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**Conflicted Peace:**

*A Theoretical View of Peace Studies, Situated in Academia, Normativity and Political Correctness*

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Abstract:

Many current peace researchers claim that Peace Studies has fallen ill (some even say as an academic field it is dead). This thesis goes through the development of Peace Studies as a field. Further, it considers the different views on what it is and what it should be, in relation to other forms of internationally focused studies. From this it highlights some of the conflicting views and value-bases, and through the use of Bourdieu's theory of practice it tries to explain and structure the different conflicts and issues this causes for the people in this field as well as the future of the field. In the end it lands on a suggestion for a "cure" which it already contains, namely the principles of Peace Education.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

In 2012 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Leymah Gbowee visited the Centre for Peace Studies in Tromsø. During a press conference she was asked how she felt about visiting a peace centre so far north. She replied that the past years she had travelled a lot and visited many peace centres, and in her experience they were some of the most conflict filled places. The noticing of some recognising glances between people in the room was probably what instigated the train of thought leading to this thesis. While Peace Centres around the world may contain a variety of professionals related to peace, this thesis will focus on the people venturing in to the academic Peace Studies

Obviously, wherever you find different people, you will likely find conflicts of varying degrees, but the manner of which you deal with them is the defining factor for whether what you do is promoting or demoting non-violence. In this area one might expect more of people within the academic peace-field to know or at least be able to imagine which action could be a better option. In their book *Critical Issues in Peace Education*, Trifonas and Wright identifies this (for educational institutions in general) saying that “Educational institutions have traditionally not questioned subjective differences among student populations and have been loathe to examine the role of peace in respective societies while disavowing the performative role in peace with which they are charged”(2011: 1).

It is quite counterintuitive to think that people who work with peace are actually not particularly good at it amongst their own. While thinking that people in the field of Peace Studies are any more or less peaceful, or that there are either more or less conflicts there than in any other academic field, would be too much to assume or expect, one could argue that the field itself is more normatively charged than other fields in the social sciences. Thus it may also attract scholars with personally strong normative interests or ideas of what Peace is or should be, and the experienced conflict that arises when disagreements arise, gets an elevated importance. Whether or not it is of importance to the individuals within the field themselves to solve these conflicts is very subjective. However, there is perhaps a level where it would be desirable if

nothing else for the credibility of the Peace Studies they find themselves in, that they learn to practice what they preach.

In that calling for peace is a way of calling for change, there needs to be a willingness to change. This willingness is easier to create if the change happens gradually over time. Here, education shows to be a good tool, and in this context more specifically, Peace Education.

Peace Studies and Peace Education as concepts will be discussed separately and together and in many levels throughout this work, so an initial definition of what the author means with these terms would be of value. In using “Peace Studies” as a term, from here on out, it is meant as the academic endeavor of understanding issues of and relating to peace. The term “Peace Education” will comparatively be seen as teachings (both in the sense of teaching and of being taught, as well as curricular ‘knowledge’) of and relating to peace, with the intention and belief in education as a source for individual and social change.

As Peace Education involves ‘curricular knowledge of and relating to peace’, combining this to the ‘endeavour of understanding’ that is the purpose of Peace Studies, you can put Peace Studies as a sub-category of Peace Education. At the same time, Peace Education is a fairly large field of its own, and understanding it could be a tool for a peace student in his academic endeavour. In this manner, Peace Education is easily a sub-category of Peace Studies. This will be explained further in chapter two.

Another term valuable noticing is ‘Conflict’. So far it has been used as a negative term in itself. This is not so semantically. As Webel writes, conflicts may even be “socially desirable if they result in personal and/or political progress” (Webel & Galtung, 2007: 8). They are however the point just prior to such a result, positive or negative, and are thus often considered a negative as prior to the outcome one does not know which result to expect. In fact, if the expected outcome was positive, it might not have been considered a conflict at all.



## 1.2 Peace Education and Peace Studies

The definitions created here are based off some other definitions, and since there has been extensive work done around this, it would be valuable to introduce the two concepts a bit more. Starting with Peace education, as a field it is one with very fuzzy borders. As peace is hard to define, the education toward it suffers the same issues in focus. To say that it suffers might however be a bit excessive, as the issues of definition at least secures a great variety of focus areas which in the end (and to some extent because of) can all be said to belong to peace education. As Ian Harris, a “noted peace education scholar” (Bajaj, 2008:5) points out, the variety is also geographical, “[p]eace education varies as it is practiced in different countries because people have different understandings of peace” (Harris, 2004: 6-7).

Birgit Brock-Utne, distinguished Norwegian educator, feminist and peace researcher (Harris, 2008: 18; Jenkins & Reardon, 2012: 397), defines peace education by dividing the term into two foci; Education *for* Peace and Education *about* Peace (2008). By splitting it up in this manner you see also the pedagogical layer more clearly. While education *about* peace is anything within the interdisciplinarity (or outside of it too) where peace is the topic taught, education *for* peace focuses on the effects of education on the students on a more personal level. This definition will be returned to several times, as it is vital to the issue and proposal for future change throughout this text. The reader may also note the division in the initial definition of Peace Education presented here. Johan Galtung is a professor of Peace Studies, holds doctorates in mathematics and sociology, and is by many considered a founder of Peace Studies (Webel & Galtung, 2007: xi; Webel & Johansen, 2012: 9). Though not as a definition for Peace Education, Galtung makes a similar distinction, between *Education*, which views the value of learning as personally enriching, and *Schooling* as the traditional learning of facts and numbers, with the final goal of getting the papers proving one’s knowledge (2013: xi).

As argued earlier, a setting most appropriate for all aspects of this debate of what peace education should *contain* normatively, would be within the academic field of Peace Studies, a field which suffers much of the same issues of definition and focus. Most fields that emerge within academia, like Peace Studies, occur in attempts to answer questions which existing fields alone cannot sufficiently do (Brunk, 2012: 12). Since it is a fairly young field in its formal version, it is still very much reliant on the various other fields, and is thus naturally set

up as an interdisciplinary study<sup>1</sup>. But deciding which disciplines should be taught is also up for debate and largely dependent on the ruling understanding of peace where the peace studies are situated, both geographically and structurally within an education facility.

### 1.3 Conflicts and studies – research objective, research question

Both peace studies and peace education are fields with a normative goal of peace. While in the following, the reader will not find any arguments for the claim of there being more conflict within Peace Studies than anywhere else, there will be a look at some of the levels of the study where the theories and ideals used are conflicting, multi-levelled, and in the end trying to see how this would affect the study itself and thus the people within it. Academia has for a long time developed methods in order to make science more reliable and objective, which of course impacts the way Peace Studies is practiced as well. There are certain exterior expectations towards Peace Studies, not only from the academic side, but also from practitioners who need peace research to be relevant for them (to put it into practice), as well as expectations from the various fields that are contained in the interdisciplinary study. This will be shown in the next chapter.

The aim of this thesis then is to identify and show some inherent issues within Peace Studies, and decide if these cause conflicts among people in the field. From this the question will be raised of whether Peace Education as a whole (not just the curriculum focused as previously mentioned with Peace Studies being a sub-group), actively used, could be a solution, probably not to lessen the amount of conflicts, but to inculcate skills to lessen the impact of the conflicts.

The research questions are thus:

- Are there conflicts among people in Peace Studies which are created or fuelled by issues within the study itself?
- Can a practical use of Peace Education in Peace Studies help lessen the impact of conflicts among the people in the field?

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<sup>1</sup> Webel and Johansen, for example, suggest “anthropology, sociology, political science, ethics, theology and

## 1.4 Conceptual Framework – Bourdieu, Theory of Practice, and Education

In order to answer these questions, a theory is needed; A theory which can explain the reasons for people's behaviors, as well as the functioning of different fields, power relations and possibly a form of 'violence' from which conflicts can occur. The theory thus needs to be fairly inclusive of all these factors to create a complete framework to fit the Peace Studies – Peace Education puzzle.

Pierre Bourdieu's work is thorough and encompasses most factors of life as we know it, and how we know it as such. The French sociologist has created concepts and theories that together can be used to explain the dynamics not only of people as groups, but even individuals within these groups. Furthermore, the theories show how social classes develop, function and reproduce. His theory of practice explains how to identify the reasons behind practices or actions done by individual as well as institutional actors. It does this through three main concepts. First there is *habitus*, which is a structured structuring structure, or a set of dispositions, which predisposes what an actor might do in a given situation. Second, there is the *field*, the area(s) in which the actor find themselves at any given point. The third term is *capital*, which can be sets of an actor's habitus which defines skills and preferences, that is, sets of dispositions which decide to what success the actor navigates within any given field (Grenfell, 2008: p. 51). When combined, these three concepts aim to explain practices. For the case at hand, the concepts allow for a triangular view at the fields of Peace Studies and Peace Education, as well as a way to analyse their predispositions as actors in the other fields, like academia.

Furthermore, Bourdieu's work on the education system as such is also quite extensive. In looking in to the fields as actors in academia, the focus in this thesis will initially be based on the book *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), and will try to argue that there is an increasingly meritocratic academic culture in which Peace Education may have a hard time fitting in. This because the principles of Peace Education, or of peace in general, is that it is to be non-hierarchical (Galtung, 2008: 52). Nick Crossley, while referring to Bourdieu and Passeron's book, says that "(...) *official judgments of value are stakes in struggle. The educated are powerful in virtue of the official legitimacy of their*

*(educated) culture and they use their power to maintain its legitimacy.*”(Crossley, 2008: 96).

