ending of violence and promotion and practice of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation; Full respect for the principle of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and non-intervention in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and international law; Full respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms; Commitment to peaceful settlement of conflicts; Efforts to meet the development and environmental needs of the present and future generations; Respect for and promotion for the right to development; Respect for and promotion of equal rights of and opportunities for women and men; Respect for and promotion of rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information; Adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations; and fostered by an enabling national and international environment conducive to peace.⁹²

Article 2 in the Declaration informs us that "progress in the fuller development of a culture of peace comes about through values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life conducive to the promotion of peace among individuals, groups and nations."⁹³

2.28. United Nations' Initiatives to Develop a Culture of Peace

The concept of the culture of peace was first mentioned in July 1989 during the International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men held in Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivoire. Its Declaration proposed to "help construct a new vision of peace by developing a peace culture based on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights, and equality between men and women."⁹⁴ Since then, the concept has continued to develop and evolve. A number of initiatives have assisted in this process.

In 1992, the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) discussed at its 140th session the contributions to be made to a culture of peace in light of the Secretary General's An Agenda for Peace. The Executive Board decided that an action programme should be developed to promote a culture of peace. In April 1993, at the opening session of the Forum for Education and Culture in San Salvador, El Salvador, Federico Mayor, the Director General of UNESCO stated that the underlying spirit of a culture of peace is to:

1. promote the apprenticeship and practice of a culture of peace both in the formal and non-formal education process and in all the activities of daily life; 2. build and strengthen democracy as a key to a just and peaceful negotiated settlement of conflicts; 3. strive towards a form of human development which, with the participation of the entire population, values the social capabilities and the human potential of all members of society; 4. give pride of place to cultural contacts, exchanges and creativity, at national and international levels, as a means of encouraging recognition of respect for others and the ways in which they differ; and 5. strengthen international co-operation to remove the socio-economic causes of armed conflicts and wars, thereby permitting the building of a better world for humankind as a whole.⁹⁵

The international appeal on the establishment of a right to peace was launched in 1994 by Federico Mayor. In 1994, UNESCO also launched its Toward a Culture of Peace programme, a transdisciplinary project where all sectors of UNESCO are active in the development of innovative projects and activities that foster a culture of peace. This project consisted of four parts: 1. education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding and tolerance; 2. promotion of human rights and democracy and the struggle against discrimination; 3. cultural pluralism and intercultural dialogue; and 4. conflict prevention and post-conflict peace-building.⁹⁶

In 1997, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the year 2000 as

the International Year for the Culture of Peace.⁹⁷ In 1998, the General Assembly passed a resolution proclaiming the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for Children of the World (2001-2010). In addition to the Declaration on a Culture of Peace, the General Assembly adopted a Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, namely; 1. actions fostering a culture of peace through education; 2. actions to promote sustainable economic and social development; 3. actions to promote respect for all human rights; 4. actions to ensure equality between women and men; 5. actions to foster democratic participation; 6. actions to advance understanding, tolerance and solidarity; 7. actions to support participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge; and 8. actions to promote international peace and security.⁹⁸ The proclamation of the International Year, the Decade, the Declaration, and the Programme of Action served as the major impetus for civil society to develop work in this area.

A major end of the century campaign, The Hague Appeal for Peace Conference, was subsequently held in the Hague in 1999, dedicated to building a culture of peace. The event commemorated the 100th anniversary of the First International Peace Conference 1899 held in the Hague by governments not to conclude war but to focus on building a lasting peace.⁹⁹ The Manifesto 2000 for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence, written by Nobel Prize Peace Laureates, was made public in Paris in March 1999 and was then also made open for signatures. Its goal was to obtain 100 million signatures and to present them to the United Nations General Assembly at the turn of the millennium in September 2000. The

fundamental purpose of all of the above initiatives is to build a culture of peace in minds and hearts of humanity.

**2.29. Culture of Peace, Assumptions About Man's State of Nature,
Ideas of Hobbes, Rousseau, and Peace Educators**

The culture of peace concept assumes that man through his individual modes of behaviour and cultural institutions is capable of building a lasting and sustaining culture of peace. It rejects the assumption of Thomas Hobbes that violence is innate to humanity, that it is part of our natural propensity. In Leviathan, Hobbes assumes that man in his state of nature lives in a primitive society where life is short, nasty, violent, and brutish. He asserts it is "a miserable condition of war, which is necessarily consequent to the natural passions of men."¹⁰⁰ Yet, Hobbes believes that man possesses a level of intelligence and rational thinking that would allow him to recognize the precariousness of his predicament and enable him to get out of this state of nature by entering into a covenant, a type of social contract with a sovereign, to ensure his protection and security, and the peace, order, and social stability of his society. The Hobbesian assumption of man in the state of nature, as an aggressive, self interested, and rapacious human being, is in contrast to the view of peace researchers and educators who are educating for a culture of peace.

Their view is more in line with the thinking of Jean Jacques Rousseau in Emile and the Social Contract.¹⁰¹ According to Rousseau, man, in the state of

nature, his original nature, was a kind of stupid and unimaginative social animal, his mind was a tabula rasa, uninformed and featureless. However, this was not man in his full nature because this was only attainable by entering into a social contract and living under law, a civil society. By leaving the original state of nature and entering into civil society and becoming a social being, man could realize his full state of nature and become a citizen. The problem that Rousseau saw was that man was not developing the right type of culture in civil society and therefore he was not realizing the fullness of his state of nature. Rousseau asserts that “a man may be buried at a hundred and may never have lived at all. He would have fared better had he died young...Civilized man is born and dies a slave...All his life-long man is imprisoned by our institutions.”¹⁰² Instead of becoming better, man was becoming worse. The reason for this was his exposure to corrupt societal institutions and their values. It was essentially because of this that Rousseau developed a programme of education for Emile, the noble savage, so that he would be unencumbered and uncontaminated by institutional vice and corruption. The point of commonality here is that Rousseau and peace educators embracing the concept of a culture of peace, are of the view that man is capable of improving his lot, of building and defining the direction of his culture. Peace educators do not believe a culture of violence is conducive to nourishing a culture of peace. Culture was problematic in Rousseau's time because of the nature of civil society which did not allow man to realize his freedom or his creative capacity.

Peace educators believe that culture is problematic today because we lack a

sufficient culture to develop a culture of peace. Peace educators are, however, optimists and believe that "just as wars begin in the minds of men, peace also begins in our minds. The same species which invented war is capable of inventing peace."¹⁰³ They operate under the assumption that violence is unacceptable and that it is not part of our biological impulse. It is not attributed to our inalienable human egocentrism but rather its cause is rooted in social and cultural processes.

It is important to note here that Hobbes also wanted to improve the lot of man by constructing a less violent culture, however, his social contract simply shifted the level at which violence is carried out, from that among the masses, intraspecific violence, and neighbouring states, interstate violence, to that carried out by a sovereign, who is vested with absolute power, on its people. Hobbes asserts; "for the laws of nature (as justice, equity, modesty, mercy, and in sum doing to others, as we would be done to) of themselves, without the terror of some power, to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions that carry up to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And covenants, without the sword, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all."¹⁰⁴

The Hobbesian assumption that violence is innate to man, that it is part of his natural way or biological existence, is evident in some recent ethnological, psychoanalytic and physiological studies, including; Lorenz, 1966, 1970; Lorenz and Leyhausen, 1973; Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1970; Ardrey, 1970; Storr, 1968; Fromm, 1973; Morris, 1969; Moyer, 1976.¹⁰⁵ According to peace research theorist Santiago Genoves, 1996, these perceptions are taboos, prejudices, mistakes and

misunderstandings about the origin of violence¹⁰⁶ and that there is "no palaeoanthropologically true proof of generalized, institutionalized violence during the process of hominization over the last 5 million years" but rather "generalized institutionalized violence started with a great revolution of man, the Agricultural Revolution approximately 7,000 years ago and was then exacerbated by the Industrial Revolution."¹⁰⁷ Genoves asserts that although man uses his biology and its technical extensions for violence, this does not mean that the origin of violence is biological. It is rather rooted in cultural and social processes and environments. In short, it is due to a lack of culture.

2.30. The Seville Statement

In 1986, a group of nineteen scientists, representing a cross section of academic disciplines, including; genetics, neurophysiology, anthropology, sociology, history, psychology, ethnology, palaeoanthropology, and psychiatry, met in the Monastery of la Rabida, near Seville Spain, for purposes of elaborating a statement on violence. The culmination of their efforts produced a document which has since become known as the Seville Statement and contains the following five points.

- 1. It is scientifically incorrect to say that violence is genetically determined.**
- 2. It is scientifically incorrect to say that it comes from our animal past.**
- 3. It is scientifically incorrect to say that, in the process of human evolution, there has been a greater selection for aggressive behaviour than for other**

kinds of behaviour. 4. It is scientifically incorrect to say that humans have a 'violent brain'. 5. It is scientifically incorrect to say that violent behaviour is genetically inherited.¹⁰⁸

The Seville Statement has been adopted by more than 100 international and national scientific organizations throughout the world, including UNESCO.

2.31. Philosophical Perspectives, From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace

Just as the early Greek, Roman and Christian philosophers believed that law served as a moral educator and habituated people to virtue, peace researchers believe that education is capable of mediating a culture of peace. It is now necessary to investigate some philosophical perspectives and conceptions of a culture of peace. It is necessary to know what type of culture is to be received before it can become internalized.

2.32. Galtung's Triangle of Culture of Violence

In 1990, Galtung, in an article titled "Cultural Violence" in the Journal of Peace Research, was again one of the major intellectual influences in the conceptualization of the culture of peace concept. In this article, Galtung introduces the concept of a culture of violence which was a follow up on his concept of structural violence that he had introduced twenty one years earlier. Galtung is of

the view that we must have some conceptualization of a culture of violence before we can begin to conceptualize a culture of peace. He 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."¹⁰⁹ He argues that the cultural violence concept highlights the way that acts of direct and structural violence are legitimized and portrayed as acceptable modes of behaviour in our society. This is done by changing the moral colour of an act from red/wrong to green/right or at least yellow/acceptable. An example of this would be murder on behalf of oneself versus murder on behalf of the country in the case of war between nations.¹¹⁰ Another example is first degree murder versus state sponsored capital punishment.

For Galtung, cultural violence is the third super-type of violence which he then places in one of the corners of his (vicious) violence triangle. The imagery of the triangle is such that all three of his concepts of violence are related no matter which two concepts of violence are stood on their feet. For example, when direct and structural violence are stood on their feet, the image invoked is that cultural violence legitimizes both. If direct violence is stood on its feet then it invokes images of structural and cultural sources of direct violence. The images produced in his triangle of violence, three pointing up and three pointing down show the interrelationship of the three major forms of violence.¹¹¹

There is, however, an important difference in the time relation of the three

major forms of violence. "Direct violence is an event; structural violence is a process with ups and downs; cultural violence is an invariant, a 'permanence' remaining essentially the same for long periods, given the slow transformation of basic culture."¹¹²

According to Galtung's violence triangle, violence can begin in any corner of the triangle and can be easily transmitted to the other corners. As violent structures become institutionalized and violent culture internalized then direct forms of violence are also institutionalized and become repetitive and ritualistic. Galtung argues that this triangular syndrome of violence needs to be counteracted with a triangular syndrome of peace "in which cultural peace engenders structural peace, with symbiotic, equitable relations among diverse partners, and direct peace with acts of cooperation, friendliness and love. It could be a virtuous triangle rather than a vicious triangle of violence."¹¹³

2.33. Galtung's Conflict Transformation Triangle

Several peace research theorists contribute conceptualizations of a culture of peace in an informative book published by UNESCO titled From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace.¹¹⁴ Galtung, in an article titled "Cultural Peace: Some Characteristics", addresses the need, as mentioned above, to develop a triangular syndrome of peace to counteract the triangular syndrome of violence. As previously stated if we are going to understand a culture of peace, we have to

understand a culture of violence and what gives rise to it. The key to this, according to Galtung, is understanding the nature of conflict. He conceptualizes conflict as a triangular relationship of attitude/assumptions, behaviour and contradiction. The only observable element is behaviour, the other two are inferred from it. As a means of eradicating conflict, Galtung advocates a conflict transformation triangle of empathy, non-violence and creativity. It is necessary to briefly explain what Galtung meant by each of these three key components of a culture of peace.

By empathy Galtung meant the intimate understanding of feelings, thoughts, and motives of another, in his words, "not in the cheap sense of imagining how would I experience being in their shoes? But in the sense of how do they experience being in their shoes?" If there is no empathy in the culture, then there can be no insight into non-violence and creativity. For example, Fidel Castro is seen as the revolutionary communist dictator of Cuba, the only living communist dictator in the world, or at the very least the socialist revolutionary dictator of Cuba. We are familiar with media reports of the Cuban refugee crisis. The exodus of Cuban nationals by meagre means across the Straits of Florida. The risk is rationalized by the hope of achieving the American dream under a market capitalist system informed and guided by such values as freedom of competition and the profit motive, and a political democratic regime informed and guided by principles as the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Elian Gonzales story comes to mind. The American media and its large networks such as CNN, ABC, CBS and NBC portray Castro as a revolutionary, communist/socialist dictator, a human

rights abuser and the source of Cuba's economic woes. This perception was largely the reason that Castro was not invited to attend the Conference of the Free Trade Agreement of Americas held in Quebec City. He is viewed largely as an exploiter of his people and not as their defender or provider. We hear little about the good he has done for his people, such as free medical care and education. We are left to think of him in not such a favourable context. Why? Because he is portrayed generally this way by the media. However, from his perspective and many other Cuban nationalist, this is American propaganda. The purpose here is not to defend Castro but to point out that our images and understandings of situations are sometimes generated by blue smoke, media and political puppet handlers who have their own hidden agendas. If empathy is not present in liberal democracies we will not be able to truly understand each other. This can result in negative attitudes, violent behaviours, and contradictions in our values and attitudes. This can take place even in countries that already have human rights legislation to protect human rights and freedoms, the rule of law, and due process of the law.

Genuine empathy is an important conceptual element in developing a culture of peace and non-violence because without it, we can not truly understand the feelings, thoughts and emotions of others. If empathy is absent then negative attitudes, violent behaviours, and contradictions in our values and attitudes are also present.

A mind set of non-violence is also an essential conceptual element in Galtung's conceptualization of developing a culture of peace. We do not have to

assume that violence is a fact of life, but rather we should operate on the premise that violence is an unacceptable form of behaviour. The concept of non-violence has both an outer and inner dimension. It includes the conceptualization of non-violence as the absence of direct and structural violence, but it also assumes the internalization of a set of attitudes and values that will not give rise to the need for violent behaviours. This process of internalization will help eradicate direct, structural, and cultural forms of violence such as that stated in a recent media report, where a group of Hindu nationalists in Amisitsar, a northern city in India, "desecrated the Kheruddin Mosque and burned copies of the Koran, the Islamic holy book. Members of the All India Hindu Protection Committee threw pork - a meat forbidden to Muslims - into the mosque's main compound."¹¹⁵ These modes of violent behaviour are the result of deep rooted cultural differences exasperated by negative attitudes and contradictions in attitudes and values which give rise to prejudices, discrimination, intolerance and sacrilegiousness. Galtung asserts: "tell me how you behave in conflict and I will tell you how much peace culture you have. A culture of peace is not a set of peaceful, non-violent representations of reality. The test of the validity of a culture of peace lies in how it affects behaviours in conflict."¹¹⁶ The presence of both outer and inner dimensions of non-violence are necessary preconditions for developing a culture of peace.

The two concepts, empathy and non-violence, both essential elements in the conflict transformation triangle and to a culture of peace, are inextricably linked, in that you cannot have one without the other. Without empathy non-violence is

unattainable. Similarly, without non-violence empathy is unattainable. They are both the hand and glove of each other, One is a necessary precondition for the other. The hand, symbolic of empathy, (genuine feelings, thoughts and motives which serve to transform negative attitudes, violent behaviour, and contradictions in attitudes and values), makes the glove, non-violence (inner and outer dimensions). The glove, however, protects the hand from the elements of conflict, and provides an assuring climate of warmth and comfort for conflict transformation.

The third conceptual element in Galtung's conflict transformation triangle is creativity. On a geo-political level, the attitude toward conflict resolution of disputes between inter state parties is often characterized by power politics, economic sanctions, trade embargoes, Security Council Resolutions, gun boat diplomacy, smart bomb and laser guided missile diplomacy. In sum, "a do it or else" attitude, with little movement or flexibility on either side. In such a climate of non-empathy, violence, and mental inertia; it is difficult if not impossible to be creative in arriving at any meaningful conditions of peace between state actors. Creativity is the key to developing alternative dispute mechanisms and in finding innovative ways of resolving differences and seemingly incompatible goals. We have to look beyond the normal and ask what could be and not what will be. Our thinking about peace and conflict transformation should not be circumscribed by entrenched mental boundary lines but rather we should be open to new possibilities and innovative ways of resolving conflict. When there is an absence of creativity, attempts to reconcile differences and incompatible goals are unproductive, thus it

provides a fertile breeding ground for a culture of conflict and violence.

Empathy, non-violence, and creativity form the conceptual elements of Galtung's conflict transformation triangle. When internalized and taken together, their synergistic properties help provide a culture whereby concrete procedures for settling disputes and resolving conflict can be developed and put in place.

2.34. Planetary Code of Ethics as Ethical Foundation for Culture of Peace

Hans Kung argues the need for a planetary code of ethics to serve as an ethical foundation for a culture of peace and nonviolence. He believes that the moral and spiritual values of major religions such as the 'Golden Rule' can serve as the supreme norm of conscience in this process. He advocates four irrevocable directives as a structure for a planetary code of ethics, namely; 1. commitment to a culture of nonviolence and respect for life; 2. commitment to a culture of solidarity and a just economic order; 3. commitment to a culture of tolerance and a life of truthfulness; and 4. commitment to a culture of equal rights and partnership between men and women.¹¹⁷

2.35. Coping With the Dilemmas of a Culture of Peace

Nazli Moawad¹¹⁸ establishes the view that to transform a society from a culture of war to a culture of peace would require a new way of thinking, whereby

our natural response to conflict would be nonviolent. He acknowledges the current paradigm shift in peace studies from negative peace to positive peace which now assumes that “peace is preferable to war, and that peace can and must include not only the absence of war but also the establishment of positive life-affirming, life-enhancing values and structures.”¹¹⁹ Moawad identifies four major dilemmas of a culture of peace, namely; 1. a growing cross-cultural contact; 2. a poor understanding of diversity; 3. a need to transform thinking on conflict; and 4. a missing bioethics for peace. His suggested approach to cope with these dilemmas of a culture of peace is based on five major sets of elements, namely; 1. placing emphasis on peace education; 2. reaffirming the respect for diversity within unity; 3. enhancing new trends in conflict resolution; 4. developing bioethics; and 5. recognizing the right to humanitarian assistance.

2.36. UNESCO’s Culture of Peace Programme and its Conception of a Culture of Peace

UNESCO’s Culture of Peace Programme at its first consultative meeting established the following seven conceptions and ground rules for developing a culture of peace.

- 1. Peace means more than the absence of war and conflict; it is a dynamic concept and process. Maintaining peace is related to the degree of social justice and harmony and the possibility for human beings to realize their full**

potential and their right to dignified life. 2. Economic, social and human development is closely tied to the process of building a culture of peace. Without peace, development cannot be sustained; and without endogenous, sustainable human development, peace cannot be sustained. 3. Peace-building and maintenance presupposes a solid social base on which civil society formations, especially at grassroots level, can flourish... 4. Democracy is the other side of the coin of peace and development. Decentralization of decision making and power-sharing are important. It should be made clear, however, that building a culture of peace is itself a process of strengthening democratic attitudes, behaviours and institutions... The dynamism of a culture of peace lies in human beings being able to realize their full potential, having the opportunity to participate meaningfully in shaping their society and feeling that they are in control of their destiny. 5. The nature and ethics of war have changed. Local conflicts are becoming more severe and international conflicts more destructive. Advanced technologies are increasingly used irrationally and for violent purposes. 6. At the macro-economic level, we should encourage building a peaceful instead of a military industrial complex. Alternatives for the military-based economy should be developed, and the military should become more involved in civilian development. 7. Conflicts need to be managed... This calls for non-violent conflict management. This includes training in mediation and negotiation techniques.¹²⁰

2.37. Central Core Values of a Culture of Peace

A culture of peace is an achievable learned behaviour just as a culture of violence. As the foregoing discussion indicates there are a variety of conceptualizations of means to achieve a culture of peace. The development of a culture of peace is both a process and an end. It involves breaking down the structures of violence and conflict through the transformation of their negative underlying values and attitudes. The central core values of a culture of peace are non-violence and respect for life, freedom, justice, democracy and democratic participation, tolerance, mutual understanding, human rights, social justice, cooperation, moral and intellectual solidarity, cultural pluralism and diversity, ecological sustainability, economic, social, and human development, and territorial integrity. A culture of peace is a positive peace and is fundamentally concerned with eradicating the institution of war and other direct forms of personal violence, as well as structural violence, environmental degradation and resources depletion, impunity, and human rights abuses.

The constitution of UNESCO states “that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.”¹²¹ “The wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man”¹²² and are the means by which the defences of peace must be constructed. In this sense, education for a culture of peace should be understood in a broad context, that is from a formal education and

informal education perspective. It requires a holistic perspective of education, that involves the concerted efforts of all educational partners and all institutions of socialization, including; governments, intergovernmental organizations, and non-governmental and community organizations in civil society, if the human right to peace is to be achievable and sustainable. This is most imperative because in our increasingly globalized and interdependent world there are numerous complex political, social, economic, and environmental peace and human security issues that are potential sources of conflict that need to be solved non-violently. Violence must not be accepted as a means to an end. In the words of Federico Mayor, “the core problem is violence. Rather than imposing by force, we must learn to accept dialogue, to convince rather than conquer. Violence must be rejected. The crucial transition at the present time is from the logic of force to the force of reason - that is to say, from a culture of war to the culture of peace.”¹²³ Much can be achieved through non-violence. As Dr. Martin Luther King once stated, “while the non-violent resister is passive in the sense that he is not physically aggressive toward his opponent, his mind and emotions are always active, constantly seeking to persuade the opponent that he is wrong.”¹²⁴

2.38.

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on education for peace with the emphasis on peace rather than education. It has investigated the conceptual development of peace. It

has demonstrated that the conceptual parameters of peace have widened. This is largely due to our greater philosophical understanding of the concept of peace and the forces of globalization. New conceptualizations and categories have been put forward, including those applying to negative peace, positive peace, and culture of peace. Peace is now conceptualized in terms of multi factored theories and applies at different levels of analysis. It is a pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological concept.

The concept of positive peace offers the greatest hope in transforming society into a culture of peace. In addition to the elements and conceptual categories of negative peace, it takes into consideration the absence of structural violence, it is informed by, a feminist perspective, concepts of holistic Gaia peace and peace with the environment, and holistic inner and outer peace. The conceptual boundaries of positive peace have widened to account for new and emerging complex peace and human security issues in this new global post Cold War era.

In the next chapter, Chapter 3, the focus will be on the study of peace through education where the emphasis will be on education and some of the various peace education approaches to developing a culture of peace.

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Chapter 3, The Study of Peace Through Education

3. Introduction

Peace education involves not only education for peace, negative and positive, as the previous chapter investigated, it also involves the study of peace through education. The emphasis on the former is on peace, whereas with the latter it is on education. Since the conceptual parameters of negative and positive peace have been widened in this global era by peace researchers and peace theorists to account for an interdependency of complex peace and human security issues facing our world, it stands to reason that the study of peace through education will necessarily involve a variety of educational approaches or peace education themes. Together, they constitute a more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological approach than traditional approaches to citizenship education. They are more capable of comprehending complex peace and human security issues in this global era. They are also a more effective means of preparing students to meet the challenges of peace and human security in the 21st century.

This chapter will investigate primarily six peace education approaches or themes, namely; 1. peace education as teaching about nuclear war, 2. peace education as disarmament education, 3. peace education as peace and conflict studies, 4. peace education as peace and justice, 5. peace education as global education, and 6. peace education as citizenship/political education. Each in its own

way contributes to the development of a culture of peace. They involve the pursuit of knowledge, the development of skills, the cultivation of attitudes, values, modes of behaviour, traditions, and ways of life based upon a commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes and non-violence, gender equity, full respect for and the promotion of human rights, and adherence to principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity and economic equity.

Before investigating each peace education approach or theme, it is first necessary to provide some conceptual understanding of education. Having already outlined the conceptual development of peace and its conceptual constituent elements in the previous chapter, this chapter will begin by briefly investigating the concept of education so that the study of peace through education can be better understood.

Ideas on education are deeply rooted in history and culture and can be traced back to early philosophical thought including the ideas of Greek philosophers such as Socrates (469-329 BC) and Plato (427-347 BC) as well as Christian-Judea teaching and eastern religions. Some of these conceptual linkages will be briefly explored in terms of their relevance to the study of peace through education.

3.1. Education and Early Greek Philosophy

One of the most fundamental objectives of peace education is the

development of critical thinking skills that will lead to the development of a critical consciousness that is capable of shaping decision making and public policy. For the early Greek philosophers, education was the key to providing humans with the ability to think and reason. Education provided them with the necessary skills, knowledge, and wisdom to make laws in hopes of achieving a more just, virtuous, and peaceful society.¹

3.2. The Lesson of Socrates Cave Analogy, Critical Thinking and the Development of a Critical Consciousness

Socrates² taught his students to think and to challenge conventional ideas and ways. Because of this, he was brought to trial for disrespecting the Gods and for corrupting the youth of Athens. He was sentenced to death by drinking hemlock. He was a victim of his time in that Athens had been defeated in the Peloponnesian War and the Athenian people had little tolerance for anyone who challenged conventional ideas and ways. One of his greatest contributions is the role he felt education should play in developing critical thinking skills and the development of a critical consciousness.

Since Socrates did not write down his thoughts, much of what we know about him and his ideas on education are contained in the works of his student, Plato. In Book VII of Plato's Republic, Socrates, in a philosophical conversation, discusses human nature and the want of education. In doing so, he demonstrates

the inadequacy of education in preparing students to think and reason by developing the analogy of prisoners chained and shackled in a cave. Socrates states:

make an image of our nature in its education and want of education, likening it to a condition of ... human beings in an underground cave-like dwelling with its entrance, a long one, open to the light across the whole width of the cave. They are in it from childhood with their legs and necks in bonds so that they are fixed, seeing only in front of them, unable because of the bond to turn their heads all the way around. Their light is from a fire burning far above and behind them. Between the fire and the prisoners there is a road above, along which, see a wall, built like the partitions puppet-handlers set in front of the human beings and over which they show the puppets.³

Socrates goes on to describe images and shadows casted by the fire and designed by the puppet handlers and asks whether the prisoners in the cave would have seen anything other than those shadows and images casted on the wall of the cave facing them.

The lesson taken from Socrates cave analogy is the important role that education should play in developing critical thinking and a critical consciousness. Education should help free the mind, help students learn to distinguish between opinion and fact, and help them determine what is real and what is not real. A critical consciousness is the development and refinement of our critical thinking skills. It is the awareness of underlying social, economic, political, and cultural forces that are silently drummed into our minds and serve to legitimize an existing

social order. The more critically aware, sceptical, and informed we are, the more we can effectively participate in decision making, shape public policy, and achieve a more peaceful way of life. Accordingly, Thomas Keefe and Ron Roberts, argue that a critical consciousness includes such understanding that leads to our participating in social and economic changes affecting community life. Realizing peace requires that we understand, participate in, and even help to guide the social and economic changes affecting peace. Thus this understanding and participation is critical consciousness. People who are uncritically accepting and adapted to their social environment are submerged in changes that may beset it. Their consciousness is circumscribed.⁴

Elise Boulding argues similarly that an important task of peace-learning is to learn to look with a critical eye at distorted cultural images to the reality of human behaviour. She argues that our cultural mirrors, including certain forms of art, music, literature, and especially the media, television and newspapers, project a very unreal and distorted image of the actual social order. These cultural mirrors, especially the media, are not only violence saturated, but they tend to glorify it. As a result, individuals tend to be persuasively convinced that societies are hopelessly violent, that violence is somehow inherent in our human nature. The cultural mirrors are not as apt to project the reality of the actual world, the peace of the negotiated social world, the socially sensitive grass-roots activism where the overwhelming number of potentially conflicting human interactions carried out in

families, neighbourhoods, the civic arena, institutions of politics, business, industry, education, and medicine, are negotiated and resolved peacefully.⁵

Socrates's cave analogy is important because he helps us understand the important role that education should play in freeing the mind and in the development of a critical consciousness so that we are aware of the global forces, social, cultural, political, and economic, that shape our knowledge, attitudes, values, modes of behaviour, traditions, and ways of life. As Robert Hutchins argues, "the proper task of education is the production of such free minds."⁶

3.3. Influence of Early Religious Doctrine on Peace Education

The intellectual seeds of peace education are also rooted in the moral principles and norms of behaviour in early religious doctrines, including Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. For example, God's revelation of the Ten Commandments on two stone tablets to Moses on top of Mount Sinai now serve as the underlying moral principles in the teachings of modern day Jewish and Christian faiths. "Thou shalt not kill", "Thou shalt not hurt thy neighbour", "Thou shalt not commit false witness against thy neighbour", etc. Jesus's message of nonviolence and his love commandment are presented to us in the Sermon on the Mount. "If someone slaps you on the right cheek, turn and offer him your left." "Love your enemies and pray for your persecutors." "How blest are the peacemakers; God shall call them his sons." The Jewish concept of 'shalom' is

evident in the ideas of the later prophets of the Hebrew Bible, such as Isaiah, who was of the view that people in the future would convert their weapons to peaceful purposes. “Nations shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.” The Sanskrit word ‘ahimsa’, meaning non-injury, first emerged in ancient India around two and a half millennia ago and is central to the teaching of the Buddhist religion.⁷ Each of the major religions stated above have made their own pronouncements on what is the Golden Rule.⁸ For example: Judaism; “That which is hateful unto you, do not impose on others” (Talmud, Shabbat 31a), Christianity; “As you wish that men would do to you, do so to them” (Luke 6:31), Islam; “No one of you is a believer until he desires for his brother that which he desires for himself” (Sunnah), Buddhism; “Hurt not others in that you yourself would find hurtful” (Udana-Varga 5:18).

3.4. Formal and Non-Formal Locations of Learning

Education is a concept that may be understood in either a broad or narrow context depending on the focus of analysis. Education takes place in formal and non-formal locations of learning.⁹ Formal locations of learning are institutionalized centres of learning where the learning is structured and designed by societally sanctioned authorities. This tends to be the conventional path to learning and takes place in public and private schools, community colleges, and universities. In these formal locations of learning, learning is referred to as schooling. Non-formal

locations of learning are not institutionalized centres of learning. The structure and design of the learning is not done by societally sanctioned authorities. Examples of non-formal locations of learning would include; sport teams, museums, summer camps, agricultural fairs, benevolent societies, social movements, radio and television stations, the Internet, industry, etc. There may be, however, times when locations of non-formal learning will be utilized as resources by the formal locations of learning. For example, schools often arrange field trips to museums and utilize Internet sources and taped documentaries to enhance and reinforce the curricula. It is imperative, as peace educator Larry Fisk points out, not to confuse non-formal learning with learning that is unstructured and undesigned or informal. Fisk argues that a “humanly-imposed structure or design in a learning situation is necessary but not sufficient for it to count as formal (to be formal it must also be institutionalized), and that a learning situation’s lack of structure or design is sufficient but not necessary for it to count as non-formal (since a non-institutionalized situation of learning may still be designed for learning by someone or other).”¹⁰

3.5. Formal and Non-formal Education

This brings us to the distinction between formal and non-formal education. Formal education takes place in formal locations of learning and non-formal education takes place in non-formal locations of learning. In the case of formal education, there is an imposed institutionalized structure (school, community

college, university) and design (curricula) for learning to take place. In the case of non-formal education, there is a lack of an institutionalized structure and design, but learning can still take place in these non-institutionalized settings. The non-institutionalized learning in this case is designed by someone other than a societally sanctioned authority.

3.6. Defining Education, A Broad Perspective to the Intentionality of Learning

Education is, therefore, a pervasive concept and can take place in a variety of social settings in both formal and non-formal locations of learning. This broad view of education was adopted by Helvetius in De l'Esprit when he stated that:

Education should be understood in the widest sense: everyone, if I may say so, has for teachers both the form of government under which he lives, and his friends and his mistresses, and the people about him, and the books he reads, and, finally, chance, that is to say, an infinite number of events whose connections and causes we are unable, through ignorance, to perceive.¹¹

This broad view of education adopted by Helvetius provided the theoretical basis for the 'philosophical radicals', Jeremy Bentham and James Mill to develop their utilitarian theory of education.¹² The Romantic poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, such as William Wordsworth and William Blake, and the Swiss philosopher and naturalist, Jean Jacques Rousseau, adopted similarly broad views of education. The Greek city states of Athens and Sparta also based their

educational practices on a broad view of education. A broad view of education is not an unusual one in the history of education.

Although peace educators recognize that learning can take place in both formal and non-formal locations of learning, they stress the intentionality of education, otherwise any infinite number of experiences, as in the case with Helvetius's definition, could be considered educational. Peace educators tend to support the type of definition of education provided by Lawrence Cremin in Public Education where he defines education as "the deliberate, systematic, and sustained effort to transmit, evoke, or acquire knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, or sensibilities, as well as any outcomes of that effort."¹³ Cremin's definition stresses intentionality. According to his definition, not all learning is considered educational because learning must be organized on the basis of deliberate aims and objectives. This would require some form of structure and design whether or not it was institutionalized or sanctioned by a societal authority. Cremin's definition of education accounts for both formal and non-formal locations of learning and recognizes that a multiplicity of institutions can educate. Peace educators also recognize that a multiplicity of institution can educate for peace. The primary focus of this study is, however, on formal locations of learning, namely, schools. It is now necessary to define peace education and to identify some of its major educational approaches and themes.

3.7.

