Peace Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Needs, Responses, and Constraints

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Twenty-four years into democracy, South Africa remains a country searching for peace. High levels of interpersonal, gender-based, and political violence together with structural violence continue to plague the country. Schools are sites of regular violent conflict, mirroring problems in the wider community. Despite this, peace education has not received priority attention. This article discusses a context of endemic violence in South Africa and links this to its history. This prompts discussions of the need for peace education and the range of interventions that have occurred. Specific examples of peace education programs are offered to illustrate their content, philosophy, and pedagogy. A critique of such interventions is provided. Explorations of constraints and potential enablers of peace education in an expanded society-wide program conclude the article.

Keywords   peace education, just peace, structural violence, gender-based violence, South Africa

Introduction

South Africa, situated at the southernmost tip of Africa, is a country of some fifty-seven million people. For a long time the country was notorious for its unjust, racially divisive system of Apartheid, an arrangement structured to maintain inequality and prevent peace. Internationally, the country's best known citizen is Nelson Mandela (Madiba), who fought for the end of Apartheid, led the first democratic government in 1994, and strove to build a Rainbow Nation. Today, four years after the death of the revered Madiba and twenty-four years into democracy, South Africa is still a country searching for peace in its broader sense. The country has grown more unequal, corruption is rife, and violence has become endemic. Mandela's vision of a Rainbow Nation fades as race remains a serious fault line in this young democracy. Sadly, it is yet to experience systematic and society-wide peace education.

South Africa: A Context of Historical and Contemporary Violence

This section sets out the historical and socio-political background to the South African context. Much of the conflict and violence which dominates life in the country has its roots in brutal and oppressive systems of colonialism and Apartheid. This history set in place enduring inequalities and injustices which continue to fuel contemporary violence. Colonialism and Apartheid were racist, capitalist projects which exploited the indigenous people and resources of South Africa. The countries vast mineral wealth and land was appropriated by a small minority and protected by unjust laws and military strength. Much of this land and wealth remains in the hands of the minority while large sections of the population live in poverty. The massive exploitation of resources and accompanying dehumanization during these two periods of occupation left enduring economic and psychological scars. A government-commissioned study by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (2010) identified South Africa's history of colonization and Apartheid as having normalized the use of force to settle disputes. This study furthermore identified poverty, access to firearms, and poor youth socialization as factors sustaining a culture of violence.

Violence in South Africa today must be understood in terms of this history of colonial and Apartheid structural violence. Structural violence is a helpful term coined by Johan Galtung (1969) to broaden our conception of violence beyond physical forms, allowing us to include forms of violence like Apartheid-engineered poverty and dehumanization, where the agents or perpetrators are less visible and embedded within the structures of society. The intersections of such structural violence with other long-standing systems such as patriarchy also give rise to some of the highest levels of gender-based violence recorded in the world. More recently, compelling evidence of the massive plunder of state resources by an elite group surrounding the state president and a damning report on state capture by the former Public Protector reveal another form of structural violence, this time under the watch of a democratically-elected government. The consequences of this looting and corruption, facilitated by the systematic weakening of institutions designed to play oversight roles, are new threats to South Africa's democracy and its multitudes of poor citizens, heralding further deepening of injustices, inequality, and the lack of peace. As discussed next, there are a number of indices which reveal high rates of structural and physical violence in South Africa.

Structural Violence

We can gauge structural violence in terms of inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient. South Africa is a highly unequal nation. In 2014, South Africa was the most unequal country in the world and more unequal than it was under Apartheid. This is a legacy of colonialism and Apartheid, but also a serious

indictment on the African National Congress-led (ANC) government which came to power at the demise of Apartheid and promised a "better life for all." Unemployment and poverty levels are high. The most worrying component of this is that approximately 3.4 million young people, aged eleven to twenty-four years old, are not in employment, education, or training (the so-called NEET group). Half the children who start school do not complete their full schooling (Pinnock 2015). That such a large sector of youth are excluded from productive participation in the country is seen as a threat to social cohesion and peace as they risk being drawn into gangs and crime. The latest crime statistics reveal that three quarters of the murders in South Africa were committed by persons in the twenty to thirty-nine year old age group. Over 10 percent of these murderers were aged between ten and nineteen years old, meaning that they are part of the "born-free" generation, children of the post-Apartheid, democratic era (Lancaster 2017). South Africa's *National Development Plan* identifies two critical challenges facing the country as "too few people work and the quality of education available to the majority is poor" (National Planning Commission 2011, 3). It noted that "millions of people remain unemployed and many working households live close to the poverty line" (ibid., 1). More recently, the 2017 Child Gauge report (Jamieson, Berry, and Lake 2017) revealed that two-thirds of the country's children live below the poverty line and that in excess of 5.5 million children go hungry. South Africa's youth are a significant sector of the population and so many of them are unoccupied, hungry, and angry. Having such a large proportion of one's future generation in such circumstances does not augur well for sustainable peace and provides a strong motivation for the provision of greater educational opportunities, including peace education. Globally, rising inequality is seen as the greatest threat to humanity and the planet and a source of much violence (Oxfam 2014).

