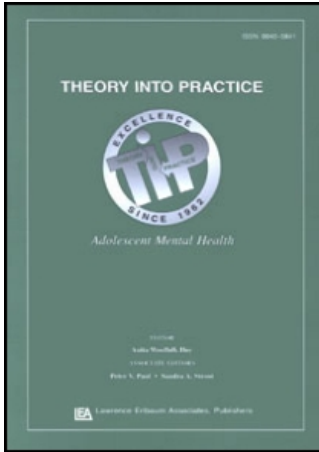


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Essential Components of Peace Education

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Essential Components of Peace Education

Peace education is a key for establishing a consensual peace and maintaining it over time. There are 5 essential elements in building a lasting peace through education. First, a public education system must be established that has compulsory attendance for all children and youth, integrated so students from previously conflicting groups interact with one another and have the opportunity to build positive relationships with each other. Second, a sense of mutuality and common fate needs to be established that highlights mutual goals, the just distribution of benefits from achieving the goals, and a common identity. In schools, this is primarily done through the use of cooperative learning. Third, students must be taught the constructive controversy procedure to ensure they know how to make difficult decisions and engage in political discourse. Fourth, students must be taught how to engage in integrative negotiations and peer mediation to resolve their conflicts with each other constructively. Finally, civic values must be inculcated that focus students on the long-term common good of society.

TO DISCUSS THE ESSENTIAL components of peace education, it is necessary to understand peace and peace education and discuss the two ways of establishing peace, imposed peace and consensual peace. We present an overall plan for peace education, emphasizing teaching students the competencies and values they need to build and maintain peace on a consensual basis. These include building and maintaining cooperative systems, making decisions about the difficult issues involved in maintaining peace, and resolving conflicts among the relevant parties in constructive ways, all of which inculcate the civic values needed to maintain peace. These essential elements need to be built into the ongoing, day-to-day fabric of school life so students get years of training in how to nurture a peaceful society. Peace education needs to be powerful enough to make a difference even in intractable conflicts.

Ways of Establishing Peace

Ways of establishing and maintaining peace may be classified on a dimension with imposed peace at one end and consensual peace at the other end (Clark, 2001).

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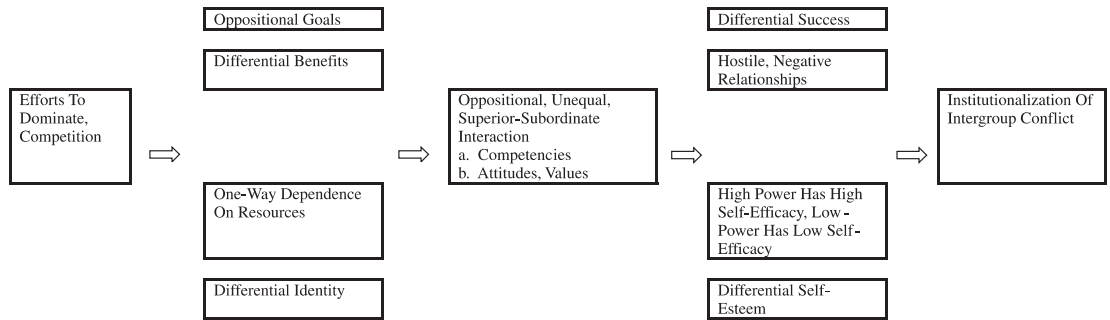


Figure 1 Imposed peace.

Imposed Peace

Imposed peace is based on domination, power, imposition, and enforcement. High-power groups use their military and economic power to force low-power groups to end hostilities and implement the peace accords (see Figure 1). There are two ways in which peace may be imposed: By the winners in a conflict or by powerful third parties such as the United Nations, NATO, or other international alliances. In both cases, military or economic power is used to ensure hostilities are ended. However, imposing peace suppresses the conflict but does not resolve underlying grievances and does not establish positive long-term relationships among disputants.

Peacekeeping: Third party imposes peace.

Powerful third parties may impose peace on disputants through the exercise of military or economic power. Peacekeeping involves suppressing violence by separating disputants and/or providing incentives for disputants to stop fighting. Examples include a police force that separates two rival street gangs to end a street war or an international military force that keeps two conflict groups separated from each other. The third party separates the disputants and ensures that contact between disputants is limited and controlled. The advantage of peacekeeping is that it ends a violent, destructive behavior in a conflict. Peacekeepers are supposed to behave as a neutral third party who will not take sides. If peacekeepers are seen as taking sides or as acting in oppressive and abusive ways, then the conflict may be

transferred to them and disputants may then act violently toward the peacekeepers or at least attempt to obstruct the effectiveness of the peacekeeping. Peacekeeping does not, however, end the conflict and may in fact create a new conflict between the disputants and the peacekeepers. This is especially likely if the peacekeepers act in oppressive and abusive ways toward the disputants.

