Peace education in peacetime
Comparative study Norway – Slovakia

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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAT</td>
<td>Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment</td>
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<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
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<td>CRC</td>
<td>Convention on the Rights of the Child</td>
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<td>CRPD</td>
<td>Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities</td>
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<td>EEA</td>
<td>European Economic Area</td>
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<td>ECHR</td>
<td>European Court for Human Rights</td>
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<td>ERRC</td>
<td>European Roma Rights Centre</td>
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<td>ESC</td>
<td>European Social Charter</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICCPR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
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<td>ICEPD</td>
<td>International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance</td>
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<td>ICERD</td>
<td>International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination</td>
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<td>ICESCR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICMW</td>
<td>International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families</td>
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<td>IMDi</td>
<td>Directorate of Integration and Diversity</td>
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<tr>
<td>KLR</td>
<td>Christianity, Religion, Philosophy</td>
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<td>LDCs</td>
<td>Least Developed Countries</td>
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<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>RLE</td>
<td>Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDB</td>
<td>Socially Disadvantaged Background</td>
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<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<td>SNCHR</td>
<td>Slovak National Centre for Human Rights</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDHR</td>
<td>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations</td>
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1 Introduction

This thesis proposes that the ultimate answer to structural violence is Education for Peace. The argument is based on Johan Galtung’s model of structural violence that is defined as violence on the level of social structures rather than at a personal level (for detailed account of structural violence see p. 5). Structural violence is exhibited by discriminations and inequalities that are inbuilt in state infrastructure. History is full of examples of such attitudes and behaviours some of which persist to the present day. Examples include discreet sexual or racial discrimination and extend to statutes of government and laws denying freedoms to certain groups defined by race, colour, gender, age or some other totally innocuous difference. This kind of structural violence reduces the chances of a fulfilled life for individuals and in the long term engenders social unrest and overt physical violence. I wish to emphasise that education for peace should not be the last resort for securing peace but the first and most enduring. Education for peace encourages the establishment of social structures that inculcate democratic values, respect for human rights and for personal autonomy from an early age, which should remain with the individual for life.

The benefits of education for peace can be presented in basic terms. If the state provides an adequate infrastructure in terms of education, health care, rule of law, good environment to mention a few key elements, the citizens will be more likely to gain their full potential and thus be able to contribute by way of skills and economy to a peaceful and stable society. A crucial precondition to this social cycle is peace, so promotion of peace is in the interest of everyone – citizens and the state. Social, cultural or economic conditions differ in different societies but the basic principles of democratic values need to be introduced as soon as possible in an individual’s life so that a healthy relationship between every individual and the state is created early and can last for a lifetime and through generations. Education for peace must start with teaching children (and even adults who have not had the opportunity or experience previously) how to relate to each other in a non-aggressive way and with respect for every ones’ autonomy. The self-interest benefit of this approach is the development to a full personal potential and thus a healthier and richer life financially, emotionally
and intellectually. Once the cycle of aggression or deprivation is broken, a momentum will be created which should be self-perpetuating and thus able to resist compromising human rights in the future. Peace is often taken for granted in the Western World and not recognised as a virtue in many parts of the world – education is the only way forward how to change peoples view.

What makes discussion of peace different to the discussion, for example of Immanuel Kant’s idea of “perpetual peace”\textsuperscript{1}, in the modern situation is the existence of new factors including international relations, state sovereignty, challenges of the globalized world, upholding human rights as a basis of international law. The common feature of the discussions two hundreds year ago and today is the need for philosophical reasoning of the arguments\textsuperscript{2}. Whether back then or at present the debate around such fundamental concepts as human rights, peace, or freedom cannot be conducted with full gravity and relevance without the arguments having substance and backing of the earlier philosophical origins.

The foundations of international relations have shifted from military power to political solutions that must be converted into instrumental provisions that guard and promote structural peace. The arguments therefore also impose new challenges on states and international institutions to be able to uphold its purpose in contributing to peaceful coexistence among states with a clear message to their own as well as to the world citizens\textsuperscript{3}. The set of values and the knowledge base needs to be clearly manifested if we are to embed our nations with solid practical skills to establish and sustain a culture of peace. The question of legitimacy is always precarious and it gains its importance from the commitment of both states and citizens. Political commitment occurs inside not outside of our societies. There-

\textsuperscript{1} (Lindén & Syse, 2015) p. 31 – 32
\textsuperscript{2} (Lindén & Syse, 2015) p. 41 – 42
\textsuperscript{3} (Sommardahl, 2015) p. 416 – 417
fore we need to understand the desirability of substantive peace that cannot be achieved without education.

Political thought has been preoccupied with peace as a precondition of survival of society from the very start. Proper education was the only way to channel the potential of each individual no matter how talented or well disposed, they would not be able to make up a solid functioning society without guidance in learning. Plato’s ideal of an ordered society has many contradictions but education and peaceful cohesion of the society was considered to be of the highest value⁴ and only a few centuries ago Hobbes argued for a social contract in the pursuit of peaceful coexistence for human kind⁵. He believed that man’s natural state was not conducive to the preservation of our survival. The wellbeing of individuals can only be attained through laws and social order based on sound reasoning⁶. Locke’s proposals were more in our terms of civil government and division of powers for the rule of society and its sovereignty but like Hobbes, Locke argued that peace was the necessary precondition for the survival of human kind⁷.

If society was to be saved from being driven by primitive urges it needed to establish the rule of the reason through which order could be negotiated. Rousseau developed most fully the concept of reason underlying government by individuals within society. According to Hobbes and Locke, reason is the pure calculation of consequences in order to gain as much pleasure as possible for as little inconvenience as possible. Rousseau spoke about different principles of reason that concern not only man’s own survival but “natural aversion to seeing any other being, but especially any being like ourselves, suffer or perish”⁸. This empathy for others and the recognition of suffering as being unacceptable is based in reason in

⁴ (Plato, 1968) 492a – 492 b  
⁵ (Abizadeh, 2013) p. 115  
⁶ (Hobbes, 1651) Ch. XI, p. 60-61  
⁷ (Locke, 2015) Chapter 2; 13  
⁸ (Rousseau, 2002) p. 84
the very core of our ability not to feel indifferent to others but by seeking our wellbeing to
gain theirs as well. Rousseau put coherent reason and constant development of our quali-
ties through reasoning as the foundation of modern society. As we become reasoning crea-
tures we become knowledgeable of our capacity to improve and direct our actions in favour
of the “free man” and of greater humanity in society. However, there are still possible
numbers of those who are not aware or not accepting of these human qualities. Rousseau in
the Dedication to the republic of Geneva depicts a society of the free fellow man, who
lives under a law chosen by men that creates a peaceful and happy society. The most influ-
ential element in every society is the human factor. A society is characterized by the nature
of man and we can, by changing our ambitions, change society for the better or worse. It is
our tendency to act on selfish impulses, however these are counterbalanced by the original
state of nature where all men have been made equal. It is this tension that propels the soci-
ety in its transformation and development toward greater order and happiness of all its
members.

The foundation of UDHR springs from the principles of western political thought of
Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau transformed into principles of liberal peace. Rousseau con-
sidered Geneva to be a progressive modern city state and it is intriguing that the very doc-
ument under such scrutiny in recent political debates based on the dislike of human suf-
fering comes from Geneva – the “Geneva Convention”.

The result of being educated for peace is demonstrated in a person’s willingness to obey the
laws of society; this is a form of social contract with fellow human beings whereby the
principles underlying peaceful coexistence are acknowledged. Circumstances change and
laws have to change and evolve in response to external influences. These influences for

9 (Rousseau, 2002) p. 107; 146
10 (Rousseau, 2002)
11 (Richmond, 2007) p. 24 – 30
12 (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951)
change include the consensus that has to be achieved in cases of international agreements to produce conventions. There will always be the need to evolve laws and conventions regarding peace in response to new circumstances and arguments. Modern technology is an example of a source of novel harms that may afflict the peace of society and even threaten human existence: societies will need to be alert to these threats and respond with great care. Following the brief account of the historical evolution of the ideas of peace and political implications I wish to describe how these abstract philosophical ideas relate to daily reality. A concrete contemporary example is our commitment to the Geneva Convention and the empathy for the suffering of our fellow men in pursuit of happiness in the peaceful surroundings. I am speaking about education to peace for the sustainable way of life for preserving our environment for future generations. We are born equal with different abilities but education for peace has something to offer for everyone and we need to foster it for it is the foundation of democratic societies and sustainable peace.

2 Motive for the study

What inspired me to write about education for peace? More specifically why write about this topic within the framework of relatively peaceful surroundings in Norway and Slovakia? Firstly, these two states share several common factors such as size of population, relatively long-term stable development within the European context and relatively well-established educational structures in their respective societies. This makes it possible to compare phenomena present in these societies that may demonstrate how education for peace has strong relevance. At the same time I can evaluate what elements of education are missing that could contribute to building peace around the world. Norway is undoubtedly a pioneer in peace research as early as 1959 Johan Galtung founded the International Peace Research Institute in Norway:

“Researchers at PRIO seek to understand the processes that bring societies together or split them apart. We explore how conflicts erupt and how they can be re-

13 (Cecilia M Bailliet, 2015) p. 63
solved; we investigate how different kinds of violence affect people; and we examine how societies tackle crises – and the threat of crisis. We document general trends, seek to understand processes, and inform concrete responses.”\(^\text{14,15}\).

What makes my case study relevant today? The globalization of today’s world has challenges that demand holistic solutions. Education is the key element in this quest and Norwegian and Slovak models could help us improve the structure and content of education in order to adequately respond to these challenges in the 21\textsuperscript{st} century in order, or in the desire at least, to make peace stable and durable.

After the Second World War we established human rights institutions as safeguards of our peace. Peace is not a natural condition so it must be nourished and striven for continuously every day. If a society is to enjoy peace and stability a consistent and focused effort needs to be made to keep it at a reasonably good level. Progress in human rights treaties, institutions and regulations are minimal standards that provide guidance but do not give us ultimate answers as to what the relevant mechanisms to foster permanent changes are\(^\text{16,17}\).

What is the balanced content of education that will provide the necessary sense of reflection within the educational process and lead to desirable outcomes in terms of structural and sustainable peace? When is the right time to start education, what types of education and tools should be used in order to strengthen peace on the macro level of international and domestic fields? And how should the education be applied and implemented on the local and micro level for social interactions between individuals? These are the questions that are driving my curiosity in the field of education for peace.

\(^\text{14}\) (PRIO, 2014)
\(^\text{15}\) (Cortright, 2008) p. 2
\(^\text{16}\) (Nickel, 2007) p. 9-10
\(^\text{17}\) (Gross, 1962) p. 11
It may be claimed, that it is impossible to compare such different countries. On the one hand Norway – a pioneer in human rights - and Slovakia – a relatively newly established democracy still in a transitional stage with many human rights issues and not in a comparable economic condition; Norway not a member of the European Union –not to mention other internal specific differences between the two countries. I believe that each country has its unique features and challenges but education is common to both and in this case the question concerns the structural content of the educational processes that can be compared between the two societies. I believe that an evaluation of the two educational models could provide valid outcomes in terms of useful answers and practically applicable solutions to my questions.

The other dimension of my study concerns the political aspect of priorities in education. Political influence in the curriculum is present from the very beginning of education. The political priorities therefore represent an important step towards the path to peaceful cohesion of the society. It might be stretching the concept too far, but with some imagination we could ask what is the relevance of “toddlers” for peace? The answer is obvious. Everyone was once a toddler who then became a voter who then may well become a candidate for election. Toddlers will become teachers, doctors, aid workers, postmen and even presidents. But equally toddlers might be the foreign fighters, the homophobes, the xenophobes or terrorists.