Multiple Forms of Physical Violence
There is more direct evidence to support the claim that physical violence in South Africa is endemic and growing. Not only are there regular official crime statistics reports from the South African Police Services (SAPS), there are also independent survey data based on samples that can be generalized to the population at large.

South Africa has some of the highest murder rates in the world. The latest SAPS report revealed that fifty-two people were murdered in South Africa on an average day with a total 19,016 murders during the 2016/2017 financial year (Lancaster 2017). This was an increase of just over 18 percent from the 15,556 murders just five years prior. There are two important characteristics about these murders which have implications for peace education. The first is the high rate of intimate partner violence, which I will discuss further when dealing with gender-based violence. The second is that an analysis of murder dockets conducted by the SAPS shows that 51.5 percent of murders were committed during an

argument or misunderstanding. If we add to this a further 10 percent of murders related to vigilantism and 3 percent for retaliation or revenge murders (ibid.), it is not difficult to see that there is a clear problem related to conflict resolution. The inability to deal with conflict without violence is a stubborn pattern visible in both community and school-based conflicts. There is thus a dire need for peace education which offers skills in conflict resolution and for non-violence training in general.

Gender-based violence: South Africa is one of the most unsafe places for women. A woman is killed by an intimate partner every eight hours (Abrahams et al. 2012). Nowhere in the world has such a high rate ever been reported in research. Almost one in twenty learners are raped or sexually assaulted at school (Burton and Leoschut 2013).

Rape and other forms of sexual violence are pervasive problems that are often under-reported, reflecting broader patterns of a patriarchal, violent society. Sexual violence in schools pose serious consequences for learners, teachers, managers, and broader communities. A small study conducted in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) schools (Mabaso 2015) explores sexual violence from teachers' perspectives. It was conducted using surveys (fifty-one respondents) and focus group discussion methods. The purpose of the study was to explore teachers' understandings of sexual violence practices within the school setting and the forces fuelling and shaping reporting or lack of reporting of incidents. It furthermore sought to understand how sexual violence affects teachers emotionally and professionally. Eighty-six percent of participants reported being aware of sexual violence incidents in KZN schools. Several accounts of teacher-perpetrated incidents were reported. The findings indicated that sexual violence incidents in schools involved teacher-on-learner and teacher-on-teacher sexual violence cases, learner-on-learner sexual violence, and violation of female teachers by education department officials. The findings show that most of the perpetrators were males. Teachers in the study reported that such behavior hurts teachers and affects their profession. Fear and protection were found to be the key factors behind underreporting of incidents. School Management Teams were blamed for not taking adequate measures or for not enforcing policies against perpetrators to curb the problem and to protect those violated.

Gender-based violence has its roots in long-standing patriarchal systems which treat women as subservient to and as the property of men. All of this signals the need for early education in the home, community, and schools focusing on gender equality and justice. Likewise, there is a need for programs which empower women and assist men in developing non-violent masculinities.

Political violence: In a country with scarce resources, attaining and maintaining access to leadership positions becomes a high-stakes endeavour. Contestations

between and within political parties is not always resolved via the ballot. Forceful intimidation, dirty campaigns, and assassinations are other routes to seizing and holding on to power. While not widespread across the country, some provinces, like KZN, continue to experience politically motivated murders. KZN has a long history of this type of violence. During the 1980s and early 1990s, approximately 7,500 people died and many more were injured and traumatized by what is now known as the "Natal War" (Jeffery 1997; Aitchison 2003a, 2003b). This civil war, funded by the Apartheid state, left a legacy in the province of settling political disputes through violence.

The rates of intimate-partner violence, gender-based violence, and political violence presented above mean that children growing up in South Africa are being exposed to exceedingly high levels of violence in their homes and communities. There is much research evidence that "the risk of becoming violent is strongly linked to exposure to violence [often at an early age] in the home and community, inconsistent care giving, poor role models, high levels of inequality, and substance abuse" (Lancaster 2017, 2). Leoschut (2006, 6) likewise warns that "children exposed to chronic community violence may begin to feel that they have no place in which they can feel safe." When children are unsafe in their communities, schools should be safe havens. This is sadly not the case.