Defining Peace Education

Cremin's definition of education which stresses the intentionality of learning is generally consistent with the thinking of peace educators. For example, peace educator and peace researcher, Ake Bjerstedt, argues that a "crucial aspect of peace education...is what we try to achieve in terms of insights, skills, attitudes, values, and the behaviour tendencies among students."¹⁴ Bjerstedt, the Coordinator of the Peace Education Commission (PEC) within the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), conducted a study in which he sent out questionnaires to members of PEC in an effort to get some views on the goals, challenges, and the future of peace education. Eighty members of PEC responded to the Bjerstedt's questionnaire. One part of the questionnaire asked the members of PEC to underline the three most important goals or subareas of peace education out of a list of a possible seventeen choices. When Bjerstedt analyzed the results, he found that the respondents emphasized five major goals of peace education, namely; 1. global perspectives, 2. ability to generate alternative visions, 3. interculture awareness, 4. insight into the present injustice and lack of equality in the world society, and 5. readiness to work for justice and more equal distribution. The first four of these are cognitive in nature and deal with education about peace, while the last focuses on action, changing attitudes, and values - education for peace. The first four reflect a traditional paradigm which views peace as an external phenomenon, while the latter is reflective of a new paradigm which views peace as both an external and internal phenomenon - outer and inner peace.¹⁵ This newly developing paradigm of peace is consistent with James Calleja's view that "peace is the converging point of

measure between the inner self and the outer environment. The thesis of the old paradigm are therefore taken into account and find their place in an integrated whole"¹⁶ in the new paradigm. Calleja argues that the essentials of the study of peace through education can be summarized under the following three headings: 1. the eradication of the ignorance of each other; 2. the promotion of the democratic principles of dignity, equality and mutual respect; 3. the wide diffusion of culture and of moral solidarity of mankind as sacred vehicles to peace. He argues that the first is pedagogically related to inter-cultural education, the second to education for democracy, and the third to moral education.¹⁷

According to Lea Pulkkinen's study,¹⁸ the concept of peace education did not appear in educational literature until the early 1970's when the Peace Educational Committee (PEC) was founded by the International Peace Research Association (IPRA). Pulkkinen argues that because of this, the meaning of the concept of peace education is still somewhat undifferentiated but can be better understood by relating it to other similar concepts, namely; education for international understanding, disarmament education, political education, development education and human rights education. Pulkkinen quotes the definition of peace education provided by the peace education team formed by the Ministry of Welfare and Health in Finland. The definition, which follows UNESCO's recommendations, states that "the goal of education for peace is to help the individual grow into a critical thinking, empathetic person aware of his/her responsibilities, who in co-operation with other peers is capable of acting towards the creation of conditions for

peace for all nations. Education for peace means the gathering of information on the larger problems of humankind, the formation of attitudes favouring non-violence and preparation for the practical improvement of conditions for peace.”¹⁹ Pulkkinen differentiates the objectives of education for peace into two levels, namely; the creation of a culture of peace and the cultivation of persons with a will for peace. In the former, the creation of a culture of peace, this includes “activity for eliminating structural violence, decreasing the idealisation of physical violence, fulfilling human rights, advancing disarmament, analysis of the image of the enemy and clarification of the ideals of peace. The fostering of ethical awareness of these questions relies on active discussion and expression of grievances, as well as analysis of the militarist culture.”²⁰ In the latter, the cultivation of a person with a will for peace, Pulkkinen considers important the “conveying of those influences to children and adults which develop thinking as awareness of the goals of peace and methods of achieving it, an emotional life which includes empathy for other people and nations, the will to assume an ethically high level of responsibility for one’s own actions, as well as the skills for peacefully solving conflicts.”²¹

Birgit Brock-Utne in Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective, provides a definition of peace education that stresses the social processes through which peace is achieved. She states that “this includes the practicing of equality of rights and equal power sharing for every member of a given community. It further includes the learning of skills of non-violent conflict resolution. It also includes respect for human rights.”²² The peace to which these social processes are directed is defined

by her as “the absence of violence in any given society, both internal and external, direct and indirect...the non-violent results of equality rights, by which every member of that society, through nonviolent means, participates equally in decisional power which regulates it, and the distribution of the resources which sustain it.”²³

Brocke-Utne identifies three major strands of thinking that have evolved as part of the peace education movement, namely, disarmament education, development education, and human rights education.²⁴ She distinguishes between education for peace and education about peace. She argues that education for peace begins before the child is born and continues throughout life where as education about peace usually begins at some point in the child’s formal education. It is the former of these, education for peace, in the broadest sense, that she is primarily concerned with. This includes an education based on underlying values of cooperation, caring, sharing, and non-violence in conflict-solving. She is critical of education that fosters competition, conquest, aggression, and violence, and argues that these tend to be the values that dominate our society and the ones in which boys are especially taught.²⁵

Brocke-Utne makes the argument that to know what peace education aims to achieve does provide the answers to how it is to be achieved. She believes that education for peace must begin with a different set of values from those evident in a patriarchal society where men are at the top of the hierarchy and women and children are at the bottom. For her, peace begins in the minds of women and her study focuses on the role of women as mothers in peace education.²⁶

Robert Hinde and Donald Parry the editors of a book titled Education for

Peace, similarly stress the intentionality of education for peace and adopt a broad view of peace education which accounts for both formal and non-formal locations of learning. They also stress the processes by which individuals and communities develop attitudes, aptitudes, values, and knowledge and they identify several themes that are central to education for peace. Accordingly they state that:

education for peace must include the issues of competition and cooperation between individuals, groups and nations; the nature of peace and war and a proper understanding of history; the interdependence of nations; respect for diversity; human rights and freedoms; and the creation of environments conducive to the development in individuals of positive values and attitudes towards these issues. In the long run, education ... must be interpreted broadly to include all those processes by which individuals and communities develop attitudes, aptitudes and knowledge. This includes the various ways adult opinion is formed or altered, but above all it concerns the early formative years of the child's upbringing, both the individual experience in the home and the institutional experience of school education.²⁷

The widely respected British peace educator, David Hicks, defines peace education as “an attempt to respond to problems of conflict and violence on scales ranging from the global to the local and personal. It is about exploring ways of creating more just and sustainable futures.”²⁸

Betty Reardon, head of the Peace Education Programme at Teachers College, Columbia University in her book titled Comprehensive Peace Education: Educating

for Global Responsibility, stresses similarly the transformative imperative in her definition of peace education. “Stated most succinctly the general purpose of peace education as I understand it, is to promote the development of an authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens and to transform the present human condition by changing the social structures and the patterns of thought that have created it.”²⁹

3.8. Approaches to Peace Education, Peace Education Themes

Kenneth Osborne in Peace Education in the Schools, asserts that a “more or less widely accepted definition of the scope, purpose, and content of peace education has emerged,”³⁰ and throughout the decade of the 1980's there has been significant developments relating to the theorizing about peace education and curricula. He argues that “no one approach has won universal acceptance” because by definition “peace education values a diversity and a tolerance which makes philosophical or ideological purity not only difficult to achieve but unwelcome even in principle.”³¹ Osborne discusses Walter Werner’s three major conceptions of peace education which he identifies as; 1. a focus on information, 2. a focus on issues, and 3. a focus on attitudes and values.³² He argues that there are, however, weaknesses in each of these three conceptions.

The first conception of peace education focuses on information and assumes that students need a variety of information and knowledge in order to arrive at

defensible and well reasoned decisions. For example, this might include providing students with information on nuclear weapons, the history of the Cold War, or the war system itself. Werner is not questioning the necessity of students having the necessary knowledge and information to arrive at defensible and well reasoned decisions, but what he is questioning is the reliability of the knowledge and information that is being provided to students, especially if the knowledge and information is controlled by government and relates to issues of national security. He argues that even if students were given reliable and identical sources of knowledge and information, there is no guarantee that they will all arrive at similar conclusions. Therefore, a conception of peace education whose primary focus is on the attainment of knowledge and information does not go far enough especially when decisions relating to nuclear weapons and war have to be made.³³

The second conception of peace education which focuses on issues is to generate problematic questions and defensible answers. Is there any real winner in an arms race? What are the means of producing and stock piling nuclear weapons and what are their implications? What are the potential effects of a nuclear war? Werner argues that the weakness of this approach is that it tends to view issues from the perspective of the different groups involved, and as a result, students tend to conclude that everyone is entitled to a different opinion and, therefore, all points of view are valid. Another difficulty with this approach is the problem of implementation. Where does the teacher get the materials? How reliable are the materials? How does the teacher get all students to the point where they can deal

with the implications of the issues?³⁴

The third conception of peace education focuses on attitudes and values which are central to understanding issues and in making personal choices. Werner states that peace educators have done this in three ways. The first is by shock, that is deliberately arousing feelings and emotions through films and novels that portray explicit consequences of war. The second is to focus on feelings of resignation and powerlessness among students. The third is to emphasize and provide examples of situations where peace is the value and not war.³⁵

Osborne also discusses five perspectives of peace education identified by the Peace Associates of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation. These include peace education: 1. as psychotherapy and empowerment; 2. as species adaptation to radical change in the environment; 3. as a task for political education; 4. as problem-solving and critical creative thinking, and 5. as educational and social transformation.³⁶

The first approach aims to empower students with confidence and to bring them to the realization that their views and opinions are important and they must be heard, and that their voices can impact on governmental decisions. The purpose of empowerment is to get students to overcome any feelings of despair and powerlessness that they may feel, for example, when dealing with issues of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. Osborne, however, believes that thinking of peace education in schools as a form of psychotherapy is a little ambitious and he cautions against it. He is of the view that it is dangerous for teachers to be playing the role of

psychotherapists and that most parents and teachers would not welcome such a role. It is, however, within the responsibility and capacity of schools to teach about empowerment to counteract feelings of despair and apathy.³⁷

The second approach brings attention to the need for a new way of thinking and a new set of concepts that challenges traditional assumptions about war, security, the environment, and the planet earth. The impetus behind this, from an educational point of view, is the necessity of developing a greater public awareness that the future of the human species is threatened by hazards relating to technology, nuclear war, and the environment.³⁸

The third approach to peace education recognizes the responsibility of schools in training students for active and responsible citizenship. Central to this is the student's understanding of their political institutions and the belief that their input and participation in them can make a difference in policy formulation. This is especially important in a nuclear age so that decisions relating to the development and use of nuclear technology is not merely left to the so called experts.³⁹

The fourth approach, develops problem solving and creative critical thinking skills. Peace education curricula developed on the basis of this approach requires students to explore and analyze a wide range of possible answers to complex problems and issues such as the development and use of nuclear technology, war and peace.⁴⁰

The fifth approach, education as educational and social transformation views education not only as a matter of pedagogy and curriculum development, but also as

a matter of educational and political philosophy. This perspective maintains that peace education must not only address issues relating to nuclear technology, war and peace, but it must also be a means of transforming schooling and to make it relevant to the changing conditions of the environment and the essential needs of students.⁴¹

It is difficult to compartmentalize or pigeon hole peace education into any one approach or perspective. Osborne argues that peace education programmes and curricula are not fundamentally or philosophically different, but they are more or less different only in degree of emphasis. The various and different approaches to peace education cross over boundary lines and share elements of this and that, such as problem solving, critical thinking, and values. He argues that it is rather more useful to think of peace education programmes and curricula in terms of themes. Six major themes or approaches that have emerged in peace education include; 1. teaching about nuclear war, 2. disarmament education, 3. peace and conflict studies, 4. education for peace and justice, 5. global education, 6. citizenship/political education. Each of these approaches or themes of the study of peace through education will be investigated next.

3.9. Peace Education as Teaching about Nuclear War

The first theme, peace education as teaching about nuclear war, assumes that the existence of nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear war are two of the most

critical problems confronting society today.

**3.10. Breaking the Knowledge and Control Monopoly, Human Survival,
Restoring Democracy**

The threat of nuclear weapons and nuclear war are especially troublesome and dangerous because of the fact that experts and insiders have a knowledge and control monopoly over this problem.⁴² Albert Einstein, the ardent pacifist and extraordinary physicist, who helped pioneer much of the research relating to nuclear technology, viewed the creation of nuclear weapons as a threat to the future existence of humanity. He argues that “the creation of the atomic bomb has brought the constant threat of sudden annihilation into the life of every city dweller throughout the world. No one can deny that this situation must cease if man is to make even a partial claim to his chosen name Homo sapiens.”⁴³ Peace educators view the existence of nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear war as not only a threat to human survival as Einstein so clearly articulated, but as threat to democracy since citizens should be informed about problems confronting their society and they should have some influence and control over the decisions affecting them. Since schools have been traditionally charged with the responsibility of preparing students for citizenship, there is no more important issue in the world today than the existence of nuclear weapons and the threat of a nuclear war for which students should be properly informed.

**3.11. Avoiding Propaganda and Indoctrination, Establishing
 a Balanced Nuclear Education Curriculum**

Teaching about nuclear war is clearly an important approach and theme of peace education and according to Osborne is educationally manageable if it is taught from an objective perspective in which propaganda and indoctrination are avoided, and a variety of different views and opinions and factual information are presented. If taught from this perspective, the curriculum would not be controversial and school authorities and parents would understand its importance and relevance to contemporary society. Osborne cites J. Mack's study in the Harvard Educational Review, regarding "the minimum agreed-upon facts about nuclear weapons and nuclear war that a balanced curriculum, free of political bias, would include".⁴⁴ These are: 1. the properties and effects of the weapons; 2. their extent; 3. a history of the "nuclear predicament", 4. the strategic and weapons policies of the USA and the Soviet Union; and 5. the possible causes of nuclear war.⁴⁵ Dave Cook argues that students should learn a wide range of nuclear issues and be aware of pertinent information relating to defence and deterrence as well as the attempts by individuals, groups, and government to bring about nuclear disarmament. He identifies eight areas that he believes a nuclear issues based curriculum ought to embrace. These are stated in the following.

1. Pupils' knowledge, perceptions, and feelings about nuclear weapons and the possibility of nuclear war. What questions are they concerned about and

where does their information come from? 2. Basic information about the nature of nuclear weapons and the likely effect of a nuclear war.

3. The historical context, for example Hiroshima; the Cold War and the arms race; superpower relations and their images of each other; the dangers of proliferation and attempts at disarmament. 4. The debates; understanding

and evaluating these with regard to the strategy of deterrence, and to the multilateral and unilateral nuclear disarmament. Who makes the decisions?

5. Interests and perspectives: political parties; the influence of the military and of industry; the development of peace movements; the superpowers.

6. The costs of the arms race: the link between arms spending and global social and economic problems; psychological costs - 'nuclear numbing'; environmental effects of weapons testing; power station accidents; the

dumping of radioactive waste. 7. Other issues: the debate about the need for nuclear power; alternatives; power sources; the link with weapons

production; civil rights and secrecy in a nuclear state; civil defence plans; the nuclear-freeze zone movement; morality and the bomb. 8. Futures: what

governments, groups and individuals are doing about these issues; working towards non-nuclear futures.⁴⁶

3.12. The Values Base of Nuclear Education, Negative Peace

In addition to the cognitive processes of learning relevant and important

information about nuclear war, nuclear weapons, and other forms of nuclear technology, and critical thinking and problem solving about these issues; peace education as teaching about nuclear war also includes a wider intellectual context that includes a focus on the values and attitudes. These are important because they shape our view of the world. Specifically, they shape our views on issues relating to concepts such as; national security, national sovereignty, national independence, patriotism, defence, deterrence, arms control, disarmament, and the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, all of which can have global implications. The question that ultimately surfaces is to what extent should a peace education that teaches about nuclear war be value based and what should be its values?

Clearly, peace education as teaching about nuclear war is not value free, it has an agenda like all other curricula. Its fundamental purpose is to teach students to make peace and not war, to resolve differences by non-violent conflict resolution, and to respect democracy, sovereignty, territorial integrity, international law, the environment, and the planet as a whole. “In the nuclear age, war has become not just immoral but absolutely inadmissible in the most literal and practical meaning of the word...War ceases to be another way to conduct politics as the new weapons have turned it into a means of total destruction, representing a fatal divide for humanity”⁴⁷ In his statement of 1946, Einstein stated that “the unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our thinking, and we are thus moving towards an unprecedented catastrophe.”⁴⁸ In an attempt to avoid this, the major task of peace education as teaching about nuclear war is to change our thinking

about the institution of war and to bring humanity to the realization that war in a nuclear age is inadmissible and is simply not acceptable. Peace education as teaching about nuclear war stresses the need not only to prevent, but abolish the institution of war, and to develop new ways of thinking for resolving conflict non-violently between State actors. “Nuclear education in the exploration of reformist policy options, has tended to emphasize the nuclear freeze, the comprehensive test ban, and similar single step arms control proposals as the major alternatives to the present escalating arms race, devoting only limited attention to other options in arms limitation and disarmament, and virtually none to general and complete disarmament.”⁴⁹

The major criticism of nuclear education is that it could be perceived as propaganda and indoctrination of an anti-nuclear campaign. This approach could also be criticized for conjuring up frightening images of a potential nuclear war that might inflict emotional stress and undue harm on children. Betty Reardon responds to such criticisms with the assertion that “a number of nuclear education programs were first undertaken in response to the needs and desires expressed by students reacting to information garnered from sources outside the school” and in this sense students were “moving beyond the passive acceptance of a nuclear threat, as evidence by students actions for peace and disarmament.”⁵⁰

Teaching about nuclear war is one of several educational approaches and themes of peace education. Because of its emphasis on the need to not only prevent but to abolish nuclear war, it falls under the general conceptual category of

education for negative peace. There exists an abundance of literature as well as numerous films, documentaries and television programs, including *Do You Love This Planet?*, whose purpose it is to educate for this form of negative peace. A number of professional associations have taken up this cause, including The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Their educational efforts were recognized in 1984 when they were awarded the UNESCO Peace Education Prize and in 1985 when they were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

3.13. Peace Education as Disarmament Education

The second theme, peace education as disarmament education, is a broader and more comprehensive concept of peace education than is nuclear education, in that it is not only concerned with nuclear weapons, but it is also concerned with all weapons in general, including small arms and light weapons. Although this perspective recognizes the potential that nuclear weapons have for destroying the planet, it also recognizes the ever increasing build up of conventional weapons and their ever increasing destructive capacity as each generation has come to pass.

3.14. United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons

This major concern was brought to light recently at a United Nations

Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects which met in New York City from 9 to 20 July, 2001. The outcome of the conference produced a document titled “**Revised Draft Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its Aspects**” and it states accordingly that the “**illicit manufacture, transfer and circulation of small arms and light weapons and their excessive accumulation and uncontrolled spread in many regions of the world have a wide range of humanitarian and socioeconomic consequences and pose a serious threat to peace, reconciliation, safety, security, stability and sustainable development to the individual, local, national, regional and international levels.**”⁵¹ It recognizes that the **illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects “sustains conflicts, exacerbates violence, contributes to the displacement of civilians, undermines respect for international humanitarian law, impedes the provision of humanitarian assistance to victims of armed conflict and fuels crime and terrorism.”**⁵² The document also expresses concern at the “**implications that poverty and underdevelopment may have for the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects.**”⁵³ It is important to stress here that the focus of the Conference was on the **illicit trade in small arms, not the legal trade, manufacture, or ownership of weapons.**

3.15. Conventional Weapons, The Possessors, Human Costs

Just as nuclear weapons are viewed to be potentially dangerous and a drain on social, educational, and health related programmes in developed countries, the purchase and stockpile of conventional weapons are similarly viewed in developing and underdeveloped countries. Conventional weapons which generally include small arms and light weapons such as; assault rifles, machine guns, revolvers, mortars, hand grenades, anti-tank guns and portable missile launchers, are the instruments of death in warfare between states and within states. These weapons are found in the possession of organized crime syndicates, drug traffickers, and warlords who promote conflict and violence as a means to achieving personal gain. Because they are small, light and easy to use, they are found in the hands of 300,000 child soldiers throughout the world.⁵⁴ There are at least 500 million small arms or light weapons in the world or one for every 12 people on earth. The Inter-American Development Bank has estimated that in Latin America alone the direct and indirect costs of small arms violence to be between \$140 and \$170 billion per year. Small arms are responsible for over 1000 deaths per day, the vast majority of which are women and children.⁵⁵

**3.16. The World Congress on Disarmament Education, Principles
and Consideration to Guide Disarmament Education**

In an attempt to address the disarmament issue and the need for greater

disarmament education throughout the world, The World Congress on Disarmament Education was convened by the Director-General of UNESCO in Paris from 9 to 13 June, 1980. The Final Document of the Congress expresses a deep concern “by the lack of real progress towards disarmament and by the worsening of international tensions which threaten to unleash a war so devastating as to imperil the survival of mankind,”⁵⁶ yet, it is convinced “that education and information may make a significant contribution to reducing tensions and to promoting disarmament.”⁵⁷ The Document states that disarmament education should be guided by the following principles and considerations.

1. Disarmament education, an essential component of peace education, implies both education about disarmament and education for disarmament...
2. Disarmament may be understood as any form of action aimed at limiting, controlling or reducing arms, ... as a process aimed at transforming the current system of armed nation States into a new world order of planned unarmed peace in which war is no longer an instrument of national policy and peoples determine their own future and live in security based on justice and solidarity.
3. Disarmament education requires the collection and dissemination of reliable information from sources offering the highest degree of objectivity in accordance with a free and more balanced international flow of information. It should prepare learners, in the strictest respect for freedom of opinion, expression and information, to resist incitement to war, military propaganda and militarism in general.
4. It should recognize fully

the relationship disarmament has with achieving international security and realizing development... 5. Disarmament education has a more specific and equally crucial task of providing rational arguments for disarmament based on independent scientific research which can guide decision-makers and, to the extent possible, rectify perceptions of a potential adversary based on incomplete or inaccurate information. 6. Disarmament education should take due account of the principles of international law based on the Charter of the United Nations,....the international law of human rights and international humanitarian law. 7. As an integral part of peace education, disarmament education has essential links with human rights education and development education, in so far as each of the three terms peace, human rights and development must be defined in relation to the other two. 8. Disarmament education should apply the most imaginative educational methods, particularly those of participatory learning, geared to each specific cultural and social situation and level of education. It aims at teaching how to think about disarmament rather than what to think about it...

9. Disarmament education should be based upon the values of international understanding, tolerance of ideological and cultural diversity and commitment to social justice and human solidarity. 10. Disarmament education should be the concern of all sectors of society and public opinion. Indeed, schools, non-formal and informal education circles such as the family, community organization and the world of work, universities and

other research centres and information media, all have a part to play in this task.⁵⁸

The first principle relates education to disarmament and recognizes that disarmament education is an essential component of peace education. The second principle defines disarmament both in narrow and broad terms. Disarmament defined as “any form of action aimed at limiting, controlling or reducing arms” is education for negative peace. On the other hand, disarmament “understood as a process aimed at transforming the current system of armed nation states into a new world order of planned unarmed peace” stresses an education for positive peace. The third principle focuses on the role of information in disarmament education which should be unbiased, balanced, and free flowing. The fourth principle relates disarmament education to the economic and political realities within which disarmament is sought. The fifth principle stresses the importance of developing rational arguments for disarmament based upon independent scientific research. The sixth argument outlines a substantive approach to disarmament education, namely, that it should take due account of international law. The seventh approach links disarmament education with human rights education and development education. The eighth principle states the pedagogical objectives of disarmament education. The ninth principle indicates the underlying value base of disarmament education. The tenth principle indicates the sectors of society including the formal, non-formal and informal educational circles that should be concerned with disarmament education.

3.17. Disarmament Education, Curriculum Possibilities and Resources

There are many disarmament education curriculum possibilities that could fit very easily into the existing social studies curricula in courses such as history, social sciences, and world issues. For example, students could be taught about the purpose of the International Peace Conferences held in the Hague in 1899 and 1999, the role of the League of Nations, and more recently the United Nations in promoting peace and collective security. Students could also be taught about the United Nations efforts to abolish the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, the use of landmines, child soldiers, nuclear testing, and any non-peaceful uses of our ocean space such as the high seas and deep sea bed, as well as outer space. In this sense, students could be introduced to new and emerging concepts such as human security and the common heritage of mankind. For example, the issue of landmines and efforts to ban them could be taught in the context of attempts to promote human security. Students could be taught about the human suffering caused by landmines and especially the suffering inflicted upon children. Students could learn about the international campaign to ban the use, stockpile, and transfer of anti-personnel landmines, and the role played by Jody Williams, the winner of the 1997 Nobel Prize in Peace, in this movement. A useful teaching resource on this topic is *The Road to Ottawa*⁵⁹, a two part teaching unit on Canada and the International Landmines Treaty. Part One explores the grassroots movements, the strategies employed by non-governmental organizations to foster public awareness

and create political change during the landmine treaty campaign, and the Internet's role in raising public awareness and uniting non governmental organizations (NGOs) around the world. Part Two explores the role played by the media, the decisions made by journalists and editors in bringing the story of the landmines treaty movement to the public. Students could also critically examine the substantive features of the United Nations Landmines Treaty, including the State parties to the Convention and the necessary number of ratifications for it to come into force. Other useful resources for teaching about disarmament education, include; videos, books, reports, photographs, teaching aids, music, websites, and other contacts.

3.18. Criticisms of Disarmament Education

There are, however, some criticisms of this approach to peace education in that it tends to be narrow in focus, although broader in scope than nuclear education, and that it tends to focus on an uncritical analysis of the disarmament negotiations in isolation of deeper social and structural factors, and that its focus of analysis tends to be primarily concerned with developed countries. These concerns were central to the thinking of Nigel Young when he stated that:

some peace educators are worried that disarmament education may be a trap, creating an uncritical focus on disarmament negotiations, rather than on deeper structural issues; or seeing disarmament detached from the larger

social and political context, e.g. in Europe. Equally 'disarmament' may be perceived as Northern hemispheric if not linked to problems of development and military repression. The balance between peace, disarmament, development and human rights education varies from place to place, and peace studies has difficulties in finding points of entry into less developed societies. It was (and still is) in danger of being Eurocentric.⁶⁰

In Young's view, peace education is more comprehensive than this seemingly narrow focus of disarmament education. He states that "its essence needs to erode purely national concepts and create transnational awareness of global unity and plurality of culture"⁶¹ and if this is to be achieved, he believes peace education and multi-cultural studies have to be more sufficiently integrated.

Maxine Greene's major criticism of disarmament education is that it does not do enough to encourage students to be critically reflective of their existent reality, which she argues tends to be defined by official others and maps the world into superpowers spheres of interest. When asked to write an article about the fundamental objectives of disarmament education in a book titled Education for Peace and Disarmament: Toward a Living World, Greene provided the following response.

I find it more meaningful to discuss ways of seeing, ways of knowing, ways of being located in the world. I am more interested in educating critical and self-reflective men and women, with commitments to values, than I am in equipping them with certain competencies, skills, even certain kinds of

information. It is the way of being in the world and engaging with the world that is important. The danger lies in people's becoming accommodated to the idea of an objectively existent reality, defined by others, usually official others, and taking that reality for granted. Why else are people so ready to accept the mapping of the world into superpowers spheres of interest?⁶²

Magnus Haavelsrud suggests that disarmament education has tended to fall within three general approaches, namely, the idealistic, scientific, and ideological. His major criticism of the three is that they are all focussed on the content of what should be taught and less on the process, the forms of communication and organizational structures that determine how it will be taught. He argues that there is a danger of disarmament education in some national contexts of being overt propaganda and used by status quo political leaders to further their interests and legitimize the existing social order. He cautions that this could result in disarmament educations becoming a contribution to the arms race and the militarization process. Haavelsrud is of the view that disarmament education must be made transparent and it must provide an accurate view of the social, political, economic, and cultural characteristics of the major players, especially the two superpowers, and their concrete actions in terms of their relationships with other countries. As an alternative to the three approaches, he advocates a politicization approach to disarmament education. This approach not only accounts for the substance of its content but it also provides for the how's of the educational process. He argues, furthermore, that disarmament education must integrate with concepts

of social justice and positive peace, and it must also have an action component.⁶³

Disarmament education is a negative peace approach that takes a comprehensive view of the arms race and is equally concerned with nuclear and conventional weapons. According to Reardon, this approach more than any other negative peace approach comes closest to renouncing war as an institution. It maintains a global perspective and brings into consideration notions of general and complete disarmament. She categories it as falling within a reconstructionist approach because of the national and international institutional requirements for general and complete disarmament.⁶⁴

3.19. Peace Education as Peace and Conflict Studies

The third approach or theme, peace education as peace and conflict studies, has as its central focus both peace and conflict. The reasoning behind this is that peace depends on the elimination, control, and prevention of conflict. The dual focus on peace and conflict serves to undercut political criticism of this approach so that it is not perceived as propaganda or one sided. Central to this approach is the role of conflict, at the personal level in terms of interpersonal relations, and at the institutional level in terms of relations between societal institutions within and between nation States. This approach is interested in exploring the causes of human conflict in human activity, the means by which it may be prevented, and the means by which peaceful solutions may be achieved. As an organizing theme, this

approach also connects the personal with the institutional. It teaches students about conflict in their personal life and how to become personally peaceful in their relationships with others. It also teaches students about institutional conflict, social, political, and economic, and how to prevent and achieve peaceful solutions to such conflict. The connection between the personal and institutional is made by the assumption that if individuals can be taught to live as peaceful persons, then this will greatly diminish institutional conflict since it is the thinking of individuals which give rise to the development and operation of societal institutions.

This approach to peace education falls into the conceptual category of negative peace because it tends to comprehend peace as the absence or prevention of violence. It promotes a form of stable peace in that it assumes that conflict is not something negative or something to avoid but rather it “gives a creative opportunity for change and development.”⁶⁵ As Jen Burnley asserts: “We need conflict. We need to permit disagreement, diversity of opinion, to allow for the constructive part of the discussion process. Conflict is not all disruptive. It is not good or bad. Conflict is a signal. It is the actions which arise from unresolved conflict which may lead to undesirable consequences.”⁶⁶

3.20. Causes of Social and International Conflict

In the past decades there have been several analytical frameworks to draw upon when investigating the causes of social and international conflict. Paul Wehr,

in Conflict Regulation, identifies some of these paradigms in the following seven basic propositions.

1. Conflict and fighting is innate in all social animals including man.
2. Social conflict originates in the nature of certain societies and how they are structured.
3. Conflict is an aberration, a dysfunctional process in social systems.
4. Conflict occurs because it is functional for social systems.
5. Conflict between societies occurs because each, as a nation-state, pursues often incompatible national interests.
6. Conflict is a consequence of poor communication, misperception, miscalculation, socialism, and other unconscious processes.
7. Conflict is a natural process common to all societies, with predictable dynamics and amenable to constructive regulation.⁶⁷

Elise Boulding argues that a major problem confronting peace education relates to the cognitive structures in the targeted audiences for peace education which she asserts, are "usually organized to support win-lose thinking, a we-they attitude towards any potential adversary. These attitudes are buttressed by a social experience of competitive struggles to win in every setting from the classroom and playground to the economic and political arenas."⁶⁸ She argues that to change such competitive mental attitudes will require the imparting of new information about approaches to learning peace and new conceptions of reality, new 'mental maps', and a "re-experiencing of that reality by the learners in ways that are intuitively convincing to them."⁶⁹

3.21. Approaches to Learning Peace, Resolving Conflict Non-Violently

Peace education as learning peace by resolving conflicts non-violently has experienced some promising developments in areas of experiential learning, problem-solving, and conflict resolution. For example, at Simon Fraser University, a group of teachers and researchers developed a ten lesson unit titled Conflict and Change. The unit requires students to examine the role of conflict at the personal and international level and analyze the causes of conflict and develop peaceful alternatives to resolving the conflict. Other approaches include conflict resolution programmes such as the Alternatives to Violence Project and peer mediation programmes.

3.22. Alternatives to Violence Project

Another successful development in this area is the Alternatives to Violence Project.⁷⁰ It began at Greenhaven Prison, New York in 1975 when a group of inmates working with youth coming into conflict with the law collaborated with the Quaker Project on Community Conflict and devised a prison workshop. The success of the workshop not only spread to many other prisons but to schools, businesses, churches, community associations, street gangs, halfway houses, women's shelters, etc. Alternatives to Violence is presently a worldwide association of volunteer groups dedicated to reducing the level of violence in society.

The programme introduces people to ways of resolving conflict so that the need to resort to violence is diminished. It teaches people how to create successful interactions and how to transform conflict non-violently. The programme develops non-violent skills and techniques based upon the teachings of Mohandas Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The basic workshop on Alternatives to Violence is a three day intensive programme that teaches interpersonal conflict resolution skills through exercises that focus on:

1. affirmation - building self esteem and trust;
2. communication - improving both listening skills and assertive methods of expression;
3. cooperation - developing cooperative attitudes that avoid competitive conflicts; and
4. creative conflict resolution - getting in touch with the inner Transforming Power to resolve violence. Role plays provide an opportunity to explore this power and learn new and creative ways to respond to real life conflicts in our lives.⁷¹

There is also an Advanced Alternatives to Violence Workshop for those who have taken the basic workshop and it focuses on the underlying causes of violence at the personal and institutional level, within ourselves and within our societal institutions. The workshop focuses on getting in touch with our inner Transforming Power to resolve real life conflicts non-violently. It provides participants opportunities to role play and to set individual and group goals for rebuilding community. The workshop focuses on the following topics or any other that the group might find compelling.

Fear - Reveals the hidden fears that usually underlie anger, jealousy and prejudice. Anger - Results in a deeper understanding of the personal situations that trigger anger. Power - (And powerlessness) Helps individuals understand power structures and get in touch with their inner power. Communication - Develops the skills and the ability to communicate in tense and stressful situations. Forgiveness - Builds the groundwork for true reconciliation and freedom from guilt. Stereotyping - Builds awareness of stereotyping, bias and prejudice in personal relations. Man - woman relationships - Explores issues of fear, anger, power and powerlessness. Aids - Understanding and acceptance for people who are HIV+.⁷²

Sandra Sandy's and Kathleen Cochran's study stresses the importance of social-emotional learning and conflict resolution skills which they argue should be based in "cooperation, communication, sense of community, appreciation of diversity and values, empathy, perspective taking, self-control, concentration, self-efficacy, creativity, and problem-solving."⁷³ They developed the Peaceful Kids Early Childhood Social-Emotional Learning (ECSEL) curriculum which is an integrative approach involving parents, teachers, and daycare workers, to achieve emotional, social, and intellectual growth in children.⁷⁴

3.23. Peer Mediation Programmes

Peer mediation is another approach to teaching conflict resolution skills, the

practice of which is becoming increasingly integrated into schools. The rationale behind peer mediation programmes is that it develops conflict resolution skills and empowers students to work cooperatively at problem solving interpersonal disputes without adult intervention, it decreases disruptions and allows the school to achieve its educational objectives.⁷⁵ In a school based peer mediation programme, a group of student leaders are trained as facilitators in conflict resolution skills to help peers resolve their disputes and interpersonal conflict peacefully. These facilitators use active listening skills, paraphrasing, and elicit feelings and solutions to situations of conflict and violence. Peer mediation programmes are voluntary, and the student mediators are neutral. They do not make judgements or offer advice to opposing sides. They do not have the power to enforce their decisions. According to the Conflict Resolution Education Network⁷⁶, eighty five percent of school based peer mediation sessions result in a lasting peace. The Network identifies three essential ingredients for a school based peer mediation programme which include: 1. enough interpersonal conflict to warrant initiating the programme; 2. administrative support to overcome attitudinal and structural resistance; and 3. a peer mediation coordinator to oversee all aspects of the programme.

There is a significant body of literature on school based peer mediation as an approach to conflict resolution and is generally similar in terms of the peer mediation process. Marie Rogers of the National Dropout Centre at Clemson University identifies the following eleven steps in peer mediation.

1. Mediator asks each participant to agree to adhere to certain rules: to try

to solve the problem, not to interrupt others while they talk, not to put down or threaten while you tell your side of what happened, to be honest.

2. Mediator asks one participant what happened. 3. Participant responds. 4. Mediator summarizes what was said. 5. Mediator asks the other participant what happened. 6. Participant responds. 7. Mediator summarizes what was said. 8. Feelings of both participants are discussed. 9. Mediator asks participants to think of ways to solve the problem. 10. Alternatives are discussed and some eliminated. 11. Agreement is made for a solution both disputants can agree to.⁷⁷

The Resolving Conflict Creatively Program, a K-12 peer mediation program in New York City reported the following statistics on the success of the programme.

70.9% observed that to a moderate or great extent, children were demonstrating less physical violence in the classroom; 66.3% observed less name-calling and fewer verbal put-downs among children; 77.8% observed more caring behaviour among their children; 69.1% observed an increased willingness to cooperate among children; 71.5% noticed that children increased skills in understanding other's points of view.⁷⁸

According to the findings of a 1994 study conducted by the New Mexico Centre for Dispute Resolution and cited by the Conflict Resolution Education Network:

83% of High School, 85% of Middle School and 86% of Elementary School respondents indicated that they have seen "a lot less or somewhat less"

student violence and other hurtful behaviours since the mediation program was implemented. 78% of High School, 69% of Middle School and 77% of Elementary School respondents indicated that they have noticed “much less or somewhat less” fighting and suspensions for fighting since the mediation program began.⁷⁹

According to The Conflict Education Network the integration of conflict resolutions training in instructional courses also results in improved academic performance and in students spontaneously using conflict resolution skills as a means of resolving conflict in both school and non-school activities.

The Muriel McQueen Fergusson Research Centre for Family Violence, based on the campus of the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, has recently introduced into School District 8 in Saint John, New Brunswick, a peer mediation programme called Creating Peaceful Learning Environments Within Schools.

3.24. Might is not Right, Conflict Resolution and the Curriculum

On an geo-political level there is still a mind-set among some political leaders that peace and human security can only be achieved through military might and the use of force. Threats and intimidations of superior violence capability are often the basis of structured relationships and foreign policy decisions, even while states actors negotiate issues that may bear directly or indirectly on peace and human security. This approach or theme of peace education accepts the view that might is

not right and that there are alternatives to violence. It reinforces the need to teach conflict resolution skills in schools so that the idea of peace making is not only possible but the concept of peace making is regarded as a more valued alternative than the notion that might is right and that superior violence capability is the only means to achieving peace and human security. Bob Haverluck argues that whether or not the focus on achieving peace and human security is at the local or international level, there are a number of foundation stones upon which to build. These include the following.

- 1. Mutual security: nobody is secure unless everyone is secure.**
- 2. Security is enhanced when conflict is seen to be negotiable.**
- 3. Conflict is more easily negotiable when “otherness” and “differences” are accepted.**
- 4. When negotiated conflict is seen to be possible and desirable, the need to be the strongest or be seen as the strongest is diminished.**
- 5. Peace/conflict education, by promoting harmony in the political and social sphere, also helps address the world’s ecological crisis.**
- 6. When conflicts are understood to be negotiable, situations once thought to be inevitable become addressable.⁸⁰**

Peace education as peace and conflict studies continues to be a developing area of research and pedagogy. Curriculum developments in this area are more focussed on the process and structure of learning than on the content aspect of the learning. The emphasis is not so much placed on the content or the imparting of knowledge but rather on drawing out the capacity to learn. It is important,

nonetheless, to recognize that the content aspect here does play a role in conscious-raising and developing a capacity to care and a commitment to action to resolve conflict non-violently. This approach utilizes experiential learning and cooperative problem solving techniques. The objective is to “persuade learners not of the efficacy of a particular solution but of the range of possibilities to be found in the human capacity for problem solving.”⁸¹ This approach to peace education can be taught as a separate unit or it can be infused into the existing social studies curricula. In terms of the latter, this approach could relate to negotiated matters dealing with war treaties, nuclear disarmament, military withdrawals, environmental treaties, and other negotiated accords and conventions that contribute to peace.