The goal of peacekeepers is to end violent behavior by separating disputants. The goal of the disputants is to win by dominating or decimating the opposing groups. Though there are advantages to having the violence ended, the basic conflict among the disputants is not resolved and the actions of the peacemakers basically obstruct the goal achievement of the disputants.

Domination: Winner imposes peace. When one group wins a war or gains significant military or economic advantage over the other disputants, the high-power party may use its advantage to dominate the low-power groups and impose peace on the high-power group's terms. The goal of each group is to win and, when one does, the other groups lose. When the winner imposes peace, the losing groups are often segregated or assigned specific areas where they are to live. Contact between the groups may be limited and controlled.

Long-term maintenance of peace is attempted through structural oppression (i.e., ensuring social institutions such as education, religion, mass media, and political structures all promote the status quo of the high-power group's domination and

privilege). Peace education may focus on institutionalizing the status quo through the indoctrination of low-power citizens in the importance of accepting the domination of the high-power citizens as the natural order of the world, as God’s will, or as in their best interests. Members of the high-power group are taught a complementary rationale for their privileged position (God has appointed them rulers, nature made them genetically superior, etc.). Such institutionalization typically fails, as the imbalance of power tends to result in oppression and injustice, creating rejection of the status quo by the low-power groups and leading to continued conflict.

Negative interdependence. The imposition of peace often has destructive effects, perhaps best explained through social interdependence theory (Deutsch, 1962; Johnson & Johnson, 1989). When peace is imposed, negative interdependence exists among parties; that is, there is a negative correlation among parties’ goal achievements: One party may obtain its goals if and only if the other parties involved fail to achieve their goals. In addition to oppositional goals, negative interdependence may exist through differential distribution of benefits (winners receive more benefits than losers) and a one-way dependence on resources (i.e., low-power parties are dependent on the resources of high-power parties, but not vice versa). The identities of the parties are differentiated in that members of the high-power group have a positive self-concept as a winner and members of the low-power groups have a negative identity based on being losers. The disputing groups will tend to perceive each other as unequals (i.e., winners and losers). This is based on a unidimensional view of each other taking into account only the character-

istic most salient for winning or losing (military or economic power, history of privilege, or cultural or tribal background; Johnson & Johnson, 1989).

Negative interdependence tends to result in oppositional or contrient interaction. Parties attempt to obstruct others’ efforts to achieve their goals. The obstruction of each other’s efforts to achieve the goal is characterized by a lack of *substitutability* (i.e., the actions of one party do not substitute for the actions of another), *negative cathexis* (i.e., the investment of negative psychological energy toward the actions of the peacekeepers or opposing group and the groups themselves), and *negative inducibility* (i.e., resistance to being influenced by the peacekeepers or the opposing group; Deutsch, 1962).

The negative interdependence characterizing relationship between the party imposing peace and the parties on whom peace is being imposed tends to result in the dominant group gaining a higher share of the benefits than the subordinate groups, negative and hostile relationships among the groups involved, and differential psychological and physical well-being (i.e., high power parties have high self-efficacy and self-esteem whereas low-power parties have low self-efficacy and self-esteem along with stress related illnesses).

Consensual Peace

The consensual approach to peace is based on reaching an agreement that (a) ends violence and hostilities and (b) establishes a new relationship based on harmonious interaction aimed at achieving mutual goals, justly distributing mutual benefits, being mutually dependent on each other’s resources, and establishing a mutual identity (see Figure 2). In consensual peace, all parties believe

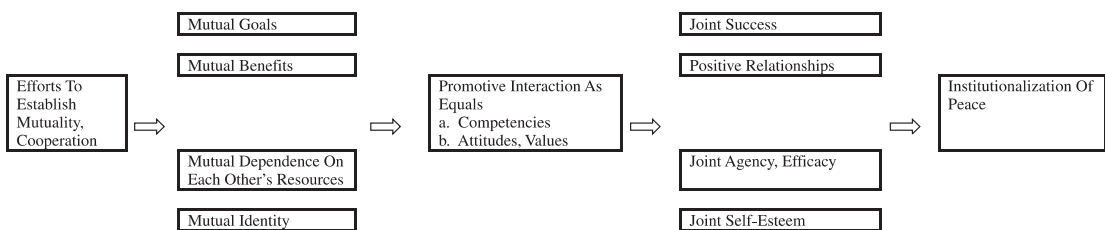


Figure 2 Consensual peace.

that peace is desirable, legitimate, just, and beneficial. Because all parties have a fair chance to influence the decision, their commitment to implement the decision is maximized and they are obligated to abide by the agreement and promote each other's efforts to do so (although a small minority within each party can sabotage the agreement by violating it). The result is a joint success in maintaining the peace, positive relationships among the involved parties, a sense of joint agency and efficacy, and joint self-esteem. The foundation on which consensual peace is built is positive interdependence.