2.1 Research questions
What should education for peace consist of?
What needs to be taught in schools in order to provide children with relevant education that will give them opportunities and skills to be a contributing member of society - the qualified voter, teacher, aid worker or president?
What is it that is relevant in education for peace in peaceful societies?

2.2 Basic terminology
Although I do not have a satisfactory definition of peace in order to be able to evaluate aspects of peace, I want to offer some of the most common definitions of peace and for that
matter definitions of violence as well, as one cannot be defined without the other as they are naturally linked\textsuperscript{18}. I will use the model of structural violence, as I will demonstrate that high level of structural violence present in society will inevitably lead to social unrest and potentially violence and conflict as well.

2.2.1 Definition of peace

Peace narrowly defined means absence of war. As warfare has changed over the centuries peace inevitably changed as well. As the means of securing peace changed, so did our view of this term. War and peace have always been a question, not only of military but also, political advantage. International cooperation has widened the scope for achieving international peace. The United Nations as the safeguard of peace between the nations put in place new structures of peace and encouraged the process of collective striving for sustainable peace\textsuperscript{19}. And this is what gives the UN Charter the invaluable relevance and authority in calling for collective commitment to security and stability. As progress in this field has shown, the structure and definition of peace needs to be modified on regular basis. In a more complex world facing the challenges of global war on terrorism and crucial environmental challenges we need to employ different means in order to achieve sustainable peace. The challenge of new definitions of peace is part of this process.

The UN Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace describe peace in several layers:

- “Since wars began in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed,
- Recognizing that peace not only is the absence of conflict, but also requires a positive, dynamic participatory process where dialogue is encouraged and conflicts are solved in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation,

\textsuperscript{18} (Richmond, 2007) p. 185-186
\textsuperscript{19} (Gross, 1962) p. 6
- Recognizing also that the end of the cold war has widened possibilities for strengthening a culture of peace,
- Expressing deep concern about the persistence and proliferation of violence and conflict in various parts of the world,
- Recognizing the need to eliminate all forms of discrimination and intolerance, including those based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status,
- Recalling its resolution 52/15 of 20 November 1997, by which it proclaimed the year 2000 as the “International Year for the Culture of Peace”, and its resolution 53/25 of 10 November 1998, by which it proclaimed the period 2001–2010 as the “International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World”,
- Recognizing the important role that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization continues to play in the promotion of a culture of peace,
- Solemnly proclaims the present Declaration on a Culture of Peace to the end that Governments, international organizations and civil society may be guided in their activity by its provisions to promote and strengthen a culture of peace in the new millennium”

The most common definition of peace and violence is provided in 1969 by Johan Galtung, although he does not claim this definition to be solely and absolutely exhaustive: “At this point, of course, nobody has any monopoly on defining ‘peace’”, we still use his model of defining violence as:

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20 (UN General Assembly, 1999a); (UN Educational, 1945); (United Nations General Assembly, 2012); (Cecilia M Bailliet & Larsen, 2013) p. 276
21 (Galtung, 1969) p. 167
“[…] ‘peace’ and ‘violence’ be linked to each other such that ‘peace’ can be regarded as ‘absence of violence’”\(^{22}\).

Further Galtung offered more precise distinctions of violence in terms of: “physical and psychological; negative and positive approaches to influence; whether or not there is an object that is hurt; whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts; violence that is intended or unintended; two levels of violence, the manifest and the latent”\(^{23}\).

### 2.2.2 Structural violence

Among the early authors of definition of structural violence is Galtung: “There may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The violence is built into the structure and shows as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances”\(^{24}\). Other authors describe it with similar characteristics: “Whenever persons are harmed, maimed, or killed by poverty and unjust social, political, and economic institutions, systems, or structures, we speak of structural violence”\(^{25}\). Structures that promote or maintain particular conditions also affect the ability of human beings to realize their physical and mental potential. For instance, a person’s life expectancy may be reduced by an act of direct, intended personal violence or by the failure of a system to provide adequate care for those with treatable illnesses. Similarly, a person may be physically prevented from attending school by another individual or they may be prevented from accessing education due to resources being diverted away from education or towards providing education to a different group of people\(^{26}\). “Structural violence is silent it does not show – it is essentially static, it is the tranquil waters. In a static society, personal violence will be registered, whereas structural violence may be seen as about as natural as the air around us”\(^{27}\).

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\(^{22}\) (Galtung, 1969) p. 168  
\(^{23}\) (Galtung, 1969) p. 169 - 172  
\(^{24}\) (Galtung, 1969) p. 171  
\(^{25}\) (Köhler & Alcock, 1976) p. 343  
\(^{26}\) (Evans, 2016) p. 3  
\(^{27}\) (Galtung, 1969) p. 173
On closer examination Galtung argues that violence and structural violence are very often present simultaneously in the society. Although, as Galtung previously pointed out, signs of structural violence are not that obvious\(^{28}\) in the society, but are still interrelated. In other words: “[…] peace also has two sides: absence of personal violence and absence of structural violence. We shall refer to them as negative peace and positive peace respectively”\(^{29}\).

No research or study on peace whether it be within the legal context or the social sciences context can do without the distinction between the two.

What both of these disputed definitions have in common is the notion of *structure*. Peace is not static, it is an evolving concept interrelated with other concepts like “conflict theory, but equally important with development theory; peace research”\(^{30}\). The other common ground is that of a multidisciplinary approach. The potential of sustainable peace cannot be reached only within one sector of society. Nowadays the whole field of peace studies is dedicated to research on this topic. References to peace can be found in every international treaty and there is no doubt that this issue is taken seriously. Still, the fundamental question over the priority of research “negative” vs. “positive” peace remains the same as in 1969\(^{31}\). Even as long ago as that it was apparent that although this duality presented much difficulty in the discussion, the only way forward was further analysis and practical engagement with these terms in the ongoing debate. Currently, significant portions of research are occupied with negative peace. On the other hand structural violence seems to be in the shadow of this development and is deprived of adequate attention. One of the reasons why progress in the eradication of structural violence is limited is that multidisciplinary research and cooperation is always difficult. Perhaps it involves too many scientific disciplines. “Originating or structural violence can include impoverishment, deprivation, humiliation, political re-

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\(^{28}\) (Galtung, 1969) p. 179  
\(^{29}\) (Galtung, 1969) p. 183; (Cecilia Marcela Bailliet & Larsen, 2015) p. 2-3  
\(^{30}\) (Galtung, 1969) p. 183  
\(^{31}\) (Galtung, 1969) p. 190, Footnote 31
pression, a lack of human rights, and the denial of self-determination. Positive peace means transcending the conditions that limit human potential and assuring opportunities for self-realization”

2.2.3 Education for peace

It is only natural that Galtung, as a peace researcher, touched in his work upon peace education as well. Although we are dealing here with two abstract concepts i.e. education and peace, peace education is not merely the sum of these two disciplines. It carries in addition, the traditional features of learning: “Brainstorming, respect, curiosity. We have nothing to lose in making this step, only much to gain, much enrichment. There is also a fourth stage, mutual learning, which holds the key to the future”

As in every subject, education becomes relevant to students if they can relate to it in some way. Teachers can encourage excitement about the topic through experience and adequate teaching tools; in case of education for peace there is also the advantage that it is a living, relevant and real topic outside the classroom.

Both content and form determine whether the education practice is effective and whether in fact it promotes the concept of peace in the minds of the pupils. ”However Galtung also emphasizes that for peace education it is crucial that form takes priority over content. How one teaches is just as important as what one teaches”

This is not to imply that mathematics is not important, but a person with lack of mathematical skills probably will go through life with less hardship than with lack of interpersonal skills. The uniqueness of education for peace combines many disciplines that develop the skills of interpersonal relationships and understanding that helps to maintain peace. The concept of peace is relevant to all contexts.

32 (Forsythe, 2012) p. 7
33 (Galtung, 2010) p. 30
34 (Cabezudo & Haavelsrud, 2013) p. 3
35 (James Page, 2008) p. 2
“If peace was limited to a specific time and place, the relationships between micro and macro as suggested above would not be considered. This might lead to a distorted view of peace, because it is more and more difficult, if not impossible, to find a context which is completely isolated from the rest of the world”\(^{36}\).

For recognizing important parts of the education of peace, equally important is the study of violence. Education for peace according to different scholars should be the mastering of values, attitudes, conflict resolution by peaceful means, peace mediation, conduct of dialogue and other social as well as political means for fostering sustainable peace\(^{37,38}\).

As Salomon suggests: “After all, the conflict is not between individuals who have to be skilled in settling a dispute. Governments and politicians are the ones who resolve the conflict, not school children”\(^{39}\). I would further argue that education for peace must involve equipping especially school children with such a set of skills and an understanding of the social realities of the world so that they will be able to participate and influence the political will of politicians and governments towards sustainable peace. On the smaller scale we can say that education for peace must possess the ambition to fill “a theory – practice gap”\(^{40}\) between conventional education and education for fulfilled life in peace. Education for peace is focused on structural absence of peace that is demonstrated on different levels and includes not just formal but also non-formal education outside the school buildings. The ideas of education of peace must be projected into the daily reality of life\(^{41}\). Later in my study I will explore in greater detail the origin and progress in the field of education of peace.

\(^{36}\) (Cabezudo & Haavelsrud, 2013) p. 5
\(^{37}\) (Salomon, 2009) p. 107 -108;
\(^{38}\) (Roth, 2009) p. 54
\(^{39}\) (Salomon, 2009) p. 109
\(^{40}\) (Sommardahl, 2015) p. 417
\(^{41}\) (Sommardahl, 2015) p. 421 – 422
2.3 Methodology

I have structured my study into three main parts: philosophical foundations of education for peace; legal aspects dealing with education for peace and a case study of legal ruling at the European Court of Human Rights to illustrate Slovak and Norwegian comparative examples. In addition, analyses of policy documents, research reports and evaluations have been undertaken.

The first chapter introduces basic terminology that I am about to explore in order to determine the level and significance of structural violence in Slovak and Norwegian societies. The second chapter deals with the meaning of education for peace: how the principles of peace have an important meaning in peaceful societies and why we need to emphasize it more. The third chapter provides an outline of the legal instruments providing us with powerful tools to secure a culture of peace globally including Slovakia and Norway. The fourth chapter consists of legal analysis of cases from the European Court for Human Rights, as both Slovakia and Norway are part of this legal mechanism. These legal cases are analysed in respect to legal matters but also with regard to political and social implications towards the educational sector as well as to society as a whole – at minimum to the length and depth that space allows for. In the comparative part of my research I aim to evaluate the structural content of education for peace in Norway and Slovakia and what we can learn from it. The fifth chapter provides a conclusion and shreds light on the path towards future arrangements of education that may provide practical outcomes in terms of more peaceful societies.

3 Education for peace in context

It is not my intention to explore education for peace in crisis, security risk or armed conflict situations. In addition, I do not want to touch on the concept of peace education in peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations, although there is no doubt that the basic premises for education for peace are similar in all circumstances.
My interest lies within the structural framework of education for peace in stable societies in the absence of conflict, in this case in the well-established democratic societies of Norway and Slovakia. I aim to describe the degree of structural violence in Slovak and Norwegian societies in order to provide valid information regarding the shortcomings of the present situation. Using adequate indicators it should be possible to adjust the educational structure to contribute to lowering the degree of structural violence and it might be beneficial even for other countries battling against the same problems. Another interest of my research is how effective and visible education for peace is in these societies. Is the impact of education for peace traceable in everyday reality of life in Norway and Slovakia?

