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POSSIBILITIES FOR A PEDAGOGY OF PEACE AND HOPE IN A WORLD OF TRANSFORMATION

by

Yee-wah Cheng

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled POSSIBILITIES FOR A PEDAGOGOGY OF PEACE AND HOPE IN A WORLD OF TRANSFORMATION submitted by Yee-wah Cheng in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Dedicated to

Jubilee Public School

Abstract

The dissertation explores the meaning of a pedagogy for peace and hope in a community school in Kaskitayo, Alberta. The political, pedagogical, and autobiographical contexts in informing the research are discussed in chapter I. Research questions are grouped under three themes; peace, pedagogy, and culture.

In chapter II, the issues of peace and hope are dealt with historically through a literature review on the peace concept and the peace education movement. The comprehensiveness of the review is intended to bring about a holistic notion of what peace education has meant in the past and what newer understanding can emerge in the future.

Chapter III deals with the the issues of peace and hope methodologically. The chapter describes the search for a non-violent research methodology which implies semiological analysis and ethnographic inquiry. Practical application of a peaceful research model consists of semiotic consciousness, dialogic conversation, ethnographic observation, democratic participation, and the art of hermeneutics. The attempt to concretize the themes of peace and hope as process of human actions and praxis of ethics is examined.

Chapter IV is the semiological study of four sets of video materials featuring Jubilee Public School as blueprints for peace education or good pedagogy. Research focus is put on how the media captures important spirits of Jubilee Public School as well as on how television freezes public understanding of what has been happening in the school. The semiological study attempts to present a radical questioning of the logic of modern epistemology, which in turn would suggest new ways to look at peace, pedagogy, and culture.

Chapter V is an ethnography of Jubilee Public School. The life stories of the Jubilee community, the principal, custodian, teachers, volunteers, parents, and students are presented with the guiding question of "how school participants are brought more fully into life in Jubilee Public School?" I hope that the lived curriculum of the school participants sheds light on our understanding of some important pedagogical issues which include; personal peace, human rights, ethnicities and identities, multiculturalism, citizenship education, conflict resolution, structural violence, co-operative learning, social injustice, and education for

global responsibility. The chapter highlights the possibilities and difficulties in implementing peace education in Canadian school systems.

Chapter VI is reflection on the multiple meanings in undertaking the research. As a postscript, I return to the pattern of human life of some participants and contextualize their struggles of peace and hope as legitimate concerns in modern pedagogy and philosophy.

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CHAPTER I

DEFINING PEACE AND HOPE IN MODERN PEDAGOGY : RESTORING LIFE'S DIFFICULTIES AND EXPLORING HUMAN POSSIBILITIES

Understanding nuclear tyranny

It goes without saying that human beings are now living on the cutting edge of a world-in-transformation and a world-in-crisis. People from different parts of the world are struggling against various oppressive systems on a day-to-day basis. These systems include political massacres, economic inequality, social deprivation, ecological degradation, and the fear of a nuclear holocaust. The diversity and serious nature of these human concerns has already reached to a stage beyond human imagination or articulation. Lifton (1984) characterizes the phenomenon as "psychic numbing." The loss of human compassion has become the greatest oppression of our age.

On the other side of the nuclear regime, there is a globalization tendency of species problems. The emergence of a global civilization has chained people to interdependence. One can witness that the democracy movement in China, the human rights movement in South Africa, and the de-centralization tendency of communist rule in Central and Eastern Europe have been evolving into a universalistic theme of struggle. In identifying with the suffering of fellow humans, in advocating species interest against sectional or national interest, a solidarity power among people all over the world has been formed, which in turn may inspire a global transition process. In this sense, the local-global relationship is a new form of consciousness to restore humanity.

The deterioration of lived-situation has incited numerous academics and disciplines to explain the reason and nature of the crisis. In philosophy, Rorty (1980) blames the crisis on the loss of tradition; in political science, Kothari (1987) characterizes the crisis in terms of the hegemony of western universalism; in natural science, Capra (1982) conceives the crisis as narrow perceptions of reality implied within the science paradigm. One common thread among these many explanations is to view the ultimate source of the crisis as an internal problem of humanity. Cassirer in the 1940's and Schrag in the 1980's have foretold the necessity of human self-understanding in a turbulent world:

> Psychology, ethnology, anthropology, and history have amassed an astoundingly rich and constantly increasing body of facts.... But our wealth of facts is not necessarily a wealth of thoughts.... Unless we succeed in finding a clue of Ariadne to lead us out of this labyrinth, we can have no real insight into the general character of human culture; we shall remain lost in a mass of disconnected and disintegrated data which seem to lack all conceptual unity (Cassirer, 1944, p. 22).

Schrag (1980) echoes this argument:

> Our crisis becomes a crisis of concepts, of methodologies, of universal philosophies that have lost their way because their point of origin has been occluded. Man can no longer ask the question about himself and consequently fails to grasp his situation of crisis as residing in a crisis of self-understanding, because the primordial motivation of the questioning has been forgotten. It is the loss of origin on the part of both scientific investigation and philosophical analysis that occasions the current event of crisis. (p. 175)

Searching for the origin of the crisis, according to Cassirer and Schrag, calls for a deeper understanding of human beings alongside a history of cultural critique.

In view of the multitude and "depth" of the human crises, it is interesting to note that philosophers, politicians, and educators often attempt to see things safe and easy with reference either to technological reasoning or religious faith. The metaphorical desire to "cover things over" is irresponsible and dys-educational because it blocks the existential moment of our epoch. Caputo (1987) argues for a radical hermeneutical orientation towards the original difficulty of life without betraying it to metaphysics:

> But a hermeneutics of facticity, convinced that life is toil and trouble, would keep a watchful eye for the ruptures and the breaks and the irregularities in existence. This new hermeneutics would try not to make things look easy, to put the best face on existence, but rather to recapture the hardness of life before metaphysics showed us a fast way out the back door of the flux (p. 1).

The radicalization of life's difficulties, for the last two decades of the twentieth century, refers to a confrontation and coming to terms with the nuclear regime and its scientistic rationality. Jungk (1979) provides us a portrait of the nuclear tyranny which includes these characteristics: a crisis of conscience, indifference of science to context and ecology, a loss of basic relatedness to the world , and the horror of nuclear genocide.

Let's look at the genocidal horror. Nuclear genocide, compared to all other kinds of human warfare or natural catastrophes, is a new form of collective destruction. Before the arrival of nuclear weaponry, human beings lived in the present and understood themselves to be mortal, with the hope that the world would continue after them. The way people perceive death, according to Heidegger (1977), influences the

way they understand themselves and the way they are. In other words, death together with life can define people as the sort of beings they are. Nuclear death, however, is more than the death of human life. It is also the death of all the things which constitute the world. If we agree with Heidegger that our understanding of ending determines the sort of beings we are, then in the nuclear age we begin to understand ourselves as things. And in an important sense we are the way we understand ourselves.

The degeneration of human life into things can be illustrated in the language of nuclear talk. Game theory has now become popular in nuclear discourse. The reduction of the polysemic worlds of life and death to the formal language of the game implies that neither life nor death is seen as a cosmic phenomenon but an option to be chosen. The destruction of language, in the words of Visanathan (1984), anticipates the hegemonization of the nuclear regime:

> Neither genocide nor nuclear destruction seems to be grasped through the wisdom of ordinary language. In the world of these new scientists, there is no cosmic rupture that play might have allowed for, only another managerial game where guilt, death, sin, all get decoded into the selfsame uniform flow to be controlled as game or sport. Not that science as play is not conducted in formal language, but at least it recognizes limits, realizing the polyvocality of ordinary life. Science as a puerile game attempts to reduce the world to a series of formal languages (p. 209).

Derrida (1984), like Visanathan, has studied the discourse structure of nuclear warfare, particularly the discourse in its defense. Derrida alerts us to the fact that nuclear war is always defended in the name of something else other than life. This disembodiment between scientific pursuit and human life truncates the relationship between the knower and the known, self and the other, human and nature. Haunted by the genocidal horror, crisis of conscience, and loss of human relatedness, we ask ourselves: What does one survive for? How should one survive? How must we think? What is true security? How can we build a security of morality?

Unfolding the dialectics of modern pedagogy

In the context of education, educators may continue to ask themselves: Is there reason to hope today? To question the reason to hope is to admit to the crisis of our world on the one hand and to suggest lines of possibilities on the other. Hope itself is not a given nor an ideal. Hope is an attitude to live and

an attitude to history. Throughout history, human beings have witnessed and experienced tremendous natural disasters and human tragedies. In spite of this, human beings continue to hope for life and for humanity to survive. What is the materiality of hope? How should education respond to the dialectics of crisis and hope? The crisis in education is that educators do not know with what aims they should educate their students. They doubt they will be able to educate the students and even doubt if they have a moral right to do so (Vriens, 1988). To be sure, an entirely new task is arising for education. What is the meaning of modern pedagogy if it is intended as a response to the contemporary crisis? How can peace education respond?

Pedagogy alternating between peace and hope

Contradictions abound in our daily life. Alongside the strong desire for transformation is the human compulsion to repeat past mistakes. Alongside the constraining pressures of life is the transcendental power to act and think beyond limits. Derrida further illustrates contradictions of our age through nuclear discourse. Humans tend to preconceive their incompetence to deal with nuclearism in action; yet, they presuppose their competence in textual discourse. As educators, we need to understand the pessimism of students through their feelings, discourse, behaviour, and other educational realities. We also need to move students' pessimism from the matrix of the non-real to the matrix of possible action. Despite the fact that people tend to equate consciousness with reality, to accept reality as it exists with as it should be, education is still called upon to restore human power to think beyond real space and real time. Students need to be rescued from the information implosion of nuclear talk. To restore human power above and beyond the catastrophic inferno of our century is to envision "new beginnings" (Bollnow, 1987). Kierkegaard and Sartre indicate that to exist means to stand in crisis. Overcoming crises signifies not only averting danger - although this stands most prominently in the foreground - but also arriving at a new level of maturity. Crisis signifies a real process which plays itself out in the events of life (Bollnow, 1987).

In his dissertation on pedagogy between fear and peace, Vriens (1988) finds that the visions for peace and hope have long been incorporated either explicitly or implicitly as educational goals. These goals of peace and hope were somehow shattered during the periods of the two world wars when fears and

concerns of nuclearism intruded into children's worlds and adultism began to overrule the autonomy of education. After World War II, especially with the lessons learned from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a whole new branch of educational effort on cultivating peace and hope began to emerge alongside the rapid development of peace research and the peace movement. Since then, the existential orientations of war and peace have been incorporated into the meaning of modern pedagogy.

Pedagogy alternating between theory and practice

Pedagogy is an alternation between educational theory and classroom practice. What are the peace education theories that can inform classroom practice for peace and hope? It is an undeniable fact that despite the significant advances in peace research and peace action, rarely do people have a substantial concept of what peace is. "Peace" as a publicly confessed but imperfectly realized value begs the questions: What is peace education? How can we turn our understanding of peace into educational practice?

Traditional educational writings tend to assume that educational theory is a combination of partial theories of social science and human science while practice is the application of these manifold partial theories. Peace education challenges this dichotomization by seeing education not merely as a form of cognitive understanding but a responsible act of living and engaging life's difficulties. The life dimensions of theory and practice have a long history, dating as far back as Aristotle, who saw "theoria" and "praxis" as the distinctive and inseparable ways of knowing and living. In the Aristotelian sense, "theoria" and "praxis" are the simultaneous undertakings of the holistic person - head, heart, body, and lifestyles. Marx echoes this idea, saying that only humanity is capable of engaging in "theoria" and "praxis" while all other animals are merely capable of "activity." Every educational practice is a result of the complex meaning of life and educational theory is the investigation of that life. Educational heory and educational practice, as both contained and grounded in life, are the twin moments of the same activity which we call "living." Any person who is either attempting to theorize about or to practice peace education has already shown a form of responsibility towards living. The actions of theorizing and practicing designate in one way or another how the actor makes sense, interprets, and acts towards reality. A variety of levels of human deliberation, action, history, ideas, hopes, and uncertainties are implied in the activities of theorizing and practicing. The

practical element in human deliberation is embedded in theoretical stance or in references to experience, which then becomes the justifiable base for practice. The justifiable base of different orders of theory calls into question the ideological tyranny of theory over practice. No matter how close the relationship is between theory and practice, a certain inter-situational space is required so that concrete realization of the theory can be directed according to its own rhythm and pattern. Educational practice is always loaded with concrete particulars of time, place, person, and circumstances which theory cannot predict or over-generate. A good theory should retain a certain openness - to the world, to the future, and to the actor.

What is the meaning of the theory-practice dialectic in peace education? As many of us may realize, the success of peace research and the peace movement have not induced similar advances in peace education. On the other hand, peace education and the peace movement preceded peace research movement. Prior to any actual theories of peace, there was a cultivated and richly organized totality of educational institutions and procedures toward peacemaking. Similarly, education and upbringing of children took place long before the emergence of theories on child psychology, socialization, curriculum, and so on. Educators need to realize that the two-way flow of insufficiency, in terms of human practice and theory, causes a deficiency in peace education. Theory and practice complement one another, and it is difficult to say that one should lead the other. The pertinent issue is: where can a caring educator start in terms of theory and practice?

Pedagogy alternating between the personal and the structural

> The problem of peace is not only an economic or social concern. The problem is man himself. Peace can no longer remain in the realm of hope. Peace must become a science, and this science that of the "formation" (or education) of the human being" (Bollnow, 1987, pp. 70-71).

The alternation between the personal and the structural in peace education demands that we locate the sources of action from the educators themselves as well as from the educational institutions. According to Montessori, peace is both a personal virtue and an external condition of life. If we place peace in the realm of human possibilities, the ultimate responsibility for the actualization of peace lies in the sphere of education. Peace education, therefore, demands personal commitment as well as structural collaboration.

From the personal viewpoint, education entails an inherent autobiographical nature. What and how the teacher lives can be more or less an expression of what he/she believes. What the teacher has experienced is usually put into practice while the unexperienced or unknown will not be promoted. The biographical nature of pedagogy poses certain problems that are particularly contentious in peace education. If peace education requires a greater personal commitment, embodiment, and understanding of peace on the part of the teacher, peace education may also be charged with personal bias and individualism. The need to counteract bias and individualism can sometimes be seen as the advantage of value education, but, more often it is challenged as a form of indoctrination.

Peace education does not focus itself on the problems of the person or structures exclusively. Rather, it is concerned with the relationship between the person and the structures. The "praxical" element of peace education implies that peace cannot be actualized without a knowledge, an experience, or a desire for it. As such, peace education needs to start from the personal, extend to the larger environment, and finally to a global perspective.

Pedagogy alternating between childhood and adultism

Etymologically speaking, "pedagogy" refers to the leading of children growth by an adult. In a contemporary context, however, "adultism" is one of the major kinds of oppression of our time (Nandy, 1987b). In tracing the historical development of the concept of "childhood," Nandy finds that children have become isolated and victimized as simply one more objective category for social analysis and manipulation. Organizational and institutional changes have increased the vulnerability of children. Physical oppression of the past has been shifted to more invisible social and psychological oppression. In the case of pedagogy, childhood is eroded by the prevailing forces of statism and adultism (Bollnow, 1987):

> The state, the parties, and other factions - all of these objective forces -would gladly take hold of the child in order to use the child for their own purposes. For this reason, they desire to prescribe for education, how and toward what ends it should educate. Even with the parents things are no different. In fact they are often the worst enemies of a rational education; because as a rule they have the economic progress of their children in mind in a one sided fashion. They want "things to go better" for their children than they have for themselves, and thus they emphasize the practical side of education and training, the so-

> called "useful," and for this reason, they thus often neglect the deeper humane education of the child (p. 114).

Present day, social forces hinder the proper development of children. Education loses its autonomy and responsibility toward children once children are defined under the psychology of adulthood or the ideology of social forces. Peace education as an education for cultivating peace and hope in the young generation raises the essential question of how to build a pedagogical relation between children and parent, and between student and teacher so that the adult can present and represent the world to children in such a way that the "homeless mind" of the nuclear generation can be settled. Education then becomes a "two way" process in that children are reared by adults and, at the same time, children bring up their elders. Nandy (1987b) says:

> Is all attempt to improve or educate children, then, also an attempt to self-improve? Is every violation of children an attempt to self-destruct? Perhaps. One accepts in children what one accepts in oneself; one hates in children what one hates in oneself. Turn this into a conscious process and what looks like educating and rearing children turns out to be a pathetic attempt to compensate for unfulfilled and unrealized self-images and private ideals. Children, too, bring up their elders (p. 74).

Reconceptualizing a new relationship between children and adult is an attempt to reconstruct a new ideal for modern pedagogy. Also, a plea for the protection of children is a plea for alternative visions of personhood and good society. The challenge to live peacefully with children is a challenge to live peacefully with a bicultural existence because the culture of children is significantly different from the culture of adult.

The four dialectics of modern pedagogy should indicate clearly the difficulties and possibilities of peace education. Given that modern pedagogy is articulated between the dialectics of hope and disaster, the alternation between personal endeavours and structural constraints, the uneasy relationship between educational theory and practice, and the ideology between adultism and childhood, I am convinced that peace education provides a new metaphor for educational theorizing. While people are dubious as to whether or not peace education can be possible, I realize that the effort of exploring its possibilities is an urgent and responsible act in engaging with life's difficulties. Given that there are over-riding characteristics of objectivism, scientism, rationalism, and efficiency in curriculum studies and the larger culture, peace education challenges the "neutrality claim" of teaching and learning. Given that peace education has

dualistic concerns for human competence and performance of peace and hope, I need to reconsider the reasons why conventional school curriculum has so little room for human reflection and action. As pointed out by Scott (1985), the critical approach, value, and the controversial nature of peace education are legitimated by history, by philosophy of education, and by the urgency of the subject. Arguing against this legitimacy and urgency is a denial of the tissue of contemporary life.

Informing the research focus: The personal as political

What is the original focus of the research? In what way do I enter the research? How do I engage myself with the research questions?

Among the many entry points, it is the reflective experience of living in a foreign country, the interaction with people who are so different from myself, the engaging with a group of ethnic and non-ethnic people in certain states of relationship, and the ontological quest for meaningful survival that spark the origin of the research.

The two different systems of education that I have experienced, the colonial system of Hong Kong and the liberal system of Canada, no matter how different they are in terms of the socio-cultural tradition, politico-economic structure, and educational environment, are concerned with reinforcing patterns of dominance and dependence and not with challenging or changing the situation. Underpinning and reinforcing the overall system, there is a great reservoir of unquestioned assumptions: the notion that reality exists independently of human interpretation, the notion that means and ends are theoretically distinct from each other, and the similar notion that hard and fast distinctions can be institutionalized between adult and adolescent. My first year as a doctoral student in Canada and the reading into peace education literature led me inexorably into an inquiry about power relations in interpersonal relationships and institutional structures of schooling. The following reflection on a personal experience vivifies the concept of power in an educational setting. Also, these concrete experiences of power and possibilities help shape some of the research questions of the dissertation.

I come from the distant land of Hong Kong, a British colony. The shaping context of ways of life at large and school curriculum specifically is a violent one. A particular incident still clings to my mind

whenever I try to overcome the disappointment and disillusionment of being an educator in Hong Kong, especially in thinking of what a peace educator should and can do.

> It was September 1982, a time during which Margaret Thatcher visited China and held a negotiation meeting with Deng Xiaoping over the problem of returning Hong Kong to China. I was the form-mistress of a Form IV science class in a secondary school. The class was busy rehearsing a play, which was about the on-going political negotiation between the governments of British and Mainland China over the future status of Hong Kong, for a drama competition. The students also decided to hang up the British and Chinese national flags and broadcast the national anthems when Margaret Thatcher and Deng Xiaoping met at the airport. Just a few days before the competition, the principal and some other staff told the students to stop hanging the Chinese flag and broadcasting the Chinese anthem. The reason they gave to the class was that the school could not tolerate anything "red." I intended to discuss with the class the unreasonableness of the school policy and teacher's authority. My question did not arouse any discussion, nor protest, nor further action. The class, after a moment of silence, came up with a vote for no flag and no anthem in the play. The class won the competition.

The incident exhibits some important aspects of what I shall call violence in the Hong Kong culture, school curriculum, and personal biographies. The issue of power pervades in family, school, and workplace. The class of students chose to enact a power play; the teacher used language as a form of power in setting up boundaries of discourse and thus structuring reality in a certain way; and the teacher-student relationship was a form of power relationship in that the former could control the behaviour, thoughts, and values of the latter.

As a foreigner in this "neutral territory," I had the opportunity to re-search the meanings of the history that I have lived out. The area of peace education enables me to re-search the meaning of peace and violence as they apply in education. The constant movement between the past and present, between the violent personal history and the present interest in peace education, between the theoretical and the practical, gradually evolves and forms the tension between a cognitive understanding of what is real in life and the transcendental will to act on what the future can be. That tension, which gradually gives shape to some research questions, permits me to see a doctoral study on peace education as meaningful for both myself and the educational community of Jubilee Public School.

I first came to know Jubilee Public School in 1986 when I was invited to do an action research project with two of the school's teachers. In the school, I came to interact with a group of Oriental students who experienced direct and indirect violence at the global and national level, and from the class system and

the family. Their existential ground of violence, as revealed through ethnographic conversation and observation, urges me to not divorce the study from these students' concerns. Let me cite the story of Yen:

> In the fall of 1986, I was enrolled in an action research course at the University of Alberta. The focus of the course was to collaborate with school teachers with the aims of locating and improving teaching problems. I was introduced to the principal of Jubilee Public School through the arrangements of the course instructor. The principal then recommended two participating teachers to me in the collaborative project. Yen was a ten-year-old fourth grader in one of the teacher's class. Yen caught my attention because she always wore a string of two keys around her neck which became a personal symbol, an entry point to her uniqueness of being a child.
>
> Yen came to Kaskitayo in 1984. She does not know why her family moved to Canada. Nor can she remember anything about Saigon except that "something happened in Vietnam at that time." After studying in Jubilee Public School for three years, Yen has become one of the best students in the school while her two little brothers are "lazy and glum," as claimed by one of the school teachers.
>
> Being the oldest daughter in the family, Yen has a lot of responsibilities such as keeping the one-bedroom apartment house clean, doing laundry, cooking rice for supper, and helping the two brothers with their studies. She has all these responsibilities, Yen explains, because she is the only daughter and her two brothers are boys, younger and "cuter." She usually finishes her work before her parents come home. Yen seldom complains about her duties except that of helping the two brothers with their studies. Several times, Yen mentioned to me that she uses a "stick" to discipline the brothers. Yen does not feel anything wrong in hitting her brothers because her parents "do that to us when they get mad." The primary entertainment for the family is watching Chinese videotapes rented from a nearby video centre. As a matter of fact, Yen indicates to me that she needs to cook rice everyday primarily because her mother wants the family to finish supper as early as possible so as to have more time for television. The whole family will usually sit in front of the television from six o'clock till ten or eleven o'clock.
>
> Yen likes Canada and Jubilee Public School very much. She is a happy and active girl in the school, despite the fact that she is absent from school quite often. Recently, she has been absent from school for a few days because one of her brothers got sick and she had to stay at home with him. On an unexpected snowy day in mid-May, Yen and her two brothers were absent from school because her mother had put away their winter coats and had difficulty in finding them.

What kind of education is provided for Yen in the family and school? Through parenting and schooling, how does Yen vivify her identity as an ethnic, an immigrant, an ESL speaker, a member of a "poor family," a daughter? What is the inner voice penetrating through her persistent silence about these questions? What kind of phenomena do I come to realize? What has the school done to Yen that enhance as well as frustrate actions in peace education? How can actions of peace education in Jubilee Public School come to terms with possibilities for Yen?

The experience of telling Yen's story, to Yen's teacher and Yen herself, marks an important turn in the research journey. The experience begins to steer me away from the theoretical search of peace education

to a practical task of building up concrete relationships with children and adults, Canadians and immigrants, rich and poor, male and female. A new understanding of personhood emerges when I see my role as a researcher to stand in place for Yen and tell her story. What kind of relation do I have with Yen in asking one person to speak for another? What happens to ethics in letting me speak for the other? The ethical sensibility gradually becomes a form of radical responsibility on my part which Michelfelder (1989) calls "the ethics of the ear:"

> The other to whom I speak is not there before me as a phenomenon that I can observe, study, analyze, reflect upon, but as someone to whom I offer something that I have observed, felt, heard, studied, reflected upon, written or said (p. 135).

The naivete of being a stranger in this country disrupts the natural attitude of living. Getting rid of a natural attitude of living encourages reflection, non-conformity, and divergent viewpoints. The experience of being "different" and "liberated" from the dominant standardized scheme of cultural patterns serves as concrete examples of struggling against the tyranny of nuclearism, scientism, westernism, and adultism.

The hermeneutics of questioning

The four dimensions of modern pedagogy continuously draw me out by having me inquire into my own beliefs and sources of beliefs regarding the nature of peace education. The hermeneutics of suspicion, contextualized with a semiotic consciousness and ethnographic inquiry of Jubilee Public School, gradually inform the development of three categories of research questions: peace, culture, and pedagogy. There is a methodological, theoretical, ontological, and ethical questioning under each category

The theme of peace

- What is the meaning of peace?
- What has obscured our understanding of peace?
- How does humanity confront the question of peace historically?
- Might there be a way of relating to the peace question which is non-violent?

- What are the future possibilities in achieving peace that have not been uncovered?
- How can peace be applied from a personal virtue into a process of action?
- Is it possible to have a peaceful research?
- What are the ethical implications of peace and violence in a research setting?

The theme of culture

- What are the cultural problems of the nuclear age that can be formulated as a challenge to peace and to the practice of education?
- How do the peace research, peace movement, and peace education become radical criticisms of culture?
- What is the nature of information from mass communication?
- What is the problem of representation in mass culture?
- What is the relationship between media environment, semiotic consciousness, educational change, and cultural transformation?
- What are the televised images of Jubilee Public School?
- How can one live in justice with television mythologies?

The theme of pedagogy

- Why do I initiate a study of Jubilee Public School?
- What conceptions of educational excellence are displayed in Jubilee Public School that can offer an alternative to the positivistic notion of schooling?
- In what ways does Jubilee Public School provide conditions of inner peacefulness and external peacemaking?
- What role does peace education play in abating the bio-physical and social problems of an inner city?
- What does peace education really mean in the lived situations of the participants?

- What are the common grounds for building a dialogue on the issues of peace and hope in a community school?
- What kind of vision for a political community is engendered by the school?
- How can we articulate an understanding of pedagogy which is responsible for the continuity of humanity and universal traditions?

Disclosing theoretical orientations as interpretive grounds

To trace the theoretical orientations of the dissertation is to reveal the historical journey of discourse that I have been engaged in with culture, peace, and pedagogy for the past five years. The theoretical orientations are the interpretive grounds upon which I build the freedom of questioning fundamental assumptions about the problems of peace, culture, and pedagogy. The hermeneutics of questioning requires an unreservedly subjectivist perspective on my part. I am well aware of the five theoretical orientations underlying the development of the dissertation. The theoretical orientations can be seen as a language of limitations as well as the sources of interpretation. The five orientations are: critical theory of education, postmodernism, peace education, feminist theory, and Chinese philosophy. The different values, moral percepts, and insights of understanding derived from each orientation will be elaborated.

Critical theory of education

I came to study at the University of Alberta in 1983 and did an interpretive study on colonial education of Hong Kong as my Masters thesis. The reading into colonial schooling literature and the psychological theories of colonization enables me to understand better the intricate relationships as well as rivalry between different groups of people. I came to appreciate the role of race, class, sex, ethnicity, and ideology as the dominant modes of research in the field of education. The literature review on educational colonialism, although suggestive for my understanding of the various components of peace education such as human rights, structural violence, and conflict resolution, do not envision a peaceful and unified approach

toward global changes. Very often, theorists of colonialism advocate national interest as against global unity, violent changes as against peaceful reformation.

From the starting point of an interest in educational colonialism, I gradually became aware of the abundance and significance of the critical theory of education which also brought the critiques of ideology, class analysis, macro-structural political economy, reproduction, resistance, and radical culture as modes of analysis. Critical theorists have their basis on Marxism and its Frankfurt School variant. Important educational theorists include: the "new sociologists" of education such as Young (1971), Bernstein (1975) and Bourdieu (1977); resistance theorists such as Willis (1977), Hall (1980), and Apple (1986); emancipatory theorists such as Freire (1970) and Giroux (1988); cultural textualists such as Wexler (1987) and MacLaren (1986, 1989); humanists such as Greene (1978) and Bollnow (1987); reconceptualists such as Pinar (1975) and Grumet (1988); and deconstructionists such as Leitch (1985) and Cherryholmes (1988). Of particular influence are the works of Greene, Bollnow, Freire, Giroux, and McLaren. These critical theorists offer important insights in terms of dispelling dominant metaphors of social analysis, defining what constitutes the good life, rejecting certainty and absolutes in education, and proposing schemes of cultural transformations toward a global community.

Postmodernism

"Postmodernism" is difficult to define because it has many different ideological appropriations and interpretations. People tend to define "postmodernism" as the latter stage of modern society characterized with problems related to technologization and hegemonization. In Lyotard's (1984) terms, postmodernism is a form of cultural discourse that rejects the grand theory of meta-narratives and totalizing thought. It does so from a more language-oriented perspective. Important postmodern critics that shape the structure and orientation of the study are Foucault (1980), Barthes (1968, 1972), Derrida (1982, 1984), and Caputo (1987). Central to their thought is that meaning or knowledge is a product of language, constructed out of and subject to the endless play of differences between subjectivity and human construction of reality. It challenges the hegemonic view of representation and relies on the Foucauldian notion of knowledge as the outgrowth of discourse practices. The discourse practices then form the basis for cultural critique. The two

journals that publish extensively on postmodernism are *Diacritics* from John Hopkins University and *Critical Inquiry* from the University of Chicago. The central focal point of research of the two journals is in exploring the relationship between mass media and cultural myths. The semiological studies in Chapter IV, the ethnographic inquiry in Chapter V, and the generation of a new language of schooling in the concluding chapter are informed by postmodernism and its related theories.

Semiotics as a form of cultural critique is an application of the postmodern thought of Barthes. The purpose of the semiological studies in Chapter IV are threefold: to investigate the public understanding of Jubilee Public School, to study the nature of mass communication, and to examine the relationship between mass communication and human consciousness. I first started understanding semiotics through reading Barthes' *Elements of Seminology* (1968), *Mythologies* (1972), and *The Pleasure of the Text* (1975). The works on television mythologies by Barthes (1972), Metz (1974) and Allen (1987) represent three different approaches in media studies. Through a combination of the three approaches and insights from the Media Group at the Centre for Cultural Studies led by Hall in England, I began to see semiology as a new method of hermeneutics and a new approach to understand the theme of culture. The fact that Jubilee Public School has been exceptionally featured by the media inheres an urgency to understand the nature of mass communication and treats the question of mass communication as an entry point towards understanding the general problem of culture.

Similarly powerful forms of cultural criticism, but with more emphasis on the political restructuring of a just world order, come from the World Policy Institute at New York and the Centre for the Study of Developing Countries in Dehli. Using postmodernism as the philosophical underpinnings of the analysis of political and social structures, the World Policy Institute and the Centre for Developing Countries jointly publish a very high calibre journal, *Alternatives*, which promotes discussion of the current impasse by bringing third world, southern hemisphere, and oriental civilizations into the discourse. Significant writers of the journal include: Kothari (1987), Nandy (1987a), Ruiz (1988), and Swazo (1984). Their writings influence significantly on the structure and content of Chapter VI.

Peace education

I was first drawn to the area of peace education when the International Institute for Peace Education was held at the University of Alberta campus in 1985. Since then, I became involved in helping to organize the annual conference from 1986 to 1988. I had opportunities to meet important peace educators from across the world: Peter Dale Scott and Betty Reardon from United States, David Hicks and David Selby from England, Lennart Vriens from Holland, and Toh Swee-hin from Australia. The coming together of different peace educators, who represent a diversity of backgrounds and areas of interests, constituted a global dialogue of peace education in Kaskitayo. In the global dialogue, I had opportunities to share the following valuable insights of different peace educators: the ethical concern of Scott on peace studies at university level, the relationship between militarization and human security by Reardon, the practical experience of developing and implementing global education by Hicks and Selby, the humanistic search for the meaning of hope and peace in modern pedagogy by Vriens, and the constructing of a peace education model for Asian countries by Toh. These experiences influenced the general orientation as well as the interpretive framework of the dissertation. At the same time, the importance of interacting with teachers and other concerned individuals during conferences permitted me to see and hear concretely the diverse aspects of peace education in the Canadian schooling system.

Complementary to the conference experience is the theoretical understanding of the field of peace education through a review of literature. Review on peace education through periodicals includes: *Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Journal of Peace Research, Alternatives*, publications by the Malmo School of Education from the University of Lund (Sweden), and publications by the Centre for Peace Studies (England). Literature reviews on important peace educators includes: Galtung (1969, 1975a, 1975b, 1977a, 1977b), Reardon (1983, 1988a, 1988b), Hicks (1988), O'Connell and Curle (1985), Toh (1988), and Carson (1988). Review on Canadian curriculum resources include those listed as annotated peace education units in Brouwer's survey (1987).

Feminist theory

While reading into the history of peace movement, critical theory of education, and postmodernism, I came to realize that feminist theories are implicated as new methodologies for understanding the world. The postmodernist thought represented by Kothari (1987) and Nandy (1980), the critical theories of education represented by Greene (1986) and Giroux (1988), the peace education movement represented by Reardon (1982) and Brock-Utne (1985), and the semiotic studies represented by the Centre of Cultural Studies all put forward a feminist perspective as an indispensable viewpoint in their critical narratives. In the field of peace education, feminism has become a strong dimension in illuminating a plethora of standpoints about the way to understand women's experiences and the meaning of peace. The assumption of feminist authenticity states that the historical and contemporary roles of power is exemplified in gender oppression. This explication of the universality of women's oppression and the cross-cultural commonality of feminist values, according to postmodernist thinking and critical theory of education, make feminism a potentially real force of peace.

Another equally important insight from feminism is the emergence of a feminist paradigm in research methodologies. The gist of existing epistemology is the logic of the visual, which claims philosophical centrality because it assumes the simultaneity of presence, dynamic neutrality, and objectivity. The three conditions contribute to a model of truth which transcends the more body-bound, materially contingent senses. Also, the neutralistic model of truth, which is based on distance between subject and object, knower and known, is a "violent" model of research (Galtung, 1977b). Peace education research, as I firmly believe, requires a peaceful methodology because the research itself is a praxis of peace. Feminist approaches tend to move from disengagement to identification, from analysis to mimesis, from the abstract to the concrete. Feminist perspective also renders the vision mode of understanding as limiting and superficial. Literature review in feminist theories include: Greenham women movement (Cook, 1983), German feminist movement (Altbach, 1984), reproductive theory (Dinnerstein, 1976; Irigaray, 1985), and curriculum reconceptualists (Grumet, 1988).

Chinese philosophy

Chinese philosophy and an oriental way of life serve as the basis of my knowing of the world. The historical givens of cultural tradition, or the fore-structure of understanding as Heidegger calls it, determine subtly and significantly the development of research questions, the way I present myself as a researcher to the participating school, and the way I interpret the research material. The fore-structure is sometimes insightful, sometimes provisional, sometimes conflicting with western thinking, and always modifiable.

On occasions, it is the uneasy feeling of being isolated in public discourse that heightens my awareness of Chinese tradition as a historical given of my being. For four successive years of peace education conferences at the University of Alberta campus, the search for a clear-cut definition of peace education among participants persisted. The search for definition was the same for the the participating teachers in Jubilee Public School. It seems to me that the search for a fashionable and universal acceptable definition as the top priority for conversation or dialogue in the west creates unnecessary problems for reflection and action. By finding acceptable formulae, people will patch over differences of opinion and not be open enough to what peace education can mean.

The definition of peace as absence is another obstacle for peace education in the west. Although it is true that peace as an absence of something would likely miss the values requiring the implementation of peace, it is also true that the correlational logic between opposing concepts can widen the meaning of each of the opposing concepts. In Chinese thinking, an idea becomes complete only when the dialectics with its opposites are considered and not dichotomized. The correlational logic conceives opposing concepts in relational terms. There is a Chinese saying that something and nothing is mutually generative, the difficult and easy is complementary, the long and short is relative, and the front and rear is accompany one another. The correlational logic, together with an organicist view of the world in which every phenomenon is connected with the other according to hierarchical order, offer insights to my understanding of the binary nature of the lived world which is central in peace education. The binary nature of peace education has been clearly explicated in the four dimensions of modern pedagogy: (1) the oppressive and liberating relationship between adults and children, (2) the dialectics of crisis and hope, (3) the relationship between educational

theory and practice, and (4) the local-global/personal-structural dimension in world transformation. The dialectical mode of cognition, as embodied in Chinese correlational logic, recognizes that the content of concepts can change radically in different contexts. Further, reality is best manifested in this process of change.

An example of Chinese thinking, as different from the extrovert concept in the west, is the inner-directed world view in Confucianism. The inner directed world view leads to an introverted perspective of life emphasizing on reflective thought and internal perfection. It also leads to inner-directed concepts of peace and universalism, which offer alternative modes of thinking in terms of global unity. This vision of global unity based on mutuality is the most needed vision for engendering global transformation, especially in changing the unequal relationship between the first and third worlds. The Chinese concept of inner peace can also enrich the Eurocentric style of peace education both in content and context by incorporating different epistemological and ontological values of human pursuit.

Organization of the chapters

Chapter I, the introduction, places the question of peace education in the ontological contexts of restoring life's difficulties and exploring human possibilities. In the chapter, I have located both the structural and personal contexts for my undertaking of peace education research. The contemporary structural context for the peace education research includes: confronting the nuclear regime, living with westernism and scientism, and radicalizing life to its original difficulties. The personal contexts include the lived tension between past experience and present vision, an ethical responsibility to give voice to someone I happen to meet, and the five theoretical approaches that shape the nature and orientation of the dissertation.

Chapter II is intended to address the question of peace theoretically. A literature review on the peace concept, the history of the peace movement, and the history of peace education will be conducted to provide a background to understanding the various problems and obstacles of implementing peace education. The comprehensiveness of the review is explored with the hope of bringing about a holistic notion of what

peace education has been in the past, what peace education is at present, and what peace education can mean in the future.

Chapter III describes the search for an appropriate methodology. The first section will focus on a theoretical search for a non-violent research model which implies the method of semiological analysis and ethnographic inquiry. The second section is the practical application of a peaceful research model which consists of building up a dialogic relationship as a means of entry, autobiographic consciousness as the basis for understanding others, story-telling as the metaphor for engaged research, ethnographic observation and participation as the way to relate myself as a friend with the school. The third section is on hermeneutics and thematic interpretation. The last section is a personal reflection on some contingent ethical issues in the involvement of human subjects for research purposes. The meaning of peace is investigated in relation to the research process. An attempt to concretize the theme of peace as process of human actions and practice of ethics would be intended.

Chapter IV is the semiological study of video materials. A brief history of semiology and the different models of semiological research are discussed. Following that, a structural and a semiological analysis of each set of video materials featuring Jubilee Public School is conducted. Although some of the media programmes have captured the important essence or spirit of Jubilee Public School, the unique signification system of media environment also freezes public understanding of Jubilee Public School to the point where the school becomes a myth and the principal becomes a sage. Semiological studies in Chapter IV are attempts to present a radical questioning of the logic or foundations of modern epistemology, which in turn will suggest new ways to look at pedagogy and culture.

Chapter V is an ethnography of the school. Nine sections are classified in the chapter: the Little China neighbourhood, the actions of multicultural education, the spirit of community education, the school rituals as texts of social relations, the educational leadership of the principal, the educational responsibility of the school custodian, the essence of motherly love as reflected from a school volunteer, pedagogical vision and mission of two teachers, and the life profiles of a plurality of students. It is hoped that through ethnographic conversations, observations, and participations, a concrete praxis in peace education and its

meanings can be implied which may shed light to our understanding of possibilities and difficulties in implementing peace education in the Canadian schooling system.

Chapter VI marks a tentative ending to the study. The journey from getting involved with the research to the final completion of the dissertation is traced in order to see what research questions can be answered and what new questions await for deeper inquiry. The intent of the dissertation is not to provide an evaluation of the school. Rather, I would be happy if the research opens up some educators' minds and eyes to what peace education can mean in a community school and what peace education can be in their own practicing classrooms. As a postscript, I return to the pattern of human life of myself and some participants and contextualize their struggles of peace and hope as legitimate concerns in modern pedagogy and philosophy.

CHAPTER II

TOWARDS A THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF PEACE : REPOSSESSING THE HISTORY OF PEACE EDUCATION

This chapter attempts a theoretical and historical understanding of the question of peace. Some guiding questions of the chapter are: what is the meaning of peace? What does it mean to say that our culture has obscured the concept of peace? How has humanity confronted the question of peace historically? What are the future possibilities in achieving peace that have not been uncovered?

Human contradictions and peace theory

There is a multiple asymmetry that affects our talk of peace. For one thing, war is sometimes seen as an instrument of peace. This long-established way of thinking could be found in Hobbesian philosophy that war is the natural condition of states, in the critical judgment of Rousseau that war is a potent and necessary device for restoring national and international order, and even today when we hear people saying that "small wars" are, in the context of nuclear confrontation, useful instruments of release and realistic adjustment for peace.

The causes of peace and war, throughout history, are so intertwined that people can identify peace as the absence of war on one hand and can regard peace as compatible with a certain modest or moderate occurrence of war on the other. This paradoxical theory of peace and war is present in the writings of major western philosophers and political thinkers from Machiavelli to Mill. Even Immanuel Kant, who has written extensively on the issue of peace, maintains similar conflictual arguments on the issues of war and peace in his political theory of peace.

In portraying a typology of western peace thinking from 1300 to 1800, Galtung (1975a) finds that the "Pax Romana" concept has always been paramount in western thinking. Significant peace thinkers and their ideas during this period can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: A Typology of Western Peace Thinking 1300 - 1800

1310 Dante Alighierir - *De Monarchia*
A universale imperium; the whole united under supreme government; ruled according to Roman law.

1517 Desiderus Erasmus -*The Complaint of Peace*
Inter-state arbitration by a body consisting of the Pope, bishops, abbots and "wise-men" - with an ethical basis.

1625 Hugo Grotius - *De Jure Belli et Pacis*
Sovereign states to be bound by international law; an assembly of Christian princes to deliberate and propose sanctions.

1692 William Penn -*An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe*
The first scheme which openly says that no universal peace is possible without the inclusion of Russians and Turks

1713 Charles Rene Castel de St. Pierre - *Paix Perpetuelle*
Although conceived of as a European republic, it was not directed against anybody; Plenipotentiaries of Sovereigns to meet in permanent Council; to settle matters by arbitration; chairmanship in rotation; expenses shared; internal self-determination; no armed force to be used by individual states; sanction against offenders.

1786 Jeremy Bentham - *A Plan for Universal and Perpetual Peace*
Anti-colonialism, International Court of Judicature, a Congress or Diet of States, abolition of secret diplomacy; decisions made by the people themselves; all Christians to support peace.

1795 Immanuel Kant - *Zum ewigen Frieden*
States cannot be traded with, not being a patrimonium but a society of people; standing armies to be gradually abolished; non-intervention; restraint if there is war; republican constitutions; Law of Nations based on federations; submission to Providence, living according to Natural Law; consult philosophers.

Source: Galtung, J. (1975). *Proceedings of The International Peace Research Association Fifth General Conference.* Varanasi, India: Asian Printing Works.

The problems of peace, conceived within the paradigm of "Pax Romana," is a form of political system limited to Roman Law, to the Christian Pope, and to European countries. The concept implicates peace as "absence of violence" but not in the sense of justice and prosperity for the periphery of the Roman Empire (Galtung,1969). Conceptually speaking, "Pax Romana" can be thought to be compatible with an exploitative system of Roman imposed military order, or even as a medium for exploitation. The ideal state system in the "Pax Romana" concept is that international order can be maintained with the rise of a single world state protecting the interests of smaller states within and across the continents. Is not the existence of two superpowers, with pretensions to being the first world state protecting the interests of all the smaller states, exactly our current problem?

Eurocentric peace thinking has been further marked by a fundamental civilizational drive since the 18(X)'s, informed by Darwinism, secularism, and technologism. As a result of these three movements, images of the world and humanity are subsequently legitimated by a materialist and mechanistic interpretation. With the rise of the Industrial Revolution, the mechanistic conception of world nature and a managerial viewpoint of life is brought into focus. The new mechanical metaphor of life allows and justifies the manipulation of nature under the guise of the theory of progress. The rise of Galilean science further strengthened the anthropocentric conception of human-nature relations. In Galilean science, an instrumentalist conception of rational action is cultivated which commits us to a conflict centred view of human activity. That is, nature is a machine to be manipulated and human beings are the manipulators. Humans are either perceived as things to be known, like other objects in nature, or as subjects who act to pursue their ends in rational ways.

The metaphor of human nature as predominantly aggressive and power-hungry leads logically to pessimistic conclusions about the possibilities of peace, about the permanent abolition of war, and about what peace education can do. The doctrine that human nature is essentially aggressive releases tremendous energy and leads to a race for superiority in armaments. The art of warfare is seen as critical in extending the frontiers of Western civilization and its normative framework covering almost the entire world.