As previously stated, a major assumption of this approach is that although conflict is something that is inevitable, violence is something that can be avoided because there are nondestructive and peaceful ways of resolving conflict. This approach to education for negative peace generally defines peace as the negotiated prevention or resolution of conflict which could lead to violence. Some peace researchers and peace educators would argue that the concept of peace and the study of peace through education is more comprehensive. It must also involve the concept of justice. Although peace education as peace and conflict studies is a very important and useful approach to educating for negative peace and global responsibility, some would argue that this approach needs to be complimented by other positive peace approaches that address issues of structural violence.

3.25. Peace Education as Peace and Justice

The fourth theme, peace education as peace and justice, derived out of the realization that the concept of peace was more than the absence of war and physical violence, but it also involved the eradication of other equally damaging and life threatening conditions such as; poverty, hunger, social injustice, political repression, domination, exploitation, human rights abuses, racism, and intolerance. Central to this approach to peace education is the need to create greater awareness and understanding of the structures, social, political, economic, and cultural, that are imposed on individuals and thwart human development. In this sense, peace is more than the reduction/elimination of direct forms of physical violence, but also includes “the reduction/elimination of structural violence. But they also may be seen as two sides of the same coin.”⁸² That is to say, you cannot have positive peace without negative peace, and you cannot have negative peace without positive peace, since the social, economic, political, and cultural structures which give rise to structural violence also give rise to the use of direct forms of violence to preserve these structures and their existing social orders, so as to maintain the status quo and vested interests. This approach to peace education emphasizes the need to restructure existing institutions and to build new ones to promote and cultivate conditions of global justice and positive peace. This approach to peace education provides for a new way of thinking about peace and is founded upon a different value base. It assumes a set of values embedded in concepts of social justice,

economic equity, freedom, democracy, gender equity, non-violence, and human dignity. This approach is less concerned with the study of conditions that will lead to the absence of war and physical violence and more concerned with creating the conditions that will nourish and foster the development and respect for positive peace and global justice. A human rights perspective is an essential component of this approach to peace education.

The Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development (COPRED) and the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities define peace and justice education as a “multidisciplinary academic and moral quest for solutions to the problems of war and injustice with the consequential development of institutions and movements that will contribute to a peace that is based on justice and reconciliation.”⁸³ This perspective on peace and justice education stresses that such an undertaking should be academic in nature, multidisciplinary in method, global in perspective, and action orientated.

3.26. The Learning About and the Learning For Peace and Justice

This approach stresses not only the learning about peace, the knowledge orientated process concerned with the assimilation and interpretation of facts, concepts, data, and evidence, but also the learning for peace, the acquisition or development of skills that allow students to apply the knowledge or information gained. The purpose of the knowledge component is to raise the students level of

consciousness and create greater awareness and understanding of peace and justice issues. The purpose of the skill component is to enable them to critically participate in forms of social action to improve their society.

The learning about peace and justice in courses relating to law, social sciences, or world issues, might begin by introducing the students to key international legal instruments such as the International Bill of Rights which includes; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Operational Protocol. It could also include the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, etc., as well as domestic legal instruments such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the respective provincial Human Rights Acts. Students could learn information and knowledge about human rights by examining key Articles of the Declarations, Conventions, Constitutions, and Acts, and by becoming familiar with major concepts such as civil and political rights, social and economic rights, equality rights, democratic rights, mobility rights, fundamental freedoms, educational rights etc. In learning about human rights students may also become familiar with human rights abuses around the world and social movements to promote and achieve human rights, and the role played by key figures who were instrumental in institutionalizing human rights, such as; Mahatma Gandhi, John Peters Humphrey, Martin Luther King Jr., Andrei Sakharov, Rosa Parks, etc.

In learning for human rights, students would, in addition to the content

aspect of learning information and knowledge, have to learn certain skills; critical thinking skills, problem solving skills, research skills, communication skills, cooperation skills, negotiation skills, conflict resolution skills, non-violent action skills, campaigning skills, assertiveness skills, perspective taking awareness skills, and holistic perspective thinking skills etc., for purposes of not only understanding, but defending and promoting human rights. There is some expectation here for an inner transformation in that the student will be genuinely committed to the values base of human rights.

The learning about contributes to awareness, concern, and understanding of human rights abuses, whereas the learning for provides students with the necessary skills to effectively address these abuses and defend human rights.

3.27. The Process of Learning

Central to the peace and justice approach of peace education is the importance of the actual process of learning. It is as important as the learning that takes place in the content and skill development arena. The learning process is intended to be a substantive part of the overall learning and must also reflect values of peace and justice. Important consideration is given to teaching methods, classroom learning environment, and interpersonal relations between teacher and students and among students. Teachers must nourish a culture of peace learning in the classroom that is consistent with the underlying values base of the peace and

justice curriculum. They must practice what they preach.

3.28. Five Broad Areas of the Study of Peace and Justice

Joseph Fahey's study identifies five broad areas constituting the study of peace and justice in peace education. These include; war, peace, and arms races; social, political, and economic justice; conflict regulation; the philosophy and practice of non-violence; and a just world order.⁸⁴

The first constitutive element has been previously discussed as part of nuclear education and disarmament education. Generally it provides for an examination of the causes of war and the arms race, east and west, and north and south, and the history of the arms race and disarmament. It supports a multidisciplinary approach since problems of war, peace, and the arms race cannot be understood solely in the context of any one discipline. It assumes that war does not make peace and views the arms race as a threat to peace. It holds that the way to peace and to deter war is through the infusion of human justice into our society. This approach also supports the study of the history of peace activity which is as old as the study of the wars but has not received near the attention in peace education studies.

The second constitutive element, social, political, and economic justice, assumes an inextricable link between the denial of fundamental human rights and violence or war. Moreover, it assumes that if we are going to prevent violence and

war we must promote social, political, and economic justice in the world. To ignore the politically, economically, and sociologically oppressed is to sow the seeds for future violence and war.

The third constitutive element, conflict regulation, also known as conflict resolution, conflict management or dispute settlement, recognizes that the prevention and elimination of war and violence through the infusion of justice in society must take advantage of various techniques for the resolution of conflict non-violently. This approach to justice and peace has been previously discussed as one of the major themes of the study of peace through education. It provides students with conflict resolution skills and introduces them to important techniques for resolving conflict peacefully, such as conciliation, mediation, arbitration, negotiations, legal sanctions, etc.

The fourth constitutive element, the philosophy and practice of non-violence, has also been previously mentioned and linked to the teachings of religious doctrines and the teachings and techniques practised by Mohandas Gandhi in India and Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States. This approach views non-violent resistance to injustices as a defence to peace. Its purpose is to provide for a positive outcome in which both opposing sides are winners. It does not support a win/lose, or an all or nothing approach to resolving conflict but attempts to achieve a reconciliation of differences.

The fifth constitutive element, a just world order, is based upon the conviction that many of our problems are global in nature and require global

institutional arrangements and structures to govern relationships between nation states and within nation states. For example, some countries in Africa with resource based economies are ruled by anarchy and have little respect for human security and basic human rights. Other countries with dictatorial political regimes are no different. Therefore, this approach argues that certain international institutions ought to be given the necessary power to regulate relationships and to ensure the adherence to human rights and the responsibilities that go along with them. The underlying basis for a set of international norms, standards, and rules for behaviour for a just world order derives from the concept of natural law which was discussed earlier in this chapter. This approach tends to support the goals and objectives of the United Nations organization and its various institutional arrangements which support fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, conditions to uphold justice and respect for obligations under international law, all of which and taken together contribute to international peace and security.

3.29. Impetus for Infusing the Concept of Peace with the Concept of Justice

The major impetus in peace education behind infusing the concept of peace with the concept of justice came from concerns in the third world and underdeveloped countries in the southern hemisphere. There were essentially three major reasons for this.

The first reason was that underdeveloped countries experienced much more

serious structural violence than did developed countries given the nature of their structural political and economic relationships, satellite/metropolis, centre/periphery, with developed countries in the north. Much criticism of these structural relationships which contribute to the development of underdevelopment can be found in the body of literature on dependency theory. Much of the thinking behind this was that poverty, hunger, sickness, disease, illiteracy, unemployment, and homelessness were regarded as serious forms of structural violence that could harm or hurt one physically or mentally and contribute to death. In this sense, peace education as peace and justice also relates to the concept of development education which also focuses on the powerless and peripheralized position of the south and north/south interdependencies and inequalities.

The second reason was that peace education as nuclear education, although important, was an issue that largely concerned the northern hemisphere and preoccupied the debates between the two superpowers. The expenditure on nuclear weapons as a means to peace and security did little to alleviate the problems confronted by underdeveloped countries. Although it did contribute to economic growth and a higher standard of living for northern countries supporting a nuclear deterrence.

The third reason had to do with the civil rights movement in the United States during the 1960s where issues of racism, intolerance, and human rights abuses were brought to the public forefront.

3.30. Peace and Justice as Education for Positive Peace

Peace education as education for peace and justice assumes a much broader, more comprehensive, holistic, and integrative understanding of the concept of peace than nuclear education, disarmament education, and peace/conflict studies. This approach, although it embraces these peace education approaches and themes and the concept of negative peace, it falls into the general conceptual category of education for positive peace because of its major emphasis is on the elimination/reduction of structural violence. This peace education approach or theme assumes that structural violence is an equally unacceptable form of violence as is direct violence. It has a prescriptive underlying values base and is action orientated toward restructuring institutions and building new ones based on principles of freedom, democracy, fairness, tolerance, and human rights.

3.31. Potential Criticisms of Peace Education as Peace and Justice

There are four potential criticisms of this approach to peace education. The first criticism is that it might be perceived as assuming too large a concept of peace and, therefore, tries to do too much in terms of teaching relevant issues and could result in feelings of hopelessness and despair among students. The second potential criticism is that the assumption of non-violence, both direct and indirect, which is integral to achieving the concept of positive peace, is unrealistic in the actual world

given the numerous and unending number of potentially conflicting interactions both at the personal and institutional level. The third potential criticism is that some peace educators such as Kenneth Boulding do not conceptualize justice as a constitutive element of, or condition for peace, as is the case with his concept of stable peace. For him, “peace is seen as a skill in the management of conflict”... and “is quite consistent with conflict and excitement, debate and dialogue, drama and confrontation.”⁸⁵ The fourth potential criticism is that peace education as peace and justice could be perceived as propaganda and indoctrination if not taught from a balanced perspective that takes into account all sides of an issue.

3.32. Peace Education as Global Education

The fifth approach or theme, peace education as global education, emerged in the 1960s out of the realization that the concepts and skills used to make sense out of change in the world were no longer useful tools for understanding the nature of that change. The term global interdependence is now used to conceptualize the infinite number of links, interactions, and networks that take place among peoples, cultures, civilizations, and regions on a social, political, economic, cultural, technological, and environmental level. This reconceptualization of our society and our natural environment has brought us to the realization that many of our problems and the solutions to them can no longer be understood in the context of mechanistic cause/effect relationships, but rather in a framework that comprehends

the dynamic, multi-layered, and interwoven nature of human interaction with their social and natural environments. Given the increasing globalization and interdependency of our social and natural environments, it has become necessary to think about solutions to problems in terms of systems analysis and relational holism. We can no longer compartmentalize our solutions/strategies. We must rather think in holistic terms and from an interactive system perspective keeping in mind that whatever provisional adjustments are made internal to the system will reverberate within the system and impact on other systems.⁸⁶

Lee Anderson attributes the growth of global interdependence to three interrelated events that have served to shape and dominate modern history over the past five centuries, namely, European expansion, the emergence and growth of capitalism, and the diffusion of modern science and technology. Anderson argues that the global interdependencies generated by these three major forces are clearly evident when we examine the world from a variety of disciplines, such as; history, geography, economics, politics, sociology, demography, ecology, and culture.⁸⁷

Because of the changing nature of the world and the growing political, economic, social, and environmental interdependencies, it is necessary for students to receive a global education so that they are more fully aware of these system changes as well as the different values and perspectives among competing social actors. Bill Clinton provides the tone in the following.

As the world continues to go from smaller to more interdependent, there is a greater need for global education. Our economic, political, social, and

environmental systems have become interconnected to such a degree that we must develop a world awareness. This means understanding the interconnectedness of world systems as well as different values and points of view.⁸⁸

3.33. Nurturing a Global Perspective

Giving the vast changes in the social structure of the world and the increasing trend toward greater global interdependencies, it has become necessary for educational institutions to review their curriculums and make necessary accommodations. Numerous curriculum changes have taken place in the arts, social sciences, sciences, and languages that promote a global perspective and provide for the development of new knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour. Peace education as global education in social studies is also concerned with nurturing a global perspective. It teaches students relatively new and important concepts for making sense out of our complex, dynamic, interwoven, and fast changing world and the problems confronting it. Some examples of these concepts include; globalization, interdependence, sustainable development, relational holism, system, ecosystem, global and planetary citizenship, multiculturalism, global village, and spaceship earth. It also teaches students certain skills such as; system consciousness, perspective consciousness, health planet awareness, involvement consciousness and preparedness, and process mindedness.⁸⁹ These skills are what

David Selby refers to as the five strands of an irreducible global perspective in schools. He argues that they are irreducible for two reasons. “First, the five strands are all interwoven; one cannot be fully addressed without simultaneously addressing all the others. Second, if the school is not responsive to all the strands across the curriculum then it is not preparing students ... for effective and responsible participation in an interdependent and fast-changing world system.”⁹⁰

3.34. Two Major Dimensions of a Global Perspective, Substantive and Perceptual Dimension

Roland Case refers to a global perspective as “a point of view or lens for viewing people, places and things around the world.”⁹¹ He identifies two major dimensions of a global perspective. The first is the substantive dimension. This refers to the focus of the lens or the object of the global perspective, such as; world events, major issues, or general information and knowledge about things that exist outside the student’s community, province, or country, and that the teacher feels the students should know. The second is the perceptual dimension. This refers to the point of view of the global perspective or what Case refers to as the habits of the mind, intellectual values or attitudes, which serve as the basis for students’ perception of issues in the world. Spatial metaphors such as, narrow or broad, provincial or cosmopolitan, and parochial or far-reaching, reflect our global mindset or world view and help students make global sense out of the world, whether their

focus is on local or international events. Case argues that to nurture a global perspective requires the development of certain cognitive and affective lenses from which students can view, understand, and make global sense out of the world. He identifies five interrelated elements of the perceptual dimension. These include; open-mindedness, anticipation of complexity, resistance to stereotyping, inclination to empathize, and non-chauvinism.⁹²

3.35. Werner's and Case's Four Key Themes For Educating Globally

Walt Werner and Roland Case argue that a global perspective aims to move us away from a “less ethnocentric, less single-focussed worldview” and encourage us “to examine the world from a variety of perspectives” and “to become aware of the complex interrelationships that characterize it.”⁹³ They identify four major themes of a global orientation that should be infused in social studies education. These include the following. 1. Interconnections: Where are the links with other factors? 2. Perspectivity: How would others view this situation? 3. Caring: Why should we care? 4. Alternatives: How could things be different?

3.36. Interconnections

Werner and Case argue that students must be encouraged to explore interconnections, how one thing influences something else and its resulting

reverberations. They identify two types of interconnections that students should understand, namely, international and inter-system.

According to Werner and Case, international connections are the complexity of many different linkages that cross national boundaries in indirect and unexpected ways. They argue that it is not only important to recognize international connections, but also to recognize that they are of benefit to some and not others. Students should, therefore, be encouraged to raise questions about the causal conditions, historical, social, cultural, and economic, of unequal connections in different countries. They should be encouraged to develop a systems perspective to better enable them to comprehend the complexity of interrelationships between events and issues. They should be encouraged to establish linkages between systems, for example, between social and cultural events or proposed economic solutions and their implications for the environment. In doing so, students should be encouraged to investigate the historical, social, cultural, and economic forces which contribute to these system connections. For example, the imperial colonialism of the developed world over the underdeveloped world resulted in long lasting structural economic relationships resulting in third world poverty, which in turn gives rise to ecological change. Poverty contributes to the destruction of the rainforest which contributes to global warming, cancer, sea level rise, the destruction coastal zones, and fish stocks. Poverty also contributes to human rights abuses, ethnic conflict, physical violence, murder, and genocide.⁹⁴

3.39. Representation

If students are going to develop perspectivity then they must learn to critically examine the representations of people, places, and issues. Are they being fairly and accurately portrayed? What are the underlying values and assumptions? What is the adequacy of the source of authority? In what way is the culture being portrayed and why? What are some possible alternative ways? Is there a vested interest being served and why? Students can learn to critically examine representations by analysing them from the viewpoints of others. They can do this with newspaper articles, novels, videos, or text book chapters.⁹⁷

3.40. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is the process of examining one's own perspective and the values which underline it. It provides students with the opportunity of examining the factors which give rise to their basic assumptions and attitudes. It allows them the possibility of discovering whether or not their thinking on an issue or event is influenced by; social location, gender, ethnicity, social class, region, religion, etc. Reflexivity allows us to identify and evaluate the values which determine our representations of others. Are others different because they are merely different from us? Are they being portrayed as exotic, quaint, powerless, poor, or backward? In what ways am I contributing to this stereotyping? In what ways am I

contributing to the structural relations which give rise to the representation?⁹⁸

Empathy, representation, and reflexivity are critical concepts in teaching students the skills of developing a perspective consciousness. Perspective consciousness is essential to achieving a global perspective which in turn provides us with a more deeper and holistic understanding and appreciation of the world in which we live.

3.41. Teaching Different Points of View

Werner and Case argue that if students are going to be successful in developing a perspective consciousness, then they must learn diverse points of view. This is achieved by developing a respect for diversity. This means more than additional content learning about history and culture. It also means encouraging students to question ethnocentric attitudes, values, and uncritical assumptions. It means not making broad generalizations about people and culture, but rather recognizing their uniqueness and varied experiences. It means recognizing situations of stereotyping and discrimination, and being aware of the forces of racism and sexism. Teaching diverse points of view can take place by introducing students to moral concepts. For example, students can learn about the concept of discrimination by introducing them to different real world case studies of discrimination based on race, colour, religion, national origin, ancestry, place of origin, age, physical disability, mental disability, marital status, sexual orientation

or sex, or discrimination against any person seeking employment. This will enable them to learn about the different forms and types of discrimination. It will also enable them to distinguish between differential or intentional and adverse effect discrimination. Students should also be encouraged to ask questions about discrimination, fairness, and justice. Are there situations where discrimination is ever justified? Are there different ways of understanding fairness and justice, and if so, what are they? What are the moral principles upon which cases of discrimination are decided? Students must learn more than abstract concepts, they must also be exposed to real world case studies.⁹⁹

3.42.

Caring

The third key theme that Werner and Case believe is essential to achieving a global perspective is that of caring. They define care “as a sense of concern, attachment, or commitment for someone or something.”¹⁰⁰ They argue that students must be encouraged to care about issues and people. It is not enough for students to learn more information on the cultural attributes and the ways of life of others and the issues that they face. Caring means more than feeling bad. It means having an empathetic understanding, compassion, and commitment to achieving the well-being of others. This requires that students have some understanding of the concept social justice. The classroom environment is essential to the development of care, both in terms of teacher modelling and student interaction. Teachers not only

through their words but through their actions must demonstrate to students that they care. They must seize those opportune times when discussing events and issues to demonstrate why people care. They can do this by introducing students to people and organizations that have done much to advance the cause of peace and social justice. This could include past Nobel Peace Laureates such as; the United Nations and Kofi Annan, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and Jody Williams, Joseph Rotblat and the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Nelson Mandela, the 14th Dalai Lama (Tenzin Gyatso), the United Nations Peace-keeping Forces, Elie Wiesel, the International Physicians for the Prevention of War, Desmond Tutu, Mother Teresa, Amnesty International, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Martin Luther King Jr., Lester Bowles Pearson, Office of the High Commission for Refugees, Friends Service Council (The Quakers), and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Students could also learn about Canadians who never won a Nobel Peace Prize but who demonstrated actions and deeds that reflect a deep commitment to peace and social justice, such as John Peters Humphrey and Craig Kielburger. If students care about what they are learning then they will be interested and motivated to learn. The learning will have more meaning for them.

3.43.

Alternatives

Werner's and Case's fourth theme for nurturing a global perspective is that

of alternatives. The study of endless numbers of peace and human security issues can be overwhelming and disheartening for many students and leave them with a sense of hopelessness. Students should not only learn about present realities but they should also be encouraged to think about alternative futures. This involves the teaching of two concepts, namely, sustainable alternatives and action projects.¹⁰¹

3.44. Sustainable Alternatives

Sustainable alternative implies not only an alternative to an undesirable present condition, but it also implies that the alternative should be sustainable. Central to this concept is the concept of sustainable development. The World Commission on Environment and Development, in its report titled Our Common Future, defined sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”¹⁰² It is change in a society that allows its citizens to meet present needs without negatively impacting on future needs. This concept recognizes that the environment and development are inextricably linked and each can not be treated separately from the other. The present and future are connected through the environment. If the present generation does not treat the environment well, then this unsustainable behaviour will affect the ability of future generations to meet their needs. Environmental degradation can lead to; poverty, hunger, disease, unemployment, pollution, destruction of habitat, desertification, erosion, global

warming, and sea level rise. Students should be encouraged to investigate unsustainable development practices. They should also be encouraged to critically investigate the implications and long term impacts of policy decisions on the human security of future generations. Are we as humans too anthropocentric in the problems we identify and the solutions we advocate? Do we understand our interdependence with the natural environment? Are we thinking about solutions in linear cause/effect terms? Do we understand the international and inter-system connections that take place because of certain policy decisions? Students must be trained to think in terms of relational holism. When thinking about sustainable alternatives, they must learn that their well-being and health and that of future generations is depended on the well-being and health of the planet as a whole.¹⁰³

3.45. Action Projects

Social or environmental action projects provide students with the opportunity to acquire important knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values that are necessary for the development of a global perspective. Werner and Case identify two broad categories of action projects, namely, awareness raising activities and problem solving activities.

The purpose of the former is to inform, to make the general public aware of some peace and human security issue or theme. For example, greater attention and awareness to human rights abuses and social justice issues can be achieved in

schools by having students participate in and organize with teachers' supervision; conferences, model United Nations forums, plays, musicals, dances, benefit concerts, charity auctions, video productions, school calendars, letter writing campaigns, school newspapers, talk mail messages, schools announcements, and school Internet web-sites.

The purpose of the latter is to go beyond raising awareness and to provide students with the opportunity to play a role in achieving desirable social change to some perceived undesirable situation. For example, students can form their own school chapter of Amnesty International and undertake letter writing campaigns on behalf of political prisoners, refugees, and victims of major human rights abuses, such as unwedded mothers who may be facing the death penalty and young girls facing the prospect of genital mutilation in parts of Africa. Other examples include fund raising activities for the benefit of UNICEF and UNESCO projects abroad, working voluntarily in a local food bank or charity, participating in environmental cleanups at school and in the community, raising funds for scholarships and bursaries to support post secondary educational studies in human rights education and law, and letter campaigns and peaceful protests against discriminatory or unsustainable policy decisions.

Action projects make peace and human security issues meaningful and relevant to students. Student participation in action projects helps develop a sense of personal commitment to desirable social change. It also helps foster a sense of personal and collective empowerment and may give rise to a more positive sense of

an alternative future.¹⁰⁴

3.46. Pike and Selby's Four Dimensional Model for Global Education

Pike and Selby propose a four-dimensional model for global education. The four dimensions of global education include; a spatial dimension, an issues dimension, a temporal dimension, and an inner dimension.

3.47. Spatial Dimension

The spatial dimension stresses the concept of global interdependence and the increasingly systemic nature of the world. It recognizes the increasing degree of frequency of interdependence both in terms of depth, the range and number of people affected, and scope, the range and number of human activities affected. The spatial dimension stresses that the world has been transformed from a collection of lands and people to a system of lands and people. This transformation is demonstrated symbolically as one moving from a billiard ball model, where relationships are of an external kind and do not affect the inner qualities, structures, dynamics of the balls, and the relationships of the balls to each other; to one of a web model, where relationships are both external and internal and do affect the inner qualities, structures and dynamics of the balls, and the relationships of the balls to each other. Central to the web model is the concept of relational holism,

that full identity and meaning can only be understood in relationship to everything else.¹⁰⁵

3.48. Issues Dimension

Pike and Selby identify three aspects to the issues dimension. The first aspect stresses the imperativeness of introducing students to key global issues relating to such general topics as peace and human rights, environmental degradation, and development. The second aspect requires students to become familiar with the different perspectives, principal arguments and opinions surrounding the issues. Receptivity to other perspectives is encouraged. The third aspect is that students are also encouraged to think from a holistic/systemic perspective that takes into account the dynamic, interconnected, multi-layered relationship of peace/conflict issues and that no one issue can be understood in isolation and within simple linear cause(s) and effect(s) frameworks. For example, environmental issues are development issues and development issues are human rights issues and human rights issues are peace and conflict issues etc.¹⁰⁶

3.49. Temporal Dimension

The temporal dimension of global education is called temporal globality and refers to the dynamic interlocking relationship of time; past, present, and future.

Our interpretation of the past is largely determined by our understanding of the present and our perceptions of the future. Our understanding of the present is largely determined by our interpretation of the past and our perception of the future. Our perception of the future is largely determined by our interpretation of the past and our understanding of the present. The temporal dimension stresses the importance of alternatives futures thinking, possible, probable, and preferred futures, at all levels of analysis, from the personal to the global. Possible futures are ones that might come about. Probable futures are ones that are likely to come about. Preferred futures are ones that we would prefer to come about given our needs, priorities, and values.¹⁰⁷

3.50.

Inner Dimension

The inner dimension of global education is primarily concerned with developing students to their full potential so that they can effectively participate as global citizens and impact on decision making. The inner dimension also stresses the concept of relational holism in that it recognizes that what goes on in our inner world is equally important as what goes on in our outer world. If we are going to have peace with each other, peace within our nation, peace among nations, and even peace with our environment, we need a global education where the learning focuses not only on our global village and natural environment, but it also focuses on the global self. The two are intertwined and learning directed at each can be mutually

illuminating. The problem is, however, that much of our thinking about the world and its problems, in the past and even today, has been based on a kind of mechanistic/reductionist perspective which characterized the scientific revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. This is obvious in approaches to economic development which often result in resource depletion and have numerous environmental consequences. This world view fails to sufficiently comprehend that human life is embedded in nature and to destroy nature is to threaten the very survival of human life. The two are one and cannot be separated and both have mutually sustaining needs. This world view which tends to compartmentalize the problems facing the world also underlies much of our thinking about approaches to learning. This is why the inner dimension of global education also requires that students be given every opportunity to learn about themselves as global citizens, as well as learning about their world, the global village. The inner dimension taken together with the other three dimensions, spatial dimension, issues dimension and temporal dimension stresses the need for an ecology of learning approaches. It stresses the need for learning, that places greater emphasis on nurturing intuition, emotion, and imagination, that builds self-esteem and personal empowerment, that helps students explore their values, attitudes, and assumptions, that facilitates interactive and cooperative learning skills. The inner dimension stresses the need to internalize the concept of interdependence in students so as to provide them with a global perspective and a heightened awareness of the interconnecting problems and issues facing humanity.¹⁰⁸

**3.51. Challenging the Traditional Conceptualization of Sovereignty
and Human Security in Post Cold War Global Era**

Peace education as global education is very much concerned about fostering conditions of peace between nations, within nations, with the environment, the planet as a whole, and within oneself. The conceptual tools offered by the global educational perspective have been useful in allowing us to comprehend global interdependent forces which threaten peace and human security. These globally interdependent forces bring into question the traditional conceptualization of sovereignty and human security in this post Cold War global era.

3.52. Sovereignty

Sovereignty implies that a government has the supremacy of authority to rule over a given territorial area that is defined by its national boundary lines. Governments exercise their political powers and legislative authority by making laws to provide for its citizens and to protect their national interests. The fact is that this conceptualization of sovereignty is challenged by the reality of global forces affecting the world and the development of new institutional arrangements, political, economic, legal and military, at the international level to deal with them. For example, international human rights instruments, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which have now become part of customary

international law, challenge state sovereignty in terms of how the state deals with its citizenry. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, also transcends state sovereignty in terms of ocean governance..

3.53. Human Security

The global educational approach to peace education also brings into question our traditional conceptualization of human security. Threats to human security have traditionally been understood in the context of military aggression fuelled by feelings of nationalism, patriotism, and a desire for territorial expansion. Nineteenth century nationalist revolts in France, Germany, Spain, and Greece, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars of Aggression, the struggles to unify Italy and Germany, the two world wars of the twentieth century, the Cold War and nuclear arms race, and the recent Gulf War are manifestations of such thinking. Threats to human security cause governments to prepare militarily for the worst possible scenarios. Deterrents are established by a ready to strike first or strike back capability with nuclear arms, or small arms and light weapons with broad ranges of destructive capability.

This traditional conceptualization of human security does not sufficiently account for non-military sources of instability; social, cultural, economic, humanitarian, and global environmental problems which transcend national boundaries but are yet everybody's problems, for example; nuclear waste, acid rain,

the green house effect, sea level rise, over population, desertification, and depletion of living and non-living resources. The President of the Security Council of the United Nations, in a statement to the permanent and non-permanent members, advises that non-military threats to security need to be taken more seriously. “The absence of war and military conflicts amongst States does not in itself ensure international peace and security. The non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields have become threats to peace and security. The United Nations membership as a whole, working through the appropriate bodies, needs to give the highest priority to the solution of these matters.”¹⁰⁹

Economic, social, cultural, humanitarian, and ecological issues in our post cold war globally interdependent world can be as lethal a threat to human security as inter-state military aggression. According to George Andreopoulos, it is around these types of issues that subnational actors, ethnic, religious, and cultural groups, threaten each other and begin to question the legitimacy of an existing security regime, the rulers of the nation state, which provide for their protection. For example, in the former Yugoslavia, he argues that subnational actors were at odds over the integrity of their security regime and they challenged the concept of coexistence in the same public space even when provisions were made to give them access to power.¹¹⁰ He argues that the danger here is that “micro-level behaviour, in the form of the choices that individuals and small groups make, can produce macro-level effects more easily than in the past.”¹¹¹ NATO allied forces responded to

Serbian ethnic cleansing and human rights abuses with air strikes and bombing campaigns. Hundreds of thousands of refugees in the former Yugoslavia were abused and left homeless and many subsequently settled into different countries throughout the world, including Canada.

In light of the broad range of human security issues, there is a growing comprehension of the need to extend the conceptual parameters of human security and to undertake preventative measures at the international level for diffusing the deepest causes of conflict. Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in his report, An Agenda for Peace, argues that the security arm of the United Nations “has emerged as a central instrument for the prevention and resolution of conflicts and for the preservation of peace”¹¹² and, therefore, its aim must be “to stand ready to assist in peace-building in its differing contexts: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war; and in the largest sense, to address the deepest causes of conflict: economic despair, social injustice and political oppression.”¹¹³ The Secretary General’s remarks contribute to a widening of our understanding of the concept of human security.

The Canadian government has demonstrated some progressive thinking in this area in its campaign and platform theme for an elected seat on the Security Council of the United Nations. Canada’s platform articulated the need for an increased integration of human security issues into the international peace and

security agenda of the United Nations. The Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development identified seven areas of threat to human security which it felt Canada and other members on the Security Council should give priority. These included;

1. weak, exploitative and unrepresentative governance, institutionalized injustice and large-scale human rights abuses;
2. poverty, inequitable distribution of wealth and polarisation between rich and poor;
3. the fragmentation of states, intrastate or transborder ethnic conflicts and mass killings;
4. large-scale movements of refugees and persons displaced within national borders;
5. terrorism and its root causes;
6. ecological catastrophes, environmental degradation and conflicts over scarce resources; and
7. global militarization and weapons proliferation, not only of weapons of mass destruction, but also of light arms and small weapons, which have been instrumental in the massive civilian casualties registered in post-Cold War conflicts, the great majority of which have been intra-state.¹¹⁴

The campaign platform earned Canada an elected seat on the Security Council of the United Nations.

Our fast changing and increasingly interdependent world make it necessary for us to reformulate and reconceptualize our traditional understanding of sovereignty and human security. Global interdependent forces which give rise to an interdependency of peace and human security issues challenge traditional understandings of these concepts.

3.54. Global Education as Education for International Understanding

The precursor to global education was education for international understanding. It was one of the earliest approaches to education for positive peace in the United States and emerged in the 1940s and 1950s. It developed out of the need to “find the right kind of education to enable the peoples of the world to understand each other and work together for the common good.”¹¹⁵ UNESCO’s publication of Education for International Understanding formulated the guiding principles, fields of knowledge, and attitudes of mind that it felt were necessary for a programme of education and for the teaching of international understanding.¹¹⁶ This approach assumed that if people learned about others they would respect and act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood and work together in peace for the common good. Education for international understanding focussed on teaching about the United Nations, human rights, and other countries throughout the world. Education for international understanding included, area studies which focussed on a study of particular world regions, and multicultural education which focussed on the non-western world and minority cultures within the nation state. The latter is still an important component of peace education but the former is not since it lacked a global perspective. The major conceptual difference between peace education as education for international understanding and global education is that the former stressed a need for greater awareness of other cultures, countries, and political systems usually from a comparative perspective, while the latter stressed the concept

of interdependence in terms of the complex network of interconnections in our social and natural environment.¹¹⁷

3.55. Global Education as Peace Education, Peace Education as Global Education

It is important to note, that although global education has been conceptualized as an approach to peace education, it is also possible to conceptualize peace education as an approach to global education. There are good reasons for doing both. The knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour, of global education are significant to peace education and its conception of negative peace, positive peace, holistic Gaia peace and peace with the environment, inner and outer peace, and a culture of peace.

3.56. Peace Education as Citizenship/Political Education

Chapter one provided a historical perspective on the development and delivery of citizenship education in Canada.¹¹⁸ Traditional approaches to citizenship education have tended to be inwardly looking, parochial, and narrowly focussed. Our conception of citizenship education has been largely elitist and passive.¹¹⁹ It is now questionable whether students are being prepared adequately for the task of citizenship in the 21st century. Are they being prepared with the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour to effectively

meet the peace and human security challenges in this post Cold War global era? It is arguable that our concept of citizenship and citizenship education is in need of reconceptualization and reformulation.¹²⁰ This argument is brought to the forefront in the next chapter which investigates the major attributes of citizenship and citizenship education in light of interdependent forces of globalization and their implications for peace and human security issues. Peace education as citizenship/political education does not conceptualize citizenship and human security in nationalistic or country specific terms, but rather in a global and planetary context.

3.57. Global and Planetary Perspective of Citizenship

Given the increasing number of interlocking problems and issues confronting our society as it emerges forward toward greater global interdependency, it is necessary for schools to prepare students for citizenship so that they can address these problems and issues and resolve them in ways that are constructive, positive, non-violent, and peaceful. Peace educators now speak of citizenship in terms of global citizenship and planetary citizenship because of the nature of our fast changing globally interdependent world and its implications for peace and human security. Peace education as education for global and planetary citizenship nurtures within students the development of an enlightened global perceptual lens or world view. A global perspective provides students with the necessary cognitive and

affective skills so that they will have a deeper understanding and conceptualization of global change and peace and human security issues facing their global village and natural environment.

The allegiances, loyalties, interests, and concerns of the global and planetary citizen are not tied exclusively to some specific identity or national political boundary. Global and planetary citizens have multiple identities and are concerned with all spatial areas of our global social and natural environments and with peace and human security challenges that threaten their integrity.

3.58. Challenges to Peace and Human Security in our Social Environment

Students need to learn about changes in global forces in our social environment that have implications for peace and human security. For example, technological advances in information, financial and banking systems are eroding the authority and the capacity of nation states to control the transborder movement of money and information and this has implications for global security. Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda have used these changes to their advantage in setting up and financing terrorist cells for purposes of carrying out terrorist activities; assassinations, hijackings, and bombings of key political, economic, and military institutions. These changes have also implications for the development and illegal use of biological and chemical weapons, Internet terrorism, the drug trade, and the traffic in nuclear materials and small arms and light weapons.