There are two levels of consensual peace. The first level is *peacemaking*, in which the parties involved negotiate a cease-fire, an initial agreement, or a framework for resolving the conflict in the future. Peacemaking typically manages the immediate conflict but fails to deal with underlying structural issues. The second level is *peacebuilding*, in which the economic, political, and educational institutions are used to create long-term peace. Peacebuilding deals with the structural issues and is aimed at creating long-term harmonious relationships based on mutual respect and social justice. Peace education is one means of institutionalizing consensual peace. Peace education may focus on building mutuality among all citizens and teaching them the competencies, attitudes, and values needed to build and maintain cooperative systems, resolve conflicts constructively, and adopt values promotive of peace.

Positive interdependence. Consensual peace is perhaps best explained through social interdependence theory (Deutsch, 1962; Johnson & Johnson, 1989). When peace is consensual, it is based on mutuality or positive interdependence. Positive interdependence exists when there is a positive correlation among individuals' goal attainments; one party can achieve its goal if and only if all other relevant parties achieve their goals (Deutsch, 1962; Johnson & Johnson, 1989). Examples of such goals are trade agreements or economic alliances, clarification of boundaries, mutual defense, or environmental preservation or cleanup. Though peace depends

on such mutual goals, positive interdependence may be strengthened through the just distribution of mutual benefits, dependence on each other's resources, and the development of a mutual identity that subsumes all relevant parties into one superordinate group (such as North American as well as Canadian, American, and Mexican). Generally, parties involved in a cooperative effort perceive each other as equals. This does not mean that their resources are identical or that each will contribute the same amount of resources in every situation. Rather, it is based on a multidimensional view of others that recognizes that, in the long-run, over a variety of situations, each party will contribute approximately equally to the overall success of the joint efforts (Johnson & Johnson, 1989).

Positive interdependence tends to result in promotive interaction. The promotion of each other's efforts to achieve the goal is characterized by *substitutability* (i.e., the actions of one party substitute for the actions of another), *positive cathexis* (i.e., the investment of positive psychological energy in the actions of the other groups and the other groups themselves), and *positive inducibility* (i.e., openness to being influenced) (Deutsch, 1962).

The outcomes of the promotive interaction may be classified into three categories. The first is joint success in achieving the mutual goals and distributing the benefits in an equitable and just manner. The second is building positive and supportive relationships among the diverse parties. The third is psychological and physical well being, which includes a sense of joint agency–efficacy and joint self-esteem. Joint efficacy is the shared belief by collaborators in their collective power to achieve a goal, solve a problem, or accomplish a task (Bandura, 2000; Johnson & Johnson, 1985, 1989, 2003). Individuals have to work together to achieve goals they cannot accomplish on their own. Joint self-esteem is a judgment about joint self-worth, the combined competence or value of all parties. It is possible, for example, for males or females to have a gender self-esteem inclusive of all members of the category, or for Canadians to have a joint self-esteem inclusive of all citizens of that country.

Institutionalizing Consensual Peace Through Peace Education

The steps of institutionalizing consensual peace through education include (a) establishing public education that is compulsory and integrates the diverse members of society, (b) establishing the mutuality and positive interdependence underlying a peaceful society and teaching students the competencies and attitudes they need to engage in cooperative efforts, (c) teaching students how to engage in peaceful political discourse to make difficult decisions, (d) teaching students how to engage in integrative negotiations and mediation, and (e) inculcating civic values.

Step One: Establishing Public Education

Mandating compulsory education. For peace education to influence children and youth, they must attend school. A necessary condition for accomplishing the goals of peace education is, therefore, the existence of mandatory public education. There are many reasons why a national education system is needed. First, education gives children and youth hope for a rewarding and meaningful livelihood and life. The lack of educational opportunities is a major motivator to join terrorist and rebel groups in many countries. Thus, establishing a public education system is necessary to prevent continuing warfare. Second, private school systems, such as those formed by religious groups, often exploit children and youth's idealism and commitment to religion, sense of victimization and social injustice, and disaffection with society to teach pro-war ideology and socialize children and youth into beliefs that justify violence as a means of obtaining political and religious goals. Third, schools provide the means to reintegrate children and youth who have participated in violence back into civilian life and help them find meaningful and positive roles as civilians. Education is needed to reestablish normal societal life in countries trying to end violent conflicts.

