Kaisa Savolainen

Education as a Means to World Peace

The Case of the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Kaisa Savolainen

Education as a Means to World Peace

The Case of the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2010

Education as a Means to World Peace

The Case of the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation

Kaisa Savolainen

Education as a Means to World Peace

The Case of the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

Cover picture: ©UNESCO/Patrick Lagès

ABSTRACT

How do culturally, politically, and economically different actors together define education as it relates to peace, and what is the outcome when education is a normative instrument of UNESCO? This question is explored through the case of the UNESCO 1974 *Recommendation on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms,* with the aim of increasing understanding of UNESCO and of similar work more generally. The text of the recommendation is analysed discursively, and five repertoires (instruction, principled, factual, stand-taking, and adjusting) and a wider discourse (the rational) are identified. The international political processes that led to it and the related follow-up, analysed using discourse theory, reveal how different actors, Member States, the UNESCO Secretariat and experts played a role in the processes and how they sought to reconcile particular positions with universal principles. In bringing together peace and human rights and fundamental freedoms as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) generally to education, using educational approaches that were advanced for their time, the 1974 *Recommendation* was a major achievement during the Cold War. The human rights and peace approaches promoted by the UN contributed to these processes. An integrated approach in the 1995 Guidelines added democracy to the components of peace and human rights, and included sustainable development as part of a culture of peace. Monitoring the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* is still actively being pursued, and whether the peace component is fading away or re-emerging within UNESCO is a topic to be explored in the future.

Keywords: UNESCO; peace education; peace; human rights education; international education; discourse theory; discourse analysis

Author's address   Kaisa Savolainen
Laivastokatu 12 B 47, 00160 Helsinki, Finland
kaisa.savolainen@kolumbus.fi

Supervisors   Professor Lea Pulkkinen
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Professor Jarl Wahlström
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Emilia Palonen PhD
University of Helsinki, Finland

PREFACE

The subject of this work is education and its relation to peace, through a study of the *Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, adopted by the General Conference (GC) of UNESCO in 1974 (Appendix A). Why choose this topic? It is because in today's world violence is dominant and non-violent means are not systematically sought when resolving conflict at national or international levels. Human beings have not yet learned to live together in peace. The efforts of international organizations, in spite of their well-known difficulties, are indispensable in this regard.

These general reasons are intertwined with my professional background. I began my professional life as a psychologist in vocational counselling in Kuopio, Finland. I was also the President of the Kuopio Teenagers' Association for the United Nations, an interest that led me to the post of Information Secretary of the Finnish United Nations Association in Helsinki. This association's mission was to inform the public about the work of the UN and to promote international education. Nominated as a member of the Finnish National Commission for UNESCO and President of its Education Sub-Committee for more than ten years during 1975-1986, I became familiar with the work of the organization. As a member of the Finnish delegation I participated to several General Conferences (GC)[1] and international[2] and intergovernmental conferences[3] of UNESCO. I was also invited to UNESCO expert meetings[4]. After working at the Finnish Association of Adult Education Organizations, the National Board of General Education, and the National Board of Technical and Vocational Education, I joined UNESCO headquarters in Paris, in 1986, spending almost 15 years as Division Director in the Education Sector, until June 2001. The follow-up to the 1974 *Recommendation* and its implementation was part of the work of that division. My interest in this document led me to inquire more deeply into its discourse and how it was accomplished, intellectually and politically.

---

[1] General Conferences of UNESCO: Nairobi, 1976; Paris, 1978; Belgrade, 1980; Paris, 1982(extraordinary session); Paris, 1983 and Sofia, 1985 (I presided the working group composed of one member from every electoral group and set up by the Commission II for the education programme).

[2] Third International Conference on Adult Education, Tokyo, 1972; Fourth International Conference on Adult Education, Paris, 1985).

[3] Third Conference of Ministers of Education of Member States of the Europe Region, Sofia, 1980; Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education related to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms with a View to Developing a Climate of Opinion Favourable to the Strengthening of Security and Disarmament, Paris, 1983.

[4] Expert meeting on the Preparation of the Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education (Paris, 1976); Consultation on the planning of the Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education related to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms with a View to Developing a Climate of Opinion Favourable to the Strengthening of Security and Disarmament, Paris, 1981.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

dissertation and accepting it for publication in the series *Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research.*

This study has taken up my time, kept me in Paris, and limited my social life, so that I have not yet met the new-born daughter of my niece in Helsinki. She, Elsa Kontkanen, and other wonderful children in the South, North, East, and West are worth any amount of work for peace, human rights, democracy, and especially non-violence.

Paris, 1. 5. 2010
Kaisa Savolainen

FIGURES

TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

AAFU	Association of Former UNESCO Staff Members
APA	American Psychological Association
ADG	Assistant Director General
ADG/ED	Assistant Director General for Education
ASP	Associated Schools Project
CC	Coordinating Committee of the Major International Associations [of the League of Nations]
CICI	International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation
CR	Committee on Conventions and Recommendations [of the Executive Board]
DDG	Deputy Director General
DG	Director General
DR	Draft Resolution
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council [of the UN]
ED	Education
EFA	Education for All
EXB	Executive Board
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GA	General Assembly [of the UN]
GC	General Conference
GDR	German Democratic Republic
HR	Human Rights
IBE	International Bureau of Education
ICE	International Conference of Education
ICIC	International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation
IE	International education
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
ILO	International Labor Organization
INGO	International Non- Governmental Organization
IU	International understanding
MS	Member States
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PLEN	Plenary [session of the GC]
Res.	Resolution
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The background for the goals of this study

Building "peace in the minds of men" was the original *raison d'être* of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This study addresses one aspect of the work done towards this goal, namely normative work on education as it relates to peace, using the case of the Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38; see Appendix A), to be referred to in what follows as the 1974 *Recommendation*. It addresses the incorporation of ideas and elements of peace and human rights into educational goals, policies, contents, methods, teacher training, materials, and research. It introduces UNESCO's constitutional purpose of peace-building into education. The Constitution defines the purpose of UNESCO as being to contribute to peace and security "by promoting the collaboration among nations through education, science and culture" in order "to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations" (UNESCO, 1945, Article 1).

The 1974 *Recommendation* is the only legal instrument of UNESCO directed specifically at peace and human rights in education. It is still in power. The Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (see Appendix B) approved 20 years later in 1995, and also dealt with in this study, is not a normative instrument in legal terms. The 1974 *Recommendation* belongs to those recommendations which's implementation is still monitored within the new system established by UNESCO for standard-setting instruments. It has the Preamble and 45 paragraphs, comprising of 4293 words, in 10 pages [depending on the format] (See the Appendix A).

It was prepared during the Cold War. During the drafting processes of a normative instrument, differing and opposing views are consolidated either by

a consensus or by vote, often after long debates, into a single document. The drafting of a normative instrument thus lies at the heart of international co-operation, which involves not only politics but also ideas and social interaction. Normative instruments of UNESCO suggest universal values for the Member States (MS) all over the world to follow. This study aims at reaching a better understanding of the normative work of UNESCO on education as it relates to peace, to the assessment of the potential of this work and its difficulties in a complicated and politically sensitive area combining education, international understanding, co-operation, peace, and human rights.

Normative action (also called standard-setting) has been and still is a visible and important part of the work of UNESCO as it is of other international intergovernmental organizations. The search for common ground and shared rules of the game is important in any human community, and in the international community as well. The participants who decide on UNESCO's normative instruments represent governments with different political, economic, and cultural views and interests. This kind of work is not only the result of states' power politics; according to a constructionist view, it is also affected by the organization itself and its professionals and experts (Chabbott, 1998; Finnemore, 1993). All the actors involved in normative work bring their own political and cultural backgrounds to the task.

Normative work on education as it relates to peace forms an important joint international effort in the promotion of peace, and thus is part of far-reaching efforts to abolish war. Everybody may agree about the need for peace. Then debates start. Peace can be defined as the absence of war by some, and by others as the absence of the factors leading to war. Can war and violence be abolished? Evidently, not everybody answers this question affirmatively, and even those who do may agree that this goal still seems a long way off. There have been serious efforts, with successful results, at achieving social or political goals through non-violence, including the movements for Indian independence led by Mahatma Gandhi ("Mahatma Gandhi," 2010), or for civil rights in the USA led by Martin Luther King, Jr. ("Martin Luther King, Jr.," 2010), although they both died as victims of violence.

The promotion of peace can be seen as a threat to the military institutions that are important in most countries.[5] Threats from outside usually increase the cohesion and conformity of the group, and the existence of military forces is a reminder of a potential threat; thus to dismantle these forces, which constitute a visible part of the institution of war, may provoke anxiety and psychological defences (Hinde, 1991).

The role of education both in maintaining and changing socio-cultural practices can hardly be questioned, although many other actors are also involved, such as the mass media. Optimism can be encouraged by the fact that some former socio-cultural practices have become obsolete and disappeared, for example duelling and slavery (Mueller, 1991, p. 22), or "ritual human sacrifice,

---

[5]   Costa Rica was the first country to formally abolish standing military forces, which have been forbidden by the Constitution since 1949 ("List of countries", 2010).

cannibalism, slavery and public execution "(Middleton, 1991, p. 43) which would now be considered "unjust, draconian or improper" (p. 43). It might thus be possible that "an unrestrained armed conflict could also disappear into the history books as an abhorrent primitive ritual" (Middleton, 1991, p. 43) and the "enemy" be redefined as the inhospitable universe, leading to co-operation for common aims (p. 45). However, not all obsolete socio-cultural practices have completely disappeared; contemporary forms of slavery[6] exist (Special Rapporteur, 2010). Public execution is still practised in some countries, including executions broadcast on television or available on the internet ("Public Execution," 2010).

Armed conflicts and wars have been restricted by international agreements between states. Sovereignty and legal equality between states became major legal and philosophical principles after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, commonly recognized as the official start of the modern states system: agreement on a peaceful order was instituted, but without any authoritative principles, effective system of governance, or conflict-resolving institutions (Holsti, 1991, p. 26). Before the twentieth century, international law did not restrict resorting to war; only after the First World War did the Covenant of the League of Nations impose significant restrictions, and it was only in the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 that the major states agreed to refrain from the use of war as an instrument of national policy declaring "in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it, as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another" ("Kellogg-Briand Pact," 2010, Article 1). Furthermore, in the Pact, "The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means" (Article 2).

It was only in 1945 that the Charter of the United Nations outlawed resorting to war, by prohibiting the threat or use of force in international relations other than in self-defence or on the basis of a decision by the UN Security Council. According to Holsti (1991), the states system became global only after 1945, when international institutions as well as many individual states started to recognize states. In the process of globalization the role of the state is changing, and other actors have become important. In a study of the findings of the United Nations Intellectual History Project, the authors argue that the focus of security is shifting from states to individuals, in the sense that peace and security, previously understood as the prevention of state conflict, are now seen in terms of the protection of individuals (Jolly, Emmerij, & Weiss, 2009). However,

---

[6] debt bondage, serfdom, forced labour, child labour and child servitude, trafficking of persons and human organs, sexual slavery, children in armed conflict, sale of children, forced marriage and the sale of wives, migrant work, the exploitation of prostitution, and certain practices under apartheid and colonial regimes. As a legally permitted labour system, traditional slavery has been abolished everywhere, but it has not been completely stamped out.

international governmental organizations are still state-based, even if other actors also have a role.

This study of normative actions by UNESCO on education as it relates to peace is positioned at the convergence of several related fields. A number of studies exist concerning these related fields individually, but almost nothing has been done specifically on the normative work of UNESCO on education as it relates to peace. The following brief overview of related and convergent issues provides a framework for understanding the perspectives to be considered in this study.

A theoretical and methodological framework is presented to justify the application of discursive approaches in this particular area. Although some studies (see below, Section 1.2.2) have applied discursive analysis to official documents, I have not found any such analysis of international normative instruments, and the discursive analyses I have found of somewhat similar texts in similar genres (Sykes, Willig, & Marks, 2004; Tamatea, 2005) do not use the same approaches as my own.

There are three main parts to this study. The first (Chapter Three) presents textual analyses of the 1974 *Recommendation*. I draw attention to the form of the presentation, the vocabulary used in the text, and its linguistic constellations, all of which reflect the different ways in which the General Conference (GC) sets norms—or in discursive terms "talks"—about the issues addressed in the text. Detailed analysis of the text identifies five repertoires and a wider discourse. Content issues revealed by these discursive readings of the text are then analysed.

The second part of the study (Chapter Four) examines the processes that led to the 1974 *Recommendation.* It thus complements the findings of the textual analyses made in the first part and provides explanations for the use of different repertoires, and why some content issues were included in the text. It addresses an international level, from a historical perspective going back to the founding of UNESCO and before (see Appendix C). The concepts of discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001) provide the theoretical tools for this analysis.

The third part (Chapter Five) describes the follow-up to the 1974 *Recommendation*. The follow-up is closely linked to its status as a normative instrument, and also to other actions and developments at UNESCO and the UN (see a Chronology in Appendix D). This part includes a discursive comparison of the 1974 *Recommendation* and the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, the new integrated guidelines approved in 1995 (see Appendices, A, B and E). Analyses in this Chapter are less profound than in two previous Chapters.
The closing discussion (Chapter Six) provides a comprehensive summary and a number of more general points for further consideration and reflection.

1.2 Normative instruments, other guidelines, and previous research

1.2.1 Definitions

UNESCO is one specialized agency within the UN system and adopts normative instruments in its fields of competence as the UN does. The 1974 *Recommendation* can be seen to apply in the area of education also relevant international instruments adopted previously by the UN, in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Therefore, this *Recommendation* of UNESCO could be an important tool for the UN in promoting its ideas of peace and human rights among educators. In fact, in 1960, the General Assembly (GA) of the UN asked UNESCO to consider a declaration for the promotion "among youth of ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples" (UN, 1960b).

The terms *normative instrument*, *international instrument*, and *standard-setting instrument* all have the same meaning, and all are legal instruments of UNESCO. International instruments are adopted through a process of standard-setting, which the Office of International Standards and Legal Affairs of UNESCO defines as follows: "When, cultural differences and traditions notwithstanding, States agree to common rules, they can draw up an international instrument: an agreement or convention, which are legally binding, a recommendation or a declaration" (UNESCO, 2010i).

There are important distinctions to make between different international instruments on the one hand and between international instruments and other guidelines on the other. Firstly, the terms *international instrument, normative instrument*, or *standard-setting instrument* are used when states agree on common rules and undertake to comply with them. The adoption of an international instrument is always an important international action. Thus while agreements, conventions, declarations, and recommendations are all international instruments, they are legally different. Ratification of conventions takes place at the national level in order to ensure that national legislation is not in conflict with it. While recommendations are adopted by a simple majority of MS of UNESCO GC, a two-thirds majority is required for the adoption of conventions. However, both conventions and recommendations adopted by the GC of UNESCO should be prepared in accordance with pre-established procedure (UNESCO, 2010h):

- A preliminary study of the technical and legal aspects of the question is executed;
- The study is submitted for prior consideration to the Executive Board (EXB), whose responsibility it is to include the proposal for international regulation in the agenda of the GC;
- The GC decides on the desirability of the regulation contemplated and on the form it should take (convention or recommendation);
- The Director-General (DG) is instructed to prepare a preliminary report setting forth the position with regard to the problem to be regulated and the possible scope of the regulating action proposed, and MS are invited to present their comments and observations;
- In the light of these comments and observations, the DG prepares a final report containing one or more drafts of the convention or recommendation, which he or she communicates to MS;
- This final report is submitted either directly to the GC or, if the Conference has so decided, to a special committee of governmental experts;
- The GC considers the draft texts submitted to it and, if it sees fit, adopts the instrument.