In learning about challenges to peace and human security in our social environment, students should also be encouraged to understand that global forces do not affect all countries equally, and this could have adverse implications for weaker and less developed states and also for stronger and more developed states. The forces of global change often provide for inequitable social and economic relationships whereby one country, usually developed, enters into a structural dependency relationship with another, usually developing, and benefits as a result of this relationship. For example, Syria, Libya, Sudan, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan are states who vehemently protest against American political and economic hegemony in the Middle East and Persian Gulf area. American national interests in this area are primarily political and economic. They are essentially concerned with the preservation of the state of Israel in a predominantly Arab region of the world and a cheap and available supply of oil for its domestic and export markets. The above states are also known to harbour international terrorists who often target United State's interests at home and abroad. Syria alone is known as the headquarters to at least ten terrorist organizations, including; Sa'iqa Ba'ath, Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Arab Liberation Front, Palestinian Struggle Front, and Fatah Intifadah. The development of the culture of Jihad (holy war against infidels) and Shahada (active martyrdom) among ultra conservative Islamic tribes and their glorification in school books in Palestine and Syria as well as in mosques are resilient and deadly ideas which cultivate a culture of terrorism.¹²¹ In light of these challenges to peace and human security in our social environment, Canada, a close

ally of the United States, is reviewing its immigration laws. The Supreme Court of Canada is currently deliberating on the constitutionality of a federal law that allows the government to deport refugees on the basis of national security concerns. It will have to provide a ruling that strikes a balance between the security interests of the nation and the human rights of refugees who may be suspected terrorists. “The challenge for the court is to protect constitutional rights in the face of a new terrorist reality.”¹²² This peace and human security issue in our social environment, which is an outcome of global terrorism, could appropriately be learned in a law, world issues, or political science class. In a law class, students could be encouraged to make defensible and well reasoned choices, as to whether or not, in the face of new global security concerns, the prescribed law is a reasonable limit prescribed by law that can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society. In a world issues or political science class, the teacher could present this issue to students as an outcome of the war on terrorism, and get them to investigate whether or not they believe it represents an indication of an erosion or reversal of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms and democratic institutions. Do certain measures of achieving global security to counter forces of global terrorism threaten basic principles of human rights and democracy?

3.59. Challenges to Peace and Human Security in our Natural Environment

Students need also to learn about global forces in the natural environment

that have implications for peace and human security. The depletion of the ozone layer and its implications on life in the biosphere, global warming, sea level rise, the depletion of natural resources, and desertification are also examples of challenges to peace and human security. Just like the challenges in our social environment, these challenges in our natural environment cannot be fully comprehended or solved by teaching students a concept of citizenship that extends no further than the borders and interests of a nation state.

The urgency to change our traditional way of thinking about peace and human security in our natural environment gave rise to the World Commission on Environment and Development and its report, Our Common Future. In this report, we find the emergence of the concept of sustainable development and its endorsement by the international community. Although defined earlier in this chapter in the global educational approach to peace education, “sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without comprising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”¹²³ Sustainable development later became the central theme of the Earth Summit and the guiding principle behind the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 and its Programme of Action. The concept of sustainable development recognizes that the environment and economic and social development are inextricably linked and one can not be treated separately from the other. For example, the Commission states that “the environment and the economy must be integrated in our major institutions of decision-making: government, industry, and the home. This is perhaps the most

important condition for sustainable development.”¹²⁴ The concept of sustainable development continues to evolve and may be understood within the context of an integrated framework which views it as a multi-faceted process involving simultaneous pursuit of ecological, socioeconomic, community and institutional sustainability.¹²⁵ Sustainable development is a central core value, an intellectual attitude and a habit of the mind, that helps make up the internal structure of the perceptual lens of global and planetary citizenship. It is the underlying core value of peace with the environment.

Our social and natural environments are inextricably linked. This interdependent and inter-system connection is recognized in Principle 25 of the Rio Declaration which states that “peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible.”¹²⁶

**3.60. Global Security, Report of the Commission on Global Governance;
Guiding Principles, Values, and Moral Obligations**

Given the vast array of complex peace and human security challenges in our social and natural environments, students should be encouraged to develop a broad conceptualization of global security. The Report of the Commission on Global Governance titled Our Global Neighbourhood, encourages us to broaden our concept of global security. It makes the argument that “global security must be broadened from its traditional focus on the security of states to include the security

of people and the planet.”¹²⁷ The Commission proposes six fundamental principles or moral obligations for security policies that it feels should be embedded in international agreements in this post Cold War global era.

1. All people, no less than all states have a right to secure existence, and all states have an obligation to protect those rights.
2. The primary goals of global security policy should be to prevent conflict and war and to maintain the integrity of the planet’s life-support systems by eliminating the economic, social, environmental, political, and military conditions that generate threats to the security of people and the planet, and by anticipating and managing crises before they escalate into armed conflicts.
3. Military force is not a legitimate political instrument, except in self-defence or under UN auspices.
4. The development of military capabilities beyond that required for national defence and support of UN action is a potential threat to the security of people.
5. Weapons of mass destruction are not legitimate instruments of national defence.
6. The production and trade in arms should be controlled by the international community.¹²⁸

The Commission holds the view that the international community, not only through United Nations agencies, but through the Security Council of the United Nations, has a moral obligation to protect against any serious threats to global security. For example, the Commission states “we believe that a global consensus exists today for a UN response on humanitarian grounds in case of gross abuse of security of people.”¹²⁹ Students should be encouraged to think of examples of where

the international community intervened in domestic affairs on humanitarian grounds because of gross abuses to human society, such as the case in the former Yugoslavia. They should also be encouraged to think of examples of where the international community failed to act, such as Rwanda, and why?

This broader conceptualization of global security is why peace educators for global and planetary citizenship believe it is necessary for students to think internationally and in sustainable development terms. This can be achieved by having students learn about United Nations' Declarations, Agreements, and Conventions, such as the International Bill of Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, the Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the Convention on Biodiversity. These international instruments can provide students with tangible examples of how the international community has attempted to deal with specific challenges to global security. In doing so, students will come to learn that many of the substantive articles in these international legal instruments are already transcending traditionally held concepts of national sovereignty and human security.

Since there are new and different types of challenges to global security in this post Cold War global era, it is not enough for citizenship/political education to have students learn about national issues, national political institutions, and domestic laws and policies. Although these are important, students must also learn about international issues, international institutions, international laws and policies. Their

citizenship concerns and understandings must apply to peace and human security challenges within their country, the international community, and planet as a whole.

3.61. Institutional Gaps, Informal and Formal Changes

Students should also learn that society's legal and institutional framework is having to play catch up with these forces of globalization which cannot be contained within the rigid structures of the nation state. Government laws and regulations and institutional policies and procedures need constantly to be revisited and readjusted in light of changing social and natural environments and their implications for peace and human security. Elisabeth Mann Borgese argues that an institutional gap develops between the two forces of change, the informal changes (growing interdependency of systems) and formal changes (legal and institutional framework), and as this gap becomes greater, the challenges to peace and security increases. She explicates the nature of this institutional gap and its implications in the following:

When informal changes outpace the formal changes made in the legal and institutional framework an institutional gap opens...The growing interdependence of financial and production systems, as well as environmental, technological and information systems, and, on the other hand, the rigid structures of the nation state of the Westphalian Era. As the gap widened, this system began to break up: internally, yielding to pressures

of cultural, ethnic, linguistic or religious diversity, and externally, to current economic, technological, and environmental imperatives.¹³⁰

Students in history, political science, and world issues classes should be encouraged to learn about the role of these forces in the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and the break up of the former Yugoslavia. What were the internal pressures; cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious, and external pressures; economic, technological, and environmental at work?

3.62. Teaching Students Solutions and Strategies for Global Security

Peace educators educating for global and planetary citizenship must teach students concepts not only to understand the dynamic nature of the forces of globalization and the challenges they present to our global security, but they must also teach students to use these concepts as a context for providing solutions and strategies. For example, students should be encouraged to learn about the concept of interdependence, to understand and recognize international and inter-system connections. Their understanding of interdependence enables them to “question traditional assumptions and guide the practical re-adjustments that lead to solutions.”¹³¹ Teachers can provide examples and evidence of how the global community is making progress in using the concept of interdependence to develop strategies and solutions to peace and human security issues in our social and natural environments.

For example, The International Bill of Rights provides for the interdependent and indivisible nature of human rights. Students could be encouraged to learn about their social, economic, political, and cultural rights. Students could also be encouraged to learn about international institutions such as The International Criminal Court. What is the reasoning behind this court? What are its legal competencies and responsibilities. How does the establishment of this court transcend the concept of national sovereignty? What necessary requirements must be fulfilled before the court enters into force? Students could also be encouraged to learn about International Criminal Tribunals such as those set up in 1993 for the former Yugoslavia and in 1994 for Rwanda. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, uses of the concept of interdependence as a negotiating mechanism for determining the rights and responsibilities of coastal and landlocked states and developed and developing states. The concept of interdependence is very much evident in its provision for the institutional embodiment of the principle of the common heritage of mankind and the establishment of the International Seabed Authority to provide ocean governance over polymetallic mineral resources in the continental margin beyond the 200 mile limit of the Exclusive Economic Zone and in the deep seabed. Students could be encouraged to learn about the concept of the common heritage of mankind, a non-property concept based on fundamental principles of; benefit sharing, reservation for peaceful purposes, protection of the environment, and conservation for future generations. This concept provides not only a framework for sustainable development, but it also enhances peace, security

and disarmament.¹³²

3.63. Teaching Students Global Governance

Peace education as citizenship/political education recognizes the importance of teaching students about the role of political institutions and political action in effecting change and achieving peace and human security. This means not only studying national political institutions, laws, regulations, and policies, it also means studying international political institutions such as the United Nations and its major bodies; the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, The International Court of Justice, and other United Nations' agencies, commissions, programmes, conferences, and international agreements; declarations, protocols, conventions, and treaties. Although peace education as citizenship/political education is concerned with national governance it is also concerned with global governance. Global governance is central to attaining global security "since there is no alternative to working together and using collective power to create a better world."¹³³ The Commission on Global Governance defines the concept of global governance as:

the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered

to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive in their interest. ...There is no single model or form of global governance, nor is there a single structure or set of structures. It is a broad dynamic, complex process of interactive decision-making that is constantly evolving and responding to changing circumstances ... Governance must take an integrated approach to questions of human survival and prosperity... It must promote systemic approaches.¹³⁴

Students should be encouraged to learn about the concept of global governance. It is imperative that students understand that global governance means nation states must mutually accept the responsibility for global security problems and undertake co-ordinated political action that cuts across the “divides of national sovereignty, of limited strategies for economic gain, and of separated disciplines of science.”¹³⁵ That global governance is about multilateralism, cooperation, common goals, trust and having the political will to protect our common future.

3.64. Critical Thinking and Reflection on Institutional Arrangements for Development of Global Security

Peace education as citizenship/political education is also about teaching skills of critical thinking and reflection. Earlier in this chapter, the importance of this in peace education was stressed in Socrates cave analogy. Students should be encouraged to think outside the box. Are their more desirable and alternative

institutional arrangements that would be more effective in achieving peace and human security? Students should be encouraged to reflect critically on the role played by existing political and international institutions and their relevance and effectiveness in dealing with global security in light of post World War II and post Cold War globalization and interdependencies. For example, students should be encouraged to investigate whether or not the United Nations, an organization founded over fifty years ago, is still relevant to the needs of contemporary society. Ingvar Carlsson and Shridath Ramphal, the co-chairmen of the Commission on Global Governance, argue that “the international system that the UN Charter put in place needs to be renewed. The flaws and inadequacies of existing institutions have to be overcome. There is a need to weave a tighter fabric of international norms, expanding the rule of law world-wide and enabling citizens to exert their democratic influence on global processes.”¹³⁶ Elizabeth Mann Borgese argues similarly that “it is generally recognized that a rather radical restructuring is needed for the venerable United Nations, now fifty years old and based on concepts of security which have become obsolete and on a political geography that has vanished.”¹³⁷ It is imperative that peace education curricula encourage critical thinking and reflection in this area. Students should also be encouraged to learn that the process of restructuring and transforming the United Nations has already begun from forces within, as is evidenced by the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, both of which were instrumental in establishing the Commission for Sustainable Development,

which is now a whole new division to the United Nations structure. The International Criminal Tribunals in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the emergence of the new International Criminal Court, as mentioned earlier, are other examples of newly developing institutional arrangements.

3.65. Moving Beyond the Content, The Process of Learning and Skill Development

Peace education as citizenship/political education is not only concerned with content, the knowledge and information about major issues necessary to be an informed citizen, but it is also concerned with the process in which the learning of the content takes place. Nobody can be an expert on all issues affecting the world since many of them are too complex and open to interpretation and the circumstances and information surrounding them change rapidly. Peace educators are concerned with the process in which learning is learned because of its importance in developing necessary intellectual attitudes, values, skills, and modes of behaviour which are crucial for the peaceful resolution of conflict in our global neighbourhood. Moyra Tooke, for example, argues that “although the content of world issues is important, the processes by which they are explored are even more so. The process should lead to the skills of survival and to commitment to contributing to solutions”¹³⁸ She summarizes these skills of survival and commitment to contributing to solutions as follows:

- 1. identifying the key questions - the essence of the issue;**
- 2. finding**

information that addresses as many aspects of key questions as possible;

- 3. assessing these for bias; 4. developing a hypothesis to be tested against the perceptions of others; 5. committing oneself to a viewpoint flexibly, but with a clear sense of having emerged with a point of view worth defending;**
- 6. sharing this viewpoint and defending it.¹³⁹**

The implications for this type of learning environment are for student centred learning and not for teacher centred teaching. It implies greater emphasis on student's research, inquiry, and problem solving methods, and cooperative learning skills. The teacher is a facilitator in the process and not a transmitter of information. The teacher keeps students on task, directs them to relevant information, and assists them in developing and identifying pertinent questions. "The teacher is a facilitator of inquiry who questions, challenges, probes, creates opportunity for extensive student research, and develops methods for authentic assessment and evaluation."¹⁴⁰ The teacher is not an expert in the field in regards to the subject inquiry or the issue at hand, but is rather a co-learner in the learning process with the students. An issues centred approach to peace education as citizenship/political education connects the content to the interests and concerns of students in the classroom thereby providing a greater stimulus and inspiration to learn. The global perspective keeps the content new and up to date, it makes the curriculum more exciting and stimulating, with the result that it is more likely to appeal to the diversity of students in the class.

3.66. Finding Content in the Process of Learning, Learning to Ask and Investigate the Right Questions

The content for an issues based approach to peace education as citizenship and political education arises not so much from the established facts surrounding a world issue, since many of these facts may already be general knowledge, but from using this information as the basis of identifying key questions and then exploring the answers to them. It is imperative here for the teacher to guide the students in their preparation of these key questions and to manage the ensuing discussion, debate, inquiry research, and actions taken. Learning to ask the right questions is as much of the content as the information needed to answer the questions. Tooke provides the following example of seven key questions for a world issues based approach to education in preparing students for citizenship in the 21st century.

1. What is the issue? 2. Why is it a local or global issue? (What are its present effects?) 3. What are the main causes? 4. What would be needed to effect change? 5. Who would be affected? 6. How can acceptable changes be brought about in the short term and the long term? 7. How will we measure success?¹⁴¹

3.67. Engle's and Ochoa's Problem Orientated Instructional Model, A Pedagogical Approach for Teaching Peace and Human Security Issues

Peace education as citizenship/political education can also teach peace and human security issues within the framework of a problem orientated instructional model. For example, the Engle and Ochoa problem orientated instructional model consists of seven dynamic instructional phases.¹⁴² The model assumes that the teacher is willing to create an informed citizenry and is open to the free exchange of relevant information and directs the process of learning on the basis of democratic values. The model also assumes an informed teacher who makes available to students sufficient resources for student inquiry and analysis of a social problem. The model is dynamic and need not follow sequential order.¹⁴³

The first phase is the orientation to a problem area. The teacher uses questions and high interest spring boards such as; newspaper articles, text book literature, videos, photographs, etc., as a backdrop to a problem area for purposes of engaging students in reflection. For example, the teacher might provide newspaper clippings or news excerpts of crimes committed against people because of race, ethnic background, religion, gender or sexual orientation. The teacher encourages the students to reflect on these crimes or even similar ones that might have taken place in the school without ever introducing the students to the concept of hate crime.

The second phase is where students learn to identify and define the problem. The teacher could provide the students with more information to read that brings to light cases of cross burning or telephone harassment against certain racial and ethnic minorities so that students begin to develop a concept of hate crimes and its

conceptual parameters. The teacher could then read sections 319 of the Criminal Code of Canada dealing with the public incitement of hatred against an identifiable group. On the basis of this substantive and authoritative source, students would then become aware of the constitutive elements of a hate crime against an identifiable group and the legal basis on which an identifiable group is determined.

The third phase engages the students by using probing questions. This involves the teacher and students finding thoughtful answers to certain definitional, evidential, speculative, value, and policy questions in print, electronic, or community based resources. Students could gather additional information on hate crimes in their school, community, province, country or outside their country for purposes of discerning the different types of hate crimes such as advocating and promoting genocide or the public incitement of hatred against an identifiable group. They could explore the causes and/or motivations behind such crimes. They could arrange for guest speakers from the legal profession, the provincial human rights commission, or both. Students could conduct telephone interviews or use the Internet and email to gather additional information.

The fourth phase is where students identify the value assumptions and reflect on their own attitudes, values, and experiences that shape their frame of reference. Students could also identify other perspectives and their underlying values and attitudes for purposes of broadening their perspective. How does the hate crime legislation in the Criminal Code which upholds values of cultural pluralism and ethnic diversity infringe on fundamental freedoms guaranteed under section two of

the Canadian Charter of Rights and freedoms? Does the Criminal Code provision violate the Charter right to freedom of expression under section 2(b)? Is the Criminal Code section on hate crimes overly broad? Is it a reasonable limit prescribed by law? Can the hate crime legislation be saved by section 1 of the Charter which guarantees rights and freedoms subject to such reasonable limits as prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society? What constitutes reasonable limits on our freedoms and under what conditions are they demonstrably justified? Is article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights contradictory because it stresses freedom, equality, dignity, and rights? To what extent should human dignity be protected at the expense of infringing on freedom in a democratic society? Students could interview lawyers, judges, legislators, historians, victims, and perpetrators of hate crimes to get their views.

The fifth phase is where students identify alternatives and predict consequences. Students use their knowledge base of information gathered, print literature, media, interviews, and classroom discussions as the basis for identifying alternative courses of action as a means of finding solutions to a problem and they predict the consequences of them. Students could examine hate crimes in light of Supreme Court of Canada decisions in *R. v. Keegstra* (1990)¹⁴⁴ and *R. v. Andrews and Smith* (1990).¹⁴⁵ Students could investigate the circumstances under which New Brunswick school teacher Malcolm Ross was relieved of his teaching duties and his ensuing civil litigation with Saint John Times Globe newspaper cartoonist, Josh Beutel.¹⁴⁶ The teacher asks students a lot of probing questions like what if or what

then? What are the circumstances and situations in which hate crimes are committed? What are the methods of carrying out hate crimes? Is the law clear or ambivalent on hate crimes? Are there areas of disagreement between the rule of law and groups in society who feel it infringes on their fundamental freedoms? Are there alternative solutions that would lend itself to amending the law? What are the alternative solutions and in what way are they consistent with the value assumptions established in phase four and whose value assumptions are they? In what way are the alternative solutions consistent with the various interest groups in the class? Are there non legal remedies that would be effective in addressing the problem? What are these non legal alternatives and their consequences?

The sixth phase is where students reach and justify a decision. They weigh out the merits of each of the alternative solutions and its predicted consequence. They then select the best alternative solution based on the strongest reasons and evidence. For example, students might decide that the hate crime legislation under section 318 of the Criminal Code of Canada is an infringement of fundamental freedoms guaranteed under section 2 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, but that the infringement can be saved by section 1 of the Charter. Students could decide that the infringement of fundamental freedoms in a particular hate crime case is a reasonable limit prescribed by law in a free and democratic society. On the other hand, students could decide that the hate crimes legislation is unconstitutional and that it is an infringement of fundamental freedoms under section 2 of the Charter and cannot be saved by section 1. In any event, students in

justifying their decision would have to determine whether or not the limitation was reasonable, prescribed by law, and demonstrably justified. This would require them to make a decision on the basis of the standard or test that the courts have set as precedent to determine if the limitation is reasonable, prescribed by law, and demonstrably justified. To determine whether or not the limitation is reasonable, students would have to determine whether or not the law is designed to fulfill some important governmental objective and whether or not it actually helps to achieve that objective. They would also have to decide whether or not the intrusion on protected rights is minimal and proportionate to the seriousness of the objective. To determine whether or not the limitation can be prescribed by law, students would have to decide whether or not the legislation is overly broad and whether or not it clearly and narrowly addresses the issue. To determine whether or not the limitation is justified, the students would have to decide whether or not the objective and the means are defensible in terms of the values that are recognized in a free and democratic society.¹⁴⁷ Students could get some sense of the application of these three principles, reasonable, prescribed by law, and demonstrably justified in the case of *Irwin Toy Limited v. Attorney General of Quebec (1989)*.¹⁴⁸ Students must justify their decision on the basis of well reasoned arguments and evidence and be able to give reasons for rejecting alternative actions. The students then develop an action plan that addresses hate crimes in their school and community.

The seventh phase is where students will share their positions and justifications on issues of hate crimes with other members of the class, the school

and the community. They proclaim their action plan to the school administration and student body for dealing with problems of hate crimes and their prevention in their school and community. This could involve the organization of a student conference on human rights. Selected students in class could present their research findings on hate crimes at the student conference in the presence of the whole student body. Experts from the field of law and education could be invited to participate as guest speakers such a judge or a lawyer specializing in human rights law or the educational coordinator, commissioner, or field officer of a Provincial Human Rights Commission. Students could express their opinions, concerns, and findings at the conference through a variety of modalities, including; art, music, song, dance, poetry, and drama.

There are different pedagogical approaches to a peace and human security issues centred curriculum in peace education as citizenship/political education which impact on both the content and process in which learning takes place. There are implications for content and process in Tooke's suggested method of "analysis of the questions that an issue might suggest and the facts needed to answer them"¹⁴⁹ and Engle's and Ochoa's problem orientated instructional model. However, common to both approaches is the desire to develop skills, mental attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour that are useful for providing rational solutions and strategies to peace and human security issues.

An issues centred approach to citizenship/political education strengthens the social studies curriculum "leading it away from its linear study of separate social

science disciplines and its methods of covering textbook chapters and depending on rote memory as a measure of learning. Rather, the needed curriculum emphasizes the issues that citizens persistently face - from those concerning the environment to issues of pluralism and distribution of wealth - using the social science disciplines, where appropriate, to substantially deepen student understanding.”¹⁵⁰ An issues centred approach to peace education as citizenship/political education prepares students to be more critically aware and understanding of peace and human security issues in their lives and it prepares them to play a more critical and participatory role in shaping political and economic institutions and public policy. Anna Ochoa - Becker defines an issues centred education as a curriculum “that uses public issues to emphasize controversial questions as the content for social studies. It is an approach toward teaching and learning that does not intend to provide right answers, but underscores the need for students to learn how to examine significant questions and become more thoughtful decision makers about public life. An issue-centred approach highlights the critical examination of social practices through the direct study of persistent and compelling social issues. It requires analysis and evaluation of evidence, values, and decision making.”¹⁵¹

3.68. Selby’s Three Dimensional Framework for Global and Planetary Citizenship Education

David Selby provides a three dimensional framework that can serve as a

useful guide for global and planetary citizenship education. The first dimension is based on Selby's concept of plural and parallel citizenship and holds that there is no country specific or monopolistic identification of citizenship given our increasingly interdependent, polycultural, and fast changing world. Rather, Selby argues that there are many elements that flow into the concept of citizenship, including; identification by age, bioregion, region, ethnic group, gender, ideology, language, locality, race, religion, loyalty, civic virtues, legal, political and social status, and social, political, economic and cultural rights. Selby makes reference to Derek Heater's concept of a multiple citizen and his cube of citizenship for understanding the multidimensional and multilayered patterns of contemporary citizenship and the various educational responses to them. He argues, that because of the many elements that flow into the concept of citizenship which provide for its multidimensional and multilayered patterns, there are plural and parallel definitions of citizenship. These allow for contradictions and conflicts that are woven into the many different identities, loyalties, and allegiances. The global citizen understands the contradictions and conflicts that underlie their multiple identities but reconciles them in the interest of the public good.¹⁵²

The second dimension of Selby's three dimensional framework for citizenship education is based on the concept of intergenerational concern. Constitutive conceptual elements of intergenerational concern include intergenerational justice and sustainability. Both of these imply a responsibility of the present generation to the needs of the future generation and to the planet as a whole. It also implies a

reassessment of values and present modes of behaviour that are not in concordance with intergenerational rights and sustainable development practices.¹⁵³

The third dimension of Selby's three dimensional framework for citizenship education is active citizenship. This is based on a concept of involvement literacy. This concept assumes that students should be informed about major peace and human security issues and should critically reflect on them as well as their own values so that they can make informed choices and establish their action priorities in accordance with their values. It implies that students are taught not only social action skills but critical thinking skills that promote lateral thinking and system analysis. Upon critical reflection of the interdependent forces of globalization and their implications for peace and human security, students should be able to propose provisional policies and action strategies to deal with them and anticipate their impact and reverberations. The global and planetary citizen is a socially critical and active participant in transformative action initiatives.¹⁵⁴

3.69. Five Major Elements of Peace Education as Citizenship/Political Education

There are five major elements to peace education as citizenship/political education which may be comprehended from both a national and global perspective. They include education for; identity or consciousness, political and global literacy, values, rights and responsibilities, and skills development.

The first element, education for identity or consciousness links citizenship

with an emotional sense of loyalty and identity with a specific nation state but it also recognizes that certain loyalties and allegiances can coexist with other loyalties and identities; regional, cultural, ethnic, religious, class, gender, etc. In other words, as Selby previously argued, there are plural and parallel definitions of citizenship. Because of the conflicting nature of these various levels of loyalties and allegiances and the need to balance the interests of the nation state with those interests which transcend national boundaries in our fast changing globally interdependent world, peace educators are concerned with developing an authentic global and planetary consciousness, an awareness of one self as a multiple citizen, a global and planetary citizen. Peace educators are interested in not only developing a sense of loyalty and duty to one's nation but also to the globe and planet as a whole.

The second element, political and global literacy, implies that students should have an understanding of important national and international political, economic, social, and legal institutions and be critically informed about peace and human security challenges confronting them. In learning about these challenges, students should have the necessary intellectual skills, attitudes, and values for making defensible choices on strategies and solutions. The goal is to teach students to be active citizens. They should be encouraged not only vote but to be effective participants in decision making and the development of public policy. This requires that students be informed and have some level of global literacy. Global literacy requires an understanding of national and international institutions, inter-cultural awareness, a knowledge of the interdependent forces of globalization and their

implications for peace and security in both our social and natural environments.

The third element, values, teaches students the skill of value identification and how to deal with value conflicts in peaceful ways. It recognizes the importance of generally accepted values that are for the most part common to a country and reflected in its constitutional documents such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It recognizes that there are universal values common to all members of the human family such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It recognizes that there are particular circumstances and situations when societal values come into conflict with personally held values of justice and democracy. This might result in some individuals disobeying certain laws. For example, Plato once argued that it was the just that disobey the unjust laws. The aim of peace education is to provide students with the necessary knowledge and skills to enable students to resolve their differences peacefully and non-violently. Education for global and planetary citizenship embraces values of human dignity, human rights, tolerance, social justice, international understanding, intergenerational justice, democracy, freedom, and sustainable development.

The fourth element which focuses on rights and responsibilities teaches students that because they are human and different from animals they have certain inherent and inalienable rights. The central core value underlying these rights is the right to human dignity. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is regarded as the common standard of achievement for all peoples of the world. The rights which underlie this common standard of achievement include; political, economic, social,

and cultural rights, all of which are indivisible and interdependent. Canadians, for example, are protected from their governments; federal, provincial, and municipal, by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which is an entrenched constitutional document. Our rights and freedoms are not absolute but are guaranteed subject only to such reasonable limitation as prescribed by law that can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society. In addition to teaching about rights and freedoms, peace education as citizenship/political education teaches us that we have responsibilities that go along our rights and freedoms. We have a responsibility and a duty to respect the rights and freedoms of others. It aims to provide us with the necessary knowledge and skills to resolve possible conflicts between our rights and duties.

The fifth element which deals with skills development is primarily concerned with developing critical thinking skills. Plato's discussion of Socrates' ideas on education in his cave analogy remind us of the critical role that education should play in freeing the mind and developing a critical consciousness. Intellectual skills, attitudes, and values that are essential to effective global and planetary citizenship include; the ability to think in terms of system analysis, relational holism, perspective consciousness, health of planet awareness, involvement consciousness and preparedness, process mindedness, as well as effective communication skills in reading, writing, and speaking.

3.70.

Profile of a Global and Planetary Citizen

The fundamental purpose of peace education as citizenship/political education is to nurture global and planetary citizenship. What is the profile of a global and planetary citizen? There are at least five interrelated characteristics. First, a global and planetary citizen has a global perceptual lens and understands the nature of global change in our social and natural environments. They understand international and inter-systems connections. Second, a global and planetary citizen is informed and knowledgeable about peace and human security issues. Being informed and knowledgeable extends beyond mere descriptions and details but also means having a conceptual understanding of the interdependency of global forces which give rise to an interdependency of peace and human security issues. This helps in the formulation of rational and defensible decisions in planning solutions and strategies. Third, a global and planetary citizen is a critical thinker and conscious of the interdependency of underlying global forces which shape social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental systems, and international connections. They are aware that the knowledge brought to bear on issues are shaped and moulded by hidden motives and agendas of competing interest groups. They are aware of the different perspectives on controversial issues. Fourth, a global and planetary citizen cares about the world in which they live. They are emphatically concerned about the human security and the global security of the planet. They care about issues relating to human rights, social justice, economic equity, gender equity, freedom, democracy, development, poverty, disease, the natural environment, and the sustainability of living and non-living resources.

They are sensitive to human security needs and the global security of the planet. Their self interest ranks behind the public interest, the common good of humanity, and the integrity, protection, and sustainability of the environment. Fifth, a global and planetary citizen is action orientated and is interested in fostering a preferred and alternative future of global security. They are genuinely concerned with achieving social, economic, and environmental amelioration. They have a vision and a plan for a better future. They recognize the importance of global governance and the role played by international organizations, institutions, agencies, and laws in achieving global security.

Patricia Schuyler and George Schuyler define the global citizen as one who is “informed, critical and active in community affairs, whether local, national or global. He or she understands that in any community the dominant groups convey what it means to be a citizen, and he or she is willing to confront the power of those groups.”¹⁵⁵ Earl Choldin provides even a more holistic definition of a global citizen.

Global citizens are informed about issues, looking beyond symptoms to causes. They look at issues in terms of the social good, not only their personal good, using the full range of social, ecological, economic, aesthetic, spiritual and ethical values. They are media literate, able to evaluate information considering the source, able to weigh conflicting information and values and arrive at wise decisions. Global citizens appreciate the social, political, environmental, cultural and economic interdependence of the world today. They recognize the system nature of global issues and the relationship

of local aspects to the global whole. They look beyond the probable future to develop a vision of a preferred future and then they take action to make real that vision.¹⁵⁶

3.71. School Related Global and Planetary Citizenship/Political Programmes

There are a number of school related global and planetary citizenship/political programmes available to social studies students in high school. The Student Conference on Human Rights at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City celebrates in December each year the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Students prepare in advance for this conference by holding their own high school student conferences. With other students from around the world at the United Nations, they go through the formal process of drafting a human rights declaration and then present it in a formal session to the President of the General Assembly. There are numerous Model United Nations throughout Canada, including the John Peters Humphrey Model United Nations for high school students at St. Thomas University in Fredericton. This interactive forum is attended by high school students from across Canada and abroad. Each group of high school participants represent a national delegation to the United Nations and is responsible for representing their country's interest in developing General Assembly resolutions dealing with a specific theme. McGill University offers a similar Model United

Nations for university students. The Global Change Game, created in 1991 by a group of university students at the University of Manitoba, educates students about global issues and empowers them to make rational decision on these issues. It develops skills such a creative problem-solving, critical thinking, teamwork, negotiation, and leadership. The Global change Game travels across Canada to various high schools in the country. Global Vision is a programme that selects outstanding young Canadians and teaches them the basic principles of international economics and trade. Students partake in a two week intensive classroom and field experience training programme which is usually conducted in a foreign country. Students are required to be available for up to six months (for a maximum of 100 hours) to share their learning experience with fellow Canadians through seminars, talks, trade shows, etc. It is jointly sponsored by federal and provincial governments and private enterprise. There are also citizenship and political education programmes with a domestic focus on the study of government. These include the Forum for Young Canadians in Ottawa and the Provincial Legislative Seminars. Teacher programmes include the Teachers' Programme of the Forum for Young Canadians and the Teachers' Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy.

3.72.

Summary

This chapter has focussed on the study of peace through education. Peace

education has intellectual roots in early Greek philosophy and religious doctrine. It takes place in formal and informal institutions of learning. This chapter has investigated a variety of conceptions, themes, and approaches to the study of peace through education. Walt Werner's conception of peace education as having a focus on information, issues, and attitudes and values was briefly investigated. The Peace Associates of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation's conception of peace education as; 1. psychotherapy and empowerment, 2. species adaption to radical change in the environment, 3. political education, 4. problem-solving and critical thinking, and 5. education and social transformation was also briefly investigated. This chapter has, moreover, investigated six other major approaches or themes to peace education, including; 1. nuclear education, 2. disarmament education, 3. peace and conflict studies, 4. peace and justice, 5. global education, and 6. citizenship/political education. The underlying values, guiding principles, and major concepts of each were investigated.

Given the phenomena of globalization and the rapidly changing nature of the world in terms of our social and natural environments, social studies education requires a more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological framework for preparing students with the necessary knowledge, values, attitudes, skills, and modes of behaviour so that in their adult life they can meet the complex peace and human security challenges in the 21st century. The study of peace through education is capable of teaching students to comprehend the forces of globalization and their implications for an interdependency of peace and human

security issues. It teaches students about the importance of disarmament and the need to rid the world of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, and small arms and light weapons. It teaches them that conflict situations can be resolved peacefully and non-violently, and that there are alternative dispute mechanisms to violence. Its values base provides students with an ethical foundation for personal and social relationships. It teaches about social justice and human rights, the need to respect human dignity, the inner worth of all human beings, regardless of; race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, gender, sexual orientation, political affiliation, social or economic status, and mental or physical capability. It teaches values of; non-violence, peaceful conflict resolution, tolerance, mutual understanding, cultural pluralism, social justice, economic equity, gender equity, sustainable development, and moral and intellectual integrity. It teaches that the human family has not only inherent and inalienable human rights but that they have a responsibility to uphold them and to give them life.

The study of peace through education cultivates the development of a global and planetary perspective and critical thinking skills. It encourages students to make international and inter-system connections. It encourages the development of a perspective consciousness; to learn and think empathetically, to critically examine the representations of others, people, places, and issues, and to critically reflect on their own perspectives and the values and assumptions which underlie them. It teaches students to care, to have an empathetic understanding and compassion for others, to think about alternative and sustainable futures, and to be action

orientated toward this end. It encourages students to think about peace and human security issues in both our social and natural environment and their impact on our global security. It also promotes an understanding of national and global governance and the role played by national and international institutions; social, cultural, political, economic, and environmental.

The aims and objectives of peace education are consistent with those regarding education in the Declaration on the Rights of the Child,¹⁵⁷ the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World, Report of the Secretary General. For example, Article 29 of the Convention states that the education of the child shall be directed to “the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations...the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origins, ... the development of respect for the natural environment.”¹⁵⁸ According to the Report of the Secretary General, the content of education for a culture of peace and non-violence is to focus on the development of knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and behaviours “that reflect and inspire social interaction and sharing based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, human rights and social justice, tolerance and solidarity; that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation; that

guarantee the full exercise of all rights and the means to participate fully in the development process of their society.¹⁵⁹ The Report attaches a high level of importance to peace education initiatives at all levels of formal and non-formal education. The Report identifies several modalities of action that can take place at all levels of formal and non-formal education for promoting a culture of peace and non-violence. For example;

1. training of Ministry of Education personnel, teacher trainer, school administrators, non-governmental organizations, teachers, facilitators and youth leaders in the content, learning methods and skills needed to promote peace and non-violence ...;
2. revision of curriculum materials, and particularly of history textbooks, to promote mutual understanding and strengthen social cohesion and to remove prejudices or stereotypes against certain groups;
3. creation of new curriculum materials addressing peace, non-violence and human rights, where appropriate to the culture and the learning environment;
4. production and dissemination of educational materials and textbooks on education for a culture of peace and human rights with a view to providing guidelines to teachers and educational personnel.¹⁶⁰

A peace education framework, with its multiple approaches and themes, infused into the social studies curricula, can inform and improve the human condition. During this International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for Children of the World (2001-2010),¹⁶¹ it is imperative that social studies

education play an important role in constructing a culture of peace and non-violence. It can do this through peace education and the teaching of the practice of peace and non-violence in ways that are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charters of the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. A social studies education, that promotes a culture of peace and non-violence and encourages children of the world to live in peace and harmony, is the best future guarantee of international peace and global security.

