Peace and Conflict Studies

Volume 27 | Number 1 Article 3

5-2020

Loose Coupling in Curriculum Reforms: Rural Teachers´ Perceptions of Peace Education in Post-Conflict Colombia

Pedro Pineda
German Centre for Higher Education Research and Science Studies (DZHW), pineda@dzhw.eu

Markus D. Meier
Universidad Externado de Colombia, markus.meier@uexternado.edu.co

Loose Coupling in Curriculum Reforms: Rural Teachers´ Perceptions of Peace Education in Post-Conflict Colombia

Abstract

Previous research has shown how peace education (PE) mutates according to socio-political and curricular/didactic traditions, but we still need to know how PE disseminates at the school level. We surveyed teachers from 12 rural schools of the violent Amazon region of Colombia where a national Law made PE mandatory in schools and universities. Teachers working on schools affected by the armed conflict have high expectations about PE. Respondents identified PE with 21 didactic elements: (a) Approaches: values education, citizenship education, critical pedagogy; (b) Pedagogical principles: diversity and pluralism. (c) Learning processes: peaceful conflict resolution, promotion of a "life project", political participation. (d) Topics: justice, human rights, nature preservation, culture preservation, school bullying, historical memory or peace treaties´ history, "risk prevention". (e) Pedagogic means: "games", multimedia, "recreation", and social projects. (f) Teaching methods: action research and moral dilemmas. Teachers also have opposing views about the history of PE. We could not find a systematic pattern of responses about the pedagogical principles or theoretical sources of inspiration of PE. We discuss the differences between present PE reforms and the previous tradition related to classical education that promoted moral, historical, and political capacities linked to school subjects in the context of post-conflict societies.

Keywords: *peace, teacher education curriculum, national curriculum, national standards, educational policy*

Author Bio(s)

Pedro Pineda (Dr. Phil., Humboldt University of Berlin) is Postdoctoral Research Associate at the German Centre for Higher Education Research and Science Studies (DZHW) while preparing his habilitation thesis at INCHER, university of Kassel.

Markus D. Meier has a MA in history, philosophy and music with a Doctorate in Philosophy from the University of Frankfurt. He is professor and researcher at the Universidad Externado de Colombia.

Loose Coupling in Curriculum Reforms: Rural Teachers´ Perceptions of Peace Education in Post-Conflict Colombia

Pedro Pineda and Markus D. Meier

Through previous topical research, the term *peace education* (PE) has increasingly been used to promote different educational agendas (Lerch & Buckner, 2017; Pineda, Celis, & Rangel, 2019b). A PE for social justice was created in the 1970s by academics from the United States and Germany that had an agenda of peace linked to critical pedagogy (Reardon, 1978; Wulf, 1973a, 1973b). A PE capable of preventing military confrontation among states was later imagined to counteract military indoctrination during the armament race of the Cold War (e.g., Reardon, 1978; Thelin, 1996), but PE has also been imported as a solution for internal armed conflicts (e.g., Bickmore, Kaderi, & Guerra-Sua, 2017; A. Montgomery & McGlynn, 2009; Salomon, 2014). PE more recently mutates into skills for conflict resolution, and acquires a technocratic emphasis about research methods to test the short-term effects of initiatives based on PE (e.g., Deveci, Yilmaz, & Karadag, 2008).

Colombian politicians and educational consultants have recently imported the term of PE in the form of a pedagogy useful in solving armed conflict, through the promotion of standardized skills (Pineda et al., 2019b). The attempt to institutionalize PE is represented in the Colombian Law 1732 (Congreso de Colombia, 2014), which makes PE mandatory across the curriculum at all educational levels. In the law, PE is defined in terms of so-called citizenship competences at the micro-social level and conceptualized in relation to a mosaic of pedagogic methods, content, and broad educational principles (Congreso de Colombia, 2014). PE has been increasingly accepted in Colombia, and positions skeptical to PE are anecdotal (e.g., Suárez, 2015). However, it is unclear what has happened to this curriculum reform at the school level.

Previous research on curriculum reforms (Maguire, Ball, & Braun, 2013; Weiler, 1989, 1990) have shown that, when put into effect, the conceptual base of reforms (e.g., peace education) may occur differently at different levels of implementation. Curriculum reforms are not implemented in a vacuum, but their overlap with local culture and previous educational traditions may result in different trajectories. In neo-institutional terms, during the implementation of curriculum reforms, police, practice, and organizational levels are loosely

coupled (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Drori, Meyer, Ramirez, & Schofer, 2003). A PE-based curriculum may be implemented as a best practice in different schools or may be maintained at a discursive level without the pacifying effects imagined. In following a neo-institutional perspective, we raise the following questions: Do reforms based on the idea of PE gain local legitimacy under circumstances of social violence? Do the pedagogical approaches to PE in practice represent a consistent and theoretically founded pedagogy? Is the idea of PE as framed by political statements present in pedagogical changes by practitioners?

The aim of our study is to see how PE is translated at the school level by surveying teachers from 12 highly conflict-affected rural schools in the Colombian post-conflict Amazon region. We study the articulation of policy discourse and changes in educational practices in curriculum reform based on PE through surveying teachers about what PE is and how they implement it. We argue that teachers have great expectations in the implementation of PE, but that there is a multiplicity of views about what PE is and how to implement it—decoupled from academic literature and regulating laws. We first make a historic overview of the arrival of the official version of PE in Colombia in 2014. Then, we explain the application of the concept of loose coupling (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Drori et al., 2003) to curriculum reforms based on PE before presenting teachers' expectations and approaches to PE. We then discuss the limitations that curriculum reforms based on the idea of PE applied transversally may have in the context of post-conflict societies in relation to the potentialities of a curriculum based in the classic education tradition.

Peace Education and Peace Education in Colombia

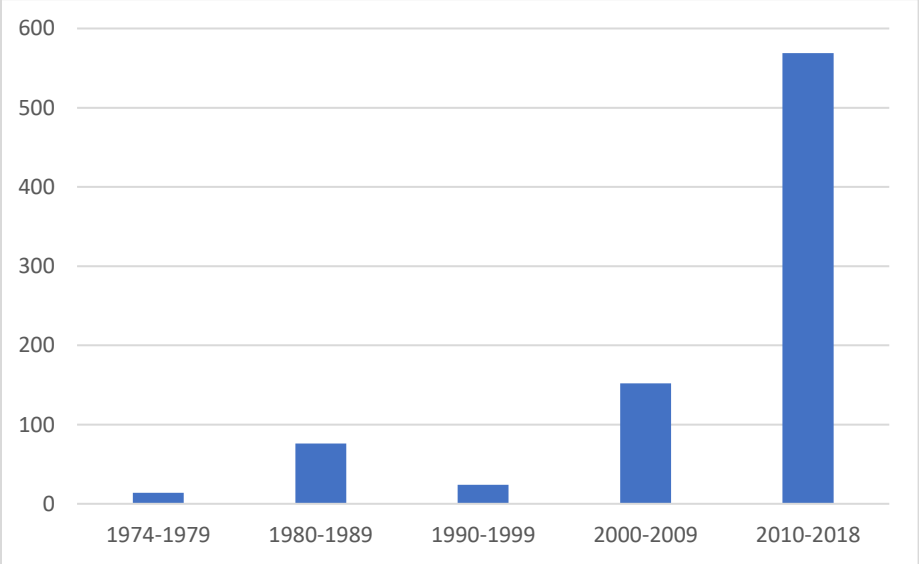
History of Peace Education (PE)

PE has been institutionalized around the world since the 1970s through the support of professional and international organizations (Pineda et al., 2019b). The first reference to the term seems to exist within the United Kingdom's World Council for Curriculum and Instruction (Haavelsrud, 1974). A PE that fosters social justice was proposed by academics linked to critical pedagogy and social change. Influential scholars were Christoph Wulf and Betty Reardon (Reardon, 1978; Wulf, 1973a, 1973b). "Critical" was added to PE to create the new term "critical PE" but essentially these authors maintained critical pedagogies' aim to raise student's social awareness against situations of injustice in society. Students were taught about the lack of action of social institutions to improve the living conditions of the underprivileged, but to preserve the

status quo of the most favored classes. Influenced by Marxist school of thought, both critical pedagogy and critical PE seek emancipation from situations of social domination by privileged social circles. In this main point, critical peace education reframes most recognized authors within this tradition, such as Paulo Freire (1967/2008) or contemporary authors such as Henry Giroux (H. Giroux & Purpel, 1983; H. A. Giroux, 2015).

As Figure 1 shows, PE appeared frequently in academic publications in late 1974, in the context of an again intensifying Cold War and nuclear armament. By the end of the decade yearly twenty-four publications on PE surfaced Scopus (2019).

Figure 1. Publications in "peace education" or "education for peace."