School-based violence: Given the high rates of violence in society in general, it is not surprising that South African schools are also dangerous places. Statistics from two large surveys in 2008 and 2012 show worrying trends and paint a picture of conditions not conducive to teaching and learning. A 2018 survey found that 15.3 percent of learners in primary and secondary schools had been victims of violence at schools or outside schools. Violence between teachers and learners was also a serious problem with 25 percent of secondary schools reporting learner-on-teacher physical violence and a similar 25 percent of schools reporting teachers physically abusing learners. Corporal punishment is regularly used in South African schools despite South Africa being one of the 128 countries which legally prohibit it (Gershoff 2017).

The 2012 Schools Violence Study randomly sampled 5,939 pupils, 121 principals, and 239 teachers. It found that 22.2 percent of high school pupils nationally reported being threatened with violence or been victims of assault, robbery, and/or sexual assault at their school in the preceding twelve months (Burton and Leoschut 2013). Some 4.7 percent of learners had been sexually assaulted or raped. The 2012 figures show increased rates for KZN, discussed earlier as a hotspot for political violence, with learner assaults at 8.2 percent (up from 3.7 percent in 2008), sexual assault at 3.9 percent, and theft from learners at a staggering 49.9 percent.

Burton (2008, 1), a researcher involved in these surveys, identifies the damaging consequences of violence which turns a school into "a place where

children learn fear and distrust, where they develop distorted perceptions of identity, self and worth, and where they acquire negative social capital."

Apart from physical violence, authors like Harris (1990) and Harber and Skade (2009) identify a number of more subtle forms of violence within schooling systems, particularly in divided contexts, which limit the role of schools in peace education. Harber and Skade (ibid., 184) regard schools as "dehumanising institutions that stress cognitive forms of knowledge over the affective, and that play down important inter-personal skills." South African schools are no different and bear strong authoritarian and undemocratic cultures.

Violence, Peace, and Development

The statistics on violence discussed thus far are indicators of a serious lack of peace. Another indicator of this is the Global Peace Index. This index ranks 163 countries in terms of their peacefulness, using twenty-three qualitative and quantitative indicators from respected sources. The Global Peace Index measures the state of peace using three thematic domains: the level of societal safety and security, the extent of ongoing domestic and international conflict, and the degree of militarization.

South Africa has consistently received a low rank on the Global Peace Index (Institute for Economics and Peace 2017) as evident from its position in the global rankings of 163 countries over the past five years: 121 (2013); 122 (2014); 136 (2015); 126 (2016) and 123 (2017).

Violence is a drain on economies and consumes valuable resources which could be harnessed for poverty eradication and development. Violence cost the global economy approximately $14.3 trillion in 2016, the equivalent of 12.6 percent of the world's economic activity. Such sheer waste is reflected in global development commitments. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) emphasize the significance of peace and justice for development, stating "we are determined to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence. There can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development" (United Nations 2015, 2).

The discussion thus far has set out historical and contemporary oppression and violence, of both structural and physical forms, as the preeminent condition in South Africa requiring intervention. Systematic and sustained peace education, at all levels, should clearly be a national priority. South Africa, however, did not opt for a systematic program of peace education as part of its reconstruction and development strategies.

Peace Education

Peace education lacks uniformity in terms of definitions, foci, curricula,

pedagogy, and in how peace educators are trained and supported. The focus of peace education is highly context-dependent and often reflects the main concern within a particular context. The pedagogy employed likewise vary depending on context and the orientations of provider organizations and educators. This state of affairs has given it a somewhat "elusive" character (Bar-Tal 2002). While multifaceted and evolving, peace education has grown worldwide and in some countries is offered as part of the formal school curriculum. Peace education for out-of-school youth and adults has often been provided non-formally by civil society organizations like NGOs and faith-based organizations. In this article, I discuss examples of non-formal peace education for youth and adults as well as some peace-related curricula within the school system.

In tracking the history and development of peace education, Lum (2013) notes a paradigm shift when "creating a culture of peace" became the dominant conception as opposed to an "absence of war." This conception has been promoted by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and many peace institutes and university programs globally. In South Africa, the notion of a culture of peace stands in stark contrast to "cultures of violence" deeply embedded in society.

Peace studies programs at universities have seen moderate growth in South Africa, adding to the community of peace educators and scholars working for greater peace and justice. Their focus has, however, been more on research and policy than peace interventions. In this regard, Johan Galtung, a founding theorist of peace studies, notes: "there is more research on peace than peace action, but when it comes to peace education, the converse is the case. There is more action, all over the world and under all range of labels, accompanied by what appears to be insufficient scholarship" (cited by Salomon 2002, xi).