What is wrong with this medieval conception of western universalism as the saviour of world peace? Is it not true that contemporary "peace thinking" is still entrenched in the eurocentric model of

world order? What can we say about the shortcomings of the world-order movement of the 20th century which gives an overwhelming priority to a western conception of "preferred" world order? Has this preference of the West thereby decided *ante facto*, in the words of Swazo (1984), that the political order of the West is the "best" (p. 280)? How can we re-draw the map of universalism and step out of the shadow of modernism and westernism?

Towards a richer concept of peace

Kuhn (1970) once said that the failure of existing rules signified the turn to new paradigms. The poverty of the peace concept requires us to uncover the hidden history of peace and to re-interpret other relevant texts or traditions to bring forth a new paradigmatic thinking. A richer concept of peace, as I firmly believe, demands a richer array of related concepts including the legacy of Kant, an expanded theory of violence, a moral theory of justice, and a theory which relates peace and development. At the same time, we need to pay more attention to cultures or traditions that give alternative viewpoints in the issues of peace and war. Chinese philosophy and Gandhism certainly need to be re-considered in order to build a global dialogue on the peace concept.

The legacy of Kant

Perpetual Peace and other Essays (1983) by Immanuel Kant is a good source for a richer concept of peace. In this book, he outlined in great details his grand vision of permanent peace among nation states. In addition to a political theory of peace, Kant enriches our understanding of the peace concept by integrating the inner dimension of personal peace with a theory of morality. According to Kant, human nature was fragile and many of the wars in the past were inevitable. Although war was denounced as a natural state of human history, Kant regarded the occurrence of war in the past had created the modern nation state, brought constitution into being, and created permanent treaties and alliances between states. This part of history, Kant maintained, did not necessarily commit people towards further violence because human beings were moral creatures. Contemporary civilization and peace was an edifice, and future war would hold back the development of humanity, or even delay the development of domestic justice within states.

According to Kant, nation states should no longer be complacent about war but be obliged to create the conditions which allow for perpetual peace. The placing together of a moral aspect of peace with the the political dimension in the Kantian theory of peace is a breakthrough in western thinking because the quest of peace is juxtaposed with the quest for justice between states.

Kant (1983) pushes us further to think about the arbitrariness between offensive and defensive wars. He illustrates the arbitrariness with the phenomenon of standing armies, which currently threaten other nations with war by giving the appearance that they are prepared for it, and at the same time, could violate the rights of humanity. The state of war, in Kantian terms, involves both open hostilities and the constant and enduring threat of them. This is a useful distinction because it entails a structural horizon of the concept of war, meaning not only the battle in a physical sense but also other forms of violence in a personal or structural dimension. From this distinction between defensive and offensive wars, Kant helps us understand the arbitrariness of "deterrence theory" which should be rejected because it presupposes a psychological readiness to war and precludes future trust among nations.

Another significant insight from Kant is his notion of "universal hospitability," which carries important implications for peace education. Kant considers that racial, linguistic, religious, and cultural differences among nations are natural human characteristics, which can serve the purpose of preventing the domination of the entire world by any particular nation, race, or linguistic group. Owing to the multitude of differences among different groups of people, there emerges the need to learn to respect and live with the differences other people brings along. Kant (1983) gives a very specific and relevant example of migration, stating:

> ..... hospitality (hospitableness) means the right of an alien not to be treated as an enemy upon his arrival in another's country. If it can be done without destroying him, he can be turned away; but as long as he behaves peaceably he cannot be treated as an enemy. He may request the right to visit, to associate, belongs to all men by virtue of their common ownership of the earth's surface; for since the earth is a globe, they cannot scatter themselves infinitely, but must, finally, tolerate living in close proximity, because originally no one had a greater right to any region of the earth than anyone else (p. 118).

I think this paragraph speaks nicely to the contemporary issues of multiculturalism, minority rights, global community, and global transformation. Perpetual peace, according to Kant, refers to a

condition of moral rectitude between states, based on the moral imperative to treat other states as ends in themselves and never merely as a means to secure one's own national interests. Given the goodwill and morality of human beings, just as significant moral progress is possible within the lifetime of the individual, Kant believes that the possibility for moral development in relations between states is also possible. To insist otherwise is to reject social responsibility or create the basis for a self-fulfillment prophecy. This sense of bearing responsibility for oneself and for the other can secure peace in the long run. Any treaty of peace that does not bear a responsibility towards the other is merely a truce, a suspension of and not an end to hostilities.

An expanded theory of violence

If it seems that people cannot talk about peace without referring to violence, it is now time for us to expand the meaning of violence and accommodate the expanded meaning into the peace concept. The concept of violence initially starts with the actor-oriented perspective and therefore focuses on the personal level of violence. This single focus has been viewed by peace researchers as an insufficient view of the global situation. The concept of structural violence gradually emerges, leading to the critical analysis of structural arrangements. The extension of personal violence to structural violence is a paradigm shift marking the movement from anthropocentrism which seeks violence among people to structuralism which seeks violence within global and natural space, and from short-term scope to long-term transformative projects.

Let us examine the example of "deterrence theory" and see how an expanded theory of violence has informed human consciousness in criticizing "deterrence theory." A narrow actor-oriented theory of violence would see "deterrence theory" as unproblematic because of the lack of evidence in direct violence. In the new paradigm of thinking, "deterrence theory" would be refuted because it confuses the symptom of war for a cause of war. Such confusion and abstraction from history has resulted in ambiguous ethics and utopian politics in which nuclear weapons are given conditional moral acceptance. In the new paradigm, no matter how politicians and war strategists attempt to make deterrence theory internally coherent, people would realize that military deterrence cannot be ensured to confirm independently of the ideological persuasion of

the states or particular groups of people. Also, people would begin to realize the relationship between the escalation of nuclear weaponry and mal-development. An expanded theory of violence would clearly re-draw the relationship between internal and external dangers and let people link structural symptoms with the loopholes in the infrastructure.

A moral theory of justice

Since Adam Smith, western society has been strongly molded into utilitarianism in terms of social arrangement. Utilitarian methodology calls for treating all values as greater or lesser "bundles" of goods and comparing alternative distributions of bundles. The theory of justice, to give an example, has fallen into the trap of the distributive paradigm because the notion of justice is always confined to questions of how social benefits should be allocated among members of the society. Rawls, who writes most extensively on the topic and is author of the book, *A Theory of Justice*, (1971), also falls prey to the distributive paradigm because he defines justice as a standard whereby the distributive aspects of the basic structure of society are to be assessed.

The distributive orientation of justice theory obscures the peace concept in many important ways. First, justice in a distributive orientation tends to focus on the evaluation of the effects of given institutional forms and relations and not on the institutional structures themselves. A distributively oriented theory of justice can, therefore, distort the meaning of important social and political concepts such as peace and violence. Second, a distributive notion of justice tends to focus on patterns of distribution without even bringing into direct theoretical focus on the structure of the institutional relations and the movement of social processes which bring about this pattern of distribution. The approach allows structural organization or some individuals to have power over others, and yet does not challenge the structure of decision making within and among institutions on the definition of social position. A distributive focus on justice has been so influential that it almost becomes a part of our moral conceptualization and makes it seem impossible to have any other. To find another focus we must look back to an ancient conception of justice. In Platonic times, justice refers to the whole of virtue insofar as it concerns relations with others. The question of justice does not concern primarily the proper distribution of

social benefits and burdens. Rather, justice concerns the organization of the community as a whole. Social justice is embedded in the vision of organizing social positions and relations which will produce a harmonious and cooperative whole.

Habermas is the first contemporary social theorist whose conception of justice can escape the fallacy of the distributive orientation and can focus on evaluating the level of social structure and institutional relations. Habermas's conceptualization of social justice is embedded in an ideal speech community which rejects technical reasoning and grounds normative reasoning in the conditions of actual speaking life. In an ideal speech situation, the organization of interaction contains relations of equality, mutual recognition of individuality, and reciprocity. Based on the model of ideal speech situation, Habermas derives a theory of justice that focuses on forms of social organization and relations of domination. The ideal speech community, although not constituting a standard of principles by which actual social arrangements ought to be evaluated, expresses the ideal of justice in a formal way, revealing sources of equality and mutuality in social arrangements.

Galtung's extrapolation of the concept of positive peace (1969) incorporates justice as an essential component. Unlike Habermas who construes the notion of justice within a discourse framework, Galtung advances the idea of social justice in terms of the structural arrangement of centre-periphery. Based on the model of imperialism, Galtung advances the meaning of justice in a centre-periphery model in which there is a general harmony of interests between centres but not between peripheries. The centres have defined reality for the peripheries, overriding the communality of perceived reality in the peripheries and perpetuating centre reality-definitions through education. The centre-periphery analogy broadens the meaning of justice by relating justice as a dynamic condition between states and people, men and women, adults and children, rich and poor, and so on.

An ethical perspective of peace and development

Historically, the concept of development grew out of the European Enlightenment, indicating a theory of progress, an inner faith in the scientific and technological revolution, and the concept of

modernization of traditional societies under the onslaught of a universal theory of economic advancement. Postmodern thought of the 1980's refutes the underlying assumptions of development in ontological and ethical terms. The ethical perspective of development brings forward the notion of limits, which helps uncover the present maldevelopment of most of the world's societies and the contradictions in structures within and between nations. The ethical perspective of development also delineates the links between the threat of violence such as arms race and the deflection of resources that could be used for development. The underlying factors, which support the military-industrial complex as a decisive force promoting insecurity, are based on oppressive structures that give rise to unequal resource distribution and disharmony between centres and peripheries.

Galtung not only relates peace with development but also extends the concept of development into an operational definition. For Galtung (1975a), the notion of development should include a universal dimension, having to do with four groups of material and non-material needs of human beings: welfare (material needs in a broad sense); freedom and rights (as opposed to repression); survival and security (as opposed to destruction); identity (as opposed to alienation). Universalizing the concept of development and expanding the theme of development from material needs to spiritual terms enhance a positive conception of peace.

Global dialogue on the peace concept

The poverty of the peace concept and the rapid technologization of daily life in western cultures does not appear to be a historical coincidence. There has been a recognition of the link in many ancient Greek, Oriental, and Buddhist legends about the relationship between the technologization of western culture and the emergence of oppression of all kinds in western world. The famous ancient Buddhist legend *Ramavisaya* is one of the many legends that foretold two thousand years ago about the self-destructing destiny of technological civilization (Panikkar, 1984, p. 237-253). Might there be other cultural traditions that can provide alternative forms of peace thinking?

It is clear to me that different civilizations see peace differently. The peace concept in western tradition is primarily considered as a political concept with references to a negative conception of human

nature and a mechanized image of world nature. As a result of this, the peace concept is always conceived within a political system of war or a social system of biological violence. In Oriental society, there is much variation in the practice of peace. The Chinese conception of peace, as I understand it, can warrant the definition of peace as an absence or the conclusion of biological and instinctual violence.

Conceptually speaking, the Chinese peace concept, *h'ai p'ing* , seems to carry connotations of social harmony, peacefulness, and adjustment lacking in the western peace concept. With these connotations, peace concepts in China are characterized as more introverted and inner-directed. Chinese conception towards the universe is based on the transcendence of the immediate, the local, and the temporal through the cultivation of the mind and a search for comprehension and meaning in an admittedly complex reality. The search for inner harmony leads to a moderation and containment of selfish and expansionist drives in the human personality. The classical dominance of the civil against the military ethos has given Chinese society a basically pacifist outlook, although I cannot deny that the ultimate sanction is still force, as in all societies. By contrast, western universalism is based on the expansion of a local civilization and on dominance over the rest of the world. The difference in peace thinking between eastern and western cultures can best be illustrated in the historical struggle between western imperialism and Chinese Confucianism from 1840 to 1940, a period in which the West attempted and succeeded in conquering China with technology and weaponry while China refused to follow the western road of modernization. It may be fair to say that the Occident has too many external concepts and the Orient has too many internal concepts, as Galtung has suggested (1985). There is an obvious need for a dialogue between the two civilizations. I have to emphasize that I do not imply that Chinese philosophy has a better concept or a better policy of peace. Rather, it seems that the concept of peace is itself fragmented, and by paying attention to other civilizational perspectives, a more holistic understanding of peace can be attained.

The inner-directed dimension of peace in Oriental thinking offers inspiration to the impasse of western epistemology on the issues of personal peace, human rights, social justice, and so on. In western culture, many peace organizations and activists are enthusiastically involved in delineating verbally or fighting realistically for the various aspects of human rights. We witness the drafting, and enforcement to a certain extent, of the United Nations Declarations on Human Rights. The declarations and the numerous

efforts on behalf of human rights, however, are of limited success because the discussion on human "rights" is not complemented with corresponding understanding or undertaking of human "duties." As such, the United Nations Declaration comes more as a discussion of metaphysics and not a system of ethics. Chinese epistemology, or better called Chinese "correlational logic," emphasizes the complementarity between human rights and human duties. The Confucian ideal of peace is a situation where every person exists in a kind of concrete, special, functional relationship with every other person. The binding of people together through an ethical system of human rights and human duties is a society capable of perpetual harmony as well as renewal. Under the correlational system of ethics, every person understands and undertakes responsibilities before he or she asks for a respect of rights. It is not necessary for us to prioritize duties over rights; yet, we should complement one with another both in conceptual cognition and practical life. Similarly, an expanded theory of peace needs to take into consideration the complementarity or a symmetry of related concepts which include violence, justice, and development.

Gandhianism is another major tradition of peace thinking. The greatness of Gandhi does not lie in his words but in his actions. His contribution is particularly important for developing countries which are constantly fighting against different forms of oppression. I am intrigued by Gandhi as a person wearing scanty clothes and leading a very simple life. He becomes a symbolic entity, for me at least, in defying not only the British political authorities but also the authoritative political myths of westernism and capitalism. Second, Gandhi's success in fighting against colonialism serves a psychological impetus for people or countries who are still under colonial rule. Third, Gandhi's uncompromising critiques of urban-industrialism and modern science is a very comprehensive understanding of the western "demon," which problematizes many essential social constructs such as adulthood, masculinity, and normality. The problematization of these social constructs by Gandhi has a built-in awareness of the nature of man-made suffering of our times.

The most important insights of Gandhism are, of course, his notions of peace and violence and how he puts his thinking into daily practice. Galtung (1985) once admitted that his notion of structural violence was initially inspired from Gandhi's project, although Gandhi himself did not use the term. The political endeavours and philosophical works of Gandhi enrich the structural dimension of the peace concept

as well as concretize many possible forms of peace action. For Gandhi, non-violence is not simply a political tactic for liberating India from foreign rule. It also refers to a form of spiritual inner unity, which is the means to personal freedom of which national autonomy and liberty would only be consequences. Inner peace of mind, according to Gandhi, is not a private thing. Rather, the achievement of inner peace of mind depends upon external peaceful conditions. This insight refutes the western presumption of regarding peace as a form of pacifism.

For Gandhi, non-violence (ahimsa) is the basic law of being and the most effective principle for social action because it is in deep accord with the truth of human nature and corresponds to the innate desire for peace, justice, order, freedom, and personal dignity. Non-violent methods are superior to Machiavellism both morally and strategically. Violence (himsa), on the contrary, degrades and corrupts human beings. To meet force with force and hatred with hatred increases humanity's progressive degeneration. Non-violence, as the point of departure for Gandhi's *satyegraha*, putting ahimsa to work as direct action, can heal and restore human nature and give humanity a means to restore social order and justice. It is not a policy for the seizure of power but a way of transforming relationships to bring about a peaceful transfer of power. The transformation of power, through non-violent method, is effected freely and without compulsion by all concerned. At the same time, the process of non-violent action calls for a moral conscience to understand cognitively and experience physically the virtue of peace. Gandhian humanism and his civil disobedience movement enabled the participants and non-participants to bear witness to the truth they believe. The peace movement of Gandhi, as Cox (1989) tends to say, is a process of bearing witness to human suffering and cultivating a fuller meaning of peace. Gandhian humanism not only makes me aware of the globalization tendency of species problem. It also makes us recognize that the West and its relationship with the non-West has become deeply intertwined with the problem of evil in our times. In sum, Gandhi's awareness on the multifaceted dimensions of peace, if incorporated properly, can become a very useful and operational definition of peace for the last decade of the twentieth century.

From understanding to awakening :
A heuristic understanding of peace education

Tracing the historical development of the peace concept in western culture exposes the numerous human contradictions in the question of peace. Although the peace concept may be suggestive to our knowing of how the question of peace has been confronted historically, a heuristic understanding of peace education needs to be contextualized within the history of peace movement, especially the peace research movement.

The term "peace movement" is very difficult to define. In the broadest sense, any movement that is in one way or another related with the concept of peace can be incorporated as a part of the peace movement. Social movements such as the disarmament movement, the women's movement, the ecological movement, the democracy movement, the human rights movement, development concerns, peace research, and peace education can be regarded as key branches under the umbrella of the peace movement. To this list, one can add endless campaigns against any form of domination or oppression. Anthropologically speaking, we can also date the peace movement to the beginning of human history because the struggle for peace and campaigns against oppression have been in existence throughout the history of human civilization. Here, I intend to discuss the history of peace research movement of the twentieth century because peace research has served as an important impetus in informing the focus, concept, level, and methodology of peace education.

Galtung (1975a) has characterized the history of peace research of the twentieth century in three phases: classical tradition (1900-1960), early phase (1960-1980), and present phase (1980 to present). For about a century, the peace research movement has undergone significant changes and yielded important results in terms of the concepts of peace, the levels of study, the disciplines involved, and the methodologies employed (Figure 2).

Figure 2 : The Three Phases of Peace Research

	First Phase	Second Phase	Third Phase
(Year)	1900-1960	1960-1980	1980 - present
(Concept of peace)	Negative	Positive	Positive
(Level of study)	National	International	Trans-national
(Discipline involved)	Interdisciplinary	Interdisciplinary	Holistic/global
(Methodology)	Empirical theory	Critical theory	Constructivism

Galtung considers the origin of peace research as arising out of the developments in the discipline of international politics just before World War I. During the inter-war period, several new branches of research focusing on the peace and war issues emerged from international politics. Some examples were war studies, strategic studies, conflict studies, and peace studies. From late 1940s to early 1950s, peace research focused primarily on Cold War and inter-state violence, and peace researchers spent their efforts in formulating government policies for American and European contexts. After 1960, researchers began to broaden their research focus by investigating the problems of peace and conflict rather than on finding solutions or formulating policies. Research focus gradually incorporated the various aspects of violence such as terrorism, social unrests, and economic maldevelopment. The negative concept of peace prevailed until Galtung advanced his notion of positive peace in late 1960s. Research organizations of this phase started through private organizations and were not affiliated with government agencies or universities. Research institutes in the field identified themselves more as "international relation" institutes than as peace research institutes. By their token names, research institutes of this kind were, comparatively speaking, more neutral in terms of research focus and research purposes. The first peace research institute, the International Peace Research Institute, was established in Oslo in 1959. The setting up of this institute warranted much skepticism and conservatism. Objections were raised about the "unrealistic" name of the institute. The establish of the Centre for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan in the same year was a compromise between the skepticism toward peace and the realism of conflict.

During the second phase, researchers' attentions shifted from direct to indirect violence. Indirect violence included the ways in which people may equally suffer from the violence built into a society, via its social, political, and economic systems. Such structural violence may also lead to death and disfigurement whether as a result of starvation, discrimination against minority groups, or the denial of human rights. Instead of just being the absence of war, it was felt that peace should also involve co-operation and non-violent social change, aimed at creating more equitable and just structures in a society (positive peace). Peace research of the second phase has gradually evolved as an applied science.

The three phases are characterized by different purposes of research. In the first phase, the value of the research is peace. For the second phase, the guiding value is justice. For the third phase, the dominating principle is freedom. This changing concern from peace to justice to freedom does not imply an abandonment of the peace value but suggests that peace in an enduring sense might be impossible to achieve without establishing justice and enhancing freedom. The shift from peace to justice to freedom has been accompanied by a shift in focus from national conflicts to international conflicts and then to civil conflicts. The different kinds of conflicts are now so much a part and parcel of each other that we are not too likely to eliminate or reduce any one without simultaneously doing something about the other.

The methodology in studying peace changes according to the different stages. It changes from empiricism in the first stage to criticism in the second stage and to constructivism in the third stage. Empirical research focuses on data about the past; critical research focuses on data about the present; and constructionist research focuses on research about the future. The objective of studying peace shifts correspondingly from knowledge transmission, to attitude commitment, and then to skill cultivation.

In spite of the tremendous success in peace research, the advancing of the peace concept has to be done through education and action. There is always the need for peace researchers to inform peace education and peace practice while at the same time getting important feedback from the real world of education and action. In what ways has the peace research movement informed peace education historically? As a consequence, what are the effects of education in the achievement of peace?

Defining the term "peace education"

The juxtaposition of the words "peace" and "education" creates more confusion and misunderstanding than most people would expect. While the term "peace education" is very popular in North America and European countries, the term can have very different connotations in different countries. In Continental Europe, peace education can mean or include terms such as education for international understanding, world studies, development education, multicultural education, and disarmament education (Hicks, 1988, p. 3).

Another difficulty with peace education, other than its definition, is the ascertaining of the starting date and developmental stage of peace education because it begs the question of what we mean by "peace education." If we define it by education against inter-racial or inter-cultural war, it can be dated back to the Roman period; if we define peace education as broadly as "good pedagogy," it was systematically promoted during the Enlightenment; if we define it as narrowly as education for civil defence, peace education came about right before World War II; and if we define it as education for global responsibility, peace education is instituted only recently.

Throughout human history there has been an interest in, and a striving for, peace. During the Renaissance period, Erasmus urged a programme of studies for the explicit purpose of promoting universal peace. In mid-seventeenth century, Comencius proposed a number of peace-oriented changes such as universal school, universal books, and universal teachers. In the eighteenth century, Enlightenment thinkers and philosophers expanded upon the legacy of universal education for the purpose of advancing morality. In the nineteenth century, Pestalozzi articulated an educational theory aiming at lifting human beings from the selfish natural state, to the social state, and finally to the moral state. The Comenian ideas, the Enlightenment spirit, and Pestalozzian pedagogy were kept alive in early twentieth century during the progressive education movement. Through the efforts of Montessori and Dewey, education aimed at promoting goodwill among nations and between people was emphasized. The hope and idealism of Montessorian and Deweyian methods influenced many educational policy makers of the inter-war period.

After World War II, peace education began to ally with the science of peace research and with the disarmament movement. With the establishment of the United Nations and its educational organization,

UNESCO, great educational efforts were put in promoting international understanding, international security, and physical survival of the planet. The broadening of the focus of peace education came gradually with the new renaissance movement of 1960s in view of the rapid changes in global situation. Lawson said (1989):

> Peace education movement regained its strength in the turbulence of the sixties, particularly the legacy of the Vietnam War, a resurgent feminist movement, a growing alarm at the escalation of the Arms Race and the increasing gap between the living standards of developed and developing countries, as well as the threat of ecological catastrophe that brought peace, social justice, and environment issues into the limelight again... The coming together of the social turbulence of the sixties and seventies, followed by the revised peace movement of the eighties, together with the rapid expansion of peace research and peace studies over the last twenty years have all contributed to what is often referred to as "the new peace education of the 1980's (p. 11-12).

The changing and broadening meanings of peace education need to be conceived in relation to the shortcomings of actual politics and cultural problems. Whilst the current interest in peace education has undoubtedly been precipitated by growing fears of nuclear war, the field is both much broader and older than nuclearism. It is based on a hundred years of peace movement and a century of academic peace research. The rich and varied historical antecedents backing up the current peace education movement indicate that peace education is a new area of study. There are numerous possibilities for the peace education of today to incorporate as well as to transcend the peace education of the past.

In view of the comprehensiveness of what peace education has meant in the past and can mean in the future, Reardon (1988a) argues that peace education can be divided into three phases . They are the reform phase during the inter-war period (1940-1960), the reconstructive phase from 1960 to 1980, and the transformational phase from 1980 to present. The three phases differ in terms of assumptions about the causes of war, pedagogical approaches to peace, and curricular focus of study. Each phase embraces a different political goal, and pursues a somewhat different set of pedagogical objectives. The characteristics of the three phases are summed up by Reardon as follows (1988):

> The goal of the reform approach is to prevent war. It focuses on the prevention of war and the control of arms races. The changes sought toward that end, including those required for intermediate objectives, are all changes in behaviours: of people - particularly people as citizens - and of nations. The central thesis is that if people and nations behaved differently, gave more consideration to nonviolent alternatives, war could be prevented.

> The reconstructive approach reaches beyond these behavioural objectives, seeking to reconstruct international systems, to abolish war, and to achieve total disarmament. Its objective, therefore, is primarily structural and institutional, rather than behavioural, change. Reconstructive teaching centers on ways of changing institutions and explores the notion of establishing global institutions to resolve conflicts and keep the peace.
> The transformational approach seeks a larger, more comprehensive goal: the rejection of all violence, not just arms races and war. The goal of the transformational approach is to make violence unacceptable, not only in interactions among individuals but also in interactions among nations, and to make violent consequences unacceptable in foreign-policy planning. The changes sought are behavioral and institutional but also and primarily, changes in thinking and in the formation of values. It is the transformational approach that, in my view, holds the most promise for the future of peace education (p. xi).

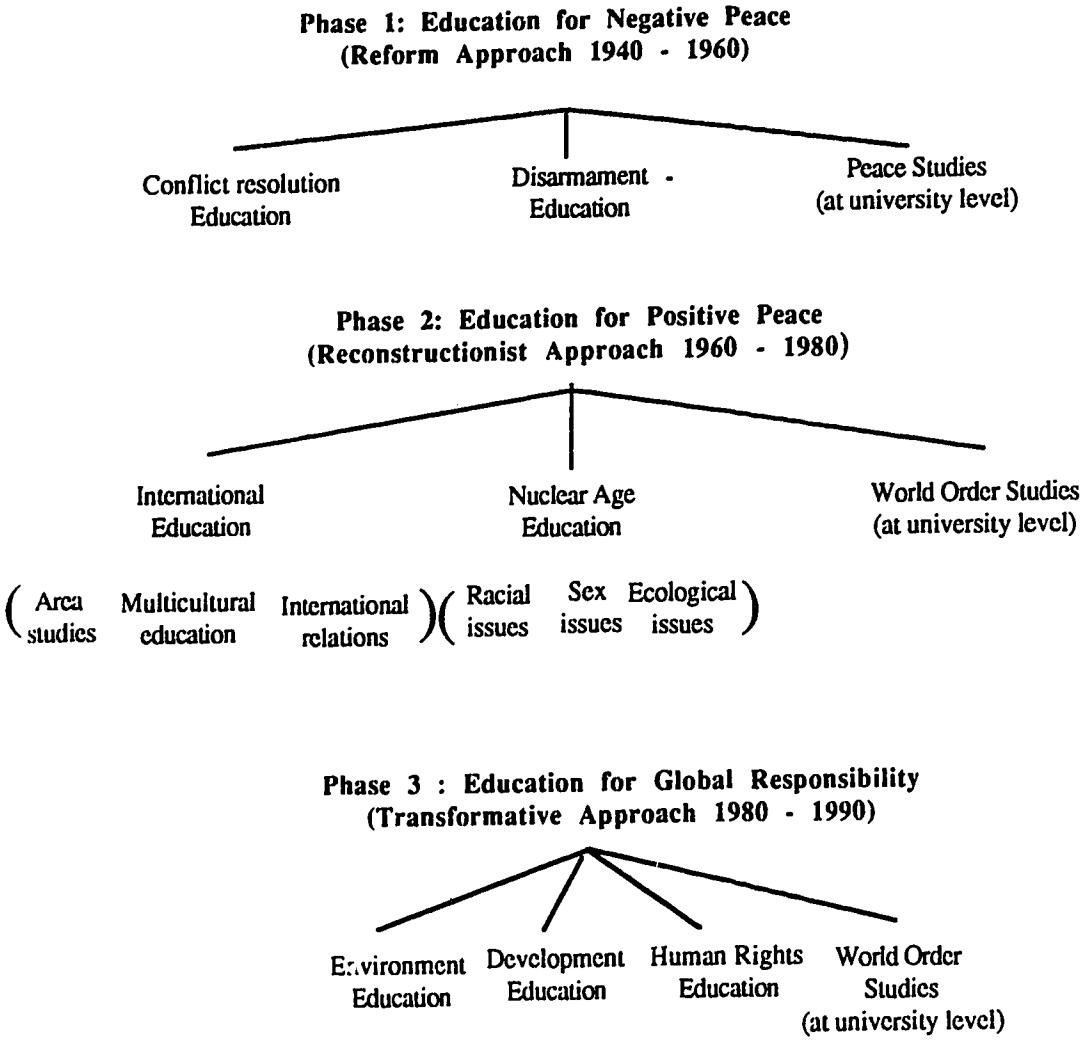
Reardon's categorization of the three phases is one of the best efforts in systematizing the field of peace education. The characterization of the three phases somehow ties in with the developmental relationship with peace research and the peace movement. Also, the linking of the developmental relationship can contextualize the strength and weakness of peace education. Based on Reardon's schematization, I have attempted to construct a diagram on peace education by linking the major themes of peace research, peace movement, and peace education of each phase (Figure 3). The division of the three phases of peace education single out particular concerns during a particular period of time. Also, some terms may overlap with one another in terms of topical issues for teaching. Peace education seems to be a more comprehensive term subsuming many of the concerns of the different branches.

Education for negative peace 1940 - 1960

Generally speaking, peace education in this phase sprang out from the peace research movement and thus can be called "peace research education" or "imparting of peace research knowledge" (Sloan, 1982). In this phase, peace research was at its initial stage and focused on negative peace; that is, it focused on reducing the likelihood of war. It emphasized the problems posed by arms races, specific cases of international conflict and political violence. Peace education followed the same direction and was primarily confined to dealing with war issues.

Conflict resolution education. Among the many aspects of peace research education, the studies of war and conflict resolution stood out as the most recognizable component. The paramount concern for war and political conflict reflected the aftermath of World War II and the fear of nuclear genocide. Conflict

Figure 3 : The Development of Three Phases of Peace Education



studies, at this stage, presumed that the existing status quo was satisfactory and the management of conflict was the way to improve society. Conflict studies, which constituted the prime research area in most peace research institutes, became a popular discipline in universities. It reached its heyday when the Centre for Research on Conflict Resolution was established in the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1959. Courses in political negotiation, skill development, and dispute settlement have been popular since then. The focus on structural and political conflict resolution was shifted to the personal and direct dimension when conflict resolution education was brought into grade school levels in early 1960s. A major weakness of conflict resolution education, as I see it, is its omission of the history of non-violent conflict resolution, which should be as important and prevalent as the study of social violence.

Disarmament education. As a mass mobilized movement, the disarmament movement is said to have begun in Europe and the United States in the early nineteenth century -a century of wars. In 1814, the first attempt to maintain an international balance of power took place in Europe when the Congress of Vienna was called. In 1843, the first international peace congress was held in London; and, in 1897, the Nobel Peace Prize was instituted. Since then, the number of groups and organizations working for disarmament and peace has flourished remarkably. At the turn of the twentieth century, a strand of optimism and enthusiasm for achieving world peace flowed through most of the peace activities. Osborne (1985) characterizes this general mood of optimism with the people's belief in scientific and technical progress which "they thought had made war unnecessary; the belief that knowledge and skills were now available for the management and even the elimination of conflict; the argument that science, technology, and international trade had made the countries of the industrial world so inter-connected that war among them was unthinkable and irrational "(p. 34). Peace education, during this period, adhered to this line of thought.

Between the two world wars, however, the peace movement received a terrible shock when it was found out that people's attachment to the nation proved much stronger than adherence to internationalist and pacifist principles. It was evident that the forces of subnational peace thinking were still prevalent even though effort towards international peace thinking had been gaining weight. After the first nuclear bombs were dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the optimism was eroded and the concept of "realpolitik"

revived in citizen's mind. Peace activists and the general public started to relate nuclear war as an imminent threat and nuclearization as an encompassing phenomenon. Relating nuclear war with politic-socio-economic issues gave rise to new recognitions about the quality of life. The recognition, in turn, sparked the outbursts of several important social movements such as the environment movement, development movement, and democracy movement.

Disarmament education has always been a predominant component of peace education. The persistence of the nuclear threat legitimates the importance of nuclear education in school system. On the other hand, the prevailing dominance given to nuclear war education had been criticized as an important conceptual obstacle for the healthy expansion of peace education because this unweighted pre-occupation with nuclear disarmament obscured the importance of other dimensions of peace. For more than forty years, disarmament education has produced a voluminous popular literature on nuclear war as well a number of major films and television programmes, including dramas, documentaries, and panel discussions by experts (Reardon, 1988, p. 18). Curricula like *Choices* (1981) by National Education Association, and *Day of Dialogue* (1983) and *Perspectives* (1983) by Educators for Social Responsibility are popular curriculum guides throughout North America. In these curricula, knowledge, skills, and attitudes are all integrated as a holistic approach.

Very recently, many of the educational principles and assumptions about nuclear disarmament gradually extended to the similar but broader field of nuclear education. The study of disarmament, during the inter-war period, usually left institutional arrangements about war and violence untouched and considered wars or international violence as single political incidents. This fallacy has held back the development of peace education in political and pedagogical senses. Reardon (1988a) says:

> In the minds of some peace educators this failure to focus on war as an institution or on the "war system" helps to perpetuate the notion that war itself is too great a problem to tackle. Thus peace is treated as the absence, avoidance, ending, or limitation of particular wars or between particular parties. In this concentration on negative peace, there is little evidence of any abolitionist element in current peace education practice. Although many in the peace movement have embraced the abolition of war as their goal, the notion that even negative peace could mean the end of war as an accepted human institution is neither popular among educators nor familiar to students and the public. This situation, I believe, is in some measure due to the lack of visions, images, and holistic models of peace (1988, p. 14).

The four and a half decades of disarmament education produced certain shifts in human reasoning. The earlier phase tends to focus on information transmission. In the latter phase, emphasis has been shifted to empowerment and cultivating citizen action. As the Cold War seems to have come to an end, the immanent threat of nuclear is no longer strongly felt. This incident may challenge the predominant position of nuclear war and peace education may need to seek other strong arguments for its legitimate place in the school curriculum. On the other hand, however, the losing of dominant position in nuclear education may enable other dimensions of peace education to regain their proper importance. The crisis in the legitimacy of nuclear education can become opportunity for healthy expansion of peace education if educators can take the challenge properly.

Peace Studies. At the university level, peace studies began to emerge as a degree programme in Bradford, England, in 1958. Essentially, the degree programme was geared towards study about peace issues, which was a very narrow definition of peace education. The university programme included an inter-disciplinary package of courses on the psychology, history, economics, literature, and sociology of peace and war. Emphases were skewed towards a political scientist's perspective.

The intriguing issue was that even with this narrow definition, the structured study about peace did not come about until late 1950s. In accounting for the reasons of the conservatism, O'Connell (1985) says:

> Firstly, the social sciences themselves - amongst which peace studies is best classed - are late-comers: political science was no better developed by 1900 than when Aristotle left it over 2,000 years before; sociology - and in some measure economics - has only slowly built up its house and more slowly again put it in some order. Secondly, political science dealt in good measure with the basic issues of peace, not least the order internal to the state as well as the order between states, the latter order specifically being studied by the new discipline of international relations which emerged at the end of the First World War; and though its approach to peace was narrow and underdeveloped, political science appeared to make a separate study of peace unnecessary. Thirdly, ruling groups have traditionally been concerned to promote security, and often dominance, through military capacity. Such attitudes made the study of peace as well as the advocacy of peace look marginal: peace was something to be pursued by those outside the main institutions of society and by those who held different values from the ruling groups; and often those who argue the cause of peace held themselves apart from such institutions and proclaimed values that looked impractical to those with the charge of societies (pp. 1-2).

Although the peace studies programme was very limited in the first phase, it flourished at a remarkable rate during the second and third phases in Europe and America. Similar programmes of studies

at university level were instituted in some big universities in America, England, and other European countries.

In summary, education for negative peace of the first phase emphasizes the transmission of peace research knowledge. It employs an instructive mode in teaching which assumes that, by providing basic and necessary information, students could engage themselves in critical reflection about peace and war issues. The negativity of the peace concept encourages a classroom atmosphere made up of low morale and pessimism. Also, the negative peace concept poses particular problems for curriculum planning and implementation.

Education for positive peace 1960 - 1980

During 1960s to 1980's, the peace movement, peace research, and peace education blossomed. National and international peace institutes were established. Some important examples include the Centre for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan established in 1959, the International Peace Research Institute at the University of Oslo established in 1959, the Polemological Institute at the University of Groningen established in 1961, the International Peace Research Association in London established in 1964, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute established in 1966, and the Canadian Peace Research Institute established in Oakville, Ontario in 1961.

The most outstanding difference between this period and the earlier stage of peace research was the shift from the negative peace concept to a positive one. With Galtung's research in Oslo, positive peace became an operational concept entailing four other dimensions in addition to the absence of violence: social justice, economic welfare, ecological balance, and democratic participation. In this period, peace education was broadened in terms of content of study and the educational mode.

Education for international understanding. International and national organizations for peace education flourished at a remarkable rate. In 1972, a group of educators belonging to the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) formed an active transnational network called the Peace Education Commission. The Peace Education Commission, consisting of members from all regions of the world, began its work at a crucial time in the history of peace research. The Peace Education Commission

incorporated additional concepts related with peace into their focus of study. The additional topics included were underdevelopment, poverty, militarism, and repression. These new topics in turn produced new approaches and concepts. As a consequence of these conceptual developments, three new approaches - education for international understanding, world order studies, and development education - were integrated into peace education.

In the field of education for internatic al understanding, significant educational efforts were put in the investigation of curricula and textbooks on bias and prejudices. The Universal Peace Congress, revived in 1921, urged the abandonment of the traditional dogma of national sovereignty. As one means to this end, they appealed again and again for a universal revision of history textbooks to "unteach" the doctrine of state omnipotence. Under the auspices of UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, many national and bilateral textbooks projects have been conducted with the aim of eliminating misunderstanding among countries. Although the results have proved fruitful in terms of detecting bias, eiiminating prejudices, and revising stereotyical images, it is still not clear to what extent textbook revision has been successful in promoting mutual respect among nations.

Multicultural education. Multiculturalism emerged during the civil rights movement of 1960's. The outcry for social equality among different races in North America sparked the educational concerns of teaching, assimilating, and integrating the culturally different into the dominant mainstream. School reforms reflected that the main theme of multicultural education was for minority students to develop competence in the public culture of the dominant group which built on their home culture. Bilingual education was one of the numerous examples of a multicultural definition of education. It promoted cultural pluralism with its prime focus on helping students of different backgrounds to get along better with the dominant group. The ideological framework was on the management of problems encountered by the minority students.

In spite of the different rationales, foci of study, and pedagogical approaches, the three conceptions of multicultural education (assimilationist, integrationist, and cultural pluralist) were premised on the needs and values of the dominant group - "white" and middle class" professionals. Whichever of these three conceptions was in ascendancy, the power relation between the majority and minority remained

unchallenged. In addition, the three approaches had tended to de-racialize human diversity. More often than not, minority language and culture programmes were treated in isolation from the issues of race and ethnicity. Social class was excluded from discussion of the characteristics of ethnic groups. Educational programmes intended to promote inter-cultural understanding were diffused through a range of "racially implicit categories such as language provision, educational disadvantage, cultural deprivation and cultural adjustment.

Since the early 1980's, there has been an educational movement in Great Britain to push multicultural education one step further and shift its focus on anti-racist education. Anti-racist education calls for institutional permanency, meaning the institutionalization of selected minority-ethnic activities not just as part of the minority-ethnic community, but as an integrated part of the mainstream society itself. Instead of managing the learning and behavioural problems of the ethnic students, anti-racist education would initiate a racialization discourse to mitigate problems which minority students experience in a racist society. The racialization process represents an awareness of the white dominated institutions rather than ethnic-minority cultures and lifestyles.

Anti-racist education entails a different concept of educational change than multicultural education. In multicultural education, racism is understood primarily as the product of ignorance, and perpetuated by negative attitudes and individual prejudice. Anti-racist education, while accepting the persistence of stereotypes and prejudices, demands that a thorough analysis of their origins must derive from an interrogation of the social and political stereotypes. In specific terms, this calls for the development of general theories of oppression and inequality within which the specificity of racism is not obscured. That calls for collective action and conceives strategies for change in explicitly political terms.

Anti-racist education demands a more broadly based approach, the rejection of prepackaged "teaching about race relations" materials and the generation of key concepts around which teaching sessions might be based such as inequalities students themselves experience and share with ethnic groups, as females, young people, or members of the working class. It is an approach which identifies empathy with, rather than sympathy for, the oppression of ethnic people as a goal, for example (Troyna, 1989).

World order studies. The Consortium on Peace Research Education and Development (COPRED), established as an affiliate of IPRA in 1970, began to serve as a networking mechanism for school teachers and other interested individuals in peace education. The Consortium held one of the earliest and most successful conferences on peace education in 1974 at the University of Keele, England, in conjunction with the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction. An American Chapter of the Consortium was founded in the same year. Together with the Peace Education Network (PEN), which was formed in early 1970s, the two organizations serve as a mechanism through which elementary and secondary school peace educators in the United States can share and enrich their respective efforts, work toward defining and systematizing the young field, and encourage its introduction into the schools.

In 1963, The Institute for World Order was established, which marked a turning point in international education. The Institute conducted research work on international relations and focused its educational task on "world order education." The Institute began its work in the field of secondary education in 1963 with the initiation of a high school programme. The characteristics and content of the programme, according to Betty Reardon, then director of the programme, are as follows :

> The assumptions that gave rise to that programme were, first, that the civic education offered in secondary schools was the most promising arena for the introduction of the serious study of peace issues to the broadest possible sector of the American public, and, second, that the major cause of war was the lack of adequate international peacekeeping and dispute-settlement procedures. The educational task was to introduce to the American public alternatives to war, in the form of possibilities for new international institutions. The initial efforts, therefore, focused on materials development and on preparing teachers to offer instruction about peacekeeping and dispute settlement. The approach developed over the first five years of the programme was based on the assertion that study of the issues must take place within a context that was global, interdisciplinary, based on a systems approach to the study of peacekeeping and dispute-settlement procedures, futuristic, and value-based (Reardon, 1988a, p. 1).

In addition to its secondary school programmes, the Institute has been influential in tertiary education by introducing such "world order approaches" into the university curriculum as the Transnational Academic Program and World Order Models Project (WOMP). The director of the two projects, Burns Weston, has made a clear distinction between the difference of traditional approaches and the "world order approach" in the study of international affairs (Figure 4).

Figure 4 : Approaches to the Study of International Affairs

Traditional Approaches	World Order Approach
1. Analysis is presumed value free	1. Analysis is value-oriented
2. Ultimate goal is description	2. Ultimate goal is prescription
3. Time dimension is past and present	3. Time dimension is past, present, and especially future
4. Problems seen as separate issues	4. Problems seen as interrelated issues
5. Focus on nation-states and governmental elites	5. Focus on a range of factors, from individuals to supranational institutions
6. Policy goals defined in terms of national interests	6. Policy goals defined in terms of global interests
7. Power seen as basically military and economic manipulation	7. Power seen as not only the ability to coerce
8. Large-scale violence considered acceptable to implement policy	8. Large-scale violence ordinarily considered unacceptable
9. Human survival assumed	9. Human survival deemed problematical

Source: Kim, S. (1984). In search of a world order theory. *The quest for a just world order.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

World order education in America became the characteristic of the mainstream "international education" of the 1960s and 1970s and the forerunner of "global education" of the 1980's. Since the 1974 UNESCO recommendation on education for international understanding, international education or global education has begun to gain priority over other concerns. The world order education approach of America has served as some kind of models for international education or global education in many European countries. The popularity of world order education in post-secondary level has been compiled by the World Policy Institute and specific course topics and content are referenced in *Peace and World Order Curriculum Guide* (Wein, 1984).

Development education. The origin of development education is related to the educational endeavours of Paulo Freire and his project of adult literacy work in Latin America. His approach of

teaching social literacy has been translated into a general approach to education in a variety of settings throughout the world. Together with various international organizations, development education has come to mean the study of education in developing countries or education in the First World about the Third World. In spreading the basic concepts and encouraging local initiatives, learners further the critical discussion of the concepts and communicate the results of experience in the field.

Central to development education is the concept of conscientization, which is based on an affirmation of the person as an aware being whose ability to participate in history and culture is limited by oppressive structures. The coming to awareness of those structures, in a process in which the person is an active subject, capable of reflecting on experience together with others and acting to implement insights gained so that theory can be translated into practice, forms the basis of the educational process. The specific content emerges from the situation of the learners and starts with reality as they know and experience it, together with reflection about the implications of that reality.

In addition to defining development education as a process of conscientization of people, in society, for social change, some elements of the critique of the present interrelationships between human development and social development are seen as major ways of educating about vital world issues. Thus development education converges with many of the central concerns of developmental and peace issues with human growth.