Source: (Scopus, 2019)

PE was seen as a means to counteract military indoctrination justified by the prevention of military confrontation between states (Reardon, 1978; Thelin, 1996). In 1981, an International Prize for PE was awarded by UNESCO and UNICEF that promoted pedagogies based on PE (Lerch, Bromley, Ramirez, & Meyer, 2016). The number of publications about PE diminished in the following decade of the 1990s, presumably because of the end of the Cold War. However, with new internal armed conflicts arising worldwide in the new millennium, PE gained momentum again as an educational concern. The UNESCO published policy papers and declarations supporting PE (UNESCO, 1995a, 1995b) followed by document papers and

guidelines in the next decade (UNESCO, 2005a, 2005b), and UNICEF also promoted PE in its edited publications (Fountain, 1999). Increasing attention continued well into the 2010s, with the number of publications almost quadrupling. With the political landscape rapidly changing and new armed conflicts of different scales emerging, the thematic scope of PE shifted from conflicts between states (or military alliances and political ideologies, as was the case during the Cold War) to national reforms and curricula adjustments that would lead citizens to solve or even prevent ethnic and social internal conflicts (Lerch & Buckner, 2017).

Thus, PE has also diffused globally and is increasingly adopted by educators and reformers for teacher education programs using different definitions. The Global Campain for Peace Education (2017) identifies twenty-four university programs based on PE worldwide. In Latin America, the University of Puerto Rico has developed a UNESCO chair for PE, an initiative that since 1996 has also inspired the further diffusion of the topic in the region in universities and schools through teacher education programs. PE has therefore increasingly influenced educational programs and curriculum in different countries such as Colombia, Guatemala (Bellino, 2016), Spain (Presidente del Gobierno, 2005), Cyprus (see Zembylas, Charalambous, Charalambous, & Kendeou, 2011) and the Philippines (Senate of the Philippines, 2016) where the term peace education has been promoted by law in educational curricula. A new behavioristic and technical approach to PE has recently translated into practical skills for conflict resolution at the micro-social level, including research and evaluation methods to test the short-term effects of practices based on PE (e.g., Chubbuck & Zembylas, 2011; Deveci et al., 2008). It is unclear how a curriculum based on the idea of peace is understood at the level of teachers.

Approaches to Peace Education

The global spread of PE is related to its description as one of the most polysemic and globalized initiatives in education nowadays. The Pineda et al. (2019b) literature overview of the 297 publications on Scopus (2019) produced at least five definitions of PE that depend on the perspective of authors who tend to have diverse epistemological, political, and ethical positions on the applications of a pedagogy based on the idea of peace.

First, PE may be presented as based on the critiques of structural conditions of violence on behalf of the same leftist European intellectuals that inspired the rise of peace and conflict studies (Galtung, 1983; Reardon, 1978; Vasquez, 1976), and it may involve a revolutionary connotation if amalgamed with critical educational approaches (Bajaj, 2015; Gounari, 2013;

Snauwaert, 2011; Verma, 2017). Examples include philosophical reflections covering "critical PE" for social resistance (Snauwaert, 2011) that conflate with critical pedagogy inspired by Marxism—some of them explicitly related to the work of Paulo Freire (Bajaj, 2015; Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011). Critical PE may also be viewed as compatible with a "feminist" perspective (e.g., Milojević & Izgarjan, 2014; Plonski, 2006; Verma, 2017). A second kind of PE is implemented to contribute to the solution of endemic national conflicts between groups from different social origins (i.e., Bickmore et al., 2017), as well as conflicts across ethnic groups (i.e., Salomon, 2014), or aggressions between religious groups (i.e., A. Montgomery & McGlynn, 2009). PE capable of solving social problems related to inequality commonly conflates with political ideas based on principles of social justice. However, PE intent upon solving national violence can also have a right-wing ideology, in the sense of promoting a military doctrine that relies on the security forces to prevent social unrest (M. E. Montgomery, 2003). Third, PE is also considered a pedagogy on world peace that seeks to solve and prevent conflicts across nations (i.e., Baligadoo, 2012; Del Felice, Karako, & Wisler, 2015). Students are taught to become global citizens who care for global peace (Harris, 1999). A fourth kind of PE is influenced by the American tradition of curriculum and instruction. PE designed to build skills for conflict resolution adopts a technocratic emphasis. This focus in skills for conflict resolution in family and school, and knowledge at the micro-curriculum level attempts to test the supposed effects of PE through empirical methods (i.e., Deveci et al., 2008); some of these curricula are focused on conflict-resolution training in terms of skills or competences (i.e., Kester & Cremin, 2017). This type of PE, understood in terms of an effective technology for promotion of skills, emerged later and is now more popular than PE for interstate relations (Harris, 1999; Lerch & Buckner, 2017). A last type of PE identified by Pineda et al. (2019b) emerges when religious education, the doctrines of different worldviews, mutate into PE. Therefore, all Christian (i.e., Baldermann, 1987; Butkus, 1983) or Hindu ("yogic PE") (Standish & Joyce, 2017) dogmas become PE. What the multiple uses of PE show is that a pedagogy using the word "peace" is used to legitimize political, religious, and technocratic educational agendas.

The only common denominator of the different approaches to PE presented here is the commitment to an educational process explicitly linked to the polysemic nature of the word peace. The polyseme of PE is also related to the use of the word "peace" with various theoretical foundations. Peace may evoke a war ethic in Greek philosophy, whereas the Latin word pax

(peace, paz, paix, pau, pace), which refers to the absence of violence, differs from those ethical principles or spiritual personal states evoked by shalom and salaam in Hebrew and Arab (Dietrich, 2012; Richards, 1989). Given that the idea of peace is applied according to given worldviews and agendas, and that it is at the base of PE, then PE is probably also a polyseme. Whether PE as a pedagogy is formulated in terms of "education for peace" or "peace education," a clause of effect or a compound noun, is more related to whether the grammar of the given language allows the second, concise variant. In Spanish, for example only the form "peace education" (educación para la paz) may be built. Both variants aim to create a noun and give an ontological status to a pedagogy, and therefore, we searched for both in our analysis.

It is not surprising that pedagogies based on the concept of peace adapt easily to the mindsets of a whole variety of educational agendas. Once we have departed from the premise that PE is understood as a discourse that mutates and not as a monolithic technology, we can further explore its use in different national policies and by teachers in their educational practice.

Peace Education Arrives in Colombia

In Colombia, PE was formalized in educational regulations during a period of post-conflict that followed the signing of the peace treaty between the Juan Manuel Santos' government and the FARC guerilla (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) in 2016. This treaty partially ended a low-scale conflict after more than 50 years. However, another armed group, the ELN guerrilla (Ejército de Liberación Nacional), criminal bands and deserters from the FARC, still engage in armed actions (Caselli, 2018). The categorization of post conflict is thus debatable, also considering that Middle-American countries such as El Salvador have not seen an important reduction of violence after their respective peace treaties (Kurtenbach, 2013). Above all, the financial sources for illegal groups, namely drug-trafficking and illegal mining, is still present (Meier & Páez, 2016). The Colombian State faces the challenge of gaining legitimacy in the regions marked by violence in the past decades through laws and projects that also involve education.

Peace education officially arrived and became a formal content of the curriculum in 2014, with its mandatory implementation through a national law 1732 (Congreso de Colombia, 2014) that created the so-called "peace seminar" (Cátedra de la Paz). This law was later regulated by decree1038 (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2015). All educational institutions of the country, including kindergartens, schools, technical institutions, and universities must include the

so-called peace seminar in its curriculum. The law was presented by Ariel Armel (2015) in the moment in which the peace treaty was still being negotiated. Armel is a politician and economist known for his activism for the protection of consumer rights, but not for being an educational expert (Ortega, 2016). Since its creation, universities have also contributed to popularizing PE. There are master's degrees in PE, such as those from the Universidad Distrital (2018) and the Universidad Surcolombiana (2012), and textbooks on the implementation of PE edited by university presses, such as the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, the Universidad de los Andes, and the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. National educational consultants working in universities (Chaux & Velásquez, 2016; Diazgranados et al., 2014; Mejía & Chaux, 2017) have also promoted the use of PE in their publications and assessments. The advocates of PE have definitely rooted it at the academic level.

In the Colombian law 1732, PE is defined as "the appropriation of knowledge and the citizenship competences for pacific coexistence" (Congreso de Colombia, 2014). PE is thus mainly reframing the so-called citizenship competences promoting cohabiting and peace, which previous official governments had implemented a decade earlier (Chaux, Lleras, & Velásquez, 2004). PE has, therefore, a tautological definition. In relationship with peace, it is defined as a certain kind of citizenship competency. Furthermore, such skills are believed to be related to twelve broad components that are expected to be implemented by the law: a) justice and human rights; b) sustainable use of natural resources; c) protection of the cultural and natural wealth of the nation; d) peaceful conflict resolution; e) prevention of school harassment; f) diversity and plurality; g) political participation; h) historical memory; i) moral dilemmas; j) social impact projects; k) history of national and international peace agreements; and finally, l) life projects and risk prevention. This mixture of didactic approaches, topics, and pedagogical strategies are not defined by the law or its regulatory degree 1038 (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2015). PE is officially envisaged as a transversal curriculum based on skills that are unrelated to the other subject components of the school curriculum. Pineda et al. (2019b) has identified this transversal curriculum as skills for conflict resolution—a mixture of a PE linked to measurable skills and a PE for solving national conflicts. Bearing this transversal character of PE in mind, we can ask in more detail which other pedagogies and activities of teachers conflate with this national trend found at the level of governmental policy.