Endnotes

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

22. Brock-Utne, Birgit; Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective, Toronto, Pergamon Press, 1982, p. 72-73.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

26. *Ibid.*, p 73-74.

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31. Ibid., p. 23.

32. Ibid., p. 23-24. On these pages Walter Werner's arguments are discussed by Kenneth Osborne. See also Walter Werner's "Conception of Peace Education" in The History and Social Science Teacher, 20(3/4), Spring 1985, p. 29-32.

33. Ibid., p. 23-25.

34. Ibid., p. 24.

35. Ibid., p. 25.

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42. Ibid., p. 28-31.

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Chapter 4, Limitations of Traditional Approaches to Citizenship and Citizenship Education, Globalization, Toward a Peace Education Framework

4. Introduction

This study argues that a peace education approach is more adequate than traditional approaches to citizenship education in providing students with the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour for meeting complex peace and human security challenges in the 21st century. This concluding chapter investigates some of the limitations and challenges facing the five major attributes of citizenship and citizenship education, namely; 1. sense of identity, 2. rights and entitlements, 3. responsibilities, obligations and duties, 4. activism in public affairs, and 5. social values. This is done from a peace education perspective in light of the phenomena of globalization and its implications for an array of complex peace and human security challenges. This study supports the view that a peace education framework is more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, systemic, integrative, and ecological than traditional approaches to citizenship education. The last part of the chapter focuses on the legitimation of peace education as an organizing framework and addresses some potential objections.

4.1. Globalization, Peace and Human Security Challenges

Our present world is one where space and time have shrunk largely due to the influences of western civilization. For the past several decades, we have been moving toward what Elisabeth Mann Borgese calls a new 'world culture', or a new 'world civilization'. She argues that western civilization is being transformed as it is being universalized by the "transmission of the species' hereditary matter, or its values" from "outside to inside, from effect to cause, from the contemporary back to history, from the collective to the personal" until such time that the essential inner values of humankind are transformed.¹ Our present social, political, and economic institutions and our communication and technological systems are very different from those in the past. Changes in these institutions and systems have coincided with the development and ubiquity of democratic and capitalist institutions throughout the world. As they have become more universalized, the world has become increasingly like a global village with a network of interlocking connections, links, interactions, and interrelationships. The omnipresence of global interdependencies can be found in every sector of human society; social, cultural, political, economic, educational, legal, religious, and military, from local to global. Our world has moved from a collection of many lands and peoples to a system of many lands and peoples. Global interdependencies are now operationally immediate.² We now live in a dynamic, fast changing, and globally interdependent world, where the scope and degree of frequency of change is unprecedented. As a result of this rapid transformation of the world, our global village is faced with a greater interdependency of complex peace and human security issues that can not

be fully comprehended or adequately taught to students by using traditional approaches to citizenship education. Just as Albert Einstein, Max Planck, Niels Bohr and Enrico Fermi had to think differently and develop new concepts and theories, including quantum theory, the theory of relativity, and nuclear fission to make sense out of atoms and their subatomic structures, we must also think differently about the world in which we live and develop new concepts and theories of education if we are going to develop curricula that will provide students with the necessary knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, and modes of behaviour to make sense out of the world and meet the peace and human security challenges of the 21st century.

The human forces of globalization have implications for an interdependency of many complex peace and human security issues. For example, in this post Cold War global era, several complex, interlocking, and interdependent peace and human security issues serve to threaten the global security of our global neighbourhood and our natural environment, including; environmental degradation, desertification, the green house effect, climate change, ocean warming, sea level rise, the depletion of both living and nonliving natural resources, the development of the global commons; deep seabed, outer space, and Antarctica, the globalization of the economy and major changes in technologies; information, banking, and communication systems, unemployment and poverty, a loss of a sense of community, national identity, and national sovereignty, the emergence of forces of nationalism and civil war, problems of social justice, impunity, and major violations of basic

human rights, a rising population in developing countries, sickness and disease, including the pandemic, acquired immune deficiency syndrome, (AIDS) in Africa, large scale migrations within nation states, and major refugee migrations between nation states, acts of terrorism, the proliferation of terrorist cells throughout the world, the trade in small arms and light weapons, the dangers associated with nuclear technology, chemical, and biological weapons, and ethical questions centering around the genetic engineering of humans, animals, plants, and food. The recent terrorist events of 9-11 have changed the world forever and represent the single largest attack on peace and human security in the history of the United States. The impact on our American neighbours have adversely reverberated around the global spider web of the world and impacted on numerous economic, political, social, cultural, legal, military, religious, and educational institutions. These are just some examples of peace and human security challenges that threaten our global neighbourhood and natural environment in the 21st century.

4.2. Need to Reformulate and Reconceptualize Citizenship Education

The phenomena of globalization challenges the adequacy and usefulness of traditional approaches to citizenship education. Citizenship education needs to be reconceptualized and reformulated to account for the complexity, scale, and interconnectedness of the forces of globalization and their implications for peace and human security. Several scholars in a recent publication titled Citizenship for the

21st Century have recognized the limitations of citizenship education and call for a reconceptualization in light of the phenomena of globalization. One of the editors of the book, John Cogan, calls for a multidimensional concept of citizenship education. He argues that:

the complexity, scale and interconnectness of challenges facing us at the close of this century and the dawn of the next simply cannot be met through conventional means. What is called for is a new conception of citizenship education...which is multidimensional in nature...while including personal development, also includes a commitment to thinking and acting in ways that take account of local, national and global communities and their concerns. It is a conception which is based on dimensions of time, that is, it takes account of present problems in ways that respect the heritage of the past while also protecting the interests of the future. It is also spatial in nature in that it acknowledges the different levels of community which must be taken into account as we face and attempt to resolve global problems and issues which are manifested in regional, state, provincial, and most certainly, local circumstances.³

4.3. Practice of Citizenship Education in Canadian Schools

At present, citizenship is a vague and ambivalent concept, not only to students, but to teachers who are charged with the responsibility of teaching it. In

social studies education, there does not exist a uniformity of understanding or consensus of opinion on what should constitute the guiding principles and underlying value orientations of the major attributes of citizenship education which can prescribe the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and modes of behaviour that are necessary for students to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Curriculum planners have not been successful in developing and articulating such a curriculum. Teachers generally know that citizenship is something good and that the curricula should prepare students for it, but are unsure of the pedagogical methods whereby citizenship can be effectively taught, learned, and evaluated in the classroom. Sears, Clark, and Hughes, in their study of Canadian citizenship education, argue similarly that

there is a lack of clarity concerning precisely what is expected of the school system in terms of civic education; there is a lack of professional knowledge concerning how the knowledge, skills and dispositions of citizenship are learned, and even how they might be taught; and based on the foregoing, there is a lack of surety about how to monitor progress...There is no meaningful benchmarks against to monitor progress and little interest in generating them. All of this puts teachers in the position of not knowing what is expected about citizenship education generally, and yet vulnerable to criticism for failing to achieve what society at large has been unable to articulate and unwillingly to resource adequately.⁴

They argue, furthermore, that “the actual practice of citizenship education in the

nations' classrooms remains closer to the older, more conservative model of the past" and "classroom practice seems not to have changed much since Hodgetts' report", *What Culture? What Heritage?*⁵ Sears and Hughes, in a study of official curricula policy across the country, suggest that "although ... conceptions of citizenship education in Canada may constitute leading-edge thinking, ... the actual practice of citizenship education in the nations's classrooms remains closer to the trailing edge."⁶

If teachers are going to prepare students for citizenship in the 21st century they must understand the significance of the concept and be reasonably familiar with its conceptual evolution. Citizenship is not static. It is an evolving and complex concept. Many intellectual forces and movements served to shape and define it. It is complex in the sense that it means different things to different people. Accordingly, Sears states that "misunderstandings often arise in discussions of citizenship education because the same language means different things to different people."⁷ Citizenship has a history of conflicting value judgements about what constitutes the good society. Osborne provides the tone in the following.

Citizenship ... is far from a simple concept. It contains within it - self conflicting value judgements as to what constitutes the good life in the good society. Citizenship, in anything but the most passive sense, is not given; it is constructed, struggled over, and continually redefined. Part of being a citizen is being familiar with the debates that surround the concept of citizenship, with its history and with the issues to which it gives rise. Here

perhaps is the most basic lesson of all for teachers: if we are concerned about the contribution of teaching to citizenship, we must first understand the significance of the concept.⁸

Many of the guiding principles and value orientations underlying the traditional conceptualizations of the major attributes of citizenship and citizenship education are challenged by the realities of current social, cultural, political, economic, and technological forces. These traditional conceptualizations are transcended by newly developing international law, treaties, conventions, and international agreements, and by other national and international institutional arrangements that attempt to address complex peace and human security challenges.

4.4. Positive Developments in the Theory and Practice of Citizenship Education

There are some promising signs of a renewed interest in the development and delivery of citizenship education in Canada. A Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology carried out an elaborate investigation into the nature of Canadian citizenship in terms of its form and substance.⁹ The province of Quebec is introducing a new curriculum of citizenship education (education `a la citoyennete). School curricula in the province of Saskatchewan is concerned with nurturing caring and responsible citizenship. Peace, equality, tolerance, and democratic attitudes are promoted in all subject areas as common

essential learnings.¹⁰ In New Brunswick, the Citizenship Education Research Group, which consists of a permanent core membership of education faculty at the University of New Brunswick as well as Canadian and international scholars and graduate students, was formed to promote and enhance the practice of democratic citizenship through education in developed and emerging democracies. The Group's interests and work are devoted to:

1. education and training (mainly with beginning and experienced teachers but also with professional educators from other public agencies, as well as the private sector and NGOs);
2. research (with the focus on educational dimensions of citizenship education);
3. development (the design of instructional materials and pedagogical approaches relevant to citizenship education);
4. evaluation (the assessment of current programmes and practices);
5. consultation services (assistance to agencies, both public and private, in the development and implementation of citizenship education initiatives); and
6. coordination (the maintenance of a high level of awareness of citizenship education initiatives in Canada and internationally).¹¹

These are positive developments that will in the future help overcome some of the existing limitations in the theory and practice of citizenship education in this era of globalization.

4.5. Limitations and Challenges, Five Major Attributes of Citizenship/Citizenship

It is now necessary to investigate some of the limitations and challenges facing traditional conceptualizations of the five major attributes of citizenship and citizenship education in this post Cold War global era from a peace education perspective.

4.6. Sense of Identity

Education for national identity “has been a long-standing and especially troublesome component of citizenship education in Canada ... The early thrust was to use education as an assimilating, socializing force that would mould the young into an essentially anglocentric vision of Canada.”¹² In English speaking Canada, the common theme of education for identity was that of nation building. This approach was particularly prominent from the 1890's to the 1920's and was to a lesser degree still an objective until the 1970's. Prior to World War I, the major emphasis of citizenship education was largely on Canadianization and assimilative nationalism, especially of non English ethnic groups, in the context of loyalty and patriotism to the mother country, Great Britain. After World War I, a more Canadian spirit of assimilative nationalism began entering citizenship education. Nonetheless, Canadian history was largely dominated by an Eurocentric view until the 1970's.

For example, the grade 12 history text Challenge and Survival¹³, 1970, portrays the history of Canada as involving a series of major themes such as; the

early European voyages, the discovery of North America by Europeans, the French foundation and New France, the British foundation and British North America, the emergence from colonialism and reform movements in Upper and Lower Canada and the Maritimes, confederation and the creation of a nation, the Macdonald era and nation building, etc. Prominent terms and names include; responsible government, Family Compact, Chateau Clique, British North America Act, William Lyon MacKenzie, Egerton Ryerson, Louis Joseph Papineau, Joseph Howe, Lord Durham, and Sir John A. Macdonald, This text, like many others, largely ignores French Canada. However, when French Canada is discussed, it is viewed as a problem for English Canada - one of necessary accommodations. For example, several events and issues contributed to this view including; the expulsion of the Acadians, the Proclamation Act of 1763, the Quebec Act of 1774, the Red River Rebellion, the Manitoba School Question, and the Quiet Revolution. There is little attempt to use the historical relations between the two cultures as the basis of educating for tolerance and mutual understanding. In Challenge and Survival, there is only a small section, 8 pages out of 466 pages, that discusses the role of the first Canadians, the Aboriginal peoples and their cultures. There is also no significant discussion on the role of women and their contribution in Canadian history. Canadian history in English speaking Canada until the 1970's was taught largely from a male anglocentric European perspective.

Other than in a political and civic context as allegiance to the federal system of government, it is difficult for Canadians to embrace any single vision of a national

identity based upon ethnicity and culture. As the studies in Leo Dreidger's The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic, and Ethnic Canada indicated, Canada is a highly differentiated society and the national mosaic consists of many different immigrant groups that live in different regions of the country.¹⁴ The national mosaic and immigration patterns into Canada were investigated in Chapter I. The evidence suggested that throughout the late 1800's and the first half of the 1900's, Canada received an influx of immigrants from Europe to help settle and develop its vast land mass. These immigrants were predominantly from the British Isles, Northwestern Europe, Central and East Europe, and Southeastern and South Europe. Non whites, such as the Chinese, Japanese, and blacks were regarded as unassimilable and immigrations regulations were devised in such a way to prevent them from entering. Those that were permitted entry were for purposes of achieving sufficient manual labour to build the railway. In 1967, Canada adopted a less discriminatory immigration policy which eliminated restrictions against potential immigrants on the basis of race and ethnicity in keeping with her participation in human rights conferences and commitments to newly developing international law and human rights instruments. This opened the door for immigrants of colour from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Carribean. By the late 1960's, over one quarter of Canada's population was of neither British or French decent.

4.7.

A Pan-Canadian Understanding

Fully aware of Canada's polyethnicity and cultural pluralism and the fact that Canada was no United States melting pot, A.B. Hodgetts, in 1969, produced his landmark report, *What Culture? What Heritage?* and argued the need for a citizenship education to foster a pan-Canadian understanding. He called for a radical reconceptualization of citizenship education in terms of scope, content, and teaching methods. "We recommend a national curriculum development plan designed to make radical changes in the scope, content, and teaching methods of Canadian studies in the elementary and secondary schools of Canada."¹⁵ This was done so against the backdrop of three major problems facing Canada. The first was the problem of French/English polarity and other ethnic groups in Canada. The second was the problem of Canada's proximity to the United States. The third was the problem of regionalism in Canada. These three problems were discussed in chapter one. Hodgetts recognized the reality of these challenges facing Canada. In doing so, he recognized the futility of using the curriculum as a force of assimilative nationalism in an attempt to foster a homogenous sentiment of a national identity. He was critical of any inclination toward a standardized history or social studies curriculum to encourage national unity. He asserts, "the proponents of these schemes seem to have hoped that, through a uniform course in Canadian history, some kind of united, conforming national spirit might be developed to smother regionalism and the diversity inherent in our society."¹⁶ Rather, Hodgetts wanted sweeping reforms in citizenship education that would contribute to national understanding that would take into account the "limited diversity of our open

pluralistic society.”¹⁷

As a result of Hodgetts report, the Canada Studies Foundation was formed in 1970 and was dedicated to improving resources and curricula about Canada and teacher training. Throughout the 1970's and 1980's Canadian studies became an important part of the curricula of schools and universities. The view was that Canadians should know more about one another. A similar view was articulated later in the Symons Report on Canadian Studies in 1978 which argued that it was imperative for Canadians to enhance their “self-knowledge; to know who we are; what we want at this time and in this place; where we have been; where we are going; how we can get from one to the other; what, as people, we have and what we need; what our responsibilities are to ourselves and others”.¹⁸ Hodgetts’s report was especially important because it provided an impetus for a pan-Canadian understanding. This was a new approach to understanding Canada’s identity and it served to steer schools away from the earlier anglicizing assimilation approach. It encouraged investigations into Canada’s identity in terms of; its multicultural diversity and ethnic particularity, regionalism, and social class. A plethora of research and writing on Canadian studies ensued. Canadian studies became an increased focus in the classroom. Canadians were beginning to understand their national identity not as an overwhelmingly unifying national homogenous ethnic or cultural identity but as a country of contradictions or as Ramsay Cook and J.M.S. Careless argued, a country of ‘limited identities’.¹⁹ This new direction in Canadian citizenship education in the 1970's served to increase students knowledge of

Canadian studies in terms of ethnic, linguistic, religious, social class, and regional differences.

Several other political developments reflected the reality of pan-Canadianism and the difficulty of developing an ethnic or culturally unifying homogenous sentiment of a national identity. These included; the Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism, 1963, and its later expanded mandate to take into consideration the contribution of other ethnic groups in Canada, the Official Languages Act, 1969, the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, 1971, the entrenchment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms into the Constitution Act, 1982, and the two constitutional conferences, Meech Lake, 1987, and Charlottetown, 1992.

4.8. National Identity as Allegiance to Federal Government

Until the publication of Hodgett's report, traditional approaches to education for citizenship in English Canada assumed not only an anglicizing assimilation approach but generally put forward a political view of Canada's national identity similar to that of the Fathers of Confederation. That is to say, national identity was also defined largely in a political and civic context as an allegiance to the federal government. It assumed that a strong central government could transcend Canada's differences, and although they would exist, they would be reflected in weaker provincial governments. This perspective was the basis upon which the Fathers of Confederation decided on the division of powers between the

federal and provincial governments as outlined in the British North America Act, 1867, now known as the Constitution Act, 1867. The federal government was given a greater list of enumerated powers, 37, compared to 15 for the provinces. It was also given the residual powers “to make Laws for the Peace, Order, and Good Government of Canada, in relation to all Matters not coming within the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces”.²⁰

This contextually political and civic view of Canada’s national identity is problematic for two major reasons.

The first is that national identity can not be solely understood in a political and civic context but must also be understood in a sociological, cultural, and historical context. For example, Quebec’s identity is comprehended primarily on the basis of ethnicity, culture, language, and a common sense of history. Quebec has always regarded itself as having a separate identity from English speaking Canada. It also does not account for the ethnic identity of the Aboriginal peoples and the numerous polyethnic groups in Canada which are intrinsically pan-Canadian.

The second problem with this contextually political and civic view of Canada’s national identity is that it assumes that Canada is a single nation state. This assumption is valid in a political context but not necessarily so in a sociological context since a more than plausible argument can be put forward that Canada is both a multination and polyethnic state. For example, Quebec has always regarded itself as a nation state and one of the two founding nations of the country and asserted this view most forcefully during the Quiet Revolution in the 1960’s. The

Aboriginal peoples also regard themselves as a nation state. By the early 1980's, they adopted national terminology such as Canada's First Nations and the Assembly of First Nations. The numerous polyethnic groups in Canada also provide credence to the conceptualization of Canada as a polyethnic state. Given the cultural pluralism and ethnic particularity of Canada, there is no single collective and unifying ethnic or cultural force that contributes to a homogenous sentiment of a national identity. The complexity of Canada's sociological composition must be taken into account in any conceptualization of its national identity. National identity can not be solely comprehended in a political and civic context as an allegiance to the federal system of government.

The former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and the federal Liberal Party of Canada have always maintained the view that Canada is a single nation state and that diversity within it could be accommodated by a policy of multiculturalism and bilingualism and the constitutional entrenchment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Both have fought against any political or legal recognition of distinct societies as was the case with the Meech Lake Accord, 1987, and the Charlottetown Accord, 1992, for fear of eroding the powers of the central government and creating a two state concept within Canada. Both of these constitutional conferences were led by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and would have given special status to Quebec as a distinct society, the only society in Canada and North America with a majority French language and culture. They would have also given Quebec and all other provinces veto power over constitutional

amendments made pursuant to matters under Section 42 of the Constitution Act, 1982, which could only be achieved by the amendment formula outlined in Section 38(1), namely; a resolution of the Senate and House of Commons and a resolution of the legislative assemblies of at least two-thirds of the provinces that constituted at least fifty percent of the population of Canada.²¹ The Charlottetown Accord retained many of the essential elements of the Meech Lake Accord, including distinct society and amending formula, but it would have also entrenched in the constitution an inherent right to self-government for the Aboriginal people, a new senate to give Canadians better representation in Ottawa, and a Canada clause which outlined the fundamental principles of Canada that would serve to guide the Canadian political regime. The Charlottetown Accord failed when the Mulroney government took the unprecedented step and unconstitutional requirement and put the Accord to a national referendum where it failed to receive a majority in six of the ten provinces. Such an unprecedented undertaking could be significant in that we may have witnessed “the emergence of a new constitutional convention”²² in Canada. The failure of both Accords, especially the Charlottetown Accord, were in a large part attributed to public fears in English Canada that if they did pass they would serve as a legal code for comprehending Canada as two distinct nations. Given the strategic location of Quebec in central Canada, its possible secession from the rest of Canada was unacceptable.

4.9. Canada as a Multination and Polyethnic State

The nature of Canada's historical evolution with particular regard for the Aboriginal peoples, French, and English, and its general polyethnicity and multicultural diversity does lend itself to a conceptualization of Canada as both a multination and polyethnic state. Will Kymlicka in Multicultural Citizenship, argues that Canada is both a multination and polyethnic state. These two concepts are useful in understanding Canadian identity in terms of multicultural citizenship. It is now necessary to investigate each in terms of their relevance to Canada.

4.10. Canada as a Multination State

Canada is a multination state in the sense that there exists within the state more than one nation, "where 'nation' means a historical community, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and culture".²³ According to Kymlicka, "a country which contains more than one nation is, therefore, not a nation state but a multination state, and the smaller cultures form 'national minorities'. The incorporation of different nations into a single state may be involuntary, as occurs when one cultural community is invaded and conquered by another, or is ceded from one imperial power to another, or when its homeland is overrun by colonizing settlers. But the formation of a multination state may also arise voluntarily, when different cultures agree to form a federation for their mutual benefit."²⁴

The historical development of Canada is based on a federation of three distinct national groups, namely, English, French, and Aboriginal, and their coming together into a national political community was not a voluntary process. The French settlers had first overrun the native communities and were then themselves overrun by the English. Secession from Canada of the French federation remains a real possibility. In the last Quebec separatist referendum, the no side won only by a two percent margin, 49 percent yes and 51 percent no. The historical preference, however, of French Canada and the Aboriginal community is to continue to renegotiate the terms of their membership in the national political community in hopes of achieving greater political autonomy with it.²⁵ The terms of Canadian federation among the three national groups are provided for in a number of constitutionally protected documents. These include; the Constitution Act, 1867, which provided the legal and political basis for English and French speaking colonies of British North America to enter into a federal political community and outlines the powers of the federal and provincial government, the Constitution Act, 1982, which recognizes and affirms existing aboriginal treaty rights and land claim agreements, and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982, which guarantees rights and freedoms of all three national minorities.

As a multination state, Canada could not survive unless the national groups within it had a common loyalty or allegiance to the larger political community or federal system of government. This loyalty or common allegiance is called patriotism and must not be confused with national identity. National identity

derives from a sense of membership in a national group where members share a common culture, language, and history. Patriotism, on the other hand, is a feeling of loyalty or allegiance to the state. National identity has a sociological context and patriotism a political context. The extent to which patriotism is present among national groups in Canada is largely determined by the degree to which the state recognizes and respects their distinct national existence.²⁶ Therefore, it should not be surprising that the level of patriotism among the Quebecois and the Aboriginal communities is low since the last two constitutional accords failed to recognize Quebec's special status as a distinct society and the Aboriginal inherent right to self-government.

The sociological concept of a multination state is useful for comprehending Canada's national identity in terms of multicultural citizenship unlike traditional approaches to citizenship education which stressed anglicizing assimilation and a contextually political and civic view of Canada's national identity.

4.11. Canada as a Polyethnic State

Canada is also a polyethnic state in the sense that it consists of polyethnic immigrant groups that participate within the public institutions of the dominant cultures, French and/or English, and speak the dominant languages, French and/or English, which is a mandatory part of children's education. Their cultural diversity is different from the three distinct national groups, Aboriginal, French, and English,

in that “immigrant groups are not ‘nations’, and do not occupy homelands. Their distinctiveness is manifested primarily in their family lives and in voluntary associations, and is not inconsistent with their institutional integration.”²⁷ Although the polyethnic immigrant groups assert their ethnic particularity, they are unlike the three national minorities who do not see themselves as immigrants since as colonists their intent was not to integrate into any other culture but rather to reproduce their own.²⁸ Polyethnic groups do not set up parallel societies but, nonetheless, maintain many of their traditional practices and customs relating to food, dress, and religion which is no longer regarded as unpatriotic. The multicultural diversity and cultural pluralism of Canada is depicted in the following 1991 percentage distribution of its ethnic origin. British (English, Irish, Scottish, Other)-28.1; French-22.8; Other European (Dutch, German, Scandinavian, Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, Balkans, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Jewish, Other)-15.4; Asian/African (Arab, West Asian, South Asian, East Indian, East and South East Asian, Chinese, Filipino, Indo-Chinese, African, Pacific Islands)-6.1; Latin American (South and Central, Caribbean)-.7; Aboriginal (Native Indian, Other)-1.7; Other (Black, Canadian)-3.6; Multiple Origins-21.5.²⁹

Canada is a political union of several diverse ethnic regions. It is a commonwealth of more than 70 different cultures. Toronto is the second largest Italian city in the world next to Rome. Almost half of the students in Toronto claim a native tongue other than English. Montreal is the second largest French speaking city in the world next to Paris. The majority of citizens living in the prairie

provinces can not claim an ethnic origin to either of the two charter groups and founding societies in Canada, English and French. At present, no linguistic group in Canada constitutes a majority. According to Statistics Canada, in 1991, only 2.8 percent of the total respondents of the Canadian population regarded their ethnic origin as Canadian.³⁰ The Honourable James Fleming, Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Canada, states “the government of Canada didn’t invent multiculturalism, it simply recognized it.”³¹

4.12. National Identity, Globalization, Peace and Human Security

Citizenship education as education for a national identity is both impractical and not very useful for educating students for peace and human security in this post Cold War global era. In a multination and polyethnic state such as Canada, citizens are from a diverse array of social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. They have multiple and overlapping identities that must be understood in different contexts; social, cultural, political, economic, religious, and at different levels of social organization, local, national, and global. Canada’s multicultural diversity and cultural pluralism does not lend itself to a collective and unifying homogenous sentiment of a Canadian national identity in a sociological context. David Selby argues accordingly that we must begin to think differently about the concept of citizenship and citizenship education in this global age because there are many different elements that flow into the concept of citizenship such as; identity, loyalty,

allegiances, civic virtue, and our legal, political, and social status. It is difficult to conceptualize citizenship in terms of any one element, and the way each element relates to the individual depends on a wide range of factors and circumstances. He suggests there are plural and parallel definitions of citizenship.³² Citizenship is, therefore, a concept which contains many elements and is determined by a variety of factors and circumstances and cannot be solely understood in terms of a specific spatial area, province, state, region, country or in the context of religion, race, ethnic origin, or social status.

In this post Cold War global era, it makes little sense to think of national identity in terms of a specific type of citizenship. Nationalistic conflicts among ethnocultural minority groups since the end of the Cold War are one of the most serious threats to peace and human security in the world today. Violence and conflict among ethnocultural minority groups have been particularly salient in the former Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia, Africa, Afghanistan, and in the Middle East between the Jews, Palestinians, and Arab world. Each of these cases are testament that no society can achieve a national cohesion through the promotion of an ethnic or culturally homogenous citizenship, and any country which propagates such thinking; politically, militarily, educationally, etc., cannot act in isolation without there being eventual consequential reverberations in the global neighbourhood that threaten the peace and human security of other citizens. In this sense, national citizenship is undermined by what Ronald Breiner calls the “dialectic of globalism and localism,”³³ that is to say, not only global forces but by interrelated

localizing forces from within. He argues that particularistic tendencies and forces of nationalism will assert themselves when their identities are threatened by forces of globalization and global integration. "The two go together, and although they push in opposite directions, both undercut the integrity of the state, and the civic relationship it defines."³⁴ In response to forces of globalization the Quebecois and First Nations have sought to protect their local interests and identities.

Peace educators prefer to think of citizenship not in terms of any specific identity but rather in a more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological sense, such as multicultural, world, global, or planetary citizenship. These concepts take into consideration the complex nature of our social institutional relationships and our relationship with our natural environment. National identity will always be challenged by the growing pressures of globalization and its complex network of interdependent and interlocking connections. Citizenship must be a progressive social factor and not a repressive one to those who attempt to assert or inculcate their ethnic particularity. As social theorist Brian Turner states, "we must avoid the equation of citizenship with sameness...in a world which is increasingly more global, citizenship will have to develop to embrace both the globalization of social relations and the increasing social differentiation of social systems. The future of citizenship must therefore be extracted from its location in the nation-state."³⁵ Political scientist Melissa Williams takes the view that "we should move toward an idea of citizenship as membership in a community of shared fate...the idea is not that membership entails a shared identity with any particular

content, but comes by virtue of being entangled with others in such a way that one's future is tied to theirs...in a web of relationships...from a multiplicity of causes."³⁶

This is a more "pragmatic conception of citizenship that is freed from the pernicious tendencies that...are inherent to notions of citizenship as identity."³⁷ She argues that "preparing children to participate as citizens of shared fate would emphasise teaching them to understand themselves as connected to others through history that was not of their making, but as having the agency to remake those connections according to their own best judgements."³⁸

4.13. Peace Education as Multicultural Education, Multiple Identities, Transformational Imperative

Peace education as multicultural education recognizes the strengths and benefits of cultural diversity and ethnic particularity to the nation state and the human family as a whole. If students are taught to be tolerant and understanding of different ethnic and cultural groups and learn to appreciate diversity and cultural distinctiveness, they can enrich their lives, both qualitatively and quantitatively. From a qualitative perspective, they will be enlightened and learn to broaden their perceptual lenses and develop more positive habits of the mind. From a quantitative perspective, students can extend their network of cultural tentacles into the world's knowledge and information centres to keep our country abreast of new discoveries, inventions, innovations, and commercial intelligence to benefit their economic well-

being.

Peace education as multicultural education has a pragmatic conception of identity and attempts to foster an awareness and understanding of the multiple identities of citizens belonging to different national minorities and polyethnic groups. It recognizes the importance of incorporating into the curriculum knowledge about Canada's multiethnic diversity and cultural pluralism and the different experiences and perspectives of Canadian citizens. Peace education as multicultural education is an inclusive approach that is capable of fostering a sense of belonging, a feeling that all national minorities, polyethnic groups, racial minorities, and social classes are an equally integral part of the nation and national culture.

Peace education as multicultural education has also a social transformational imperative in that it aims to break down the different structures which give rise to prejudicial attitudes, values, and beliefs, such as xenophobia, racism, discrimination, and sexism. For example, multicultural educational theorist, James Banks, provides a typology of an ideal type of multicultural education that is capable of contributing to the transformational imperative. He identifies five interrelated dimensions of multicultural education, namely; content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture and social structure. The content integration dimension refers to the ways in which teachers can use knowledge, information and examples relating to other cultures, ethnic groups, racial minorities, and social classes to teach

students about key concepts, principles and generalizations in a specific subject area. The knowledge construction process dimension refers to the methodologies, Socratic questioning and activities used by the teacher that encourage students to investigate implicit cultural assumptions, biases, prejudices, perspectives and frames of reference which serve as the underlying basis for the social construction of knowledge. The prejudice reduction dimension refers to the strategies used by the teacher to help students develop more democratic values and attitudes. The equity pedagogy dimension refers to the ways in which a teacher might adjust and modify their teaching to accommodate students from different cultural, ethnic, racial, and social backgrounds so as to facilitate their learning and academic achievement.

Peace educator Lars Ekstrand identifies three major overlapping goals of multicultural education, which include:

1. attitudinal goals: cultural awareness and sensitivity, cultural tolerance, respect for cultural identity, culture-responsive attitude, skill in conflict avoidance and conflict resolution;
2. cognitive goals: academic achievement, second and foreign language learning, knowledge of specific cultures, competency to analyze and interpret cultural behaviour, awareness of one's own cultural perspective;
3. instructional goals: correcting distortions, stereotypes, omissions and misinformation about ethnic groups in textbooks and teaching media; providing strategies for dealing with differences among people, providing the conceptual tools for intercultural communication, developing interpersonal skills, providing evaluative techniques, helping with

values clarification, explaining cultural dynamics.³⁹

The content of a course or programme of study in multicultural education will largely depend on which goal or combination of goals are targeted. The methods of direct and specific multicultural education include several different approaches; case studies, immersion in a particular culture such as school exchange programmes, programmes of study abroad or in different cultural regions of a country, and problem solving. Two non formal multicultural educational programmes for Canadian youth are Katimavik which focuses on an informal multicultural education within different regions of Canada and Canada World Youth which focuses on an informal multicultural education in countries outside of Canada. Another method of multicultural education is the comparative approach whereby cultural groups are described, compared and analysed. For example, this could be done by having students investigate the practices of comparative religious groups such as Christian, Jewish and Islamic. Students could examine print material, audiovisual material, conduct interviews and/or questionnaires. The teacher could ask students to compare the significance of martyrdom and the different contextual circumstances in which it is recognized by all three religions. Students could also investigate the different interpretations and understandings of martyrdoms within a specific religion. Other approaches to multicultural education include simulations, role playing of ethno cultural group behaviour, ethno cultural conflict, and critical incidents centering around cultural exclusion and cultural inclusion, as well as using films, videos, and audio visual presentations, seminars,

games, and guest speakers. Examples of schools typically designed for multicultural education would include; international schools, national international schools, minority schools, and language schools, privately owned, parent owned, and government sponsored schools in another country, as well as government partnership schools.⁴⁰

4.14. Search for Distinctively Canadian Elements of Identity

Since Hodgetts' report, in 1968, which called for a pan Canadian understanding and the adoption of the Canadian federal government policy of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework in 1971, Canadians have been searching for those distinctively Canadian elements within a pluralistic vision of Canada. Since the outcome of these two pivotal events, schools have not been successful in fostering a national identity in the context of this type of understanding. Rather, Case, Osborne and Skau argue that

Canadian schools teach a version of Canadian identity through rituals and ceremonies and observances such as flags, anthems, national holidays and special occasions...these reinforce the message to students that they live in a country called Canada and are Canadian. They are informative rather than self-glorifying. There is little celebration or enthusiasm. Within the curriculum, history, social studies, literature, and to a certain extent music and art, carry the main responsibility of conveying Canadian content to

students, but again overwhelmingly in a detached, 'academic', even questioning, fashion, rather than in any celebratory, chest beating sense. It is a standard Canadian complaint that Canadians, and especially Canadian students, do not know enough about their own country, and that what they do know they often do not value.⁴¹

As policy makers, curriculum planners, and educators, continue to search for distinctively Canadian elements of identity in hopes of achieving great national cohesion and unity within the country, they must not lose sight of the pluralistic ideal. There is an inherent danger of any nation state propagating a monopolistic identification of citizenship. The national cohesion and political unity of Canada was threatened during the Quiet Revolution in the 1960's when the Quebecois felt their identity threatened by an Anglo-conformity model of citizenship. Quebec separatism remains a real possibility today and as previously stated was only defeated by the narrowest of margins in the last referendum. In western Canada, ethnic identities have also recently asserted their citizenship concerns on a political level by forming the Reform Party of Canada, now the Alliance Party of Canada and the official opposition in the House of Commons.

Peace educators recognize that citizenship is a complex, multi-layered and interwoven concept and that there are an array of elements that make up citizenship and provide us with our plural and parallel identities.⁴² The challenge for political leaders, policy makers, and peace educators in the 21st century is twofold. The first is to effectively articulate the national ideals and inclusive democratic values of

Canadian citizenship. Canada's national ideals should include its founding ethos, namely; peace, order and good government which is articulated in the Constitution Act, 1867. Its inclusive democratic values should include the fundamental freedoms, and democratic, mobility, legal, equality, and minority language rights outlined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982. However, it is necessary to use and build upon these constitutional documents as well as other universally recognized and accepted ones to further identify and articulate our national ideals and inclusive democratic values. The second is to close the gap between the national ideals and inclusive democratic values of Canadian citizenship and the actual practices of social behaviour in the real world. Progress in both areas will bring the country closer to the pluralistic ideal.

4.15. Rights and Entitlements

The second major attribute of citizenship is that of rights or what is sometimes called entitlements. All citizens living within the political boundaries of a nation are entitled to benefits the state confers on its citizens. These benefits are called rights or entitlements of citizenship. The late sociologist, T. H. Marshall conceptualized citizenship in terms of three types of rights, namely; civil, political, and social, which developed in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century respectively. He argues that each was accompanied by the rise of a particular set of institutions. Accordingly, Marshall states the three rights in the following.