Education for global responsibility 1980 to 1990

In this period, sophisticated models of peace education have been developed and adopted into grade schools. In Britain, America, and Canada, the Galtung and Hicks models of a peace education that embraces the five dimensions of non-violence, social justice, economic well-being, ecological balance, and democratic participation are adopted as the theoretical framework for peace curriculum. In Asian countries, the Toh and Cawagas model that embraces the six dimensions of militarization, structural violence, human rights, environmental care, cultural solidarity, and personal peace is developed to meet the special concerns of developing societies. In Latin America, the Freirian model of peace education is used with its particular focus on development and conscientization.

For the third phase, peace education differs from the first two periods in its scope of studies, curriculum organization, and pedagogical approaches. In this third phase, the emphasis is more on an educative mode than an instructive mode. An educative mode refers to the process of drawing out or eliciting learning with the pedagogical focus of building a comprehensive approach toward transformation. Reardon thinks this educative mode will become the pedagogical focus of peace education in order to build a comprehensive approach directed toward transformation. It would be more appropriate to term the phase "education for peace" because it is somehow aiming at changing attitudes to peace, at preparing people for peace educators, and in having the general effect of increasing the likelihood of peace in some system.

Peace education in this phase is sometimes broadly referred as "global education" in some countries. In England, global education is gaining permanence and success especially with projects such as World Studies 8-13 Project, which has largely been incorporated into much of the national secondary school curricula in England. In the Netherlands and Belgium, successful schools on education for global awareness have also become worldwide models.

The University for Peace. At the tertiary level, an illustrative achievement for global education is the establishment of the University for Peace in Costa Rica in 1980, under the surveillance of the United Nations. The substantive areas of study include three sections; quality of life dealing with social, economic, and cultural topics and issues, planetary civic order dealing with the political, administrative, and organizational aspects of the international order, and the global problematique dealing with the major impediments to world peace. The values and purpose of the University are reflected in these three components of the curriculum: "to offer an education that can contribute to the achievement of a just and peaceful planetary social order and to an improved quality of life for all members of the human family" (Reardon, 1988a, p. 43).

Environment education. In the midst of alarming deterioration of the environment, there is an concurrent outcry for concern and optimism in the environmental movement. Placing environmental problems on the top of the agenda is often noted by politicians seeking voter support. In looking back the history of the environmental movement, one cannot forget the endeavours of the Green movement of

Europe, which emphasizes the quality of life, harmony with nature, self reliance, appropriate technology, diversity, and non violence.

The field of education becomes one of the best avenues in seeking to bring this about via mass conversion to new values, life-styles, and an emerging "green paradigm." The growing environmental conscience has led to the creation of a media market for environmental protection in all educational areas. Under the auspices of the Green movement and conducted jointly with UNESCO, several important conferences on education, development, and environment were held in Europe. West Germany emerged as a leading country in the implementation of environmental education. Since 1980, environmental education has been mandated as a compulsory part of the timetable of West German schools. Environmental protected curricula have been first entrenched in the natural sciences and then gradually into non-natural science subjects. Despite the stage of development, it is clear that all subjects are already making or will make their contributions to environmental education. In some cases, aesthetic aspects of environment are also being dealt with through "school garden" projects which provides conventional biological methods as well as first experiences with ecological relationships.

The movement of environmental education is now becoming more and more widespread in North America. In Rhode Island, the Centre for Environmental Studies of Brown University offers an undergraduate programme training environmental policy makers and planners through multi-disciplinary courses. The quarterly journal *Environmental Education and Information*, published by the Environmental Institute of Great Britain, provides a multi-disciplinary forum for those involved directly or indirectly in environmental education and for those who have, or wish to add, some environmental elements to their work. It seeks to promote environmental awareness and education through publishing research, information, experience and knowledge.

One aspect still waits for further research in environmental education: to continue the work toward defining what ethical views exist and begin to identify their consequences. As we participate in this process, it is both naive and impractical to assume that the environmental community will be able to agree on or discuss the issues with some common ground.

A history of peace education in Canada

Canada has a long history of peace education, although its curriculum development and popular acceptance at school levels appear only recently. During the inter-war period, education for international understanding began to emerge with the founding of the League of Nations. As World War II was drawing closer and closer, teach[illegible] areas of disarmament and conflict resolution flourished and continue to flourish even now. [illegible]ith the rapid development in the academics of peace research and the globalizing tend[illegible]vements, broader concepts of peace education began to develop and found their ways into the school curriculum. A survey of peace education in Canada by Brouwer (1987) indicates that peace education in Canadian classroom include at least ten components:

1. global understanding
2. current global issues
3. human rights and social justice
4. world hunger and development
5. peacemaking and nonviolence
6. multiculturalism
7. ecological balance
8. international law and organization
9. religious perspectives
10. on war and peace

These ten components of peace education penetrate into all provincial curricula, spiralling out from the study of the personal to the family, and from local neighbourhood to global community. Although most components fall within the domain of the social studies curricula, there is a tendency of infusing the components into all different subjects such as language arts, science programmes, physical education, drama courses, and religious studies. There is a multiplicity of curriculum units on peace education devised by

provincial ministries of education, school boards, teacher federations, and other volunteer organizations. Among the twenty nine annotated sample curriculum units identified by Brouwer's survey of peace education across Canada in 1987, about one-third of them are on disarmament education. Others fall into the categories of human rights, environment, conflict resolution, and global problems.

In Alberta, provisions in social studies and other subjects have been made regarding the issues of multiculturalism, international understanding, nuclear issues, conflict resolution, and global cooperation. An infusion method has become more and more popular in various grade schools. The Global Education Project of the Alberta Teachers' Association has been set up to facilitate the teaching and learning of global responsibility in elementary and secondary schools. Inter-cultural studies is now a minor option in the bachelor of education programmes at the University of Alberta. The International Institute for Peace Education conferences held at the University of Alberta from 1984 to 1988 have served as an important impetus in implementing peace education within the province and across Canada. The themes of the conferences differed each year and the tendency toward internationalization and globalization of world issues was evident.

At the University of British Columbia, a multi-disciplinary group called "Research and Development in Global Studies" has been set up to undertake research and disseminate information and resources on global issues such as development, ecology, human rights, and peace. The group has compiled a kit of *Resources for Teacher Educators* , which is sent to schools and institutes focusing on global education.

In September 1990, The Ontario Institute for the Study of Education started a new programme in global studies at the masters and doctoral levels. The programme is called "Global Transformation" and integrates ecology, peace studies, social justice, feminist studies, development studies, religion and world, and future studies. It is hoped that through the inter-disciplinary studies of adult education, environmental studies, applied psychology, history, philosophy, and religion, a radical re-orientation of ideas and actions for responsible citizenship can be formulated and to bring about a fundamental transformation of the present industrial social order and planetary situation.

Reflection: Re-visiting human passions of peace and hope

For almost five decades, peace movements, peace research, and peace education have each become an important impetus in challenging the political and cultural problems of contemporary societies. At the same time, critiques and controversies towards peace movements, peace research, and in particular towards peace education have never been ceased. Strong objections and bitter criticism have been raised regarding the inherent inadequacies of peace education, the confusion of the peace concept, and the feasibility of attaining peace through classroom teaching. The fundamentalist perspective, represented best by Cox and Scruton (1984) from England and Jacobs (1984) from Australia, contends that peace education is a form of political propaganda and educational indoctrination. Cox and Scruton calls "peace studies" an "attitudinal education" with a hidden agenda and a presupposed conclusion. They discredit the content of peace studies because the issue of peace has too much immediate relevance on students' experience which is a violation of the principle of "objectivity." They disapprove of the approach of peace education because, based on their observation at Bradford University, the programme encourages prejudices about matters of peace, war and disarmament.

From the criticism of peace education, one can delineate the prevalence of positivistic thinking in educational theorizing, especially the mistaken assumption of the neutrality of education. Critical theorists of education have long pointed out the indistinguishable relationship between education and politics. As a matter of fact, this indistinguishable relationship makes education possible and valuable. Education and the curricula designed in the 1950s were silent about issues like feminism, poverty, racism, social injustice, and ecological concerns. In the 1980's and 1990s, these issues become very important aspects of any curriculum. Schooling belongs to the public sector and it is true that peace education in many important ways contradicts that public sector. This contradiction of peace education with state ideology, says Galtung, should not dispel the value of peace education but should serve as a reminder for politicians and educators of the need for structural re-arrangement between school and government. The denial for a discipline to be included for study just because of too much immediate relevance is a very questionable viewpoint. One then tends to ask "what then should education be all about?" The immediate relevance of

the issue of peace maps out the necessity of making the pedagogical more political and the political more pedagogical (Giroux, 1988, p. 127). Also, it demands that educators re-assert themselves of the role of transformative intellectuals.

Positivistic criticism of peace education also contends that there is an inherent gap between theoretical understanding of peace and the practical application of peace into action. Some peace education opponents may even go further and say that the studies about war and peace, if not taught properly, is a form of "psychic numbing." Jacobs (1984) from Australia attacks peace education as a form of unrealistic education which de-socializes students through systematic psychological denial of the reality of aggression and conflict in society and school children will be psychologically unprepared for adult life in the real world. Jacobs opposes peace education from an epistemological viewpoint (1984):

> From an epistemological point of view, peace education is very vulnerable to conservative attack because peace education movement is trying to deal with the capitalist culture without deep understanding or analysis of that culture. The most committed peace studies activists promote a Marxist or anarchist critique of the role of education in capitalist society. Schools are depicted as elitist, hierarchical, authoritarian institutions which embody and perpetuate the indoctrination of the young in the values of capitalism. As schools perpetuate capitalist values and the values of the ruling class such as elitism, militarism, sexism and racism (structural violence) and suppress human rights, they are assessed as legitimate institutional targets.... [P]peace education is deeply hostile to Australia, to the US, to Capitalism, to European civilization, to industry, to Christianity. They in fact embody a widespread hatred of our society (p. 41).

Jacobs has strong presumptions about what real democracy is and what democratic education is. His arguments reflect a form of fundamentalism in the sense of viewing certain western phenomena as ultimate truth. Sometimes, he equates peace education with radicalism affiliated with Marxism and sometimes considers peace education as the equivalent to unrealistic pacifism. He attempts to make a rigid distinction between schooling in an institutional setting and education in other non-formal settings. He says that peace education should be the responsibility of the parents and not the teachers because peace education, no matter what subject matter it may cover, cannot meet the epistemological and pedagogical standard of schooling. Jacobs forgets what education concerns most is not the subject matter but the responsibility between adults and children. In terms of his epistemological claims, Jacobs assumes the existence of value-free and objective knowledge to be attained from "non-engaged" learning.

The historical development of peace education represents a struggle for meaning as well as a struggle over power relations. Its dynamics alternate between a pedagogy of hope and the problem of fundamentalist and positivistic thinking. Sloan commented when he edited a special issue on peace education for *Teachers College Record* in 1982:

> The positivistic systems orientation of the movement is nowhere more evident than in the typical disarmament discussions, where the basic political thrust is premised on a technological and instrumental analysis of nuclear strategies, defence expenditures, weapons procurement procedures, military-industrial production techniques, and networks of political and economic influence. Again, the rationale is that such a technocratic approach is good because it is effective.
> The assumptions of most anti-nuclear movements are very questionable. Its educational device is propagandistic: the indiscriminate and repetitive use of grandiose estimates of the quantity of carnage and lurid descriptions of specific kinds of bodily and psychic damage that nuclear war would inflict. The education that is supposed to produce enlightenment and understanding engenders instead a spurious, packaged emotional repulsion. This is not education for disarmament; it is the pedagogy of the oppressor. This approach seems to be a form of behaviour modification. The behaviour modification approach is a modernized and degenerate version of American pragmatism. Its ethics are crudely utilitarian. The traditional failings of utilitarian moral systems apply equally to the kind of pedagogy used by the anti-nuclear propagandists (1982. p. 3).

It has been about a decade since Sloan made this keen observation about the weakness of peace education. Significant advancements in peace education have been made; yet, Sloan's comment still reminds educators of the direction peace education should follow or avoid in order to advance the field into an area of study which can be claimed as acceptable, possible, desirable, and meaningful.

Everything that has to do with peace, peace movement, peace research, and peace education is political from beginning to end. The tripartite concerns of peace spring from a common concern, the need to stop violence of all kinds. This concern, in many important ways, can be interpreted as a challenge to state policies and state ideologies. For this reason, the organizations working for peace research and peace education have modified their aims to become more accepted by authorities. But acceptance is always obtained at a price. Osborne (1985) warns us about the price of conservatism:

> Part of this price was the lost of a critical thrust in exposing conventional wisdom or challenging accepted beliefs, replacing with a consensual haze of commonsense and goodwill. The conservatism of the peace movement, peace research and peace education is best revealed by the cautiousness of their aims. They speak not of a refusal to participate in war if it came but rather of the importance of a system of international arbitration as a way of dealing with disputes between states. They do not see what they are advocating as involving a fundamental restructuring of a social order which is inherently warlike.

The conservatism of peace research and peace education can be detected through the prolonged acceptance of the negative concept of peace. Even today, "peace education" or "education for peace" are unacceptable terms for many school officials and other terms, such as "education for social justice" or "education for social responsibility," have been coined. It is hard to tell which term is more inclusive and thus more appropriate. What I would argue against is the proposition that peace is a biased, unrealistic, or pacifist term that is not appropriate for school curricula.

Undeniably, the fields of peace research and peace education are still very young and not well-defined. The most general obstacle to closer cooperation between peace research and peace education is common to the relation between researches and educators more or less everywhere. On one hand, peace researchers as the producers of knowledge refuse to, or are unable to, express themselves in a language understandable enough to serve as a basis for peace educators for their teaching. On another, peace researchers as knowledge producers continually complain about the educators' misunderstanding or vulgarizing the message on its way to a broader public.

As I review the peace concept, the history of peace movement, peace research, and peace education, I come to realize the multiple efforts and passion for peace in humanity. The revitalizing of the themes of peace and hope throughout the hundred years of human struggle for peace has cultivated the foundation and material of hope. At the same time, I also realize that the history of peace education and peace movement have primarily been discussed and developed from a western point of view. People outside western civilizations, like me, feel a strong sense of western autocracy. As we learn from the peace concept, there is a need for global dialogue that enriches and enlivens the concept. I also think that peace education can be advanced theoretically and practically by bringing in other situations for analysis. The study of Jubilee Public School, a community school located in the margins of an urban centre,which caters to people who stand in the margins in terms of ethnicity and identity, can open our minds and visions about educating for peace.

The literature review on the peace concept, peace research, peace movement, and peace education is a step toward repossessing history. In the process of "knowing" the human struggle for peace, I am at the

same time reinterpreting the meaning of that history in relation to self and then unfolding the meaning of life. The literature review on the peace concept, peace research, peace movement, and peace education offers a very rich and well elaborated reflection about the human passions of hope, anxiety, and difficulties.

The demolition of the Berlin Wall and the end of Cold War seem to push peace education into a new era in which the imminent threat of nuclear war is no longer as paramount as before. The de-centering of the nuclear issue may give way to a fuller and more positive understanding of other equally important dimensions of peace. While it is true that the confusion and ambiguity of the peace concept has held back the development and acceptance of peace education by people at large, it is also true that the confusion and ambiguity imply a field of study that can allow further explorations and elaboration. The question is: how can teachers face the ambiguity and receive it as a worthy challenge?

CHAPTER III

TOWARDS A METHODOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF PEACE EDUCATION : THE ACTIONS OF PEACE AND THE PROCESS OF RESEARCH

Conceptualizing a "peaceful" methodology in research

Since Kuhn's book *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* was published in 1972, people have begun to acknowledge the fundamental relations between the science structure and the social structure in which scientific products are produced. The implication of Kuhn's book is that any particular form of knowledge is a result of a certain methodology and ideology. Kuhn (1970), Galtung (1977b), and Habermas (1978) all contend that an implicit or explicit world view can be partly inferred from the methods used by researchers to come to grips with reality. According to Habermas, the approaches of empirical inquiry, hermeneutical understanding, and critical knowing reflect three different kinds of human interests. The empiricist is interested in control, the hermeneuticist is interested in interpretation, and the critical theorist is interested in emancipation. Galtung (1977) uses the schema of positivism referring to the empirical theory, and dialecticism referring to hermeneutical, critical, and the family of approaches different from positivism.

Positivism and dialecticism differ significantly in terms of methodological and ideological assumptions. Figure 5 provides comparisons and contrasts between positivism and dialecticism. A higher level of consciousness between the two competing paradigms would alert researchers to understand better the social structure or political forces he or she serves when he or she engages in any research activity. The awareness, according to Galtung, would engender different styles of human relationship, yield different results, produce different images of the preferred social orders, and solicit different strategies of transformational actions.

Figure 5 : Comparison between positivism and dialecticism

	Positivism	Dialecticism
Methodology	Basic assumption: - epistemology invariant of time, space, subject, object	Basic assumption: - epistemology as a function of social context
	Proposition production : - the search for invariances in empirical reality	Proposition transcendence : - not invariance-seeking
	Theory formation : - the search for unified, general theory	Reality construction : - through praxis, not theory formation
Ideology	Non-transcendence : - reality immutable or mutable according to immutable laws	Transcendence : - thesis-antithesis, contradiction into synthesis
	Continuous processes - quantitative changes	Discontinuous processes : - transition from quantity to quality
	There is a final state	No final state : - each negation will be negated
	Isolation & weak interdependence	Interdependence and holism

Source : Galtung, J. (1977b). Positivism and dialectics: A comparison. *Methodology and ideology: Essays in methodology* . Basic Social Science Monographs, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo.

Positivism has a long tradition in human inquiry because of its strong ideological appeal. In Chapter II, the appeal of positivism is made explicit when I discussed the weakness of peace education in the first and second phases. By assuming that the object and subject of inquiry are invariant over time and space, positivism claims that objectivity, correspondence, consistency, and eternal truth operate at the levels of proposition production and theory formation. The appeal to positivistic thinking, says Galtung, is an expression of violence and power. Positivistic models of research embed the built-in "exploitative" relationship between the researcher and the researched because interaction between the two parties is based on a vertical division of labour, meaning that the net benefits of the interaction process are asymmetrically distributed to the researcher. A typical positivistic research process is somewhat like a "transaction cycle" in which researchers use the researched as source of raw data; sneak in with a pretest study, later to be followed up by real "instrument;" drill the human mind, mining for responses; withdraw after some words of gratitude; process the raw data at home; and then finalize a product for general "consumption" (Galtung, 1977b, p. 265). Reinharz calls a research model based on this kind of relationship a "rape model" of research (1979, p. 95).

There are obvious contradictions between such a power concept of research and the political aim of peace education. If peace education is to be made into an instrument of peace, we cannot be uncritical of the demarcation of power relations between the two research parties. The demarcation of unequal power between the researcher and the researched will again be turned into an instrument of repression. If the ultimate aim of peace education is to change the situation of exploitation and oppression, this change will have consequences for the research areas, theories, concepts, and in particular the research methodologies.

The common propagation of peace education comprising the three levels of education about peace, education with peace, and education for peace poses a particular urgency to conduct a peace education research with a "peaceful methodology." Is there a meaningful distinction to be made between violent and nonviolent methodologies in educational research? And if there is such a distinction, could it be that some methodologies very frequently employed in educational science are in fact very violent? How can we conceptualize a research methodology that integrates the action of peace as the process of research?

A peaceful mode of research demands a new notion of knowledge which rejects ultimate truth or absolutism. A peaceful mode of research also requires a process of understanding in which the researcher can engage the other research party in dialogical relationship. The "dialectical" notion of human reflection, first advanced by Hegel, provides foundational thinking to a critical mode of research. Hegel states:

> It would be truer to say that Dialectic gives expression to a law which is felt in all other grades of consciousness, and in general experience. Everything that surrounds us may be viewed as an instance of Dialectic. We are aware that everything finite, instead of being stable and ultimate, is rather changeable and transient (1962, pp. 149-150).

Hegelian dialectics stress the mutual interdependence and interconnectedness within contradictory qualities of human experience. The implication is that contradictions or dissonances in human phenomena are useful to uncover hidden or implicit meanings. Seeing dialectics as an element of process or structure of the life-word can enhance human consciousness about human reality. By rejecting invariance in theory, dialectical thinking re-asserts that every single experience of reality has a history and a structure of its own. Similarly, every "being" is necessarily connected with its opposites, "nothing," and the relation between "being" and "nothing" is the process of "becoming." This process of "becoming" makes human experience perspectival, relative, and dependent on the matrix of time and space.

Marx restructured the Hegelian version of dialectic into a form of critical research. The belief in scientific objectivism in social inquiry, according to Marx, subsumes human experience into intellectual theory. Marx proposed a critical notion of reality to replace a common sense notion of "things." Ollman (1978) says:

> As regards this last, Marx claims that the dialectic is in essence critical and revolutionary. It is revolutionary because it helps us to see the present as a moment through which our society is passing, and because it forces us to examine where it has come from and where it is heading as part of learning of what it is. It also enables us to grasp that as actors in, as well as victims of, this process, in which everyone and everything is connected, we have the power to affect it. By keeping in front of us the simple truth that everything is changing, the future is posed as a choice in which the one thing that cannot be chosen is what we already have. Efforts to retain the status quo in any area of life never achieves quite that (p. 54).

Dialecticism, as espoused by Hegel and Marx, is a mode of thinking aimed at disputation rather than didactic pronouncements. The dialogic teaching approaches of Socrates and Plato reflect dialectical modes of thinking because both Socrates and Plato attempt to draw conversation participants out by having

participants inquire into the sources of their own beliefs and conceptions. Owing to this consistent inquiry, dialecticism emphasizes continual change as the nature of human meaning and experience.

Why is a dialectical way of thinking important in peace education? How can I reconceptualize the concept of peace, extending it from peace as an absence, then move this concept of negative peace to a condition of living, and finally operationalize the peace concept as a positively distinguishable activity? As discussed above, a peaceful research methodology has to be built first on a new conception of knowledge, and second on a new conception of power, and third on a new conception of human relationship. Dialectical thinking, as I firmly believe, entails a new notion of understanding, a social concept of democracy, and a transformational approach to action.

The notion of understanding in dialectical thinking refers to the practical interest of hermeneutical science to interpret and direct actions together in social organizations. Through the hermeneutical interest of understanding, people can rid themselves of misleading or manipulation by social structures. People can thus think and act more self-consciously, to reason and make decisions on the basis of self-determination. The second concept, democracy, refers both to rights of people who are engaged in the process of hermeneutics and to the treatment of knowledge. Democracy dissolves hierarchical relations between participants and projects knowledge as a process of understanding from the framework of mutual growth and interdependence. The third concept of empowering action refers to the political goal of involving different people in an activity called research. Action can take various forms ranging from as subtle as "an arousal effect," to moderate reorientation of participants' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours to reality, and to embarking on political activism towards transformation.

Within the political aim of achieving peace, peace education or peace education research inheres the necessity for a dialectical mode of thinking and an empowering concept of research. Also, the nature of modern pedagogy as constructed on the dialectics between adult and children, hope and disaster, personal and structural, and theory and practice embeds the elements of dialecticism and empowerment. A research on peace education is, at the same time, a quest for peace and hope in humanity. The quest itself is an act of empowerment, cultivating hope and peace in the human mind.

Counteracting symbolic violence in mass communication:

The methodology of semiotics

Methodologically speaking, the research consists of two sections: a semiotic analysis on media materials featuring Jubilee Public School in Chapter IV, and an ethnographic inquiry of Jubilee Public School in Chapter V. Semiotic consciousness requires an attunement to dialectical thinking, especially in re-searching the relationship between signified and signified, the visual and the audial, the explicit and the implicit, the symbolic and the indexical, the open meaning and hidden message, the real and the romanticized, the private and the public understanding of Jubilee Public School.

The debate about the power of mass communication is an unresolved issue in education. The debate centers around what mass communication systems can do and what we think the true meaning of education is. In the case of television, arguments for and against the use of television media in classroom are of three kinds: optimism about its educational value, pessimism about its dehumanizing effects, and a social consciousness about media mythologies. It is the creation of television mythologies that is of concern in this research.

Optimism about the educational value of television has prevailed since its initial introduction into classrooms in the 1950s. At present, optimism is evidenced among adult literacy workers and distance education groups (Nadaner, 1983). These groups contend that television can be much more than a surrogate instructor; that there is incomparable educational value in television as an art form; and that television is a miniature of society in the images, sounds, and words that can be utilized as part of the school curriculum. By integrating the educational philosophy of Dewey and Freire, television optimists articulate a concept of education that emphasizes the interests of the learner, the broadening of perspectives, and the process of dialogue. Television programmes, according to these optimists, can convey diverse perspectives, persons and social situations which encourage learners to dialogue with the world (Olson, 1981).

Skepticism about television began to appear in the late 1960s and developed into a strong force of social and psychological critique of television in the 1970s and 1980s. The excessive access to and the use of television information, as noted by skeptical sociologists and psychologists, is theorized to contribute to the disappearance of childhood, the curtailing of human sensitivity, and the mediation of every form of

human experience. The third group of argument on the power of mass communication comes from the semiotic school. Semioticians are concerned about the effects of television on human agency. The fact that the world is perfused with signs leads to a development of structures which determine our world view, the things we notice and ignore, and even the means by which we organize our lives. The belief that the whole of human experience, without exception, is an interpretive structure mediated and sustained by signs is at the heart of semiotics.

For this research, I have used the semiotic model of Roland Barthes, the narrative theory of Christian Metz, and the reception theory of Robert Allen to study the following four sets of televised materials:

1. a thirty-minute documentary about Jubilee Public School produced by Public Channel in 1986
2. an educational documentary of Jubilee Public School produced by the World Education Network in 1985;
3. an educational programme about Jubilee Public School produced by Educational Channel in 1986;
4. an educational programme about Jubilee Public School produced by Educational Channel in 1988.

Roland Barthes and semiotic theory

The word "semiotics" was first coined by Charles Peirce, expanded by linguist Ferdinard Saussure, developed into a form of literary criticism by Umberto Eco (1976), and widely applied to media studies by Roland Barthes (1968, 1972, 1982), and Len Masterman (1984). Originally, "semiotics" referred to the process by which a culture produces sign systems and the ways in which meanings are constructed in social practice. The focus of semiotics is twofold: (1) the study of sign systems as a mechanism for generating messages and (2) the study of how people come to understand the meaning of the sign systems. Over the past two decades the scope of semiotics has been extended from language to almost everything used for communication: words, images, traffic signs, flowers, music, medical symptoms, painting, music, fashion, and media. Semiotics is particularly useful in studying television culture because in television broadcasts,

there is unique simultaneity of sound and image, the problem of expressiveness, the illusion of reality, and the collapse of author and reader in the mode of viewing engagement.

Based upon Perice's classification of signs into symbolic, iconic and indexical, Barthes develops a theory of television semiotics which incorporates the use of the three different types of symbols. Symbolic signs used in television include words, colours, music, and all kinds of photographic techniques. Iconic signs refer to the sign system where the signifiers structurally resemble its signified. Iconic sign systems used in television production include drawing, scale, perspective, camera angle, and lens focus length. Indexical signs refer to the sign system that has an existential link between the signifier and signified. Most images produced by cameras belong to the class of indexical signs because they require the physical presence of the signified. The use of indexical signs produces a general presumption about television that television does not lie.

Television semiotics. One important goal of television semiotics is to make us conscious of the use of the three kinds of signs, so that we realize how much of what appears "naturally" meaningful on television is actually a result of technology. "The camera never lies" is a statement that tells us a lot about the way we accept television images as real. Literary critic Umberto Eco warns us of the danger of this statement and calls for our attention to semiotics:

> Semiotics is in principle the discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie. If something cannot be used to tell a lie, conversely it cannot be used to tell the truth: it cannot in fact be used 'to tell' at all." (1976, p. 7).

The fact that television can lie becomes the starting point for semioticians whose focus in television criticism is on uncovering social mythologies. In studying television mythologies, Barthes identifies two pairs of concepts: signifier/signified and connotation/denotation. He uses the example of fashion to illustrate how semiotics can work. According to him, the text accompanying a fashion photograph in the magazine is the signifier or the connotative symbolic message; the picture itself is the signified or the denotative literal message. Mythologies sneak in when people tend to naturalize the two, taking one as the second.

In television making, images are often produced through the repetitive use of verbal and/or visual aids. Once images are solidified, they acquire stable and conventional meanings and even become signs themselves. The perceptual literalness of the television image reproduces the signified spectacle whose signifier it is. It then becomes what it shows, to the extent that it does not have to signify it. Television image begins to be devoid of the arbitrary, conventional, and codified characteristics of other sign systems because, in the television image, the signified and the signified are naturalized. The television image is not the indication of something other than itself. Semiotics attempts to break down this process of "naturalization" and to explain adequately the formation and deployment of the connotative-denotative associations.

The primacy of the text. In the Barthesian model of television semiotics, the power of television comes from both the visual and the textual modes of viewing. In the example of the fashion photograph and text, Barthes opts for a textual analysis alongside a pictorial analysis in order to fully understand the meaning of fashion. From a methodological point of view, the visual photograph of fashion has structural components but displays a "plasticity" that disqualifies any construction of meaning. With regard to the fashion text, one can construct various meanings because the structure of the text is eminently semantic and it lends itself perfectly to semiotic analysis. The photograph, on the other hand, to the extent that it physically resembles its referent, resists language.

The logic can equally be applied to reading television. Conventional television criticism tends to emphasize image analysis. Barthes elevates the primacy of textual analysis because image usually appears in its entirety all at once before our eyes, while text requires hermeneutical interpretation and deconstruction. In the example of fashion, the fashionable element cannot be explained or highlighted in the image because the image represents presence in absence. The text, however, invites readers or viewers to fill in the meaning without the text being destroyed. The sign is an empty vessel while the image is already full when it appears. The sign demands hermeneutical interpretation while the image denies it. Although the image does not suppress meaning, it points to meaning with a finger (Barthes, 1982). In designating a secondary role to the image, semiotics de-naturalizes the contingency of appearances and requires us not to accept the appearances on face value as things that exist in and of themselves. The

tendency to confound manifestation and essence, to reverse the priority of form over content, is pernicious because mythologies are developed and maintained by this arbitrary and artificial conception of what is seen and what goes without saying.

Christian Metz and narrative theory

"Narratology" or "narrative theory" was founded in the late 1920s by Russian formalist critics and then applied into film studies in 1960s. From its origin, narrative theory is inescapably "formalist," focusing mostly on the textual mode of understanding. It leaves to other critical methods questions about where the story comes from and the myriad of effects that the narrative has upon its audience. Christian Metz is an important narrative theorist in film studies, especially on film language and cinema narrative.

Television narrative. Narrative theory contends that a television narrative consists of two parts: story (narrative) and discourse (narration). Story is the series of events while discourse refers to the way the story is told. Stories are "events" from equilibrium through disequilibrium to a new equilibrium. Story events can be related with a dramatic triangle: well-made plays begin with an expository sequence setting out the state of affairs, rise through various twists and turns of complicating actions to a climax, and then fall off in intensity to the resolution of the crises and the new state of affairs. Most television stories follow this formula of a beginning, a crisis, a climax, and an ending. The fact that most television stories have a beginning, a crisis, a climax, and an ending distinguishes television story from the rest of the world and opposes it to the "real" world (Metz, 1974). This temporal sequence of television narratives, according to Metz, renders possible all kinds of distortions. In television broadcast, there is the time of thing told and the time of telling. The time lapse between the time of thing told and the time of telling distinguishes narrative from simple description because it invents one time schema in terms of another time scheme. Metz uses an example of cinematographic narrative to illustrate the possibilities:

> A motionless and isolated shot of a stretch of desert is an image (space-significate - space-signifier); several partial and successive shots of this desert waste make up a description (space-significate - time-signifier); several successive shots of a caravan moving across the desert constitute a narrative (time-significate - time signifier) (1974, p. 18).

This example shows that television narrative is a system of temporal transformations. In the narrative, the narrative object is a more or less chronological sequence of events that have a certain time duration.

Space-time parameter in television "un-reality". In television-making, except for silent films, the narrative (story) does not gain its life without the narration (discourse). What distinguishes a television discourse from the rest of the world, and by the same token contrasts it with the "real" world, is the fact that a discourse must necessarily be made by someone, whereas one of the characteristics of the world is that it is uttered by no one (Metz, 1974, p. 20). This fact of "unreality" has been overlooked or overshadowed by the filmic mode of presence which easily appeals to our sense of belief or perceptual participation.

Metz contends that although there are "realistic" stories embedded in news broadcasts, documentaries, and other accounts of historical occurrences or daily life, the fact that narratives are transmitted through discourse dispels the recited object as real. Reality assumes presence, which has a privileged position along the two parameters of space and time : "here" and "now." The image or the picture on television is not a "here and now" existence but a "here and then" existence at the most. By the existence of the discourse, the narrative suppresses the "here" and "now," and most frequently the two together because an event must in some way have ended before its narration can begin.

Narrative theory overlaps with semiotic theory in the analysis of the relations between image and text. Narrative theory lends heavily to the signified/signifier concept from semiotics in the study of the television expressiveness. In television images, aesthetic expressiveness is grafted onto natural expressiveness such as the landscape or face the images show us. In other verbal arts it is grafted not onto any genuine prior expressiveness but onto a conventional signification of language. There are essential differences between two forms of grafting. "Meaning" in television images is immanent while "signifcation" in other verbal arts is extrinsic. "Meaning" in television derives from things and beings and therefore the meaning seems to be natural, global and continuous. In verbal arts, signification derives from ideas and therefore is conventional and divided into discrete units. The perception that meaning in television is natural and automatic allows social mythologies to lie undetected.

Robert Allen and reception theory

In spite of the contributions of semiotics and narratology in filmic studies, there is one important weakness of both theories. Both theories frequently speak of a text as though it is understood in precisely the same way by everyone. Semiotics and narrative theory assume that all meanings of the text or image are translatable and predictable through the specific procedure of de-signification. This assumption is highly questionable to reception theorists who contend that the process of reading is a fusion of meaning between the text, the individual reader, and the interpretive community. Although the text or the image is ephemeral, the reader or the interpretive community remain a central preoccupation.

"Reader-response criticism," "reader-oriented criticism," and "reception theory" are names referring to the variety of recent works in literary studies that foreground the role of reader in understanding and deriving pleasure from literary texts. The traditional conception of literary reception is an "archaeological approach," which assumes that the meaning of the text is determinate and liable to be dug out by any reader. Reception theory, which has its basis in phenomenology of perception and philosophical hermeneutics, rejects the "archaeological approach."

With Husserl's notion of intentionality and Gadamer's notion of hermeneutics, reception theorists consider reading as a curious and paradoxical process by which lifeless and pitifully inadequate words on a page are not just made to mean something through the intentions of the reader but are "brought to life" in that reader's imagination (Allen, 1987). Significant reception theorists include Roman Ingarden who regards reading as "gap filling," Wolfgang Iser who calls reading "consistency building," and Jonathan Culler who calls reading a "deconstructive process." Allen integrates the three theories of reading and applies the integration to the specific conditions of reception in television.

Television metaphysics. The communicative environment of television has its unique metaphysical bias which includes the structure of time, the set of assumptions about the sources from which human problems arise and how they may be resolved, the mode of viewer engagement, and the hidden political or ideological judgments. A very good context for metaphysical analysis in reception theory is television commercials because they are so pervasive that television watchers tend to identify the integral presence of commercials as a given, regulating the rhythm and patterning of programmes and viewing.

A very unique characteristics of television metaphysics is its temporal pattern. Television organizes time in 10- to 60-second, and 30- or 60 minute blocks. The largest proportion of television programming by type and by camera shot, is in the 10- to 60 second category. Television is therefore an extradordinarily time compressing medium. This temporal pattern reorients our attitudes toward problems and the time required for their solution." Nystrom (1975) points out that people's tolerance has steadily declined because the time structure of television has reshaped human expectations, and when real life fails to conform to those expectations, we react with frustration, anger, and despair.

Television metaphysics entails a specifically different form of viewer engagement. Any piece of narrative necessarily involves an author and a reader. In most literary genres, there are at least three kinds of author: flesh and blood author, implied author, and narrator. Similarly, there are three kinds of reader: flesh and blood reader, implied reader, and narratee. The notions of authorship and readership, in television, go beyond this categorization. There are myths, folklores, and many narrative films of everyday consumption, passed from hand to hand in the course of their industrial manufacturing, that can constitute a part in authorship. By the same token, readership can be any kind of spectator such as an unspecified person to whom the narrator is supposedly speaking, an imaginary reader that the implied author seems to be writing to, and a real reader really watching the programme with his/her senses. The complex combination of authorship and readership implies different formats of discourse or viewing.

Among the many discourse formats, direct and indirect addresses are the most commonly used in television. Direct address refers to the situation when someone on television - a news anchor, a talk show host, a master of ceremonies, a reporter - faces the camera lens and appears to speak directly to the audience at home. Indirect address refers to situations when the narrators are speaking to some kind of ideal reader and not directly to the home viewer; for example, in television commercials or soap operas. The two modes of viewer engagement may employ quite different cinematographic techniques and so have different metaphysical structures.

Ideological de-toxification. Based on the metaphysical structure of television, reception theory appeals to television readers for ideological criticism. Feminism and Marxism have acclaimed convincing success in reader-oriented television criticism (Fiske and Hartley, 1978; Hall, 1980). The semiotic notion

that language and other systems of signification produce signs whose meanings are established by specific codes are well integrated into feminist and Marxist criticism.

A more thorough reformulation of Marxist criticism of television is based on the notion of ideology developed by Louis Althusser, who reconceptualizes society through a revision of the base/superstructure model itself. In drawing on the Althusser model, reception theory assumes that television offers a particular construction of the world rather than a universal, abstract "truth" of idiosyncratic individuality. Ideological analysis focuses on viewer-text relations and detects how systematic meanings and contradictions are embodied in certain practices which in turn orient our understanding of what we see and "naturalize" the events and stories on television. Narrative and generic conventions are crucial ways in which television handles social tensions and contradictions.

Ideological analysis within reception theory has one fundamental assumption - to deprive the text of its power to enforce meaning on the reader. Meaning production, according to reception theorists, is dependent on the individual reader as well as the "interpretive community." The emphasis on the power of interpretive communities to determine the meaning of texts, in reception theory, should serve as a reminder that all reading activity, including watching television, occurs within larger contexts. Culler says:

> [T]he individuality of the individual cannot function as a principle of explanation, for it is itself a complex cultural construct, a heterogeneous product rather than a unified cause (1981, p. 53).

To understand Jubilee Public School, according to reception theory, requires me to investigate what images are imposed on Jubilee Public School by the larger community and what political functions the televised images serve.

In summary, the tenets of conducting a semiotic study about Jubilee Public School are manifold. First, mass communication and mass culture have become important sources of knowledge and ideological apparatuses. A semiotic study of mass culture is an educational attempt to build a new form of social literacy and sensibility. Second, an investigation into the televised materials of Jubilee Public School would reveal the modes of social interest and the formats of cultural hegemony. Awareness of these competing interests and hegemony marks the first step of cultural emancipation. Third, the unexceptional

coverage of Jubilee Public School by media creates a mystified image of the school on the one hand, and "freezes" public understanding of the school to a mere show of television technique and consumer culture on the other. There is a need to de-mystify what has been portrayed and resurrect the realities of the tale of Jubilee Public School. In order to achieve these three aims, the semiotic studies in Chapter IV would investigate television formula, narrative structure, language of expression, and ideological de-toxification.

Methodologies of ethnographic conversation, observation, and participation as actions of peace

Ethnography refers to a wide range of anthropological procedures for investigating experience and social situation. Also, ethnography implies a process of understanding in which social actions can be visioned. Ethnography is therefore a form of cultural analysis and a political project of change. Following this definition, educational ethnography refers to the study of classroom culture, school culture, community culture, and links these various sub-cultures with social order to promote an understanding of why things are the way they are and what must be done for things to be otherwise. Lather (1986) calls the educational ethnography grounded in such a vision for change an "openly ideological form of inquiry" and Simon and Dippo (1986) refer it as "critical ethnography."

Ethnographic studies in education, for the past two decades, have been burgeoning. Standard works in critical ethnography include Sharp and Green (1975), Willis (1977), Maseman (1982), McLaren (1988) and many of the contributors to *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*. Among these examples, there is an evident tendency in educational ethnography to focus on "marginalized" peoples such as minorities, lower socio-economic status groups, lower-track classes of students, or children informants. The cultural dissimilarities between the researcher and the research participants, the difference in terms of class interest, and the age gap between adult researcher and child informants demand special methodological and ethical considerations. Also, ethnographic inquiry demands a methodology that can give the researcher adequate intimacy with the people of the school and, at the same time, allow the researcher to maintain distance from the school and free from many of the bureaucratic or structural constraints. The methodologies of

ethnographic conversation, observation, and participation are envisioned and practiced in view of the two considerations.

There is an explicit ethnographic intent of the research. The intent is: how does a particular group of people in Jubilee Public School, concretely situated in time and space, constitute their pattern of everyday life. The pattern of everyday life refers to what the group of people are, what people say, what people do, how people interact, and what the meanings are.

Society as conversation

Conversation, in philosophical context, does not merely indicate a linguistic form of communication. Rather, conversation refers to a condition of possibility of language. Conversation as a linguistic form of communication refers to the generation or proliferation of words, signs, punctuation and so forth. Conversation as a condition of language, however, refers to the worldly existence of language and the need for mutual understanding and appreciation of conversees' identities. Unlike other forms of discourse, such as narrative, interview, and debate, conversation forbids a hierarchical relationship or a non-participatory attitude. Buber has written extensively on the notion of conversation as a condition for mutual understanding. He says (1965):

> [I]f we are to converse with one another and not at and past one another, I beg you to notice that I do not demand. I have no call to that and no authority for it. I try only to say that there is something and to indicate how it is made: I simply record. And how could the life of dialogue be demanded? There is no ordering of dialogue. It is not that you are to answer but that you are able.
> You are really able. The life of dialogue is no privilege of intellectual activity like dialectic. It begins no higher than where humanity begins. There are no gifted and ungifted here, only those who give themselves and those who withhold themselves (p. 54).

Buber uses the terms "conversation" and "dialogue" interchangeably. The realization of genuine conversation, according to Buber, is the creation of an I-thou type of human relationship characterized with virtues of love, humility, respect, faith, justice, and hope. Extending these virtues from a pattern of discourse to a state of human relationship, "conversation" can refer to an attitude toward the world (Buber,

1965), an approach to education (Freire, 1970), and the ultimate tool to transform reality (Giroux, 1988; McLaren, 1989).

Conversation as a state of human relationship refers to the situation in which the participants really have in mind the other. The minding of the other and the claiming of responsibility for the other transcends the I-it relationship into an I-thou relationship. Freire (1970) concretizes the I-Thou relationship into an ethnical encounter between fellow human beings:

> Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world in order to name the world. Hence, dialogue cannot occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming - between those who deny other men the right to speak their word and those whose right to speak has been denied them..... It is in speaking their word that men, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue imposes itself as the way by which men achieve significance as men. Dialogue is thus an existential necessity (pp. 76-77).

Based upon the notion that dialogue is a form of human relationship, symbolic interactionism considers that the world or society is made up of conversations, internal and external. The metaphorical equivalences between society and conversation are the similar qualities of flow, development, creativity, and change we would experience in conversation and life (Craib, 1984). People living in whatever space and time need to take part and take up questions of lives from public conversations (Smith, 1990). To live honestly and responsibly, one should always keep the conversation going rather than trying to find absolute answers to the conversation. To enter into conversation is to open oneself to being transformed by the process. Although conversation is the most informal and ubiquitous variety of social intercourse, its explanation of action and theoretical component can be a conscious grasping of the complexity of real situations. It may be the informal and ubiquitous nature of daily conversation that keeps its value as a mode of research untapped. Ethnographic conversation as a mode of research will entail the existential requirement of possessing a specific knowledge base in communicative acts and an appreciation of the converssee's identity.

Ethnographic conversation is different from other forms of discourse such as interview and questioning. In an interview or questioning situation, there is the built-in hierarchical relationship of researcher as the subject and other participants as objects. Interview or questioning as the ways of eliciting

information from children is vulnerable to mis-communication or non-communication. The starting point of ethnographic conversation differs from interview or questioning. Ethnography assumes meaningful participation by all research participants. in this sense, ethnographic conversation is not intended to replace the voice of the participants by the researcher. Rather, it is intended to enable the so-called "voiceless" to give shape to their own research questions or answers. In ethnographic conversation, the I-Thou relation that Buber conceives is ethnographer-informant rapport in its strongest form.

In ethnographic work, the Freirian notion of I-thou relationship implies a democratization of knowledge and power, a partnership undertaking of responsibility, and a collaboration of political actions.

The task of entering into conversation with child informants in my study is more difficult than with adults. The difference between adult and child goes beyond different ways of thinking. Children are members in at least two cultures: one of their own making and one created by adults. The cultures of childhood and adulthood differ in terms of artifacts, folklores, values, and rules. The ethnographers' task is to uncover the differences between the two worlds that children occupy, as well as the ways in which they are similar or overlap. If, indeed, young child informants live in a fluid environment where neither culture is always dominant and where the boundary between them is blurred and continually changing, then the adult investigator should not be surprised if at some time informants seem to contradict themselves and seem to be operating with different rules and explanations for the same situation or behaviour (Tammivaara & Enright, 1976, p. 234).

