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Programme Implemented with Liberian Refugees***

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1 Introduction

“Sometime they’ll give a war and nobody will come” (Carl Sandburg, 1878-1967)

In 2009 there were 365 political conflicts across the world. Violence was used in 143 of these conflicts – in 31 a massive amount of violence. Seven conflicts were considered as wars. The remaining 222 latent or manifest political conflicts were conducted non-violently (Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, 2009). What helps groups or individuals to use means other than violence to attempt a conflict resolution? What can be done to support societies with a history of violent conflict to reconcile and find non-violent means to resolve their conflicts? Can people be educated to deal with conflicts and problems in a way that enhances peace?

Various interventions are implemented around the world to actually support people to gain knowledge, develop skills and change attitudes and behaviour in a way which makes peaceful interactions more likely to occur. Many different programmes can be classified as “peace education”. Most of these efforts are not based on theoretical research, but have been developed or adapted by practitioners. Do the implementations actually realize a programme’s objectives? Are the objectives of a programme actually achieved? These important questions are rarely investigated systematically even for programmes that are widely used in various contexts.

In this vein, my present research project aims to examine implementation and effectiveness of a specific peace education programme in a refugee camp housing Liberians in Ghana. Instead of testing hypotheses of a theory in a laboratory, this evaluation tests implementations of a programme in a real-life context. Such a programme evaluation can be understood as “the use of social research methods to systematically investigate the effectiveness of social intervention programmes in ways that are adapted to their political and organisational environments and are designed to inform social action to improve social conditions” (Rossi, Lipsey, & Freeman, 2004, p. 16)

Evaluation research forms one of the weak links between theory-based research and impact-focused fieldwork. Researchers develop theories for understanding basic psychological mechanisms; practitioners work with people to help them change. Although both researchers and practitioners work on mechanisms to improve intergroup relations, there is little exchange between the two groups. Why is it difficult to learn from each other’s different perspective on the same matter? For research, the main aim is gaining knowledge and understanding a general truth; for fieldwork the aim is working effectively and having

an impact in a specific context with specific persons. According to these different goals, different languages, tools and approaches to the matter are used. For researchers, a differentiated – or “complicated” – language helps to use theories and hypotheses to investigate and explain specific mechanisms by separating contents to find specific effects and generalize about how the intervention works relying on their results. For practitioners, a simple – or “simplifying” – language helps to apply experience and reasonable ideas for implementing specific interventions by combining contents to find general effects and specify what worked well in this context relying on their observations. This gap is widely known and described:

The schism between practitioners and academics is one much discussed, deliberated and debated. Practitioners frequently lament the abstractness of the academic discourse and call for inquiries that are more relevant and responsive to the rapidly changing policy environment in world politics. Academics, on the other hand, insist that the policymaking and practitioner communities produce research that rarely goes beyond the “lessons learned” from a single case. Here, the need for cross-case generalizations and data sufficient for theorizing frequently is pointed out. Nowhere is this divide more problematic than in evaluation studies (Ohanyan & Lewis, 2005, p. 57).

With my evaluation I make an attempt to build a bridge between empirical relevance and theoretical knowledge. Mainly, I evaluate a specific peace education programme in a specific context. To do so, I also investigate different aspects from different theoretical perspectives that are important for programme, implementation and evaluation. Scientific methodology was used to systematically evaluate the programme and find the balance between scientific ideals and practicability in a stressful context with limited resources. In addition to evaluating the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (PEP) I also aim to combine theoretical and practical aspects towards a framework for understanding the complexity peace education interventions.

Sometimes it is claimed that research should be “non-normative” which means void of any values. I share the view of many peace psychologists that non-normative research is impossible; research cannot be completely abstracted and generalized from its context. Everything that is done by human beings – including research – is somehow driven by a motivation that is embedded in a context of cultural and individual values. This is especially true for evaluation research: “Evaluation is a rational enterprise that takes place in a political context” (Weiss, 1973, p. 94). Alone the selection of any research question is already a choice that implicitly distinguishes what is valuable to be (not) investigated. When

investigating how intergroup attitudes can be “improved” it is obvious that it includes a judgement of which direction of change is “good” and which is “bad”.

Research should be neutral and transparent. The inevitable normative and more or less political context should not lead to a biased use of strategies or methods; the first value a researcher is committed to is truthfulness. Mostly, evaluations are conducted in the course of a political decision to prove that, e.g., an intervention is useful. When competition for resources is involved, an evaluation needs to attract attention and implies political statements about problems, legitimacy and utility of goals and strategies, and the appropriate role of the social scientist (Weiss, 1973). However, my evaluation project has been planned independently from any stakeholders involved in programme development or implementation. It was my own choice to select this specific programme and to bring it into the specific context of the Buduburam refugee camp. I was supported by my supervisors and the German Research Foundation (DFG) which showed interest in me writing a scientific Ph.D. thesis and accepted my subject. The local organisation in the refugee camp had been highly interested in implementing the programme and proved to be a reliable cooperation partner with the interest of learning, capacity building and doing something useful for their fellow Liberians.

My motivation for this project was driven by an epistemic and an instrumental interest. My epistemic interest concerns the question of how human beings can break the cycle of violence in a post-war society. My instrumental interest was to write a Ph.D. thesis that allows me to gain practical experience and to learn about needs, wishes and potentials of refugees in the context of a post-war country. Both interests can be seen as rooted in my background as a granddaughter of Germans who had experienced World War II, losing close family members, their homes or, for one of them, even his life. Millions of human beings around the world at that time suffered a similar or even worse fate. But a war is not a natural catastrophe; my grandparents had lived in Nazi Germany and belonged to the society that was backing and building a terror regime, responsible for many atrocities and the beginning of the war in Europe. Three generations later, I am happy to enjoy peace in Europe even though traces of the war can still be found. As long as there are wars anywhere in the world, I want to understand how members of a society can find ways to find alternatives to violence to prevent further atrocities. Peace education seems to be an optimistic attempt to equip people with the skills necessary to prevent violence. Yet, I was sceptical: can such a programme actually reach its objectives? Will participants benefit and contribute to a

peaceful reconciliation process? Or, as a peace education participant put it: Can we make a difference tomorrow?

This work is structured in eight chapters. This first chapter acts as introduction, then Chapter 2 provides an overview of peace education in general as well as programmes, and theoretical and empirical approaches to peace education in a post-war context in particular. Chapter 3 outlines the historical background of Liberia and the specific context of the refugee camp in Ghana. Chapter 4 brings these two aspects together by first describing and analysing PEP, the specific peace education programme that is to be evaluated, and then presenting considerations for the implementation and the research questions for the evaluation of the intervention with and for Liberians. Chapter 5 describes the design, implementation and results of the complete peace education workshops implemented in 2007; Chapter 6 deals with the short-term modules of the programme that were implemented in 2008. Chapter 7 summarises and discusses the findings, their implications and further considerations leading towards a comprehensive framework for understanding peace education effectiveness. This will be followed by recommendations about the specific programme, peace education practice and peace education research. Chapter 8 will close the work with a conclusion.

2 Peace education in a post-war context

The aim of peace education is to support human beings in order to prevent violence or war and to contribute to a just society. When people have experienced violence, the danger that they themselves will use violence increases. Similarly, in a society with a recent history of war the outbreak of a new war has a higher probability than in a society that has not experienced war.

In the following, some definitions, historical aspects, different approaches and theories of peace education will be introduced, before coming to specific aspects for peace education in a post-war context. As a next step, three theoretical perspectives will outline mechanisms for why peace education might be effective. The chapter will end with an overview of peace education evaluations, their findings and the need for research.

2.1 The idea of peace education

The term peace education already expresses its basic idea: Using education to strive towards peace. In 1945 when after World War II the United Nations were founded to promote peace in the world, the importance of education was acknowledged: “Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed” (UNESCO, 1945). More than 50 years after this resolution, the UN still see the need for peace in the world. The period 2001-2010 was declared as the “International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World”, with education as a central element identified to achieve what they define as a

a set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life based on: Respect for life, ending of violence and promotion and practice of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation; Full respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States [...] Full respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms; Commitment to peaceful settlement of conflicts; Efforts to meet the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations; Respect for and promotion of the right to development; Respect for and promotion of equal rights and opportunities for women and men; Respect for and promotion of the right of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information; Adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations; and fostered by an enabling national and international environment conducive to peace.

(UNESCO, 1999, article 1).

Peace is a complex value or an ambitious ideal, and education can play a crucial role in helping people to work towards reaching this goal. However, what exactly is done to reach which forms of change or development is much less clear and varies across a broad spectrum among all interventions that can be claimed to be peace education. Many programmes that fall under this umbrella term actually do not have much in common. Accordingly, it is important to start with definitions and a historical frame before looking at the various approaches and their differences. Then an overview will be given about the similarities in the underlying assumptions of the endeavour of peace education.

2.1.1 Definitions and history

To define peace is almost as difficult as achieving it. Two aspects can be distinguished as suggested by Johan Galtung: *Negative peace* is the absence of war or other forms of organised direct violence defined as physical harm afflicted on persons. *Positive peace* describes a context in which every individual being can live in a way that allows them to develop their full potential according to their needs and wishes. In a state of positive peace no structural violence exists. Structural violence is “the institutionalization of inequality of opportunity and its implementation against a particular group” (Mukarubuga, 2002, p. 231). Accordingly, in positive peace no inequitable social institutions contribute to economic exploitation, poverty and political repression (Galtung, 1969). Structural violence as well as direct violence are often supported by cultural violence. This term is used for culturally rooted norms and assumptions that justify or (re)define against which group and under which circumstances harmful actions or restrictions are seen as legitimate (Galtung, 1990). In an ethno-political war cultural, structural and direct violence are all present and reinforcing each other. For its antithesis – sustainable peace – all three forms of violence should be absent.

Peace is possible. Anthropologists have found more than 40 peaceful societies on this planet (Harris & Lewer, 2008). Ethnographic accounts of these peaceful societies and cross-cultural data can be used to claim that non-violent conflict management and non-aggressive interaction can be found to be institutionalised in cultures in many parts of the world (Fry, 2001). Nevertheless, most states and societies in this world still include structural violence. The Global Peace Index ranks countries according to their state of peace, which is determined by 23 indicators in the domains of current domestic and international conflict, safety and security within society, and militarization. In the year 2009 only a few countries

are listed with a “very high” state of peace, among them New Zealand, Oman, Japan, Chile, Canada and Germany; still “high” rank Zambia, France, United Kingdom, and Vietnam; and in the category “medium” fall Madagascar, Tanzania, Brazil, USA, and China. Low or very low in their state of peace are, for example, Mexico, Angola, Belarus, Mongolia respectively Russia, Venezuela, South Africa, and India. Only a few countries are not included in the ranking, among them Liberia (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2009). This index illustrates that most states have not achieved the ideal of peace yet, and thus their people might need education to become more peaceful.

Similarly complex as the definition of peace is the definition of peace education. This term can be used for various educational efforts that share hardly anything other than their vague idealistic goal. Peace education in its broader sense serves as an umbrella term for

a process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level

(Fountain, 1999, p. 1)

Peace education is thus mainly defined by its goal of promoting what leads towards peace. Mostly, it refers to educational activities at schools or with groups of people in a non-formal setting.

The idea of using education to promote peace is very old and could be seen already in the teachings of the founding figures of some old religions. Regarding peace education’s secular history, the Czech teacher, scientist, educator and writer Comenius (1592-1670) with his important contributions for modern education should be acknowledged. Comenius used the term peace education and outlined that a road to peace is universally shared knowledge (Harris, 2008). The growing of peace ideology was marked by movements such as the International Peace Bureau in 1891 and the establishment of the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1912 a school peace league was represented in almost every state in the USA (Harris, 2008). Furthermore, during the 19th and 20th centuries influential thinkers and practitioners pushed forward the idea of educating for peace, most notably, John Dewey, Maria Montessori and Paolo Freire.

John Dewey (1859-1952) was an influential philosopher and educational theorist. He wanted to counter nationalism and promote internationalism and global understanding. Schools should become a basis for dynamic change that institutional thinking would bring

about, so that an attitude of world patriotism could emerge. He stressed the importance of subjects such as history and geography and outlined child-centred concepts to promote the goal of peace (Holwlett, 2008).

“Averting war is the work of politicians; establishing peace is the work of educators” – this phrase is from Maria Montessori (1870-1952). She observed the abuses under the fascist rule of Mussolini and developed a form of education that aimed to promote peace. She stressed the point that a teacher and her or his way of teaching are very powerful for promoting peace – or the opposite. She argued that global citizenship, respect for diversity, and personal responsibility should be implicitly and explicitly enhanced in education. She developed a pedagogy in which the whole school and all methods used should reinforce creativity, critical thinking and social skills (Duckworth, 2008).

Another peace educator is Paolo Freire (1921-1997). The Brazilian influential theorist formulated in his “Pedagogy of the oppressed” (1970;2000) principles that are fundamental not only for his critical pedagogy that helps students to question mechanisms of domination, but also for peace education that can be seen in this line. It acknowledges the power of education as a tool that can be used to train the next generation to be obedient and conform with an existing unjust system. The same powerful tool can be used to train the next generation in how they can start to create their own goals and choose as well as contribute to transforming the system in which they live (Freire, 1970;2000). Freire stressed the point that education is never neutral, but is rather a form of politics that serves some interests while impeding others. By using dialogue, democratic teacher-student relationships and the emphasis on the development of a critical consciousness of social, political and economic contradictions he wants to use education to enable individuals to promote socio-political change (Bartlett, 2008)

With World War II the need for peace and peace-promoting mechanisms became obvious. In 1944 and 1945 more than 2000 American psychologists signed a statement with ten postulates about peace and peace-promoting mechanisms both in general and for specific post-war policies. The first three postulates stress the potential of education for peace:

1. War can be avoided: War is not born in men; it is built into men. [...]
2. In planning for permanent peace, the coming generation should be the primary focus of attention. [...]
3. Racial, national, and group hatreds can, to a considerable degree, be controlled. Through education and experience people can learn that their prejudiced ideas [...] are misleading or altogether false. [...] Prejudice is a matter of attitudes, and attitudes are to a considerable extent a matter of training and information .

(Allport, 1945, pp. 376-377).

The United Nations and especially UNESCO (United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural organisation) were founded with the mission to promote peace and education. To date, they are still the main institutions to bring peace education forward, as evidenced by the declaration of the “International Decade for a Culture of Peace” for 2001-2010. In this time, resources were provided to publish books, launch media campaigns, and develop educational material to promote peace on all levels. All states were asked to develop an action plan for the decade and revise their national curricula to strengthen the ideal of peace, social justice and human rights. Information and exchange between different countries was facilitated (Bajaj, 2005; UNESCO, 2002). This action plan acknowledges that peace should not be imposed but emerge from local sources, thus a grassroots movement is to be encouraged to build the culture of peace (Page, 2008).

Peace education has reached all levels of the educational system although differently in different societies. To date, peace studies or conflict resolution programmes are increasingly promoted in colleges or universities, e.g., in the US (Smith, 2007), Australia (Barnes, 2007). Each society has specific problems or fears and needs a specific focus of peace education. Whether the aspect of negative peace or positive peace is more important depends on the agenda of the given society. In each context other distinct social, political, economic, historical and cultural factors are salient and will shape the prioritised objectives of peace education. In the context of a given society, peace education can be based on the best-fitting strategies to move and teach towards this ideal, dealing with their own particular problems and goals. So each society can prefer another sort of peace education that often uses another term and can be taught at school or in more non-formal arrangements for different target groups.

The actual term “peace education” is mainly used in conflict-prone society as if peace was a word to use only in the salience of war or violent conflict. While some theorists are in favour of this narrow use of the term (e.g., Salomon, 2009a), others classify peace education as everything that aims at the: “transformation of educational content, structure, and pedagogy to address direct and structural forms of violence at all levels” (Bajaj 2008, p 135). My focus is on peace education in its narrow sense (in a post-war context), but I see some advantages in using the term “peace education” in its broader sense as well. I thus try to make it clear when I deem it important that I write about this educational approach in its narrow sense by including “post-war” or “post-conflict” or “in societies with a history of violent conflict”. However, whenever I use only the term “peace education” I use it sometimes in its broad sense and sometimes in its narrow sense.

2.1.2 Different approaches

Every society has its own agenda, so peace education around the world has a wide spectrum of focal themes. Yet, besides its contents there are many more dimensions on which different programmes of peace education can vary in their concept or implementation. Table 2.1 provides an overview.

Most topics in peace education cluster around development, conflict, peace, and future. Several attempts have been made to group different programmes into specific strands of peace education. Yet, categorizing programmes is easier on a conceptual level than with regard to the actual programmes, as they often include aspects of several categories. Possible strands are human rights education, moral education, human values education, citizenship education, education for coexistence, and global education. INEE (2005, c) compiles a bibliography of peace education materials that are clustered in seven categories: 1) Conflict resolution, 2) Ecology, environment and health; 3) Economic and social justice; 4) Ethnic and cultural differences; 5) Human rights, 6) Peace pedagogy; and 7) Public media. The largest cluster is the conflict resolution approach that is the umbrella for many interventions all around the globe. Mostly it is training to engender peaceful conflict resolution skills such as negotiation and mediation. Moreover, programmes in this category include creative problem-solving, communication skills, perspective taking, and cooperation.

The focus in peace education can be on issues of different levels: global, national, community, interpersonal or intrapersonal. Similarly, the programmes vary in their specificity and either indirectly deal with general topics or directly focus on the conflict and context of participants' societies. Indirect approaches that, e.g., promote reflective thinking, tolerance, human rights, empathy, and conflict resolution are useful in any phase of a conflict by strengthening peace-promoting attitudes and preparing the ground for long-term change. Direct approaches need certain conditions in society and an educational setting to deal with history and processes of a given conflict, question the enemy image and try to promote new emotions towards the rival group (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009). Examples of locally tailored programmes are a-bomb education in Japan of the 1950s, education for mutual understanding in Northern Ireland, reunification education in Korea, nuclear education in North America and Europe during the Cold War (Harris, 2002) or education about citizenship and indigenous rights for the rainforest regions in Mexico (Busquets, 2007). Other programmes try to combine globalised perspectives and indigenous concepts (e.g., Turay & English, 2008).

The theoretical foundations of peace education programmes are often not clearly stated. In many cases, programme developers are practitioners. Their background can be pedagogical, religious, political, multi-cultural, psycho-social or artistic, and accordingly they will base the programme implicitly or explicitly on broad or specific theories or assumptions of their specific domain. Some examples of possible theories that can influence programmes are contact hypothesis, cooperative learning, moral development, and enlightenment.

The broad goal of peace is broken down into more specific objectives that also vary with concept and context of programmes. The main objectives can belong to a broad spectrum: increased knowledge on peace and conflict, activism for social change, social responsibility, personality development, improved intergroup relations, moral values, trauma healing, changing of interpretations and narratives, critical thinking, prosocial skills, or more peaceful behaviour. Clusters of objectives could group different programmes to different strands of peace education. Although there is a lack of consistency in the use of terms one strand could be education for coexistence that seeks to “replace dehumanizing stereotypes, chronic distrust, hostility, violence and moral exclusion with, initially, tolerance and minimal cooperation and, ultimately, moral inclusion – increasing the applicability of justice, sharing of resources, and making sacrifices that could foster joint well-being” (Opatow, Gerson, & Woodside, 2005, p. 307). The desired changes can be cognitive, affective, volitional or behavioural, and are mostly combinations of all of these domains of change (Salomon & Kupermintz, 2002).

Whereas the concepts and contents of programmes vary, there is a broad consensus among peace educators that a great deal of emphasis should be placed on teaching methods. For transmitting values and attitudes the form may turn out to be even more important than the contents. The way peace education is taught should mirror the idea of peace and structural non-violence (e.g., Galtung, 2008; Haavelsrud, 2008). The teaching and learning process should be participatory and interactive. Some even argue that the organisational structure must be changed, e.g., in a school context (Haavelsrud, 2008) as the aim of peace education can be understood to transform not only the minds of individuals, but also the structures of a given institution or even society (Snauwaert, 2008).

Many peace educators agree that peace education should be “feet first” rather than “head first” (McCauley, 2002), thus leading from practical behaviours to more profound understanding, instead of abstract ideas with the vague hope that the constructs learned might lead to appropriate behaviours (McCauley, 2002). Or as Perkins put it: “For peace

education to do its job, learners need to do more than master ideas conceptually. They need to become civil and ethical activists, at least within their immediate contexts” (Perkins, 2002). The learners should become active to reduce direct interpersonal violence as well as

Table 2.1: *Dimensions on which peace education programmes can vary*

Dimension	Possible aspects
Concept	
Contents	Non-violence, theory of peace and conflict, conflict resolution techniques, human rights, moral values, history, social competence, intergroup relations, gender sensitiveness, ecological balance, inner peace...
Level of focus	Global/international, national, intergroup relations, interpersonal, intra-personal
Specificity	Context and conflict specific (direct), more general or open approach (indirect)
Theoretical foundation	Contact hypothesis, cooperative learning, moral development, enlightenment
Background	Religious, political, multi-cultural, psycho-social, artistic
Main objectives	Increased knowledge on peace and conflict, activism for social change, social responsibility, personality development, improved intergroup relations, moral values, trauma healing, changing of interpretations and narratives, critical thinking, prosocial skills, more peaceful behaviour
Domains of change	Cognitive (stereotypes, prejudices, knowledge, understanding), affective (empathy, acceptance, tolerance, self esteem, respect, forgiveness), volitional (willingness for contact, openness for other’s narrative), behavioural (conflict resolution skills, social contact, prosocial skills, non-violence)
Methodology	Lectures, excursion, discussions, small group work, role-plays, game-like activities
Implementation	
Environment	Same as usual, somewhere else (e.g., peace camp abroad)
Support of authorities	Explicitly / implicitly, officially and visibly for all (inclusion into programme)
Participant selection	Self-selected, other-selected with certain criteria, inclusion of all available
Facilitators	More or less qualified/experienced, same/different cultural background, gender, number per group, suitability as role models
Context	Rather peaceful, conflict, post-conflict
Target group	Adults, youth, children, specific groups (e.g., women, ex-combatants...)
Setting	Formal (school), non-formal (workshop, peace camp)
Framework	Single activity, concerted activities on different levels, with/without preparation
Contact possibility	Participants belong to one group / to different groups in conflict
Intensity of delivery	In one block (camp or workshop), in some intervals, on a regular basis
Duration	Anything between 3 and 100 hours

structural violence. Most programmes use cooperative interactive learning situations. Learners work together in small groups in which they can bring in their own thoughts and experience or engage in peer tutoring. Especially in intergroup situations, cooperative learning has the advantage of bringing learners in good contact and practice exchange and cooperation. This form of learning has strong and lasting effects and can promote close cross-ethnic friendships (Hamburg & Hamburg, 2004). The actual specific methods vary and probably often don't measure up to the high ideal of structural peace. Galtung (2008) proposes five phases that should be learned and practised: First, facts are to be systematically investigated to learn methods of *analysis*. Then, *formulating goals* helps to get a concrete picture of how the world should look. Third, a *critique* can give a diagnosis of past and present and trends for the future. On the basis of these data of ideal and reality, a *proposal-making* lines out how to get from the real world to the preferred world. Fifth, a concrete *action* can be discussed or carried out (Galtung, 2008). Although not many peace education programmes will realize this whole process, most include at least aspects of one or more of these five phases.

Most peace education programmes aim at children or youth although it is often argued that adults need peace education as well (Nevo & Brehm, 2002). Some universities offer courses in peace and conflict studies or related topics. In 1972 more than 150 institutions in the USA offered peace education at college level. The goals were to help students understand some world problems and prepare them for peace research or governmental policy-making process and advancement of a more just system in the world (Washburn, 1972). In post-war societies there is a recognized need to reach many members of society. Often NGOs find platforms for non-formal settings. In workshops or courses they can even reach members of communities who had or have no access to formal schooling.

The structural implementation of peace education varies between countries. Some form of peace education can be a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. This is the case, e.g., in Armenia (Mikayelyan & Markosyan, 2007). Norway has a national policy to combat bullying and violence in school (Johannessen, 2007). In Finland, global education according to guidelines of UN and UNESCO has been implemented in the basic education curriculum since the 1960s and has been recently revised (Pudas, 2009). Two-thirds of all the schools in New Zealand have established peer mediation programmes (Barnes, 2007). In Colombia, the Ministry of Education has established national assessments of citizenship in schools after having enhanced citizenship education that includes cognitive, affective and behavioural competencies (Patti & Espinosa, 2007).

Peace education can be one element in a whole concert of programmes at different levels. An example for an orchestrated effort that successfully abolished the concept of a “hereditary enemy” and brought people from formerly warring parties to liking each other can be seen in the German-French relations after World War II. Besides cooperation in the domains of politics and economics both states created a joint agency that promoted extensive youth programmes, language learning, exchanges on different levels, and information about each other. From 1963 till 2002 more than 7 million people participated in at least one of these encounter programmes (Deutsch-Französisches Jugendwerk, 2003).

2.1.3 Theories and assumptions

Although peace education in its broad definition consists of a variety of very different activities, some core assumptions can be found in almost all approaches. These assumptions that build the foundation of peace education mainly concern definitions of peace education, its goal, and its methods.

Peace education is clearly normative: it wants to instil certain values in students. Peace is seen as positive – violence as negative. The underlying thought is that peaceful co-existence and cooperation is possible and can – thus should – be learned. Peace is seen as the ideal or a process towards this ideal. Thus peace education aims to work towards reduction of direct, structural and cultural violence, increase of justice and social caring, and development of a culture of peace. Such a culture of peace enhances values, attitudes, traditions, habits and behaviours that are based on the principles of human rights, non-violence and tolerance. In such a culture socially responsible citizens become aware whenever something is not fair or otherwise problematic. Moreover, they know, accept and reflect critically that they themselves as well as their fellow human beings have limitations and flaws, so they support each other and change their own direction whenever it turns out to be not so good. They are empathic, know about dynamics of conflict and peace, and feel responsible and alert enough to oppose to political agitation, manipulations or group thinking. Instead of being victims, perpetrators or bystanders in conflicts they tend to be agents of peace. They use moral courage and political mechanisms of democracy to actively work towards positive improvements in their local environment as well as in their national state and the global system (Gugel & Jäger, 2004).

Arguments for the importance of peace education can be found in different philosophical theories of ethics. Virtue ethics sees the development of character as important. Many values promoted by peace education can be seen as virtues, and one of its goals is the

transformation of individuals towards agents of peace in line with the Gandhian thought of non-violence as “truth-force” (satyagraha). Consequentialist ethics states that the consequences of an action determine its morality. So in this line peace education would be moral as the consequence of its successful application in a broad scale would be peace. Aesthetics ethics can render arguments for peace education as it approves of what is beautiful, desirable or considered of value. Even conservative political ethics provides arguments in favour of peace education with its aversion to violent social change. Yet, other notions in these philosophical traditions such as commitment to the status quo and a nation state or a dislike of ideology and vision renders it less useful for the promotion of peace education. By contrast, the ethics of care is fully sustaining peace education, as this tradition highlights nurturing and caring as a guiding principle on how we behave towards others (Page, 2004).

Most peace education approaches see problems and conflict as natural and stress the importance of how we deal with them. Aggression and violence are only one option among others and neither necessary nor inevitable. Both aggressive behaviour and non-violent reactions to conflict are not innate but learned (Björkqvist, 1997). This is why many peace education programmes entail conflict resolution trainings: If people learn to see conflicts as chances for change and address them appropriately with constructive mechanisms, violence is no longer necessary. Knowledge (e.g., about perception, stereotyping, etc.) can provide learners with alternatives to their usual behaviour and help them to act rather than react in a given situation. Socialisation and resocialisation processes that enhance non-violent attitudes, beliefs and worldviews as well as establishment of social systems or institutions for conflict prevention and resolution can contribute to making a society more peaceful (Fry & Fry, 1997).

The aim of peace education when taken seriously is highly political: the students should become socially responsible critical active citizens. So peace education can be seen as a training for skills, knowledge, values and behaviour necessary to challenge direct, structural and cultural violence and to promote peace within oneself, in the neighbourhood and in the society and in the world. Many people should be supported through this in order to build up a civic society that can challenge authorities and traditions (Anderson & Olson, 2003). Education only provides the possibility for transformation; not everyone wants to or will become agents of change. Yet, the more people are given this opportunity means those who want to become active are more likely to be provided with the tools to do so. Many peace education programmes include concepts and approaches of peace and conflict research.

Ideally, peace movements, peace research and peace education should work jointly together reinforcing each other (Harris, 2004b).

As mentioned above, the methods used to educate for peace should mirror the message that is taught. Any form of violence is to be avoided in the teaching and the institution of teaching. The learners are in the centre with their individual needs and interests. Inter-active and cooperative learning methods lead towards the goal of critical democratic participation. The learner is taken seriously and asked to bring in their experience and own ideas and to question their own culture where it legitimizes violence. This core assumption makes peace education especially suitable for community approaches that target adults.

2.2 Peace education in post-war societies

Peace education is especially needed in contexts of conflict-prone societies. Depending on the phase and intensity of a given conflict, peace education faces different challenges. In such regions, peace education has very specific goals and conditions that are different to those in relatively stable environments (Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005). A great deal of research about peace education has been conducted in Israel with a still-ongoing conflict that is often characterized as “intractable”. In intractable conflicts, the conflict between collectives is predominant, history and the groups’ narratives sustain this conflict, and deeply rooted beliefs about the parties involved are often perceived as truths not to be questioned and are thus highly resistant to change (Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005). This climate is different to this in a society after a civil war with people looking forward to peace and, in principle, willing to change.

In post-war societies much reconstruction work is needed and peace education has to be incorporated in a whole concert of necessary peacebuilding efforts on different levels (Cardozo, 2008). After a civil war, large parts of the population are traumatised and often struggle to meet their basic needs. Rebuilding of political institutions and economic infrastructure is of predominant importance, and the process of reconciliation is perceived to be difficult. Peace education in this context can help to challenge enemy images and extremist ideologies as well as tools for individual empowerment and to bridge social divisions which are all important preconditions for prevention of recurrence of fighting (Wessells, 2005). More than in other contexts peace education in post-war situations should not be limited to children or youth (Opatow et al., 2005). Adults had adapted to the norms of war and adults are there now to build peace and move towards reconciliation and a stable peaceful society. Adults transmit the values and norms that shape behaviour and attitudes in the current society and possibly in the future (Fountain, 1999).

Peace education in a post-war society needs to be understood within its context, its goal and its possibilities as well as limitations. In the following the special context of peacebuilding will be introduced before defining reconciliation, which is the main goal of peace education here. Then the limitations and challenges will be discussed.

2.2.1 The context: Peacebuilding

After a time of violent conflicts in a country, a peace accord can stabilize the society, but this is only the beginning of a longer process to establishing peace. While *peacekeeping* ensures absence of direct violence, *peacemaking* is concerned with implementing peace accords; however, both are only preconditions to changing the whole society in its structures, norms and policies from war to peace. This last process is referred to as *peacebuilding* and can be understood as “comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people” (Boutros-Ghali, 1992 §55). It includes a variety of activities at different organisational levels of a society. On the macro-level of the society, a democratic system can be set up; on the meso-level of communities, institutions for constructive conflict resolution can be installed. On the micro-level individuals can be trained to be agents of change. All levels should be involved to complement each other and mutually reinforce the process towards a peaceful and stable society (Cardozo, 2008; Llamazares, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998a). Peacebuilding is a long-term empowerment process of incremental change that includes unpredictability, flexibility and serendipity (Leonhardt, 2003). Factors contributing to reconciliation and peace on the different levels are shown in Figure 2.1.

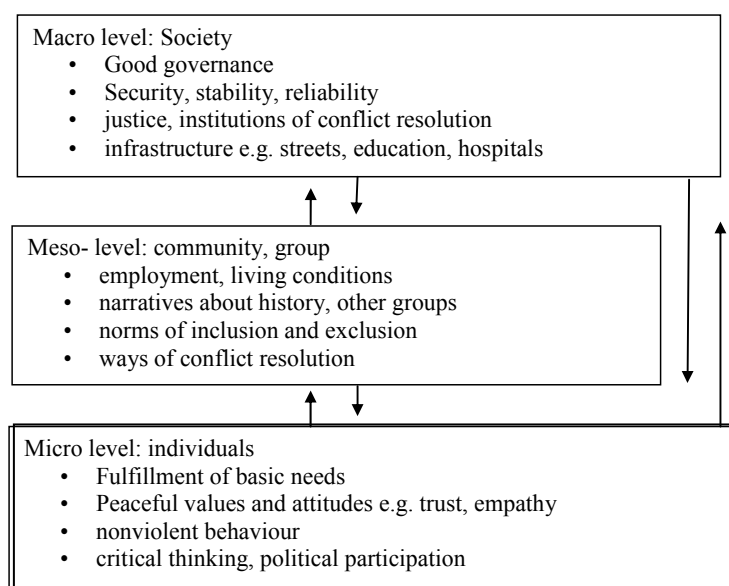


Figure 2.1: Factors promoting reconciliation on the different levels of society.

After a civil war, there is a high risk for new outbreaks of violent conflict, especially if the economic situation is poor (Sørli, Gleditsch, & Strand, 2005). Besides rebuilding the economy, political institutions need to be re-established. However, implementing a form of democratic rule in a divided society without strengthening institutions for peaceful conflict resolution and an active civil society can be dangerous and could lead to new outbreaks of violence (Sambanis, 2002; Knight, 2003). The society needs to come to terms with the past and establish just structures and institutions of governance while finding a way for peaceful co-existence. This can be done by using a community-based approach with interventions differentiated and sensitized to the specific geo-historical context (Christie et al., 2008).

Individuals who have experienced violent conflict have changed their behaviour during this state of emergency and need to re-adapt to peaceful living conditions. To cope and survive in a context of threat, danger and fear, people dehumanize the opponent; they tend to rely on a forceful leader and perceive themselves as victims and the opponent as perpetrator. Violence and mobilization for struggle increases pressures for conformity and unity, dissenters are sanctioned and criticism is rejected (Bar-Tal, 2004). When violence, fear, mistrust and hatred have affected people it is difficult for them to build peaceful relations (de la Rey & McKay, 2006). Victimized people feel diminished and vulnerable. They perceive the world and members of groups other than their own as dangerous. This might lead them to new violence which they see as justified defence (Staub, 1999). To prevent a cycle of violence, all groups need to engage in processes of reconciliation (Staub, Pearlman, Barbanel, & Sternberg, 2006). Hence, in the context of a recent civil war, reconciliation is an important element for sustainable peace.

2.2.2 The goal: Reconciliation

In the context of societies that have been through civil war, peace education can help individuals on their way towards reconciliation. In this context peace education includes both an intrapersonal aspect and an intergroup aspect of reconciliation. The intrapersonal side is about coming to terms with one's past, healing trauma, and renouncing revenge and violence. The intergroup aspect of reconciliation is a process bringing formerly warring groups in a society to accept each other and cooperate or at least peacefully live with each other.

There are different definitions of reconciliation. It can be understood as "coming to accept one another and developing mutual trust" (Staub & Pearlman, 2003, p. 433). This concept of reconciliation requires forgiveness and seeing the humanness of former enemies.

The factual past needs to be accepted by both perpetrators and victims to acknowledge the pain and suffering of the victims. However, the past should not be used for defining the future with similar conflicts (Staub & Pearlman, 2003). Reconciliation can be viewed as a process or as a state. Different elements can be included: the transformation towards a harmonious relationship, an agreement on a set of historical events, and the capacity to live with one another (De la Rey, 2001). Furthermore, spiritual aspects (changed attitude including atonement and forgiveness) and secular aspects (restoration of justice, prosecution of perpetrators, and acknowledgement of governments' wrongdoing) can be distinguished (McKay & Mazurna, 2001). Nadler and Shnabel (2008) outline instrumental reconciliation defined as overcoming distrust by repeated cooperation, and socioemotional reconciliation defined as overcoming feelings that emanate from threat to the sense of one's worthy identity by admission of past wrongdoings and subsequent forgiveness. Kelman (2008) stresses the element that each party accommodates the identity of the other into the identity of the own group so that new attitudes are established and categories of victim and victimizer are ruled out.

Yet, reconciliation needs to be understood in its particular cultural context. Bar-On (2005) cautions that the concept of reconciliation and forgiveness is religious, more specifically Christian, so he rather focuses on parameters that can be used to determine the state of reconciliation in a post-conflict society. These suggested parameters are establishment of trust and confidence, reflectivity, collective identity construction, long-term orientation in the time dimension, using subjective language to tell the narratives, participation of women and children, and careful management of hope (Bar-On, 2005). In the South African concept of Ubuntu (the philosophy that humans need humans) the process of reconciliation involves different stages. The facts are told, and the perpetrator is encouraged to acknowledge responsibility or guilt, demonstrate remorse and ask for forgiveness. The victim is encouraged to show mercy. Then the perpetrator should pay compensations or reparations (symbolic or real). Amnesty is granted without impunity, and all are encouraged to commit themselves to reconciliation (Murithi, 2009).

Some research has been carried out to identify factors that contribute to reconciliation after war or violent conflict. In different contexts with history of violent conflict (Bosnia, Chile, Germany, Israel, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, South Africa) researchers found evidence for what can under certain conditions lead people to be more willing to forgive or reconcile with (members of) the group of former enemies. They found that their participants expressed more readiness for reconciliation when they showed high intergroup forgiveness (Noor,

Brown, & Prentice, 2008), or low justification of past violence (Noor, Brown, & Prentice, 2008); when they had participated in a community group intervention (Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005) or when they were presented with the messages from a member of the adversary group that expressed empathy (Nadler & Liviatan, 2006), empowerment or acceptance (Shnabel, Nadler, Ullrich, Dovidio, & Carmi, 2009). Forgiveness was rather shown by people when they had frequent or close and positive intergroup contact (Cehajic, Brown, & Castano, 2008; Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, 2006; Tam et al., 2007), when people showed higher empathy or perspective taking (Hewstone et al., 2006; Noor, Brown, Gonzalez, Manzi, & Lewis, 2008; Noor, Brown, & Prentice, 2008), trust (Hewstone et al., 2006; Noor, Brown, Gonzalez et al., 2008), positive outgroup attitudes (Hewstone et al., 2006), when they expressed less anger (Cehajic et al., 2008; Stein et al., 2008), or when they did not make a difference between ingroup and outgroup concerning attribution of specifically human emotions (Tam et al., 2007), or when they identified highly with a common ingroup (Cehajic et al., 2008; Noor, Brown, Prentice et al., 2008) or did not believe that they had suffered more than the outgroup (Noor, Brown, & Prentice, 2008).

So peace education should advance and facilitate reconciliation by helping participants to (re)construct their worldviews for an era of reconciliation and peace (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2004). Such a worldview can be characterized by moral inclusion that is fair to others, gives resources to them and is even willing to make sacrifices for their wellbeing (Opatow et al., 2005). The concept of reconciliation can be broken down to objectives for peace education. Salomon expects that peace education yields

four kinds of highly interrelated, dispositional outcomes: accepting as legitimate the other's narrative and its specific implications; being willing to critically examine one's own group's actions toward the other group; being ready to experience and show empathy and trust toward the other; and being disposed to engage in non-violent activities (Salomon, 2002, p. 9).

Staub (2003) argues that for true reconciliation and prevention of future violence, people need to develop social skills such as empathy or trust, and gain skills for peaceful conflict resolution (Staub, 2003).

2.2.3 The limits: Problems and challenges

The idea of peace education is idealistic and needs to be critically questioned to get a clear picture of what can and what cannot be actually achieved. General doubts or specific concerns question idea and theory peace of education. Limitations of peace education can also be found concerning the practice of actual implementation and in the contextual framework in which an implementation takes place. I will give a short overview of these areas of problems and challenges.

General doubts have been expressed that peace education may be too universalistic and essentialist, failing to address the relativity of all concepts including “justice”, “human rights”, “peace” and “violence”. Thus it reproduces “symbolic, mental, economic, cultural, and political struggles [...] for hegemony over representing “reality” as it really is, reality as it actually should be interpreted, or as it should be best deconstructed/reconstructed” (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001, p. 334). Other authors argue in a similar vein when discussing the danger that peace education can stabilize a status quo with asymmetric power relations (Johnson & Johnson, 2005; Maoz, 2004; Sagy, 2008). Peace education thus should not romanticize an idea of tranquil harmonious peace but should highlight the reality of social tensions and ways for social change for sustainable social justice (Opotow et al., 2005). This highlights the peace education objective of critical thinking that should be used also for the very contents of peace education itself.

Another concern is a potential cultural bias or the danger of imposing Western or individualistic concepts on non-Western cultures. This can relate to the specific contents of a programme, to its methods or to its aims. As an example may serve the core word peace. Whereas the words for peace in Western languages tend to express a relation in the outside world, the words for peace in some Asian languages stress more an intra-personal state (Galtung, 1981). In qualitative interviews in Sri Lanka almost half of the interviewed peace educators mentioned the creation of inner peace as an important element of peace education (Cardozo, 2006). Accordingly, in cross-cultural interventions such locally rooted concepts should be considered. Furthermore, all people involved should look for aspects of cultural violence in their own backgrounds and be attentive to implied messages in whatever they do. Such an approach of Do No Harm might help to reduce unwanted side effects.

The actual implementation of peace education is often far from ideal. This can be attributed to a lack of critical elaboration and reflection of aims and methods as well as lack of systematic evaluations (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001). Peace education is seldom theory-based, rather it is oriented to be practical (Gugel & Jäger, 2004). To convince donors or policy makers for

supporting a programme, rather than an empirical evaluation a collection of vivid anecdotic illustrations of best practices is often more appreciated (Halpern, 2005). Yet, lessons learned that are transferred from one context to another do not consider all potential factors and actual consequences of a given intervention. For really improving the implementation practice a systematic analysis, assessment and evaluation of the intervention would be necessary.

Peace education must be seen within the context in which it is placed. If the sources of conflict and structural violence are still there, long-term changes of attitudes and behaviour are difficult to be obtained by a peace education training (Raines, 2004). The conflict-oriented culture needs to change to a culture of peace. Media, politicians, education system and other institutions of the society need to reinforce such profound change. Only depending on a supportive sociopolitical context can peace education play the role of a gradual socialisation (Salomon, 2006). If the peace is imposed and structural violence is still dominating one social group, peace education can be abused to institutionalize the status quo through indoctrination of low-power citizens to accept domination (Johnson & Johnson, 2005).

The escalation and continuation of a conflict produces many beliefs, attitudes and perceptions that are obstacles to peace and reconciliation and thus should be overcome by peace education. Salomon (2006) lists some of these hurdles: mutually exclusive historical memories, deeply rooted beliefs about conflict and adversary, grave inequalities and a belligerent social climate. Eidelson and Eidelson (2003) identified five belief domains that generally tend to foster conflicts, instability and injustice between groups. These collective worldviews cluster around the topics of superiority, injustice, vulnerability, distrust and helplessness (Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003). To change such worldviews or core beliefs is an objective of peace education that is not easy to achieve. Attitude changes can be found in laboratory research, but it is questionable how meaningful these attitudes are for the individuals within the laboratory. In field studies and common experience, it is often very hard to alter attitudes, especially attitudes that are held with conviction and make a difference to people and societies (Abelson, 1988). Maybe only peripheral attitudes can be actually changed in peace education (Salomon, 2006). And sustaining changes could be even more difficult than creating them (Salomon, 2009a). Nevertheless, small changes might be a foot-in-the-door phenomenon able to pave the way for crucial changes (Freedman & Fraser, 1966). Such possible sleeper effects of change in worldview and beliefs are difficult

to measure and need for their assessment specific instruments susceptible to changes of the specific relevant beliefs.

The philosophy, content and structure of peace education programmes can be questioned. If programmes serve like recipe books only to train interpersonal skills helping people to deal with triggers of violence, they might fail to address the deeper, structural causes of the societal conflict (Anderson & Olson, 2003; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). While still being in favour of these peace education programmes in their own right, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) try to promote “Peacebuilding education” as a bottom-up process:

driven by war-torn communities themselves, founded on their experiences and capacities. It would be firmly rooted in immediate realities, not in abstract ideas or theories. It would be applied, immediate, and relevant, which means that it cannot be restricted to the classroom (p. 23).

Another perspective is the idea that peace education should be more radical, not seeing conflicts as inevitable but seeking to transform participants’ worldviews towards a “unity-based” peace orientation (Clarke-Habibi, 2005; Danesh, 2008b).

The structures and possibilities of the education system in a post-war society are often very limited. The methods used in peace education should reflect the message, which makes it inevitable that peace educators are trained properly and can teach in a context which is not in itself a materialization of structural violence. When reviewing the situation of peace education in post-war Sierra Leone, Bockarie (2002) comes to the conclusion that most programmes are unlikely to be successful. He argues that structural violence is rooted in the school system and thus won’t be addressed in the school lessons. The resources allocated for peace education and training of teachers are far from being enough. Formal education alone cannot reach large parts of the population; non-formal secular and religious organisations, traditional secret societies and media should become involved in educating for peace (Bockarie, 2002).

Differences between groups concerning power, status and access to resources within one society cannot be ignored if peace education is to be sustainable. Participants belonging to different groups might have different agendas. Especially in intractable conflicts mutually exclusive definitions of how peace should look are common, e.g., when one groups wants independence and the other group wants to keep one state (Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005). Here, conflicting goals and needs of the two groups need to be considered. Coexistence efforts at the micro-level of individuals need to translate into macro-level structural change. Friendship between participants is not enough and can even be counter-productive when one group needs to use collective action to oppose structural inequalities. For motivating

collective action it is not the interpersonal level but the intergroup level that needs to be salient. Only then people can highlight their group's comparatively low status as illegitimate and promote change towards more equality (Wright, 2001).

Even subgroups of the same social group can hold different attitudes and thus profit differently from the same programme, e.g., female versus male participants or those with more or less extreme attitudes or (Yablon, 2007, 2009). Socialisation and, e.g., gender issues should be considered (Brock-Utne, 2009). Peace education only makes sense if the message is confirmed by the environment. In societies that are still involved in intractable conflict, some lessons are too far removed from the learners' daily reality. Learners need to relate to the lessons and gain something from them for their own situation (Affouneh, 2007).

Peace education should be placed in a structural framework supporting the message of peaceful coexistence. Political institutions and economic chances of development should give the possibility to use everything learned during peace education. When poverty and unemployment are high, tensions between groups are likely to flare up quickly (Raines, 2004). Peace education can only be a small contribution towards reconciliation. It cannot change structural violence that causes poverty or lack of resources (Gugel & Jäger, 1997). Regular reinforcement within the real-life context is necessary. In very belligerent environments or during adverse political events, changes due to peace education will soon vanish (Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005). Perspective-taking can be impossible if it threatens one's own identity which might be the case in highly emotional conflicts that are deeply rooted in one's own group's narrative (Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005).

To summarise, peace education faces many problems and challenges that need to be considered. Before implementing a given programme, practitioners should critically analyse its concept, aims, methods and context as well as all specific details of an implementation. The teachers or facilitators should be trained well to be aware of what they are doing, why and how they are doing it so that they can work towards achieving the goals.

2.3 Theoretical perspectives on post-war peace education effectiveness

Concerning mechanisms of why peace education in conflict-prone societies might promote change, one can take different perspectives to come to similar or different conclusions. Most peace education programmes and their implementation comprise various elements that can be argued to promote change. Depending on the researcher's background and interest, different aspects can be selected and others will be neglected.

For my evaluation of a peace education programme implemented with Liberian refugees from various groups I distinguish three perspectives that can contribute to understanding

how peace education might be effective. First, as the name suggests, peace education is education, thus it can be seen as a learning experience in which an individual can acquire knowledge, skills, and values. Second, when refugees of a civil war learn about peace and conflict this can possibly imply a healing experience giving them the chance to deal with the past, acknowledge their own suffering and find meaning in turning towards the hope of a peaceful future, thus preparing the way for psychosocial recovery and reconciliation. Third, if people belonging to formerly warring parties come together, peace education workshops provide an intergroup contact experience that can help to get to know each other and change attitudes towards the other groups. Table 2.2 presents the key elements on the different levels for all three perspectives. In the following I will present relevant theories of these three perspectives with some empirical evidence for their claims.

Table 2.2: *Three perspectives on a peace education intervention with participants who have belonged to different groups in a civil war*

Perspective	Learning non-violence	Psychosocial recovery	Intergroup relations
Discipline	Educational psychology/ pedagogics	Clinical psychology / sociology	Social psychology / political science
Focus	Competence – skills, values, knowledge relevant in the context	Well-being of individuals and community	Positive intergroup attitudes, willingness for cooperation
Participants	Any	Traumatized people	Multi-ethnic group
Aims			
Macro-level (Society)	Critical active responsible civil society	Justice, amends, rituals for closing a chapter and moving on with peace	Cooperation, peaceful coexistence of groups
Meso-level (Community)	Local institutions of peaceful conflict resolution and communication	Changed narrative of the past, acknowledged past suffering, understanding narrative of adversary	intergroup contact and friendships, cooperative working towards common goal, understanding of other sides' narrative
Micro-level (Individual)	Gain of knowledge, values, skills. Practice new alternative behaviours	Mourning, grieving, letting go of grudge, understanding, acceptance, forgiving, telling own story	Changing worldview (get rid of prejudices, stereotypes), changing definition of identity

2.3.1 Education and training: Learning knowledge, values, and skills

Education is defined by transmitting knowledge, skills and values and thus is expected to have a formative effect on the targeted individuals. Peace education workshops are trainings and thus educational experiences. If participants show any changes after a peace education workshop, these changes result from a learning process. In the following I will present an umbrella theory about learning and describe the direct and indirect aspects of education before presenting an overview of evidence about the impact of education on social competence and attitudes.

Although there is broad agreement that education can have effects, it is less clear how it affects people. Various learning theories such as behaviourism, cognitivism, constructivism and post-modern theories stress different concepts and mechanisms that can contribute to people acquiring or changing their knowledge, skills, values, and worldviews. An attempt to integrate these different theories and to describe all aspects relevant for learning in a broader frame has been made by Knud Illeris (e.g., 2000). He sees learning as consisting of two processes: an external process of interaction between learner and social, cultural or material environment, and an internal process of acquisition and elaboration which is an interplay of the function of cognition (understanding and integrating the learning content in the existing knowledge base) and the function of emotions (providing mental energy of the process). Figure 2.2 depicts these two processes that determine three necessary dimensions of learning, which take place in a given social, cultural and situational context (Illeris, 2008b).

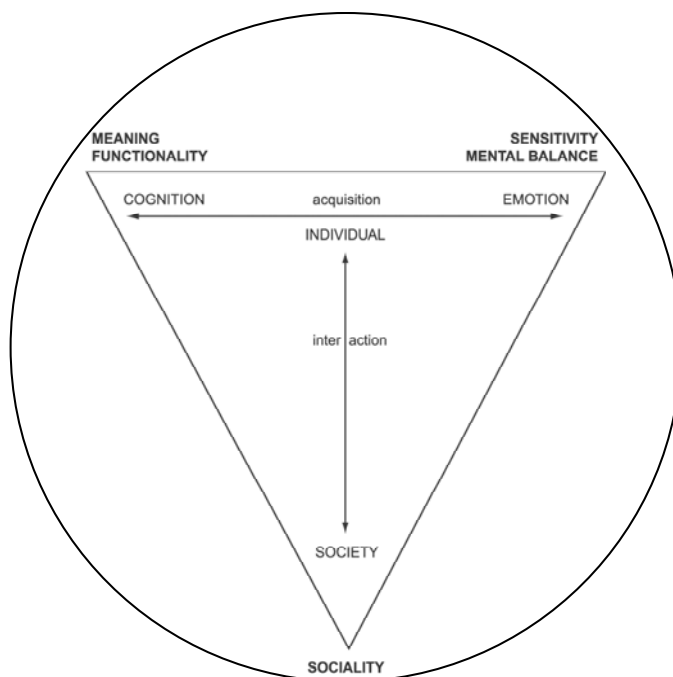


Figure 2.2: Illeris' umbrella learning theory with three dimensions of learning. The circle around the triangle symbolizes the context in which learning takes place (source: Illeris, 2008a)

This framework can thus outline how learning occurs in a peace education workshop. The external process is the interaction between any participant and the facilitators or other participants. The internal process includes, on the one hand, intake and understanding of the contents and, on the other, emotional and motivational reactions to the interaction and to what has been said as well as how it has been said. Learning in this broad sense thus comprises all changes that can occur, not only cognitive acquiring of the educational contents but also changes of intergroup attitudes due to contact effects as well as psychosocial recovery within individuals on the emotional dimension.

The educational perspective in a more narrow sense can be defined by its goal of transforming participants to responsible and socially competent critical citizens. This can be achieved by a more direct or a more indirect path or – most of the time – by a combination of both. The direct path is instruction and transmission of knowledge, e.g., about human rights or conflict management as well as practical skills, e.g., for constructive conflict resolution with techniques such as mediation and negotiation (e.g., Shaw, 2007). The indirect path is rather socialization, thus personality development, strengthening of peaceful norms as well as implicitly reinforcing and training soft skills that contribute to a moral, critical, responsible person. These skills can be, e.g., self-knowledge, social skills, self-adjustment, dialogue, moral judgement, critical understanding, environmental changing capacity, social perspective, and empathy (de Finger, Di Cecco, & Kasman, 2007).

Ample evidence has been gathered for effectiveness of education. On the societal level, years of schooling is one of the most prominent variables to predict democracy (e.g., Barro, 1999; Glaeser, La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes, & Shleifer, 2004) and civic engagement (Glaeser, Ponzetto, & Shleifer, 2005) in a society. On the level of individuals, Vogt (1997) gives an overview of research about the connections between education and tolerance, scrutinizing different mechanisms of socialization and/or instruction and comes to the conclusion that “educational experiences influence students’ tolerance in several ways. Education not only gives students new information, it can change how they think, alter their personalities, and provide them with new social experiences” (Vogt, 1997, p. 246). Education is not confined to school settings. Trainings can reach people also in non-formal settings and can lead to changes in, e.g., social competence in children (Beelmann, Pfingsten, & Lösel, 1994) or adults (Aguinis & Kraiger, 2009). For schools various programmes exist to reduce prejudice and discrimination in students, and many of them are successful (Aboud, Levy, & Oskamp, 2000). A meta-analysis about multi-cultural education programmes aiming at attitude change included 35 studies with target groups ranging from

children in kindergarten to adults. The authors found a weighted effect size (Cohen's d) of .25 and thus concluded that multicultural education programmes work (Stephan, Renfro, & Stephan, 2004).

2.3.2 Trauma healing and social capital: Psychosocial recovery

Psychosocial recovery means that individual wounds heal and whole groups of people can function again as normal communities. A total psychosocial recovery of a society with the history of recent civil war can be seen as a synonym for peace and reconciliation. When implementing peace education with people who have suffered war it is necessary to understand how such a context affects people and what they need to recover individually as well as on the community level. In evaluations of peace education with a perspective from sociology or political science the concept of social capital is used (e.g., CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2006; Flemin & Boeck, 2005). Social capital refers to the strong and useful positive connections between people such as trust, norms, and social networks that are used for coordination, cooperation and mutual benefit (Putnam, 1993). Citizenship education that emphasises applied civic values and commitment to democracy can enhance social capital (Print & Coleman, 2003). Good connections with other persons are very important for individuals, and such social capital often leads to material resources, e.g., when Liberians in the USA send money to their friends in a refugee camp. However, a war can destroy persons, links to persons, and the ability of a person to establish such links to other persons. Peace education can bring participants from different ethnicities together and can increase their social capital by establishing inter-ethnic links. Such inter-ethnic networks can establish trust and communication and are signs for psychosocial recovery. The persons who hold interethnic friendships might restrain any efforts to exploit ethnicity for inciting violence and rather join their efforts to promote peace and reconciliation. In this way the immediate effects on the individual participants could spill over to impact an entire community. Thus increasing inter-ethnic social capital is an aim for peace education. It can be seen as another angle on why contact and especially friendship potential in a contact situation is important. Whereas the Contact Theory as outlined in 2.3.2 looks how inter-ethnic contact can improve inter-ethnic attitudes, the Social Capital Theory explains how inter-ethnic contact can contribute to a "healthy" multiethnic society. The concept of social capital informed by the principles and processes of social action can be a useful tool for participative evaluation of community-based projects. Yet, it is individuals who make this

contact work. And when the individuals who are targeted are refugees, their specific situation and individual needs have to be considered.

Refugees live in a difficult situation, as they have survived a war, lost their home and need to stay alive in a society in which they are seldom actually welcome. Surviving a war creates many problems. People who have experienced civil war and left their country with hardly anything other than their life need various forms of psychosocial support. In a war many basic human needs have been frustrated: e.g., security, positive identity, effectiveness and control, positive connections to others, and meaningful comprehension of reality (Staub 1989; 2003). After a war, especially after a civil war, many people are traumatised which means that they have been impaired by various symptoms of suffering due to what has happened to them. Even group members who were not personally involved in the war often suffer from different symptoms, e.g., devaluation of a group, survivor guilt, perception of the world as hostile, and increased belief in necessity of violence (Staub, 2003). Additionally, even after the war socio-economic problems remain and can exacerbate traumatisation and a sense of helplessness. In a refugee camp people live in a waiting position. They have lost their homes yet cannot establish new ones because it is not up to them to decide whether they will return to their country, be resettled in another or stay in the one they currently are.

Some interventions aim to heal the psychological traumas of people who survived a war. Trauma healing needs time and is often very difficult. There are ways to facilitate this process, e.g., with therapeutic programmes or other professional psychosocial support. In Western societies suffering caused by traumas are mainly conceptualized with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Its symptoms include flashbacks or nightmares with a re-experiencing of original trauma(s), increased arousal such as difficulty falling or staying asleep, anger, and hypervigilance as well as avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma (Dilling & Schmidt, 2005). The cross-cultural validity of the concept of PTSD after collective trauma is controversial. For war survivors in a refugee camp a focus on trauma healing is too narrow, as other needs might be at least as predominant. An absolutely necessary condition for any healing to take place is some form of safety and stability. So first basic needs such as food, shelter, and clothing have to be satisfied; health supports and economic assistance are often necessary. Additionally, social integration and participation is needed to give the feeling of a positive, meaningful role in society (Wessells & Monteiro, 2006). Peace education workshops can contribute to a sense of community and provide a platform for dealing with the past and getting ready for the process of individual healing.

Healing individual wounds can mean to reconcile with one's past and can affect willingness to reconcile with the group of those who perpetrated one's wounds.

Whether trauma healing or at least psycho-education about the impact of psychological trauma should be part of peace education is a matter of debate (e.g., Bretherton et al., 2005). Trauma approaches are often criticized for being culturally biased imposing a too individualistic view on problems that might be considered as rather communal (e.g., Nordanger, 2007; Wessells & Monteiro, 2006). Nevertheless, some people in a post-war context at least as much as in any other society need psychosocial treatment and assistance (Silove, Ekblad, & Mollica, 2000). In practice, therapeutic and educational learning processes often occur simultaneously. Yet, on the theoretical level therapeutic and educational approaches should be separated, and peace education clearly belongs to the latter one. Anyhow, facilitators and evaluators should be aware of their participants' therapeutic needs and their interventions' possible by-products that can be caused due to traumatisation. Opening the floor to talking about the past does not necessarily have the helpful effect of healing one's wounds; it also runs the risk of re-traumatisation deteriorating the condition of already suffering people. To date there is not enough known about the impact of traumatisation on peace education. More research is needed to help practitioners to work competently by using their limited possibilities to improve their participants' situation, which is determined by many factors including their mental and physical health.