This involves symbolic violence, which will be looked at in chapter three.

## 1.5 Regarding methods

The main focus of this thesis is concepts and theories, investigating ideas and their potentials, and can thus be called a dialectical research (Page, 2008: 18). Dialectics is the name of a form of ‘method’ often subscribed to philosophers. It deals with concepts, and though its definitions as a method have changed and been debated among philosophers for a long time, it can be called a “mode of thought” which tries to transcend conceptual contradictions through contemplation (O’Connor, 2003). Dialectical research can be said to belong as a sub-group of *discourse*. The term Discourse, however, is so loaded with meaning, to the point where “there is no clear consensus as to what discourses are or how to analyse them” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 1). In this context, the term discourse will be seen as “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (ibid.). This (very basic) definition has some similarities to the use of Bourdieu’s concept of field, a discursive field for example. This is a combination Fairclough and Chouliaraki found fruitful to explain discourse across different institutions (ibid: 72-73).

As it is a theoretical work, some names and some theories will be often mentioned. The three main concepts discussed are of course the here relevant works of Bourdieu, research done on Peace Studies, and research done on Peace Education. These three form the basis of the thesis, but while the first is clear as to its original creator, the two latter needs to relate to a greater variety of thinkers. Thus it would be of value to make some comments on the literature used for this context.

### 1.5.1 About the literature

Today there is a plethora of sources to be found for peace related topics, even on the more self-reflective kinds like Peace Studies and Peace Education. Still, some names occur more than others, Johan Galtung being the most visible both in Peace Education and Peace Studies. Not surprising as he has been in the field of Peace Research since the time in which some claim it had its beginning. This is also reflected in the literature list. In the field of Peace

Education more purely, the name Ian Harris frequently appears, and he has in fact edited a book series called “Peace Education”. Three of these books are found in the literature here, but most of them contain a multitude of authors and perspectives. While it can be argued the variety of dialectics suffer from this, the aim here is not to debate and criticize Peace Education itself, but rather to try to find underlying common ideals which can constitute the tool that will be suggested applied to Peace Studies.

Similarly, the literature on the topic of Bourdieu is rather dominated by Bourdieu himself as well as books edited or written by Michael Grenfell. As Bourdieu has a tendency to write in an arguably excessively complicated manner, Grenfell’s books were initially used to get an introductory grasp of Bourdieu’s concepts. As a lot of importance is placed on these concepts through this text, it was also important to find criticisms towards them. Here, Grenfell also offered some comments, but measures were taken to not only go by Bourdieu’s ‘friends’, so several articles were rendered elsewhere. It will be pointed out where the criticism is by Grenfell.

For the remaining texts not yet mentioned, they have been discovered occasionally at random and based on availability, but also through a snowball-method of scouring references and sources of the most relevant texts.

## 1.6 Structure of the thesis

In the following two chapters the three main concepts presented here will be dealt with in greater detail. Chapter two will be starting with Peace Studies and Peace Education, together in a chapter because of their similarity of conceptual issues, as well as for their combination being the source of the working hypothesis. Though it might be a bit of a jump for the reader, chapter three involves anything Bourdieu; his theory of practice, which is the main theory applied here, followed by an introduction to some of his work and views on education and the education systems tendency to guide social classes. The chapter ends with some criticisms to his theory, and a short commentary on his views of subjectivity and objectivity. The fourth chapter is where the fun begins, when the two peace concepts are pulled through the lens of the practice theory, and an idea for future benefit arguably emerges. Chapter five is then left for any concluding remarks and tying of loose ends.

## Chapter 2:

### Peace Education and Peace Studies

In looking in to the field of peace as both a study and an education, it is possible to find numerous descriptions both of what they *should* be and of their origin. Most of which seem to have found a fairly similar timeline of people's focus and priority of peace, yet no definite point in time as to when it all became its own characteristic field, and not just a strand of general teachings through religion and/or philosophy (Dahl, 2012: 242). The way one understands these terms, Peace Education and Peace Studies, has a great impact on how one understands the rest of this thesis, and so, what follows will be a run through some of the discourse of the topics separately, and the fluidity of their connections made clear by the end of this chapter. As the terms are often inter-woven and used in some circumstances only as basic descriptive terms not entailing the full discourse of the concepts, it is valuable to keep in mind the definitions presented in the introduction, and to view the following discussions in light of these definitions<sup>2</sup>.

#### 2.1 On Peace Studies:

Studying Peace as an academic field of its own value is fairly new. Most researchers indicate the development of this field as something that started after WWII, in the 1950s<sup>3</sup>. Since then it has grown and- according to an article by Diana Micucci in the New York Times- there are now more than 400 universities and colleges where one can get a degree or certificate in peace<sup>4</sup>(Micucci, 2008). These institutions will necessarily also need to deal with the question of "What is peace". In this environment where many independent institutions are each defining their own concepts of what encompasses peace studies, the variety of how it is done and what is focused on has an almost infinite potential, which in turn has led to research done on what peace studies "should" be. Jutila, Pehkonen and Väyrynen (2008: 629) argues, mainly in regard to journal publications, that this type of self-reflection on the nature of peace

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<sup>2</sup>Peace Studies: the academic endeavour of understanding issues of and relating to peace. Peace Education: teachings (both in the sense of teaching and of being taught, as well as curricular 'knowledge') of and relating to peace, with the intention and belief in education as a source for individual and social change.

<sup>3</sup> Peace oriented research as a normative study, that is. Mainly war was studied before, and only after WWI did the focus start shifting towards peace (Jutila, Pehkonen and Väyrynen, 2008: 626)

<sup>4</sup> I was not able to find out where she got this number from or if she counted it herself, but from doing a quick search online, in addition to well reputed peace researchers having cited this article for this number, I find it not an unlikely estimate at least.

studies tends to happen in waves based on current events. But they also point out that the current state for journals and journal articles is excessively trying to fit in as a “*normal science, solving problems with a very limited view of the wider implications and conditions of applicability*” (ibid).

Oliver Richmond, a professor of Peace, Conflict and International Relations at the University of Manchester (University of Manchester, n.d.), raises a similar criticism, saying the liberal peace is the only version of peace focused on in today’s peace work (Richmond, 2006: 292). In the article *The problem of peace: understanding the ‘liberal peace’*, the liberal peace is defined as “the combination of peace, democracy and free markets” (ibid). Richmond claims that the concepts contained in the liberal peace concept, have been focused on much more than the concept itself. Based on the realisation that the different tools (for example human rights, democratization, and free global markets) used to achieve the liberal peace do not always correspond with each other, and that they themselves are frequently criticised, he calls for an actual debate on the conceptualisation of peace.

### 2.1.1 What is expected of Peace Studies?

There has, however, been some work done on the way peace studies is set up, and discussions on what/how/why. Michael Woolcock, World Bank specialist in Social Development, and a lecturer at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, suggests in an article on what masters students in development studies should be taught, that the goal of the education is to create students who are *Detectives, Translators, and Diplomats* (Woolcock, 2007: 57). He further speaks of the students in this normally interdisciplinary field of study as either ‘thinkers’ or ‘doers’, and explains the importance that these two types manage to cooperate and “*maintain cordial professional relations*” (ibid.). As *detectives*, Woolcock says, the student should be able to know what he knows, what he needs to find out, and how to go about finding the needed answers. The next required skill is to make *translators*, which involves an ability to communicate within different fields. Knowing how to succeed in international studies academically does not necessarily prepare one for work in ‘real life’ so to say. Woolcock argues it is necessary to enable students to not only communicate but also to connect the various aspects of any situation a graduate is set to master (ibid: 66-67). Having an interdisciplinary form of Peace Studies would here make sense, where even though very academically phrased, one would at least get an insight into what the different fields look at

regarding peace, and perchance also a functioning understanding of the different perspectives. Last but not least, the *diplomat* has the skill of a person able to negotiate and mediate between conflicting groups. This is arguably the most demanding of the three skills as it requires a large amount of knowledge as well as a personal skill of leading dialogues and solving problems. In this aspect the two former skills would come into use as well.

Professor of philosophy, Conrad G. Brunk, focuses on ethics and values in different areas of modern life, like environmental issues and law. In his chapter *Shaping a vision – the nature of peace studies* he shows a different perspective on the value of Peace Studies as such. Like Woolcock, Brunk also points to the importance of interdisciplinarity as a way which allows the student to see issues and conflicts from several different perspectives (Brunk, 2012: 12), and thus allows for a more holistic approach to peace and violence. Whether Peace Studies is defined as its own academic discipline, or set as any other course of study, he sees as a less important distinction.