The difficulty in communicating with children may be multiplied if informants are children from outside the dominant culture, as in the case of this research. Bi-cultural children survive in four different worlds: the native child culture, the native adult culture, the second child culture, and the second adult culture. Conversation or observation with minority children requires the ethnographer to undo "adultism" and "ethnocentrism," to suspend age-related and culturally related assumptions, and to ask children to participate in a fluid and confusing research milieu.

This research involves conversation with adults and conversation with children. The conversations vary in terms of time duration, structure, and atmosphere. Conversations with the principal and teachers usually took place in formal settings such as the principal's office or a classroom. These conversations

followed the structure of some guiding questions and time constraint. Conversation with volunteers and students, however, were more spontaneous and open-ended. These conversations usually took place in marginal territories of the school such as playground, hallway, lunchroom, washroom, library, and the basement.

Ethnographic observation and participation: Working as a female friend

Ethnographic observation and participation refer to my own immersion into the day-to-day school life *in situ* . Observation and participation *in situ* contributed to my role as a multifaceted personality such as a teaching aide, counsellor, informant, curriculum expert, theoretician, and friend. There were times when some of the participants' reflections and explanations about their lives highlighted social issues of racism, poverty, injustice, and despair. My extended presence in their lives, in juxtaposition with their expressed "ultimate reality," established a unique form of role reciprocation and facilitated the acquisition of understanding relevant to the study. On the other hand, these interactions fostered unexpected reciprocal connections with the participants' world, cultivated a deep sense of moral obligation, and spurred complementary commitments to the basic intentions of the research. Such intentions include the cultivation of understanding, agreement, commitment, and visions towards a desirable future amidst differences among people. Exploring and restoring the meanings of hope and peace, through ethnographic conversation, observation, and participation provides opportunities for self and social empowerment.

As a female ethnic researcher, I found particular sexist and racist dynamics in a research setting and came to understand strongly the societal appropriation of roles for women and ethnic groups. Speaking from my experience, I found that a woman researcher faced additional dilemmas such as the denial of accessibility to male-dominate groups, subject to sexual advances, liable for denigration, and given stereotypical labels that affect a woman researcher's confidence. My research experience of what it means to be an ethnic woman in my own life and in the school community that I set out to study speaks to the research question of what it means to be an ethnic student and what it means to be a daughter in a family. Some of the privatized experiences of the research speak to pertinent issues of human rights, structural violence, personal peace, and cultural solidarity. The research experience has crucial impacts on what the

researcher sees and does. Publicizing the research experience is important in transforming the inherent structural violence of the research community.

The art of hermeneutics: Storytelling, autobiographical consciousness, and thematic interpretation

In many ways, the political nature of peace education and the problems for its implementation can be revealed in the practical difficulties of interpretation. First, peace education research as a form of value-based study entails an evaluative threat to the participating school. Second, the complexities and abstractness of the term "peace education" poses an epistemological and ontological challenge to the research participants. The challenge, in the words of hermeneuticists from Kierkegaard to Caputo, is to make sense out of the "flux." In methodological terms, the challenge refers to the need to concretize the themes of the conversations with participants into a piece of understandable discourse or a plan for further action. On the other hand, I became aware of the danger of forcing personal ideas upon the staff members and the threat of evaluating their teaching. I needed to search for a methodology that avoided the dogmatic orthodoxy of evaluation and, at the same time, deepened or sharpened mutual understanding. Storytelling showed possibilities of a way to rescue the communicability of experience.

Storytelling as a metaphor of engaged research

According to Novak (1971), story is a narrative that links the sequence and structure of human actions. Story is a temporal sequence uniting the past and future. In verbal or written form, story supplies patterns, themes, and motives by which a person may recognize the unity of his or her life (Novak, p. 60). Storytelling is the attempt to understand other people not by "inventing" stories but by "discovering" stories which exist inside people.

Novak proposes that there are two kinds of stories that we must pay attention to in order to understand other people. They are cultural stories and personal stories. Cultural stories are acquired from the culture one is born into and personal stories are lived out by particular individuals. While it is meaningful to distinguish between the two kinds of stories, it is important not to dichotomize the

differences as they overlap. The essential point is that in the course of discovering one's story, one must not be distracted by the cultural story and treat the meanings of a cultural story as principles applicable to all members of the culture.

To illustrate, I have a specific example. In Jubilee Public School, one of the participating teachers and I had insightful conversations about a Chinese girl who was extremely quiet in the classroom. The students' silence had reached an "intolerable" level to the teacher. The teacher explained the girl's silence in terms of a cultural story, meaning that Chinese people are comparatively reserved, shy, and quiet. Through the two conversations with the girl and some observation in her classroom, I began to realize that her "silence" was much more complex and could not be understood only through a stereotypical analysis of Chinese culture. Many of her personal stories were not discovered by the teacher or even by the girl herself.

In the context of methodology, storytelling can be a rescue of the communicability of experience. The art of storytelling is to keep a story free from explanation as one reproduces it and leave it up for the reader to interpret. When compared to other kinds of information, story achieves an openness that other information lacks. Polakow (1985) understands the role of educational researcher as a storyteller. Polakow says that the educational researcher as a storyteller implies the researcher's role to invoke the feel, the smells, the tastes, and the moods of lives lived out in different cadences (Polakow, 1985, p. 833). By doing this task, the storyteller is an advocate, a social critic, and an engaged participant in other people's lives because the space between teller and listener will at some point in time be fused. The meaning of storytelling is not esoteric because as the story sinks itself into the life of the storyteller, engagement begets reciprocity, and participation in the world of the other and evokes the call to act.

Autobiographical consciousness and educational criticism

Whose story should I tell? What experiences of people's lives best tell us who they are? How should I choose particular stories to tell which speak to the values and praxis in peace education?

People may tend to understand these questions as a matter of methodological consideration. Understanding people and making meaning from their lived-experience, however, should extend from

methodological concerns to ontological considerations. Understanding other people, for me as a researcher, is a mode of being which requires me first of all to ask myself who I am and what is there to be understood.

In Jubilee Public School, I encountered groups of students who experienced and felt what I have experienced and felt. This echoing of experience set the context of the study and gave shape to many of the research questions. A specific example is Yen, who was a fourth grader in the school when I first started the research with her. The more I felt empathy about her family violence, the more I fell back on my autobiography as the basis of understanding. Being an Oriental myself, I came to realize that her acceptance of multiple responsibilities to her younger brothers was deeply cultivated in Oriental philosophy which has tended to structure parent-child relations toward respect, obedience, and reconciliation. My feeling of loyalty to my parents and "good upbringing" speaks to Yen's refusal to say anything against her parents in front of a stranger, a "researcher." Even though I did not enter the research with particular sets of research questions, as the preliminary stage of research went along I found myself more and more drawn to the issue of multicultural education and ethnic identification. This has probably something to do with the high percentage of ethnic students in Jubilee Public School and my being in Canada as a foreign student from Hong Kong. The research focus was put on the explicit relation to the school situation as well as extended to self as situation as well.

Pinar (1986) has written extensively about autobiographical inquiry in educational studies. Autobiographies, according to Pinar, are not liabilities to be exorcised but are the very precondition for knowing. Autobiographical consciousness, somewhat like "Dewey's intuition" or "Heidegger's attunement," forms the basis for reflective grasp of problematic qualities of situations and allows for a new kind of understanding which is supposedly "whole, deep, and bright" (Pinar, 1986):

> Autobiographical method offers opportunities to return to our own situations, our "rough edges," to reconstruct our intellectual agendas. The focus in such work is the felt problematic, its method is intuitive. One falls back on oneself - rather than upon the words of others - and must articulate what is yet unspoken, act as midwife to the unborn. One uncovers one's "domain assumptions," one's projections - not in order to clean the slate but in order to understand the slate of which one is the existential basis, the basis which makes knowing possible.
> What we aspire to when we work autobiographically is not adherence to conventions of a literary form. Nor do we think of audience, of portraying our life to others. We write autobiography for ourselves, in order to cultivate our capacity to see through the outer forms, the habitual explanations of things, the stories we tell in order to keep others at a distance. It is against the taken-for-granted, against routine and ritual we work, for it is

> the regularized and the habitual which arrest movement - intellectual and otherwise. Arrested we cannot see movement in others nor contribute to it. In this sense, we seek a dialectical self-self relation, which then permits a dialectical relationship between self and work, self and others (pp. 33-4).

In the literature of reconceptualist curriculum, autobiographical consciousness is one way to emancipate oneself from the hegemony of modern statehood. Through the "historicialization" of collective history and individual biography, people can transform the chaotic and conflictual inner life into a creative play of forms.

The interpretation of interpretation

The term "hermeneutics" originally referred to the practice of interpreting sacred texts and understanding God's message. At present, it refers to a growing and increasingly difficult family of questions about the philosophy of understanding. The scope of study in hermeneutics extends from sacred text to literary criticism, religious studies, various forms of Marxism, and phenomenology. In certain important senses, hermeneutics shakes the primacy of analytical philosophy.

Schleiermacher and Dilthey are usually considered as the founders of hermeneutics. Schleiermacher claims that biblical interpretive techniques can be used to understand any kind of text. Dilthey, a follower of Schleiermacher, agrees with Schleiermacher on this point but insists on a fundamental difference between natural science and human science. Hermeneutics, according to Dilthey, is confined to the study of human science. Dilthey also rejects the popular practice of introspection as a means to understand life meanings. Instead, he advocates hermeneutics as a systematic interpretation of texts - written, spoken, and gestural. Hermeneutics, as the art of interpretation, includes the methodological approaches of semiotics, narratology, reception theory, and ethnographic inquiry. All these approaches are concerned with making sense of what people say, think, do, and act.

It is fundamentally Heidegger, especially his book *Being and Time* who extends the notion of hermeneutics from a sphere of epistemological speculation to an ontology of knowing and understanding. In *Being and Time*, Heidegger (1962) advances the notion of *dasein* which broadens our understanding of human subjectivity. He then places hermeneutics in the centre of his analysis of *dasein* in showing that

interpretation is not an isolated activity of human beings but the basic structure of life experiences. The way to explore *dasein's* -being-in-the-world lies in the question of language because language is the house in which human beings dwell.

The opening up of the meaning of language in human existence by Heidegger is followed in two different directions. Gadamer follows the German Romanticism of Heidegger and elevates the studies of language into philosophical hermeneutics, while Derrida represents Heidegger's Nietzschean side and connects hermeneutics with deconstructionism. The philosophical hermeneutics of Gadamer represents a movement of reclaiming tradition as the source of understanding while the deconstructionism of Derrida seeks to emancipate thinking from the binding power of tradition. These two schools of thought about modern hermeneutics, although representing different ideas of foundation and tradition, bring in the reciprocity between human conceptual efforts and the concrete in life experiences.

Gadamer and Derrida represent, for me at least, a radical critique of understanding and interpretation. The hermeneutics of suspicion of Gadamer and Derrida keep alive many methodological questions throughout my research: To what extent can I justify the validity of my methodological concepts and procedures? To what extent am I justified in assuming that I have a good understanding of the texts? Am I always interpreting in seeing, hearing, receiving? What is the dogmatism behind storytelling? What constitutes a piece of good descriptive analysis?

In *Truth and Method* , Gadamer (1984) deals with the issue of truth and method in three different sections. In the first section, he discusses the question of truth from human aesthetic experience. From Kantian philosophy to German aesthetism, says Gadamer, we come to realize that many of the human constructs such as the notion of beauty is a transcendental notion of meaning. Art and aesthetics, says Gadamer, form the denial of what we call scientific method. Also, art and aesthetics offer an alternative reservoir of human inquiry that can refute the notions of truth and method. The second part of the book discusses the nature of human science from the basic question of whether or not there is something called "truth." The section entails a discussion of hermeneutics from Schleiermarcher to Dilthey, stating that any understanding is the fusion of horizons between the reader and the text *(Gorizontverschmelzung)*. Truth, if any, is a form of illusion and should be subjected for appropriation through history. The third section

discusses language, and shows that language and thought are highly correlated. Language is not merely a tool for communication but is the process of communication itself. The limited amount of language, however, entails the limitless meaning of language. The search for language is the search for interpretation.

With three corresponding arguments against truth and method, Gadamer dismisses the thousand year long Western philosophy for the mistaken hope to develop methods that would provide it with "pure" truth. His reason for rejection is that there is not a correct method for people to follow. The search for truth is itself a flawed conception toward human relations with the world. In three lengthy sections, he makes explicit his underlying criticism of analytical philosophy, its logic system, its mathematical language, and its scientific method of understanding which are actually very limited spheres of knowledge. All these spheres of knowledge cannot help us to understand the lived, the emotive, and the sentimental parts of human experience.

Gadamer expands the Romantic conception of understanding further in terms of the universalistic and historic element of understanding. What constitutes understanding and knowledge, according to Gadamer, must always be worked out by dialogic discourse - a discourse between text and text, reader and text, author and reader, text and interpretive community, text and history, and so on. Gadamer calls these multifarious layers of voices "tradition." Understanding does not come automatically; rather, it requires the subject of inquiry to have "an openness of mind, an ability to put oneself into the place of the author of the book or the participants in the way of life" (Outhwaite, 1987). Interpretation is a series of endless give and take efforts, a back-and-forth of a many-sided dialogue. The implication is that meaning cannot be comprehended or grasped as a totality from any privileged methodological position. Understanding can never be adequately described either as objective consciousness or as subjective or intersubjective agreement. In the chainless circle of hermeneutic reflection one engages in, the possibility of the solitary investigator modeled on the Cartesian Mind, or the Transcendental Ego, or the Intentional Consciousness dissolves. It is also this dissolving of solitude that makes hermeneutics exciting and meaningful. As Gadamer says, every encounter with tradition that takes place within historical consciousness involves a tension between the text and the present. The hermeneutic task consists of not covering up this tension by attempting a naive assimilation but consciously bringing it out (Gadamer, 1984, p. 273).

In the context of peace education research, interpretation is a dialectical and a dialogical process between myself and the school participants. The "hermeneutic circle" propagated by Dilthey and the "fusion of horizons" propagated by Gadamer best illustrate that understanding is always a mutual enterprise between the reader and the author and therefore avoids the possibility of an exploitative relationship. Interpretive inquiry is not intended to do research on people but together with people. The researcher does not act as a stimulus or registrar of responses, but enters into a dialogue with the other party and explores some aspects of the social condition of humankind. Understanding always projects the unity of a shared commitment, even if the single horizon enabling understanding is not given in advance.

Because of the dialogic, linguistic, historical and universalistic nature of any act of understanding, heremeneutics is more than a piece of interpretation. It is an act of *verstehn* and a praxis of *phronesis*. In the hermeneutic tradition, verstehen cannot be mapped onto a subject-object relationship, because understanding always has the implication of living through something as against standing outside of it. *Verstehen* is a form of practical knowledge, less in the technical sense of how to work something or how to apply it, than in the classical sense of *phronesis*, or knowing how to act, that is, knowing what a situation calls for in the way of action. "Practical" in this antique sense has rather to do with moral knowledge than with know-how. In this context I regard the research in Jubilee Public School as a form of *phronesis* and an act of commitment.

Philosophical hermeneutics, as the art of interpretation espoused by Gadamer, has a number of inadequacies and contradictions. In delineating the primacy of language in human experience and "tradition" as the foundation for understanding, Gadamer overlooks the possibility of communicative distortion. Habermas engaged in long debates with Gadamer about the nature of mis-understanding through the medium of language and suggests the practical interest of understanding and critical interest of emancipation. In Gadamer's work, so Habermas argues, ideological distortion or misunderstanding cannot be detected because Gadamer foresees that understanding among participants would not be hindered by structural forces. Deconstructionism takes up Habermas's argument and raises the problem of interpretation to a more complicated issue than the model developed by Gadamer. Derrida is one of the many important

According to Derrida, the problem of interpretation arises not only from the nature of the verbal intention of the text but also from language itself. Because the objective meaning of language is something other than the subjective intention of the author, a text may be construed in various ways. The problem of multiple interpretation is re-invigorated as an opportunity for freeing interpretation from its dependence on the author's intention, which is often unknown to the interpretive community. In addition, Derrida cannot agree with the metaphysical ramifications of Gadamer's hermeneutics. For Gadamer, hermeneutics refers to the search for a "better" meaning of a text, a situation, or a world. In contrast, Derrida qualifies his enterprise of interpretation as an active interpretation seeking legitimacy on no ultimate ground. Derrida disqualifies the hermeneutic circle as the only genuine mode of philosophical investigation. This disqualification is based on his belief in the transformative power of language. Sturrock (1979) says:

> Again, Derrida's celebrated "deconstructions" of the philosophical and other writings he has analyzed, in which he brings to light the internal contradictions in seemingly perfectly coherent systems of thought, constitute a powerful attack on ordinary notions of authorship, identity, and selfhood, since they are a demonstration that, even when it is being used most consciously, language has powers we cannot control. Derrida himself exploits the alarming "productivity" of language to destablize existing philosophical systems (p. 14).

Conceptually speaking, deconstruction is a form of skepticism about the linguistic element of our sign systems. Derrida provides an important insight into our understanding of deconstruction when he advances the primacy of writing over speech in hermeneutical sciences. In writing, says Derrida, the semantic autonomy of language becomes fully manifest. In living speech, the subjective intention of the speaker and the meaning of the text often overlap in such a way that it is the same thing to understand what the speaker means and what the discourse means. In writing, however, the author's intention and the meaning of the text may cease to coincide. The tearing apart of the text's meaning from the author's intention flourishes to an infinite horizon of meaning lived by the interpretive community. In turn, it opens up the possibility for hermeneutics and goes beyond the hermeneutic model of Gadamer.

Research schedule

The research consists of two sections: video analysis and ethnographic inquiry. Four sets of media materials featuring Jubilee Public School that have been broadcast in the city are chosen for video analysis. Through special request and arrangement, all four sets of programmes are either borrowed or duplicated from the 16 mm film into videotape through the Instructional Technology Centre of the University of Alberta. Upon completion of the dissertation, the tapes would be returned and destroyed. I started the video analysis in November 1988 and finished in May 1989.

Preliminary ethnographic research was attempted in Jubilee Public School from January to May 1987 before I finalized the ethnographic methodology in my candidacy examination in December 1987. During the preliminary study, a one-time conversation was held with the principal, three monthly conversations and observations with two teachers, and two bi-monthly conversations and observations with two students. The topics of the conversations are summed up in Figure 6.

Figure 6 : Topics of Conversation from January to May, 1987

Principal	(Feb 87):	Educational leadership
Teachers A,B	(Jan 87):	ESL program (Whole Language Approach)
Teachers A,B	(Mar 87):	Student behavioural and learning problems
Teachers A,B	(May 87):	Multiculturalism and citizenship education
Student A	(Apr 87):	Understanding the voice of an ethnic student's silence
Student B	(May 87):	Understanding the family violence of an Oriental student

The main part of the research was resumed from September 1987 to April 1989. Owing to time constraints of the principal, two additional conversations were held with the principal. Two new teachers, Linda and Wilson, were recommended to participate in the research as the former two teacher participants left Jubilee Public School in July 1987. A monthly conversation was scheduled with Linda and Wilson from September 1987 to February 1988. The schedule was followed with Linda but Wilson withdrew from the research in December 1987. The conversations with the principal and the two teachers were held inside

the school building and were taped. Full transcripts of the conversations were typed and given back to participants for feedback and clarification. Those transcripts in turn became the starting points for reflection and the basis for new conversation topics.

After finishing the research with the principal and teachers, four other adult participants and two students were invited to participate in regular conversations. The four adults were the custodian, a volunteer, a parent, and an adult ESL class learner. They were invited to participate either because they showed interest in my study or because I happened to have established a close and trusting relationship with them. Frequency of conversations with them varied from once to three times, depending on their availability of time. Through the custodian and the parent participant, I was introduced to two students, Scott and Thanh, who later become student participants. An equal coverage was attempted in terms of participants' characteristics, such as ethnicity, sex, age, and working experience with the school. Two student participants and the adult ESL class learner were Chinese and we had our conversation in Cantonese. All of the conversations were taped and partial transcription was attempted. Transcripts were not given back to them because they seldom aroused feedback, correction, or clarification. I initiated the topics in the first conversation with individual participants. Subsequent topics emerged by themselves during the flow of the conversations. The topics of the conversations are summed up in Figure 7.

The field research of observation and participation started from September 1987 to April 1989. It covered three academic school years. From September to November 1987, I volunteered myself to teach the morning session of the adult ESL class. The three months' volunteer work filled a need of the school and helped me become acquainted with the community programmes and the community people. I managed to become acquainted with the adult ESL learners, senior citizens, the long-term and temporary volunteers of the school. Ethnographic observation and participation was scheduled once a month, which usually lasted from one and a half hours to three hours, depending on the nature of the school events. Figure 8 is a list of my involvement with the school activities during the year of 1988.

Figure 7 : Topics of Conversations with Participants from September 1987 to December 1988

Principal	(Oct 87):	Reflecting on the fifteen years of educational leadership
Principal	(Dec 87):	Searching for the meaning of peace and hope in Jubilee Public School
Teacher C	(Not 87):	The vision and mission as a new teacher
Teacher C	(Dec 87):	The uniqueness of the Grade 5 classroom
Teacher C	(Jan 88):	Sensing power structure in the school
Teacher C	(Mar 88):	Teaching the nuclear issue
Teacher D	(Oct 87):	Dealing with resistance behaviour
Teacher D	(Nov 87):	Rethinking teacher effectiveness
Custodian	(Jun 88):	Understanding the meaning of school custodian
	(Jul 88):	The history of the school and community
	(Sep 89):	The meaning of community and communal living
Volunteer	(Feb 88):	The meaning of being named "Mother Theresa"
	(Jul 88):	A portrait of a native woman
	(Jan 89):	"What can the school do for me?"
Parent	(Jun 88):	"What is my plan for my son?"
ESL learner	(Sep 87):	The JPS community
	(Oct 87):	"What is it like to be an immigrant?"
Student C	(Mar 88)	"On wanting to be somebody"
Student C	(Jun 88)	"My weekend"
Student D	(May 88)	The memory of war experience
Student D	(Jun 88)	Hope and dream

Figure 8 : Ethnographic participation and observation of school activities in 1988

- annual celebration of Chinese New Year
- school assembly
- citizenship court
- teacher effectiveness workshop
- pancake day
- flea market
- senior lunch
- witnessing the film-making process of the Access Network programme featuring the school

Two log books were kept with all the field notes about the participation and observation experiences. Together with the conversation transcripts, a thematic analysis of the research material was conducted and was written in the form of stories. Copies of the stories were given to the principal and teachers for additional comments. For the students and other adult participants, the stories were read to them either in English or Cantonese, inviting comments and thoughts. It was undeniable that that my mother tongue of Chinese enabled me to gain access to various undefined parts of the school structure. I appreciated the principal's consent to my request of writing up specific events in the rooms or place where the events took place.

Reflection: Research as a praxis of ethics

The theoretical portrayal of an empowering model of research lays down important dictates of research praxis. However, certain unexpected areas of concern need to be reflected upon in order to uncover the ethical dimension of the research activity. A particular urgency to reflect upon these ethical issues is required in view of my intention of doing peace education research with a peaceful research methodology.

At the beginning of the research, I found myself particularly drawn to the "undesignated" areas and "undesignated" people of the school. There were facts about Jubilee Public School that had never been portrayed or heard of in the media. Those hidden facts were always observed in the unofficial territory of the school, at the margin of the school time, and from the periphery of the school population. The space, time, and people from the periphery allowed the things to stay as they were. My personal interest in interacting with the "unimportant roles," my friendly and open attitude towards the working class, and my ability to converse in Chinese facilitated the access to many hidden facts. The patterns of interaction and the supportive intimacy between the "undesignated" population of the school and myself sometimes produced skepticism and an distrustful relationship with those in power. In some instances, skepticism would turn to 'back-talking," isolation, unfriendly greeting, and even racist and sexist denigration.

One afternoon in early January 1987, the whole school was busy in preparing for the annual Chinese New Year Celebration. At about four o'clock in the afternoon, I walked around the school building after I finished a visit to the grade 2 classroom. I walked by the music room. The door was open and I

could see a group of students putting on some costumes. The teacher was sitting in the middle of the students, doing some paper work. I knocked at the door and greeted the teacher and students politely by saying, "it's been a busy day!" The teacher raised up her head, gave me a grin, and then said in a considerably loud voice in front of her class of students: "please step out of the classroom, I do not have time for any questions."

It was a Saturday morning in mid June 1988. Jubilee Public School held a flea market fundraising for a camping trip for students. I arrived there at about eleven o'clock with my family. It was not a busy morning. We brought along some cakes for the food table and bought some items from the household table. By noon, the flea market co-ordinator indicated to the volunteers that they could tidy up their tables. In picking up an egg holder and not knowing what it was, I asked the flea market co-ordinator what the utensil was. She responded with intense contempt, saying that "it was unbelievable for a doctoral student who did not know what an egg holder was." I felt hurt at that particular moment and just did not know how to respond.

There were numerous instances in which my English accent would sometimes be a source of fun-making when I asked the people from the general office to duplicate some sheet of paper. My un-sociable personality and the tendency to keep quiet in group discussion or conversation would sometimes be ridiculed as an incompetence in abstract thinking or language proficiency. All in all, the difficulties I encountered throughout the research process raised the ethical question of how to relate oneself with the "not-self?" Is it not true that the historical human relating between self and other is one of violence? How should one rethink the nature of human relationship and render it as a pertinent issue in multiculturalism, in education for international understanding, and education for global responsibility? These questions took up particular meanings if we considered the fact that the context that gave rise to the questions was a school that had been consistently portrayed as a blueprint for peace education, a model of multiculturalism, and a community in which people were respected for their identities and traditions.

The study covered a comparatively long period of five years from 1986 to 1990. The diachronic aspect of the research urged me to explore relations between structural and personal elements of schooling, with a view to locate contradictions between the two spheres. Also, the diachronic nature of the research

enabled me to recognize that ethnographic data was produced collaboratively with the research participants. While I needed to recognize personal implication in the production of data and began to include myself in the analyses, at the same time, I also needed to redefine empathy as a framework I brought to the hermeneutic efforts. The nature of co-authorship gave rise to the tension between research and evaluation. Was the research at Jubilee Public School an evaluation study? Did the research pose evaluative threats to the participants and the school? Did I want to do an evaluation of Jubilee Public School?

To answer these questions, I had to rethink the motivation of the study. I did not enter the research with a certain definition of what peace education should be. Nor did I enter the research with particular sets of research questions and then employed them to gauge the educational endeavours of the school. The only assumption I brought to the research was that, given the past history and the present policies of the school, it possessed unique potentialities as well as difficulties in becoming a site of praxis in peace education. An investigation of these potentialities and difficulties was not intended to evaluate the school but to broaden our understanding of what the school has been doing, which in turn would deepen our understanding of the meaning of peace education in a school system.

The problem of democratic participation was much more complicated than I originally thought. Permission to conduct the research was secured officially from the Field Services of the University of Alberta and the school board. A sheet of research ethics was submitted and approved by the Research Ethics Committee at the University. Participants were promised the rights to participate and to refuse, the principles of privacy, confidentiality, the right of negotiation from spoken dialogue to written text, and the release of information. All these rights became problematic once they were put into a relational context . When I told a parent participant that I was interested in knowing her stories, she responded quickly with another question: "why is it that the public has the right to know my family life?" For her, the right of the public to know conflicted with the earlier agreed upon rights to privacy, confidentiality, negotiation, and release of information. How could the research ethics be reconceptualized so that the conflicts between the right of the public to know and the protection of individual privacy and confidentiality for participants could be resolved?

The most significant ethical question was to how take the responsibility to make the research situation as safe as possible for all participants. My ability to project a genuine acceptance of the participants' viewpoints, to bring forth an empathy and caring attitude towards participants' feelings, and to meet the expectations of the participants were central to creating a safe situation. As far as ethnographic conversation was concerned, I think I have achieved a certain success with most of the participants except with the principal, the two teachers in my preliminary research, and the new male teacher who quit the research after being involved for three months. There were many factors contributing to the situation: limitations of time, inexperience in handling human relationships at the beginning stage of research, unawareness of language use in making a criticism, inability to articulate certain curriculum concepts in a classroom language, and a comparatively shy way of handling human relationships. It seemed to me that supportive relationships were particularly difficult for me to secure if the other party had comparative power in the school system and was white by ethnicity. Would it be that the failure in securing a supportive relationship was a result of preconceived differences in terms of age, sex, experience, ethnicity, and power relations?

On reflection, there are many ethical concerns in the research activities that speak to the concept of peace directly and indirectly. The difficulties I have encountered pose the challenge of relating peace from a metaphysical concept to ethical concern of human actions. In the following three chapters, the research experience of personal empowerment in fighting against discrimination and injustice will invariably inform a positive conception of peace, an empowering model of research, and a humanistic ideal of pedagogy.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS A CRITICAL READING OF PEACE AND HOPE: DECONSTRUCTING A TWENTIETH CENTURY TALE OF SCHOOLING

Media environment, social mythologies, and semiotic consciousness

Over the years, recognition of Jubilee Public School by the media has been exceptional. The School has been featured in numerous television news broadcasts, documentaries, and public affairs programmes. These programmes noted the following: outstanding educational leadership, a pool of devoted staff and volunteers, socially disadvantaged student population, innovative pedagogical approaches, provision of multifarious social services, a blueprint for teaching peace, and a model of partnership in education. Consider the following narratives from various media broadcasts:

N#1

> For many of us, multiculturalism, tolerance, and understanding are mere words. Idealistic jargon that sounds great in a public forum but rarely works at the community level. This is one of those rare stories. For over fifteen years the Jubilee Public School in Kaskitayo has been practicing what it preaches. The community school is a working model in diplomacy and strength through cultural diversity, It's a special place that's been recognized by world class educators as a blueprint for teaching peace.
>
> Peace education is not an issue for debate here at Jubilee Public School. It's an integral part of the curriculum that emphasizes love, tolerance, understanding but most importantly, respect for one another (Educational Channel, 1985).

N#2

> The Jubilee Public School in Kaskitayo, Alberta, is a case in point. In this inner city community, with its high percentage of recent immigrants and more than its fair share of economic and social problems, the principal has earned an international reputation for creating a harmonious and successful community school (Educational Channel, 1988).

N#3

> A question. Is there a place on this earth where people behave toward one another with care and trust, with respect and with love. We find such a place. We find it in Canada. We find a school (Public Channel, 1986).

It goes without saying that contemporary social existence is a media environment and media criticism becomes a key departure for critical theory and radical praxis. Television has now become a powerful instrument of learning and experiencing. The media productions about Jubilee Public School, in constantly denying its mode of production and continually manufacturing for its audiences a seamless flow of "natural" images, does not aid in our understanding of the school, although public interest in the school may have been fuelled. These televised programmes caution me to critically appraise the meaning of modern pedagogy in a media-saturated environment. Some of the semiotic concerns that can be formulated as research questions for this chapter are:

- How can one make sense of the media representations of Jubilee Public School?
- Whose interest do the media representations serve?
- Do the televised materials about Jubilee Public School operate in the interest of oppression or liberation?
- How are human subjectivities, interaction, and activity forged by the media materials?
- How does the politics of signification structure the problematization of experience?
- What does the the media analysis contribute to our understanding of Jubilee Public School?
- How does the media analysis suggest the way we look at pedagogy, media, and culture?
- What is the emerging concept of literacy in this era of mass information?

A semiotic analysis of Jubilee Public School would address the themes of peace, culture and pedagogy in very different ways. As pointed out by Giroux (1988), modern emancipatory pedagogy cannot leave out a discussion of the cultural politics of mass information culture. One starting point for critical pedagogy, according to Giroux, is to bring a critical reading of mass culture into a discourse with social mythologies. To live comfortably amidst mythologies and to reject hermeneutics in cultural criticism obscures the nature of social life. Life and experience, for the most part, are not given and so must be interpreted. To refuse the interpretative dimension is to reduce cultural criticism to description of surface or a cutting off of radical politics. Barthes (1972) calls this non-engaging attitude with cultural myths the "irresponsibility of man":

> Myth deprives the object of which it speaks of all History. In it history evaporates. It is a kind of ideal servant: it prepares all things, brings them in, lays them out, the master arrives, it silently disappears: all that is left for one to do is to enjoy this beautiful object without wondering where it comes from.... This miraculous evaporation of history is another form of a concept common to most bourgeois myths: the irresponsibility of man (p. 27).

Semiotic consciousness towards Jubilee Public School is a form of cultural criticism. It represents a radical questioning of the logic or foundations of modern epistemology. The semiotic inquiry in this Chapter, through utilizing the model of television criticism of Barthes, Metz, and Allen, is intended as a process of gaining cultural literacy about how cultural texts work, how meaning is produced in the sign system, how telecommunications and information processing turn out to be social contradictions, and how a tale of peace and hope in modern pedagogy can be read critically. Semiotic study of Jubilee Public School is therefore an inquiry into the cultural problems of our age.

The starting point of semiotic consciousness towards Jubilee Public School is an uneasy feeling at the sight of the "naturalness" of televised stories. These stories dress up a reality, which, even though it is the one we live in, is undoubtedly determined by history. In short, I resent seeing Nature and History confused at every turn, and I want to track down, in the decorative display of what-goes-without-saying, the hidden ideological abuse. The resistance against mediated message became the first step of critical literacy.

Etymologically speaking, the word "media" indicates an intentional change from the original. Numerous rhetorical techniques are employed for this kind of television mediation. The selection of topic and a final title, the angle of each shot and the set up of the general camera crew, the presentation of visual images and the sound effect, the narrative of the anchorage person and the total interpretative framework, are all mediated choices. Many of these choices, however, seem so natural and spontaneous that audiences have a difficult time recognizing them at all. In witnessing the film-making process of the Educational Channel programme about Jubilee Public School in March 1988, I remembered very well the feeling it was film - edited, constructed, rehearsed, scripted, and staged. Many of the filmed events happened just because the camera and crew were there. One teacher and one parent being interviewed in the programme rehearsed and revised their speech with the production director and the principal. What they said and meant in front of the

camera was not simply their structure of thought but a school ethos assented by the school authority and bought by the camera crew. When I watched the same sequence over the television in September 1988, the mechanics of producing mediated images were concealed and rendered invisible.

A critical understanding of media materials will therefore involve a reversal of the process through which a medium selects and edits material into a polished, continuous, and seamless flow. In order to do this, the rhetorical techniques of television production such as selection, exploiting the ambiguity of visual evidence, combining image and linguistic text, suppressing the existence or effect of camera, film and sound editing, interpretive framework, visual coding, and narrative would be discussed in relation to the contents of the four sets of media materials about Jubilee Public School.

Broadcasters not only produce media products but also produce media audiences - consuming audiences, negotiating audiences, problematizing audiences. Different kinds of audiences have different relationships with the text. Reception theories argue that the meaning of each programme resides not within the text but in the interaction between audiences and text. An investigation of the meaning of any media programme must, first of all, investigate the relationship between the text and the reader. What is the relationship between the media materials as texts and I as an audience and researcher of the media materials? How should I make sense of the texts in view of the relationship and responsibility I have with the school? Is liberation from the texts absolute and possible for me as an educational researcher and, at the same time, as a friend of the school?

Being an audience as well as a researcher of the Jubilee Public School video materials, I hope to bring together the intra-textual and the extra-textual meanings of the stories of the school and steer toward an ideological analysis of the media materials. Through the multiple relations that exist among the school, video materials, and I as an educational researcher, I hope to restore the complexities of the school which have been frozen and rigidified in the televised programmes.

Technically speaking, I employ two specific methodological sequences in reading the stories of the video materials featuring Jubilee Public School. First, by "shredding" images from their commentaries and narration, I hope to be more cognizant of the full range of meanings implicit in the visual images in spite of the tendency of the accompanying commentary to "close" on a particular preferred meaning. The second

reading would be done by "shredding" narratives from their images which, hopefully, would allow me to be more present with the auditory signification - speech, noise, music, laughter, classroom sequences. It is an intentional breaking off the parallel between signifiers and signified, that is, the visual and the auditorial. In doing this, I hope the unmediated zone of meaning in modern pedagogy can be elevated.

Watching "A Peaceable School" and reading tales of love

The "Turning Point" series by the Public Channel is a highly acclaimed documentary which has since won more than seventy international television awards. Topics covered by the series are numerous although it tends to have a focus on ethics and spirituality issues. In 1986, Jubilee Public School was featured in the series and titled it "A Peaceable School" The show was a high quality production in terms of pictorial coverage, sound editing, and commentary. It was a mini ethnography of Jubilee Public School by the Public Channel camera crew during Halloween 1985. The programme started with an orientation introduction, had several plots and a climax, and ended with a conclusive ending. The orientation introduction started as follow:

> **N#4**
> A Question. Is there a place on this earth where people behave toward one another with care and trust, with respect and with love. We find such a place. We find it in Canada. We find a school.

The camera then shows images of the Kaskitayo downtown and the Alberta river. Joyful music sneaked in, from weak and low tone until it reached a level of solid clarity. Then comes the next narration:

> **N#5**
> Alberta, the city of Kaskitayo. The brown bricks school looks as if it is nasty among the expensive business towers. But the camera arrives by half a dozen blocks. The Jubilee Public School is in the poorest, toughest part of the city. Some young professionals, a lot of new immigrants, transients, boarded up stores, shabby apartments. Hookers and drug dealers, working their trade in a sleazy hotel. One morning, on the school grounds, a drunk was found, frozen to death. A couple of the children said, "Let's use the body for show n tell."

Accompanying the narration was the visual image of an October early morning of downtown Kaskitayo - elegant-looking business tower, chilly weather, busy traffic. Within a second, the camera crew moved to one block east of the downtown area - the inner city. The visual presentation contrasted dramatically with what we had just seen a second ago - an Oriental woman crossing the street in a hurry, frames of the nearby shabby hotels, close-up shots of the Jubilee Public School community, and finally the school ground of Jubilee Public School. It was a snow-covered playground with tightly dressed children running around. The mutual referentiality between the visual images and the audio commentary of this first minute of opening credits sequence was very powerful in shaping the context for the half an hour programme.

The camera then moved inside to the school building and shot images of the principal, who was busy shaking hands with children, saying "hi" to every kid he met, and hugging some of the smaller kids. This opening credits sequence, a movement of place from the inner city district of Kaskitayo to the Jubilee Public School school building, a movement of time from the physical time of one early morning in late October to the school time of morningness in Jubilee Public School, produced irresistible impression of warmth and protection, and the principal as a symbol of love, care, and trust. Why had this irresistible good impression of the school been produced just in one minute's time?

The first minute of programme fully exhibited the rhetorical techniques of selection, sound editing, narration, and anchorage. Without exception, media stories were written "backwards" in terms of spatiality and temporality. So was the story of "A Peaceable School." It started with a journalistic theme and facts were then organized around the theme. By turning the temporal and spatial factors inward, the line between facts and interpretation was blurred. Yet, the media usually claimed ideological innocence by just reporting "the facts." The origin of mythopoetic language in "A Peaceable School," according to semiotics, lay in the rhetorical question that was posed by the narrator at the very beginning of the programme. The answer to the question was already assumed even before the question was asked. Yet, the question served as a narrative significance in which the audience was socially conditioned to hear the structure that gave form to the narrative recounted after the opening credits sequence. That significance might be the narrative signified

- the plot - but was more likely to be the purely social, situational context in which the stories were told. Like a language, television mythology was a determined way of seeing. Located between nature and that which would supplement nature, myth was always caught between a certain reality and pure fiction. Myth filled the gap of origins and functioned as a mediator, as the putting into play of a new symbolic order.

The ideology of sound worked in similar way as the ideology of the image. Sometimes, sound could better sustain television illusions because a recorded sound-track seemed to have a more unproblematic relationship with the original sounds which had been recorded. Again, we had to realize that there was a multiplicity of choices in sound editing, in the decision of whose voice got heard and whose did not, the time duration of each sound unit, and the way of shaping the sound effects. The permeation of children's laughter and joyful music throughout the programme of "A Peaceable School" was a mediated choice, reflecting what the camera crew had in mind about the school before they saw anything happening in the school.

Another force of television hegemony came from the narration, which was a form of imposition of meanings rarely recognized by the audience. There were several reasons for this reading insensitivity: the predominance of visual images and sound effect, the assumed authenticity between the visual and the audio, the hidden interpretive framework of the broadcaster, the trust endowed to the anchor person, and numerous modes of visual coding. Masterman says (1986):

> In spite of the fact that media images are selected and edited to produce particular effects, however, the media still rarely allow us to judge the images they present on their own merits. As the audience, we are habitually nudged in the direction of this or that interpretation, pushed into simple unproblematic positions from which the events depicted may be viewed and evaluated (p. 165).

Commentary would be very powerful to shape audience's understanding if the anchorage was a television personality. In "A Peaceable School," the anchorage person was highly acclaimed for his long-standing familiarity with television audience. Through controlling the programme's meta-discourse such as linking, framing, commenting, and placing of each item together, audiences could easily be led to one and only one way of reading and viewing.

Demarcation of love and charity in educational theory

The story of the programme followed logically and smoothly. With the main theme of Halloween countdown, the audiences were introduced to the different people of the school one after another - the principal, the custodian, the teaching staff, the parents, and the volunteers. Structurally speaking, the story was organized around a rhetorical question and ended with a conclusive ending. In its visual aspects, there were many freeze-frames of hugging, smiling, and friendly chattering. These visual images carried an illusionary reality and a magical feeling that had the viewer feel almost in "the peaceable school," and not watching a media production. In its non-visual aspects, the perspective was orchestrated with charismatic anchoring, joyful music, bursts of children's laughter, which cued viewers into getting the happiest experience of the school.

The programme capitalized on the metaphysics of presence as another form of television illusion. The utilization of visual evidence easily established a consciousness of what Barthes called the subject's "having-been-there." Many frames, although weak and ambiguous in meaning, could appear as irrefutable evidence to authenticate a particular viewpoint. Ambiguity of meanings could also be reduced when certain captions or commentaries were put together with the image. By doing this, it could pin down to one preferred interpretation from the many which were potentially available.

The way that Jubilee Public School was portrayed as "a peaceable school" directed our attention to the institutional separation of Jubilee Public School as a good school and its neighbourhood community. A contrast was made prevalent to the physical and social separation. Every camera shot and commentary about Jubilee Public School implied that "this is education and this is a good school." The separation "spoke" powerfully because it signified the important separation of legitimated knowledge and forms of learning from wider social relations. In the words of the principal, the separation was very important for the people of the school because the loving school could almost stand in place of a "home:"

> N#6
> This is my second family. And I always related to the children that we are the parents away from home, and this school is the home away from home, and we can share a lot with each other. And I always try to stress feelings about each other whereby we can put our arms around the young and say, "Hey, you're okey, you're a human being.

N#7

When I see that my children have two parents, have love in the family, have roof over their heads and so on, and I come to the school and I found that these things are lacking here, it gives me motivation to do something about it.

The intentional separation of the school from the the neighbourhood community by the camera crew heightened the image of the school as a charitable organization. Creative educational endeavours of the school were portrayed as a form of charity by the school authority in the sense of compensating for what had been deficient in the outside world. This demarcation of charity and love revealed the numerous oppositions between the explicit textual meaning and its implicit subtextual meaning. The guiding theme of the programme pointed to the notion of "love," but the pictorial coverage and commentaries had instead pinned down to the notion of "charity." Jubilee Public School, according to the documentary, was a charitable institution - for the poor, the ethnics, the aged, the refugees, and for people with any kind of deficiency. The principal was an outstanding educational leader because he was a most charitable person. He fed the kids, washed them, clothed them, and even did the same to the kids' parents and grandparents:

N#8

Reporter: You also feed the kids here. How does that start?

Principal: Again it goes back to 1970 when we discovered that some children were coming to school without breakfast for whatever the reason. So, we decide to serve breakfast to the students because I believe that unless the basic physical needs are satisfied, effective learning will not take place.

Reporter: After four test years, the provincial government stopped for money.

Principal: Following that, we went to the public at large to ask for donations, and today, we are able to continue serving a nutritious snack.
We have families who may not be able to afford a lot of clothing. We have some of the new Canadians who may have come with their suitcase and do not have a lot of resources. And again this is one of the basic needs to be satisfied. Therefore we have collected used clothing which we re-distribute not only among the children but even among the parents and the grandparents.

N#9

Custodian: Nobody pushes the kid away. If they want a hug, we give them a hug. If they want a kiss, we give them a kiss. And it works. You get it back tenfold. Well, you know, kids come to the school, and lot of them have the shoes with the holes on them, which I provide them with shoes that are in reasonably fair condition to keep the feet warm and keep water out. Like people come from other countries, they don't have anything. They might need a bed, they might need a chesterfield, table and chairs. So we go ground and take it to them.

Reporter: So you don't just go ground to the school?

Custodian: No no. We go ground to everybody and anybody.

Similarly, every member of the teaching staff and volunteers were doing charitable business. Teaching English was an extraordinary job for the language arts teacher because of students' apriori "language deficiency." Music lessons were a generous offer by the music teacher because "in this area, I don't think I can find one kid from the whole school that's taking piano lessons at home," to quote the teacher's own words. Even the cubs and brownies activities were made available to the children because the school made special arrangements. Education at Jubilee Public School, by definition, was a charitable business. Students were clients and recipients while teachers were benefactors.