Fourth, schools provide a setting where peace may be lived and experienced, not just talked about. To experience peace, schools need to be integrated (discussed later) and school life needs to

reflect the mutuality, cooperation, political discourse and decision making, and constructive conflict resolution inherent in a peaceful society. Peace is woven into the fabric of school life primarily through instructional methods. It is reflected in the ways lessons are taught, student-student and student-teacher conflicts are managed, decisions are made, and intellectual conflicts are resolved. The meaning and relevance of peace education arises out of students' day-to-day personal experiences in building and maintaining peace in the school.

Fifth, schools provide the setting where students may be educated in the competencies and attitudes they need to build and maintain long-term peace, not just information about peace. The social resources (i.e., individuals skilled in being part of a cooperative effort, making difficult decisions, and resolving conflicts constructively) needed for peace to flourish are developed through experiencing the processes of building and maintaining peace in their day-to-day life in the school. Because the competencies and values every student should master for peace to be established and maintained take years to master, their use should pervade classroom life from elementary through postsecondary education.

Integrating schools. For peace to be developed, positive relations must be established among members of formerly disputing groups. Segregated schools have cultural and social consequences. Students are introduced into opposing cultural worlds through the curriculum tailored for their cultural group. Socially, the very separation of different groups emphasizes the differences and hostilities. Students are thus culturally and socially taught the values, attitudes, norms, and information underlying the continuation of the conflict. The more different the groups are in terms of culture, religion, ethnicity, history, and so on, the more destructive the effects of segregation may tend to be. Peace tends to be very fragile in segregated societies and long-term peace is at risk.

Integrating schools, however, has to be more than the simple idea that proximity would resolve intergroup conflict. Just putting people in contact

with one another does not in and of itself resolve the conflict, and contact can even make the situation worse. Contact under certain conditions can increase intergroup hostility, whereas under other conditions it can create positive relationships among members of disputing groups. Thus, contact is a necessary but not sufficient condition for decreasing prejudice and intergroup hostility. The conditions under which contact will reduce intergroup hostilities and build positive relationships among diverse people are (a) working together cooperatively to achieve common goals (no competition between groups), (b) interaction on a personal level where candid conversations may take place, (c) equal status, and (d) support for the contact from authority and group norms (Allport, 1954; Johnson & Johnson, 1989). In an extensive meta-analysis of the research on intergroup contact, Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) concluded that optimal intergroup contact was a key aspect of any successful effort to reduce prejudice and that the effects on prejudice reduction are much stronger when contact is conducted in work and organizational settings such as schools rather than travel and tourism settings.

For long-term consensual peace to be established and maintained, therefore, the students from all relevant groups must interact and build positive relationships. Integrating schools provides the opportunity for diverse students to interact and get to know each other. The more different the groups in terms of culture, religion, and so forth, the greater the need for integration. Though this may seem almost impossible in many countries, it is a goal that should be worked toward.

Step Two: Establishing Mutuality, Positive Interdependence

Establishing positive interdependence. Peace-building requires that mutuality to be established on three levels: mutual goals, mutual benefits from achieving goals (i.e., common fate), and mutual identity. These three types of positive interdependence need to be institutionalized in the economic, political, and educational institutions of the society. Long-term peace depends on having common goals that unite all members of a society

in a joint effort. The mutual goals have to be salient and compelling enough to overcome competing agendas, the past history of conflict among the parties, and the dynamics of intergroup conflict (Johnson & Lewicki, 1969; Sherif, 1966). The benefits received from achieving the mutual goals must be justly distributed among all relevant parties. Usually, benefits need to be equally distributed, although in some cases those with the most need may be given more than others. Equal benefits tend to highlight the common fate of all members of the society. Mutuality is also established through a superordinate identity that makes all citizens members of the same group. This mutual identity is created by (a) respecting one's own cultural identity, (b) respecting others' cultural identities, (c) developing a superordinate identity that subsumes all the diverse identities, and (d) basing the superordinate identity on a pluralistic set of values. The United States provides an example, where Norwegian Americans, Swedish Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and others are all united by being American. Such levels of identity may be extended from one's family, community, or tribe to the country as a whole, to the region in which the country exists, and eventually to the world as a whole. For consensual peace to flourish, all parties need to be united by a superordinate identity.