1. The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom-liberty of the persons, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice. 2. By the political element I mean the right to participate in an exercise of political power, as member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of such a body. 3. By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society. The institutions most closely connected with it are the educational system and the social services.⁴³

The emergence of these civil, political, and social rights within the framework of the nation replaced the feudal bonds of earlier times.

In Canada, the institutions most associated with the development of civil rights are the civil and criminal justice system. This includes those institutions associated with civil law, namely; family law, contract law, tort law, property law, and labour law. It would also include those institutions associated with public law, namely; criminal law, constitutional law and administrative law. The institutions most associated with the development of political rights are the federal parliament, house of commons and senate, the elected provincial legislatures and the national assembly in Quebec, and the municipal levels of government. The institutions most associated with social rights are the social services and the educational systems.

This would include federal government departments and councils such as Health and Welfare Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, etc., and the relevant provincial government departments such as Income and Community Services, Education, and The Advisory Council on the Status of Women, etc. Many of our individual civil, political, social, and economic rights are protected by common law, various federal and provincial statute organic laws including the Canadian Bill of Rights, 1960, the Canadian Human Rights Act, the various provincial Human Rights Acts, and constitutionally entrenched documents such as the Constitution Act, 1982, and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. 1982.

4.16. Broadening the Conceptual Boundaries of Rights of Citizenship

Traditional approaches to citizenship education teach students that they are entitled to certain individual rights by virtue of their membership in a political community. These individual rights entitle citizens to protection from other citizens and their state. However, in this global era, the subject of rights of citizenship has become a complex issue. There is much debate over rights of citizenship, private versus public, individual versus collective, and state sanctioned versus universal human rights. With globalization, new legal relationships and claims develop. Rights are not, therefore, a static concept but involve an on going process of debate and legal construction. In this global era, it is necessary to have some

conceptualization of rights beyond mere individual rights of citizenship. There is a tendency in the curriculum to focus on first generation rights, civil and political, whereas, less emphasis is placed on second and third generation rights, social, cultural, and economic. Peace education as multicultural and human rights education provide a more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological perspective of rights.

In liberal democratic, pluralistic, and heterogenous societies such as Canada, the state attempts to accommodate collective needs and communitarian concerns of national minorities and polyethnic groups in addition to providing for general individual rights of citizenship. These groups are often accorded certain collective rights which can conflict with individual rights of citizenship. Peace education as multicultural education offers concepts of group-differentiated rights that are useful for understanding the complex nature of rights in multination and polyethnic societies. Furthermore, peace education as human rights education offers a concept of universal human rights which transcend national borders and state sovereignty. Although in many western liberal democratic countries many universal human rights are admittedly protected by individual rights of citizenship. It is now necessary to investigate the concepts of group-differentiated rights and universal human rights to help demonstrate the limitations of traditional conceptualizations of individual rights of citizenship in this global era.

4.17. Collective or Group Differentiated Rights

Collective rights are not inconsistent with the liberal democratic principles of individual freedom and equality. “Most such rights are not about the primacy of communities over individuals. Rather, they are based upon the idea that justice between groups requires that members of different groups be accorded different rights”⁴⁴ since each group has its own history and unique set of problems and challenges. Collective rights serve to level the playing field among competing and interacting social groups in the larger social organization of society. Kymlicka identifies three forms of group-differentiated rights or group specific rights that serve to accommodate national minorities and polyethnic groups in multination and polyethnic states. These include; self-government rights, polyethnic rights, and special representation rights. These concepts of rights of multicultural citizenship will be investigated next and examples of each will be provided.

4.18. Self-Government Rights

The first concept, self-government rights, are usually asserted in multination states when the component nation feels that to ensure its cultural development and best interest some form of political autonomy or territorial jurisdiction is necessary. The Aboriginal, French, and English were once self-governing and territorially concentrated, but as these cultures became incorporated into the larger society of Canada, they demanded various forms of autonomy and self-government to maintain their ethnic identity and cultural distinctiveness. If the component nation,

feels, however, that self-determination is not possible within the existing political framework, they can take the radical step and secede.⁴⁵ The struggle for the legal recognition of Aboriginal treaty rights and Quebec's struggle to preserve its identity are two examples of component nations' attempts to assert their self-government rights.

4.19. Aboriginal Treaty Rights as Self-Government Rights

The Aboriginal peoples of Canada, who generally belong to native bands and live on native reserves assert their traditional treaty rights to fish and hunt notwithstanding federal and provincial government resource management regimes and regulations governing fishing and hunting resources. For example, in the Maritimes, the Mi'kmag and Maliseet have traditionally depended on fishing and hunting as a major source of food and claim a collective right to do so because their ancestors signed treaty agreements with European governments guaranteeing these rights. After many years and numerous court cases, the courts now generally recognize a collective right to fish and hunt for food and ceremonial purposes, as long as the Aboriginal people in question can prove that they have a direct ancestral link to those who were party to the treaty, the treaty was not extinguished prior to the enactment of the Constitution Act, 1982, and there is no real threat to the conservation and sustainability of the resource. In accordance to Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, existing aboriginal treaty rights also "include rights that

now exist by way of land claim agreements or may so be acquired” by the aboriginal peoples of Canada, Indian, Inuit, and Metis and are “guaranteed equally to male and female persons and are recognized and affirmed”.⁴⁶ It recognizes the existing treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples that were not extinguished prior to the constitutional enactment of the Charter in 1982 and those that may be so acquired in the future. The Charter recognizes the possible conflict between collective rights arising out of existing treaty rights and those that may be so acquired in the future and that of individual rights accorded to all citizens under the Charter. Section 25, of the Charter addresses this concern by stating that “the guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada”.⁴⁷

It is also imperative to reiterate that collective rights, in this case self-government rights as Aboriginal treaty rights, like individual rights of citizenship, are not static but are an ongoing process of litigiousness and legal construction. Hence, the Constitution Act, 1982, and the Charter’s assertion, those that “may be acquired in the future”.⁴⁸ An example of this is the recent Supreme Court of Canada case, *R. v. Marshall* (1999)3S.C.R. The test in this case was with the aboriginal treaty rights in the context of the commercial fishery and to what extent Aboriginals could economically gain from it. The accused, Donald Marshall, a Mi’kmaq Indian, was charged with three offences under the federal fishery regulations, namely; fishing without a licence, fishing during the close of season with

illegal nets, and the selling of eels without a licence. Marshall was convicted on all three counts in trial court and the conviction was upheld by the Court of Appeal for Nova Scotia. In his appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada, the court ruled that the accused's treaty rights are "limited to securing 'necessaries' (which should be construed in the modern context as equivalent to a moderate livelihood), and do not extend to the open accumulation of wealth".⁴⁹ Furthermore, the court ruled that "his treaty right to fish and trade for sustenance was exercisable only at the absolute discretion of the Minister. Accordingly, the close season and the imposition of a discretionary licencing system would, if enforced, interfere with the accused's treaty right to trade for sustenance".⁵⁰ The court took the view that this was "not a right to trade generally for economic gain, but rather a right to trade for necessaries".⁵¹ It was not a preferential trading right but only a treaty trading right that provided the right to trade fish and wildlife resources for a moderate living. It was a limited treaty trading right. The court also recognized this limited treaty trading right as a regulated right in the sense that the crown could establish catch limits for Mi'kmaq families to earn a reasonable living by present day standards without violating the treaty rights established in 1760-61 between the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet and their European government counterparts. Since the accused caught and sold the eels to support himself and his wife and his actions did not endanger the conservation and sustainability of the resource, the majority of the Supreme Court justices ruled to uphold the appeal and quash the conviction. The Supreme Court recognized the Mi'kmaq treaty right to hunt, fish, and gathering for necessaries but this right is

recognized as a limited and regulated right.

At present, this is the source of contentiousness and conflict between the federal and provincial governments and the aboriginal peoples. The federal and provincial governments feel that the Supreme Court's jurisprudence allows it to infringe on constitutional treaty rights. "Where the crown proves conservation is needed, the court has in previous cases upheld regulations that limit the exercise of an aboriginal treaty right-while requiring that the government first consult with the aboriginal leadership".⁵² On the other hand, the aboriginal peoples are of the view that they are capable of developing their own resource management regimes consistent with conservation interests. They assert their self-government right to develop a resource management regime and their own regulations dealing with catch limits and quota allocations. Given the current impasse and the impact of the forces of globalization on the fishery; overcapacity, technological capability to harvest fish beyond nature's capacity to replenish it, dwindling fish stocks, and the desire of all social actors for a greater share of a smaller resource, it is little wonder that there exists a strained and vociferous relationship between government, commercial fishers, and native bands such as the one in Burnt Church, New Brunswick.

Self-government rights are one form of group differentiated rights and their fundamental purpose is to achieve greater justice between social groups in the larger social organization of society. Similarly to individual rights, they are not static but are negotiated and litigated and, therefore, develop over time. As they are tested

and upheld in the courts, they form not only new case law but become the basis for new organic statute law and even amendments to existing constitutional law.

Prior to the 1970's in English Canada, traditional approaches to citizenship education assumed a homogeneous citizenship. Rights were conceptualized largely in the context of individual rights of citizenship as first generation civil and political rights. The first evidence in the social studies curriculum in the province of New Brunswick to provide some understanding of self-government rights as Aboriginal treaty rights was in a school text titled The Maritimes, Tradition, Challenge & Change, 1987, which was used for teaching grade 10 Maritime Studies.⁵³ Justice Graydon Nicholas authors a section of the text in Chapter 6 dealing with issues and inquiry titled "Aboriginal Rights v. Government Legislation".

4.20. Self-Government Rights and Quebec's Secession

In situations where component nations feel that a satisfactory level of self determination to protect their ethnic particularity and social, political, economic, and cultural interests is not possible within the framework of the larger political community, they can take the extreme political measure and secede. This was attempted by the French in the province of Quebec, who have historically felt inadequately accommodated within the larger political framework of Canada. Initial attempts to accommodate Quebec can be traced back to the Constitution Act, 1867, and the inclusion of Sections 92 and 93 which outline the powers of the

provinces. Many of the 'enumerated powers' (property, civil rights, language, religion, education etc.)⁵⁴ given to the provinces were an attempt to accommodate the social, political, economic, and cultural interests of Quebec. In recent years, however, there have been other attempts to accommodate the interests of Quebec, including two constitutional conferences, namely; Meech Lake, 1987, and Charlottetown, 1992. The inability of the Canadian government to make satisfactory accommodations to protect the interests of the French in Quebec resulted in two Parti de Quebecois governments, Rene Leveque in 1980 and Jacques Parizeau in 1995, holding referendums to establish a sovereignty association with Canada. Although there is some question as to the legality of Quebec secession from Canada, there are provisions under international law, namely, Article 1(2) of the Charter of the United Nations which recognizes the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and Article 73 which recognizes the right to self-government.⁵⁵ However, the application of these Articles have been traditionally understood as pertaining to overseas non-self-governing territories and colonies. In any event, many national groups such as the Quebecois take the view that they too are peoples and nations and have the right to self-determination. They reinforce their claim by arguing that they did not relinquish their right to self-determination and that they were involuntarily incorporated into a larger political community.⁵⁶

The attainment of self-government rights by national groups in their historic homeland or territory serves to diminish state sovereignty in those areas where they become recognized in law. In this sense, political power becomes concentrated in

sub-political units that operate within the larger political framework of society.

These sub-political units develop their own regimes to govern rights of members of their political community. Many national groups such as the Aboriginal peoples and French in Quebec feel that their self-government rights are inherent rights and that is why they seek to have them protected by entrenching them in the constitution.

4.21. Polyethnic Rights

A second type of group differentiated rights associated with multicultural citizenship are those of polyethnic rights. These types of rights were first asserted by polyethnic immigrant groups who balked the pre 1960's anglo-conformity model which required them to assimilate into mainstream cultural norms and values. Polyethnic groups asserted their right to express their ethnic particularity and cultural distinctiveness without prejudice or discrimination. This assertion by polyethnic groups provided important direction to visible minorities who also wanted to root out prejudice and discrimination that adversely impacted on their social progress and ability to climb the opportunity structure. Polyethnic groups generally wished to integrate into mainstream society rather than achieve separate or self-government. They favour a modification of laws and institutions to accommodate their ethnic particularities and cultural differences.⁵⁷

In Canada, the federal government and provincial governments have

legislated organic statute law such as the Federal Human Rights Act, Provincial Human Rights Acts, and the Criminal Code of Canada to prevent discrimination against polyethnic groups, religious and visible minorities. They have also adopted anti-racism policies and affirmative action programmes consistent with Canada's policy of multiculturalism and bilingualism. Moreover, Canada's constitutional law protects against prejudice, discrimination, and racism by affording Canadians equality rights under Section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982. Under Section 1 of the Charter, the infringement of individual rights and fundamental freedoms are provided for to protect polyethnic groups, religious and visible minorities as long as the infringement is reasonable, justified, and is prescribed by law. An example of this was the case of *R. v. Keegstra* (1990)3S.C.R.697. It is also important to note here that individual rights guaranteed in the Charter must be interpreted in light of Section 27 which states that "this Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canada".⁵⁸ Organic statute law, government policy, and constitutional law, do not afford any special polyethnic group-differentiated rights but merely serve to ensure that all polyethnic groups, religious and visible minorities are not discriminated against but are ensured common rights of citizenship consistent with their multicultural heritage.

Polyethnic rights are rather specific measures that would exclude polyethnic groups from certain laws and regulations so as not to disadvantage them because of their religious or cultural practices. For example, Sikh males in Canada have

sought exemptions from motor vehicle regulations which require them to wear motorcycle helmets. They have also sought exemptions from official dress code regulations in police forces so they can wear their turbans and they have sought the right to wear their kirpans to school. In the United States, Orthodox Jews have asserted their right to wear a yarmulke while in military service. In Britain, Jews and Muslims have asserted their right to open their business establishments on Sunday. In France, Muslim girls have sought exemption from school dress codes so they can wear their chadors.⁵⁹

4.22. Special Representation Rights

A third type of group differentiated rights associated with multicultural citizenship are special representation rights. There is a growing interest in these types of rights by national minorities, polyethnic groups, and other groups including; women, racial minorities, the disabled, and the economically disadvantaged. The purpose of special representative rights is to make our institutions more inclusive to reflect the diversity of our society and to provide greater representation to those who have been historically disadvantaged and under-represented. In Western democracies where white middle class males dominate the political process, there is concern that ethnic and racial minorities, women, the poor, and disabled are largely unrepresented given their percentage make up of the total population.⁶⁰

Kymlicka argues that the unrepresentativeness of these groups in the political process can be achieved by two means. The first, is by removing the social, political, and economic barriers that make it difficult for women, the poor, the disabled, racial minorities, and ethnic groups to run as candidates for political office or leadership of a political party. The second, would be to develop some type of proportional representation system that would make political parties more inclusive.⁶¹ The defeated Charlottetown Accord made a number of special representation rights to better accommodate the needs of Aboriginal peoples, including a provision in the Canada Clause, an amendment to Section 25 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, guaranteed representation in an elected Senate, the right to make representation to fill vacancies in the Supreme Court, moral support for better Aboriginal representation in the House of Commons, the inherent right of self-government, and affirmative action programs for socially and economically disadvantaged individuals or groups and programs for the advancement of Aboriginal languages and cultures. The Accord provided other provisions for special representation rights for the Francophone in the province of Quebec, including the recognition in the Canada Clause of Quebec as a distinct society and guaranteed minimum representation on the Supreme Court. The Accord also contained provisions for better representation of women, ethnic minorities, and official language minorities.⁶²

Group special representation rights enable these individuals to overcome systemic disadvantages and barriers. They are regarded more or less as a

temporary measure until such time that oppression and disadvantage no longer exists in society.

4.23. Group Differentiated Rights and Multicultural Citizenship

The fundamental purpose of the three types of group-differentiated rights, namely; self-government rights, polyethnic rights and special representation rights is to better accommodate the interests of national groups and polyethnic groups, religious and visible minorities, and to protect them from external economic and political pressures of the larger society. In this global era of interconnectedness and interdependency, Canada has become more heterogenous, culturally pluralistic and polyethnic. It is now faced increasingly with more complex peace and human security issues as a result of national minorities, polyethnic groups, and religious and visible minorities asserting their group differentiated rights which challenge traditional conceptualizations of individual rights and national citizenship. Prior to the enshrinement of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982, into the Constitution Act, 1982, individual rights of national citizenship were primarily based upon British common law practices. Given the present multi-ethnic cultural mosaic of Canada, there is not always an equality of justice between social groups. Group differentiated rights understood in the context of a multicultural citizenship more adequately comprehends the reality of the struggle for justice between social groups and competing social actors. The concept of multicultural citizenship is

more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological than the concept of national citizenship. It implies a concept of group differentiated rights; self-government, polyethnic, and special representation rights. In liberal democratic and pluralistic societies it is not unusual for these collective rights to conflict with individual rights. The concept of national citizenship, on the other hand, assumes a homogeneity of rights accorded to all social actors and social groups.

The concept of group-differentiated rights are central to the concept of multicultural citizenship in liberal democratic and pluralistic societies such as Canada. As previously indicated, their fundamental purpose is to promote justice between social groups because they have different histories and experiences and face different challenges and problems. Individual rights, in and by themselves, are not adequately capable of contributing to the social amelioration and economic progress of social groups. For example, the democratic right of every citizen in Canada “to vote in an election of members of the House of Commons or of a legislative assembly and to be qualified for membership therein”⁶³ does not ensure that the interests of national minorities, polyethnic groups, women, racial minorities, and the disabled will be equitably represented in these political institutions. The legal rights afforded to all Canadians under Sections 7-14 of the Charter does not ensure that these same groups will be equitably represented in law enforcement, the criminal and civil justice system, including the Supreme Court. The equality rights under Section 15 of the Charter does not ensure that women will receive equal pay for equal work

compared to men, that minorities and the disabled will have equal opportunity in obtaining employment. The two official languages of Canada guaranteed under Section 16 of the Charter and the minority language educational rights guaranteed under Section 23 do not ensure the cultural integrity and distinctiveness of the Francophone in the province of Quebec. The rights of the aboriginal peoples recognized and affirmed under Section 35 do not ensure their equitable access to and profitability from natural resource exploitation.

Given the increasingly heterogenous, culturally pluralistic, and multiethnic nature of Canadian society, it is necessary to incorporate into the curriculum the concept of multicultural citizenship and the concept of group-differentiated rights. Peace education as education for multicultural citizenship provides for a widened understanding of the conceptual boundaries of rights and entitlements of citizenship. It can provide students with a more illuminated and enlightened approach for understanding complex peace and human security issues in their local and global neighbourhoods. Peace and human security issues dealing with aboriginal treaty rights versus government legislation, Quebec secession from Canada, polyethnic rights, and special representation rights can not be comprehended or adequately taught to students by using traditional approaches to citizenship and citizenship education. Peace education as multicultural citizenship education can provide students with the necessary concepts for comprehending these issues and for providing informed, rational and defensible solutions.

4.24. Universal Human Rights

Although individual rights of national citizenship are claims recognized by domestic law and are accorded to individuals as a result of their membership in a national political community, there are also universal human rights that individuals are entitled to by virtue of their humanity and membership in the world community. These rights are recognized by international law. The concept of universal human rights is more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological than the traditional concept of individual rights of national citizenship. The latter is a more restricted and narrower concept. In a spatial sense, individual rights of national citizenship apply only within national political boundaries. They are restricted in a political and legal sense in that the legislator can prescribe the content of individual rights and determine when they can be limited or infringed, for example, when it is in the public interest. The concept of universal human rights is not restricted by national political boundaries or state sovereignty. The concept of universal human rights, as a set of guiding principles, normative values, and norms of behaviour, transcend national political boundaries and state sovereignty. Universal human rights are enshrined in international or world law which is a superior legal order compared to national law, in the sense that it serves as a means of measuring and judging national laws.

National laws are not always adequate for protecting and preserving basic universal human rights. In this post Cold War global era, there have been

significant violations of basic universal human rights such as that arising out of the breakup of the former Yugoslavia. The autocratic and totalitarian political regime of Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia committed extreme human rights violations against the people of Kosovo. In extreme cases such as this, the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council can pass resolutions, if it so desires, that allow for “prompt and effective action by the United Nations ... for the maintenance of international peace and security ... in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.”⁶⁴ The world community now generally recognizes that all members of the human family have basic universal human rights which are protected by a variety of international human rights instruments regardless of ascribed or achieved cultural, social, political, and economic characteristics.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, although only a declaration and not an international binding treaty, convention, or agreement in a legally technical sense, is now generally recognized in the world community as a great moral and political authority and its binding character is recognized as part of customary international law. The principal legal architect of the first preliminary secretariat draft of the Declaration, New Brunswick’s John Peters Humphrey,⁶⁵ describes the impact and juridical character of the Declaration in the following.

Almost immediately after its adoption, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights acquired a moral and political authority equal to that possessed by any other contemporary international instrument including the United Nations Charter. ... History has ... recognized not only the great moral

authority of the Declaration but also its now binding character as part of the customary law of nations. There can be no doubt that the declaration does possess both great moral and political authority and that its influence and impact has been immense.⁶⁶

Since its adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10, December 1948, the Declaration has taken on a life of its own and imposes a significant political and moral obligation on nation states to uphold human rights. The Declaration builds on the Preamble of the United Nations Charter which states that “we the peoples of the United Nations determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.”⁶⁷ The Declaration is in congruence with the fundamental purpose of the United Nations in “promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.”⁶⁸ As the Preamble to the Declaration states, it is “a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.”⁶⁹ The United Nations Conference on Human Rights in Teheran, Iran, in 1968, in its closing statement, the Proclamation of Teheran, adopted a similar view. “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states a common understanding of the peoples of the world concerning the inalienable and inviolable rights of all members of the human family and constitutes an obligation for the members of the international community.”⁷⁰

The Declaration has served as a master blue print and a set of guiding

principles and ideals for numerous succeeding national and international human rights instruments. In Canada, it was the inspiration behind the Canadian Bill of Rights, 1960, and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982.⁷¹ It was also the inspiration for the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1950.⁷² These instruments provide for a legal remedy by individuals against the state in cases of alleged human rights violations. The Declaration has also served as a set of guiding principles and the impetus behind; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966,⁷³ and its Optional Protocols,⁷⁴ and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1976,⁷⁵ the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948,⁷⁶ the United Nations Convention on the Political Rights of Women, 1953,⁷⁷ the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1966,⁷⁸ the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1981,⁷⁹ the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984,⁸⁰ the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989,⁸¹ the Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999,⁸² the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflicts, 2000,⁸³ and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, 2000.⁸⁴

The Declaration is an historic document of great importance. It represents a

great step forward in the evolution of humanity. It serves as a source of guidance and inspiration to all members of the world community. Thomas Buergenthal and Judith Torney argue that “as a statement of principle and human aspirations, the Universal Declaration has much in common with the Magna Carta, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, the American Declaration of Independence, and the U.S. Bill of Rights...The Universal Declaration must be ranked with these historic documents.”⁸⁵ Mrs. Eleanore Roosevelt, the widow of the late President Franklin Roosevelt and Chairperson of the Executive Committee of the Commission on Human Rights, described the Declaration as the “international Magna Carta of all mankind.”⁸⁶ In 1970, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, in the Nobel Prize lecture speech that he was unable to deliver, referred to the Declaration as the “best document in 25 years” of the United Nations.⁸⁷

The 30 articles in the Declaration outline the human rights and fundamental freedoms that all persons are entitled to by virtue of their humanity without discrimination. Article 1 is the philosophical foundation of the Declaration and is the foundation upon which the remaining 29 articles rest. It states that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.”⁸⁸ This article identifies two fundamental assumptions contained in the Declaration. The first is that all humans are born free and equal in dignity and rights. This is a birthright and cannot be alienated. The second is that because humans are rational they are different from other living creatures on earth and, therefore, enjoy certain

rights and freedoms. In the exercise of their rights and freedoms, humans have a responsibility to act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood. Article 2 establishes the principle of equality and non-discrimination as regards to the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It forbids “distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.”⁸⁹ Article 3 is the first cornerstone of the Declaration. It proclaims that “everyone has the right to life, liberty, and the security of the person,”⁹⁰ which is an essential condition for the enjoyment of all other rights. This article introduces Articles 4 to 21, the specific civil and political rights to be protected. These include: freedom of slavery, torture, and cruel punishment; recognition before the law and equality before the law without discrimination; the right to an effective remedy for violation of fundamental rights; freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; full equality to a fair and public hearing before the law; presumption of innocence until proven guilty; right to privacy, freedom of movement; the right to asylum from persecution; right to a nationality; the right to marry and found a family; the right to own property; freedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom of opinion and expression; the right to peaceful assembly and association; the right to take part in the government of one’s country and the right of equal access to public service in one’s country.⁹¹ Article 22 is the second cornerstone of the Declaration and proclaims that everyone has the right to social security, certain economic, social and cultural rights which are regarded as indispensable for human dignity and the free development of the

human personality.⁹² Articles 23 to 27 identify these accordingly as: the right to work without discrimination, equal pay for equal work, fair remuneration for work, and the right to join trade unions; the right to rest and leisure and reasonable limitation of working hours; the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being; the right to an education; and the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community.⁹³ Article 28 recognizes the right of everyone to a social and international order that will fully realize their rights and freedoms.⁹⁴ Article 29 informs us of our duty and responsibility to our community.⁹⁵ Article 30 states that no state, group or person has the right to engage in any activity or to perform any act that would serve to destroy any of the rights and freedoms in the Declaration.⁹⁶

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights illuminates global pluralism and diversity. It recognizes that all members of the human race without distinction are entitled to human rights and fundamental freedoms. Human rights and fundamental freedoms are the sacred, inalienable, and inherent rights of humankind. They are the birth rights of all humanity irrespective of the sovereignty and political boundaries of nation states. They are the product of human reasoning and conscious decision making and serve to protect and preserve the tabernacle of human dignity. In the words of United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, “human rights are the foundation of human existence and coexistence ... Human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent. Human rights are what makes us human. They are the principles by which we create the sacred home for human

dignity ... Human rights are what reason requires and conscience commands. They are us and we are them. Human rights are rights that any person has as a human being. We are all human beings; we are all deserving of human rights. One cannot be true without the other.”⁹⁷ The Vienna Declaration also recognized the universality, indivisibility, interdependence, and interrelatedness of human rights. It stated that “the international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis.”⁹⁸

4.25. Inextricable Link Between Respect for Human Rights and Peace

Peace education as human rights education recognizes the inextricable link between the respect for human rights and peace. Human rights and peace are equally fundamental and constitutive to each other. This linkage is recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, 1946, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. The Preamble of the Charter states that “We the Peoples of the United Nations Determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.”⁹⁹ Article 1(3) of the Charter also states that “The Purposes of the United Nations are: To achieve international cooperation ... in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or

religion.”¹⁰⁰ The Preamble of the Declaration recognizes that the “inherent dignity and ... equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world.”¹⁰¹ The Declaration imposes a duty on “every individual and every organ of society” to “strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance.”¹⁰² Accordingly, Article 26.2 of the Declaration states that “education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.”¹⁰³ Several other Articles in international legal instruments recognize the inextricable relationship between human rights and peace and the high level of priority placed on education in fostering human rights and developing a culture of peace including; 1. Article 29 (1b), Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989,¹⁰⁴ 2. Article 13, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966,¹⁰⁵ 3. Article 78, The Vienna Declaration and Program of Action, 1993,¹⁰⁶ 4. Article 79, The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, 1993,¹⁰⁷ 5. Article 80, The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, 1993,¹⁰⁸ and 6. Article 82, The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, 1993.¹⁰⁹

Peace education as human rights education empowers learners to critically understand the world's realities within an holistic framework and moves them to act towards a peaceful, just and liberating world.¹¹⁰ Peace education as human rights education is based on an holistic values system approach. It is rooted in philosophical guiding principles and normative values and offers a promising possibility for preparing students for global citizenship and for developing a culture of peace. This approach confronts the different value orientations that underlie the numerous problems and issues confronted by competing social groups and social actors. It is an inclusive approach based on principles and values of universality, indivisibility, interdependence, and interrelatedness, and it includes all categories and generations of rights. It includes not only first generation rights, civil and political, but also second generation rights, economic and social, and third generation rights, cultural.

Peace education as human rights education, similarly to peace education as multicultural education, has a transformational purpose. Accordingly, pioneer peace educator, Betty Reardon, defines this transformational purpose as "the development of an authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens and to transform the present human condition by changing the social structures and patterns of thought that have created it."¹¹¹ An authentic planetary consciousness is assumed as a necessary condition for breaking down social, cultural, political and economic structures that give rise to structural forms of violence. This transformational imperative "means a profound, global cultural

change that affects ways of thinking, world views, values, behaviours, relationships, and the structures that make up the public order. It implies a change in the human consciousness and in human society."¹¹²

Reardon in Educating for Human Dignity¹¹³, proposes a peace education approach as human rights education which can be taught at the appropriate grade levels using an holistic values approach, an historical approach, an international standards and institutional approach, or an reconstructionist approach. She also provides a developmental sequence for the presentation of core concepts that apply to childhood in early grades, later childhood in the middle grades, early adolescence and junior high school, youth, young adulthood, and high school.

Just as traditional approaches to citizenship education which attempted to nurture national citizenship and a sense of national identity on the basis of an anglo-conformity model and in a civic and political context were inadequate and non-reflective of the pluralistic and multiethnic cultural mosaic of Canada, so too are those traditional approaches that assume rights solely in the context of individual rights of national citizenship. The General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."¹¹⁴ The Declaration serves as a set of guiding principles and a normative standard of ethical values for the world community. Economic, social, and cultural rights are regarded as having the same level of priority as civil and political rights. As previously stated, they are universal, indivisible, interrelated and interdependent, and one set of rights cannot be

adequately realized without the same priority given to the others. Universal human rights apply to all humanity without distinction or discrimination. Rosalyn Higgins, international jurists and member of the International Court of Justice at the Hague, captures part of the true essence of the Declaration in her description of international law which she describes as “a normative system, harnessed to speak to us all, whether we are rich or poor, black or white, of any religion or none, or come from countries that are industrialized or developing.”¹¹⁵ The Declaration is now generally regarded as having a binding effect because it is regarded as part of customary international law and transcends national boundaries and state sovereignty.

The task of peace education as human rights education is to help implement human rights by making students more aware and understanding of them. This requires the development of knowledge that will help shape student’s attitudes and values formation so they will not only be more tolerant but understanding and open minded toward others, who through a parochial and constricted values laden perceptual lens appear seemingly different. As students become aware and understanding of human rights, they are more likely to resolve their differences with others more productively and peacefully. They will consciously come to the realization that peace is a value orientation closely interrelated with the normative values and principles underlying respect for human rights.

The forces of globalization severely limit the concept of individual rights understood in the context of national citizenship. The world has changed in terms

of economic and political systems, technological and transportation systems, and in population composition. People now have all sorts of connections in many parts of the world. It is commonplace for them to have divided loyalties and identities. Given Canada's multiethnic diversity and cultural pluralism and that of other global neighborhoods throughout the world, rights must also be conceptualized as group differentiated rights and as universal human rights. These are useful for comprehending peace and human security issues involving social groups and social actors. Peace education as multicultural education and human rights education illuminates our commitment to human dignity and serves as a means of overcoming direct and indirect violence, personal and structural violence, and contributes to a more just and peaceful society.

Rights conceptualized within a peace education framework, from a multicultural and human rights perspective, is useful for developing students' peace making capacities and teaching them to resolve conflict peacefully and non-violently. Both approaches to peace education are mutually supportive and complimentary. International human right standards, values, and norms of behaviour can serve as an objective foundational basis for reasoned value and judgement making since they are based on principles of universality and common standards of achievement. The application of such judgement making can be made in the context of evaluating certain cultural practices. The process which enables students to learn to differentiate between universal principles and common standards of achievement and specific cultural practices that violate basic human

rights can serve as an important step in cultivating student's peace making capacities and their skill at resolving conflict peacefully.¹¹⁶ The process which enables students to comprehend the integrity of group differentiated rights within an over arching framework of universal human rights can also help in this regard.

4.27. Responsibilities, Duties, and Obligations of Citizenship

The third major attribute of citizenship relates to that of responsibilities, duties, and obligations. Citizenship not only affords us certain rights by virtue of our membership in a political community but it demands correspondingly of us certain responsibilities, duties, and obligations. For example, citizens have a responsibility, duty, and obligation to obey and uphold the rule of law, to pay taxes, to defend their country, to participate in the political process, to respect the rights of others, and to fulfill certain social obligations such as community service for the public good. The performance of our responsibilities, duties, and obligations are not only "subject to the legal claims of citizenship but also the demands of conscience and principle".¹¹⁷ We have a legal obligation to act in a certain way. For example, we cannot deliberately injure or kill someone because it is in violation of the Criminal Code of Canada. However, there are other important expectations of human behaviour that cannot be supported by legal obligation such as running for political office, voting at election time, community activism, helping your neighbour, and a sense of moral responsibility to the natural environment. The challenge

presented by citizenship is balancing rights with responsibilities, duties, and obligations. This often requires a reconciliation of self-interest with group and/or community interests.

The responsibilities, duties, and obligations of citizenship have traditionally been taught by schools within a legal, civic, political or social context, and as something existing generally within the political boundaries of a nation state. These traditional understandings of citizenship, although important, do not account for major peace and human security issues in the environment which have no political boundaries or national jurisdiction, and where individuals have an equal responsibility, duty, and obligation of citizenship. Just as traditional approaches to citizenship education teach students to fulfill these in a legal, civic, political and social context, students must also be taught to be stewards of the planet and natural environment, and to develop sustainable development paths with a view of protecting and preserving its natural integrity. Since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, (UNCED), 1992, also known as the Earth Summit, global environmental issues began emerging in the social studies curriculum in courses such as World Issues 120.

4.28. Educating for Environmental and Planetary Citizenship

The conceptual parameters of citizenship education need to be widened so that peace and human security issues relating to the planet and natural environment

can be comprehended and effectively taught to students. Traditional approaches to citizenship education are incapable of providing students with the necessary, knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour for the kind of environmental and planetary citizenship necessary to meet the challenges of globalization and change in the 21st century. A new set of organizing principles are necessary to guide this educational process. For example, students will need the knowledge and skill to comprehend self-interest with the interest of the environment and planet as a whole. They must be able to comprehend short term and long term consequences of their social behaviour and understand that it is infinitely interconnected to others and the earth's living and life support systems. They must be taught the necessary attitudes and values of environmental and planetary citizenship, including; cooperation, sharing, collective responsibility, sustainable development, and a precautionary approach. For example, schools should expose students to the guiding principles and normative values of the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. Schools need to cultivate a sustainable world view through the intellectual curriculum and by habituating students to appropriate forms of social organization and behaviour within the classroom and other related social settings within the educational ambit of the school. By doing this, schools can help forge new paths toward more secure, sustainable and equitable futures that will help ensure planetary survival. Accordingly, Gregory Smith argues that if students are going

to respond to the changing environmental conditions we are likely to

encounter in the coming decades, educators will need to develop an educational process that cultivates a very different set of expectations and norms. If they do not, our children could well lack the social skills and dispositions needed to foster their own survival. These skills and dispositions must include the ability to cooperate and enter into alliances with others to solve common problems and to recognize the fundamental interdependence that people share with one another ... Schools must acquaint their students with a very different approach to the natural world, one that acknowledges its finitude and the need to weigh the consequences of human activity against the welfare of the environment as a whole.¹¹⁸

Peace education as environmental education recognizes the inextricable link between humanity and the natural environment and the necessity of educating for peace with the environment. Peace education as environmental education is informed by a sustainable world view.

At present, several peace and human security issues threaten human survival because humanity has not pursued peaceful and sustainable development paths with the natural environment. Teaching students to do so is a major prescriptive task of peace education. It is an assumed responsibility, duty, and obligation of citizenship within a peace education framework.

4.29. Environmental Problems, Peace and Human Security Issues Outside Political Boundaries, National Jurisdiction, and Sovereignty of Nation States

There are several important environmental problems that are also important peace and human security issues that cannot be comprehended or effectively taught to students by using traditional approaches to citizenship education. Two major environmental problems, that are also important peace and human security issues, which fall outside the political boundaries, national jurisdiction, and sovereignty of nation states and can only be adequately addressed by the collective will and efforts of the world community, are the destruction of atmosphere and the destruction of the oceans. Each of these will be briefly investigated next for purposes of demonstrating the limitations of traditional approaches to citizenship education and the imperativeness of comprehending responsibilities, duties, and obligations of citizenship in terms of environmental and planetary citizenship. Both the atmosphere and oceans have been used as global commons and have been adversely affected by the human forces of globalization.