A true healing process normally involves a strong wave of negative feelings that have to be dealt with. In his work with victims and perpetrators of the Holocaust, Bar-On has identified five stages of what he calls working through: First, the facts have to be clear about what had happened, how and to whom. Second, a wider understanding or meaning needs to be found for this knowledge, whether in a religious, historical, ethical or psychosocial meaning-making frame or a combination of these. The next step is a wave of emotions as reaction, sometimes positive, sometimes negative, specifically towards important persons connected with the event. In the fourth phase splitting occurs, again with a strong emotion, but this time in the opposite direction. Finally, the knowledge can be integrated into understanding; the person can become independent from the person involved (Bar-On, 2005). After this process of working through a person can understand the perspective of a perpetrator who caused their own suffering. It can affect an important step in the process of reconciliation. Knowing the former adversary's view on the conflict and accepting the basic needs behind it can help in creating a new common outlook on the past. This is one aim of some forms of peace education (e.g., Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Kupermintz & Salomon,

2005). Thus, working with similar methods and towards the same aim of reconciliation, peace education can trigger the process of working through. This means that sometimes extremely strong negative emotions can be activated. Genuine deep mourning might be a precondition for healing (Stepakoff et al., 2006). Facilitators should be competent at understanding and appropriately dealing with individual or even collective eruptions of grief, anger, hate, hurt, sadness and other painful feelings in their group.

In a study comparing trauma counselling with a support and skill training, both interventions could reduce trauma symptoms for some individual women. This study with pre-/post-test design and a waiting control group took place in post-war Liberia. Both interventions reduced PTSD symptoms for women who showed a high symptom score at the pre-test. However, the overall scores of participants decreased only in the trauma counselling group, but increased in the skill training group and in the waiting control group. All three groups had drop-out rates of more than 50% and resulted in groups between 10 and 34 participants. Qualitative interviews with the trauma counsellors revealed their lack of training and understanding of counselling. The authors draw a cautious conclusion that “two interventions, both far from perfect, and carried out by counsellors who were not adequately trained, still resulted in some symptom reduction” (Lekskes, van Hooren, & de Beus, 2007, p. 25). Yet, it also shows that at least for some women in the skills training (which is closer to peace education than actual counselling) trauma symptoms increased. In an evaluation of a community intervention in Rwanda it was both hypothesized and found that an increase in trauma symptoms immediately after an intervention can be followed by an overall decrease in trauma symptoms three months later (Staub, Gubin, Hagengimana & Pearlman, 2005). It can be doubted that this was the case with these Liberian women after an intervention without the objective of trauma healing; yet, it highlights the fact that a healing process is not necessarily linear. Although Lekskes et al.’s study cannot be generalized due to its methodological shortcomings, the fact remains that at least for some few highly traumatised women, a skill training reduced their symptoms of PTSD, which was not reported to have happened for women in the waiting control condition. This gives hope that peace education with war survivors can have trauma healing as a by-product. Yet, caution is necessary as symptoms of suffering caused by traumatic experiences could also deteriorate.

To summarise, implementing peace education for traumatised refugees includes both chances and challenges that need to be considered. Emotional complexities surrounding the conflict need to be acknowledged, as well as power asymmetries in the composition of a group (Bar-On, 2005). The current and past situation of participants need to be taken into

account when peace education is carried out for refugees. Thus some basic knowledge about the condition and needs of traumatised people and the dynamics involved in the process of working through a personal or collective trauma should be part of the training for facilitators or teachers of peace education. The overall goal of peace education is reconciliation. This is a highly complex goal, and to work into its direction a healing process for individual wounds can be as necessary as structural changes on the level of communities that increase inter-ethnic social capital. The next section will address the question of whether evidence has been found that aspects of such a challenging goal can be reached in such a difficult context.

2.3.3 Intergroup contact and dialogue: Changing intergroup attitudes

When implemented in a context with participants from different formerly warring groups, many peace education programmes would be classified as intergroup contact interventions by researchers in social psychology. These interventions mostly focus on improving intergroup relations, e.g., by reducing stereotyping (holding overgeneralized rigid or factually incorrect beliefs about a group and its members), prejudice (unfair negative attitude toward a social group or a member of that group) and discrimination (treating persons of a certain group negatively due to stereotypes or prejudice). Allport's Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954) has been the starting point both for researchers to develop different models of categorization processes and for practitioners to develop different models of contact interventions. I will first describe the theory and psychological processes that are assumed to contribute to the effects of contact. Then I will discuss approaches and findings of contact interventions that took place in the context of intergroup conflict, namely the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis.

Contact Theory and psychological mechanisms

Allport's seminal Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954) is a theory that posits four conditions necessary for intergroup contact to improve intergroup relations: (1) equal status within the group encounter, (2) a common goal that connects them, (3) cooperative interactions and (4) support of authorities for this encounter. In his reformulation of the theory Pettigrew (1998b) added (5) potential for intergroup friendships and stressed the influence of both the societal norms and context and individual characteristics of the participants. He further specified three sequential processes that take place during the contact situation (cf. Figure 2.3). A meta-analysis confirmed that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice among

different groups and improve intergroup relations in situations consistent with Allport's conditions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). So it is clear that contact can improve intergroup attitudes. However, much less is known about how these improvements are brought about. The psychological processes that "translate external influences and interventions into reductions of stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination" (Dovidio, Gaertner et al., 2004, p. 243) can be grouped into cognitive, affective, and behavioural processes. Table 2.3 presents the processes assumed by Dovidio et al. (2004). Theorists agree that more research is needed about the relevant psychological processes (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio, Gaertner et al., 2004). However, some overviews and evidence have already been gathered.

Cognitive processes include gaining knowledge as well as cognitive restructuring of how (members of) other groups or intergroup relations are perceived, changes in social categorization, social knowledge and standards of behaviour. Gaining knowledge about the other group can under certain conditions reduce prejudices, although the effects are comparatively weak (Pettigrew, 1998b; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). The way people categorize themselves and others into social groups and which values and judgements are connected with these categories is critical for the outcome of intergroup interactions. Three different categorization processes were suggested to have positive effects: decategorization, which is seeing others as individuals not regarding their group membership (Brewer & Miller, 1984); salient categorization in the interaction, which is ideally with members who are perceived as typical for their group (Hewstone & Brown, 1986); and categorisation, which includes everybody in a common ingroup identity model (Gaertner et al., 2000). All of the different conceptualizations have their evidence and as depicted in Figure 2.3 they have been combined in an integrated theory (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998b).

Affective processes concerning both positive and negative emotions are of particular relevance for reducing prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998b; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Evidence has been found that interventions can increase positive emotions, especially the development of empathy that leads to prosocial behaviour and reduction of prejudice (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew, 1998b; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). More favourable attitudes towards another group also become more possible when intergroup anxiety – that is the fear to be embarrassed, rejected, ridiculed in a intergroup situation – is reduced by the experience of actual intergroup contact (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Stephan & Stephan, 2001). The same is true for the feeling of being threatened by the other group (Pettigrew, 1998b). But not only activation of positive and reduction of negative feelings can improve intergroup attitudes. Also activation

of negative feelings can be helpful, e.g., when these are self-directed emotions that motivate attitude changes for reduction of cognitive dissonance. In two different interventions the uneasy feeling due to perceived injustice led to reduction in prejudice (Dovidio, ten Vergert et al., 2004).

Table 2.3: Cognitive and affective processes that can lead to improved intergroup attitudes and their specific effects in intervention programmes as outlined by Dovidio et al. (2004).

Process	Description
Cognitive	
Social categorization	People see members of other groups more individualised (decategorization) and/or as belonging to the same superordinate group of human beings (recategorization)
Social knowledge	Changes functional relations towards cooperative, interdependent interactions, reducing adversarial and competitive tendencies
Standards of behaviour	Making more egalitarian standards salient, the self-focus and personal standards are increased and thus lead to a less stereotypical description
affective	
Enhancement of empathy and affective connections to others	Feel more positive about others, motivation to behave in more supportive way, generalize more easily
Reduction of negative feelings	Reduce negative feelings which arise from interpretations, misunderstandings or suspicions about other people's intentions. Feelings are thus less anxious, more respectful, more positive about contact.
Self-directed negative emotions	Perception of injustice and personal commitment to behave in a less prejudiced way

Behavioural processes that can lead to attitude change include positive intergroup interactions and certain ways of communication. New behaviours can change attitudes because of dissonance reduction (Dovidio et al., 2003). Wittig, Molina and Oskamp, (2000) found that reported extent of day-to-day interactions and attitudes (openness to other ethnic group) between interracial classroom climate and affective bias was the link between student perceptions of school-based interracial conditions and intergroup prejudice. Nagda (2006) identified four communication processes that mediated the impact of an intergroup encounter on the motivation to bridge differences: building alliances (thinking about collaborating with others towards social justice, perceiving others as willing to be honest and confront their biases), engaging self (active participation, bring in own ideas, personal sharing, inquiry), critical self-reflection (examinations of one's ideas, experiences and perspectives, located in their context, analysis of intergroup issues, including power inequalities) and appreciating differences (learn about others, listening, openness to learn

about realities different to one's own). Further research is needed to confirm the importance of these processes. So far, only the process of engaging self in its slightly different conceptualization as self-disclosure has been found to be important in other contexts (see Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

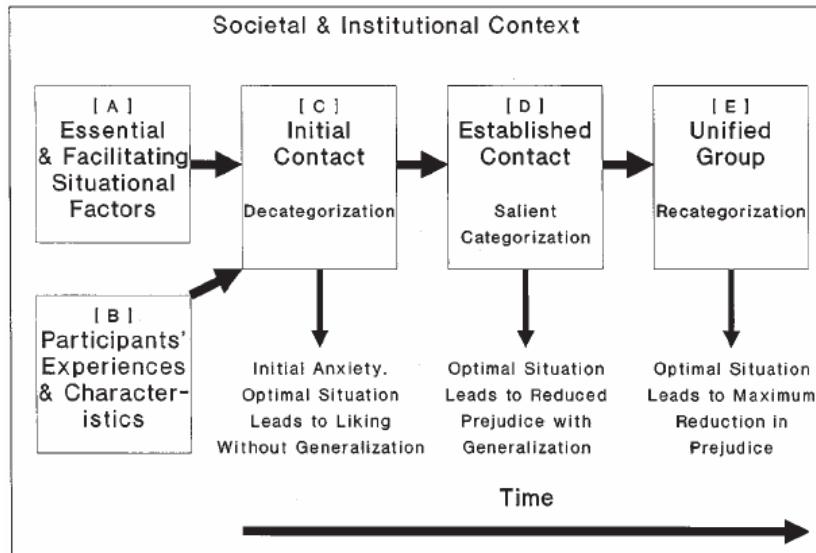


Figure 2.3: The reformulated contact theory (source: Pettigrew, 1998b)

Contact interventions and encounter models

Contact theory has inspired many interventions for contexts with intergroup tensions. Among the most prominent intervention forms are intergroup dialogues. These are defined as a facilitated face-to-face communication process in which individuals of different groups with differing views explore societal issues within a safe yet communal space in which they can build relationships (Dessel, Rogge, & Garlington, 2006; Wayne, 2008).

Especially in a context with very negative intergroup attitudes the contact theory meets difficulties when translated into interventions. The prime example of a difficult societal context is the Palestinian-Israeli conflict where realizing Allport's conditions can be close to impossible. Various programmes of intergroup dialogue or joint projects, e.g., with sports or music were based on the contact theory and tried to improve intergroup relations. Power differences and intergroup conflict lead to different agendas, needs and motivations of the groups (Biton & Salomon, 2006). The encounter groups mirror in their microcosm the highly asymmetrical conflict in the macrocosm of their society (Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004). Difficulties arise when equal status and cooperation within the encounter cannot be realized sufficiently, e.g., asymmetry between the Jewish and Arab facilitator of a group (Maoz, 2004) or representation and hierarchy of Jews and Arabs in the facilitating

organisation (Abu-Nimer, 2004). Out of this criticism and bad experience it was practitioners who developed new models of contact interventions in the early 1990s.

The confrontational model aims to make Jews more aware of their role as oppressors while empowering the Arabs through their direct confrontation with the Jews. The goal is not achieving friendships and positive attitudes, but it strives for social and political change, aiming at transforming the asymmetric relations within the society (Maoz, 2009). This model can be seen as related to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social Identity Theory posits that people tend to put themselves and others into categories (ingroup and outgroups) and identify with their ingroup. Comparisons of ingroup and a comparable outgroup bolster self-esteem when the results are positive (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Accordingly, the confrontational model stresses the group identity of participants who discuss the Arab-Israeli power relations with their asymmetry and discrimination. This is to lead participants to a deeper awareness and understanding of the conflict and their situation. However, confrontation can easily turn into destructive communication with verbal violence. This increases intergroup anxiety and also causes negative attitudes and distrust towards Arabs and the encounters (Maoz, 2009).

Out of these criticisms practitioners developed the narrative model (e.g., Bar-On & Kassem, 2004). This approach engages participants in “story telling” to share their personal and collective narratives and suffering in the conflict (Bar-On, 2000; 2002; 2006; 2008; Bar-On & Kassem, 2004). Here personal stories are tied to discussions of the conflict and of power relations, thus integrating interpersonal and intergroup approach and includes aspects of psychosocial recovery assuming that individuals and groups must work through their unresolved pain and anger. Self-disclosure, immediate empathy, and getting to know other people’s perspectives enhances intergroup trust and leads participants to re-humanize the other constructing a more complex image of (Maoz, 2009). Yet, there are challenges about this model, too. It is a delicate context; the stories that are told can hurt participants of the other sides and escalate intergroup hostilities. The authenticity of the stories can sometimes be doubted and this a difficult issue to address (Bar-On, 2006, Maoz, 2009).

Before coming to a summary of some research in Israel it must be noted that in this context negative intergroup attitudes stem from an asymmetric conflict that is still far from being settled. Thus, a rather small educational intervention can hardly be expected to bring about any changes (Bar-Tal, 2004). Maybe in this context workshops of interactive problem-solving (e.g., Kelman, 2002) with a focus on steps towards a solution of the conflict are more useful than peace education to improve intergroup relations. Accordingly, in a

summary of findings by the Center for Research on Peace Education mixed results with rather modest effects are presented. On the positive side evidence could be found that interpersonal friendship can generalize and produce willingness for contact. Peace education can prevent feelings and attitudes towards the other group deteriorating similar to those of non-participants. However, very strong negative emotions elicited by political events may interfere with peace education and bring participants to terminate a project. Short programmes can produce some peripheral changes that do not affect the core convictions. Moreover, such changes that are easier to reach can be changed back easily by the belligerent context. However, by having a short intervention of forced compliance using a role-play to present the adversary's perspective, eroded changes due to the initial peace education programme could be restored. This and other findings were only true for the Israeli Jews, not for the Palestinians. The different groups seem to embark on a programme with different conceptions and needs and thus more specific programmes might be necessary to address those differential needs. Encounters seem Promising that can create a common goal that is more important than all differing agendas: e.g., in the long-term, bi-national soccer teams winning the game is the only focus and while jointly working towards this goal, attitudes, perceptions, desire for contact, stereotypes and negative feelings change in a positive direction (Salomon, 2009b).

Integrating theory and practice

To summarise, the simple idea that contact can improve intergroup attitudes evolves into a tricky puzzle when it comes to answering the question *How?* Researchers are concerned with discerning and understanding the underlying mechanisms that link contact to improved relations, searching for the true connection. Practitioners are interested in practical solutions to support the people they work with, striving for actual change. Both researchers and practitioners have developed several models that first seemed contradictory, but ultimately could be more or less reconciled to integrating interpersonal with intergroup interactions. These two perspectives on how intergroup relations can be improved are the core questions of my work.

As has been mentioned when discussing the narrative model, for reaching true improvements getting in contact with "the other" is sometimes not enough. Dealing with oneself and one's wounds can be as necessary and as difficult. So I will turn now to a perspective on peace education that considers the conditions, needs and possible implications that are expected to be relevant for refugees of a civil war.

2.4 Evaluating post-war peace education

Evaluations of peace education programmes are to determine whether a specified programme is implemented appropriately and to which extent it attains an outcome or a broader impact when implemented within a specified context. Evaluation research aims to create practical knowledge to inform social action, programme development and implementation or policy making. Findings can contribute to increased understanding how social change can be brought about by interventions (Rossi, Lipsey, & Freeman, 2004).

First, I will outline some considerations concerning effectiveness criteria and measurement problems for peace education evaluations. Then I will give an overview of findings from peace education evaluations that have been conducted in relevant contexts. The chapter ends with a summary of shortcomings in the existing research to highlight the need of this kind of research.

2.4.1 Defining and measuring peace education effectiveness

It is difficult to define and measure effectiveness of peace education. “Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted.” This quotation attributed to Albert Einstein brings the two core questions of evaluation research to the fore: What needs to be measured? How can it be measured? For programmes with the high ambition to contribute to peace and with a package of objectives ranging from knowledge acquisition to a change of worldview, measuring effectiveness encounters several challenges. The first step is the definition of measurable criteria of effectiveness.

Peace education programmes tend to have several broad and grandiose goals, yet to assess effectiveness, specific criteria and indicators need to be identified. Researchers of peace education see peace education as a complex subject in which knowledge, values, attitudes, and behaviour should change to lead to a change in consciousness or worldview and to transform the personality. Moreover, peace education is implicitly or explicitly expected to contribute to Peace Writ Large that is the big picture of the overall situation in the country (Church & Shouldnice, 2002). This includes reduction of violent conflict and building of just and sustainable peace (Anderson & Olson, 2003). It is thus argued that a holistic approach to its evaluation is needed (Harris, 2004a). However, for a systematic evaluation a researcher needs to choose level of interest (participants, community, region), time frame (short term, long term or anything in between), focus (selection of objectives of

interest and possible indicators) and measures (quantitative or qualitative or any combination).

In the three-year project “Reflecting on peace practice” (Anderson & Olson, 2003; CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2006) more than 200 agencies and many individuals working for peace around the world were involved to analyse their experiences through case studies and consultations for improving their activities. This collaborative learning project found that all activities could be described by the level (individual vs. socio-political) and the assumed impact due to choice of participants (“more people” or “key people”). Effects should transfer to other quadrants of the resulting matrix as depicted in Figure 2.4. Thus, the personal transformations should be translated into action on the socio-political level, and many people as well as key people (such as leaders or those who would profit from violent conflict) should be considered. Moreover, effective programmes are more explicit about their assumptions of their programme theory (how activities lead to achievement of a clearly stated goal) and a theory of change (how achievement of this goal contributes to Peace Writ Large) The terms are not used consistently in the literature. E.g., Ashton (Ashton, 2007b) uses “theory of change” as equivalent to what is described as programme theory here. However, I will use “theory of change” in the sense outlined here, whereas what is called programme theory here will be further differentiated into programme theory (what is done) and intervention theory (how it is done) in Chapter 4. Figure 2.4 delineates how a programme might contribute to socio-political change and which questions need to be asked to find appropriate indicators for effectiveness.

Five criteria of effectiveness were identified for projects aimed to contribute to peace. 1) Projects should lead towards political institutions or mechanism to handle what fuels the conflict, e.g., injustice, inequality or other grievances. 2) Participants and communities should develop their own initiatives for peace, so that more and more people are reached and intrinsically motivated to contribute to peace. 3) People should be increasingly prepared to resist violence and provocations to violence. People who have been supporters, bystanders, perpetrators or victims in conflicts should become agents of peace who reflect developments in their environment and take actions when necessary to stop violence or maintain peace. 4) People’s security should be increased so that people both are safe and feel safe. 5) Intergroup relations should be meaningfully improved such that interactions become more tolerant and cooperative. These criteria are perceived to be additive. “This is a condition of effectiveness for all programmes: they must address people, issues, and dynamics that are

key contributors to ongoing conflict, whether directly or indirectly” (CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2009, p. 30). For all criteria the significance of a change can be assessed

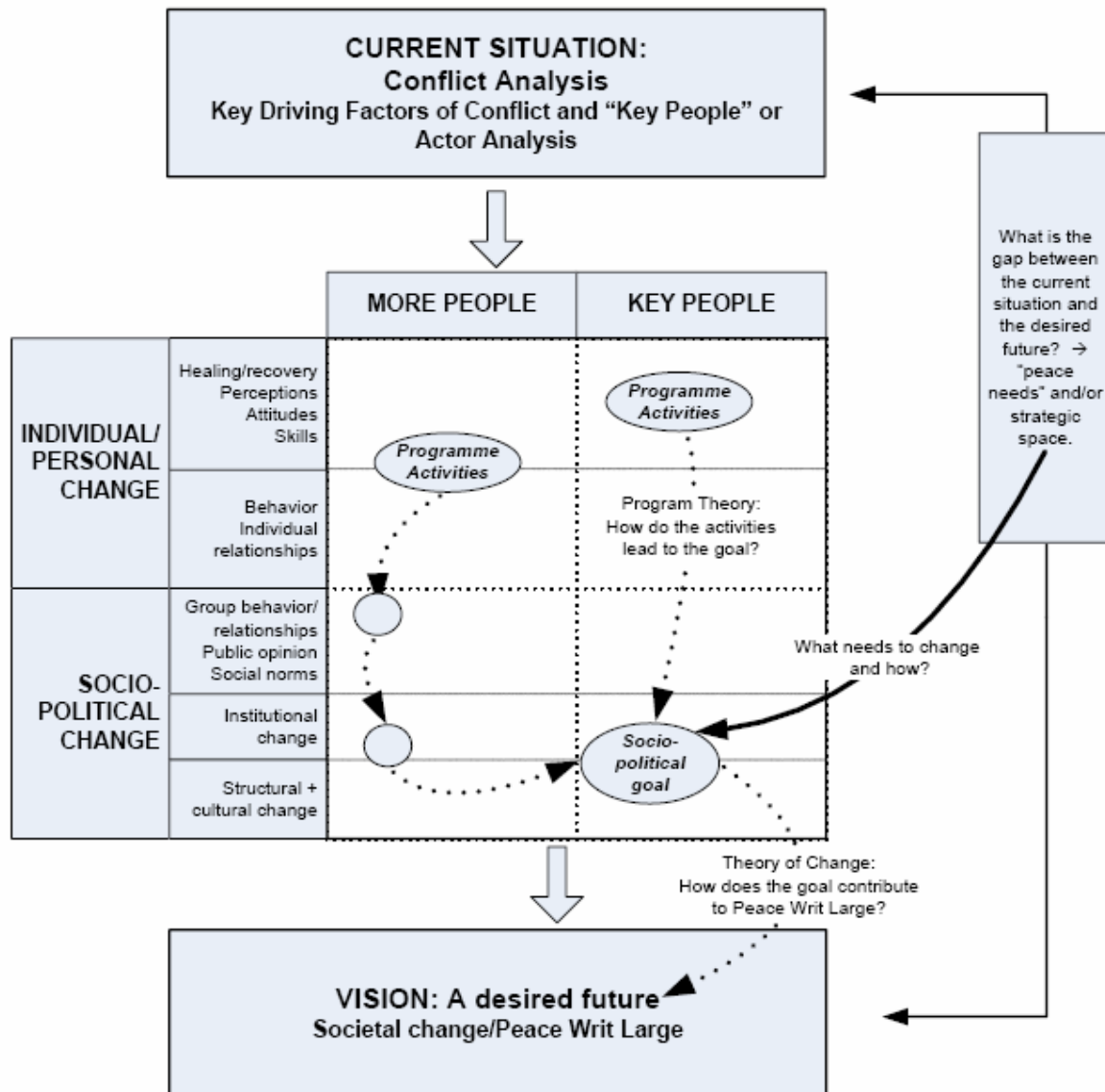


Figure 2.4: Scheme for determining potential indicators of programme effectiveness (source: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2009)

by asking whether the changes are 1) fast enough, 2) sustained, 3) big enough, and 4) linked with each other (CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2009).

When looking at the individual level, changes should be worthwhile, lasting, applied after the educational experience and in another environment, as well as generalizable (Salomon, 2006). Many peace education programmes are very broad in their goals, with a multitude of objectives including knowledge, values, attitudes, and behaviour. Much of what is aimed at is hard to measure as it belongs to the realm of personality development aiming at indirect long-term changes. Most peace education community activities in post-war contexts are conducted by local or international NGOs. If at all, these programmes are

evaluated by practitioners, mostly with the motivation of proving the effectiveness to get continued funding. The evaluation reports stay with the organisation and are – if at all published – put somewhere in the internet. Designs tend to be post-test only or pre-post comparisons mostly in the form of case studies, drawing on observation and impressions, using interviews or other remarks of facilitators or participants about their satisfaction with the programme. Far more common than actual evaluations are “case studies” or reports on “lessons learned”. Yet, to investigate the programme theories, systematic implementation evaluations are necessary which are rare. Similarly, the theories of change how the effects in participants can contribute to peace in the society remain mostly implicit and are not questioned.

Various problems are held accountable for the scarcity of good impact evaluations of peace education in post-conflict settings. Peacebuilding is a relatively young and complex field. Many organisations only started to operate in the 1980s and 1990s. An ongoing debate about “Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment” reveals a deep cleavage between practitioners and theorists. Both see the need for exchange about the multitude of concepts, methods, terms, overlapping definitions and implicit assumptions as well as difficulties in defining success and reluctance to discuss failures (Fischer & Wils, 2003). Among the reasons for not evaluating programmes are lack of time, lack of evaluation experts respectively practitioners with methodological knowledge, doubts about actual measurable aims that can be attributed to the programme, and unfavourable environment (Ashton, 2004). One prominent reason is the allocation of resources such as money and working time. The resources for peace education in post-conflict areas are often scarce and are rather allocated to the implementation and not so much to an evaluation of the programme. Practitioners tend to gather their own impressions and to rely on their own subjective experience and the immediate feedback of participants to judge their own work. Although practitioners agree that evaluations are important, they use them mainly if it is necessary for funding or transparency purposes (Church & Shouldnice, 2002). If an evaluation is planned, it is not the top priority and the context makes it sometimes too difficult to carry it out thoroughly, which in the end can read like in the report of a comprehensive peacebuilding approach in Angola: “Although an intensive summative evaluation had been planned, deteriorating security and the need to devote additional resources to emergency work made this impossible” (Wessells & Monteiro, 2006, p. 131).

Many articles about peace education projects roughly describe what was done and then state indications for the subsequent conclusion that the project was successful. To give an

example: In Sierra Leone the Christian Children's Fund supported the reintegration of former child soldiers by combining peace education as well as the possibility to jointly decide and then cooperatively work in a development project in each village. The project is seen as successful because of "reductions in fighting and increased integration of former child soldiers into their villages" (Wessells, 2005, p. 368).

2.4.2 Evidence of peace education effectiveness

In most articles in which both peace education and evaluation are mentioned, it is stated that profound evaluations are very rare and highly needed (e.g., (Ashton, 2007b; Harris, 2004a) Nevo & Brehm, 2001; Raines, 2004; Salomon, 2006; Bajaj, 2008). I will present some meta-analytic findings for programmes that can be classified as peace education in a broader sense before I give an overview of studies that took place in post-conflict contexts or African settings.

Peace education is closely related with conflict resolution education. Nevo & Brehm (2002) found close to 1000 studies or reports about peace education during the period 1981-2000. Only one-third referred to a specific programme, and of these only 104 articles included elements of effectiveness evaluation, some of them too vague to be classified by their effectiveness. The authors grouped the remaining 79 evaluation studies into three categories and found that 51 studies were effective, 18 partially effective and 10 non-effective. However, this categorization was not a formal meta-analysis but was based on the often rather vague judgements reported in the articles and the nature of their effects remains unclear. Moreover, a closer look at the included studies reveals that with a few exceptions most programmes were about conflict resolution and took place in school settings, mainly in the USA or other relatively calm countries. A more thorough meta-analysis of conflict resolution programmes in US schools includes 35 studies and confirms with an effect size of $d = .26$ that these programmes have been effective in reducing antisocial behaviours (Garrard & Lipsey, 2007). Most of these conflict resolution trainings are peer mediation programmes. So some students learn to facilitate conflict resolution when other students come to them with their conflicts. Another meta-analysis reveals that in educational settings such conflict mediations by peers are very successful with 93% arriving at agreements and a satisfaction rate of 88%. Moreover, after implementing conflict mediation at schools the perceived school climate improved ($r = .44$) and less conflicts occurred. Students who had become peer mediators showed a more positive view on conflicts ($r = .34$) and an increase in conflict-

related knowledge ($r = .53$). Moreover, they also improved in their academic performance ($r = .40$), and gained higher self-esteem ($r = .11$).

A broader variety of settings and contexts including some conflict-ridden societies were the backgrounds for 23 evaluations included in a review of intergroup dialogues. Only two studies used a quasi-experimental design with pre- and post-test and matched control group; both were in academic settings. All other studies used pre-experimental designs, mostly with qualitative measures. The reported results indicate that mostly participants perceived positive changes in various domains. The studies that address large-scale interethnic conflicts are situated in Israel, the Philippines and several South American countries. Their results include breakdown of stereotypes, knowledge and acknowledgement of the other group, development of trust and positive relationships, and policy making against structural violence (Dessel & Rogge, 2008). Although the methodological shortcomings need to be considered when interpreting these results, dialogical intergroup encounters seem to have the potential to improve intergroup attitudes and relations. This is in line with the findings about multicultural programmes (Stephan et al., 2004) and Contact interventions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) that I reported in section 2.3.2 respectively 2.3.3. Table 2.4 summarises the reviews and meta-analyses that corroborate effectiveness of potential elements of peace education.

The context with most methodologically good studies about peace education and intergroup dialogue is the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Here, the terms peace education, education for coexistence, intergroup encounters, and intergroup dialogues are often used as synonyms for interventions. Unfortunately, programme and implementation are often described in rather vague terms and thus remain unclear, mostly belonging to one of the four models outlined in Chapter 2.3.2 where I also presented some findings from a summary of evaluations that produced mixed results. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is often termed as “intractable” and is still ongoing. Thus, the societal norms contradict the messages of peace education. In a post-conflict setting, by contrast, a war or violent conflict has at least officially come to an end by a peace accord. The society needs to change from war to peace, and thus peace education can support a process that is already taking place in the society. Ideally, peace education should be implemented as one part of a whole concert of peacebuilding activities. Such circumstances increase the likelihood that peace education programmes can reach beyond the interpersonal level towards socio-political change in a more peaceful direction.

Table 2.4: *Meta-analyses and reviews of programmes or interventions that could be categorized as peace education*

Programmes	Type	N*	Findings	Reference
Peace education	Re-view	79	51 studies were effective, 18 partially effective and 10 non-effective defined by different variables and judged by the respective authors	(Nevo & Brehm, 2002a)
Conflict resolution	Meta-analysis	35	Participation led to improvements concerning antisocial behaviours in CRE participants compared to control groups (Effect Size $d = .26$)	(Garrard & Lipsey, 2007)
Peer mediation at school	Meta-analysis	43	93% of mediated conflicts at school came to an agreement with which 88% of participants were satisfied. The school climate improved ($r = .44$), the conflict level was reduced in perception ($r = -.09$) and school records ($r = -.29$); students who became peer mediators had more positive view on conflicts ($r = .34$) and showed increase in conflict-related knowledge ($r = .53$), in academic performance ($r = .40$), and in self-esteem ($r = .11$)	(Burrell, Zirbel, & Allen, 2003)
Intergroup dialogue	Re-view	23	breakdown of stereotypes, increased understanding and empathy, recognition of impact of ethnicity on individual identity and group interactions, increased perspective taking, increased awareness about structural power relations, complex thinking about diversity, improved communication and cross-racial interaction skills, development of friendships, initiating joint action – Most studies used weak methodological designs with mainly qualitative indicators	(Dessel & Rogge, 2008)
Multi-cultural	Meta-analysis	35	Trainings can improve intergroup attitudes (meta-analysis with effect size $d = .25$)	(Stephan et al., 2004)
Contact	Meta-analysis	209	intergroup contact can reduce prejudice among different groups and improve intergroup relations in situations consistent with Allport's conditions (effect size $z = -.213$ for educational research settings)	(Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006)

* *number of studies included in the Meta-analysis or Review,*

Table 2.5 gives an overview of evaluations or studies about variations of peace education in conflict-ridden societies. The boundaries between peace education and other forms of intervention (conflict resolution, psychosocial, citizenship, intergroup contact) are blurred. Similarly, the definition of post-conflict context is difficult as it can be argued that conflicts start on the level of communities, which then means hardly any country is without conflicts. Yet, with the two exceptions from Ethiopia and Zambia, studies selected for Table

2.5 have taken place in contexts with (a recent history of) massive salient conflicts in a society. Most of these projects use qualitative methodology and weak research designs. Still, most findings indicate that peace education yields some positive effects in the domains of knowledge, attitudes, skills, behaviour, and well-being. The target groups and geographical contexts vary. For West African countries hardly any peace education evaluations could be found. A report about “The Status of Peace Education in West Africa” lists nine institutes with peace education programmes on the higher-education level, five NGOs with peace education initiatives in the non-formal area and mentions that few initiatives for primary and secondary school levels exist. Based on a literature review, a survey, and data analysis with mainly qualitative research techniques the report is less about what is actually done but more about the problems faced by peace education initiatives in the area: lack of coordination and collaboration, unclear goals and objectives, undemocratic organisational structures, gender imbalance, lack of financial resources, training needs for organisational management, and documentation (Gbesso, 2006). Instead of discussing all studies listed in Table 2.5, I will focus on some findings that are relevant for my work.

Table 2.5: Examples of peace education activities in various (post)conflict contexts

Description	Findings	Country	Reference
Community programme with peace education as one element	Improved youth-adult relations, reduced fighting between youth, increased community planning, and increased perceptions that youth make a positive contribution to the community	Angola	(Wessells & Monteiro, 2006)
Participatory lessons about human rights	Improvement of teaching method, knowledge about concepts, variation between schools	Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan	(Sinclair, 2004)
Education for peace in and beyond school	Changes in perceptions of self, others, improvement of interethnic relations, high satisfaction among participants	Bosnia and Herzegovina	(Clarke-Habibi, 2005)
Unification of a high school as interethnic integrated school	Joint interethnic activities; positive attitudes towards unification of the school; nationalistic feelings are still fostered by parents and politicians	Bosnia and Herzegovina	(Ashton, 2007a)
Multi-component programme for students and parents	8 months later: Events of aggression decreased to one fifth, improved classroom climate, prosocial behaviour, more friendships	Colombia	(Chaux, 2007)
Civic Scenario workshops with key persons	Open to new ideas, gain confidence, less polarized thinking, increase of trust, listening skills, tolerance, critical thinking, deepened understanding of country and values, new peace efforts, perspective taking	Colombia	(Díez Pinto & De León, 2004)
Intervention at	Decreased post-traumatic stress, improved self-	Croatia	(Fountain,

school	esteem in females, reduction in negative attitudes towards Serbs		1999)
Vignette about how university students reacted when listening to a narrative of the other side for the first time	Despite their opposition and unwillingness, Greek Cypriot students listened to a Turkish Cypriot's trauma story. After the story they remained silent with stunned looks, confusion, vulnerability, started hesitatingly to ask questions, expressed shock about their prior ignorance and challenged their own construction of identity	Cyprus	(Zembylas & Ferreira, 2009)
Ethnographic case study	Informal learning took place by helping as social norm, respect of elders, traditional local conflict resolution mechanism; school- and local NGO-created awareness about human rights	Ethiopia	(McMahon, 2009)
Peace camps with Interethnic contact and participation in monoethnic peace education (analysed in a survey)	Both interethnic contact and peace education increased opposition to violence. Perceived changes in intergroup attitudes were moderate. Willingness for cooperation increased. For Georgians contact produced more effects, for Abkhazians the intensity of peace education was more influential	Georgia / Abkhazia	(Ohanyan & Lewis, 2005)
Civic Scenario workshops with influential people	Reduction of prejudices, perspective-taking, learning to listen and to be tolerant, establishment of networks, trust, indirect impact in different sectors	Guatemala	(Díez Pinto, 2004)
Psychosocial programme for refugees from Liberia and Sierra Leone	Meaningful significant reductions in trauma symptoms, increases in social support and daily functioning both during and after participation in group therapy; high appreciation by participants	Guinea	(Stepakoff et al., 2006)
Peace education in schools for 10th graders	Increase in knowledge, prosocial orientation, social skills; personal growth, reduction of prejudice.	Indonesia	(Ashton, 2002, 2004)
Studies and analyses of more than 17 programmes of different intergroup encounters or peace education activities, high methodological standards	Development of more complex concepts of peace, improved intergroup attitudes for a short time; core convictions could not be changed. Short follow-up intervention can restore some changes. Increased legitimization of other side's narrative, some interventions only affect Israelis, not Palestinians Not much impact beyond participants	Israel	(Biton & Salomon, 2004, 2006; Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005; Maoz, 2000; Ross, 2005; Salomon, 2009b)
Teacher training, model Global Education lessons	Teachers report greater tolerance for students' opinions, relying less on formal instruction, encouraging greater self-discipline, students liked methods	Jordan, Albania, Lebanon	(Sinclair, 2004)
Analysis of the	Awareness was created, the movements for literacy	Kenya	(Turay,

activities of two organisations	and adult education were strengthened, information published, capacity building for women		1996)
Peace education in a refugee camp	Contributions to reduction in fear, violence and crime, reports of critical thinking and active conflict resolution	Kenya	(Obura, 2002)
Training for human rights /democracy	Teachers found the training successful and had ideas how to implement it in school	Kosovo	(Sinclair, 2004)
Skill training and trauma counselling group for women	Both interventions reduced PTSD symptoms for women with high symptom scores. The overall scores decreased only in the trauma counselling group, but increased in the skill training group and in the waiting control group.	Liberia	(Lekskes et al., 2007)
Community-driven reconstruction (randomized control study with allocation task)	Positive impact on community cohesion, increased social inclusion, greater support for democratic practices, improvements only in local public goods, but not in material welfare of households	Liberia	(Fearon, Humpfreys, & Weinstein, 2009)
Children's T.V. programme	Appreciation for own ethnic group improved, better discrimination of other languages	Macedonia	(Raines, 2004)
Qualitative analysis of a Women Empowerment NGO	Trainings for human rights, gender equity empowerment sensitized women to root causes of their problems. The women stressed values of openness, conflict resolution, information sharing.	Nigeria	(Yesufu, 2000)
Many contact activities "for mutual understanding" by schools	Not much impact, unsatisfactory, few schools had clear strategies, sometimes behaviour of students improved, society remained highly segregated	Northern Ireland	(Cairns & Hewstone, 2002; Sinclair, 2004)
Political activism as strategy for post-conflict recovery	Women who became political activists improved their own self-esteem and psychosocial well-being and encouraged others to change their environment, acquire skills and get (politically) active	Peru	(Laplante, 2007)
Lessons at schools	Development of wish for political participation (not in control groups);	Romania	(Sinclair, 2004)
Soap opera with peace education on the radio	more empathy for prisoners, genocide survivors, poor people and political leaders, more democratic discussion in a resource allocation decision	Rwanda	(Paluck, 2009)
Interventions of community building or trauma counselling by trained facilitators	Participants in interventions of facilitators with theory-based training showed more readiness for reconciliation and long-term reduction in trauma symptoms compared with participants in interventions with facilitators without this training	Rwanda	(Staub et al., 2005)
Peace education and other activities	90% of former child soldiers have gone home and have a civilian identity. Reductions of fighting and	Sierra Leone	(Wessells, 2005)

	increased integration		
Integration training and education for peace with 5 modules	Increased: knowledge, literacy, numeracy, self-confidence, self-awareness, interpersonal skills, ability to support self/family, conflict resolution skills, ability to cope with stress, clearer sense of own values and goals.	Sierra Leone	(Fauth & Daniels, 2001)
Civic Scenario workshops with key people	Reductions of prejudice, thinking in long-term perspective, optimism; high indirect impact by dissemination of scenarios and influencing future leaders.	South Africa	(Gillespie, 2004)
Students were asked to interview adults about TRC hearings etc.	Students learned unknown aspects of own family and history, expressed sadness, anger, disappointment, empathy. The discussions in class were in highly intense attentive atmosphere and showed increased interest, critical (self-) reflections and wish for coexistence	South Africa	(Zembylas & Ferreira, 2009)
Interviews and observation of peace education implementation	Peace education is integrated in school curricula, teachers lack training, few examples of critical discussions, perceived increase in self-esteem and positive school climate	Sri Lanka	(Cardozo, 2006; Cardozo, 2008)
Four-day interethnic peace workshop for 17-20-year-olds	One year after the intervention former participants showed significantly more cross-ethnic empathy and were willing to donate more money for children of the other ethnicity compared with non-participants	Sri Lanka	(Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005)
Impact study about six years of broad-scale implementation of the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (PEP)	PEP may have contributed to reduced fighting, less prejudice toward strangers, less gossiping or jealousy over wealth, reduced theft cases, less anger and violent responses, increase of cordial relationships between couples reduced conflict and theft at open places, reduced drinking, reduced cases of domestic or gender-based violence.	Uganda and South Sudan	(Ikobwa, Schares, & Omondi, 2005)
Human value education installed in one school	Compared to students or siblings on other schools, students showed higher sense of agency	Zambia	(Bajaj, 2005)

2.4.3 Findings from peace education evaluations

The small body of post-conflict peace education evaluation research has nevertheless produced some interesting findings. In the following I will concentrate on some aspects of relevance. I will start with two studies that exemplify peace education at schools, one in Aceh in Indonesia with a clear conflict resolution orientation, one in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the ambition of worldview transformation. The subsequent study is a cluster evaluation about some regions in Kosovo, investigating what might be necessary so

that peace education can have an impact on the level of a community. After a look at the long-term effects of a short-term intervention in Sri Lanka a survey study in the context of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict attempts to disentangle effects produced by the skill-building components of peace education and by the contact experience. Finally, I will come to two studies with good quantitative methodology that helped improve intergroup attitudes in Rwanda.

A qualitative evaluation of a peace education programme in the Indonesian province of Aceh assessed how the people involved perceived the programme. In 2001 and 2002 when the violent conflict in Aceh had not yet ended, a peace education curriculum with 27 lessons was implemented in 96 schools reaching almost 22,240 students of grade 10. For the evaluation 31 schools were visited and 617 students were interviewed in focus groups in which “approximately a quarter to one-third responded to questions posed by the evaluator. The evaluator also observed body language and facial expressions as questions were asked, and made an intentional effort to get quiet students to speak up” (Ashton, 2002, p. 6). Additionally, 21 principals and approximately 55 teachers were interviewed. The summary of findings lists examples how the “highly enthusiastic” students saw “ways in which the programme was changing their lives” (Ashton, 2002, p. 3). These examples include aspects of increased knowledge and understanding (about peace issues, Aceh Conflict, Islam and Acehese culture), increased prosocial orientation (respect for teachers, family, and each other, concern for their environment and community, fewer incidents of fighting, improved classroom behaviour), increased skills (ability to work in collaborative groups, problem-solving skills, ability to control anger, study skills) and personal growth (moral development, self-confidence, ability to speak up in public, ability to be introspective and acknowledge personal responsibility), and reduction of prejudice (Ashton, 2002). The examples and perceptions of teachers and principals have convinced the evaluator of that short report that students had integrated the peace education principles into their daily lives. Yet, with this qualitative post-test-only approach it remains unclear which effects that some students attributed to the programme were true for the majority of students. Moreover, the examples remain vague, e.g., it is not specified which prejudices were reduced.

An example of a programme with the focus of healing and transforming the general worldview is the unity-based “Education for Peace” (Clarke-Habibi, 2005; Danesh, 2008a). In a case study that is in its form typical for peace education evaluations Clarke-Habibi (2005), a description is given of how six pilot schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina were involved in extensive teacher training and regional as well as national peace events.

Teachers of all subjects learned about human development, dynamics of unity and violence, human rights, “conflict-free conflict resolution” (p.42) and needs of traumatised children. They were trained to implicitly or explicitly include aspects of these topics into their lessons, to stress more the aspects of cooperation and unity instead of differences and competition, and to foster creativity. Besides teacher training for integrating peace principles into every subject and cultivate students’ creativity, the programme aimed to involve the communities through regional and national “peace events”. The schools belonged to different ethnic communities with sceptical and hostile attitudes towards each other. In the course of the project curricular and extra-curricular visits and exchanges between communities of different ethnicities led to friendships, trust, and dating. Students and adults started to talk about positives qualities of the other ethnic group that had been the enemy during the war. The author interprets this as incidents of a collective healing process and signs of individual recovery from war traumas. After quoting teachers and students, who give examples of what the programme meant to them, the author states “The perceptions of self, others, and the world around them transformed dramatically. Indeed, a unique process of authentic reconciliation and community-level healing began. This wholesale transformative effect was gradually felt at the intra-personal, interpersonal, and inter-institutional level” (Clarke-Habibi, 2005, p. 45). This case study relies only on anecdotic remarks and impressions of teachers, students and organisers. An overall impact was not reliably measured. Yet, it seems as if “the spirit of interaction” (p.49) and the “dramatic evidences of transformation” (p.46) convinced all ministries of education to install the programme nationwide in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Swiss and Canadian development agencies supplied the funding (Clarke-Habibi, 2005, p. 45). The study about this apparently very effective peace education implementation doesn’t include a systematic assessment of what has actually changed or which of the various activities might have contributed to positive change. Due to its methodology it remains unclear whether all, many or few students were actually affected. Unfortunately, besides the message that this programme with a very holistic approach seemed to be very successful and managed to convince people involved, implementers, policy makers and donors, little can be learned from it for research or practice in other contexts.

International organisations sometimes fund a more thorough evaluation that is also either relying on mainly qualitative interviews or looking on the level of communities. An example is a cluster evaluation of peacebuilding activities in Kosovo that investigates at the community level why inter-ethnic violence erupted in Kosovo in some areas but not in

others in March 2004. After mapping the violence, communities with and without violent riots were selected, in-depth interviews with various people in those villages were conducted, and then a comparative analysis of these case studies took place in discussions and collective reflection of researchers, practitioners, donors, and policy-makers. This research project found that places with greater inter-ethnic contact did not experience less, but rather more violence. Intra-ethnic social networks were more important than inter-ethnic engagement in preventing violence. Indicators of improved inter-ethnic contact and movement by minorities did not reflect improvements in the underlying situation. Various forms of peace education and intergroup dialogue had been conducted in almost all of the investigated communities. The authors conclude that peacebuilding programming had “some important, if modest, effects on inter-ethnic relations in Kosovo, especially on the people who have directly participated” (CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2006, p. ix). Yet, this inter-ethnic contact on an individual level did not create inter-ethnic networks that were strong enough to counteract polarization by extremists and thus did not contribute significantly to prevention of interethnic violence.

This may be caused by how the peacebuilding activities were conducted. The programmes often stopped after creating the first willingness for inter-ethnic contact, so there was rarely any deepening or expanding of initial experiences of inter-ethnic interaction. Programmes that fostered multi-ethnicity with economic cooperation projects were often carried out in pro-forma mixed groups, but without improving the quality of social interactions. Most programmes did not address the main driving factors of conflict and did not engage many key people and areas. With a focus on women, youth, returnees and their receiving communities, the politically more extreme mono-ethnic communities were not reached. Resentment, frustration and anger about the economy were combined with political frustration (CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2006). These findings show that hoped-for impact on the meso-level (community) cannot be taken for granted even if effects on micro-level seem promising. The underlying theories of change that economic interdependence as well as opportunities for inter-ethnic cooperation will lead to trust and hinder interethnic violence proved to be wrong. That even in areas with many peace education activities not much change can be found on the societal level has also been found in Northern Ireland (Cairns & Hewstone, 2002). This underlines the importance of explicitly formulating and testing the theory of change how the socio-political goals on the level of community or society can be actually reached.

Very few studies address the often criticized point of long-term effectiveness of peace education. Evaluations of peace camps outside the country show mixed results. Worchel (2005) found that most of the promising short-term results had disappeared in the delayed post-tests after 1-3 years. However, some effects remained: the outgroup was still perceived as heterogeneous, self-esteem and self-efficacy were still increased, and the reduction of fear of the outgroup was still evident after some years. A study in Sri Lanka yielded the encouraging finding “that even brief contact (four days) can have long-term impact (one year later), even in extremely harsh environments” (Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005, p. 920). One year after an interethnic peace workshop in Sri Lanka, Tamil and Sinhalese 18-21-year-old former participants showed significantly more cross-ethnic empathy and were willing to actually donate more money for children of the other ethnicity compared with students who had been nominated but did not participate in the workshops or had been in non-participating schools (Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005). This finding gives hope that even short interventions can produce lasting effects. Yet, this is probably only possible if such changes are reinforced or at least not undermined by norms and influences of peer group or society.

A study with 457 Georgian or Abkhaz students attempts to tease apart the effects of peace education and the effects of interethnic contact in a post-test-only survey design. 70 respondents had participated in interethnic peace camps in USA. The remaining 387 had received peace education either in Abkhazia or in Georgia. The participants had been in this programme for one, two or three years. Both interethnic contact and increased intensity of peace education contributed to disagreement to the statement “sometimes resorting to violence to achieve a goal is necessary”. The perceived changes in intergroup attitudes were moderate. Yet, willingness for cooperation with the other side was increased for those in the contact intervention, as well as for students with longer peace education. Whereas for Georgians contact produced more effects, for Abkhazians the intensity of peace education was more influential (Ohanyan & Lewis, 2005). This study is of particular interest. In line with the findings in the Israeli-Palestinian context it shows that in an asymmetric conflict, participants of different groups have different needs or goals and profit differently from the same programmes. The authors furthermore highlight the finding that willingness for cooperation increased although no pronounced attitude changes were found. They argue for a multidisciplinary discourse for an “assessment of the political value of interethnic contact, which in social-psychological theories is examined weakly” (Ohanyan & Lewis, 2005, p. 82). In other words, assuming that intergroup contact and improved intergroup attitudes on the individual level lead to socio-political change might be a false theory of change. Rather,

a top-down approach should identify societal factors that foster (willingness for) cooperation between the groups that might be more important for socio-political change. More than interethnic contact, the skills learned in peace education might be useful for participants to become active and establish peace-promoting institutions or collective action. However, the findings from Kosovo (CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2006) indicate that top-down programmes for cooperation might be undermined by resentment if they are imposed on participants.

An example for a theory-based intervention with quasi-experimental impact evaluation is a training for survivors in Rwanda, developed and evaluated by Staub et al. They trained Rwandan facilitators about the underlying mechanisms of genocide, trauma, victimization, healing, psychological needs, vicarious traumatising and included space for sharing painful experiences in an empathic context. The trained facilitators integrated what they had learned in their own work with community groups. This intervention was compared with a traditional approach of community work, both consisting of six sessions within three weeks. A further control condition without any workshops was included. The study used a 3x2x2 design as the three conditions (labelled “integrated”, “traditional”, “control”) had either the goal of trauma healing or community building and were implemented with or without an explicitly religious perspective. In total, 194 rural Rwandese community members with trauma-related problems participated in the study, 90% of them being women. Questionnaires about trauma symptoms and readiness to reconcile were administered before (Time 1), immediately after the intervention (Time 2) and two months later (Time 3). Trauma symptoms deteriorated in all three conditions from Time 1 to Time 2 but improved in the intervention group as a long-term effect at Time 3. Concerning readiness for reconciliation, participants in the control group and in the group with traditional approach showed no significant change. Participants in the integrated intervention group showed more positive attitudes at Time 3, significantly more positive than the other two groups (Staub et al., 2005). In the article about this intervention and its evaluation it remains rather vague what exactly was done in the “integrated condition”. It can be assumed that methods and contents have varied notably from facilitator to facilitator and that this as well as the specific personality and experience of the facilitator may have contributed to the effects. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the interventions with the focus on community building (thus a form of peace education) could improve both trauma symptoms and intergroup attitudes only when facilitators had been trained about the impact of traumatising. This illustrates why I find it important not to neglect the perspective of psychosocial recovery

(2.3.3) when evaluating peace education as an intervention with its educational goal (2.3.1), even if the focus of my evaluation lies on the intergroup perspective of peace education as a contact intervention (2.3.2).

Another quasi-experimental field study in Rwanda showed that media can play a role in spreading educational messages that can change perceived norms and behaviour. After listening to a radio soap opera containing educational messages, a group of more than 200 adults in 6 communities expressed more empathy for prisoners, genocide survivors, poor people and political leaders compared to a comparable group that listened to a health programme. In their process to make a decision on how to allocate actual resources given to the group, the Rwandans who had listened to the peace programme showed more democratic behaviour than the control group (Paluck, 2009). These promising results of a study that fulfilled very high methodological standards highlight the role that mass media – in this case the radio – can play in educating people towards peace. Paluck's study also exemplifies that methodologically good impact evaluations can be carried out in a highly complicated real-life context of a country with a recent violent conflict. Unfortunately, not many peace education evaluation reports measure up to such a high methodological standard.

2.4.4 Shortcomings and need for research

The overview and the few examples presented above demonstrate that evaluation research is scarce in the area of peace education in post-war settings. I will outline which aspects need to be investigated and why such research is necessary. Then I will give a brief outlook on how these points are addressed in this present work.

Not much research has been done about the not uncommon peace education activities in post-war settings. As mentioned above, most research on peace education has been conducted in Israel with its specific context that cannot qualify for a post-conflict context with structures of peacebuilding. As it is often argued that peace education depends on its social and political context to reinforce its message (Raines, 2004; Salomon, 2006), it is not surprising that encounters of Israeli Jews and Arabs yield rather modest or pessimistic results (Salomon, 2009b). However, the findings from the Israeli context cannot be generalized to other contexts in which power relations are more equal and peace-promoting factors in the environment as well as a shared consensus of a common peaceful future are present. In real post-conflict contexts, e.g., after the settlement of a civil war this more positive social climate can be found, and peace education as one component among other structural and societal changes in the context of peacebuilding might yield more positive

results. Reports from such areas, e.g., in Sierra Leone or Angola indeed seem promising (Bockarie, 2002; Wessells, 2005; Wessells & Monteiro, 2006), but lack detailed and scientifically profound evaluations that include quantitative measures. These are necessary to improve peace education and provide arguments for (not) implementing a certain programme in a specific context.

In many African countries conflicts as well as many peace education activities have taken place, yet hardly any thorough peace education evaluation can be found. The situation of basic education is for various reasons still far from ideal in many African countries. Education in Africa has been characterized “by its rigidity, by a low access and enrolment rate, by a low quality of the teaching, a high rate of drop-outs, and the inadaptability of curricula to the learners’ environment and to new technologies imposed by globalization” (Gbesso, 2006 p. 6). Thus African teachers or facilitators of peace education need to be well trained to implement interactive methods and provide good peace education which could be of great importance for both children and adults, especially if their nation has experienced war. To ensure and improve quality, it is necessary to evaluate how peace education is carried out and how it affects its learners.

Although there is broad consensus that culture plays a crucial role for peace education, it is not clear whether peace education of structured cross-cultural programmes or of locally tailored programmes yield better results. Some peace education programmes are highly structured, based on theoretical foundations and used in various cultures. Others are designed for a specific context and highly culture specific. Empirical evidence is needed to determine whether it is better to develop a programme for a specific context or rather use a cross-cultural programme.

Peace education programmes are very ambitious and broad in their goals and it is rarely investigated whether peace education affects attitudes towards formerly warring groups. Evaluations need to select specific objectives and criteria to define and measure the effectiveness of a programme. To go beyond educational trainings or conflict resolution programmes, peace education should affect participants’ attitudes and perceptions about groups that were perceived as enemies, thus preparing for or supporting in the process of reconciliation between groups. This neglected perspective is of high relevance in a post-war context because it can be an important element for the process of reconciliation.

How peace education can improve intergroup attitudes has not been investigated in contexts with more than two relevant groups. Many interventions are implicitly or explicitly based on the Contact Hypothesis. However, in the few cases when research has

accompanied these efforts, it was in the context of mainly two relevant groups. Conceptualizations of conflict involve often two groups sometimes even with the clear-cut roles of perpetrators and victims. In reality, many conflicts are far more complicated and groups with many factions have been involved. It is necessary to find out how peace education can affect attitude changes in the context of many different groups. For practitioners it is important to decide whether – or how – it makes sense to implement programmes with this objective. For researchers it is interesting to learn more about contact effects in multi-group settings.

Profound impact evaluations of interventions with adults in community settings are rare. Most research about peace education or contact interventions focus on students in school or at university. Adults are the decision-makers in societies, and especially in post-war settings it is crucial that adults change their attitudes to adapt from war to peace. Otherwise, they might counteract the reconciliation process and transmit war-promoting attitudes to the following generation and make long-lasting peace improbable. This seems obvious and it is often argued that peace education should target non-student adults (Nevo & Brehm, 2002b; Schimmel, 2009). Nevertheless, although there has been a growing trend to implement peace education in non-formal settings to reach adults, few evaluations have been made with this target group. Both in theory and practice little is known about the impact of traumatisation on learning peace-promoting knowledge, skills and attitudes. More research is needed to determine how effective peace education can actually be for adults who have experienced war. To extend theory and improve practice it is important to learn more about how the specific needs of (traumatised) adults need to be considered to reach the aims of peace education.

A good evaluation report should analyse and describe both programme and implementation. Any effects of a peace education programme can be attributed to the programme and/or to the specific implementation. Although it is hard to at least roughly separate both sources of influence, it becomes impossible if no detailed description of what was actually done is provided. Many researchers complain that this lack of information is common (e.g., Maoz, 2004; Nevo & Brehm, 2002). For researchers this is annoying because they cannot classify the intervention or learn how any change was elicited. If an evaluation looks at a contact intervention it is of high interest for researchers when mechanisms that contribute to change can be identified to support or extend the Contact Theory. For practitioners information about both programme and implementation is important to improve elements that are effective in their own work.

To my knowledge, my present peace education evaluation is the first that includes all of these mentioned points in need of research. I analyse programme, implementation and outcomes of a specific peace education intervention, namely the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme. I chose the setting that the implementation can be seen as both peace education and intergroup contact intervention. My focus is on whether participation in this widely used programme can improve intergroup attitudes in the specific context. Furthermore, I compare a shortened version of the structured programme with a peace education workshop that was specifically developed in the cultural context. The intervention is placed in West Africa in a post-war context targeting adult Liberian refugees. They have fled a civil war in which ethnicity has been exploited for political reasons. All 16 Liberian ethnic groups have been involved, so that improving inter-ethnic attitudes is an important step for reconciliation and peace in Liberia. The next chapter will shed some light on this context.

3 Context: Liberia and the Refugee Camp Buduburam

An evaluation and its implementation have to be seen in its situational context. When Liberians in a refugee camp in Ghana are the target group of peace education, both the situation and history of their country and their living condition in exile have to be considered.