In addition to this, Brunk also comments on criticism towards Peace Studies as being too value-laden or normative in its nature. There is peace as a value in itself, which in turn implies the value of non-violence. Peace is better than its negation, and all disputes should be solved non-violently to the greatest possible extent (ibid: 13). Now, for the sake of argument, let us use Johan Galtung's definition of peace as it is arguably the most prominent and most referred to of definitions of peace, and his distinction between positive and negative peace. This definition holds that negative peace is the absence of violence, and positive peace is an absence of violence combined with a level of cooperation, equality and dialogue among people to further secure the absence of any form of violence (Fischer, 2007: 188; & Galtung, 2007: 31). Peace in this aspect is a fairly easily defended value in itself, desired and agreed upon. However, if you are to be completely against the use of violence at any point in time as a principle of its own, you would end up with the value of pacifism<sup>5</sup>, a version maybe less people would be inclined to accept, for it would impose upon other common values such as justice (like the frequent debates on states' responsibility to protect, or even imprisonment as punishment), or generally if you are the victim of direct violence it could be natural to resist

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<sup>5</sup> "Nobody thinks that we have a right to inflict pain wantonly on other people. The pacifist goes a very long step further. His belief is not only that violence is evil but also that it is morally wrong to use force to resist, punish, or prevent violence" (Narveson, 1965: 259).



by fighting back, which would become a lot more challenging to do from a pacifist stance)<sup>6</sup>. However, this can be said to be a very strict philosophical way of seeing the peace and values issue, a stance that has less practical value in for example the more politically focused peace studies. Much of the issues between people within Peace Studies lie here. It is a field of study constantly confused by the greatly acknowledged multitude of definitions. Brunk does not see this as an issue, though, as he sees most academic fields have their own value sets appropriate to their focus, and disagreements will be on the ways to achieve the values. In the same way he sees peace as a natural value for Peace Studies, where the only distinguishing feature from other fields is the manner of which it is taught and practiced (Webel & Johansen, 2012: 7).

Another concept he argues for is that conflicts are natural, and as long as you have people with even the slightest differences, you will meet needs and differences inevitably leading to conflicts of interests. While he says conflicts are normal and not actually bad, he continues stating that “*The important thing about human conflicts, then, is not so much the conflicts themselves as the means we choose to deal with them.*” (Brunk, 2012: 14). Going from here, he identifies three areas in which peace studies should work: they should try to find out the causes of conflict, why the conflicts become harmful/violent, and how to make the handling of the conflict less violent.

Johan Galtung sees the mission for peace studies as compared to health studies. In his love for triangles, he created among others, the Diagnosis-Prognosis-Therapy triangle (Galtung, 1996: 1). These medical concepts explain how Galtung thinks peace studies ought to work. They should be able to diagnose a situation or conflict, as to what is actually going on. They should be able to predict possible outcomes of the situation, and they should know how to treat the situation in order to change it, to turn the situation in the direction of peace. The diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle is really a “summary” of a bigger work of Galtung’s, namely his TRANSCEND method. This method is directed towards conflict transformation theories more generally, but in the context of Peace Studies it is valuable to comprehend, perhaps particularly for the practically oriented. TRANSCEND is an enormously encompassing method (rather than a theory), and “consists of a philosophy, a set of values, theories (...), and a praxeology with a set of various methods and techniques” (Graf, Kramer

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<sup>6</sup> In his book *Peace by Peaceful means*, Galtung starts off by defining peace as “the absence/reduction of violence of all kinds”(Galtung, 1996: 9), which would make room for a non-pacifist interpretation as well, if it had not been for the second definition saying it “is nonviolent and creative conflict transformation”(ibid).

& Nicolescou, 2007: 128). The final goal of this method is creating peace by peaceful means, in which people in the end are themselves able to work through their conflicts non-violently.

Returning to the case at hand, there are some traits within all of these views on the field of Peace Studies that can now be drawn out. Woolcock’s three dimensions, Brunk’s three areas of inquiry, and Galtung’s three levels in the health studies parable. They seem to be saying just about the same thing:

	<u>Step 1</u>	<u>Step 2</u>	<u>Step 3</u>
<b>Galtung</b>	<u>Diagnosis</u>	<u>Prognosis</u>	<u>Therapy</u>
<b>Woolcock</b>	<u>Detective</u>	<u>Translator</u>	Diplomat
<b>Brunk</b>	<u>Why conflict</u>	<u>Why violence</u>	<u>How to reduce violence</u>

The only slight difference seems to be that Brunk is not ascribing the therapist/diplomat job to the scholar, but allows for the scholar to study the ‘how’ in itself, remaining more or less in the theoretical academic level. This, however, would be where Woolcock might say that the thinkers and the doers need to work together. If nobody tries out different ways of diplomacy/therapy, there would not be anything for the Brunk’ians to research. Assuming there is a value in having educated people active in peace work, there seems to be a necessity of Peace Studies that it not only involves theoretical overview but also a practical use of knowledge. But questions still remain: how does one teach practical knowledge, to whom, and what kind?

The importance of keeping a variety within Peace Studies, through such methods as interdisciplinarity, has gotten clearer. Brock-Utne argues for more interdisciplinary studies at universities in order to “restructure knowledge and break out of our compartmentalized

academic training” (Brock-Utne, 1985: 119). Compartmentalisation itself is an interesting term in this context. In psychology, “compartmentalization is the tendency to organize positive and negative knowledge about the self” (Showers, 1992: 1036), but in pedagogics it seems to relate to knowledge in general. In either case, keeping the compartments separated gives a very one-sided view of reality. Study political science for a few years, and the world will be structured and make sense mainly from a political point of view. This is very much not in the spirit of interdisciplinarity, where one gets the opportunity to broaden ones perspectives. But who decides which are the relevant disciplines and on what grounds? What should in fact be taught? This is where Oliver Richmond has argued that the lack of debates done on the actual conceptualization of peace has turned the focus to the liberal peace, and just assumed it to be the way to go, as it includes the ideas and ways of other international studies.

The reader might have noticed by now that the category ‘Peace Studies’ is referred to in very different ways among the three example cases. Woolcock was in fact talking about development studies, seeing peace studies as a natural part of this. Brunk, as mentioned, talked about peace studies from an angle where its position, be that a course, program or graduate study did not really matter. Whereas to Galtung, the parable made to health studies and health workers, shows his view that it should be a strong and practically oriented branch of academics. Jutila, Pehkonen and Väyrynen (2008) follows Galtung in this view, but continue by comparing it to the development of ‘international studies’, ‘political studies’, ‘security studies’ and ‘development studies’. They claim that *“The conceptual reflection of peace never developed along the lines of critical theory, post-structuralism or feminist philosophy, which influenced the conceptual analysis in the neighbouring disciplines.”* (Jutila, Pehkonen and Väyrynen, 2008: 632). This has caused the field of peace studies to depend strongly on theories and academics often from other disciplines, and mainly live<sup>7</sup> off the theories developed in these other branches. As Peace Studies is generally interdisciplinary, using theories from different fields is not particularly problematic, but as the recent years have seen various interventions internationally which have justified themselves through peace, not security or politics (here barring debates on the *actual* reasons), there should perhaps be a stronger Peace Studies to be able to justify/condemn this from its own base.

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<sup>7</sup> The article referred to is in fact claiming the death of peace studies, and that it is in need of CPR (Critical Peace Research).

### 2.1.1. On Academia:

*“(…), policy-oriented programs must constantly strive to maintain a difficult balance between being simultaneously the ‘applied’ branch of academic social science theory and empirical research, and a place where government officials, international bureaucrats, and seasoned practitioners can spend some extended time reflecting more systematically on their hard-won experiences.”(Woolcock, 2007: 57)*

As a study, Peace Studies is naturally linked to the field of academia. This comes with benefits such as credibility of studies, through for example a strict focus on methodology in research and through a grading system which tries to say something about the level of desired knowledge the student was able to acquire. There are however also drawbacks where the study would be excessively dependent on a set framework and method, risking an academic rigidity where one is given a toolbox of theories and methodologies that are to be placed on a case or issue, and what one draws out is research. Like a backwards 3D jigsaw puzzle, putting components in a box, shaking it, and expecting to pull out a ‘3D’ figure. Another issue is what could be conceived as a systemic violence of academia, based on the constantly growing focus on merits. The continuous strive for better grades and better jobs will have a select few people on top who learnt a certain kind of knowledge with an academic skill. How does one grade Woolcocks diplomats on their skills? Brock-Utne goes so far as to say that the normal schooling system we know today is not a good place for education for peace (the form of Peace Education which tries to create peaceful attitudes, a concept mentioned in the introduction, but which will be explained further shortly), because of the meritocracy and competitiveness it entails (Brock-Utne, 2008: 20). This particular issue, as the introduction states, is also linked to Bourdieu’s view of education as a place for social reproduction and elitism, and will be returned to several times through this work.

### 2.1.2 The people

The field of Peace Studies is created, built and sustained by individuals of varying views, beliefs and general foci. There are students, (occasionally) practitioners, academics and administrators of and with varying levels and interests, all of whom together constitute their field. All of whom also drawn to this field for various reasons. When discussing the field of Peace Studies, the individuals listed are all included, in this text, as mentioned in the introduction, there will however be a slight bias towards the students, as they constitute a

large group with a potentially equally large amount of variety when it comes to academic and cultural background. This focus will be beneficial when taking a more theoretically local view. In addition, the bias is for the reason that they are the future of the field and the group in which potential changes, if proven necessary, may happen.

Now the question arise on how all of these differences within the field play out in the smaller “local” peace settings, among people who are just getting in to this field and the ones who have been there for a while. Let us assume they follow (knowingly or not) some of these views, or rather even expect their views to be the common grounds. For example Richmond’s liberal peace, or even just concepts within there, like “democracy is the best form of government for realising peace goals”, or better yet “sometimes it is necessary to use force to keep violent conflicts from escalating”. For the idealistic, pacifist peace activist, the answer to the latter may be “no, we need to be more creative!” which for the well informed international relations student, self-considered follower of realism, or some other –ism, may come as a shock, thinking “How can this person enter a higher education institution with this level of naïveté?” For students just entering the peace-field, realising these kinds of areas of disagreements that everybody believes this might happen in classroom debates, but then what? Assuming a fairly limited timeframe, one could either ignore the fundamental differences and continue with ones arguments hoping to “win”, or one could turn the discussion to these fundamental ideas or epistemological bases, but then potentially sacrificing the original topic at hand. Would one discuss peace, or idealistic or even personal backgrounds of individuals? The latter seems excessively subjective and somewhat non-academic, but if you are not speaking the same language (figuratively), it is optimistic to think you will come up with a nice conclusion as a group. Then again, in the scholastic sense, debates are useful in teaching the different arguments one will meet, so as a learning experience the conclusions may not be a goal at all. Chapter four will take a more Bourdieuan look at this argument.