The United Nations declared: “Recalling its resolution 52/15 of 20 November 1997, by which it proclaimed the year 2000 as the “International Year for the Culture of Peace”, and its resolution 53/25 of 10 November 1998, by which it proclaimed the period 2001–2010 as the “International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World”\textsuperscript{42}. These dates have passed and I wish to evaluate if the culture of peace has a solid basis in our societies. The discussion of the right to peace and education for peace is not new. The main objective of the creation of the United Nations after World War II was to maintain peace: “[ ] to formulate and enforce international norms that will prevent governments from doing horrible things to their people and thereby promote international peace and security”\textsuperscript{43}. It endeavoured to instigate a continuous process of people and nations creating means and conditions for peace and security to take solid root among the global community. Have we found the right instruments in education to foster peace as a foundation of our societies?

I will speak about development in the field of education for peace in the broader sense; that of Amartya Sen’s view of development as the main force in society to develop primarily in

\textsuperscript{42} (UN General Assembly, 1999b)
\textsuperscript{43} (Nickel, 2007) p. 7
terms of quality of life and not just in economic terms. Sen connects development to every aspect of the society from individual freedom of choice to the quality of democracy and the participatory role of every individual and to the decision making process on the local as well as on the national and international level\(^ {44}\). That is also how structural violence or peace can be traced in society. The evaluation must go deeper than basic political, social or cultural rights.

Sen stresses that the way to personal development of each individual is the answer for well-established societies. Only if people could agree on common values and understand their importance may society progress towards sustainable peace. “Attention is thus paid particularly to the expansion of the “capabilities” of persons to lead that kind of life they value and have reasons to value. These capabilities can be encouraged by public policy, but public policy can be influenced in turn by the effective use of participatory capabilities of the public\(^ {45}\). The crucial, central relevance of independent critical thinking cannot be stressed enough. Peace could never be reached without the participatory role of the civil society, elites and their cooperation. Even if there are such circumstances that peace may be “imposed” in certain situations, without the diligent engagement of citizens, this peace will not be sustainable\(^ {46}\). If peace is to have an authentic and lasting quality it is necessary that all members of society, especially the ones in the margins are given the means to gain insight into their depravity, realise the causes and mobilise their resources in order to reverse their situation and ensure that there are mechanisms in place to prevent it from recurring in the future.

I will use Sen’s model to identify the structural components of education for peace as a driving force for cohesion of a peaceful society. I will study the connection between educa-

\(^{44}\) (Sen, 1999) p. 4 - 6 
\(^{45}\) (Sen, 1999) p. 18 
\(^{46}\) (Mander, 2005) p. 242 – 243
tion for peace and the structural peace in a society. Peace is a complex concept but as usual with these kinds of contested words there is no clear definition. The intention here is not to present a definition, rather I prefer to focus on different components of education for peace which can contribute to a sustainable peace worldwide or on the other hand those that could be destabilizing elements for a society. In other words, what kind of education is adequate in order to foster the individual concept of peace as a value for an individual as well as for a society\textsuperscript{47}.

Although it may seem that I am using Sen’s concept of freedom interchangeably with peace I hope to demonstrate how these two are inevitably interconnected. If we agree on the premise that sustainable peace cannot be established without philosophical or instrumental understanding of structural peace within a society, we must engage in the process of education. Education, that has to be multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary in order to produce a firm basis for engendering rigorous independent thought and opinions. The education for peace must foster means of interaction that will contribute to the desirable outcome of structural peace in the society.

Sen offered some directions in terms of necessary components for accomplishing this goal “Human rights in the broadest sense are involved in this exercise as well; sensitivity of social decisions to the development of individual preferences and norms; public discussion and interaction in the emergence of shared values and commitments\textsuperscript{48}. When we consider a peaceful democratic society such as Norway or Slovakia, we need to recognise that the understanding and experience of peace structures and education in these societies will also have effects outside their own country borders. We need to consider that for example Norway devotes considerable effort internationally to peace building operations, work in refugee camps, humanitarian aid operations and many other international programmes partic-

\textsuperscript{47} (Sen, 1999) p. 31
\textsuperscript{48} (Sen, 1999) p. 242; 253
pating in rebuilding after violent conflicts and other social transitions in these societies towards democratic structures. It is safe to assume that the employees of the international aid organizations will bring their own cultural values to these newly built societies and so it matters also what kind of perception of peace they have from their own background. It is necessary to consider what the local concepts of peace, freedom and stability are and align the strategies of any interventions to reflect the value system of the recipients rather than those of the aid workers. Otherwise it is mere replacing of one imposed vision with another, which will not allow any social change to take root within the social context of a particular community. The same applies to Slovakia that has Ukraine on its Eastern border on the brink of civil war so it is crucial that the Slovaks and their government promote peaceful solutions in the region and actively participate in rebuilding democracy and peace.

Education is important in shaping good leaders as well as producing an electorate who are more likely to vote for political elites who have more liberal and wider outlooks, who will be creating the country’s politics.

Johan Galtung, like Sen, believes that the correct way to achieve sustainability of peaceful societies is through the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives of peace studies. Galtung’s interpretation of peace studies is that only if we look at a human being through a holistic perspective of social sciences can we improve conditions of the individual as well as society as a whole. Each individual’s wellbeing is a reflection of the level of wellbeing of the community where the individual co-exists. In the same way we must understand that education for peace could be influential only if it is applied throughout the whole spectrum of education. Galtung further argues that mere formal education is insufficient: “in order to communicate scientific knowledge and reproduce it, much of the culture

\[49\] (Ensor, 2005) p. 255 – 256
\[50\] (Galtung, 2010) p. 21
of science must be internalized; for the observers verdict to have consequences they must occupy a position, like that of a “peer” for a peer review, inside the structure. Science requires us to be insiders and outsiders at the same time. In short, science is explicit, public and intersubjective\textsuperscript{51}.

To understand the different aspects of education for peace we must go beyond the concept of human rights. Although human rights are a necessary component of education for peace, as a political construction they only provide structure for “[…] avoiding the terrible rather than achieving the best”\textsuperscript{52}. We need to realise that human rights are also an evolving concept that cannot regulate all possible scenarios of social interactions\textsuperscript{53,54}. They inform an on-going debate that aims to validate what is sound and filter out what is no longer relevant or conducive to peace. Education for peace is an ambitious project aiming at fostering the ideas of critical thought and understanding of complex solutions for better human conditions. Education for peace offers a flexible platform for structural peace that depends not only on legal but also on philosophical, psychological and historical grounds. It is apparent that human rights and education for peace complement each other\textsuperscript{55}. So how can we utilise education in order to promote general observance and practical application of human rights across the globe? How can education enable the transformation of conflict in the current climate?

\textsuperscript{51} (Galtung, 2010) p. 21
\textsuperscript{52} (Nickel, 2007) p. 36
\textsuperscript{53} (Forsythe, 2012) p. 62
\textsuperscript{54} (Nickel, 2007) p. 189 – 190
\textsuperscript{55} (Galtung, 2010) p. 26
4 Legal provisions of education for peace on international, regional and national levels

4.1 Peace education in United Nations instruments

In this section I will address the question of peace education in international, regional and national legal frameworks of Norway and Slovakia. In the field of international law supremacy belongs to the UN legislative framework starting with Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Different UN treaties with a focus on certain areas of human rights have been established as the international community has evolved; such as the UDHR\textsuperscript{56}.

On the regional level I will look into European Union (EU) law as Slovakia is part of EU and Norway is part of European Economic Area that have close ties with EU. I will also refer to case law from the European Court for Human Rights. On the national level I will address the implementation of education for peace on the constitutional level as well as school norms and educational acts in Slovakia and Norway.

4.1.1 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights constitutes the milestone in international law and gives authority and structure to the other legal international instruments. Peace is one of the main objectives of UDHR that shows peace education as a concept is considered to be a cornerstone of world peace. In the very first document, the Charter of the United Nations, it is stated: “to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, [...]”\textsuperscript{57}. As the wording suggests, “reaffirm faith” imply more than order. It points out an aspiration to restore faith in human dignity and the value of individu-

\textsuperscript{56} (James Page, 2008) p. 2-3
\textsuperscript{57} (United Nations, 1945), Preamble
human life as absolute highest value of the society. It is impossible without education to address all these issues and aspire for restoration of faith in one another.

In the same spirit UDHR makes direct reference also to the educational dimension of the international framework: “every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms”. In article 26 it is developed as follows:

“Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace”58,59.

To this goal, the UN established in 1945, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO). As it is clear from the name, education was considered as central means to a sustainable development of peaceful cooperation among states but the importance of the philosophical foundation of peace was not considered to be important to the research fields on this topic. Neither has there been much emphasis on promoting common responsibilities towards establishing a state of liberal peace60. UNESCO as an institution safeguarding the standards of education gave deeper understanding to the structure of education for peace: “Recognizing that, consequently, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, while respecting the diversity of national educational systems, has the duty not only to proscribe any form of discrimination in education but also to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for all in education”61.

58 (U. N. G. Assembly, 1948) Preamble, Art. 26 (2)
59 (UN General Assembly, 1978) I (1, 4); II a (i, ii)
60 (United Nations Educational, 2014) p. 5; Art. I, 2 (b)
61 (UNESCO, 1960) Preamble
It is very important to remember the foundations of these international institutions as today the credibility and effectiveness of these pillars of international cooperation in the quest for a peaceful world is often questioned\textsuperscript{62}. With this in mind we should not forget that however nice it sounds whenever we speak about world peace, we speak only about the countries that willingly enter the international legal regime and even then not all of them commit completely to fulfil all their international obligations required of the international legal order. Although peace education might sound non-controversial there always remains some hostility towards this kind of education because of the political implications that accompany it. It may be due to lack of tradition of this kind of education and not all the states are willing to devote their resources towards this field when they have higher priorities such as battling to fulfil basic rights to food, water or health care of their citizens.

The important feature of binding and non-binding international instruments is that multiple preconditions are needed for successful fostering of peace\textsuperscript{63}. There is no doubt that all human rights have the same importance and their reinforcement by economic and social progress contributes to elimination of discriminatory treatment in society\textsuperscript{64}. The question remains as to why in view of progress, structural violence remains visibly so high even in relatively peaceful societies and why narratives that create tensions within the societies continue to be repeated\textsuperscript{65}?

4.1.2 International Human Rights Treaties

The idea of world peace through international legal instruments on the one hand has achieved real structure, on the other hand it could seem to be discouraging because “absence of war” was not enough and structural violence was shown to have devastating con-

\textsuperscript{62} (J. Page, 2010) p. 7
\textsuperscript{63} (Cecilia Marcela Bailliet & Larsen, 2015) p. 52 – 53
\textsuperscript{64} (UN General Assembly, 1993) I, 5
\textsuperscript{65} (Rehman, 2010) p. 161
sequences on a large scale in the same way as violent conflicts. The contribution of international legal infrastructure is that it has a global reach, although not all states ratify or implement the international treaties. The language of international legal norms can be seen as a progressive force for the debate on national level and are an impulse for social movement on the national level. That said, consideration must be given to international treaties and to the political obstacles accompanying them but ambiguous phrasing of these treaties cannot be disregarded for they may produce problems in implementation in daily reality which may be long lasting. Secondly, the value is the potential for flexibility in creating new conventions if the circumstances prove necessary or to offer new interpretations because new problems have arisen. There is no doubt that this potential has not always has been fulfilled to the maximum but we can say that peace is considered to be the prime aim of all of the international legal instruments.

Of course not all the treaties give the same importance to education but they all support this element to a certain degree. In the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights we can find reference to education in article 13: “They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms”. The absence of clear definitions of what the education should consist of make it difficult to answer the important questions of values and cultural concepts that create tensions among societies, and fosters the exclusive instead of inclusive education. Having access to education and health systems may seem as adequate arrangement, but to be segregated in the school and to have disparate mortality of children because of the unequal distribution of resources between majority and minority of the population does not foster peace, rather the opposite.