Critics of the legal initiative to implement PE highlight the diffuse discursive character of the law as a general mandate. They insist that post-conflict education should continue concentrating on the promotion of quality education, and it should abstain from imposing poorly defined new skills implemented by the government that de-emphasize previous traditions focused on logic, linguistic, moral, communicative, and aesthetic capacities presently linked to the study of school subjects (Pineda, Celis, & Rangel, 2019a). PE with transversal skills is decoupled from any of the subjects established by the general education law of Colombia—history, political science, geography, economics, philosophy, religion, and ethics (República de Colombia, 1994). These subjects must be taught in each school according to its own educational philosophy, given that Colombia does not have a tradition of a centralized curriculum. Each school can choose the exact content to teach according to the educational philosophy of each school (called the institutional educational project).

Concerning the replacement of the classical curriculum by new skills, Arias Gómez (2015) reflects that the tradition of attempting to establish purported seminars unrelated to the structure of the school curriculum is a kind of new national educational trend. The peace seminar represents yet another attempt of curriculum reform uncoordinated with the main curriculum structure. Previous attempts to create transversal contents have been made according to the trending topics of the moment. For example, other seminars have been created in Bolivarian studies (about Simón Bolivar), Afro Colombian affairs, and Gender or Human Rights. None of these curriculum reform initiatives have been followed by a process of implementation and evaluation after they were adopted as new laws. Gomez-Suarez (2017) suggests that PE is in reality an attempt to open spaces for political indoctrination and to frame extremist views. At the moment of writing, no known evaluation of the Colombian initiative for institutionalizing PE in all the educational levels of the country has given further hints of the impact of this paradigmatic initiative.

Peace Education and Loose Coupling in Curriculum Reforms

The notion of loose coupling is a useful concept in the investigation of the implementation of PE in Colombia. Loose coupling refers to the gap both between discourse and practice and/or between different instances of social organization. The term has been popularized by neo-institutional, world society theoreticians (Drori et al., 2003), borrowing the concept from organizational studies (K. E. Weick, 1976; Karl E. Weick, 1995)—the latter being linked to

classic discussions from computer sciences and administration (March & Ohlsen, 1975; Simon, 1962). The application of the concept to curriculum reform allows us to problematize the possible gaps between educational discourses at higher levels of governance to the real changes that a reform may have in everyday educational practices. These gaps may occur because educational activities are long-term and broad, and therefore their efficiency is especially difficult to evaluate (Ramirez, Meyer, & Lerch, 2016). The uncertainty of educational practices makes room for the acceptance of discourses and models that gain national and international recognition, regardless of their effectiveness, which may be more imagined than empirically proven. Still, these new educational ideas may be adopted superficially through policies or formal organizational structures that gain legitimacy among those who expect changes without making any changes in everyday practices. Rhetoric and everyday life could differ because new models may be employed for the aforementioned purpose—that is, for hindering change (Meyer & Scott, 1983). Related research on this gap between discourse and practice (loose coupling) has been undertaken in different educational reforms around the world.

Loose coupling has been found in some curriculum reforms based on PE around the world. For example, a review of 100 curriculum guidelines in the United States (Brock-Utne, 2000) showed a broad range of guides and standards to define PE in the curriculum, but did not show consensus regarding the core components of PE. Another example of the gaps between formal programs and the effects in everyday teaching and learning processes can be found in the "learning to live together" programs, developed jointly by UNESCO and the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ). According to Sinclair (2010), the message of the program to children and adolescents may be hindered by heavier influence of the adults' function as role models in settings of social conflict. Even in Germany, where academics such as Christoph Wulf first popularized the concept in 1970s, PE does not represent a systematic, top-down and long-term application of an educational idea. PE has become part of a peripheral discourse that has not affected educational curricula after it was proposed to become a main component of the curriculum. The reform encountered critiques about its use for either military indoctrination or the promotion of an acritical attitude towards discussion because it corresponds to a certain belief about what peaceful means (Flitner, 1986). These previous descriptions about the implementation of PE show that the idea is not completely rejected or implemented. Actors are

not completely disconnected nor tightly coupled in the implementation of PE as usually described in the literature about PE.

It therefore follows that the implementation of initiatives adhering to the idea of PE need a systematic empirical approach that allows us to understand the adoption of a global idea in local educational contexts. From the perspective of developing countries, PE is a foreign idea transferred from the centers of thought where the discourse emerged and is maintained through academic publications. Recent research in Turkey on the perceptions of teachers about PE shows that the multiplicity of versions about PE may further increase from the five major discourses already identified by Pineda et al. (2019b). While Deveci et al. (2008) purports that teachers in Turkey should emphasize peace education on civics, social studies, and life knowledge, Gurdogan-Bayır and Bozkurt (2018) advocate that PE should be associated with strategies for the promotion of tolerance and prevention of discrimination. PE seems to further mutate into pedagogies and didactical methods as it moves from international and policy circles to adoption by teachers.

Method

Between August and December 2017, we applied a survey to twenty-seven teachers from twelve rural schools with 1,014 students in the Department of Caquetá, in the Amazon region of Colombia. Earlier attempts to obtain a representative sample were unsuccessful due to logistical and security problems with contacting teachers in the area. We then limited the scope of the study and approached a more focused group of teachers. The average teacher's age was 40 years; fifteen were male, and twelve were female. All participants that provided information had postgraduate education: fifteen short masters without thesis (called especializaciones), eight masters, and one doctorate (three did not respond to the question). The respondents' areas of specialization were broad and included natural sciences and mathematics, social sciences, and physical education. After an initial attempt to apply the survey electronically, due to the lack of reliable electronic equipment, we finally decided to apply the survey during a 50-minute session with paper and pencil. We chose schools of the Amazon region of Caquetá because it was one of the most violent areas of Colombia, which we could access through a foundation working in that geographical area. Caquetá had 40 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2015; in that year it was the fourth most dangerous department in Colombia (Buitrago & Norza, 2016). It was especially relevant to investigate what happens to PE when implemented in a place where it is aimed to

contribute to the solution of national armed conflict. Furthermore, schools are small and dispersed (they ranged from 14 to 205 students), and the means of transportation are very precarious.

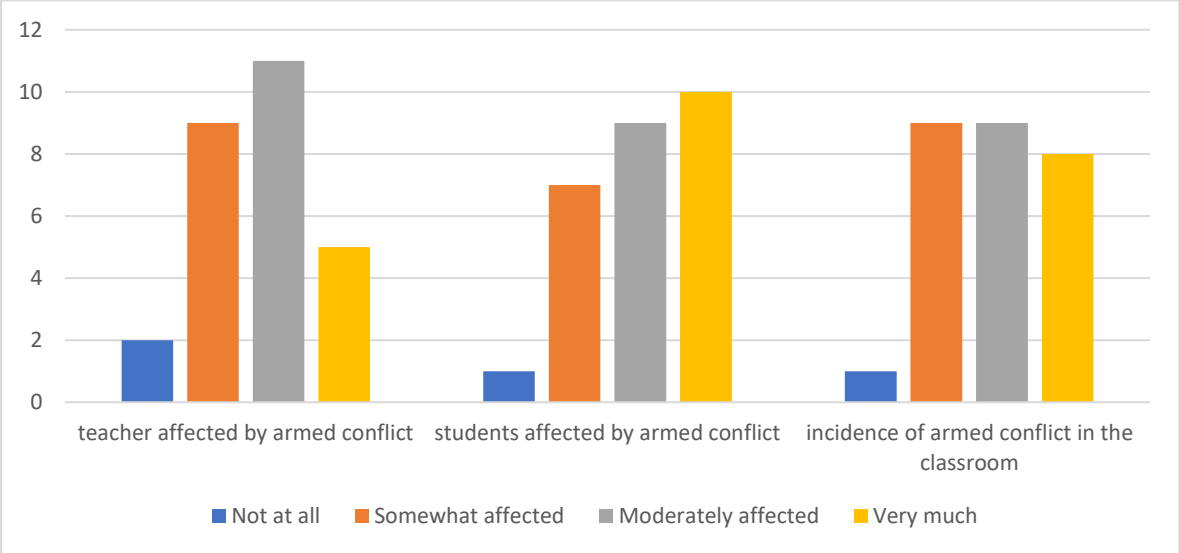
The instrument consisted of forty-six questions grouped into three clusters: expectations about PE, approaches to PE, and loose coupling in PE. Twenty-three questions had a four-level ordinal scale, the rest were open questions asking participants to provide their responses. The structure of the survey was based on the neo-institutional understanding (Drori et al., 2003; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) based in educational organizations, such as schools and universities (Pineda, 2015; Ramirez & Tiplic, 2013). These entities may receive educational mandates that do not necessarily translate as an organized functional process where there is a clear relationship between means and ends and connection between policy and practice (Bromley & Powell, 2012). Accordingly, educational reforms are not necessarily implemented top-down but often as disorganized sets of rules that are used to create an appearance of legitimacy towards external scrutiny, without visible change in educational practices. The method of analysis was through descriptive statistics and categorization, as well as interpretation of open responses.