The experience of educational dis-empowerment

What was the true meaning of education in Jubilee Public School? What was wrong with pedagogy when it was guided by a notion of charity instead of an expression of love? The charity notion of education was a very dis-empowering notion of education. First, it assumed a deficiency model of student. Second, it assumed a benefactor-client relationship between adult and children and dispensed with the original meaning of pedagogy. From the ethnographic conversations with some of the students, it was clear that some students felt very annoyed and ashamed of the school because of the media images of the school as a charitable institution and the students being portrayed as recipients of the charity business. My ethnographic understanding of the school also confirmed that the greatness of the school lay beyond the boundary of charitableness. And if Jubilee Public School was recognized as a "blueprint for teaching peace," the charity notion of education in Jubilee Public School was a contradiction to what peace education was all about. While it was the school's manifest policy to teach empowerment and eliminate power relations among people, it was the latent hierarchical order that characterized the hidden curriculum of the school.

What was educational empowerment? The issue of power is a central concern in educational theorizing: education has been theorized as a form of political struggle (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1988); an economic domination (Bowles and Gintis, 1976); a social reproduction (Bernstein, 1975; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977); an ideological apparatus (Gramsci, 1971; Apple, 1986). In the nuclear age, an increasing concern of power was voiced, especially the problem of "empowerment." This concern for "empowerment"

differed significantly from the main discussion of power in education. Traditional understandings of power in social science always had a bias toward power over implication: domination, inequality, conflict, competition, linear causality; and so forth. The issue of empowerment in peace education was a concern for experiencing power as a personal and inter-personal ability. The distinction between "power over" and "power with" was that "power over" was an expression of sickness, oppression, and alienation, while "power with" was the expression of health, liberation, and community. The distinction between the two concepts implied different ethical amplifications for social action.

In applying the power with notion into educational practices, there were important corollaries for learning, knowledge, and development. Under this paradigm, learning was not the taking in of new information but an internal and subjective action of inquiry and discovery. Knowledge was personally acquired and not given in each of us as fixed and finite truths "out there." In terms of development, it was personal growth as transformation and transcendence of powers already present. School as a charitable organization for those labelled as deprived eased away the transcendental ability of the students and teachers.

The phenomenology of hugging : Caring as themes of educational theory

Every social institution has its own rituals whereby individual members can interrelate with one another in their public life. In Jubilee Public School, a number of rituals were publicly acknowledged as the school ethos. Amongst the many notable school rituals was the phenomenon of hugging. Throughout the programme, stories and rituals of hugging were elaborated in various narratives:

N#10

Principal: Every human being is a very special human being. And the children who come to this school are equally special and unique. Everyone is unique.

Reporter: Tell me about this. How do you remember kissing?

Principal: I firmly believe that through the sense of touch, you can transmit a lot of feelings. When I came to this school in 1970, and I had discovered that there were a lot of children who came from single parent families and in some cases there wasn't a male whom they can model. And in my estimation, they lack this family pat whereby you can say "you're OK, you're a special human being."

.....

Reporter: The school custodian, Mark.

Custodian: Nobody pushes the kid away. If they want a hug, we give them a hug. If they want a kiss, we give them a kiss. And it works. You get it back tenfold.

Reporter: Because it's amazing. I walked down the hall this morning and I was hugged about six times.

.....

Secretary: There is more touching, more showing of feelings, where you don't think anything of hugging a student or another staff member.

.....

Teacher: The first welcoming note was Richard. The second was the staff. The staff was fabulous. I was welcome with open arms. And the third, the children, to throw in. It's just a different, it's like my second home. I come from my little apartment with my husband into a big family. And it's very rewarding when your lesson just won't work but you get a hug at the end of the day and children are smiling. That's what's rewarding about the school. I love to be back here.

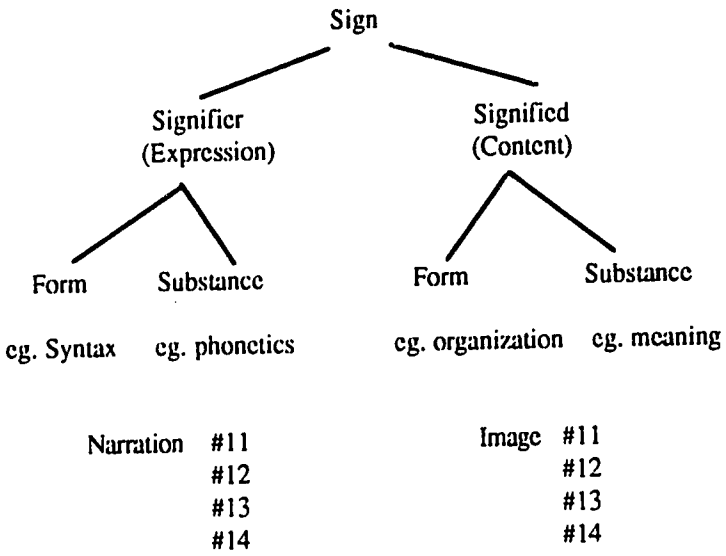
The phenomenon of hugging in Jubilee Public School became very notable not only because the sense of touch had a unique place in the principal's structure of thought but also because it was widely publicized throughout the media. The meaning of hugging in the Jubilee Public School context gave added significance to the sense of touch and the phenomenon of hugging itself was an enhancement of real events, an attempt to persuade the audience that the events of hugging was to be read in a certain way. By repeating the images of hugging again and again in the media, the phenomenon of hugging became a rhetoric of the school whereby the intention of broadcasting the phenomenon was persuasion.

To view a media production as myth, one had to examine narratives for their intent, for their symbolic contents, and for the relations among elements of the story. Stories that were weighted toward a particular view and intended to persuade are mythological. The stories of hugging in Jubilee Public School were imbedded with values and assumptions of how people related with one another in the school. It became a ritual intended to have communicative functions not only to the students but also to the media audience. Rituals were collective actions and collective creations; likewise, they were forms of transmission of a group of perspective and a means of social control. Rituals carried political, moral, aesthetic, social and educational implications. In these different realms, rituals could exert control over members' behaviour, or create new traditions and social relations. The hugging phenomenon in Jubilee Public School had then become a form of stylized behaviour and tight ordering. For people outside the school, the ritual of hugging served as a social base for interpretation and an important formal property to celebrate tradition.

The theme of cultural understanding

Using Barthes' notions of sign, signifier and signified, I came to realize the arbitrariness among episodes. Although the television production attempted to equate the signifier as the signified; in reality, signifieds had no materialization other than its typical signifiers. Sometimes, signifieds could be the mental image or concept of the signifiers. Sometime, it was not even the mental image nor the reality but only the "utterable". In this case, the signifieds (visual images) were taken as the signs themselves which was then equated to realities. Some of the arbitrariness between the signifer and the signified could be diagrammed in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Arbitrariness between Signifier and Signified



N#11 (signifier)

Reporter: Students try to leave early. A united nations of children, most released in this strange land. Half of them are Oriental: Chinese and Vietnamese. Fifteen nationalities. Many of them are from families who are shockingly poor.

(Signified)

- school playground ------ students' laughter
- groups of students ------- oriental students --- running
- students running after one another
- oriental students talking to one another

N#12

Woman Group Leader: Talk to another people for about the need for help. When you went for your job interview, maybe you're at home with your children, you're not meeting anyone. Do you feel lonely? Sometimes. And will you worry about your English?

Woman Group Participant: (with Spanish accent) Lonely. That's the problem here. In Canada, because no have friend, you no have family, you no have nothing here. And that's live to our lonely. And you're only in the room, you know.

N#13

ESL Teacher: Some of them migrated to Canada voluntarily and others are refugees.

Reporter: Refugees from where the state kills.

N#14

School Constable: A lot of them come from countries that a police state country and a police in many cases get the bribery sort not to be trusted or as a matter of fact to be feared. They have to realize that Canada is different.

Take N#11 as an example. The camera shooting a group of students playing on the playground could confirm and verify the narration of "a united nation of children released in this strange land and from families shockingly poor." In the course of verification, it also reified this as "natural reality." Although the speech and the picture were intended to be phonetic, the result was that what the viewers saw and listened to was visual as well as ideological. Mythology leapt in here because signifier and signified were equated as reality. A group of Oriental students could carry the label of "coming from shockingly poor families," and an immigrant woman with Spanish accent could be stereotyped as lonely and possession-less-ness.

The signifiers from N# 11 to N#14 were characterized by the presence of a significant element which was missing in the signifier of the other. The visual picture helped create meaning out of nothing while the commentary could be content with an opposite of something and nothing. Consider the following narration and the accompanying visual substances:

N#15 (Signifier)
Jubilee Public School may be the best kind of community school. These kids may not have much else going for them but this school. The school is responding to every need they can meet because staff like their work a lot.

(Signified)
students ---- laughing
teacher ----- talking
an angle shot of the brown brick school building
principal ----- shaking hands
repetitions of students' laughing and principal's hugging

The comments were as hollow as the visual substance was concrete. It was difficult to sketch out the inherent logic or referential structure between the visual and auditorial. The narration, as a privative opposition, could actually fit with anything, or fit into "something and nothing." Even though the language lost its relevances and ceased to be significant in its own linguistic context, it gained the relevances back when put together with the visual context.

Watching "An Ideal Classroom" and reading tales of peace

"An Ideal Classroom" is a local production by the Educational Channel in 1985. It is a five-minute broadcast as one of the educational series entitled "Living and Learning ." The programme is not remarkable in terms of technical sophistication or artistic impression. It is the "crude-ness" of the programme that exposes loopholes for semiotic studies.

The programme caught my attention when the commentary indicated that Jubilee Public School was a model of peace education. The fact that "peace education" was not a common term used by the public nor the media aroused my interest in understanding why and how the term was used. The programme was highly useful in uncovering the general conceptions toward the controversial term of "peace education."

The opening credits of the programme illustrated the technicality of recounting stories as a popular form of media production. The programme started off with a very nice compliment about the school - that "Jubilee Public School is a blueprint for teaching peace:"

N#16

For many of us, multiculturalism, tolerance, and understanding are mere words. Idealistic jargon that sounds great in a public forum but rarely works at the community level. This is one of those rare story. For over fifteen years the Jubilee Public School in Kaskitayo has been practicing what it preaches. The community school is a working model in diplomacy and strength through cultural diversity, It's a special place that's been recognized by world class educators as a blueprint for teaching peace.

The commentary was followed with what we usually heard from other media reports about the school: Jubilee Public School was located in one of the toughest and unforgiving districts in the heart of Kaskitayo's inner city; life for Jubilee Public School students was a day-to-day lesson in unemployment, drug abuse, and crime; the school had done a tremendous job in transforming this endless series of disadvantages into a positive learning experience. Accompanied with this audio material were visual images of ethnic students playing around the school ground, a close-up shot of the principal articulating his educational philosophy of love, respect, and self-esteem. These characteristics, according to the reporter, formed the basic condition of education for peace:

N#17

Peace education is not an issue for debate here at the Jubilee Public School. It's an integral part of the curriculum that emphasizes love, tolerance, understanding, but most importantly, respect for one another.

As an audience, I was left with the ambiguity and confusion as to why the term "peace education" was used at all. On the whole, the story followed similar logic of television formula. The technical activity of recounting stories was so obvious that it seemed to represent real history. By capitalizing on the audience's memory of the inner city and of immigrant children, the commentary that the school as a "blueprint for teaching peace" was received as a "fact" without further explanation. The technical activity of recounting and the audience's memory gave rise to the origin of the Jubilee Public School myth - a twentieth century tale of schooling.

Dipiero (1986) comments on how memory of tradition can be utilized in mythologizing and hence a tool of oppression. He says:

> The technical activity of historical remembering, however, in Vernant's view, is so entirely self-conscious and unchanging that it represents more a centuries-old tradition than it does a real history. Memory informs this tradition, it is true, but the facts remembered are canonized, valorized to the point of becoming static and ahistorical. Myth recits and memory are means of conforming to, rather than transforming, consciousness. Vernant indicates in his conclusion that mythology gives form and shows human interaction in a cycle that is indefinitely repeatable. Myth was a recit, he says, but did not constitute solutions to problems. It was a manner of conforming to nature and not transforming it (1986, p. 26-27).

Throughout the five minutes of television broadcast, all narrations were accompanied by a joyful atmosphere of participants engaging with one another in a continuing tradition, by having fun together and by considerate treatment of others. All these stories became the tradition of Jubilee Public School. Part of this tradition came from facts, but mostly from media interpretation and audience's memory. The tradition as capitalized by the media finally became an autonomous sign system. This signifying order, in turn, fundamentally governed our understanding of the school and any other television broadcast about Jubilee Public School. The interpretive framework of the programme also governed the teachers' and students' understanding of the school and themselves.

Tales of caring kept surfacing within the five minutes of media broadcast. There were individual as well as collective tales of caring. The theme of caring could be found in the institutional code of conduct for school participants and in the organizational level of school rituals.

The principal captured as much as half of the footage of the five minutes programme. Pictorial and narrative coverage of him was exceptional. The relation between the school and the principal was inseparable. Jubilee Public School was made up of classrooms which were very different from others. The difference came from a strong egalitarian vision and mission of the principal. Consider the following narrative:

> **N#18**
> Principal: I feel that there is a lot of love in this building. We care for one another. We reach out and care for the community at large and I think what we have done well is that we have gained the support of the community at large because we couldn't do this by ourselves.

According to the principal, caring assumed a fundamental relation among people in their actions. Caring assumed a relational and interpretive form of thinking which dispense autonomy and fragmentation among people. The caring view also assumed a form of thought that was concrete and considerate to individuals and their situations.

The transition from the principal's speech about caring to visual footage of the caring phenomenon was reflected in the code of conduct of the school participants. The organization of the school was portrayed and explained in terms of a kin-group in which the welfare of individuals was inextricably linked with the people as a community:

N#19

Custodian: It's a very simple rule we live by here is do unto others as you would have them do unto you. The whole world would be at peace and we would have no wars. It's very simple. Love, love is the most important thing, and here that's something, that everybody contributes to it - the kids, the parents, the teachers, everybody contributes to it.

On the organizational level, the philosophy of caring became concrete school policies. The theme of pedagogical caring in Jubilee Public School took the form of provision of primary human needs, such as food and clothing, and secondary level human needs such as senses of touch, love, respect, trust, self-esteem, travel experience, academic inspirations, and other societal functions. The following narrative by the principal and the teacher helped concretize the different levels of needs being taken care by the school:

N#20

Principal: To me, the most important thing is that when I see a youngster whose family might have been on social assistance. This youngster is now happily married and raising a family, has a job, and is no longer on social assistance. I think that is progress. It makes me feel good that we've accomplished something. And this has happened to many of the youngsters who come back to see us.

Teacher: Hopefully when they leave, they will realize they are unique in their own way, and they have goals, objectives as everyone else has and in order to do that you have to first of all have positive self esteem which the school concentrates on because when you have positive self esteem I think you have a positive outlook in life, and before you can reach the goals and objectives in terms of academics, you have to be happy with yourself first.

The "caring" theme of the school extended beyond the elementary students level to the parent level and the senior population. By integrating all groups of people under the tales of caring, Jubilee Public School maintained a balance between the individual and the community, the public and the private realms, the teaching and the learning:

> **N#21**
>
> Jubilee Public School's biggest asset is the community they find themselves in. A building is more than just a primary school. It's a focal point for residents in the inner city, a second home that integrates everyone from senior citizens to recently arrived immigrants in a positive and meaningful way.
>
> Jubilee Public School is an experiment in education and neighbourhood living that works. The continuing success of the programme has attracted world wide attention and just about everyone who has come into contact with this unique community centre would admit that they've been touched and affected by the school's simple philosophy: love and respect thy neighbour.

In the programme, a pictorial coverage of the school assembly was included. In the assembly, the phenomena of hugging and shaking hands were featured. Through these visual images, school assembly proclaimed and solidified the notion of "caring" and temporarily united people in ideas about togetherness with the emotional experience of singing together and the sharing of news and information. This fusion, in turn, temporarily transformed the inconveniences of collective life into the positively acclaimed "school spirit", warmth and unity, love and respect. Through the ritual of assembling together, students, teachers, visitors, and volunteers were encouraged to view themselves as essentially connected with one another and to judge actions and ideas in light of the higher principle of caring. The pedagogical atmosphere during school assembly required participants to de-center themselves and to relate to others in certain agreed-upon values. By collaborating with one another, the school brought certain human values such as peaceful relations, love, trust, and respect into existence.

Watching "A Holistic Model of Education" and reading tales of globalism

The video "A Holistic Model of Education" was produced by the World Education Network in 1986. The video has been widely used by the World Education Network (WEN) and Jubilee Public School for conferences. Also, the tape was bought by the Instructional Technology Centre of University of Alberta for educational purposes and had been very popular among university professors for teaching about multiculturalism, community schooling, global co-operation, and holistic education.

The programme was a collection of different media reports. The first part was endorsements from the provincial Minister of Education and Minister of Culture. The second part was a collection of news items from Kaskitayo's three broadcasters. The third part was acknowledgements from the school trustee and superintendent of Kaskitayo Public School Board. The fourth part was a duplication of the Family Cable "Jubilee Public School in Joy" aired in June 1984 featuring the students' trip to Carribean Islands. The last part, which accounted for almost half of the footage length of the programme, was a documentary of Jubilee Public School by the World Education Network.

The programme started by introducing the geographical location and then the social and educational milieu of the school:

> **N#22**
> In the northwestern corner of the Canadian Prairies, a few hundreds kilometres from the Rocky Mountains, and just a short plain trip lies the city of Kaskitayo, a big city of the Province of Alberta. In the 1970s, Kaskitayo experienced unprecedented growth with the oil boom and the population explosion including not only migrating Canadians but tens of thousands of immigrants from a hundred lands. Many of these new Canadians came from the third world with no material possessions or resources and no knowledge of the language. By necessity, many are settled in Kaskitayo's inner city where government or civic social programmes are often stretched thin. In the heart of the inner city is one of the city's oldest school and historical site which is still making history with its innovative and exceptional approaches to education and community. Under the guidance and leadership of Principal Richard Sater, Jubilee Public School conserves a model of the school potential role in the community and is a focus of multicultural approach to citizenship and educating the total child.

Education for global responsibility

After the introduction, there were acknowledgements from various provincial officials and school board people. These endorsements, to a great extent, reflected the official recognition of the spectacular

achievement of Jubilee Public School. In the course of elaborating how and why multiculturalism and citizenship education were needed in Alberta, the endorsements from government officials made explicit comparison between Canada and students' immigrating countries: Canada was a well-off country where the state did not kill people, police could be trusted, school provided food, clothing, and other necessities for students and their families. Did comparison of this kind enhance global responsibility?

Global responsibility or cultural understanding among the school officials as reflected in their endorsements were rhetorics remaining at the level of oral articulation and not at the level of human consciousness. In similar terms, students at Jubilee Public School were not allowed to confront the nice rhetorics about Canada with their lived situation. Masterman (1984) says:

> What myth forgets is that reality is forged dialectically, that it is a product of human activity and struggle. This is why Barthes describes the function of Myth as being "to empty reality." It is literally a ceaseless flowing out, a haemorrhage, or perhaps an evaporation, in short a perceptible absence. And, as history, politics and struggle flow out, during the process of representation, nature, unchanging, unchangeable, floods in.

According to Masterman, myths enabled people to avoid coming to terms with human responsibility in making things as they were. In the end, myths could make it seem that we had nothing to do with history. The task of citizenship education, if it was intended for global cooperation and not for nationalistic dwelling, was to revert that flow of naturalism, to challenge the uni-dialectical representations of reality, through a criticism which restored the history, the politics, and the struggle to those representations.

According to the programme, every single curricula or extra-curricula activity of Jubilee Public School could be tied to the aims of citizenship education. The programme used great footage to cover the Carribean trip, the scouting movement, lunch room programmes, the police liaison programme to highlight the channels of citizenship education:

> **N#23**
>
> Imagine the excitement and knowledge these children have gained through their experience in the Carribean. Don't forget though that the staff at Jubilee Public School still concentrate on the prescribed curriculum of reading, writing,a and arithmetic. However, to provide a balance on the continuum, the school has extra curricula and co-curricula activities as well. It takes an exceptional kind of teacher, dedicated and willing to go beyond what is expected of them. They go the second mile in order to educate the

total child. One of the unique programmes at Jubilee Public School is the scouting movement. This is the only school in Canada granted the privilege of sponsoring cub scouts, girl guides and brownies. The groups meet in the school as part of the curriculum and instruction. It's carried out in three languages: English, Chinese, and Vietnamese. Here we see Smith, the cub master conducting an investiture. These children have made their pledge in Vietnamese and Spanish using translators. We feel that this is a development of good citizenship. The cub master is actually the Grade 6 teacher and he accompanies his group on field trips, camping, and even the trips abroad. He has taken his students and has done much to cement the relationship between the community and the school.

Another area where good citizenship is encouraged is in the lunch-room. To enable students to stay in the school, recognizing that many children's parents are single parents or working parents, they encourage them to bring their lunch rather than have them idling in the neighbourhood. They can participate in noon hour programmes, playing organized games or otherwise relax.

Constable Daniels visits the school each week as part of the police liaison programme. The programme was initiated in Kaskitayo at Jubilee Public School and now has found its way into the curriculum of many city schools. The purpose of the programme is twofold: to establish positive relationships between the child and the police, inspiring confidence, trust and friendship and to educate the child. For example, Constable Daniels is teaching here the children winter safety, a must in a climate where winter lasts five months a year.

Citizenship education in Jubilee Public School, no matter how innovative and multifarious in terms of its form and context, did not display the ways in which Jubilee Public School could confront or change unjust social relations marked by significant inequities in wealth, power, and privilege. The ethnographic observation during the Citizenship Month of 1987 in Jubilee Public School would reveal this inadequacy.

Paradox between citizenship and ethnic identity

In April 1987, the entire school curriculum of Jubilee Public School was devoted to citizenship education. Painting and drawing competitions were held among the lower grades while a writing competition titled "Why I am proud to be a Canadian" was held in the upper grades. Among the twenty pieces of writing displayed outside the principal's office were writings that dispelled ethnicity at the expense of citizenship. Let's hear two students' voices on "citizenship":

Writing #1

I am glad to be a Canadian because we have the freedom of many events which in other countries such as China are forbidden.

Fresh air and lots of space in my opinion is good for our health which Canada has. Also, there is education for the future of children like me. Welfare and other helpful government fundings made the needy happy and grateful.

In other words, I am glad to be a Canadian because Canada is a fantastic country.

Writing #2

I am glad to be a Canadian, because we have freedom, and fast transportation. And it's easy for people to travel to other places and other countries. We have big roads, cars, trains, motorcycle, traffic lights. We have different games, such as hockey, murder ball and baseball. We also have nice clothing and health, big places, big houses, parks, museums, we also have peace here.

The two writings conveyed to me the sense that students were attempting (or reflecting teacher's intentions) to compare the "good things" of Canada in terms of the "bad things" of one's former country. A writing exercise, entitled "Why I am proud to be a Canadian" did not allow students to talk about the conditions of their lives or their parents' lives. It did not allow them to be struck by the gap that existed between the rhetoric of valuing and the material circumstances that so often spoke of devaluing. How could we say that such programmes would contribute to minority group students' self concept and dignity? Did dignity and respect demand more than being told that one's culture was understood and valued? Did dignity demand that a person be able to speak for himself or herself?

Citizenship education in Jubilee Public School, as revealed in the students' writing, did not provide a basis for analyzing how a given conception of what it meant to be a citizen was conveyed through the dominant rationality in a given social order. Also, citizenship education in Jubilee Public School was not tied in with a world view extending beyond national boundaries. Similarly, the commentary of the programme seemed to have assigned a false equivalency to all cultures by falling into the trap of cultural pluralism. It de-politicized the notion of culture by abstracting the concept from the societal formations that gave it meaning. The issue at stake was how the dominant culture, as a form of power and control, mediated between itself and other secondary cultures.

Dealing with the race issue

Jubilee Public School was a good micro-cosmic version of the race issue in Canada. In terms of the curricular component, Jubilee Public School had endeavoured to go beyond the model of multiculturalism and extended to anti-racist form of schooling. The principal and the teaching staff recognized that race was not a marginal or peripheral issue but one which was central to young people's

understanding of their society and of the modern world. At the level of school organization, Jubilee Public School developed certain structures which challenged the expression of racism. The annual celebration of Chinese New Year and the Carribean trip were good working examples. At the level of the curriculum, Jubilee Public School tried to avoid content and approaches which were uni-dimensional and ethnocentric. An expanded understanding of Chinese culture was reinforced into various subjects during the school's preparation of the celebration of Chinese New Year from December to February. Despite all these efforts, unluckily, Jubilee Public School still kept a cultural deficit model as its starting point. The notion of cultural deficit which characterized minority children and their communities as failing to measure up to the majority norms was accepted and became the justification for the need of multiculturalisn and citizenship education.

Theoretically speaking, multiculturalism, citizenship education, and holistic education were trapped in certain contradictions. On the one hand, holistic education envisioned the need of preserving one's individual identity within a larger community of social values. On another, citizenship education entailed the need to become part of the community and not losing one's own individuality. It was a problem of individuality as well as a problem of community. It was a problem of how to communicate with the other without losing oneself.

Semiotics emphasizes the mechanisms in the production of cultural values and in the interactions among various cultural groups. Over the last decade or two, public recognition of national and international differences had been growing. Yet, the growth of this recognition has sometimes outstripped our academic capacity to define and articulate cultural differences. In spite of heroic efforts in programmes of international studies and ethnic studies, the recent pace of cultural semiosis was outrunning academic understanding. A semiotic approach to race issue, cultural acceptance, and global responsibility would enable people to better understand the verbal and non-verbal expressions of heterogeneous groups, and then to comprehend these expression in terms of the structured relationships with other cultures.

Watching "Community and Education" and reading tales of community living

"Community and Education" was a local broadcast by the Educational Channel in May 1988. In the programme, Jubilee Public School was featured as a success model of building a collaborative school-community relation. I happened to have the opportunity to witness the film making process of the programme in February 1988. The programme was made in February 1988 and aired throughout the province in May 1988.

Understanding mythopoetic language in education

The use of mythopoetic language and metaphors were remarkable in the programme. The programme used much educational jargon such as "team approach," "collaborative schooling," and "partnership in education." Consider the following narrative:

N#24

In order to function, the school of yester-year had to be co-operative efforts. They have to tap into the energy of their communities. We must give people back their sense of partnership in education. The close partnership of principal, teacher, and student, parent, and community volunteer makes a pleasant school atmosphere. But statistics shows that such a partnership is more than just attractive. It is vital to the success of the student and the school. When we speak of partnership in education, we are really talking about a team approach. To begin the discussion, it makes sense to identify who the key players are. In most schools, the school principal acts as the team's coach, the person with the responsibility of bringing the other players together into a cohesive and spirited unit. Teachers are the team quarterbacks, calling their own signals most of the time and looking occasionally to the bench for help from the coach.

The analogy between a sport team and a school team breaks down at the parent level. Parents are part coach, part trainer, part quarterback, part player, and absolutely necessary to the team's success. Both the parents who find the time to volunteer at the school and those who do not. The students, like the parents, must be convinced that they are influential partnerships and important participants if the team is to win. If they feel more like the ball than the ball carrier, there's a problem.

Beyond this core team exists the broader educational and social community: the school board, Alberta Education, the business and other individuals who make up the total community. In many communities today, 70 per cent of the population paying taxes to the school system do not have children going to school. Clearly, these team owners and spectators must be included and satisfied if the success of the team is to be complete, recognized and sanctioned.

Those principles of successful team work apply across the board. It's important to recognize that no single formula can hope to serve all schools. Before a successful educational partnership can be built, the community's unique needs and strengths must be understood.

Any use of a metaphor implied a "standing for" notion between the signifier and the signified. This "standing for" notion was incomplete and occurred only in some respect or capacity. The partial equivalence between the signifier and the signified allowed us to use the sign as a code for some aspects of a system of objects. In many circumstances the sign codes could be manipulated via rules to generate new relationships within a system or even new systems. In this case, the metaphor "team approach" would have the power to tell its story over and over, to convince people that this view was the natural or right one, and, in turn, to create people and groups in its own image.

In the programme, the discussion of a partnership and collaborative model of education in Jubilee Public School was brought along with a class analysis of schooling. Jubilee Public School was a successful partnership model of education to deal with students of lower class background:

> **N#25**
> In this inner city community, with its high percentage of recent immigrants and more than its fair share of economic and social problems, the Principal has earned an international reputation for creating a harmonious and successful community school.

The class analysis was set in social images that were fundamental orienting points for meaning-making about the social organizational life of Jubilee Public School. Along with the class analysis was the ethno-cultural differentiation of the student population. However, the historical structuring of parent-teacher relations within that culture and class background was rendered invisible. The historically constituted relationship between school and community, teachers and parents were not shown in the programme. Teacher-parent relationship, as I sometimes observed in the staff room and during teacher-parent conferences, was characterized as tense and sometimes antagonistic. The communication was sometimes overlaid by a thin veneer of politeness. Similar antagonism was exhibited between school and community when big events were scheduled to take place and called for the collaboration between the two groups of people.

As usual, the programme had an extensive coverage on the principal's philosophy of education. Audience's understanding of the school was created at a symbolic level through the principal's conceptions of education and the staging of successful curricular activities. Whether intended or not, the programme

produced an illusionary image that the success of Jubilee Public School depended largely on the strong will and clear goals of the principal. This image negated the essential tenets of the programme - a partnership model of education between the school and the community. The difficulties and struggle for successful educational change in an ethno-culturally distinct and stigmatized community was forgotten.

Reflection: The pedagogy of television

Television is now becoming more and more a subject for cultural criticism. Critical theories from literature and drama, ideological critiques from Marxism and feminism, and the more formal approaches of hermeneutics and postmodernism have been imported and applied to television studies. We witness a shift in focus from "watching" television to "reading" television, treating television as a signifying system in producing particular subject positions, spectator effects, and ideological hegemony.

There are very different ways people live with television mythologies; comfortably with the myth without ambiguity, to destroy television mythologies by unmasking their distortions, or to live the myth as a story at once true but unreal. It is the last attitude that I take in watching the Jubilee Public School media materials. It is not the "truthness" of the content that I doubt. Having been in and out of the school for more than five years, I have no reservations about the "factual-ness" of the content. Television, as cultural critics will contend, is a culture of speech more concerned with hearing, seeing, and memory. At the same time, the culture of television dispels understanding, action, and reflection. It is the television's definition of what is real and the symbolic form through which contents are conveyed that I resist the most.

This Chapter was intended as a critical reading of the media materials featuring Jubilee Public School. Using postmodern theories of deconstructionism and semiotic theory as the frameworks, I have explicated how television is a paradigmatic example of modernism which demands a critical theory of "watching" and "reading" so as to recover the multiplicity of meanings and social relations underlying the video materials. The methodologies of semiotics, narrative theory, and reception theory respond to the four sets of media programmes by addressing various levels of analysis which includes form and content, audio

and visual, text and subtext, signifier and signified, representation and ideology, hegemony and counter-hegemony.

Although this chapter was originally intended as a study of Jubilee Public School through its media image, the result is more a semiotic critique of cultural issues of peace and hope. In applying semiotics to the media materials, I came to challenge many of the shortcomings of conventional wisdom and cultural problems. A critical pedagogy of television problematizes the basis of human values or meanings because, as the semiotic analysis points out, meanings themselves have no basis other than their arbitrariness. It is upon this affirmation of arbitrariness that every Jubilee Public School story, ritual, structure, or achievement is treated as "text" to be interpreted and meanings arise only as result of human construction. To speak in hermeneutical terms, meaning is created through the interaction or fusion of horizons between reader and the text. In fact, text only exists in relation to what the reader produces.

The semiotic study delineates a new horizon in educating for peace. First and foremost of all, semiotics entails an alternative perspective of knowledge. To regard knowledge, classroom, teacher-student relationships as "texts" to be interpreted for meaning would change the way we view educational phenomena. We have no ultimate knowledge of the nature of things. Meaning is socially created; at the same time, it creates its own world and its own fulfillment. All positions on the real meaning of education or life must necessarily involve certain elements of human agency, faith, hope, and possibilities. It is this existentialist stance that human beings choose their own view of life, the world, ourselves, and others that can inform and be incorporated into an urgent principle of education for peace.

Take another concrete example of television knowledge and its implications for peace education. Without exceptions, all media reports about Jubilee Public School designate Jubilee Public School as an "inner city school" on the basis of ethnic, social, and economic attributes of the majority of families. These attributes are always used as self-explanatory logics linking the visual image and the narrative framework. The label carries an indication of cognitive and attitudinal deficiencies of the student population which, in turn, provides a ready-made explanation for the unique achievement of the school. Through the channel of television and its presentation of visual evidence along with the commentary, the media do not merely reflect or report reality about Jubilee Public School but create certain realities about the school. The

information, comments, and conclusions about Jubilee Public School through the media programmes have shaped personal and public decisions of what is good education and what is not.

A semiotic approach to television culture will revert the oppressive apparatus by revealing the origin and operation of social mythologies. Through semiotic analysis, I came to realize that although the attributes of ethnicity and class of the Jubilee Public School are beyond truth and falsity, the attributes or labels perform the function of pragmatic and dramatic effectiveness in moving people to act in accordance with typical, emotionally charged ideals. The effectiveness of these attributes depends in large measure upon ignorance or unconsciousness of its actual motivation. That is why myth tends to recede before the advance of reason and self-consciousness, and we are most in their power when we are unconscious of their origin. If peace education is a form of conscientization, a critical pedagogy of television will allow people to engage in a struggle against mis-information, secrecy, submission of subjectivity, deformation, and mystifying representations.

The fact that semiotics conceives social reality as a process and not a static structure to be learned or remembered has significant educational implications. Curriculum would emphasize ways of knowing not simply in the traditional verbal and mathematical modes, but in a variety of interconnected modes. Our knowledge will neither be exclusively dependent upon either the precise character of the physical world nor upon some apriori structures of the mind but precisely on interaction between these two. It is the structures which determine our world view, the things we notice and ignore, the things which are important to us and not important, the means by which we organize our lives. The fact that the world is perfused with signs and that our knowledge of the world is mediated through signs cautions us to realize that sign codes can be manipulated via rules to generate new relationship within a system or even new systems. It is precisely this possibility of manipulation that education for peace is mostly concerned when educators attempt to develop any theory of teaching and learning.

CHAPTER V

TOWARDS A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING OF JUBILEE PUBLIC SCHOOL: INTERPRETING THE MEANING OF PEACE AND HOPE IN MODERN PEDAGOGY

Understanding Jubilee Public School through semiological study of media production alerted my understanding of how the sign system is used to mould human consciousness. Jubilee Public School has now become a strong symbolic entity in the public mind as a model for the "method" of "peace education." In the televised programmes, all different kinds of symbols are assembled together to convey the filmic stories as they exist in real time and real space. Are the filmic stories "true" and "real"?

Eco once said that "if symbols cannot be used to tell a lie, conversely they cannot be used to tell the truth" (1976, p.7). Symbols, according to Eco, can authenticate as well as mystify. In semiotic terms, the question of authenticity refers to the translation of human experience into images that accurately represent the perception and values of the characters. In doing so, authenticity demands an understanding of the world view of the people being portrayed and an authentic translation of that world view into film images. It is here that I find the imaginative intent of the camera crew problematic because they all hold certain positive conclusions about Jubilee Public School before they shoot any inch of film. As a viewer of the materials and at the same time a researcher of the school, I found the process of dialogue between media materials and myself being disrupted. The hegemonic meaning of the media stand in conflict with my personal construction of the meaning about Jubilee Public School. I am compelled to construct my own meaning against that which the media industry provides. It is within such a context of conflictual interpretation and a quest for lived-meaning that I engaged myself n an ethnographic inquiry.

Ethnography has a long tradition, beginning with Herodotus who urged historians to look obliquely at all collective arrangements, making the familiar strange, the exotic quotidian, and the taken for granted problematic. With such orientations, ethnography is a critical and reflective form of speech and action situated between powerful systems of meaning. From this tradition, I came to understand the ethnographic intent of this study as posing questions at the boundaries of civilizations, structures, cultures,

classes, races, and genders. In decoding the phenomenon through re-coding its meaning, ethnography is more a process of description, reflection, critique, and mutual understanding.

The present study falls into the category of a multilevel ethnography linking together classrooms, school, and the broader community. At the classroom level, I conversed and observed individuals such as principal, teachers, custodian, parents, volunteers, students and other school participants. In studying the school, I investigated into the school building, inquired into the school structure, and participated in various school functions. At the community level, I was a member of the community participating in its daily life in some direct and indirect ways.

The Jubilee Community - Little China

Little China is located on the eastern outskirts of the central business district of Kaskitayo. Geographically speaking, Little China runs northbound from Alberta Avenue to Rocky Avenue and eastbound from Knottwood Street to Rosewood Street. Little China and downtown Kaskitayo are symbolically separated along the Knottwood Street which speaks strongly in itself of the twentieth century - the fact that the Knottwood Street separates the host society from the immigrant society.

As one walks northward along Knottwood Street from Alberta Avenue, one must be impressed with the incredible aggregate of elegant business towers and government complex such as Alberta Tower (the largest and newest government complex in Kaskitayo), police headquarters, postal office headquarters, court building, and remand centre. Amidst this aggregate of affluence and elegance, however, are the numerous shabby buildings and thrift stores such as the Knottwood Street Co-op, Salvation Army thrift store, Chinese restaurants, groceries, farmers' market, and pawn shops. The physical presence of the police headquarters, court building, and the remand centre overlooking the rest of Little China entail a strong symbolic meaning of the need for maintaining law and order in the area - an area generally regarded as "the toughest part of the city."

Little China is easily recognizable as a Chinese community. The "China gate" arches across one of its main roads. Numerous buildings and shops catering exclusively to the Chinese community are aggregated in the area: a Chinese Catholic church, martial arts schools, homes for the aged, a Chinese

nursery, a cultural centre, teahouses and restaurants, groceries, clan associations, travel agencies, banks, newspaper publishers, meat and fish markets, hair salons, boutiques, cinemas, video and book shops. Most shops appear in huge Chinese characters while some buildings have unique Chinese architecture with tiled roofs or curling corners. The smell of Chinese food from nearby restaurants is always in the air.

The socio-cultural characteristics of the Chinese community in Little China, as in most Chinatowns in North America, is always difficult to define. "Chinese" is an ethnically inclusive term, comprising ethnic Chinese descendants from Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam and other countries.

Chinese immigrants started to come over to North America in the middle of the 19th century when China was in great turmoil under Western imperialism and Japanese expansionism. The "Gold Rush" at the end of the 19th century fanned an immigrant flux from the coastal regions of Mainland China to the Pacific coast of North America in places such as San Fransisco, Seattle, Victoria and Vancouver. When the Western Pacific Railway project in Canada was underway, Chinese labourers from San Fransisco were drawn to the railway project in British Columbia and Alberta. In the spring of 1902, an exclusion law for Orientals was passed in the United States. Canada followed suit in the the new campaign and the Chinese were prohibited entry into Canada until the repeal of the entry law in 1943. Residence of Chinese within Canada was regulated. Wives and children of the Chinese labourers were prohibited from entry by levying a heavy "headtax" on dependents. After the completion of the railway, a good proportion of the Chinese railroad workers began to settle down in the Province of Alberta.

Confronted with tremendous economic and social discrimination, the Chinese again turned themselves into the service industries of cafes and laundry businesses. Life was isolated and alienated for these "bachelor sojourners" and Chinatowns began to develop for Chinese who sought economic and social betterment. In Kaskitayo, a sizeable number of these "bachelor sojourners" lived in the Jubilee community. Their inability to speak English diminished their ability to mix with the host society.

With the repeal of the exclusion act in 1943, the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and the occurrence of the Chinese Cultural Revolution which spilled across the border to Hong Kong in 1967, another big wave of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong poured into Canada. These

immigrants usually brought along their families, spoke standard Cantonese, and operated small service businesses such as restaurants and groceries. They usually maintained close relationships with their clan associations, and were comparatively active in social and community events. They tended to live around Little China until their economic situations became stable and then moved to the richer neighbourhoods. Their children became the first generation of Canadian Chinese.

A similarly big wave of Chinese from Vietnam were emmigrated to Canada as refugees from the 1970s onwards. Most of the Vietnamese immigrants are of Chinese ethnicity and speak Cantonese. They usually settled first in Little China because of language and cultural barriers with the host society. Their presence in Little China activates the business in Little China as the newer and larger restaurants, grocery stores and other service industry are owned by them.

Another big group of Chinese in Edmonton are visa students from Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Macau, which constitute about 10 per cent of the Chinese population. Mandarin is the spoken language for students from China and Taiwan, while Cantonese is the dialect for students from Hong Kong and Macau. Singaporean and Malaysian students usually can speak both dialects. Differences in the spoken dialects are bound up with national differences and are an important basis for differentiation within the community more generally. While language can operate as an important symbol of Chinese generally, it also functions to differentiate Chinese into different groups. Owing to the different nationalities, there is not much political solidarity among the various groups of Chinese, although their cultural solidarity can be very strong.

Since the mid-1980s, more and more Hong Kong Chinese entered Canada via the "point system" either as professional immigrants or as investor immigrants. They fled from Hong Kong fearing Communist China take-over of the British Colony by 1997. The fear was further fanned among Hong Kong people when the massacre at Tiananmen Square happened on June 4, 1989. The influx of numerous Hong Kong Chinese and Vietnamese Chinese has bumped the Chinese population in Kaskitayo from 20,000 in 1980 to 30,000 in 1990.

Little China serves completely different purposes for the old and young generations of Chinese. For the old generation, Little China was originally a response to the initial contact with the ethnocentrism

of the Canadian society. Racial conflicts and misunderstanding caused the Chinese ethnic to be defined as significantly differentiated and excluded. Little China developed to offer protection and solidarity for ethnic Chinese. At the same time, the geographical and social organization of the Chinese community imposed certain institutional and cultural norms for their members. It may be true to say that the separate governing bodies of Chinatown enhanced the isolation of the Chinese community from Canadian society and established a local authority which, in practical terms, exercised greater control over Chinese economic and social life than any other institutional complex. In a historical study of the Chinese communities in Western Canada, Baureiss (1982) illustrates that the formation and persistence of Chinatowns were largely a result of the denial of access of the Chinese to institutional structures by the host society. A positive change in the social climate towards the Chinese after World War II and the resulting compositional population change after the war produced significant changes in the characteristic of the Chinese community. The new immigrants, and second and third generation Canadian born Chinese do gain increasing access to Canadian technological, institutional, and communal structures. The young generation of Canadian Chinese and new immigrants tend to use Little China more for food and social service purposes than for community consensus or control.

Jubilee Public School as a school situated in a space marked by the two different zones of values and meanings between the host and immigrant societies has been accommodating that part of the ethno- and socio-cultural violent history in its striving for transformation and excellence. To understand Jubilee Public School, one has to relate the basic concern of education itself with what is expressed by the new economic and cultural structures of the Chinese community. The Jubilee community exerts new dynamics on Jubilee Public School to which the new social movements are pointing, such as the issues of human rights, social justice, cultural and racial tolerance, and educational empowerment.

Jubilee Public School: A school in search of excellence

Jubilee Public School was established in 1907 and is now one of the oldest schools in the city of Kaskitayo. Owing to its physical location and its socio-economic environment, the school is often referred as an "inner city" school, a label that carries a multitude of demographic images: large numbers of single-parent families, low incomes, high juvenile delinquency rates, constant turnover in population, and government-subsidized housing. These demographic characteristics, as inner-city school researchers have indicated, often turn out to be pigeon-holes for negatively labeling the teachers and the students (McLaren, 1989).

Designated by the Alberta Interdepartmental Community School Committee, Jubilee Public School was changed into a community school in March, 1981. It offers formal education from kindergarten to grade six, with 7.5 certified teachers in 1986 and 8.3 certified teachers in 1989. The school has an excellent pool of educational workers: principal, teachers, custodian, secretary, teacher aides, parent volunteers, high school students, community college students, and a community of people who are either employed in the school through the provincial employment priority grant or work in the school as volunteers. Student population is highly cosmopolitan. Among the 122 students in 1986, 30 nationalities are represented. In 1988, 25 ethnic groups are identified among the 175 students.

In addition to formal education, the school provides a variety of community-related educational programmes, which include adult ESL classes, daycare, parent counseling, playgroup services, senior citizen meetings, intercultural activities and community services. In many ways, the cohesive presence of the wide-range of community services within the school has made the school a symbol for collective solidarity.

Physically speaking, Jubilee Public School is a big tall brown-brick building of three levels with a small gymnasium attached to the north entrance of the school. The school is located at a position where it can overlook the Alberta River on the south and the Albertan Avenue on the north. Circled around the school is a big piece of grassland and a wall of wire fence. There is a big soccer field in the north, a playground near the east entrance, and a parking lot at the west entrance.