Accordingly, some basic information about Liberia, its history and the factors leading to the wars will be introduced. This is followed by a description of the refugee settlement Buduburam with its history, structure, living conditions and the organisation that was the implementing partner for this peace education research project.

3.1 Liberia and its history

Liberia is a small country with a unique history in Africa. When in all neighbouring countries European nations had colonized most African peoples, the independent Republic of Liberia was founded in 1847. However, democracy did not reach all inhabitants. The last decade of the 20th century was a period of wars for Liberia. Before coming to this history and a short analysis of the reasons for the wars, some facts are presented about Liberia as it is today.



Figure 3.1: Map of Liberia. (Source: <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/liberia.pdf>)

3.1.1 Liberia today: Economy, Population and Cultures

Liberia is located on the Atlantic coast in West Africa with Monrovia as its capital. Since 2006 the president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf has put efforts into rebuilding the post-war country. The international community assists in the phase of peacebuilding with UNMIL, release of debts, financial support and capacity building. Liberia is largely rural and rich in natural resources, e.g., iron ore, gold, timber, diamonds, rubber trees. Yet, the infrastructure and economy are still down. Even large parts in the capital are still without running water or electricity. The unemployment rate is at 85%; 70% of the population live on less than a dollar a day (Loden, 2007).

Almost 3.5 million people lived in Liberia in 2008. The average household size is 5.1 persons (Liberia Institute of Statistics and Geo-Information Services, 2008). English is the official language; Liberian English and more than 20 indigenous languages are also widely used. The population is ethnically diverse: More than 95% are Africans¹ and belong to one of 17 recognized sociocultural groups in Liberia, sometimes referred to as “ethnic groups” or by Liberians called “tribes”. When categorized by linguistic proximity, five groups can be formed as listed in Table 3.1. Intermarriage and westernized education have blurred the distinctions. Traditional religions are practiced by about 40% of the people; another 40% are Christian, and 20% are Muslim. Christian 40%; Muslim 20% (CIA, 2009).

Many Liberians of different ethnic groups are members of so-called secret societies. The biggest and not particularly secret societies are Sande for women and Poro for men. In some areas and for different ethnic groups all children are taken away to learn for one to four years in so-called bush schools the values, laws, skills, traditions and customs as initiation to the (secret) society. Some other secret societies are smaller and clandestine. Priests (Zoes) are believed to connect the human world with the powerful invisible world of spirits. They do so by practices such as dance, use of masks, body marking, charms, ritual trials,

Table 3.1: *Linguistic families of ethnic groups in Liberia*

Linguistic family	Groups
Mel	Gola, Kissi
Kwa	Dei, Bassa, Kru, Krahn, Grebo
Mande-Fu	Kpelle, Gio, Mano, Loma
Mande-Tan	Vai, Mende, Mandingo
Repatriated	Americo-Liberians / Congo

¹ Liberia has an economically influential Lebanese community. Neither they nor other foreigners are entitled to become Liberians, vote or own land. This is due to the Liberian constitution drafted by descendants of slaves. It specifies that Liberian citizenship is confined to “persons who are Negroes or of Negro descent” (http://www.liberianlegal.com/constitution1986.htm#_CITIZENSHIP; Paye-Layleh, 2005).

punishments, animal sacrifice, and, in some cases, ritualistic murder and cannibalism. Such traditional belief systems and their measures of socio-political control often merge respectively are combined with Christianity or – to a lesser extent – Islam (Ellis, 1995, 2007; The Advocates for Human Rights, 2009). Elders as well as Zoes are traditionally highly respected and play important roles in traditional institutions of conflict resolution, protection, justice and stability for the community.

3.1.2 Liberian history before 1979²

Little is known about the earliest events in the territory that is now Liberia. Indigenous people had been settling in the area since 6000 B.C.E. The first people were probably Pygmies, the small sized “Jinna” whose existence has not been proved by any records but is assumed due to oral history. In various waves different people migrated to the area and developed into the sixteen ethnic groups with their many subgroups. Different political systems were used, from dictatorship, monarchy to practical democracy. Both alliances and wars between the groups existed. When Portugal, England and Holland started the transatlantic slave trade, some slave traders were active in the area that was named *Grain Coast* by a Portuguese explorer. Yet, most slave vessels stopped rather in the neighbouring areas where the shores were less rough and rocky (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, 2009).

Liberia was founded as a state by newly arrived settlers who were freed slaves from USA, free-born African-Americans, and Africans captured from slave ships on the high seas. In the USA abolitionists and white men who wanted no free coloured population in their country as well as people interested in Christianising Africa had founded the American Colonization Society (ACS). This private organisation with very prominent members was supported by the US government. In at least six wars, agents of the ACS forced the local population of the Grain Coast to “sell” their land. From 1821 to 1867 approximately 13,000 African-Americans and several thousand recaptured African slaves were resettled in what developed from colonies to a Commonwealth. In 1847 the independent Republic of Liberia was declared³. There were two conflicting options for how the young state could be built: as a small America in West Africa or as an African nation modified by Western thoughts. The

² In the Diaspora-report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission it is truly marked that “Liberian history is contested and, as in many countries, is perceived as a political undertaking” (The Advocates for Human Rights, 2009). This section is to give a general overview of the historical background to understand Liberian intergroup relations. For a more detailed analysis see Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, 2009.

³ Many nations recognized the new state soon. However, the USA waited until 1862 with their official recognition, because they did not want a black ambassador in Washington; slavery was not abolished in the South before 1865.

settlers or so-called Americo-Liberians took over the autocratic regime of ACS and went for the first option. The closeness to the USA was obvious in the Liberian flag, the constitution, and the cultural habits of the settlers. The capital was named Monrovia in honour of the US president James Monroe. The native population was nowhere represented in the symbols or foundations of the republic.

For more than a century the descendants of the former slaves ruled the country and oppressed the rest of the population. The True Whig Party governed Liberia from 1877 to 1980, which is the longest period of one party ruling any country anywhere in the world (Meredith, 2006). Only property owners were entitled to vote. The indigenous population was regarded as inferior and only few who adopted Western names and assimilated could get Western education and participate in some form in the political life. In the hinterland a system of military and administrative control had been established. The settlers felt the pressure to control the territory to defend it against the neighbouring colonial powers France and Britain. The army was used to enforce the law and collect hut taxes, often with gruesome measures. It was common that soldiers publicly humiliated men, and abused women and children. The ruling elite lived a luxury life in the coastal areas around Monrovia, keeping close ties with USA and trading the natural resources. In 1926 a million acres of land were leased for annually six cent an acre to the Firestone Tyre and Rubber Company for ninety-nine years. They established the at-that-time largest rubber plantation in the world. The government forced indigenous Liberians to work for the company under conditions that were found to be slavery-like by an inquiry of the League of Nations. Iron ore exports and registration fees for more than 2500 ships to sail under the Liberian flag were further sources of income.

When the Liberian economy developed and in the neighbouring countries decolonization movements started, Liberia's political culture with its Americo-Liberian hegemony became highly intolerant. President Tubman changed the constitution so that he could be in office for 27 years from 1944 to 1971. His policies were open door, unification, and integration. In this time universal adult suffrage was introduced (yet only natives who paid hut taxes could vote); more native Liberians were represented in the legislative, and due to American military presence in Liberia the infrastructure and economy of the hinterland developed. At the same time, a network of patronage and security was established. Leaders of a political opposition were forced into exile or killed. The population learned to fear and expect harsh reprisals whenever they did not act how local officials and the president wished. What

Tubman created was “a personal autocracy based on weak institutions with contempt for law” (Berkeley, 2001, p. 30).

The next president, Tolbert, tried some reforms while keeping the system of nepotism, corruption and weak justice. He pursued a policy of decentralisation, expanded the infrastructure, allowed free speech and opposition. At the same time, many members of his family held many important positions in politics and businesses. The justice system was questioned after some trials had seemed to be biased. Economy declined, unemployment rose. More than 60% of the wealth of Liberia was owned by less than 4% of the population. In 1979 the population started a protest when rumours spread that the price for rice (the staple food for most Liberians) would increase. Armed police and troops shot at the demonstrators. Yet, many soldiers in the army did not shoot and even participated themselves in the looting. Indigenous soldiers were often illiterate, badly paid, trained to be brutal, confined to the low ranks and discontent with the government (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, 2009).

3.1.3 Doe regime and civil wars (1980-2003)

In 1980 Samuel Doe, one of the low ranking indigenous soldiers, killed Tolbert and became the first president who belonged to a local ethnic group, the Krahn. This group with less than 4% of the Liberian population mainly lived in a forested border area and had a very low social status stereotyped as being backward and uncouth (Meredith, 2006). In the beginning, the end of the Americo-Liberian hegemony was welcomed, but soon it became obvious that Doe did not manage the country any better. Doe gave all of the key positions in society and army to Krahns or Mandingos, an ethnic group of Muslim traders that “has always been viewed as extraterrestrial elements” (Kromah, 2008). The personal rivalry between Doe and his fellow putschist Thomas Quiwonkpa, a Gio, increased the tensions between members of these groups, first in the army, then in the society (Ellis, 1995). After a failed coup by a Quiwonkpa in 1985, army forces killed approximately 3000 civilians because they belonged to the ethnic groups of Gio and Mano (Cain, 1999). At another occasion Doe’s militia fired at students demonstrating against the detention of their professor. The soldiers killed more than fifty students, raped female students, flogged others and looted as well as destroyed facilities of the campus (Berkeley, 2001; Meredith, 2006).

Doe could (politically) survive⁴ only due to the backing of USA. Liberia hosted the transmission station for Voice of America, a base for shipping the Atlantic coast and

⁴ Doe claimed to have survived thirty-eight coup or assassination attempts. He was believed to possess supernatural powers and used all sorts of *jujus* or traditional talismans to protect himself (Meredith, 2006)

refuelling military planes. Moreover, Liberia was the major transference point of intelligence gathered in Africa. In the era of the Cold War the USA supported Doe who in return helped them protect their interests (Berkeley, 2001; Meredith, 2006; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, 2009). He gained the financial and military support of the USA even though he had obviously stolen an election in 1985 and was responsible for soldiers who were beating, raping and killing people. Berkeley (2001) discusses whether Crocker, the responsible US assistant secretary of state can be seen as a war criminal as he “sent an unmistakable signal to Liberians all across the spectrum, including Doe himself: that as far as the United States was concerned, Doe and his confederates could quite literally get away with mass murder” (Berkeley, 2001, p. 68).

In December 1989 Charles Taylor started a rebellion against Doe and the Krahn. Taylor is an US-educated Americo-Liberian who had worked for the Doe government until he fled when he was accused of embezzling \$900,000. When he entered with 150 soldiers trained in Libya, thousands of civilians belonging to Gio, Mano and other groups joined his National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) to fight the Doe regime and kill the Krahn. Among them were many children and adolescents, some of them orphaned by the massacres committed by the army. Soon, most of Taylor’s trained officers split to form the Independent Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) as a separate militia under Prince Johnson. The Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) gave weapons to many Krahn civilians and continued to commit atrocities against Gio and Mano civilians. Contrary to the expectations of most Liberians, the USA did not intervene and only sent marines to evacuate their own citizens. The Cold War was over and the war in the Persian Gulf seemed more important for their interests. Instead, the Economic Community of West African States (Ecomog) sent a “Cease-fire monitoring group” (Ecomog) led by Nigeria. When president Doe visited the headquarters of Ecomog, the INPFL captured and killed him. A film showing how Prince Johnson tortured and humiliated Doe was distributed around Monrovia. Soon, the 4000 soldiers of Ecomog became involved in the fighting, supplied weapons to all factions and exported looted goods. When Taylor could not get hold of Monrovia, he established his rule and a prospering war economy in almost the rest of the country. Among other products, Taylor officially exported each year diamonds worth \$300-450 million. Liberia could not produce this amount, but Taylor also sponsored a rebel group in Sierra Leone (RUF) that got hold of the diamond fields there while terrorizing, killing and mutilating civilians (Meredith, 2006). The Sierra Leonean government encouraged Liberians who lived there to build an own militia to fight against Taylor. This United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) later

split in a group with mainly Krahn (ULIMO-J) and mainly Mandingo (ULIMO-K), fighting against each other and the NPFL. These and some other factions produced a “mosaic of militia zones of control” (Ellis, 1995, p. 185). Several peace agreements among the various faction leaders did not stop the war.

In 1996 a peace accord was signed in Abuja, Nigeria. The disarmament began with the help of United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia. Taylor who had amassed a fortune put a great deal of money into a campaign to become president. Everyone knew that if he was not elected he would start fighting again. His supporters sang on the street “He killed my Ma, he killed my Pa, I’ll vote for him!” With 75% of the votes the former war lord became president of Liberia. He continued his policies of repression and killing of assumed opponents. In 1998 1500 civilians were executed pursuant to President Taylor’s order (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, 2009).

In 1999 a new rebel group (LURD) initiated a second civil war. It stroke and retreated in strategic brutal attacks of destruction on Monrovia that became locally known as “World war I, II & III”. The rebels split into a second group (MODEL) that also aimed at fighting Taylor. Again, civilians suffered the most. “Summary executions, abductions, forced labour, recruitment of child soldiers and rape have been rampant on both sides” (Kamara, 2003, p. 9). Again, ethnic categories became important. The Taylor government suspected, arrested, discriminated against and attacked Mandingo, Krahn, and Gbandi because most rebels in LURD belonged to these groups. LURD also attacked many Kissi, maybe because Kissi in Sierra Leone had been a stronghold for RUF that was associated with Taylor (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Finally, the international community – UN, AU, USA, EU and ECOWAS – came in, stopped Taylor’s weapon supplies and succeeded in forcing Taylor out of office in 2003. In the comprehensive Peace Agreement in Accra it was decided to establish a Truth and Reconciliation commission (TRC). Taylor – accused for atrocities in Sierra Leone – went to exile in Nigeria⁵. In 2005 Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became president of Liberia.

The wars had been extremely brutal with many incidents of killing, rape, torture, looting and cannibalism. Many combatants were children or adolescents. All factions committed human rights violations against civilians (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, 2009). Civilians were forced to become combatants. Others were taken like slaves to serve combatants, or they were terrorized and had their homes looted. In 1994 UN estimated that 60000 persons were fighting, UNICEF estimated that around 30% of them were under

⁵ When it became obvious that he would no longer be protected from prosecution he fled with a diplomatic passport. On the border his luggage was checked for dead chickens because of bird flu. When the customs officer discovered suitcases filled with money he became suspicious and Taylor could be arrested.

eighteen. People who travelled had to pass checkpoints where the (child) soldiers singled out people for execution, detention, assault, and torture (Human Rights Watch, 1994). Criteria for picking victims could be ethnicity, wealth, personal connection to the rebel, any sign of impatience or pure bad luck. At many checkpoints (parts of) mutilated dead bodies were exhibited (Ellis, 2007; Foster et al., 2009). Estimates are that 168,000 people were raped (Cain, 1999). According to an estimation of the UN approximately 200,000 people died during the wars (Brownwell, 2007). An estimated 750,000 people fled the country and 1.2 million were internally displaced. Of the approximately 2.5 million people who lived in Liberia before the war, approximately 85% were either killed, internally displaced or became refugees (Cain, 1999).

3.1.4 Root causes for the wars and necessities for peace

Understanding what contributed to violence is important for peace and reconciliation (Staub, 2003). Accordingly, I will describe what is claimed to be the reasons behind the war by the official Truth and Reconciliation Commission, by Liberian refugees, and by international scholars.

The Liberian Parliament enacted a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in May 2005 to investigate and report on gross human rights violations in Liberia from 1979 to 2003. In 2009 the TRC published the last of three volumes. The report with approximately 1,500 pages includes a list of several factors that contributed to the civil wars in Liberia: a divided nation; a political structure with an overly powerful executive presidency with no checks and balances; mass illiteracy and poverty; corruption; economic disparity; violation of human rights without redress; exclusion and marginalization; ethnic rivalry; disunity; land acquisition, tenure, and distribution; over centralization of power and wealth; the introduction of ethnic tensions, superiority and rivalry into the Liberian body polity (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, 2009).

Liberians focus in their perception of reasons for the war mostly on one or two of these factors. When asked about the reasons of the war, most of the 117 refugees in the Ghanaian refugee camp Buduburam cited ethnic tensions or power greed, followed by bad politics/corruption, lack of education or problems of attitude (e.g., “disunity”, “no patriotism”). Only 4% of all answers referred to structural conditions; the same proportion held the USA accountable. 5% did not know any reason and 1% saw the wars as caused by God or the devil. (Feuchte & Mazziotta, unpublished data) Figure 3.2 illustrate the proportions of the answers.

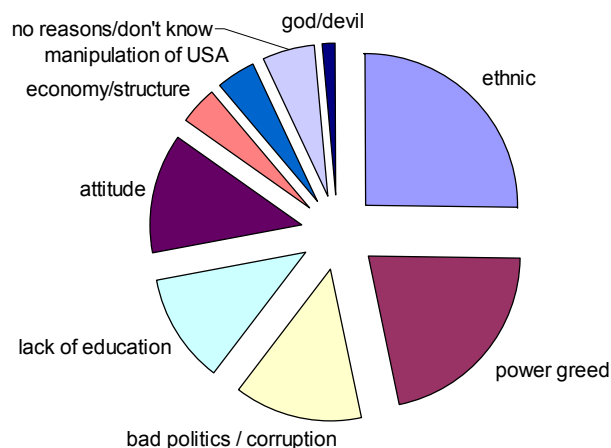


Figure 3.2: Distribution of reasons for the war stated by 117 Liberian refugees (Feuchte & Mazziotta, unpublished data)

by social conflicts, particular violent conflicts. They gain relevance when the state fails to protect physical integrity of its citizens, and when power and resources are organised within the networks of ethnic groups (Bogner, 2004). In Liberia, a powerless civil society with different ethnic groups had been used to the tradition of impunity for whatever politicians did. Violence against civilians had become an instrument of politics and control (Sleh, Toe, & Weah, 2008). The main motive for violence came from politicians striving for power:

All of Liberia's current ethnic feuds started at the top and spread downwards. To a great extent, all have been manufactured by people hungry for power, using violence as a means of political recruitment. [...] ethnic labels generally attached to the various militias are ideological representations used by politicians as a means of creating constituencies. They then acquire a certain political substance over the course of time (Ellis, 1995, p. 183).

Moreover, for understanding reasons, characteristics and dynamics of the wars, another dimension cannot be neglected: the spiritual beliefs and practices that are deeply rooted in the Liberian cultures. One of the most sophisticated analyses about the first Liberian war has been written by Stephen Ellis and stresses the importance of religious concepts for the war. To most Liberians, the invisible world of spirits is responsible for regulating all important changes in the human world. However, politicians used human sacrifice to gain (spiritual) power and used the secret societies for their own purposes. Turbulences and chaos in the invisible world were mirrored in the violent events of the war. Most combatants were equipped with jujus (traditional magic as protection); some were fighting naked with painted faces, wearing wigs. Cannibalism was common. To understand these practices, the symbolic meanings and complex connections that are assumed to bridge visible and invisible world need to be considered (Ellis, 2007).

All of the various root causes for the wars should be considered for preparing reconciliation. Since 2003, Liberia has taken a course of rebuilding the state with massive

help from outside. The United Nations has deployed 15,000 troops in the country as United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). The demobilization of warring factions and collection of weaponry of the war has proceeded smoothly. More than 100,000 combatants were disarmed (Loden, 2007). In 2005 the highest number of voters was registered in the Liberian history: approximately one million (Pajibo, 2007). More than 90% of them actually voted, and the result was the first female president in Africa: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Under her government, several important steps were taken to proceed towards peace: reduction of corruption, implementation of Truth and Reconciliation Commission, release of international debts and the beginning of rebuilding of infrastructure.

In the realm of religion and traditional beliefs, various steps have been taken to prepare Liberia for peace. Religious and traditional authority leaders have started to reconcile groups, “purify” land and “cleanse” individuals. In 2005 a series of such ceremonies was sponsored by USAID. Many thousands of ex-combatants came from everywhere to participate. The ceremonies were seen as successful, contributing to more harmonious interethnic relations and integration of ex-combatants (Owen & de Berry, 2007).

Much more development is needed to reduce poverty and ethnic tensions. The different perspectives about root causes share the view that many factors have contributed to the wars. Many of them are still problems of Liberia today. The peace is fragile and needs to be enhanced by large proportions of the Liberian population.

3.2 Buduburam: a Refugee Camp for Liberians in Ghana

Many Liberians fled their country during the wars. One of the largest refugee camps for Liberians was Buduburam in Ghana, where the present evaluation of peace education took place. The camp had developed to become a settlement where many refugees had to be self-reliant. In the context of poor living conditions Liberians found ways to support each other and build up a civil society within the camp.

3.2.1 History, structure and development of the camp

The refugee camp Buduburam was established in 1990. The first Liberians arrived on a ship from Monrovia. Several African countries had rejected the vessel to land in their harbours. After a promise by UN Secretary General Kofi Anan that the country accepting the refugees would get support by UN, Ghana finally allowed the Liberians in. The UN refugees’ agency UNHCR helped building the camp Buduburam, approximately 35km from Accra. The

makeshift tents were later replaced by small houses built by their inhabitants who were supported with training and building material (N'Tow, 2004).

The refugee settlement has twelve zones, nine on the actual property and three in the village of Buduburam. Close to the main square are the Welfare Council, the camp clinic and one of two markets. All over the camp are several small shops, stalls, bars, video clubs, churches, a mosque, NGO offices, schools and internet cafes. Furthermore, the camp includes a police station, some football fields, and a cemetery.

The camp was designed to accommodate 5000 people, but for most of the time the settlement has sheltered more than 40,000 refugees. Not only registered refugees live in the camp; also, as people come and go it has been difficult to determine the exact number of residents in the camp. In the mid-nineties more than 25,000 lived there. In 1999 less than 4000 chose to repatriate because they did not trust the Taylor government (UHHCR/WFP Joint Assessment mission, 2006). While in the beginning more women and children lived in the camp, during the second civil war more and more men came, either from Liberia to avoid forced recruitment or from Cote d'Ivoire as the conflict there made life difficult for Liberian refugees. In 2003 around 42,000 registered refugees were counted, 12-13000 non-registered Liberians were estimated. 36,000 Liberians were estimated to live in Buduburam in 2006. In 2006 approximately 38,000 Liberians were estimated to be still living in the camp (UNHCR/WFP, 2006). In July 2007 there were still some 80,000 Liberian refugees in West Africa (Brownell, 2007), and between 35,000 and 40,000 Liberians lived at Buduburam (Foster et al., 2009). 105,000 Liberians had returned with the voluntary repatriation programme from 2004 to 2007. Yet, in 2008, alone in Ghana 26,967 Liberians were still officially registered as refugees, most of them living in the refugee camp Buduburam (UNHCR, 2008).

Schools were established in the settlement. In 2006 approximately 12,000 students went to 51 private schools, 10% of these students were Ghanaians. Most Liberians came from Monrovia to Buduburam with a rather high level of education. Accordingly, they value education and work hard to have their children go to school. Although some support by UNHCR had been given during some years, students have to pay fees and many families cannot afford to pay and send their children to school, so only 93% of Liberian children are enrolled in schools (Bürgler, 2006).

Supply of water and electricity changed over the years. In 2007 and 2008, no running water was available. Water was trucked in and then purchased. People had to pay for the use of a toilet, so many preferred to use an area outside the camp which is neither very hygienic

nor secure. Electricity was sometimes available in some parts of the camp. The hospital and some bars and NGOs owned generators to avoid being affected by the frequent and unpredictable power cuts. During nights, the camp was dark except from some shops and stalls that used flambeaus, torches or candles.

In 1993 UNHCR tried to enable the refugees to become completely self-sufficient. However, an agriculture project and vocational skills training with a micro-loan scheme failed due to the environment and lack of acceptance. Nevertheless, in 19997 assistance was greatly reduced; in 2000 all support for Liberian refugees was terminated (Dick, 2002). When fighting in Liberia brought new waves of refugees to the camp, UNCR resumed its engagement in 2002. Yet, only 4,700 to 9,500 vulnerable individuals received food aid by the World Food Programme, depending on the budget. The criteria for being selected for the programme are not very transparent for those involved. The rationale was to give to those who needed it most, such as to people without income or remittance, malnourished children (at most three per household), women-headed households without economic activity, HIV/AIDS-affected households, stigmatized people such as teenage single parents or people with physical and mental disabilities without support, unaccompanied minors, pregnant women without support etc. (Foster et al., 2009).

3.2.2 Living conditions in Buduburam

Indeed, the main attraction of the camp was a resettlement programme to the USA. Between 1990 and 2000, over 20000 Liberians were received by USA (US Census Bureau, 2000), many of them came via Buduburam. Most who stayed behind clung to their hope of get their chance for a visa to USA or another country with more chances for a normal life compared to Liberia or Ghana. Even after the termination of the official resettlement programme some Liberians still got visas. In 2006 more than 1000 refugees were resettled (UNHCR, 2006). Those who had left mostly kept the connections and sent remittances to the camp. This money from abroad was one of the largest sources of income for around 32% of households in Buduburam (Bürgler, 2006).

Other sources of income were small trading businesses such as selling oranges, water, yams or drinks or low-skilled jobs in the camp or in the area. However, employment opportunities were rare, especially for Liberians who didn't speak Twi, the local Ghanaian language. In 2006, 55% of Liberians in Buduburam fell below poverty line, 15% below extreme poverty line. Most people were used to not having more than one meal a day.

The security situation in the settlement was a matter of concern for many Liberians. Many don't feel safe. They can meet the persons who raped them or killed their families in the settlement. They feel not accepted by Ghanaians and report incidents of attacks or ritual killings. Official criminal statistics were not available. Police officers are at the police station in the camp. A serious problem is violence against women, rape and domestic violence. They do not trust in the police and often don't report the crime. The neighbourhood watch team was installed in 2002 which led to a reduction in crimes. The traditional social roles are no longer relevant, changing intergenerational relations create tensions (Hampshire et al., 2008)

Religiosity is very high among most Liberians in Buduburam. Muslims are a minority. More than 40 churches play important roles for social life in camp. Traditional religion merged into Christianity, services include miracles, healing, exorcism, drumming and dancing. People build and maintain social networks, donate the last of their money, receive moral support and cultivate their hope for a better future (Dick, 2002).

3.2.3 Traumatization and inter-ethnic relations

Refugees go through three different traumatic stages: they experience war, they flee and lose their home, and then they have to survive in exile where they are often not welcomed and do not know how life will go on for them. Many Liberians have lived in the camp for years, sometimes for more than a decade. "Liberians live in a protracted state of limbo. As outsiders living in Ghana, but with nothing to draw them home to Liberia, they wait for something to force a change" (Foster et al., 2009, p. 327). Some received an identity card as refugees, but policies changed, and some did not get any identification card, so without any official document they have a precarious legal status and are not entitled for any services. Hardgrove (2009) interviewed several refugee women in Buduburam and reported that the relations with the Ghanaians in the neighbourhood of the camp were rather bad. Many Liberians felt discriminated against, were afraid of Ghanaians kidnapping their children and had problems finding jobs. Many women cared for large families without any spousal support. Unlike their life in Liberia, they needed assistance from others in the community to provide their family's needs. All this resulted in a lack of autonomy and a sense of helplessness and disempowerment:

Return appeared unmanageable. Integration was not acceptable [...]. Their life experiences were characterized by extreme, unrelenting stress and challenge. After years of internalizing such circumstances, most could see a way out of their suffering only through the agentive lives of their children, or the intervention from an outside source, such as an offer of asylum

elsewhere.
498)

(Hardgrove, 2009, p.

Indeed, most refugees did not want to return to Liberia in 2007. Many were afraid of going back to the place where they have been traumatised. Moreover, they were concerned about economy and security situation in Liberia. In many region in Liberia access to employment and basic services such as drinking water, education, health care is still inadequate (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2007; United Nations Security Council, 2007). Some persons had committed (war) crimes and were afraid of possible prosecution (Agyeman, 2005). Another reason to stay in the camp was the relatively better opportunities for education and employment.

Mental health problems are common among war survivors and refugees. For populations in refugee camps it has been found that post-traumatic stress can result in symptoms of PTSD or other diseases or cultural syndromes of suffering (e.g., Carlsson, Mortensen, & Kastrup, 2006; de Jong, Komproe, & Van Ommeren, 2003; Miller, Kulkarni, & Kushner, 2006; Terheggen, Stroebe, & Kleber, 2001). In May 2008 a survey in Liberia with 1,666 adults revealed that 40% had a major depressive disorder, 44% had PTSD, 8% met criteria for social dysfunction. Of these Liberians 33% had served time with fighting forces. 33.2% of former combatant respondents were women. A high risk factor is the exposure to sexual violence. Among the non-combatants 9.2% women and 7.4% men had experienced sexual violence. For combatants it was 42.3% women and 32.6% men. 74% of former combatants who experienced sexual violence had PTSD symptoms compared to 44% of those who were not exposed to sexual violence. Among males, 81% of former combatants who experienced sexual violence had PTSD. Male former combatants who were exposed to sexual violence reported higher rates of depression symptoms and thoughts of suicide (Crosta, 2008; Johnson et al., 2008). In Buduburam, some – but not enough – counselling and psychological treatment was provided. Besides some NGOs UNHCR treated 1700 people (75% women) in 2006 (UNHCR, 2006).

In the refugee camp Liberians from many different ethnic groups lived together. Several programmes from international organisations had addressed tensions along ethnic lines in the early years of the camp. Some people have already started the process of reconciliation; others try not to think about the violent past. Most refugees understand or agree that all ethnic groups have to live peacefully together in Liberia, and that they should approach others as individuals rather than as members of another ethnic group. However, prejudice and suspicions still prevail in the camp; even so they are often not seen as such.

In the context of having been through very traumatic experiences during the conflict and living in a refugee camp, it is likely that people need to construct a story that enables them to make sense, on a collective basis, of what has happened to them. In Buduburam, this appears to involve downplaying ethnic difference and the construction of a harmonious set of pre-conflict social relations. Blame for what has gone wrong is thus shifted away from those in the camp to an external “other.” (Hampshire et al., 2008, p. 33)

In 2008 the situation in the camp changed. A women’s organisation started to mobilize the women and children for large demonstrations to change their situation of uncertainty. UNHCR had planned to integrate Liberians in Ghana – a solution that most of them were opposed to. Instead, the refugees asked for resettlement to a third country or repatriation in combination with getting a substantial amount of money for starting their new lives there. The Ghanaian press reported mostly negatively about the demonstrations. The police came in and detained many women and deported a few men despite of their official refugee status. As elections were about to come in Ghana, politicians were concerned and negotiated with the Liberian government and UNHCR that the camp was to be closed down. Accordingly, most Liberians from Buduburam were finally repatriated. In the end of 2009 the camp didn’t exist anymore – on an official level. However, not all Liberians made it back, some are still there.

3.2.4 Local organisations and peace education in Buduburam

When the international organisations were providing less service due to “donor fatigue”, Liberian refugees themselves started to care for their needs. Various churches (mainly Pentecost with integrated traditional African aspects) were active on the camp. Additionally, many local organisations were founded. In 2007 the welfare council of Buduburam knew about approximately 70 registered community-based organisations (CBO) that operated in Buduburam. They addressed all kinds of relevant issues, such as water, (orphaned) children, literacy, disability rights, peacebuilding, community reconciliation, women’s rights. Some received international funding and had international volunteers coming to support them.

One of these locally grown CBOs was the Center for Youth Empowerment (CYE). Founded in 2003 by two Liberian refugees, originally with the name Liberian Refugee Youths For Sustainable Development. In 2004 CYE was running an elementary school and organised scholarships. Additionally, computer literacy was trained, a small library (mainly for children and youth) was established and peace building and peace education activities were carried out. Further projects were run to empower women, support children, and create

awareness in the community, e.g., about sanitation, HIV/AIDS (Center for Youth Empowerment, 2004). CYE had also acquired a guest house for international volunteers and used the internet to attract interested people from abroad to come to the camp and support the CYE projects. This is how I got in contact with the organisation and found out that they were highly interested in getting capacity building for more structured peace education activities.

Due to financial problems most people worked for CYE on a voluntary basis, but as the volunteers need to find ways to provide their livings, there was a high fluctuation of volunteers. In 2007 the CYE office consisted of 12 people who received 150,000 Cedis a month (approximately 15 dollars, less than necessary for a bag of rice, the staple food for Liberians). From the nine executives in 2004 (Center for Youth Empowerment, 2004) seven were not working for the organisation anymore in 2007. The computer training had broken down; some of the other activities were carried out only on an irregular basis depending on funding opportunities. Figure 3.3 gives an overview of the departments and activities of the organisation in 2007.

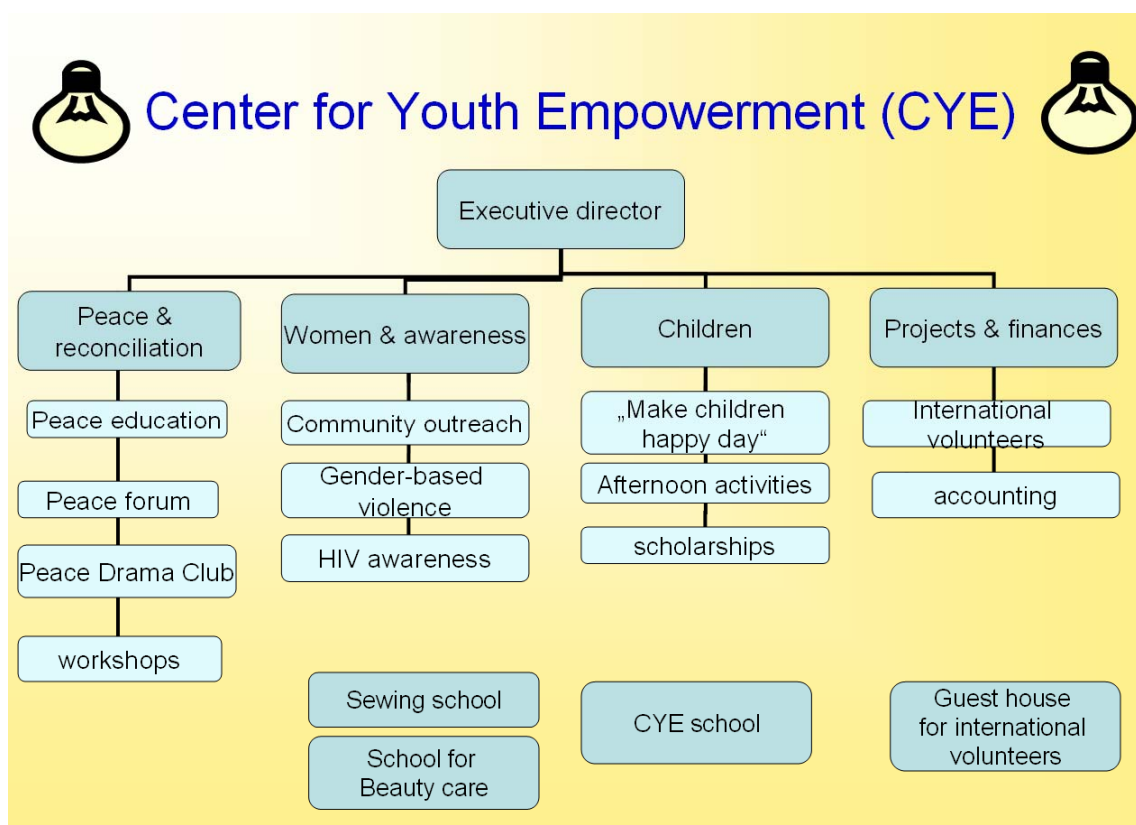


Figure 3.3: Organisation chart for CYE in 2007

CYE and several other local organisations were offering peace education in the camp and beyond. CYE had used a textbook from Caritas to teach peace education in schools.

Additionally, they had conducted “peace forums”. These were irregular local gatherings in a neighbourhood. Each time a peace-related topic was given and everyone could share their view and discuss the question. After approximately one hour everyone was given something to eat and the peace forum was over. As far as I could assess the approaches of four other different local organisations, most of what was called peace education was either similar unstructured discussions or a pastor preaching the bible. The aim of this latter kind of “peace education” seemed to be religiosity and acceptance of the status quo⁶. When I contacted CYE, they were highly interested in getting to know a structured peace education programme and implementing community workshops.

⁶ This became obvious when I got the chance to observe a pastor who was regularly giving “peace education” in a close-by prison with many Liberian inmates. After preaching a while he suggested me to introduce my way of peace education. I started to ask questions to the 300 men. When the inmates engaged and tried to apply the messages of peace and conflict to their own situation in prison and how they got there, the pastor became nervous and decided that it was time to finish with him preaching the bible and singing some gospels.

4 The peace education programme and focus for its evaluation

After the introduction of the theoretical background of peace education interventions (Chapter 2) and the contextual background of Liberian refugees (Chapter 3) this chapter outlines the actual programme that is to be evaluated as well as the focus for its evaluation. First, the programme will be described, then its theoretical foundations will be analysed and critically discussed. This is followed by considerations why and how this programme could be useful for Liberian refugees. Finally, I will outline research questions and the approach of my evaluation.

4.1 Description and analysis of the peace education programme

The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme – Skills for Constructive Living (INEE, 2005)⁷ was developed by Margaret Sinclair and other UNHCR-workers in cooperation with refugees in refugee camps in Kenya in 1997. After an external evaluation by Anna Obura (2002) the programme was reviewed, extended and improved. In the foreword fourteen countries are listed in which the programme had been implemented: eleven in Africa, two in Asia, and one in Europe (INEE, 2005).

To fully understand an intervention, it is necessary to look at the theories and assumptions that build the foundations of the programme. Five aspects are important: justifications why the intervention could be useful, assumptions of human development, a programme theory about what is done, an intervention theory of the methodology used, and practical empirical evidence for its effectiveness (Beelmann, 2008). All of these aspects are components of a broad theory of practice (Ross, 2000a). However, often these foundations are not made explicit, and have to be translated from implicit assumptions that can be distilled from analysing the programme. In the following sections I will analyse all of these five aspects before coming to an evaluation of how the programme is designed. Table 4.3 summarises the characteristics of the programme.

4.1.1 Description of the programme

The main objectives of the programme are the creation of constructive behaviours for dealing with problems, and a reduction of conflict and negative behaviour (INEE, 2005d).

⁷ To differentiate between a peace education programme in general and this particular “Peace Education Programme” capital letters will be used or the abbreviation PEP.

Furthermore, the programme aims to increase knowledge on peace and conflict, social responsibility and indirectly contribute to personality development as well as improved intergroup relations. Moreover, moral values and critical thinking are encouraged and pro-social skills are trained. The programme aims to transmit and build up skills, knowledge and values. The objectives listed in the manuals are skills acquirement such as communication, assertiveness, cooperation, critical thinking, and empathy. Furthermore, there are objectives concerning knowledge about peace and conflict, justice, interdependence, gender issues, human rights and responsibilities. Finally, values and attitudes are to be transmitted such as self-respect, respect for others, social responsibility, open-mindedness, tolerance and trust. Table 4.1 summarises the objectives mentioned in the programme. The idea behind these objectives is to support people on their way towards reconciliation and provide tools for peaceful conflict resolution in their daily life.

The programme consists of a formal component and a non-formal component. The formal component is designed for peace education lessons at schools; a teacher activity book provides detailed descriptions for all lessons in grades 1-8, a story book, and a booklet for secondary modules. The non-formal component is a community workshop for adults with 36 hours divided in 12 sessions. The training for peace educators (separated for facilitators for community workshops and teachers at school) consists of three workshops of 3-5 days each. Detailed manuals both for peace educators and for trainers of peace educators are provided. Both the formal and non-formal parts are discussion-oriented, learner-centred and skill-based with many interactive elements and cooperative learning situations. Different methods are included such as role-plays, activities, small group work, and discussions. The lessons or sessions are designed to be cross-cultural, i.e. participants are to share their own views and experience whereas the teacher or facilitator is mainly there to support and structure the learning process. Principles and contents of the formal and the non-formal parts are very similar. What students learn in peace education lessons at school should thus be reinforced by their parents who learn peace education in the community workshops. Students at school are still in the process of forming their worldview, which is influenced in different lessons,

Table 4.1: *Objectives of the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (INEE, 2005)*

Skills	Knowledge	Values and attitudes
communication and empathy	peace and conflict	respect for self and others
appropriate assertiveness	human rights, responsibilities	trust
cooperation	interdependence	social responsibility
critical thinking	gender issues	open-mindedness
conflict resolution	Justice	tolerance

in their peer group, in the family, and by maturing processes. Adults have already formed a certain worldview which may nevertheless be liable to change. However, little is known about the effectiveness of peace education for adult refugees, so for this work adults were chosen as target group, and the peace education community workshops with adults were chosen to be evaluated. For this reason, I will focus only on that part of the programme in the following.

The community workshops are structured in two parts: The first half of the course concentrates on social skills and attitudes of the individual and how everyone contributes to conflict. The second half of the course is about skills for resolving conflicts and everyday problems in the community. The programme covers a broad range of topics, with social skills and conflict resolution skills as core elements. Participants in the community workshops learn about internal and external conflict and the impact of different ways to deal with conflict. Sessions about trust, emotions, and communication are followed by sessions about problem-solving, negotiation and mediation with focus on conflicts that come from their own context. In the subsequent sessions about human rights and reconciliation, participants are invited to talk about their views and are guided to come to terms with their past. The topics of all the sessions as well as example exercises can be seen in Table 4.2.

Most topics in the manual deal with skills and attitudes on the interpersonal level, followed by intrapersonal aspects and intergroup relations. Although the structure of the programme allows a great deal of freedom to discuss any topic on different levels, when looked at the most probable level of the topics, 47% of these contents are rather interpersonal, 28% deal with intrapersonal aspects, and 25% touch intergroup relations. No session deals with any specific global or national conflict; instead an indirect approach is chosen that introduces everything with general examples that can be taken from everyday life in a refugee camp. Yet, participants are encouraged to link the topics to their specific situation or the situation in their home country.

The manual for the facilitators provides clear and detailed descriptions of what is to be done in each session. Pictures, space, boxes and structure make the manual easy to understand and pleasant to read. A simple language is used close to what the facilitator is asked to say in the sessions. In the first seven sessions each topic is closed by a text box with a clear “teaching point”, so the facilitator can make sure that the main message has been understood. The amount of time needed is indicated for all sections. Sometimes alternative activities are provided that the facilitators can choose according to their impression of what suits the given group best.

4 The peace education programme and focus for its evaluation

Table 4.2: *Contents of the peace education community workshop. Each session consists of three hours*

Session Topics	Example exercise
First part	
1 Introduction, background, conflict management theory	Participants stand in a circle; one is outside and tries to enter the circle. Afterwards, everyone reflects their feelings about the exercise and talks about what exclusion means and how it occurs
2 Similarities and differences, inclusion and exclusion	
3 Trust, communication, active listening	A participant directs another one to draw a geometric figure. First without, then with clarifying questions. The differences are discussed.
4 one-way and two-way communication, perceptions	
5 Bias, Stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination	A story is told about a family in a refugee camp asking an officer for one more blanket. The participants discuss why the different characters in the story behave the way they do and what empathy means.
6 Emotions, Empathy, cooperation, Assertiveness	
Second part	
7 emotional honesty, problem-solving	Participants perform different situations (e.g. unwanted pregnancy in a school girl) as role plays, trying to apply the six steps to problem-solving they have learned.
8 problem-solving, negotiation	
9 Mediation, Reconciliation	Participants brainstorm in small groups what is necessary for reconciliation. Then they all discuss what reconciliation means for them.
10 Human rights	
11 Real-life problems, conflict resolution	Small groups work on real-problems out of their own lives, analysing the causes, looking for solutions and discussing what of all they have learned can help for this situation.
12 Evaluation, final discussion	

4.1.2 Justification and theory of change

For justifying peace education either the needs or the potential of the target group can be analysed. Needs assessments that investigate why an intervention should be implemented with a specific target group are more common. Yet, peace education implies a theory of change about how the intervention will reach beyond the current participants to enhance peace or reconciliation in a society.

In the development of the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme, the starting point was the observation of high levels of violence and aggressive behaviours in refugee camps

in Kenya. This resulted in the wish to reduce criminality and equip people with non-violent conflict resolution techniques to activate them for minimizing and preventing conflicts. Refugees have fled a violent environment; they have experienced force as a possible means to deal with conflicts. They survived often life-threatening situations and still live in a difficult context with high tensions and uncertainty. When analysing refugees' needs and wishes in participatory research, the developers of the programme concluded that not only children but also adults can benefit from an empowering training of social competences and conflict resolution skills.

A theory of change aims to map the road of the broader impact of a programme and can thus inform evaluations (Ashton, 2007). In this programme, empowerment of individuals is the starting point to changing norms, influencing decision-makers and contributing to peaceful institutions in a society. Emphasis is placed on personal agency and individual responsibility throughout the programme. Intrapersonal aspects contributing to conflicts are stressed already in the first session: "Most conflicts start within (a person) and become more complex and 'externalized' if they are not dealt with. [...] True resolution of conflict can only come when we deal with those elements of conflict that are internal" (INEE, 2005c, p. 9). In this vein, colonialism is discussed as external conflict, yet when seen as greed on a large scale, the core of it (greed) is an internal conflict. This focus to start with the intrapersonal dimension when becoming agents of change is furthermore stressed in what is claimed to be an inscription on a twelfth-century tomb:

When I was a child I thought I could change the world. When I was a youth I thought I could change my country. When I married I thought I could change my family. Now I am dying and I realize that I can only change myself and perhaps by changing myself I could change my family, and then my country and finally the whole world.

(INEE, 2005c, p. 10)

The quotation above gives a hint to an implicit theory of change: everyone could start to impact the personal environment and thus start the spill-over effect. This implies that attitude changes due to the programme will spread and trigger off attitude changes in the community or finally in the society thus changing the norms. In a post-conflict society on its path towards reconciliation, attitudes and norms towards other groups and just democratic institutions are of special importance.

4.1.3 Developmental assumptions

Several assumptions about human nature and human development informed the development of the programme. The programme is rooted in educational concepts. In the

teaching materials for facilitators three theories are cited: Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Kohlberg's model of moral development and Bloom's taxonomy of learning.

Maslow (1943) stated that human beings have different needs that can be classified in a hierarchical order. Physiological needs form the basis of the pyramid; then follow the needs for safety, love and belonging, esteem, and finally self-actualization. Little evidence has been found that satisfaction of the more basic needs is a precondition of fulfilling higher needs (Wahba & Bridwell, 1976). Accordingly, in the conception of the programme, Maslow's categories are only used to differentiate human needs and stress the point that peace education encourages self-actualization. In the workshop, human needs are discussed in connection with human rights. Kohlberg (1973) claimed six stages of moral development that are seen as progressive and necessary steps even though the development can (and often does) stop before the highest level is reached. According to this model, the following orientations are used on the different steps to judge what is good and what is bad: 1) obedience and punishment, 2) self-interest, 3) interpersonal accord and conformity, 4) authority or law and order, 5) social contract, 6) universal ethical principles. The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme aims to support participants in stepping up this ladder of moral development. This is done by stimulating discussions that encourage participants to practice critical thinking respectively to question both their own habits and new ways of reasoning.

Bloom (1976) proposed a taxonomy of intellectual development. Figure 4.1 depicts the hierarchies of different cognitive and affective steps involved in more and more complex learning procedures that build on each other. The five stages in the affective domain combined with the six stages in the cognitive domain result in 30 possibilities for how information can be processed. For changing values and behaviours, both affective and cognitive higher-order processing is simultaneously necessary. Bloom also stressed that the environment has a high impact on the learning process. He was optimistic that a combination of enough opportunity and effort will lead to attainment; he was a proponent of mastery learning which allows different learners to need different amounts of time that in the end all can reach the same goal (Eisner, 2000). Based on Bloom's theory, the peace education programme aims to provide opportunities and incentives to affectively and cognitively process the contents on a high level, thus leading to changes of norms and behaviour. This is done by involving interactive methods in which both emotions and thoughts are provoked. Facilitators are asked to trigger the learning process and support

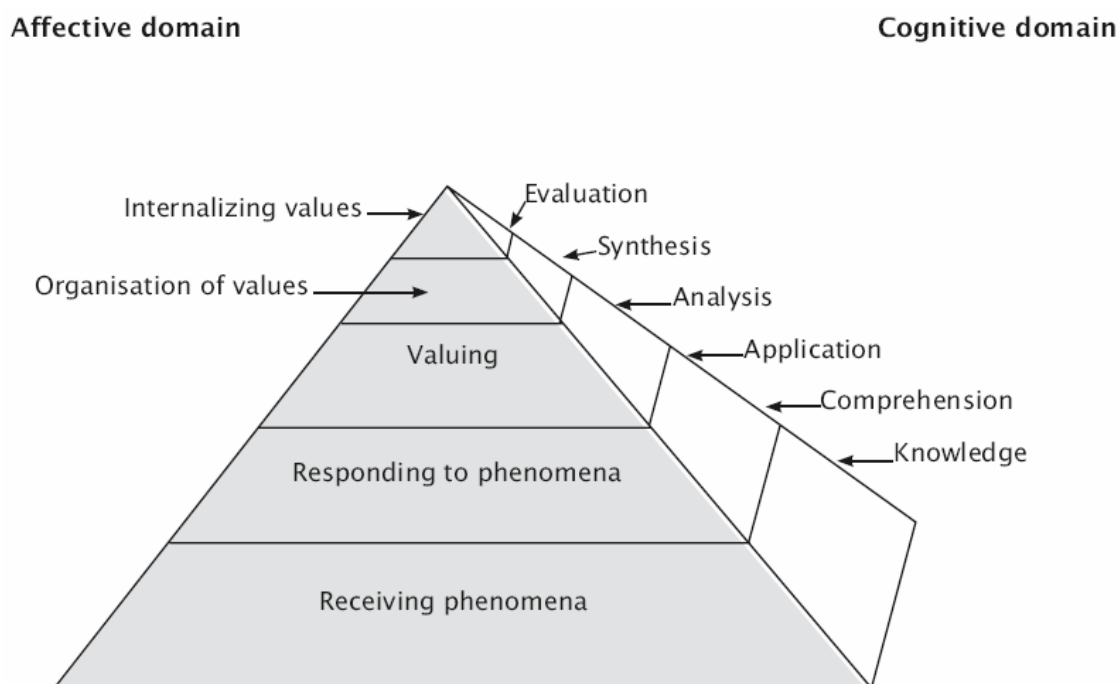


Figure 4.1: Blooms taxonomy of learning in the affective and cognitive domain (source: INEE, 2005b)

participants to come to their own conclusions after understanding, applying and analysing the topics.

4.1.4 Programme theory

The rationale of the Peace Education Programme is based on what is introduced in the first session of the workshop as conflict management continuum (see Figure 4.3): conflicts can be dealt with in different ways. Reactive measures such as force, adjudication, arbitration and negotiation are used to settle a conflict; proactive measures such as resolution and transformation try to also solve the root cause to prevent further conflicts. Mediation can be done in both a reactive way only or include proactive aspects. Reconciliation is seen as a long-lasting solution to a conflict combined with the transformation of a relationship and thus belongs to the proactive end. By learning and practicing attitudes, values, skills and techniques for proactive alternatives of dealing with conflicts, the aim is for participants to

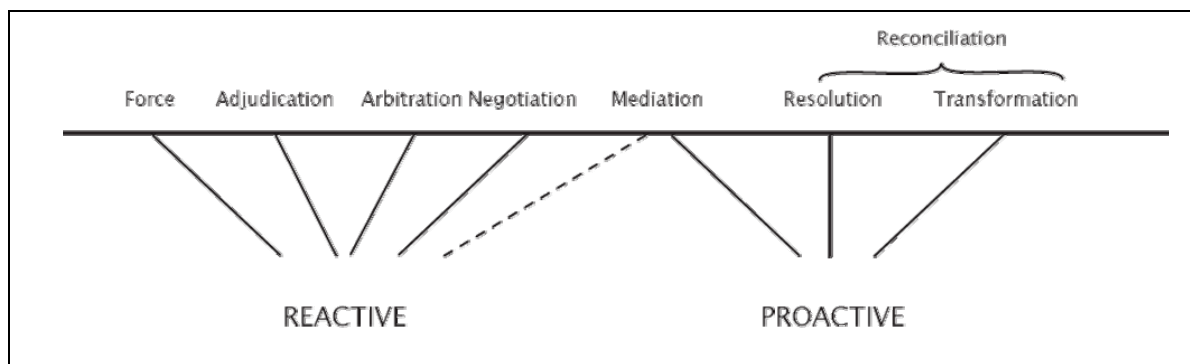


Figure 4.2: The conflict management continuum (source: INEE, 2005c)

move away from violence to be ready for reconciliation or peaceful cooperation. Both positive peace and negative peace are discussed in the training of facilitators although less confusing terms are used: active peace and passive peace.

The workshop follows a clear structure. After overview, introduction and orientation in the first session, it starts with topics such as trust, emotions, perception to strengthen the basis for social skills in interactions. Then such skills are introduced and practiced, e.g., communication and cooperative problem-solving. Building on what has been learned already, conflict resolution skills for negotiation and mediation follow. Finally, human rights and reconciliation are discussed. The course ends with integrating everything into "real-life problem-solving" and an open discussion for evaluating the course according to participants' needs and wishes.

Most topics are dealt with on an interpersonal level, yet in the activities or discussions experience from the level of community or society can be brought in. For example, the session about reconciliation opens with a small group activity in which participants are asked to think of steps that are important for true reconciliation. After discussing what has been produced by the different groups, a schedule of reconciliation is introduced that involves several stages or reactions by "the person who has been most wronged" (victim) and "the person who has most offended" (perpetrator). Victim respectively perpetrator moves from denial to hurt/anger to anger/remorse to empathy/empathy to reach resolution of the problem and forgiveness/asking for forgiveness. Thus, reconciliation is reached for both victim and perpetrator, leading to a transformation of the relationship. This schedule is to be discussed and can thus be applied to a reconciliation process within the society.

4.1.5 Intervention theory

The intervention theory is the theoretical foundation of the methodology used. PEP stems from an educational background and is rooted in a rights-based approach. This means that an interactive cooperative learning environment should be provided based on the principles of human rights and adult learning. Facilitators are trained to assist in learning rather than lecturing knowledge. This is explained by the metaphors of seeing the learners not as empty pots that have to be filled, but rather as flowers that can be watered to help them grow (INEE, 2005a). A great deal of emphasis is laid on training of facilitators; they should learn and practice active listening, effective communication, constructive group management and other relevant skills to enhance motivation and support effective learning. The teaching

4 The peace education programme and focus for its evaluation

points, retentions and aspects of transference should be reinforced Table 4.3 depicts how this can be done by considering adult learners' conditions and needs.

In line with this intervention theory all sessions use combinations of different interactive methods and always allow time for discussions. The methodology is thought to reinforce the contents of non-violence and critical thinking. The facilitators should serve as role models and moderators for enhancing the learning atmosphere. Therefore, the skilfulness of facilitators is crucial. Three detailed manuals for training facilitators make their qualification a distinct component of the whole programme. Accordingly, contents and methods of the intervention can complement one another and fit to the developmental assumptions of moral development and intellectual growth in both affective and cognitive domain.

Table 4.3: *How facilitators should respond to adult learners' needs (source: INEE, 2005a)*

Adult learners	Response from Facilitator
<i>Autonomous</i> Adult learners have opinions and information that is valid to the group	Actively involve participants in the learning experiences. Follow the expectations that participants have. Allow participants to assume responsibility for presenting. Guide participants to their own knowledge, rather than telling them information. Show participants how their goals can be reached
<i>Life experiences</i> Adult learners need to be respected for their experience	Link participants' knowledge and experiences to the topic. Relate theories and concepts to the participants and their experiences
<i>Goal –oriented</i> Adults know what they want to learn	Make the objectives of the course clear and help participants to see how elements are inter-related
<i>Relevancy and practical</i> Adult learners need to see why they are learning particular things	Identify objectives and expectations, relate theories and concepts to familiar life experiences, help participants to see the application of the work they are doing
<i>Respect</i> Adult learners deserve the same respect as all adults and as the facilitator	Attentive listening, real discussion, warm and respectful manner

4.1.6 Empirical evidence

Although the programme has been implemented in various contexts, only two evaluations could be found that go beyond mere case studies, one in Kenya, one in Uganda and South Sudan. Both are impact studies without reliable base-line data. They both focus on how peace education that had been implemented on a large scale can reduce violent behaviour in refugee camps.

Obura (2002) evaluated PEP after the pilot phase in two refugee camps in Kenya. Most inhabitants of the camps had fled from Somalia or Sudan; a minority had come from

Ethiopia, Uganda and the Great Lakes region. Most code definitions and raw data of a baseline survey were lost, so that the evaluation is mainly a post-test only design investigating coverage of the programme, perceptions and attitudes concerning peace or conflicts, and anecdotes or observations of behaviour changes that are attributed to the programme.

The programme had been well established on a large scale. From 1998 to 2001 approximately 12,000 refugees participated in a community workshop. All primary schoolchildren received a weekly peace education lesson at school. Thus, 30% of the camp population had been directly reached by the programme.

To assess perceptions and attitudes about peace or conflict, 319 refugees were interviewed. 34% of all respondents had received peace education. The evaluator assumed that all others might have been influenced indirectly by the programme and thus rarely differentiated between actual participants and all other respondents. To the question “What does peace mean to you” a more philosophical approach was found after peace education, including more reflective thinking. When asked “What would you do if someone pushed in front of you at the tapstand?” 2/3 of all respondents answered they would reason with the person, no one would report the offender to the police or UNHCR officials, 19% would fight – most of them with a lower level of education. Further questions revealed that 2/3 of all respondents saw an individual responsibility for peace and gave examples of actions how they would ensure peace in the camp. Most were very positive about peace education and had a clear picture what it was about. However, 12% of all respondents had negative views as they found the programme not useful.

Further evidence of programme effectiveness was gathered by collecting examples of conflict prevention and resolution of small problems. Some refugees started initiatives to follow up and spread the use of PEP; they called themselves peacemakers and used mediation for settling disputes. A specific account told by several people is recounted as a direct and positive effect of PEP:

Two rival groups of Dinkas stood on the ridges of Kakuma Camp, summoned to fight. Theirs was not to wonder why. Their role was to obey, to fight, unquestioning. A variety of weapons had been collected, unearthed from their hideaways. They were ready. But something strange was happening [...] Imperceptibly, one by one, some of the fighters were drawing away from the group. Silently, they turned aside and, one by one, they separated out from the others. More followed. They looked over to the opposite ridge. To their amazement the same thing seemed to be happening. One by one the fighting groups grew smaller. [...] One by one, the peacemakers dropped their weapons, turned and left the scene. Those who remained could see the futility in standing their ground. They left, too. This day is known as the first time peacemakers ever stopped a large fight. [...] There had been no plan, no planning, no talk at all.

(Obura, 2002, p. 19)

Beside this and other stories or incidents, the evaluator reports that the crime rate in the two camps had reduced by 29% respectively 66% in the 3-4 years of programme implementation. Of course this cannot be directly attributed to peace education only.