Gill and Niens (2014) conducted a review of literature to explore the role of peace education in post-conflict contexts. They identified the goal of humanization, as advocated by Paulo Freire, as a major conceptual framework underpinning many programs. They note that "peacebuilding education as humanisation is realised by critical reflection and dialogue in most curricular initiatives reviewed, an approach aimed at overcoming the contextual educational constraints often rooted in societal division and segregation, strained community relations and past traumas" (ibid., 10). Dehumanization through oppression and violence raises the need for peace education which heals and re-humanizes. Some of the non-formal programs discussed below have given attention to this dimension of peace education.

Peace Education by the South African Government
As indicated above, it is commonly accepted that peace education takes its agenda from the prevailing and most pressing conditions in its context, an idea conveyed by Bar-Tal's (2002, 29) view that peace education is "condition dependent," taking

its cue from the socio-political agenda of a society. From the viewpoint of the newly-elected, post-Apartheid government, building a democratic society with a culture of human rights was what the mirror revealed. This was an obvious priority given the disenfranchisement of the majority of citizens, the lack of democracy, and widespread abuse of human rights during colonial and Apartheid dispensations. While peace education is not a term explicitly used by the government, some of its educational interventions are directed at peacebuilding and nation-building. South Africa's new highly-acclaimed constitution, which was promulgated by President Nelson Mandela in 1996, enshrined democracy and human rights. The new government created institutions which would promote and protect democracy and human rights.

In terms of Chapter 9 of the Constitution, three state-funded commissions, namely, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), and the Commission for the Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities, were established, alongside the institutions of a Public Protector (PP), Auditor-General (AG), and Electoral Commission (IEC). The aforementioned commissions were provided with research and investigative power to protect fundamental rights. To promote these rights and to raise public awareness, they were also expected to play an educative role. While educational programs and material emanating from such Chapter 9 institutions could be classified as education about human rights, democracy, diversity, and inclusion, all of which can be considered as forms of peace education, such education is not provided in a continuous, systematic, and society-wide manner. At the same time, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) funded some ad hoc projects which developed materials and curricula promoting a culture of human rights. It has offered some training and awareness campaigns on anti-bullying and positive discipline. In 2011, it signed a protocol with the SAPS to reduce crime and violence in schools and in communities (Mannah 2013).

The new government also reflected its constitutional priorities within the new curricula designed for schools. The foreword to the current curriculum policy document by the Minister of Basic Education states:

> Our national curriculum is the culmination of our efforts over a period of seventeen years to transform the curriculum bequeathed to us by Apartheid. From the start of democracy, we have built our curriculum on the values that inspired our Constitution (Act 108 of 1996). The Preamble to the Constitution states that the aims of the Constitution are to:
> • heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
> • improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person;
> • lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; and

- build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations (Department of Basic Education 2011a).

Education and the curriculum have an important role to play in realizing these aims.

These aims are most visible in subjects called Life Skills (LS) and Life Orientation (LO), subjects that most closely reflect the provision of systematic peace education within the formal curriculum. LS and LO are compulsory school subjects for learners from grades four to twelve, and focus on the development of self-in-society. These subjects promote individual growth within an inclusive and democratic society. For the purpose of this article, a review of the *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements for Grades 4-6, Life Skills* (Department of Basic Education 2011a) and the *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements for Grades 7-9, Life Orientation* (Department of Basic Education 2011b) as provided by the Department of Basic Education was conducted. In addition, several learner workbooks published by commercial publishers were examined to see how the official curriculum statements were being interpreted. It is important to state at the outset that LS and LO are not devoted solely to peace-related topics. LS an amalgamation of Personal and Social Well-being, Physical Education, and Creative Arts. Several foci within Personal and Social Well-being such as dealing with conflict, appropriate responses to bullying, children's rights and responsibilities, problem solving skills in conflict situations, gender stereotyping, sexism and abuse, and child abuse, etc., are typical of peace education foci. These foci are allocated one and a half hours in the grades four to six curriculum.

In a similar vein, LO is an amalgamation of five topics, namely, Development of the Self in Society; Health, Social, and Environmental Responsibility; Constitutional Rights and Responsibilities; World of Work; and Physical Education. This amalgamation is granted two hours per week, with Physical Education allocated one hour per week and the other four topics sharing just one hour per week. The first three of these topics include foci on relationships, environmental health, gender equity, cultural diversity, human rights, and nation-building, etc. These are all important foci for building more peaceful and inclusive societies.