In spite of its dingy outside appearance, the school is pretty clean inside. Furniture, fittings, and many of the school supplies are old but well-kept. Evidence of wear and tear can be found on the wall, the

floor, the door, and the basement. The school is divided by a door into the eastern and western suite. Main facilities are situated in the western suite: main entrance, general office, staff room, principal's office, gymnasium, classrooms, library, computer room, rest room, music room, and a resource room for teachers. The eastern suite houses two classrooms on the ground level, school hall and three smaller classrooms on the upper floor, and activity space in the basement. The basement is always a busy place which houses the daycare, kindergarten, custodian room, senior room, and the storage room. Inside the senior room is a big kitchen with five rows of tables and chairs which can accommodate as many as eighty persons for lunch. Beside the senior room is a big storage area always packed with old clothing and furniture to be sorted and distributed. Although Jubilee Public School is a well-known school and has become an easily recognizable symbolic entity in educational discourses, its physical vicinity in the outskirts of a deserted community and shabby building appearances have not elevated the school as visually remarkable as to how it is known by reputation.

The primacy of perception

The school building was pretty clean inside, except for the basement which was dark and smelly. The staff room was always busy. Occasionally, I would meet visitors coming from across Canada or the United States studying the success stories of Jubilee Public School, or television crew and journalists making special reports about the school, or students from universities or community colleges doing research with the school.

The school displayed a very friendly atmosphere by the way the administrative system was set up and the way the staff interacted with students and outsiders. The principal always put on a humble suit and had an engaging smile on his face. The assistant principal and the grade two classroom teachers were athletic-looking young men always dressed in tracksuits. The other four full time teachers, secretary, and the community school co-ordinator were female, ranging from the age of 50s to early 30s. All of them looked friendly and dressed casually.

The principal was an ethnic from the Carribean who came to Canada thirty years ago. Through his diligent and innovative work in Jubilee Public School for twenty years, the principal was now recognized as

a most outstanding national and international educational leader. He had received numerous honors, prizes, and nominations for his outstanding accomplishments. These brilliant accomplishments of the school and the principal had metaphorically equivalized the school as the principal and the principal as the school. In spite of the accomplishments, however, the school faced a multitude of problems which included financial difficulties, decreases in student enrollment, and many other curricular concerns.

Understanding the meaning of multiculturalism

Jubilee Public School was destined to be a multicultural school owing to its historical development and geographic location. The principal realized this specific destiny of the school when he took up the principalship twenty years ago and transformed the school into a successful model of multicultural education. What was the meaning of multicultural education? Did multiculturalism expand human relationships and life meanings for school participants?

One obvious aspect of multiculturalism revealed itself strongly every time I stepped inside the school entrance. Right above the stairways was a wall of sign which said"welcome" in ten different languages. The multicultural wall gave unexplained incitement as well as disillusionment in searching for disturbingly more meaning in what was said than I pre-critically think was there.

On January 12, 1987, a teacher invited me to observe her grade 3 and 4 classroom for one whole afternoon. I sat at the back corner of the classroom and watched the teacher teaching language arts for thirty five minutes and mathematics for another thirty five minutes. After that, another teacher came in the classroom for a social studies lesson. Coincidentally, the theme for the social studies lesson was Chinese New Year and the teacher was a Caucasian. The class consisted of nineteen students and twelve of them were ethnic: Vietnamese, Chinese, Yugoslavian, West Indians, Trinidian, blacks, and Latin Americans. Among the ethnic students, the four Oriental students sat together with another Caucasian student as a group in the front desk. The group was very quiet and attentive throughout the language arts and mathematics lesson.

The situation suddenly changed when the social studies teacher came in and explained to the students that the lesson was about Chinese New Year. The four Oriental students whispered to one another

in English and their talk then emerged into a form of discussion among themselves. The social studies teacher and I were amazed by their noise level which developed into loud bursts of laughter and talking. The teacher then indicated to other students to quieten down and listened and observed what was happening among the front desk of oriental students. Everybody in the classroom waited with interest until one Chinese boy raised up his hand and told the teacher about the argument he had with the other three students. Their talk was about the reasons why his parent gave him red packet money every Chinese New Year, be it in Vietnam or Canada. The social studies teacher admitted in front of the class that she knew nothing about their argument and would like to invite the four Chinese students to take turns telling the class everything they knew about the red packet money tradition and the Chinese New Year.

The class went nicely with the four Chinese students speaking about what they knew about the Chinese New Year festival. The class ended with the whole class singing a Chinese folk song that they had just learned from their music teacher. After the lesson, I stayed after school and had a chat with the four Oriental students. They all hinted to me that they enjoyed the lesson because they found both the teacher and students wanted them to talk about their cultures. Every year this time, in spite of the busy rehearsal for the festive celebration of Chinese New Year, Chinese ethnic students would particularly like school because they felt proud of their cultural heritage being acknowledged and accepted. In a way, they could connect what they had learned from school with who they really were and how they acted outside the school. The celebration of Chinese New Year and the integrating of Chinese cultures as themes into the school curriculum had become a tradition at Jubilee Public School. As the tradition grew year after year, students and teachers could pick up the theme more and more easily.

The social studies lesson was a good example of multicultural education. The lesson provided chances for a cosmopolitan group of students to understand a different culture at the cognitive level. Also, the process of understanding was conducted in appreciative moods when ethnic students were encouraged to relate with who they really were and how they thought, believed, and acted. The social studies teacher had de-centered her position from an instructional expert to an emphatic listener. She rejected a prepackaged approach on how to teach about race and cultural relations. Instead, she adopted a more broadly based approach in which curriculum was planned and implemented with inputs from students.

I then came to understand the more implicit level of multicultural education through observing in the school's daycare for about two hours. It was a cool morning in May. After finishing a conversation with the custodian, I was about to leave the school. When I went by the daycare, I realized that the door was open and one of the child care workers waved to me. She indicated to me to join them with the show-and-tell. I was introduced to her once when I helped in preparing a big senior's lunch event. As far as I knew, she was hired on the provincial priority employment grant for the school year and would be on social welfare during the summer. She did not have a fixed job specification in the school. In the morning, she usually worked in the daycare. During lunch time, she would be assigned to supervise the lunch room or playground. After school, she would be supervising students in the playground.

The daycare had a group of nine children: two infants, three toddlers, and four pre-schoolers. Except for the two infants, the group of children sat in a circle around the teacher. She was a full -time student doing a diploma in early childhood education in a community college. She was assigned to Jubilee Public School for her final practicum round.

Andrew, the biggest boy in the group, brought along a toy tank and put it beside him. A small native boy named Juan brought a book and an Oriental pre-schooler named Sin brought two small tiny ice-cream cones. None of the girls brought anything. When the teacher said that the children could start, Andrew immediately walked to the front, holding up his tank in one hand and began to explain the toy to the group. The teacher responded with a couple of comments and Andrew went happily back to his place. After he finished, the teacher applauded him and commented that it was a nice toy and Andrew knew very well what to show and what to tell. The two boys went to Andrew and closely examined the tank for one or two minutes while all the girls sat in the circle saying nothing.

A couple of minutes lapsed and neither of the two boys with toy went to the front of the circle. The teacher, feeling a little bit anxious, glanced at Juan and Sin. Neither of the boys moved. The teacher then talked to Juan and asked him if he would like to show his book to other children. Juan responded that although he brought the book along with him, he did not really like the book. The teacher invited him to come to her and showed her the picture of the book. Juan went to her, showed her the book, and told her that it was a birthday present from his grandmother when he was four years old. The boy and the teacher

talked to each other for about five minutes while the group of children began to leave the circle. When Juan finished, the teacher looked around the room aimlessly. A couple of times, she looked towards Sin and waited for him to stand up. Seeing that there was no move from Sin, the teacher asked the class, "Does anybody else want to show their toy?" She looked at Sin again and Sin did not respond. The teacher seemed to be a little bit impatient and looked at Sin again, asking, "Sin, did you bring anything?" Sin burst out crying, which surprised all of us in the room. The teacher, still sitting in her place, tried to reason with Sin and commanded him not to cry because, "obviously, no one was doing anything wrong." Sin, still holding the two tiny ice cream cones in his left hand, went to the corner by the window and sobbed quietly. Neither the teacher nor the other child care worker went to Sin and talked to him. The student teacher was quite impatient with Sin's crying and warned Sin that she would send Sin home if he did not stop sobbing.

It was quite a tense atmosphere during the show-and-tell event. Andrew was given adequate attention by the teacher because he was comparatively older, articulate, verbal, and responsive. Juan could maintain a certain relationship with the teacher although he was quiet. In comparison, Sin was a very sensitive and different child than the other kids. He secured a particular language and maintained a peculiar cultural pattern of group life. That pattern of life was not made known to the teacher because she even did not bother to understand a form of cultural meaning that was different from her own. The cultural pattern of Sin could sometimes become a source of "trouble making" because of the need to re-arrange the cultural pattern of the home group and that of the foreign group. It was obvious to me that the student teacher needed to understand Sin better by becoming aware of cultural differences in human relationships and classroom management. The proper re-arrangement of the two cultures by the teacher was a great pedagogical enterprise, and improper handling could arouse re-adjustment problems or even "crisis" for Sin and even herself.

The two observations reflected different aspects of multiculturalism. The social studies lesson illustrated the explicit aspect of multicultural education which focused on the overt cultural aspects which could be displayed or articulated as artifacts, behaviours or verbal signification. The observation at the daycare referred the meaning of cultural construct that existed beyond conscious awareness. Multicultural

education in most schools tends to focuse on the overt aspect of culture such as celebrating ethnic festivals, and featuring ethnic songs, dances, costumes, and food. While activities celebrating the explicit aspect of multiculturalism might well have some educational value, emphasis on the overt aspects of culture tended to obscure the more subtle, implicit, and invisible differences which should have just as much, or more, impact on cross-cultural understanding.

Exploring possibilities for communal living

I came to a completely new understanding of "community" through teaching the adult English as a second language programme in Jubilee Public School. From September to November 1987, I volunteered teaching English as a second language to adult immigrants every Tuesday and Thursday morning in Jubilee Public School. I was given no prescribed curriculum nor policy guidelines nor any resources to follow. It was a completely laisezze-faire policy.

There were three ESL classes in the morning and one class in the afternoon in that year. The ESL co-ordinator taught the advanced class comprising mostly of Europeans and Latin Americans. John, a Chinese man in his mid 60s taught the intermediate class comprising mostly of Chinese and a couple of Orientals from Korea, Cambodia, and the Philippines. I was assigned to the beginner class. A female student from the University of Alberta volunteered to teach a small class of mixed nationalities in the afternoon.

The first ESL class was an unforgettable event. I was five minutes late for the class. As soon as I entered the classroom, I found myself standing in front of a group of Orientals except for two Spaniards in their early twenties. I debated with myself for the first five minutes on what language I should use to greet the class and to start the lesson. I looked around, waited and finally chose to greet the class and introduce myself in English. From the students' facial expressions, I could tell that only one Korean woman and another young Chinese woman from Hong Kong understood me. I kept on talking and asking questions in English for about another five minutes and got no response from the students. The two Spaniards looked attentive but showed uneasiness.

I then talked in Chinese. As soon as I started that, the two Spaniards stood up from their chairs and left the room. The Korean woman got up from her chair and said " I go there," pointing her finger to John's classroom. I nodded to her and said "sure." The lesson was such a terrible experience that I could not remember anything after the Korean student left my room. The two Spaniards never showed up in my class again or in other instructors' classes. The volunteer experience was a happy one except when I thought of the two young Spaniards and their whereabouts.

A starting point for my understanding of the issue of racial segregation or cultural acceptance was the existence of "groups." The phenomenon of "group" was universal and appeared on many analytical levels. Although the Chinese group in the adult ESL class was a temporary one, the fact that they shared specific knowledge, values, and language cohered them together into a continuous agglomeration where and when specific knowledge was translated into social acts in processes of interaction. It was also exactly this coherence between me and the Chinese students in the ESL classroom that pre-empted the possibility for racial tolerance with the two Spaniards.

Interacting with the group of immigrants in the ESL class heightened the concrete meaning of communal living. In the class, there was an illegal immigrant woman in her late fifties who always found herself a victim of race and sex discrimination in the workplace and in the Little China neighbourhood. A man in his late fifties would occasionally be insulted whenever he went to the government office to apply for unemployment insurance. Another man in his forties would need to beg the clerk at the employment centre with his limited command of English for job referrals. A "soujourner bachelor" in his sixties still debated with himself whether or not it was a wise move to spend two mornings a week in Jubilee Public School to learn English, a language that he refused to learn some thirty years ago. It was exactly the deficiency of English that had limited him from getting a decent job outside Little China. Most of the younger students came to learn English because of career considerations while the senior groups came either for interest or for social purposes. Occasionally, the ESL classes would go together for lunch when there were birthdays or other commemorative events. Learners would donate money when death or accidents occurred to class members. The class of students formed quite a strict boundary and interactions across ethnicities were minimal.

The field trip to the employment centre with a group of ESL students was a bitter experience of community learning. It was a cold morning in January 1988. I met a group of five ESL students from Jubilee Public School at the downtown employment centre. Wayne and his cousin Kong were from Mainland China. Wayne studied English in Jubilee Public School in the mornings and was unemployed in the afternoons. Kong studied English in Jubilee Public School in the mornings and worked in a Chinese cafe from three o'clock till midnight. Both Kong and Wayne had a similar ambition "that we do not want to live like the relatives - make a living in Little China and die in isolation in Little China."

Peter was a Chinese man in his forties. He told me very different stories regarding where he was from and what he did for his living. By his accent and the vocabulary types, it seemed to me that he had lived in Mainland China for quite a long time before he moved over to Hong Kong and Canada. Mr. Hien was from Vietnam. He used to own a publishing company in Vietnam and could speak several languages; Chinese, Vietnamese, and French. Other than coming to Jubilee Public School to study English occasionally, he stayed at home and looked after his grandchildren while their parents were at work. He came to the employment centre because he wanted me to talk to an officer about his application for unemployment insurance.

Shelly was twenty eight years old and immigrated from Hong Kong in 1983 when she married a cafe owner in a small town in Saskatchewan. Her daughter was in the kindergarten in Jubilee Public School. The years in Saskatchewan was a nightmare for Shelley. In 1988, she finally convinced her husband to sell the small business in Saskatchewan and moved to Alberta. Her husband now worked in a large hotel as a waiter in downtown Kaskitayo. For five years working in the small cafe, Shelley did not learn any English that could allow her to work in other job other than as a cafe owner. Yet, she thought that she was still young and could start her life all over again once her child went to school.

The employment centre was quite crowded when we arrived there at about 10 o'clock. The public area was crowded with bulletin boards, employment information cards, tables, people with a multiplicity of languages, diversity of ethnicities, and irregular forms of clothing. In contrast, people across the counter were characterized with structured patterns of interaction and homogeneity of outlook. An information desk was placed at the right hand side of the centre with a dozen people lining up. A security guard was

patrolling around and staring at our group occasionally. At the left hand corner of the centre was another short line-up waiting for job referrals.

Upon arrival, Peter went to the information desk line up immediately. Wayne, Kong, and Shelly were curious about the employment slips and discussed among themselves about job types, salary rates, and job qualifications. Mr. Hien looked around the centre for about ten minutes and then asked me to accompany him to line up and made an appointment with an officer. While we were at the end of the line-up, we could hear Peter arguing with the information officer at the front. The arguments became louder and louder and everybody at the line-up could hear their quarrel. Peter was rejected by the information personnel to make an appointment with an employment officer. Peter signalled me to go forward and told me all about his immigration application for a Buddhist leader to come over to Kaskitayo to chair the Buddhist Chapter in Kaskitayo. The application was made a year ago and yet Peter had not heard any response from the centre. He wanted to talk to an employment officer directly and straighten out the matter. The lady at the information desk shouted quite loudly; "all people who want to come over to Canada have very urgent reasons and we cannot trust all of them. I suggest you go back home and just wait until you receive a letter from us." She turned her head aside and looked at the man behind, indicating to the man that he was next to be served.

Peter went to a bench and sat there alone while Wayne, Kong, Shelley, and I talked among ourselves about career opportunities and job qualifications. Mr. Hien stood near the entrance and waited to be called. Twenty five minutes lapsed before Mr. Hien was called to talk to a woman at counter 1. Mr. Hien took out his documents and laid them out in front of the desk. The woman gave a glance at the documents and waited for us to talk first. Mr. Hien indicated to me to tell the lady that he had received all the documents and yet did not receive any unemployment insurance. I told the lady about Mr. Hien's concerns and inquired about further procedures. She was very rude and looked very scornful and impatient with my translation. Every time when I talked to Mr. Hien before I translated it into English, the lady would intentionally look around the centre here and there, seemed to be searching for documents that were missing, tapping her pencil loudly signalling the passing of seconds from her finger tips. The conversation came to an end when the lady took out a time sheet from her drawer, telling that Mr. Hien had to apply for

a job in person in at least twenty workplaces in one week, get rejected by a shop owner, begged the signature of the owner, brought in the signing sheet to the centre, showed an officer the signing sheet, and then unemployment insurance money would be issued to him. While we were packing up the documents in a sigh of disappointment, we heard the officer murmuring "sometimes it's not that easy to apply for insurance than to look for job." I looked back at her and she made another scornful grin.

As soon as we came out, I saw that Peter was lining up at the job referral corner. It was now Peter's turn to be served but Peter asked the Filipino woman behind him to go ahead. One of the ladies at the referral counter told Peter to go forward and said that she wanted to see Peter and not anyone else. Peter murmured to me in Chinese that he knew this woman was not very helpful and would give him extra difficulties. Nevertheless, I accompanied him to the counter. The lady looked at me and said to me, "I know him, don't run away from me, I would help him of course." The lady examined the slip that Peter had filled in, looked up the computer regarding that particular job and told Peter calmly; "the gardener position was more of a designer kind and required particular training or qualifications in botany. Did you have any training in floral arrangements or botany?" Peter stood up rudely from the chair and burst out loudly in Chinese, "let's go away from that bitch."

The process of problematization and conscientization

The observation experience at the daycare, the participation experience in the ESL class, and the field trip experience to the employment centre were good discursive practices of consciousness-raising in the Freirian sense of pedagogy. What depressed me most in the daycare was not the messy room nor the old furniture but the insensitivity of the teacher, the idle look of the other child care worker, and the emotionless expression of the children. The daycare in Jubilee Public School was free and many of the children were sent to this daycare because of financial consideration. Five-year-old Andrew stayed in the daycare everyday while his mother Helena was working as a volunteer in the school. Helena once told me that as a single mother, she would be better off financially by working on pep grant in Jubilee Public School and had free childcare for Andrew. The native boy Juan and the Chinese boy Sin had to stay in the daycare for the morning while their mothers were attending adult ESL classes. Two Chinese girls, who

were cousins and arrived Canada from Vietnam for about one month, seemed to have a very difficult time in the daycare in understanding the childcare workers and other peers. One of the teachers told me that the two girls could just sit by the castle for one whole hour without moving an inch or talking to anyone. I once spoke Chinese with them and the younger girl told me that their mothers were sisters and were out hunting for job every morning in the Jubilee neighbourhood. Andrew was the only Caucasian and the oldest child in the daycare. He talked a lot to the children although most of them did not understand him. Andrew sometimes helped distribute toys or snacks to the other children. At times, Andrew and Juan would initiate some play or games near the castle and attracted some other boys to join them. At that moment, I had the feeling that some fresh air was sneaking into the stuffy room and enlivened it with some music and colour. But most of the time, the daycare room was dark, smelly, and deserted.

Throughout the several visits to the daycare, I kept on asking myself: What kind of child care was I witnessing? What was the quality and texture of child care as experienced by this particular group of children? I had to admit that my strong reaction towards the daycare probably came from my being a new mother to a six month old boy at that time. In that morning before I went to visit the school, I had been undergoing a struggle with myself whether or not I should leave my son at a babysitter. The inner struggle became intensified after that visit to the daycare. Disappointment became bitter criticism and finally pushed me to probe more deeply into issues of "childcaring."

The ESL class experience problematized many important educational concepts and their implications for social change. Through understanding the existential orientations and lived situations of some immigrants, it concretized the meaning of a "human being" when the concept was juxtaposed with human basic needs of employment, equality, and opportunities. The field trip to the employment centre was a good lesson on social literacy, exposing structural violence and many contradictions of our age, such as ageism, racism, class struggle, and many related human rights issues.

How could we envision a process of communal living? Was there any universal symbol that was powerful enough to elicit mutual understanding and agreement? The historical review on peace movements indicated that the new generation of struggle evolved out of the condition of global interdependence confronting humanity today. Humanity could no longer be achieved within individual states. International

cooperation and international recognition of the rights of people are required to maintain peace, to protect the environment, and to address massive developmental problems. At the individual level, the encounter with groups of minority and socially deprived classes in Jubilee Public School reminded me of the worth of each individual regardless of their race, colour, look, language, and outside appearance. Who they were was more important than what they had or what they did. Society's values pointed to external measurable social constructs such as wealth, elegant clothes, and prestigious jobs which needed to be disarmed so that our apprehension or prejudice could be pointed beyond these exterior measurements.

Understanding peacemaking in modern pedagogy :

An ethnography of school rituals

In spite of the long history of ritology in liturgical inquiry and the tendency of ritualization in institutionalized life, ritual studies in education did not become widespread until 1970s when critical theorists began to study contemporary schooling in relation to cultural forms. Since then, extensive works on school rituals were studied in light of "reproduction theory" and "resistance theory," linking ritual performance in school with the production and transmission of ideological apparatuses in society. They constructed school rituals as a collective reference to the symbolic order and situated schooling experience in the social class division. In this section, I intend to study school rituals as texts of pedagogical encounter and social relations. The ethnographic intent was to describe the ritual performance in terms that corresponded to the participants' categories.

Describing the atmosphere of morningness

School assembly in Jubilee Public school was a particular kind of socialization experience. Through the dramatic and procedural characteristics of gathering together at the school gymnasium every Thursday morning, adults had opportunities to engage with students in a sharing and caring way for a certain period of time, to lead students to grow and give them guidance, to celebrate student achievement, to announce publicly on mis-behaviour, and to create a text on childrearing, self-understanding, and growth.

School assembly was a weekly ritual at Jubilee Public School. It was held every Thursday morning, from 9 o'clock to around 9:30, in the gymnasium.

It was a Thursday morning in the middle of September, 1988. It was also the first assembly for that academic school year. At 9 o'clock, when I was about to enter the gymnasium, I saw classes of students lining up in the hallway noisily talking to one another. One class of smaller children had already sat on the floor in the middle of the gymnasium while other classes were led in orderly fashion by their home room teachers. The front corner of the gymnasium was set aside for a student presentation. Pairs of benches were placed at the back for teachers, volunteers, parents, and visitors, while a piano was placed in front of the children. A parent who used to be a student at Jubilee Public School forty years ago and I were the only two visitors for that assembly. The gymnasium was crowded with talking and giggling until the vice-principal and another teacher signalled students to quieten down. Students' talking, coughing, and pushing finally halted when they saw the music teacher approaching the piano and began to play on it. I happened to stand next to the principal when "O Canada" was sung.

Following the national anthem was a prayer and another song "to warm students up." The chronological events of the assembly were:

- singing national anthem and prayer
- greeting from principal
- principal talk on the proper use of slides in the playground
- disapproval of the behavioural problems in the lunch room
- introducing new students and attending parents
- reminding student of good manners at the annual community dinner that evening
- congratulating on ethnic student and his family who were awarded Canadian citizenship
- reminding students of the upcoming school visit by the Prime Minister of Trinidad
- reminding teachers that he would personally teach a unit on Trinidad to every class
- student presentation on the origin and meaning of Thanksgiving
- singing "Thanksgiving" together

- acknowledging three students for their honesty in returning found money
- awarding certificates to students of the week
- conversation between the police liaison office and students regarding absenteeism, fighting, staying away from strangers, picking up or smoking cigarette butts, refraining from playing with fires
- song
- God Save the Queen
- dismissal

The assembly proceeded in a cheerful atmosphere. It started off with the national anthem. The music from the piano and the principal's singing were strong with a clear chorus from students. The singing of the national anthem by students in the gymnasium of Jubilee Public School, however, gave a tension to the music. A similar tension was revealed again when the principal led students in prayer about God and the Queen. Inhering in the national anthem and national spirituality was a questionable appropriation of the cultural meaning of being together in a community school under the names of the God and the Queen. Spiritual needs in the multicultural Jubilee Public School was hard to define because the denominational terms of Christian spirituality did not fit the social constructs of the ethnic children. Although the principal is a very committed Christian and his educational innovations and philosophy were attempts to bring his Christian beliefs into praxis, he still needed to secularize Christian preachings and abstract virtues from reification. The Thursday morning assembly provided a good setting and an appropriate atmosphere for cultivating Christian virtues on citizenship, responsibility, honesty, and other human values as living and breathing entities.

After the ritual ceremonies of singing and praying, the Principal stood out in front of the crowd of students and greeted the students with love and care:

Principal : Today, we have something to do. Good morning boys and girls.
Students : Good morning Mr. Sater
Principal : It's nice day today?

Students : No/yeah.
Principal : It's cold this morning, isn't it?
Students: : Yeah.
Principal : I sure hope I can stay in my bed, have one of the blanket pulled on my head.
Students: (laughing).
Principal: Then I said to myself, I'll miss all of you, and I said I better hurry up to school, and now I am here. (Coughing).

.....
Principal : Now, the weather is changing, how should we dress?
Students : Warm.
Principal : Yes, you should dress warm, especially your chest. Make sure that the chest is warm because you can catch a cold. I don't want anything to happen to any of you. So please dress properly when you come to school. So the weather might be warmer but you are taking a chance having a cold.

The personal and warm greeting between the principal and students and the consequent conversation set forth a tone for pedagogy. Acting as a fatherly figure in the school setting and, at the same time, giving motherly concern to students regarding their feeling and clothings, endowed the principal with a trusting relationship that went beyond managerial and cognitive authority.

Describing the ritual of hugging

When the assembly was over, students lined up to leave the gymnasium while the principal and a couple of teachers would stand at the entrance shaking hands or hugging those who wanted to have the bodily embrace. According to the principal, the ritual of hugging was an important bridge for mediating a good relationship between the students and himself. He said:

> A hug or handshake in the morning exudes warmth and sets the tone for the day. Students need that kind of daily contact and affirmation. They need to know that we care about them, that they are important, and that we love them. Therefore, we must be consistent and do it daily. I believe that saying "help" is a teaching activity.

Jubilee Public School was publicly acknowledged as a "tough school," a label that brought forth images of class clowns, "doing-nothing," bullies, muscle ladies (McLaren, 1989). The list of student misbehaviors or transgressions indicated by McLaren included: buffonry, ridbaldry, railler, hoopla, open disputation, thwarting a lesson through brusque remarks, constant carping at the classroom rules, nonnegotiable demands, incessant jabber, insouciant slapstick, marvelously inventive obscenities (1985, p. 87-88). In Jubilee Public School, comparable violent and resistant student characters could not be located

although the presence of inattentive and aggressive students could not be denied. Let's hear the conversation between the principal and the students and construct a picture of pedagogy in Jubilee Public School:

Principal :	(Talking about the community dinner tonight) What are some of the good things that you would do?
Student :	(Hands up and murmuring at the same time) Not rude ...
Principal :	Yes, don't be rude at the supper table, right.
Student :	Don't fool around.
Principal :	Yes, don't fool around.
Student :	Be good.
Principal :	Be good.
Principal :	And you grab for food?
Students :	No.
Principal :	That's not very nice, right? You wait until you are served. Will you pile up your plate?
Students :	No.
Principal :	Or you just take enough you can eat? (wait) Take what you can eat.
.....	
Principal :	Then, on the 20th of October, it's a Tuesday, we have a very special visitor coming to the school. We are very fortunate to have the Prime Minister. Who is the Prime Minister of Canada
Student :	Don Getty.
Principal :	Yes, Mr. Don Getty is the Premier of Alberta, but who's the leader of our country? (Wait) Yes, anyone?
Student :	Queen.
Principal :	Yes, Queen is the head of the state.
Student :	Brian Mulroney.
Principal :	Yes, Brian Mulroney. I think we have to do some boom up on social studies. Who is the Prime Minister?
Students :	Brian Mulroney.
Principal :	OK, Right Honourable Brian Mulroney is the leader of our country. He heads the government, the government makes laws by which we are governed. And he has his own party. And then in the province, we have the Premier.

School assembly in Jubilee Public School was a piece of pedagogy having every participant's input into it. Numerous gestural and procedural symbols encouraged input from students. New students, visitors, and parents were cordially acknowledged. Special events and achievements were publicly asserted. Honest students were publicly congratulated for returning money they found. Certificates were awarded to "students of the week." Ethnic students and their families were mentioned when they were granted their citizenship status. Other than the gestural and procedural, symbolic rituals integrated moral lessons into every single moment of the assembly. The principal talked about the virtues of being polite and honest; teachers talked about the virtues of being helpful and friendly; police talked about the meaning of

responsibility and good conduct. Teaching was not placed in an abstract context nor put into a slot in the daily classroom schedule. They were presented as virtues that had been witnessed and were to be lived by.

Smelling the warmth of the senior lunch programme

The senior lunch room was a big room in the basement. Six rows of tables and chairs which could accommodate about eighty persons for lunch were placed across the room. Every Tuesday at noon time, about forty to fifty seniors from the community would come to the school for a free hot lunch. The main dishes were usually provided by the catering students of a nearby composite high school while Mother Elizabeth and a couple of her assistants would prepare soup, salad, coffee or deserts. The senior's lunch at Jubilee Public School was initiated by the principal five years ago when a city newspaper reported that senior citizens in the area were unable to afford a decent meal. The principal saw fit to bring the seniors into the warmth of the school building and allowed the children to help serve them a nutritious and hot lunch.

One Tuesday in December 1987, I was invited by Mother Elizabeth to watch and help her in preparing a senior's lunch. The main dishes had been brought into the school and were warmed up in the oven. Mother Elizabeth and her two assistants were making salad while I helped arrange the table. Seniors began to arrive and found their usual seats. Some seniors came as a group while others came in alone. Most of them engaged with one another in casual conversation except for a couple of them who were either reading newspapers or just looking around. I overheard most of their conversations as they spoke in quite loud voices because of hearing difficulties of their partners. Conversational topics included the deaths of long-time friends, visits of spouses in hospitals, accidents of falling on the icy road, quarrel with their children or daughters-in-law, good buys on old furnitures or winter coats from a thrift store, prizes obtained during bingo events, and getting to know new friends from Sunday or funeral services. Most of them talked slowly and in sighs of relief. They would shake their heads for a couple of times when they heard any sad news. The flow of their conversations was spasmodic, interrupted frequently whenever there was no response from the audience or when people initiated new topics. After some intervals of time, many old

topics that had been hanging in the air would be taken up again with one or two seniors adding a couple of comments or information on it. It seemed to me that most of the conversations were exchanges of information. They were not interested in exchanging opinions or judgments. Senior citizens were equally satisfied whether or not their talk aroused response. They did not really care whether or not there were people listening to what they said. They were content speaking to themselves, pretending that some people in the room must be listening.

At about twelve o'clock, the school bell rang and a group of five students poured into the senior's room and stood beside the serving table looking curiously at the different dishes of food. Mother Elizabeth asked two of the students to pass around the buns and butter while the two assistants took the soup to the tables. The principal entered and sat at the table by the entrance with his three visitors: the judge from the Citizenship Court and two representatives from a division of the Northwest Territories school boards. While he saw that soup and buns were placed at every seat, he stood up from his chair and led a prayer. After the prayer, the two assistants started serving the meal from the principal's table while the students served from the front tables. Upon knowing that everybody was served, Mother Elizabeth indicated to the assistants, students, and I to have lunch by the serving table. Food was a little bit cold by then but it was a very orderly and cheerful afternoon, orchestrated with conversations, laughter, noise from drinking the soup, hot air from the kettle, and smells from the oven.

About half way through his meal, the principal stood up from his chair and told the crowd that he had to leave early for a lunch time meeting. Before he left, he presented the Citizenship Court judge a bouquet of flowers, expressed appreciation for the volunteers and students in serving the meal, and wished the seniors an enjoyable lunch. The meal went pretty quickly. By one o'clock, everyone had finished lunch and left the room. Mother Elizabeth, the assistants and I helped clean up the dishes and the room. We talked and drank coffee while we were washing the dishes. It took us two whole hours to clean up the kitchen.

Observing and participating in the senior lunch room enabled me to understand the official meaning and the unexplored meaning of the lunch event. People working above the school basement saw

the lunch event as an educational event containing important pedagogical values. By arranging the occasion in which students and parent volunteers found ways to care for the elders within the context of school and then to take up relations with the elders as humans, possibilities for caring and respecting elders was encouraged. The senior lunch was a good opportunity for youngsters to interact with, respect, and serve the elderly. Children would be less inclined to take advantage of senior citizens if they had frequent opportunities to see, talk, and interact with them. Children would also learn and understand that seniors were human beings and to appreciate their accomplishments. They would understand that aging was a natural human phenomenon that all people have to undergo. These socialization experiences were an important and unique part of learning in Jubilee Public School.

The lunch event gave me another essentially different understanding of the school. The basement in general, and the lunch room in particular, was felt as a very private space for the underclass. Native volunteers and unemployed parents tended to group and stay around in the lunch room. Certain kinds of smell from food or from the old clothings piled up outside the lunch room was always in the air. The smell would be considered illegitimate in public spaces such as classrooms and hallways. In the senior lunch room, however, the smell was legitimate and represented a certain flavour of the underclass group. The space and the smell defined the social organization and interpersonal relationships of the school. It signified a deprived environment in which the issues of age and class were made paramount. Anytime during the school day, I could see groups of natives and volunteers relaxing or doing chores in the room. What did the structure, organization, and topics of the conversations during the senior lunch event tell us about the issue of ageism? What did it tell us about the issue of class when an underclass of people tended to segregate themselves from others by creating a deprived environment in the basement of the school?

Describing the festive spirits of the Chinese New Year

Since 1970, Chinese New Year celebration had been made the biggest annual event for Jubilee Public School. I had chances to attend the annual celebration for the three consecutive years of 1987, 1988, and 1989.

In the Chinese New Year Day of 1987, I arrived the school at about 7:30 p.m. As soon as I stepped inside the school building, I saw a long queue of people lining up outside the jammed packed school gymnasium, waiting to be seated for the performance. I chose a seat in the third row and had a good view of the stage and the gymnasium. The programme included an invited kung-fu demonstration and a guest ballet dance, in addition to student performances of different grades. I had a quick glance at the audience and could recognize many important people such as government officials, party leader and representatives, mayor, judges, school board trustees and superintendents, MLAs, city aldermen, and the police chief. The principal with a traditional kung-fu suit and a Chinese cap stood in front of the crowd and introduced to the audience the music teacher who was congratulated for arranging all the student performances. The programme started from Grade One to Grade Six, followed by the invitational performances of kung-fu demonstrations and ballet dance, and ended with a dragon dance by all the male staff and some boys from the upper grades.

It was the Chinese New Year Day of the year of dragon in 1988. My husband and I were invited for the Chinese New Year dinner and the performances. The dinner was held on the top floor of the school building with about 600 attendants. A dish of choy suey style of Chinese food was served to every attendee. Similarly important people in the 1987 celebration could be identified. Medals and plaques were presented to people who made significant contributions to the school. During the performances, I happened to sit next to the Citizenship Court judge and had a good chance to share her Citizenship Court experience with me. She had a long personal relationship with the principal and praised him for the outstanding achievements of the school in the area of citizenship education. Serving the Citizenship Court enabled her to meet and understand people from all over the world. She also told me the difficulties for average Canadians to undo racial stereotypes because she thought that cross-cultural understanding needed to be practiced in a real context of communicating and interacting. Recently, she advertised the ceremony of the Citizenship Court and hoped to encourage the general public to visit the court. The programmes were interesting and similar to those of the previous year.

It was the year of the snake in 1989. I attended the dinner and the celebration with friends from university. People at the guest table were more or less the same group of people of the past two years. The grade 5 classroom teacher Linda was the master of ceremonies. Many medals and plaques were awarded. Some new and simpler performances were presented.

In observing the celebration, there were mixed feelings and a plurality of perspectives regarding the celebration. For every new year, two nights of performance were held in Jubilee Public School. The first night was attended by students and their families while the second night was for invited guests. Sitting in the midst of the majority of Canadians and watching a Chinese festive celebration, it seemed to me that all of us were not safely anchored in any one particular system of cultural meanings, nor moved within an unquestioned cultural whole. Student performers and audience lived in a fragmented cultural universe combining elements from various cultural systems. The celebration was intended to serve the function of passing on or rejuvenating a tradition for ethnic Chinese students. But when the celebration was displayed as a series of performances and a feature of ethnic identity, the situation became one in which the ethnic group themselves were constantly confronted by Canadians and their privileged cultures. Although culture was constantly growing and thus was in a fluid state of interpretation, the fact that the programmes were more or less the same every year conveyed to the audience that Jubilee Public School had a specific kind of interpretation of the Chinese New Year. The interpretation, at least in principle, was available to the audience although it may not have been effectively shared among them.

Since I started my research with the school in 1986, I had been closely observing the preparation process for the Chinese New Year event. The celebration mobilized all the people of the school and could cause tremendous upset and tension for teaching and learning. During the first staff meeting in 1987, similar concerns had been raised regarding the cost and meaning of the annual celebration. The public relation aspect of the celebration, as strongly emphasized by the principal, over-rode the discussion among staff members. The celebration served important social and political functions. In spite of the instruction from the principal that teachers should attempt to integrate the theme of the celebration with the curriculum, Linda was not sure what to do. Being a Caucasian herself and having four ethnic Chinese

students in her class, she intended to have students teach her about the Chinese New Year and decided to go from there. She said:

> That' [illegible] thinking because I have no literature, or really no underst[illegible] Chinese New Year. So that's why I am not going to say anything [illegible]dent about the Chinese New Year. I am just getting info[illegible]ow from Vanh and Linh and what they can tell me, what other teach[illegible]n tell me, and that's what I am going to teach my students. ...... I think this year there is not so much upset and tension. We talked about it at the beginning of the year, and we thought how can we integrate things together in the subject area and how can we permit at a certain time of the year in all the grades, try to have a theme, may be reading in all the grades, reading something about all the plants, so that they can talk to teach other, you know, something in common. Since this year is the year of the dragon, so we thought, "well, let's try to bring in fairly tales about dragons, talking about dragon, poems about dragon, real life dragons, or whatever. Want to bring it into science. Then it's not so much of Chinese New Year cultural activities, but the dragon kind of taking over the theme too, trying to blend things together, and in that balance the tension between the curriculum. Of course, it can be the curriculum. It's just what your idea of curriculum is. It's not so much.

The festive event offered many arranged spheres for students to develop their potentials. These possibilities were not so much to be found in curricula or in patterns of school organization, but in occasions where the world in which students lived was brought for closer examination or participation. She strongly believed that the celebration had opened up access to the world in a variety of performances so that students were able to confront the world seeing, observing, describing, experimenting, counting, understanding, and questioning.

Understanding the principal and decoding educational leadership

The interest in understanding the principal was fanned after viewing the media reports about his accomplishments, hearing his outstanding speech on innovative educational philosophy, and witnessing his stylistic role of educational leadership. To my great surprise, the principal was always busy with speech engagements, presentations, and social events during or after school. I had difficulty in booking a conversation appointment with him. During the first year of research in 1987, I had booked three half-an-hour conversations with him in his office. Each of the three conversations was booked three months in advance and involved three to four cancellations before he could finally make it.

In addition to that, every conversation was interrupted with phone calls or other forms of school "business." At the content level, I was not satisfied with the conversation. My initiation into a more personal and problem-posing conversation with the principal did not come as expected. What he said to me in the three conversations was more or less the same as he spoke in the media reports or public speech engagements. The opportunity for me to open up a genuine dialogue with him was almost impossible because he was too pre-occupied with what he had in his mind. After every conversation, I was dubious of to what extent his speech reflected what he really thought and believed. Would it be that the highly publicized image of the school had frozen his understanding of what he was intending to do? Would there be some unkown aspects of the principal's leadership and style?

Observations in the principal's office

The interest in understanding the principal through gestural studies was reinforced as I read along in my journal and found many interesting gestural descriptions of the principal. These gestural descriptions provided a direct and less mediated means for the expression of thought and feelings. From the descriptions of the principal's hugging, hand-shaking, shoulder-patting, I realized that gesture was a form of natural language of the principal which could reveal fully the inner process of ideation on the one hand and the social processes of formation of a communicative code on the other. His gesture of embracing or hugging people stood at a point of fusion between symbolic representation and the ritualization of action in social interaction, without which human language would not have been possible. His body postures and movements were very visible and could be viewed deliberately expressive of thought and feeling. Also, observation about his ways of interacting with people indicated some embodiments of the dominant metaphors of the social structure of a community school.

It went without my notice that I had actually gathered a great deal of information on the principal's gestures in my journal from January 1987 to April 1988. The information included his way of hugging and greeting people, the tone he used in talking with the staff, his different facial and gestural expressions in the school whereabouts. There was a long entry dated June 1988 in my journal. It read:

> It was a hot Thursday afternoon. I was expecting to meet a teacher and gave her back some students' assignments. The school was very quiet as I was sitting at the bench waiting. For about fifteen minutes, the principal sat still at his desk, looking aimlessly at the window. Occasionally, he rubbed his eyes and did not seem to notice my watching him. Eventually, he stood up from his chair and walked toward my direction. It seemed to me that there were a couple of tear drops around his eyes. As soon as I saw that, I felt anxious and did not know what to do. He made a signal to me and shook my hand. With his usual friendly and calm manner, he whispered "hi" and walked back to his office without waiting me to greet him back. He then walked back and forth aimlessly in his office, sometimes twisting his fingers and sometimes holding both hands at his back.
>
> At about two thirty, the icy silence of the hallway was broken by the school bell as students were running out from their classrooms from various directions. The principal walked out from his office again and waited at the door anxiously. As soon as he saw a middle-aged woman approaching, he stretched out his two hands and embraced the woman in his arms. The woman burst out sobbing and murmuring a couple of things to the principal. The principal patted on her shoulders, walked into the office with her, talked something into her ears and embraced her into his arms for at least two or three minutes. Gradually, students walked by the office and noticed the scene. The students stopped at the office for a couple of seconds and then left with curiosity. The principal then walked out the office with the woman, shook her hands at the door, let go her hands and watched her vanish from the stairs. As he turned his head back, I realized that his face was very pale with traces of sobbing. He walked back to his office, sat still on his chair for about five minutes, rubbed his eyes and sighed occasionally until he was disturbed by a phone call. I left the bench when a teacher asked me to go to her classroom.

The entry had sustained my curiosity until I found some clues to what happened at the principal's office on that day. The woman was the mother of "defiant Tina," a grade two student who had consistently created learning and behavioural problems in the school. Both the principal and some teachers thought that certain measures needed to be taken by the school. They conferenced with Tina's mother over the telephone for suggestions. Her mother said that she was very busy at work and was willing to let the school do whatever they felt appropriate for Tina. Throughout the two months of May and June 1988, Tina became more resistant and violent in the classroom and in the playground. Her mother was called in for a final discussion before the principal took further action. During the two-hours long conversation with Tina's mother, the principal was strongly moved by the biographical story of the single mother who herself was a victim of child abuse and social injustice. The mother struggled to survive for the betterment of Tina.

A week later, I happened to meet the principal on the hallway and asked him some questions about Tina. He confessed to me that he had had an unexpectantly strong reaction toward Tina's mother in that afternoon when I saw him sobbing. He told me that he was a very emotive and intuitive person and liked to express feelings to people through his body. Although people would think that the story of Tina and her

mother was typical in the inner city, he thought that it was morally wrong to treat Tina as "impossible or the helpless." As a member of Jubilee Public School, Tina would be granted equal or even extra care regardless of her family background. The principal also told me that the strong reaction towards Tina's story had restored in him some inner strength and charged him with newer ideals to continue working in Jubilee Public School. The newer ideals included cultivating more rapport with Tina's mother and let Tina reveal her family problems to her teacher and classmates in the classroom.

Revitalizing the meaning of an open door

The principal's office was located adjacent to the staff room and in front of the stairways. His office door was always open whether he was in or out, whether he was working alone or with some visitors. For the three personal conversations with me, he maintained an open door at all times and thus distractions lingered on. In the course of our conversations, he would occasionally glimpse outside and thus keep in touch with every passer-by, waving or saying "hello" to them. Every time I passed by that office door, I had a tendency to look inside and say "hello" to him. Most of the time, I either got into a short chat with him or got introduced to his visitors. The ritual of maintaining an open door was often accompanied by other routine or instrumental proceedings such as easily getting into a relationship with a third party easily.

The "open door" inherently embedded bundles of personal and pedagogical presumptions. Ensconced in the framework of both private and institutional life, the open door became part of the principal's socially conditioned and biologically constituted rhythms and metaphors of human relationship between him and the school. This kind of ritual could do more than simply inscribe or display symbolic meanings or states of affairs. It could, at the same time, instrumentally bring states of affairs into being, such as indicating to people that he was accessible and approachable at any time, that his being as an educational leader was not isolated with the being of other members of the school. That same open door, however, could be an obstacle for building up genuine relationship. During our three conversations, he had never gone to the personal level that I expected. By keeping the door open at all time, it seemed to me that he could not share with me his inner feelings or struggles. In the midst of the open space between his

room and the school hallway, his explanation sometimes needed to be cut short or made vague instead of elaborated with concrete specificities. It turned out that the three conversations with him was more or less a replication of what he usually said in any public space.