The other evaluation of PEP (Ikobwa, Schares, & Omondi, 2005) tried to assess the impact of a large-scale implementation of PEP from 1999 to 2005 in refugee camps in Uganda and South Sudan. PEP had been implemented on a large scale reaching in total 37,949 participants of peace education community workshops by 2005. For the impact study approximately 1000 persons were involved in interviews or focus groups. Interview responses indicated that PEP might have contributed to reduced fighting, less prejudice toward strangers, less gossiping or jealousy over the wealth reduced theft cases, less anger and violent responses, increase of cordial relationships between couples reduced conflict and theft at open places, reduced drinking, reduced cases of domestic or gender-based violence. It was told that more conflicts were handled effectively at the community level with fewer cases being reported to the police, refugee welfare council, and the courts. Additionally active peace groups had been established. These groups had the aim to help others, solve conflicts, pool resources through income generating activities, and assist vulnerable persons, establishing “a new brand of moral leadership in the community” (Ikobwa, Schares, & Omondi, 2005, p 21).

In sum, both evaluations were rather impact studies of large scale implementation of PEP. Some evidence was collected that the peace education workshops were appreciated by most people involved, had led to initiatives by refugees and may had contributed to a more peaceful atmosphere in the camps. The findings concerning attitude changes remain tentative because the situations before and after implementation were not systematically compared.

4.1.7 Critical discussion of the programme

Overall, the programme is a structured intervention with detailed manuals close to the real life of refugees and refugee facilitators. The rationale is based on the idea of moral development and individual empowerment. Contents and methods centre around conflict resolution skills aimed to empower individuals. This reflects the goal of more constructive non-violent behaviour. Some evidence has been gathered that participation in community workshops can lead to different behaviour in conflict situations and might even contribute to a reduction of crimes in the camp. A theory of practice is not made explicit in the

programme. However, when regarding focus, structure and developmental assumptions of the intervention, the programme fits best into the framework of conflict transformation. This theory of practice aims to trigger moral growth to transform individuals and relationships. It is assumed that justice, forgiveness and reconciliation can be reached by empowering persons to become self-reliant and by teaching them conflict resolution techniques that transform relationships (Ross, 2000a). Table 4.3 summarizes the characteristics of the programme.

A strength of the programme is the clear structure and detailed manuals. Refugees can be trained to become facilitators. The interactive methodology invites participants to explore the relevance of all concepts in their own context with examples drawn from their own experience. The programme is mainly a training of social competence and conflict resolution skills. This can enable refugees to get a sense of agency to deal with daily problems and conflicts. When implemented in mixed groups, the community workshop can be a platform for interethnic contact and getting to know other perspectives or narratives.

9g the message that refugees should change themselves for improving their – structurally poor – situation. She considers this to be a mechanism of control to deflect responsibility for keeping order and security towards the refugees instead of UNHCR or the government of the host country. Sagy further argues that the teaching of conflict resolution skills conveys pacification that favours harmony instead of justice. Finally, she sees the implementation of this programme with collectivistic-oriented refugees as an attempt to “convert their identities and behaviours [...] tainted by a strong individualistic bias, verging on cultural imperialism” (Sagy, 2008, pp. 361-362).

These accusations point to a serious moral dilemma at the core of post-war peace education: the delicate balances between person and structure, stability and change, helping and imposing. In my view, Sagy neglects that peace education involves participants and asks them to question everything, compare or combine it with other approaches and find their own way to adopt what seems useful for them. Participants are not only recipients who will adopt new values and concepts; they can select what fits to their existing values and what proves to be useful for their life. Moreover, Sagy’s assumption that participants will become more individualistic due to peace education lacks thorough empirical evidence as Obura’s (2002) evaluation had no base-line data for this question. Nevertheless, Sagy’s concerns have to be taken seriously and will inform the research questions to be discussed in regard of empirical findings.

4.2 Implementing and evaluating the programme with Liberian refugees

The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme is a popular programme that is widely used yet lacks systematic evaluation in different contexts. The material is designed in a way that small organisations should be able to implement it. My aim of evaluating the PEP community workshops was to investigate its implementation by a local organisation to measure its impact on attitudes about peace and conflict, prosocial attitudes and intergroup attitudes in a multi-group post-war context, namely Liberian refugees in Ghana. In the following I will outline why Liberian refugees might profit from the programme and what should be considered for an implementation in the Ghanaian refugee camp. This will be followed by the chosen perspective of the evaluation.

4.2.1 Why this Peace Education Programme for Liberian Refugees?

Before implementing any intervention programme, the needs and potential of the target group should be analysed. Liberian adults in a refugee settlement in Ghana might benefit from peace education for various reasons. They have experienced war and are affected by its aftermath: “Liberians in the Diaspora suffer the same divisions and disunity along ethnic and other spectrums and the challenges of reconciliation remains daunting” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, 2009, p. 260). Whether they return to their home country or not, they will have influence for promoting peace and reconciliation among Liberians. Those who return will face a highly challenging situation in the peacebuilding process. Those who won’t return will still play their role as part of the Liberian diaspora somewhere in the world. Beyond the far-reaching potential of peace education for the Liberian society, the actual participants in the workshops can also contribute to more peaceful living conditions in the camp and gain empowerment for their personal life.

Most refugees return to Liberia and have their share of contributing to the future of their society. Many Liberians in Buduburam are comparatively well educated and have used their time in exile to learn and gather experiences. In their home country, half of the population is younger than 18 years and qualified people are needed. Refugees who return will encounter conflicts: land dispute⁸, integration, search for work, fight against poverty etc. Peace in this country is still fragile, tensions between groups still prevail, reconciliation is a process that has only started and still struggles with hindrances. Yet, even if the basic living conditions are poor, it depends on people whether peace or war is promoted. Critical and responsible

⁸ There have been several deadly conflicts in post-war Liberia because of unclear ownership of land (e.g., Corriveau-Bourque, 2010)

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civilians are necessary to build up a working democracy. Thus, training Liberians peace-promoting skills, attitudes and values can help that they will get active for overcoming root problems and fostering reconciliation in their society.

Even those refugees who will not return to their home country can be important for the future development of Liberia. Liberians in diaspora will most probably stay in contact with relatives and friends back home. Being abroad, Liberians can play highly influential roles, as they often find possibilities for fund-raising or supporting certain actors or activities in their home country (Toure, 2002; Young & Park, 2009). Their engagement could range from financing and promoting another war to developing and supporting activities in the peacebuilding process. Thus, fostering the ideals of peace and intergroup cooperation can be crucial.

The theory of change outlined in 4.1.2 can be applied for the context of Liberian refugees. Figure 4.3 illustrates how individual change of several persons in the camp might influence key people or contribute to changes of norms in the society and the establishment of commitment and institutions that are necessary for the process of peace and reconciliation in Liberia. The whole theory of change outlines a process that is very complex, needs time and is difficult to track. However, the basic proposition that needs to be fulfilled for the theory to work is the assumption that PEP actually contributes to attitude change in its participants. This is to be investigated with this evaluation.

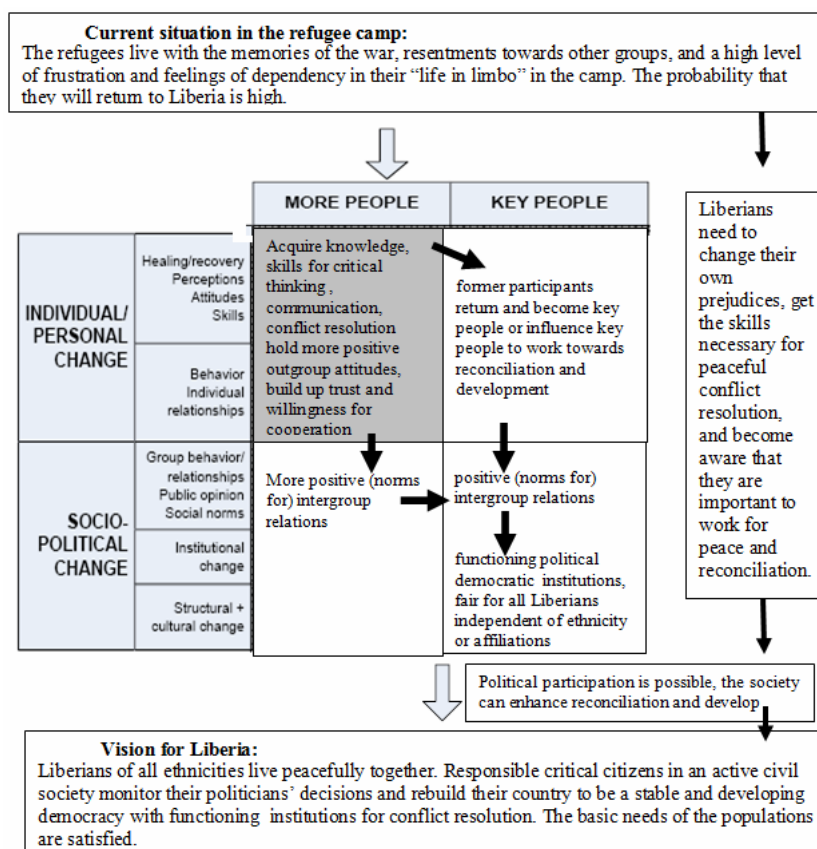


Figure 4.3: How the Peace Education Programme with Liberian refugees might contribute to peace in Liberia (based on the matrix from CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2009)

Besides the distant goal of reconciliation in Liberia, peace education can also improve the situation within the refugee camp. Life in the settlement is highly distressing. Poverty, hunger, density of population, traumatising, uncertainty of future, scarcity of work or education opportunities, perceived hostility of Ghanaians, and interethnic resentments are among the most prominent factors contributing to tension and conflicts. The threshold of using violence or criminal behaviour to resolve conflicts is lowered for many persons in the camp. Children grow up with some of their basic needs frustrated and adopt norms and behaviours from the overstrained adults. In this environment, learning non-violent alternatives for conflict resolution and more tolerant norms for relations between persons and groups can contribute to a higher quality of life for the (remaining) time in exile.

Finally, many traumatised Liberian refugees live a life in limbo and can benefit from an empowering intervention with an optimistic stance. Although trauma counselling is beyond the scope of peace education, learning about communication and problem-solving strategies can increase self-esteem and self-control and strengthen resilience to trauma (Sinclair, 2004). Training in a heterogeneous group provides opportunity for active learning and pro-social interaction with other people. Participants can feel empowered and regain hope and personal agency.

4.2.2 Considerations for the Context of Buduburam

The needs and necessities of participants and environment must be taken into account for any intervention. Importantly, everything that can cause harm should be considered and avoided. This so-called Do No Harm imperative (CDA, 2009) is important for all interventions, yet especially true when the target group is as vulnerable as refugees with their frustrated psychosocial needs (Mekki-Berrada, Rousseau, & Bertot, 2001; Wessells, 2009). Furthermore, the specific characteristics of the target group and the conditions in the refugee camp need to be considered for maximizing the success of the workshop.

When implementing peace education, harm can be caused inadvertently by both what is done and by what is omitted. The way of recruiting participants can cause a selection that may imply that some (groups of) persons need peace education more or don't deserve it. Crucial for successful peace education are the facilitators who need to become confident and certain about their teaching points. Ethnicity, gender and certain characteristics of facilitators can convey implicit messages or norms, especially when team teaching is used and hierarchy or asymmetry between facilitators are present. Similarly, the treatment of

participants and everything said in the workshops should always be unbiased and in line with the principles of peace education. Facilitators also need to be cautious to avoid any retraumatisation. After the workshop, there is the risk of frustration when participants' expectations are disappointed e.g., due to lack of transparency about what the workshop will lead to, or when participants are sensitized and want to get active yet lack the opportunity to do so.

For the organisation of the workshop, the needs and wishes of the participants have to be considered. For example, food must be provided to ensure that participants have eaten and can concentrate. The workload of daily chores in the camp is high as there is no tap water and often no electricity, so the time schedule should be not too dense. Preconditions need to be taken to ensure punctuality, as delays and missing of appointments are common due to what is called "African time". For the logistics, possible difficulties can emerge, e.g., photocopying can be impaired by misunderstandings, unpredictable power cuts, or old equipment.

The evaluation of the peace education workshops with the specific target group of Liberian refugees is done as cross-cultural research. Although English can be used for research with Liberians in Buduburam, some words or concepts may have other meanings or can be misunderstood. Besides this conceptual problem of instruments, Pernice (1994) lists several problems that can be encountered in research with refugees: contextual differences, sampling difficulties, linguistic problems, specific cultural rules, social desirability, influences caused by the reaction to the personal characteristics of researchers. Compared to other contexts in Ghana or Liberia, the educational level in the refugee camp is quite high because many Liberians came from Monrovia with well-educated background. Yet, as English is not their native tongue, linguistic misunderstandings are possible. Additionally, some refugees may lack literacy skills. Although they can be assisted by filling in the questionnaire, this assistance might affect the answers.

A refugee camp is a highly political environment, and everything what is done might convey political messages. When a foreigner comes to do research, refugees notice that someone from somewhere in the world is interested in what they think and feel. This can give them hope that this may lead to improvements of their situation. Lack of transparency or clarity about process and consequences of the research project can lead to strategic answers, misunderstanding, and disappointment. Refugees are used to being registered, having to fill in forms and provide information about themselves, answering questions, e.g., when applying for visa. These experiences are associated mainly with disappointing results,

feeling frustrated and deserted. Some Liberians have encountered foreign researchers and participated in interviews or surveys, often without knowing what it was about and hoping in vain to gain any personal benefit out of it. This in turn led to a certain distrust of any form of research (Sennay, personal communication).

To summarize, an implementation and evaluation of peace education encounters several challenges in a refugee settlement with Liberians. Refugees are highly vulnerable and restricted in their possibilities of free will and choice; their basic needs are often frustrated. They have survived a brutal civil war, the journey to exile and many years of uncertainty about present and future for both themselves and their home country. For ethical, social and political reasons it is important to choose and conduct any intervention in a way that will most likely cause no harm and as much benefit as possible for the involved Liberians and the Liberian society as a whole.

4.2.3 Chosen perspective of the evaluation

The community workshop of the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme is a comprehensive attempt to train adults to change attitudes, obtain skills and strengthen values in a way that contributes to reconciliation or peace. With its detailed manual the programme should be easily implemented by local facilitators. However, so far no systematic implementation evaluation has shown that the community workshops can be successfully facilitated by a small organisation. So one part of my project is to investigate whether and how the actual programme can be implemented with Liberian refugees by a small local organisation. The second part is the impact evaluation that aims to assess effects elicited by the programme.

The implicit theory of change claims that by changing attitudes and influencing key people or their decisions, the programme may have a broader impact beyond its participants. However, concerning attitude change there has gathered no evidence so far that intergroup attitudes can actually be changed by participation in a peace education community workshop. The current evaluation attempts to fill this gap by choosing the focus on attitude change. Three areas of attitudes were chosen to be investigated: attitudes towards peace and conflict, general prosocial attitudes and intergroup perceptions and attitudes.

Attitudes towards peace and conflict are seen as core concepts by the developers of the programme. The existing evaluation of the programme (Obura, 2002) had assessed these attitudes, yet without clearly analysing what changed for peace education participants. The programme was designed to be applicable in very different contexts. Obura's evaluation

took place in refugee camps in Kenya. I chose to use the same measures to investigate whether the views from refugees of a total different culture (Liberia) are comparable. Moreover, Sagy (2008) had criticised PEP for implicit messages that may “convert” participants towards more individualistic views. The measures for attitudes towards peace and conflict can at the same time assess indicators whether such a shift in worldview is actually affected by the programme.

General prosocial attitudes such as trust and empathy are also claimed to be objectives of the programme. Participants are refugees with the highly traumatic experience of civil war, flight, unstable life in a refugee camp. Such experience can deeply affect the relation towards the world and other human beings. It might need time and support to (re)build trust and empathy; peace education is aimed to provide such support. However, so far evidence is lacking regarding whether participation in a peace education workshop actually elicits any increase in trust and empathy.

Finally, intergroup perceptions and attitudes are of special importance in the context of Liberian refugees. An ethno-political civil war can deeply affect the beliefs, feelings and behaviours that are associated with other ethnic groups. For reconciliation and peaceful future within Liberia it is necessary that people from different ethnic groups do not see people from other ethnic groups as enemies, but have more positive views on them and feel safe when interacting with them. When the workshops are implemented in multiethnic groups it can be seen as a contact intervention with potential to improve intergroup attitudes. Although most topics are dealt with on the interpersonal level, topics such as bias, stereotypes, human rights and reconciliation also invite discussions for intergroup relations. Hence, participants could change their perceptions such as stressing ethnicity less, feeling more relaxed and less defensive in intergroup interactions. They could feel more positive towards having intergroup contact and hold a more positive view of the other ethnic groups and a common future in Liberia.

To sum up, this evaluation project is designed to test whether the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme can be implemented with Liberian refugees and elicit attitude changes. The attitudes to be measured are relevant for the programme’s goals and the context of Liberians. These perceptions and attitudes are towards peace/conflict, other human beings in general, and (members of) other ethnic groups.

4.3 Research Questions

The aim of this evaluation is to assess and judge the implementation and effectiveness of a peace education programme in a post-war context. The Inter-Agency Programme was chosen because it is a highly elaborated model programme with promising potential yet needs a systematic evaluation. The formal and the non-formal components of the programme (thus lessons at schools and peace education community workshops for adults) are very similar in their conceptions and differ mainly with regard to their target group. For practical reasons only the workshops for adults were evaluated⁹. As outlined in Chapter 2, broad consensus is found among peace education theorists that adults could benefit from peace education, yet few evaluations have shown empirical evidence for this claim. In the following I will present the leading research questions for my evaluation which cluster around implementation, effectiveness and differential effectiveness of the programme.

4.3.1 Implementation

The first research question concerns the implementation: Can Liberian refugees after a short training facilitate the actual peace education community workshop in a way that is appreciated by the participants? The success of any programme depends heavily on its implementation. PEP is designed to be easily introduced to persons who will then become facilitators. If this is truly the case, trained facilitators should apply contents and methodology in the workshops close to how it is described in the manual. Additionally, some assumptions and criteria inherent in the programme should be realized: participants should attend the complete programme and get actively involved. Facilitators and participants should apply the theoretical contents to their own context, e.g., by bringing in examples from their own lives or speaking about Liberia's past, present or future. The atmosphere in the workshop should allow self-disclosure and talking about sensitive issues. Most participants should be satisfied after the programme. In their own perception they should be convinced that they have learned something useful and report how they have started to transfer what they learned for practical use in their personal life.

⁹ To evaluate peace education lessons with students within a school year proved to be impossible because of several political events that caused irregular school attendance, irregular peace education lessons and high drop-out rates of students who left the camp.

The focus of PEP is on conflict resolution skills for daily life, but it allows for discussions about processes within a society. Liberian refugees in Ghana have many problems in their daily life and could stick to their (inter)personal reality in the refugee camp. However, I assume that Liberians feel the need to come to terms with their past and might use peace education workshops to speak about the Liberian wars and how peace or reconciliation can be brought about in the Liberian society. My hypothesis for this explorative question is that at least the session of reconciliation will be used for discussions on the level of politics and needs of the Liberian society.

4.3.2 Effectiveness

The second research question which is the main part of the evaluation addresses the effectiveness of participation in the peace education programme. After the workshops changes should be detected when compared to before the workshop. To control for effects of repeated measurement, time or influences independent from the workshops, a control group is to be included in the research design. Effectiveness is to be determined by statistically significant differences of group means when comparing the scores of pretest (before the workshop) and posttest (after the workshop) while considering the (lack of) change occurring in the control group. I tried to integrate the three perspectives outlined in Chapter 2 by choosing outcome measures that investigate impact on knowledge or attitudes about peace and conflict (effects of education and training), changes in general pro-social attitudes (as rough indicators of healed traumas and social capital), and intergroup perceptions and attitudes (relevant for intergroup contact and dialogue).

Attitudes and knowledge about peace and conflict are close to what participants of the community workshops are expected to learn as the main topic of the workshop: peace and conflict resolution. Obura (2002) had already collected some evidence that participants might have learned non-violent conflict resolution skills and more complex concepts of peace and conflict. Her evaluation had some methodological flaws, and took place in two similar camps in Kenya. So I chose to use some of her measures to assess attitudes towards peace and conflict. Additionally I wanted to assess gained knowledge about the contents of the workshop. It is expected that participants of peace education show no difference to the control group before the workshop, yet show more knowledge and another pattern of concepts after the workshop.

Prosocial attitudes often disappear when people are traumatised, yet trust and empathy are necessary to build new connections among each other (thus gaining “social capital”). The programme has the clear objectives that participants improve in the psychosocial domain their trust and empathy. It is thus expected that when compared to the control group peace education participants should increase their trust and empathy due to peace education.

The main focus of this evaluation is on the question whether participation in the programme can lead to improved intergroup attitudes and perceptions. This seems to be a key mechanism how the programme could contribute to “Peace Writ Large” in the context of Liberians. Intergroup perceptions and attitudes form the base for intergroup norms and intergroup relations. Thus for any impact beyond the actual participants in regard to supporting reconciliation, the programme should first of all improve participants’ intergroup attitudes and perceptions. Several measures were chosen to cover different aspects of cognitive and affective intergroup perceptions and relations. It is expected that when compared with the control group, after peace education ethnicity of other persons should be considered less important than before; willingness for contact and readiness for reconciliation should improve.

4.3.3 Differential effectiveness

The third research question concerns differential effectiveness. Whether or not group means change, for certain individuals or subgroups the intervention might be more or less effective than for others.

Effects on the group level can be brought about by rather large changes of few individuals, or by rather small changes of many individuals. Peace education as other interactive trainings implies the notion that learners are different in their needs and interests. When offered a broad range of topics they can individually pick what is of relevance for them. So I want to look at individual patterns of change to determine whether participants tend to improve on all measures simultaneously or whether some participants improve on few measures and other participants improve on other measures.

Moreover, I am interested in whether participants who are highly traumatised show more, less or similar attitude change when compared with participants who are less traumatised.

4.3.4 Short-term peace education and further explorations

A further research question is whether even shorter parts of the programme yield attitude changes. Resources are scarce in a refugee camp. A shorter workshop is easier to organise, and several shorter workshops with some time in between instead of one long workshop can be helpful for transference of what is learned. From the theoretical view, there is little known about how much time is needed for peace education trainings to be effective. From the theoretical view, there is little known about how much time is needed for peace education trainings to be effective and evidence has been found for encounters of few days that could improve intergroup attitudes (e.g., Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005; Maoz, 2000). It might be as well that short parts of the programme or even an unstructured local peace education workshop are enough to lead to attitude change. Therefore, in a second study, different 9hours' modules of the peace education programme and a local peace education workshop will be investigated concerning implementation, effectiveness and differential effectiveness. Both structured programme and local peace education take place as contact interventions in mixed groups, so it is expected that in both groups attitudes might improve. Nevertheless, the structured peace education programme with its interactive methodology should be superior to the locally tailored peace education.

In addition to these main research questions, further explorations will be undertaken. Memories about PEP workshops are to be explored nine months after participation. Moreover, additional to attitudes towards other general outgroups it is to be explored whether attitude changes occur concerning different specific groups.

4.3.5 Research plan and summary

The first three research questions are addressed for the whole PEP workshop in study 1, and for a shorter version and a locally tailored peace education workshop in study 2. Table 4.5 summarizes the research questions that are to be investigated

Table 4.5 *Research questions and indicators*

Research question	Indicators
	The implementation is successful if ...
1) Can Liberian refugees after a short training successfully facilitate the actual peace education community workshop in a way that is appreciated by the participants?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the complete workshops are facilitated close to the manual by Liberians who have received a short training - Most participants attend all sessions and are actively involved - Facilitators and participants apply the contents to their own context, e.g., by bringing in examples from their own lives or speaking about Liberia's past, present or future. - The atmosphere in the workshop allows self-disclosure and talking about sensitive issues - Most participants are satisfied after the programme and convinced that they have learned something - Many participants can report how they have started to transfer what they learned for practical use in their personal life <p>Exploration: will Liberians use peace education for their process of coming to terms with the past?</p>
	The implemented programme is effective if...
2) Can participation in a peace education workshop in a multi-ethnic group improve Liberians' attitudes concerning	compared to a Liberians who don't participate, the group of Liberians who participate show attitude change concerning
a) peace and conflict	a) more knowledge about conflict resolution, having a more complex concept of peace and acknowledging their own agency for maintaining peace
b) interpersonal relations	b) more trust and empathy and social responsibility
c) intergroup relations	c) perceptions of persons from other ethnic groups (less categorization, less anxiety, less victimisation), more positive view on intergroup contact, more positive view of other ethnic groups (general evaluation and readiness for reconciliation)
?	
	The programme has differential effects if...
3) Are changes elicited by the programme different for	- the peace education participants show individually different patterns of reliable change across the measured variables
a) different individuals	- Highly traumatised persons show different patterns of change than less traumatised persons
b) the subgroup of highly traumatised people ?	

Note: these research questions are to be investigated

In study 1) for the whole community workshop (versus control group without treatment)

In study 2) for 9 hours' modules of the community workshop (versus local peace education)

5 Study 1: PEP community workshops

In July and August 2007 I introduced the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (PEP) to the small Liberian organisation Center for Youth Empowerment (CYE) in the refugee settlement Buduburam, Ghana. Twelve facilitators were trained and four community workshops were implemented. I supported the implementation as trainer, supervisor and evaluator.

In the following I will first describe the method of the evaluation before moving on to the implementation of the workshops and the results of the outcome analyses. The results are structured following the guiding research questions: 5.2 Implementation: How is the programme implemented? 5.3 Effectiveness: Does participation in the programme improve interpersonal and intergroup attitudes? 5.4 Differential effectiveness: Do a) individuals b) traumatised participants show different patterns of change across the variables? 5.5 is an exploration of some former participants' memories nine months after the workshop. The chapter will end with a summary and short discussion of the results.

5.1 Method

5.1.1 Design and procedure of the evaluation

The evaluation was planned with a design that included pre-test and post-test for peace education participants and persons of a control group. All respondents completed the same questionnaire twice in order to investigate changes due to the workshop and control for effects caused by the measurement or other factors. For practical and ethical reasons, all Liberians who wanted to participate could join a workshop (self-selection). A random assignment to intervention or control group was not possible.

The information about the upcoming workshops was spread by loudspeakers, word-of-mouth advertising and letters sent to organisations. All refugees interested in participation had to register and come to the school building where the workshops took place to complete the questionnaire for the first time (T1). Some respondents in the control group were approached individually. All respondents were informed about the purpose of the evaluation and signed an informed consent form. To ensure confidentiality and matching of pre- and post-test respondents received their registration number as code. While completing the questionnaires respondents could always ask trained facilitators to explain the meaning of the questions.

Participants were assigned to one of four peace education workshop groups. Two workshop groups were run in parallel, two further parallel workshops followed in the subsequent two weeks. The pre-tests (T1) took place one day before the start of the workshops. The post-tests of the data collection (T2) took place on the last day of the workshop within each workshop group. Persons in the control group completed the questionnaires in the same time frame (time lag: 10 days). For the evaluation of the implementation, observations were made during the workshops and participants answered additional questions at T2 only.

5.1.2 Respondents

In total 151 Liberian refugees completed the questionnaires for the evaluation of the peace education programme at T1 and T2. Among those respondents 99 persons had participated in one of four peace education workshops. The other 52 persons belonged to the control group. Three peace education participants had to be excluded because they had completed the questionnaire only once: two persons had not completed the questionnaire at T1; one person had dropped out of the workshop due to sickness and had not completed the questionnaire at T2.

The control group consisted of persons who were motivated to participate, but either knew too late about the workshops or had no time for participation. Twelve persons had registered for the workshop but could not participate at this time due to personal reasons (sickness, work load etc.). The other 40 respondents were recruited through word-of-mouth of the facilitators or participants of the workshops¹⁰.

Respondents included in the analyses were Liberians of 17 different ethnic groups. One participant was Ghanaian and was excluded from the intergroup measures. 76% were male; 24% female. All respondents were between 15 and 53 years old, with less than 2% younger than 18 and less than 5% older than 50; Most respondents were in their twenties (40%) or thirties (23%). The average age is 31. Among all 151 respondents 129 were Christians, 5

¹⁰ Originally it was planned to include a control group with participants of an intervention consisting of unstructured discussions and lectures about trauma counselling. However, in the end the control intervention did not take place because of bad weather and only three of the 59 persons, who had completed the questionnaire at T1, could be retrieved individually for time 2 to be added to the control group. The other persons who dropped out of the study did not differ from the other respondents on any of their demographic variables.

were Muslims and 17 did not indicate their religion. Most of them had been living in the camp for many years – on average 9 years; 70% had no job.

There were no significant differences between control and intervention group concerning gender, age, ethnicities, or people living in the household. Continuous background variables were compared between the study groups with ANOVAs, categorical background variables were compared between the study groups by means of chi-square tests. There were significant differences, however, concerning arrival in the camp, $F(1, 125) = 6.22, p = .041$, years of education $F(1, 109) = 4.93, p = .029$ and prior participation in peace education $\chi^2(1) = 7.69, p = .01$. Compared to respondents in the control group, respondents in the peace education group tended to have arrived in the camp earlier and had lived in the camp for nine years on average, and respondents in the control group eight years on average. Peace education participants had more years of education than respondents in the control group. However, education was assessed by years at school and is not reliable, because due to the war and poor living conditions many years at school mean for some participants many years with only some weeks or months of actual school attendance. In average, peace education participants had 14 years of schooling ($SD = 3.6$) and respondents in the control group had 12 years of schooling ($SD = 3.1$). Moreover, 26% of all respondents did not answer this question. Concerning prior participation in peace education, 31% of all peace education participants versus 8% respondents in the control group answered they had already participated in some sort of peace education. When asked to specify, they mentioned courses, organised discussions and attendance of lectures with topics such as peace, reconciliation, human rights, conflict management and mediation. However, most former peace education activities were unstructured discussions or short workshops of fewer than 5 days. Only less than 10% reported participation in any kind of peace education that lasted for more than one week. This is true for both control group and intervention group without any significant difference.

5.1.3 Measures

Participants completed the same set of measures before and after the peace education workshops. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the measures before they are described in detail. Socio-demographic questions and questions about war experience and traumatisation were asked only at T1; at T2 questions about the subjective evaluation of the workshop were included for the peace education group. In this context with 17 different Liberian ethnic

groups referred to as “tribes” in local language, all intergroup items were operationalized by asking in general about “*members of other tribes*” or “*Liberian tribes other than your own*”.

Table 5.1: *All measures used in the analyses*

Research question	Measures
Implementation	Aspects of implementation (observed), satisfaction, transfer
Perceptions of peace and conflict	Definition of peace, responsibility for peace, conflict behaviour, CR Knowledge
Prosocial attitudes	Trust, empathy
Intergroup perceptions	Categorization, intergroup anxiety, victimization
Intergroup attitudes	Readiness for contact, evaluation outgroups, readiness for reconciliation
Differential effectiveness	Traumatisation, sociodemographic variables

Implementation

Different aspects of implementation were assessed by observing the workshops. Additionally, participants answered questions about their motivation, satisfaction and learning transfer.

Aspects of implementation

During all sessions in every workshop group a supervisor completed observation sheets and took notes about what was happening. Two supervisors were available: a US university student of political science, who was volunteering with CYE, and myself. I had developed the observation sheets (see Appendix) and trained the other supervisor how to use it. One observation sheet was used for each session to rate intervals of 10 minutes according to the predominant methodology used: a) activity (e.g., small group work or game like activities with most participants being active), b) lecture (that is mainly the facilitator talking) or c) group discussion (both participants and facilitators engage in discussion). Additionally, every session was rated by the observer for closeness to manual instructions, participants’ activity, cooperation of facilitators and overall methodological interactivity of the session, all assessed in one global item with a five-point scale. Finally, for each session delays and number of missing participants were documented and examples of what occurred during the session was noted on the observation sheet. To balance for possible differences in rating style, the supervisors exchanged their workshop groups after half of the programme¹¹. The notes about what had happened during the sessions were used as indicators to determine

¹¹ Because there were only two supervisors and always two parallel workshops and thus no overlap in rating, inter-rater reliability could not be calculated.

whether facilitators and participants apply the contents to their own context and whether self-disclosure or talking about sensitive issues occurred.

Motivation

Participants were asked “*How did you get information about the workshop?*” and could choose between the following options: *someone told me, public announcement, invitation letter, other*. Additionally participants were asked “*What was your initial motivation to participate in the workshop?*” Several options were offered and it was possible to choose more than one. Some of the options were: *interest in the topic, general curiosity, hope to get helpful certificate, free food and material, wish to live more peacefully, wish to become peace maker, hope to get skills for job, eagerness to learn, to bring peace to Liberia, other*.

Satisfaction

Participants were asked the following questions: “*How much did you learn in the workshop?*”, “*How satisfied are you with the workshop?*”, “*How did you like the methods used during the workshop?*” These questions used a 5-point Likert scale to indicate degree of the answers.

Transfer

Perceived transfer of learning was assessed by the question “*Do you think you (will) behave differently in some situations because of what you learned in the workshop?*” Answers could range from 5 = certainly to 1 = certainly not. Additionally an open question “*Did you already apply anything you learned during the workshop?*” was followed by the prompt to specify *how* they used it.

Attitudes and knowledge of peace and conflict

Concept of peace

Respondents were asked “*What does peace mean to you?*” Their answers to this open question were coded by two independent raters into three categories: 1 = negative peace (no war or conflict, personal security) 2 = personal peace (state of mind, happiness,

interpersonal understanding) 3 = positive peace (justice and equality in society). Inter-rater agreement¹² was $\kappa = .88$

Responsibility for peace

Answers to the open question “*Who is responsible to maintain peace?*” were coded by two independent raters into three categories depending on whether responsibility for peace was attributed to 1 = authorities such as police, government, president, 2 = qualified people such as “peace makers”, or 3 = every individual (“me”, “we”, “everyone”). Inter-rater agreement was $\kappa = .96$

Conflict behaviour

Conflict behaviour was assessed by asking for behaviour in a concrete conflict situation: “What would you do if somebody pushed you while you wait in a line?” Two independent raters grouped the answers into four categories: 1 = aggressive (pushing back, fighting), 2 = submissive (avoidance, no activity, call for a third party), 3 = assertive (solve actively by asking for the reason or negotiation). Inter-rater agreement was $\kappa = .92$

Conflict resolution knowledge

Knowledge about topics taught at the workshops such as conflict management, active listening and negotiation was assessed by three open questions: *There are many possible ways to deal with conflicts. Please name reactive and proactive forms of conflict management. Active listening is important to prevent misunderstandings. How can you listen actively and make sure you have understood what another person said? Negotiation is a way to solve problems. Which steps belong to negotiation?* Points were given for answers that were correct according to what was taught in the course or similar statements that could be considered correct. For correct answers participants could score up to 17 points. Internal reliability was $\alpha = .52$ at T1 and $\alpha = .70$ at T2.

Prosocial attitudes

Two prosocial attitudes were chosen to be measured: trust and empathy. Both are objectives specified in the programme.

¹² Inter-rater agreement as calculated with Cohen’s kappa indicates how often the different judges coded the same answer into the same category with adjusting this proportion for chance agreements. $\kappa = 1$ indicates perfect agreement, $\kappa = 0$ indicates agreement as expected by chance. (Tinsley & Weiss, 2000)

Trust

Based on General Trustingness (Goldberg, 1999), nine items measured how people generally trust other people. This was done by asking for how much they agreed on statements such as *I trust what people say*. The scales ranged from 1 (= not at all true) to 5 (=absolutely true). A high score indicates high trust. The reliabilities of the scales were $\alpha = .61$ at T1 and $\alpha = .66$ at T2.

Empathy

To assess empathy two subscales were taken from the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1985): *perspective taking* assesses more cognitive aspects, e.g., *I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision*; the subscale *emotional concern* deals with affective aspects issues, e.g., *I am often quite touched by things that I see happen*). Both scales had seven items that were combined into the empathy scale. The items could be answered in a range from 1 (= not at all true) to 5 (= absolutely true). A high score indicates high empathy. The reliabilities were $\alpha = .65$ at T1 and $\alpha = .73$ at T2.

Intergroup perceptions and attitudes

The focus of this evaluation is on intergroup attitudes. Thus, different measures assessed perception of persons from other ethnic groups (categorization, intergroup anxiety, victimisation), intergroup contact and more general outgroup attitudes (evaluation of outgroups and readiness for reconciliation).

Categorization

To capture the prerequisite of stereotyping and prejudice, this measure assessed perceived importance and use of ethnic categorization in interactions. The five items were created to combine perceived similarity within groups (e.g., *People belonging to the same tribe are very similar*), perceived differences between groups (e.g., *People belonging to different tribes are very different from each other*) and use of ethnic categorization in interactions (e.g., the inverse poled item *If I meet a person, I look at this person and don't care which tribe he/she is from*). The statements were to be rated from 5 (= absolutely true) to 1 (= not at all). A high score on this measure indicates a strong tendency to categorize other persons based on their ethnicity. The relatively low internal reliability with $\alpha = .45$ at T1 and $\alpha = .46$ at T2 can be due to the heterogeneous aspects of the measured concept.

Intergroup anxiety

To measure perceived anxiety in an intergroup situation a measure from Stephan et al. (2002) was adapted. Respondents were asked to rate 8 adjectives indicating how much they feel this way when they meet, talk or interact with people of other ethnic groups. Four adjectives were positive such as *trusting* and *confident*, four adjectives were negative such as *uncomfortable* or *threatened*. The answers were given on a seven-point scale ranging from *extremely* to *not at all*. A high score on this measure indicates strong feelings of anxiety and discomfort in an intergroup situation. Reliability was $\alpha = .62$ at T1 and $\alpha = .70$ at T2.

Victimisation

Based on the items suggested by Verkuyten (2002), three questions assessed whether respondents perceive that they or other persons are getting harassed or are treated unfair because of their ethnicity. Respondents were asked to indicate how often they experienced certain events during the last two weeks, e.g., *You or a friend were harassed or insulted because of belonging to your tribe*. Persons who score high on these measures recall many negative incidents that they attribute to ethnicity. Answers were ratings on a scale from 1 (= *not at all*) to 6 (= *more than 8 times*). Reliability was $\alpha = .76$ at T1 and $\alpha = .84$ at T2.

Readiness for intergroup contact

This composite measure with three items combined three different aspects of readiness for intergroup contact: contact avoidance (*"I avoid contact with other tribes"*), wish for contact (*"I would like to have more contact with members of other tribes"*) and improved self-efficacy for intergroup contact (*"During the last two weeks I improved my ability to interact with people of different tribes"*). These three different aspects all contribute to a readiness towards intergroup contact, although they are different dimensions that are not necessarily correlated, e.g., some people might have ambivalent attitudes (high contact avoidance and high wish for contact), others could combine high or low improved self-efficacy with avoidance or wish for contact. Even though the correlations of the three items and thus Cronbach's alpha is low ($\alpha = .31$ at T1 and $\alpha = .57$ at T2), the three single items were combined as a high (low) score on all would express high (low) readiness for intergroup contact. All items were answered on a 5-point scale and coded in a way that a high score on this measure indicates high readiness for intergroup contact.

Outgroup evaluation

Based on the measures used by (Verkuyten, 2002) Four items measured evaluations of outgroups by asking *What do you think, how many people of Liberian tribes other than your own are...* followed by four adjectives: *friendly, polite, quarrelsome* and *smart* with rating scales ranging from 1 (=no one) to 5 (= all). The option *don't know* was coded same as the midpoint of the scale 3 (= some). The scale was found to be reliable at T1 ($\alpha = .82$) and T2 ($\alpha = .80$). A high score means a positive evaluation of outgroups.

Readiness for reconciliation

Adapted from a scale Staub et al. (Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005) used in Rwanda, this measure assessed to what extent people can forgive other groups for the harm done during the wars, and whether they understand that all groups have both suffered and caused harm so that they don't blame any other tribes for war and suffering. Nine statements were given, six about how they see the past and other ethnic groups, e.g., *During the war in Liberia, each tribe has harmed people from other tribes*. Three further items measured conditioned forgiveness with statements such as *I can forgive members of the other tribes who acknowledge the harm their tribe did*. Answers were ratings on a scale from 5 (= absolutely) to 1 (= not at all). Reliability was $\alpha = .69$ at T1 and $\alpha = .72$ at T2.

Additional Measures

Some more measures were included in the questionnaires. War experience and traumatisation were assessed to investigate differential effectiveness. Optimism and other measures were included for explorative reasons, but were not included in the analyses.

War experience and traumatisation

Respondents were asked about their experiences during the wars. One item assessed whether they had any personal memories of the war. Then, six situations were given, e.g., *I witnessed how my family was attacked* to be checked if it was true for the respondent. Additionally, respondents could check *other* and write down their experience. The reliability of this measure that was only assessed at T1 was $\alpha = .74$.

The severity of a life event is only one factor among others contributing to subjective traumatisation. To get a rough approximation to how much the war experience affects people, only one item was used: "Do you sometimes have nightmares or troubling memories about the war?" with five answering categories: Persons answering "never" or "seldom" were classified as "moderate" on the variable traumatisation; persons answering "sometimes" were classified as high if their war experience was severe and low if their war

experience was not severe; and persons answering “often” or “very often” were classified as “high” in traumatisation.

Optimism

Three questions assessed how respondents looked at the future for themselves personally and for Liberia. The items were: “*What do you think, how will the situation be in Liberia in 2017?*” (answers 1 = war, 2 = insTable and insecure 3 = no fighting, not secure 4 = quite secure 5 = peace) “*What do you think, compared to today, will your life be better in ten years?*” (answers range from 1 = much worse to 5 = much better) “*What do you think, will there be war in Liberia within the next ten years?*” (answers range from 1 = certainly to 5 = certainly not). Reliability was $\alpha = .75$ at T1, and $\alpha = .67$ at T2.

Measures not included in the analyses

Some more measures were in the questionnaire but excluded for the analyses because of unreliability or ceiling effects. Measures that proved to be unreliable were *Tolerance* (based on Goldberg, 1999) with $\alpha = .51$, *Social responsibility*, based on the Social Responsibility Scale (Berkowitz & Lutterman, 1968 as cited in Robinson, 1999) with $\alpha = .49$, and *perceived interethnic climate* (adapted from Mack et al., 1997) of $\alpha = .53$. A factor analysis could not find any factors that confirmed any construct validity.

The measures of *ethnic identification* and *national identification*, and *optimism* were excluded due to ceiling effects: all group means were higher than 4.6 on a 5-point scale. Other measures such as religiosity and wellbeing were used for exploratory analyses that will not be reported.

5.2 Implementation

Can Liberian refugees after a short training successfully facilitate the actual peace education community workshop in a way that is appreciated by the participants? For a successful implementation it was expected that the whole programme should be carried out without much delay. What is actually done during the workshops should be close to what is described in the manuals. Most participants should attend all sessions and get actively involved by self-disclosure or application of the contents to their own context. Most participants should be satisfied after the programme and report how they have started to transfer what they learned for practical use in their personal life.

To check whether these criteria for successful implementation were met, after a short description of the actual implementation the observations of the workshops will be reported followed by the results about participants’ motivation, satisfaction and transfer.

5.2.1 Introduction and preparation of the programme

Relying on the inherent structure of the manuals I introduced the programme to the organisation CYE, trained the facilitators and supervised the programme. Twelve volunteers from CYE were introduced to PEP and trained as facilitators for peace education community workshops. For this four-day intensive training the manual for training of facilitators provided in the PEP-material package was used. One main topic in the workshop was the introduction and practise of interactive methods and principles of adult learning which were new to the facilitators-to-be who were accustomed to teaching in the style of lecturing. In the training they started to facilitate the sessions, received feedback, and anything which remained unclear was discussed.

Four teams facilitated four workshops under supervision. A volunteer from the US assisted as a second observer and supervisor for the parallel workshop. The workshops consisted of two 3-hour sessions per day, three days per week, over two successive weeks. The sessions were held according to the manual (Table 4.2). Two workshops were always occurring simultaneously in two neighbouring rooms of the CYE school. Participants received breakfast and lunch before and after the first session of the day. At the beginning participants received a folder, a pen and sheets of paper. At the end of the course they received a handout. In a ceremony some days later, a certificate of participation was given to them.

5.2.2 Observations from the Workshops

The observation sheets of thirty-two sessions were completed and are summarised in Table 5.2.¹³ The results will be followed by observed examples out of the sessions to give some indication of activity of participants, atmosphere, self-disclosure and translation of theory to practice.

All topics from the manual of the programme were covered. As can be seen in Table 5.2, facilitators kept rather close to the manual ($M = 3.56$, $SD = .62$). Instead of carrying out the sessions by following the instructions of the manual exactly, they brought in their own ideas for activities or adapted some stories or instructions to their context. For example, some facilitator teams had their sessions start and/or end with a prayer or with the group together singing. In two workshops, facilitators extended the introduction exercise by instructing

¹³ Due to sickness and other obligations one supervisor was not always present and had some missing values in her observation sheets.

Table 5.2: *Observations of supervisors on the observation sheets filled in during the PEP workshops.*

	observations	minimum	maximum	mean	SD
Closeness to manual (rating)	18	2	4	3.56	.62
Interactivity (rating)	22	1	5	3.46	1.06
Participants' activity (rating)	22	2	5	4.09	.75
Activity (intervals)	32	2	14	6.19	3.07
Lecture (intervals)	32	1	15	7.06	3.30
Group discussion (intervals)	32	1	13	5.94	3.73
Missing Participants	13	0	5	1.46	1.98
Delayed participants	17	0	9	1.88	2.42
Minutes of delayed start	30	-20	30	3.93	12.70

Note: each observation deals with one session; Observation intervals consist of 10 minutes, each session had 18 intervals.

participants to become a friend to the person whose name they had randomly picked and stay in contact with this person throughout the workshop to really get to know better, support and care for each other.

Methodological interactivity varied widely ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 1.06$). Facilitators spent more time lecturing to the group than engaging the group in interactive activities such as exercises, role-plays and small group work. A large part of the time was spent in group discussion in which many – but not all – participants were actively involved. At the end of each day the facilitators sat together, reflected their experiences and received feedback from the supervisor who had observed the workshop. This helped to improve the workshops day by day. The last sessions were much more interactive than the first ones.

Participants showed high commitment to the workshops and were very active whenever they had a chance ($M = 4.09$, $SD = .75$). Almost all participants came regularly and arrived punctually to all sessions. Only three participants dropped out of the programme, two of them because they fell ill. When working in small groups or performing role-plays almost all participants were very actively involved. In group discussions many participants were contributing, others preferred listening or debating with their neighbours. In some workshops participants brought in their own ideas for activities or small rituals what was often welcomed by the facilitators. For example, before a session started sometimes a participant went in front of those who were already there and related a story of how he or she had applied what they had learned. In one group a participant suggested making up name for the group, so that whenever participants see each other in future after the workshop has finished they can use this name to greet each other and thus be reminded of what they

had learned. Everyone agreed and brainstormed possible names together before finally voting for name they liked. When two suggestions received equal support they decided to choose two words, so when they meet the first person would say “trust” and the other one would answer with “confidence”.

The overall atmosphere in the workshops was warm and friendly. Participants often brought in their own experience in discussion. Before talking about sensitive topics, in one group they used to ask “Am I protected to speak?” and started only after the group confirmed to respect his view. Some examples were drawn from the daily life of participants and reflected their eagerness in applying what they were learning. So when discussing inclusion and exclusion a participant brought in the topic of tribal meetings, a tradition that was continued in the camp. He said he was persuaded to go to the Kpelle meetings because his father is Kpelle; however people who married in from different tribe were not allowed to the meetings and could feel excluded. The following discussion elaborated the tension between the wish to cultivate one’s ethnic traditions and its possible costs of highlighting group boundaries and differences between Liberians.

The facilitators were creative to illustrate their points with stories that were often drawn from their own experience. When discussing perception a facilitator who had left Liberia before the war to study in Guinea shared his experience: “I was hearing what was happening in Liberia. I knew who was involved. I had a class mate. I am Krahn. I thought she was Bassa. But when I found out she was Gio, I became afraid. My feelings to her changed. She came and told me not to be afraid, she didn’t agree to what happened. I suddenly realized that I had started to see her in another light just because she belonged to a specific group”. When discussing bias, stereotype, and prejudice, some facilitators used neutral yet relevant examples, e.g., statements about the UN or stereotypes about men and women. Participants soon extended the concepts to the Liberian political history (“There were six warlords, all killed men, but one was pushed more: Charles Taylor. The international community was biased”) or their personal intergroup attitudes (“We had a Mandingo family in the village. We were afraid; everyone talked bad about them. They were different.”). A Krahn woman mentioned how her Grebo neighbour didn’t allow her children to play with Krahn children.

As expected, the session about reconciliation was used to deal with examples of the Liberian reality. Both in small groups and in the plenum discussion different layers and aspects were discussed both on the societal level and on the personal levels. The TRC was discussed critically with some participants arguing that it is important to overcome what has happened. Other participants argued that it would lead to new agitation, e.g., when persons

suddenly know who killed their parents. Participants were using their own words and metaphors for explaining their opinions, e.g., when the story-telling approach of the TRC was compared with an elephant that cannot fight turtles sitting on a hill. Some participants highlighted the importance of education as many saw illiteracy and lack of education as one core reason of the wars. A participant told a story of a woman who presented her fiancé to her sister. Her sister collapsed when she saw the man. Later on the sister told her that this man had killed their parents and raped her. Another participant told about a Gio married to a Krahn, with both having difficulties in being accepted in the other's family. Issues of the possibilities and limits of forgiveness were discussed.

As these examples illustrate, the intergroup perspective and the post-war context were often in the focus of attention. Participants could train their skills with examples from their own context. In one group there was a conflict between most of the male participants and the international female volunteer from the USA who was not only supervising the workshops but also helping with serving food during the lunch break. She felt disrespected and treated like a servant by the men. When she was expressing her anger, some men became very upset. As the group had just learned different techniques to resolve conflict, the facilitators were encouraged to have participants mediate this intercultural conflict about perceptions of the role of women. Although the mediation was not easy, the conflict was finally resolved successfully which made the whole group very enthusiastic about their newly acquired skills.

5.2.3 Motivation, Satisfaction and Transfer

The information about the upcoming peace education workshops had been spread on the "local radio" (a loudspeaker at a central place), and by word of mouth. Some local NGOs were separately invited to send their volunteers. Only 13% of all participants came after hearing the public announcement, 9% came because of the invitation letter. 78% of all participants had been told by someone about the workshop, often by participants of a previous workshop.

When asked about their motivation for participation, 34% of all 185 answers (as it was possible to choose up to three answers) were about interest in the topic, eagerness to learn or general curiosity. Other 34% fell into the categories of becoming a peace maker or to live more peacefully; 15% wanted to contribute to peace in Liberia, 14% participants chose the more practical reasons such as free food and material or the hope to get skills and a

certificate that might be useful for getting a job later on. Figure 5.1 shows the proportions of chosen answers.

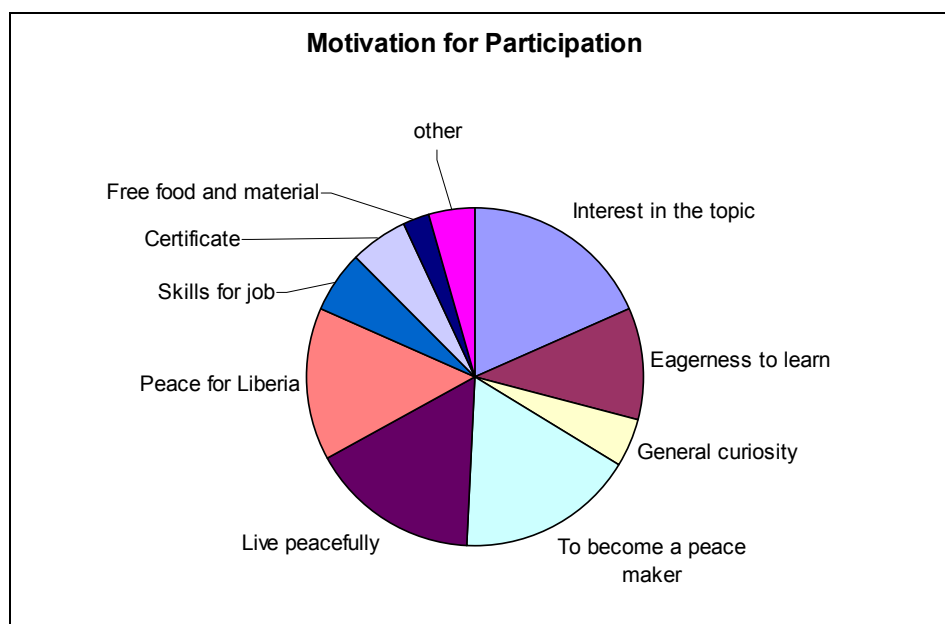


Figure 5.1: Answers about main motivation for participation

The peace education workshops were highly appreciated by facilitators and participants. Figure 5.2 shows that participants were convinced that they had learned much or very much in the workshops, that most of them were very much satisfied and liked the methods of the workshop. Many participants had already applied their new skills as can be seen in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Categories and examples of answers to the question "Did you already apply anything you have learned?" with amount of people answering in each category of answers.

Category	number	Example
No example	7	-
no convincing example	9	"I say because of what I learned and was demonstrated in the class"
not specified	10	"Because I apply it at home when I leave from class"
general understanding	2	"I was only able to tell that the conflict was internal. I never knew before."
gains for own personality	5	"Never to be submissive but assertive always. Never to be stereotyping and thinking for others."
applied in personal conflicts	5	"I have negotiated btw my little sister and I. We had stopped to speak for 2 years, now everything is resolved"
applied in conflicts among other people	26	"In my community there was a dispute between neighbours. She wasted water behind her friend's house which caused serious conflict and I was able to intervene and settle the matter between the both parties."
Total	64	

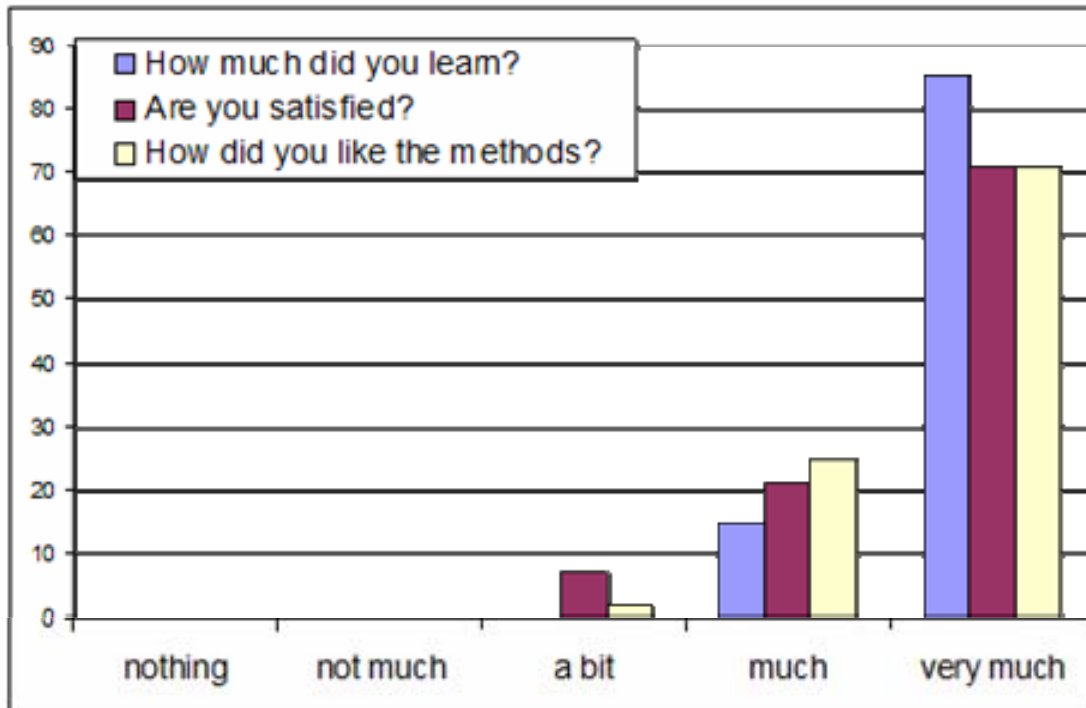


Figure 5.2: number of participants giving different answers to questions of subjective evaluation of the workshop (total number of participants = 102)

The majority (84%) of participants thought that they would certainly or probably change some of their behaviours because of the workshop. To the question whether they had already applied anything learnt in the workshop, 77% answered positively. 57 people followed up on the request to specify how they applied what they had learned. Some of these examples were rather vague; others were quite detailed. Most people gave examples about how they had solved a conflict – either one in which they were involved (4 people) or one which involved other people in their community (26 people). Even weeks after the conclusion of the workshops, participants approached facilitators or supervisors and shared examples of how they had used their new knowledge, e.g., to solve a conflict in their neighbourhood.

To sum up, the 36 hours of the peace education community workshops were implemented close to the manuals. Most participants attended all sessions, were actively involved, applied the contents to their own context, were highly satisfied and 38% could give convincing examples of how they had started to use what they had learned in their personal life. The hypothesis that Liberia's past, the tension between the ethnic groups and a path towards reconciliation on the level of Liberian society were discussed was confirmed. The implementation of the programme can be considered successful.

5.3 Effectiveness of peace education workshops

Can participation in a peace education workshop in a multi-ethnic group improve Liberians' perceptions and attitudes concerning 1) peace and conflict 2) interpersonal relations 3) intergroup relations? To answer this second research question, peace education participants and respondents in the control group had completed the questionnaire before (T1) or after (T2) the workshop respectively the equivalent time lag. If the training is effective it is expected that significant interaction effects of group (peace education vs. control) and time (T1 vs. T2) can be detected.

At T1 no significant differences on any of the measured variables were found between respondents who dropped out, the control group, and peace education group, except for optimism which was lower in control group than among drop-outs or peace education participants. Most of all respondents were very optimistic about the future ($M = 4.63$, $SD = .45$). Only among the 52 respondents in the control group five persons were pessimistic (thus scored below 2.5 on the 5-point scale). Separate analyses were run to control for the impact of optimism on the results. In none of the measures optimism became a significant covariate.

Attitudes about peace and conflict were measured on nominal scales and analysed with Chi-square tests. For all other measures, groups of similar variables were analysed as dependent variables in a two-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with group (peace education and control) as between-subject design and time (T1 and T2) as within-subject design. Pillai's trace was used as criterion. For single variables, univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA) were used. Simple effect analyses then assessed the difference between time points within each group and the difference between the groups at T2.

The assumption of independence of observations cannot be claimed because the treatment was not administered individually, but peace education participants had interactions in their workshops. Stevens (2002) recommends for such situations to test at a more stringent alpha level. (M)ANOVAs are testing two-sided, but my research hypotheses are one-sided (peace education participants should improve their attitudes compared to the control group). Because the assumption of non-independence of observations is violated $p = .05$ might reflect a true two-sided alpha level of $p = .10$ which equals a one-sided alpha level of $p = .05$. Thus, I chose to use $p = .05$ as level for significance and to always report the exact p . The assumption of normal distribution and homogeneity of variances was only met for the measures of trust, empathy and categorization. All other measures that is conflict resolution knowledge, victimisation, willingness for contact, outgroup evaluation and

readiness for reconciliation were not normally distributed. However, MANOVAs has been shown to be robust against violations of normal distribution (Field, 2005; Finch, 2005; Stevens, 2002)¹⁴.