66 (UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, 1992) Article 7
67 (Rehman, 2010) p. 404 – 413
68 (U. G. Assembly, 1966) Art. 13 (1)
69 (Rehman, 2010) p. 165 - 166
The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, article 10 states: “[…] education and information regarding the prohibition against torture are fully included in the training of law enforcement personnel, civil or military, medical personnel, public officials and other persons […]”70. This provision seems to omit the inhumane treatment of children in form of mental or physical abuse at home or at school. These kinds of treatment leave its mark on its victims for the rest of their life. This issue needs to be included in the educational syllabus for the sake of prevention rather than seeking solutions after the event. The empowerment of potential victims needs to be addressed from the very beginning, as the damage is often irreversible.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in article 10 points out that:

“[…] this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training” further “The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods”71.

The enlightened wording in this convention – “stereotyped concept” – clearly shows these problems need to be raised in children’s formative years in order to encourage open mindedness and freedom from prejudice in later life. The aim is not to create value-free people, but to provide alternatives from which choices can be made to create a system of values.

70 (UN General Assembly, 1984) Art. 10 (1)
71 (U. G. Assembly, 1979) Art. 10 (a), (c)
The most recent Convention on the Rights Persons with Disabilities highlights in the Preamble:

“Recognizing that disability is an evolving concept and that disability results from the interaction between persons with impairments and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinders their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others; To combat stereotypes, prejudices and harmful practices relating to persons with disabilities, including those based on sex and age, in all areas of life; Fostering at all levels of the education system, including in all children from an early age, an attitude of respect for the rights of persons with disabilities”\(^72\).

As we can see, one of the most persisting obstacles in the aspiration for peace is discriminatory behaviour by states as well as by individuals\(^73\). While the international instruments are created in order to give structure to human rights aspirations, equally important is to understand that the means for achieving equality nowadays must be fostered predominantly in the mind\(^74\). Within the debate about education for peace, it is the crucial to recognize that “substantive equality”: “[…] a concept with close connections to the term 'positive peace', as it involves the redistribution of power, the equal right for all to participation in society and equal opportunities”\(^75\) represents the dimension of positive peace necessary for sustainable peace and that provisions for equality and non-discrimination support the concept.

I do not list these international legal instruments in order to say that an earlier one is more or less important than a later one, my aim is simply to point out the complexity of the preconditions to be followed in order to foster a solid basis for peace. Also, I wish to show the evolution of the approach to education for peace. Is not enough just to have education in place, it must be education which fosters critical thinking and change of attitudes. It must

\(^72\) (U. G. Assembly, 2006) Preamble (e), Art. 8. 1 (b), 2 (b)
\(^73\) (Strand, 2015) p. 230
\(^74\) (Strand, 2015) p. 231
\(^75\) (Strand, 2015) p. 231 – 232
be reflective of knowledge of the past and of personal experience, otherwise it will be without aspiration for truth or justice that are core elements of peace. “But the importance of education is not just practical: a well-educated, enlightened and active mind, able to wander freely and widely, is one of the joys and rewards of human existence”76. Not to forget the vital importance of education in respect to realization and fulfilment of all the other human rights77.

Lack of education for peace makes individuals and segments of society vulnerable to manipulation that may cause harm to themselves and others. Children belong to the one of the most vulnerable groups of the people in a society. The Convention on the Rights of the Child makes clear that its aspiration embraces this idea: “Considering that the child should be fully prepared to live an individual life in society, and brought up in the spirit of the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular in the spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity”78. Child welfare must accord with General comment No. 1 and 5 of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child in article 6, seeking a “holistic concept” towards ‘development’ of the child and that includes “measures to change attitudes”79,80.

The UN continually supports the development of education on all levels not only with legal instruments but also through different initiatives, as for example: The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that has been transformed into Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Both of these documents focus on human rights and peaceful cooperation but in different respects. “The MDGs, in contrast, have a fifteen-year time frame and restrict their concern to the least developed countries (LDCs) and the people in them. The MDGs lack

76 (UN Committee on Economic, 1999b) 1
77 (UN Committee on Economic, 1999a) 1, 2, 3
78 (UN General Assembly, 1989) Preamble
79 (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2003) Art. 6; Art. 2
80 (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2001) Appendix, Para 1 – 4; 7 – 8
the universality of human rights.” The other particular aspect of these initiatives is that they try to combine political as well economic, social and cultural rights as common goals in a more understandable manner outside the legal world. The aspiration of the MDGs and SDGs is to interconnect political, business and civil society across the world in practical terms. This may sound very desirable but at the same time it calls for caution. Will such a complex program be deliverable in the prescribed time? Will this not lead more to cosmetic than sustainable change?

Many also criticize MDG’s lack of goals defined in human rights targets: “Rather than complaining that human rights are not mentioned, attention should focus on the fact that progress across the MDGs targets is systematically bypassing the disadvantaged and vulnerable people in the majority of countries.” As the report about success of MDGs, “Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education”, Fact sheet states: “Achieving gains in education will have an impact on all MDGs.” The same goal is present also in SDGs, Goal 4: Quality education: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all and Goal 16: Peace, justice and strong institutions; but they fail to make connections between Goals 4 and 16. The missing connection between necessity of education and what kind of education is needed in the modern globalized world is disturbing. In 2015 UNESCO launched complementary initiatives to SDGs, Rethinking education: Towards a global common good? In these initiatives more precise features of education desirable for the common good are defined as follows: “The humanistic values that should be the foundations and purpose of education include: respect for life and human dignity, equal rights and social justice, cultural and social diversity, and a sense of human solidarity

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81 (Nickel, 2013) p. 37
82 (Nickel, 2013) p. 39 – 40
83 (Vandemoortele, 2013) p. 63 – 64
84 (United Nations, 2013)
85 (United Nations Development Programme, 2015)
and shared responsibility for our common future”\textsuperscript{86}. All these initiatives oscillate around the common values, sustainability of social cohesion and necessary peaceful cooperation among states\textsuperscript{87}.

The UN is fully aware of the current global threats such as terrorism, migration crisis, and other challenges facing current societies: “We need to pay attention to why individuals are attracted to violent extremist groups. I am convinced that the creation of open, equitable, inclusive and pluralist societies, based on the full respect of human rights and with economic opportunities for all, represents the most tangible and meaningful alternative to violent extremism and the most promising strategy for rendering it unattractive\textsuperscript{88}. It takes considerable effort to analyse and project some adequate responses but the political as well economic and social potential of these initiatives seem to be dissolved into many changing factors to be addressed in order to foster sustainable change. Should it not be already common knowledge after the experiences with transitions from undemocratic to democratic rule in many parts of the world (Eastern Europe, Southern America, Asia etc.) that less ambitious but better defined political, social, economic and cultural goals are more likely to be successful long term strategies? To bring literacy without the components of peace education may decrease poverty indicators but spread of social cohesion and peace-building mechanisms in these societies is unlikely: “The real test, to a growing global population demanding a life of dignity, is the degree to which they are able to enjoy freedom from fear and want, without discrimination”\textsuperscript{89}. That may be the case also with the possible new international convention of “Right to Peace”; it may be useful and the best solution to refine components of peace but it may also just refocus the attention into diverse directions.

\textsuperscript{86} (United Nations Educational, 2015) p. 38
\textsuperscript{87} (United Nations Development Programme, 2014) p. 3 ”Youth are agents for community resilience”.
\textsuperscript{88} (United Nations General Assembly, 2015) Article 7
\textsuperscript{89} (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2013) Foreword, iii
4.1.3 Will the Convention on the Right to Peace follow?

The general peace discussions on “Right to Peace” suggest, that peace is a rather complex concept which may be best fulfilled by reinforcing provisions of all the international human rights provisions. The Nordic Expert Consultation on the Right to Peace from 2013 suggests, “that the term ‘right to peace’ may be replaced with ‘components of peace’”\(^90\). Although the ongoing discussion within UN towards a convention on the “Right to Peace” seems to be progressing, the article 4 devoted to “Peace education and training” has no surprising clues or alternatives in the educational field. The main pillars remains:

“Such education should be the basis of every educational system, generate social processes based on trust, solidarity and mutual respect, incorporate a gender perspective, facilitate the peaceful settlement of conflicts and lead to a new way of approaching human relationships within the framework of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace and dialogue among cultures”\(^91\).

For various reasons “Right to Peace” may remain only aspirational but it should not redirect our focus from the solutions that are available independently of the existence of this provision of international law\(^92\). Norway in the case of the preparatory draft “Declaration on the right of peoples to peace” in 2012 abstained and Slovakia was not present for voting\(^93\). That indicates that a new convention on the “Right to Peace” will probably not be high on their agenda\(^94\).

I will not describe the whole evolution of international legal order in this field due to space restriction, but I will mention relevant regional legal instruments and describe concrete

\(^{90}\) (Cecilia Marcela Bailliet & Larsen, 2015) p. 9 – 10
\(^{91}\) (U. G. Assembly, 2012) Art. 4, 1 – 2
\(^{92}\) (Cecilia Marcela Bailliet & Larsen, 2015) p. 55 – 56; 62 – 63
\(^{93}\) (UN General Assembly, 2012)
\(^{94}\) (Cecilia M Bailliet & Larsen, 2013)
cases from the European Court for Human Rights in which there will be more detailed analysis of the relevant legal obligations of Slovakia and Norway.

### 4.2 Education for peace in regional legal instruments

#### 4.2.1 Council of Europe

Norway and Slovakia are members of the Council of Europe and both countries recognize authority of the European Court for Human Rights and are part of its jurisdiction that is based in the European Convention on Human Rights\(^95\). The legislation of Europe is strongly inspired by United Nations provisions. Norway and Slovakia are both signatories to the European Social Charter (ESC)\(^96\) and as the Preamble states: “[…] aim of the Council of Europe is the achievement of greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and of facilitating their economic and social progress, in particular by the maintenance and further realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms”\(^97\). It enhances education as a basic right of the child and that as such to be indivisible means to this end\(^98\). As noted earlier, the United Nations legal framework inspires the European legal regime and unfortunately it also adopts some of the weaknesses of the latter\(^99\).

#### 4.2.2 Education for peace and the European Union

The European Union was intended at the beginning to be an economic and political union of states\(^100\). In the last two decades the enlargement processes that made accession possible for the states in transition from undemocratic to democratic regimes resulted in the issue of human rights becoming the pre-eminent theme\(^101\). Human rights became an important pillar

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\(^95\) (Council of Europe, 2010) Section II, Article 19
\(^96\) (Council of Europe, 2013)
\(^97\) (Council of Europe, 1996) Preamble
\(^98\) (Council of Europe, 1996) Art. 17
\(^99\) (Rehman, 2010) p. 237
\(^100\) (Twomey, 1994) p. 121 – 131
\(^101\) (European Commission, 2015)
of the cooperation among the European as well EEA states. "The main reason why the EU is now concerned with human rights lies with the fact that it has expanded from a market-oriented institution to an organisation within a more inclusive agenda"102.

The main document addressing the fundamental values of the European Union is the Charter of Fundamental Rights of European Union: “The peoples of Europe, in creating an ever closer union among them, are resolved to share a peaceful future based on common values”103. Although the articles on the Rights to Education and the Rights of the Child are rather brief104 the underlying conditions are clear from the Preamble: “Enjoyment of these rights entails responsibilities and duties with regard to other persons, to the human community and to future generations”105. This would not be possible without diligent education structures promoting these rights at all levels of society. Although the Charter of Fundamental Rights is a non-binding document similar to the UDHR it has the innovation of including political, economic as well social and cultural rights106. On the other hand it did not completely fulfil its potential in the case of educational provisions by not encouraging the broader interpretation of values of the EU that should be strengthened by educational provisions of national states. The EU is well aware of its commitment to human rights but their implementation within member states remains a problem107.