Although recommendations are not an object of ratification by MS, they are characterized by UNESCO as follows: "Emanating from the Organization's supreme governing body and hence possessing great authority, recommendations are intended to influence the development of national laws and practices" (UNESCO, 2010b). The mere fact that they have been adopted entails obligations even for those MS that neither voted for nor approved them. Even without any coercive power, declarations and recommendations can be powerful (Daudet & Sing, 2001). They have the power of moral persuasion, "perhaps the most influential of all, especially if used astutely by peace educators" (Page, 2008, p. 82), and more generally by all those who are interested in fostering peace, human rights and an international perspective in education.

Normative work is common in UNESCO as well as in other international organizations, as indicated by the fact that over the last 60 years it has adopted 35 conventions, 31 recommendations, and 13 declarations (UNESCO, 2006). The field of education alone includes 19 normative instruments of which 7 are recommendations. The first UNESCO normative instruments in education were the *Recommendation against Discrimination in Education* and the *Convention against Discrimination in Education,* both adopted in 1960 (UNESCO, 2010i).

The 1974 *Recommendation* is unique: it was the first time in the history of UNESCO, after almost 30 years in existence, that the organization adopted such a comprehensive recommendation directed specifically at education for international understanding, co-operation, and peace and education as it relates to human rights and fundamental freedoms. Other normative instruments in education include passages on peace and human rights, but not as their main thrust, such as the Convention against Discrimination in Education, the Convention on Technical and Vocational Education, and the International Charter on Physical

Education and Sport (see UNESCO, 2010i). There are also declarations on wider issues related to peace that underline the role of education, such as the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance, adopted in 1995, or the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity adopted in 2001 (see UNESCO, 2010i). Other recommendations adopted later in the field of education are more specific in their focus: technical and vocational education (Convention on Technical and Vocational Education, 1989, revised 2001); adult education (Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education, 1976); the recognition of studies and qualifications in higher education (Recommendation on the Recognition of Studies and Qualifications in Higher Education, 1993); and the status of higher education personnel (Recommendation concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel, 1997).

Normative action has often been considered as an alternative to practical action. Early discussions of what UNESCO should do in the field of education as it relates to peace moved in two directions: one was to draft conventions and declarations, while the other path took the form of practical actions, pilot projects, and psychological and educational research projects, the goal being to use new teaching methods and "to check methodologically, by experiment, the validity of the postulate that education can be an instrument of peace" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 4). The accumulation of experience through practical actions was used as one justification for the drafting of an international instrument for "the regulation of this education" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, paras. 56-60).

A second distinction is to be made between international instruments and other guidelines. The latter can also be called frameworks for action, or action plans. They can be approved by the GC of UNESCO but are not strictly speaking normative or standard-setting international instruments because they are not prepared according to Article IV, paragraph 4 of UNESCO's Constitution and therefore are not included in the list of UNESCO standard-setting instruments.

Confusion is understandable because "recommendation" is often used in its more everyday sense to refer to the final documents produced at international conferences. The World Education Report (2000, p. 75) listed 15 world conferences held in the 1990s. These were organized by UNESCO alone or with other organizations, or by the UN, and produced significant recommendations on education intended to contribute to solutions to diverse problems of global concern. These include issues concerning children, the environment and development, human rights and democracy, population and development, special needs education, social development, women, adult education, youth, cultural policies for development, higher education, technical and vocational education, and science. Chabbott (1998, p. 212) calculated that by 1990 there were 77 recommendations to education ministers and about a dozen general declarations on the subject of education produced by hundreds of world or regional educational conferences sponsored by different UN and other donor organizations.

The *Maastricht Global Education Declaration* (Maastricht, 2002) by the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe lists 17 documents—agreements, chapters, charters, declarations, agendas, conventions, recommendations, resolutions, and commitments—but does not distinguish variations in their status and binding nature. Among those listed are those adopted by the UN and UNESCO that belong to the category of international normative instruments.
The drafting of a normative instrument, like that of the other types of documents mentioned, requires the consolidation of differing and often contradictory cultural and political interests and views of MS and of the experts consulted in its preparation. This work requires the time and resources both of the organization and of MS.

1.2.2 Research on educational recommendations

The normative work of UNESCO on education as it relates to peace has not been a specific subject of previous research. Almost no research has been done on educational recommendations. However, the 1974 *Recommendation* is dealt with in the course of some studies. It has been seen as a milestone in the history of UNESCO (Rissom, 1996). Wells (1987), analysing the politics of knowledge of the UN and UNESCO, provides well-documented information both on the postwar normative regulation of education by UNESCO until 1952 and on contemporary regulation; the 1974 *Recommendation* is discussed in that context, with information about the processes that led to the 1974 *Recommendation* but no analysis of the text itself. Buergenthal and Torney (1976) in their book about the 1974 *Recommendation* devote a chapter to analyses of its text but without the discourse analysis perspective. They describe, in particular, the inputs of the USA on various paragraphs. They consider its adoption a significant accomplishment given the world situation at that time. They emphasize that it was drafted by government representatives from different cultural backgrounds, educational systems, and ideological perspectives, and that to become acceptable, "precision and clarity are at times intentionally sacrificed in favor of neutral and semantically ambiguous phrases" (p. 20). Follow-up was not a concern of either of these studies although the individuals involved participated in a number of conferences and publications intended to make the contents of the *Recommendation* known.

Allahwerdi (2001) discusses the implementation of international and national recommendations on international education in Finland and the Global Citizenship Maturity Test developed by the Finnish United Nations Association. She describes and classifies chapters and paragraphs of the 1974 *Recommendation* and other UNESCO guidelines according to their emphasis on peace education, human rights education, development education, cultural education, and environment education.

A discourse analysis study has been carried out on the *Dakar Framework of Action on Education for All* (Tamatea, 2005). The author argues that the Framework of Action does not leave room for alternatives, and provides only one model for education. Another discourse analysis has been carried out on the

European Commission's Health Promotion Program (Sykes, Willig, & Marks, 2004). These two studies demonstrate the feasibility of the use of discourse analysis on texts that belong to a genre similar to the 1974 *Recommendation*.

1.2.3 Other relevant studies

Normative action on education as it relates to peace is positioned at the convergence of several issues and fields of study: broad issues of peace and war, human rights, international politics and co-operation between states, UNESCO as an organization, standard-setting as part of international law, the impact of international norms, and education in relation to all of these. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1   The convergence of issues in the 1974 *Recommendation*
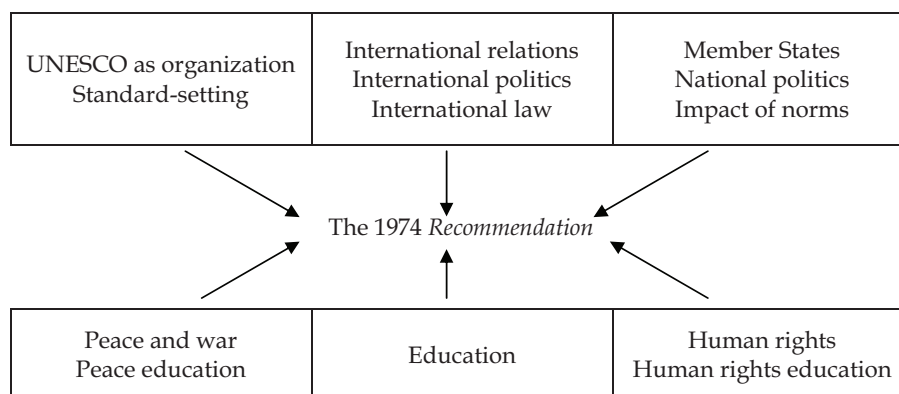
Not much research has been done on UNESCO as an organization. It was the subject of some studies after the withdrawal of the USA, UK, and Singapore in the mid-1980s in response, among others, to the Declaration on mass media[7] (UNESCO, 1978a; see for example MacBride, 1981). Wells (1987) pointed out that the 1974 *Recommendation* remained almost unnoticed but that the mass-media Declaration was accused, mostly groundlessly, in particular by the USA, of "controlling" journalists, and made headlines around the USA. The Declaration on mass media and the "Zionism as racism"[8] issue (not included into the

---

[7]   Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War, adopted in 1978 (UNESCO, 1978a).

[8]   The UN resolution in 1975 (UN, 1975) equated Zionism with racism, and when the resolution was endorsed by UNESCO and other agencies, it became one of the issues considered by the West as "politicisation" of UNESCO (see Wells, 1987, pp. 1-23), and was related to the US withdrawal. Three UNESCO "Israel resolutions" in 1974 (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. IV (13), 3.427 and XI (46); see also Section 4.5.9 of this study) led to the mobilization of Zionist organizations against UNESCO which run "full-page anti UNESCO advertisements in leading Western newspapers" (Wells, 1987, p. 19).

1974 *Recommendation*), were used as justifications of the withdrawal of the USA from UNESCO in 1984, followed by the UK and Singapore in 1985. It has been argued that the withdrawal of the USA from UNESCO was a step under the Reagan Administration towards undermining the entire UN (Coate, 1988).

Haggrén (2005) identifies two texts as sources of conflict in UNESCO, namely the 1974 *Recommendation* and the 1978 Declaration on mass media. She notes that the Nordic countries were very actively concerned with both texts, which also challenged their own co-operation: Denmark and Sweden were reluctant while Norway, Finland, and Iceland were more favourable towards the proposal to draft a recommendation concerning education. The Nordic countries' interest in education for international understanding, or international education as it was called, was due in her view to the fact that this type of education was quite advanced in those countries, and had been introduced into their curricula with an emphasis on the overall development of human beings, solidarity, and human rights, much the same emphases as those promoted by UNESCO.

Jones (1988, 1990, 1998) has covered UNESCO and international education policies and literacy, as well as globalization and internationalism. Mundy (1999) argues that since the events triggered by the mass-media Declaration and the withdrawal of the USA, little has been written about UNESCO and almost none about its current work on education. Mundy describes three periods in the history of UNESCO: the first, 1945-1973, saw the rise of post-war multilateralism and embedded liberalism, and a wide array of educational programmes including peace education; during the second, 1974-1984, the prominence of UNESCO in technical development was eroded, new educational themes were introduced along with those of disarmament, population, the environment, human rights, and a new international order in the economy, information, and communication; the third period, 1985-1998, was characterized by globalization, neo-liberalism, reform of UNESCO, a focus on basic education, the "culture of peace," and new UN issues of peace and conflict resolution and the environment. All these studies provide the context for understanding the 1974 *Recommendation* and its follow-up.

Rauner (1999) considers UNESCO's role important over time for the diffusion of civics education issues such as human rights and international understanding. She mentions the 1974 *Recommendation* and its follow-up meetings among the actions that have contributed to civics education world-wide. Rauner's study covers in 42 countries global aspects of civics education in textbooks, curricular frameworks, and syllabi in relation to each country's interconnectedness to UNESCO. It indicates that "regardless of a country´s level of development, the more a country is linked to UNESCO, the greater the likelihood that their civics material adheres to a global civic education model" (Rauner, 1999, p. 99), and that the wealthier the country the more likely it will emphasize global civics content. However, the study indicates that "among countries at similar levels of development, civics material in the Western European counties is less likely to be global" (p. 99).

Concerning other types of UNESCO activity, critical writings may be found about the reports by independent commissions. Although the UNESCO report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, chaired by Jacques Delors (UNESCO, 1996b) aroused a lot of public interest in education, it was translated into 30 languages (Mundy, 1999, p. 47), and discussions and seminars were organized inspired of the report, it is considered by Watson (1999) to lack moral authority and containing too many generalities and statements with little supporting evidence. Watson, however, acknowledges the value of the report in stimulating discussion about the future of education.

The concept of culture reflected in the report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, *Our creative diversity* (UNESCO, 1996b), is criticized by Eriksen (2001). He considers its concept of culture inadequate because the report sought both respect for cultural differences and a globally shared ethics. He argues for using the concept of rights instead of that of culture, which was seen in the report as an archipelago of diverse, loosely interconnected, bounded cultures. He considers the concept of rights more useful for trying to achieve the impossible, equality that respects difference, and a better way to reconcile universalism and relativism. This would enable the individual to have "a sense of belonging to a community larger than each of the particular groups in question," as he puts it (Eriksen, 2001, p. 144).

UNESCO as an intergovernmental organization is necessarily involved in international relations and international politics; sovereign MS are actors and agents in the setting of standards at UNESCO for education as it relates to peace, and are also supposed to implement them in their own countries. The focus of the present study is neither international politics nor organizational studies, and only a few works in this area will be mentioned for the sake of perspective.

Many recent works on international organizations (for example, Coleman, 2007; Dai, 2007) do not mention UNESCO at all. Of the various theories of international relations, constructivist approaches are interesting for purposes of my study because they recognize that not only states but also other social forces participate in constructing shared institutions and ideologies through processes of negotiation and contestation (Finnemore, 1993; Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001; Haas, 1992; Jones and Coleman, 2005; Le Prestre, 1986; Senarclens, 1993). It has been pointed out by Chabbott (1998) that development organizations, working in high-income countries to promote development in the low-income countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, have an impact on international norms and conventions. Analysing the preparations for the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, organized in Jomtien, Thailand, she concludes that nation-states' interests and dominance did not alone explain the standardization of Western models of mass education in international conventions and declarations; but the explanatory variables were organizational, such as the degree of professionalism and resource dependence.

Interests can be transformed through social interaction. Finnemore (1993) views states as social entities, shaped in part by international social action, and influenced by intersubjective understandings about the appropriate role of the

modern state (p. 566). She draws her conclusions from a study of the influence of UNESCO on the creation of science bureaucracies in a number of MS, in which she found that new norms defining the responsibility of states for science were supplied by UNESCO, not internally developed by the state itself.

Studies on the impact of international norms are also relevant as background, although the present study does not cover the impact of the 1974 *Recommendation* on MS. Norms do matter, and their impact can extend beyond governmental intentions: non-governmental organizations can use them and call for government accountability for commitments to them. This is one general conclusion of studies indicating that international norms have a considerable influence (Checkel, 1997; Finnemore, 1993).

Some states give their agreement to norms without intending to follow them. Strang and Chang (1993, p. 259) conclude from their study of the effects of the International Labor Organization on national welfare spending in 1960-1980 that global standards and norms played a role in the rapid extension of welfare programmes in some states, whereas others accepted them in principle but took no action.