5.3.1 Attitudes and knowledge about peace and conflict

At T1 Chi-Square tests found no significance in the differences between PEP participants and respondents of the control group concerning their definition of peace, responsibility of peace and conflict behaviour at T1. Many persons had not answered these open questions resulting in many missing values.

Definition of peace

At Time 1 most respondents who answered the open questions in peace education group ($n = 74$) and control group ($n = 33$) gave definitions with aspects of negative peace (55% in peace education group, 46% in control group), thus the notion that peace is basically the absence of war. While 38% respectively 42% respondents gave definitions of interpersonal aspects of wellbeing and understanding, 7% respectively 12% expressed positive peace (aspects of a just society).

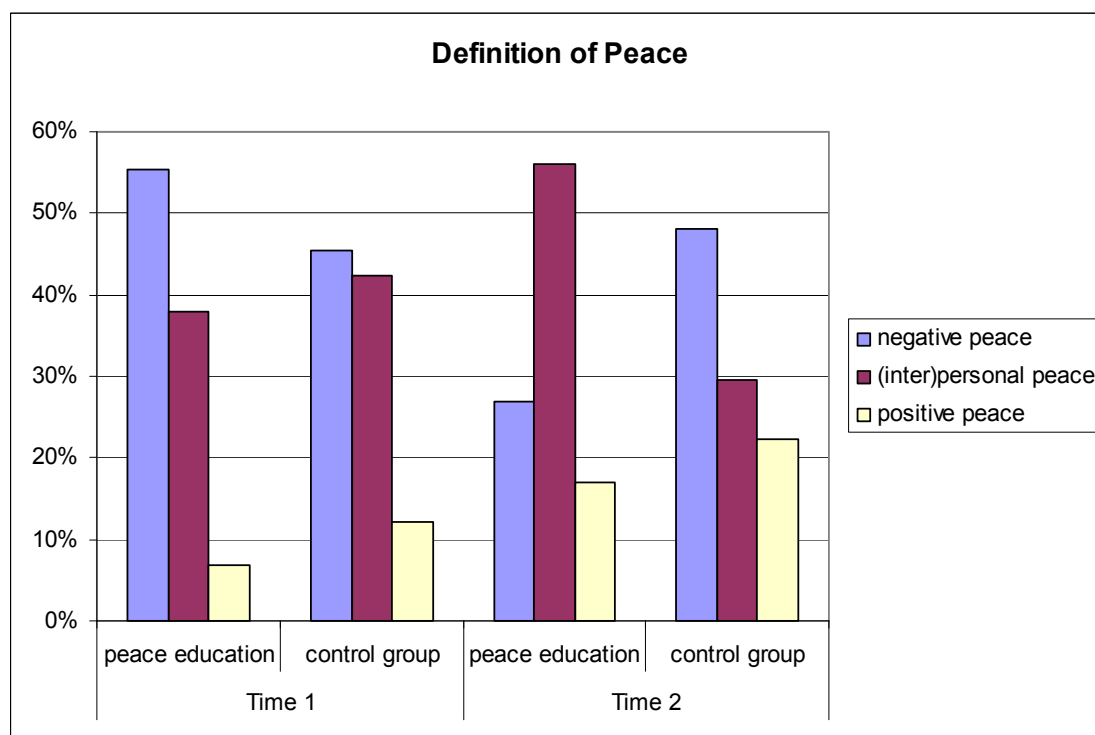


Figure 5.3: categories of peace definitions given by respondents in peace education group and control group at Time 1 (T1) and Time 2 (T2)

¹⁴ Additionally, changes within the peace education group were examined using a nonparametric signed-rank Wilcoxon test. These results were equivalent with the results of the (M)ANOVAs and are not reported.

At T2 only a marginally significant difference between the two groups was found with $\chi^2(2) = 4.82, p = .09$. At Time 2, the definitions in the peace education group (respectively control group) were rated 27% (48%) as negative peace, 56% (29%) as interpersonal peace; 17% (22%) as positive peace. Figure 5.3 illustrates the distributions.

Responsibility for peace

At Time 1 most respondents who answered the open questions in peace education group ($n = 75$) and control group ($n = 22$) saw everybody including themselves as responsible for maintaining peace (73% in both groups). Political or traditional authorities were seen as responsible for maintaining peace by 19% (23%) of peace education participants (control group respondents). Peace makers or persons with specific characteristics or qualifications were seen as responsible by 8% (5%).

The difference between the group became significant at Time 2 with $\chi^2(2) = 9.72, p = .01$. At Time 2 no respondent of the control group had changed their opinion. Among peace education participants, however, the proportions in the answers were now 4% authorities, 20% peace makers, 76% everyone. Eleven of those 14 persons who had held authorities for responsible changed their view: 3 persons to “peace makers”; 8 persons to “everybody”. 9 persons changed from “everybody” to “peace makers”, and 3 persons changed from “peace makers” to “everybody”. Figure 5.4 illustrates the changes.

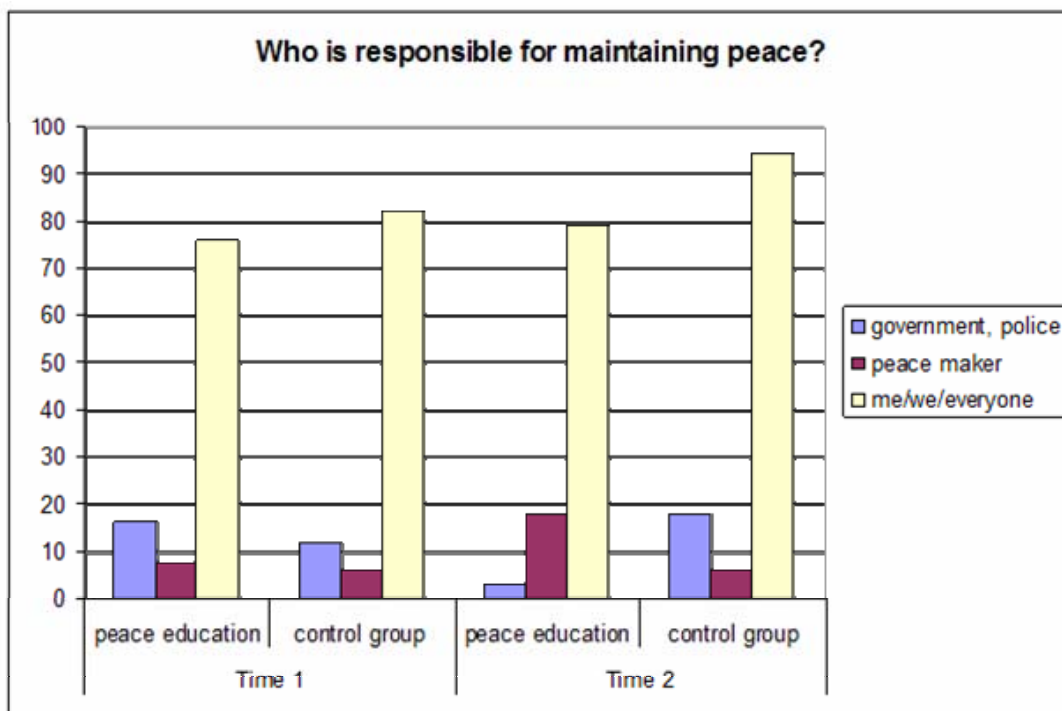


Figure 5.4: Perceptions of main actors to maintain peace by respondents at T1 and T2.

Conflict behaviour

Concerning behaviour in a specific conflict („someone pushed in front of you in a line“) in peace education group ($n = 81$) as well as in control group ($n = 18$) submissive behaviour (that is conflict avoidance) was most common at both time points, followed by assertive behaviour.

The differences between the groups were significant at T2 with $\chi^2(2) = 7.36$, $p = .03$. Figure 5.5 illustrates the proportions of behaviour among peace education participants and within control group. In the peace education group ($n = 74$) the proportion of avoidance remained almost the same. However, almost no aggressive behaviour was chosen and the proportion of assertive behaviour had increased. All of the nine persons with aggressive behaviour at T1 had changed to submissive (6) or assertive (3) behaviour. One person changed from submissive behaviour to aggressive behaviour. 14 persons changed from submissive behaviour to assertive behaviour and 7 persons changed from assertive to submissive behaviour. In the control group that had a slightly higher proportion of persons reporting assertive behaviour, only 5 single persons had changed from one category to another at T2.

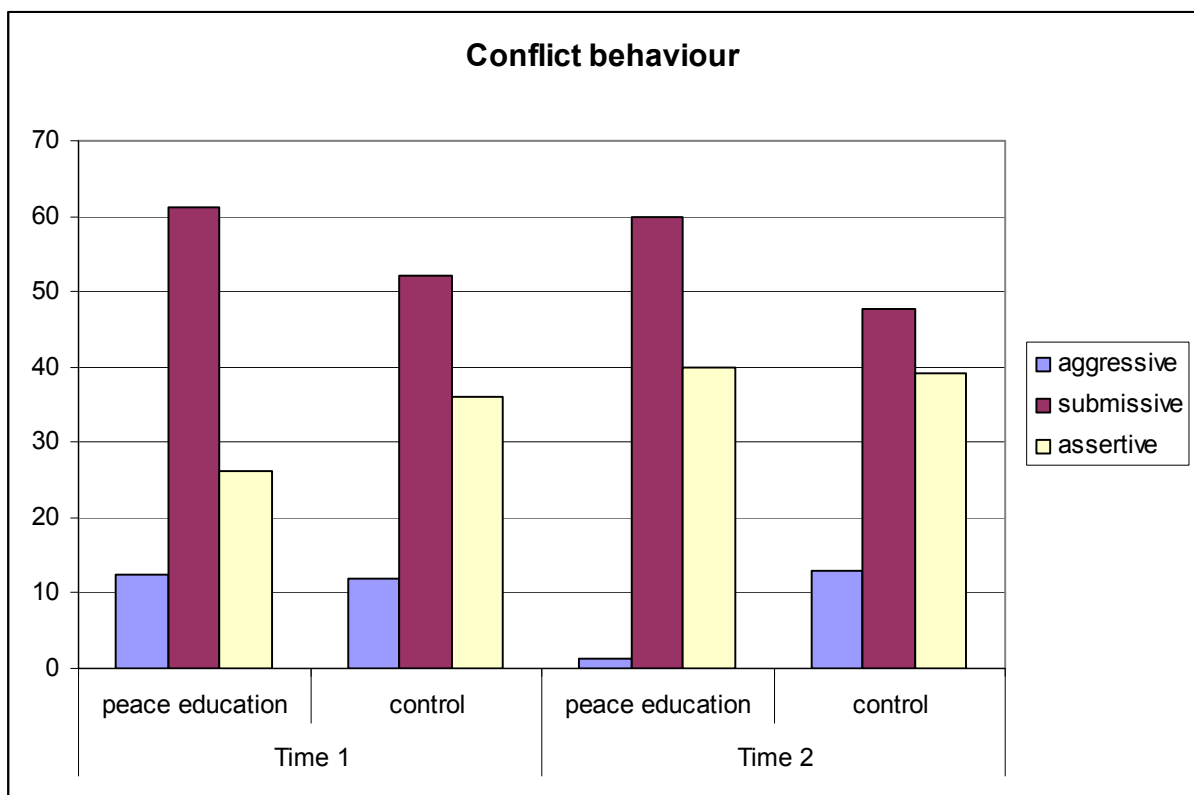


Figure 5.5: Rating of behaviour described by respondents for a specific conflict situation

Conflict resolution knowledge

Most respondents had little knowledge about conflict management, active listening, and negotiation at Time 1. This is obvious in the means ($M = 2.6$, $SD = 2.4$ respectively $M = 2.2$, $SD = 2.1$) on the summarised conflict resolution knowledge scale that ranged from 1 to 17. At Time 2, respondents in the control group had a similarly low knowledge ($M = 2.6$, $SD = 2.6$). In contrast, participants of peace education showed with that they had learned something during the workshops ($M = 9.6$, $SD = 4.5$), increasing knowledge and variance of knowledge among peace education participants. Table 5.4 summarises this knowledge gain which is with $d = 2.9$ a large effect.

Table 5.4: Conflict resolution knowledge in the two groups and effect size of change

	Peace education group					Comparison group					Cohen's d
	Time 1		Time 2			Time 1		Time 2			
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
CR Knowledge	97	2.6	2.4	9.6	4.5	48	2.2	2.1	2.6	2.6	2.9

A two-way mixed ANOVA confirmed this significant interaction effect of time x condition with $F(1, 142) = 96.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .41$. The main effect for time was also significant $F(1, 142) = 107.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .43$. Simple effect analyses revealed that only peace education participants had gained knowledge between the time points, $F(1, 142) = 313.44$, $p < .001$, $r = .83$, but people in the control group showed no change in their knowledge leading to a huge difference in knowledge between the groups at T2, $F(1, 142) = 108.46$, $p < .001$, $r = .66$.

5.3.2 Prosocial attitudes

Both prosocial attitudes that is trust and empathy increased in both groups from T1 to T2, but the increase for peace education participants was larger than for respondents in the control group with effect sizes of $d = .41$ for trust and $d = .23$ for empathy as depicted in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Means and standard derivations of control group and peace education group at T1 and T2 as well as the effect size of change in the peace education group compared to the control group.

	<u>Peace education group</u>					<u>Control group</u>					Cohen's d
	Time 1		Time 2			Time 1		Time 2			
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Trust	99	3.46	0.51	3.74	0.58	50	3.43	0.55	3.50	0.51	0.41
Empathy	99	3.97	0.48	4.11	0.45	52	3.85	0.47	3.87	0.52	0.23

A two-way mixed MANOVA with the measures trust and empathy showed an overall main effect for time, $F(2, 142) = 9.37, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .12$. There was also an overall main effect for group, $F(2, 142) = 3.36, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .05$. Both main effects were qualified by the expected interaction effect for group x time, $F(2, 142) = 3.31, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA) then were conducted to explore the effects further.

For trust, beside the significant main effect for time, $F(1, 143) = 14.77, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$ the expected interaction effect of group x time was found, $F(1, 143) = 5.04, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .03$. Simple effect analyses showed a significant increase in trust within the peace education group, $F(1, 143) = 27.99, p < .001, r = .40$, but not within the control group, leading to a significant difference between the groups at Time 2, $F(1, 143) = 6.28, p = .01, r = .21$.

On the measure for empathy only the significant main effect of time could be found, $F(1, 148) = 4.54, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .03$, but no significant interaction effect. Simple effects analyses showed that the difference between T1 and T2 was significant for the peace education group $F(1, 148) = 9.29, p = .003, r = .24$, but not for the control group. At T2 the peace education group showed higher scores than the control group, $F(1, 148) = 7.94, p = .01, r = .23$.

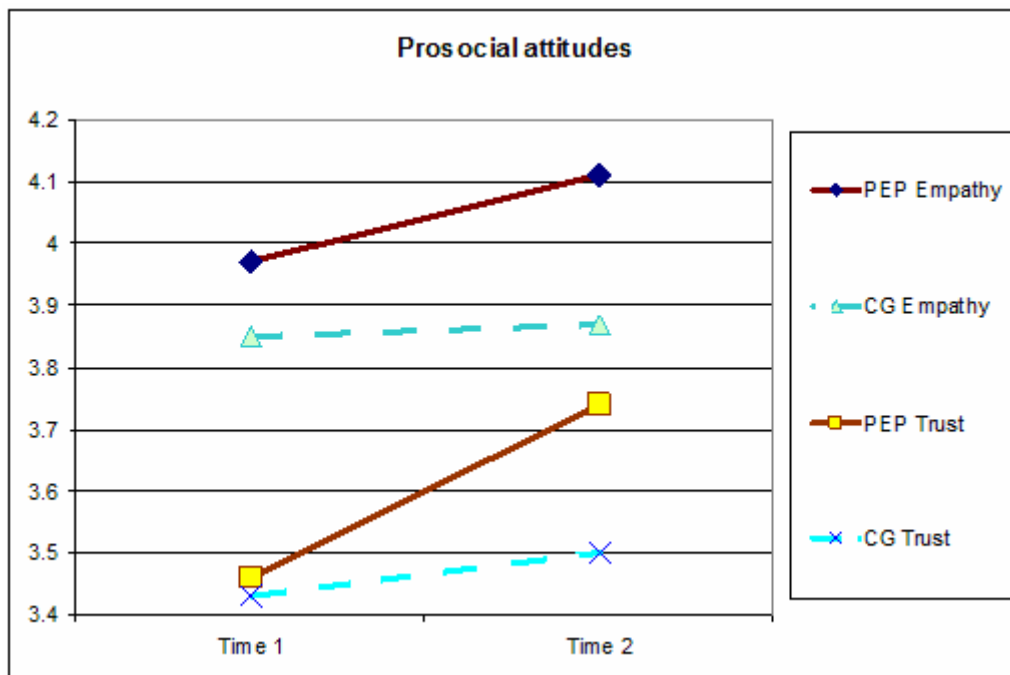


Figure 5.6: Means of trust and empathy across time in peace education group (PEP) and control group (CG)

5.3.3 Intergroup Perceptions and Attitudes

Negative intergroup perceptions, readiness for intergroup contact and general intergroup attitudes were analysed separately. Table 5.6 gives an overview over all means, standard deviations and effect sizes.

Table 5.6: Means and standard deviations for intergroup perceptions and attitudes

	Peace education group					Control group					Cohen's <i>d</i>
		Time 1		Time 2			Time 1		Time 2		
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
<i>Negative intergroup perceptions</i>											
Categorization	97	2.63	0.72	2.33	0.66	43	2.51	0.59	2.72	0.76	-0.76
Intergroup anxiety	97	3.00	0.87	2.83	1.02	43	3.10	1.03	3.17	1.21	-0.27
Victimisation	97	1.59	0.81	1.47	0.75	41	1.80	0.98	2.09	1.14	-0.47
<i>Readiness f. contact</i>	97	4.11	0.65	4.39	.62	44	4.13	0.57	4.02	0.81	0.61 [†]
<i>General intergroup attitudes</i>											
Evaluation outgroups	94	3.32	0.50	3.48	0.57	46	3.40	0.50	3.29	0.47	0.54
Readiness for reconciliation	98	4.35	0.49	4.42	0.52	48	4.27	0.58	4.16	0.61	0.35

Note: Categorization, Intergroup anxiety and victimisation are negatively poled concepts

Negative Perceptions in Intergroup Situations

A two-way mixed MANOVA for categorization, intergroup anxiety, and victimisation showed no main effects for time or condition, but as expected a significant overall interaction effect for group x time $F(3, 122) = 5.65, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .12$ indicating different change patterns between the groups. Univariate analyses were then conducted to investigate the different perceptions. Figure 5.7 illustrates the change patterns.

For categorization the interaction effect of group x time indicated significant differences in the attitude change between participants and control group: $F(1, 132) = 11.06, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .08$. Simple effect analyses showed that the difference between T1 and T2 was significant only in the peace education group with $F(1, 132) = 17.77, p < .001, r = .34$, but not in the control group. After the workshops participants stressed interethnic categorization less resulting in a significant difference between the groups at T2, $F(1, 132) = 6.79, p = .01, r = .22$.

For Intergroup anxiety no main effect or interaction effect could be found.

For victimisation an interaction effect group x time was significant $F(1, 126) = 6.94, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .05$. Simple effect analyses showed that the change over time was significant

only in the control group, $F(1, 126) = 4.32, p = .04, r = .18$, but not in the peace education group, $F(1, 126) = 2.71, p = .10, r = .15$). The difference between the groups at T2 is significant, $F(1, 126) = 11.36, p = .001, r = .29$.

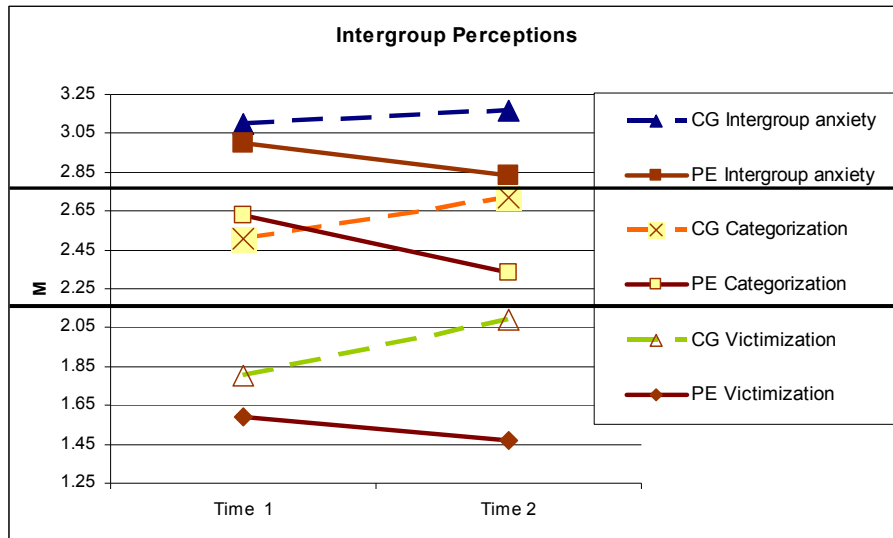


Figure 5.7: Change over time on categorization, intergroup anxiety and victimisation. These measures are negatively poled: the decrease in the peace education group goes in the expected direction.

Readiness for Intergroup contact

The two-way mixed ANOVA for contact revealed no main effect. However, the expected interaction effect for a different change in control and intervention group was found, $F(1, 134) = 8.59, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .06$. Simple effect analyses revealed that as expected, for peace education participants the already quite high readiness for positive contact increase, $F(1, 134) = 15.23, p < .001, r = .32$, whereas the control group shows no real change, but an

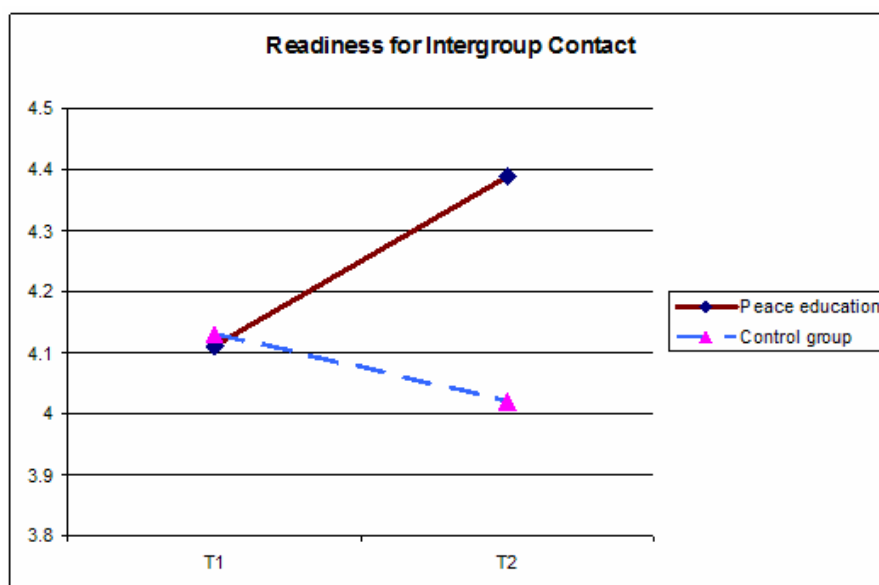


Figure 5.8: change of group means over time for readiness for intergroup contact in both groups

opposite trend. At T2 the difference between the groups is significant, $F(1, 134) = 8.21, p = .01, r = .24$. Figure 5.8 illustrates the differences in the group means.

General Intergroup attitudes

A two-way mixed MANOVA revealed no significant main effect for time or group on the measures evaluation of outgroups and readiness for reconciliation. However, as expected, a significant interaction effect of different attitude change between the groups was found, $F(2, 125) = 7.30, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .11$. Figure 5.9 depicts how group means changed for peace education participants and respondents in the control group.

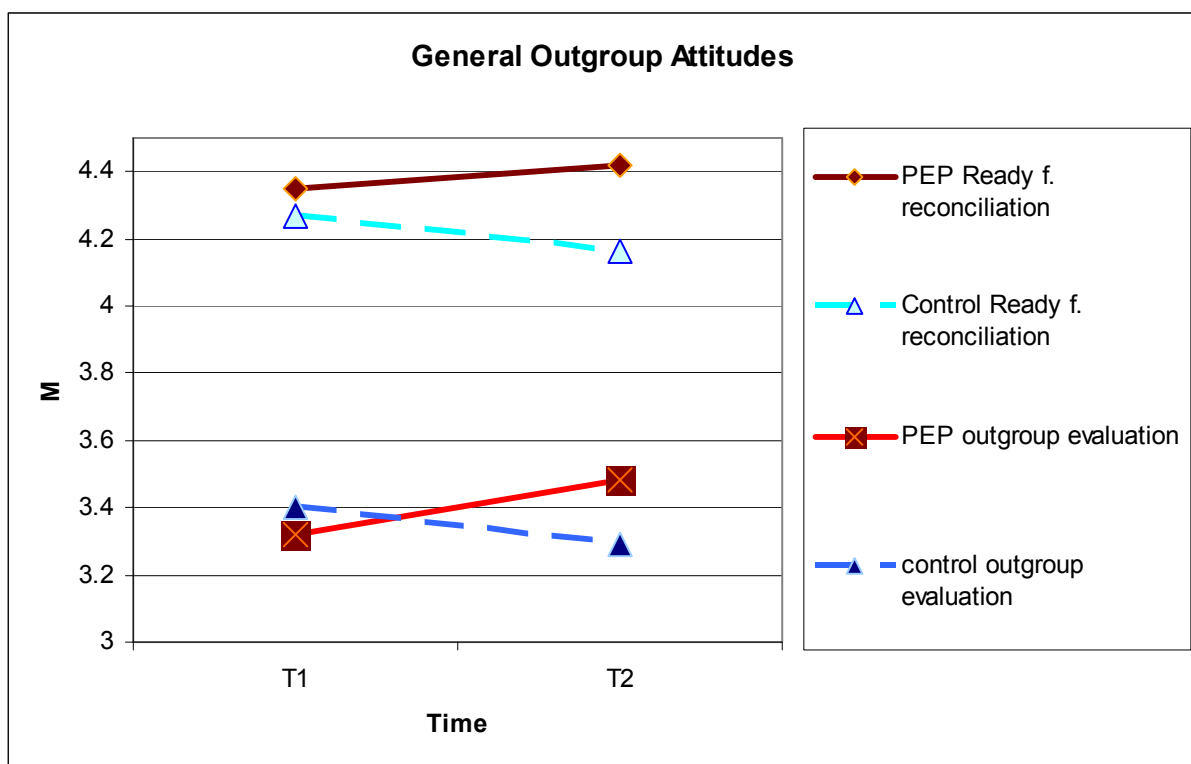


Figure 5.9: Change in group means for General Outgroup Attitudes between T1 and T2

A univariate analysis revealed for *evaluation of outgroups* the expected group x time interaction effect of $F(1, 133) = 6.08, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Simple effect analyses showed that the expected change within peace education group was significant, $F(1, 133) = 5.73, r = .20$. The difference between the groups at T2 was only marginally significant, $F(1, 133) = 3.45, p = .07, r = .16$.

The univariate analysis for *readiness for reconciliation* revealed the expected interaction effect of group x time with $F(1, 140) = 5.58, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Simple effect analyses showed that the difference between T1 and T2 were marginally significant with $p < .10$ in

both groups. Both trends go in opposite directions, that is the on average already very high readiness for reconciliation tends to increase for peace education participants, but to decrease in the control group, resulting in a significant difference between the groups at T2, $F(1, 140) = 6.55, r = .21$.

5.4 Differential effectiveness

Are changes elicited by the programme different for a) different individuals b) the subgroup of highly traumatised people? To answer this third research question, individual reliable change and the influence of traumatisation on attitude change were investigated.

5.4.1 Individual change

To examine what the effects on the group level mean on the individual level, the numbers of participants showing reliable change on the nine measured variables were identified. Reliable change is a statistical measure of change that takes into account both the population variance (standard deviation) and the reliability of the test (Cronbach's alpha). Jacobson and Truax (1991) developed the Reliable Change Index (RCI) to determine significant change. Based on the formula suggested by Evans, Margison and Barkham (1998) the reliable change criteria for all scales were calculated¹⁵. Change between T1 and T2 that exceeds this criterion is unlikely to occur more than 5% of the time by chance or by unreliability of the measure.

Total reliable change is calculated by adding up changes on all scales with -1 standing for deterioration and +1 for improvement on the respective scale. Thus, total reliable change describes the overall improvement or deterioration with the assumption that concurrent improvement on one scale and deterioration on another scale equals no change. The 99 peace education participants (versus the 52 respondents in the control group) can be grouped according to the total reliable change shown by them on the nine measured variables. As Figure 5.1 illustrates 17% (57%) show no change, 39% (12%) improve reliably on one measure, 37% (4%) on more than one measure. At the same time, reliable deterioration can be found in 5.1% (15.4%) on one measure and 1% (11%) on more than one measure.

¹⁵The Reliable Change Criterion = $SE_{diff} \times 1.96$,

$SE_{diff} = SD_1 \sqrt{2} \sqrt{1-r}$ SD_1 = standard deviation at T1, r = reliability of the measure

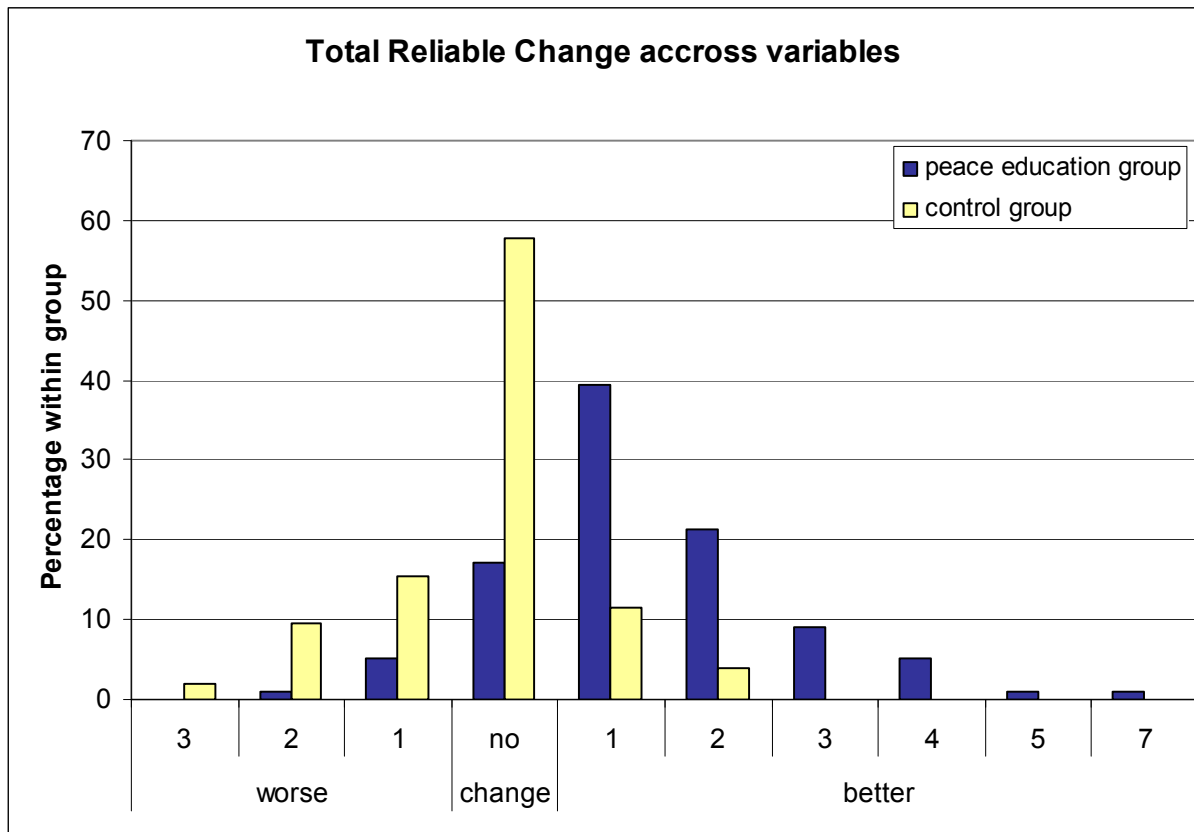


Figure 5.10: Proportions of persons within both groups showing reliable change across nine measures (conflict resolution knowledge, interpersonal/intergroup perceptions and attitudes)

When investigating the different measures, most change occurred concerning knowledge: 68% of peace education participants knew more about conflict resolution after the workshop, while no one in the control group could show any knowledge gain. The changes of attitudes are less pronounced than these learning effects. Figure 5.11 illustrates the proportions of respondents on the various variables. Only a small percentage within each group did actually change on each attitude measure, with participants of peace education rather showing improvement and respondents in the control group rather showing deterioration. In the peace education group 25% were more ready for contact at T2, 16% saw members of other ethnic groups more positive, 10% showed improved readiness for reconciliation, 6% felt less victimised. At the same time, 7% evaluated outgroups less positive, 4% felt more victimised and 4% were less ready for reconciliation. In the control group, on no measure more than 3% of the respondents showed improvement while more than 5% of respondents showed deterioration on victimisation, readiness for contact, evaluation of outgroup, readiness for reconciliation and intergroup anxiety.

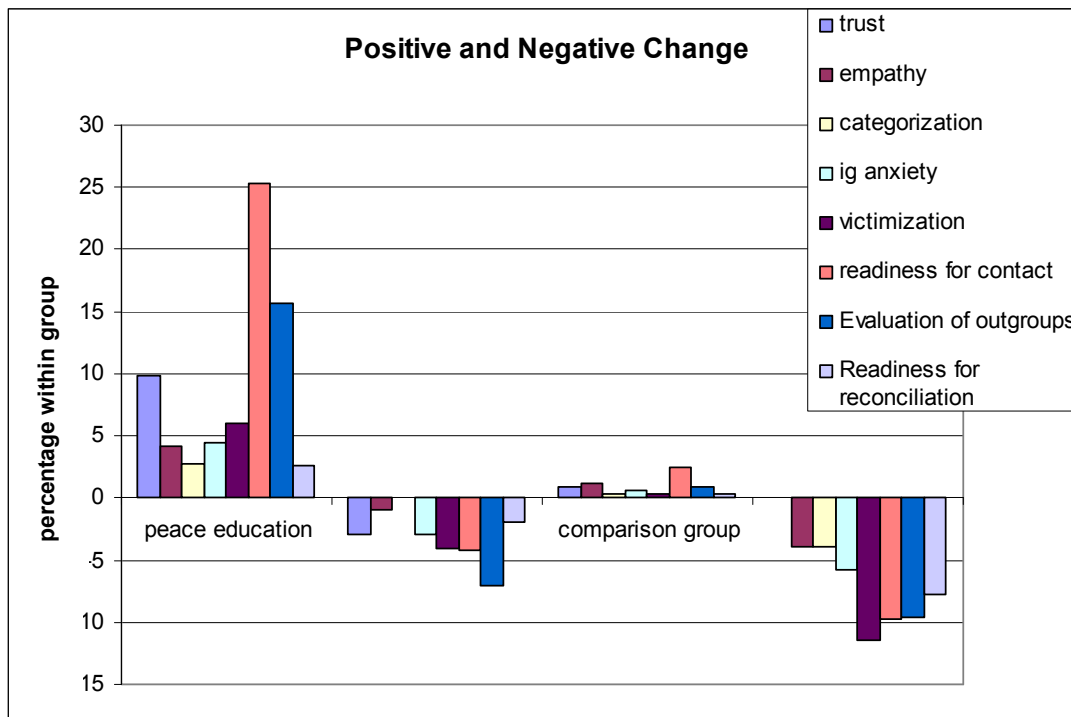


Figure 5.11: Proportion of respondents with attitude change in a positive (upwards) or negative (downwards) direction within peace education and control group

The improvements of participants cannot be measured if their score is so high at T1 that a change within the range of the reliable change criterion would result in a number beyond the maximum of the scale. In this ceiling category at T1, 76% and 61% of respondents are on the scales of victimisation and readiness for reconciliation, respectively; 57% on readiness for intergroup contact; 20% - 45% on the scales empathy, intergroup anxiety, and categorization; less than 10% on the scales of evaluation of outgroups, trust and knowledge. Only respondents who had not been in this ceiling category at T1 had some potential for change that could be measured. Table 5.7 presents the numbers of persons with potential for improvement and the proportion within this group that showed reliable improvement on the given measures. Of those peace education participants (respectively control group respondents) who had potential to change 68% (0.5%) gained knowledge, 57% (5%) were more ready to have intergroup contact, 47% (8%) felt less victimised, and 21% (5%) evaluated outgroups more positive.

Table 5.7: Numbers of persons with potential for change at T1 (n) and percentage of those persons within this group that showed reliable positive change, separated for peace education group and control group.

	Peace education		Control group	
	n	% improved	n	% improved
Trust	90	12.2	45	4.7
Empathy	70	8.6	41	7.3
CR knowledge	98	68.2	50	0.5
Categorization	57	8.8	25	4.0
Intergroup anxiety	65	10.9	32	7.4
Victimisation	17	47.1	16	8.3
Readiness for intergroup contact	42	57.1	20	5.0
Evaluation of outgroups	92	20.7	49	4.5
Readiness for reconciliation	38	18.4	19	11.1

5.4.2 Impact of traumatisation on attitude change

Most participants have had direct or vicarious traumatic experiences during the war. 82% of peace education participants had lost family members because of the war, 75% had been attacked and more than 50% had witnessed how other people were killed or how their family was attacked. Figure 5.12 shows the answers of the questions asking for experiences during the war. On the variable traumatisation 26 persons (25%) scored “low” and 61 persons (60%) scored “high”, 15 persons (15%) didn’t answer the question.



Figure 5.12: Number of persons with and without different experiences during the wars

There were significant differences between respondents in the category high trauma and low trauma. People scoring high are rather female, older, married and have already been living in the camp for a longer time. Concerning the pre-tests of the outcome measures, one-way ANOVAs showed that people with rather high traumatisation had lower levels of knowledge ($M = 2.38$, $SD = 1.08$ vs. $M = 3.68$, $SD = 2.75$ for low traumatised people), $F(1,$

85) = 5.50, $p = .02$, $r = .25$. Furthermore, they evaluated the outgroups less positive than less traumatised respondents, $F(1, 82) = 4.67$, $p = .03$, $r = .23$.

To address the question whether peace education has different effects for highly traumatised participants, all measures were analysed again with three-way mixed (M)ANOVAs, adding traumatisation as a third independent variable beside time and group. No interactions of group x time x traumatisation could be found on the interpersonal measures, knowledge, perception in Intergroup relations or contact. Only for General Intergroup Attitudes is the overall interaction effect significant with $F(1, 115) = 5.03$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. The moderating influence of traumatisation is significant for both evaluation of outgroups, $F(1, 115) = 5.46$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$ and readiness of reconciliation $F(1, 115) = 5.65$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$.

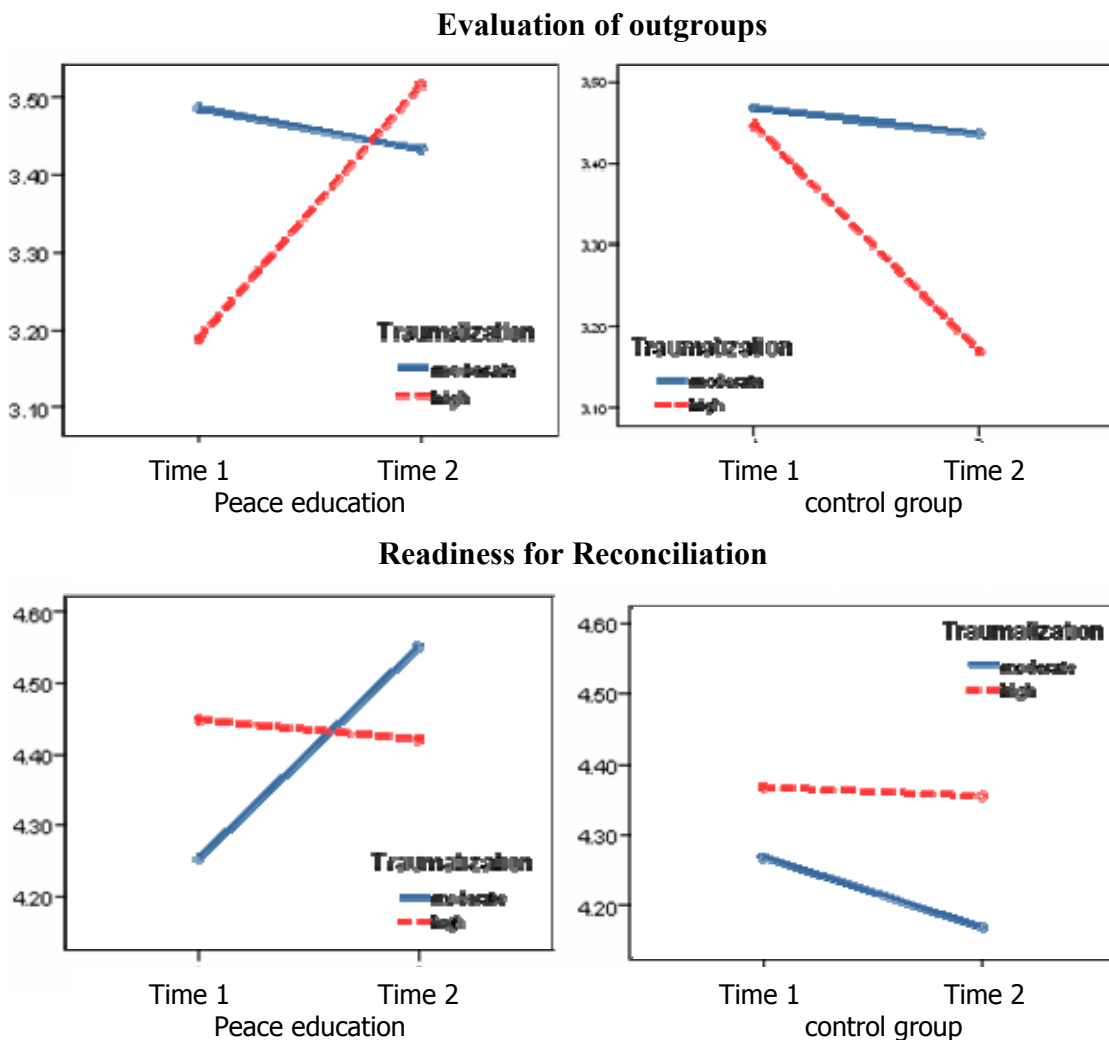


Figure 5.13: Change in evaluation of outgroups and readiness for reconciliation in peace education group (left) and control group (right) separated for high and moderate traumatised people

Concerning *evaluation of outgroups*, traumatised persons see outgroups as less positive than non-traumatised persons. This difference cannot be found at T2, because in the intervention group traumatised persons evaluate outgroups more positive than before. In the control group, however, they evaluate outgroups even less positive. As can be seen in Figures 5.13, people who were not traumatised hardly changed their view, neither in the control group nor in the intervention group. Traumatised people, however, evaluate outgroups less positive at T2 compared to T1 if they are in the control group, and more positive, if they are in the peace education group.

For *readiness for reconciliation*, a different pattern is found. The means in both conditions are very high at T1. In the control group, both traumatised and non-traumatised persons show a slight tendency of decline. In the intervention group non-traumatised persons show an increase in their readiness for reconciliation. Traumatised peace education participants feel minimally less ready to reconcile after participation, whereas non-traumatised participants show increase in *readiness for reconciliation* after the workshop.

To sum up, on most variables more traumatised participants and less traumatised participants did not differ in their change patterns. For the general outgroup attitude different change patterns were found. Compared to less traumatised persons, highly traumatised respondents changed more in their evaluation of outgroups, but less in their readiness for reconciliation.

5.5 Exploration of some memories after nine months

Nine months after the workshops many respondents had already left the camp. A delayed post-test was thus not possible. Nevertheless, to explore what participants remembered and how they evaluated the workshops after more than half a year, those who were still in the camp were asked about their memories and how they had used what they had learned.

Thirty-three former peace education participants responded, 26 men, 7 women. In comparison to most other former participants, they were still at the camp. This could be due to their hesitation about returning or due to the time points in the registration for repatriation. It cannot be excluded that this subgroup differs systematically of the other participants. Notwithstanding, the answers of this subgroup reveal how one third of all participants judged the peace education workshops after nine months. First, an open question was about what they still remembered. Figure 5.14 gives an overview about which concepts were mentioned most often.

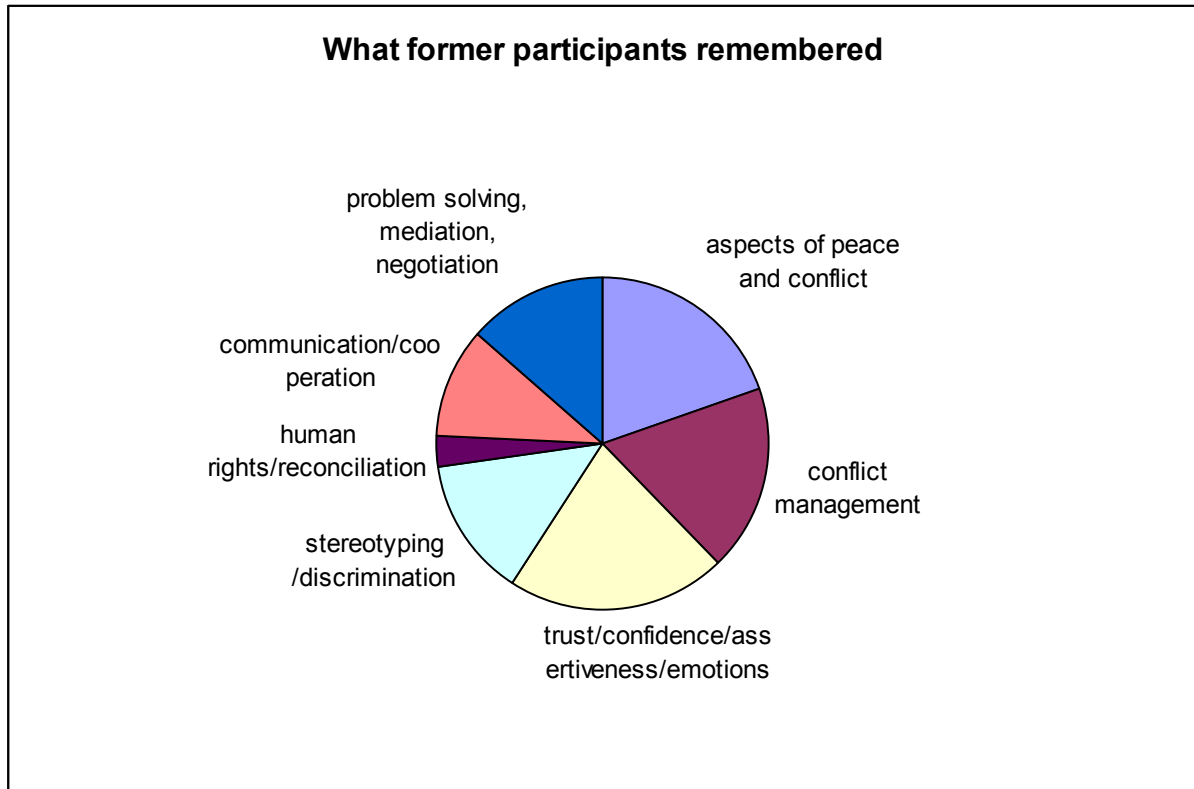


Figure 5.14: Words mentioned by 32 former peace education participants when asked about what they remembered from the workshops nine months after participation

To the question “how important was the workshop for you and your life?” 90% of those who answered chose “very important”, 10% “important”, no one used the other three categories for less important. When asked whether they started a friendship with someone because of the workshop, except for four people who had not started a friendship with someone because of the workshop, most participants had made friends. The number of friends made was within the range of 1 to 20 friends. Only four persons denied having made any. Only four people (13%) had not applied anything. The others reported various examples. Two questions assessed perceived behaviour change caused by participation. As Figure 5.13 shows, most of the former participants were convinced that the workshop had had an impact on their behaviour.

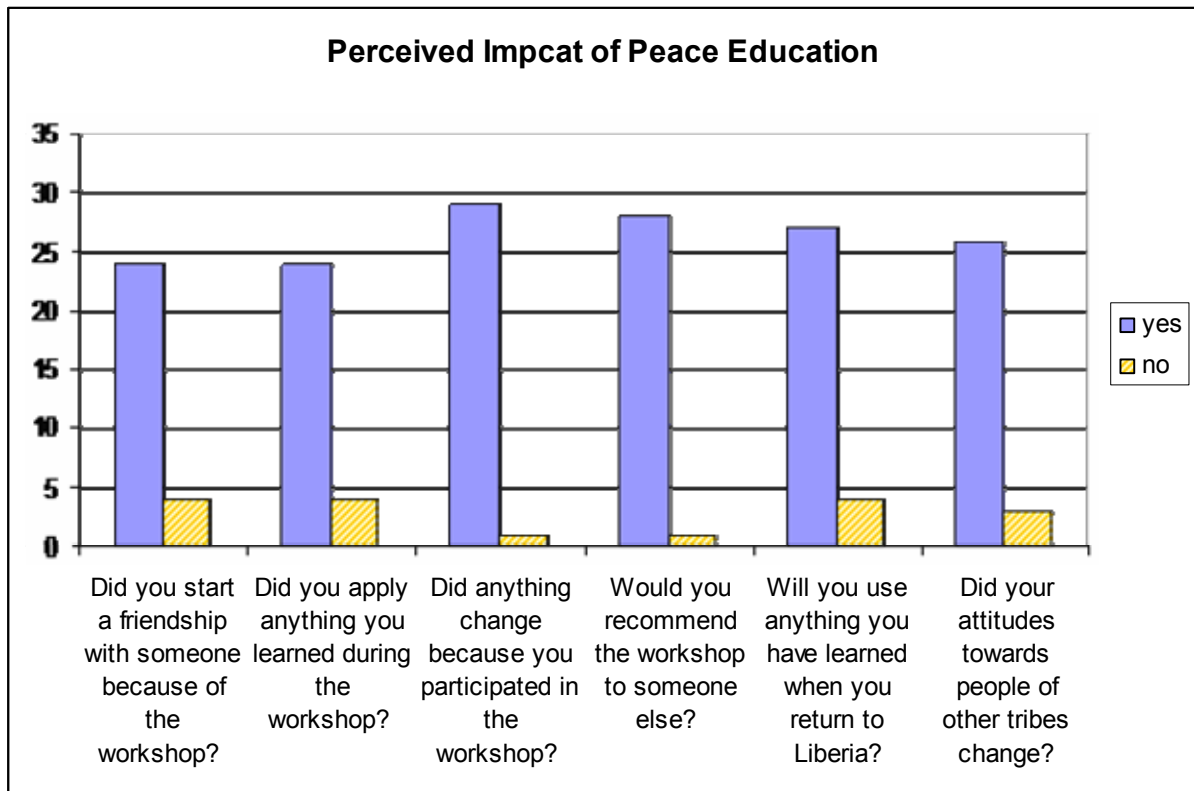


Figure 5.15: Answers of 33 former participants to various questions assessing perceived impact of peace education nine months after the workshops.

Those who had the impression that their attitudes towards people of other tribes had changed because of peace education were asked to specify what exactly had changed. 32% gave explanations about more trust or positive feelings, e.g., “The lack of trust and fear I had in the past have changed and I’ve started building confidence and I believe we can reconcile our differences” or “I see them more friendly”. 36% described more cognitive changes about their perception of other people or other tribes, e.g., “I realized that those people did not choose their tribes and they should not be blamed for someone’s action” or “because of one person behaviour, not pass judgement on the entire tribe again”. 32% stressed that they now found it easier to interact with people from other groups “I learned how to make friends and how to make peace also” or “I joke with people, I also encourage people to come around me”.

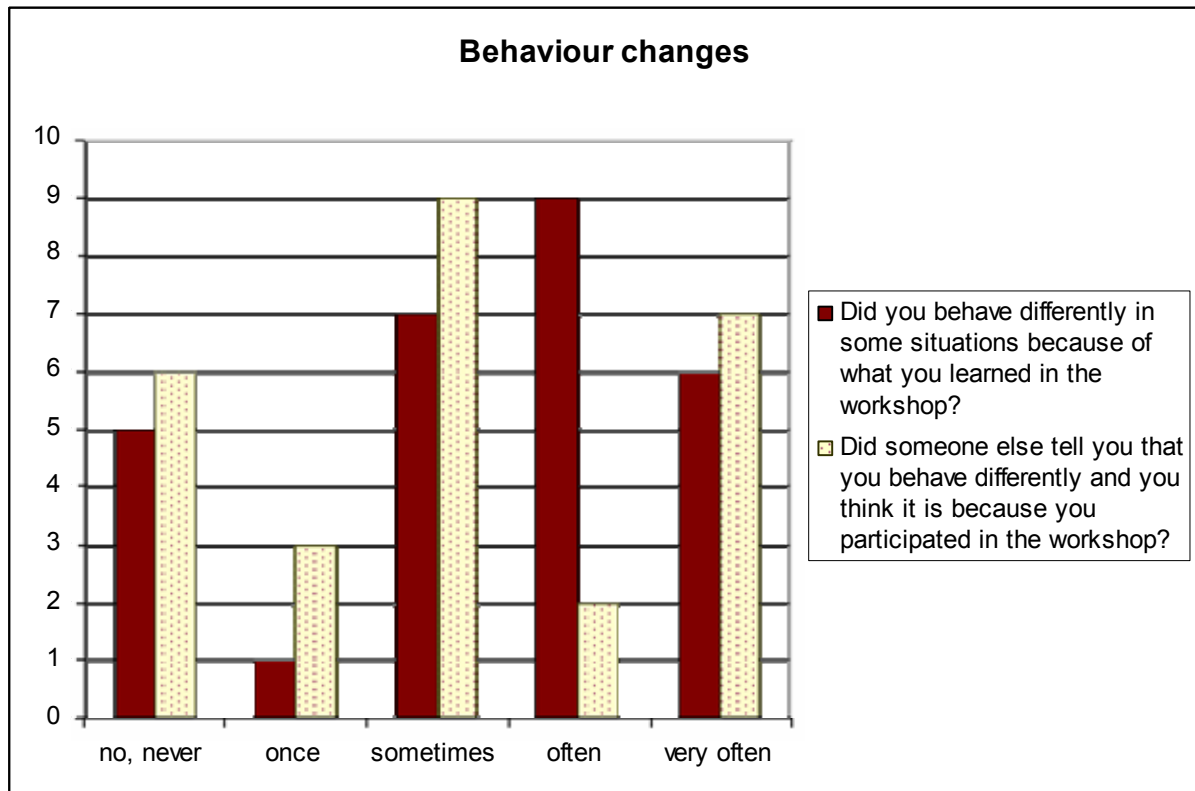


Figure 5.16: Frequencies of chosen answers about perceived behaviour changes nine months after the workshops for 32 former participants

When describing situations how they had applied what they had learned, 52% of the given examples could be grouped to conflict resolution, e.g., “I help solve a problem between two families use the mediation method”. Other 26% were applications for the persons themselves, 22% were situations of teaching others. Often, various aspects were mentioned within one answers, e.g., “There is more peace and calm around me because of how I've learned and have applied knowledge of the solutions concerning neighbours and friends, concentrating more on similarities and wishing a win-win solution”

All answers to the open questions were coded according to whether what was mentioned a) included affective, cognitive or behavioural aspects and b) was about self, interpersonal relationships or interethnic situations. Every answer could contain aspects of more than one category. Even though some questions were explicitly asking about behaviour or intergroup relations, the answers nevertheless differed in which aspects were mentioned. The results reveal that among everything that was mentioned 21% were affective aspects, 35% cognitive aspects and 44% behavioural aspects. 32% related to intrapersonal gains, 41% to interpersonal situations and 27% to intergroup relations.

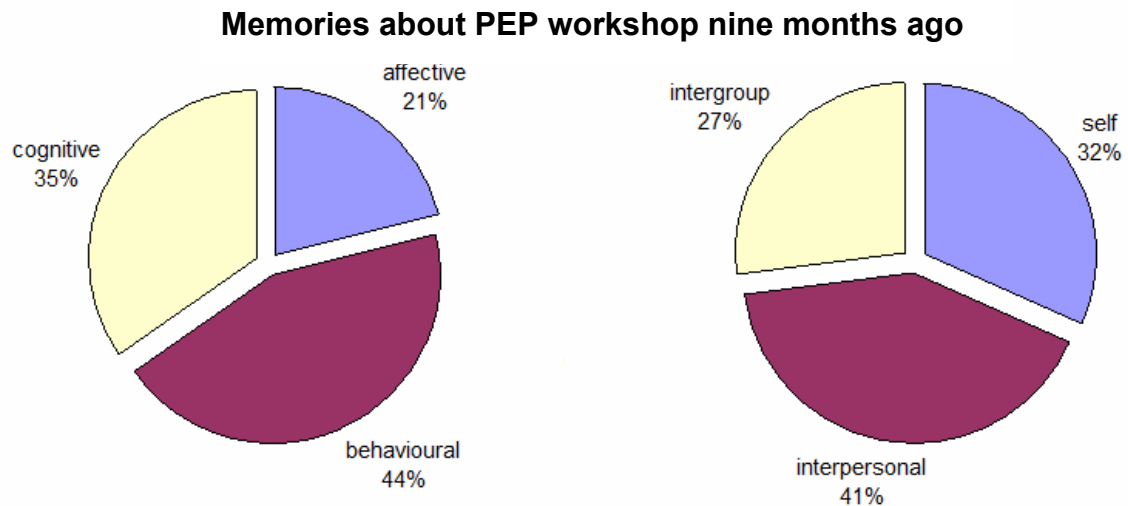


Figure 5.17: Characteristics of memory contents of 33 persons nine months after participation in the peace education workshop

5.6 Short summary of findings

The peace education programme had been successfully implemented and was highly appreciated by participating Liberians. Participants had clearly learned much of the contents of the workshops and showed some differences in their perceptions of peace and conflict. Peace education increased the prosocial attitudes trust and empathy and contributed to improved intergroup perceptions and attitudes, namely reduced intergroup categorization, increased readiness for contact, more positive evaluation of outgroups, and increased readiness for reconciliation. Most individuals showed reliable change on at least one of the nine measured variables. The amount of traumatisation seems to impact how participants can benefit from the programme. Table 5.8 summarises research questions and findings for the complete PEP workshops. Implications and limitations of the findings will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Table 5.8: *Research questions and answers for the implementation of the complete community workshops*

Research question	Answers for the 36 hours' community workshops
	<i>The implementation was successful because</i>
1) Can Liberian refugees after a short training successfully facilitate the actual peace education community workshop in a way that is appreciated by the participants?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the complete workshops were facilitated close to the manual by Liberians who have received a short training - Most participants attended all sessions and were actively involved - Facilitators and participants applied the contents to their own context, e.g., by bringing in examples from their own lives or speaking about Liberia's past, present or future. - The atmosphere in the workshop allowed self-disclosure and talking about sensitive issues - 92% of participants were satisfied after the programme and 100% were convinced that they had learned much or very much - 57% of participants could report how they have started to transfer what they learned for practical use in their personal life <p>Liberians used peace education to discuss issues relevant for Liberia, e.g., the difficulties about forgiveness, land disputes etc.</p>
	<i>The implemented programme had effects:</i>
2) Can participation in a peace education workshop in a multi-ethnic group improve Liberians' attitudes concerning	<p>compared to Liberians who didn't participate, the group of Liberians who participated showed attitude change concerning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> d) more knowledge about conflict resolution, stressing more the role of "peace makers" instead of authorities for maintaining peace and showing less aggressive behaviour in a conflict situation e) more trust and empathy f) less negative perceptions of persons from other ethnic groups (less categorization, less victimisation), more readiness for intergroup contact, more positive view of other ethnic groups (general evaluation and readiness for reconciliation)
a) peace and conflict	
b) interpersonal relations	
c) intergroup relations	
?	
3) Do changes elicited by the programme produce a reliable change for	<i>The programme has differential effects</i>
a) most individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 76% of the peace education participants show reliable improvement on at least one of the variables - Highly traumatised persons show different patterns of change than less traumatised persons concerning general intergroup attitudes; they changed more in their evaluation of outgroups, but did not change their readiness for reconciliation.
b) the subgroup of highly traumatised people?	