## 2.2 On Peace Education

*“The word “education” comes from the Latin word educare, to draw or lead out. “Peace education” implies drawing out from people their instincts to live peacefully with others and emphasizes peaceful values upon which society should be based. (...) Human beings have within them destructive and aggressive forces that need to be controlled through a civilizing process. Peace education deals with both internal conflicts within the human psyche and violent situations in the world.” (Harris, 1988: 14)*

In his book *Peace Education* (1988), Ian M. Harris defines peace education in a multitude of manners, but what is clear is that it is about teaching people that there are alternatives to war and violence, and that it further contains future hopes of attitude changes. Just as the above citation states, the instinct for peace is within us (ready to be drawn out), while we must learn to control also the destructive and aggressive sides of ourselves. It should also be noted that he acknowledges the many perspectives within the field, and values them for their purpose, and his work points to several aspects of peace education where the focus the educators choose to follow is dependent on the societal issues where the education is done (Harris, 2008: 19).

Already here one can see hints of a duality in the understanding of what peace education is. On the one hand it is a ‘theoretical’ learning of a topic, peace (as the alternative to war), but on the other, the real point of it is to instil a skill or a habit in you, which arguably requires a level of practice. Here it is also possible to differentiate between practical levels, where you can think of it either as an acquired ability to ‘control yourself’ so to say, or further it to a sphere where it is about an ability to ‘create’ peace in other people as well. Please keep in mind also the explanation offered in the introduction, Brock-Utne’s division of education *for* and education *about* peace. Magnus Haavelsrud even says that “*No absolute answer is to be found in the literature about peace education or anywhere else on this topic*” regarding what is to be taught (Haavelsrud, 2008: 60). It seems there is an agreement among the scholars in this; it is a hard subject to define. However, a lack of a definite answer does not mean that

there are no answers, and the answers that are out there will have strengths and values which can only be judged positively or negatively in expedient circumstances and based on the needs and benefits directly related to these.

Dr. James Page writes that Peace education in the traditional sense (inasmuch as it can have a tradition as a field of its own), goes about the education with three main foci; preventing warfare, “linkage of peace within cognate social concerns”, and intra/inter-personal relationships (2008: 1-2). Preventing warfare was, as in the section about Peace Studies, a reaction to the amounts of war and a desire for change. With social cognate concerns, Page is referring to how the peace concept can appear in many fields and disciplines, and the emerging realisation that in order to get an overview of the issue, they need to be accounted for. The third then focuses on the more local and individual level, teaching peace skills and behaviours among people.

### 2.2.1 From Local to Global

While Peace Education in its purest form is most often instigated very locally, with local interest in mind, the idea behind this concept is credible enough that it has become an important tool for the United Nations. UNESCO<sup>8</sup> devoted a decade (2001-2010) for focus on creating a global Culture of Peace, which continues to be one of the overarching themes for the organisation. And in creating the Culture of Peace, Peace Education is one of their main areas of action (UNESCOa, n. d.). In fact, their Constitution says that “*That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed*” (UNESCOb, n. d.), which sounds a lot like the principal idea in the definition of Peace Education initially presented, which involved the ‘intention and belief in education as a source for individual and social change’. This clearly makes the locally-dependent subjective forms of Peace Education seem falsified (since a global organisation is working towards it as well), in reality it is just one more way of looking at Peace Education. They have their guidelines and rules to go by, and they might arguably be stricter than others, in that there are extra factors to consider. For example, teaching a classroom full of boys about non-violence can be considered peace education, yet the exclusion of girls is a form of structural and/or cultural violence. This does not exclude the benefit of the education, nor does it justify the exclusion, as teaching the boys can be seen as better than teaching no one, but they perhaps

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<sup>8</sup> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

complicate and arguably taint the message. There is another point of view in which having such a global organization in charge of the education is itself a form of cultural violence, for while the organization is internationally run, it is not given that the principles are equally internationally accepted. The aim is “a culture for peace”, not “all cultures for peace”, but whose culture is that?

That being said, if the teaching of non-violence to boys had a positive effect, it could still be considered a step in the right direction for Peace Education. Even though UNESCO is a global organisation, the actual education still happens on a more local level, and would be difficultly successful had it not been in cooperation with locals. Furthermore, Peace Education can be given with or without their involvement, though when they are involved there is a more or less clear set of rules to follow.

### **2.3 On Peace as Educated (taught) in a Study**

We are humans in need of several similar if not same resources which will always create potential conflicts. ”Conflict itself should not be confused with violence, which is taken here to mean the intentional harming of others for one’s own end”, peace education researcher Elise Boulding writes (2012: 423). The goal of peace education is not to remove conflicts altogether (that, one could argue, would be utopian), but rather to teach people how to handle such conflicts without the use of violence; to ‘transform’ it, in the Galtungian way<sup>9</sup>. Figuring out how to go about teaching this could be a job for Peace Studies.

So far it should be apparent that each of these concepts are driven by the normativity of peace. Peace Education maybe more so than Peace Studies, as the act of studying in the academic setting is mainly about scholastic learning and one is rarely personally limited in what one decides to read, nor what one decides to agree with. Conversely Peace Education is a process more directed by some authority, like a top-down peace approach, and while one may be free to disagree, there is a given goal which ant the end of the day ‘should’ be reached. Even though in Peace Studies, the selection of course material and such might be decided by an educator in many ways, that being the curriculum, the individual is always responsible for his own learning and understanding, particularly at higher level academia where one is

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<sup>9</sup> In fact, the method previously mentioned, called TRANSCEND



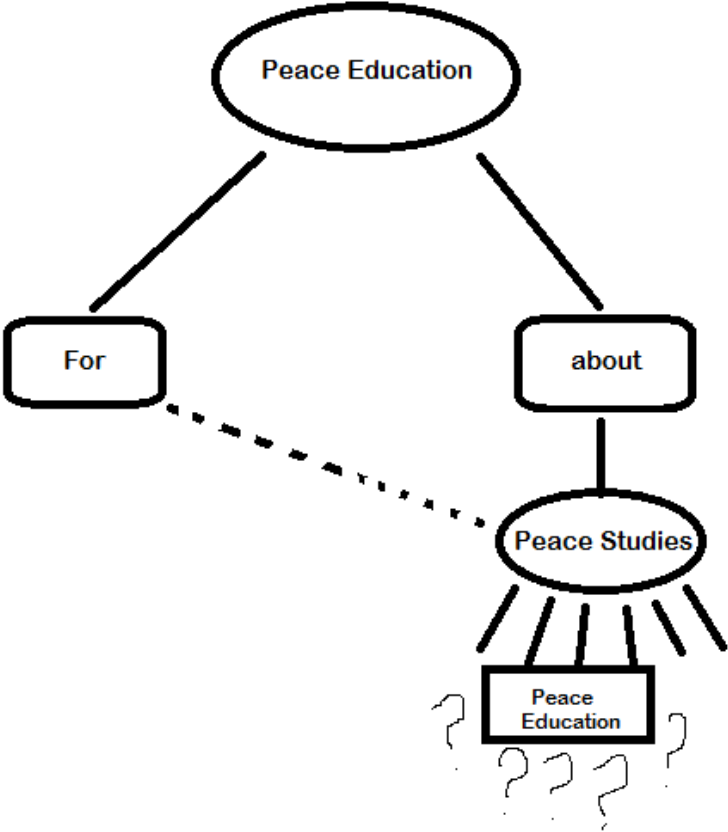
encouraged and indeed supposed to research rather than just learn what the teacher says. Basically, Peace Education connotes more practical action, possibly even suggested by the scholars.

However, Peace Studies occurred from the thought that there was a need to understand peace better in order to figure out how to achieve it, eventually in all aspects of life, individually as well as globally. And as soon as one puts that perspective on it, it is an act of doing science in which there already is an answer, and in some way try to find the corresponding x- and y's in the equation. But unless there is a common understanding of what exactly peace is, one might not even be working on the same equations. From a different point of view, though, the various aspects actually benefit the issue of normativity. For as long as the research output is clear on its own origins, and its 'truths' so to say, it can join a peace-discourse without invalidating any other contribution per-se. It just has to be very clear which "equation" is being used, and showing how. But if this research involves suggestions of action, implementing it would be a different matter more susceptible to issues of various forms. Then again, *not* looking for solutions when studying peace (through conflicts) could be seen as an academic activity taken to a level excessively disconnected to reality. Or as Galtung phrases it, the academic peace student being the doctor in this example: *"You have a very interesting disease, I will write it up in my next scientific publication."* You ask, *"But don't you have a cure for me?"* The doctor protests, *"Oh no, I am value-free. I simply observe, I do not intervene."* (Galtung & Udayakumar, 2013: 75).