International norms can have a considerable impact through civic and non-governmental action even in those cases where they are reluctantly approved, as was demonstrated by Thomas (2001) using the example of human rights norms agreed by the 1975 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held in Helsinki. Analysing the process that led to the signature of the Final Act by that conference, he draws the general conclusion that "the origin of international norms is best understood as a negotiated process through which states seek to confirm their status as members of international society while developing collective standards of appropriate behaviour that serve their particular preferences" (Thomas, 2001, p. 267). In the same vein, he argues that states place a value on recognition and legitimation by society internationally, which may motivate them to participate in the establishment of new norms with which they have little or no intention of complying. "Recognizing the potential inconsistency between norms and behaviour is thus the beginning, not the end, of understanding how norms shape outcomes in world politics" (p. 7). According to Thomas, international norms for human rights agreed upon by the Helsinki Final Act influenced the demise of communism in the former Eastern Bloc and the ending of the Cold War, because those norms were used by social and political opposition movements, with consequences not foreseen by those who signed the act in 1975. He points out that neither the USA nor the Soviet Union was keen to include the issues of human rights in the agenda of the Conference; the Soviet Union conceded during negotiations (pp. 281, 284). Human rights were put on the agenda because of the insistence of the European Community, which made the commitment to human rights both an area of substantive co-operation and a fundamental norm for relations among all European states, including the Communist bloc (p. 49).

Checkel (1997) in a study of international norms and domestic politics writes, "Thanks to a growing body of empirical work, the once controversial

statement that norms matter is accepted by all except the most diehard neorealist" (p. 473). Hawkins (1997) argues that international human rights pressures helped lead to limited yet important changes in the discourse and behaviour of Chile's authoritarian regime from 1976-1978, thus highlighting the importance of a normative basis for a regime's authority. According to Hawkins, the Chilean regime adopted human rights norms and promises of democracy in its discourse from the beginning. Once these were incorporated into a military-approved Constitution, they were used by the opposition as leverage against the regime.

Much has been written about peace education in general, but this manuscript does not address this topic as such. Some key works on the topic are Brock-Utne (1985, 1989), Galtung (1975, 1984), Boulding (1996, 2000) and Reardon (1988, 1995). Betty Reardon also prepared education guides on tolerance for UNESCO (Reardon, 1997); Weil (2002) has prepared practical guides on peace education. Page (2004, 2008) provides an overview of scholarly developments in this field. Many others could be cited, including those who have done work on conflict and co-operation, such as Deutch and Coleman (2000). The post-Cold War period in peace psychology is explored by Blumberg, Hare, and Costin (2006).

Many psychologists were concerned of peace issues also in Finland. Among them there was my supervisor of this study, Lea Pulkkinen, whose study on aggression led her to search alternative models for conflict resolution (Pitkänen, 1969). Later, she studied the threat of war (Johnson, Pulkkinen, Oranen, & Poijula, 1986; Pulkkinen, 1986), and became interested in peace education (Pulkkinen & Wahlström, 1987; Pulkkinen, 1989) as well as in connections between human aggression[9] and war (Hinde & Pulkkinen, 2001).

Normative work on education as it relates to peace focuses on its role, content, and ways and means. Some view this role as the promotion of peace, others that of educating about issues relating to peace. Reardon (1988) makes distinctions between peace research, peace studies, peace education, and peace action: all are different but interrelated, and all contribute to knowledge about peace.

According to Gawerc (2006), a key controversy in peace education opposes those who perceive the causes of conflicts to be structural and those who perceive them to be psycho-social or psycho-cultural. The former have focused on issues of rights, justice, and politics, while the latter have emphasized relationships and the need to work on eliminating ignorance, misperceptions, fears, and hostility between groups, often through co-operative activities and encounters. Gawerc believes that these two approaches are increasingly conceived as complementary: a deeper understanding of conflict and more comprehensive approaches to deal with it require both systemic and relational change.

---

[9] The issue of human aggressiveness was apparently topical at the time because it was raised upon discussion in the Education Commission of the GC of UNESCO in 1966 (UNESCO, 1966a; see Section 4.4.4 of this study).

Hermon (1988) describes the establishment of the Coordinating Committee of the Major International Associations (CC) by the League of Nations in 1925. Peace education, it is argued, initially had a pacifist thrust promoted by Non- Governmental Organizations (NGO), but then shifted to a focus on international understanding. An exception to the neutrality of the CC was its stand against Nazi racist policies, which changed the definition of peace education to include respect for human rights in addition to the promotion of international understanding and co-operation. There were debates over the relative priority of international co-operation and the defence of human rights versus the other focus of peace education—intercultural, social, and economic issues such as East-West understanding, youth unemployment, and the social repercussions of the world economic crisis (Hermon, 1988, p. 137). According to Hermon, in the mid-1930s when international relations were deteriorating and disarmament and international conciliation failed, advocates of peace education became more militant in their attempt to influence public opinion; the International Peace Campaign was launched with an emphasis on information about international affairs including the denunciation of violations of international law and aggression, including the bombardment of civil populations in China and Spain.

National Commissions for UNESCO in many countries issued publications about the 1974 *Recommendation* and organized international workshops (UNESCO, 1976b; 1976c; 1983f; 1987d; 1988b; 1989a; 1991d; 1997; 2001c; 2001d; 2009h). In many countries these commissions were not in the mainstream discourse about these issues, which were though to be more the province of foreign relations experts than educators.

The concept of a "culture of peace" launched by UNESCO is explained in a number of studies and its practical implications described in a booklet on the subject (UNESCO, 2002b). Among contemporary peace education efforts by NGOs may be mentioned the Global Campaign for Peace Education ("Global campaign," 2010) and the Global Education guidelines of the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe ("Global education guidelines," 2010). International instruments including the 1974 *Recommendation* have been important reference points and are widely used by educators who are interested to promote peace, human rights, international understanding and co-operation (Reardon, personal communication, 1 April 2010).

Normative work falls under international law. *Standard-setting in UNESCO* (Yusuf, 2007) was published as the result of a symposium held on the occasion of UNESCO's 60th anniversary. It includes information and analysis relative to methods for the elaboration and implementation of standard-setting instruments, to constitutional objectives and legal commitments, to collaboration, and to impact. The relationships between international law and international relations are explored by Armstrong, Farrell, and Lambert (2009), who view the role of international law in world politics through three interdisciplinary lenses, the realist, the liberal, and the constructivist.

So-called strategic planning and strategic documents are developed not only in the business world but also by cities and communities. In many coun-

tries, members of political parties participate in drafting strategies, so that the process includes individuals and groups from different political, cultural, and religious backgrounds. In those cases, the communicative process can display similarities with the process of drafting international instruments. Pälli, Vaara, and Sorsa (2009) have examined a strategy document and its production and reproduction through face-to-face interaction in the city of Lahti in Finland. They note an unfortunate lack of systematic analysis of strategy documents, given their important role in organizing contemporary society. In the case of Lahti, statements were included that allowed for different interpretations; they argue that this ambiguity is an essential part of strategy work and key to the intersubjective and intertextual processes of negotiating strategy. In this respect, their findings may have some similarities with the normative work of international organizations.

Finally, UNESCO's own history project and its independent scientific committee were established in 2006 to encourage research on the history of the organization (UNESCO, 2010c). The project provides information about research on UNESCO that the UNESCO Archives are aware of, or works available in the UNESCO library. The UN's Intellectual History Project has published 14 books; Jolly et al. (2009) have produced a summary of their content.

1.3   Aims and research objectives of this study

The goal of this study is to increase the understanding of UNESCO's normative activity in one of its core constitutional fields, namely education as it relates to peace. In the course of this activity it is necessary to consolidate different viewpoints to achieve a common purpose. Consolidating different political, cultural, and economic viewpoints is a general problem in the work of international governmental organizations, which means that the formulation of joint texts is an important task. In fact, it is also a problem in democratic societies as a whole. This is the more general framework within which the main question explored by this study is located: What outcomes can be achieved, and what processes lead to them, when politically, economically, and culturally different actors seek to define common standards for education related to peace in UNESCO? This question is explored through the case of the *Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms,* adopted by the GC of UNESCO in 1974 (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38; see Appendix A).

The title of the *Recommendation* itself represents an agreed-on definition. It includes not only education for "international understanding, co-operation and peace," as the Secretariat's documents called it until 1972 (UNESCO, 1972b), but also education "related to human rights and fundamental freedoms." It was drafted and adopted during the Cold War, when political and economic differences and conflicts between the Soviet Union and the USA affected international relations, and Third World countries emerged as actors in international

political arena (Rajagopal, 2005). This context makes the *Recommendation* a particularly interesting subject of study.

Several questions are addressed in the course of this study in order to illuminate the main research problem. Firstly, what the *Recommendation* incorporates and how are its themes addressed?

As the product of actors with differing viewpoints and interests, the document expresses views on education, peace, and human rights as conceived in a particular historical context; analysing what it includes and how the subjects dealt with are treated will contribute to the overall goal of this study. Secondly, which international political and organizational processes led to the 1974 *Recommendation* and how did they come about? MS, experts, and the UNESCO Secretariat were participating actors in the creation of the *Recommendation*. To explore how it came about requires describing and analysing these processes in the context of historical events.

This study could have been confined to these two questions. However, to complete it, it is also important to follow what happened after the adoption of the 1974 *Recommendation*. Therefore, a third question is posed, namely, what kind of follow-up took place? This includes not only the statutory follow-up that any normative instrument is subject to but also other related developments. The follow-up covered by this study is limited to events within UNESCO and some relevant context; studying its impact on MS is beyond its scope.

This study could fall within several academic disciplines. Positioned at the convergence of several issues, I consider it as an interdisciplinary effort to which my academic background in psychology brings its perspective, in particular by the choice of a discursive approach and discourse theory within the framework of social constructionism. Discursive approaches are used, among others, in social psychology (for example, Potter & Wetherell, 1990), and discourse theory builds, among others, on psychoanalytical thinking of Lacan (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001). However, I apply both theoretical approaches at an international level.

2 THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 The overall framework of social constructionism

The 1974 *Recommendation* is studied within the framework of social constructionism. In this approach, phenomena are understood to develop within a social context; when people interact with each other, they do so on the understanding that their respective perceptions of reality are related, and as they act upon this understanding their common knowledge of reality is reinforced ("Social constructionism," 2010). Research based on this approach looks first at the ways actors describe phenomena, then moves on to explanation of a social reality (Suoninen, 2006, p. 18) by analysing how it is constructed in different social practices (p. 19). In my study that refers to UNESCO practices.

Even though social constructionism does not have one definition accepted by all researchers, social constructionists share the view that knowledge is constructed through social interaction, a process in which language plays a central role. Discourse analysis can thus be seen to fit within the framework of social constructionism (Burr, 1995). According to Armstrong et al., (2009), many constructionist studies on the evolution of norms see change in international law as "a social process involving elite learning, community socialization, and/or internalization of new norms" (p. 111). The same study considers that from the realist perspective, the agents of change in international law are states and change requires their consent while liberals "seek progressive change in international law to advance core community values" (p.111). That change involves legislative action and actions by other actors, such as activist groups and transgovernmental networks.

A constructionist perspective offers a theoretical position but it does not provide a specific empirical research strategy for identifying intersubjective meanings, nor does it explain how and why these meanings change. Among the tools used for these tasks are discourse analysis, process tracing, genealogy,

structured focused comparisons, interviews, participant observation, and content analysis (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001).

2.2 Discourse analysis and the differentiation of repertoires

When politically, culturally, and economically different actors with different interests draft texts within systems such as the UN, precise formulations become important. Documents are often accused of being too general or vague, or saying nothing. This can be true of the language of UNESCO documents as well. René Ochs, UNESCO Division Director from 1950 to 1981, famous for his document drafting abilities, said that

> It quickly became a language of the initiated, comparable to that used in clubs, brotherhoods, and other closed groups, along with an inherent snobbism and a technocratic arrogance; a hermetic language, boring and conventional, which has rendered communication with the public difficult even with the natural partners of UNESCO, both political and intellectual. (Ochs, 2009, p. 37)

The 1974 *Recommendation* is written in the language typically used in international instruments. It is consequently a challenge to analyse it discursively.

Discourse has been defined in many different ways, and I consider discourse analysis to be not a specific methodology but rather an approach. Discourse analysis approaches share general assumptions about the importance of the use of language in the construction of meanings, and about the nature of reality: the world itself is neither single nor regular, thus one truth is not possible (Taylor, 2001, p. 12). Discourse analysis has been applied in a variety of kinds of research and its ideas can be thus be adopted for the needs of this particular study without committing it to any specific definition or methodology.

Discourse, power, and knowledge are intertwined and expressed in historically variable ways, linked with social practices (Carabine, 2001; Foucault, 1972). Ideology can operate through texts [wording] which "impose assumptions" that are not made explicit and generate their own meaning systems (Fairclough, 1989, p. 97). In post-structuralist social theory discourse is seen as the social construction of reality, a form of knowledge (Fairclough, 2002, p. 18). Because discourse is connected to social practices, it can serve purposes of social control, implicitly directing what we are allowed or obliged to do and what can be done to us (Burr, 2003). The use of language has consequences for our actions as individuals or as a society, and we construct the world by using language.

Human interaction is possible because of common meanings and common definitions. Common representations or meanings are created through interaction; once created they begin to live a life of their own, with old ones disappearing and new ones appearing. Social representations manifest themselves at the level of society as a whole. According to Burr (2002), the idea of social representation is used in many types of research that focus on the world as it is observed and understood by those living in it, rather than on objective reality.

From an epistemological point of view, discourse analysis produces one possible answer to the research question posed; it is performed in one situation, it is reflexive, and it does not claim to present "the" truth. The role of the researcher is visible, and his or her personal connection to the subject is not a negative factor, though it should be made explicit (Taylor, 2001). Discourse analysis is demanding because it does not have a single defined methodology, and there is no advance guarantee that it will produce significant results. Zeeman et al. (2002) view discourse analysis as a challenge to the dominant conceptions of how research should be done and how the object of research should be conceptualized; in educational research this can be an advantage, since it facilitates alternative thinking that may lead to change.

Discourse analysis can also make visible some implicit aspects of a text: ideology operates through texts and generates their meaning systems (Fairclough, 2002, pp. 121-124). Content and form can be approached within discourse analysis by asking "what "and "how" questions (Jokinen, Juhila, and Suoninen, 2004). To ask "what" means to distinguish different meaning systems and identities in the text and to interpret the functions and consequences of the use of language. To ask "how" means to analyse the form: for example, how different and conflicting repertoires are consolidated, how accounts are justified by facts, or how positions are justified or defended. In other words, through asking "how" it is possible to deal with the processes of the construction of meaning systems (Jokinen et al., 2004, p. 228).

This approach is not designed to determine whether a statement is true or false, biased or objective. The point of view is that of the text itself, the way it "talks" and constructs meanings. In social-constructionist research, the real or true intentions of the author of the text are irrelevant (Burr, 2002). It is also possible to ask how the text is formulated as a response to possible counter-arguments and how the arguments it contains take into account the "invisible public" (Suoninen, 1992, pp. 60-72). For example, a delegate can anticipate possible counter-arguments of other delegates and take them into account when she/he formulates proposals, or can have in mind the public at home and use the vocabulary that can be identified by that public, or is important for her/his country or region. In Asia, for example, concepts as "harmony", "inner peace" and "sharing and caring" can be recognized, or in Africa rather "we" than "I".

What is included in the text and how it is constructed can also lead to "why" questions: for example, why this specific content (for example, a particular international convention in stead of another) and why it has been constructed as it is. In this study, more light can be thrown on such "why" questions from extra-textual sources that means to find an explanation outside the text analyzed and in my study by the analysis of processes.