Correspondingly, all sources of negative interdependence and isolation must be eliminated. Competition among the formerly disputing groups for economic resources, political power, and educational achievement will institutionalize the conflict and encourage further violence. As long as the disputants are isolated from each other, continued conflict may be institutionalized.

Using pedagogy to build a cooperative community. Peace education is concerned with fostering schools where students work together to achieve mutual goals, distribute the benefits justly, and develop a superordinate identity that unites all students in the school. The easiest way of doing so is through the use of cooperative learning (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1998a, 1998b). *Cooperative learning* is the instructional use of small groups so

students work together to maximize their own and each other's learning. There are three types of cooperative learning. *Formal cooperative learning* consists of students working together, for one class period or several weeks, to achieve shared learning goals and complete specific tasks and assignments (such as decision making or problem solving, completing a curriculum unit, writing a report, conducting a survey or experiment, etc.). *Informal cooperative learning* consists of having students work together to achieve a joint learning goal in temporary, ad-hoc groups that last from a few minutes to one class period. Informal cooperative learning groups are often organized so that students engage in 3- to 5-min focused discussions before and after a lecture and 2- to 3-min turn-to-your-partner discussions interspersed throughout a lecture. *Cooperative base groups* are long-term, heterogeneous cooperative learning groups with stable membership. Base groups give the support, help, encouragement, and assistance each member needs to make academic progress (attend class, complete all assignments, learn) and develop cognitively and socially. Base groups are permanent (lasting from one semester or more) and provide the long-term, caring peer relationships necessary to influence members consistently to work hard in school.

In addition to experiencing cooperation in learning groups, the classroom and school may be structured into a cooperative community—a group of people who share the same locality, goals, and culture. *Classroom interdependence* may be created through such procedures as class goals, rewards, roles (e.g., establishing a class government), or dividing resources (e.g., a class newsletter with an article from each group). *Interclass interdependence* may be created through organizing several classes into a neighborhood and having joint projects. *School interdependence* may be structured through displaying the school's goals, organizing faculty into collegial teaching teams and study groups, using cooperative groups during faculty meetings, and conducting all-school projects. Projects with parents, such as creating a strategic plan or raising money, create *school-parent interdependence*. Finally, *school-neighborhood interdependence* may be created by mutual projects, such as having neigh-

borhood members play in the school band or having students and neighborhood members jointly clean up a park. Through these layers of interdependence, schools can promote peace within the community as well as among students.

Cooperation is most effective when it is structured to contain five basic elements (Johnson & Johnson, 1989). First, there must be a strong sense of positive interdependence, so individuals believe they are linked with others so they cannot succeed unless the others do (and vice versa). Second, each collaborator must be individually accountable to do his or her fair share of the work. Third, collaborators must have the opportunity to promote each other's success by helping, assisting, supporting, encouraging, and praising each other's efforts to achieve. Fourth, working together cooperatively requires interpersonal and small-group skills, such as leadership, decision making, trust building, communication, and conflict management skills. Finally, cooperative groups must engage in group processing, which exists when group members discuss how well they are achieving their goals and maintaining effective working relationships.

Through experiencing cooperative learning in all subject areas and grade levels, students gain a cognitive understanding of the nature of cooperation and mutuality, procedural competencies of how to initiate and maintain cooperative efforts, and the emotional commitment to attitudes and values underlying cooperation and mutuality (e.g., valuing the well-being of collaborators and oneself, promoting the common good).

It is within cooperative learning groups that the personal relationships and emotional support are developed that allow for candid conversations about the conflict previous to the peace agreement. These candid conversations involve the honest and detailed sharing of past experiences, pain, and insights involved in the healing of past traumas. Even in extreme, seemingly intractable conflicts, such candid conversations allow for reconciliation, forgiveness, and the giving up of an identity as a combatant or victim.

Achieving mutual goals and establishing a joint identity requires that members of the diverse groups interact with each other and promote each other's success. Through promoting each other's

success and building positive relationships with each other, students become more sophisticated about their differences and engage in candid discussions concerning their relationships. The personal relationships and candid discussions are critical, as it takes more than superficial connections to overcome stereotyping and prejudice and to build an inclusive caring that extends to all parties relevant to the peace.

Step Three: Teaching Students How to Make Difficult Decisions

Maintaining peace requires that hard decisions are made by members of the diverse groups in ways that ensure all citizens are committed to implement the decision. Peace education includes (a) facing the difficult issues that must be discussed for peace to be established and maintained, (b) establishing a procedure that all parties agree to use to discuss these issues, (c) training students how to use the procedure skillfully, and (d) incorporating the use of the procedure into students' personal identity and value system so the procedure will be habitually used. When left unresolved, the difficult issues may result in a renewal of war or violence. To have constructive discussions of these issues, the parties involved need an effective decision-making procedure. A procedure that provides a model of the political discussions inherent in democracy and can be used in academic teaching is *constructive controversy*.