6 Study 2: Short-term peace education

Study 1 had shown that the complete 36hours' peace education community workshops had been highly appreciated by refugees and yielded some effects of attitude changes. This study 2 that was conducted nine months later in June/July 2008 investigates implementation and effectiveness of three different shortened modules of the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (PEP) and an unstructured locally developed peace education module. The first aim of this study was to find out whether 9 hours of peace education are enough to bring about attitude change. The second aim of the study is a comparison between different parts of the same programme and one local form of rather unstructured peace education to investigate the impact of methods and contents for peace education. The third aim of the study is the investigation whether beside attitudes towards other general outgroups peace education can lead to attitude changes concerning different specific groups.

6.1.1 Design and Procedure of the Evaluation

The evaluation was planned with a design that included pretest and posttest for participants of three different 9 hours' modules of the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (PEP-s) and participants of 9 hours' local peace education (PE-l). No control group was included¹⁶.

Information about the upcoming workshops was published on the "local radio", a loudspeaker giving all sorts of announcements. Additionally, the elders of all ethnic tribes were identified as highly respected influential persons and thus separately invited to participate by presenting the workshops in the elders' council. Moreover, the news about the workshops was spread by word of mouth. Every refugee who was interested in participation could register for the workshop and completed the pre-test questionnaire. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the workshops with PEP-S or IPE. Due to rain, ongoing registration for repatriation and organisational problems, some participants changed their group or didn't show up. The post-test questionnaire was completed at the end of the workshop.

¹⁶ It was planned to include participants of a HIV/AIDS-Awareness programme as control group. However, the director of a local NGO who had agreed to cooperate changed the plans. Too late it turned out that the participants of the control group would be young women in a course for beauty care. They were not comparable to the participants, so I didn't include this group in the analyses. Another attempt to include participants of a journalism course by another NGO failed due to lack of time.

6.1.2 Respondents

In total, 145 Liberians participated in a peace education workshop, completed both questionnaires and were included in the analyses. Of those persons 118 participated in one of the six PEP-S workshops, 27 participated in the workshop of local peace education. Fifteen more persons had registered for a workshop and had completed the pretest, but did not participate in less than 50% of the workshop. The reasons they gave for dropping out were either illness or other obligations mostly because they planned to be repatriated soon. No systematic differences could be found between this dropout group and the participants included in the analyses.

Respondents included in the analyses were Liberians of 17 different ethnic groups with Krahn (34%), Grebo (14%) and Kru (9%) being the largest groups. Figure 6.1 illustrates the proportions of ethnic groups among respondents. 74% participants were male, 26% female. All respondents were between 15 and 64 years old, with less than 2% younger than 18 and less than 10 % older than 50; Most respondents were in their twenties (40%) or thirties (32%). The average age is 32. Among all 139 respondents 122 were Christians, 3 persons were Muslims and 18 persons did not indicate their religion. On average, respondents had attended 13 years of schooling. When asked for their highest graduation 5 % indicated no school, 4% primary school, 47% high school, 14% professional school and 8% university, 22% did not answer the question.

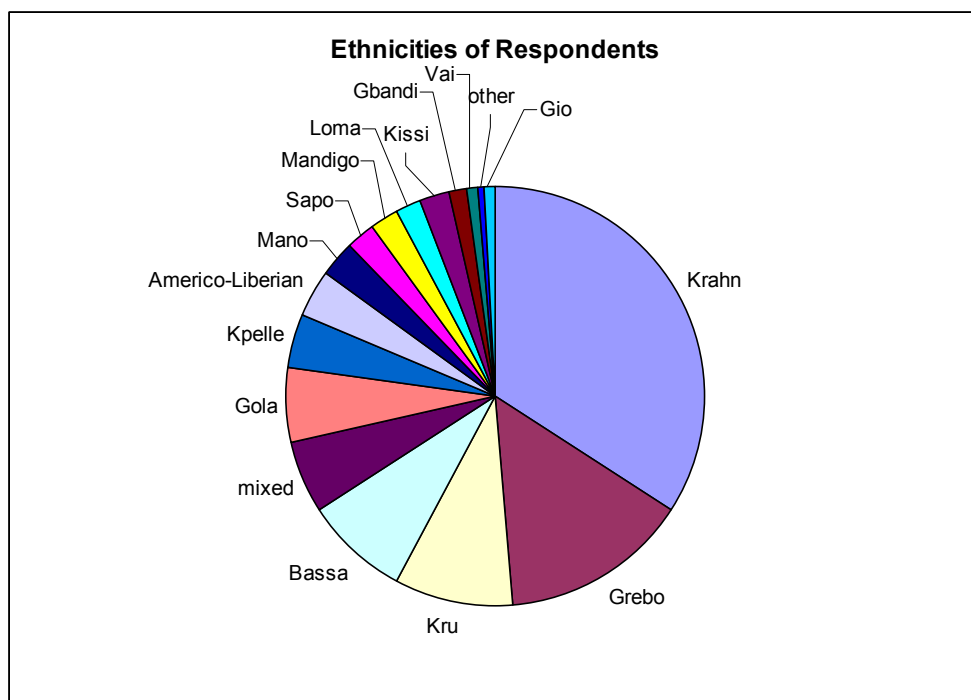


Figure 6.1: Ethnicity of participants in peace education (both PEP_s and PE_l)

There were no significant differences between PEP-s and IPE group concerning age, ethnicities, gender, people living in the household. Continuous background variables were compared between the study groups with ANOVAs, categorical background variables were compared between the study groups by means of chi-square tests.

6.1.3 Measures

To measure implementation and attitude change mainly the same measures were used as in study 1 (see 5.1.). Conflict resolution knowledge was not included in the analyses, because the topics were different in the different workshops. Concerning intergroup perceptions and attitudes some items were slightly changed or removed to improve understanding and reliability. For readiness for intergroup contact some items about positivity of contact were added. Table 6.1 gives an overview of the attitude measures number of items and reliabilities of the scales in the new sample.

Table 6.1: *measures of effectiveness and their reliabilities*

	items	α T1	α T2	Example item
<i>Prosocial attitudes</i>				
Trust	5	.62	.56	I trust what people say.
Empathy	8	.62	.61	I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.
<i>Intergroup Perceptions and attitudes</i>				
categorization	3	.63	.54	Knowing from which tribe a person is helps to understand what kind of person he/she is.
Intergroup anxiety	7	.76	.74	If you meet, talk or interact with people who don't belong to your tribe you feel... safe
victimization	3	.77	.70	During the last two weeks You or a friend were harassed or insulted because of belonging to your tribe.
Readiness for contact	7	.69	.65	I would like to have more contact with members of other tribes
evaluation outgroup	4	.77	.82	How many people from other tribes are friendly
Readiness for Reconciliation	8	.62	.69	Members of other tribes are human beings, like everyone else.

Attitudes towards specific outgroups

To find out whether peace education can affect different attitudes towards specific groups, the questionnaire included eight items that were to be answered regarding six specific tribes. Six different groups were selected according to their salience and relevance in the context of Liberia with its 16 groups. To check for actual relevance of these six tribes among all 16 groups, open questions concerning relations to all tribes were asked. Then participants were presented with the picture of a scale with the numbers 0 to 100 and were asked several items. Under each item six groups were listed with some space to write the number that to indicate the feeling or attitude towards this specific group. The groups were Krahn, Kru, Kpelle, Mandigo, Gio, Americo-Liberians. Among all 16 Liberian ethnicities these six groups were chosen because of their salience for various reasons: highlighted enemy group in the war (Krahn, Gio), group size in the camp (Krahn, Kru) or in the Liberian population (Kpelle), exceptional position in Liberian society (high status: Americo-Liberians, low status: Mandingo). Table 6.2 presents all variables and items that were asked for these six groups.

Table 6.2: *Variables and items to assess attitudes towards six specific groups*

Attitudes towards specific outgroups	
Present attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In general, how distant (0-50) or close (51-100) do you feel towards... - Imagine you meet a person for the first time. How uncomfortable (0-50) or comfortable (51-100) would you feel if the person is....
Social distance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Imagine your son/daughter wants to marry. Will you feel bad (0-50) or good (51-100) if the other person is...
Ingroup Norms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In general, most people of your tribe would view it negatively (0-50) or positively (51-100) if a person of your tribe has a close friend who is... - Please think about other people of your tribe. About how many of them (0-100 percent) have close friends who are...
Anticipated attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Think of the time when you will be back in Liberia. How distant (0-50) or close (51-100) would you feel towards . - Think of the time when you will be back in Liberia. How uncomfortable (0-50) or comfortable (51-100) would you feel if you would meet a person for the first time who is ...
Intergroup relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Think of the time when you will be back in Liberia. How negative (0-50) or positive (51-100) will be the relations between your tribe and the...

Note: . Each item was to answer for Krahn, Kru, Kpelle, Mandigo, Gio, Americo-Liberian

6.2 Implementation

Can the short peace education workshops be implemented in a way that is appreciated by the participants? For a successful implementation it was expected that the whole programme was carried out without much delay. Most participants should attend all sessions and get actively involved by self-disclosure or application of the contents to their own context. Most participants should be satisfied after the programme and report how they have started to transfer what they learned for practical use in their personal life.

To check whether these criteria for successful implementation were met, after a short description of the actual implementation the observations of the workshops will be reported followed by the results about participants' motivation, satisfaction and transfer.

6.2.1 Introduction and preparation of the programme

The workshops were implemented in June/July 2008 and took place in the same refugee camp as the workshops in study 1. However, the atmosphere in the camp had drastically changed: In 2007 the refugees were living in the camp without knowing for how long they were going to stay. Most of them were hoping to get a visa for another continent, not willing to return to Liberia. They lived a life in the limbo with enduring uncertainty about their future. In 2008 refugees had started a political demonstration that escalated in the Ghanaian police coming in to arrest hundreds of protesting women and to deport 16 men. After negotiations with the Liberian government the authorities had decided that the refugee camp was to be closed down and the Liberians had to go back. At the time of the workshops hundreds of refugees were leaving the camp with a resettlement programme organized by UNHCR. Most workshop participants were about to return to Liberia soon. This created an atmosphere of excitement and high motivation for peace education: the majority was happy to return to their home country wanting to contribute to its reconstruction. At the same time, however, they were afraid whether they would be able to start a new life in a country with 85% unemployment rate, broken infrastructure and full with memories of a cruel civil war.

The programme was split into three different modules that covered different parts of the peace education manual. A person who would attend all three different modules would thus complete the whole community workshop. Two of the three modules were carried out twice thus in two different workshops, one in the morning, one in the afternoon. Each workshop was facilitated by a different team of facilitators. The condition of local peace education was developed by its two Liberian facilitators: a male pastor and a female writer. It was tailored to the specific situation of Liberians and is comparable to other local forms of peace

education that were carried out in the refugee camp. A “drama group” of artists were involved around 5-20 minutes in every session to demonstrate some messages in the form of a theatre play.

Due to time problems and time pressure only one day of facilitator training could take place for all facilitators including the ones for the local condition. Most facilitators for PEP_s had been facilitator of the whole programme one year before. Only two Liberians were new to the organisation. They had been participants in PEP_s one year before. Thus the main part of the training was repetition and refreshing of the facilitators’ training one year before. Additional to the training all facilitators were introduced to the shortened modules and supported in their individual preparation.

Seven teams of two facilitators conducted seven workshops under supervision, one of them being the local version of peace education. A volunteer from the US assisted as a second observer and supervisor for the parallel workshop filling in the observation sheets¹⁷. After each session they facilitators were given feedback. The workshops consisted of one 3-hours-session per day, three days per week. Two workshops were always occurring simultaneously in two neighbouring rooms of the CYE-school. Participants received something to eat before the session. In a ceremony some days later, a certificate of participation was given to them.

6.2.2 Observations from the workshops

The observation sheets of thirty-two sessions were completed and are summarized in table 6.3. The facilitators of PEP_s stuck not too much to their part of the manual ($M = 3.18$, $SD = .98$). Sometimes they included parts that they knew and liked from the other modules, sometimes they included own stories or ideas. The interactivity of the methods used was rated rather medium for PEP ($M = 2.91$, $SD = .83$) and rather low for IPE ($M = 2$, $SD = 0$), although participants were very active whenever they got the possibility to be so ($M = 4.09$, $SD = .98$ for PEP and $M = 4.25$, $SD = .50$ for IPE). When looking at the time intervals, for PEP the amount of activities and group discussions were balanced ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 2.09$ respectively $SD = 3.30$) and less time was spent by lecture ($M = 5.19$, $SD = 2.76$). By contrast, in the local peace education workshop hardly any time was spent with activities ($M = .75$, $SD = .50$) or group discussions ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 2.16$), but almost all time was spent with lectures ($M = 9.75$, $SD = 2.11$). All workshops had some problems with delayed starts or delayed/missing participants; The PEP workshops (versus the IPE workshop) came on an

¹⁷ She fell ill and had some organisational problems, so she could not attend all the time. Because of that only 12 observations are made from PEP instead of 18.

Table 6.3: *Observations of supervisors on the observation sheets filled in during the PEP workshops*

	minimum		maximum		<i>M</i>		<i>SD</i>	
	PEP	IPE	PEP	IPE	PEP	IPE	PEP	IPE
Closeness to manual (rating)	1	-	4	-	3.18	-	.98	-
Interactivity (rating)	2	2	4	2	2.91	2	.83	0
Participants' activity (rating)	3	4	5	5	4.09	4.25	.98	.50
Activity (intervals)	1	0	8	1	6.09	.75	2.09	.50
Lecture (intervals)	1	7	10	12	5.17	9.75	2.76	2.11
Group discussion (intervals)	2	0	12	5	6.09	3	3.30	2.16
Delayed start	0	7	35	30	16	19	13.26	10.23
Missing/delayed Participants	0	0	20	19	6.1	12	6.1	10.44

Note: observations $n = 12$ for PEP and $n = 3$ for IPE

average delay of 16 minutes (19 minutes) and 6 participants (12 participants) who were not present at the beginning of the session.

The PEP workshops were held similar to the long versions of PEP in the year before. Participants enjoyed the activities and brought in examples of their own experience. Often they discussed concrete details how they saw the near future when they would have returned to Liberia.

The local peace education workshop was dominated by the male facilitator. Most of the time, he talked to the group. His aim was to talk about the history of Liberia and stress the similarities between the different ethnic groups and the importance of knowing one's culture and traditions, peaceful cooperation and intermarriages. Actually, in the first session he was talking a lot about the negative impacts of foreign nations on Liberia. Supervisor and facilitators of CYE who had listened to parts of it were highly concerned about both this message of nationalism and his lecturing style of facilitating. When given feedback he agreed to include the participants more. Indeed, the next day he asked more questions and had the group discuss some issues, yet with some strict directions about what he considered "good" and "bad". The supervisor was shocked about the way he treated the few female participants in the group by turning his back towards them when they talked and making degrading comments about what they had said or the role of women in general. His hierarchical view of gender relations became further obvious in the interaction with his female fellow facilitator who didn't talk much at all and was sometimes interrupted by him when she said something.

6.2.3 Satisfaction and Transfer

All participants were very satisfied with the workshop, liked methods and facilitators and were convinced that they had learned much. As can be seen in figure 6.2 the means of all subjective evaluations were close to maximum. No difference could be found between the means for modules of the structured programme and the local peace education.

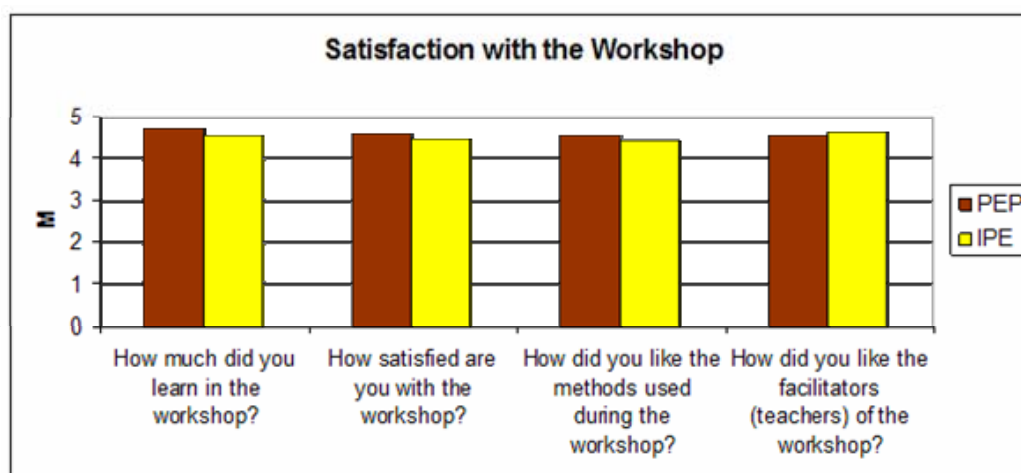


Figure 6.2: Group means of participants' satisfaction on 5point scales

When asked about examples how they had used what they had learned, 71 PEP participants (23%) and 18 IPE participants (25%) gave some examples. Table 6.4 gives an overview of the numbers of examples falling into different categories in both groups.

Table 6.4: *Examples given for transfer*

Category	PEP	IPE	Example
No (convincing) example not specified	11	2	"not really, but any moment from now."
Own attitude	8	2	"empathy and emotion"
Own behaviour	18	2	"I learned not to be judgemental"
applied in personal conflicts	6	2	"Try talking to people to learn how to live together."
applied in conflicts among other people	10	2	"I and my friend had a quarrel but I went to him, I admit my doing and he forgave me."
	18	8	"I mediated between two ladies that were having serious problems because of a man"
Total	71	18	

6.3 Effectiveness of short-time peace education

Can participation in 9 hours of peace education in a multi-ethnic group improve Liberians' perceptions and attitudes concerning 1) peace and conflict 2) interpersonal relations 3) intergroup relations? Are the workshops based on the structured Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (PEP) superior to a local peace education workshop (local PE)? To answer this fourth research question, participants from all three modules of the Inter-

Agency-Peace Education Programme were grouped together to be compared with the fourth module, the local version of peace education. All participants had completed questionnaire before (T1) or after (T2) the workshop. If any form of peace education is effective a main effect of time should be found. If PEP is superior to LPE a significant interaction effects of group (peace education vs. control) and time (T1 vs. T2) should be detected.

At T1 no significant differences on any of the measured variables were found between the modules or PEP and local PE participants. Attitudes about peace and conflict were measured on nominal scales and analysed with Chi-square tests. For all other measures, groups of similar variables were analysed as dependent variables in a two-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with group (PEP vs. local PE) as between-subject design and time (T1 and T2) as within-subject design. Pillai's trace was used as criterion. For single variables, univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA) were used. Simple effect analyses then assessed the difference between time points within each group and the difference between the groups at T2.

6.3.1 Attitudes about peace and conflict

Definition of peace

At Time 1 the groups differed in their definitions of peace, $\chi^2 (2) = 6.47, p = .04$. Most respondents gave definitions of (inter)personal peace, with 75% in the PEP group ($n = 77$) and 59% in the group of local PE ($n = 17$). Definitions of negative peace were given by 22% respectively 23% of respondents, definitions of positive peace by 3% in the PEP group and 18% in the local PE group.

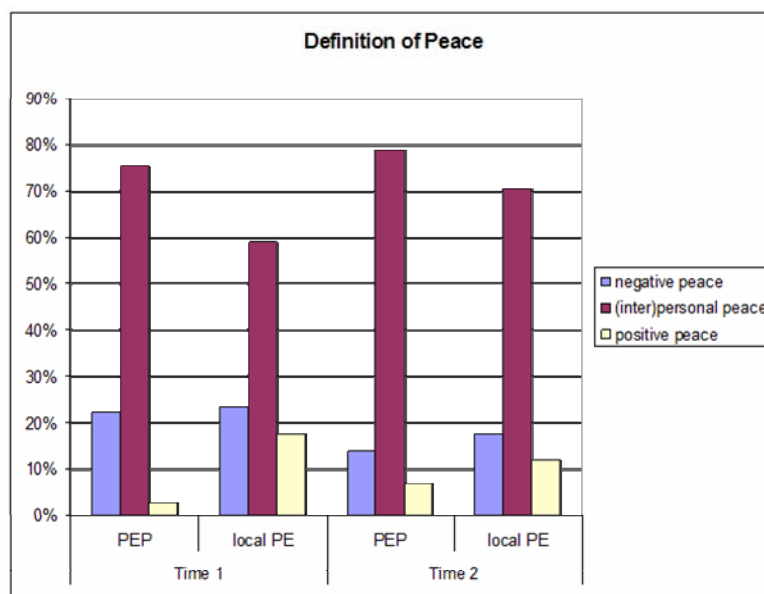


Figure 6.3 Peace definition falling into different categories at T1 and T2

At T2 no difference was found between the groups. Figure 6.3 illustrates that compared to T1 less persons gave definitions of negative peace, more persons gave definitions of (inter)personal peace. Definitions of positive peace were given by 7 % of PEP participants and 12 % participants of local peace education.

Responsibility for peace

At Time 1 most respondents who answered the open questions in peace education group ($n = 80$) and local peace education group ($n = 15$) saw everybody including themselves as responsible for maintaining peace (62% PEP, 69% local PE). Political or traditional authorities were seen as responsible for maintaining peace by 20% in the PEP group and 13% in the local PE group. Peace makers or persons with specific characteristics or qualifications were seen as responsible by 13% in both groups.

The difference between the group was not significant at Time 2. Figure 6.4 shows the trends: in both groups less persons saw themselves for responsible. More PEP participants than before stressed the role of peace makers (24%) and less the role of authorities (13%), whereas in the group of local peace education the same proportion as before named peace makers (13%), but more participants saw authorities for responsible (19%).

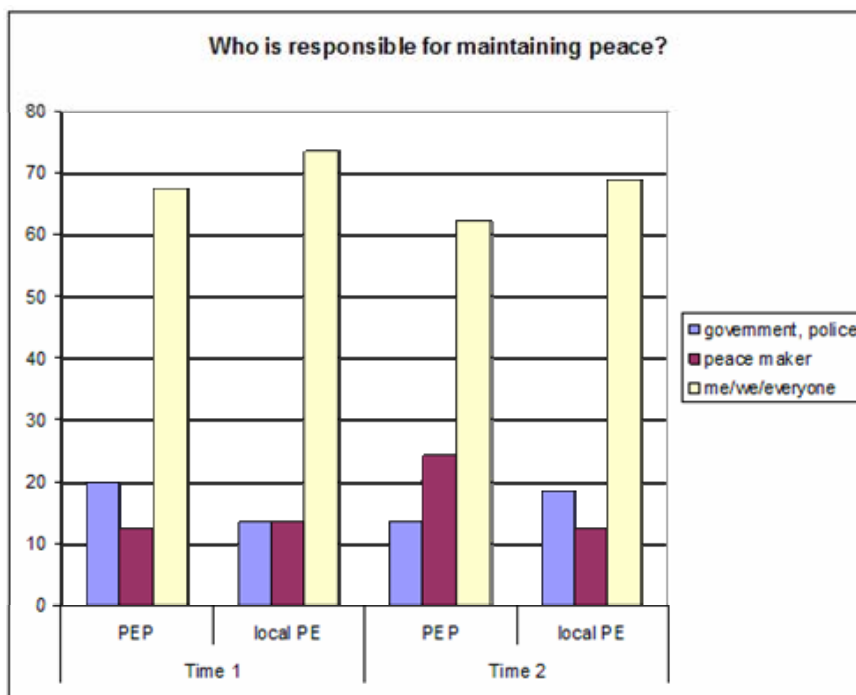


Figure 6.4 Perceptions of main actors to maintain peace by respondents at T1 and T2.

Conflict behaviour

Concerning behaviour in a specific conflict („someone pushed in front of you in a line“) in PEP group ($n = 86$) as well as in local PE group ($n = 16$) submissive behaviour (that is conflict avoidance) was most common at both time points, followed by assertive behaviour.

The differences between the groups was not significant at Time 2. Figure 6.5 illustrates the proportions of behaviour in both groups.

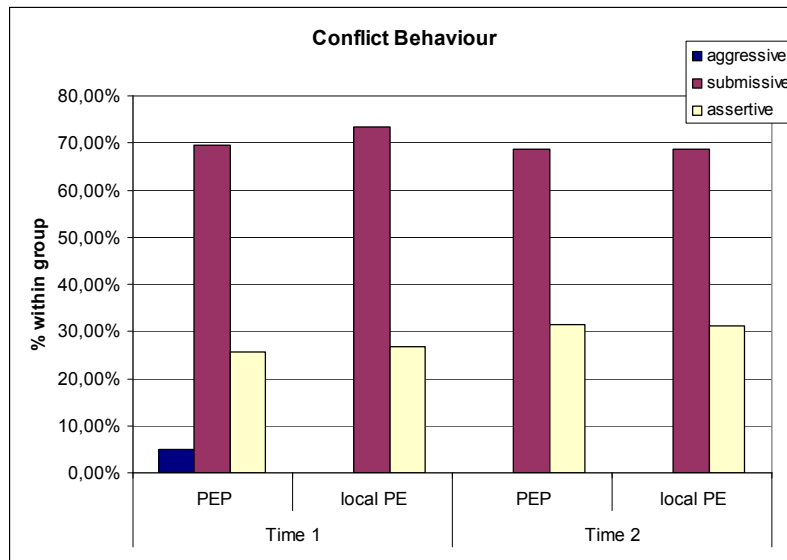


Figure 6.5: Rating of behaviour described by respondents for a specific conflict situation

6.3.2 Prosocial attitudes

Respondents showed high levels of *trust* and especially of *empathy* at Time 1. A two-way mixed MANOVA with the measures trust and empathy showed an overall main effect for time, $F(2, 135) = 7.69, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .10$. The main effect was qualified by the interaction effect for condition x time, $F(2, 135) = 3.72, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .05$. Univariate analyses then were conducted to explore the effects further.

Table 6.5: Means and standard deviations of the prosocial attitudes in PEP_s and lPe group

	PEP					Local PE				
	N	Time 1		Time 2		n	Time 1		Time 2	
		M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD
Trust	112	3.73	0.63	3.91	0.54	26	3.82	0.60	4.04	0.59
Empathy	118	4.20	0.58	4.28	0.48	26	4.42	0.45	4.22	0.50

For trust, the significant main effect for time was found, $F(1, 136) = 13.24, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$, but no interaction effect of condition x time. Simple effect analyses showed a significant increase in trust within the PEP group, $F(1, 136) = 12.11, p = .001, r = .29$ and a significant increase in trust within the LPEgroup $F(1, 136) = 5.58, p = .02, r = .20$, with no significant difference between the groups at Time 2.

On the measure for empathy no significant main effect of time could be found, but a significant interaction effect $F(1, 136) = 5.84, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Simple effects analyses showed in both groups only marginally significant ($p < .10$) differences between T1 and T2, with empathy increasing for PEP participants and decreasing for LPE participants as shown in Figure 6.6. The difference at T 2 between the two groups was not significant.

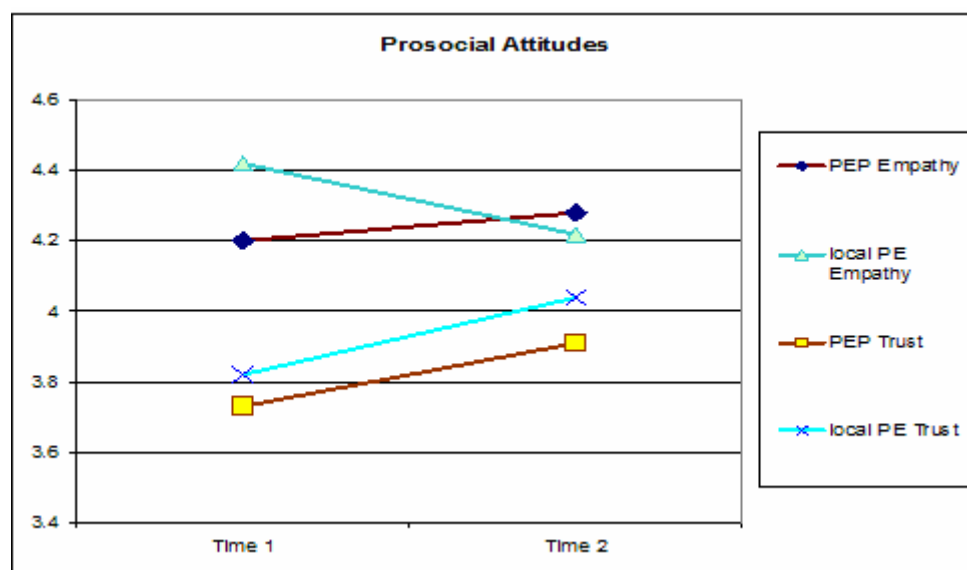


Figure 6.6: Group means of prosocial attitudes for PEP and local peace education

6.3.3 Intergroup perceptions and attitudes

Negative intergroup perceptions, readiness for intergroup contact and general intergroup attitudes were analysed separately. Table 6.6 gives an overview over all means, standard deviations and effect sizes.

Negative perceptions in Intergroup Situations

A two-way mixed MANOVA for categorization, intergroup anxiety, and victimization showed no main effects for time or condition on any of the measures, and no overall interaction effect for group x time. In the PEP group categorization tended to go in the expected direction. In both groups intergroup anxiety tended to increase, thus the trend goes against the expected direction.

Table 6.6: Means and standard deviations of intergroup perceptions and attitudes for the structured peace education programme and local peace education

	PEP					Local PE				
	n	Time 1		Time 2		n	Time 1		Time 2	
		M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD
Negative intergroup perceptions										
Categorization	106	2.86	1.01	2.68	0.94	24	3.15	0.96	3.15	0.97
Intergroup anxiety	103	5.00	1.08	5.12	1.02	23	4.76	1.04	4.90	1.04
Victimization	103	1.73	0.94	1.63	0.83	23	1.68	0.81	1.51	0.73
Readiness for contact	107	4.27	0.53	4.16	0.54	24	4.18	0.56	4.24	0.24
General intergroup attitudes										
Evaluation outgroups	106	3.29	0.57	3.50	0.54	24	3.30	0.70	3.58	0.61
Readiness for Reconciliation	109	4.27	0.52	4.28	0.58	26	4.39	0.59	4.40	0.51

Note: all variables are measured on scales with the maximum of 5, except for intergroup anxiety with a maximum of 7

Readiness for Intergroup contact

A two-way mixed ANOVA with readiness for intergroup contact revealed no main effect or interaction effect. At Time 1 the group means were already above 4 on the 5point scale leaving not much potential for improvement.

General Intergroup attitudes

A two-way mixed MANOVA with the variables evaluation of outgroups and readiness for reconciliation revealed a significant main effect for time $F(2, 115) = 4.51, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .07$. No interaction effect of different attitude change between the groups was found.

A univariate analysis found for *evaluation of outgroups* found a main effect of time, $F(1,122) = 6.65, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .05$. Simple effect analyses showed that the expected change was significant only for PEP with $F(1, 122) = 8.40, r = .25$. The difference between the groups at T2 was not significant.

The univariate analysis for *readiness for reconciliation* found no main effect and no interaction effect. As figure 6.7 shows, virtually no change occurred.

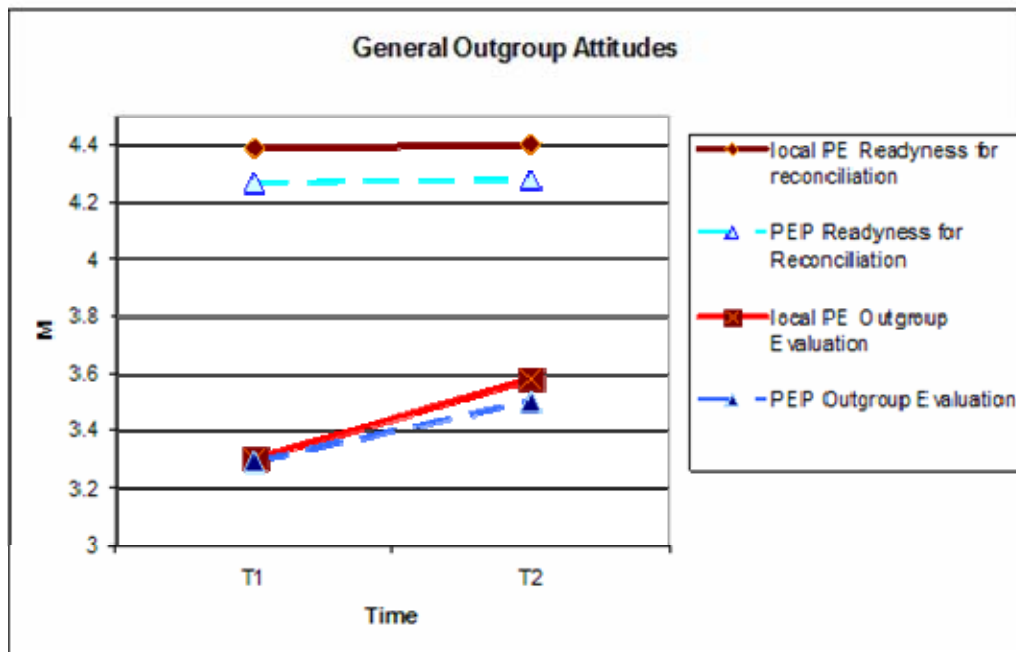


Figure 6.7: General outgroup attitudes in both groups for both time points

6.4 Differential effectiveness

Further analyses were made to detect how the workshops affected different individuals and to find changes concerning attitudes towards specific outgroups. Analyses to find differences between the subgroup of high and low traumatised people found no effects and will thus not be reported.

6.4.1 Individual change

The numbers of participants showing reliable change on the nine measured variables were identified. On categorization and positive contact hardly any change occurs at all.

The 118 participants of the short PEP modules (versus the 27 respondents in the local peace education workshop) can be grouped according to the total reliable change shown by them on the nine measured variables. As Figure 6.8 illustrates 46% (63%) show no change, 21% (15%) improve reliably on one measure, 13% (10%) on more than one measure. At the same time, reliable deterioration can be found in 18% (10%) on one measure and 2% (2%) on two variables.

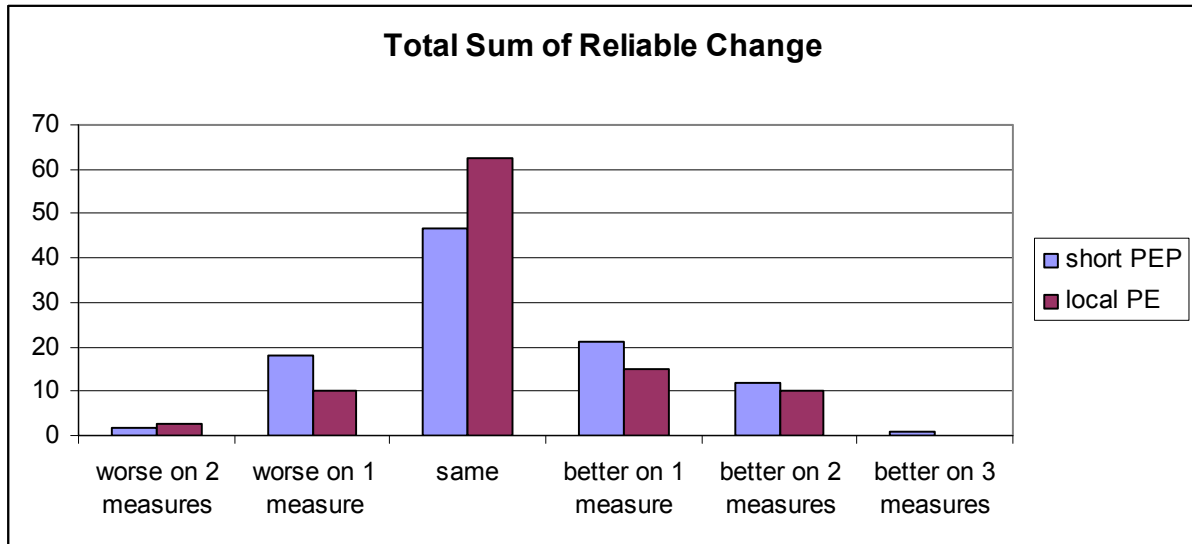


Figure 6.8: Total sum of reliable change for participants of sPEPs and lPE

Concerning the different variables, most change occurred for evaluation of outgroups. For PEI both most improvement and most deterioration occurred on this variable. For PEPs most deterioration occurred for victimisation. Figure 6.9 illustrates positive and negative changes in both groups.

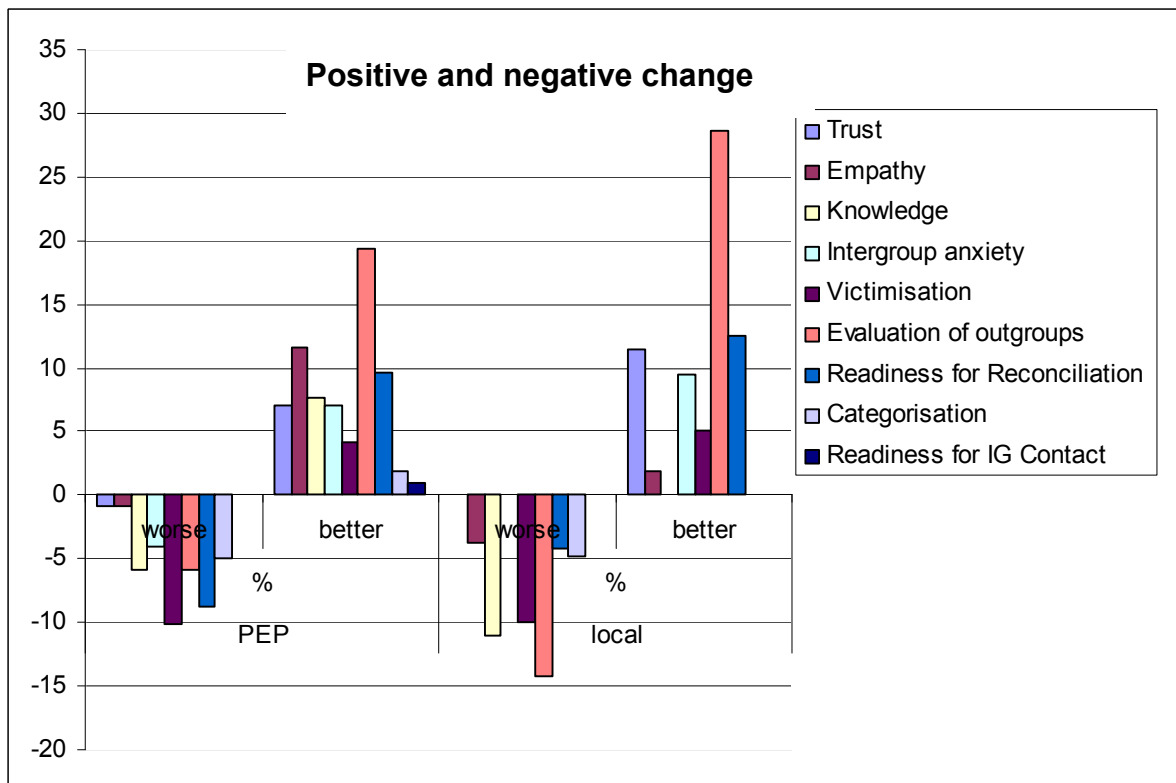


Figure 6.9: Positive and negative individual change in both groups

Attitudes towards specific ethnic groups

Do outgroup attitudes towards different groups differ and possibly change in different ways? To explore this question in the context of 16 Liberian ethnic groups perceptions of outgroups were assessed with open questions. Additionally, attitudes towards six different groups were measured before and after any of the peace education workshops, both PEPx and local peace education.

Perceptions of “outgroups”

Most intergroup attitude measures used the wording “other Liberian tribes”. Figure 6.10 shows that respondents had different tribes in mind when answering these questions.

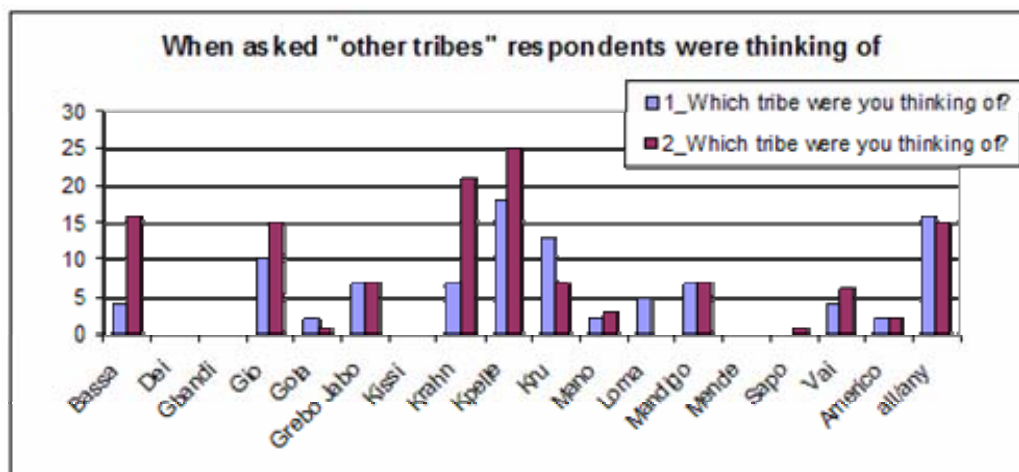


Figure 6.10 Ethnicities that were thought of when the intergroup measures were asked

Respondents were asked to name the ethnic group to which they personally felt most distant respectively most close. Additionally, they were to indicate to which group they anticipated interethnic relations as most positive or most negative. As can be seen in Figure 6.11 the six selected groups are the most salient one, ranging from rather positive feelings and relations (Kpelle, Kru – two ethnicities with rather neutral positions during history) over mixed appraisals (Krahn, Gio – the main rival groups during the war) to rather negative evaluations (Americo-Liberian, Mandigo – both seen as rather “new” groups in Liberia, the first with privileged high status, the latter with low status).

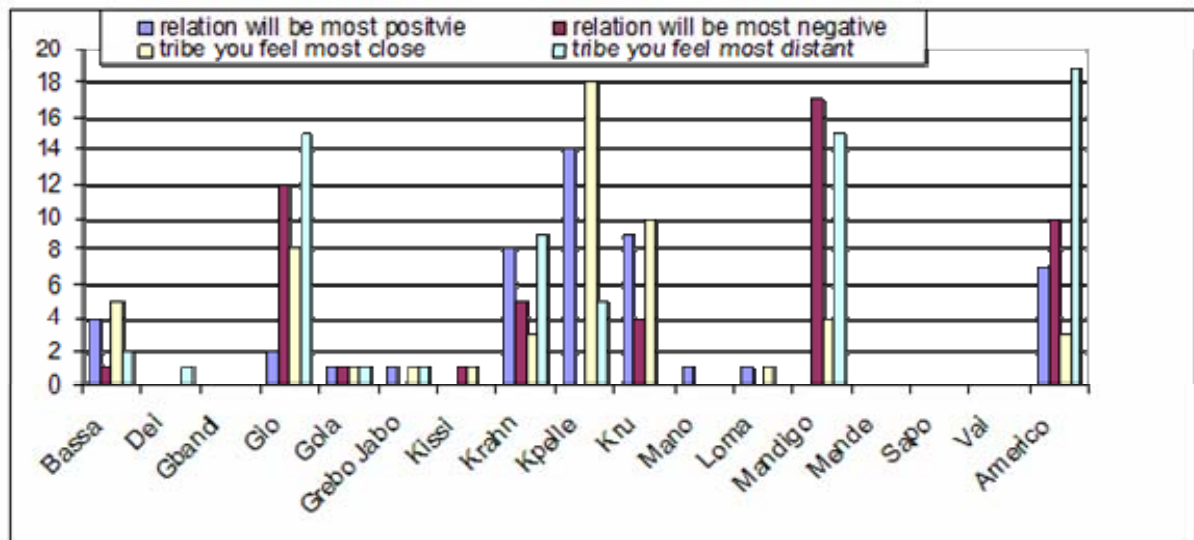


Figure 6.11: numbers of participants naming the different groups when answering the open questions concerning interethnic relations at time 1.

Attitudes towards six specific groups

The questions about attitudes towards six specific were complex, and many participants didn't understand the measure resulting in many missing values. Answers were excluded when respondents wrote "51-100" in all fields for all tribes or used words instead of numbers. For each measure, participants belonging to the group that was asked were excluded.

AVOVAs for repeated measures were computed to determine whether the various attitudes had changed after the peace education workshop. Table 6.7 gives an overview about all attitude changes that proved to be significant.

Krahn, Mandingo, Bassa and Sapo had perceived Gio as enemies during the war. They were grouped as a specific sub-sample to check their possible attitude changes towards Gio. Indeed, their present attitudes towards Gio changed from $M = 53.01$ ($SD = 26.14$) to $M = 59.74$ ($SD = 25.55$). This was significant, $F(1,43) = 3.49$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Their anticipated attitudes towards Gio changed from $M = 57.99$ ($SD = 28.57$) to $M = 66.31$ ($SD = 24.40$). This was significant with $F(1,43) = 4.47$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. The general interethnic were at $M = 58.56$ ($SD = 31.03$) at Time 1 and at $M = 66.49$ ($SD = 23.36$) at Time 2. This was only marginally significant with $F(1,40) = 3.49$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. No changes were detected for social distance and ingroup norms.

Table 6.7: Significant (or marginally significant) attitude changes towards specific groups expressed by respondents belonging to all other groups.

Attitudes	Time 1		Time 2		Df	F	p	η_p^2
	M	SD	M	SD				
Towards Kpelle								
Attitudes now	63	25	70	21	1,87	3.51	.065	.04
Towards Kru								
Social distance	70	21	73	22	1,84	4.10	.046	.05
Attitudes now	65	23	71	20	1,94	3.34	.071	.03
Towards Krahn								
Social distance	63	22	70	22	1,59	7.25	.009	.11
Attitudes now	58	24	67	21	1,64	11.13	.001	.15
Ingroup norms	56	21	62	20	1,58	4.95	.030	.08
Towards Gio								
Social distance	59	27	62	26	1,86	4.43	.038	.05
Interethnic Relations	62	27	68	24	1,83	4.33	.041	.05
Attitudes now	53	24	63	24	1,90	18.66	.000	.17
Anticipated attitudes	61	26	67	25	1,85	3.10	.082	.04
Ingroup norms	51	22	56	23	1,85	4.85	.030	.05
Towards Americo- Liberians								
attitudes now	56	30	63	25	1,89	5.31	.024	.06
Anticipated attitudes	61	29	70	22	1,81	6.27	.014	.07
Ingroup norms	54	28	61	26	1,77	4.30	.041	.05
Towards Mandingo								
Interethnic Relations	62	26	68	23	1,78	8.05	.006	.09
Attitudes now	54	25	61	25	1,87	3.29	.073	.04
Anticipated attitudes	59	27	67	23	1,79	5.31	.024	.06

6.5 Summary of findings

Nine hours of the PEP community workshops had been implemented parallel to 9 hours of local peace education. The implementation was seen as successful by participants who had participated actively whenever possible. Local peace education included more parts of lecture than PEP-s with its interactive parts. Both the short PEP workshop and the local peace education workshop yielded few effects; for prosocial attitudes the changes in the short PEP groups differed from the changes in the local peace education group: empathy tended to increase in the short PEP group, but to decrease in the group with the local programme. Trust increased in both groups. Concerning the general evaluation of outgroups, the change of increasingly positive outgroup evaluation was significant only for PEP participants. Concerning intergroup perceptions, readiness for intergroup contact and readiness for reconciliation, no effects of time and no interaction between the groups could

be found. Most trends go in the expected direction in both groups. However, intergroup anxiety tended to increase between the two measurement points for all respondents. When looking at the level of individual change, 34% of short PEP participants and 22% of local PE participants improved on at least one of the variables; 20% (versus 15%) showed reliable deterioration on at least one variable. An exploration of attitudes towards six different ethnic groups showed that only attitudes towards some but not towards other groups changed. Table 6.8 summarises research questions and findings for the 9 hours' peace education workshops. Implications and limitations of the findings will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Table 6.8: Research questions and answers for implementation of 9 hours' workshops

Research question	Answers for the 9hours modules of community workshops
	The implementation was successful because
1) Can Liberian refugees after a short training successfully facilitate the actual peace education community workshop in a way that is appreciated by the participants?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - facilitated close to the manual - Most participants attended all sessions and were actively involved; some delays occurred. - Facilitators and participants applied the contents to their own context e.g. by bringing in examples from their own lives or speaking about Liberia's past, present or future. - The atmosphere in the workshop allowed self-disclosure and talking about sensitive issues - Most participants were satisfied after the programme and most were convinced that they had learned much or very much - Some participants could report how they have started to transfer what they learned for practical use in their personal life <p>Liberians used peace education to discuss issues relevant for Liberia e.g. the difficulties about forgiveness, land disputes etc.</p>
	The implemented programme had few effects:
2) Can participation in a peace education workshop in a multi-ethnic group improve Liberians' attitudes concerning	compared to Liberians who participated in a local peace education programme, the group of Liberians who participated in PEP
a) peace and conflict	g) had no different attitudes towards peace and or would show different behaviour in a conflict
b) interpersonal relations	h) increased empathy (while participants in local peace education decreased empathy) and showed a similar increase in trust as those with local peace education
c) intergroup relations ?	i) showed no change about negative perceptions of persons from other ethnic groups or readiness for intergroup contact, or readiness for reconciliation. Only the evaluation of other ethnic groups was more positive.
	The programme has differential effects
3) Do changes elicited by the programme produce change for	
a) most individuals	- 34% of the PEP participants (versus 22% of participants of local PE) show reliable improvement on at least one of the variables, 20% (versus 15%) show reliable deterioration on at least one variable.
b) the subgroup of highly traumatized people ?	- No difference for more traumatized people was found.

7 Discussion of Findings and Implications

This evaluation aimed to assess the implementation and effectiveness of the community workshops of the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (PEP) with Liberian refugees. The findings from study 1 and study 2 are to be discussed and interpreted with regard to the research questions, followed by aspects of validity and limitations of the evaluation. Moreover, implications and considerations for peace education interventions in a post-war context will be outlined. These will be followed by recommendations concerning the programme, peace education interventions and further research. Furthermore, implications and consideration for the broader context of peace education theory and practice will be discussed. The chapter will end with recommendations for the programme, peace education practice and evaluation research in this context.

7.1 Implementation and effectiveness of PEP

The research questions for this evaluation of PEP were about implementation, effectiveness, and differential effectiveness for the complete 36 hours' peace education community workshop (study 1) and short 9 hours' modules of the programme when compared with a local peace education workshop (study 2). Accordingly, the findings will be summarised and discussed in order of the research questions, followed by considerations for validity and limitations of the evaluation.

7.1.1 Implementation

The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme had been successfully implemented with Liberians in the refugee camp Buduburam, Ghana. In study 1 (in 2007), the programme was introduced for the first time to the local Liberian organisation CYE. After four days of training, teams of three Liberian facilitators ran four community peace education workshops under supervision. Observations from the workshops showed that facilitators and participants creatively committed to the programme and adapted it to their own context. How the workshops were carried out was close to how it was described in the manual. Nevertheless, all facilitators were flexible with bringing in aspects or activities that they found important and appropriate. Participants enjoyed the workshop; they were active and showed initiative in injecting their own ideas. They expressed high satisfaction with the peace education programme. PEP thus proved to be easy to implement even for a small organisation with not too much experience.

Several factors may have contributed to most participants arriving on time and being actively involved. Before the workshops, facilitators had been concerned that participants would often arrive too late. They were used to what they referred to as “African Time” – the widespread habit to arrive much later than scheduled. When planning the workshop the facilitators stressed the necessity to distribute food to the participants, because otherwise many would be hungry and would not be able to concentrate. So they decided to give out food before the sessions. This may have contributed to the fact that most participants arrived on time. Moreover, in the first session participants could suggest and agree on some ground rules. In most groups participants themselves expressed the wish to “respect time”. As they enjoyed the programme and got to know the other participants they often came very early to have time to socialise.

CYE quickly took over the ownership of the programme. In the beginning they were afraid of facilitating a workshop, especially when they noticed that some local authorities (from other NGOs, churches etc.) had registered to participate. However, during the training they gained their first experience as facilitators, and with the detailed manual and thorough preparation they felt confident and enjoyed their work as facilitators more and more. The supervisor was present during the session; when facilitators had questions or felt insecure they could always ask for advice. Most of the time, the supervisor was only observing, only in a few cases did they support the facilitators actively or contribute to the discussion. After the sessions, the facilitators and supervisor reflected on the day and talked about how facilitation could be improved. Most of the suggestions from this feedback were actually carried out, so the sessions improved day by day.

The facilitators and CYE as implementing organisation were convinced by their experience of the programme. After the training, the facilitators were highly motivated and enthusiastic. Because of a lack of funding they searched for a way to continue with the workshops and started collaborating with another local NGO on the camp to develop a course of peace education with one session per day and no food provided for participants. This development is remarkable not only in demonstrating how people involved took over the ownership of the programme, but also because this cooperation was one of the rare attempts in the camp to overcome the high competition between the local NGOs that was sometimes referred to as “NGO-tribalism”.

In study 2 (in 2008) six workshops with 9 hours out of PEP and a workshop with a local version of peace education were implemented. As the camp was about to be closed, a general atmosphere of excitement and of departure distracted both facilitators and

participants. In the 36 hours of workshops in study 1 only one participant had dropped out of the workshop, and most participants arrived on time. By contrast, in the 9 hours workshops in study 2 fifteen persons participated less than 50% of the time, many participants arrived late, and the sessions often started with delay. This was slightly worse for the local peace education workshop than for the PEP workshops. The behaviour of the facilitator may have served as a model for the participants as he once arrived late. On the whole, it seemed more difficult for participants to engage in the sessions; however, whenever they had the chance they were very active.

Facilitators and participants were satisfied with the 9 hours' workshops. Time constrain and "African Time" had reduced the refreshing training for facilitators to one day. However, it became obvious that the Liberians who had already facilitated a workshop in the previous year remembered the principles of programme facilitation. By contrast, the local peace education was facilitated in a less interactive way with high amounts of lecturing. Nevertheless, all participants in both PEP and local peace education workshop were satisfied with their workshop, the methods and the facilitators. Almost all participants were convinced that they had learned a lot, and some could give examples of what they had applied in their own lives. Concerning the success of the implementation there seemed to be no difference between structured peace education and local peace education when relying on the immediate feedback about the workshop given by participants.

7.1.2 Effectiveness

The complete peace education community workshops had led to most of the expected effects. Following my three perspectives on the peace education intervention, the outcomes will be presented and discussed how they were grouped to a) knowledge or attitudes about peace and conflict b) changes in general prosocial attitudes and c) intergroup perceptions and attitudes.

The largest effect of peace education was the gain of conflict resolution knowledge. Before the workshops almost none of the respondents knew much about proactive or reactive ways of conflict resolution. Some had some good guesses about active listening or steps of negotiation, but no systematic knowledge. After the workshop, most participants had learned what was taught about conflict resolution in the workshop.

Additionally, some participants had changed their definition of peace. Before peace education and in the control group, the aspects of negative peace were most prevailing, thus

the notion that peace is the absence of war. After peace education the definitions tended to be more complex and the majority of participants stressed positive aspects of well-being and interpersonal understanding. More respondents than before expressed positive peace; that is, aspects of a just society. However, the difference between the peace education group and control group at Time 2 was only marginally significant. However, for the question who is responsible for maintaining peace, the answers after a peace education workshop differed significantly from the answers of the control group. Fewer peace education participants stressed the role of government and police, and more stressed the role of “peacemakers” thus some people who are somehow qualified. Often the workshop participants referred to themselves as “peacemakers”. Both before and after the workshop the majority saw their own responsibility for maintaining peace.

Among the specific goals stated in the programme is assertive and constructive conflict behaviour. In the Liberian culture as in many rather collectivistic cultures avoidance seems to be a common pattern to deal with conflicts. Accordingly, more than 50% of respondents described such a reaction to a specific conflict. Only around 10% of respondents at T1 reported reactions that could be classified as aggressive. After peace education all of these persons described a behaviour that was either avoidant or assertive. Although the overall proportions of the answers within the group did not change that much, almost half of all peace education participants chose a reaction that belonged to a different category than what they had answered before the workshop. Some who had been assertive now preferred avoidance behaviour. One person who had been submissive now reported an aggressive behaviour; fourteen persons chose an assertive behaviour instead of a submissive one. Still, the proportion of people choosing avoiding the conflict was with 60% almost identical to the proportion before peace education. These questions about peace and conflict had been suggested by the programme’s developers without clear guidelines as to why or how to interpret the findings. Even though PEP would favour assertive conflict behaviour, it might be more culturally appropriate to avoid a confrontation. Moreover, behaviour moves on a continuous line between submissive and aggressive, with assertive in the middle.

Participation in peace education led to an increase in the prosocial attitudes trust and empathy. Although Liberians in the control group also showed a trend to increase these attitudes, the difference between T1 and T2 was significant only for peace education participants. Trust and empathy are important for relating with other persons in a positive way and building networks that can be seen as social capital. This is not only important for the well-being of the individuals, but also for the development of the community (Rowe &

Taylor, 2005). After a highly traumatising experience, distrust and retreat from other persons are common reactions.