Effective peace education requires trained educators, motivated learners, integration of peace education foci across the curriculum, and a whole-school program that supports a peaceful learning environment. Parents and the broader community must be part of these efforts. Ad hoc campaigns on anti-bullying and the inclusion of peace-related topics within a curriculum is not sufficient. The research shows that violence in schools remains at unacceptable levels. Much of the research on LO indicates that it is not achieving its intended outcomes. Lamb and Snodgrass (2017, 3) reviewed fifteen studies on LO in South Africa and conclude that this literature "consistently confirms the importance of the

[LO] subject in the school curriculum, but highlight that LO does not seem to bring about the desired behavioral changes in learners." They identify inadequate training of teachers, work overload, and negative perceptions of LO by teachers and learners as some of the reasons for its poor outcomes. LO is an examinable subject dealing with soft skills and granted relatively small amounts of time in the curriculum. The results for LO are also not considered when university entrance is being determined. The pedagogy used to engage learners in LO lessons is also an important factor. We know that peace education is best served by participatory, learner-centred, and experiential learning processes. Such pedagogy allows for holistic (cognitive and affective) learning to take place and can best generate critical reflection (Bar-Tal 2002). Given the large classes and demands on teachers in South African schools, it is unlikely that there is room for such pedagogical strategies. All these factors have tended to make LO the "Cinderella" subject of the school curriculum. That this subject is the chief vehicle for peacebuilding in South Africa is thus unfortunate.

For peace education to be relevant there is a need to periodically look into the societal mirror. Given the earlier discussion on the context of violence in South Africa, we should expect that the prevalence, types, and endemic nature of violence would mean that peace education in South Africa would be focusing more on building non-violent and constructive conflict resolution skills. Gender equality and conscientisation on structural violence in support of peacebuilding should also be key foci. One would also expect that peace education would be well-resourced in terms of trained teachers, creative curricula and resources, and adequate time allocation. Peace education should also link to other subjects across the school curriculum and be supported by the general school ethos and climate. That this is not the case in South Africa is a serious neglect with long-term consequences for future generations.

Peace Education by Civil Society
Clearly there are a number of limitations with peace-related curricula and provision via LS/LO. This article now turns to an exploration of some non-formal peace education programs offered by civil society. Such programs, while not widespread, tend to be more responsive to the current societal priorities identified earlier, such as violence and attention to healing, reconciliation, and inclusion. Civil society programs also tend to employ participatory and experiential pedagogy which are more appropriate for peace education. In this regard, Lum (2013, 218) notes that amongst other pedagogies and goals, peace educators "inspire creativity, reflective thinking, criticality, perspective taking, diversity, holistic problem-solving…attentive listening, cooperation, and communicative dialogue." To illustrate the range of non-formal peace education interventions, I will profile four programs as exemplars. Each of these can be considered to be durable, having existed for a significant time in South Africa, have a presence in

different provinces of South Africa with some international origins or presence as well, and all of which employ participatory and experiential pedagogy. The programs discussed here are the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP), the Healing of Memories project, the Facing History and Ourselves project, and the Peace Clubs project.

Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP): AVP is a remarkable project offering training in non-violent conflict resolution. Developed by a group of Quakers over forty years ago to assist with violence in prisons, AVP workshops have been offered in more than fifty countries around the world to deal with the challenges of violence in both prison and various non-prison settings.

AVP's mission is to offer "experiential workshops that empower individuals to liberate themselves and others from the burden of violence. Our fundamental belief is that there is a power for peace and good in everyone and that this power has the ability to transform violence" (AVP Facilitators Training Manual 2013, 3).

There are three levels of AVP workshops, namely, AVP Basic, AVP Advanced, and Training for Facilitators (T4F). This core has given rise to other customized workshops like Help Increase the Peace Project (HIPP) which tailors AVP for younger participants in schools. In places like Burundi and Rwanda, another supplementary course, Healing and Rebuilding Our Communities (HEROC), has been offered. HEROC focuses on trauma healing and rebuilding community relations. The core AVP workshops have been run in at least thirteen African countries including South Africa, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Sudan, Nigeria, Tanzania, Congo, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Kenya, and Liberia.

AVP was first offered in South Africa in the early 1990s and currently has a presence in four provinces: Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Western Cape, and Eastern Cape. Several thousand people in schools, communities, and prisons have been trained via AVP to deal with conflict non-violently, thus contributing to personal and societal peace. A further contribution that this project has made is that it has produced several hundred peace educators, most of whom volunteer their time and many of whom interact with AVP facilitators in different parts of the country and internationally. From small beginnings in one context, AVP has grown into a large, passionate, and creative global community of peace educators. Most of these people volunteer their time to run workshops, often in difficult contexts of injustice, violence, and trauma. Such peacebuilding actions of civil society, displayed in the AVP and the other examples presented below, offer hope in a context of widespread violence. While small, they are committed and enthusiastic, and are slowly building the community of peace educators.