Language is seen by Derek and Potter (1993, pp. 24-25) as part of a social process of construction of reality in which participants have a rhetorical stake or position with respect to reporting and constructing explanations of events; they are accountable for their own actions, for the veracity of their accounts, and for the consequences of those accounts for interaction. Although the text of the 1974

Recommendation is a collective product, it is interesting to see what justifications of its statements are offered. In Derek and Potter's investigation of everyday causal attribution, the focus is on action, not cognition, and specifically on discursive actions performed in and through language. Reports and descriptions can be rhetorically organized to undermine alternatives, and hence analysed discursively in terms of their orientation towards actions.

The management of factuality—the use of discursive devices to establish objectivity and factuality—is of interest for the analysis of normative instruments. Attribution event variables—consensus, distinctiveness, and consistency—"can be relocated as rhetorical criteria, as the kinds of considerations that event descriptions attend to when implying attribution causation" (Derek and Potter, 1993, p. 38). This involves among other things looking at the construction and rhetoric of factual descriptions and the grounds on which some descriptive terms rather than others are selected.

The analysis of *repertoires* is one technique of discourse analysis. Variations in the formulation of a text can be described in terms of repertoires. Discourse, for some theorists, is a wider concept than repertoire: Potter and Wetherell (1990) suggest that "interpretative repertoire" is better suited to a social psychology orientation, and can be used within a more broadly defined analysis of discourse. According to Burr (2002, p. 176), "interpretative repertoire" can be used as an alternative to "discourse." She describes it as analogous to the repertoire of moves available to a ballet dancer, who can put them together on different occasions in different dances; it is thus a more flexible concept than discourse, which can be seen as a coherent, organized set of statements.

According to Burr (2002), this concept is used in many kinds of research that focus on the world as observed by those living in it. She considers repertoires to be common social resources, used in specific situations by persons belonging to a certain social group; they are based on common meanings, or common definitions of a situation, and created in interaction.

Analyses of repertoires are usually carried out using samples of individual talk. I apply this analysis to a text that is defined collectively, where the author, the "speaker," is a collective body, namely the GC of UNESCO. The applicability of the concept of repertoire can be seen in the various ways the GC—in other words, the *Recommendation*—"talks" about its subjects, how it defines and justifies them in its specific historical context, and what vocabulary, terms, and metaphors are used. Repertoires considered as different points of view of the author or speaker construct different positions for the speaker and for the actors about whom the text speaks. The text of the 1974 *Recommendation* is a negotiated or voted understanding of MS on the issue of education as it relates to peace, but several "authors" were involved in its preparation, namely the Secretariat of UNESCO and a group of experts.

Content analysis would not be appropriate for this research because it is impossible to classify the concepts of the 1974 *Recommendation* into exclusive categories; their articulation with other concepts and content is also important and has to be taken into account. Knowledge of the historical context would

also lead to deeper understanding of the *Recommendation*. According to Wood and Kroger (2000, p. 6), "discourse analysis is not uninterested in content but its aim is to go beyond content in order to see how it is used to achieve particular functions and effects." In discourse analysis the conception of content is much broader than in content analysis. A discourse can have multiple functions or meanings, making it impossible to use predetermined categories, to calculate quantitative assessments of coding reliability, or to perform statistical analysis of relationships. Discourse analysis means the examination of discourse creatively in all its multifarious aspects and possibilities. The problem in doing research using discourse analysis is that it does not provide ready-made models or tools (Taylor, 2001).

2.3   Exploring processes through discourse theory

Political theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe develop a discourse theoretical approach in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001; see also Howarth, Norval, & Stavrakakis, 2000; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Stavrakakis, 1997; Palonen, 2008). It draws on the thinking of political and literary theorists, social scientists, psychoanalysts, and linguists, foremost among them Derrida, Gramsci, Lacan, Foucault, and Saussure. It is better known and used within the framework of political research, but its theoretical approach and concepts can be applied elsewhere, as in this study.

In discourse theory, meanings are constituted through the relations between different elements, through their *articulation* (Howarth et al., 2000; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Stavrakakis, 1997). Any concept is meaningful discursively articulated. The concepts of the 1974 *Recommendation*, such as education, international understanding, co-operation, peace, human rights, and fundamental freedoms, are elements which are articulated, in other words brought together in a particular way as part of the discourse of this particular recommendation. As such, these concepts are pre-existing elements which can also be incorporated into other discourses—those of a state, political party, or social movement, for example. Articulated around the *nodal point* of a particular discourse, they become contingent *moments* of that discourse (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000, p. 7). A *nodal point* (or "point de caption" taken by Laclau from the psychoanalytic theory of Jacques Lacan) gives a structure to the discourse (Palonen, 2008). It seeks to fix the meaning of the elements.

Education, peace, and human rights, and the components articulated with them, are debated, contested, and sometimes controversial concepts. In terms of discourse theory, they can be seen as *floating signifiers* whose meaning each discourse tries to fix around its own nodal points; however, this can only be partially successful because all social formations (discourses) are contingent and incomplete (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000, p. 8). In this respect, for example, the concepts of education, peace, or human rights as part of one or more particular discourses of UNESCO acquire their meaning within that particular context and

as a result of articulation around nodal points of that discourse. If these same elements were articulated within a purely Western bloc, Eastern bloc, or Third World discourse, in other words as a part of an ideological discourse other than that of UNESCO, and thus around other nodal points, their meaning would be modified accordingly. Each discourse has its limits, and floating signifiers "captured" by a particular discourse negotiate the limits between discourses. A floating signifier means different things to competing discourses (Palonen, 2008). It could be a concept of peace that is conceived differently, to-day, for example in Israel and Palestine. An *empty signifier*, "a sister concept" (Palonen, 2008) of the floating signifier, can include various contents which correspond interests of many different groups so that it looses its own specific meaning. It serves as a common nominator for the unity of different groups, as for example Juan Péron was in Argentina (Laclau, 2005a; Palonen, 2008).

The concept of *hegemony* is understood in discourse theory not only in terms of a political formation (the aim of political and societal action) but also in terms of a discursive formation. Both in political and discursive formations the *logics* of articulation are important. Here I consider the political formation to refer, for example, to groupings of relative positions of different countries, and the discursive formation to mean the articulation of different concepts. Laclau (2005) conceives discourse as "any complex of elements in which *relations* play a constitutive role," and claims that "an action is what it is only through its differences from other possible actions and from other signifying elements—words or actions—which can be successive or simultaneous" (p. 68).

On this account, only two types of relation can possibly exist between signifying elements, namely combination or substitution. Combination can take place through one of two logics, the *logic of equivalence* and the *logic of difference*, which are dependent on each other (Howarth, 2000; Laclau, 2005, p. 78). In the first, discursive unity is achieved between disparate elements by positing the existence of a common threat: the logic of equivalence divides the social space by the construction of frontiers and condenses meaning around two antagonistic poles within a discourse. The logic of difference, conversely, seeks to break down frontiers and distinguishes "chains of equivalence" by incorporating disarticulated elements into the expanding formation (Clohesy, 2005, p. 183). The logic of difference can, for example, weaken antagonism by articulating two elements together in such a way as to make them appear complementary rather than confrontational or contradictory. These logics will serve here as analytical tools for a detailed examination of the *Recommendation*'s strategies, including the limits and frontiers of its signifying elements and how it positions elements outside it as negative or antagonistic.

According to discourse theory, the existence of antagonistic elements prevents the total closure of any discourse (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). Foucault (1972, p. 29) also looks at relations between statements and groups of statements or events of quite different kinds (these groups need not concern the same or even adjacent fields—the social and the political, for example). He argues that the underlying discourse is revealed not through an interpretation of the facts it

contains but through the analysis of its statements' coexistence, succession, mutual functioning, reciprocal determination, and independent or correlative transformations.

The basic assumptions of a research programme using discourse theory are then that social meanings are contextual, relational, and contingent, and that "all systems of meaningful practice—or discourses—rely upon discursive exteriors that partially constitute such orders, while potentially subverting them" (Howarth, 2005, p. 317). By making these ontological assumptions, discourse theory affirms values such as democracy, pluralism, and contingency (Howarth, 2005).

I consider the 1974 *Recommendation* as the outcome of hegemonic processes. Using the terms of discourse theory, hegemonic practices are a "form of political activity that involves the articulation of different identities and subjectivities into a common project" (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000, p. 14; see also Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). The MS of UNESCO articulated their different political identities within a common project by deciding via the GC in 1947 to prepare a normative instrument in the field of education. Prior to that decision, a particular MS or a group of them might have had differing views on how to promote peace and introduced their own initiatives. Before they are approved, initiatives and proposals are particular positions, becoming hegemonic and claiming to be universal after the approval of the GC as I consider them in this study.

Torfing (1999) describes a hegemonic formation as "the expansion of a discourse, or set of discourses, into a dominant horizon of social orientation and action by means of articulating unfixed elements into a partially fixed moment in a context crisscrossed by antagonistic forces" (p. 101). For education as it relates to peace to become a hegemonic formation, the chains of equivalence had to be expanded in order to include as many positions as possible. In other words, a hegemonic formation understood in this way means that the states, including the antagonists of the Cold War, had to form chains of equivalence in such a way as to ensure that the final text included the maximum amount of each participant's concerns. The very title of the 1974 *Recommendation* brought together elements previously considered separate, namely international understanding, co-operation, and peace on the one hand and human rights and fundamental freedoms on the other. How this hegemonic formation, addressed as many of each participant's concerns as possible, was achieved, prevailed, and came to be questioned afterwards, is analysed in the course of this study.

2.4 Research design

This research project is conceived in terms of two complementary theoretical approaches, repertoire analysis and discourse theory. Both approaches fall within the general theoretical framework of social constructionism viewed as a sociological theory of knowledge.

2.4.1 Repertoire analysis

The 1974 *Recommendation* is the result of social interaction by various actors—MS, the Secretariat, and experts—who all participated in the drafting of the common text. In the drafting of normative instruments, great attention is paid to the formulation of the text in order to consolidate differing political and cultural views and reach an agreement. Sometimes the placement of a comma can make a difference. Additions and deletions are made to successive drafts throughout the preparation process.

MS contribute to a normative instrument with initiatives and proposals; they comment on drafts and decide on the final version through UNESCO's decision-making bodies, the EXB and GC. Experts and epistemic communities contribute through participation in preparatory meetings and as members of the delegations of MS to the GC, or as observers from NGOs, who are invited to meetings and have the right to comment but not to vote. In particular at governmental level meetings, experts are usually instructed to follow political lines of their respective governments on issues regarded as "political". The Secretariat prepares documents for the decision-making bodies, and is responsible for the drafts and reports.

The text of the 1974 *Recommendation* presents collectively constructed knowledge and ideas about education in relation to peace, human rights, and related issues. It represents some generally accepted "truths" from the time when it was composed. As a social construct, it gives meaning to its themes, while at the same time "taking" meanings from the world (Suoninen, 2006, p. 21), it "sees" the world in a certain way while intending to have an impact on what it sees. Meanings given to phenomena help to form social practices (Fairclough, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1990).

A repertoire analysis provides relevant methodological thinking tools for tackling research questions about what the 1974 *Recommendations* includes and how it does this. This approach requires viewing the text within its societal context; it makes it possible to reflect on the consequences repertoires have for social practices. Discourses also construct subject positions: here these are the discursively constructed positions of UNESCO and its MS.

The first part of this study deconstructs the genre of the 1974 *Recommendation* into a series of repertoires, applying a micro-level analysis. Normative instruments represent a specific genre, since their preparation has to follow the established rules and procedures for standard-setting activities in UNESCO, as previously noted.

The dialogue between researcher and data is decisive in identifying the data's different meaning potentials, including what is *not* expressed in the data. Discourses arise from the researcher's interpretation, but the process of identifying them is not a mechanical sorting of the elements of the text. It is a hermeneutic process of understanding and interpretation, which requires conceptualizing the text from the inside; the process takes the form of a spiral and includes a comparison of the meaning of the text to the life world from which it originates (Forster, 1996). Discursive reading is largely an intuitive and interpreta-

tive process, meaning that any reading, including this one, is one of many possible (and equally valid) readings, and that researchers' backgrounds and experiences affect what they recognize in the text (Burr, 1995, 2003). What matters is, according to Burr, how useful a reading may be for understanding the issue in question and subsequently doing something about it.

A repertoire analysis as applied to the text of the 1974 *Recommendation* is a tool for answering research questions about what the *Recommendation* says and how it speaks when it talks about education, international understanding, cooperation, and peace in conjunction with human rights and fundamental freedoms. The analysis exposes not only what it contains but also how that content is constructed. However, a repertoire analysis can describe a phenomenon but does not explain why it exists as it does. Here, analysis of the processes that led to the *Recommendation* can provide some explanations.

In identifying repertoires, attention is drawn to linguistic forms, rhetorical aspects, and vocabulary used. I looked for both variation and repetition, and at the way repertoires are used to create morally defensive positions for the speaker (Burr, 1995, 2003). A data-driven approach is used: in other words, categories are not predetermined and new questions and issues can emerge from the data in the course of discursive readings.

2.4.2 Discourse theory

The text of the 1974 *Recommendation* is defined, in principle, by all MS, and applies to all MS whether it was adopted by consensus or by vote. MS can vote for or against, or abstain. In the language of discourse theory (Howarth et al., 2000; Howarth & Torfing, 2005; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001), the final text as adopted by the GC is a hegemonic discursive formation. It represents the whole, a universal, the will of the international community, a shared ideal for peace through education.

The 1974 *Recommendation* is the outcome of a series of hegemonic processes within which MS seek to make their particular positions universal through incorporating them in the text. However, a normative instrument cannot be simply a collection of particular demands, since it would then include contradictory statements and thus be of no use. An international normative instrument has, at least, to look coherent and convincing.

Because it is not possible for all the particular MS to make their political and cultural views universal, by adopting a normative instrument they are subordinating their particular positions to the universal. Particular claims can become part of a universal in two ways: the universal incorporates contradictory demands by consolidating them through consensus, or alternatively a particular MS or group of MS can incorporate their position through a majority vote.

According to Laclau (1995, 2005b), universals and particulars are interdependent; neither exists without the other. A universal cannot exist prior to particulars; it is never complete but always deficient, and is thus the object of continual contestation, redefinition, and renegotiation. To express the point in another way, it is the result of articulation. In the same vein, the meaning of a par-

ticular is also a result of articulation, bound up with a universal. The use of these two methodological approaches in this study, discourse theory and repertoire analysis as described above is summarized below.

2.4.3 Summary of the research design

As explained in this Chapter, this study is placed within the overall framework of social constructionism. Two methodological approaches, discourse theory on the one hand, and repertoire analysis on the other are applied in it. The research design is outlined in Table 1.

TABLE 1   The research design

Object of analysis	Methodological approaches	Level of analysis and research questions addressed
a) The text of the *Recommendation* as a whole b) Its content issues	a) A discursive approach: repertoires and wider discourses b) Articulation of concepts: discourse theory	Micro-level: what the text includes and how
Processes	Interpretation via discourse theory	Macro-level: which processes and how; why the outcome is as it is
Follow-up	Interpretation via discourse theory	Macro-level: what happened after 1994 and why

The table demonstrates three main parts of this study which are the objects of analysis: 1) the text and its content issues, 2) processes which lead *to the Recommendation* and 3) its follow up within UNESCO. Content issues are those which are obvious or emerge during discursive reading of the text. The table demonstrates the use of two methodological approaches in analysis indicating also the level of analysis with research questions addressed.