Results

Expectations about Peace Education

To study the context in which PE was implemented, we asked teachers to explain their perception of the context in which they work. To investigate the perception about the influence of conflict in daily activities, we asked the following questions: “To what extent are you affected by the armed conflict?” “To what extent are your students affected by the conflict?” and, “To what extent do you think the conflict affected the classroom dynamic?” Results are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Violent conditions of reception of peace education (n=27).



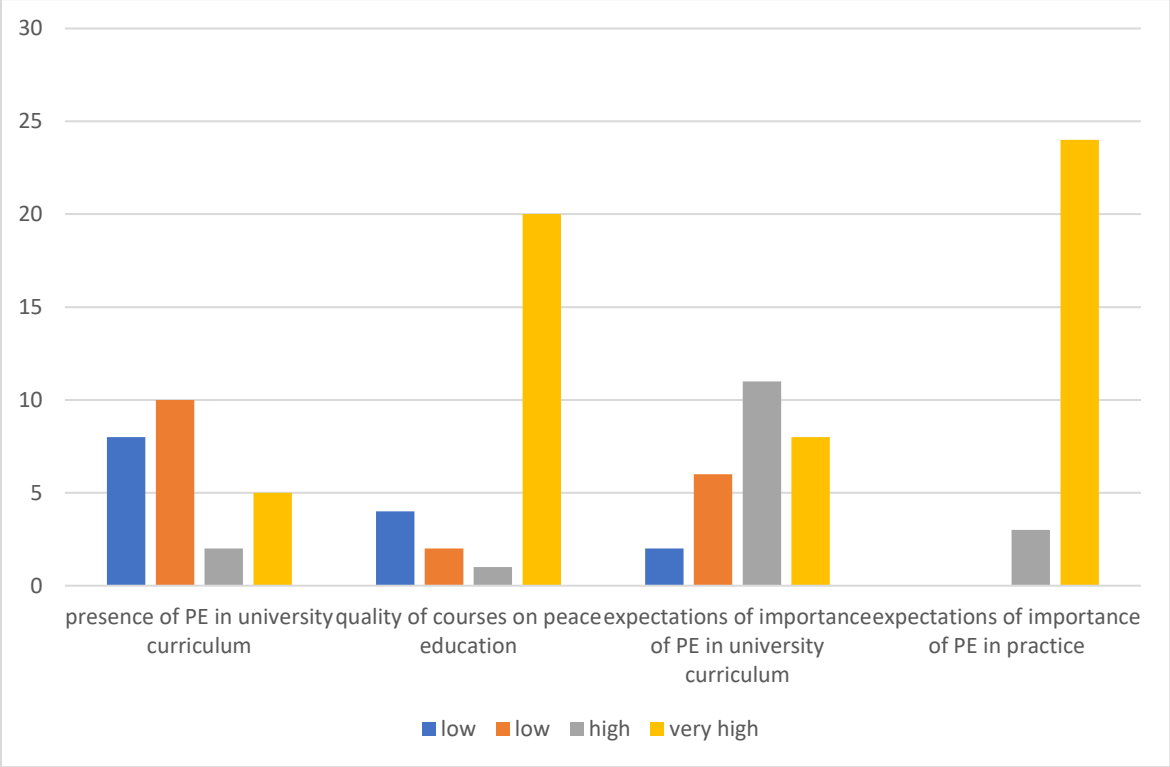
Responses seemed to be consistent about the perceived affectation of the armed conflict at schools. We found that the region of the twelve rural schools we investigated is affected by the violent context. Teachers coincided in their three responses in saying that when they and their students were individually affected by conflict, everyday activities at the class were influenced by the violence. For example, one responded, "because of the confrontations in open fields with the public force and groups outside the law … I was displaced, it affects our rhythm of life." Another participant wrote about "the pain of lost relatives. I have lived in my own skin, the violence." A student described that "it is uncomfortable to address these issues [armed conflict], there is pain." Teachers further noted the aggressiveness of their students: "Children reflect many situations in their behavior, manifest aggressions in the classroom." Another teacher described how students went to school under a feeling of uncertainty: "Violence has affected much in the sense that they were terrified when they heard the bombs and explosions." Another teacher referred to emotional reactions of hopelessness: "Children are aggressive and disillusioned."

Only one of the teachers we surveyed did not perceive any incidence of the war in the educational process. This exception is explained because she said in the open questions she is new to the institution ("I have not lived the armed conflict in my own skin, I am relatively new in this school."). Pineda et al. (2019b) shows that critical violence is a necessary but insufficient condition for the adoption of PE, and therefore we believe that teachers at the schools of the

Caquetá region we chose may have great expectations about the potential of PE's contribution to regional and national progress.

To further explore if PE as promoted by the government was accepted by teachers, we analyzed the questions: "What was the presence of PE in in the university curriculum?" "What was the quality of the courses on peace education?" "What are your expectations of the importance of PE in the university curriculum?" "What were your expectations about the importance of PE in practice?" Figure 3 illustrates the responses to these questions.

Figure 3. Creation of expectations of peace education in studies and expectations in practice (n=27).



Some presence of PE in the universities where teachers had studied was perceived by 17 respondents, and only 8 did not report any presence of PE (2 missing values). The high and very high presence of PE in higher education was perceived by 7 respondents represented in the first group of bars of Figure 3. Only 8 teachers did not report having PE in the curriculum in the university studies. The second group of bars shows that twenty of the respondents say that the

quality of courses was very high. This respondent number is higher than the actual count of those with PE resident in the university. This inconsistency could be explained by biased perception related to a positive expectation about PE or by the provision of short informal courses on PE that are not part of formal teacher or professional curriculum but provided by universities.

The two remaining groups of bars at the right in Figure 3 show the teachers' expectations about PE. Typical answers referred to a future of peace in the nation and good school climate. For example: "We are now beginning a new era of peace due to the end of the armed conflict in our homeland, and it is important to implement this peace seminar as a mechanism of transformation of peace by violence [sic]." Only two respondents had no expectations about PE being an important topic in the university curriculum and justified their responses as follows: "There are very few planned standards with this intentionality." The other teacher thought that "since we lack training and material the PE, what we provide is not adequate."

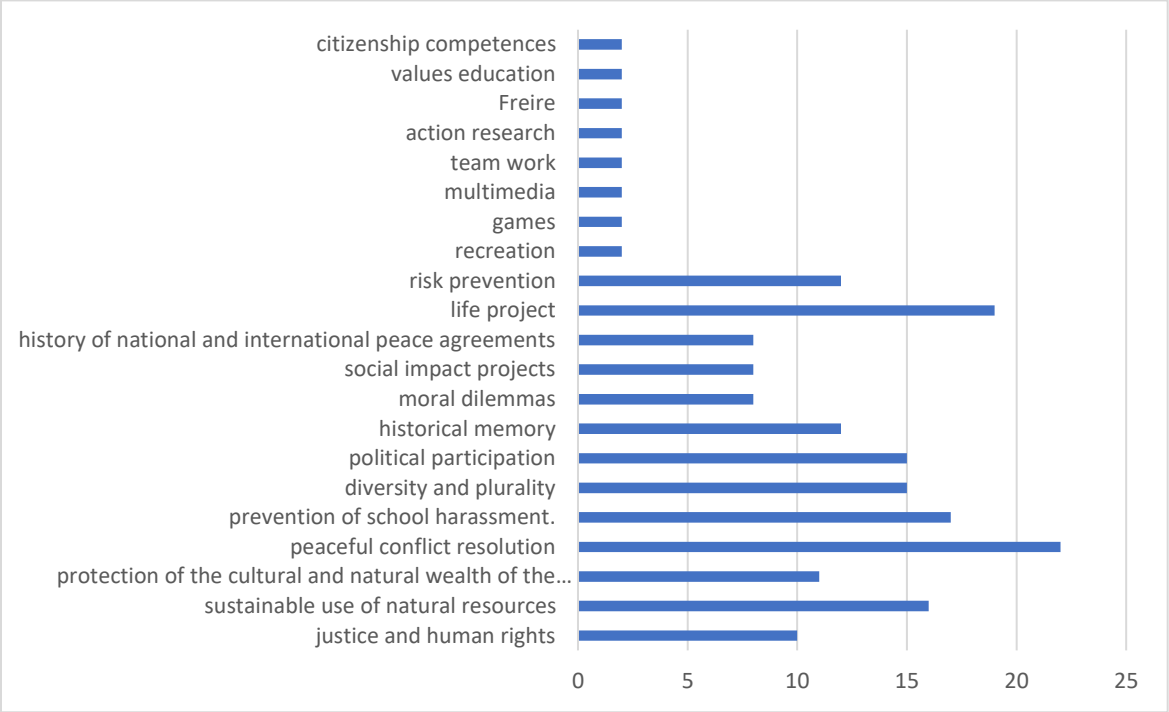
The group of bars at the far right portrays that all the teachers who responded to our survey had had high or very high expectations about the importance of PE, in practice. Again, all these answers show a trend of institutionalization of PE consistent, in general, with the previous work of Pineda et al. (2019b). As we expected, PE seems to be recognized as an established body of knowledge in the minds of teachers of violent areas of Colombia—regardless of the meaning of this body of knowledge. Once we verified our expected recognition of PE in the schools we studied, we further explored the core aspect of our study: what do teachers believe PE is.