102 (Rehman, 2010) p. 244 –245
103 (The European Parliament, 2012) Preamble
104 (Council of Europe, 2010) Art. 14; Art. 24
105 (Council of Europe, 2010) Preamble
106 (Rehman, 2010) p. 256 – 257; 262 – 263
107 (Rehman, 2010) p. 244
4.2.3 National legal structure related to education for peace

4.2.3.1 Slovakia

Slovakia became a member of the EU in 2004\textsuperscript{108}. The Constitution of the Slovak Republic recognizes all the international treaties and its supremacy over the domestic legal rule\textsuperscript{109}. All the fundamental freedoms are incorporated into Part Two of the Constitution and the human rights provisions of the Constitution are justifiable before domestic courts\textsuperscript{110}. The provisions of education are provided only with very limited wording of general nature\textsuperscript{111}.

Further the School Act prescribes the execution of educational standards in article 3: “Principles of upbringing and education”; such as non-discrimination; equality and common understanding of friendly relationships and tolerance\textsuperscript{112}. The more instrumental instructions of implementation of the educational standard was presented in “Pedagogical - organizational instructions the school year 20015/2016”. They clearly again prohibit all forms of discrimination, segregation and in greater detail lay down the course of action aimed at education to\textsuperscript{113} ethical, environmental, human rights and global holistic approach in the spirit of European values\textsuperscript{114}. The rules and principles of establishing schools and the State school inspection, as control body for quality of education in Slovakia is “Act on State Administration in Education and on School Self-governing Bodies and on amendments and supplements to certain acts”. This Act in similar spirit follows the strict measures of equality and non-discrimination as prescribed in the previous legal regulation\textsuperscript{115}. If we followed the regulation into the detailed “Learning objectives” of the Ethical education – which is

\textsuperscript{108} (Slovak-Republic.org, 2016)
\textsuperscript{109} (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 1992) Chapter One; Part One: Article 1 (2); Article 7 (2)
\textsuperscript{110} (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 1992) Chapter Two; Part Seven: Article 46
\textsuperscript{111} (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 1992) Chapter Two; Part Five: Article 42
\textsuperscript{112} (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 2008) Article 3 (d); (j) (translation of the author).
\textsuperscript{114} (Ministry of Education, 2015) Article 1.6.6. – 1.6.11.
\textsuperscript{115} (Ministry of Education, 2003) Article 3; 7 (c)
the subject on the level of Primary school ascribed to the education of ethical values of students we find desirable goals:

• acquire basic attitudes that determine cultivated interpersonal relationships,
• acquire competence to understand and respect the maximum level of a person's life and everything that led to its development,
• acquire capabilities that enhance self-esteem and appreciation of other,
• gain competence in expressing their feelings and acquire respect for the emotional life of others,
• learn to actively participate in society (class, school, region),
• acquire elements of pro-social behavior in the family, schoolgirls team,
• acquire competence to understand the value of friendship, reciprocity and families
• develop its position on the disabled, the sick and the elderly”\(^\text{116}\).

This list demonstrates high standard of legislative regulation in the field of educational standards for values of peace, peaceful cooperation and ethical values among the students in Slovakia. It exhibits devotion to the common European values of peace and to education as a corner stone leading to a holistic approach. One of the aims of this thesis is to demonstrate in chapter 4 the gap between the legislative framework and the actual quality of schooling on the ground that compromises the objectives of the education for peace to create an environment of understanding and peace in Slovakia.

4.2.3.2 Norway

In 1959 Johan Galtung established the Peace Research Institute in Oslo. Therefore it is no accident that Norway is a home to peace research not only in Europe but worldwide. Although Norway is not formally part of the EU, it is in close cooperation between EU and the European Economic Area (EEA) which includes all the relevant agencies and institu-

\(^{116}\) (Ministry of Education, 2016) p. 3 “Objectives of the course” (translation of the author)
tions for education. Norway is an equal participant in these institutions functioning and decision making elements. Additionally Norway has a special interest in social cooperation that includes in great proportion the educational sector. Norway has broadly supported educational elements in Central and Southern Europe with economic means and other cooperation, the support includes Slovakia among many other beneficiaries. Despite the persisting hesitation on behalf of Norway to become a full member of EU, Norway possesses common European values towards peaceful cohesion of European states and further nations around the world, which is demonstrated by incorporating EU norms in the Norwegian legal system. It is mainly due to political reasons that Norway has not wanted to become a full member of the EU, not the unwillingness to subscribe to the aforementioned.

The Constitution is the highest legal rule in Norway and the wording of article 2 makes direct implications of human rights values as a core element of the Norwegian legal order. The Constitution in greater detail in section E prescribes the human rights provisions regarding child well-being and education:

“For actions and decisions that affect children, the best interests of the child shall be a fundamental consideration. Children have the right to protection of their personal integrity; The authorities of the state shall create conditions that facilitate the child’s development: “The education shall safeguard the individual’s abilities and needs, and promote respect for democracy, the rule of law and human rights”.

\[117\] (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015)  
\[118\] (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015) para 10  
\[119\] (Müller-Graff & Selvig, 2006) p. 17  
\[120\] (Müller-Graff & Selvig, 1997) p. 9 – 15  
\[121\] (Müller-Graff & Selvig, 1997) p. 47  
\[122\] (Stortinget, 1814) Article 2  
\[123\] (Stortinget, 1814) E, Article 104; 109
Specific provisions regarding primary and secondary education are prescribed in the Education Act:

- Chapter 1 of the Education Act: Objectives, scope and adapted education, etc;
- Chapter 2. Section 2 – 3: Content and assessment of primary and lower secondary education; Section 2 – 4 make provisions for syllabus for: Teaching in the subject Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics. For obvious reasons that Norway has a state church as prescribed in the Constitution we can find several provisions of the Education Act putting strong emphasis to the “Christian values” but not in the discriminatory way of other world views.
- Chapter 14 of the Education Act: Supervision and Control; govern the bodies over-seeing quality of education and fulfilment of the legal obligations of the schools.

The Education Act is complemented by the Child Welfare Act to secure necessary preconditions for the wellbeing of the child in order to be nourished in the environment appropriate for the development of the child to the highest attainable standard at each of the child’s developmental stages. The particular structure of education of peace is prescribed in the “Curriculum for Knowledge of the Christianity, Religion, Philosophies of Life and Ethics: Knowledge of religions and philosophies of life is important for human beings to understand their existence and to gain an understanding of cultures within one's own society and in societies around the world.”

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124 (Stortinget, 1998)
125 (Stortinget, 1814) Article 16
126 (Stortinget, 1998) Chapter 2; Section 2 – 4
127 (Stortinget, 1998) Chapter 14
128 (Ministry of Children, 1992) Chapter 1; Section 1 – 1
129 (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013) Purpose
To my surprise there is no direct reference to the education for peace as part of the humanistic tradition although

“Competence aims: Philosophy and ethics; The aims of the studies are to enable pupils to: use the United Nations’ Convention on the Rights of Children to understand children's rights and equality, and be able to find examples of this in the media and on Internet; as well […] attitudes and current ethical questions encountered by children and adolescents today in their local communities and in the world in which we live”\textsuperscript{130}.

The current problem seems to be the lack of a common understanding of a peaceful resolution of disputes. These seem to be the crucial missing elements in today’s Norway. In the course of Chapter 4 of my thesis I will point out possible consequences for the Norwegian society regarding this missing connection between human rights and education for peace in its educational structure.

5 Case study

5.1 The case of Roma children segregation in the Elementary School in Sarisske Michalany

The case from the Slovak Republic presented here was ground breaking for the Slovak judicial system showing how unexplored this field is in Slovakia. It resulted in a decision at the District Court in Presov in 2012, which confirmed that the segregation of Roma children at the Sarisske Michalany School by teaching them in separate classrooms from other Slovak children without reasonable justification is to be condemned. The ruling condemned the segregation itself but went into greater detail of the practice of special class segregation and the exceedingly disagreeable practice of segregation on separate school floors\textsuperscript{131}. The

\textsuperscript{130} (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013) p. 3
\textsuperscript{131} ("Poradňa pre občianske a ľudské práva proti Základná škola Šarišské Michaľany," 2012) p. 2; 3; 12
segregation extended to separate and inferior quality lunches for Romani and non-Romani pupils that without doubt was intentional and organized: "[…] all “Roma classrooms” (years 0 to 7) were located on the ground floor and the first floor “belonged” to the non-Roma children. Roma and non-Roma children spent breaks in separated atria. Moreover, all Roma students were provided only packed lunches - sandwiches, while their non-Roma counterparts had proper meals in the school canteen. Similarly, the school yard was also divided – there was the “white” and the “black” side”\(^{132}\).

The District Court also drew attention to the level of prejudices fostered in the majority of the Slovak population that had not been addressed by any reasonable means\(^{133}\). Among the important aspects of the ruling of the court was the interpretation of the European Court for Human rights:

"In such cases, the determination of whether discrimination has taken place requires an examination of the justifiability of unequal treatment of the most thorough kind, so-called strict scrutiny, as applied by the European Court for Human Rights; The fact that the defendant claimed that one of the reasons for segregated teaching was to avoid discriminating against non-Romani children only shows that the defendant has absolutely no awareness of the concept of inclusive education, which regards each child as a unique individual, considers differences between children as a natural, and strives to develop the full educational potential of each child in class"\(^{134}\).

Secondly, in this ruling the District Court recognized that not only the School itself but also the Mayor of the town (the school founder) did not prevent these abusive practices:

\(^{132}\) (Rafael & André, 2014) p. 19
\(^{133}\) ("Poradňa pre občianske a ľudské práva proti Základná škola Šarišské Michaľany," 2012) p. 16
\(^{134}\) ("Poradňa pre občianske a ľudské práva proti Základná škola Šarišské Michaľany," 2012) p. 2; 4
(The translation of this decision from Slovak language was secured by Amnesty international)
"The mayor of the municipality (the secondary defendant) did not help the defendant in any way; ON the contrary, the court of appeal is of the opinion that he has revealed the full extent of segregation at the primary school. The defending school as well as the secondary defendant cited what they claimed were “practical” reasons for the segregated tuition of Romani children (e.g. the Romani children’s parents had given their consent, Romani children get along better by themselves, without conflicts with non-Romani children, the non-Romani children are not “hampered” by more backward Romani children, the Romani children achieve better results, etc.)\(^{135}\).

The partial reason why parents of the Romani children did not report the ill treatment of their children to the authorities may have been because the direct authority responsible for the school structure was the Mayor, who approved of such practices. Obviously the wider community of the town also failed to react to these harmful habits. Furthermore, the District Court interpreted the “informed consent” in light of other cases before ECHR\(^{136}\). The court clearly stated that even in the case of the parents’ consent to their children being placed in a separate classroom it was not grounds for the systematic segregation:

"The consent of the Romani parents or the children themselves, as the case may be, to being educated in segregated classes, cannot in and of itself cancel out or justify the unlawful action on the part of the defendant. Furthermore, as the plaintiff has proved, field study findings have shown that the reason Romani children as well as their parents consent to this kind of education is that they had become used to this situation and were afraid of being bullied or humiliated in mixed classes; It is, therefore, particularly important to be consistent in evaluating the so-called “informed consent” on the part of representatives of the Romani ethnic

\(^{135}\) ("Poradňa pre občianske a ľudské práva proti Žákladná škola Šarišské Michaľany," 2012) p. 11
\(^{136}\) (The translation of this decision from Slovak language was secured by Amnesty international)
group (cf. European Court of Human Rights judgment I.G., M.K. and R.H. vs Slovak Republic relating to the sterilization of a Romani woman)”.

The pioneering approach in this ruling of the District Court is demonstrated with detailed structure of the social aspects that should be applied in order to prevent this kind of discrimination especially in the case of the most vulnerable groups - children: “Inclusive education, Advantages for the non-Romani child, Advantages for Romani child, Advantages for the school”. The Court pointed out that eradication of the persisting prejudices held by the majority of the Slovak population needs to be taken through legislative measures and at all levels of social structures:

"The court of appeal cannot help feeling that the awareness of the majority population is tacitly permeated by the idea that Romani classes constitute a normal solution. Surprisingly, this view can also be found among educated people even though the legal matter at issue is evidently the result of a long-term ineffective approach to Romani children from an early age”.