3 A DISCURSIVE READING OF THE 1974 *RECOMMENDATION*

3.1 The 1974 *Recommendation* and a discursive approach

The first part of any UNESCO recommendation is called a Preamble. It specifies, in the name of the GC of UNESCO, the dates and place of the session concerned. It reminds of relevant principles and notes a number of things, announces the adoption of the instrument, and what legislative or other steps the GC recommends MS to undertake. The Preamble thus has an important, official function as an introduction to the text that follows it.

The 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38; see Appendix A) consists of the Preamble and the text (see Appendix A). The Preamble's ten paragraphs are not numbered (I use numbers when referring to them in the analysis, for example, Preamble, para. 1); the text itself is organized under ten main titles, some with subtitles, and consists of 45 paragraphs, some containing several subparagraphs.

The *Recommendation* comprehensively covers various aspects of education of all forms and stages. It lays emphasis on the ethical and civic aspects (seven paragraphs, paras. 10-16) and on the study of major problems of mankind [*sic*] (two paragraphs, paras. 18 and 19; para. 18 has seven subparagraphs on problems to which education should relate). Cultural aspects merit only one paragraph (para. 17). A number of paragraphs of the *Recommendation* are long and complicated (for example, para. 4). Statements are interwoven with or embedded in each other in ways that make analysis difficult.

Although this is not stated as such in the text, it can be considered that the implicit speaker is the GC, except in the Preamble, where it is the explicit speaker.

Belonging as it does to a normative genre, the 1974 *Recommendation* is generally prescriptive. However, the prescriptive formulations vary. My attention was drawn to the vocabulary, linguistic and grammatical forms, and rhetorical expressions used in the text, as well as the functions of different ways of talking

in different parts of the *Recommendation*. Why, for example, does the title speak of education *for* international understanding, co-operation, and peace, but of education *related* to human rights and fundamental freedoms? Why does the text sometimes specify "Member States should," but sometimes "education should"? Why use the term "education" but also "international education"? What is the function of expressions such as "as far as possible"? I began to ask what these variations in language might signify, and to identify patterns in the formulations.

The discourse analysis I pursue is performed at the level of the *Recommendation* as a whole; however, the Preamble is analysed separately because it has a different function from the rest of the *Recommendation,* serving as an introduction that justifies and legitimizes it. Because in discourse analysis data play a prominent role, the use of direct quotations from the text is inevitable. This is important also in order to do justice to the text and its style, and to enable the reader to agree or disagree with the interpretations made. The same passages may be quoted several times depending on which aspects of the text are being scrutinized, that is, from which perspective or through which lens it is being examined.

The Preamble is analysed first, then the text. Words and phrases to which attention is drawn are shown as **bold** in the quoted passages.

3.2 The Preamble of the 1974 *Recommendation*

In the Preamble, the speaker is the GC, and everything said there is explicitly in its name. The style of the Preamble is official and solemn. The authority of the GC is expressed from the beginning through formal indication of the place, date, and number of the session, with the full name of the organization: "The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris from 17 October to 23 November 1974, at its eighteenth session." The following paragraphs open with terms such as "Mindful," "Reaffirming," "Noting nevertheless," "Noting moreover," "Having decided," and "Adopts" (Preamble, paras. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7), indicating that they speak in the name of the GC. The style and vocabulary suggest a quasi-religious profession of faith made collectively by a community.

This impression of a community of which UNESCO is a part is reinforced by the mention of the responsibilities that bind both the MS and UNESCO: the GC is "Mindful of the responsibility incumbent on States," "Reaffirming the responsibility … incumbent on UNESCO." The terms "mindful" and "reaffirming" imply factuality, a previous decision, an agreement, or a self-evident presumption:

> **Mindful of the responsibility incumbent on States** to achieve through education the aims set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, the Constitution of UNESCO, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of Victims of War of 12 August 1949, **in order to promote international un-**

derstanding, co-operation and peace and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Reaffirming the responsibility, which is incumbent on UNESCO to encourage and support in Member States any activity designed to ensure the education of all for the advancement of justice, freedom, human rights and peace. (Preamble, paras. 2 and 3)

Here MS and UNESCO are presented on an equal footing in facing their responsibilities. The States' responsibilities include the overall purpose, "to promote international understanding, co-operation and peace and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." These elements of the title of the *Recommendation* are justified here as the overarching educational goal within which the aims of the UN, UNESCO, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and the Geneva Conventions are subsumed, and as the responsibility "incumbent on States." The elements of the title as thus presented can therefore be considered supreme values. The term "States" used in this passage (in all other paragraphs of the *Recommendation* the term "Member States" is used) highlights the universal nature of the statement, which is not limited to MS of UNESCO. The UN Charter, the UNESCO Constitution, and the UDHR mentioned here can all be viewed as relevant international instruments in this context, but the inclusion of the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of Victims of War (1949) raises the question of why it should be mentioned rather than other possible international conventions (see Section 4.5.7 below).

The GC is "noting" three states of affairs in two subsequent paragraphs:

Noting nevertheless that **the activity of UNESCO and of its Member States** sometimes **has an impact only on a small minority** of the steadily growing numbers of schoolchildren, students, young people and adults continuing their education, and educators, and that **the curricula and methods of international education are not always attuned to** the needs and aspirations of the participating young people and adults,

Noting moreover that in a number of cases there is still **a wide disparity between proclaimed ideals, declared intentions and the actual situation...** (Preamble, paras. 4 and 5)

In the first "noting," the activity of UNESCO and of its MS is facing a shared problem that its impact is only on a small minority, implying that the ideal situation would be for their activity to reach the majority. The statement on curricula and methods of international education implies that ideally they would always be attuned to "the needs and aspirations of the participating young people and adults." The third implicit ideal is a match between proclaimed ideals, declared intentions, and the actual situation. These ideals could be interpreted using concepts from Laclau (2005), who, drawing on Lacan's psychoanalytic theory, highlights the experience of lack and desire for fullness. Reaching the majority and achieving the ideals of curricula and methods constitute an image of fullness that arouses a desire to achieve it, as the existing inadequacies in education are clearly exposed. International education designed according to the *Recommendation* would represent Laclau's fullness: it would correspond to

the proclaimed ideals and declared intentions, and would meet the needs and aspirations of young people and adults.

To sum up: The Preamble's official and solemn style suggests a profession of faith made collectively by a community. Its implicit vision of ideal fullness, in contrast to an existing lack, underlines the importance of the *Recommendation*. Its implicit message is that international education designed according to the *Recommendation* would be "better" than existing education, and would better fulfil the responsibilities of MS and UNESCO to which they are bound by their earlier commitments. Because all education is seen as intended to promote "international understanding, co-operation and peace and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms," the latter are conceived as ultimate societal goals or supreme values in themselves.

3.3 Repertoires

I have distinguished five repertoires, defined as the *instruction, principled, factual, stand-taking,* and *adjusting repertoires.* Each describes one way in which the GC talks about the themes of the *Recommendation*.

3.3.1 The instruction repertoire

The formulation "Member States should" is used in the *Recommendation* in 27 paragraphs[10] out of 45. This is what I call the instruction repertoire: by using the verb *should* the GC obligates MS, instructing them on what measures to take. Instructions are structured in such a way that the societal or individual aims of education are incorporated in the actions they are to undertake. The instructions bind the MS to the aims of national policies:

> Each Member State **should formulate and apply national policies aimed at** increasing the efficacy of education in all its forms and strengthening its contribution to international understanding and co-operation, to the maintenance and development of a just peace, to the establishment of social justice, to respect for and application of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to the eradication of the prejudices, misconceptions, inequalities and all forms of injustice which hinder the achievement of these aims**. (para. 7)

The aims in the above passage are presented as self-evident. As they raise questions about the themes of the 1974 *Recommendation* and other related issues, I analyse them below in the discussion of peace and human rights.

Instructions are in some cases detailed, specifying not only what MS should do but how to get others to act as required:

> **Member States should urge educators in collaboration with pupils, parents, the organizations concerned and the community, to use methods which appeal to** the

---

[10]   in paragraphs 7, 8, 9, 19, 11, 12, 13, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 and 45.

creative imagination of children and adolescents and to their social activities and **thereby to prepare them to exercise their rights and freedoms while recognizing and respecting the rights of others and to perform their social duties**. (para. 12)

Because of the complex nature of many paragraphs, I looked at their structure to see what that could signify. For example, the above paragraph displays a hierarchical structure. It also shows the repertoires functioning with one another, indicating the rational organization of the text. The structure of this paragraph is:

GC (implicitly)—MS—educators—in collaboration with other actors—certain methods—leading to given aims.

This structure not only demonstrates a hierarchy but also incorporates aims, as indicated by the expression "thereby to prepare them," that justify in this context the use of certain methods.

The chain of hierarchical instructions to MS incorporates a methodological goal, "taking into account the aspirations of young people with regard to international problems and new educational methods which are likely to improve prospects for fulfilling these aspirations" (para. 34). Hierarchies are incorporated into several instructions (paras. 8, 20, 25, 34, and 42). Many of the actions required are justified by goals: for example, the periodical re-examination of post-secondary and university education is justified by the phrase "so that it may contribute more fully to the attainment of the objectives of this recommendation" (para. 25).

Instructions also require MS to pursue individual-level goals, which are again tied to societal ones: "Member States should take appropriate steps to strengthen and develop in the processes of learning and training, attitudes and behavior based on recognition of the **equality and necessary interdependence of nations and peoples**" (para. 10). MS are also required to pursue educational aims at the level of the individual:

they should take appropriate steps to ensure that the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination become an integral part of the **developing personality of each child**. (para. 11)

The 1974 *Recommendation* assigns MS an important role in the regulation of education. However, there are variations in this as defined by the instructions. MS are viewed as (a) direct executors, (b) ensuring, in varying degrees, the execution of actions by others, and (c) promoters and encouragers.

(a) They are direct executors when they

- "Formulate and apply national policies" whose aims are given as self-evident (para. 7)
- "Provide financial, administrative, material and moral support" for the implementation of the recommendation, but "consistent with their constitutional provisions" (para. 9)

- "Take appropriate steps to strengthen and develop" certain attitudes based on societal aims given as self-evident (para. 10)
- "Constantly improve the ways and means of preparing and certifying teachers and other educational personnel for their role in pursuing the objectives of this recommendation" (para. 33)
- "Provide … with training, information and advice" with respect to self-evidently given aims (para. 34)
- "Organize or assist bilateral exchanges of teachers at all levels of education" (para. 37)
- "Establish or help to establish one or more documentation centres offering written and audio-visual material devised according to the objectives of this recommendation and adapted to the different forms and stages of education" (para. 40).

(b) They are to "take steps" or "endeavour" to ensure

- Co-operation and co-ordination of activities in international education (para. 8)
- That the principles of the UDHR and the convention on racial discrimination become part "of the developing personality" at the individual level (para. 11)
- Co-ordination and coherence of this education at each stage (para. 32)
- The inclusion of "components of international education" in further training for teachers (para. 35).

(c) They "promote," "encourage," "stimulate," "support," or "facilitate"

- "An active civic training" (para. 13)
- "Study of different cultures, their reciprocal influences, their perspectives and ways of life" with given aims (para. 17)
- Educational authorities and educators, to give education "an interdisciplinary and problem-oriented content" (para. 20)
- In pre-school education, activities according to "the purposes of the recommendation" (para. 24)
- "Educational study and refresher courses abroad [and] recognition of such courses as part of the regular process of initial training, appointment, refresher training and promotion of teachers" (para. 36)
- "The renewal, production, dissemination, and exchange of equipment and materials for international education" (para. 38)
- "Research on the foundations, guiding principles, means of implementation and effects of international education and on innovations and experimental activities in this field" (para. 41)
- Co-operation between "their Associated Schools Project and those of other countries with the help of UNESCO" (para. 44)
- "Wider exchanges of textbooks," especially history and geography textbooks, and, where appropriate and possible, "bilateral and multilateral agreements" (para. 45).

To be in a position to issue instructions presupposes possessing authority, hence the position of the GC can be considered to be authoritative, while MS are executors of the implementation. Issuing instructions to MS can be problematic because of their sovereignty and their different education systems. The sovereignty of MS is protected by the UN Charter, the Constitution of UNESCO, and the Rules of Procedure decided by its GC. It is emphasized, for example, in the case of international co-operation, that "In the implementation of this recommendation they should refrain from intervening in matters, which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State in accordance with the United Nations Charter" (para. 43). This problem is inherent in the genre of the normative text.

To sum up: The instruction repertoire as defined here addresses MS directly, telling them what actions they should undertake and how to implement certain self-evidently given goals and principles. Sometimes instructions are given hierarchically. The instructions assign MS a central role in implementation, from direct executor to promoter and supporter. However, issuing instructions requires authority on the part of the GC, which can produce conflicts between the authority of the GC and that of the individual MS.

3.3.2 The principled repertoire

The principled repertoire also uses the verb "should." However, in this repertoire obligations are assigned more generally, for example, "steps should be taken." These obligations issued and addressed generically are distinct from those of the instruction repertoire, which assigns obligations specifically to MS. The following examples describe ways of speaking typical of this repertoire.

(1) Obligations are assigned generally.
The GC as an implicit speaker assigns obligations in the passive voice: the addressee is unspecified and the object of action is education, as in "Education should be directed" (para. 18), or

> **Education should be infused with the aims and purposes set forth in** the Charter of the United Nations, the Constitution of UNESCO and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly Article 26, paragraph 2, of the last-named, which states: "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace." (para. 3)

This paragraph connects education to the wider goals of the UN, UNESCO, and the UDHR. Education is constituted as a tool for achieving these societal goals, but without specifying who is to use the tool. It is the object of action by an anonymous actor, and hence by everyone who influences or directs education.

In other passages, the area in which action "should be taken" is the central concern. Ethical obligation is general, again presented in the impersonal passive voice without specifying the addressee:

Steps should be taken to develop the study of those sciences and disciplines, which are directly related to the exercise of the increasingly varied duties and responsibilities involved in international relations.

Steps should be taken to assist the establishment and development of such organizations as student and teacher associations for the United Nations, international relations clubs and UNESCO Clubs, which should be associated with the preparation and implementation of co-ordinated programmes of international education. (paras. 19, 31)

In the first paragraph, "the study of those sciences and disciplines, which are directly related to the exercise of the increasingly varied duties and responsibilities involved in international relations" is the object of action being required from an anonymous actor, hence from anyone, or everyone. The passage implies that international relations have both an important value and a scientific foundation, warranted[11] factually by stating that they involve "increasingly varied duties and responsibilities."

The emphasis on the sciences can be considered as an appeal to a wider discourse of rationality.

In the second paragraph, the main point, the "establishment and development" of the organizations mentioned, is the role and the scale of extra-curricular activities and of NGOs in international education.