The arguments presented via both Woolcock and Brunk in the beginning of this chapter, about interdisciplinarity being an important tool for students to learn and understand different perspectives of peace, as well as then being able to communicate issues to these different fields later on, is an easily defensible one. These skills, however, are still based in the overarching field of 'academia', and their value is thus somewhat restricted within academia. For practical peace work, being able to communicate ideas also with people outside of the academic sphere of meritocracy and certain structures, is imperative for communicating on equal grounds. Which disciplines are chosen, and which are not, to take part in this interdisciplinary approach is also important to be conscious of. Taken even further, Oliver Richmond argues that "IR [International Relations] has reproduced a science of peace based upon political, social, economic, cultural, and legal governance frameworks, by which conflict in the world is judged. This has led to the liberal peace framework, which masks a

hegemonic collusion over the discourses of, and creation of, peace.” (Richmond, 2007: 251). If peace students arriving at their study program are to be taught the subjects Richmond refers to here, then perhaps this claimed hegemony should also be discussed, to allow for some self-reflection on the study as well as the student’s position within it. This is not only good for the student’s comprehension of the complicated peace stances, but potentially also for the academic output for Peace Studies as its own field instead of being just a platform for other academic fields to focus on peace.

Birgit Brock-Utne’s definition of Peace Education gives a good opportunity to sort the two concepts here discussed:



The figure shows Peace Education as an overarching term. At the next level is Brock-Utne’s division between education *for* and *about* peace, which shows that Peace Studies in its nature is about peace as it contains topics related to peace but it is not particularly interested in

changing any attitudes in the people within it. It is perhaps assumed that signing up for a study of this sort, the attitudes and behaviours are already on the right path so they do not necessarily need changing. The Peace Education box at the bottom signifies the discipline of peace education, and is added to show where the confusion easily occurs in the distinctions, When taught within Peace Studies, the discipline is bound by the 'about' above it, and is to be seen as one of many tools used in modern day peace work. What chapter four will hopefully show is that *since* Peace Studies is a sub group of Peace Education for the purpose and desire of a more 'peaceful' future, it could benefit from being a more *complete* part of it. Whether this is possible or not is not agreed upon, as for example Galtung argues that schooling, with its tendency to categorise and classify people creates difficulties for peace education as it goes against a principle of peace not being hierarchical (Galtung, 2008: 52).

Having looked at the hierarchy of academia as a challenge for the normative focus of peace, as well as the various ideas of what the concepts of Peace Education and Peace Studies entail, it is time to look at the even more theoretical framework. Bourdieu's concepts can shed some light on the effects of the hierarchical field of academia, as well as describe the impact the variety of cultures and disciplines may have, and thus explain where conflicts may occur among the people. But before this can happen, the next chapter will introduce these concepts on their own.

## Chapter 3:

### Bourdieu, a theory of practice, and educational reproduction

Pierre Bourdieu, 1930-2002, was a French philosopher and sociologist whose work has made a great impact in the modern day sociology, particularly in educational sociology (Grenfell & James, 1998: 1). He grew up in a rural town in the south of France, and though his parents did not have much of a background in education, Bourdieu appeared to have great skills in academics. At 25 he graduated from an elite higher education establishment, *École Normale Supérieure*, with a degree in philosophy (Grenfell, 2008: 14-15). After serving military duty in Algeria, his interest turned to more sociological and anthropological concerns. Upon returning to France, marked by his experiences in Algeria, his academic interests shifted towards sociology, and the topics of education and culture received particular attention in his first studies. Part of the reason for this was his experiences of how he had been treated as a boarding school student with a rural, financially meagre, low education level family background (ibid: 17). Bourdieu became interested in social differences in society, but he wanted to get further than the Marxian division of society into classes, as he felt it is more complex than this, and thus came up with his concept of 'fields' (Wallace & Wolf, 2006: 112), in addition to adding more forms of capital as the deciding factors for social classes, not just the economic.

The concepts of Bourdieu are fairly commonly known and acknowledged at least in most sociological and pedagogical spheres. In some circumstances Bourdieu's theory seems to be one that needs to be understood, but holds little effective or practical value after you understand it, other than just bringing one more way of thinking of the function of the individual in the world. One could say it is more a theory focused on explaining, than it is a model-bringing theory telling anything about how to do something, or what should be done. His intention, however, was to fill what he considered to be a gap between theory and practice, and "seeks to capture the intentionality without intention" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 19).

Applying this seemingly simple theory to peace studies should be easy enough, if not for the vastness and great variety of the field of Peace Studies itself, as was shown in the previous

chapter. The further text will focus on some parts of Bourdieu's vast works, why certain parts and not others will be both explained and defended.

### 3.1 A Theory of Practice

*"Each scientific act, like every practice, is the product of the encounter between two histories, a history embodied, incorporated in the form of dispositions, and a history objectified in the very structure of the field and in technical objects (instruments), writings, etc."* (Bourdieu, 2004: 35)

The Theory of Practice contains several of the concepts Bourdieu used to make sense of the world. It is, however, mainly defined through three of them, *habitus*, *field* and *capital*. The interplay between the three creates what Bourdieu calls practice. The interconnectedness of these terms is visualized nicely by Karl Maton (2008: p. 51), in reference to Bourdieu's chapter "The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Gods" in the book *Media, Culture and Society: a Critical Reader*, where it says:

[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice]

This will be explained after a look at each of these concepts in greater detail.

#### 3.1.1 Habitus:

Habitus is an inherent quality in a person. It is a kind of learnt deciding factor that you do not necessarily know is there, but which decides any action you do in any circumstance. As actions do not happen in a vacuum, the habitus is a collection of dispositions inflicted by time and surroundings, which impacts the core of a person's being and behaviour. The word is naturally linked to the common 'habit', but as a concept of its own refers to the historical imprint of which also habits may occur, and habits as practices are generated by the habitus. Bourdieu speaks of habitus in actors rather than persons, because as well as finding habitus in individuals, you can also find it in groups and institutions. While you cannot see the habitus itself, you can see the effects of habitus in retrospect, and this way of seeing habitus is also

possible with groups or institutions, as for example universities. It should also be pointed out that an actor's habitus is changeable, but the change is normally a process requiring a great deal of time and effort. A changing of one's habitus is more of an evolution-like process rather than an immutable or basic habit-changing one (Grenfell, 2008: 53).

A word that frequently shows up in the explanations of habitus is "disposition". A word which Bourdieu found to be particularly explanatory, as habitus is defined as a system of dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977: 214 The translator notes here that the word in French seems to mean more, but is still adequate in its English version). Using the word *system* is also relevant to notice, as habitus functions in a structured manner. It works in and as a *structured and structuring structure* (Grenfell, 2008: 51) in that it is always reflecting a systematised understanding of what has been before, while making future decisions based on these, thus structuring actions ahead of time as well.

### 3.1.2 Field:

The field is an all-encompassing definition of the grand social setting in which interactions, transactions and events occur. The purpose of a field is to explain these events and interactions in a broader historical context, to better understand the foundations and reasons for them. A field has its own Logic of Practice, for it contains the tools to explain itself. This is where and how, as mentioned in the previous section, a group or an institution can also be said to have a habitus.

Michael Grenfell is Head of School at Stirling University in Scotland. He was a visiting scholar at the École des Hautes Etudes in Paris, where Bourdieu worked as Director of Studies, three times, and has written several books about Bourdieu's theories and concepts (Grenfell, 2014). He uses the image of a football field to explain field as a term (Grenfell, 2008: 68). As Bourdieu often uses the image of a social game being played in these actions, the football field is then considered the arena, the bordered and limited area where the game is to be played. The academic game is for example played in the field of academia, and in order to succeed you need to know how the game is played. And in order to know that, you need to develop a 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1990: 66), which is then the habitus. In the game there are rules to be followed. And your ability to follow these rules and win the game lies in your ability (or acquired habitus in the form of capital) to use the capital needed for the

particular game. Capital determines both the process within, and product of, a field (Grenfell, 2008: 69).

Following this image of the football field, it is important to mention that not all have the same skill level in the different games. If you have been taught how to play handball very well you might have enough capital to understand the object of the rules in football, but your skills would give you higher success within a handball field. In addition to this, it is worth mentioning that people normally occupy several fields at once, and that there are both different levels and different types of fields to occupy (Grenfell, 2008: 70). These fields need to inter-act, and how they do so depends on the actor's habitus and the general power relations between the fields, in the grander of fields.

### **3.1.3 Capital:**

Bourdieu differentiated between four forms of capital; economic, cultural, social and symbolic. The economic one refers to monetary and valuables, basically, objects. The symbolic capital is a term containing the rest, as symbols are concerned, with cultural and social capital as distinct sub-types of this capital (Grenfell, 2008: 103). The symbolic capital is in a person's habitus as tastes or abilities that decides his ability to succeed within a field. And the value of the capital one has is as such defined mainly by the field. If you are a good painter, the social capital you own have more value among art-interested people, than it would be in for example a football match. To connect it even further with the concept of field; the good use of capital within a suitable field is a defining factor not only in an institutionalised field as it were, but also as a showing of power. And power is its own field within Bourdieu's concepts.

Capital can be either objectified or embodied. Objectified in the form of for example paintings or books or other artefacts, or embodied, where the principle of a field is incorporated within the corporality of the person as principles of consciousness in predispositions and propensities and in physical features such as body language, stances, intonation and lifestyle choices (Grenfell 2008: 105). In other words: outcomes of habitus. The objectified capital can in many fields be very telling of a person's habitus, but will at the same time be easier to 'pretend' (if you had enough social capital to be able to do this), if you notice that the field

requires it to win a point in the game. If you for example find yourself in an art gallery, and you are not particularly interested or skilled in this, you can observe other actors and note what pieces of art receive the most attention. But if you would stay in the field and try to win the game itself, you would need a whole different set of capital.