The case also touches upon other practices of segregation in the form of classes or special schools for children from “socially disadvantaged background” (SDB) that in Slovak circumstances contains a great disproportion of Romani pupils:

“[...] a child from a socially disadvantaged background or a student from a socially disadvantaged background is a child or a student who lives in an environment which, with regard to social, family, economic and cultural conditions present, is stimulating the child’s / student’s mental, volitional and emotional skills development insufficiently and which does not support the child’s / student’s socialisation

137 ("Poradňa pre občianske a ľudské práva proti Základná škola Šarišské Michaľany," 2012) p. 4; 11 (The translation of this decision from Slovak language was secured by Amnesty international)
139 ("Poradňa pre občianske a ľudské práva proti Základná škola Šarišské Michaľany," 2012) p. 16 (The translation of this decision from Slovak language was secured by Amnesty international)
and does not provide sufficient amount of adequate stimuli for the development of the child’s / student’s personality.\(^{140}\)

The District court in its ruling regarded this practice as unlawful and pointed out the improper argument of the defendant in this part: "The defendant claimed that this aimed to ensure an individual approach to children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, who have more obvious difficulties coping with schoolwork."\(^{141}\)

The corrupt practice only encouraged prejudices against Romani children and fostered a greater separation between majority and minority coexistence by the education institution that should be prevent precisely these kinds of situations: "The court of first instance agreed with the plaintiff’s view that this situation was only indicative of the defendant’s inability to take responsibility for dealing with the issue of potential negative relations between Romani and non-Romani children and systematically encouraging them to get closer to each other."\(^{142}\) Unfortunately, in this practice Slovakia is not alone. These trends of "special schools" persist in many countries of Eastern Europe:

"In 2013, based on research carried out in 21 schools, the Ombudsperson found that Roma children represented 88% of children enrolled in special primary schools and classes. Amongst eleven European countries with a sizeable Roma minority, the Slovak Republic has the highest level of segregation of Roma in mainstream education and the second highest in the special education system.\(^{143,144}\)

\(^{140}\) (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 2008) Act no. 245/2008 Coll. on Upbringing and Education (School Act) and on the amendment and supplementation of certain acts – Art. 2 Underlying Concepts: p) (Translation of the author)
\(^{141}\) ("Poradňa pre občianske a ľudské práva proti Základná škola Šarišské Michaľany," 2012) p. 3 (The translation of this decision from Slovak language was secured by Amnesty international)
\(^{142}\) ("Poradňa pre občianske a ľudské práva proti Základná škola Šarišské Michaľany," 2012) p. 4 (The translation of this decision from Slovak language was secured by Amnesty international)
\(^{143}\) (The European Roma Rights Centre, 2016) p. 31
This very dangerous trend in the ruling party in Slovakia and by its Prime Minister Fico fosters further situations that are not only morally wrong but also scientifically unfounded and which encourage wider discrimination of Romani population who are already considered inferior in the minds of a great proportion of the Slovak population:

"[...] ERRC and others called on the Slovak government to refute the use of the “incest-argument” to justify segregated education for Romani children in Slovakia. The government dismissed EU criticism of school segregation and claimed that “One of the reasons why there is higher occurrence of genetically determined disorders is that Slovak Roma have the highest coefficient of interbreeding in Europe”\textsuperscript{145}.

In spite of the continuing criticism of Slovakia in persisting with such practices its government has not proven able to implement effective measures to change this situation: “[...] the Committee encourages the State party to undertake education, awareness-raising and other activities to improve intercultural dialogue and tolerance and to overcome negative stereotypes of and attitudes towards minority groups, including Roma communities”\textsuperscript{146}. Although Slovakia in 2013 stated in the Country report to the UN that: “Enrolment of children to special schools is subject to regular monitoring. The State School Inspection reviewed the situation in 37 special primary schools. According to findings of the inspection the enrolment of children to special schools complied with relevant laws with the exception of one primary school which did not justify disability of children”\textsuperscript{147}, it seems that the Slovak government completely disregards the intention of the recommendations of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child to avoid these treatment. The disproportionate num-

\textsuperscript{144} ("Poradňa pre občianske a ľudské práva proti Základná škola Šarišské Michaľany," 2012) p. 17
\textsuperscript{145} (The European Roma Rights Centre, 2016) p. 31
\textsuperscript{146} (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2007) Art. 60
\textsuperscript{147} (UN Human Rights Council, 2013) Article 69
ber of Romani pupils in “special schools” in spite of the ruling in this case has persisted to the present day\textsuperscript{148,149}.

5.1.1 The Emergency escape from segregation in Slovakia

The ruling of the District Court in 2012 inspired the establishment of a non-governmental organisation, the “eduRoma civic association” that has dedicated its expertise to helping with desegregation of the school in Sarisske Michalany\textsuperscript{150}. At first glance it seems very encouraging that civil society becomes mobilized and engaged in such an important issue. The other, shadier side of the story is that this engagement was not well supported by legal or social structures that should have been created by the government. The problem is that eduRoma has to bear almost all the weight of the solution to this complex problem:

”The initiative was born in February 2013 as a reaction to the idleness and unwillingness of the public authorities to offer a helping hand to the management team of the school; The case also serves illustrate the lack of willingness of Slovak politicians to really solve the issue of discrimination in schools”\textsuperscript{151}.

The Slovak government submitted the National Report to the UN Human Rights Committee in 2013 where it is stated that the educational provisions are based on principles of equality and non-discrimination and the monitoring system of these measures is in place\textsuperscript{152}. According to this report not only was the educational structure improved but the syllabus was adequately designed in order to improve human rights education:

“The Plan is conducted through educational topics such as “People and society”, “People and values”, “Art and culture; People and health”, as well as through the implementation of cross-cutting topics such as “Multicultural education” and

\textsuperscript{148} (The European Roma Rights Centre, 2016) p. 31
\textsuperscript{149} (European Roma Rights Centre and Center for Civil and Human Rights, 2015) p. 6 – 7
\textsuperscript{150} (Rafael & André, 2014) p. 5
\textsuperscript{151} (Rafael & André, 2014) p. 5 – 6
\textsuperscript{152} (UN Human Rights Council, 2013) p. 16 – 17, J, 67 – 69
“Personal and social development” in educational programmes of primary and secondary schools; The intercultural aspect in view of the culture and history of minorities is applied in national educational programmes in particular in cross-cutting topics of “Multicultural education, Personal and social development” as well as in educational areas such as ”People and values, Art and culture, People and society”\textsuperscript{153}.

EduRoma, on the contrary, stated in its report about progress in the case of desegregation of the school in Sarisske Michalany that: “[…] the Methodology and Pedagogy Centre has provided the public with misleading information about the success of its project aimed at the elimination of segregation at the school in Sarisske Michalany”\textsuperscript{154}. The Slovak National Centre for Human Rights (SNCHR) stated in its report that a similar situation occurred in a primary school in Levoca. Although the State School Inspectorate did not find breaches of legislation, the similarities of these two cases remain\textsuperscript{155}. The other activity of the SNCHR is an educative one and their annual report provides a variety of types of education in the field of human rights. The interesting fact about this education is that these activities have taken place in a region of the capitol Bratislava (although not exclusively) rather than in more deprived areas of the country and that the schools were more likely to choose the module that “[…] has the lowest interference into regular curricula of the schools”\textsuperscript{156}. It seems that the SNCHR does not understand its purpose and or potential. Interference with regular curricula is exactly the change needed and for which the Slovak educational sector is craving. The stereotypes cannot change without innovative ways of education that bring forward the missing elements of existing curricula.

\textsuperscript{153} (UN Human Rights Council, 2013) p. 11, G, 49; 12; G 51
\textsuperscript{154} (UN Human Rights Council, 2013) p. 27
\textsuperscript{155} (Slovak National Centre for Human Rights, 2015) p. 59 – 61
\textsuperscript{156} (Slovak National Centre for Human Rights, 2014) p. 7 – 8
The Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for National Minorities in its report does not go into great detail about persisting discrimination of Romani children in school, but mentions that:

“The programme of ‘Local and regional initiatives to reduce national inequalities and to promote social inclusion’—supported from the EEA financial mechanism, is a programme designed to create human and professional resources for quality inter-cultural education programmes using the Roma language in a broader scope and to support for primary and secondary schools interested in developing inclusive education\(^{157}\).”

The phrase “create human and professional resources” is misleading as these resources are already in place, the question is only if the resources include are equipped with adequate tools and training in order to deliver high quality curricula. Allocation of national budget to a topic is also one of the indicators of the priorities of the government. The EEA (Norwegian Funds) may be a supplementary financial source but one may ask where the serious commitment of the government is if the funding has not been matched with its purpose. Most probing in this report is the wording, “schools interested in developing inclusive education”. Why should not every school be interested in inclusive education when the international and national legal framework advocates it so that children achieve their fullest potential? Why should there be financial or other incentives to encourage schools to teach in this way?

The government in its Strategy of the Slovak Republic for the integration of Roma communities by 2020 was aware, as early as 2011 when the strategy was created, of the catastrophic circumstance of the educational outcomes for the Roma pupils. In 2014 the Com-

\(^{157}\) (Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for National Minorities, 2014) p. 61
mittee for National and Ethnic Minorities groups observed the on-going discrimination of Romani pupils in segregated special classes and schools\textsuperscript{158}.

“The gap in the formal educational level of Roma (especially marginalized) population compared to the majority population is tremendous. This has disastrous consequences when Roma enter the labor market. The vicious circle of social exclusion is further reinforced by the fact that Roma students from the marginalized communities often fail at the elementary schools because they are unable to socialize in the current system of schooling (the process of socialization is too short). Thus the Slovak schooling system may contribute to the reproduction of social differences, since children from low-income families are more likely to achieve lower education, which in turn increases the likelihood of the next generation of children being raised in poverty. Thus the vicious circle closes again”\textsuperscript{159}.

Despite these findings, the *Atlas of Romani communities in 2013* indicates that among the whole population of Romani pupils visiting pre-school educational facilities, against exactly 7703 children monitored in the research there has been allocated only 286 teacher assistants\textsuperscript{160}. As for the Strategy of the Slovak Republic in the integration of Roma communities into year 2020 there has been a clear ambition to decrease the gap between pupils from the majority and minorities population in the primary school exactly by introducing more teaching assistants on the pre-school level that also children from disadvantaged backgrounds will have the same opportunity to succeed in the full participation of the educational process:

”Increase the participation of SZP/ MRK children in pre-primary education from approximately 18 % (in 2010) to 50 % by 2020, subject to broadening the capacity of the network of kindergartens and programs for education and upbringing of

\textsuperscript{158} (Výbor pre národnostné menšiny a etnické skupiny, 2015) p. 21
\textsuperscript{159} (Úrad splnomocnenc a vlády Slovenskej republiky pre rómske komunity, 2011) p. 27
\textsuperscript{160} (Mušinka, Škobla, Hurrle, Matlovičová, & Kling, 2014) p. 65 Figure 34
children of a preschool age in regions where the number of Roma steadily increases, including the implementation of programs targeting the improvement of cooperation with the parents, and the increase in the number of teacher’s assistants in pre-primary education\textsuperscript{161}.