The international and intercultural dimension, at all stages and in all forms of education, is also stipulated generally, as a principle applicable to everyone: "**Increased efforts should be made** to develop and infuse an international and inter-cultural dimension at all stages and in all forms of education" (para. 22). General obligation also apply to the foundations of education programmes: Education in accordance with the *Recommendation* "**should be based** on adequate research, experimentation and the identification of specific educational objectives" (para. 10)**.**

Specifying that "adequate research, experimentation and the identification of specific educational objectives" should be the foundation of "education planned in accordance with this recommendation" differentiates this type of education from other types with other goals and principles. Again, the emphasis on research and the identification of educational objectives can be viewed as part of a more general discourse of rationality.

Student participation is raised as an important principle: "Student participation in the organization of studies and of the educational establishment they are attending **should itself be considered** a factor in civic education and an important element in international education" (para. 16). No one specific is to consider student participation as "a factor in civic education and an important element in international education": it is presented as a general principle, but no action is required in this respect.

---

11   "Warrant" is a term used in discourse analysis (Potter & Edwards, 1990; Potter & Wetherell, 1990), and accordingly in this study, as a near-synonym for "justify."

Obligations are assigned generally and warranted (justified) by explicitly stated individual and societal goals which are expressed by "aimed at," or "in order to,"

> **In order to enable every person to contribute actively to the fulfilment of the aims referred to in paragraph 3, and promote international solidarity and co-operation,** which are necessary in solving the world problems affecting the individuals' and communities' life and exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms, **the following objectives should be regarded as major guiding principles of educational policy.** (para. 4)

What is important here is the addition of "international solidarity and co-operation" to the educational aims given in the previous paragraph (para. 3) where aims are specified at the level of the individual. These aims are justified by the necessity of solving world problems, solving them is justified by their effect, and all these together justify the major guiding principles of educational policy. These principles in turn imply a number of requirements concerning the individual, to be discussed below. Goals given self-evidently, indicated by "in order to," are considered here as equivalent to principles.

The passage can be viewed as deducing the major guiding principles of educational policy from a set of premises, thus reflecting a wider discourse of rationality.

(2) Education is directly addressed

The second type of principled repertoire directly addresses education (international, higher, or post-secondary). Education is here an abstract, ethical actor obligated by the use of "should," in contrast to the instruction repertoire, which obligated MS as legal entities and politically responsible actors. The principled repertoire appears in sentences such as, "Combining learning, training, information and action, **international education should further** the appropriate intellectual and emotional development of the individual" (para. 5). Here the implicit speaker, the GC, tells international education what to do, although it is not a legal actor but an abstract, ethical one. In another passage, education is obligated to contribute to the central themes of the *Recommendation*:

> **It should contribute to** international understanding and strengthening of world peace and to the activities in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations, and against all forms and varieties of racialism, fascism, and apartheid as well as other ideologies which breed national and racial hatred and which are contrary to the purposes of this recommendation. (para. 6)

Different education sectors are also treated as ethical agents:

> **Higher education should comprise civic training and learning activities for all students that will sharpen** their knowledge of the major problems, which they should help to solve, provide them with possibilities for direct and continuous action aimed at the solution of those problems, and improve their sense of international co-operation. (para. 26)

Here the inclusion of "civic training and learning activities" is linked with societal problems and active participation in their solution.

Vocational training also has obligations:

> **Every stage of specialized vocational training should include training to enable** students to understand their role and the role of their professions in developing their society, furthering international co-operation, maintaining and developing peace, and to assume their role actively as early as possible. (para. 29)

In the above examples, the principled repertoire incorporates the goals of education at the level of society or the individual, as well as educational and methodological approaches. Similar incorporation of goals takes place, as shown, in the instruction repertoire addressed to MS. The goals in each case are self-evidently given and thus serve as commonly shared background assumptions or justifications for actions.

In the following passage, the goal, "the study and practice of international co-operation," warrants what post-secondary educational establishments should do:

> **In order to develop the study and practice of international co-operation**, **post-secondary educational establishments should systematically take advantage** of the forms of international action inherent in their role, such as visits from foreign professors and students and professional co-operation between professors and research teams in different countries. (para. 28)

In cases when obligations are assigned to education, it is the ethical actor, and MS are implicitly distanced. However, the GC is still implicitly the authority, being "the speaker" who states those principles.

To sum up: The principled repertoire described is in its obligatory nature similar to the instruction repertoire, but addresses different actors. In some cases obligations are assigned generally, and education is treated as a tool for achieving societal goals of peace and human rights. This can be interpreted as an instrumental view of education. However, in other contexts obligations are assigned directly to education, international education, or stages of education, thus treating them as ethical actors. This can be interpreted as seeing education as a value in itself. MS are implicitly distanced in this repertoire but the authority of the GC is still invoked. The structuring of sentences exhibiting this repertoire shows how self-evidently given aims warrant other principles, and reflects rational discourse.

3.3.3 The factual repertoire

Expressions that indicate how things are, or what a state of affairs is, using the present tense, are identified here as belonging to the factual repertoire. Conjunctions, for example "as" or "since," which function in the sentence to suggest knowledge about situations or circumstances, hence factuality, indicate the use of this repertoire.

The factual repertoire is used in the Preamble via the term "mindful." Because the GC is mindful of the responsibility of States, the expression presupposes a commonly shared truth. Equally, a consensually agreed fact is implicit when the GC is "reaffirming" the responsibility of UNESCO, and "noting" gaps in the reach of the activities of UNESCO and MS (Preamble, paras. 3, 4, and 5).

The use of the present tense indicates factuality: "the word education implies" (para. 1a); "human rights and fundamental freedoms are" (para. 1c). In another passage, factuality is constructed by the use of the present tense and also by claims of necessity:

> In order to enable every person to contribute actively to the fulfillment of the aims referred to in paragraph 3, and promote international solidarity and co-operation, **which are necessary** in solving the world problems **affecting** the individuals' and communities' life and exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms, **the following objectives should be regarded** as major guiding principles of educational policy. (para. 4)

This passage also shows that the factual repertoire can be interwoven with other repertoires, as it is here with the principled repertoire. Goals (principles) indicated by "in order to" are warranted factually by their necessary role in solving world problems, and this factually presented necessity is warranted by another factual statement, that the problems affect "the individuals' and communities' life and exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms." The "major guiding principles of educational policy" follow implicitly from what is said just before.

Other examples of the factual repertoire include

> Education should be directed both towards the eradication of conditions which perpetuate and aggravate major problems **affecting** human survival and well-being—**inequality, injustice, international relations based on the use of force**—and towards measures of international co-operation likely to help solve them.

> **As** pre-school education develops, Member States should encourage in it activities which correspond to the purposes of the recommendation **because fundamental attitudes, such as, for example, attitudes on race, are often formed in the pre-school years.** (paras. 18 and 24)

In the first paragraph, conditions "affecting human survival and well-being" are listed as known facts. In the second, the use of the conjunction "as" indicates an implicit knowledge of the developing nature of pre-school education, which functions as a warrant for MS obligations. The use of "because" indicates factually presented knowledge about the formation of fundamental attitudes. Implicit factually presented knowledge is also indicated by "as" and the use of the present in this passage: "**As** post-secondary educational establishments, particularly universities, **serve** growing numbers of people, they should carry out programmes of international education as part of their broadened function in lifelong education and should in all teaching adopt a global approach" (para. 27). In the first passage the factual repertoire functions to justify the direction of education, and in the third, the obligations of post-secondary establishments

(the principled repertoire); in the second, MS obligations (the instruction repertoire).

Another passage refers to implicit knowledge in a different way: "**Whatever the aims and forms of out-of-school education**, **including adult education**, they should be based on the following considerations" (para. 30). The term "whatever" is an important warrant, because it anticipates a response to a possible counter-argument that universal principles cannot be applied because different forms of education have different aims and purposes.

Consensual necessity is implied in another factually presented assertion: "**Since there must be a gradual but profound change in the role of education**, the results of experiments for the remodelling of structures and hierarchical relations in educational establishments should be reflected in training, information and advice" (para. 34).

"Since there must be" indicates consensual necessity and the inevitability of a "gradual but profound change in the role of education." It warrants the principle that "the results of experiments for the remodelling of structures and hierarchical relations in educational establishments should be reflected in training, information and advice." If the first sentence in this passage did not include the term "since," the repertoire concerned would be a principled repertoire.

The use of factuality in the *Recommendation* functions to review the situation prevailing around the world in the field of education as it relates to peace and human rights and the issues associated with them. By doing this it warrants or justifies other repertoires. However, factual expressions can also have a normative character. In "This recommendation applies to all stages and forms of education" (para. 2), the use of the present tense has a normative force.

By presenting facts, the implicit speaker, the GC, places itself in the position of one who knows what the situation or state of affairs is, what earlier consensus has occurred, what has been decided previously. It thus positions itself as an expert. The MS can be interpreted as implicitly the sharers of this expertise and factuality, because they participate in the construction of both. By warranting other repertoires, another function of this repertoire is to convince. Reference to previous resolutions or decisions is often part of the factual repertoire. Its use provides the Secretariat with a particularly strong position, as supposedly the possessor of this knowledge. By contrast, members of delegations to the GC change with governmental change in MS, and cannot therefore be expected to know about numerous earlier decisions.

To sum up: The factual repertoire, as defined in this study, is used to state how situations and conditions are, and to present events or state of affairs as facts or consensual truths. The factual repertoire is used to construct a single truth, assuming implicitly that the GC (UNESCO, the Secretariat) has knowledge in its possession and can thus position itself as the expert and MS as co-constructors of this expertise. The function of this repertoire is to warrant, support, or strengthen other repertoires. It can sometimes function normatively or persuasively, including with respect to MS.

3.3.4 The stand-taking repertoire

Some formulations in the *Recommendation* include a vocabulary of assessment, valuation, or ethical judgement. I identify these as belonging to the stand-taking repertoire. For example,

> Combining learning, training, information and action, international education should further **the appropriate intellectual and emotional development of the individual**. It should develop a sense of social responsibility and of solidarity with less privileged groups and should lead to observance of the principles of equality in everyday conduct. It should also help to develop qualities, aptitudes and abilities which enable the individual to acquire a **critical understanding of problems at the national and the international level**; to understand and explain facts, opinions and ideas; to work in a group; **to accept and participate in free discussions**; to observe the elementary rules of procedure applicable to any discussion; and to base value judgments and decisions on **a rational analysis of relevant facts and factors**. (para. 5)

In the above passage, value-judgements are present in the use of expressions such as "the appropriate intellectual and emotional development of the individual," "a critical understanding," and "free discussions." A question immediately arises: What kind of intellectual and emotional development of the individual is not "appropriate"? The paragraph indicates that international education should take a stand in favour of the "appropriate," implying that inappropriate behaviour is excluded. What "appropriate" means in this context is clarified in the sentence that follows, which lists a number of characteristics an individual should have. The expression "critical understanding of problems at the national and international level" implies that not all understanding is critical. "Free discussions" and "a rational analysis" imply that not all discussions are free and not every analysis is rational. International education should make this distinction and be in favour of free discussion and rational analyses. In the context of the Cold War, mention of free discussion was evidently desirable from the Western bloc point of view.

In another passage, education is an actor who should take a stand on the "inadmissibility of recourse to war" for certain purposes:

> **Education should stress the inadmissibility** of recourse to war **for purposes** of expansion, aggression and domination, or to the use of force and violence **for purposes of** repression, and should bring every person to understand and assume his or her responsibilities for the maintenance of peace. (para. 6)

This stand-taking, by defining the purposes for which recourse to war is inadmissible, implies that recourse to war may be admissible for other purposes, and force and violence may be used for purposes other than repression. This will be explored below in connection with the issue of peace.

The aims of national policies include "the maintenance and development of a **just** peace" (para. 7). Stand-taking implies that not all peace is just. This too will be dealt with below in an analysis of the construction of peace in the *Recommendation*.

Education is a stand-taker in other passages, for example:

Education should include critical analysis of the historical and contemporary factors of an economic and political nature underlying the contradictions and tensions between countries, together with study of ways of overcoming these contradictions, which are **the real impediments to** understanding, **true international co-operation** and the development of world peace.

Education should emphasize the true interests of peoples and **their incompatibility** with the interests of monopolistic groups holding economic and political power, which practice exploitation and foment war. (paras. 14 and 15)

The stand-taking character of the first paragraph resides in the terms "critical," "real," and "true." To present "economic and political" impediments as real implies that there are other impediments that are not real. And because economic and political factors are those said to belong to the category "real," the primacy of these factors over other possible ones, such as cultural factors, is also implied. (Both statements also use the factual repertoire, in claiming that the contradictions and tensions between countries "are" the real impediments.) The obligated actor here is education; because education is taking a stand, MS are not directly being asked to do so.

In the second paragraph, it is asserted that education should be on the side of "the true interests of peoples," implying that there exist interests that are false or contrary to these true interests. The "true interests" are pro-peace and against exploitation. In contrast, "the interests of monopolistic groups holding economic and political power" favour exploitation and foment war, so that only the false interests of peoples can be associated with them. Here again, the factual repertoire warrants the stand-taking: the incompatibility of the two interests is presented as a self-evident truth. Chapter Four will explore the difficulties a number of Western bloc countries had in accepting the formulations in these two cases.

Stand-taking is also present in the phrase "build international education on a **sound** psychological and sociological basis" (para. 42). "Sound" implies that unspecified unsound psychological and sociological bases also exist. Common cultural backgrounds define what is sound and what is not. For example, the unsound psychological and sociological basis of the education imposed by the Nazis was in the thoughts of those who included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the right of parents to decide on the education of their children (World Education Report, 2000).

Stand-taking could also be called judgement, ethical or other. In fact, calling any one repertoire stand-taking is problematic, given that all the repertoires express the positions of the GC and as such in a sense take stands on the issues concerned. In the stand-taking repertoire education is constituted as the ethical actor, the judge. The GC as the implicit speaker distances itself from a stand-taking position, as do the MS. However, the fact that it can put education in this position implies the authority of the GC; one could say that it is implicitly positioning itself as a collective ethical judge.

To sum up: The stand-taking repertoire distinguishes those social practices that are accepted, admissible, just, or sound from those that by implication are

not. In this way a distinction is made between good and bad, "us " and "them." It implicitly says a lot about other realities or social practices, specifically the "bad" realities and practices against which the stand is taken. This is where politics and power become important, in drawing lines between what is seen as good and bad and naturalizing the good within a common culture.

3.3.5 The adjusting repertoire

In differentiating these repertoires, my attention was drawn to the inclusion of modifying expressions in some instructions. For example, some expressions seemed to qualify the obligations of MS: they are to provide "**consistent with their constitutional provisions**, the financial, administrative, material and moral support necessary to implement this recommendation" (para. 9); to "**take steps** to ensure" (paras. 8 and 11); to "**endeavor** to ensure" (paras. 32 and 35); to "take **appropriate** steps" (para. 10); to "promote **appropriate** measures to ensure that" (para. 39); to "establish **or help to establish**" (para. 40).

Given their function in the sentence, I group these expressions under the adjusting repertoire. Adjusting is used in a variety of ways in the text, rather like the way the factual repertoire constructs factuality in varying ways. The adjusting repertoire functions in four principal ways in the text of the 1974 *Recommendation*.