Peace education also contributed to positive change concerning intergroup perceptions and attitudes. When compared to Liberians who had not participated in a workshop, participants stressed ethnic categorization less, were more ready for intergroup contacts and remembered fewer incidents in which they saw themselves as victims of intergroup hostility or discrimination. Additionally, they saw people of other ethnic groups more positively and showed more understanding towards them as expressed in readiness for reconciliation. All changes in the peace education group went in the expected direction of improvement. For the control group, however, most intergroup variables tended to deteriorate. The only exception is intergroup anxiety in which no significant effect was found in any of the groups.

The measured intergroup perceptions assess cognitive and affective aspects of reactions towards individuals of a different group. A high score in ethnic categorization implies that a person's ethnicity is used for deducing how to react to this person. Without ethnic categorization any bias or stereotyping because of ethnicity would be impossible. So the reduction in ethnic categorization can indicate that peace education leads to less group-based and more personalized processing in intergroup situations. Such an effect is assumed to be also the mechanism that leads to the difference between peace education and control group in perceived victimisation which is the perception of recent ethnicity-based injustice. Victimisation has both an objective and a subjective component, because it is measured by remembered recent incidents of discrimination against one's group. Perceived victimisation increased in the control group but not in the peace education group, even though in the workshops persons of several ethnicities were together and thus the opportunities for (perceived) discrimination were there. A reduction of victimisation in the peace education can have two explanations: a good and culture-fair implementation without any discriminations and/or an effect of the programme to see a conflict as a conflict without attributing it too quickly to the ethnicity of the other person involved. That this occurred in

the camp and was seen as such by a former participant was related by him when he talked about the effects of the workshop on him:

After the workshop I talked to two brothers with a quarrel, I went to settle it with them. The cause of this conflict was the suspect that the other one is going after his girlfriend. He said the other one misbehaved because of his background. The Bassa-man said: "You are a Krahn-man, you are hard to understand, you are bad, that's why people died in the war". I came in: "see another tribe as a tribe, see him as a brother". I could bring him to address the conflict and not attack the person.

(former workshop participant, personal notes)

Readiness for intergroup contact increased in the peace education group, but not in the control group. This variable comprises willingness for contact, self-efficacy and contact avoidance. Intergroup contact is a good means to reduce prejudices (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Brown & Hewstone 2005), so when peace education helps to increase the likelihood that people from formerly warring groups make positive contact experiences, this is a valuable effect. Interestingly, the group means of readiness for contact was very high even before the workshops. This may be due to the situation in the camp which can be seen as a contact intervention in itself: intergroup contact is inevitable in the neighbourhood, as well as in most economic and social activities.

The more general intergroup attitudes also increased for peace education participants but not in the control group. After participation in the peace education workshops, participants saw persons of other ethnic groups in a more positive light and were more ready for reconciliation as expressed in a variable that combined forgiveness and a non-blaming view on the past and other groups. Readiness for reconciliation was very high even before the workshops. Possibly, sharing the fate of being refugees living many years in exile together has contributed to a stance that was expressed several times by participants as "We are all Liberians" or "We have to forgive and forget" or "Let bygones be bygones". The strong influence of the churches and the high religiosity among Liberians may play a crucial role for this high readiness for reconciliation. However, the variable is rather cognitive and abstract. In the discussions within the workshops it became obvious that for most participants reconciliation has very personal and emotional aspects that are hurtful. Behind the small change in the group means it is difficult to assess the meaning that a personal change can have for an individual. One workshop participant expressed "I am a Krahn and never wanted to be at peace with Gio. But from the workshop I decided to be at peace with

all.” He said “It is hard to forgive”. What do such words actually mean? This very participant approached me, because he wanted to explain and tell his story:

I fell into the hands of the rebels. They took me as a slave. They were Gio and Mano. From 4am to 1am I had to work. I had no more human value at all. They were spitting at me, I got no bath, I had to sleep outside, they threw my food on the floor. It was bad food. [...] If I see people from that tribes I get angry and want to take a knife. Only one brother survived. [...] I decided to take revenge. Nobody can help me. [...] I am alone. Why me? If I hear someone speaking Gio I am burning inside. I don't want to be with others, I isolate myself. I don't trust others. In the Krahn community I shared a house with a real friend. But I felt excluded. [...] I wanted revenge. I want to hurt those who hurt me. I started drinking to get out of my mind. I stopped for my children. My life has no meaning. It has ups and downs. All of us on the streets of Buduburam, we walk past each other, but it is as if I cannot really see anyone, we are alone, everyone is alone with one's own sad story.

(former workshop participant, personal notes)

The peace education workshops brought various persons from different ethnicities together. The group means of their measured perceptions and attitudes had changed after the workshops. Statistically significant results do not necessarily imply relevance. It is difficult to determine what the shift of a group means from, e.g., 3.32 to 3.48 actually mean. However, in this context with history of a violent intergroup conflict even small changes can have an important impact for future co-existence.

These effects are small or medium as can be seen in Figure 7.1. However, some of the instruments were not very sensitive to change, as many peace education participants already scored close to maximum before the workshop, thus leaving not much potential for improvement on the measures used.

PEP participants seem to appreciate the workshop even long after their participation. The focus of the present evaluation is on the short-term effects of PEP, yet after nine months 33 former participants were questioned again. All of them would recommend participation in such a workshop. All were convinced that they would use the knowledge they had learned when they return to Liberia. The majority of 22 persons reported that they had made friends in the workshop. Together they remembered most topics of the programme. Interestingly, only few mentioned aspects of human rights or reconciliation. More salient were aspects of

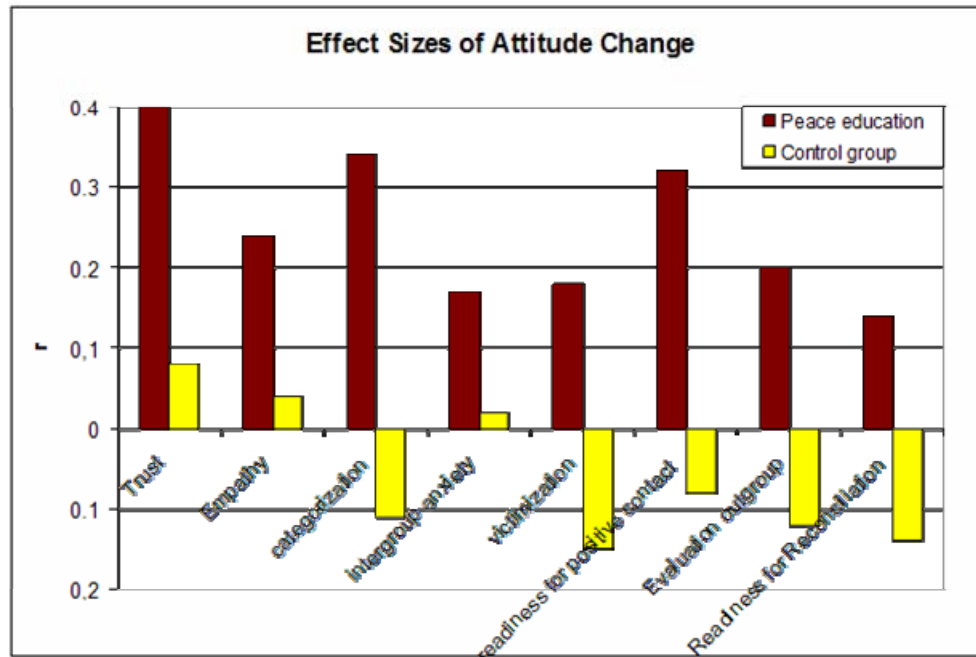


Figure 7.1: Simple effect sizes for the contrasts between T1 and T2 on all attitude measures within each group. More positive (negative) attitudes at T2 when compared to T1 are indicated by the upward (downward) direction of the bar.

peace and conflict, conflict management and problem-solving that were the categories of 50% of all mentioned aspects, followed by aspects about trust, assertiveness, emotions, stereotyping, discrimination, cooperation, and communication. Even after nine months 90% of those former participants who could be brought back found that participation in the PEP workshop had been “very important” for them and gave examples of changes that they attributed to their participation. Most of what they mentioned were behavioural aspects, slightly more than one third of the remarks concerned cognitive aspects, and still 21% was about affective aspects. Similarly, although most answers fell in the domain of interpersonal relations, almost one third belonged to intrapersonal changes, and still 27% concerned intergroup relations. Thus, according to how this one third of all former participants saw it, PEP produced a multitude of effects in various domains.

To sum up, the peace education programme had been effective. Participants had clearly learned something in the workshops, changed some aspects in their views on peace and conflict, increased trust and empathy and improved their intergroup perceptions and attitudes. Although the effects are small or medium, when considering post-war context and insensitive measures, PEP proved to have the potential to lead to individual change. According to the theory of change for the peace education programme, such changes might be the basis for contributing to socio-political change towards peace.

7.1.3 Differential effectiveness

When not looking at the group means but at the individuals who changed their attitudes, it becomes obvious that 76% of peace education participants showed positive change, almost half of them on more than one of the variables. Overall deterioration occurred only for 6%. In the control group only 16% showed positive change, but 26% showed negative change.

This is impressive when considering at the same time that many respondents had shown very positive attitudes even before the workshop, thus leaving no space for improvement on the measures used.

Persons who had been highly traumatised differed from persons who showed less signs of traumatising in the way how they changed their intergroup attitudes. Evaluation of other ethnic groups improved only for traumatised people in peace education, but deteriorated for respondents without peace education. Readiness for Reconciliation, however, improved only for less traumatised persons in peace education while highly traumatised persons showed with or without peace education no change in their already quite high readiness for reconciliation.

At first glance, these differential effects for traumatised participants seem contradictory; a closer look at the measures and concepts is needed to understand how these effects could be brought about. Most peace education participants had suffered horrible experiences during the war. The measure that split the group into highly traumatised persons and less traumatised persons (a question about nightmares or troubling memories about the war) was a rather rough indicator for traumatising. Nevertheless, the two subgroups differed in how they changed their intergroup attitudes. Evaluation of other ethnic groups is based on the questions of how many persons of other groups are seen as friendly, smart, polite or quarrelsome. Traumatised persons have the tendency to avoid whatever could remind them of the hurtful past. Their evaluation of other groups was more negative. In the workshops they were confronted with people of other ethnic groups, so this could have helped to revise their own perceptions about the members of other groups. Readiness for reconciliation, however, is a more abstract measure about conditions for forgiveness and understanding that other groups have also suffered. For highly traumatised people this is of high relevance and it may be more difficult to change this attitude as it is connected with deeply rooted emotions. For less traumatised persons, by contrast, it might be perceived more general and easier to change. For them, contact with other groups might be more common and the perceptions less biased, so the workshop does not affect any change in how they evaluate other groups. However, these explanations remain tentative. More research is needed to

better understand the specific needs of highly traumatised persons and the potential that peace education can have for them.

7.1.4 Short-term peace education and attitudes towards specific groups

The 9 hours of PEP workshops that were implemented parallel to 9 hours of local peace education in study 2 yielded fewer effects with smaller effect sizes than the 36 hours of workshops. Only concerning prosocial attitudes the changes in the PEP groups differed from the changes in the local peace education group: empathy tended to increase in the PEP group, but to decrease in the group with the local programme. Even though the interaction became significant, hardly any difference existed between the groups at Time 2; the group means had been already very high at Time 1. Trust increased in both groups. Concerning the general evaluation of outgroups, the change of increasingly positive outgroup evaluation was significant only for PEP participants. Concerning intergroup perceptions, readiness for intergroup contact and readiness for reconciliation, no effects of time and no interaction between the groups could be found. Most trends go in the expected direction in both groups. However, intergroup anxiety tended to increase between the two measurement points for all respondents. Some effects of time were found concerning attitudes towards specific outgroups which will be discussed later. When looking at the level of individual change, 34% of PEP participants and 22% of local PE participants improved on at least one of the variables; 20% (versus 15%) show reliable deterioration on at least one variable.

Although study 1 and study 2 took place in the same camp, the situation and atmosphere in the settlement had drastically changed, and any comparison between both studies has to be done with caution. In 2007 (study 1) Liberians in Buduburam lived in limbo as they had been doing for the past few years. They prayed for a visa to allow them to move to another continent and did not want to return to Liberia in the future. In 2008 (study 2) most Liberians in Buduburam knew that they would return to Liberia soon. Several people were leaving the camp every day, the registration for repatriation was ongoing and many participants were in the process of planning and packing. When looking at the pre-tests of both studies, two variables are different: definition of peace and intergroup anxiety. In study 1 the negative aspects of peace prevail in the definitions given for peace. In study 2, far more persons give definitions with (inter)personal aspects of peace.

This may indicate that in 2007 participants draw on the past to define peace in contrast to the war they had experienced. In 2008, however, participants may have thought of the

future and how they could grasp the reality of peace when they return to their country. This could also be the reason for the higher means of intergroup anxiety in study 2: in Buduburam all Liberians lived in the common situation of being refugees. When thinking about Liberia, however, the differences and tensions between the ethnic groups are of high relevance, e.g., in competition among scarce resources or in conflicts about land issues (Corriveau-Bourque, 2010). Indeed, refugees who returned to Monrovia told me that they perceived interethnic relations in Monrovia much worse than in Buduburam.

Interestingly, the more cognitive general evaluation of the outgroups had not changed in study 2, but was on a similar level as in study 1. Nevertheless, in both studies outgroup evaluation was more positive after the PEP workshops, but not after local peace education or in the control group. Figure 7.2 depicts the effects sizes of attitude changes in the different groups of study 1 and study 2. As can be seen, the largest effects were always found for the

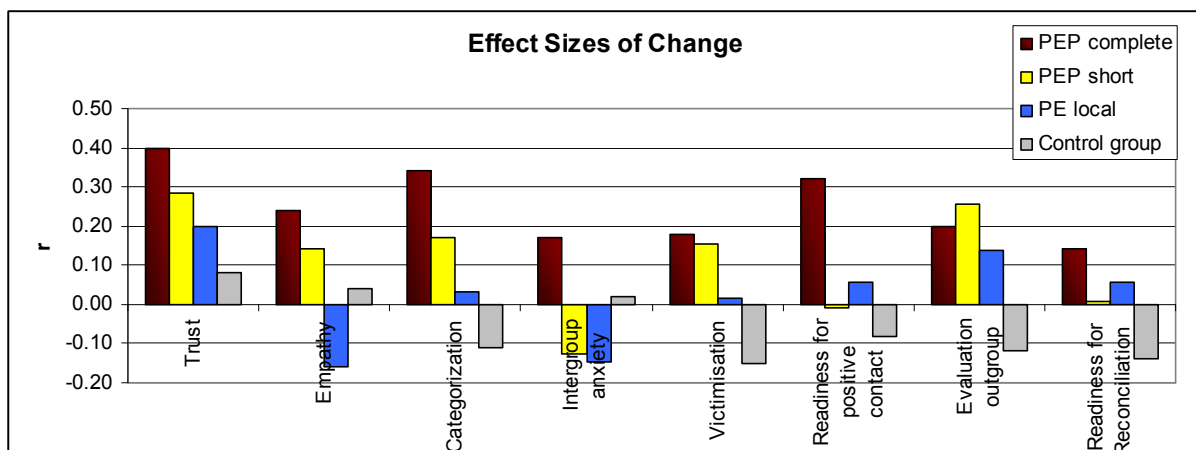


Figure 7.2: Effect sizes (r) of change within each group

complete community workshops, except concerning evaluation of outgroups which changed more in the 9 hours of the PEP workshop in study 2.

Comparing the group means before and after the workshop, local peace education produced only an increase in trust and a marginally significant trend of decreased empathy. The group means of empathy was very high before the workshop, so this trend might reflect a statistical regression to the means. Nevertheless, when considering how local peace education was taught the decrease in empathy is not surprising: A lecturer was preaching that all Liberians should love each other, forgive and forget what happened during the war and be aware about dangerous influences from abroad. Used to listening to preachers, it can be assumed that the participants trusted their teacher in a rather passive way without deeply elaborating the contents themselves. With this manipulative teaching style they were not encouraged to take another person's perspective or get emotionally involved. A combination of high trust and lack of empathy can be very dangerous when it results in uncritically

following a leader who might then even ignite violence. The idea of peace education is rather critical thinking (which might include some aspects of distrust) and empathy for making one's own choice after considering other persons' needs and feelings.

When looking at reliable change on the level of individuals within the local peace education group, trust increased for 10% of participants and decreased in no one; concerning evaluation of outgroups, 28% of participants within the group saw outgroups more positively, 14% saw them more negatively after the workshop. This polarization might be caused to different ways of dealing with a cognitive dissonance between what was tried to believe in the workshops (the preaching about necessities of reconciliation between the groups) and the affective reality of a high level of intergroup anxiety.

A further exploration in study 2 was about the question of whether participation in any form of peace education (PEP or local) might lead to changes of specific attitudes towards six specific groups. Liberia is home to 16 officially recognized ethnic groups, the so-called Liberian tribes. All of them have their own culture, language, traditions and history. It can be argued that people have a general concept of "outgroup" and hold general attitudes contrasting with those of persons not belonging to the ingroup. In all measures regarded so far, respondents were asked the intergroup items for "Liberian tribes other than your own". In study 2 participants were additionally asked about five attitude measures towards six specific ethnicities. Participants (with those of the ethnicity in question excluded) showed after the workshops less *social distance* towards Kru, Krahn, and Gio; more positive *interethnic relations* towards Gio and Mandingo; more positive *attitudes* towards Krahn, Gio, Americo-Liberians; more positive *anticipated attitudes* for the time back in Liberia towards Americo-Liberians and Mandingo; more positive *ingroup norms* towards Krahn, Gio, Americo-Liberians. No attitude change could be found towards Kpelle, except for a marginally significant trend of improved *attitudes*.

Interpretations have to consider the unclear reliability of the instruments, concerns about statistical validity due to many tests, possible memory effects and an always changing very heterogeneous sample of participants. Nevertheless, it is obvious that participants differentiate between the different ethnicities and the different measures. All changes go in the expected directions. Most changes occur towards Gio and Krahn, the most salient opposing groups during the wars, and Americo-Liberians, a group that is perceived as distant and different. Krahn was the largest ethnicity in the workshops; the effects might be brought about by contact with members of the group. By contrast, hardly any workshop participants were Gio or Americo-Liberians. Accordingly, rather indirect learning processes

can be assumed to have contributed to attitude changes. Participants may have re-considered their attitudes triggered by the contents or discussions in the workshop. Or they may have generalized their attitudes from attitudes towards members from other ethnic groups that were changed due to the contact experience. Pettigrew (2009) has described such a generalization as secondary transfer effect.

To check whether the workshop would change attitudes towards those who had been seen as enemy during the war, the subgroup with participants from Krahn, Mandingo, Sapo and Bassa were analysed concerning their attitudes towards Gio. No changes occurred concerning social distance, and ingroup norms. However, both *present attitudes* and *anticipated attitudes* towards Gio had improved after the workshop. They also tended to see the *interethnic relations* between their group and Gio marginally more positive. So, even the short modules of peace education had contributed to attitude changes that are highly relevant for reconciliation.

To sum up, in the atmosphere of general departure and repatriation, 9 hours of peace education produced only a few attitude changes. Only one third of participants actually improved on any of the measured variables. Nevertheless, the short modules of the structured Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme were still more effective than a locally tailored peace education workshop. Except for positive evaluation of outgroups which had a stronger increase in the short PEP modules, the complete PEP workshops had been much more effective. It can be thus recommended to rather adapt the structured peace education programme to a given culture than to have a culturally rooted yet theoretically less experienced person to design a complete new version of peace education. Further, the complete PEP workshop should be implemented, not only shortened parts of the programme.

7.1.5 Validity and limitations of this evaluation

This evaluation of PEP took place in the difficult setting of a refugee camp. The quality of an evaluation is highly connected with its validity, yet it is difficult to precisely define and assess the quality of an intervention: “Empirical evidence suggests that existing quality scales disagree about what quality is” (Valentine & Cooper, 2005). Instead of using a contested rating scale, Table 7.1 presents an overview of dangers for validity (Lösel & Nowack, 1987) and how or why these dangers were (not) relevant for the present evaluation. Some of the most relevant problems will be discussed in more detail.

Table 7.1: *Dangers to validity as reported by Lösel and Nowack (1987) and relevance for present evaluation*

Dangers	In this evaluation
<i>Statistical validity</i>	
Small sample size, small power	Sample size was adequate for used methods
Some assumptions of parametrical tests are violated	Robustness of tests corroborated by additional non-parametrical tests and consequences of violation of assumption was outlined
Significances by chance because of many tests	MANOVAs included and reported (controlling for the inflation of the alpha error)
Reliability of measures	For some measures problematic and discussed; very unreliable measures were excluded
Reliability of treatment	Closeness to standard (manual) was observed. Effects of groups and facilitator could not be controlled
Other influences except treatment	Control group should balance such influences
Heterogeneity of respondents	Control group, analyses of differential effectiveness
<i>Internal validity</i>	
External events	Study 1: nothing obvious, control group included. Study 2: ongoing repatriation process, discussed
Effects due to maturing	Control group should control for such pot. effects
Effects due to testing	Pot. memory effects at Time 2 in both control & treatment group
Errors due to measuring	Reliability of instruments reported
statistical regression towards means	control group should control for such pot. effects
Self-Selection	Possibly specific subgroup within refugee population
Attrition (Drop-outs)	Low in treatment group (study 1); problem in study 2
Transfer due to contacts between treatment and control	Improbable as there was hardly any connection between the groups (study 1); may have occurred in study 2.
Frustration in control group due to not-participating in workshop	May have contributed to less social desirability in the control group
<i>Construct validity</i>	
Cross-cultural matching of constructs	May have lowered reliability and validity of measures
Mainly self-reports with questionnaires	Several items used for attitude scales; additional observational measures were too difficult to realize
Social desirability	Explicit instructions were given, but it cannot be excluded
Confounds and interactions	MANOVAs for similar variables
Interaction of test and treatment	Tests may have sensitized for intergroup perspective
Restricted generalizability to other constructs	Several variables were measured to check for patterns
<i>External validity</i>	
Interaction between selection and treatment	More optimistic Liberians participated
Interaction of setting and treatment	Parts of the effects may be produced by having any workshop at all, intergroup contact within workshop, wish to

Dangers	In this evaluation
Interaction of treatment and other events	please facilitators In study 2 the on-going repatriation process may have influenced how peace education affects participants
<i>Descriptive validity</i>	
Description of programme and concept	Cf. Chapter 4
Assessment of implementation	Cf. 5.2 and 6.2
Assessment of objectives	Cf. Chapter 4
Report about stability of treatment outcomes	Delayed post-test could not be realized due to external events
Report of statistical terms	Cf. Chapter 5 and 6

The evaluation used a quasi-experimental design that was subject to self-selection bias. Respondents of the control group were selected differently and turned out to have lower means in optimism, a variable that was extremely high among most respondents and was excluded from the analyses due to this ceiling effect. On all variables of interest both groups did not differ at the pre-test. Yet, randomization would have been better, but was not possible for ethical and practical reasons. In study 2 it was easier to allocate participants randomly to either PEP or local peace education. Here, validity was rather endangered by the on-going registration process for repatriation. This caused an atmosphere of excitement in the whole camp that was influencing facilitators and participants. The context always plays an important role for human beings. Even slight changes can lead to different reactions or behaviours. This has to be kept in mind when interpreting evaluations (Wottawa & Thierau, 1998). Moreover, a drop-out of 15 persons, delayed participants and delayed beginning of the sessions may have reduced the 9 hours to an even shorter time of actual peace education for some participants.

Other problems of validity in this evaluation lie in the reliability of instruments and constructs as well as in the measurement. There was not the possibility for a pilot test to assess whether the instruments that were developed in another culture were actually measuring the constructs of interest in an adequate way for Liberians. To test and adapt the instruments with the target group before using them for the evaluation might have helped to make the scales more sensitive for change and prevent the ceiling effects.

The same questionnaires were used at Time 1 and Time 2, so memory effects and the wish to answer consistently cannot be excluded. However, this should be equally true for control group and peace education group. Self-reports can be biased, additional methods such as behavioural observations would have been good, yet were too difficult to realize.

For the peace education participants, Time 2 was immediately at the end of the workshop. The high satisfaction, warm group atmosphere and enthusiastic feelings after this experience may have led to more positive answers and social desirability. Unfortunately, it was not possible to have a follow-up measurement to check for stability.

Overall, some concerns about validity are inevitable in a real-life context of a refugee camp. The research design of pre-test post-test with control group has balanced some of the dangers; others have to be considered for the interpretations of the results. Care should be taken in generalizing the findings across other settings, social and ethnical groups, as well as other cultural contexts. The details of an implementation are always a crucial factor for a programme's effectiveness. Moreover, Liberians may react differently to the programme than refugees from another post-war context. More research is needed to confirm the effectiveness of the programme for improving intergroup attitudes in another context.

7.2 Implications and considerations for post-war peace education

This evaluation was about specific implementations of a specific peace education programme. Nevertheless, some of the findings, observations or their interpretations can be of relevance for any other peace education intervention in a post-war context. In the following I will come to some implications and considerations that explore some aspects of peace education practice and theory: planning and implementations, the selection of participants, the role of culture, ethical aspects and a broader framework for understanding peace education practice.

7.2.1 Planning and implementing peace education

Before implementing peace education it is important to assess needs and potential of participants, consider context and the situation to determine theory of change and define objectives. The three theoretical perspectives of learning, healing, intergroup contact can be helpful to determine the needs. For Liberian refugees I found aspects of all perspectives useful because participants were traumatised, they could benefit from learning knowledge and skills, and the intergroup perspective was central for reconciliation. Nevertheless, for the evaluation my main focus was on intergroup attitudes, because these seem crucial for the future of Liberia. In another context, e.g., when refugees of one group just recently arrived in a camp and are still horrified by atrocities that they experienced, the psychosocial needs would be prevailing, and skill training or intergroup dialogue might be not yet useful.

Accordingly, the objectives and wished outcomes should be precisely defined to investigate which factors make programme and implementation most likely to be effective. Figure 7.4 outlines the various influences that have to be considered when planning an evaluation. Even defining the degree of attitudes that should be changed can be helpful. Research has shown that to reduce blatant forms of prejudice or stereotypes different strategies are needed to those used for more subtle and less conscious forms (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999). The programme is always embedded in its implementation, and the intervention is embedded in a culture and context even though theory of change, vision for the future and some influential persons, institutions or organisations might be from outside this culture.

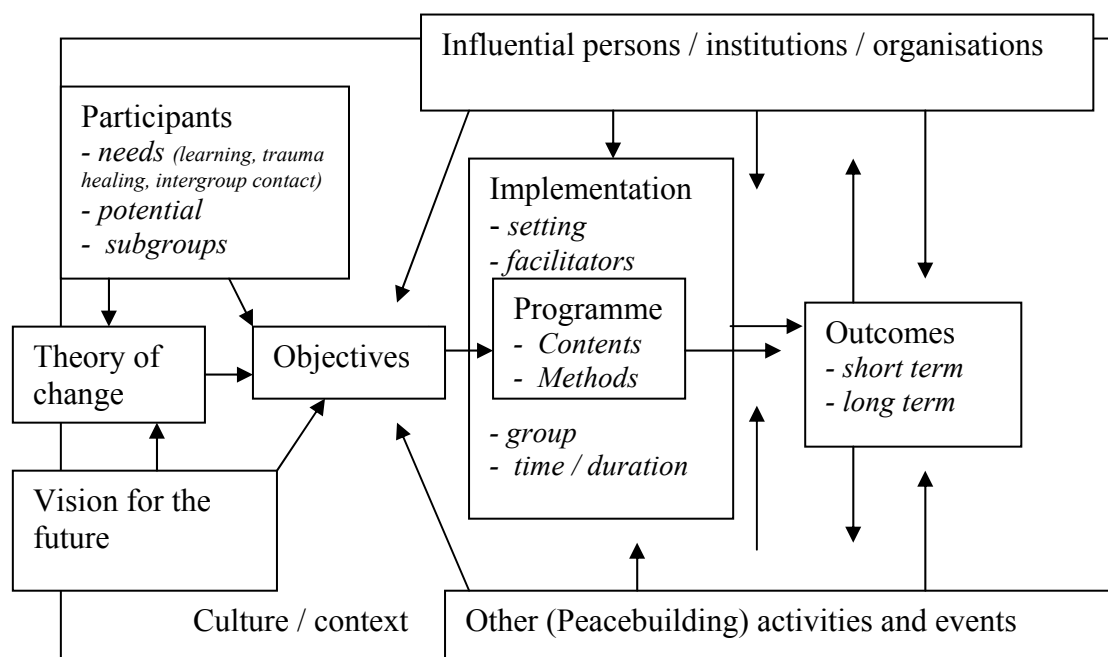


Figure 7.4: Multiple influences to be considered when planning and implementing peace education

Peace education is a highly political endeavour, and should be implemented with this awareness. It takes place in a context with influences that can foster or hinder its effects. In the case of this evaluation, the implementing organisation was a small local organisation supported by one or two international volunteers; UNHCR or any other international organisation was not involved. No other peacebuilding activities or events were linked with the workshop. Other local organisations including churches and – in study 2 – elders as local authorities were informed and invited to participate. Those who were respected in their communities and followed the invitation to participate reinforced the importance of the workshop for the other participants. Moreover, they brought the message of peace education to their own context.

When implementing a peace education programme the conditions of the environment must be taken into consideration. In the refugee camp, the conditions were basic. Many people had insufficient money to feed themselves or their family. Providing breakfast and lunch during the workshops was necessary to avoid people dropping out because of hunger. Many refugees participating in the workshops were traumatised during the war and had no job. Nevertheless, the workload of daily chores in the camp is high as there is no tap water and often no electricity. Some participants complained that six hours of workshop participation per day was too much; especially on Saturdays because they needed time to do their housework. Consequently, in the second week one workshop day was changed to accommodate the wishes and needs of the participants.

A key factor for successful peace education workshops is the local facilitators. The programme is designed so that refugees themselves can be thoroughly trained to gain knowledge, skills and experience both in the contents of the programme and the interactive teaching methods. The facilitators need to become confident and certain about their teaching points. This is important that they can facilitate discussions even in groups with people who are more influential in the community than the facilitators such as elders or local chiefs. Even though in their training the facilitators were taught the interactive methods, often during the workshops they resorted to their old patterns of lecturing or story telling which was tiring for the participants. Hierarchy among facilitators turned out to be a problem for team teaching in one group when the executive director carried out many activities without leaving sufficient time for the other facilitators. In the feedback rounds with the supervisors after each day, these points were addressed and the cooperation improved slightly during the course.

Peace education should reach a large proportion of the community to have high impact in the community. Obura (2002) suggests a target of 20% of the population. For real transfer to occur follow-up meetings are suggested. The costs of operating the workshops are relatively low, but to provide workshops on a regular basis some funding and support is needed. There was no wider “official” environmental support for the programme’s goals, intention and execution, neither was there any opposition. The UNHCR staff and staff from the welfare council (administration of the settlement) were informed about the programme and responses were positive about it, although they did not show any official consent or support. Some other camp-based organisations and churches sent participants after being invited to do so. Some participants worked closely together with tribal chiefs. As they are traditionally involved in settling conflicts, some tribal chiefs gave their consent to the goals

and intentions of the programme and were grateful to learn some new techniques of conflict resolution. This leads to an important aspect when planning an intervention: the selection of participants.

7.2.2 Selection of participants

Peace education community workshops target individuals (micro-level) situated in a group of participants (meso-level) assuming an impact for the whole society (macro-level). It is sometimes argued that the main targets of peace education should be those in power rather than refugees who have been marginalized by the conflict. However, in the case of Liberian refugees, many of the participants could reasonably be expected to acquire an influential position in their home country. In 2008 the camp was closing down and the vast majority of peace education participants have already returned to Liberia. Most of them were young and committed people; their level of education was far above the average of the population in Liberia. In exile they had gathered a lot of experience, and as the majority of the Liberian population has been refugees or internally displaced, it is not to be expected that their status as former refugees could be negatively perceived. In the peace education workshops they got a sense of being empowered, being important, having the chance to actively shape their environment. Wherever they will be in their society, they can be agents of change and work towards reconciliation and peaceful co-existence with others.

Peace education should reach either people who benefit most for themselves or people who will influence key persons or more persons in the population and enhance the spill-over effect. As participation in workshops is voluntary, this self-selection can lead to the effect of “preaching to the converted.” Indeed, 25% of the Liberian participants had already participated in some form of peace education before. Before implementing peace education it is helpful to decide whether specific subgroups in the population should be more directly invited to participate. These subgroups could be a) influential persons in the community b) persons who particularly can benefit from peace education, e.g., violent-prone young men, c) persons who might have a higher threshold to follow an open invitation, e.g., women.

For triggering spill-over effects it would be good to include persons in the programme who can multiply the effect in their environment, such as local authorities. Influential persons were particularly considered in the presented implementations of PEP. Basically, all refugees who were interested could register and participate. Additionally, direct invitations were given to local organisations in study 1 and the council of the elders in study 2. So some

participants were likely to enhance the spill-over effect as they had rather influential positions within the camp.

Marginalized, violent young men play a crucial role for war and peace, and should thus be reached by peace education. However, they can be difficult to include in a workshop class and need skilful facilitators to cope with their opinions or behaviour which might challenge the teaching points. Nevertheless, if they are motivated, their participation can be very useful not only for themselves, but for other participants and their environment as well.

Another group that is often underrepresented and should be included more are women. “If you educate a man you educate an individual, but if you educate a woman you educate a family (nation)” says a famous African proverb attributed to the Ghanaian Kwegyir-Aggrey. Indeed, women play a major role in every society concerning the transmission of values, skills, and behaviours to the next generation. However, as in many other contexts, also in a refugee camp the women bear the brunt of the entire workload. As there are hardly any jobs, women are often creative in starting their own small businesses to feed their family beside doing the household chores and taking care of the children which – for the participants of the workshops – comprised an average of 8 persons. When talking about gender stereotypes, in one workshop it was mentioned that every man is supported by a woman. This feeling of dependency makes men even more disposed to aggressive and violent behaviour. Often they have nothing to do, no chance to feel needed, no money to buy alcohol or anything to distract them. This creates frustration. In March 2008 when Liberian refugees in Buduburam demonstrated for resettlement or actively supported repatriation, it was started by a women’s organisation. The organisation allowed only women and children to participate in the “sit-in” on the soccer field to avoid violence and escalation with the police which would be more probable if men were demonstrating as well. So it appears that women do not need peace education as urgently as men. Nevertheless, their participation in workshops is highly important for several reasons. If women are underrepresented in the workshop this might be perceived as a message that women are not as important for peacebuilding. This is definitely not true; their points of view enrich and complete the discussions and including their perspectives are crucial for a society that strives for positive peace. Women who participate can become empowered to become agents of change; they might gain respect among the men in the workshops.

Beyond characteristics of specific subgroups within the workshop, specific needs of individuals should be considered. Facilitators need to be attentive and creative to find the balance between inclusion and special treatment. For example, few people in the workshops

could not read or write. They were assisted with filling in the questionnaire, and the facilitator tried to make sure that they could be fully integrated in the group. One of the persons who dropped out in study 2 may have stopped participation because he could not read or write and felt marginalized in some activities that involved writing. With other persons, fellow participants were very supportive and inclusion was possible. Such an inclusion in the group could be also very beneficial for persons with a physical handicap. In Buduburam, persons with handicaps were marginalized. A workshop could be a good platform for having their perspectives seen by their fellow community members.

The mixture of participants should be planned according to the objectives of the programme, determined by need assessment within the community and theory of change. In the described PEP implementations it was practical rather than theoretical considerations that led to the recruiting mechanisms and the composition of the workshop groups. This is common practice, but bears several dangers. For example, women were underrepresented in the workshops which can be seen as a weak point in the implementations for reasons discussed above.

For practical reasons it is important to balance the groups, so have either homogenous groups or heterogeneous groups. If a group is rather homogenous but includes one or two persons of another group there is the danger of marginalizing or highlighting them. In Table 7.2 I summarise considerations about different subgroups and implications of their inclusion in the peace education workshops. Recruiting mechanisms influence the composition of workshop groups. In both studies it became obvious that only few persons – most of them rather educated men – felt motivated by an open announcement. The best way to reach people is addressing them personally which can be done in a community outreach programme by sending facilitators around to invite people. Another way are personal announcements, e.g., in a church meeting.

Table 7.2: *Specific target groups and considerations for their inclusion in the peace education workshops*

Group	Needing	Influential	Marginalized	Self-selected
Example group	Violent young men	Elders, religious leaders	Women, physically challenged people	Everyone who wants
Possible benefit	Strong effects for participants, useful for community	Multiplicative spill-over effects probable	Inclusion, awareness, more equality,	Stronger agency of motivated people
Possible harm	Alienation from peer group; continued stigmatization by community	Could use skills to promote status quo instead of change towards equality	Frustration if workshop creates awareness but no changes are made	“Preaching to the converted”, small effects
Possible danger in workshop	Could dominate group and influence it in the wrong direction	Hierarchy within workshop; submission of other participants	Reproduction of marginalization within workshop	Issues of bias and discrimination are not seen; abstract discussions
Necessity for mixed workshop groups	Skilled facilitators who can lead discussions in effective direction	Respectful restriction of dominance within the workshop; no positive or negative discrimination	Inclusion and equality within the workshop; discrimination should be addressed	Assessing where participants need change or awareness

7.2.3 The role of culture

Culture provides the system of meaning for human beings and builds the foundation for values, social norms, and behaviour patterns that are perceived as “normal”. Galtung (1990) suggested that both direct and structural violence is somehow rooted in cultural violence, which he defined as attitudes and values that legitimise or even promote violence in some cases. There is hardly any nation without cultural violence. Nevertheless, all cultures have some form of the norm of “fairness”. However, the “conviction that cultural differences are to be accepted is oftentimes swept away in the anger, fear and hate that is ignited and spread (via emotional contagion) to mobs joined in resentment” (Hatfield & Rapson, 2005, p 175). To prevent violence and to realize social justice in a society can only be sustainable when it is rooted in the level of culture, e.g., in the norms and values and perceptions about identity, responsibilities, relations to others (Murithi, 2009).

Peace education cannot ignore culture as it aims to change values, beliefs and behaviour patterns, which are all deeply rooted in culture. It facilitates ownership, acceptance and

effectiveness, if the local culture is integrated in peace education and the local actors take a major role in peacebuilding efforts. However, the danger in this approach lies in possibly strengthening local unjust power structures (Llamazares, 2005). Inequalities between men and women especially are often cemented if women and their views are not specifically involved (McKay & Mazurana, 2001). So while culture is highly important for people to provide security and a sense of belonging, it can at the same time contain elements that contradict the philosophy and practice of peace. However, culture is not a fixed and static set of norms and practices constraining individuals, rather, it is a heterogeneous and dynamic construction of reality with a broad variance of views, values and practices even within one culture (Davidheiser, 2005; Worchel, 2005). So “culture” can be seen as “both a source of the conflict and the means for its resolution” (Marsella, 2005: 653). People will not learn anything that cannot somehow fit into their belief system and be combined with their culture and traditions. Thus it can be argued that peace education should be contextualized and culturally situated instead of being an idealistic or intellectual “one-size-fits-all approach” (Bajaj, 2008).

The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme is designed to be cross-cultural in that it can be used in different cultural contexts. Culture does not explicitly appear as a topic. Nevertheless, due to the participative character of the programme, participants can and will bring in cultural aspects and traditions as required in order to integrate what they learn into their world view and transfer the knowledge and skills into their daily life. It is the responsibility of the facilitators to stress and reflect controversial cultural issues and guide the discussions towards an integration of peaceful attitudes.

Conflict, reconciliation and peace always occur in the framework of cultural and religious beliefs. The most detailed reference about the first Liberian civil war is a book called “The Mask of Anarchy: The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War” (Ellis, 2007). The author argues that the war cannot be understood without considering the importance of what is conceptualized as an invisible world of spirits by most Liberians. The belief in a powerful invisible world merged with Christianity and apparently even evolved among Liberian refugees in exile (Dick, 2002). Symbols, traditions and religious rituals can wield strong influence in strengthening certain values, attitudes and behaviours. Religion can provide strong values, but on the other hand it can enhance passivity when God’s will is seen as responsible for everything (Bretherton, Weston, & Zbar, 2005).

The use of religious or cultural traditions in peace education has to be handled very sensitively. In some of the workshops with Liberian refugees, facilitators or participants included such as prayers or a song sung together at the beginning and end of the workshops. Almost all participants were highly religious and welcomed this inclusion of religion. A participant who was the only Muslim in the group was not particularly considered. He was religious, too, but being used to being a minority he saw the essence in the prayers and did not object.

Similarly, the use of traditional symbols can bear some tensions. Modernity, religion and traditional beliefs are mostly creatively combined and perceived as compatible by Liberians. However, some contradictory tensions became obvious: In study 2, the more traditionalist group that had organised the local peace education suggested a traditional libation with sharing of cola nuts for the final ceremony in which all participants would receive certificates. This ritual should be performed by the elders of all ethnic groups to symbolize and strengthen the message of reconciliation. The priest who was one of the facilitators welcomed this suggestion. However, he had problems allowing such a traditional libation (worshipping the spirits!) in a church. A church had been planned to be the place for the ceremony, but due to his objections a more neutral place was found; yet, another facilitator was sceptical about whether such a traditional ritual performed by the elders would not contradict the messages given by PEP. He stressed that everyone should contribute to peace, relying on authorities or old rituals could lead in the wrong direction. After a long discussion it was decided to perform a theatre play in which the libation would take place. With this solution the strong cultural symbol could be used allowing two interpretations: Liberians rooted in the traditions could see it as a real act of reconciliation; Liberians valuing modernity and critical thinking could see it as a theatre play with one example for a conflict resolution that confirmed their cultural identity.

Facilitators need to be culturally sensitive and aware of differences among participants. As the groups were ethnically mixed, topics such as culture, history and personal experiences were sensitive issues. Some participants showed their awareness by asking the group for permission to speak to ensure that neither they themselves nor anyone in the group would be hurt by their statements. The role of culture became apparent, for example, when human rights and gender equality were treated in peace education. Human rights are dynamic, complex, and sometimes contradictory; in their presentation they still bear the bias from Western cultures in placing individual rights over collective rights (Bajaj, 2008). Moreover, many traditions and cultural practices contradict human rights, often and

especially the rights of women and children. This has to be addressed in the workshops. Some Liberians started to become highly emotional and defensive concerning their traditions. One participant put it: “If it is a human right that children are allowed to yell at their parents, we don’t want to have that” and then started to defend traditional views and cultural practices such as dominance of men over women or female genital mutilation. In such a case the facilitator needs to be highly sensitive and skilful to lead the discussion in a way that people understand that they do not lose their culture if they change certain traditions and start to incorporate the essence of human rights into their own reality.

Any attempt to change what is deeply rooted in a given culture can only succeed when it is made by members within this group. A post-war society has the challenge to build up its nation after an outburst of direct violence. As an old system has been destroyed, the new one can be built in a different way. So to avoid the structural violence that has contributed to the war, cultural violence can be also changed to root truly just structures not only in the institutions of the country but also in the value system of its people. Importantly, peace education should not be implemented with the notion that refugees need to be corrected in their attitudes because of their past. Rather, peace education should equip participants with the tools they can use to change what they want to change within their own culture. In this vein, they can become important agents in the process of building sustainable peace.

7.2.4 Ethical Aspects

Whenever any intervention is implemented, attention should be given to how this could potentially cause harm („Do No Harm Imperative“). Especially for programmes that were developed in another culture it is important to be aware of implied messages and possible side-effects. Sagy (2008) had criticized that the teaching of conflict resolution skills conveys pacification that would deflect responsibility for keeping order and security towards the refugees instead of UNHCR or the government of the host country. She criticized the implementation of PEP with refugees from a collectivistic culture as an attempt to impose individualism on them.

When encouraging refugees to change attitudes that contribute to peace and to become active for changing their environment this must not be abused as an attempt to blame them for the situation they fled from or are currently confronted with. Most causes of violence are rooted in a structural level, and these structural problems should be solved on the structural level. It is thus indispensable to admit that peace education can only be a small part in the

whole concert of peacebuilding and can never replace efforts to ameliorate the political or economic situation of war-affected people. Yet, instead of only relying on a top-down approach for change only, the bottom-up approach is also important to prepare the basis for all sustainable peace.

Refugees are in a fragile legal position. They are not citizens of the state where they live. No international law regulates who is responsible for protecting the refugees' physical security (Cuellar, 2006). Sagy (2008) notes "UNHCR and the non-industrialized host countries in which refugee camps are located typically deflect responsibility to each other" (Sagy, 2008, p. 371). She sees peace education as a further attempt to deflect responsibility to the refugees themselves. However, with or without peace education the legal protection remains a problem on the structural level where it has to be solved between UNHCR, host country, international community and international law. The peace education programme starts from the reality of the camp. By establishing alternative conflict resolution procedures this may contribute to less crime or quicker solutions of any problems. Conflict mediation is becoming more and more popular in many Western democracies. It has the potential to assist the police and juridical system without any notion of replacing the legal mechanisms.

Sagy (2008) further argues that PEP implicitly conveys the message that self-interest is more important than group interest or that the Western concept of mediation is superior to traditional community-based conflict resolution techniques. It is indeed a serious yet common mistake in international interventions that they fail to build on what is already rooted in a given culture, but rather impose a concept from a Western culture (Wessells, 2009). However, PEP is designed as an interactive intervention in which both already existing practices as well as newly introduced concepts can be questioned, discussed and tested for their usefulness. When introducing mediation the facilitator is asked to "Discuss with participants what elements of traditional mediation work in their current situation and which do not" (INEE, 2005, p. 80). One important objective of peace education is to encourage critical thinking and individual agency. This is crucial for moral courage and any attempt to lessen direct, structural and cultural violence.

Moreover, awareness about the impact of one's actions or practices can prevent an intensifying cycle of hostile interactions (Staub, 2003). Although critical thinking is more appreciated in individualistic cultures, it can be useful in any environment, especially in the chaotic situation after a war when many established social institutions no longer exist. Groups can form or change a society, yet, individuals are needed to form the group. Peace education is normative as it aims to enhance certain values and behaviour. As all of these are

inherently connected with identity and culture, change can be perceived as highly threatening. When PEP addresses the individuals in the group it acknowledges that only they can change their values and anything else that is rooted in their culture. By stressing their own agency it tries to avoid imposing anything on the participants, but rather attempts to give them tools and encourage them to connect them with what they already have and test them in their daily life.

Another point Sagy (2008) criticized was the individualistic notion within the programme that refugees should feel responsible for maintaining peace. Even before the workshops more than 70% felt that all individuals are responsible for peace. There was hardly any change in this proportion. However, approximately 20% of respondents at Time 1 and in the control group also at Time 2 found that traditional or political authorities are responsible. Less than 10% attributed responsibility to “peacemakers” meaning some committed and somehow qualified persons. After peace education 20% found peacemakers responsible and less than 5% still mentioned authorities. The main difference between traditional and local authorities and the notion of “peacemakers” is that the first group is defined by their position and the latter by their characteristics or qualification. Most participants of peace education referred to themselves as “peacemakers”. This does not necessarily mean that they deny the responsibility of those in power. Actually, the coding scheme of the answers obscures the fact that many participants mentioned more than one of those categories, e.g., when writing “1. One who has been educated in this direction and who has the knowledge to do so and even impact into others. 2. One whom the power and authority had been given”. Equally, those giving answers in the category that it is everybody’s responsibility were often well aware that this answer included political decision-makers, e.g., when writing answers such as “Every person in the community, especially the government”.

But the violence often has structural reasons, e.g., if the men cannot find any job and do not have any means to support a family. So while peace education can support individuals to change their own behaviour, it should be embedded in a larger context of peacebuilding activities in which these individuals can get a chance for surviving and being accepted with their more peaceful behaviour.

Sagy (2008) had criticized that PEP would impose a Western notion of which behaviour is best (assertiveness), thus devaluing the traditional view of the given culture how to deal with conflict (avoidance). However, peace education rather gave Liberians the choice to decide which behaviour seemed most appropriate for them instead of just reacting in maybe

the only way they had learned within their culture. Most participants still chose the option of avoiding the conflict, some of them did not see this as a submissive behaviour but rather felt empathy with the perpetrator and wanted to practice patience as they valued this as important. However, for others, the idea of assertive behaviour as distinct from aggressiveness opened up new possibilities in their lives to improve their self-esteem. A female former participant told me after nine months that the session about assertiveness was the most important for her. She had started to allow herself to stand up for what she wanted, and found ways to communicate her own wishes. She told me that she saw how the Liberian culture promotes submissive behaviour in women, yet, with this attitude of assertiveness she could combine empathy for others with support for herself, so she enjoyed being assertive and had had very positive experiences with it.

To sum up, peace education aims to enhance certain values, attitudes and behaviours and thus gives reason for ethical concerns that should be taken serious. At the same time it should be compared with its alternatives of doing nothing or having local authorities influencing people in their own interest. Each person should be given the chance to decide whether they want to change aspects of themselves that are rooted in the level of their culture. In the PEP workshops this freedom of the individual was made explicit and stressed by encouraging own critical thinking. By contrast, the developer and facilitator of the local version of peace education preached a message to the participants with the aim that they would start to see the world in the same way. Thus even though he belonged to the same culture he was imposing his view on participants much more than the facilitators of PEP who took rather a moderating role. In this vein, peace education should be seen as an offer that is transparent about its aims and values and allows participants to make their own choice to test whether this offer is helpful for them or not.

7.2.5 Towards a Comprehensive Framework of Peace Education

This evaluation was about a specific implementation of a specific peace education programme in a specific context. However, by systematically approaching this intervention I also found various components, aspects and influences that are useful to be considered for developing, implementing, evaluating or understanding any peace education project. In Figure 7.5 I combined the different elements and their connections to outline a framework that gives an overview of the complexity of peace education.

For the theoretical analysis, Beelmann (2008) outlined the “Big Five of Interventions”: Justification, developmental assumptions, programme theory, implementation theory, and empirical evidence. For peace education aiming at impact beyond the level of participants, something needs to be added: the theory of change and its empirical mechanism, the spill-over effect. This effect expands attitude change to changes in the social network of participants (Salomon, 2009). Justification, empirical evidence and spill-over effect are completely embedded in a given culture and context, thus they very specific for each implementation. Developmental assumptions, intervention theory and theory of change can include some aspects of a culture, whereas programme theory is abstracted to be applicable in various contexts.

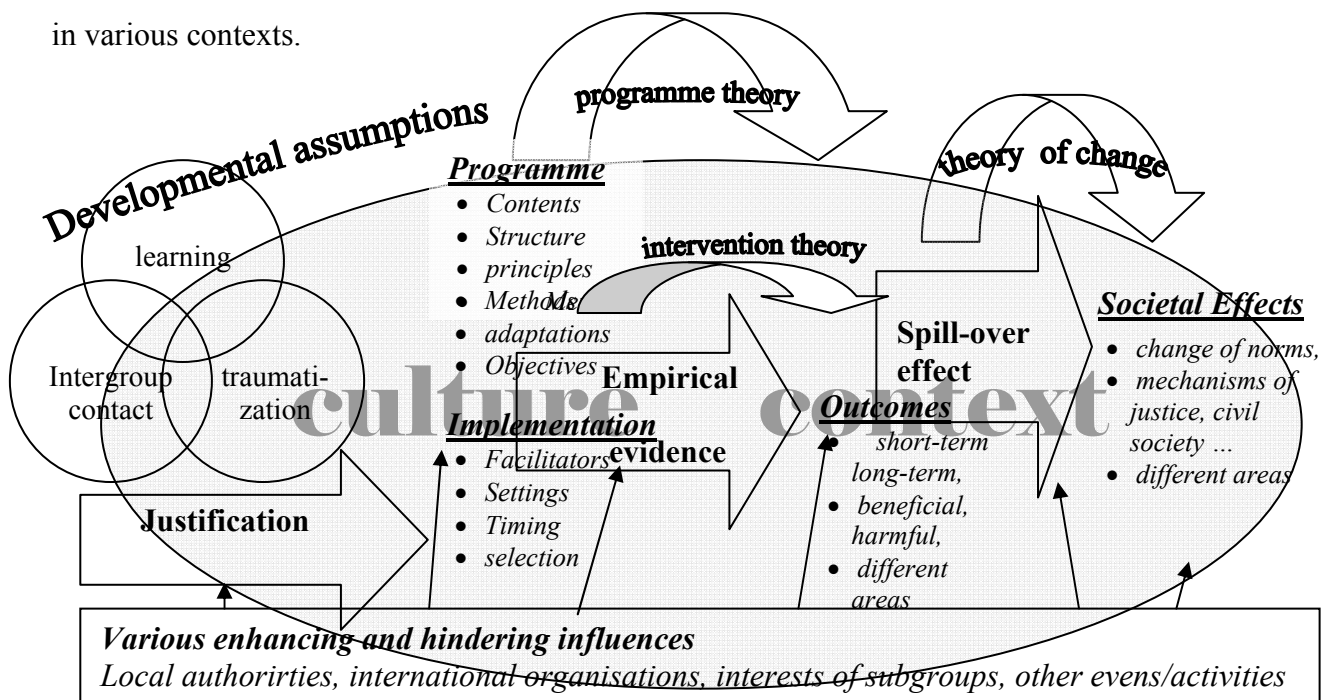


Figure 7.5 Framework for understanding the complexity of peace education

In the framework I also included the three perspectives that I had found to be important to consider: education and training, trauma healing and social capital, intergroup contact and dialogue. When planning and justifying a peace education intervention, the starting point and needs can be assessed with the help of these perspectives that can also inform the assumptions about how participants can possibly develop during a specific intervention. For example, highly traumatised refugees may show other developments than non-traumatised persons. These differences might further change when intergroup tensions are present and the workshops will be in interethnically mixed groups. The perspective of intergroup contact is furthermore important for choosing a multicultural approach which is preferable to a colour-blind approach (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Participation in PEP affected changes on outcomes of all three domains. Even though these three perspectives are distinctive rather on the theoretical level and intertwined in the practical reality, it can

nevertheless be important to keep them in mind and define the needs of a given target group on each of these lines to tailor a programme or implementation and its evaluation in a way that is most appropriate for the given group.

The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme combines several elements helpful for the three perspectives. Active participants and skilful facilitators might lead the discussions to the points that are of relevance for the given group. Even participants with different needs can thus find helpful aspects in the workshop. As the results of this evaluation show, individual change can be very different, some participants changed on one variable, others changed on one or two other variables. Nevertheless, the training of facilitators and the manual of the workshop could be improved to further support the facilitators to adapt flexibly to the needs of the group. The programme can thus be classified as being most useful for a group that needs conflict resolution skills and some awareness about intergroup conflicts and reconciliation. It fits very well as a general offer with a low threshold.

The framework depicted in Figure 7.5 is thought to guide practitioners and researchers about aspects that could be considered. In my evaluation the focus was on finding empirical evidence, so I described the programme with its included theories, implementation and outcomes. I also described context and theory of change. I outlined that all three perspectives for needs assessment were relevant and used them to come to justification and specific indicators for expected outcomes. Possible sources of influences were considered when local CBO workers and elders were invited to participate, or when the ongoing repatriation process was seen as a source of influence on the interventions in study 2. I did not look at the spill-over effect, because this was not the focus of this evaluation and would have been very difficult to assess within the given context and time frame.

Theories can be useful to inform practice; practice can also inform theories. I used theories to come to objectives, indicators, and procedure of the evaluation. The results can inspire further theoretical research about the mechanisms that are the components of developmental assumptions, programme theory, intervention theory and theory of change. So the finding that highly traumatised people changed other aspects of their general intergroup attitudes than less traumatised people can indicate that differential assumptions should be made about possible development of participants depending on their degree of traumatisation. Further research is needed to confirm this aspect.

Concerning programme theory and intervention theory, my evaluation can only give some vague indications about the mechanisms that are responsible for the intervention having the expected effects. Table 7.3 gives an overview which of the processes suggested by Dovidio (2004) seemed activate by PEP. Mainly, social categorization, gain of social knowledge, enhancement of empathy/ affective connections to others and probably also change in standards of behaviour were found to be activated by participation in the programme. By contrast, no reduction of negative feelings (intergroup anxiety) was found. Also, self-directed negative emotions do not seem probable to be enhanced by PEP, yet no indicator of them was measured.

The evaluation measured effects of the actual interventions, so it is difficult to define the impact of different aspects of programme or different aspects of the implementation. In study 2 shorter parts of PEP were compared to a local version of peace education, and Table 7.3: *Cognitive and affective processes that can lead to improved intergroup attitudes as outlined by Dovidio et al. (2004) and their activation by PEP implementations.*

Process	Activated by PEP implementations?
<i>Cognitive</i>	
Social categorization	Yes. The measure categorization changed for workshop participants in a way that differences between ethnic groups were stressed less, ethnicity was seen less important
Social knowledge	Yes. Knowledge about conflict resolution increased, examples of transfer were given.
Standards of behaviour	Probably. Some answers to the open questions indicate that they will show certain behaviours because by now they perceive themselves as “peacemakers”.
<i>affective</i>	
Enhancement of empathy and affective connections to others	Yes. Trust and empathy increased.
Reduction of negative feelings	No. Intergroup anxiety did not change.
Self-directed negative emotions	Probably not. PEP is not designed to evoke guilt or shame or anger; no indicators measured or found.

results seem to suggest that PEP was slightly more effective. Both PEP and local peace education were implemented very similar concerning duration, location, selection of participants, procedures. However, there were still differences in the implementation, namely the facilitators and their facilitation style.

To differentiate between different components of an intervention a more experimental design would be needed. For example, the same facilitators could facilitate PEP in a mono-ethnic group and in a multi-ethnic group to compare the importance of intergroup contact for attitude change. Study 2 was an attempt to realize such a more experimental design in the practice: three different short modules of PEP were implemented with different aspects of the contents of the whole workshop. However, it was not possible that all workshops were conducted by the same facilitators, and my observations showed that the facilitation styles were quite different. Moreover, time as well as group sizes also varied, the number of reliably participating persons in some of the groups was small. So I decided not to present the analyses about these different aspects of PEP contents, because the very small differences between the groups cannot be interpreted clearly. I got the impression that setting (e.g., intergroup contact) and facilitation style (interactive versus more lecturing) had more influence than the actual topic of the workshop (e.g., trust, emotions, empathy versus conflict resolution techniques). However, for reliable empirical evidence further research is needed.

7.3 Recommendations for peace education practice and theory

The findings and implications of this evaluation can inform theory and practice. This is an inherent aim of any evaluation. Or as Rowe & Taylor (2005) put it: “Evaluation makes little sense unless it is understood as part of a learning process” (p. 205). Accordingly, based on process, findings and implications of my research I will outline suggestions or recommendations concerning three different areas: The investigated peace education programme (PEP), peace education practice, and further research. In each section consists of a discussion of findings, implications and consideration as well as a list of concrete recommendations.