### 3.1.4 Further connections

The field of power is in fact quite central in social interactions defining capital. As a field it is not positioned at the same level as other fields, but is rather a form of meta-field which encompasses all other fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 18n). As any field is basically an arena for power-struggles, dominating in the field of power signifies a belonging to a higher social class within the arena (Swartz, 1997: 136), in that the struggle is between forms of capital. When the wealthy person and the poor artist look at a famous painting, the wealthy person, his strength being in the economic capital, may recognise the price, and similar pieces in that price range, and decide it is a good painting. The artist has a level of cultural capital in which he can appreciate the painting and judge its quality. Both consider themselves to be particularly good at judging art, but only one of them can afford to surround himself with these masterpieces. However, if someone was to ask about the paintings, the one with the cultural capital might have more to say. A third person with both economic and cultural capital, however, would be the most powerful of the three, within the field of art, for example. This is a mild version of an example for how the field of power impacts other fields and creates social divisions.

This shows then what was tried explained in the beginning, that: [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice]. Or written out, “habitus multiplied by capital plus field equals practice”. Meaning what we do, our actions, reactions and ways of behaving are all dependent on and deeply linked to both where we are (field), as well as who we are (habitus) which is thoroughly connected with what we ‘know and prefer’ (capital). And this process then describes the theory of practice. It is important to note that one cannot pick the terms apart and use only one of them for an explanation of practice, as they are connected to the point where they depend on each other in creating meaning. Bourdieu’s practice theory is indeed a very practical of theories. This is perhaps most visible in his concepts and how they are all greatly related to each other, interconnected and interdependent. They have to inter-act in order to be, of any relevance at least.



### 3.2 Bourdieu and Education

In addition to the theory of practice, Bourdieu has done extensive work on other areas, and particularly in the field of education has he brought some arguments and concepts relevant to the case at hand. As his concepts could be said to connect in a loose but grand theory, it would be valuable to explore further than the theory of practice, and as far as education goes, Bourdieu became known as an educational sociologist by English readers in 1971, and Robbins sums his main view up nicely when saying “*The field of institutionalised education is a highly influential one but its current form is the consequence of earlier social agency. Its values are internal to itself and the purpose of the system is to reproduce those values*”<sup>10</sup>(Robbins, 1998: 27 & 30). Bearing in mind the aforementioned concept of cultural capital, the values reproduced in the institutionalised education would occur from a dominant culture, where having the right capital to some extent means having the right values for the system. Furthermore, looking at this field as also being an actor in other fields, it has, and still is, developing a habitus which cannot easily be changed, if change would be desired. Looking at a globally sized field, while lower level education is normally based on local cultural capital (the culturally arbitrary), higher level education, as in universities, has needed to grow a bit more in unison through time, and is thus more likely to operate with similar if not same forms of capital, merging the ways of the nation with them. For example the idea of meritocracy (Which will be considered regarding academia and peace in the next chapter), where skills are assessed and often put on a scale showing to what extent a person possesses a certain desired capital. The closer a university’s methods of evaluating their students are to other universities, the easier it makes for example studies abroad for a student to be valid upon return, not to mention the convenience for future employers in deciding who to hire based on their skill levels<sup>11</sup>.

In *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (1990), Bourdieu and Passeron start off with discussing the pedagogic action, including whether or not it is an act of symbolic violence. The arguments which are somewhat affirming this saying that insofar as it is the cultural arbitrary defining what the pedagogic action entails, and the cultural arbitrary is the

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<sup>10</sup> Note the rarely objected ‘...education is a highly influential...’ and how it relates to peace education theories

<sup>11</sup> In this example the author takes universities to be well oiled machines, where merits are given purely objectively and justly.

dominant cultural capital in any given situation, it is a form of forced inculcation in to said arbitrary. It is, however, more complex than that: *“The idea of a PA [Pedagogic Action] exercised without Pau [Pedagogic Authority] is a logical contradiction and a sociological impossibility; a PA which aimed to unveil, in its very exercise, its objective reality of violence and thereby to destroy the basis of the agent’s PAu, would be self-destructive.”* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990: 12) Basically, in order to do a pedagogic action, the ones subjected to this action need to have accepted the pedagogic authority of the one doing the action. One needs to accept someone’s authority to teach in order for their actions to be considered pedagogical, and if the content of the teaching was in effect diminishing this very process, the actor would no longer have the given authority. In other words, if a pedagogic action is an act of violence, the receivers of this violence must have somehow accepted it. Pedagogic action implies pedagogic authority (ibid: 13), and in this way and over time, the cultural arbitrary reproduces as it defines the content of the pedagogic action<sup>12</sup>.

### 3.3 Why Bourdieu, why here?

Bourdieu and the theory of practice came as a natural part of the ‘conflicts in Peace Studies’ ideas. Not only are the concepts he presents very useful, but since his works are often all-encompassing, and descriptive of practices of individuals as well as organisations and collectives of fields, it leaves room for the researcher to do a multi-levelled study.

Furthermore, and assuming the theory actually works, it allows for seeing complexities where the fields are overlapping, agreeing or disagreeing. This in turn sheds an interesting light on the issue of the normativity of peace itself, and the varying definitions the interdisciplinary Peace Studies presents, where the field of power can be telling as to why for example Richmond’s liberal peace is so dominant. Furthermore it can be argued that the power struggles in the field may cause a plethora of symbolic violence, which in turn affects the levels of conflict within the field.

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<sup>12</sup> Please note this is a simplified version turned in to a summary

### 3.4 Complications and theoretical issues

Allowing for complicated, multi-levelled studies is all well and good. But using this theory requires a lot of choices to be made. As there are almost an infinite number of and versions of fields, some more and some less relevant to Peace Studies, choices need to be made as to what to take into account and what can be left out. This choice is made by an actor, who is a subject with a habitus possibly full of prejudice and ideas. If the subject has an abundance of capital in the field of rhetoric, it can argue well for its choices and make all seem like a good and objective work. But other subjects might have prioritised otherwise, or even consciously tried to get at a different point, and succeeded equally objectively-seeming. As a science, and particularly a social science, the value of the definition of objectivity and subjectivity is of great importance to the outcome of the research. While in natural sciences the researcher (who himself is a subject), can study objects (though it is still up to philosophical questioning to what extent the object is “objectively” studied), in social sciences you have subjects studying other subjects. Thus, the social scientist has to create fictive lines between himself and the ones studied. He has to objectify them. In daily speech, objectifying is rarely considered a positive term, as it connotes just that, the removal of an individual's subjectivity in order to understand it better. In some ways, we do not study people so much as we study concepts, and the roles and expectations we have or should have towards them. For example, the study of immigrants is a study of people, but only the chosen parts of the person that is related to his/her relation to immigration, and the researcher decides this (after all, you need to limit yourself in order to be able to go in depth enough for a valuable research). Bourdieu does not only discuss this ultimately subjectivity-objectivity based debate in social sciences, but claims to be able to offer a way out of it as well.

Through the theory of practice, he somehow opposes the view of objectivism, positivist materialism, and intellectual realism in that it refers to the world and the person in it in a more connected and interacting manner in which practice is the mean which continuously acts and reacts to its own practice (Bourdieu, 1990: p. 52). And this is where he tries to transcend this subjectivity-objectivity debate. For in order for the concepts habitus, field and capital to interact, they need actors. And the actors can never be anything other than themselves in any way, subjects if you like. But they are subjects within fields, with capital and habitus, and are greatly affected by each other and their surroundings. It is within this setting that the objectivity we speak about is created, developed and understood among the actors. For Bourdieu, that objectivity is created subjectively does not necessarily decrease the value of

the objectivity we know, but rather makes a point out of it that instead of being opposites; subjectivity and objectivity work in relation to each other. Research done into a field creates potential capital for the field thus somehow joining it. Accordingly, one should be clear and aware about any subjective pretences or agendas in order to strengthen the value/credibility of the objective.

Another criticism to this is the claim that this way out of the debate is really more of a sophisticated self-illusion, where Bourdieu instead of rising above objectivism is using his own objectivist habitus to look at objectivism (King, 2000: p. 418). This argument, however, does not really say much about anything, as speaking of an objectivist habitus means you are already in the sphere of Bourdieu's definitions and the argument turns tautological for the exact reason and point Bourdieu tries to get across; the necessary self-reflexivity. His intention of showing this view of objectivity is to make the social scientist more self-reflective of the field and the self as the scientist, in order to avoid landing on a false or imagined objectivity (Wacquant, 1989: 1).

A probably more critical issue with using these concepts in this context is the lack of a hands-on type case. According to Grenfell, the theory of practice is ultimately meant as a theory of *research* practice, saying "his key concepts only make sense when applied to practical research, and the whole *raison d'être* of the approach is that they should be used in new projects"<sup>13</sup> (Grenfell, 2008: 219). Though this thesis is arguably a 'new project', it involves other concepts to a much larger extent than it does human subjects. While the concepts in the practice theory are made to be imposed upon a case in order to explain it, here it is used as is, with an already well-assumed validity in order to create and make comments on occasionally synthetic human actors, as in illustrative examples. However, since fields also portray habitus and capital as actors in other fields, while all still being very theoretical, the previous chapter went through the amount of viewpoints for the purpose of developing an image of the fields as large as possibly (while still being relevant), in order to be able to view and analyse them also as actors within other fields, thus explaining power-relations which in the end also impact the research questions. This is what follows in the next chapter.