1.   Limitation
The universal nature of the statement is reduced by limitation in the opening phrase of the "Significance of terms" paragraph, "for the purposes of this recommendation" (para. 1), which defines key terms (para. 1a, b, and c):

> The terms "international understanding", "co-operation" and "peace" are to be considered as an indivisible whole based on the principle of friendly relations between peoples and States having different social and political systems and on the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. **In the text of this recommendation**, the **different connotations of these terms are sometimes gathered together in a concise expression**, "international education". (para. 1b)

In the above citation, the significance of the terms defined is limited by the expression "in the text of this recommendation." It can be noted that the definition is presented factually, implying general consensus, with the expression "are to be considered." As shown in Section 3.3.3, the factual repertoire can produce normative truths, and the limitation here does not alter the consensual factuality expressed in the form "are to be considered as an indivisible whole." Adjusting performed by the wording "the different connotations of these terms are sometimes gathered together in a concise expression" can be considered in this case a practical solution to a political problem, a kind of rhetoric of pragmatism ("Pragmatism," 2010).

Adjusting by limitation, as in this case, is certainly useful in escaping controversies over terminology, and in particular in defining the mutual relations

of debated concepts. The use of the term *international education* here and in other parts of the *Recommendation* is analysed below in Section 3.5.3.

2.   Appropriateness

Adjusting is used twice in this passage: "**Member States should provide, consistent with their constitutional provisions**, the financial, administrative, material and moral support **necessary** to implement this recommendation" (para. 9). Both uses make the universal nature of MS obligations less absolute. Firstly, they are to provide support "consistent with their constitutional provisions." Secondly, they are left to decide what is "necessary" in order to implement the *Recommendation.*

The word "appropriate" is often used in the adjusting repertoire: "**Member States should take appropriate steps** to strengthen and develop in the processes of learning and training, attitudes and behavior based on recognition of the equality and necessary interdependence of nations and peoples" (para. 10). The "appropriateness" of the steps is left up to the MS, but the principle of the development of certain "attitudes and behavior" is not affected.

Along the same lines, MS should "promote appropriate measures" to ensure that educational aids, especially textbooks, meet given criteria (para. 39); each MS should establish one or more documentation centres "according to its needs and possibilities" (para. 40), and MS should "take appropriate steps to ensure" that teachers and others "build international education on a sound psychological and sociological basis" through the methods specified:

> Member States **should take appropriate steps to ensure** that teachers and the various authorities concerned build international education on a sound psychological and sociological basis by applying the results of research carried out in each country on the formation and development of favorable or unfavorable attitudes and behavior, on attitude-change, on the interaction of personality development and education and on the positive or negative effects of educational activity. A substantial part of this research should be devoted to the aspirations of young people concerning international problems and relations. (para. 42)

The steps to be taken by MS are to be "appropriate," but the principle of ensuring "a sound psychological and sociological basis" and the use of research results from specified areas are not adjusted, nor is the principle of devoting a substantial part of this research "to the aspirations of young people concerning international problems and relations."

Other expressions fulfil the same function: the phrase "**With due regard to** the value of the visual arts and music as factors conducive to understanding between different cultures" (para. 17) leaves MS to decide what "with due regard" is to mean.

Adjusting also takes place through the use of the expression "endeavor to ensure" rather than simply "ensure" (for example, paras. 21, 32, and 35), the invocation of possibilities, or the use of incremental language, as in "**Wherever possible**, this participation should **increasingly** link education and action to solve problems at the local, national and international levels" (para. 13), or, "**as far as possible** a global approach should be applied in all out-of-school educa-

tion programmes, which should comprise the appropriate moral, civic, cultural, scientific and technical elements of international education" (para. 30 a).

The expressions "where appropriate" and "if possible" (para. 45) are used in the case of MS obligations concerning exchanges of textbooks and bilateral and multilateral agreements, but again the specified principles concerned are not themselves adjusted.

3.   Open-endedness

The expression "such … as" implies that the list that follows is open-ended, including examples rather than a complete list, as in: "Education which in this respect must necessarily be of an interdisciplinary nature **should relate to such problems as**" (para. 18). This phrase is followed by seven subparagraphs, but the expression "such problems as" allows it, in principle, to accommodate other items.

In another passage, the list of ideologies to be combated through the contribution of education is left open-ended, but limited by reference to the criteria of "this recommendation":

> It [education] should contribute to international understanding and strengthening of world peace and to the activities in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations, **and against** all forms and varieties of racialism, fascism, and apartheid **as well as other ideologies which breed national and racial hatred and which are contrary to the purposes of this recommendation.** (para. 6)

The closing phrase allows for the inclusion of other ideologies in addition to those mentioned; this formulation enables each MS to ask what these other ideologies could be. However, "the purposes of this recommendation" sets limits to the possible ideologies that can be included, while creating a space for continued debate. One, for example, might be Zionism, hotly debated at the time of the *Recommendation*.

The use of examples can also highlight important elements while leaving space open for other considerations, for example the measures to be implemented for teacher preparation:

> (b) provide basic interdisciplinary knowledge of world problems and the problems of international co-operation, through, **among other means**, work to solve these problems;

> (d) comprise experiments in the use of active methods of education and training in **at least** elementary techniques of evaluation, **particularly those** applicable to the social behavior and attitudes of children, adolescents and adults. (para. 33 b and d)

Elsewhere, the importance of the teaching of foreign languages is highlighted, but "among other things," and what constitutes "due importance" is left for the recipient to decide: "Such study should, **among other things**, give **due** importance to the teaching of foreign languages, civilizations and cultural heritage as a means of promoting international and inter-cultural understanding" (para. 17).

4.   Another principle used as an alternative

This form of adjusting concerns a special case within the *Recommendation*, the Associated Schools Project (ASP):

> Those concerned with Associated Schools in Member States should strengthen and renew their efforts to extend the programme to other educational institutions and work towards the general application of its results. In other Member States, similar action should be undertaken as soon as possible. **The experience of other educational institutions which have carried out successful programmes of international education should also be studied and disseminated**. (para. 23)

It needs to be understood in reading this passage that the ASP—a UNESCO experimental project since 1953—was open to criticism by those who wanted international education for all schools, not only ASP schools. In this context, the principle of strengthening the ASP is adjusted by adducing another principle that opens the way for other interventions.

To sum up: The adjusting repertoire is embedded in other repertoires, and expressed via the use of limitation, appropriateness, open-endedness, or the use of another principle as an alternative. It limits the authority of the GC but does not lead to modification of principles or instructions. However, it makes MS obligations less binding and principles more acceptable. Its function is thus instrumental in reaching universal agreement. It facilitates the acceptance of universal norms. It balances universal requirements and the interests of particular MS. The implicit position of the GC here can be seen as that of mediator, with MS ceding or subsuming their particular positions to the universal while maintaining their authority. The adjusting repertoire thus lies at the heart of any international normative action, due to its function of accommodating different political, economic, and cultural viewpoints and interests.

3.3.6 Summary of the repertoires

The main features of the five repertoires are summarized in Table 2 below. The first column lists the main characteristics of each repertoire, the second their content areas, the third their functions, and the fourth the position(s) they construct for the GC and MS, for education, or international education.

Three repertoires, the instruction, principled, and stand-taking, are normative, while the factual has a warranting function relative to the first three and the adjusting has the specific function of preserving MS authority and the general function of enabling agreement. (The Table does not show the fact that the stand-taking and adjusting repertoires are embedded in the others.)

In the instruction repertoire, "hierarchy" refers to hierarchical lines of action, obligating first MS and then through them other actors, educators, teachers, and students. Only the instruction repertoire requires politically responsible actors, the MS. In the principled and stand-taking repertoires, education, international education, and stages of education are the ethical actors, although they are not political decision-makers or legal bodies but abstract entities. Pronouncing generally on education or various stages of education presupposes the unity

of education world-wide. Education as an abstract entity is supposed to constitute a universal from which political, cultural, and economic differences have evaporated.

TABLE 2   Summary of the repertoires

Repertoire	Content areas	Function	Positions
Instruction: Addressed to MS Hierarchy	Education policies, civic education, teacher preparation, methods, aims, attitudes and behaviour, research, international co-operation, co-ordination, resources, educational approaches, materials	Normative Binds MS as politically responsible actors with policies and aims	GC implicitly: authority MS explicitly: executors, organizers, promoters
Principled: (a) Addressed to education, internat'l education, or different stages and forms of education (b) Action itself is the principle	(a) Societal aims of peace and human rights, and issues associated with them (b) Student participation	Normative Shifts political responsibility from MS to abstract actors	Education or internat'l education explicitly: tools or ethical actors GC implicitly: authority but distanced MS implicitly: distanced
Factual: State of affairs Previous decisions Knowledge Expertise Consensual necessity	Educational change Definition of terms Responsibilities of MS and UNESCO Major problems affecting human survival and well-being Attitude formation	Warrant others Support Strengthen Justify Sometimes normative Convince	GC implicitly: expert MS implicitly: sharers of knowledge and facts
Stand-taking: Addressed to education or internat'l education Embedded Assessments, ethical judgements	Intellectual and emotional development of individual, peace and war, critical analysis, international co-operation, real interests of people, psychological basis	Normative For right things Against wrongs Shifts political responsibility from MS to abstract actors	Education or internat'l education explicitly: ethical actors, judges GC and MS implicitly: distanced
Adjusting: Reduces, limits, highlights	Obligations of MS Frames definitions Open-ended examples	Reaching an agreement, preserving MS authority	GC implicitly: mediator MS implicitly: conceding, co-operative

These repertoires are expressed via the ways of "talking" through which norms are established in the 1974 *Recommendation*. They have been distinguished on the basis of linguistic features including verb tense, voice, mode, and vocabulary. The repertoires indicate in general terms what kind of a text the 1974 *Recommendation* is and how it addresses its subject-matter, the topic of the first research question raised above. The analysis of repertoires does not shed light on wider discourses, but does provide some evidence of the presence of rational discourse, to be discussed below in Section 3.4.

3.4   Rational discourse

Based on an examination of its expressions and vocabulary, as well as the structuring of its repertoires, it can be argued that the 1974 *Recommendation* is built on a more general discourse, the rational. Rational discourse is prominent throughout the 1974 *Recommendation*. By a *rational discourse* I mean one that organizes a text in terms of ends and means, often justified by the factual repertoire, with a belief in science expressed through emphasis on research, experimentation, and accurate knowledge, and a focus on purposeful action.

The *Recommendation* is generally constructed in terms of ends and means, and the aims and bases of actions. For example, obligations are presented as inferences from previously established principles: "**Since** there must be a gradual but profound change in education, the **results**…**should be reflected** in training, information and advice" (para. 34). As already shown, the factual repertoire is often used to justify actions.

Part Nine of the *Recommendation* is devoted to research and experimentation, stating that MS obligations are to "stimulate and support research on the foundations, guiding principles, means of implementation and effects of international education and on innovations and experimental activities in this field" (para. 41), and to get teachers to "build international education on a sound psychological and sociological basis by applying the results of research carried out in each country" (para. 42). Research and experiment are brought up in other contexts as well. Reference to the "periodic re-examination of post-secondary and university education" with a view to the attainment of the objectives of the *Recommendation* (para. 25) can also be seen to express a belief in scientific method. In another passage, "Such programmes [planned in accordance with this recommendation] should be based on adequate research, experimentation and the identification of specific educational objectives" (para. 20). Teacher training should

> **comprise experiments** in the use of active methods of education and training in at least elementary techniques of evaluation, particularly those applicable to the social behavior and attitudes of children, adolescents and adults;
>
> include **the study of experiments** in international education, especially **innovative experiments** carried out in other countries. (para. 33 d and f)

Rationality is included among individual qualities: education should "enable the individual to acquire a **critical understanding** of problems … to **understand and explain** facts, opinions and ideas … and to base value judgements and decisions on a **rational analysis** of relevant facts and factors" (para. 5). Accurate knowledge is constructed in descriptions of educational materials: they are to be "**free from elements** liable to give rise to misunderstanding, mistrust, racialist reactions, contempt or hatred with regard to other groups or peoples" (para. 39).

To sum up: a general discourse of rationality is expressed in the *Recommendation* through ways that include the structuring of sentences in terms of aims and means, and the emphasis on purposeful action and on research.

3.5   Content issues

The five groups of content issues discussed below—peace, human rights, education, educational aims of the individual, and educational approaches— emerge from the foregoing discursive readings of the text. I draw attention to the articulation of the different elements, following Laclau, who places emphasis on such structured relations.

3.5.1 Peace and its relation to human rights

Peace and human rights are core issues of the *Recommendation*, and hence their articulation calls for analysis. The title brings them together, but in two significantly different ways: education "**for** international understanding, co-operation and peace," and education "**relating to** human rights and fundamental freedoms." The first expression could be interpreted as more actively in favour of peace, the second as more factual and neutral relative to human rights. This difference raises the question of whether some preference is being given to peace. Peace and human rights are articulated in three main ways in the 1974 *Recommendation*.

1.   Peace and human rights are treated as one entity
In some passages, peace and human rights are articulated together with additional elements, but constructed as one entity. They are usually presented factually, as self-evident societal goals, and in the same phrase, for example, "in order to promote international understanding, co-operation and peace and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (Preamble, para. 2). In another example, "the advancement of justice, freedom, human rights and peace" (Preamble, para. 3), the order of presentation is reversed, suggesting that peace and human rights are equal within the overall category of societal aims.

In the first paragraph of the *Recommendation*, "international understanding, co-operation and peace" is conceived as an indivisible whole, based on two parallel and equal elements, "the principle of friendly relations between peoples

and States having different social and political systems and on the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (para. 1 b). This construction conceives of peace and its accompanying elements as supported by two pillars, both of them necessary. (Subsequently, the various elements are gathered under "international education," in which none has primacy over the others, as will be discussed below in Section 3.5.3 on education and international education.)

National policy aims include the efficacy of education, which is articulated with the contribution of national policies to

> international understanding and co-operation, to the maintenance and development of a just peace, to the establishment of social justice, to respect for and application of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to the eradication of the prejudices, misconceptions, inequalities and all forms of injustice which hinder the achievement of these aims. (para. 7)

Here peace is more specifically mentioned as "a just peace," social justice is a new element, and human rights and fundamental freedoms are not only to be respected but applied. However, all the elements are again enumerated as part of a single entity.

2. Peace and human rights are presented as separate items within an expanding formation

In paragraph 18, the issues education should address are expressed by the use of the principled repertoire, and peace and human rights are articulated as separate items among others:

> (a) equality of rights of peoples, and the right of peoples to self-determination;

> (b) the maintenance of peace; different types of war and their causes and effects; disarmament; the inadmissibility of using science and technology for warlike purposes and their use for the purposes of peace and progress; the nature and effect of economic, cultural and political relations between countries and the importance of international law for these relations, particularly for the maintenance of peace;

> (c) action to ensure the exercise and observance of human rights, including those of refugees; racialism and its eradication; the fight against discrimination in its various forms;

> (d) economic growth and social development and their relation to social justice; colonialism and decolonization; ways and means of assisting developing countries; the struggle against illiteracy; the campaign against disease and famine; the fight for a better quality of life and the highest attainable standard of health; population growth and related questions;

> (e) the use, management and conservation of natural resources, pollution of the environment;

> (f) preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind [*sic*];

> (g) the role and methods of action of the United Nations system in efforts to solve such problems and possibilities for strengthening and furthering its action. (para. 18 a-g)

In this list, all elements can be considered equal within an expanding discursive formation. The list is not presented as absolute but open-ended, via the expression "should relate to such problems as." The adjusting repertoire is in use here. However, the order of the subparagraphs deserves attention: placing "Equality of rights of peoples and the right of peoples to self-determination" at the top can be taken as a demonstration of the importance of this issue.