The numbers however, speak for themselves. Inevitably the non-governmental organisation can only establish that the government do not fulfil the potential within the short-term goals: “Zero class has no impact on Romani children’s repeating higher grades or improving their educational outcomes. All above-mentioned studies confirmed earlier suspicions that zero classes in practice support segregation\textsuperscript{162}. Necessarily this will project also in the long term the Strategy mentioned above and it will also undermine all the efforts that eduRoma and other NGOs diligently try to implement in Slovakia:

"Moreover, school audit outcomes indicate that teachers are unable to work with integrated Roma students and, thus, many of them feel excluded even within the mixed classes. At present, our initiative lacks legislative support. Similarly to the ethnic segregation issue, there is no relevant school authority in Slovakia that would be able to make an autonomous decision in the case of two official directors of one school. The question remains how could the desegregation process and the process of forming of inclusive education model at the school in Sarisske Michalany be sustainable in the long-term\textsuperscript{163,164}.

Needless to say that the international community watch the progress of the national institutions in the field of peaceful cohesion of the society around Europe more closely than ever before because the common goal of peaceful coexistence of inhabitants of Eu-

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{161} (Úrad splnomocnenca vlády Slovenskej republiky pre rómske komunity, 2011) p. 29
\item \textsuperscript{162} (Lajčáková, 2013) p. 45 – 46
\item \textsuperscript{163} (Rafael & André, 2014) p. 49 – 51
\item \textsuperscript{164} (Lajčáková, 2013) p. 44
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
rope is at stake. Even considered with “a friendly eye” there are more than a few implementation gaps on the part of Slovakia that needs to be addressed\textsuperscript{165}.

5.1.2 The vicious circle continues

Education should be the doorway to the full realization of human potential. It can provide a view of the full range of possibilities for development of the potential of every human. On the other hand it may show glimpse of closed possibilities that are a source of frustration, dissatisfaction and anger. The prospect of unattainable goals can lead to social exclusion and generate emotions of desperation that may in turn result in unfortunate personal consequences and, in the extreme case, to criminal actions on a societal level including terrorism.

It should be borne in mind that discrimination targeting the Roma within Slovak society has an impact on the whole society. Not only pupils of Romani origins were segregated but also pupils from the majority of the population. These experiences in their formative years of upbringing will have long lasting impacts on their interpersonal skills, attitudes towards minority groups, sense of justice, values, open-mindedness towards “others”, immigrants, attitudes towards authority and even their parenting skills. The list continues and cannot be considered exhaustive.

Lack of inclusive education generates unequal opportunities for all the children affected. In this example, the case of Sarisske Michalany, the behaviour and attitude of the teachers as well as of the authorities involved, demonstrated that there was serious ignorance of existing legislative provisions or even deliberate decisions to discriminate. There was inadequate supervision of the teaching methods and the teaching staff did not have the necessary skills or support to improve the conditions. If there is no supportive structure in place for creating equal opportunities for children from disadvantaged backgrounds early in their education it can hardly be surprising that only a minority of these children achieve higher education and become contributors to and influencers of society:

\textsuperscript{165} (European Commision, 2014)
“At present time is out of total number of more than 700 teaching assistants (pedagogical assistants) only minimal amount of assistants commanding Roma language. One of the reasons is, that members of Roma communities do not fulfil qualification level required by the regulation of The Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic. In the year 2008 were employed at the primary school level 791 teaching assistants, in year 2010 this amount decreased to 717”\textsuperscript{166}.

In another example, the Ombudsman in his annual report states the case where an inadequate approach from teaching staff led to the tragic suicide of a student. This incident not only showed the incompetence of the teachers but subsequent findings proved that there had been no suitable structure of conflict resolution to help both sides of the conflict:

”According to my findings the school to resolve the conflict between pupils acted not correctly. Procedure from the school for its insensitivity, non-accommodating approach and with sense of superiority in the approach towards parents I find that the school violated the principles of good governance. I asked Primary school to ensure that their teaching staff will be provided with training in skills for constructive conflict resolution”\textsuperscript{167}.

The involvement of parents in these cases is also an important source of influence on local and national levels to foster more or less inclusive education for their children. Regretfully, we can establish that in many instances in Slovakia this influence has not been channelled towards positive change:

”At the beginning of the school year 2014/2015, news concerning redistribution of pupils among the classes were published, which resulted in repulsion by some parents and initiation of several petitions. Two of them called for a recall of the

\textsuperscript{166} (Výbor pre národnostné menšiny a etnické skupiny, 2015) p. 21
\textsuperscript{167} (Dubovcová, 2015) p. 26 – 28 (translation of the author)
headmaster of the Primary School of J. Francisci, one was against his recall and one for maintenance of the private school”\textsuperscript{168}.

All these circumstances and influences, or lack of them, has led to the under-representation of the minority agenda on the political level. Often the competition between various demands for funding has resulted in less priority being given to education over other issues such as health or infrastructure development. Political ideologies also have their influence: for example in the last national elections in 2016, a great number of young voters supported the extremist right party which endorsed the heritage of Slovak fascist state of 1939 – 1945\textsuperscript{169,170}. The widening social gap between social groups fosters radical attitudes towards members of minorities or other disadvantage groups and is in direct opposition to human rights values: “In no region in Slovakia, the number of Roma in the municipal or city government does achieve proportional representation of the Roma community in the region”\textsuperscript{171,172}. This demonstrates that education in Slovakia is failing to fulfil its purpose because even general knowledge of recent Slovak history is very poor.

However, young people in most countries do not understand the cohesion of social structures and often incline to simplistic explanations that are proposed by extremist or populist parties. High levels of populist politics can create troublesome tension between the different groups of citizens which naturally can lead to social unrest which then escalates into repressive responses by government and infringement of human rights to many segments of society:

\textsuperscript{168} (Slovak National Centre for Human Rights, 2015) p. 60
\textsuperscript{169} (Vasilko, 2016) "ĽS – NS (People’s party – our Slovakia) won at first-time voters (18–21 years)”. (translation of the author)
\textsuperscript{170} (BBC, 2016)
\textsuperscript{171} (Mušinka et al., 2014) p. 62
\textsuperscript{172} (Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Government of the Slovak Republic for National Minorities, 2014) p. 27
"In spite of numerous efforts of international and national organisations, several manifestations of extremism took place in Slovakia in the year 2014. Unfortunately, the unsatisfied citizens, who disagree with the Slovak social system and their economic situation, are gradually leaning towards more radical solutions of Roma problem. A special attention shall be paid to activities of state bodies concerning protection and promotion of human rights. A very dangerous phenomenon of spreading racial, ethnical and other hatred online is becoming more and more common in the Slovak Republic. The majority of hate-speech statements appear in the space for discussion underneath articles that deals with Roma issues”\textsuperscript{173}.

If Slovaks do not break this vicious circle, structural peace will decrease and a peaceful Slovak society is in danger of slowly declining and fading away.

"What is the independent auditor of the election programs missing is a deliberate policy of education for democratic citizenship, human rights and cross-cultural understanding, ie the values of democracy as such. Build democracy without democrats will continue to be difficult”\textsuperscript{174}.

5.2 Case study of religious education in Norway

Norway as stated in its Constitution is a Christian country with freedom of religion but with a strong leading role by: “The Church of Norway, an Evangelical-Lutheran church, will remain the Established Church of Norway and will as such be supported by the State”\textsuperscript{175}. In the case of Folgerø and Others v. Norway the European Court for Human Rights delivered a judgement about infringement of the rights regarding the right to education:

“No person shall be denied the right to education. In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{173} (Slovak National Centre for Human Rights, 2015) p. 75 – 76}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{174} (Petôcz, 2016) (translation of the author)}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{175} (Stortinget, 1814) Art. 16}
the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions.\textsuperscript{176}

The matter can be divided into three main areas. First is the objection of the parents (all of them belong to the Norwegian Humanist Association) that the subject of religious education “Christianity, Religion and Philosophy (kristendomskunnskap med religions- og livssynsorientering, hereafter referred to as “the KRL subject”)\textsuperscript{177} that was introduced into the school curriculum in 1997 does not provide balanced knowledge about all the religious and philosophical world views and gives the supremacy to Christianity values in quantity and quality that creates the notion of disproportionality between Christianity and other religious and ethical values:

"In view of these disparities, it is not clear how the further aim, set out in item (v), to “promote understanding, respect and the ability to maintain a dialogue between people with different perceptions of beliefs and convictions” could be properly attained.\textsuperscript{178,179}

The second aspect is the technical obstacle in that the parents wish to exempt their child from part of the education that may come into conflict with their worldviews but they lack the right to exempt their child from this class\textsuperscript{180,181} due to the wording of the Education Act\textsuperscript{182}. The parents’ argument is that the process of gaining the exemption of the child from the KLR education process is not transparent and puts a high demand on the parents’ part to be familiar in great detail with the curriculum of this subject. On the other hand, even if parents acquire this detailed knowledge it does not prevent that the child from being influ-

\textsuperscript{176} (Council of Europe, 2010) Protocol I, Article 2
\textsuperscript{177} ("Folgerø and others v. Norway," 2007) para 16
\textsuperscript{178} ("Folgerø and others v. Norway," 2007) para 50; 91 -92; 95
\textsuperscript{179} (Human Rights Committee, 2004) p. 23, 14.3
\textsuperscript{180} ("Folgerø and others v. Norway," 2007) para 57
\textsuperscript{181} (Human Rights Committee, 2005) p. 98 para 187
\textsuperscript{182} (Stortinget, 1998) Section 2(4)
enced by the teaching methods that the teacher could use for that particular lesson as the parents have no way of scrutinizing the teaching content or methods in advance. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the child who is exempted from certain lessons may be the object of pressure and tension from teachers and classmates.

The third problem would arise if partial exemption from the KLR lesson was granted. The education can hardly be only technical:

"The whole idea behind the exemption arrangement had been that it was possible to maintain a mental “separation” between knowledge and participation. It presupposed that one could “learn” the text (notably prayers, psalms, Biblical stories and statements of belief) without being subjected mentally to what constituted or might constitute unwanted influence or indoctrination.”

Especially in the case of children in their formative years it is unlikely to be so sensitive as to recognize the distinction between activity and knowledge based on certain values:

"However, in the Court’s view, this distinction between activity and knowledge must not only have been complicated to operate in practice but also seems likely to have substantially diminished the effectiveness of the right to a partial exemption as such."

Therefore the possibility of general exemption from such religious education with the alternative of it being replaced with ethical and philosophical education may be less troubling:

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184 (Human Rights Committee, 2004) p 23 – 24, 14.6
185 ("Folgerø and others v. Norway," 2007) para 62
186 ("Folgerø and others v. Norway," 2007) para 93
188 ("Folgerø and others v. Norway," 2007) para 94
"The Committee notes that public education that includes instruction in a particular religion or belief is inconsistent with article 18.4 unless provision is made for non-discriminatory exemptions or alternatives that would accommodate the wishes of parents and guardians"\textsuperscript{189}.

As observed by the ECHR: “In this respect, it must be remembered that the Convention is designed to “guarantee not rights that are theoretical or illusory but rights that are practical and effective”\textsuperscript{190} although well intentioned, the curriculum for KLR does not lead necessarily to well-balanced religious education or indeed to inclusive education.

The government of Norway has suggested as a further alternative that parents have the possibility of establishing a school for teaching a curriculum according to their worldviews\textsuperscript{191}. The disadvantage of this is that instead of supporting higher expectations for inclusive education in general, schools can be established with less inclusive environments and in accordance with the selective world views of the parents. This could create dangerous precedents that directly oppose the aims of inclusivity and peaceful education for which Norway is famous. Diversity and dialogue are the main features of education for peace. For children to be exposed in a non-confrontational way to different values and be challenged gently on their developing world view is a crucial part of their education for life. A non-desirable effect of religious education is that it can put great emphasis on differences in world views which then creates tension, and not infrequently hostilities, between members of different religious communities.