A controversy exists when one person's ideas, opinions, information, theories, or conclusions are incompatible with those of another and the two seek to reach an agreement (Johnson & Johnson, 1995). Controversies are resolved by engaging in what Aristotle called *deliberate discourse* (the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of proposed actions) and are aimed at synthesizing novel solutions (i.e., creative problem solving). Teaching students how to engage in a controversy begins with randomly assigning students to heterogeneous cooperative learning groups of four members. Each group is divided into two pairs and given an issue on which to write a report and pass a test. One pair is given the *con* position on the issue and the other pair is given the *pro* position. The co-

operative goals of reaching a consensus (by synthesizing the best reasoning from both sides), writing a quality group report, and ensuring all members pass the test, are highlighted. Students then

1. Research, learn, and prepare position: Students prepare the best case possible for their assigned position by researching the assigned position, organizing the information into a persuasive argument, and planning how to advocate the assigned position effectively.

2. Present and advocate position: Students present the best case for their assigned position to ensure it gets a fair and complete hearing and listen carefully to the opposing position. The intent is to persuade others to agree with them.

3. Engage in an open discussion in which there is spirited disagreement: Students freely exchange information and ideas while (a) arguing forcefully and persuasively for their position, (b) critically analyzing and refuting the opposing position, and (c) rebutting attacks on their position and presenting counter arguments.

4. Reverse perspectives: Students reverse perspectives and present the best case for the opposing position.

5. Synthesize: Students drop all advocacy and find a synthesis on which all members can agree. They summarize the best evidence and reasoning from both sides and integrate it into a joint position that is a new and unique. Students write a group report detailing the synthesis and its supporting rationale, and take a test on both positions. Members then process how well the group functioned and celebrate their success and hard work.

Such intellectual *disputed passages* (compared to debate, concurrence-seeking, and individualistic efforts) create higher achievement, longer retention, more frequent use of higher level reasoning and metacognitive thought, more critical thinking, greater creativity, and continuing motivation to learn (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 1995). In addition, more positive interpersonal relationships develop and participants' self-esteem and liking for the experience improve. The effective discussion of difficult issues, furthermore, pro-

motes the development of moral courage and the ability to face opposition and argue against other points of view. It enhances the willingness to speak out and act in support of important values in the face of opposition.

Step Four: Teaching Students How to Resolve Conflicts Constructively

If peace is to last, individuals must learn how to resolve conflicts constructively. In many countries, schools may include students who only know violent methods of settling disputes. To build peace, all students need to know how to resolve conflicts in constructive and nonviolent ways. Though peacemaking may involve distributive (win-lose) negotiations, peacebuilding requires the use of integrative negotiations, where disputants strive to find a resolution that maximizes the benefits for all parties rather than determining who wins and who loses. Working together cooperatively, and resolving conflicts constructively, sets the stage for reconciliation and forgiveness. In building and maintaining peace there are usually difficult conflicts that take great skill on the part of all parties to resolve. Resolving such conflicts constructively requires the use of integrative negotiations. Students learn such procedures as part of peace education. The conflict resolution program that has the most research validation is the *Teaching Students To Be Peacemakers Program*.

The Teaching Students To Be Peacemakers Program began in the 1960s to teach all students how to resolve conflicts of interests constructively by engaging in problem-solving negotiations and peer mediation (Johnson & Johnson, 1996a, 2005). A conflict of interests exists when the actions of one person (attempting to maximize his or her wants and benefits) prevent, block, or interfere with another person maximizing his or her wants and benefits. Conflicts of interests are resolved through negotiation and mediation. There are two types of negotiations: *distributive* or *win-lose* (where one person benefits only if the opponent agrees to make a concession) and *integrative* or *problem solving* (where disputants work together to create an agreement that benefits everyone in-

involved). In ongoing relationships, distributive negotiations result in destructive outcomes, and problem solving leads to constructive outcomes. The steps in using problem solving negotiations are (Johnson & Johnson, 2005) as follows:

1. Describing what you want. "*I want to use the book now.*" This includes using good communication skills and defining the conflict as a small and specific mutual problem.

2. Describing how you feel. "*I'm irritated.*" Disputants must understand how they feel and communicate it openly and clearly.

3. Describing the reasons for your wants and feelings. "*If I don't get to use the book soon my report will not be done on time. It's frustrating to have to wait so long.*" This includes expressing cooperative intentions, listening carefully, separating interests from positions, and differentiating before trying to integrate the two sets of interests.