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<sup>13</sup> Grenfell does however also point out that this is something he deduced from the works of Bourdieu, and not something Bourdieu himself actually said, in addition to following this up with saying the practice theory as a method is not a recipe, but that the concepts are allowed to be used creatively.

## Chapter 4

### Combining forces – Bourdieu and Peace

By now it should be clear that although the discussions on how and what peace studies should be tend to go in various directions, there are some common ideas of the ideals of what Peace Studies should be, and the main discrepancy is as to whether it is up to the scholar to actually act him/herself. It should also be clear that though Peace Studies and Peace Education are parts of each other's fields, the directions they go are sometimes very different, and the contrasts that appear through this is what is primarily addressed here. This chapter will focus mainly on Peace Studies through Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, and will point out several areas in which the study, or more precisely the people within the study, are perhaps not as peacefully inclined as their intentions may be, neither during nor after their time in academia. Further, the role of Peace Education through Bourdieu will be evaluated, and seen as possibilities for improvement of Peace Studies.

#### 4.1 The Theory of Practice in relation to Peace Studies.

As it was defined, the “academic endeavour that is peace studies” has developed over enough time to be considered a field of its own. It does however also include and bases itself off the perspectives of several other fields. In the explanation of the concept of *field*, a sports analogy was used. Drawing from that image, you would see a field in which several sports were being played, more or less simultaneously. But all these 'sports' are played in fields of their own as well. And they are mainly played out on the even bigger 'field of academia'. It should be clear that in an interdisciplinary study, where the rules to be followed are coming from multiple angles, the necessary capital is vast and for many hard to grasp for its variety. Thus there is a multileveled play for power. However, as all disciplines are likely from within academia, the field of academia would be the primary field setting some ground rules for the 'game'. For example by deciding that Peace Studies should have a certain amount of students, or that there should be a set of courses defining the most important aspects of the field; or a certain curriculum which needs to be decided and approved of by someone with knowledge of the necessary scope for what is to be taught. Practical matters like this, like that there should be a way of judging progress and understanding, through the grading style belonging to the

academic field, partially to make it easier to compare the progress and quality between this field and others. Each field has their rules to follow, which rules are prioritised are based on the field of power, so as a start, it is beneficiary to have a good ‘feel for the game’ in the field of academia.

#### 4.1.1 The academic perspective

*“In academia, people fight constantly over the question of who, in this universe, is socially mandated, authorized, to tell the truth of the social world (e.g., to define who and what is a delinquent or a “professional,” where the boundaries of the working class lie, whether such and such group, region or nation exists and is entitled to right, etc.).”*

(Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 70-71)

The sports analogy for fields fit well with academics because it is a very competitive field on its own. There is a saying among academics which goes “publish or perish”, which shows a certain level of competition and indeed urgency actors within the field need to portray, not only to get ahead in the field, but even to stay in the game. Knowledge is constantly developed, and does not rest after this or that degree has been reached for any individual. This in turn creates a high level of competition which on a positive note drives sciences forward at a fairly high speed, however on a negative note; its success is only for the ones who can keep up. For Peace Studies, this also makes an impact in the research output. Going by the suggested ways of conducting Peace Studies presented in chapter two, it involves interdisciplinarity and often also a multiculturalism, as well as it cherishes both the ‘thinkers’ and the ‘doers’. One could imagine the doers could be excellent at the practical field works, but perhaps the thinkers would have a better grasp of the theories<sup>14</sup>. Being in academia, success or not would depend on the ability to communicate the science, be it practical or theoretical.

The field of academia makes efforts in being as culturally neutral as possible, and defines its own standards for knowledge. Schooling, or at least the so-called western school system, tries to be somewhat objective and logic based, it could be argued. And it should be even more so at higher levels, like in universities. However, also the university level classroom is a

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<sup>14</sup> This is clearly a largely generalised image created to prove a point

manifestation of a field which has been developed for a purpose. In the case of peace studies, it is a normative purpose where the defining power is constantly under scrutiny. Taking the previous line of argument in reverse, one step up in the hierarchy and there is the field of social sciences arguing for their defining power, for the proper methods to be used with good and logical argumentations. On one level up from that again, the field of academia has its own standards and rules to be followed. The issue for peace studies as a field of its own lies in its own defining power within the hierarchy, which gets extra interesting as the actors within it often come from different fields within social sciences, and can thus mainly bring capital from their own field. Because of the competitiveness of academia, this in turn makes Peace Studies a right melting pot of currency competing over value, to a large extent regardless of whether the study program has set rules for the game or not, as long as it is interdisciplinary in its setup and in the academic backgrounds of its actors.

Continuing in Bourdieu's concepts, as mentioned earlier, it has been argued that education in itself is a form of violence. But the kind of pedagogic violence Bourdieu and Passeron writes about most critically takes place where the people subjected<sup>15</sup> to the pedagogic authority fundamentally disagree with what is being taught, without having the possibility to object (1990: 11). This aspect is particularly interesting when looking at Peace Studies when it is taught interdisciplinarily, and to students of a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. One thing the academic field does allow for, indubitably even encourages, is objections. It is not only good for discussions and for learning, but is also - particularly in the social sciences - a necessary driving force. But when the different disciplines are taught one by one in peace studies, and the students subjected are from both different cultural as well as academic backgrounds, it cannot be expected that they would have enough capital in all the fields in play to be able to object if they felt it necessary. There are several aspects where this chronically disproportionate power-structure would affect the actors subjected to it, and create both internal and external conflicts.

#### **4.1.2 The people – the actors**

As language itself is an issue, in a classroom where English is the dominant language, but only a minority are native speakers of this language, having debates or discussions in a classroom, could end up going nowhere. The normativity of peace through different topics,

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<sup>15</sup> In a classroom of children, you could extend the subjected people to also the parents

combined with the relativity and arbitrariness of subjective truths, makes for conversations in seminars that seemingly only can and will end in conclusions which all depends on what appears to be fairly arbitrary factors based on whose points of view get across. Recalling in chapter two, what level these factors are to be drawn from is also unclear, where there are fundamental discrepancies between the epistemological views as well as the individuals' value bases (which become relevant because of the normativity and lack of clear definition of peace). For this reason, or for lack of any other conclusion that might have happened had the actors in the discussion been able and willing to dialogue more than discuss, and had the "truths" used as arguments been gone through and agreed upon prior to the conversations, clear conclusions are hardly reached. It should be pointed out, however, as this is in an academic sphere with students supposed to learn something, even bad discussions with no solutions may broaden a student's horizon, and the 'answers', he might find if or when he leaves the field of academia. The issue is really of whose conclusions land on solid ground, and the manners (or lack thereof) discussions or debates happen. These are clear power struggles between the fields, and the outcomes will likely be based on weakened cultural arbitraries.

Even so, if you actually try to get to the root of the matters at hand, another potential pitfall is to end up in discussions about definitions of words. Because whereas the great terms and concepts in academia are useful compilations of meaning, so not to have to explain oneself and ones frame of reference in too great of an extent needlessly, language itself is both subjective and cultural, and while we might be saying the same words, it does not necessarily mean we are saying the same thing. This becomes increasingly difficult when the discussions are done by actors from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As Bourdieu writes:

*"The illusion of the autonomy of the purely linguistic order that is asserted in the privilege accorded to the internal logic of language at the expense of the social conditions of its opportune use, opened the way to all the subsequent research that proceeds as if mastery of the code were sufficient to confer mastery of the appropriate usages, (...)"*

(Bourdieu, 1990: p. 32)

The aforementioned multicultural setting implies a variety in both culture and language among the people in the field. Complicated academic language in an actor's second or third language is not optimal for understanding, unless the actor has developed its academic habitus



in said language<sup>16</sup>. In addition, the academic field in which the actor has their backgrounds play a huge role in how the words are defined in and of their own. Just look at the continuously mentioned term ‘peace’, which has generated several versions of itself through time, depending on the various occurring views and definitions<sup>17</sup>. The different overarching terms and “-isms” that are used in academia are often originally explained to the student in the form of its relevance to the field where the student is situated. Thus also the doxa of the field in which the student interacts dominates the evolution of the habitus. And so it is that not only the spoken words, but the ways of speaking them comes in to play. Communication is a social sport, and while having the required amount of symbolic capital to be in academia, the necessary cultural capital is trickier to figure out, and is likely to land on the “loudest” versions. It returns to the field of power, and in order to discover and learn the necessary capital the focus will be on similarities, while differences will be hidden and excused. A deferring habitus is seen as a funny divergence or an odd behaviour, but forgotten as factors of identity or even personality (!) and valuable to the actor owning this habitus. This is an act of symbolic violence when in the concepts of Bourdieu, for even when the actors are still going by their own habitus (that is, they can still be themselves), there is a discrepancy between this and the capital arbitrarily desired (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 167-168). As should be clear by now, there is a lot of symbolic violence going on within the academic peace field, which creates excellent potentials for conflicts.