Healing of Memories (HoM): HoM is a form of peace education offered by the Institute for Healing of Memories (IHOM). This institute was founded in 1998 by Fr. Michael Lapsley, who lost both hands and an eye in a letter bomb attack

during the Apartheid-era while living in exile in Zimbabwe. HoM workshops were developed at the time of transition from Apartheid to democracy and were initially run parallel to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Today, IHOM offers workshops which focus on healing, reconciliation, and empowerment. IHOM offers two levels of initial training (called First Phase and Second Phase) and then offers an Advanced Training course. The latter targets the international community as well as South Africans. IHOM's programs have three central objectives:

> Prevention: Breaking the cycle of dehumanisation, by which victims frequently become victimisers.
> Healing: Restoring an enduring dignity, purpose and hope to marginalised individuals and communities.
> Empowerment: Making new pathways possible by equipping individuals with the emotional tools to retake charge of their own lives (Institute for Healing of Memories 2017).

HoM workshops are an important form of peace education given South Africa's history of racial division, violence, and dehumanization. Not many programs work with people from different racial, religious, and social backgrounds, and deal specifically with trauma and memories stemming from violence and oppression. The goals of healing and re-humanization as well as pedagogical strategies are revealed in the following statement on the IHOM website: "We believe that when personal stories are heard and acknowledged, individuals feel healed and empowered and dignity is restored; at the same time, bridges can be built across communities and a common path forged based on mutual understanding and shared values" (ibid.). HoM workshops provide a listening, respectful space in which stories can be told and acknowledged so that the process of individual healing and empowerment can begin (ibid.).

Facing our History and Ourselves (FHO): Like AVP, FHO is a U.S.-born organization that works globally and has a long history. It works in many post-conflict societies, including South Africa. The mission of the organization "is to engage students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism, prejudice, and antisemitism in order to promote the development of a more humane and informed citizenry" (Facing History and Ourselves 2017). Through workshops with secondary school teachers, FHO helps teachers "to promote students' historical understanding, critical thinking, and social-emotional learning. As students explore the complexities of history, and make connections to current events, they reflect on the choices they confront today and consider how they can make a difference" (ibid.).

FHO notes that "randomized controlled trials have proven that Facing History transforms students, teachers, classrooms, and schools" (ibid.). Bar

(2005) likewise notes that research has shown that FHO workshops increase both historical knowledge, interpersonal understanding, critical reflection, and pro-social awareness.

FHO began its work in Cape Town, but now has a presence in Durban, KZN as well. The new curriculum introduced in post-Apartheid South Africa, which emphasized democracy, equality, and human rights, provided a fertile context for the work of FHO in helping teachers to teach the new curriculum and contribute to a non-racial democracy. The FHO course, Facing the Past-Transforming the Future, was initiated in 2003 as professional development for teachers in over 180 schools, helping them to understand their own history and the role they could play in the new South Africa. FHO courses also employ creative, participatory pedagogy.

Peace Clubs Project: A relatively more recently introduced form of peace education in South Africa takes place through Peace Clubs. These clubs were started in Zambia in 2006 in response to increased conflicts in schools. They were introduced to South Africa in 2012 with the support of the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC). Peace Clubs have been running in KZN for about six years and will be piloted in some schools in the Eastern Cape during 2018. Peace Clubs hold weekly meetings in their schools to discuss conflict and related challenges faced in the school. They use these sessions to develop solutions and to support each other in building peace. Peace Clubs use discussions, drama, and other creative processes to educate each other and plan peace action. They are led by students with the support of teachers. The specific objectives of this project are:

- To introduce Peace Club as a course that empowers participants on how to use peace education in order to achieve sustainable, durable and positive peace.
- To unearth the potentials for improvement of relationships inherent in conflicts that affect all sectors of society.
- To acquire knowledge and skills that will make participants well equipped as peace scholars and practitioners, and able to set up peace clubs in their respective situations (Mennonite Central Committee 2012, 4).

In Zambia, Peace Clubs have been found to help learners to work towards developing better relationships with themselves, their teachers, their fellow learners, and with parents and the broader community. Peace Clubs also empower learners to speak up for their own rights and safety (Alty 2013). A study of a South African Peace Club (Jasson 2016) revealed that the Peace Club offered learners a means by which to find peaceful solutions to deal with conflict. Over time, Peace Club members reported a renewed sense of trust, improved self-confidence, and a more positive identity.