4. Taking the other's perspective and summarizing your understanding of what the other person wants, how the other person feels, and the reasons underlying both. "*My understanding of you is ...*" This includes understanding the perspective of the opposing disputant and being able to see the problem from both perspectives simultaneously.

5. Inventing three optional plans to resolve the conflict that maximize joint benefits. "*Plan A is ... , Plan B is ... , Plan C is ...*" This includes inventing creative options to solve the problem.

6. Choosing one and formalizing the agreement with a hand shake. "*Let's agree on Plan B!*" A wise agreement is fair to all disputants and is based on principles. It maximizes joint benefits and strengthens disputants' ability to work together cooperatively and resolve conflicts constructively in the future. It specifies how each disputant should act in the future and how the agreement will be reviewed and renegotiated if it does not work.

A mediator is a neutral person who helps two or more people resolve their conflict, usually by negotiating an integrative agreement. In contrast, arbitration is the submission of a dispute to a disinterested third party (such as a teacher or principal) who makes a final and binding judgment as to how

the conflict will be resolved. Peer mediation consists of four steps (Johnson & Johnson, 2005):

1. Ending hostilities: Hostile encounters are broken up and students are cooled off.

2. Ensuring disputants are committed to the mediation process: The mediator introduces the process of mediation and sets the ground rules that (a) mediation is voluntary; (b) the mediator is neutral; (c) each person will have the chance to state his or her view of the conflict without interruption; and (d) each person agrees to solve the problem with no name calling or interrupting, being as honest as he or she can, abiding by any agreement made, and keeping anything said in mediation confidential.

3. Helping disputants successfully negotiate with each other: The disputants are carefully taken through the problem-solving negotiation steps.

4. Formalizing the agreement: The agreement is solidified into a contract.

The role of mediator is rotated so all students serve as mediators an equal amount of time. Initially, students mediate in pairs. This ensures that shy or nonverbal students get the same amount of experience as more extroverted and verbally fluent students. Teaching all students to mediate properly results in a schoolwide discipline program where students are empowered to regulate and control their own and their classmates' actions. Teachers and administrators are then freed to spend more of their energies on instruction.

The Peacemaker Program has been implemented from kindergarten through high school (Johnson & Johnson, 1996a, 2005). It results in students and faculty learning the negotiation and mediation procedures, retaining their knowledge throughout the school year and into the following year, applying the procedures in conflicts, transferring the procedures to nonclassroom settings such as the playground and lunchroom, transferring the procedures to nonschool settings such as the home, and (when given the option) engaging in problem solving rather than win-lose negotiations.

When integrated into academic units, the Peacemaker Program increased academic achievement

and long-term retention of the academic material. Academic units, especially in subject areas such as literature and history, provide a setting to understand conflicts, practice how to resolve them, and use them to gain insight into the material being studied. The program also resulted in students developing more positive attitudes toward conflict. Students viewed conflicts as potentially positive and faculty and parents perceived the conflict training as constructive and helpful. Finally, students tended to resolve their conflicts without the involvement of faculty and administrators and, consequently, the number of discipline problems teachers had to deal with decreased by about 60% and referrals to administrators dropped about 90%.

It should be noted that conflicts cannot be resolved constructively when they occur in competitive and individualistic conditions. In a competitive context, individuals strive to win rather than solve the problem. In an individualistic context, individuals tend to care only about their own self-interests and ignore the interests of others. It is only in a cooperative context that conflicts are resolved constructively.

Step Five: Inculcating Civic Values

Consensual peace is maintained through the application of civic values. Peace survives on the virtue of the people and virtue is reflected in the way individuals and groups balance their own needs with the needs of the society as a whole. Motivation to be virtuous is created by a sense of belonging to an inclusive society, a concern for the society as a whole, and a moral bond with the society whose life is at stake. When parties work together to achieve mutual goals and when conflicts are managed constructively within decision-making and conflict-of-interests situations, the adoption of the civic values underlying civic virtue is promoted (Johnson & Johnson, 1996b, 2000). The inculcation of these values should be encouraged and nurtured. For consensual peace to exist and be sustained, the relevant parties must share common values aimed at equality and justice. To create the mutuality that defines a peaceful relationship, there must be shared values that define appropriate behavior. Mutuality cannot exist

in settings dominated by competitive or individualistic efforts. Rather, students need to internalize the values reflective of cooperation, controversy, and integrative negotiations, which include commitment to the common good and to the well being of others, a sense of responsibility to contribute one's fair share of the work, respect for the efforts and viewpoints of others and for them as people, behaving with integrity, empathy with and caring for the other parties, compassion when other members are in need, equality, and appreciation of diversity. Such civic values underlie and are promoted by the cooperation, controversy, and constructive conflict resolution that take place in the school. In addition to promoting consensual peace, individuals who hold these values tend to lead happier and healthier lives.