This issue is only strengthened by the field of academia, as the goal is, as Bourdieu and Passeron write in *Reproduction*, “*to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self-reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfilment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary (...)*” (1990: 54). Mentioned in the previous chapter, the cultural arbitrary is somewhat diffusely defined as whichever cultural capital is given the highest value by the majority and/or most powerful actors (1990: 9). The arbitrary in peace, for example, could be Richmond’s *liberal peace*, as it seems to be followed by the strongest actors in international relations, and teaching peace with the liberal peace as a silent backdrop is a brilliant way of reproducing it. In another view this points back to Brock-Utne’s call for more interdisciplinarity in academics, to avoid excessive compartmentalisation, and the circle is

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<sup>16</sup> Arguably, developing this academic habitus may be the purpose for the actor at that point in time

<sup>17</sup> Richmond phrases this like “*The evolution of thinking about peace seems to show that it is an ontologically unstable concept (indicative of ontological insecurity)*” (2006: 306)

complete, if the 'liberal peace' would become clearer as its own field, thus solidifying the field of Peace Studies, removing the interdisciplinarity.

Returning to the actors in the interdisciplinary classroom, the focus of the less powerful actors then needs to be on either to start tweaking their own habitus (as they probably will inadvertently anyway, though the effects would be more on the social capital rather than the cultural and thus not necessarily make too much of a difference over a shorter timeframe), or to search out their likeminded and stay close. And voila, social groups are constructed. The nice thing about this is that it does not necessarily become groups based on nationality, but rather on level of education, or prioritised field of all the fields in play at any time. However, if the purpose of creating such a varied setting is in order for people to learn from each other's differences, this shows a lack of motivation or skill to actually do so. The symbolic violence creates conflicts, but by avoiding addressing these conflicts, one creates nothing but stereotypes and larger gaps between people and groups, which is arguably not the intention. However, these are exactly the types of issues Peace Education aims at relieving.

#### **4.2 Bourdieu, Peace Education and Peace Studies**

In chapter two a view was presented in which scholars in Peace Education find it hard to make an all-encompassing and clear definition of what Peace Education is really about. The definition offered here by the author is consciously made as general as possible, but for that reason it may have become less explanatory for the reader. The focus so far, however, has been on the division between education *for* and education *about* peace, prioritising the education *for* peace under the headline of Peace Education, as Peace Studies really is a form of education *about* peace already. Hence, this section will focus on the part of Peace Education dealing with education *for* peace.

As students have chosen to learn about peace in the field of peace studies, one could easily claim they are likely personally interested in this as well. So while they learn about peace, they will bring their own expectations and habitus in to the classroom. Education for peace, the form which tries to build attitudes, as a concept, is the most habitus related, as its focus is on the traits or dispositions the education wishes to instil in people. A peaceful inculcation. The education for the purpose of peace is defined as one that makes a personal impact on a

student, and this impact may well help evolving the habitus to a more aware person - to a person who does not only see the “facts” he is presented and mechanically combines or analyses them, but who can grasp these facts even to a personal extent, through which he can not only be the detective, from Woolcock’s point of view, but also a translator and a diplomat. Academia will have you learn about topics, but experience and a personal understanding of the same topics will be helpful not only in the academic understanding but also in the future professions.

Brock-Utne defines the education *for* peace as a *broader informal learning of attitudes, values and behaviour* (Brock-Utne, 2008: 8). And in an actor’s attitudes, values and behaviour are exactly where we can see the habitus’ effects. As mentioned earlier, in order to change a habitus to a for example more peaceful one, a lot of time and effort is required in developing it. This corresponds well with Brock-Utne’s claim that the normal schooling system we know today, the current version of the field of education if you will, is not optimal for this kind of education, as it is meritocratic, and very competitive (2008: 20). In order to succeed you need to win the game, but the game can never be won, just developed as a field and actor with its own habitus. And so the competition only creates some ‘winners’ (who have a sense of the game) and some losers (who’s struggle with the connection of fields makes them weak players). Then, while the losers are working on creating a better feel for the game (or give up playing in this field), it is only reproducing itself and the strugglers are only reinforcing the system of the game they struggle in. The “losing” actor in this situation is experiencing a lack of correspondence between their habitus and the current conditions within the field, which can have him experience a change of fields (Grenfell, 2008: 78).

### 4.3 Combining forces

The arguments so far has been directed towards an idea of Peace Education as a tool to front some change in Peace Studies, assuming it would be a desired change. As far as the meritocracy of academics is concerned, it is a problem for Peace Studies only if was to contain both aspects of Peace Education. The need for this complete Peace Education has been the argument throughout this text, both for the purpose of improving credibility of the field, and in order to pay the normative peace its due understanding. Without the education *for*

peace, maybe Peace Studies programmes should come with a disclaimer, saying that the multicultural setting looks good in the advertisement.

There is, however, a great opportunity for educating for peace in the multicultural settings, when done with intent, even more often these opportunities may appear outside of the classroom, but with regards to people creating social groups based on common or complementary capital and field interests, the free-time based attitude-changing type of learning is easily short-lived. But staying in the classroom; while there are ways of teaching that would be more optimal to educate for peace, they are however not necessarily traditionally academically inclined. Galtung offers a Peace Education set-up containing five stages (2008: 53-55), and says only the first stage, analysis, is natural for academics. The next stage involves forming a goal, in which the students come together to formulate what it is they want for the future. The next step he calls critique, in which the students formulate the data and values the goal is based on. This refers back to the diagnosis-prognosis steps in Peace Studies. The fourth step involves making a plan of action, and the fifth is then to implement it. This would be the therapy, in the medicinal analogy. This way of doing peace education involves daring to be normative, but daring to be normative in groups of people likely much different from oneself. It makes it necessary to discuss these fundamental differences, yet focus on realising some agreement through all the steps. This way of focusing the education would be very challenging for all involved, as the field of power could still easily create conflicts. But in the setting it is done, it is exactly these conflicts that need to be worked through. More of an issue would be that the meritocratic academically minded might need it to have an impact on their career trajectory, i.e. grading of the students' performance. In addition, if one was to teach peace in this manner without grading, there would be a risk at which the people with strong academic and meritocratic habitus would just not join in, making an initially pluralistic group somewhat more homogenic, and the conflicts between the two groups then (the in and the out crowds) could still flourish. One solution would be to make this mandatory, but in so doing one is also forcing people to accept a pedagogic action because of a respect for a pedagogic authority. However, as the pedagogic action in this form of Peace Education is mainly driven by the students, the active authority would still be oneself, possibly alleviating some of the potentially experienced structural violence. It seems even with a strict (possibly to the point of a form of violence) overarching Peace Education defining Peace Studies, there will always be conflicts. The argument still goes, the goal is peace, and something, big or small, needs to change in order to achieve it. But if all are

pointing fingers at each other telling others to change, it will be a “victor’s peace” of the one who points it the longest, or gets the most followers to point with him. Until the next battle.

## Chapter 5

### Concluding, meandering, suggesting

Where there are people with needs, values, beliefs and traditions, there will be conflict. This much is true. But among the people who aim to fight them<sup>18</sup> or aim to deal with them in fruitful manners, like the people in Peace Studies: are there conflicts among them which are fuelled by the issues themselves? Yes, most likely. That is not to say it is a phenomenon specific to Peace Studies, but, like the pharmacist who does not believe in medicine; is he just making sugar pills all day? Chances are a person who find themselves within the field of Peace Studies, really do care about peace at some level. But the possible levels are so many that they can easily start contradicting each other. So of course there will be conflicts, when gathered among people so different from oneself, and everyone is fighting for their own version of peace. It is because they care.

Herein lies a contradiction in the interdisciplinary as well. The disciplines do not always agree, and they are valued for just that reason. One seems to have to balance in the peace field. In juggling the disciplines perhaps one even has to start cherishing the conflicts for their potential positive outcomes. But learning to appreciate conflicts, to the point where dealing with them is not experienced as completely draining of energy is a skill that needs to be developed, to be internalised to a habit, possibly even a habitus. In the dangers of generalisation, if all had the habitus of peaceful conflict transformation, ones energy might get to be saved for other things. For people who might work in peace related fields in the future, knowing how to create such peace for oneself and one's own relations might create positive ripple effects. So, can a practical use of Peace Education in Peace Studies help lessen the level of conflicts among the people in the field? Possibly! It might however also create more conflicts, but through a process which helps deal with them when they occur, and in so doing there should be less conflicts over time.

It was stated early on that the purpose of the development of Peace Studies as a focus was a desire for a change to the better, with less war and violence dominating. Enforcing change on unwilling actors would be an act of violence, both in Peace Education theories and in Bourdieu's view. But Peace Education, as it is defined and used in such a multitude of

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<sup>18</sup> A bit of an oxymoron there, fighting conflict.

manners, has a level of potential flexibility depending on the needs and views of the people it regards, and has the capacity to mould into the needed version in different circumstances. All it requires is some creativity and will. Both of which could be taught, if not just inspired, in a Peace Studies setting.

Even with a strict overarching Peace Education defining Peace Studies, there will always be conflicts, constant conflicts between different views of life, of academics, of people, or moral foundations. Thus the grounds to work by will be different for each institution teaching peace. And in each institution, if done correctly, these will still cause discussions or potentially conflicts if people are passionate enough. So perhaps the differences are experienced as direr within Peace Studies than in other academic fields. After all, it does affect the moral and values individuals have grown up with and internalised. But Peace is messy, so instead of tidying up when nobody agrees where things belong, learning to communicate in a manner where agreements are at least possible to achieve seems like a sensible idea. Tread carefully, for you never know whose values you are stepping on. But dare to step, or you will get nowhere.

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