Teachers' Approaches to Peace Education

In our next analysis of the collected data, we looked for teacher conceptions of PE through asking, "What are your approaches to PE?" and "When was PE created?" For the first question we used the categories established by Law 1732 (Congreso de Colombia, 2014). We also employed open questions, which we categorized when other approaches about PE were conceptualized in the responses. Through analyzing these questions, we wanted to further explore the cognition about PE: how it is represented in the minds of teachers.

Figure *4* shows wide range of ideas that are linked to PE in Colombia.

Figure 4. Approaches to peace education (n=27).



PE is imagined by Colombian teachers with high expectations about their functionality in relation to 21 broadly defined educational approaches. The educational ideas include: (a) pedagogical principles such as diversity and pluralism, teamwork; (b) approaches to moral education such as Freire's critical education, values education, citizenship education (as competences); (b) expected learning processes that include peaceful conflict resolution, life project (career and life plan), and political participation; (c) curricular topics such as justice and human rights, nature preservation, culture preservation, school bullying, Colombian historical memory, history of peace treaties, risk prevention (without reference to any kind of particular risk); (d) pedagogic means such as games, multimedia, recreation, projects with a direct social impact; and (e) teaching methods such as action research or moral dilemmas.

In general, PE conflates with different components of the analysis of didactics as defined by Heimann (1976). However, each of the components presented by teachers planning a class are disconnected and presented in such a way that they do not constitute an organized planned class. Teachers' descriptions show that the twelve components linked to PE, as formulated by Law 1732 (Congreso de Colombia, 2014), further diversifies into twenty-one multiple philosophies

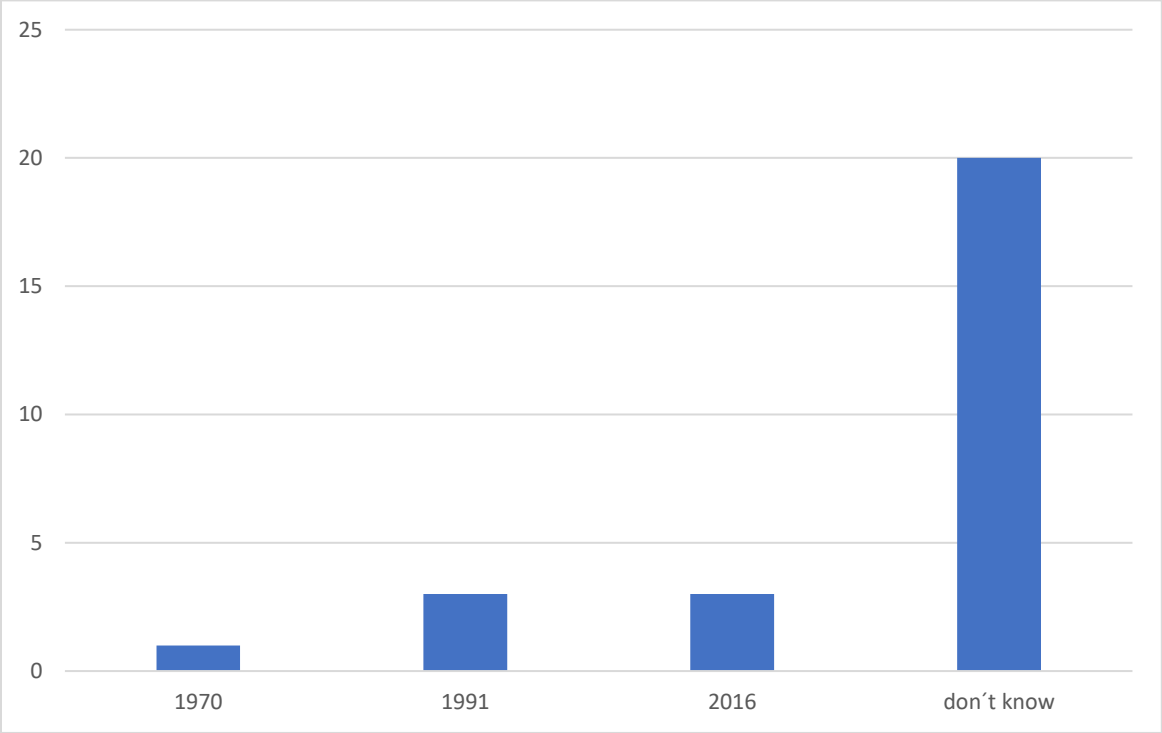
and methods. PE is not described by teachers as a monolithic approach but rather one built by fragmented pieces integrated by different narratives about its theoretical foundations and uses. The approaches to PE, as presented and further described in the qualitative responses, do not conceptualize how education will become a way to solve problems of the context (see Klafki, 1985/2007). We could not find a systematic pattern of responses between two or more teachers about the pedagogical principles or theoretical sources of inspiration of PE. The only common pattern found in the responses was the a common reference to measurement and skills in terms of skills for conflict resolution (c.f. Deveci et al., 2008; Kester & Cremin, 2017). This is the mainstream imagined relation to citizenship education that is the dominant discourse at the political level of Colombia, reproduced by twenty-two teachers. However, this focus by them in skills and knowledge at the micro-curriculum level exists in the mind of teachers parallel to other pedagogical ideas that are probably present in the Colombian educational landscape.

Among the approaches to moral education (see Gomez Caride, 2017; Nucci, 2016) framed as PE are the focus on citizenship education, values education, and moral education—the latter, through the use of Kohlberg´s dilemmas. No description of civics and character education is found, although these were also predominant approaches a century ago, as represented by the frequently used Manual of Urbanity and Good Manners written by Manual Antonio Carreño in 1853, or the Instruction Morals and Civics Manual, in 1907 (Herrera, Pinilla Díaz, & Suaza, 2007).

In

Figure 5, we further explored whether there was a coherent body of knowledge behind PE as conceived by teachers in rural Colombia, through asking respondents to locate historically what they believed PE is.

Figure 5. Perceived creation year of peace education (n=27)



The different responses as to the year PE was founded are consistent with the previous responses about the approaches on PE in

Figure *4*. Even if the majority of teachers reported having great expectations about PE and its uses, the great majority (20) did not take a guess about its year of creation. Three further respondents conceived of PE as a local creation that started after the official creation of the government´s Law 1732 (Congreso de Colombia, 2014) and further, three linked PE to 1991 (Constitución Política de Colombia, 1991), the most recent Constitution of Colombia, which introduced important changes in the state, such as decentralization and legal mechanisms to protect fundamental rights but did not mention PE. PE seems to be unrelated to previous bodies of knowledge and the history of education in Colombia. PE seems to evoke such a broad range of pedagogical ideas that the representation about its historicity is also diffuse.

Perception of Loose Coupling

We further explored the perception of loose coupling by teachers themselves through analyzing two final questions: "Are policies and teaching practices for PE coordinated?" "What are the major obstacles for the implementation of PE?" The first question was binary, and the second was an open question, the responses of which, we categorized. Figure 6 shows that teachers have different perspectives about the degree of implementation of PE.

Figure 6. Perception of policy-practice coordination (loose coupling) (n=27, 1 missing value).

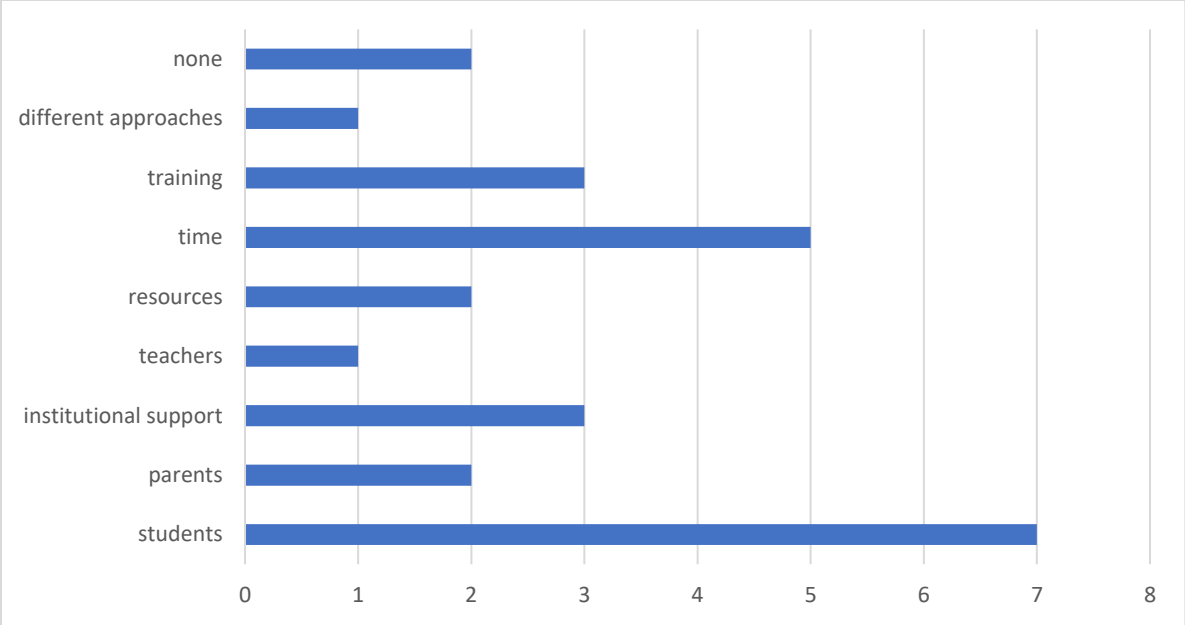
Half of the surveyed teachers believed PE is being applied, although some of the responses refer to an ongoing implementation rather than evidence about perceived changes in educational practices. Negative responses demonstrated skepticism towards the long-term effects of PE. Responses were justified as follows: "the national ministry of education – MEN – has a series of policies that are not really put into practice"; "it's a fashion right now"; or "theory and practice are not really linked in the institutions." Another teacher explained that PE is one among many other programs that the government brings to schools: "No, we are just beginning to

formalize this process because many times we have not finished learning something when we are with something else."