Given the serious challenges faced by youth in South Africa, especially the so-called NEET group and levels of violence affecting schools, Peace Clubs can

play an important role. They carry the added advantage of being learner-led and learner-centred.

These are just four examples of non-formal peace education programs in South Africa. There are others and they all supplement peace-related curricula offered via LS and LO in schools. The non-formal programs tend to be responsive to critical needs in communities and schools and also have the learning conditions to use more-suitable participatory and experiential pedagogy. Bar-Tal (2002, 33) notes: "Because peace education aims to form a state of mind, its principal modes of instruction target experience. Experiential learning is the key method for the acquisition of values, attitudes, perceptions, skills and behavioural tendencies, in other words, their internalization."

Several years ago Professor Jannie Malan, a founding peace educator and scholar in South Africa, compiled a database of organizations involved in peace work. This is now out of date and not publicly available. There is a need for a comprehensive database of programs and organizations involved in peace education, peace action, and peace research. Such a database would include organizations like the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) based in KZN, with almost three decades of experience and a pan-African reach with its conflict resolution training courses, mediation interventions, and research. Likewise, the Centre for Conflict Resolution in Cape Town has been offering conflict resolution training across Africa for over forty years. Organizations such as the Quaker Peace Centre, Embrace Dignity, Africa Peace Institute, Phaphama Initiatives, Umtapo Centre, Tshisimani Centre for Activist Education, Southern Africa Development, Research and Training (SADRAT) Institute, International Centre for Non-violence, Pietermaritzburg Agency for Community Social Action, with many other non-governmental, faith-based, and community-based organizations would also qualify to be part of the database as providers of peace education. While the latter organizations dependence on the support of volunteers and donors can make them vulnerable, they have the flexibility to tailor their programs to the most urgent problems facing their constituencies. They thus make a valuable contribution to peace education in South Africa. Many of the examples discussed above, like the AVP project, started as small localized interventions and now have a global presence, sometimes with substantial communities of peace educators around the world.

Constraints and Potential Enablers of Peace Education

Fourteen years ago, Maxwell, Enslin, and Maxwell (2004) posed the important question: "How do we educate for peace in the midst of violence?" Responding with evidence from an evaluation of a preschool peace education program in South Africa, they found that peace education reduced aggressive behavior in

children. The study highlighted the poor quality and excessive authoritarianism in education which South African teachers received as serious challenges to them becoming peace educators. However, training for teachers was positively received. Earlier this article identified growing levels of violence in schools and that teachers were implicated in some of this. Maxwell, Enslin, and Maxwell's (ibid.) question is thus equally relevant today. The major challenge today is that peace education is very much working against the tide. Peace education is difficult but so vital in the midst of widespread, regular, and deep cultures of violence, poverty, and historical trauma. Part of the challenge is that there are too few programs which develop and support peace educators and which can help them to critically reflect on their understandings and practices and how such behaviors contribute to conflict and peace. Critical reflection and action can together create a peace praxis needed to work against the tide!

I have introduced two courses at my university, at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels, which attempt to build some interest, exposure, and capacity to engage in peace education. Both courses attempt to foster critical reflection and peace action. The students taking these courses are school teachers and community educators. The objectives, curricula, and pedagogical choices and learners experiences in these courses have been reported elsewhere (John 2013; John 2018). Two key challenges regularly raised by these educators are about going "against the tide." Comments like "we have no control over the violence taught or modelled at home and at the taxi rank," and "how do we prevent the gangs and drug lords from influencing learners?" reveal the enormous and realistic apprehensions which accompany the enthusiasm and care of novice peace educators exiting such courses. They rightfully ask about the utility and value of teaching peace and conflict resolution skills in the classroom when the community immediately surrounding the school and the home contexts of many learners lacks basic safety and abounds with violence and injustice. This is a major concern about going against the tide. Another issue which school teachers often raise is that they are often the lone voices in their schools and any attempts to raise issues of abuse and violence within the school, like sexual relationships between teachers and learners which is fairly rife, and corporal punishment which is also very common, despite being banned, alienates them from the rest of their colleagues at school and sometimes even draws scorn from school managers. This kind of going against the tide is difficult, especially for young teachers who are newcomers to their schools. Both kinds of going against the tide can benefit from greater societal consensus and support for peace. But someone has to lead this kind of change!