Cooperation, Controversy, and Integrative Conflicts as Automatic Habit Patterns

Every cooperative learning lesson is also a lesson in social skills and how to organize and conduct cooperative efforts. Every controversy lesson is also a lesson in political discourse and decision making. Every integrative negotiation and mediation lesson is also a lesson in seeking creative resolutions of conflicts that allow all parties involved to reach their goals while maintaining effective working relationships. Cooperative learning, constructive controversy, and the Peacemaker Program are designed to be used with all students at all grade levels, becoming more complex and sophisticated each year. As the procedures are used regularly in academic units, students practice and learn to use them in nonthreatening academic situations. It takes considerable practice to master the cooperation, controversy, and peacemaker procedures at a level where they are automatically used without conscious thought or planning. Throughout the school year, therefore, teachers should structure almost all lessons cooperatively and integrate the controversy and peacemaking procedures into academic lessons (e.g., in studying *King Lear*, students can role play each conflict using the integrative negotiation and mediation pro-

cedures). Teachers should also conduct specific skill lessons on communication skills, controlling anger, appropriate assertiveness, problem solving, perspective taking, creative thinking, and a wide variety of other related interpersonal and small-group skills (Johnson, 2006; Johnson & F. Johnson, 2006). Short-term peace education programs tend to have short-term effects; it takes a long-term program to have long-term effects. Once they are in students' behavioral repertoire, the cooperation, constructive controversy, and peacemaking procedures can be used in the societal situations that determine whether peace continues or ends.

Conclusions

Peace may be imposed (either by the most powerful party in the conflict or by powerful third parties who provide peacekeepers) or may be based on a consensual agreement about goals, benefits, and the sharing of resources. Once established, peace is institutionalized through the economic system, political structures, education, religion, housing patterns, and mass media. There are five essential elements in institutionalizing peace through education. First, for education to influence children and youth, compulsory public education must be established. To build the long-term positive relationships needed to institutionalize peace, the schools must be integrated so the children and youth from the disputing groups interact with each other, get to know each other, and build positive relationships. This contact must occur under optimal conditions (i.e., working together cooperatively, building personal relationships in which candid conversations may take place, equal status, support from authorities, and societal norms).

Second, mutuality and an awareness of a common fate must be established so individuals perceive that the goals of any one group can be accomplished if and only if the goals of all other groups are accomplished. The benefits of achieving the mutual goals must be distributed in a just and fair manner. A superordinate identity unifying the diverse groups must be built. There are a vari-

ety of ways to teach mutuality, but the most effective may be to use cooperative learning to ensure that mutuality is built into the day-to-day fabric of school life. The school becomes a microcosm of society by having students work together cooperatively to achieve mutual learning goals. The pedagogical procedures weave mutuality into the fabric of school life and can be extended to cooperative classrooms and an overall cooperative school structure.

Third, the children and youth in many societies have never lived in a democracy and are unfamiliar with the role of a citizen in a democracy. Dissent may have been punished. They need to learn, therefore, how to engage in democratic decision making involving political discourse. This may be taught through the constructive controversy procedure. Mastery of the democratic decision-making procedures may be achieved through the frequent use of the constructive controversy procedure to teach academic material.

Fourth, many of the children and youth attending school may have participated in the conflict as warriors, support personnel, or victims. They are used to seeing violence as the primary strategy for dealing with conflicts. They need, therefore, to learn how to manage conflicts constructively. To teach students how to resolve conflicts of interests constructively, the Peacemaker Program (consisting of integrative negotiation and peer mediation procedures) needs to be implemented at all grade levels. The conflict procedures need to be integrated into the curriculum.

Finally, the civic values necessary for consensual peace need to be inculcated, such as commitment to the common good and to the well being of others, a sense of responsibility to contribute one's fair share of the work, equality, and compassion when other members are in need. By engaging in cooperative efforts, making difficult decisions, and resolving conflicts constructively, students will internalize these values.

These five steps need to be implemented at all levels of schooling so students from formerly adversarial groups experience positive interaction for years and the cooperative, controversy, and conflict resolution procedures become automatic habit patterns and the underlying values become

firmly embedded. The personal experiences resulting from cooperation and constructive conflict resolution among diverse students result in an understanding of the meaning and relevance of peace and justice and define a way of life. It also institutionalizes peace in educational settings.

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