Positive responses about coordination between policy and practice deserve a further interpretation because teachers may understand implementation as putting in a law a policy initiative. For example, teachers who responded, "the peace seminar is a very important thing… with this method we are going to innovate and create, and to motivate more in our educational practice" and "yes because the government has been linked to the peace seminar" show that teachers who responded affirmatively may understand coordination with the enactment of a law. Others seemed to base their response on their expectations, rather than through evoking situations where PE changed how it is taught and learned at school.

Law 1732 (Congreso de Colombia, 2014) seemed to legitimize the role of the state through the commitment to PE, even if it was not implemented. This use of curriculum reform for political legitimacy, as a general mandate without effective changes, has been dilucidated during other curriculum reforms such as Germany (Weiler, 1989, 1990). The conformity with this formal establishment of PE may also be related to the potential to dress up the state's own pedagogical ideas as PE. This dynamic explains the gap that may exist between the adoption of discursive shifts and the changes in local educational practices. Figure 7 further explains the difficulties that teachers perceive the implementation of PE faces.

Figure 7. Number of mentions of major obstacles (n=27).



In this last figure we show teachers´ perception of different logistical, human, and academic impediments to PE implementation. All actors of the educational process were mentioned at least once. Among them, students were seen as the most common obstacle to implementation of a PE curriculum, followed by institutional support (possibly referring to the Principal or the officers from the Ministry of Education) and parents. Some participants said more than one actor was impeding PE's implementation: "The education that each child brings from home, and lack of commitment on the part of the parents" was a concern. Recourses and the lack of time were further logistical obstacles perceived by the implementation. For example, a teacher wrote that there was a "lack of materials such as various books with activities to promote peace in the classroom, lack of internet access." Academic reasons included problems with the training and the different approaches to PE. The following responses expressed the confusion of teachers themselves about PE: "We don't all have a good concept about peace" or "not having a methodological route." Another teacher pointed out that difficulties in the application of PE started with the unclear operationalization of PE at the level of policy formulation: "There is a great deal of social ignorance about peace agreements and about what should be learned about the categories that make up the peace seminar."

The perception of one teacher that highlights different approaches contrasted with two respondents that did not communicate major impediments in the implementation of PE. They

answered: “None [obstacles], as educators have been very willing to these changes and for that everything is very innovative and valuable” and “[peace] must always be strengthened day after day with all the new generations and the current ones.” These responses show that a perceived degree of coordination between policy and practice on PE may be explained by the expectations that PE may have. These quoted accounts represent commitment to PE as an idea linked to educational innovation or peace rather than concrete reports about concrete changes in the classroom. Teachers’ perception about loose coupling, when analyzed together with qualitative responses, provided further evidence against common descriptions of PE as an organized top-down process without major impediments, and in favor of a prevailing process where discoordination between teachers attempts to reform the curriculum.

Discussion

We analyzed the implementation of the Law 1732 (Congreso de Colombia, 2014) that aimed to improve education and contribute to solving the endemic problems of violence in Colombia through PE. We first identified a great expectation about imported solutions that are easy to implement because politicians, academics working as consultants, and teachers view them as a kind of best practice that can be implemented transversally nationwide in all kindergartens, schools, and universities. These expectations about simple, short-term solutions contrast with a view of curriculum reforms as systematic, long-term reforms with greater need for resources—a very attractive concept to policymakers in developing countries (Coffield, 2012).

Our second finding was that PE has at least 21 interpretations that range from issues as diverse as the use of games and multimedia to environmental protection. PE in Colombia provides further evidence about “loose coupling” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) of educational ideas in curriculum reforms and its further “mutation” as reforms are implemented (Maguire et al., 2013). This means that PE continues to change during its implementation from the five core narratives identified by Pineda et al. (2019b). The perception of PE by Colombian teachers differs from the version of PE by teachers in Turkey on civics, social studies, and life knowledge (Deveci et al., 2008), or living together, freedom, confidence, and happiness (Gurdogan-Bayır & Bozkurt, 2018). Doubtless there is not a single type of national PE but multiple versions that further diversify as the discourse disseminates.

Third, PE is not described as a monolithic pedagogy, given that teachers have fragmented narratives about its origins and degree of implementation. PE, as described by teachers, uses an ahistorical and a-theoretical peace that does not have a starting point in the history of ideas nor is it related to disciplines or areas of knowledge. We could not find any evidence of a systematic application of new educational content with clear educational goals and teaching approaches. The lack of definition and implementation allows us to expect that the PE will lose intensity as the sensibility for discourses about peace during the post-war period may start to vanish.

The Colombian official version of PE promoted by Law 1732 collides with other educational traditions, such as the focus on personality development through major school subjects influenced by classical education. For this reason, the transversal curriculum based on skills that are supposed to assure national peacebuilding and peacekeeping are decoupled from school subjects that are still at the base of school curriculum, as organized by the general education law (República de Colombia, 1994). Through a PE employed as transversal skills in the curriculum, the attention on the general objectives of the educational process linked to concrete contents of the curriculum—such as national and world historical events, or moral ideas, such as justice or fairness—shifts towards skills or components with a comparatively unclear foundation in the history of Western ideas.

Conclusions

We highlighted the trajectory of a supranational pedagogy such as PE at the level of teachers (Gugel, 2011; Harber, 2019), applicable to the context of post conflict Colombia. PE as a local amalgam of ideas does not allow teachers (and therefore students) to identify the relatively independent fields of knowledge that constitute the humanities and social sciences—with a particular history and a series of distinctive approaches and theories that allow them to see their country differently. But without a history class one cannot develop a way of thinking that allows one to recognize past events of violence, their causes, consequences, a fundamental condition for the development of the so-called historical memory of societies—historically understood as a type of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950). At the same time, with the disappearance of philosophical reflection, there exists a risk of losing the capacity for logical reasoning and argumentation that characterizes philosophical thought and is also necessary for the creation of stable democracies. Many Colombians do not recognize historical stages and events in the history of the country, as a poll organized by the History Channel showed that

1,132,183 people referenced the last president as the most important person in the history of the nation (Arias Gómez, 2015). It is questionable if these fundamental problems in disciplinary knowledge can be solved by PE in the perception of its fuzzy implementation by teachers themselves.

We therefore position ourselves in favor of a classic disciplinary approach to PE to promote the development of political (Flitner, 1986; Schierholz, 1977; Tugendhat, 1983), historical (see Braslavsky, Truong, Borges, & Souto Simão, 2007), and moral thought (Gomez Caride, 2017; Nucci, 2016), and not in the use of external ideas of peace that can be used by politicians to indoctrinate the particular idea of peace in favor of either military confrontation or the acritical positions towards social critique. Teacher education programs can be strengthened if they are well-focused on academic and humanistic principles, and it is questionable whether new titles under the name "peace education" allow this foundation, given the lack of clear academic reference in their contents.

Furthermore, classical education also allows teachers to focus on the critical literacy problems faced by graduates from Colombian teacher programs and specialized teacher programs, such as ethno-education programs (Pineda et al., 2019a). The low educational level of teaching education in Colombia can be seen in the scoring positions of 15-year old pupils—placing 63, 59, and 56 in mathematics, science, and reading (out of 72 participating countries) on the PISA international tests (OECD, 2018). Sociopolitical stability and activism for social justice require basic reading and reasoning skills that are not provided when the attention to the fundamental problems of education in Colombia shifts to reforms that are based on imported ideas of PE. Such applications of PE do not respond to the basic problems of students: namely that both teachers and students often finish their studies without basic reading and writing skills. PE runs the risk of becoming a curricular roof without a literacy foundation or disciplinary walls.