My personal reaction towards the door was that although the door was open, it did not seem inviting, for me at least. Every time I was sitting at the bench right across the principal's office waiting for student or teacher participants, I felt frustrated and undecided whether or not I should initiate a conversation with the principal deeper than just saying "hello" and "how are you." The door seemed to serve more as a psychological barrier than really a "door" in gaining access to his world.

Uncovering the different realms of educational leadership

Ritual performance could generate meanings as well as reinforce particular values. The principal's greetings of children would be a very good ritual in exemplifying these twofold functions. The principal was a very polite and modest person. Most of the mornings when I came to teach adult ESL, I would see him standing at the stairs and greeting his students "hi" either with a hug or a handshake.

One February afternoon in 1987, I was waiting outside the principal's office for two students to talk to me about their nuclear war assignment. Just a few minutes after the school bell rang, the custodian brought along a grade 6 girl toward my direction. As soon as the principal saw the girl coming, he opened his arms wide and embraced her into his arms. The girl started sobbing at first and gradually began crying out loud. The principal did not say a word but just embraced the girl in his arms and let her cry for a couple of minutes. When the girl stopped crying, the principal let go his arms and indicated to the custodian to bring the girl home. Later, I found out from two other students in the girl's class that the girl had run away from home for three days and was taken back by the police liasion officer. During the moment of embracing an unhappy child, the whole school became quiet, witnessing an evolving relationship between a student and their beloved principal. The relationship was not mediated by language nor preaching. It was fully constituted by a greeting which had become a unique realm of educational leadership in Jubilee Public School.

The principal's philosophy of education evolved around a strong Christian conviction and a Maslowian psychology, which he summed up into four pedagogical principles: hope, love, trust, and self esteem. The principal characterized pedagogical hope as the basic life orientation, searching for what was still to come and a realization of what did not yet exist. This kind of anticipatory consciousness of humanity was placed at the centre of the Christian tradition of faith, trust, and love, the indissoluble triad of ideal Christian life. From the triad radiated certain elements of love for the world and its people, trust in humanity's ability to change the world and shape the future, and hope to actualize the ideal Christian model of life. Therefore, the peace pedagogy of Jubilee Public School was based on the principal's strong convictions of love, trust, and hope. These human values necessarily implied a significantly radical alternative orientation of schooling. In Jubilee Public School, pedagogical love was concretized into pedagogical criteria and curricular atmosphere characterized by such concerns as social justice and human rights, solidarity with the poor, nonviolence, personal and international morality. To love a particular person, according to the principal, was often to commit oneself to an open-ended relationship. It was not merely to love the present person or to love that person as one who had a specific history. It was also to be prepared to love the person in the future despite the many changes that may take place in the character of the beloved.

In addition to the theological dimension of educational leadership, the principal also attempted to secularize his religious beliefs into human potential. He said that any injustice or violence in this world was constituted by human mis-conduct and thus everybody had a fair share of the responsibility for transformation. Conversions involved a repudiation of self-centred ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. This implied an acceptance of the normative priority of standing alongside with the oppressed as the starting point for new life. The principal said :

> Every human being is a very special human being. And the children who come to this school are equally special and unique. For me, it's morally wrong to dwell on the weakness of the people.

The principal secularized the issues of equality and human rights into an education for mutual understanding and experience of fellow human beings regardless of their gender, race, ethnicity, colour, language, class, religious belief, or political creed. Education for human rights in Jubilee Public School evolved around the moral principle of humanity. According to the principal, all people were equal and unique moral beings. The fact that the equality of rights could sometimes not be easily defined nor protected in legal terms required him as the educational leader to see human rights from a moral stance. By declaring that the school stood in place of home and staff stood in place of parents, the principal articulated a concept of schooling as a family embodied an intentional form of social integration based on the phenomenological meaning of family. A family, as the principal believed, is an environment whereby he could stress feelings about each other and put his arms around the students and say, "hey, you're OK." Because love, trust, hope, and self esteem did not involve discrimination, students were always affirmed by each other, which in turn, encouraged an appreciation of qualities that were true about a person so that they could continue to grow in a positive way. Affirmation through raising self esteem was a way of showing faith, respect, love, and hope in people. Students' dignity and personal growth as transformation and transcendence were respected. In this sense, human rights education was a form of educational empowerment in Jubilee Public School and the principal was highly credited as an empowering educational leader.

Understanding the custodian and the meaning of "caretaking"

Other than the principal, the school custodian Mark was an important symbolic personality in Jubilee Public School. Mark was a small but well-built man in his fifties, always wearing a friendly smile on his face and a big bunch of keys around his waist. His smile was so sincere and engaging that he could cheer you up whatever a bad day you might be having. A lot of time when I went to the school either for having conversations with other participants or doing ethnographic observations, I would run into him and chat with him for half an hour or so, and obtained an up-to-date story about the school which would have been unavailable to me if I had not secured a trusting relationship with him.

What was the original meaning of "custodian?" What was the meaning of custody in a school context? The concept of custody, according to dictionary definitions, entailed a meaning of control over and an implication of taking charge of. How was this meaning reflected or distorted in Mark's role in Jubilee Public School?

Mark had been working as the school custodian in Jubilee Public School for fifteen years. During that long period of time, he witnessed the transformational history of Jubilee Public School from one of the most unrecognizable half-time elementary school to a most respected model of an inner-city school. He also witnessed the revival of the Jubilee community from a deserted outskirt of the city into a prosperous economic centre. For Mark, everyday at Jubilee Public School was a busy day. His duties in the school fell into two main categories: housekeeping and caretaking. Housekeeping work was easy to define but they were endless: cleaning the floor; taking care of the boilers, ventilation unit, and fire equipment; carpentry work and plumbing; picking people up and dropping people off; paying bills; etc. For the role as a "caretaker," Mark said that it consisted of "taking care of anything and everything:" supervising kids on the playground, substituting for teachers when they were at meetings, taking care of the general office when the secretary was absent or away. He was always the last resort for any emergency. Knowing Mark for about two years, I began to sense that the meaning of the word "custody" in Jubilee Public School context was more as a form of physical and emotional care than with housekeeping.

A typical school day for Mark would start at a quarter to six, the time that he left home. On his way to school, he would pick up Mother Elizabeth. Upon arrival, he would do whatever he had not been able to get done the night before. At 6:30, he went for a big nutritious breakfast at the Salvation Army so as to boost himself with enough energy for a busy day which would end as late as 7 o'clock. Mark never complained about his workload. He explained the functioning of a school as a jigsaw puzzle in which every single person was one important piece of the puzzle. He was one of the many pieces, not more and not less. It was a participatory and co-operative game that everybody contributed to the larger system in their own ways. He typified his role in the school in the following way:

> But in the school, there is really no job classification, cause you do everything. You may be a custodian but then during the day may help teaching. You know somebody has to for some reason leave the room, and I have to go to the room and not teach but be there in place of teacher, you know. And probably lots of different jobs you do during the day, you know. You may have to sit in and do the secretary job because there's nobody around. And there has to be somebody there to phone, and you have to do her job, especially when the principal's gone. .....
>
> And there are so many many things, so many many things, like now we have many programmes in this school. Many programmes. Mind you, now we have as many as forty different programmes going on in this school. And a lot of them I do, like I am supposed to work 8 hours a day, but I don't work 8 hours a day. I work many hours, and lots of people do that because lots of the extras I do on a voluntary basis, ... But lots of things I do on Saturdays and Sundays that won't get paid for but that because I volunteer that time, you see. And I enjoy that. Keeps the kids off the street, you know, lots of the kids don't have anywhere to go on the weekends and they come over here..... So, like I say, it's a job that includes many things. Different days we have different things. .....
>
> On Monday morning when I come here, there are two cases of milk in the front door. Big bags of milk; so then I have to put that away, open the door. Each day, there are different things. Like Tuesday is the dinner day. So that means extra work to get things ready for that dinner day. And then, on Thursday, we have what we call assembly. So that means the gymnasium has got to be, as a general rule, swept, washed, and waxed, and it's quite a big area. And I do that in the morning, all by myself before school comes in in the morning. And the kids get home early on Thursday and we have what we call staff meeting on Thursday afternoon. .....

The fact that housekeeping chores and caretaking responsibilities for Mark were endless had to be considered in relation to the popularity of the school, its geographical location, and its socio-economic characteristics. With a ratio of eight certified teachers, Jubilee Public School now had as many as forty different programmes going on in the school. A lot of "extras" would be placed on the shoulders of Mark and the support staff. The geographical location of the school in downtown area gave extra work to Mark as well. In the winter, the sand and salt put in the downtown area would form a wax of powder on the school ground, hallway, and classrooms. Additional cleaning work was required, especially considering the fact that winter in Kaskitayo could last for as long as six months.

"Going for the extra mile"

Jubilee community was also a community of natives and transient immigrants. Alcholism was a big problem in the community and people often left soiled bottles at the school ground. Everyday in the morning, Mark had to spend half an hour or so walking around the school ground picking up beer bottles.

There was time extended there that held Mark back from doing something else that he might have to do. He always came to school and worked on Saturdays in order to make up the work left behind during the school days. Also, he felt compelled to come back to the school to help watch the kids because "lots of the kids don't have anywhere to go on the weekends and they come over here." He knew that many of the things he did was far over and above what a custodian would normally do. But in Jubilee Public School, as Mark explained, there were many people of his kind that "would go the extra mile." It was also because of the presence of these people that were ready to "go the extra mile" that contributed to a school atmosphere of "Christmas everyday of the year:"

> And as I have told many times reporters that ask me, as we know, "why do I work here?" Then I just tell them that "well, it's like Christmas every day of the year." And it is because it's not getting gifts but you get a hug in the morning or somebody give you a hug and at the same time give you a kiss on the chin. That's like a Christmas gift to me, you know. So, to have this kind of situation in your life, you know, to me that's why we are here to enjoy life. So, if you don't have that kind of situation, you may not have been here, because you know, it's like playing cards with somebody that is cheating. You know, you are wasting your time.

What is care-taking? What is caring? I began to understand Mark more as I came to observe his attitude and commitment towards work. Being a custodian in Jubilee Public School, according to Mark, was a way of enjoying life. Mark understood that his "housekeeping" role required of him to provide a clean and safe physical environment for learning. At the same time, the role of "care-taking" required him to provide a psychologically and emotional stable environment for growing up. The merging of the two roles gave a peculiar challenge as well as job satisfaction for Mark that "made me feel good over the years and gave me a happy life." That was the reason why he spent fifteen years in Jubilee Public School and yet enjoyed very much his work.

Mark was very proud of the success story of Jubilee Public School. He was more proud of having the opportunity to work for the principal and securing such a long-lasting relationship with him. Mark strongly admired the principal for his whole-hearted devotion to the school. Although Mark strongly felt that everybody in the school was equally important in contributing to the school's success, he could not

refrain from relegating the principal to a more important role whenever he mentioned the success of the school. He said:

> And everybody in their own way, they are important. No one person is more important than the other, except Richard. Because Richard is sort of, like a letterhead on an envelope. He needs the credit we need to matching him up and getting all the publicity he can because this way people will help this school. But if I were to get the credit the way he does, they wouldn't help because he is the important piece in the puzzle, the most important piece in the puzzle. .....
>
> To us, he's the most important. He's the guy that gets us the money and get the programmes we need to help the kids and do the things that would make us feel good, you know. But he is the key in the lock. So, we don't want the kind of publicity that he gets, you know what I mean. We want him to have that, he needs that. And it's hard on him, you know. It's hard on him because that kind of pressure is constant. You know we have to go and do a presentation here and do a presentation there in order to let them know what's going on in the school. But we are all, he includes us all in the presentation. We are all a part of that. And he is the person who says, "well, this one, this one, this one, you're all important. I need them all. I couldn't do what I do." But it's important that he gets the publicity and this kind of thing to be able to bring in the resources to do the programmes we have been doing. Right from the guy at the bottom to the guy at the top, everybody is equal here. There is no top and bottom. Everybody is equal. When you go to the staff room, you can't tell who's the teacher, who's the custodian, who's the aides. It's hard to tell because everybody is equal. Although somebody may not believe that, I firmly believe that everybody is equal. You know, even though those who don't believe it, I think still deep down they realize there is equality here if they want to accept it.

The principal was a nominal and a spiritual leader. The principal was great because he allowed different opinions to be voiced, then consulted every member for suggestions, elaborated on the ideas that came from the meanings the members had, and turned them into feasible implementation. For Mark, the principal established a general mission of the school while the staff perceived, supported, and maintained the perception and mission.

Sensing the virtues of motherly love

Mother Elizabeth was a sixty-year-old native volunteer who grew up in an orphanage and had once been trained as a nun and a nursing aide. She started volunteering in Jubilee Public School when her daughters and sons studied in Jubilee Public School some forty years ago. Since Richard Sater became the principal, Mother Elizabeth had been assigned responsibility for the senior's programme. She enjoyed working in the school because of her special friendship with the principal as well as the intimate

relationship with the senior citizens of the Jubilee community. Owing to her devoted, friendly, and loving attitude to the children at Jubilee Public School, she was often called "Granny Elizabeth." In recognition of her commitment to the senior citizens, Mother Elizabeth was nominated as "citizen of the year" in 1989 by a leading newspaper in Kaskitayo. In the reception dinner of the Chinese New Year celebration of 1989, Principal Richard Sater publicly acknowledged the devotion and contribution of Elizabeth to Jubilee Public School and named Mother Elizabeth after the Nobel Peace Prize winner "Mother Theresa."

The volunteer involvement with Jubilee Public School enabled Mother Elizabeth and her ill husband to experience senses of belonging and worthiness. She took great pride in securing students to approach her and in serving as a co-ordinator for the senior group kept her back to volunteer in spite of the numerous illnesses she had been going through. She once told me:

> This is a good school, and I am going to see what I can do to help out. And if it is not for him (the principal), he has helped so many people and made people feel at home, take my kids home for the weekend and he knew we were tired and would like to have a rest.

Mother Elizabeth considered Jubilee Public School as her "primary home." For twenty years, she came to school everyday at six o'clock, preparing coffee and tea for the ESL morning classes, cleaning the senior's room, making breakfast for the teachers and students before the school bell rang, and preparing snacks before the recess. Every Tuesday, she cooked a hot lunch for about forty senior citizens. On Friday afternoons, she would be in charge of the senior bingo day. Whenever there were festive celebrations, outdoor visits, field trips, bake sales, Mother Elizabeth would always be called upon for these "extras."

One November afternoon in 1988, I had a long conversation with Mother Elizabeth when she was asked to supervise the grade 1 and 2 classroom, which was considered as the toughest classroom in that year. Before leaving the class to Mother Elizabeth, the home room teacher assigned the class a colouring exercise. I was impressed with the class of students because throughout the thirty five minutes there was no distraction or disturbance to our conversation, except for a couple of times when students asked politely to go to the washroom. All students were on task and finished their assignments before the bell rang. The co-operation with Mother Elizabeth made a big contrast to my last experience with the same class of students when they were with their home room teacher a week earlier. I asked Mother Elizabeth if she

realized or not the unconditional co-operation she received from the students. She told me that it was typical for every class she supervised in the school. It seemed to me that such an orderly and initiative way of learning revealed itself to the students fundamentally only in the trusting relationship with a certain beloved person. Mother Elizabeth embodied the world and the characteristic of trust and accommodation. Whatever belonged to the world of her was included as right and accepted. For that class of students, they had cultivated an affective attitude toward a grandmother figure through the trusting mediation with her.

The presence of the principal, the custodian, and Mother Elizabeth provided real models of senior through which the staff and students could come to take up relations and learn to respect seniors. The caring attitude of the principal, the custodian, and Mother Elizabeth pervaded the situational time-space in which "caring" not only involved understanding the other but a "feeling with" and "receiving the other." They were personality figures which served important emotional functions. Their commitment towards the well-being of the whole school had the function of providing a feeling of unity or harmony with the whole of nature of life.

Linda and her teaching in a global age

It was not common for a regular school teacher to want to work in an inner city school because being an inner city school teacher might be a bad label for a teacher's career. Linda realized the stigma before she decided to transfer to Jubilee Public School from a regular junior high in September 1987. Because she had heard so many compliments about Jubilee Public School through the media and from other teachers, she had an intuitive feeling that she would really like teaching in Jubilee Public School. When she knew that there was an opening in Jubilee Public School, she applied for it immediately. She said:

> I have the feeling, the feeling that I would really like it here. It would fit me. I had heard good things about the principal and about the school, the way they do things here, the philosophy, looking at students as individuals but also developing other aspects besides the strictly academic and that fits what I believe, too.

The job interview with the principal impressed Linda strongly. Right at the moment of the interview, she knew that she had chosen to work in the right school and to work with an exceptionally outstanding educational leader:

> The principal is not looking so much for credentials but rather the personality, experience, feeling, philosophy, and how he felt about the others, even the first impression. Compared to other administrators, he is not "practical" in the sense that he runs the school as a business enterprise. He is "visionary" because he has so many visions in his mind.

The first month in Jubilee Public School was hectic but rewarding because within a short period of time, she had witnessed and experienced "the love and the trust and the caring" that were built between the staff and students. The "greatness" of the school, according to Linda, was the emphases put on touch and feeling. In addition to that, the school had fabricated a setting of community in which everyone was valued. She reflected on the first month of her teaching as follows:

> I teach the same wherever I am, but here everyone has the same kind of value, share the same philosophy, feeling, attitude towards kids. In a bigger school, you have teachers alike as well as different. But here it is concentrated, gathered together. The Jubilee Public School administrator has the job and inspiration that makes it work and there should be other people in the system to do the same thing. There might be but to a smaller degree so there should be more recognition in the system. All my friends ask me how different the school is but it's not that different as other people might think. But I am a little bit sad because it could happen in so many other schools.

According to Linda, Jubilee Public School made remarkable achievement not only because it had a most outstanding educational leader but also because of the fact that it was a small school. In a small school, people tended to relate people as unique individuals. There were more occasions for interaction, more time for cultivating agreement, and more chances for developing a more personal relationship. She particularly liked the principal's emphasis on senses of touch because experiencing touching transcended social and psychological barriers of language. As a language teacher, Linda came to appreciate the importance of touching in interacting with ethnic students who had a tendency to retreat in verbal communication.

From multiculturalism to anti-racist education

Although Linda said that Jubilee Public School was not very different from other schools, there were several unique characteristics of her classroom that she kept on referring to throughout several conversations we had. One uniqueness was the ethnic dynamic of her grade 5 classroom. There were

twenty one students in her classroom; twenty students in grade 5 and one "timid" girl in grade 4. The timid girl was blended into Linda's class because the girl had developed fear with the grade 4 teacher, building up in her mind that the teacher was very stern. Many ethnicities could be identified; there were children from Argentina, the Soviet Union, Chile, Jamaica, Trinidad, Vietnam, and China; there were native Indians, Metis, blacks, and Caucasians. Linda was impressed with the cosmopolitan racial dynamics of the class and the comparatively peaceful relations among racial groups. She said:

> Surprisingly, I do not see any racial tension at all. Black discrimination in other school does not seem to happen here. It is because kids have been here for a number of years and the message that whatever ethnic is accepted has been reinforced in the school. The classroom is always changing, so there is right now conflict but may be just because we are a group, this is just the nature of the people like dynamics, and it's nature to try to work it out, too.

Another unique quality of Jubilee Public School that was brought to Linda's explicit awareness was the solidarity among teachers. Having taught in Jubilee Public School for just two months, Linda immersed herself strongly with the school and made the school a "second home." Solidarity among students and staff was so pervasive that she did not feel compelled to make a conscientious effort to teach her social studies classes lessons on community living, the concept of neighbourhood, and inter-cultural cooperation. As a matter of fact, Linda thought the provincial curriculum guide did not contain enough hints or materials as to what and how to teach a unit on global education than what had already been happening in Jubilee Public School.

Similar to the other staff, Linda attributed most of the success story of Jubilee Public School to the principal. She said that the principal did not emphasize teaching citizenship through formal classroom instruction. Multicultural education, citizenship education, and global education were inevitable parts of what was going in the school everyday. She said:

> The principal has been here for so long and the way he is just becomes natural. And kids have been here for so long and their concept of school is what goes on in Jubilee Public School which is citizenship, caring, respect, helping each other, so many people come in and out of the school. This kind of thing would help teachers develop their own classroom but it does go back to whoever the administrator is and whatever he emphasizes. One important strength about the principal is that he trusts that people can develop their own philosophy.

A way of dialogue - confronting the nuclear threat

By professional training, Linda was a language arts teacher. After she came to Jubilee Public School, she was also assigned to teach social studies in senior grades. Several times, grades 5 and 6 students had asked her questions like: "what is the possibility of having a nuclear war before I die?" "what do you think about the planet's future?" Linda hesitated to teach the issue of nuclear war because she knew that it involved many psychological and pedagogical difficulties. On the other hand, she was confronted with her own philosophy of education, which was to teach according to what students wanted. Her hesitation hung on until a conversation among her grade 6 social studies students broke out in one afternoon:

Student A:	"Brian Mulroney and Reagan held meetings quite often to discuss business that matter to both countries."
Student B:	"Oh, that President Reagan, he wants to push the button."
Linda:	"Oh, how is that makes you feel?"
Student B:	"Well, you know he's gonna do it."
Student C:	"Yeah, yeah, the bomb."
Student D:	"I am scared."
Linda:	"Everybody is scared that may happen. But we just hope that these people are not gonna do that but ..."

Linda strongly believed that students should be exposed to problems of their own concern. She asked students to write journals to her every day regarding anything that the students wanted to share with her. At first, students had the idea of what she wanted, but as time went on, there was more personal voice in the journals. When behavioural or learning problems arose, she also got students to write to her privately. The theme of nuclear threat came up more and more frequently in students' journals, which finally motivated Linda to plan for teaching a unit on the topic. She looked through the social studies curriculum and decided to infuse the topic of nuclear war with the mandatory unit on government. A two-months teaching unit was planned for her grade 6 students, which included a library search, media analysis, writing letters to Gorbachev and Reagan, watching a video on what students of United States thought about the nuclear issue, a classroom debate, a final report, and a picture expressing personal feelings towards the issue. Linda recalled the two-months process from its early initiation to the final preparation and implementation as a rewarding experience. She said:

> Because in the grade 6 curriculum, part of what they have to learn is about the government, international government, national government, provincial government and city government, and different levels of government and their influence on people and that kind of stuff. I thought I would try to get at that through. One of the events that has been going on in the government was the summit between Gorbachev and Reagan. So all the other talk came from that. Because of course students are very interested about nuclear war and they know a lot about it from the media, they know a lot of the stereotypes about whatever they can pick up from the radio and TV and whatever. Actually they are interested and I asked the children if they have ever talked about this before in the school and all of them say "No." And I asked them if they have ever talked to the parents before and all of them say "No." So it gave them a chance to talk about it and I showed a video that was made in the United States, and it was forty five minutes long and the person who made the video interviewed school children from grades 1 to 12 talking about nuclear war and their feelings about it and it is really neat. When they saw that and some of the questions that the kids were asking in the video and their feeling about it and how they think about it, we really had good discussions. And we did a lot of work from the newspaper, cutting out the super articles about disarmament, and how many nuclear weapons around the world, and you know, superpowers and learning about all that kind of stuff. Writing letters came from me probably because I thought, "How can I make it more personal, like we are writing the letter and hopefully the government could answer that." But if they don't that's a learning process, too. So to make it fair, we have to write to everybody. We have to write to Russia, we have to write to United States. We have to write Canada. So they learned also, OK, the figure head of this country, the head of this government, Gorbachev, and this government is Mulroney, and this government is Reagan. Trying to understand the differences, like the differences in opinion, and what make the country work differently, and this country is really different cause the people that really think differently, or is it the government who are doing the thinking for the people? What do you think? Like what do you understand about it?

The difficulties in teaching nuclear education was beyond Linda's imagination. The topic was such a "heavy" and controversial one that she was aware of the accusation of indoctrination. She did not want students to buy her personal opinion about war and peace before students knew some facts about the topic. She said:

> I don't want to tell them what I think. I want them to try to sort that out for themselves because I don't want them to buy my answer. Well, the first thing they said, well, the arms race isn't a good thing, negative, and then why we would we have to debate, like they know already it must be the right answer because the teacher thinks that. So we went to the debate. And then at the end, I told them my personal feelings but not at the beginning. Cause they have to go through the process.

An unexpected consequence of the teaching unit on nuclear issue was the development of a strong enemy image about the Russians on the students. Although a variety of activities were planned, Linda thought that the lesson did not achieve its final aim as long as a hostile enemy image was held against the Russians. The making of the enemy image, which was embedded in the concept of hostility or

unfriendliness, would involve bad attitudes and beliefs about people or countries other than one's own. The making and breaking of enemy images needed to be approached from a global perspective, especially considering the fact that a certain percentage of the student population in Jubilee Public School were from warring nations. In one follow-up social studies lesson in March 1988, Linda invited all of her immigrant students from Vietnam and South America to express their thoughts and feelings about war in their homelands. Although the ethnic students talked about war experiences in traces and emotional disturbances obviously lingered on in younger students, Linda thought that the topic had opened a way for further conversations between the students and her:

> But I think that students have a right to know the facts, and the teachers have a responsibility to make sure that the facts are correct they are giving to the students. And I think that the teacher should be responsible to make sure that there is lots of room for discussion and understanding the facts. Like we are talking to everyone. Like teaching about the holocaust, you know. Like if you are teaching facts, and that's all, of course, people are gonna feel certain things because if it is just facts, there has to be discussion and both sides need to be presented: the negative and the positive. Just not only teaching the negative. We just bombarded the students with facts, you know, nuclear weapons, of course, they would be very fearful. Because Oh my God what can we do about it? See, you have to try to balance it. Not just concrete facts but try to really get them to a higher level of thinking. Like what do you understand about it now when they came in without any kind of teaching experience in the classroom? What do you think about it, what do you talk about it. Most of us never talked about it before. We just heard about it. So there are all kinds of things that go into it, oh, complicated. But to them even to start thinking like that is good.

In addition to the transmission of information and discussion on the rationality of "deterrence theory," Linda thought that she had to convey a personal rapport with her students in order to broach the gap between intellectual understanding and emotional stability. She encouraged writing letters to the two superpower leaders and hoped that a reply would empower students for further social action. The feeling of hopelessness was prolonged, however, because no response had been received from the Soviet or American governments. Linda planned for a video showing her class how teenage Americans were thinking and feeling in exactly the same way as they did. In order to complete the unit, Linda asked students to write a report on the facts they learned about nuclear war, an essay on how they thought about the issue, and a picture that best expressed their concern towards world peace. The exercise was intended to balance the cognitive understanding of war threat with the building of emotional stability:

> I'll show you some of the reports here. Most of them thought that it's basically pretty silly. Here are some of them. It's interesting because some of the reports are very well-researched, and I want them to try to balance it, like some research things that you learn, and your own opinion. So some of them are very well-researched. They didn't really want to talk about the personal while others are personal, whatever they can understand about it. These are the reports because I think the letters were more personal at the time that we wrote them. But the reports turned out to be more personal because reports were done at the end of the two months but the letters were done at the beginning. I thought this might be better for you because they did get more personal in their reports than in the letters. Like most of them said things like "Thank you, Mr. Gorbachev for the time to make it an effort to meet with Mr. Reagan. I really appreciate it cause I really don't like war." But here they try to tie everything together, so I thought it might be a little bit better for you to read this. See this part is more a personal part, as is this part. Her understanding of how nuclear weapon came to be. But they are all very different.

Students wrote creative essays and drew meaningful pictures to express their feelings about the nuclear threat. A Chilean student tied in her understanding of social deprivation in Canada and famine starvation in Ethiopia with nuclear military spending. A Vietnamese student used his own example to describe the adversial experience of war. A Caucasian student insisted that the world was in a mess because most of the government was "not really doing anything." She used a vivid example to carve out the essence of what the adults talked about when discussing "deterrence theory:"

> The government are not really doing anything. I think the government are scared and they just try to disguise it by acting tough and thinking they would get through it all.

Linda regarded this essay as an excellent piece of writing because she thought that the student actually expressed a more personal feeling about her relationship with some of the kids in the classroom. What the student tried to express, said Linda, was about a friend in the classroom acting tough, like the government as one person. Many of the students' writing really came through with thought and deep feeling. Linda was greatly impressed by another Metis girl's writing:

> When I went to Winnipeg, I saw pictures of nuclear radiation in some countries and the whole world. So I think they should stop making nuclear bombs and weapons and never touch them again. Making bombs is a waste of time. It's stupid. I think it's foolish to make more bombs when they try to get rid of some. Some bombs can hurt you very bad and it can give you cancer..... War is a waste of time and it can hurt you very bad and I don't like that. Even get cancer and died that would hurt the family..... that's also threatening because a person in the family has died, that's not very nice. I hate that. I hear some bombs and cruise missiles over Alberta. I am sure I didn't like it.

Education for conflict resolution at interpersonal level

Although Linda had an optimistic outlook on life, she admitted that conflict was part of the human nature and that students who came to this school were not immune from it. Daily living in the classroom, said Linda, was a text for conflict negotiation and resolution. These conflicts did not arise from racial or class tensions, said Linda, but were just a matter of "living together." A certain amount of her time and effort during her first two months in Jubilee Public School was occupied with the conflictual tension between two strong personalities in her classroom. The two students were Tom and Scott.

Scott was a new student from a single parent family. His father worked a night shift and left him alone in the apartment most of the time. In October 1987, Scott felt very depressed because his family did not have Turkey for the Thanksgiving dinner. That incident hurt Scott for two whole weeks and caused verbal and physical disagreements with his classmates. Tom was another strong personality in the class and could not tolerate Scott's rudeness towards other students. On several occasions, Scott and Tom would get into a fight if Linda had not noticed their disagreement and had not stopped them at the appropriate time. The fact that Tom's mother worked in Linda's classroom as a teacher aide held Linda back from interfering in the conflicts between Tom and Scott. Several times, Tom's mother came into Linda's classroom when Tom was caught doing something negative. Linda did not get good chances to talk to her about her son during or after classes. As Linda explained, "in a way she is close but in a way she does not really come up a lot."

The hostility between Tom and Scott lingered throughout the whole year. Linda had attempted several strategies such as getting the two boys to work in pairs for a joint project, encouraging them to play together in the playground, separating them when conflicts arose, and paying greater attention to their family affairs. Linda consulted other teachers for suggestions and got many ideas from the teacher effectiveness workshop. Linda was confident that she would gain better rapport with Tom and Scott as time would allow their relationship to grow. When I went back to Linda's classroom at the end of the school year, I realized that Scott had left the school and Linda had got into many arguments with Tom's mother.

Pedagogy reflecting the uneasy peace of our day

Teaching in a community school broadened Linda's visions of what a school could do and needed to do. The fact that the school provided more than twenty "extra" programmes for the students and community reflected to her the multifaceted nature of the uneasy peace of our day. The snack programme started ten years ago when the principal realized that many of the school children did not come to school with a good breakfast, a result either of parental neglect or family financial difficulties. The principal noticed that effective learning would not take place unless students' stomaches were fed. He tried diligently to seek public donations and was able to squeeze some money out of the school budget to maintain the snack programme. The snack programme, admitted Linda, was a fabulous endeavour in expressing teachers' concerns towards the kids. Students also came to understand and appreciate more of the social meaning of the senior's lunch. On a couple of occasions, Linda had used the snack programme as an entry point to make inquiry into the social structure of financial distribution. Her grade 5 students would sometimes surprise her by giving her a lot of concrete personal lived experience of class discrimination during shopping, unequal employment opportunities experienced by their parents, and the poor living condition of their families. Linda took these experiences as the basis for her grades 5 and 6 social studies curriculum.

One morning in the summer of 1988, I arrived to observe Linda's classroom. After the observation, Linda introduced me a group of her grade 6 students. The students and I conversed about what they thought of the snack programme. One student told me that she felt alienated when she heard people discussing the snack programme feeling that a supposition was being made that her her family could not afford a nutritious breakfast. Her alienation indicated the ethical paradox of providing social services to disadvantaged groups on the one hand and disempowering them by giving them a social stigma on the other. A critical pedagogy was needed to refuse to humanize inhumanity or spiritualize injustice.

In terms of social and public relations, students at Jubilee Public School generally had more chances to socialize with and contribute to the larger community. Extra-curricular and co-curricular activities involved serving dinner to senior citizens, visiting senior citizens' homes, singing at the Red Cross blood donor clinic or the Christmas Bureau. Getting students involved with social concerns brought

changes and evoked good qualities from the students which would be difficult to bring out in regular classroom setting.

The numerous community-based project demanded a large pool of community volunteers. Administrative confusion existed because there were few connections or interactions between the community service workers and the regular classroom teachers. There were so any volunteers kept coming in and out of the staff room that Linda felt a private space for teachers was lacking. A couple of teachers and Linda started to move to the resource room on the second floor during recess or lunchtime. This incident aroused suspicion between the community service workers and the regular classroom teachers. It was also this incident that cast serious doubt on the relationship between Linda and her classroom aide who was also Tom's mother.

The disagreement between Linda and Tom's mother enabled me to understand better the nature of social relationship. I came to understand that any form of human experience was inevitably built up out of a web of social relationships. Social relationships could flourish only if relationships were borne out of practical understanding between human beings. The relationship between Linda and Tom's mother, for instance, lay in the context of facilitation of the developmental formation of the Tom. The experience of being understood or not being understood was always constituted interactively, produced from understanding the person to the understanding person equally. The educator's task was to connect the understanding with everyday life and common life styles of teacher, students and their parents so that all three parties could feel the relationship as being meaningful and obligatory. Practical experiences of social education and school projects made this particularly relevant. From this perspective, Linda strongly supported the society-oriented programmes of the school and encouraged every single student in her class to participate.

With the exception of Tom's mother, Linda had achieved a fully trusting relationship with students, parents, staff, principal, and other volunteers. The trusting relationship allowed Linda to adopt an attitude that promoted humanization and was a comprehensive basic mood required to create the precondition for a fearless, objective confrontation with reality. Also, the trusting relationship succeed in achieving the effect of strengthening the readiness to make further efforts and in this way giving a motivation to teaching. On the students' part, a trusting relationship with Linda contributed to the classroom and learning in an

emotionally stable environment or activity. As an approach to another person, trust filled the students with warm gratitude and at the same time they reacted beneficially to Linda's teaching. Trust manifested itself as a totally uniform undivided attention to Linda based on her enduring support. In this way, trust was necessarily relevant to what was good in a person and involved an unprovable assumption of good behaviour in the future.

A similarly trusting relationship was observed between Linda and the principal. For years, the principal had received pressure from the regional school board superintendent who was a language arts expert and wanted all schools under his supervision to strengthen the language arts programme. The principal could not agree with his superintendent because the principal strongly believed in holistic education, in which the academic, aesthetic, and social aspects of the curriculum were equally emphasized. The principal's approach and philosophy of education were not fully acceptable to the superintendent for not putting enough emphasis on student achievement. Since Linda came to Jubilee Public School, she had been asked by the principal to upgrade the language arts curriculum. Language arts was Linda's area of expertise. She supported and adopted the whole language approach for all the grade levels. She worked particularly hard with the grades six and five students and prepared them to do better on the school board tests. Pressure from the area superintendent was slightly eased. Through this special responsibility, Linda came to know the principal more personally. She considered the principal visionary, intuitive, humanistic, and feministic. One particular good point about working with the principal was that everything important did not come as directives. Linda said that the principal liked to have things natural and thus built up a positive and non-threatening school atmosphere:

> He's different, in terms of leadership. He thinks in the abstract. People in administration are usually business-oriented and treat students as clients, which is a reflection of our society. But he is very opposite of that. He is a kind of saint because his thought is very much in the abstract and he represents an ideal that we can achieve that give everybody faith and every people can contribute to their own way to it.

In comparison with former schools that Linda had taught in, Jubilee Public School was a small school. Some teachers were very efficient and their teaching approaches were competitive. Among these

efficient and competitive teachers, however, the school environment had enhanced the other side of sharing, caring, and trust. Although there were teachers who could be fit in a real traditional setting, Linda attempted to get along with them and learn from their merits. By getting along with every type of person regardless of age, sex, race, and style of teaching, Linda hoped that she served as a good model for the children: that very different people could be compatible with one another and even became friends.

Understanding Wilson: Schooling as performance of resistance

Wilson came to Jubilee Public School, replacing the grade 2 teacher Mrs. Polidsky who retired in that year. I had a very positive impression of the grade 2 classroom when Mrs. Polidsky was there. It was a big and open classroom, with circular groups of desks scattering in every corner of the room. Mrs. Polidsky had a very strong rapport with her class of students who were always quiet and attentive during class. She liked to ask the class to sit around her on the floor when she was reading story books to them. At times, Mrs. Polidsky would sing nursery songs after she finished the story. Her voice was soft and the students reacted gently.

In October 1987, I came back to the classroom and it was a completely different picture: desks were re-arranged in rows; Wilson stood in the middle of the classroom to supervise students' work; a group of students by the corner jumped or moved around the classroom without any significant reason; the student sitting next to the teacher's desk screamed to the students at the back, one girl put her head down on the desk for the whole class period of time. What had happened in this classroom? Why was this young group of students so alienated and rebellious?

"Was I an effective teacher?"

Wilson was a new teacher in Jubilee Public School. He had a vast diversity of teaching experiences from elementary schools to university levels. He liked to teach in Jubilee Public School because it was a permanent position, plus the pension plan and fringe benefits were good. The major motivation for change, however, was because he found that he enjoyed small children.

The transfer from university to elementary school was a big change for Wilson. It took Wilson quite a while to adjust to the new setting and planning out what to teach and how to teach. The situation was made worse because Wilson was assigned to a class of "problem kids." After teaching for two months, Wilson found himself caught up more in the struggle of motivating children to learn than to really teach. At the same time, the "discipline" problem of the grade 2 class was beyond his imagination to solve. He once confessed to me that his role in the classroom was more like a policeman, baby-sitter, and a social worker than teacher.

There were twenty students in Wilson's classroom: four grade 1 students and sixteen grade 2 students. Two of the grade 1 students were repeaters while the other two were top first graders. Students were of various ethnic backgrounds: Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, natives, West Indians, Africans, and Caucasians. There were five new students, all of whom tended to be "problem kids." During the first month of his teaching, Wilson explained the discipline problems of "problem kids" in terms of the inadequate exposure to the Jubilee Public School culture and therefore they had not developed the same family feeling as the other children. In the second month, Wilson admitted that the "problem kids" were not easily educable. Because Jubilee Public School had a good reputation for turning "problem kids" around and because the principal tended to give students a second or third chance, a number of parents transferred their children to Jubilee Public School every year. It happened to be that most of the "problem kids" were in Wilson's class in 1987. Through ethnographic conversation with and observation of Wilson, I found that Wilson had a tendency to say, in front of me at least, that the "discipline problems in my class are a trivial part in comparison to what I teach." Yet, "trivial" conflicts between him and students occurred more often than he had expected, and demanded more of his energy that he had wanted. Wilson had a very definite idea of what his teaching should be all about: to cover and go through everything that he had prepared. He would not stop explaining the words, ideas, and concepts of his lesson plan in spite of numerous and frequent distractions from the students.

As time went by, I could sense that Wilson felt very frustrated with the endless resistance from his students. The behavioural problems of the students included: hyperactivity, rowdiness, lack of attention,

dis-respect to school authority or school regulations. Wilson had a particularly big headache in "the defiant Tina," who was a very clever but rebellious girl. Wilson said:

> She would probably be my worst problem. There's a lot of pain and a lot of unhappiness with her. And she's bordering on a power struggle we banish or sustain because that always happen to her. She's often speaking out against any authority. For example, like Tran [volunteer and a translator for the Vietnamese student] yesterday asked the student to put on a coat because it's cold outside. "I don't want a coat. I'm not cold." "I am not going out." Just one thing after the other. ..... Well, frustrated. Mostly because she takes so much of my attention, attention that I feel I should be giving to others. And that's what she wants. She wants constant attention and demands. If she doesn't get it, she might go further as well. But I find she is very clever. It's a waste of her intelligence because she could be an outstanding student. I'm kind of frustrated because she still demands a lot of my time. So in a way, I resented it. But she's improving and things are getting better. She has her days. Today, she has a bad day. But it does distract her, the general atmosphere.

It was obvious that the grade two classroom was a more rebellious classroom than any other classroom in the school. It was also obvious that Wilson chose a stern supervisory position with his students. Owing to the strict image, some of the rituals of resistance were targeted towards Wilson. Student's resistant actions might be implicit in order to escape official sanction or sermon. I saw a Native boy throwing a pencil at his neighbour to test Wilson's reaction; I saw another boy taking off his shoes and putting both feet on the desk to check if Wilson was angry; I noticed Tina kept on asking to go to washroom every time she was rejected. On most occasions, Wilson remained calm and did not say a word. His facial expression seemed to convey the message that despite all resistance, he was still in control of the situation.

Although Wilson would feel frustrated at times, he never undermined his confidence in being an effective teacher. The fact that all the staff at Jubilee Public School were on the effectiveness programme in 1987 and that he worked as a consultant for other staff members strengthened his confidence in what he did in the classroom. He admitted that he had grasped conceptually and practically onto some of the major aspects of effective teaching during his teaching experience in the university. A major characteristic of his effective teaching, explained Wilson, was a package of basic techniques and skills that could keep the lesson progressing in spite of any distractions. He gave an example of a native boy in his class who always presented him with roadblocks for effective teaching:

> What he (Mike) wants is attention, such as tapping the pencil. In terms of keeping your lesson progressing, rather than stopping the lesson, to sermonize or whatever, just stop the distracting behaviour for the time being so that you can continue with the flow of the lesson and children don't lose out in terms of gaining knowledge. And then you would have to get deeper into why Mike was tapping his pencil and the attention you would have to handle that on a separate time on a one-to-one. I think what they mean is keep the class going, keep everyone involved, keep everybody happy and feeling good about themselves. In the process, be careful not to putting down that one child again and again in front of the others because it lowers self-esteem. I agree with you, in that you have to get into the basics of what is causing this behaviour and try to do something about it. That we will be looking at. Just for the purpose of letting their education flow.

Wilson emphasized the importance of classroom learning because he thought that there was a direct correlation between school knowledge and positive self-esteem. According to Wilson, students needed to have a strong sense of achievement before they could value their ability and identity. However, Wilson seemed to forget that resistance towards classroom learning might be a symbol for rebelling against school drudgery. Self-esteem was an equally important pedagogical criteria for him to handle students' problems. He sometimes tried to distance himself too much from the students. Some other times, he was preoccupied about students' problems and not the students at all.

Understanding a plurality of social existence through students

On wanting to be somebody - the "unsatisfied wish" of Tom

I came to know Tom three years ago when he was in grade 2. Over the past three years, I realized that he had grown taller and stronger. Had I not known his mother Michelle, a chubby native woman working as a volunteer in her son's classroom, I would not have known that Tom was a Native boy. To understand Tom was to understand his mother Michelle and the social dominance pattern between the white and the Native culture. By social dominance pattern, I refer to the degree to which the group of Natives was made to feel "politically, culturally, technically or economically inferior" to white people. The power relationship between the two groups provided a starting point to understand how Native students were easily disabled or dis-empowered by schools in very much the same way that their communities were dis-empowered by interactions with societal institutions.

Being a Native and chubby woman, Michelle told me that she felt very uncomfortable to interact with any people outside the school. She felt comparatively safer in Jubilee Public School where she was provided with a job and an environment where many other Native women were hired to work as volunteers. She particularly liked the basement because it was the only place in the world where she did not need to mind about administrative hierarchies and could talk with others about almost anything. The Native volunteers, Michelle said, began to retreat more and more from the staff room or other public spaces of the school. She knew that Tom learned this fear from her as he was growing up. Michelle knew that Tom was very weak in his inner self although he liked to act as a strong personality in Linda's classroom and got into numerous fights and arguments with other students.

I first met Tom on the playground one snowy afternoon in January 1987. As he was sitting at the stairs watching a group of big kids running around, I approached him and opened up a conversation with him by asking him what he liked to play during recess. Our conversation flowed very smoothly and he got more and more excited when he told me about his project of wanting to be a soccer player. He asked me many questions regarding his physical appearance. He asked me several times whether or not he was well-built and looked strong, whether or not he had long legs and big feet, whether or not he looked like a native boy or a white Canadian. It was very true that his comparatively well-built and sturdy physical body marked him differently from most other ethnic boys from Asia, West Indies, and Latin America who were usually slim and dark. Tom was very concious about his appearance and would be very happy if one told him that he did not look like a Native at all. He began to be conscious about his mother's chubby look and would feel ashamed if anyone made fun of his mother's body or clothes.

Our next conversation was almost one year later. It was a one-to-one conversation in the school library where he forgot everything about his body and got me into his world of relationships. He complained to me about his small and messy apartment, his chubby-looking mother, his idle and boring weekends, and his favourite friend - the school custodian, Mark. He told me that he did not enjoy school although he had a couple of good friends from his class. His favourite person in the world was Mark who always cheered him up after his mother scolded him in front of his peers. He kept on asking me questions like "how does your father look like?" "does your son have a father?" He told me that he did not want to

be a kid because a kid did not have anything and could not do whatever he wanted. He did not want to be an adult either because an adult had to work and earn money. He wanted to be an animal, a snake or a wolf so that he could run around the forest and did nothing. We went to the playground together after the conversation. He seemed to have a moody day and did not bother to play with his friends and did even not bother to kick the ball in front of his left foot.