7.3.1 The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (PEP)

The evaluation was about the community workshops of the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme – skills for constructive living (INEE,2005) or PEP. The workshops proved to

have beneficial effects for Liberian adults who had experienced civil war and lived as refugees in a refugee camp in Ghana. Participants themselves were very satisfied and had the impression that they had learned a lot. Besides knowledge gain and changes in the views on peace and conflict, participation in the programme led to more trust and empathy and improved perceptions and attitudes towards other ethnic groups. The comparison between study 1 and study 2 showed that shorter parts of the programme in a more excited general atmosphere had fewer effects. Nevertheless, 9 hours of PEP led to more positive attitude change than 9 hours of a locally tailored peace education programme. So on the whole, the programme is good and useful. Nevertheless, some details can be ameliorated. I will give some recommendations. These are based on the observations of the workshops, of facilitators and participants and workshop as well as the literature and training experience.

Even though the effects in the group means are small, 76% of participants in the complete PEP workshops showed reliable improvement on at least one of the measured variables. The programme is very broad in what it can offer, and participants seem to pick out what is important for them, individually. The evaluation showed that the programme has the potential to improve intergroup perceptions and attitudes which is of great importance in a post-war context. However, the programme allows not much time to explicitly explore and discuss the needs and implications when persons or a society have experienced war. Even though participants used the session of reconciliation to speak about their own society, hardly any of the participants who were asked nine months later remembered this component of the programme. Considering that the programme is mostly used with refugees that come from a violent conflict, the sessions of reconciliation should include more aspects about the reconciliation on the level of a society.

Additionally, at least in the training of facilitators, information should be included about traumatisation and symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. Even better, the programme could be extended to include an (optional) session about effects of violence on people with some basic information. In a post-war context this can be important to help traumatised persons or their family members to understand behaviour patterns and symptoms that result from the traumatisation. Peace education is not the right place for (trauma) therapy. Nevertheless, because it can reach many people it would be a good platform for psycho-education. Information about trauma symptoms could help that those who are affected or their family members can understand the symptoms as reactions to what had happened. Mental health problems are often connected with stigmas and misunderstandings. Understanding what has happened and gaining control over one's own life are crucial not

only for being social actors and increasing agency, but also for mental health (Laplante, 2007). Ideally, peace education should be embedded in a pyramid of different interventions (Bockarie, 2002). Participants can be informed about where persons with serious psychological problems can get help.

Sagy (2008) argues that PEP favours stability instead of change by promoting harmony instead of justice. However, even though after the workshop harmony-based definitions of (inter)personal peace were much more frequent than definitions that described a just society, the proportion of definitions in both categories had risen with fewer participants understanding peace as mere absence of war. Concerning behaviour in a conflict situation, the proportion of conflict avoidance remained as high as before the workshop. However, less persons described aggressive behaviour and more persons chose assertive options, even though some changed from assertive to avoidance, others from avoidance to assertive. Thus, both messages harmony and justice can be found by different participants. It seems as if peace education can both promote acceptance of a status quo with structural violence or to encourage collective action or social change. For collective action conflicts need to be highlighted (Wright, 2001). The Inter-Agency Peace Education programme provides participants with a tool that they can choose how to use: for keeping order or for promoting change.

When discussing real life problems PEP participants are encouraged to look at the underlying causes and suggest solutions. Many problems have structural causes, and possible solutions would involve collective action. Strength of PEP is that it empowers refugees to become active and start to see themselves as agents for peace instead of mere victims or recipients of aid. Both positive and negative peace is discussed thus acknowledging that a stable society with structural violence is not the ideal of peace. So both sides of the dilemma between harmony and justice are mentioned. I agree that there seems to be a slight bias in favour of harmony. However, refugees struggle every day to survive in a situation characterized by a huge amount of structural violence against them. Focusing on what is within their very limited power instead of discussing unfair structures that need much more than their personal effort to change might protect them against further frustration. Nevertheless, I would recommend that at least in the training of facilitators a component about the positive potential of conflict should be included so that they can also highlight change and discuss the possibility of peaceful collective action (Reicher, 2007).

Such an amendment of the programme should also stress the potential of groups and discuss the interactions between individuals and groups. This would be a contribution to

lessen the individualistic stance of the programme. Any human being has to find a balance between personal autonomy and social connectedness with other human beings. Which place on the continuum between both poles feels appropriate for a given person is influenced by his or her culture. PEP includes many elements that stress autonomy of the individual, e.g., with its notion that every individual should feel responsible for starting change within oneself. Groups are discussed in rather negative contexts, e.g., in connection with, e.g., exclusion, bias, stereotypes. In one workshop participants themselves brought up that belonging to a certain ethnic group and living a certain ethnic tradition can also be very important. These positive aspects of groups should also be acknowledged and facilitators should be sensitized to highlight both positive and negative sides of both behaviour as individual and behaviour as group member.

The programme is very broad in its contents and it might be difficult to make it longer or to shorten other parts of the programme. Instead, I would recommend to create an amendment with information and possible methodologies for some optional sessions that can be done as follow up or instead of, e.g., session 7 about problem-solving. In the facilitation training 2 or 3 instead of having the facilitators practice the sessions that they are already familiar with, they could be encouraged to select a topic that seems appropriate for their group and design, prepare, and facilitate a new session. This would further strengthen their capacity to combine their facilitation experience, new information and their own creativity for workshops that go beyond PEP. Equally, such extra sessions could be used to encourage and support those participants who want to become active and start a peace club which has been often reported (Ikobwa, Schares, & Omondi, 2005; Obura, 2002).

Such a tendency of participants who had wished to become active as “peacemakers” and get opportunities to continue with using what they had learned had also been found in Buduburam. Such active initiative should be welcomed and supported as it enhances not only transfer but also the spill-over effect that persons beyond the participants can profit from the programme. Accordingly, at the end of PEP there should be the possibility for participants to find together, become creative and discuss how they will continue to use what they have learned.

Whereas all sessions of PEP in the manual are described in detail, for the last session only four sentences are provided with the vague instruction that the groups should discuss what seems important to them, e.g., if sessions have carried over (INEE, 2005). This is not a good closing of a workshop as it does not give participants the chance to sum up and evaluate what they had learned and draw their own conclusions or make concrete plans for

transfer. This session should definitely be revised to at least provide facilitators with ideas about how they can arrange a closing that is more than a group discussion that might go in either direction without any real conclusion. There are various methods in the training literature how to end a training (e.g., Silberman, 2006). As PEP is designed to train facilitators that have not yet so much training experience they should get some more support for this last session, which is a very important session to enhance learning and transfer. Equally, the manual should include an activity for the evaluation of the workshop that every participant gets the chance to give feedback. This might be very helpful for the facilitators in order to improve their facilitation skills for the next workshop.

The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme has some weak points. There is no ideal solution without any trade-offs, many practitioners accept that what has to be reached is a “good enough” intervention (Ross, 2000). With regard to the concept, some details could certainly be ameliorated. Most notably, the political and structural dimensions in some of the topics should be acknowledged and discussed. The human right session could be restructured to also introduce citizen rights and highlight the potential of peaceful collective action for changing unjust structures. Additionally, the need of any individual to be embedded in a group can be highlighted in the sessions of social skills or conflict resolution to have the group discuss how much importance should be put on self-interest and group interest. The aspect of critical thinking could be taken more seriously by encouraging participants to question what they have been taught in this workshop. Nevertheless, the programme can be seen as having several merits. It is highly structured and in itself consequently rooted in the framework of conflict transformation as theory of practice. It combines contents with methods that are appealing and useful for refugees. The detailed manuals are meant to help even inexperienced facilitators to implement the workshops. When considering the alternatives of no peace education or any unstructured ad-hoc programme, the inter-agency programme seems to be the better choice as it involves participants and gives them space to develop their skills by starting from where they are.

The programme fails to include civic knowledge that could help refugees to develop a sound understanding of how a democratic state should function. In the case of Liberians, most of them have never seen any positive impact their state had on their life (Pajibo, 2007). A research project in the refugee camp Buduburam revealed that many Liberians didn't know anything about citizen rights and didn't trust in anything coming from the state (Chelsey, personal communication). To claim support for fulfilling their basic needs, they rely only on their human rights and hold international NGOs responsible. To change the

political culture and foster democratic participation of critical citizens, peace education could include some more political topics about the interaction of state, citizens and international community.

Recommendations for revising the facilitator's manual for community workshops

The Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme that was evaluated consists of various parts. With my recommendation I focus on how the facilitator's manual for community workshops could be revised.

- List the objectives of each session at the beginning (similar to teacher book). Additionally, the teaching points should reinforce the focus and main points after each session
- include more activities and group games either in manual or as an additional material for facilitators that they can activate the whole group, e.g., after lunch or use these methods in according to the needs of the group dynamics.
- Reduce problem-solving games (session 7/8) to have more time for reconciliation (session 9)
- Session 9 (reconciliation): Strengthen aspects of reconciliation on societal level, applied for participants' context; participants should discuss and be informed about effects of massive violence on individuals (symptoms of PTSD, cycle of violence, risk of alcoholism or drug addiction...),
- Session 10 (Human rights): Include list of human rights in the Appendix. Include activities and discussions about civic rights, responsibilities and possibilities of individuals, civil society, governments and international organisations. Collect ways of collective action to change a structural problem
- Session 11 (real-life problem-solving): support participants to differentiate between problems or causes on the (inter)personal level and on the structural level. Different actors and stakeholders with their different interests should be identified; different ways of solutions should be discussed, including collective actions. The "work plan" that is to be developed should include realistic specific objectives and a time plan. Each group should clearly state whether they want to carry out this plan.
- Session 12 (last session without own topic): include activities that help participants to recollect all different topics, draw their conclusions and think about transfer. They should get the chance to evaluate the workshop and give feedback to the facilitators which they can use to improve their facilitation style. Additionally, participants

should plan how to go on. A sample for an evaluation sheet should be included in the Appendix of the manual.

- Include follow-up meeting some weeks or months after completion of the workshop. In session 12, participants should commit to the action plan developed in session 11 and/or define what they want to transfer into their life. In the follow-up meeting they should present the results and reflect on their approach. A certificate should be given to all participants. Include the template of an impressive-looking certificate in the Appendix of the manual.

7.3.2 Peace Education Practice

Peace education needs to be embedded in a concert of peacebuilding activities; it cannot succeed on its own (Cardozo, 2006;2008). When talking about his prospects in Liberia, a young man in Buduburam was very realistic about his situation. He longed for a normal life, he wanted to live in peace and dignity, he wanted to find a job so he could earn his living and start a family. However, when considering the realities of Liberia he shrugged that probably he would end up doing armed robbery to survive (personal communication). Staub (2003;1999;1992) was very clear that the “roots of evil” lie in difficult living conditions.

In their history Liberians have too often been disappointed by their political leaders, and it is not new to them that everybody can find ways to contribute to peace, e.g., by reminding the leaders of what they are expected to do or by demonstrating and using the possibilities of a democracy. In fact, a woman’s peace movement was crucial for the comprehensive peace agreement 2003. Many women (some of them from the refugee camp Buduburam) made a sitting blockade and did not allow the leaders to leave the building until they had signed the agreement (Reticke, 2008). Similarly, it were the refugees – especially the women themselves – who started peaceful demonstrations in 2008 that finally forced UNHCR to change their plans about what should happen to them (they had already elaborated how Liberians should be integrated into the Ghanaian society) and led to the closing of the camp and repatriation.

Any educational activity has two aims: learning (understanding knowledge, acquiring skills) and transfer (applying knowledge, using what has been learned). For both learning and transfer attitudes, motivation and feelings are very important. The more meaning can be found in the learning, the deeper the understanding and the greater the transfer possibilities (Haskell, 2001). Accordingly, peace educators should consider the background of peace education participants, enhance their motivation by asking for their own examples and help

participants to critically elaborate the meaning and relevance of what is discussed. Activities should be used that contribute to the feelings that enhance learning and the desire for transferring what has been learned.

Peace education needs to be placed in a supportive context. To be effective an intervention needs to connect with the macro-level of the society, and if the universality hypothesis holds it should apply across cultures and societies in consistent ways (Pettigrew, 1998). If a peace education programme could be embedded in a broader range of activities this might multiply its effects and enhance transfer and spill-over effects. A possible way is integration of peace education and community development (Wessells & Monteiro, 2006).

A crucial precondition for peace education to be effective is the atmosphere in the workshops. Participants need to feel safe to dare self-disclosure and exploration of all emotions that are involved when learning and attitude changes are to be durable. Facilitators should do what they can to instil group norms in the workshop that ensure safeness and a caring non-judging stance towards sensitive issues and expressions of emotions. Strong negative emotions such as sadness, anger, guilt and shame can have very beneficial effects when they can be expressed and dealt with in the group (Bar-On, 2005; Zembylas, 2009). Such an atmosphere of safeness and trust needs time to develop, so the atmosphere in the workshop could be well one factor why the short versions of peace education were less effective – along with the overall atmosphere of excitement and departure which might have hindered participants to fully engage.

Participants were highly satisfied with all workshops, whether they consisted of 36 hours or 9 hours, whether they were based on PEP or on local peace education. When looking at the effectiveness, however, there were huge differences both between participants and workshop types. The subjective evaluation of workshops does not seem to correspond to the actual effectiveness concerning attitude changes. So instead of relying on subjective evaluations of participants to assess the usefulness of an intervention, additional measures should be used to actually measure the effects that are aimed by the programme.

Recommendations for planning and implementing peace education activities

From the findings and experience of this PEP evaluation as well as from the literature and general scientific methodology, some suggestions can be made for peace educators and policy-makers when implementing a peace education intervention in a post-war context:

- Integrate Peace education in a framework of inter-linked peacebuilding activities (e.g., institutional reforms, micro-credit programmes, re-integration of former child soldiers et.)
- Assess and consider needs, local knowledge, and wishes of participants (food, certificates...)
- Define objectives and accordingly choose programme, procedures, evaluation tools
- Plan who should participate and invite relevant subgroups directly. Check for possible harm and implicit messages caused by recruiting mechanism or other aspects of implementation
- Thorough training of facilitators is crucial for successful implementation; supervision with feedback after each session seems to be a good way to coach facilitators and help them gain confidence
- Interests of local authorities should be considered; getting their support can be of great importance for the duration of effects. Especially when coming from outside it is important to look out for all possible side effects to prevent as much harm as possible and design the intervention in a way that is as useful and effective as possible.
- Plan the target groups and set quota to ensure that all important groups are reached. Specific target groups can be: women, elders, former child soldiers, marginalized and violent prone youth, members of a specific ethnic group.
- Be sensitive in ethnically mixed group, create atmosphere of trust and encourage discussions about intergroup aspects. Both individual and group-based identity should be salient. In the workshop groups Allport's (1954) conditions should be given: equal status, a common goal, cooperative interactions, and support of authorities.
- Encourage discussions and initiatives by participants. Be attentive for conflicts or misunderstandings within the group and use them to support participants to practice conflict resolution skills.
- Encourage intergroup friendships, e.g., by including (long-time) tasks in small groups or pairs, enhance self-disclosure and intense exchange
- Do not rely on subjective evaluations about satisfaction, but define specific indicators for assessing whether the pre-defined objectives were reached. Include systematic evaluation in the implementation and use the results for improving the activities

- Plan with a long-term perspective, e.g., refresher workshops, Support applications and transfer. Link with other activities and give interested participants the chance to find ways to use what they have learned, explicitly include time for planning transfer and concrete activities.

7.3.3 Evaluating post-war peace education

The first step is to define objectives of the intervention and focus as well as instruments for the evaluation. To plan the concept of the evaluation the elements listed in the framework (Figure 7.5) can be used: needs assessment, developmental assumptions, programme theory, intervention theory, existing empirical evidence and theory of change. This needs time and should be done in close cooperation with implementing partner and persons from the given culture. Most research focuses on psychological processes that can contribute to peace education effectiveness on an individual level. However, little is known what impact these processes have on larger group, institutions and structural change (Dessel & Rogge, 2008) .

To understanding more about processes involved in peace education it would be good to use more experimental evaluation approaches. To disentangle the three perspectives of content learning, contact experience, and psychosocial recovery, three different workshop groups could be formed: a monethnic group receiving peace education, a multiethnic group undergoing a journalism course or any unrelated topic, and two groups talking about past and future, reconciliation and trauma healing – one monethnic; one multiethnic. Even then, aspects of psychosocial recovery could occur in any of the groups and aspects of learning from the contents of other people could trigger psychosocial learning.

Very crucial for a good evaluation is the choice of instruments. Instruments should assess indicators of the defined objectives, should be reliable and allow clear interpretations. Questionnaires give no room for going beyond pre-defined aspects. Openly expressed opinions are sometimes undermined by actual attitudes or stereotypes. Attempts to assess implicit changes could be to analyse pictures or essays about the outgroup for complexity, affects, attributes (Salomon & Kupermintz, 2002). Additionally, behavioural measures should be considered. Processes of communication and interaction as proposed by Nagda (2006) or stage models as described by Steinberg and Bar-On (2002) can lead into a direction of fruitful investigation of important mechanisms and outcomes. Qualitative research could be used to come to relevant aspects in the given context, understand participants' perspectives and complete the picture of how the intervention is perceived.

When coming to a totally different culture it is necessary to take enough time to get used to it and to find ways that the quality of research can be ensured. For study one I had only two months in Ghana. The environment of a refugee camp is very stressful. It means living among people who are hungry, often cannot afford to send their children to school and do not know how their life will go on. It brings the problems of development aid down to a personal level, as everyone knows that being from Europe means having more money than absolutely necessary for own survival. People often approached me as their fellow human being, or as a representative of the international community. With the organisation I had various roles at the same time. Officially an “international volunteer” I was their implementing partner for the workshops, always included in management meetings and active in planning and organising what was necessary. I always stressed my role as a researcher when it was necessary. Fortunately, the organisation had some experience with project management, their volunteers were highly motivated and we did not encounter any major obstacles for implementation. Yet, due to time constraints everything had to be carried out very quickly. Enough time should be planned for adaptation or development and pre-testing of instruments to assess the concepts of interest with high validity, reliability and sensitivity to assess change for a broad variance.

Doing research in a post-war context is not easy and it is important to be clear about everything to be done and to insist on points that are necessary while being flexible with points that can be changed. In regards to the stress context of Buduburam refugee camp, I experienced the danger of getting so much involved in implementation and practical issues that the quality of the evaluation was at risk. Especially in study 2 I noticed the power of the atmosphere. The camp was about to be closed. After many years in exile most refugees faced their return to their home country. Everyone was agitated and nervous. Concerns about the near future, rumours, dreams, fears, planning, farewells, people leaving the camp, increased criminality. In the two different CBOs that implemented PEP and the local peace workshop it was difficult to stick to the mere role of a supervisor and evaluator. Somehow I was suddenly involved in the management of two organisations that counted on me for assisting them with planning their repatriation or other projects as well. The cooperation between these two very different organisations was very difficult since they had different cultures, different experiences, different expectations – and prejudices against each other. In this context it was very hard to plan and implement workshops. Not only participants, but also the facilitators were distracted and busy with other things. In my roles of organiser, supervisor and researcher I was also affected, trying to make sure that people of three

different organisations (the third one was intended to provide the control group) did what they agreed to do, and to reach participants who did not show up. Of course I could not do everything at the same time, so I had some research assistants, but they also were not always reliable. So I found it crucial to communicate clearly and to insist on getting information within a specified time. This had to be in balance with showing understanding for their personal problems and keeping them motivated for cooperation.

Recommendations for evaluating post-war peace education activities

The following recommendations summarise and add to what aspects what should be considered when evaluating peace education.

- Adapt measures to the given context, check for concepts relevant in the given context
- Check for needs and relevant aspects by using the perspectives of learning, trauma healing and social capital, intergroup contact.
- Define objectives by considering needs assessment, developmental assumptions, programme theory, intervention theory, existing empirical evidence and theory of change
- Work in close exchange and cooperation with the implementing partner and persons from the given culture
- Take time for preparation and plan realistic mechanisms for randomization or balanced groups in quasi-experimental designs
- Use observations and qualitative interviews to learn about participants' perspectives on programme implementation and effectiveness
- Critically analyse which harmful implications (e.g., implied messages) could be caused or avoided by the procedure of evaluation
- Analyse and consider the influence of culture and context
- Be clear about necessities for a good evaluation and about areas in which compromises are possible when needed for the implementation
- Be creative about measures that can assess goal achievement. Try to go beyond self-report measures and include observations or behavioural measures whenever possible
- If possible measure long-term effects, transfer and spill-over effect. Research in these areas is highly needed

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- When the context allows more experimental designs try to isolate different components in different conditions to investigate the processes and mechanisms that lead to the effects
 - Observe and describe the implementation. A programme can only be successful when it is successfully implemented. Whenever components of implementation or programme occur in some workshops but not in others, analysing differences can contribute to understanding useful components and mechanisms.

8 Conclusion

Peace education can be one element of peacebuilding for individuals of a war-torn and conflict-prone society. All various programmes have the common aim to provide skills, knowledge, values, and attitudes that promote peaceful interaction among individuals, in the community and maybe even for the whole society. To analyse whether and how these aims are reached is a difficult endeavour that is seldom systematically done. This evaluation examined PEP, the Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (INEE, 2005) and how community workshops of this programme were implemented with adult Liberian refugees in a refugee camp in Ghana. The programme was introduced to a small local organisation that then implemented the workshops under supervision. Observations and questionnaires (pre-test-post-test with control group) confirmed that the implementation was successful and led to knowledge gain as well as to the aimed attitude changes.

The programme was easily implemented, highly appreciated and yielding some small or medium expected effects. In the peace education community workshops people from different ethnic groups were learning and discussing together. According to the evaluations of participants, PEP is a good example of how people can learn conflict resolution techniques and be empowered to promote peace in communities and the society.

The Liberian participants gained *knowledge* about conflict resolution, and some of them changed their ways of dealing with peace and conflict. Besides being educational, peace education in this context might contribute to healing of past trauma and development of social capital in the community. Self-disclosures and reflections about the past and the future occurred during the implementations and might help on the way towards reconciliation. Increases of *trust* and *empathy* in the peace education groups could be indicators for such an effect. A third positive dimension of peace education was in the main focus of this evaluation: the potential of PEP for improving intergroup attitudes, especially when implemented in ethnically diverse groups thus providing opportunity for positive intergroup contacts. Concerning perception about intergroup relations, importance and use of ethnic *categorization* decreased for PEP participants; an increase in perceived *victimisation* occurred only in the control group, but not for PEP participants; no significant effect could be found for *intergroup anxiety*. *Readiness for intergroup contact* increased for PEP participants that thus differed from the control group. Moreover, in contrast to the trends in the control group, *evaluation of outgroups* increased for workshop participants and

readiness for reconciliation also tended to increase, leading to statistically significant differences between PEP participants and control group at Time 2.

Although the implementation of the peace education community workshop went on well, for the small implementing organisation it was difficult to continue such an intense programme without any external support. Locally tailored programmes of peace education usually consisted of far less than the 36 hours of the PEP community workshops. However, the analysis of only 9 hours of the peace education workshop yielded expected changes only for *trust* and *evaluation of outgroups*. A short local peace education workshop only led to increase in *trust* and a tendency to decrease in *empathy*. However, these results can only be interpreted with caution, because the context of on-going repatriation of refugees created a high level of excitement and distractions within the camp which may have reduced the validity of the findings.

From the process and findings of my evaluation I also outlined some implications and considerations for peace education practice and theory. For the given interventions only implementation and the short-term effects on participants were investigated. As I found that PEP can indeed contribute to attitude change, a next step could be to find ways of tracking how changes could possibly have broader impact. To qualify as peace education instead of, e.g., a mere conflict resolution workshop, a programme should have effects that reach beyond the actual participants. Peace education aims to create change both at the micro-level of individuals and at the meso-level of a community with the high ambition of having impact even on the macro-level of the society. This should be kept in mind when planning and implementing a peace education intervention. Such a spill-over effect in the community or the society could be enhanced by thoroughly assessing needs and potentials of a target group and design recruiting mechanisms that reach those participants who are important for multiplying effects in their environment. Additionally, transfer-focused activities should be included in the programme, e.g., a follow-up meeting where participants are expected to tell about their experiences with using or applying what they have learned.

Peace education is a very complex endeavour. A programme is an applied theory that comes into practice by its implementation. Thus, for peace education evaluations theory and practice are closely linked. For understanding or analysing theoretical foundations and practical implications of a given programme or intervention, I combined relevant elements in a framework for peace education. Many aspects of a programme evaluation cannot be abstracted from the context in which the implementation took place. Hence, to get thorough empirical evidence about a programme's effectiveness, several evaluations should be

conducted in various different contexts. For policy-makers, facilitators or other practitioners information should be gathered to improve further interventions. For researchers, aspects of theories might be tested in a relevant real-life situation or inspirations could be gained for analysing more systematically certain mechanisms that might contribute to certain effects. Accordingly, this evaluation included recommendations for amelioration of PEP, for planning and implementing post-war peace education, and for researchers interested in the area of peace education.

In the context of a post-war society peace education can only be one step in the process of reconciliation. Good governance, security and good living conditions are crucial to preventing violence. When the refugees return to their home country they need to find a way to fulfil their basic needs before they can promote peace and constructive conflict resolution. Moreover, the skills of peacemaking need to be practiced and there should be a source of continuous support for local peace workers in order to produce long-lasting change.

Peace education targets individuals within their specific community. The ambitious aim is to contribute towards cooperative interpersonal and intergroup relations, non-violent conflict resolution, and fulfilment of basic human needs and rights; as well as contributing towards just structures or institutions in a society. The multitude of objectives makes it nearly impossible to measure and evaluate the “real” effectiveness of peace education, especially if such workshops are embedded in a range of other activities or events. My evaluation had the main focus on changes of intergroup attitudes. Low reliability of measures, uncontrolled influences or confounds and possible answering biases are some concerns of validity that call for cautious interpretation of my findings. Moreover, I measured only short-term effects and it is a clear limitation that the interconnectedness of programme and implementation don't allow broad generalizations.

Nevertheless, the results from the implementation of the Peace Education Programme (INEE, 2005) with Liberian refugees give reason to hope. Even though the subjective evaluations of participants did not tell much about the measured attitude changes, the acceptance and appreciation of the programme by the participants is also an important component of the success of an intervention. Liberian refugees felt empowered and optimistic by PEP, referring to themselves as “peacemakers.” Many participants of the peace education community workshops in the refugee camp expressed that they had gained confidence to be agents of change towards peace and reconciliation. At the end of a peace education workshop one participant enthusiastically articulated this belief for the whole workshop group: “We can make a difference tomorrow!”

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Appendix

- Questionnaire pretest, study 1
- Schedule of a complete PEP workshop (handout for participants)
- Observation sheet
- Questionnaire for memories of the workshop nine months later
- Questionnaire post-test study 2

Friederike Feuchte
International Graduate College Jena, Germany

In cooperation with the
Center for Youth Empowerment (CYE)
Buduburam, Ghana



Hello!

This survey is about what you think, what you feel, how you see yourself and how you see the relations between the different tribes in Buduburam.

This is not a test; there are no right or wrong answers. Please just answer honestly what is really true for you! Your answers are treated confidential and will be looked at separated from your name.

Some questions in this questionnaire are open and you can write any answers which come to your mind. However, most of the questions are statements and you are asked to give your answer by crossing a box (X) with the answer which fits most to yours.

Example:

I like to get up early in the morning. *Now cross the box with the answer fitting to you.:*

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
(=If you like it very, very much)	(=If you like it)	(=If you are not so sure, sometimes you like it, sometimes not)	(=If you don't like it most of the time)	(=If you don't like it at all)

Thank you for your participation!

Please confirm:

I have understood this information and voluntary agree to participate in the study.

Full name _____

Date _____ Signature _____

1.) First there are three open questions. Please write any answers which come to your mind. You don't need to write whole sentences, bullet point form is fine.

What does Peace mean to you?

Whose responsibility is it to maintain peace?

What would you do if somebody pushed you while you wait in a queue?

2.) The following statements ask about your thoughts and feelings in a variety of situations. For each sentence, please indicate honestly how well it describes you. Thank you.

I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I sometimes find it difficult to see things from another persons' point of view.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

For each sentence, please indicate honestly how well it describes you.

I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his/her shoes" for a while.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

It is no use worrying about current events or public affairs; I can't do anything about them anyway.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Every person should give some of his time for the good of Buduburam.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Letting your friends down is not so bad because you can't do good all the time for everybody.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

It is the duty of each person to do his job the very best he can.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

People would be a lot better off if they could live far away from other people and never have to do anything for them.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I usually volunteer for special projects.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I feel very bad when I have failed to finish a job I promised I would do.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

During the last four weeks I am healthy and fine.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

In general, I am satisfied with my life how it is at the moment.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

3) In the next part you read some statements about your thoughts and feelings. There are no right or wrong answers. Just try to be honest how much every statement fits to you.

I trust what people say.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I believe that others have good intentions.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I suspect hidden motives in others.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I believe in human goodness.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I believe that people are essentially evil.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I trust other people.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I believe that people are basically moral.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I think that all will be well.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I distrust people.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I believe in equality between all races and tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I don't like the idea of change.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I try to forgive and forget.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I believe in “an eye for an eye”.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I understand people who think differently.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I find it hard to forgive others.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I think violence is sometimes just and necessary.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I am a religious, spiritual person.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I am who I am because of my religious faith.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree

4.) Now there are questions about how you feel about being a member of your group and your thoughts about other groups.

Are you a Liberian? Yes No, I am

How much do you agree:

Important: If you are not Liberian, please write your nationality instead of “Liberian” in the brackets[_____].

I am pleased to be a Liberian. [_____]	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
Being Liberian is important to me. [_____]	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I feel good about being a Liberian [_____]	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I am proud to be a Liberian. [_____]	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree

To which tribe do you belong?

<input type="checkbox"/> Americo-Liberian	<input type="checkbox"/> Bassa	<input type="checkbox"/> Belle	<input type="checkbox"/> Dei	<input type="checkbox"/> Gbandi	<input type="checkbox"/> Gio
<input type="checkbox"/> Gola	<input type="checkbox"/> Grebo	<input type="checkbox"/> Jabo	<input type="checkbox"/> Kissi	<input type="checkbox"/> Kpelle	<input type="checkbox"/> Krahn
<input type="checkbox"/> Mano	<input type="checkbox"/> Loma	<input type="checkbox"/> Mandigo	<input type="checkbox"/> Mende	<input type="checkbox"/> Sapo	<input type="checkbox"/> Vai
					<input type="checkbox"/> other: _____

How much do you agree:

I am pleased to be a member of my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
Being a member of my tribe is important to me.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I feel good about being a member of my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I am proud to be a member of my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree

What do you think, how many people of your own tribe are...

friendly	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
smart	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
quarrelsome	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
honest	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know

What do you think, how many people of Liberian tribes other than your own are...

friendly	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
smart	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
quarrelsome	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
honest	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know

5.) The next questions are about contact and relations with different groups. Please indicate how much every statement is true for you.

I have regular contact with people from other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all
I have many friends belonging to other tribes	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all
I avoid contact with other tribes	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all
In most cases, my contact with other tribes is positive.	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all
I have hardly any contact to people from other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all
I would like to have more contact with members of other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all
In most cases, contact with other tribes is negative.	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all
Almost all my good friends belong to my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all
Sometimes I feel left out of things just because I belong to my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all
People in Buduburam prefer being with others	<input type="checkbox"/> absolutely	<input type="checkbox"/> quite true	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> not really	<input type="checkbox"/> not at all

of their own tribe.					
In Buduburam the climate between the different tribes is hostile.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
During the last 8 weeks I improved my ability to interact with people of other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
If I meet a person, I look at this person and don't care which tribe he/she is from.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
People belonging to the same tribe are very similar.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
Knowing from which tribe a person is helps to understand what kind of person he/she is.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
People belonging to different tribes are very different from each other.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
There are not many differences between people from my tribe and people from other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all

How do you feel if you meet, talk or interact with people who don't belong to your tribe?

trusting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all
confident	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all
uncomfortable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all
anxious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all
safe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all
threatened	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all
nervous	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all
relaxed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all

How do you see the relations between the different tribes?

There is no difference in power between the different tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
People of my tribe cannot live how they want because of people from other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I feel threatened by one or several tribe(s).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
The different tribes have very different values.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I feel hostility towards people of my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I don't feel safe because of one/some certain tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
Here in Buduburam, the different tribes live peacefully with each other.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all

6.) During the last 8 weeks, please indicate how often the following events happened:

You or a friend were harassed or insulted because of belonging to your tribe.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

There was a fight between people from different tribes.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

You noticed that someone had an advantage because of belonging to a certain tribe.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

You saw someone beating someone else and intervened.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

You were involved in a fight.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

You used negotiation to solve a conflict.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

7.) Now there are some questions about your experience with the war in Liberia. If you don't feel like answering these questions, you can leave them out.

Please write down which years did you spend in Liberia: from _____ till _____

What is true for you:

I have no personal memory of the war

I have seen dead people

I have lost people of my family in the war

I was attacked

I have seen how people were killed

I have been fighting

I witnessed how my family was attacked

Other: _____

Do you sometimes have nightmares or troubling memories and thoughts about the war?

not at all

seldom

sometimes

often

very often

8.) The next questions are about how you see the roles of the tribes in the war.

During the war in Liberia, each tribe has harmed people from other tribes.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

Members of other tribes are human beings, like everyone else.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

There were complex reasons for the violence in Liberia.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

I blame one or more other tribes for what has happened.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

I could begin to forgive members of other tribes if they requested forgiveness of my tribe.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

The violence during the war in Liberia has created great loss for everyone.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

Liberia can have a better future with all tribes living together in harmony.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

I can forgive members of the other tribes who acknowledge the harm their tribe did.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

I can begin to forgive those of other tribes who make amends for what their tribe did.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

9.) Again there are some open questions about peace and conflict resolution. Please write as much as comes to your mind.

What do you do and what does the community do to keep peace?

There are many possible ways to deal with conflicts. Please name reactive and proactive forms of conflict management:

Active Listening is important to prevent misunderstandings. How can you listen actively and make sure you have understood what another person said?

Negotiation is a way to solve problems. Which steps belong to negotiation?

What can you do to ensure peace in the future?

10.) How do you look at the future?

What do you think, where will you be in ten years, that is in 2017?

In Buduburam Anywhere in Ghana in Liberia Somewhere else: _____

What do you think, how will the situation be in Liberia in 2017?

war instable and insecure no fighting but not secure quite secure peace

Other: _____

What do you think, compared to today, will your life be better in ten years?

yes, much better a bit better quite the same worse much worse

What do you think, will there be war in Liberia within the next ten years?

certainly probably undecided probably not certainly not

11.) Finally, please tell some basic information about yourself and cross what applies to you:

You are male female married not married Age _____

How many people live in your household? _____ adults _____ children under 18.years.

Your religion: You are Christian _____ Muslim traditional _____ other _____

How many years did you go to school? _____

Have you learned any profession? no yes: _____

At the moment you have no job one job more, that is _____ jobs

Which job(s)? _____

Do you volunteer ? no volunteer activities yes: around ___ hours per week

Where and what do you volunteer? _____

In which year did you come to Buduburam? _____

Have you already participated in any peace education activities of the Center for Youth Empowerment (CYE)

no yes. What _____ For how long? _____



**You have now reached the end of this questionnaire.
Many thanks for taking the time to answer these questions!**

Schedule of the Peace Education Community Workshop

Facilitators: Slabe Sennay, Alfred W. Tarley, Janet C.² Borward

1st week

Thursday, 30th August 2007

8 am – 9 am	Breakfast
9 am – 12 pm	Session 1: Introduction, Background, conflict management theory
12 pm – 1 pm	Lunch
1 pm – 4 pm	Session 2: Similarities and differences, inclusion and exclusion

Friday, 1st September

8 am – 9 am	Breakfast
9 am – 12 pm	Session 3: Trust, communication, active listening
12 pm – 1 pm	Lunch
1 pm – 4 pm	Session 4: one-way and two-way communication, perceptions

Saturday, 2nd September

8 am – 9 am	Breakfast
9 am – 12 pm	Session 5: Bias, Stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination
12 pm – 1 pm	Lunch
1 pm – 4 pm	Session 6: Emotionas, Empathy, cooperation, Assertivenss

2nd week

Thursday, 6th September

8 am – 9 am	Breakfast
9 am – 12 pm	Session 7: emotional honesty, problem-solving
12 pm – 1 pm	Lunch
1 pm – 4 pm	Session 8: problem-solving, negotiation

Friday, 7th September

8 am – 9 am	Breakfast
9 am – 12 pm	Session 9: Mediation, Reconciliation
12 pm – 1 pm	Lunch
1 pm – 4 pm	Session 10: Human rights

Saturday, 8th September

8 am – 9 am	Breakfast
9 am – 12 pm	Session 11: Real-life problems, conflict resolution
12 pm – 1 pm	Lunch
1 pm – 4 pm	Session 12: Evaluation, final discussion

Methods: RP=Role play, L=Lecture, SG=small group work, (s)D= (structured) discussion, A=Activity (Game), T= theatre drama for all,
 Roles: **T**alking to whole group, **E**xplaining to small group, **I**nstructing, **W**riting on board, **L**ooking around, **M**oderating discussion ...

Session	date	number of participants			&	with delay. Actual start	
Time	topic	Method	Role of each facilitator			Partici- pants	Comments, observations, citations etc.
9.00							
9.10							
9.20							
9.30							
9.40							
9.50							
10.00							
10.10							
10.20							
10.30							
10.40							
10.50							
11.00							
11.00							
11.10							
11.20							
11.30							
11.40							
11.50							
12.00							
12.00							
12.10							
12.20							
12.30							
12.40							
12.50							
13.00							

Lunchbreak from _____ till _____
 Cooperation between facilitators very good good ok not so good not good at all

Why?

The session was very interactive quite interactive both more lecture than interaction very much lecture
 Participation of group very active good ok not so good very passive
 How close was it to the manual? very close quite close ok not close far away

What was the teaching point the facilitators and group actually made in this session?

Recommandations

Methods: RP=Role play, L=Lecture, SG=small group work, (s)D= (structured) discussion, A=Activity (Game), T= theatre drama for all,
 Roles: **T**alking to whole group, **E**xplaining to small group, **I**nstructing, **W**riting on board, **L**ooking around, **M**oderating discussion ...

Session _____ date _____ number of participants ____ & ____ with delay. Actual start _____

Time	topic	Method	Role of each facilitator			Partici- pants	Comments, observations, citations etc.
13.00							
13.10							
13.20							
13.30							
13.40							
13.50							
14.00							
14.00							
14.10							
14.20							
14.30							
14.40							
14.50							
15.00							
15.00							
15.10							
15.20							
15.30							
15.40							
15.50							
16.00							
13.00							
13.10							
13.20							
13.30							
13.40							
13.50							

Actual end at _____

Cooperation between facilitators very good good ok not so good not good at all

Why?

The session was very interactive quite interactive both more lecture than interaction very much lecture

Participation of group very active good ok not so good very passive

How close was it to the manual? very close quite close ok not close far away

What was the teaching point the facilitators and group actually made in this session?

Other comments, recommendations etc.:



Your code: _____

Questionnaire for people who participated in PEP 07

It is almost one year ago that you participated in the peace education community workshop. What do you remember?

How important was the workshop for you and your life?

very important important middle not so important not important at all

Did you start a friendship with someone because of the workshop?

no yes. How many friends did you make? _____

Did you participate in any other peace education or reconciliation project since then? no yes. For how often/ how long? _____

What? _____

Did you apply anything you learned during the workshop?

no yes. Please specify:

Did you behave differently in some situations because of what you learned in the workshop?

no, never once sometimes often very often

If yes, in which situations?

Did anything change because you participated in the workshop?

no yes. Please describe:

Did your attitudes towards people of other tribes change because of what you learned in the workshop?

absolutely yes a bit not really not at all

How?

Did someone else tell you that you behave differently and you think it is because you participated in the workshop?

no, never once sometimes often very often

Would you recommend the workshop to someone else?

no yes

Will you use anything you have learned when you return to Liberia?

no yes. What will you use? Please specify:

What were the most important things you learned during the workshop?

Feel free to write whatsoever you want to tell about the workshop and how it helped you somehow or what you didn't like or would you wish for your future or any question or comment or ...



1.) First there are three open questions. Please write any answers which come to your mind.

Your code: _____

What does Peace mean to you?

Who is responsible to maintain peace?

What would you do if somebody pushed before you while you are waiting in a line?

2.) The following statements ask about your thoughts and feelings in a variety of situations. For each sentence, please indicate how well it describes you. Please be honest.

I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I sometimes find it difficult to see things from another persons' point of view.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his/her shoes" for a while.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

It is no use worrying about current events or public affairs; I can't do anything about them anyway.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Every person should give some of his time for the good of Buduburam.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

Letting your friends down is not so bad because you can't do good all the time for everybody.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

It is the duty of each person to do his job the very best he can.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

People would be a lot better off if they could live far away from other people and never have to do anything for them.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I usually volunteer for special projects.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

I feel very bad when I have failed to finish a job I promised I would do.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

During the last two weeks I have been healthy and fine.

absolutely true quite true undecided not really true not at all

3) In the next part you read some statements about your thoughts and feelings. There are no right or wrong answers. Just be honest how much every statement fits to you.

I trust what people say. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I believe that others have good intentions. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I suspect hidden motives in others. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I believe in human goodness. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I believe that people are essentially evil. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I trust other people. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I believe that people are basically moral. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I think that all will be well. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I distrust people. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I believe in equality between all races and tribes. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I don't like the idea of change. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I try to forgive and forget. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I understand people who think differently. strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

I find it hard to forgive others.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
Violence is sometimes just and necessary.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
If a child doesn't obey it is okay to beat the child.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
Every conflict can be resolved without using violence.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I care more for my own rights than for other people's rights.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I am a religious, spiritual person.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I am who I am because of my religious faith.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I am satisfied with my life how it is at the moment.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree

4.) Now there are questions about how you feel about being a member of your group

Are you a Liberian? Yes No, I am _____ *please answer the questions with putting your nationality instead of "Liberian"*

How much do you agree:

I am pleased to be a Liberian.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
Being Liberian is important to me.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I feel good about being a Liberian	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I am proud to be a Liberian.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree

To which tribe do you belong?

Americo-Liberian/Congo
 Bassa
 Vai
 Dei
 Gbandi
 Krahn
 Gola
 Grebo
 Kpelle
 Kissi
 Gio
 Kru
 Mano
 Loma
 Mandigo
 Mende
 Sapo
 mixed
 other: _____

How much do you agree:

I am pleased to be a member of my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
Being a member of my tribe is important to me.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I feel good about being a member of my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree
I am proud to be a member of my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/> agree	<input type="checkbox"/> undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> disagree	<input type="checkbox"/> strongly disagree

What do you think, how many people of your own tribe are...

friendly	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
smart	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
peaceful	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
honest	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know

What do you think, how many people of Liberian tribes other than your own are...

friendly	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
smart	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
peaceful	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know
honest	<input type="checkbox"/> all	<input type="checkbox"/> many	<input type="checkbox"/> some	<input type="checkbox"/> few	<input type="checkbox"/> no one	<input type="checkbox"/> don't know

5.) The next questions are about contact and relations with different groups. Please indicate how much every statement is true for you.

My tribe has got less power than other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I feel threatened by one or several tribe(s).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I don't feel safe because of one/some certain tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
The different tribes live peacefully with each other.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I have regular contact with people from other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I have many friends belonging to other tribes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I avoid contact with people from other tribes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
In most cases, my contact with people belonging to other tribes is positive.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I have hardly any contact to people from other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I would like to have more contact with people of other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
In most cases, my contact with with people belonging to other tribes is negative.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
Almost all my good friends belong to my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
Sometimes I feel left out of things just because I belong to my tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
People in Buduburam prefer being with others of their own tribe.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
In Buduburam the climate between the different tribes is not friendly.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I am confident to be able to interact with people of other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
If I meet a person, I don't care which tribe he/she is from.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
People belonging to the same tribe are very similar.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
Knowing from which tribe a person is helps to understand what kind of person he/she is.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all

People belonging to different tribes are very different from each other.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
There are not many differences between people from my tribe and people from other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I like meeting and getting to know people from tribes other than my own.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I often spend time with people from tribes other than my own.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I am involved in activities with people from other tribes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all
I enjoy being around people from tribes other than my own.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	absolutely	quite true	undecided	not really	not at all

6.) Please indicate for each of the following words how much you feel like that: If you meet, talk or interact with people who don't belong to your tribe you feel...

trusting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all	
confident	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all	
Uncomfortable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all	
anxious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all	
Safe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all	
threatened	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all	
nervous	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all	
relaxed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Extremely	Very much	Much	Middle	A bit	Little	Not at all	

When asked for "Liberian tribes other than your own" – which tribes were you mainly thinking of?

7.) During the last 2 weeks, please indicate how often the following events happened:

You or a friend were harassed or insulted because of belonging to your tribe.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

There was a fight between people from different tribes.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

You noticed that someone had an advantage because of belonging to a certain tribe.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

You used negotiation to solve a conflict.

not at all once or twice 3-4 times more often: around ___ times

Please give examples of conflicts or aggressions which you found in your own daily life during the last two weeks:

How did you deal with these conflicts or aggressions?

7.) The next questions are about your feelings towards people from some Liberian tribes. Below you see an instrument to translate your feelings into numbers. Please answer each question by putting one number between 0 and 100 for each mentioned tribe.



In general, how distant (0-50) or close (51-100) do you feel towards...

Krahn _____ Kru _____ Mandingo _____ Gio _____
 Kpelle _____ Americo-Liberian/Congo _____

To which tribe do you feel most distant: _____ how distant: _____

To which tribe other than your own do you feel most close: _____ how close: _____

Imagine you meet a person for the first time. How uncomfortable (0-50) or comfortable (51-100) would you feel if he/she is...

Krahn _____ Kru _____ Mandingo _____ Gio _____
 Kpelle _____ Americo-Liberian/Congo _____

Imagine your son/daughter wants to marry. Will you feel bad (0-50) or good (51-100) if the other person is...

Krahn _____ Kru _____ Mandingo _____ Gio _____
 Kpelle _____ Americo-Liberian/Congo _____

In general, most people of your tribe would view it negatively (0-50) or positively (51-100) if a person of your tribe has a close friend who is...

Krahn _____ Kru _____ Mandingo _____ Gio _____
 Kpelle _____ Americo-Liberian/Congo _____

How many close friends do you have? _____

To which tribe do they belong? How many close friends do you have in each tribe?

Please think about other people of your tribe. About how many of them (0-100 percent) have close friends who are...

Krahn _____ Kru _____ Mandingo _____ Gio _____
 Kpelle _____ Americo-Liberian/Congo _____

8.) The next questions are about how you see the roles of the tribes in the war.

During the war in Liberia, each tribe has harmed people from other tribes.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

Members of other tribes are human beings, like everyone else.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

There were complex reasons for the violence in Liberia.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

I blame one or more other tribes for what has happened.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

I could begin to forgive members of other tribes if they requested forgiveness of my tribe.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

The violence during the war in Liberia has created great loss for everyone.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

Liberia can have a better future with all tribes living together in harmony.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

I can forgive members of the other tribes who acknowledge the harm their tribe did.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

I can begin to forgive those of other tribes who make amends for what their tribe did.

absolutely quite true undecided not really not at all

9.) Again there are some open questions about peace and conflict resolution. Please write as much as comes to your mind.

There are many possible ways to deal with conflicts. Please name reactive and proactive forms of conflict management:

Active Listening is important to prevent misunderstandings. How can you listen actively and make sure you have understood what another person said?

Negotiation is a way to solve problems. Which steps belong to negotiation?

11.) How do you look at the future?

What do you think, where will you be in ten years, that is in 2018?

Anywhere in Ghana in Monrovia Liberia, county: _____ other country: _____

What do you think, how will the situation be in Liberia in 2018?

war instable and insecure instable quite secure peace _____.

What do you think, compared to today, will your life be better in ten years?

much better a bit better quite the same worse much worse

What do you think, will there be war in Liberia within the next ten years?

certainly probably undecided probably not certainly not

(When) will you return to Liberia? _____ Where will you go? Monrovia county: _____

If you think of returning to Liberia, how do you feel?

Below you see an instrument to translate your feelings into numbers. Please answer each question by putting one number between 0 and 100 for each mentioned tribe.

0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
L					K					J

Think of the time when you will be back in Liberia. How negative (0-50) or positive (51-100) will be the relations between your tribe and the ...

Krahn _____ Kru _____ Mandingo _____ Gio _____
 Kpelle _____ Americo-Liberian/Congo _____

To which tribe the relation will be most negative: _____ how negative: _____

To which tribe the relation will be most positive: _____ how positive: _____

Think of the time when you will be back in Liberia. How uncomfortable (0-50) or comfortable (51-100) would you feel if you would meet a person for the first time who is

Krahn _____ Kru _____ Mandingo _____ Gio _____
 Kpelle _____ Americo-Liberian/Congo _____

Think of the time when you will be back in Liberia. How distant (0-50) or close (51-100) would you feel towards ...

Krahn _____ Kru _____ Mandingo _____ Gio _____
 Kpelle _____ Americo-Liberian/Congo _____

12.) Finally, please tell how you liked the the workshop

How much did you learn in the workshop?

very much much a bit not much nothing at all

How satisfied are you with the workshop?

very satisfied much was ok not satisfied not at all

How did you like the methods used during the workshop?

very much much a bit not much not at all

How did you like the facilitators (teachers) of the workshop?

very much much a bit not much not at all

What was your motivation to participate in the workshop?

What were the most important things you learned during the workshop?

Do you think you (will) behave differently in some situations because of what you learned in the workshop?

certainly probably undecided probably not certainly not

Did you already apply anything you learned during the workshop? no yes

If yes, please specify:

***You have now reached the end of this questionnaire.
 Thank you very much for answering these questions!***



Summary

Peace education programmes are interventions with the aim to foster knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviour that lead to cooperative interactions, creative peaceful conflict resolution, and just structures in societies. Often such programmes are used to support people who have experienced war. Little is known whether peace education in a post-war context can improve prosocial attitudes or intergroup perceptions and attitudes.

This dissertation investigated implementation and effectiveness of the established Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (INEE, 2002) –PEP for short. The community workshops were implemented with adult Liberian refugees. After describing and analysing the background of post-war peace education, the context of Liberian refugees in Ghana and the theoretical foundations of the programme I presented the findings from two studies. Study 1 investigated the complete 36 hours of community workshops in a pretest-posttest design with control group. Study 2 investigated shortened versions of PEP as well as a locally tailored peace education, all implemented in 9 hours of workshops.

In Study 1 the expected changes were found in the peace education group when compared with the control group. Some participants had changed their concepts about responsibility for peace, and behaviour in a conflict situation. Workshop participants showed more conflict resolution knowledge and more trust and empathy after the workshops. Moreover, they stressed ethnic categorization less, were more ready for intergroup contacts and remembered fewer incidents in which they saw themselves as victims of intergroup hostility or discrimination. Additionally, they evaluated people of other ethnic groups more positive and showed more understanding towards them as expressed in readiness for reconciliation. When investigated on the level of individual change, 76% of peace education participants showed positive change, almost half of them on more than one of the measures. Participants with high traumatisation seemed to change other aspects of intergroup attitudes than less traumatized participants.

Study 2 showed that 9 hours of the programme yielded fewer effects. Only concerning prosocial attitudes did the changes in the PEP groups differ from the changes in the local peace education group: empathy tended to increase in the PEP group, but decreased in the group with the local programme. Trust increased in both groups. Concerning the general evaluation of outgroups, the change of increasingly positive outgroup evaluation was significant only for PEP participants. Concerning intergroup perceptions, readiness for intergroup contact and readiness for reconciliation, no effects of time and no interaction

Summary

between the groups could be found. Most trends go in the expected direction in both groups. However, intergroup anxiety tended to increase between the two measurement points for all respondents.

The complete PEP community workshops thus led to improved prosocial attitudes and intergroup perceptions and attitudes, whereas only 9 hours of the programme yielded only a few effects. As all workshops were carried out in ethnically mixed groups it is not clear how programme, implementation and contact experience interacted in their contribution to the attitude changes. Understanding and analysing peace education is complex due to many objectives, confounds and different influences. Aspects of culture, ethics, and practicability need to be considered. This evaluation showed that in the specific context of the implementation with Liberian refugees the peace education programme could contribute to improved intergroup attitudes. Further research is needed to investigate long-term effects. Recommendations were given for the programme, peace education practice and researchers of peace education interventions.

Zusammenfassung

Friedenserziehungsprogramme zielen darauf ab, Wissen, Fertigkeiten, Einstellungen und Verhalten so zu fördern, dass dies zu kooperativen Umgangsformen, kreativen friedlichen Konfliktlösungen und gerechten Gesellschaftsstrukturen führt. Solche Programme werden oft eingesetzt, um Menschen zu unterstützen, die einen Krieg erlebt haben. Es ist wenig erforscht, ob Friedenserziehung in einer Nachkriegsgegend prosoziale Einstellungen verbessern kann oder dazu beiträgt, dass andere Gruppen positiver wahrgenommen und eingeschätzt werden.

Diese Dissertation hat Implementierung und Wirksamkeit des etablierten Inter-Agency Peace Education Programme (INEE, 2002), kurz PEP, untersucht. Die Workshops wurden mit erwachsenen Liberianischen Flüchtlingen umgesetzt. Ich beschreibe und analysiere was Friedenserziehung im Nachkriegskontext bedeutet, was Geschichte und Lebenssituation von Liberianischen Flüchtlingen in Ghana ausmacht, und die theoretische Fundierung des Friedenserziehungsprogramms. Dann stelle ich die Ergebnisse dar von zwei Studien. Studie 1 untersuchte die vollständigen 36-Stunden-Workshops mit einem Forschungsdesign aus pretest und posttest mit Kontrollgruppe. Studie 2 untersuchte gekürzte Versionen von PEP sowie ein vor Ort entwickeltes Friedensprogramm, jeweils in 9stündigen Workshops umgesetzt.

In Studie 1 fanden sich die erwarteten Veränderungen in der Friedenserziehungsgruppe, die mit der Kontrollgruppe verglichen wurde. Workshopteilnehmende zeigten nach ihrer Teilnahme mehr Wissen zu Konfliktlösungsstrategien, wiesen mehr Vertrauen und Empathie. Zudem betonten sie ethnische Kategorisierung weniger, waren stärker zu Intergruppenkontakten bereit und erinnerten weniger Zwischenfälle, in denen sie sich als Opfer von gruppenbasierter Feindlichkeit oder Diskriminierung erlebten. Darüber hinaus sahen sie Menschen anderer Gruppen positiver und hatten mehr Verständnis für sie, wie dies in ihrer Versöhnungsbereitschaft ausgedrückt war. Was die individuelle Ebene betrifft, so zeigten 76% der Teilnehmenden überwiegend positive Veränderungen, davon fast die Hälfte auf mehr als einem der Einstellungsmaße. Teilnehmende die stark traumatisiert sind scheinen andere Aspekte ihrer Fremdgruppeneinstellungen zu verändern als weniger traumatisierte Teilnehmende.

Studie 2 zeigte, dass 9 Stunden Friedenserziehung weniger wirksam war. Nur bezüglich prosozialer Einstellungen fand sich ein Unterschied zwischen den Veränderungen

Summary

in PEP-workshops und der vor Ort entwickelten Friedenserziehung: Empathie zeigte einen Tend, sich bei PEP zu erhöhen, doch beim lokalen Programm abzunehmen. Vertrauen nahm in beiden Gruppen zu, ebenso die Positivität der Fremdgruppeneinschätzung, wobei dies nur in der PEP-Gruppe signifikant war. Für Intergruppenwahrnehmungen, Kontaktbereitschaft und Versöhnungsbereitschaft fanden sich keine Effekte. Die meisten Trends gingen in die erwartete Richtung. Nur Intergruppenangst zeigte einen steigenden Trend.

Der gesamte PEP-Workshop hatte also zu Verbesserungen der prosozialen Einstellungen und Fremdgruppenwahrnehmungen und -einstellungen geführt. Die 9 Stunden nur zu kleinen Veränderungen. Alle Workshops wurden in ethnisch gemischten Gruppen durchgeführt. Es lässt sich nicht klar unterscheiden, wie Programm, Implementierung und Kontakterfahrung zusammenwirkten. Friedenserziehung zu verstehen und zu analysieren ist komplex, da viele Ziele, Vermischungen und unterschiedliche Einflüsse eine klare Analyse erschweren. Aspekte von Kultur, Ethik, Praktikabilität müssen berücksichtigt werden. Diese Evaluation hat gezeigt, dass in dem spezifischen Kontext einer Implementierung mit Liberianischen Flüchtlingen dieses Friedenserziehungsprogramm zu verbesserten Intergruppeneinstellungen führen kann. Empfehlungen für das Programm, die praktische Arbeit der Friedenserziehung und die Forschung in diesem Bereich wurden dargestellt.

Curriculum Vitae

Name: Friederike Feuchte
Born: 24 / 07 / 1979 in Freiburg (Breisgau), Germany

Education

2007-2009 Post-graduate student at the International Graduate College, Friedrich Schiller University Jena;
2003-2006 Student at Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität Münster
Psychology (Diplom) with minors in sociology, political science, intercultural education.
2002-2003 Student at the Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China
Chinese language and culture, psychology
2000-2002 Student at Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität Münster,
Psychology (Vordiplom)
General linguistics, Philosophy, psychology (Magister-Zwischenprüfung)
1987-1999 Student at Freie Waldorfschule Heilbronn (Abitur)

Professional experience

Since 2010 Working as a clinical psychologist (Rostock University Hospital)
Since 2003 Facilitating trainings for conflict resolution, civic education, social competence, psychological training (various organisations, irregularly)
2008-2009 Teaching courses at Friedrich-Wilhelms-University Jena
06/ 2006 Junior consultant for a youth center in Narva, Estonia (sent by Otto-Bennecke-Stiftung)
2003 Teaching German to Chinese students (Hangzhou university, China)
1999-2000 European Voluntary Service with a cultural organisation in Serres, Greece

Ehrenwörtliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit, dass mir die Promotionsordnung der Fakultät für Sozial- und Verhaltenswissenschaften bekannt ist.

Ferner erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbst und ohne unzulässige Hilfe Dritter angefertigt habe. Alle von mir benutzten Hilfsmittel, persönliche Mitteilungen und Quellen sind in der Arbeit angegeben.

Bei der Datenerhebung haben mir Joel Saplak, Slabe Sennay, Joe Nyenpan und einige andere LiberianerInnen geholfen. Bei der Dateneingabe unterstützen mich zwei studentische Hilfskräfte. Pete Walton hat meine Arbeit als englischer Muttersprachler entgeltlich korrektur gelesen.

Weitere Personen waren an der Erstellung der Arbeit nicht beteiligt. Niemand weiteres erhielt geldwerte Leistungen in Zusammenhang mit der Arbeit. Insbesondere habe ich nicht die Hilfe eines Promotionsberaters in Anspruch genommen.

Die vorliegende Dissertation wurde weder im In- noch im Ausland in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form bei einer anderen staatlichen oder wissenschaftlichen Prüfungsbehörde eingereicht. Weder früher noch gegenwärtig habe ich an einer anderen Hochschule eine Dissertation eingereicht.

Ich versichere, dass ich nach bestem Wissen die reine Wahrheit gesagt und nichts verschwiegen habe.

Ort, Datum

Unterschrift