In a creative project within these courses, students are required to create a map of their institutions and surrounding community (John 2016). They then identify places on the map that are a site of conflict, violence, and injustice. A further stage of this project requires them to get their learners to do the same and

to compare these educator and learner maps. These mapping projects create a lot of awareness of common issues in schools and other learning institutions and their neighborhoods, the so-called hotspots. It often triggers conscientisation and new awareness of what is seen and known and what is not seen and unknown, the so-called blindspots. Critical reflection, as discussed by Gills and Nien (2014) and Lum (2013) earlier, helps students to engage with these visual and epistemic blindspots. Discussions with fellow students also helps them to understand how socialization creates various kinds of blindspots and limiting assumptions. Some of the revelations on blindspots are apparent in the following comments from past students:

> Concerning the use of drugs in the toilets, as educators we are not aware that it is so high as students have reported. Most learners are misbehaving especially after the break. We didn't know that it is just because they have been smoking so much dagga [marijuana] during the break.
> At this point I was surprised by my learners when they mentioned my office as a place that they feel unsafe.
> Most shocking was that learners implicated teachers—"their trusted others"—and their peers as sources of some of their misery, because of the way they conducted themselves and victimized girl learners through immoral and unacceptable sexual behaviours (John 2016).

The mapping projects consistently reveal that school toilets are a conflict hotspot. Various kinds of violence and social problems are associated with toilets. Critical reflection and discussions lead to questions about why the authorities continue to plan toilets such that they are at remote sites on the school property and are not separated in terms of gender and age profiles of the users. Resolving these kinds of structural problems requires that peace educators must also be peace advocates and be able to mobilize peace action (Sharp 2003). Students are exposed to successful examples of peace action and encouraged to plan their own. However, the levels of work and bravery that such peace education and action add to heavy teaching loads and administrative duties in under-resourced schools becomes another deterrent in turning the tide. Bar-Tal (2002, 30) correctly identified the need for "societal agreement" on peace education as an enabling force. In South Africa, the support of government, parents, and the wider community is vital for teachers to also be peace educators. Many teachers want to contribute to creating more peaceful schools and communities. They need to be supported in these endeavors by the Department of Education, peace-building NGOs (like those mentioned above), and by parents and learners.

Other enabling forces that can be reinvigorated and harnessed for peace education are African traditions of peaceful coexistence, communal conflict resolution processes, and value systems of interdependence and support. Referring to the indigenous system of Ubuntu, Murithi (2009, 223) refers to

African cultures as "repositories of a substantial body of knowledge on how to promote peace and maintain harmonious communities." He further explains that this type of peace-making process encourages a "move from a culture of violence and brutality, hatred and fear, social and political exclusions and economic marginalisation, to reconciliation and peace" (ibid., 225). South Africa's peace icons, activists, and Nobel Peace laureates like Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu, and Albert Luthuli embodied such values and peace-making practices. Peace education in South Africa can draw on this rich heritage, courage, and wisdom. This will also help to create a decolonized peace education curriculum and address the imbalance in peace education literature identified by May (2008, 40) when she notes that "developing countries are extremely underrepresented; notions of indigenous knowledge and traditional concepts of conflict transformation [are] hard to find in the training materials."

Conclusion

Peace education must be part of society-wide efforts to disrupt South Africa's culture of violence and to replace this with a culture of peace, equality, and justice. South Africans will never be truly free unless they have shed the shackles of fear and trauma associated with violence and deal with the deep inequalities that divide the nation.

The relationships between structural violence and physical violence is easily visible when we consider that murder rates are almost four times higher in extremely economically unequal countries than more equal nations (Oxfam 2014). It is not surprising then that the figures presented earlier show South Africa as one of the most unequal nations and with some of the highest rates of murder. Both physical and structural violence must therefore be the agenda of peace education. Dealing only with the more visible and direct forms of violence will not provide sustainable peace. Only when the root causes of poverty, gender discrimination, and inequality receive attention in peace education programs can we aim for a just peace. In a similar vein, racism and other forms of prejudice must also become foci of peace education interventions. On this there is perhaps no better inspiration for peace educators than the words of Nelson Mandela, when he reminded us that "no one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite" (Mandela 1994, 615).

The peace education discussed in this article, particularly that offered by civil society, are contributions to creative, people-led peace-building in a challenging context. They show that it is possible to push back and to go against the tide of violence. They reveal agency and hope in a context of widespread and endemic

violence. This work needs to be encouraged and supported. It is only the actions of small groups of passionate, brave, and committed people that can build a force that will turn the tide against violence. Just as the scale of the challenge of ending Apartheid seemed enormous and at times impossible, the levels of violence equally seem enormous and can create apathy and despair. But South Africans shocked the world by slow, people-led actions which became a force that enabled a largely non-violent transition to democracy. In similar vein, we can transcend violence and injustice to create a more inclusive, just, and peaceful society.

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