I then came across another life project of Tom when Linda passed along his social studies report to me in February 1989. In the report, Tom asked the teacher what a president of a country did and he thought he would like to be the president some day in the future because he enjoyed giving more money to needy families, ending nuclear war, building some tall buildings for the businessmen and workers. In April 1989, I had the opportunity to talk to Tom again when I interviewed a group of six students who had participated in the Caribbean trip and Tom was one of the participants. Tom seemed to have enjoyed the trip very much and was eager to tell me every detail of the trip. He also told me that he would like his mother to move to Caribbean and start a new kind of life for him. After the conversation, all students left except Tom who urged me to talk with him about his wish to become a lawyer in the future. He told me that he met a lawyer recently and learned a lot about the law system such as jay-walking and murder trials.

The childhood fantasy of Tom reflected a form of social meaning and behaviour. It was through taking up of a relationship with people and the world that Tom could realize his subjectivity. In other words, the unsatisfied wish of Tom from a soccer player to an animal, a president, and then to a lawyer, was a form of human experience built out of the webs of significance that consisted of words, images, myths, rituals, fantasies, and desires. One of the ideals which, consciously and unconsciously, was being promoted by our educational system, as in the case of Tom, was some sort of vague conception of turning students eventually into being somebodies. Tom had a more and more frustrating year as he was growing up. His dream content was very unspecific and fragile. His wanting to be somebody reflected his fragile understanding of some basic social constructs such as what a mother was, what a relationship with a father looked like, how to spend leisure time, and the need for friends. I was afraid that Jubilee Public School had not taught him enough to read his own feelings to guide him to search for a meaning of life through face-

to-face experiences. A pedagogy for Tom needed to enable him to see more clearly his prejudices, fears, and fantasies .

Hearing the unheard - The story of An-may

An-may was a Chinese Vietnamese who had come from Saigon four years ago. She was a very quiet girl. I first knew An-May when she was in grade 3. Sometimes, her classroom teacher was content with her silence but sometimes felt annoyed with her total refusal to talk. The teacher also hinted to me that her third grade cousin and second grade sister were extremely quiet students. The teacher invited me into her classroom to help her understand why An-may was so quiet and whether or not An-May needed extra help with her schoolwork.

Throughout the three class periods of one afternoon in January 1987, An-may did not say a word. After school, An-may and I had a conversation in Cantonese for about half an hour, during which she showed eagerness to answer all my questions and initiated many of the conversation topics. I began to realize that her "silence" was much more complex and could not be understood only through the Chinese culture dimension. The Canadian schooling system, the classroom culture, and the teacher's teaching methods contributed in one way or another to An-may's silence. There were so many ontological and political meanings embedded in An-may's silence that I was pushed to understand her silence as the erosion of voice and as a struggle of speaking consciousness. I sat in An-may's classroom for another day and began to gather a picture of what ordinary Canadian classroom life was like, which was surprising to me as an Oriental and as a peace educator. Teacher-student interaction in Jubilee Public School was essentially verbal. "Talk and chalk" and "question and response" were the two most important instructional strategies in An-may's classroom. "Talk and chalk" required students to keep silent at the maximal level while "question and response" required students not to be silent whenever they knew the "right" answer.

Silent students were usually "good" students and An-may was one of them, the teacher explained. Quiet students did not pose any immediate problems to classroom management and would never interrupt the lessons. There had been a lot of efforts by the teacher to encourage An-may to speak up in the classroom. The teacher, in the midst of her mundane life one busy afternoon, told me that she gave up on

An-may, exclaiming that "Chinese are very reserved people." An-may and her grade three cousin, sitting in the same classroom, sometimes seemed concentrated on their studies and sometimes seemed lost. I was compelled to ask myself: what is their voice like? I also wondered if it were not for the fact that An-may was falling behind in her studies, would there be the same effort by the teacher to understand her better? An-may spoke to me in the lunch room why she was so quiet in the classroom:

> I do not like the teacher to ask questions. Because when they ask questions, they always want a correct answer. Sometimes I know the answer but I am not sure my answer is right. Even though I know the answer, I have problems in speaking it out loud in English. I don't like my accent and voice. *(translation mine.)*

An-may was not born a silent girl but was silenced by the school culture: the fact that the teacher always wanted a "right" answer, the fact that she had an accent when she spoke English, the fact that her voice was comparatively weak, and the fact that the teacher did not seem to understand why An-may preferred to keep silent most of the time.

Suppose that the teacher asked a question and An-may chose to be silent. By choosing silence, An-may had undergone a chain of intellectual and psychological struggles such as giving the question deeper thought, trying to phrase the possible answer in better words, waiting to be called upon to answer, ignoring the teacher, and so on. But what was the nature of this "silence?" Even though An-may could choose to keep silent, the performance of silence was actually not a voluntary act. An-may kept silent because of the presence of the teacher, who might embody some kind of invisible power over her. She kept silent because of the presence of a question, which might be a test case of her ability, ignorance, and identity in front of a classroom that was seen as a place for competition. She kept silent because of the presence of a classroom structure and classroom culture, which were constructed on a chain of power relations.

Silence of this sort was not wholly autonomous, because the performance did not fall completely within the power or control of the individual student. The student could not control or transcend the emotional impact of being silent. In being silent, the student was actually yielding to some power, some ground or centre of significance which existed beyond him or her. It was only by being silent that this other power could manifest itself. This yielding involved awe. Seeing "silence" from this perspective, it

was important for educators to recognize the ontological characteristics of silence and realize the "sounds" of silence. In another words, there were at least two forms of silence: forced upon silence and voluntary silence. In the case of An-may, when a question was posed, she remained silent not necessarily because she was brought up in a reserved culture or because the teacher asked the wrong question or because she did not know the right answer. Rather, it might be a lack of shared relevancy between An-may and her teacher, between An-may and the other students, between the world of An-may's being and the signified world of the question. Silence occurred when there was a failure of understanding borne out of differences, which might include aggregate moods, feelings, states-of-mind, movements-of-attention. The differences, however, could not be remedied by information which as information could not supply understanding.

An-may's silence reminded me of how some adults manipulated silence as a way of control. Alice Miller has a nice paragraph on how pedagogues manipulated silence as a psychological attack on children. She said:

> A very fine and worthy position is assumed by silent punishment or silent reproof which expresses itself by a look or an appropriate gesture. Silence often has more force than many words and the eye more force than the mouth. It has been correctly pointed out that man uses his gaze to tame wild beasts; should it not therefore be easy for him to restrain all bad and perverse instincts and impulses of a young mind? If we have nurtured and properly trained our children's sensitivity from the beginning; then a single glance will have more effect than a cane or switch on those children whose sense have not been dulled to gentler influences. "The eye discerns, the heart burns," should be our preferred motto in punishing (1984, p. 37).

It still remained a question to what extent the adults around An-may had transmitted such a notion of silence to her. But her silence in the classroom situation showed no basis for equivalence or concordance, no translation for the sources of concern, characterization, typification, and relevance, for her experience stood on separate origins of biography and history from that of her teacher.

Silvers once commented that the occurrence of silence between two persons pointed to golden opportunities for one person to come to the other (1983, p. 105). Silence, in Silver's sense, is a good pedagogical moment for teachers because pedagogical silence required the teacher to face oneself in discovery of the other, the students. Self and other with their respective interpretive domains stood together in the context of silence in a tensive relationship, and any use of force to break the silence could make the

relationship not less but more tensive. There existed now a tensive relationship between An-may and her teacher. The teacher was right in not forcing or threatening An-may to speak up. But also the teacher needed to stand in a closer relationship with An-may rather than giving up on her.

A pedagogy of emotion : Understanding the adversial war experience of Thanh

Thanh was a Vietnamese boy in the grade 6 classroom. I heard from his teacher that he was a very attentive, responsible, and hard-working student. Over the three years he studied in Jubilee Public School, he had been chosen as "student of the week" every one or two months. He was comparatively quiet and shy. I had a lot of difficulties in securing him to talk to me at the beginning of the research.

Thanh rejected talking to me at our first conversation when I introduced myself to him and told him that I came from Hong Kong. He almost said and did nothing for the first half hour except nodding his head several times indicating to me that he understood what I said. I told him a lot of interesting events that I had seen happening in Little China. Eventually, he opened his lips and murmured a question: "What part of Hong Kong you come from?" The question meant and explained a lot to me because the question allowed me to understand gradually why Thanh resisted me so strongly.

Hearing Thanh's story was to re-live the tragic history of Vietnam, a country that had been engaged in war for more than thirty years. Thanh and his parents came to Hong Kong on a refugee boat in August 1983. On their way to Hong Kong, Thanh's father lost all their property and possessions. As soon as they arrived ashore, they were escorted to a refugee camp from where they had not stepped out of for three whole years. Neither his parents nor he had left the camp until the last day when they were escorted to the airport and boarded on an airplane to Canada. The life in the refugee camp was a horrible experience for Thanh although at that time he did not quite understand what was going on and what would be happening to him. For three whole years, he was confined in the camp and, most of the time, he laid on a single bed sleeping and dreaming. He did not have any toys to play with or any books to read. At times, he would run to the far end corner of the refugee camp where he found a big piece of rock and sat on there watching millions of jumbo planes taking off from the runways. Thanh enjoyed the tremendous noise and high speed of

children in the camp liked to go near the fence of the refugee camp and watch people playing, walking by, or shopping in a nearby residential area. Every time he went near the fence he felt more depressed when he saw so many people walking freely or holding a lot of food in their shopping bags. He hated the three years he spent in Hong Kong and still had very horrible nightmares about the city for the first three months since he arrived Canada.

The pace of the conversation with Thanh was slow, sad, and usually ended with emotional disturbances for Thanh and me. For the first two conversations, I did most of the talking while Thanh listened to me very attentively. It was hard for me to make Thanh believe that what the Hong Kong government did to the Vietnamese refugees was not what the general Hong Kong people wanted. It was even more difficult for Thanh to believe me when I told him that there were many Hong Kong and Chinese people who lived in poorer situations than those he used to live in. Antagonism seemed to ease a bit when I told him that I left Hong Kong in July 1983, one month before he arrived in Hong Kong. From this, he seemed to believe that I had nothing to do with the refugee camp. I also managed to build greater rapport with him by comparing his legitimate status as a Canadian citizen with my being just a visitor in this vast country. Through this comparison, Thanh began to ask me a lot of interesting questions such as where I stayed now in Kaskitayo, whether or not I had to leave Canada one day in the same way his family left Vietnam three years ago, whether or not I missed home and my family. He seemed to have built up in his mind an image that I was a refugee in Canada.

Other than the bitter experience as a refugee, Thanh hinted to me one other tragic experience that warranted my interest as a peace educator. It was the loss of his sister and death of some close relatives. In listening to Thanh's recounting of traumatic war experiences was to explore a relationship of oneself to one's past, which was still a very important part within his present. His recounting of the experience was quite confused. At times, he would lose his usually logical mind and verbal clarity. He told me very different stories about his sister's death. At one time, he told me that his sister had died of gunshots one midnight in the house when he was sound asleep. At another time, he said that he remembered some policemen firing guns that swept through his house and the whole village. He told equally confusing

semantics of a kinship system and a notion of history. In the cultural tradition of Thanh, the death of his sister and grandparents brought in a notion of discontinuity between his past and present. The dramatic conversion of existence of his sister into non-existence disrupted the continuous flow of life.

A pedagogy of peace for Thanh needed to reconsider the nature and meaning of Thanh's pain and suffering. First and foremost, Thanh experienced a traumatic sense of loss and a forced departure from his immediate familial milieu within which he was born and raised. Through the familial environment in Vietnam, Thanh had developed and consolidated strong senses of human competence and ethnic identity. Fleeing from Vietnam to Hong Kong and then to Canada uprooted his senses of self sufficiency, ethnic identity, and social cohesion. Through face-to-face interactions and classroom observations, I found that Thanh had developed certain ways in which he managed his suffering. Sometimes he could maintain a distance between the "objective" description of war and the "subjective" experience of pain. In the class discussion of war and suffering, a strong spiritual message to remember forward was brought out by Thanh when he told the class that he was really happy to have a chance to study hard in the school.

Summary

The undertaking of an ethnographic inquiry in this chapter was a process of meaning construction through direct personal conversations, observations, and participation in social behaviour. There was an ethnographic intent to understand a culture of peace in Jubilee Public School in terms as closely as possible to the way members of that school viewed the universe and organized their behaviour within it. The guiding question of the chapter was: How were principal, teachers, students, parents, volunteers and the Jubilee community brought more fully into life through the pedagogical efforts of the school?

The fact that Jubilee Public was a good school had to be understood in relation with its locatedness in real space and real time. The conceptualization of a pedagogy of peace with real stories from the school participants redefined the dispersions and uneasy peace of everyday life. From the geographical and socio-economic localities of Jubilee Public School and the transformational history of the Jubilee community, I could understand the bitter antagonism between a host society and an immigrant society. After studying

could build up a united community. The principal himself served as a model of a global teacher who encouraged students and individuals to extend a caring attitude to those people of different faiths, cultures, and racial origins. From the custodian, I came to understand that his long and busy day in Jubilee Public School was an expression of promoting good-will towards the other. He worked extra hours everyday after school or during weekends because he knew that his physical and emotional presence in the school could provide a sheltering environment of the home from which the supportive feelings of trust and safety could radiate. The participation in lunch room events, observations of and conversations with Mother Elizabeth in the basement revealed to me with exigency the humiliation of being a native woman and an underclass. The field trip experience to the employment centre strongly convinced me that most social establishments still had a tendency to discriminate people on the basis of ethnic grounds.

The stories of Linda and Wilson represented two different kinds of teachers who employed completely different approaches to combat the uneasy peace of everyday life. At the very first day of her teaching career in Jubilee Public School, Linda realized the uniqueness and special needs of the students. She did not intend to cover her teaching up with an easy tone by assuming that she had been an effective teacher in another school. Instead, she radicalized her teaching by making her interaction with the students and other activities in the classroom as discursive act within social practices, bodily comportment, and the cultures of pleasure and pain. In comparison, Wilson possessed many of the basic skills of teaching. Yet, he was not reflective enough in view of the lived situations of his students. He need to bring his basic skills of teaching to a more conscious level so that he could ask himself "what am I doing to this child at this moment of time?" If he had asked questions like this, he would have been shaken back to the root of teaching and became a more reflective practitioner. He would also not have truncated the different pictures of a holistic child or truncated an emerging relationship between students and himself.

From the life profiles of the students, discriminatory practices relating to gender, class, and race was revealed in the organizational and teaching structures. In addition to the themes of sex-role stereotyping and racial intolerance, the plurality of students' stories articulated one important concept in modern pedagogy, which was an anthropological theory between adultism and childhood. From the observation

of the adults around them. Tom felt more and more frustrated as he grew up because the adults around him confused him as to what was right and what was wrong. His image of himself, degree of self-esteem, tendency towards self-denigration, and visions for an endurable future depended on how he related to his mother, who was often a target of ridicule or harassment in Jubilee Public School. The life profiles of different students indicated that in spite of the greatness of the school, there was a general lack of consciousness among some of the adults in Jubilee Public School in the matter of social literacy. In a Freirian sense of emancipatory pedagogy, a concept of conscientization was needed as an instrument for social change.

CHAPTER VI

POSSIBILITIES OF PEACE AND HOPE IN MODERN PEDAGOGY: RETHINKING AND ENGENDERING CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS

At the edge of postmodernism: Crisis, contradictions, and new beginnings

> An epoch is characterized by a complex of ideas, concepts, hopes, doubts, and challenges in dialectical interaction with their opposites, striving towards plenitude. The concrete representation of many of these ideas, values, concepts, and hopes, as well as the obstacles which impede man's full humanization, constitute the themes of that epoch (Freire, 1970, p. 91).

When Freire wrote the paragraph in 1968, he considered the fundamental theme of the epoch to be that of domination - which implied its opposite, the theme of liberation, as the objective to be achieved (1970, p. 93). Domination, in the Freirian sense, was an inclusive term which include oppression ranging from class, communal, regional to international domination. The step of engendering actions against domination, according to Freire, was to uncover the ways in which the themes of oppressions were perceived.

"The times they are a changing." As the research has indicated, the "thematic universe" of our epoch has become significantly broader in scales and deeper in level. Oppression as in the context of this research includes numerous spheres ranging from everyday practices to the domains of reflective thought. Some of the major themes that I have been dwelling with in the research are; the shaking of human conscience, the loss of human-world relatedness, the horror of nuclear genocide, the domination of mass information, the alienation of cultural myths, the poverty of language, the struggle against tradition, the erosion of childhood, the suppression of ethnicity, and discrimination against the underclass. In spite of the "spectacular" success of Jubilee Public School as portrayed by the media, the research shows the various impediments to success, the prospects for failure, and the limits of human agency. This dialectical nature of peace and hope in pedagogy reminds me of Dubos's question just before he died in 1982. Dubos asked all educators to probe deeply into this questionL: "How can education be a celebration of life despite it all(1982, p. 266)?"

We are now living at the edge of postmodernism - a moment of history with pervasive change, uncertainty, and ambivalence. In economic terms, postmodernism signifies the shifts from production of goods to production of information. In the cultural sphere, commodity economism influences the development of high culture into mass culture and then into commodity aesthetics. Contemporary education intersects with these forces of change and instabilities of the broader society and is therefore implicated in postmodern discourses. Postmodern discourse, according to Lyotard (1984), is a movement of consciousness against the grand narrative theories of the western tradition. It does so by raising serious doubt the western concepts of scientific knowledge, subjectivity, reason, truth, and reality. At the same time, postmodernism approaches history through discontinuity and repetition which undermines the ideas of civilization, development, and modernization. It decries the western confidence in the principle of the "general progress of humanity." It de-constructs our educational theory which has long been sustained in the principles of performatism, objectivism, and behaviouralism.

The postmodern turn has profound and unsettling effects upon the practices, rationalization, and the legitimation of education. In important senses, the peace education movement is a part of the postmodern movement because it has the ultimate aim of revealing the contradictions of modern society. Peace education is a postmodern turn towards humanizing education and counteracting the cultural problems of conceiving war, competition, conflict as the motors of progress. The postmodern discourse implicated in the semiological consciousness of Chapter IV and the ethnographic study in Chapter V uncovers the more foundational questions about education:

- What does it mean to live with the present?
- How shall we live together?
- What is the relation of education to the world it inhabits?
- How can adults help children come to terms with the tragic senses of life?
- How is it possible that people are still on the verge of hope?
- How can we understand hope?
- How can we cope with the ideas of westernism and nuclearism?

- Can one cope with westernism and nuclearism by seeking support and inspiration in the native texts for new ways of living and thinking? Can we decenter the self enough and be less-self indulgent and come up with a more co-operative orientation?
- What do we conceive morality to be?
- Can there be more peace?

Capra (1983) and Caputo (1987) remind us that there are always new beginnings if we keep our questions or ideas open to the field of nature and culture which they must express. By realizing that perception or understanding is perspectival from a particular location in the world, we must always recognize that there is more to be grasped and known than what we have initially. The possibilities of new developments stem not only in ourselves or in our thinking but also in the lived world itself. Gadamer (1976) argues that hope and possibility can always be derived from a hermeneutical interest in tradition. If we do not take the past as fixed fact and allow ourselves to hear messages from destiny, there is always the power to reconstruct new forms of understanding and to live in creative ways.

Enlivening the spirits of peace and hope in Jubilee Public School

Jubilee Public School is a name I made up for the school. In Hebrew etymology, "jubilee" refers to an occasion of celebration when slaves are freed and returned to their own land. In this study, "jubilee" refers to a state of time characterized with rejoicing and sharing. The naming of the participating school as "Jubilee Public School" reflects my personal experience as well as the expectations from the community in which the school is located. It is undeniable that the tales of caring and love in Jubilee Public School is a truth. However, we have also to remember that the tale of Jubilee Public School is a located truth spatially and temporally. It seems equally important to identify the place and time of the truth and to specify the truth itself.

In the study, I have tended to treat Jubilee Public School as a "founding text" for interpretation with the implicit aim of constructing a new language about schooling. The new language, as concretized through the life stories of the participants from Jubilee Public School, expose the shortcomings and failures

inherent in traditional educational theories as well as to reveal new possibilities for thinking about and organizing school experiences. These shortcomings and possibilities offer an exceptionally fertile field for the analysis of contemporary political structures which tend to perpetuate and legitimate the oppressive mechanism of militarization, westernization, adultism, and scientism. A pedagogy of peace and hope in Jubilee Public School is constructed independently of these oppressive mechanisms and its related concepts such as fear, death, and realism. Rather, it is situated in the existential notions of hope, community, and ethics.

Towards an educational discourse on hope

What is hope? What is the materiality of hope? How can there still be hope in spite of the numerous and massive hardship on the grounds of race, age, sex, and class? How does hope reveal itself in Jubilee Public School?

For the principal, hope is a pre-eminent characteristic of human beings which can sustain and motivate life regardless of time and place. For the committed custodian Mark, hope is a fundamental orientation with youngsters. For the compassionate volunteer Mother Elizabeth, hope is to stand ready both to receive from others and to give to others. For the caring teacher Linda, hope is an attitude towards students that allow growth towards the future. With her greatest confidence, she enables her students to prepare for tomorrow in the calm conviction that no irreparable disasters can befall them. For the effective teacher Wilson, hope is his expectation on students to try their best. For the Native boy Tom, hope is his fantasies and dreams about his healthy and perfect body. For the ethnic student Tranh, hope is the feelings of patience and security inside his inner self. For the senior groups, hope is a human relationship where people still care for one another. All in all, a pedagogy of hope in Jubilee Public School is characterized by a temporal relationship, a certain attitude towards the future, and the inner supporting ground of human life. The pedagogy of hope in Jubilee Public School evolves around a celebrative spirit of human beings transcending individuality, nationality, and temporality.

Towards responsible politics and communal living

Jubilee community is a community in which people are greatly differentiated by political allegiances, religion, languages, ethnicities, social backgrounds, and level of commitment towards the Jubilee community. The diverse groups of people are able to come together in a shared communal structure not because they have necessarily had or would have the same experience of being Canadians. Rather, it is because they share a set of symbolic constructs through which they can think and talk about being Canadians. The set of symbols which enhance senses of community is the social existence of Jubilee Public School and the people involved with the school in one way or another.

There are always conflicts among different groups of people in which one group might puzzle, exasperate or disappoint the other. Yet, they still recognize each other as sharing an identity with its concomitant moral obligations. The variations under the one symbolic common form of being Canadian cements the community of differences and united it in the harmony of agreement. The extent of the symbols of Canadian citizenship work as a collective of shared constructs can encompass the diverse private meanings which are imbued in different public cultural forms. The fact that the June 4th student movement in China has transcended the plurality of perspectives among different Chinese ethnicities in Jubilee community and has brought about a united allegiance to a pro-democracy movement in the city is a good example of how private meanings can be encompassed in collective constructs.

Jubilee Public School is a small community school but it serves a very large community of people directly and indirectly. Within the mosaic of people being served by Jubilee Public School, I become aware of the diversity of people who are not really safely anchored in one system of cultural meanings but live in a fragmented cultural universe combining elements from various cultural systems. What kind of political community is envisioned in Jubilee Public School? Should education be informed by real needs in the community or should it be determined by prepackaged wants or demands? The success story of Jubilee Public School is its ability to identify and prioritize the real needs within the community and then to identify new human, technical, and institutional resources to meet those needs.

A strong recognition of the meaning of community can be sought during the annual Chinese New year celebration at Jubilee Public School. Every year before and after the celebration, I would ask student

participants about the ritual and meanings of their dances and songs. Although many of the student participants are of Chinese ethnic origin, they would give me very diverse and individualized interpretations of the Chinese New Year. Whatever the ritual of celebration is officially said to "do" or "mean" by their teachers, I still think that the dance or song at the celebration is a specific personal experience for each of the participants or observers. What I witnessed on the night of the celebration was a passing on of tradition, a transmission of culture, and almost a re-invention of it. Students' ability in decoding the meanings, actions, and structures of the Chinese New Year during or after the celebration indicates that there are always new ways and new forms to make sense of the world, to take account of others, and to take up relations with people or tradition. The celebration provides "possibilities" through which students develop their own potentials and through which the students' lives and worlds are brought closer so that students can confront the world by seeing, observing, describing, experimenting, counting, understanding, and questioning.

Communal living also requires a heightened awareness of responsibility. In Jubilee Public School, teachers are aware of the double situation of global education thrust upon them - the globe in the classroom and the classroom in the globe (Carson, 1990). Jubilee Public School concretizes the concept of global responsibility by providing the community with the various social services programmes. In doing so, the students could experience responsible behaviour in numerous situations. The concept of neighbourhood is seen historically in a new perspective. It means that the person to whom one must feel responsible for is not only our visible counterpart, but it can also be someone whom we do not know, with whom we do not come into contact at all, possibly even someone who will live after us. Responsibility to other people in this age of world wide interdependence and communication means the possibility of being dependent upon human beings and dependent upon humanity in general.

Towards an ethical notion of educational excellence

The study has somehow to confront an ultimate question: Is Jubilee Public School a good school? In what sense and by what standard does Jubilee Public School reflect a pedagogy of peace and hope? What kind educational excellence is displayed in Jubilee Public School?

Attempts to answer these questions require moral and ethical thinking and not technical rationality. The main theme of pedagogy in Jubilee Public School, for me at least, is to come to terms with those people who live in situations of structurally supported violence, to help the oppressed group of people to understand the system in question, and to replace these systems with a consciously chosen peacemaking relationship. In Jubilee Public School, the feeling and spirit of education as a form of ethical commitment is very strong. The school has first of all succeeded in securing the interests of students, parents, volunteers, and seniors in coming to school. The school then attempts to explore possibilities in connecting abstract issues with participants' immediate concerns as a means of guiding them toward the more serious work of conventional studies and citizenship responsibilities. Embedded in most of the school activities is an ethical message on how to be a responsible person to your neighbours. In the process of cultivating certain fixed beliefs about Canadian people and Canadian government, the school also attempt to incorporate the explicit teaching of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting.

The plurality of students' existential orientations invites me to extend the notion of academic excellence from scholastic achievement to ethical commitment. The enlarged sovereignty of the media and other social considerations have pushed parents to over-rely upon social institutions for educating children. In the process of over-reliance on institutions, parents undermine their ability and responsibility for raising children. Indeed it is now believed by some that the parent-child relationship is essentially neurotic, and that children are better served by institutions than by their families. This is a serious form of violence that adults have done to their children. The principal of Jubilee Public School resurrects this belief and endeavours to bridge the gap between school and home by cultivating confidence in many un-educated and under-classed parents. For almost two decades, Jubilee Public School has played a key role in building a collaborative orientation toward the minority language community. That includes the willingness to work with aides and parents who speak second languages, to provide other ways for parents to participate in children's learning, and the eager exhibition of minority cultural acceptance through ethnic festival celebrations.

The gap between school and family is also bridged when the principal intentionally promotes an atmosphere of "home-ness" within the school. The principal has two creative mottos summarizing his

philosophy of education. The two mottos are: "school as home away from home" and "teachers as parents away from parents." The association of images of home with school and teacher with parent bring out the concept of family in a school setting. In each metaphor, the signifier of "school" and "teacher" interact with the signified "home" and "parent," and altering our experience of both terms in comparison. The metaphorical thought of relating home with school and parent with teacher leads us to see school and teacher as something familiar through the imagistic capacity of home and teacher. The framing of the relationship persists concurrently with our original sense of "home-ness." The metaphor of "school as home away from home" represents and creates one reality by expressing it in language drawn from a different reality. Metaphoric thought broadens the meaning of school because multiple meanings related with home are brought together under the signifier of "home." The metaphoric thought also brings outs the idea that schooling is more an ethnical commitment than a technical enterprise.

Engendering the process of cultural transformations

It has been five years since I first started the research. The five years represented a long process of action and reflection, questioning and searching, reading and writing, theoretical contemplating and practical researching in the field. The five-year study is a true journey and now carries me back to a new beginning. In spite of all the re-searching, the study brings me to more questions and uncertainties. I always ask myself: what kinds of meanings have I arrived at after the study? As I re-read the dissertation, I find that I have left many questions unanswered. I hope that the research can act as a series of "cues" to the readers and invite readers to construct the findings into their own meanings. In the terminology of hermeneutics and semiotics, I hope the reader will "concretize" or "actualize" the meanings for themselves. I do not hope that the theoretical orientations of the dissertation dictate against the unique meaning of the school. As such, I have not related peace education practices in Jubilee Public School with any particular models of peace education, although I have to admit that the Freirian spirit of emancipatory pedagogy and his concepts on dialogue teaching, critical literacy, situated pedagogy, and human agency have influenced greatly the discussion and structure of the dissertation.

As the research developed and progressed, a framework of peace education based on what I have seen in Jubilee Public School gradually emerged. There are three important dimensions in the Jubilee Public School model of peace education. The three dimensions are: an existential orientation to hope, the politics of communal living, and an ethical notion of excellence. The new framework of peace education derived from Jubilee Public School is not a theoretical construct but an enactment of the struggles of the participants from Jubilee Public School. From these struggles, some visions of cultural transformation begin to emerge.

Practicing conscientization and cultural de-mystification

It is the alienation of the cultural myth of Jubilee Public School that initially allows me to shape the research focus and enter into most of the research questions. The alienation becomes stronger and more bitter as I gradually find out that the cultural myth of the school has implacably controlled the thinking and even the destiny of some participants. In undertaking a semiotic analysis and an ethnographic investigation, I come to challenge all different notions of knowledge: cumulative knowledge, scientific knowledge, mediated message, objectivity, ideology, and power. I strongly reject the possibility of a validating scientific method and knowledge on independent, ahistorical, gender- and race-free grounds. The hermeneutics of suspicion challenges the claims to validity of ideas and ideologies.

From a deconstructionist approach to the story of Jubilee Public School, the research focus gradually shifts to a postmodernist critique of cultural myth. Cultural myths have been so pervasive in this media-saturated society that people have avoided any genuine inquiry into the meanings of symbols. Myths provide the cliches and formulas by which people from Jubilee Public School or people who do not have any experience with Jubilee Public School "explain" the greatness of the school in the form of persuasion, ritual, and rhetoric. What is the nature of mass information? What does a pedagogy of conscientization mean in this media environment? The rush for television in Yen's family pushes the question of mass media one step further into a very concrete pedagogical question. It has been four years since I first met Yen and was told about the rush for television in her family. Four years later, the rush for television

are now good enough for all sources of television entertainment other than the Chinese videos. Consequent conversations with Yen early this year show that she and her brothers know many things that they do not need to know. The entertainment pattern of her family urges me to consider the meaning of a modern childhood within the psychology of adultism and the dominance of mass culture. Do the routine limitations and impositions on the life-worlds of children and families from mass media lie outside of people's control?

Other than the television mythologies, cultural myths also operate at level of theoretical concepts. The concepts of peace and human rights are embodied within a larger mythical fallacy of "equality." In the so-called "liberal" society of Canada, it has designed two separate frameworks of relations, one in which human rights are respected within the boundary of legal and civil law, and the other one in which human rights are violated which include urgent human needs and priorities such as food, education, health, housing, employment, and active participation in the building of social order. Most people are comfortable with the dualistic frameworks and believe that people are equal as long as we do not mention concrete human beings. It also seems to me that the human rights movement is a difficult process of social struggle that has as its protagonists concrete people and not abstract theories. The order of change, therefore, implies a process of de-mystification ranging from theoretical concepts to everyday struggles against submission of subjectivity, secrecy, dis-information, deformation, and mystifying impositions from the telecommunication system.

Re-claiming identities and differences

For five consecutive years from 1986 to 1990, I have been going in and out of Jubilee Public School, talking to the different people who are connected with the school in one way or another, observing their behaviours and participating in some part of their lives, and then to construct a text about human life. The act of researching peace as actions uncovers many theoretical, methodological, ethical and ontological issues to be further explored. Are there gaps in human relationships? Are there gaps between cultures? Is there a gap between ethnography and hermeneutics?

Derrida's notion of difference and Levinas' notion of responsibility serve as important reminders in my relating with people from Jubilee Public School. In many instances, there is an impenetrable

alienation between "me" as an outsider and "them" as insiders, balanced more or less by the accomplishment of some degree of understanding. The cultural disparity between "me" as a Chinese and them as Canadians, between me as a visitor and them as residents calls for extra effort and patience on both parties to transcend the ontological disparities into historical understanding. The existential gap can sometimes serve as the ground for anthropological understanding and sometimes becomes subversion of mutual understanding. This difficulty requires me to adopt an ethical dimension in addition to the ontological perspective in re-claiming identities.

The question I posed for myself at the beginning of the research is: Would it matter to me to do a research about Canadian schooling in a Chinese community if I was not Chinese? The focus of the question is later shifted from whether or not it has mattered to how it has mattered and to whom it has mattered. The questions derive from the context of the research, from the process of interaction, from the actions of representation, from the relationship between knowledge and power, and from those things I experience as different. The questions point to the problematic of conceptualizing other people as different, of representing that difference through writing, and searching for the potential meaningfulness of assuming, creating, denying, perpetuating, recognizing, or adopting the pre-conceived difference of the other people. The attention on the notion of difference gradually makes me realize that no definite self or definite other can be asserted. At the same time, the indefinite self and indefinite other cannot be denied

Teachers, parents, volunteers, visitors, seniors, adult learners, and everyone I meet in Jubilee Public School tell me that the school is good and different. Ethnic students tell me that they are different from the Anglo-Canadians in terms of their ethnicity, mother tongue, cultural background, living conditions, and family experience. By hearing what the students tell me about their pre-conceived differences, these differences seem to be utilized as natural attributes and thus imprison them within the boundaries of the differences. Difference as uniqueness or special identity can be emancipatory as well as limiting. It all depends on whether or not the situational context in which the idea of "difference" of the total form of "I" is suppressed. Postmodern social, economic and cultural arrangements require the notion of difference to "produce" differences and abnormalities in educational opportunity, career employment, life aspiration, and class mobility. By utilizing "difference" as "normalizing operations," I am afraid that the

broad propaganda of the school and the students as different could put the students in a victimized position. Derrida's notion of difference as "differance" can be referred to as an ethical struggle against the imposition of difference at the individual level. Throughout the five years of study, I have encountered many adults and children of Jubilee Public School rejecting other people's view of who they are and what they are and trying to manage their own collective identities. The inconsistent self-images of Tom, the silence of An-may, the resistance ritual of Tina, the retreating complex of Thanh, and many of the adult ESL learners in my class operate on this denial and dispute among themselves the way in which they are different from the host society.

The fact that I am different and posit myself as their "other" might seem welcoming to the ethnic group while it might seem foreign, challenging, even threatening to the people of the mainstream group. It is both the ethnic group and the mainstream whose peoplehood I set out to study. Similar threats or stereotypes on a societal scale could be exerted on the Chinese community had it not been the fact that Jubilee Public School built a good relationship between the school and the community. The pedagogical challenge for Jubilee Public School, in the context of reclaiming ethnicity and identity, is the repossession of the world from which the ethnic students come from: the family. Countries whose population have been constituted by immigrants from other nation and countries such as Canada are particularly vulnerable to the denigration of the familial culture when that culture is identified with a visible a recognizable ethnicity. Pennycook (1990) says:

> ... On the one hand, the stress of diversity, when set in contradistinction to a problematic convergence, may eventually turn into a notion dangerously similar to the vapid liberal pluralism of Canada's multiculturalism. As Piper suggests, the idealistic multicultural ideology tends to obscure the fundamental issues of racism in the society. And Burney argues that While Canada maintains a facade of multiculturalism - which supposedly nurtures and respects other cultures - in actuality the official multiculturalism as practised in Canada is a discourse which segregates and subjugates people into "ethnicity" and hence marginality (pp. 60-61).

The idea of racial discrimination and marginalization can be equally applied to first-third worlds relations in which the first world is the centre and the third world is defined as periphery according to the

centre. The building of a global community demands that we displace our subjectivity from the centre and refuse to privilege the being of oneself.

Education for compassionate thinking

Mendlovitz (1982) once said that the loss of human compassion is the greatest oppression of our age. A pedagogy for peace and hope, as mentioned before, is to cultivate a sense of ethics and responsibility for discovering and living out one's own judgment and commitment. What is the relation I have to the school participants? What happens to ethics if I cannot stand in place for the participants or cannot do them justice by speaking for them? How can a pedagogy of peace and hope help overcome the carelessness and neglect that stand in the way of morality? Throughout the five years of study, I have come to value human agency, to focus attention on feeling the other's particularity and concreteness, to reach out to people from the participants' own vantage points, and to make sense of their lived worlds by placing their meanings alongside with mine. In doing so, I have discovered multiple ways of seeing, multiple ways of being located in the world, and multiple ways of feeling interconnectedness with other people even in a foreign land.

The study created an opportunity for me to live out some of the most exciting times in this foreign land. Conversing with other people and then to enter into their lived-world for a certain period of time is a process of alternating between the pleasure of text and the pain of larger society. To hear one's story is not only to understand the personal or the idiosyncratic aspect of a particular person. It is a process of getting to know people who are in the struggle of becoming human or restoring hope under oppressive structures. The community of Little China and Jubilee Public School are themselves engrossed with pain and injustice. The principal and the teachers have been successful in creating a community of people who can build on their own human resources and that every individual can function in the community in a competent way. In the process of understanding these cultural patterns and historically created systems of meaning, I think I have given forms, orders, and directions to my own life. Through interacting with the underclass, I came to understand why the commitment to struggle or transformation is particularly strong

among the oppressed groups of people. It is also the interactional experience with this oppressed group of people that pulls out most strongly a cluster of wishful thoughts on the themes of peace and hope.

In retrospection, I find myself easily drawn to the culturally and socially deprived group of people and engage with them in reflective thinking. The lifestyle of Mother Elizabeth and the story of Yen alert me to remember that while ethnic origin has made their acculturation problematic, gender becomes a compounded complication for their formation of the self. Their stories invite me to relate the specific issues of race and gender as they are embodied in the broader categories of culture in relation to which they define their identities. The insecure feeling of Thanh and his traumatic memory of war experience enable me to seek an alternative mode of understanding which emphasizes more our senses of feeling than on theories or cognition. The moment of speechlessness is also the moment in which I feel united with Thanh. The Grade 5 students' writings on nuclear threat highlight the dominant conditions and emotions of our time. Students' writing on nuclear war, whether they are being haunted by it or are free from it, implies a taking on of a greater responsibility on the part of the teacher. Prior to or beyond any curriculum, educational activity, or decision, there is a concrete and often oppressive and evil reality. The meaning of education is not to ignore, conceal, or distort this form of reality but to transform it.

The re-orienting of personal subjectivity with human agency, according to Greene (1986, 1990) is the arousal of passion towards the other and thus constitutes the first step in engendering cultural transformations. She said:

> The point is, however, that all this must follow from self-understanding, from an awareness of the actually lived world, from a refusal of objectness, from a decision to be with others in sphere that is intersubjectively meaningful. On this ground, there can be new beginnings, efforts to surpass, to go beyond (1982, p. 135).
>
> Intersubjectively involved as we are, with our consciousness opening out to the common, our normal lives cannot but be oriented to what is lacking in the lives we share. Infused with attentiveness and concern, such ways of being demand a kind of mindfulness, a particular mode of care (1990, p. 69).

The research provided an opportunity for me to experience a dialogic relationship of intersubjectivity, lived life, civility, and friendship with people of diverse backgrounds. The relationship is

marked by passion, by an attentiveness to the deficiencies, the particularities, and the possibilities of the world. The relationship is a community-in-the-making in its truest sense.

Postscript: Can there be more "peace"?

Personally, I have a strong interest in the issues of peace and hope for the oppressed group of people like the colonized, students, children, women, and ethnics. I am particularly drawn to the manifestations of peace and hope as being-in-the-world. My understanding of being-in-the-world, perhaps Oriental in its underlying nature, has been consistently influenced by literatures of postmodernism, feminism, and critical theory of education. All these ideas contribute to a central concern of how to pull oneself together out of the dispersion and disconnectedness of everyday "inauthentic existence," to use Heidegger's own words. This central concern has then become the entry point and the guiding question for the research. The six chapters are attempts to come to grips with the meaning of authentic and inauthentic existence in theoretical, methodological, ontological, pedagogical, and ethical ways.

The five years of study was a life struggle with ups and downs, stability and change. I had the opportunity to live out the most exciting as well as the most difficult times of my life. The excitement includes the attitudinal change of the participants towards peace education and towards me as an ethnic peace researcher. Five years ago, school participants tended to equate peace education with nuclear disarmament and thus led them to think about a doctoral research on peace education as a form of radical propaganda or political indoctrination. Skepticism was exhibited through the teachers' non-confidence over the reasons and process of the studies. Five years later, owing to a combination of wider experience, critical social awareness, and a prolonged process of dialogue, it enabled participants to accept a gradual legitimization and call for a human urgency of their work as peace education. Through the collaborative efforts between the school and I, a broader framework on peace education seems to have emerged. The weighted pre-occupation with disarmament and nuclear issues has gradually been shifted to a more concrete and broadened concept of peace education by relating the immanent uneasy peace of the community in which the school is located. The broadening conception of peace education includes; dealing with the economic deprivation through provisions of social services, fighting against racial discrimination through additional school effort in

celebrating multiculturalism, rescuing community isolation and promoting senses of empowerment through developing a partnership model of community-school relations.

In spite of the gradual recognition of their work at Jubilee Public School as a form of peace education, there remains confusion and ambiguities among participants regarding what is the meaning of the term "peace education," why the society needs it, and how they as adults go about teaching it. This remains a professional challenge for me as a researcher from the university and the co-ordinator for The Institute for Peace Education to play a more active role in facilitating that process of public information and discussion of peace education.

My motivation and confidence in the study has sometimes been disrupted by difficulties of life. Many of the personal experiences of life difficulties echo with the similar difficulties of the students, volunteers, and parents of Jubilee Public School. The difficulties include; the denigration of ethnicity and racial discrimination, cultural stigmatization and swinging conceptions towards tradition, economic instability at the brink of survival, social marginalization, and the feeling of isolation. My personal belief in peace and hope was undermined when the Tiananman massacre occurred on June 4, 1989. Since then, cynicism towards the future of the Hong Kong Colony, the Chinese government and its socialist order, the metaphysical concepts of Chinese as a group of ethnic people, as a civilization of more than four thousand years long, and Chinese as a philosophy of inner-directed code of ethics has been generated. Never have my husband and I become so disappointed and frustrated towards our future. The dramatic enactment of the Hong Kong 1997 issue by a class of secondary students seven years ago allowed me to enter a research on peace education. It is also exactly the same issue that I need to confront after all those seven years of searching.

Family life is upset occasionally by the external dynamics of economic difficulties, political uncertainties, and societal forces of discrimination. I am challenged to bring about peaceful relationship between husband and wife, between parents and children into my own family. How can I bring about peace to my husband who has been undergoing constant confusion over whether his priority is to get a job or to continue with his studies in this foreign land. Neither of the two goals seems to be satisfying for him because he cannot define his place in western academics and/or in the western marketplace. As the study is

approached the end, I find myself sharing his same feeling of disconnectedness. How can I help my two sons overcome discriminatory practices that they constantly encounter in public spaces? What is the structure of peace in a family context? What is the structure of peace in an ethnic family?

It is this personal struggle of hope and peace that has allowed me to engage in a cultu. l conversation with Canadian society on the issues of ethnicity, identity, employment, class, gender, discrimination, domination, and liberation. I am afraid that in order to keep the conversation going, I have to define and develop for myself a new vision for society. The challenge, for me at this stage, is to put aside cynicism and join in the conversation with a more open and hopeful attitude. The answer to these difficulties, indeed, requires above all an effort to be aware of the need for interdependence and to be aware of the hopeless tendency of any isolationist attitude. I believe that the worry about my future and my family is granted in society as a whole which will be brought to some fuller form of life. Hope transcends the individualistic desire from the "I" and "they" and re-locates on the "we." I have to admit that the different ways minority people cope with the host society that I have interacted with in Jubilee Public School offer me an open and hopeful attitude. From the life profiles of the ethnic participants, I came to realize concretely the different levels of survival. Some people fall back on the original culture to whatever extent possible and isolate themselves from the new culture; some reject the original culture and attempt to assimilate completely into the new culture; some become marginal persons uninvolved in either culture; or some strive for a synthesis of the two. Which one should I want to be?

The question will persist as long as I claim my ide..ity as being ethnically different and accept life as difficult. By maintaining a disrupted sense of progress and a radicalized sense of life's difficulties, according to Caputo, I can admit to myself the inherent uncertainties of human effort. A hermeneutic suspicion on uncertainties may in fact bind me together more strongly with other groups of people, inspire more persistent and conscientious effort in understanding my destiny, and help me maintain a more realistic appraisal of the worth of what I am trying to accomplish. The tragic side of the nuclear tyranny should not dispel hope. Rather, it requires me to restore hope with doubt on the one hand, and to fight against skepticism with persistent effort for the fundamentally new and the better, on the other. (Ruiz, 1988). A pedagogy of peace and hope, as I firmly believe, embraces the two perspectives at once.

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