Our study shows the importance of linking curriculum reforms to social problems. However, based on our findings, we are further skeptical about recent curriculum reforms that seek to obtain short-term results through the adoption of fads that are supposed to contribute to the solution of complex problems, such as the linkages between education and social violence. We suggest that education in post-conflict societies should concentrate on promoting quality through improving the quality of teaching and research in universities, instead of creating new components in the curriculum imposed top-down by the government. PE initiatives, as they are

implemented in Colombia, divert the attention from an in-depth educational discussion on the shortcomings. That is, PE does not allow a close relationship between educational practices and the creation of a peaceful society where conflicts are resolved without resorting to violence.

Further studies can continue exploring the translation of educational ideas into everyday practices of teachers. The emphasis on skills (including skills for conflict resolution)—and not in historical subjects and philosophical content to promote historical memory and moral and political thought (Gómez Carrasco, Rodríguez Pérez, & Miralles Martínez, 2015)—may constitute a fruitful research agenda to understand the role of education in addressing the relationship between education and violence. Further, studying this displacement in other countries, such as we have done in Colombia, with a long tradition of liberal arts or classical education in their core curriculum, may allow researchers to broaden the current state of knowledge about attempts to replace traditional disciplines and subjects with discourses that become hegemonic. Studying how previous and new traditions interact in academic programs for teaching education and school lesson plans, as well as ethnographic research in schools, may further provide evidence about the trajectories of educational ideas that have been imported and enacted in national policies in everyday educational practices. Our findings suggest that educational discourses and practices, such as those promoting peace, may continue to deviate from each other as they influence local educational policy, travel to rural conflict areas, and adoption by teachers—even if they are enthusiastic in applying them to prevent armed conflict. Overall, our study suggests that the advantages of replacing the classical education approach that promotes moral, historical, and political capacities linked to school subjects, with novel discourses, such as PE, should be leveraged in the context of post-conflict societies.

References

Arias Gómez, D. H. (2015). La enseñanza de las ciencias sociales en Colombia: lugar de las disciplinas y disputa por la hegemonía de un saber. *Revista de Estudios Sociales, 35*(52), 134-146. doi:10.7440/res52.2015.09

Bajaj, M. (2015). 'Pedagogies of resistance' and critical peace education praxis. *Journal of Peace Education, 12*(2), 154-166. doi:10.1080/17400201.2014.991914

Bajaj, M., & Brantmeier, E. J. (2011). The politics, praxis, and possibilities of Critical Peace Education. *Journal of Peace Education, 8*(3), 221-224. doi:10.1080/17400201.2011.621356

Baldermann, I. (1987). The Bible as a teacher of peace. In H. Gordon & L. Grob (Eds.), *Education for peace: Testimonies from world religions* (pp. 77-89). Marynoll, NY: Orbis Book.

Baligadoo, P. D. (2012). An evaluation of students' quality circles and the world council for total quality and excellence in education. *Ai & Society, 27*(3), 337-355. doi:10.1007/s00146-012-0373-7

Bellino, M. J. (2016). So that we do not fall again. *Comparative education review, 60*(1), 58-79. doi:10.1086/684361

Bickmore, K., Kaderi, A. S., & Guerra-Sua, Á. (2017). Creating capacities for peacebuilding citizenship: history and social studies curricula in Bangladesh, Canada, Colombia, and México. *Journal of Peace Education, 14*(3), 282-309. doi:10.1080/17400201.2017.1365698

Braslavsky, C., Truong, N., Borges, C., & Souto Simão, M. (2007). *Historical Competence as a Key to Promote Democracy* (A. Benavot & C. Braslavsky Eds. Vol. 18). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.

Brock-Utne, B. (2000). Peace Education in an era of globalization. *Peace Review, 12*(1), 131-138.

Bromley, P., & Powell, W. W. (2012). From smoke and mirrors to walking the talk: Decoupling in the contemporary world. *The Academy of Management Annals, 6*(1), 483-530. doi:10.1080/19416520.2012.684462

Buitrago, J. R., & Norza, E. (2016). Registros de la criminalidad en Colombia y actividad operativa de la Policía Nacional durante el año 2015. *Revista Criminalidad, 58*, 9-20. Retrieved from https://www.policia.gov.co/delitos-de-impacto/homicidios

Butkus, R. A. (1983). Christian education for peace and social justice: Perspectives from the thought of John Dewey and Paulo Freire. In P. O'Hare (Ed.), *Education for peace and justice* (pp. 141-171). San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row.

Caselli, I. (2018). Colombia's new history test: A new law is making history compulsory in Colombia's schools. But with most people affected by decades of conflict, will this topic be too hot to handle? *Index on Censorship, 47*(1), 60-63. doi:10.1177/0306422018770120

Chaux, E., Lleras, J., & Velásquez, A. M. (2004). *Competencias Ciudadanas: De los Estándares al Aula*. Bogotá, Colombia: Ediciones Uniandes.

Chaux, E., & Velásquez, A. M. (2016). *Orientaciones Generales para la Implementación de la Cátedra de la Paz en los Establecimientos Educativos de Preescolar, Básica y Media de Colombia*. Bogotá, Colombia: Ministerio de Educación Nacional.

Chubbuck, S. M., & Zembylas, M. (2011). Toward a critical pedagogy for nonviolence in urban school contexts. *Journal of Peace Education, 8*(3), 259-275. doi:10.1080/17400201.2011.621362

Coffield, F. (2012). Why the McKinsey reports will not improve school systems. *Journal of Education Policy, 27*(1), 131-149.

Congreso de Colombia. (2014). *Ley 1732 de 2014*. Bogotá, Colombia.

Constitución Política de Colombia. (1991). *Constitucion Politica de Colombia 1991*. Bogotá, Colombia: Asamblea Nacional Constituyente.

Del Felice, F., Karako, A., & Wisler, A. (2015). *Peace Education Evaluation: Learning from Experience and Exploring Prospects*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Deveci, H., Yilmaz, F., & Karadag, R. (2008). Pre-service teachers' perceptions of peace education. *Eurasian Journal of Educational Research, 30,* 63-80.

Diazgranados, S., Noonan, J., Brion-Meisels, S., Saldarriaga, L., Daza, B. C., Chávez, M., & Antonellis, I. (2014). Transformative peace education with teachers: lessons from Juegos de Paz in rural Colombia. *Journal of Peace Education, 11*(2), 150-161. doi:10.1080/17400201.2014.898627

Dietrich, W. (2012). *Interpretations of Peace in History and Culture*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review, 48*(2), 147-160. doi:10.2307/2095101

Drori, G. S., Meyer, J. W., Ramirez, F. O., & Schofer, E. (2003). Loose coupling in national science: Policy versus practice. In *Science in the Modern World Polity: Institutionalization and Globalization* (pp. 155-173). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Flitner, A. (1986). Friedenserziehung im Streit der Meinungen. *Zeitschrift für Paedagogik, 32,* 763-777.

Fountain, S. (1999). *Peace Education in UNICEF*. New York, NY: UNICEF.

Galtung, J. (1983). Peace education: Learning to hate war, love peace, and to do something about it. *International Review of Education, 29*(3), 281-287. doi:10.1007/bf00597972

Giroux, H., & Purpel, D. E. (1983). *The hidden curriculum and moral education: Deception or discovery?* Berkley, CA: McCutchan.

Giroux, H. A. (2015). *Education and the crisis of public values*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Global Campain for Peace Education. (2017). *Where to study Peace Education.* Retrieved from http://www.peace-ed-campaign.org/study-peace-ed/

Gomez-Suarez, A. (2017). Peace process pedagogy: lessons from the no-vote victory in the Colombian peace referendum. *Comparative Education, 53*(3), 462-482. doi:10.1080/03050068.2017.1334425

Gomez Caride, E. (2017). Religion or citizenship? Beyond the binary; lessons after a century of disagreement. *Comparative education review, 62*(1), 64-83. doi:10.1086/695646

Gómez Carrasco, C. J., Rodríguez Pérez, R. A., & Miralles Martínez, P. (2015). La enseñanza de la historia en educación primaria y la construcción de una narrativa nacional: Un estudio sobre exámenes y libros de texto en España. *Perfiles Educativos, 27*(150), 20-38.

Gounari, P. (2013). Critical pedagogy and peace education: Understanding violence, human rights, and the historical project of militant peace. In P. P. Trifonas & B. Wright (Eds.), *Critical Peace Education: Difficult dialogues* (pp. 69-87). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.

Gugel, G. (2011). *Friedenserziehung.* 149-159. doi:10.1007/978-3-531-92846-3_10

Gurdogan-Bayır, O., & Bozkurt, M. (2018). War, peace and Peace Education: Perspectives of pre-service teachers. *International Journal of Progressive Education, 14*(1), 148-164. doi:10.29329/ijpe.2018.129.11

Gómez Carrasco, C. J., Rodríguez Pérez, R. A., & Miralles Martínez, P. (2015). La enseñanza de la historia en educación primaria y la construcción de una narrativa nacional: Un estudio sobre exámenes y libros de texto en España. *Perfiles Educativos, 27*(150), 20-38.

Haavelsrud, M. (1974). Education for peace: reflection and action. *Futures, 6*(6), 529-532. doi:10.1016/0016-3287(74)90039-1

Halbwachs, M. (1950). *La Mémoire Collective*. Paris, France: Presses Universitaires de France.