There is no doubt that the Norwegian government took the ruling of ECHR seriously and in the following year made adequate moderation of the curriculum of KLR:

\textsuperscript{189} (UN Human Rights Committee, 1993) Art. 6
\textsuperscript{190} ("Folgerø and others v. Norway," 2007) para 100
\textsuperscript{191} ("Folgerø and others v. Norway," 2007) para 101
"[...] in June 2008, The Ministry of Education and Research announced that the name had been changed from KRL to RLE (in English: Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics). In the circular, the Ministry commented on the changes that had to be made in accordance with the ruling of the ECHR [...] Nonetheless, a critical eye can still detect some internal tensions in the curriculum”\textsuperscript{192}.

Religious education remains a problem because of the predominant position of Christianity in the Norwegian Constitution and the educational process\textsuperscript{193}.

5.2.1 Norway and religious values in practice

Religion is regarded, as a highly private and intimate issue but it must be noted that discussion of religious issues within the general population, as well as by the political elites can become a public issue. An important topic in the current “immigration crisis” is the European heritage of Christian values. Religion became part of the public space and its implications are reaching well beyond the church pews:

“Any understanding of contemporary religion requires that we see that religion extends beyond the confines of theology. Rather, a deciphering of “religion” must give attention to the fact that the concept of religion refers to belief systems as well as social practices, to the way we organise society as well as other activities that do not even appear at first sight to have any direct connection to the religious sphere”\textsuperscript{194}.

Consequently, religious education has gained attention because it has gained weight in political discussion and priorities\textsuperscript{195}. That may be highly problematic not only because it gives more weight to certain worldview but it also identifies certain systems of values and cultural traditions of different groups of citizens as more or less important:

\textsuperscript{192} (Andreassen, 2013) p. 144; 145
\textsuperscript{193} (Andreassen, 2013) p. 147
\textsuperscript{194} (Roislien, 2006)
\textsuperscript{195} (Andreassen, 2013) p. 148
"The criticism from the Sámi instituhtta, highlighting the central place of Christianity in the curriculum, and the emphasis on faith and confession, and on the European and Norwegian Christian heritage, left no space for indigenous people"196.

Religions have a tendency to create groups of like-minded individuals which reinforces the attitude of “them and us” which can have a strong influence on members’ attitudes and behavior195. Membership of particular groups may become a source of discrimination or unequal treatment or even excuses for violent attack. In 2014 the Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombudsman stated in his report:

“Public debate in Norway is characterised by several negative stereotypes based on race, religion and ethnicity. Research shows that prejudice and negative stereotypes weaken social cohesion. A survey from IMDi shows that seven out of ten Norwegians believe that Norwegian values are in strong contrast to the values of immigrants from Africa, Asia and South and Central America. Moreover, more than 33 per cent believe that immigration poses a serious threat to common Norwegian values”197,198.

From the view of religious values being the corner stone of the cultural heritage it is only a small step to forms of discrimination that has adverse effects on people’s lives199.

The religious education in this case could be the way to shared understanding if the curricula and teaching methods could be adapted to deal with the recent changes in Norwegian society: a more balanced approach to the worldviews of other religions could be achieved200. The cultural heritage and different value systems of diverse religious beliefs should ideally be channelled through education for peace in order to foster values of equal-

196 (Andreassen, 2013) p. 150  
197 (Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud, 2014) p. 9  
198 (The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2015) para 22 – 27  
199 ("Appeal by X school against the Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombud’s statement dated 3 April 2012.," 2012)  
200 (The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2015) para 58 – 60
ty and non-discrimination. The prevailing trend of emphasising religious values may in the long run lead to structural discrimination:

"A Muslim name may thus evoke stronger prejudices and lead to higher discrimination rates than would a non-Muslim foreign name; This study sheds light on the employment prospects for young individuals with Pakistani names in the particular Norwegian context and cannot easily be transferred to other groups or compared to other countries. A Pakistani name may, in the eyes of employers, signal that a job candidate belongs to a certain ethnic group, but the name could also signal, for example, a more general Muslim background"²⁰¹.

Therefore another aspect of religious education should be the active seeking for better understanding of how many of the values held by different religions are similar. Rather than indoctrination, the aim of religious education should be describing as dispassionately as possible what various religious beliefs and their value systems are in light of history and a coherent interpretation of the present situation. This will be possible only if there is adequate training of teachers and availability of well-planned curricula. A crucial part of religious education should be discussion and analysis of any restrictions imposed by religious views on human rights, i.e. where religious belief and human rights appear to be in conflict.

4.3 All roads do not lead to Rome
Both Norway and Slovakia are secular states although with cultural reference to Christian values and in Norway even to the state church. We should not confuse these references with system of values that states are obliged to respect in relationship to its citizens. In Slovakia as in Norway the rule of law represents the highest system of values and is the foun-

²⁰¹ (Midtbøen, 2014) p. 258; 268
dation of the state. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was born out of the liberal principle of the rule of law based on democratic principles of inherent human dignity, equality and non-discrimination:

"Yet, the logic of the human rights documents demands that one’s comprehensive worldview, religious or otherwise, must, in fact, bow to a non-negotiable set of fundamental entitlements".202,203

As a part of this system, universal justice is one of the obvious components for peaceful cohesion of society and it may also be regarded as the driving force of the social structures in society204. The structure I am discussing in my thesis, as mentioned in the first chapter, is a capabilities approach based not only on access to justice but the kind of justice that develops human potential and give a rise to a fulfilled life in dignity as presented by Nussbaum and Rice: “She presents us with an exhaustive list of basic entitlements and makes a compelling case that a life denied access to such entitlements falls below an acceptable moral threshold”205,206.

It is necessary to know where these principles come from and should be part of the education process, otherwise children cannot be expected to understand why they should have respect for others under the law, what their obligations are, what are the obligations of the state and how participation in political life in their society is important to their existence.

It is beyond the capacity of this study to discuss all elements of education for peace in light of the capabilities theory but I want to point out at least a few of them and how they are intertwined and complement each other. As Betty Reardon, pioneer in education for peace stated: “Education is a social enterprise conducted for the realization of social values. The

202 (Morsink, 1999) p. 37; 289
203 (Rice, 2015) p. 324
204 (Rawls, 2005) p. 136; 216; 225
205 (Nussbaum, 2003) p. 42 – 43
206 (Rice, 2015) p. 326
question is what values are to be realized through education, and how\(^\text{207}\). At the centre of all higher human capabilities is reason which is regarded as guiding our actions:

”What is distinctive about human beings is that we are capable of freely conceiving, planning, executing, and evaluating our choices. We are not passive products of our environment; we are capable of free choice and action\(^\text{208}\)."

The evolution of education for peace must promote reason as the way to promote common values but these must be set in a local context. Recent development in education for peace aims at three areas of social structures. First is the aim of eradication of warfare which means the development of international instruments and cooperation in peace building and peacekeeping operations. The second aim is devoted to international cooperation in the educational field so that the children will be prepared for the challenges of 21 century. The education should prepare children for active participatory roles in society through knowledge of human rights and civic virtues. The third aim concerns personal development of each individual\(^\text{209}\). There are different approaches to the education for peace but I will use the capabilities approach as the most suitable model for providing a coherent path towards peaceful society nationally and internationally:

“The three approaches are grounded in different conceptions of peace. Negative peace has grounded the reform approach to peace education, while both the reconstruction and transformational approaches are grounded in the idea of a positive peace\(^\text{210}\).
5.3 Negative peace elements of education for peace

5.3.1 Reformative approach

The description of negative peace and its notions of direct violence, control and balance of power will need to be part of education for peace and should include the important analysis of sources of war. The redistribution of power, the geographical and defence strategies of a particular region, continental and global influence on warfare would need to be covered as would the necessity to address environmental global challenges and displacement of peoples, both internally and externally as direct consequences of violent conflicts.

5.4 Positive peace elements of education for peace

5.4.1 Transformative approach

Positive peace can operate on two levels – one being the prevention of war and violence and the other element fostering peaceful resolution of conflicts and advocating peaceful cohesion of society as a desirable outcome of education for peace. Children could be engaged in formal settings in school but also outside the school environment which: “includes enhanced critical consciousness, health promotion, challenging social exclusion, prevention of community-level violence, building critical youth capacities and creating new theoretical possibilities”211. The first step is the philosophical and ethical foundations of justice that is the key element in human rights theory. The education should provide not only outcomes in form of a system of values but also adequate reasoning as to why these values are selected as favourable to human societies and in what way they provide a better environment for human development to reach its full potential. This reasoning must be endowed in critical thinking, pluralistic worldview and welcoming open dialogue and critique212. One of the most important elements of education for peace is the historical account. Unfortunately,

211 (Dutta, Andzenge, & Walkling, 2016) p. 81 – 82 "Participatory action research (PAR) approaches provide a critical framework to engage both of these elements of everyday peace”.
212 (Opotow, 2001)p. 108 – 109
there is a general belief that human experience is unique and not completely transferable to other generations so the best way to transmit these experiences is through presentation of historical evidence. Human rights education belongs in this context too so that the rights and duties of citizens, states, businesses and the cohesion of these structures are firmly established.

The development of each individual’s skills and capabilities must form an important and integral part of education for peace. By prioritizing interpersonal skills the transformative approach aims at rejection of all forms of violence with firm reasoning that gives an opportunity for individuals’ points of view and their system of values. This approach must encourage young people into civic engagement and to become agents of positive change for themselves as well as for society.

5.4.2 Reconstruction

The reconstruction approach works within the local context of conflict or structural violence. “Peace education may focus on building mutuality among all citizens and teaching them the competencies, attitudes, and values needed to build and maintain cooperative systems, resolve conflicts constructively, and adopt values promotive of peace”\(^{213}\). The advantage of institutionalizing this kind of education is that it engages all members of society and it fosters mutual consent for values of peace in global conflict-resolutions as well local scale reconstruction of environments of exclusion and discrimination and thus helps to create a peaceful and more prosperous society\(^{214}\).

What all these approaches have in common is that they require adequate political, economic and social structures that will be supportive. Without this precondition education will have only limited prospect of success. Without the initiatives involved in education for

\(^{213}\) (Johnson & Johnson, 2005) p. 283  
\(^{214}\) (Johnson & Johnson, 2005) p. 284 – 290
peace educational institutions will than not produce students with firm characters capable of forming their own opinions and value systems but obedient unquestioning citizens who merely wish to follow the lead of others\textsuperscript{215}. Or maybe that is the political objective?

6 Conclusion

My ambition was to provide adequate answers to the research question: what elements are important for education for peace and what the relevance of this education is in already peaceful societies? I hope that by providing analyses of the case law in Slovakia and Norway I have demonstrated how education for peace is relevant for each individual society. Latent violence is always present and if sufficient support to peaceful conflict resolution is not at hand it will demonstrate itself on a greater scale later with much more serious consequences. That is the role of education for peace, not only to give us means for a life in peace but also a life that will be meaningful and fulfilled. Personal happiness or satisfaction are difficult to measure, but there are indicators that can be used in order to establish if a society is developing in a peaceful manner and its citizens are being provided with an environment that allows for the realization of a full personal potential or not. As for the elements of education for peace I have given a restricted account (due to space restrictions) of educational approaches promoting peaceful societal cohesion that if implemented to the fullest extent are effective means for fostering peaceful societies.

The important role of the law in creating a peaceful society should not be forgotten. In addition to the obvious laws prohibiting violence – physical, emotional and mental – between adults and especially directed towards children, legislation on educational structures and methods as well as on discrimination influences the development of children and thus ultimately, society as a whole. Laws are vitally important also in altering attitudes to discrimination. Unfortunately neither country is applying the legislation fully in these areas. Sustainable peace calls for the introduction and sustainable development of the methods de-

\textsuperscript{215} (Stiff-Williams, 2010) p. 116; 119
scribed above. It is sobering to remember that development and evolution of a society and its citizens is not only important to the state - it is important to the world\textsuperscript{216}.

\textsuperscript{216} (Habermas, 2006) p. 34
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