4.30. The Destruction of the Atmosphere, Climate Change and Global Warming, Implications for Peace and Human Security

As a global common, the atmosphere has been used as a human sewage and waste disposal reservoir for toxic chemicals and pollutants. The emission of harmful greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, namely; carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxides, and man-made chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), are upsetting the chemical balance in the atmosphere which is essential for life support systems. These

chemical changes are destroying the ozone layer, the protective blanket and sun screen which protects human, animal, and plant life support systems from harmful ultraviolet rays from the sun. Stratospheric ozone depletion also contributes to an enhanced greenhouse effect whereby heat is increasingly trapped near the earth's surface which results in climate change and global warming. In 1985, British Antarctic Survey scientists discovered significant reductions in the ozone layer over Antarctica. An ozone hole approximately half the size of Canada was discovered. According to satellite tracking records, it is estimated that fifty percent of it was lost over the ten year period between 1977 and 1987. Another hole, about one third this size, has been discovered above the Arctic. A two to three percent depletion in the ozone layer has also been discovered in the subpolar and temperate zones.¹¹⁹ Some scientists predict between a 1.5 and 4.5 degrees Celsius increase in global surface temperature over the next fifty years. This is most significant considering a 4.5 degrees Celsius increase is the equivalent to the total temperature rise since the last ice age 18,000 years ago.¹²⁰

The primary effects of the emission of acidic and toxic air pollutants and greenhouse gases through processes of industrialization are stratospheric ozone depletion, global warming, and decreased air and water quality. The secondary effects include; increased UVB intensity, air pollution, increased sea level rise, altered food supply, altered water supply and quality,¹²¹ disease spread, species loss, and energy use. Each of these secondary effects have impacts and potential health effects. The impacts and potential health effects of increased UVB intensity are

increased skin cancer¹²² and cataracts, and decreased immune function. The impacts of air pollution are higher low levels of ozone levels, increased acid pollutants, toxics, increased smog, and reduced visibility. The potential health effects are decreased lung function, exacerbation of pulmonary disease (asthma, emphysema), and increased respiratory infection.¹²³ The impacts of increased sea level rise are inundation of coastal properties¹²⁴ and salinity of water supplies. The potential health effects of this are destruction of habitat and limited potable water. The impacts of altered food supply are food shortages in parts of the world, greater reliance on pesticides and insecticides. The potential health effects are starvation, malnutrition, increased contamination of food supply and relocation of people. The impacts of altered water supply and quality are uncertain rainfall,¹²⁵ increased demand for irrigation, lowering of lake and river levels, and increased dredging of waterways. The potential health effects are contamination of surface and ground water, decreased water quality, and possible disease if guidelines are not followed. The impact of disease spread is that the geographic distribution of disease will change. The potential health effects are yellow fever, malaria, and other tropical diseases will move into new areas. The impact of species loss is that the habitat of some plants and animals will disappear. The potential health effects are possible sources of new drugs lost and the loss of aesthetic value. The impacts of energy use are an estimated 30% increased usage and new utilities using coal and nuclear power. The potential health effects are higher nitrogen oxide and sulphur dioxide emissions resulting in ozone and acid air pollutants and increased nuclear waste.¹²⁶

It is obvious that several peace and human security issues threaten our global neighbourhoods and natural environment as a result of stratospheric ozone depletion, global warming, and decreased air and water quality caused by emissions of acidic and toxic air pollutants and greenhouse gases. Global change has always been a natural phenomena but what is alarming about it now is the degree to which human forces are accelerating it and its implications for a variety of peace and human security issues. Global environmental change can have implications for the world economy, international and domestic relations, and the division between the north and south. Economic and social hardships include starvation, refugee crises, political revolutions, and military conflict and violence. An example of this from the continent of Africa will be provided next.

4.31. Implications of Climate Change and Global Warming, Peace and Human Security Issues in Africa

In Africa, changes in weather patterns and precipitation are believed to be the result of the effects of El Nino and La Nina, both components of the global weather phenomenon. El Nino results from temperature rise in the Pacific Ocean and is believed to be the cause of low rain falls and even drought in southern Africa. La Nina is the opposite of El Nino. Some experts believe that about one third of the droughts in southern Africa are caused by El Nino.¹²⁷ The sub-Sahara drought in the early 1970s killed “an estimated 100-to-200 thousand people from Sahel to

Ethiopia.”¹²⁸ African droughts such as this cause mass migrations of peoples to other lands and across international borders. The result is that environmental refugees place tremendous stress on existing resources of host countries. For example, there are an estimated 625,000 refugees from war and drought stricken areas in Sudan and Somalia living in Ethiopia and 167,000 refugees in Algeria from Western Sahara.¹²⁹ The 1991/1992 drought in Africa affected 2.6 million square miles of sub-equatorial Africa, 12 southern African countries, twenty million people, and 1.5 million refugees. It is against the backdrop of these types of social and economic hardships caused by climate change that attempts are made to overthrow status quo political regimes and that conflict and violence develops between rival ethnic groups.

In 1994, for example, Rwanda, one of the poorest nations in the world and one which experienced diminished food production because of drought, became the focal point of mass murder and genocide, the likes of which has not been seen since the holocaust. Shortly after the shooting down of a plane carrying Presidents Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi, both Hutus, by rebel Tutsis in the central African republic of Rwanda, a genocide of an estimated 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus was carried out by Hutu extremists during a 100 day slaughter between April and June 1994. Hutu refugees fled into Tanzania, Burundi, and Zaire. It is estimated that two million Hutu refugees fled into Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo.¹³⁰ The systematic killing of Tutsis by Hutu extremists in Rwanda in 1994 was act of genocide as defined in the

United Nations Convention on Genocide, 1948. “Acts committed with the intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group”.¹³¹ An International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was established by the Security Council of the United Nations, with the seat located in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, for the prosecution of persons for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda. Lt. General Romero Dallaire of Canada, the commanding officer of the United Nations peacekeeping forces in Rwanda, warned of such systematic killings but was provided with little military support to do much about it.¹³²

4.32. Implications of Climate Change and Global Warming, Peace and Human Security Issues in Canada’s Northern Territory and Arctic Region

Climate change and global warming can also affect economic and political global power balances and increase international conflict in areas where sovereignty claims are not yet resolved. For example, global warming would make Canada’s northern territory and the Arctic more accessible and viable in terms of transportation, shipping, mineral, oil, and gas exploitation, and possibly agriculture. An ice free northern territory and Arctic would open up the Northwest/Northeast Passage making it a commercially viable transportation and shipping route. It would also make the discovery of vast reserves of oil and gas more exploitable. The Arctic region as a whole and the Northwest/Northeast Passage specifically would be

two primary areas of strategic economic and political importance, especially if climate change made them more accessible. Sovereignty claims over both would also have important military significance.¹³³

If the trend toward global warming continues into the distant future, it is possible that Canada's sovereignty claims to its northern territory might be seriously challenged. For example, a more environmentally accessible Northwest/Northeast Passage would raise important questions. Would the Passage be regarded as an international strait for international navigation and transit passage because it could be used to connect "one part of the high seas or exclusive economic zone to another part of the high seas or an exclusive economic zone"¹³⁴ (Atlantic, Arctic and Pacific Oceans). On the other hand, would the Passage be regarded as part of Canada's internal waters, "waters on the landward side of the baseline of the territorial sea".¹³⁵ At present, Canada does not recognize the claim of the Passage as an international strait because it is not a commercially viable international sea route and it is surrounded by an array of islands that constitute part of the sovereignty of Canada. On the other hand, the United States adopts the view that the Passage satisfies the customary, conventional, and legal definition of an international strait, that it has been historically used for that purpose. During the negotiations leading up to the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, which entered into force in 1994, Canada opposed any suggestion that the Passage was an international strait and that there existed an international right of passage. The recognition of this international right would

have meant that any foreign vessel or submerged submarines could pass through any of the five known routes through these Arctic waters without first obtaining official authorization from the Canadian government. Global warming could have future implications over the territorial integrity of the Passage and whether or not it is an international strait or part of Canada's internal and territorial waters.

At present, there is also disagreement over the sovereignty of Arctic coastal waters. The question is whether sea ice is an extension of land conveying it a similar legal status or should it be regarded as water. The United States has argued that sea ice has no legal status. Therefore, sea ice outside the exclusive economic zone is part of the high seas and subject to freedom of navigation, overflight, laying of submarine cables and pipelines, construction of artificial islands and other installations, fishing, and scientific research.¹³⁶ Canada and Russia have taken an assimilation view of land and sea ice. This assimilation view would ensure both countries sovereignty beyond the coastal states 200 hundred nautical mile exclusive economic zone, where it has "sovereign rights for purpose of exploring and exploiting, conserving and managing the natural resources, whether living or non-living".¹³⁷ Global warming could have the future effect of melting sea ice and serve to diminish Canada's and Russia's assimilation argument and claims to sovereignty in the Arctic region.

Both of these issues, which involve claims to sovereignty, the Passage and Arctic region, are obviously situations that could only occur over a long period of time and they project into the distant future. They are, nonetheless, two further

possible examples of peace and human security issues that could result from the human omission to fulfil its responsibility, duty, and obligation to protect the natural environment and atmosphere which are central for the survival of humanity and living ecosystems. Both of these issues, as well as the genocide in Africa, can not be comprehended or effectively taught to students within the framework of traditional approaches to citizenship education.

4.33. The Destruction of the Oceans, Implications for Peace and Human Security, Sustainable Development Management Regimes for Ocean Governance

There are other issues relating to the natural environment that exist outside the political boundaries, national jurisdiction, and sovereignty of nation states that can not be comprehended or effectively taught to students by using traditional approaches to citizenship education. These are areas of global commons where humanity has an equal responsibility, duty, and obligation to protect, preserve, and to establish sustainable development management regimes. The task of undertaking such an initiative challenges the concept of national sovereignty. According to the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, titled Our Common Future, “nowhere is this more true than in shared ecosystems and in ‘the global commons’ - those parts of the planet that fall outside national jurisdiction. Here, sustainable development can be secured only through international co-operation and agreed regimes for surveillance, development, and management in the

common interest. But at stake is not just the sustainable development of shared ecosystems and the commons, but of all nations whose development depends to a greater or lesser extent on their rational management".¹³⁸ The Commission identifies three areas of global commons where management is at various stages of development. These include; the oceans, outer space, and Antarctica. The sustainable development and rational management of these three global commons are essential to peace and human security. The importance of doing this for the oceans will be demonstrated next as an example.

It is not possible to have global sustainable development without placing the highest priority on the sustainable development of our oceans since they make up over 70% of the surface of the earth. They are life's support system and are essential for human, animal and plant survival. They moderate our climates and are a crucial source of food, protein, energy, transportation, recreation, and employment.¹³⁹ The oceans can no longer be regarded as inexhaustible, indestructible, and limitless.¹⁴⁰

In 1883, T.H. Huxley stated that "the cod fishery, the herring fishery, the pilchard fishery, the mackerel fishery, and probably all the great fisheries, are inexhaustible: that is to say that nothing we do seriously affects the number of fish. And any attempt to regulate these fisheries seems consequently, from the nature of the case, to be useless".¹⁴¹ Contrary to what Huxley could not have imagined, many of the fisheries throughout the world are becoming exhaustible, including the ground fishery in the Northwest Atlantic. Richard Cashin, the chairperson of the

Task Force on Incomes and Adjustment in the Atlantic Fishery, has described the catastrophe of the east coast ground fishery as “a famine of biblical scale - a great destruction”.¹⁴² Approximately thirty five thousand people from thirteen hundred coastal communities in Atlantic Canada have lost their job due to the closure of the ground fishery.¹⁴³ In Newfoundland, approximately 700 coastal communities depended directly on the fishery as a major source of employment. This represents nearly 16% of the total workforce of Newfoundland. An analogy exemplifying the magnitude of this calamity would be the loss of 800,000 jobs in Ontario manufacturing or the eradication of employment of 2.6% of its total workforce.¹⁴⁴ According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, (FAO), “at the beginning of the 1990's about 69 percent of the world's conventional species were fully exploited, over exploited, depleted or in the process of rebuilding as a result of depletion. This situation is non-sustainable and major ecological and economic damage is already visible.”¹⁴⁵ FAO projections indicate that “in order to maintain the present per caput fish consumption levels of 13.0 kg per year to the year 2010 (with a forecasted population level of 7,032 million in 2010), 91 million tonnes of food fish would be required. This requirement implies an increase of 19 million tonnes of food fish over the 1993 level of 72.3 million tonnes”.¹⁴⁶ Given the existing decline in the world capture fishery, this is only feasible if “aquaculture production can be doubled in the next 15 years” and if significant improvements are achieved in the conservation and management of world capture fisheries, namely; the rebuilding of fish stocks, more rational harvesting fishing practices, and the

application of food technology to the utilization of bycatches.¹⁴⁷

Humanity is also directly contributing to the destructibility of the oceans. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, addresses six major sources of ocean pollution, namely; land-based and coastal activities, continental-shelf drilling, potential seabed mining, ocean dumping, vessel-source pollution, and pollution from or through the atmosphere. However, 90% percent of the pollution in the sea comes from land based sources in the form of garbage, household cleansers, waste oils, agricultural fertilizer, pesticides, and raw sewage.¹⁴⁸ Scientists fear that the oceans will lose their regenerative capacity if they become overwhelmed by pollution. Many seas along heavily populated coastal zones and semi-enclosed areas are already experiencing signs of catastrophe. The death of the Aral Sea, the world's fourth largest inland sea, which borders Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, is regarded as the "maritime version of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster".¹⁴⁹ In the early 1960's, it was the centre of a thriving fishing industry but has since lost 69% of its water which was siphoned off for agriculture and cotton growing purposes. It is estimated that 40 percent of the water siphoned off was lost due to leakage in unlined canals. The subsequent increased salinity combined with the effects of agricultural chemicals have killed all the fish stocks in the Aral Sea.¹⁵⁰

The oceans are no longer regarded as limitless areas of human exploration and development. Although the oceans cover over 70% of the earth's surface, they are shallow compared to the diameter of the earth. If the earth was reduced to the size of an egg, the oceans would equal the total water in a tear drop.¹⁵¹ The most

unexplored and developed area of the oceans is the deep seabed. Once regarded as the realm of science fiction, the deep seabed is now, however, an area of significant human investigation. Scientists have discovered in the deep seabed new forms of life, giant worms and shrimp whose life support system is not based on photosynthesis but on chemosynthesis. This finding poses new questions about the theory of evolution. Scientists have also discovered potentially lucrative marine mineral deposits, including; polymetallic nodules in the deep oceanic basins, sulphides along the ridges and volcanic arcs, and metalliferous muds along continental rifts. "It has been said that deep sea polymetallic nodules resources equal three times the present known land-based reserves of manganese, nickel and cobalt".¹⁵² According to another source, "by 1974, ... it was well established that a broad belt of sea floor between Mexico and Hawaii and a few degrees north of the equator (the so-called Clarion Clipperton zone) was literally paved with nodules over an area of more than 1.35 million square miles".¹⁵³ Because of the potentiality of turning the deep seabed into another tragedy of the commons, the United Nations General Assembly, in 1970, declared the resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction in the deep seabed to be the 'common heritage of mankind'. This is a non property concept and is based on principles of ecological unity, benefit sharing, reservation for exclusively peaceful purposes, and conservation for future generations. It has a development, disarmament, and environment dimension.¹⁵⁴ This concept is institutionalized in international law under Article 136 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, which states that the "area and its

resources are the common heritage of mankind”.¹⁵⁵ The manifest institutionalization of this legal concept is the International Seabed Authority which has its headquarters in Kingston, Jamaica. The Authority is an autonomous international organization that is established under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982,¹⁵⁶ and the Agreement Relating to the Implementation of Part XI of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1994, and is charged with the responsibility of organizing and controlling the activities in the Area, “particularly with a view of administering the resources in the Area”.¹⁵⁷ As we can see, even the most remote part of our ocean space beyond political boundaries, national jurisdiction, and sovereignty of nation states, is now the subject of economic development and resource exploitation.

Humanity has a responsibility, duty, and obligation to provide for the sustainable development of the natural environment and this includes the oceans. Significant progress has been made on this front in terms of establishing an international set of laws for ocean governance. On 16 November 1994, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, entered into force. The Convention is the culmination of 14 years of negotiations by more than 150 countries, representing all regions of the world, different levels of social and economic development and different legal and political regimes. It provides a comprehensive legal regime for governing all aspects of ocean space, including all its uses and resources. It recognizes that all problems of ocean space are highly interrelated and need to be addressed as a whole. Although, there are some shortcomings of the

Convention, such as the over-reliance on the territorial principle in managing living resources and inadequate compatibility between the rights and duties of coastal states and those of the International Seabed Authority in the adjacent Area. The Convention is, nonetheless, a monumental and positive step forward in the recognition of humanity's responsibility, duty, and obligation to the natural environment. It provides for the sustainable development and effective management of the living and non-living resources of our ocean space and its uses and activities. The Convention is testament of the collective will of the international community to cooperate "on a scale the magnitude of which was unprecedented in treaty history" and "represents an attempt to establish true universality in the effort to achieve a just and equitable international economic order governing ocean space".¹⁵⁸ The Convention, is "an important contribution to the maintenance of peace, justice and progress for all peoples of the world - ... is conscious that the problems of ocean space are closely interrelated and need to be considered as a whole ... will facilitate international communication, and will promote the peaceful uses of the seas and oceans, the equitable and efficient utilization of their resources, the conservation of their living resources, and the study, protection and preservation of the marine environment".¹⁵⁹ The Convention is a testament of the human spirit. It represents "new ways of peaceful coexistence" and overcomes the constraints imposed by national interests, by ideological and economic differences, and in some cases by undue attachment to traditional principles and concepts."¹⁶⁰ It represents the extraordinary human will to develop an international legal regime of global

governance for our ocean space that will contribute to a more peaceful coexistence between humans and their natural environment. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in a statement made on 10 December 1982 at the final session of the Law of the Sea Conference at Montego Bay, Jamaica, after the Convention was opened for signature, provides the tone on the critical achievement of the Convention and of the need to reaffirm our determination in addressing future interdependent challenges in the world. “This Convention is like a breath of fresh air at a time of serious crisis in international machinery for the solution of world problems. Let us hope that this breath of fresh air presages a warm breeze from North to South, South to North, East to West and West to East, for this will make clear whether the international community is prepared to reaffirm its determination to find, through the United Nations, more satisfactory solutions to the serious problems of a world in which the common denominator is interdependence”.¹⁶¹

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, exemplifies the goodness that can come out of the collective human will and aspiration to provide governance for our ocean space. On an geopolitical level, it is an exemplary example of nation states accepting the collective responsibility for the protection, preservation, and sustainable development of our ocean space. Unfortunately, traditional approaches to citizenship education provide students with little knowledge and understanding of international agreements, conventions, and declarations. They are also provided with little knowledge and understanding of

related international organizations, United Nations Agencies, and non-governmental organizations and the process by which these institutions operate.

4.34. Peace Education as Environmental Education

Peace educator, John Huckle, argues that “schools are primarily conservative institutions, which have expanded in order to train, grade, and socialize the work force. Their function remains that of producing young workers and citizens with appropriate knowledge, skills, and values and this continues to be done largely in an environment reflecting the hierarchy and competition found outside the school.”¹⁶² On the other hand, students are lacking certain social skills and attitudes such as caring, cooperation, responsibility, sense of interdependence, and conflict resolution which are imperative for maintaining peace and human security. Peace education as environmental education encourages the cultivation of social relations within and outside the school that will foster these attitudes and social skills. Peace education attempts to strengthen cooperative social relationships, among students and with their natural environment, and away from competition and possessive individualism. It attempts to provide students with an informed and critical understanding of social relationships and the social uses of nature, and allows them to explore critical alternatives to existing practices. They are encouraged to be critical and participatory citizens, to think globally and to act locally in fulfilling their responsibilities, duties, and obligations of citizenship.

Peace education is an organizing framework that is capable of comprehending global and environmental issues relating to our responsibilities, duties, and obligations of environmental and planetary citizenship. It is an effective organizing framework for teaching students about environmental peace and human security issues.

4.35. Active in Public Affairs

The fourth major attribute of citizenship and citizenship education relates to the need for citizens to participate in public affairs. Two conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education, namely, elitist and activist will briefly be investigated next.

4.36. Elitist and Activist Conception of Citizenship

Alan Sears, after reviewing literature on the contested nature of citizenship, constructs a typology of citizenship and citizenship education as existing along a continuum of two major conceptualizations, namely, an elitist conception and an activist conception. The elitist conception¹⁶³ of citizenship assumes that only a select group of people are especially suited to rule and to actively participate in public affairs. Government is made up of elected officials who have the appropriate background and training. Sovereignty resides in parliament, the most fundamental

institution of government. The good citizen is one who is loyal to the state and its institutions, has a reasonable level of knowledge about the historical and political institutions of the country, obeys the law, participates in and has some understanding of the common national culture and traditions and its national myths, patriotic symbols, and ceremonies, is informed about government policy and policies of other political parties, votes at election time, and obeys the law. This elitist conception of citizenship is a rather passive conception of citizenship. Other than being informed and knowledgeable about public institutions and public policy, citizenship activism involves little more than the exercise of one's political franchise based upon an reasonably informed opinion.

At the opposite end of the continuum, in Sear's typology of citizenship, is an activist conception of citizenship.¹⁶⁴ In the activist conception of citizenship, sovereignty resides with the people. Government is composed of free and equal citizens who are able to exercise power in more direct ways than voting. Citizens are regarded as equal before the law, as having equal opportunity and ability to participate in public institutions, and as having relatively equal access to material resources. Citizens are committed to participating in public discourse, all people are given equal opportunity to express their views, and power is not centralized but relatively equally divided. Citizens are knowledgeable of the way institutions and structures benefit some and not others and they are skilled at challenging them. They have multiple understandings of national citizenship in terms of identity. They are committed to wide participation in the public sphere of politics and the

private sphere of the community, home, and family.

4.37. Elitist and Activist Conception of Citizenship Education

Sears argues that “different understandings of the nature of good citizenship have given rise to different conceptions of citizenship education.”¹⁶⁵ An elitist conception of citizenship has given rise to an elitist conception of citizenship education. An activist conception of citizenship has given rise to an activist conception of citizenship education. In the elitist conception of citizenship education,¹⁶⁶ students are taught a common body of knowledge about history and political structures which is usually presented from an historical perspective continuing to the present. Military history is emphasized as well as the basic operations and functions of political institutions. In terms of values, students are usually taught a particular set of national values and that the existing set of political structures are the best. In terms of skills and participation, students need information gathering skills so that they are better informed when they participate in the political process by voting at election time.

In the activist conception of citizenship education,¹⁶⁷ students are taught ways to identify oppressive institutional structures; social, cultural, political, and economic, and how these oppressive structures support certain forms of social organization such as capitalism and patriarchy. The school and curricula are examined for purposes of finding ways to make it more inclusive and democratic. In

terms of values, students are taught to develop a commitment to equal participation by all, including all individuals and groups, and to challenge any manifestations of privilege and inequality. Students are to develop critical thinking, reflective, cross cultural, and problem solving skills so they can participate with people from different types of backgrounds for global justice and a more sustainable environment.

Traditional approaches to citizenship education in Canadian schools have been founded generally upon an elitist conception of citizenship. As indicated earlier in this chapter, this approach to citizenship education was brought into question in 1969 by A. B. Hodgetts, in his landmark study, What Culture? What Heritage?, and more recently, Sears, Hughes, and Clark have questioned whether classroom practices have changed that much since. Peace educator, Ken Osborne, makes the following observation on the state of citizenship education in Canadian schools. “So far, we have taught a restricted, status quo version of citizenship. We have not, for the most part, taught the kind of citizenship that stresses the importance of active, critical participation directed towards the enhancement of democratic values”.¹⁶⁸

4.38. Peace Education as Values Based Education for Participation

Peace education as citizenship education supports an activist conception of citizenship and citizenship education as opposed to an elitist conception of

citizenship and citizenship education. It supports the view that students must be prepared for active citizenship and that schools have an important role to play in this process. Education for active citizenship is central to the social and moral development of the child. It provides students with an opportunity to get involved at different levels; classroom, school, community, provincial, national, and global, and to address relevant peace and human security issues such as direct forms of violence, social justice, and environmental degradation.

Peace education is, therefore, not just education for peace but education for developing a student's peace making capacity. Central to this, among others, is developing "the ability and willingness for active involvement in creating a more peaceful future".¹⁶⁹ In order to prepare students for active citizenship in our global society and to provide them with peacemaking skills, it is necessary to educate them for participation which in turn will enable them in their adult life to carry out their responsibilities, duties, and obligations of citizenship. What is education for participation? According to Cathie Holden and Nick Clough, "education for participation involves reflecting on values, assisting children to acquire the skills necessary for taking action and ultimately providing opportunities for them to become involved as active citizens".¹⁷⁰

Education for participation is not value free and without direction. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, provides a guiding moral framework and values base for education for participation which is central for critical reflection and for the application and applied direction of student's skills and modes of

behaviour. Education for participation is endorsed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989. Accordingly, Article 13 states that “the child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in form of art, or through any other media of the child’s choice”.¹⁷¹ Article 14 provides the necessary legitimation of teachers to provide this direction in the sense that they are the legal guardians of students while they are in school. “State Parties shall respect the rights and duties of the parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to provide direction to the child in the exercise of his or her right in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child”.¹⁷² Article 29, indicates the direction for the education of the child, namely: “the development of the child’s personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential; the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations; the development of respect for the child’s parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own; the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin; the development of the natural environment”.¹⁷³ Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, also provides direction for the education of the child.

“Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace”.¹⁷⁴ The Declaration and Convention provide a guiding moral framework and values base for education for participation.

According to Holden and Clough, a values based education for participation for children should include the following.

- 1. Developing an understanding of; the significance of individual and collective action, their own values and the relationship of these to behaviour and action, democratic systems and the individual’s role within these, contemporary events and controversial issues, the causes of social and environmental problems, recent historical events and their relationship to the present/future.**
- 2. Being encouraged to; explore issues of justice, rights and responsibilities within the taught curriculum, voice their own needs and concerns within a responsive framework, develop the skills of critical reflection through discussion, address the implications of their own behaviour with respect to social and environmental problems, participate in decision making and action at school, community or global level.**¹⁷⁵

Holden and Clough identify three important stages in values based participation.¹⁷⁶ The first step is for the teacher and the school to decide what type of characteristics and qualities they want to foster in students. This involves a

consideration of the kind of school they want to have in terms of its culture, ethos, and moral framework. Do they want children who are passive positive and who are accepting of the status quo? Do they want children who are passive negative and who are indifferent? Do they want children who are active negative and rejecting? Or do they want children who are active positive and who can be influential? The second step is listening and understanding students' views and perspectives on issues and providing them with the opportunity to further develop their knowledge, skills, and values to enhance their action competence. Action competence is "the state of readiness pupils need to develop in order to be able to participate meaningfully. A pupil who is action competent is one who can argue, can reflect critically, can relate her opinions and action to a values framework".¹⁷⁷ Action competence empowers students to critically address social and environmental challenges. The third step is to provide students with the opportunity to genuinely participate in their school and communities. There are various levels in which participation can take place in the school and community. R. Hart identifies three requirements that must be met if a project is to be deemed truly participatory.

These include;

1. the children understand the intention of the project,
2. they know who made the decision making concerning their involvement and why,
3. they have a meaningful role, rather than a decorative one,
4. they volunteer for the project after the project was made clear to them.¹⁷⁸

Holden and Clough maintain that students must be prepared for action

competence before they can effectively participate. Participation in and of itself does not lead to competence. One must be trained to be competent before one can participate.¹⁷⁹ This is essential for participation to be meaningful. Participation for the sake of participation is superficial. It is not grounded in purpose and is without direction. It is imperative for the teacher to have some prior understanding of a student's level of action competence to further develop their knowledge, skills, and values to make them even more action competent, thereby enabling them to participate more effectively in decision making processes inside and outside the school.

4.39. Peace Education Pedagogy for Action Competent Citizens

If students are going to be action competent citizens and deal effectively with the challenges of peace and human security issues relating to direct and indirect forms of violence and the natural environment, then it is essential for schools to establish structures and processes whereby students can become action competent citizens and contribute to a culture of peace. These structures and processes must be founded on democratic values similar to the ones we would like to see manifested in society. Democratic structures and institutions in society at large are the best hope for the realization and manifest institutionalization of the guiding principles and normative values enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, 1946, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. In the Problems of Men, John Dewey

states that “the cause of democracy is the moral cause of dignity and the worth of the individual”.¹⁸⁰ Just as society at large should not be governed by autocratic structures and practices, nor should education. Rather, democracy must be prominent in the structures and practices of education. John Hurst in discussing a pedagogy for peace in universities makes a commentary that is equally relevant for schools. “What is clearly required are democratic structures where everyone - students, faculty, and staff - have equal voices. No other structure offers greater opportunity for each individual to be accepted as equally worthy, to have their inherent dignity respected, and to be afforded equal rights in practice. People must strive to learn within democratic forms if they are to live democratically”.¹⁸¹ Peace education, as citizenship education and pedagogy, in its attempt to prepare students for action competency in public affairs, challenges existing autocratic structures and processes in society, schools, and in the hidden curriculum that reinforce attitudes of individualism, elitism, inequality, sexism, arbitrary authority, injustice, and unfair competition. It encourages human attitudes and fundamental values of cooperation, understanding, equality, gender equity, generosity, compassion, and caring for all people and the natural environment. Developing an action competency in students provides them with the capacity to undertake what peace educator Jaime Diaz calls transforming action¹⁸² and what peace educator Betty Reardon referred to previously in this chapter as the transformative imperative.

What would a pedagogy consist of that would prepare students for democratic citizenship and provide them with the necessary action competency to

effectively participate in public affairs and to address peace and human security issues? Ken Osborne in Teaching for Democratic Citizenship devotes an entire chapter to the elements of a pedagogy that would help provide a necessary foundation for democratic citizenship and action competency. These include the following nine major guiding principles.

1. Teachers need a clearly articulated vision of education and what it will do for their students.
2. The material to be taught must be worthwhile and important; it must be worth knowing.
3. The material to be taught should be organized and presented as problems or issues to be investigated.
4. Careful and deliberate attention must be given to the teaching of thinking.
5. Teachers must connect what they are teaching to students' previous knowledge and experience.
6. Students must become active in their own learning.
7. Students should share and build upon each other's ideas.
8. Connections must be established between the classroom and the world outside the school.
9. Classrooms must be characterized by trust and openness so that students find it easy to participate in their own learning.¹⁸³

The methodology for teaching peace is as important what we teach about peace. Peace educator Stephanie Duczec argues if "peace is to be understood not only as a goal but also as a process, then the teaching and learning methods of peace education are as important as the content".¹⁸⁴ She quotes pioneer peace theorist Johan Galtung to substantiate her thesis. Accordingly, Galtung states; "it is naive to believe that the contents of a message will survive any form in which it is

presented; the form may often be even more important than the content”.¹⁸⁵ Nigel Young, reminding us of peace educator David Hick’s similar perspective, states that “the way we teach peace may be as important as what we teach”.¹⁸⁶ Peace educator, Patrick Whitaker, states, “if peace is both the destination and the journey then what we teach and how we teach it must not be separated in our preparations for working with pupils”.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, if schools are going to contribute to the peace capacity of students which includes their action competency, it is essential that the principles underlying the structures and practices of a pedagogy for peace be consistent with its ultimate objective, namely, peace. Peace is then both a means and end and peace becomes the way to peace.

Peace education encourages the cultivation of active and participatory citizenship through both curricula content and the process of learning. It empowers students by developing their peace capacity and action competency by providing them with the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour. Peace education as education for democratic citizenship is concerned with providing a pedagogy that will cultivate students’ peace making capacities, who in their adult life can effectively participate in decision making processes relating to complex peace and human security issues. This is a developing pedagogy guided by a set of philosophical principles and normative that is capable of preparing students for citizenship and to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

The fifth major attribute of citizenship deals with the acceptance of basic social values. These can vary from one social group to another, one community to another, and from one country to another. They are the sociological basis of a country's national identity and of its micro identity formations, social groups, communities, religions etc. Social values guide human behaviour. They are the beacons of citizenship. They are the underlying basis of our rights, responsibilities, duties, and obligations of citizenship. They are the mechanism that links members of society to their state and to each other. Social values find expression in the structures and practices of a country's institutions, social, cultural, political, economic, and legal. Examples of western liberal democratic social values include; nonviolence, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, rule of law, multiculturalism, language rights, and economic equity. Social values are usually given formal and instrumental expression in the constitutional documents of a country. In Canada, for example, this includes primarily the Constitution Act, 1867, and the Constitution Act, 1982, which includes the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982.

Social values in society are an important factor in determining the kind of education that we want our children to have. The school is in many ways a mirror image of the larger social organization of society. The values which provide direction for social institutional behaviour also provide direction to schools. As the previous discussion indicated,¹⁸⁸ in the past, citizenship in Canada was largely based on an elitist conception, therefore, not surprisingly, traditional approaches to

citizenship education taught an elitist conception of citizenship which were based upon national values and norms of behaviour of existing political institutional structures. It was largely a passive concept of citizenship which did little to prepare individuals to actively participate in the decision making processes and to challenge the inequities and inequalities of the structures and practices of different levels and types of institutional arrangements. Education for citizenship amounted to little more than having some knowledge of the functioning of political institutions and participation amounted to little more than being encouraged to vote at election time. The structures and practices of existing political institutional arrangements were regarded as the best ones possible and were supported by loyalty and patriotism to the state.

Notwithstanding Canada's increasing ethnic heterogeneity and multiculturalism, traditional approaches to citizenship education until the 1970's attempted to foster the development of a culturally homogeneous citizenship. This was especially true prior to World War I when schools played an important role in assimilating new immigrants and ethnic minorities into the social values of Canadian society with a view that this would make them productive and contributing citizens. Old ethnic loyalties and attachments, traditions, customs, and languages were regarded as a hindrance to their new found citizenship. Outside Quebec, schools promoted an anglo conformity model and a national identity largely in the context of loyalty and patriotism to Canada's mother country, Great Britain. After World War I, however, a more distinctively Canadian element of citizenship

was finding its way into Canadian citizenship education. As a result, Canadian history books spoke of the experiences of nation building and of the contribution and sacrifice of Canadians to the two world wars. Immigration policy in Canada was racially and ethnically prejudiced and favoured the landing of white Anglo Europeans but made exceptions to other social groups for purposes of industrial development and opening up the west. By the 1960's, it became very evident on a political level that national minorities and polyethnic groups were looking to achieve a more inclusive citizenship. They were proud of their ethnicity and all of the social and cultural appendages that went along with it. The Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1963, the Official Languages Act, 1969, the Policy of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism, 1971, were all testament of Canada's growing ethnic heterogeneity and multiculturalism and the demands for a more inclusive citizenship. It was against this type of background and political climate that Hodgetts questioned the effectiveness of traditional approaches to citizenship education in terms of classroom practices and curriculum content and recommended a major change in its value orientation. He recommended a national curriculum development plan that would make radical changes in the scope, content and teaching methods of Canadian studies in primary and secondary schools that would foster a greater pan Canadian understanding of citizenship.¹⁸⁹

4.41. Social Values Reflected in the Curriculum

The social values of a society can be identified by examining curricula

content of schools. The curriculum content in traditional approaches to citizenship education placed little value on providing students with knowledge, skills attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour necessary for peace capacity. For example, in history, one of the major courses responsible for the preparation of citizenship, the concept of war, a form of direct violence, was portrayed as a glorified institution and was associated with heroism, bravery, and adventure. War was justified on the basis of the moral cost of freedom, independence, and economic well being. Without it, a society could be enslaved and subjected to a very different set of social values and political ideology by the triumphant victor. Therefore, students learned about war, not as an institution, in terms of its social, psychological, political and economic dimensions, but as a series of necessary battles and killing fields to preserve freedom, independence, and economic well being. These included; Verdun, the Somme, Passchendaele, the gas attack at Ypres, the battle at Vimy Ridge, the miracle of the Marne, the miracle of Dunkirk, the raid on Dieppe, the Battle of Britain, the Battle of the Atlantic, and the assault on Normandy on D Day. Strategies for executing war attacks such as the Schlieffen Plan and blitzkrieg were studied and analyzed. Terms such as; attrition, enemy, casualty, dead, wounded, prisoner, belligerents, victory, no mans land, ace, valour, conscript, and war effort were found in common usage in textbooks in schools and in the annals of libraries and museums. Students also learned about the instruments of warfare, namely; tanks, airplanes, machine guns, poison gases, submarines, and warships. During the Cold War era, students learned new terms and instruments of warfare, including;

nuclear war, atomic bomb, nuclear missile, nuclear warhead, nuclear holocaust, nuclear winter, nuclear fall out, nuclear defence, strike first principle, and retaliatory principle, etc. As a society, it appears that more intellectual investment was made in the cause of war than in the cause of peace and this appears to be reflected in the curriculum.¹⁹⁰

4.42. Values and Peace Education

In the past, school practices and curriculum content did little to foster negative and positive peace which are central to the successful functioning and survival of liberal democratic and pluralistic societies. They did not foster values of non violence, conflict resolution, and active and democratic citizenship, which are necessary for achieving conditions of negative and positive peace. Peace education as disarmament education, nuclear education, and conflict resolution education teach students that direct forms of personal violence such as war are morally and ethically wrong. They stress predominantly the social value of negative peace, the absence of personal violence. Nuclear and disarmament education view negative peace as a necessary condition for sheer human survival. Conflict resolution education holds that there are reasonable alternatives to violence and more productive ways to resolve conflict peacefully. Peace education as human rights and social justice education and multicultural education stress the social value of positive peace, the absence of structural violence, and assumes that negative peace is a

necessary precondition. Peace education as citizenship education prepares students to be effective and active participants and to understand the pluralistic nature of their citizenship in terms of their identities, loyalties, and allegiances. Peace education as global education provides students with an expanded perceptual lens and habits of the mind that provide a cockpit view of the world. Learning ways to achieve and sustain negative and positive peace is a central core value of peace education.