Harber, C. (2019). *Schooling for Peaceful Development in Post-Conflict Societies: Education for Transformation?* Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Harris, I. M. (1999). Types of peace education. In A. Raviv, L. Oppenheimer, & D. Bar-Tal (Eds.), *How children understand war and peace: A call for international peace education* (pp. 299-317). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Heimann, P. (1976). *Didaktik als Unterrichtswissenschaft*. Stuttgart, Germany: Ernst Klett.

Herrera, M. C., Pinilla Díaz, A. V., & Suaza, L. M. (2007). Between god and country: School manuals in social sciences and images of the nation. *Paedagogica Historica, 43*(5), 715-722. doi:10.1080/00309230701587199

Kester, K., & Cremin, H. (2017). Peace education and peace education research: Toward a concept of poststructural violence and second-order reflexivity. *Educational Philosophy and Theory,* 1-13. doi:10.1080/00131857.2017.1313715

Klafki, W. (1985/2007). *Neue Studien zur Bildungstheorie und Didaktik. Beiträge zur kritisch-konstruktiven Didaktik*. Weinheim, Germany: Beltz.

Kurtenbach, S. (2013). The 'Happy Outcomes' May Not Come at All – Postwar Violence in Central America. *Civil Wars, 15*(sup1), 105-122. doi:10.1080/13698249.2013.850884

Lerch, J. C., Bromley, P., Ramirez, F. O., & Meyer, J. W. (2016). The rise of individual agency in conceptions of society: Textbooks worldwide, 1950–2011. *International Sociology, 32*(1), 38-60. doi:10.1177/0268580916675525

Lerch, J. C., & Buckner, E. (2017). From education for peace to education in conflict: changes in UNESCO discourse, 1945–2015. *Globalisation, Societies and Education,* 1-22. doi:10.1080/14767724.2017.1387769

Maguire, M., Ball, S. J., & Braun, A. (2013). What ever happened to …? 'Personalised learning' as a case of policy dissipation. *Journal of Education Policy, 28*(3), 322-338. doi:10.1080/02680939.2012.724714

March, J. G., & Ohlsen, J. P. (1975). *Choice Situations in Loosely Coupled Worlds*. Stanford University, CA: Unpublished manuscript.

Meier, M., & Páez, M. (2016). Education between “peace” and “justice” in times of armed conflict and reconciliation – the Colombian case. *International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present, 31*(2).

Mejía, J. F., & Chaux, E. (2017). *Aulas en paz (classrooms in peace): citizenship competencies for peace*. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *The American Journal of Sociology, 83*(2), 340-363.

Meyer, J. W., & Scott, R. (1983). *Organizational environments: Ritual and rationality*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Milojević, I., & Izgarjan, A. (2014). Creating alternative futures through storytelling: A case study from Serbia. *Futures, 57,* 51-61. doi:10.1016/j.futures.2013.12.001

Ministerio de Educación Nacional. (2015). *Decreto 1038 de 2015*. Bogotá, Colombia

Montgomery, A., & McGlynn, C. (2009). New peace, new teachers: Student teachers' perspectives of diversity and community relations in Northern Ireland. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 25*(3), 391-399. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2008.11.002

Montgomery, M. E. (2003). Working for peace while preparing for war: The creation of the United States Institute of Peace. *Journal of Peace Research, 40*(4), 479-496. doi:10.1177/00223433030404007

Nucci, L. (2016). Recovering the role of reasoning in moral education to address inequity and social justice. *Journal of Moral Education, 45*(3), 291-307. doi:10.1080/03057240.2016.1167027

OECD. (2018). *PISA 2015 Results in Focus*. Paris, France: OECD.

Ortega, P. (2016). *Bitácora para la Cátedra de la Paz Formación de maestros y educadores para una Colombia en paz*. Bogotá, Colombia: Xpress Studio Gráfico.

Pineda, P. (2015). *The Entrepreneurial Research University in Latin America: Global and local models in Chile and Colombia, 1950-2015*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pineda, P., Celis, J., & Rangel, L. (2019a). On Interculturality and decoloniality: Sabedores and governments protection of indigenous knowledges in Bacatá schools. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2019.1585758

Pineda, P., Celis, J., & Rangel, L. (2019b). The worldwide spread of peace education: Discursive patterns in publications and international organizations. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 17*. doi:10.1080/14767724.2019.1665988

Plonski, S. (2006). Developing agency through peacebuilding in the midst of intractable conflict: The case of Israel and Palestine. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 35*(4), 393-409. doi:10.1080/03057920500331454

Presidente del Gobierno. (2005). *Ley 27/2005*. Madrid, Spain: Boletín Oficial del Estado.

Ramirez, F. O., Meyer, J. W., & Lerch, J. (2016). World society and the globalization of educational policy. In K. Mundy, A. Green, L. Bob, & A. Verger (Eds.), *The handbook of global education policy* (pp. 43-63). Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.

Ramirez, F. O., & Tiplic, D. (2013). In pursuit of excellence? Discursive patterns in European higher education research. *Higher Education, 67,* 439-455.

Reardon, B. (1978). Disarmament and peace education. *Prospects, 8*(4), 395-405. doi:10.1007/bf02282148

República de Colombia. (1994). *Ley 115 de 1994*. Bogotá, Colombia: Imprenta Nacional.

Richards, E. (1989). Friedenserziehung in der Diskussion. *Zeitschrift für Paedagogik, 32*, 763-777.

Salomon, G. (2014). The role of mindfulness in Peace Education in the context of conflict. 1132-1141. doi:10.1002/9781118294895.ch58

Schierholz, H. (1977). *Friedensforschung un politische Didaktik: Studien zur Kritik der Friedenspädagogik*. Opladen, Germany: Leske Verlag.

Scopus. (2019). Document search. Retrieved from https://www-scopus-com

Senate of the Philippines. (2016). *An Act Institutitionalizing Peace Education in the School Curriculum at all Levels*. Manila, Philippines.

Simon, H. A. (1962). The architecture of complexity. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 106*(6), 467-482.

Sinclair, M. (2010). Protecting through curriculum: A call for collaboration. In UNESCO (Ed.), *Protecting education from attack: A state-of-the-art review* (pp. 279-301). Paris, France: UNESCO.

Snauwaert, D. (2011). Social justice and the philosophical foundations of critical peace education: Exploring Nussbaum, Sen, and Freire. *Journal of Peace Education, 8*(3), 315-331. doi:10.1080/17400201.2011.621371

Suárez, H. (2015). La Cátedra de la Paz: una carreta sin fin, ni ton, ni son. *Las 2 Orillas*. Retrieved from https://www.las2orillas.co/la-catedra-de-la-paz-una-carreta-si-fin-ni-ton-ni-son/

Thelin, B. (1996). Early tendencies of peace education in Sweden. *Peabody Journal of Education, 71*(3), 95-110. doi:10.1207/s15327930pje7103_6

Tugendhat, E. (1983). *Rationalität und Irrationalität der Friedensbewegung und ihrer Gegner : Versuch eines Dialogs. Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises Atomwaffenfreies Europa*. Berlin, Germany: Europäische Alternativen.

UNESCO. (1995a). *Declaración de la 44a reunión de la Conferencia Internacional de Educación ratificada por la Conferencia General de la UNESCO en su 38a reunión.* Paris, France.

UNESCO. (1995b). *UNESCO and a culture of peace: Promoting a global movement.* Paris, France.

UNESCO. (2005a). *Inter-agency Peace Education programme*. Paris, France: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2005b). *Peace Education: Framework for teacher education.* New Delhi, India.

Universidad Distrital. (2018). Maestría en Educación para la Paz. Retrieved from https://www.udistrital.edu.co/maestria-en-educacion-para-paz-inscripciones-abiertas

Universidad Surcolombiana. (2012). Maestría en Educación y Cultura de Paz. Retrieved from https://www.usco.edu.co

Vasquez, J. A. (1976). Toward a unified strategy for peace education. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 20*(4), 707-728. doi:10.1177/002200277602000407

Verma, R. (2017). *Critical Peace Education and global citizenship: Narratives from the unofficial curriculum*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Weick, K. E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 21*(1), 1-19.

Weick, K. E. (1995). *Sensemaking in organizations*. London, UK: SAGE.

Weiler, H. N. (1989). Why reforms fail: the politics of education in France and the Federal Republic of Germany. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 21*(4), 291-305. doi:10.1080/0022027890210401

Weiler, H. N. (1990). Curriculum reform and the legitimation of educational objectives: the case of the Federal Republic of Germany. *Oxford Review of Education, 16*(1), 15-27. doi:10.1080/0305498900160102

Wulf, C. (1973a). *Friedenserziehung in der Diskussion*. München, Germany: Piper & Co.

Wulf, C. (1973b). *Kritische Friedenserziehung*. München, Germany: R. Piper & Co.

Zembylas, M., Charalambous, C., Charalambous, P., & Kendeou, P. (2011). Promoting peaceful coexistence in conflict-ridden Cyprus: Teachers' difficulties and emotions towards a new policy initiative. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27*(2), 332-341. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2010.08.015