Peace education is not value free. It is values based. It is founded on guiding principles, normative social values, and international norms of behaviour, that are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, 1946, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. The Charter and Declaration serve as common standards of achievement for all humanity and are the underlying guiding principles and values base of peace education. They serve as the conceptual basis for value clarification, non-violent conflict resolution, awareness of one's own feelings and those of others, and decision making. They are the moral guides for human behaviour.

Peace education rejects all forms of violence, both direct and indirect, as inevitable consequences of human behaviour. It does not accept the Hobbesian assumption that humanity has a predisposition and natural inclination for violence, that war and other forms of personal violence are inevitable aspects of human behaviour. It holds that there are more peaceful alternative ways of being, behaving, and organizing, and that these can be learned. It subscribes to the view

that just as we can learn to make war, we can learn to make peace, a view aptly stated in the Preamble of the UNESCO Charter. “Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed”.¹⁹¹

Peace education also places high value on the elimination structural forms of violence that are the consequences of entrenched unjust and inequitable structures and practices of social, cultural, political, and economic institutions. It recognizes that peoples’ values identification are themselves often the consequence of these structures and practices. Feminist peace researchers and educators Reardon, Brock-Utne, and Duczek provide critical awareness of the underlying values of patriarchy and militarism which infiltrate the social, cultural, political, and economic institutions of our society.¹⁹² For example, according to Duczek,

patriarchy infiltrates the very way we make sense of the world, how we view reality, how we organize our relationships with others and how we relate to ourselves as men and women; thus it informs not only our outer structure but also our mind structures. The predominant form of structuring and organizing is that of the hierarchy and within the hierarchical system of thinking and organizing the notion of power is always related to having power over something or somebody; it is the power of domination, of authoritarianism backed by implicit or explicit threat of violence and punishment.¹⁹³

Peace researcher and educator, Toh Swee-Hin,¹⁹⁴ investigates justice and development in the Third World and provides critical insight into the basic

assumptions and value orientations of modernization theory and the modern North toward Third World states. Toh is critical of the modernization paradigm which suggests that Third World countries must take on the value orientations and attributes of developed countries if they are to modernize. Toh favours a peace paradigm which reflects a very different set of assumptions, value orientations, and themes, which are encompassed by concepts of participation, equity, appropriateness, conscientization, and environmentalism. Toh advocates a peace curriculum and pedagogy that brings critical attention to the unjust and inequitable structures and practices of the modern world that are imposed on the underdeveloped world and perpetuate their underdevelopment. The role of education is to conscientize the learners to these forms of structural violence so that they may learn ways to dismantle them.

Peace researcher and educator, Robert Aspeslagh, argues that “education should be comprehensive in nature and should transmit an elaborate culture, which is meeting the particular needs of the several communities. Education contributes to the transfer of cultural values of a society to forthcoming generations and has to further intercultural relations”.¹⁹⁵ He proposes two seemingly opposing peace educational approaches for education for a pluralistic society; the reinforcement of one’s own framework (culture, religion, etc.), and the transfer of an overarching framework, in which the framework of others are included.¹⁹⁶ The former grounds the individual in one’s own culture and the latter grounds the individual in an overarching framework that recognizes the existence of basic social laws, human

rights and fundamental freedoms in all communities. In educating for this overarching framework, he proposes a human rights framework aiming at; 1. learning to know and to defend one's own rights, and 2. learning to know and to defend the rights of others. Both general objectives, he suggests, can be amplified by more specific educational goals, namely;

educate pupils and students towards a positive self-image, a feeling of self-esteem and competence, which are based on the experience that one's own community and its culture as well as the self determine one's life; teach pupils and students to become empathic, i.e. they acquire the ability on the one hand to place oneself in the position of the other and on the other hand to see oneself through the eyes and norms of the other; try to diminish feelings of fear, powerlessness, and hostility towards the members of the other communities; try to contribute to feelings of trust and confidence among pupils and students of the various communities; present a genuine picture of each community and culture-including one's one - rather than only a beautiful or negative one; transfer knowledge about the socio-economic situation and culture of the other; foster a feeling of responsibility, so that one knows that one can do something not only for one's community but also for the other ones; teach interaction.¹⁹⁷

These more specific goals of education for peace try to balance the relationship between the rights of one individual with another with the intent that this will contribute to the development of a pluralistic society and a culture of peace.

Reardon¹⁹⁸ puts forward an holistic values based approach to human rights education based on six fundamental and interrelated values, which include; human dignity and integrity, freedom of the person, democratic participation, equality of opportunity, economic equity, and sustaining/able environment. These normative values are concepts of a good society that can be found in most ethical and religious traditions. They are ethical standards for all human relations and are the inspiration for much of the reform in education.¹⁹⁹

Human dignity and integrity taken together form the central core value of this ethical system of social values. They are symbiotic concepts and the essence of human rights. The concept of human dignity is found in Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which as noted earlier, is the philosophical foundation for the other twenty nine Articles. Dignity denotes the innate worth of the individual. Integrity "refers to the wholeness of the physical, mental, aesthetic, and spiritual facets of the person. The good society provides for the expression and development of the multiple facets of the person and holds them to be inviolable."²⁰⁰ All other values and concepts of human rights are based on the central core value of human dignity and integrity taken together.

Freedom of the person refers to the right of the individual to "control their own bodies, minds, and spirits, to choose their own personal and cultural identity and way of life, and to move freely where they will, if it does not adversely affect others, neglect important responsibilities, or cause harm to the community".²⁰¹ This concept rejects slavery, torture, unjust imprisonment, forced prostitution and

pregnancy and restrictions placed on movement, access to information and personal choices.²⁰²

Democratic participation is the value which gives rise to the civil and political rights. Individuals are afforded the right to participate in decision making relating to public policy formulation that will affect their lives and in the decision making relating to the use of public resources. This value requires the acceptance of the responsibilities of citizenship by all citizens.²⁰³

The concept of equal opportunity asserts the right of all individuals to have access to possibilities to develop their human capacities. "This value defines problems of intolerance and discrimination such as racism, sexism, and colonialism as human rights violations, and entails the responsibility of the society to assure social justice."²⁰⁴

Economic equity recognizes the right of all humanity to basic survival needs and that no one should suffer from unnecessary deprivation or poverty. Poverty caused by the inequitable distribution of the world's resources is considered a human rights violation. This value implies humanity's responsibility to work for distributive justice.²⁰⁵

The right to a sustaining and sustainable environment is a concept that is currently developing but it implies "the right to natural conditions and social circumstances that enable people and groups to make a living, such as the right to development (both economic and social development as pertains to the group and personal development as pertains to the individual), the right to peace, and the right

to a healthful environment."²⁰⁶ It implies that groups and individuals have an ecological responsibility to preserve the health and integrity of the environment.²⁰⁷

For Reardon, these six interrelated normative concepts and values taken together form the conceptual foundation for a human rights approach to peace education.

4.43. The Legitimation of Peace Education, Addressing Potential Objections

It is now necessary to address some of the potential objections to a peace education curricula. Seven possible objections will be discussed briefly in the following.

The first objection deals with the values base dimension of peace education. It is possible that this could result in controversy and cries of indoctrination, "the direct or indirect transfer of a set of values from one person or group to another person or group. Frequently it is based on a common assumption that the individual or group passing on the set of values believes them to be better than another and that they should be accepted with little or no question".²⁰⁸ Reardon argues that cries of indoctrination might be anticipated from those who think that being objective is to be value free. She agrees with Paulo Freire's perspective that there is no value free or neutral education.²⁰⁹ Accordingly, Reardon states "education is a social enterprise conducted for the realization of social values" and "the real question is what values are to be realized through education, and how".²¹⁰

Is it better to leave students with an impression that war is romantic, heroic and adventurous or one that it is simply unacceptable and that it is morally, ethically, and legally wrong? Do we want to educate our students for negative peace, positive peace or both? The fact is students are faced with a wide variety of competing values every day. In their decision making, students are faced with numerous alternatives. The guiding principles, normative values and international norms in the Charter of the United Nations, 1946, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, among other international agreements and declarations, which also serve as the moral and conceptual basis for peace education, can help students to develop a sophisticated evaluative process whereby they can sort through competing alternatives with wisdom and goodness. Peace education also places a high value on the development of a critical consciousness that is capable of sorting through the value laden perspectives with the ultimate goal of improving the human condition. What do peace educators hope will be the end goal of providing students with a values based peace education? Peace educator, Terrayne Crawford provides the following vision.

We hope to produce a human being who has a sense of his own dignity and worth, with a confidence that he can affirm values in life and has a growing development and use of his own ethical awareness, freedom and personal responsibility; an individual who can evaluate humanely and critically the world in which he lives and is readily adaptive to new problems and situations. This development of ethical awareness and behaviour would

result in more than the individual being in touch with his own feelings and inner experiences. He would have a valuing process with which to sort out the available information, to consider alternatives and consequences and finally to make his own choices. He would recognize and accept that there is no guarantee that his decision will be right or the best one but that he can learn from the experience in a way that will enhance his future decision making and resultant behaviour.²¹¹

A values based peace education draws out the human capacity to learn. It encourages critical reflection and the development of a critical consciousness. It draws out our capacity to care and our commitment to action.

The fact that peace education is values based and has a set of guiding principles contributes to the second possible objection. This deals with the legitimization of peace education. Robin Burns identifies three problems here.²¹² The first relates to the legitimization of its epistemological foundation relative to other approaches to the study of peace. The second problem relates to the “legitimation of a framework of socio-political criticism which exposes structural violence and which proposes an understanding of learners as active, communicating subjects who are the basis for social change and for future institutions.”²¹³ The third problem relates to the legitimization of an “educational process which in structure, content and pedagogy embodies the forms of social action, the methods of socio-political decision-making, and the roles assigned to individuals which are defined as the means to bring about positive peace”.²¹⁴

With regards to the first problem, we have already indicated that there is no neutral or value free education. All subjects of the social sciences and humanities subscribe to some type of world view or ontology. Even the study of science is not value free. The scientific method is not value free. The most important thing that can be done is to identify and clarify those values. Peace education does this by subscribing to internationally accepted principles, normative social values, and norms of behaviour.

The second and third problem can be answered together since they are similar and related problems dealing with the legitimation of peace education. Education for too long has taught an elitist and passive conception of citizenship. It has accepted the status quo, seeing no need to provide students with the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour that would challenge existing social, cultural, political, and economic institutional structures and practices. In this sense, education has failed to challenge the human potential. It has failed to provide students with the necessary peace capacity and action competency to effectively participate in decision making processes in their adult life. "Peace education is not an education towards pacification and uncritical acceptance of the status quo in the interest of superficial harmony and peace".²¹⁵ Peace education is concerned with the development of a peace capacity and action competency guided by internationally accepted principles, normative values, and norms of behaviour that will help overcome personal and structural violence. It is also concerned with the development of our peace capacity and action competency

to protect and preserve the natural environment. The scale of personal and structural violence and the destruction of the natural environment is of such magnitude that it is impossible to articulate it in so many words. However, the following are facts and provide some indication of what is happening on our planet.

1. The budget of the US Airforce alone is larger than the total educational budget for 1.2 billion children in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, excluding Japan.
2. Each year 40 million people die from hunger and hunger related diseases, the equivalent of more than 300 jumbo jet crashes a day with no survivors.
3. One in five people in developing countries are undernourished; one in five people in the major industrialized countries are overweight and obese.
4. Every year some 50 million acres of tropical rainforest, which play a key part in the global water-cycle, are lost forever; this equals an area about the size of mainland Britain.
5. Precious topsoil is being lost to world farming at the rate of 25 billion tonnes per annum, that is about 7 percent of the world's topsoil every decade. Over the last decade in the USA 500 tonnes of soil have gone for every tonne of corn produce.²¹⁶

Personal and structural violence have increased over the last century in every sector of our society. We are bombarded every day with issues relating to war, nuclear weapons, terrorism, chemical and biological weapons, human rights, social justice and development, gender, race, disease, and the environment. Students need to be knowledgeable about these issues. They must be taught ways to investigate and gather knowledge, to reflect critically this, and to propose well reasoned

solutions. In this sense, education is an ongoing process of learning for both the teacher and student. Moreover, students must be taught to move from words to deeds. This will help not only in their personal transformation but in transforming attitudes and values of others that give rise to personal and structural violence.

A third potential objection to peace education is that it is pie in the sky and too utopian. All utopian images and theories have one thing in common and that is they are constructed on the basis of improving what is presently wrong or inadequate with the present human condition. They expose our crimes, weaknesses, and follies. They present us with alternative images of the future and the good society, conditions of positive peace and global justice. These are visions that inspire humans to take action. Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Andrei Sakharov, Rosa Parks, and John Peters Humphrey, all had alternative images of the future and the good society, and worked toward achieving this in their own way. At the end of World War II, the international community had a vision of a more just and peaceful community and they provided instrumental expression of this in the United Nations Charter, 1946, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. These visionary instruments serve as an inspiration for change and are now part of customary international law. There are now many more participating governments and voices from the wider civil society promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms than there were prior to the creation of the Charter and Declaration. The Declaration now provides the underlying conceptual basis for a shared vision of human rights. It recognizes the “inherent dignity and of

the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."²¹⁷ The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, which provides for global governance of every aspect of our ocean space which make up over 70 percent of our planet, was founded on an alternative image and vision of the future. Given the realization that the oceans were no longer inexhaustible, indestructible, and limitless, and the international will to overcome obstacles, including; ideological, political, social, cultural, and economic differences, the international community developed and agreed on what may be the most important and comprehensive international convention for governing human behaviour in our natural environment. It provides a set of international laws for the governance and sustainable development of our ocean space. The Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 are other landmark international agreements that were inspired by an international community who had an alternative image and vision of a more environmentally sustainable future. Alternative images and visions of the future are essential to the transformative imperative of peace education. They provide not only an alternative vision of the future but they give us hope of a better future and inspire us into action.

A fourth possible criticism is where does a peace education curriculum fit in an already crowded school curricula. Peace education should not be a separate subject or merely an add on in the school curricula. Peace education should be infused throughout the curricula, in all subjects and at all grade levels. Approaches to peace education can be made appropriate to the different grade levels. Previously

in this chapter, we alluded to Reardon's Education for Human Dignity²¹⁸, which proposes an holistic values approach, historical approach, international standards and institutional approach, and reconstructionist approach. She also proposes a developmental sequence for the presentation of core concepts in various grade levels.

The fifth potential objection is that "peace education will frighten or disillusion students, especially the younger ones, by introducing them prematurely to the realities of adult world before they are old enough to cope with them."²¹⁹ Young children, in elementary grades especially, must not be frightened by the prospect of nuclear war or acts of terrorism. For example, films such as *Do You Love This Planet* and *After the Big One* were frightening for some children in early grades. It is possible that such movies might be overly dramatic and impact on the child's social and psychological development. Peace educators are cognizant of such concerns and they are not interested in frightening students. They are rather interested in informing and empowering them. This can be done with different approaches and at appropriate grade levels as indicated above with Reardon's human rights approach.

A sixth potential objection can be expressed in the question: What right is there to have peace education in schools? Students have a human right to a peace education. The General Assembly of the United Nations makes this right abundantly clear in proclaiming the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, as:

a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end

that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.²²⁰

The framers of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, viewed education as a means to promote human rights and peace. Article 26 (c) states accordingly,

education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.²²¹

The Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, is another international legal instrument that provides considerable moral and legal suasion for peace education. This is clearly evident in its Preamble which states:

that the child should be fully prepared to live an individual life in society, and brought up in the spirit of the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular in the spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity.²²²

Article 28(3) and Article 29 of the Convention also provide for the human

right to peace education.

The seventh potential objection can be stated in the assertion that technology is the way of the future and the means by which peace can be ensured and, therefore, we should spend our money on teaching students about technology. The twentieth century has been the most violent century in the history of human civilization and technology has played a major part. Humanity has endured two major world wars, World War I and World War II, a Cold War, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, numerous civil wars including the break up of the Soviet Union and some of its satellite countries, civil wars in the former Yugoslavia including, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Kosovo, civil wars in the Congo, Sierra Leone, Rawanda, Somalia, Afghanistan, and East Timor. Emerging from these events are frightening and powerful concepts, 'holocaust', 'genocide', 'ethnic cleansing' and more recently 'lesser people'. They have become part of our common vernacular. Our homes are bombarded with television images of the brutality of warfare and its callous disregard for human life. Women and children have been affected the most yet they are few among the warmongers. Technology is an instrument of warfare and it has a history. Nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons, land mines, precision bombs, and laser guided missiles are some of the modern instruments of warfare. The capacity to destroy human civilization with nuclear weapons is possible in a matter of minutes. It may soon be possible to threaten human survival with biological weapons that can cause pandemic diseases. The tecnofix attitude toward peace has not worked. Alfred Nobel, the Swedish

industrialist and inventor of dynamite, could not have been less prophetic when he stated that "my dynamite will sooner lead to peace than a thousand conventions. As soon as men will find that in one instant whole armies can utterly be destroyed, they will surely abide by golden peace."²²³

4.44. Summary

This chapter has investigated some of the challenges facing the guiding principles and value orientations underlying the five major attributes of citizenship and citizenship education, namely; 1. sense of identity, 2. rights and entitlements, 3. responsibilities, duties, and obligations, 4. activism in public affairs, and 5. social values. It has argued, that the guiding principles and value orientations underlying these attributes of citizenship and citizenship education need to be reformulated and reconceptualized in light of the forces of globalization and their implications for an interdependency of peace and human security issues. "Transformations in the domestic and international environments ... require us to rethink the tasks of citizenship and its capacity to perform them".²²⁴ Some potential objections to peace education were also investigated at the end of the chapter.

Since peace education is more pervasive, comprehensive, holistic, integrative, systemic, and ecological than traditional approaches to citizenship education, it is more capable of providing students with the necessary knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and modes of behaviour to effectively meet the peace and human security

challenges of the 21st century. Peace education encourages the development of a global and planetary perspective. It embraces concepts of multicultural, multiple, global, environmental, and planetary citizenship. Peace education is values based, prescriptive, and conceptual. It cultivates a students peace and action capacity so that in their personal and social relationships they can contribute to making our global neighbourhoods and natural environment a more safe, secure, sustainable, and overall, peaceful place to live.

Peace education is; not narrow and inwardly focussed but pervasive and comprehensive, not mechanistic and fragmented but systemic and integrative, not topical and content driven but problem focussed and issues based, not disciplinary but interdisciplinary, not linear and distinct from the natural world but holistic and ecological, not patriarchal but feminist, not elitist but active, not national but international, not local but global, and not pessimistic but optimistic.

Peace education can improve the lot of humanity and contribute to wisdom and goodness. It is capable of providing for a dynamic quality of education for progressive and positive social change. It takes into consideration individual persons, social groups, human cultures, and the natural environment. It recognizes that humans have the potential and capacity to learn and that they can solve problems and transform the human condition. This transformational imperative is central to the global campaign for peace and to the goals and purposes of the Hague Appeal for Peace in the 21st Century which states that “a culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand global problems, have the skills to

resolve conflicts and struggle for justice non-violently, live by international standards of human rights and equity, appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the Earth and each other. Such learning can only be achieved with systematic education for peace.²²⁵ This requires the development of creative and innovative peace education curricula. In doing so, it is essential that we not forget our humanity. Bearing any natural destructive phenomena, such as the collision of an asteroid with the earth which is thought to have contributed to the extinction of dinosaurs, the sheer survival of homo sapiens into the distant future and into new and succeeding millenniums could very well hinge on its ability to develop its peace capacity, its ability to make peace with others and the natural environment. Although this is an ambitious task, peace education has much wisdom and goodness to contribute to this process. Is this not the philosophic purpose of education?

Whether we realize it or not, peace is the most fundamental issue facing humanity. It is a basic condition for human survival. At present, this no longer means just negative peace, but it also means positive peace and peace with the environment. Peace is a necessary condition for human development, justice, social progress, and sustainable development. Education has a major role to play in contributing to a culture of peace. No matter how utopian it might appear to others, it is imperative that education “perform its ancient task of culturing the mind and heart of man to live effectively and sensitively and to care about injustice and violence in an imperfect world”.²²⁶ There is no other real alternative that will ensure human survival.

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65. John Peters Humphrey, (1905-1995), was the first Director of the Division of Human Rights in the United Nations Secretariat. He was offered this posting at the United Nations, New York City by Henri Laugier, (1883-1973), who was Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, responsible for Social Affairs. Laugier had been Professor of Physiology at Sorbonne, but when Nazi Germany invaded France during World War II, he fled to the United States and then came to Canada where he taught at the University of Montreal. Humphrey taught at McGill Law School and then took over as Dean from Charles Stuart Le Mesurier, (1888-1972). Both Humphrey and Laugier were avid art enthusiasts and became good friends. Toward the end of 1943, Laugier became Recteur of the University of Algiers. The university awarded Humphrey an honorary doctorate in 1944. In 1945, Laugier went to work in the French Foreign Office and shortly afterwards obtained the position of Assistant Secretary General. Laugier telephoned Humphrey from New York City and offered him the posting and told him that it would be a great adventure, hence the name of Humphrey's book, Human Rights & the United Nations: A Great Adventure. Humphrey gave up the deanship of McGill University Law School and began his new job as Director of the Human Rights Division in the United Nations Secretariat in August 1946.

His brief tenure as Dean of McGill Law School was somewhat controversial because a more senior full-time professor, Frank Scott, (1899-1985), was overlooked by the Board of Governors and Principal Frank Cyril James, (1903-1973), because of his radical and socialist views. There were some concerns about Humphrey's lack of experience and youth and that his political and philosophical views were similar to Scott.

The Preparatory Commission of the United Nations which met after the San Francisco Conference, 1945, recommended to the Economic and Social Council that it establish a Commission for the promotion of human rights as was envisioned in Article 68 of the Charter of the United Nations. This request was consistent with the functions and powers vested in the Economic and Social Council, in accordance to Article 62 (2) and (3) which states that it "may make recommendations for the purposes of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all" and "may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence".

The Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations which spoke about “promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms” also provided impetus and legitimation to such a request.

The first major task assigned to the Human Rights Commission was to draft an International Bill of Rights. Humphrey was already Director of the Human Rights Division in the United Nations Secretariat and had set up the Division in preparation for the meeting of the Commission as it was obvious his office would have to play a supportive role to the Commission. The Human Rights Commission met for its first regular session in January 1947 and elected Eleanor Roosevelt, (1884-1962), as its Chairperson, P.C. Chang, (1892-1957), from China became Vice-Chairperson, and Charles Malik, (1906-1987), from Lebanon became Rapporteur. This Executive Committee met in Roosevelt’s apartment in New York City to discuss what should be included in an international bill of rights. As discussions proceeded, philosophical difference over the wording of the bill made it difficult to achieve much progress. There were deep philosophical differences over conceptions of rights between Malik, a devoted Christian who believed that rights should be understood in accordance to the tenants of Christianity and the ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas, and Chang, a believer in Confucianism, who favoured a much broader conception of rights. Finally, the executive committee decided to ask Professor Humphrey, lawyer and scholar, to prepare a first draft that could serve as a working document. Over the next six weeks, Humphrey worked on the draft and produced a manuscript and five typed drafts, one of which was dated March 15.

As Humphrey worked on the draft copy, the Commission debated whether or not the international bill should consist of two parts, namely; a declaration that could serve as a set of guiding principles but would not be legally binding on individual states and a convention that would have a binding effect. During this time, there was some criticism about the drafting process from the Soviet Union and France because of no European representation. France was also concerned that the written work originated in English. They made the point that French was also an official United Nations language. An English text could present problems in that it might lose some of its intended meaning in the translation. Roosevelt informed the President of the Economic and Social Council on March 24 by way of letter that she wanted to establish a new eight member drafting committee that would now include the Soviet Union and France which would meet in June. The recommendation was accepted by the Economic and Social Council.

As Secretary of the new Drafting Committee, Humphrey was charged with the responsibility of preparing an outline for its next meeting. Humphrey, who already prepared a Draft International Bill for the Executive Committee, simply changed its name to Draft Outline of International Bill of Rights, without making any alterations and presented it to the Drafting Committee. This document became known as the Secretariat Outline. The Drafting Committee created a subcommittee and requested the French delegate and lawyer Rene Cassin, (1887-1976), to review and edit the Secretariat Outline, to add articles he felt should be in a declaration

and to delete those he felt should be in a convention. Cassin did this over a weekend with the help of Emile Louis Jean Giraud, (1884-1965), French lawyer, academic and public servant who was Head of the Research Section in the Division of Human Rights from 1947-1950. The changes made by Cassin were not substantial and dealt more with phraseology. The edited text was presented to the Drafting Committee which made further minor amendments before making it available to member states of the United Nations, national governments, United Nations commissions and sub-commissions, non-governmental organizations, and interested parties. The Human Rights Commission then prepared a final document which was forwarded to the Economic and Social Council for its approval before it was presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948. There were eight abstentions in the final vote, namely; South Africa, Saudi Arabia, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. Canada had unexpectedly abstained in the roll call vote days earlier on December 6, 1948 along with the above nations when the Third Committee adopted the Declaration prior to sending it to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Presumably aware of the company it was keeping, and given the support for the Declaration by Lester Pearson, (1897-1972), Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations, 1945-1946 and Canadian Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, 1946, Canada was persuaded to vote in support of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the General Assembly. The Declaration is a great historic document that establishes a guiding set of principles and common standards of achievement for the world community. It is the first comprehensive codification of internationally recognized human rights.

In 1968, Rene Cassin was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In the presentation speech of the Nobel Prize to Rene Cassin, Mrs. Aase Lionaes, Chairmen of the Nobel Committee, and representative of Norway in 1948 at the General Assembly of the United Nations, whose Third Committee deliberated on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stated that the award "is primarily for his contribution to the protection of human worth and the rights of man, as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament today awards the Nobel Peace Prize to Rene Cassin ... Eleanor Roosevelt was the chairmen of the Commission on Human Rights, and Rene Cassin its vice-chairman. But it was Cassin who drew up the Declaration ... It was primarily the engineering feat of Rene Cassin". Mrs. Aase Lionas, President of the Lanting, a section of the Norwegian Parliament, delivered December 10, 1968, in the auditorium of the University of Oslo.

<http://www.nobel.se/peace/laureates/1968/press.html>

Humphrey was orphaned at a young age. He lost his father before his first birthday and his mother when he was eleven years old. His father was Frank Monmouth Humphrey, the eldest son of James McGivern Humphrey who was the

founder of a shoe manufacturing and wholesale business in Saint John, New Brunswick. His mother was Nellie Peters, the daughter of Thomas Peters, who was a double cousin to Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, (1818-1896), one of the Fathers of Confederation. At the age of six, his left arm was amputated because of severe burns from a fire. He completed his early childhood education in Hampton and at Rothesay Collegiate, a boarding school. He attended Mount Allison University in Sackville for two years. His father's sister Edith Humphrey was married to Lawrence Killam, an engineering professor at Mount Allison University and cousin to I.W. Killam of Royal Securities Corporation. It is believed that his uncle Lawrence Killam was influential in getting him into Mount Allison at the age of fifteen. Humphrey left before completing his degree and then went to McGill University and completed his B. Comm. in 1925, his B.A. in 1927, and his B.C.L. in 1929. He also did graduate studies at the University of Paris. He received his Ph.D. in political science in 1945 and his thesis was published in article form in the *University of Toronto Law Journal* titled "The Theory of the Separation of Functions", 1946, 6 *University of Toronto Law Journal*, 331.

Humphrey received thirteen honorary doctorate degrees from various universities. He also held fellowships in many universities and was a member of numerous international commissions and councils. He was a member of Canada's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1963-1971, and is noted for his separate report pointing out that the term biculturalism was inadequate for understanding Canada's cultural pluralism. He played a central role in founding the Canadian Human Rights Foundation, 1967, and served as President 1978-1985, as Chairman 1985-1986, and then President Emeritus. He was co-founder of Amnesty International, Canada, 1973, founding President of the Canadian Chapter of the International Commission of Jurists, and was made an Officer of the Order of Canada, 1974. His most distinguished award was the United Nations Human Rights Prize, 1988, which he received with co-recipient, Nelson Mandela. In 1998, the McGill University Law Faculty established the annual John Peters Humphrey Lectureship in Human Rights with the help of an anonymous donor. The lectureship is "delivered annually by a person who, by word and by deed has helped advance the cause of peace and human rights, of which John Humphrey and the Universal Declaration are example and expression." In October, 1998 he was honoured with a stamp issued by Canada Post. Each year McGill University and St. Thomas University host the John Peters Humphrey Model United Nations. His friend, Ronald St. John Macdonald, former Dean of Law, Professor Emeritus, Dalhousie University, Professor of International Law, University of Toronto, Honourary Professor of Law, Peking University, Beijing, Judge at the European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg and Senior Scholar in Residence, University of Toronto, described Humphrey and his legacy in the following. "John Peters Humphrey ... is one of the most distinguished international civil servants of our time ... he ... occupies a key position in line of international lawyers who have struggled to develop that subject in Canada ... he has contributed creatively to the development

of Canadian perspectives on human rights and international order ... through his many papers and speeches about international human rights and the United Nations, he has challenged Canadians to look outside their national borders to the larger human community.” See Ronald St. John Macdonald’s “Leadership in Law: John P. Humphrey and the Development of the International Law of Human Rights”, in The Canadian Yearbook of International Law, Volume XXIX, 1991, p. 3-91. Another friend, Gordon Fairweather, former Attorney General for Province of New Brunswick, 1958-1960, Member of Parliament for Royal/Fundy Royal, 1962, 1963, 1965, 1968, 1972, and 1974 general elections, Chairman of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1977, and Chairman of the Immigration and Refugee Board, 1989-1992, stated that “Professor Humphrey travelled many miles to various parts of the world in a relentless search for a code of conduct outlining how nations should treat their citizens and learn to live in harmony ... he was not a flamboyant personality ... all of Canada should be proud of this true humanitarian and most especially we should do so on Dec. 10, the ... anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” See Gordon Fairweather’s “A Much-Deserved Honour for N.B.’s John Humphrey”, in Times Globe, October 20, 1998.

John Peters Humphrey died on March 14, 1995 at the age of 89 in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal from pneumonia and was laid to rest in his home town of Hampton, New Brunswick, Canada.

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67. Preamble, Charter of the United Nations, *ibid.*

68. Article 3, Charter of the United Nations, *ibid.*

69. Preamble, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, G.A.res.217A(III),U.N.Doc.A/810 at 71 (1948).

70. Proclamation of Teheran, Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights, Teheran, 22 April to 13 May 1968, U.N. Doc.A/CONF.32/41 at 3 (1968).

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76. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 78U.N.T.S.277, entered into force Jan. 12, 1951.

77. Convention on the Political Rights of Women, 193U.N.T.S.135, entered into force July, 7, 1954.

78. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 660 U.N.T.S.195, entered into force Jan. 4, 1969.

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121. Stratospheric ozone depletion, global warming, and decreased air and water quality are interrelated and their effects can destroy trees, plants, and food crops. They could possibly kill ocean zooplankton and phytoplankton which is a major part of the food chain for commercial fish stocks. Sea level rise could cause increased pollution and salinity of ocean waters. This along with an increase in ocean temperatures could be highly detrimental to the living resources in the sea.
122. "Scientists predict that for every one percent decrease in stratospheric ozone, there will be a two percent increase in UVB reaching earth. This will cause a four percent increase of non-malignant skin cancer in men, and three percent increase in women". *Ibid.*, p. 73.
123. "The human respiratory tract is a vulnerable target of another set of air pollutants: sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides. High concentrations of sulphur dioxide are released into the air by coal burning in non-ferrous smelters and electric facilities; nitrogen dioxide is emitted from cars. These gases turn into sulfuric and nitric acids and other products that sometimes travel great distances before they are deposited or breathed in. Victims may find breathing difficult-with coughing, wheezing, and chest pain, and, more, importantly, reduced general health. Continued respiratory-tract inflammation and exposure to the chemicals may be related to chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases. Controlled studies show lung-function changes in volunteers exposed to acidic air pollution at levels much higher than currently outside. Canadian school children exposed over a long period to sulfate air pollution where they live over a long period were recently found to have impaired lung function. The damage was small but statistically significant, and it is possible that it could get worse if they continued to breath in the pollution. The

Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare, and the Harvard School of Public Health, are now investigating the relationship between acid pollution and respiratory health and lung function”. Ibid., p. 77.

124. “A sea level rise of one meter, for example, will displace an estimated 8 million Egyptians alone. About twenty-seven percent of Bangladesh would be threatened by sea level rise of one metre, immediately affecting twenty-five million people.” Hampson, Fen Osler; “Peace, Security, and New Forms of International Governance”, in Planet Under Stress, *ibid.*, p. 303.

125. Droughts caused by changes in weather patterns can affect the ability of humans to undertake agricultural activities to satisfy their food requirements. They can increase the likelihood of conflict over access to remaining fresh water resources. For example, serious droughts could have implications for the 214 river basins shared by two or more countries and the twelve river basins shared by five or more, and could aggravate existing water boundary disputes between India and Pakistan and Iraq and Syria. Ibid.

126. McKay, Gordon; Hengeveld, Henry; *ibid.*, p. 74-75.

127. “Zimbabwe: Landuse in Dry Tropical Savannas”, <http://www.ess.co.at/GAIA/CASES/ZIM/drought.html>

128. Hampson, Fen Osler; *ibid.*, p. 306.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

130. “Rwanda: How the Genocide Happened”, BBC News, Thursday 7 June, 2001, http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/africa/newsid_1288000/1288230.stm

131. Article 2, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Adopted by Resolution 260(III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948. In its definition of genocide the Convention identifies the following acts: a. killing members of the group; b. causing serious bodily harm or mental harm to members of the group; c. deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; d. imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

132. One speculative but troublesome reason for this might be that the six permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations had no national economic interests in the area. Leave None to Tell the Story, a 771 page report criticizes the United States, Belgium, France and the United Nations Security Council for failing to act effectively. According to Alison Des Forges, a scholar on Rwanda and author of the Report published by United States Human Rights

Watch, “the Americans were interested in saving money, the Belgians were interested in saving face, and the French were interested in saving their ally, the genocidal government”. See “World: Africa Rwanda Slaughter Could Have Been Prevented”, BBC News, Wednesday, March 31, 1999.

[Http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/africa/newsid_308000/308542.stm](http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/africa/newsid_308000/308542.stm)

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188. The structures and practices of Canadian citizenship education were questioned, as previously indicated, by Osborne, Ken; *ibid.*, Sears, Alan; Clark, Gerald; and Hughes, Andrew; *ibid.*, and Sears, Alan and Clark, Andrew; *ibid.* Osborne had questioned the effectiveness of schools in preparing students for democratic citizenship. Sears, Hughes, and Clark question whether schools have changed that much since Hodgetts' landmark report in terms of preparing students for active citizenship. Sears and Hughes question the actual practice of citizenship education in Canadian schools notwithstanding the fact that official curriculum policy of provinces were inclined toward an activist conception of citizenship. The time may very well be here to follow up on Hodgett's report and to undertake further investigation and research on the institutional gap between official

curriculum policy and the actual practices of citizenship education in Canadian schools. Keith McLeod's "Exploring Citizenship Education: Education for Citizenship", in Canada and Citizenship Education, edited by Keith McLeod, Toronto, Canadian Education Association, 1987, p. 5-17, Ann Wood's "Canadian Citizenship for a Progressive State", in Canada and Citizenship Education, *ibid.*, p. 19-26 and Jean Burnet's and Howard Palmer's "Coming Canadians", An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples, Toronto, McClelland Stewart, 1988, p. 103-124 provide some historical insight to the fact that Canadian schools have not been models of active and democratic citizenship.

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