3.   Separate paragraphs are devoted to peace and to human rights

These paragraphs are examined more closely here, to explore the hypothesis that preference was given to issues of peace. The UDHR, in particular article 26, paragraph 2, along with the UN Charter and the Constitution of UNESCO, provides the first guiding principles of the *Recommendation,* those which education should be infused with (para. 3). The UDHR principles, together with those of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, are to "become an integral part of the developing personality of each child, adolescent, young person or adult" (para. 11). These passages all indicate the prominence given to human rights. Furthermore, human rights should not only be respected but applied, and education should instil "commitment to the ethics of human rights" (para. 33 a). Emphasis is put on the application of human rights (para. 7), and on "action to ensure the **exercise and observance** of human rights, including those of refugees" (para. 18 c).

The place of human rights in teacher training (para. 33) can be viewed as even more prominent since in the list of six items relating to teacher training there is nothing directly on peace. The application of human rights is conceived together with international co-operation as a complex issue requiring "interdisciplinary, problem-oriented content" (para. 20).

In short, human rights has a prominent place in several places in the *Recommendation*, and the hypothesis that preference is given to peace issues is not confirmed. What kind of peace and of human rights is constructed by the *Recommendation* is a topic for further exploration.

"International understanding, co-operation and peace" form part of the title of the *Recommendation*, conceived there as an indivisible whole (para. 1 b). Together they construct the conception of peace. To understand how peace (and war) are constructed here, attention must be given to the terms used, and to the other elements articulated with these concepts. For example, peace is sometimes to be maintained (paras. 6 and 18 b), sometimes maintained and developed (para. 7), and sometimes it is world peace that is to be "developed" (for example, para. 14). It is characterized sometimes as peace, sometimes as "a just peace," and sometimes as "world peace."

"The maintenance of peace" is an item in the list of problems education should address (para. 18 b). "The maintenance and development of a just peace" is also among national policy goals:

> Each Member State should formulate and apply national policies aimed at increasing **the efficacy of education** in all its forms and strengthening its contribution to **international understanding and co-operation**, **to the maintenance and development of a just peace**, to the establishment of **social justice**, **to respect for and application of**

human rights and fundamental freedoms, and **to the eradication of the prejudices, misconceptions, inequalities and all forms of injustice which hinder the achievement of these aims**. (para. 7)

Here, a "just peace" is articulated with the "efficacy of education" and a number of other elements emphasized above which can be considered as components of peace. These can be considered as societal goals that require structural change by emphasizing social justice and the eradication of inequalities and injustices. Describing peace as "just" involves the use of the stand-taking repertoire embedded in the instructions to MS to be realized through education policies.

The structural change needed to achieve peace is outlined:

Education should be directed both towards **the eradication of conditions which perpetuate and aggravate major problems affecting human survival and well-being—inequality, injustice, international relations based on the use of force—**and towards measures of international co-operation likely to help solve them. (para. 18)

Both maintaining and developing peace are obligations of vocational education:

Every stage of specialized vocational training should include training to enable students to understand their role and the role of their professions in **developing their society, furthering international co-operation, maintaining and developing peace, and to assume their role actively as early as possible**. (para. 29)

What is said about war contributes to the construction of the concept of peace. Here the stand-taking repertoire is invoked:

Education should stress **the inadmissibility** of recourse to war **for purposes** of expansion, aggression and domination, or to the use of force and violence **for purposes** of repression, and should bring every person to understand and assume **his or her responsibilities for the maintenance of peace.** It should contribute **to international understanding and strengthening of world peace and** to the activities in **the struggle against** colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations, **and against** all forms and varieties of racialism, fascism, and apartheid as well as other ideologies which breed national and racial hatred and which are contrary to the purposes of this recommendation. (para. 6)

World peace is linked together with international understanding, with the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, and against racialism, fascism, and apartheid. War and the use of force and violence are declared inadmissible for some purposes, a formulation that immediately raises the question of what are the admissible purposes of recourse to war and of the use of force and violence. This formulation recalls another, an item in the list of problems education should address:

the maintenance of peace; **different types of war** and **their causes and effects**; disarmament; the **inadmissibility of using science and technology for warlike purposes** and their use for the purposes of peace and progress; the nature and effect of economic, cultural and political relations between countries and the importance of international law for these relations, particularly **for the maintenance of peace**. (para. 18 b)

The maintenance of peace is treated as one item and different types of war and their causes and effects as another.

The maintenance of peace is an individual responsibility. The development of world peace is articulated with the concepts of understanding and "true international co-operation" (note the stand-taking repertoire present here):

> Education should include critical analysis of the historical and contemporary factors of an economic and political nature underlying the contradictions and tensions between countries, together with study of ways of overcoming these contradictions, which are the real impediments to **understanding, true international co-operation and the development of world peace.** (para. 14)

The concept of peace found in the *Recommendation* emphasizes overcoming social and economic inequalities and achieving social justice, which can be viewed as structural aspects of the development of peace. "Recognition of the equality and necessary interdependence of nations and peoples" (para. 10) can be viewed as a component of peace. The statement is presented as a basis for the development of attitudes and behaviour in educational processes. Presented as a self-evident principle, it forms part of the instructions to MS about processes of learning and training. It forms the first paragraph out of seven under "Ethical and civic aspects" (paras. 10-16). The articulation of the elements of this statement implies that the equality of nations and peoples is as important as their necessary interdependence, and excludes interdependence not based on equality. It also implies that nations and peoples are not necessarily the same thing. This was important during the 1960s and to some extent still in the 1970s, because of the number of peoples who did not then constitute nations, for example in Africa where national liberation movements were fighting for independence, or in the case of the Palestinian people, a problem that is still unresolved. That education is not only about attitudes but also behaviour is an equally important assertion.

The UN Charter includes the goal, "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace" (UN, 1945, article 1, para. 2). In the 1974 *Recommendation* "the equality of rights of peoples and the right of peoples to self-determination" (para. 18 a) is the first item among seven to which education should be related in addressing major world problems. The UN Charter mentions the solving of international problems, also emphasized in the 1974 *Recommendation*. In that respect, the UN Charter declares as one of the purposes of the UN, "To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (UN, 1945, Article 1, para. 3).

In the text about education for peace and human rights, the use of military vocabulary in some passages of the text draws my attention. Examples include the "**struggle** against colonialism and neo-colonialism" (para. 6), "the **fight** against discrimination in its various forms" (para. 18 c), "the **struggle** against

illiteracy," "the **fight** for a better quality of life and the highest attainable standard of health" (para. 18 d), "**explosive** social problems" (para. 21).

International co-operation is one of the important components of peace in the 1974 *Recommendation*, an element of its title and an essential component of peace along with international understanding, with which it forms "an indivisible whole" (para. 1 b). International co-operation has concrete content and value of its own, and MS are to consider it as their responsibility in developing international education (para. 43).

The last part of the *Recommendation* is devoted to international co-operation and uses the instruction repertoire (paras. 43, 44, and 45), but it is emphasized throughout the text. International co-operation is presented as an activity and also as a societal goal, thus a value as such. For example, international solidarity and co-operation are identified as parallel with aims and purposes expressed in the UN Charter, the Constitution of UNESCO, and the UDHR, and necessary "in solving the world problems affecting the individuals' and communities' life and exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms" (para. 4). The active individual contribution to the fulfilment of the expressed aims is instrumental in solving world problems, whose solutions are presented as primary because of their impact on human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The importance of international relations is highlighted again in "the study of those sciences and disciplines, which are directly related to the exercise of the increasingly varied duties and responsibilities involved in international relations" (para. 19). International co-operation is a self-evident goal, to be furthered also in specialized vocational training (para. 29). It is a knowledge component of teacher training, which is to provide "interdisciplinary knowledge of world problems and the problems of international co-operation, through, among other means, work to solve these problems" (para. 33 b).

International actions are to include "educational study and refresher courses abroad," "the recognition of such courses" (para. 36), bilateral teacher exchanges (para. 37), and an "increasing number of international meetings and study sessions on international education" (para. 43). "The study and practice of international co-operation" is presented as the self-evident aim that justifies a number of actions to be undertaken by post-secondary educational establishments, which "should systematically **take advantage** of the forms of international action **inherent in their role,** such as visits from foreign professors and students and professional co-operation between professors and research teams in different countries" (para. 28). The rhetoric of persuasion is also used, indicating the self-evident value of international understanding and co-operation: "By their own actions, they should demonstrate **that implementing this recommendation is itself an exercise in international understanding and co-operation**" (para. 43).

Persuasion is used again in connection with the ASP, viewed as an important tool for international co-operation:

> Member States **should take advantage of the experience of the Associated Schools** which carry out, with UNESCO's help, programmes of international education;

> Member States should encourage the co-operation between their **Associated Schools** and those of other countries with the help of UNESCO **in order to promote mutual benefits** by expanding their experiences in a wider international perspective. (paras. 23 and 44)

Persuasion rhetoric is signalled here by expressions such as "take advantage of" and "mutual benefits."

To sum up: Examination of the conception of peace in the *Recommendation* shows that it usually appears conjoined with international understanding and co-operation and with human rights, and is also articulated with terms to do with maintaining and developing it. The focus is on international peace and world peace and on abolishing structural obstacles to it, including inequality and injustice, and on the establishment of social justice and the respect for and application of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Equality of rights of peoples and their right to self-determination is related to international aspects of peace, and can be seen in the context of the contribution of education to the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms. From that perspective, the phrase "the inadmissibility of recourse to war for purposes of expansion, aggression and domination, or to the use of force and violence for purposes of repression" (para. 6) implicitly leaves open the possibility of their use for admissible purposes. International co-operation, an integral component of peace, is viewed as a value and an activity that includes many practical measures in the field of education. In that context, the ASP is assigned an important role.

3.5.2 Human rights

The prominent place of human rights in the *Recommendation* has already been shown. This section looks at some of its content aspects.

Human rights are defined "for the purposes of this recommendation": "'Human rights' and 'fundamental freedoms' are those defined in **the United Nations Charter**, the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** and **the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and on Civil and Political Rights**" (para. 1 c).

The UN Charter speaks in the name of "we the peoples of the United Nations" and reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small" (Preamble). The UN Charter does not provide details of human rights; it was drawn up in 1945, and the UDHR only in 1948. The UN Charter does mention men and women, whereas women are not specifically included in the 1974 *Recommendation*.

The UDHR is articulated here with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the principles of both are to become "an integral part of the developing personality of each child, adolescent, young person or adult" (para. 11). This articulation highlights the importance of the issue of racism. "All forms and varieties of racialism, fascism, and apartheid" are also among the ideologies to be struggled against with the help

of education (para. 6). We may recall that organized racism in the form of apartheid in South Africa was an important international issue in that period and the object of several resolutions of the UN and UNESCO.

The issue of refugees is raised in the context of the exercise and observance of human rights, as are racism and the fight against discrimination, mentioned as themes that education should be related to: "action to ensure the exercise and observance of human rights, including those of **refugees**; **racialism** and its eradication; the fight against **discrimination in its various forms**" (para. 18 c).

"The fight against discrimination in its various forms" can be viewed as a component of human rights in the *Recommendation*; the rights of women are not mentioned. Only one paragraph specifies that an obligation applies to both men and women: "to foster in **him or her** favorable attitudes and a willingness to take positive action" (para. 30 b). The lack of reference to gender elsewhere is rather surprising, since by the 1960s in many parts of the world there was a new consciousness of the patterns of discrimination against women and a rise in the number of organizations committed to combating its effects ("Short history," 2010); the issue was already on the agenda of the UN (UN, 1979b).

In the 1974 *Recommendation*, talking about rights and freedoms goes along with duties and respect for the rights of others: "Awareness not only of the rights but also of the **duties** incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations towards each other" (para. 4 e) is one of the six principles of education policy. Individual rights and freedoms are to be linked with the rights of others by the use of methods "which appeal to the creative imagination of children and adolescents and to their social activities and **thereby to prepare them to exercise their rights and freedoms while recognizing and respecting the rights of others and to perform their social duties**" (para. 12). Or

> The first school should be designed and organized as a social environment having its own character and value, in which various situations, including games, **will enable children to become aware of their rights, to assert themselves freely while accepting their responsibilities, and to improve and extend through direct experience their sense of belonging to larger and larger communities**—the family, the school, then the local, national and world communities. (para. 24)

The social environment is important in enabling children to become aware of their rights, which are articulated with the acceptance of responsibilities, "To assert themselves freely" and "will enable children to become" (para. 24) can be interpreted as presenting an educational approach that respects children and their natural development. However, the articulation with "accepting their responsibilities" sets limits to free self-assertion. Building children's awareness of their rights goes along with free self-assertion and responsibilities, and with the sense of belonging to the family and ultimately world communities. The social ties of the individual are not limited to the family or other local entities. It should be noted that the Declaration of the Rights of the Child approved by the UN General Assembly in 1959 also includes social responsibility among the aims of education:

> He [*sic*] shall be given an education which will promote his general culture and enable him, on a basis of equal opportunity, to develop his abilities, his individual judgment, **and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society**. (UN, 1959, Principle 7)

In the 1974 *Recommendation*, the implementation of human rights is conceived as a tool for changing society:

> provide teachers with motivations for their subsequent work: **commitment to the ethics of human rights and to the aim of changing society, so that human rights are applied in practice;** a grasp of the fundamental unity of mankind; ability to instill appreciation of the riches which the diversity of cultures can bestow on every individual, group or nation. (para. 33 a)

To sum up: Human rights, based on international instruments, have a prominent place in the *Recommendation*. The specificity of human rights is maintained while integrating them into peace-related educational activities. The importance of human rights is demonstrated by, among other things, viewing them as a tool for changing society and thus associating them with the structural changes required for peace. Important problems articulated with human rights are racism, discrimination, and refugees. Women's rights are not mentioned specifically. Emphasis on rights goes with social responsibilities: the exercise of individual rights and responsibilities includes recognizing and respecting the rights of others. This conception is in line with relevant provisions of the UN Charter and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

3.5.3 Education and international education

"Education should" appears eight times and "**international** education should" three times in the use of the principled repertoire. Why does the usage vary? Does introducing the concept of international education change the orientation of education? What are their functions in the *Recommendation*?

The use of the term *international education* seems to have had an important political function, as discussed below. Part One, "Significance of terms," begins, "For the purposes of this recommendation" (para. 1), followed by three sub-paragraphs containing three groups of elements (para. 1 a, b, and c):

1. Education
2. International understanding, co-operation and peace based on friendly relations between peoples and States and on the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms
3. Human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The introduction of international education takes place discursively in a most interesting way:

> The terms "**international understanding", "co-operation" and "peace"** are to be considered as an indivisible whole **based on** the principle **of friendly relations between peoples and States having different social and political systems and on the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms**. In the text of this recommen-

dation, the different connotations of these terms are sometimes gathered together in a concise expression, "**international education.**" (para. 1 b)

The elements are articulated in a specific configuration as illustrated in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2   Relations between elements of Paragraph 1 b

international understanding, co-operation, and peace

friendly relations between peoples and States having different social and political systems	the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms
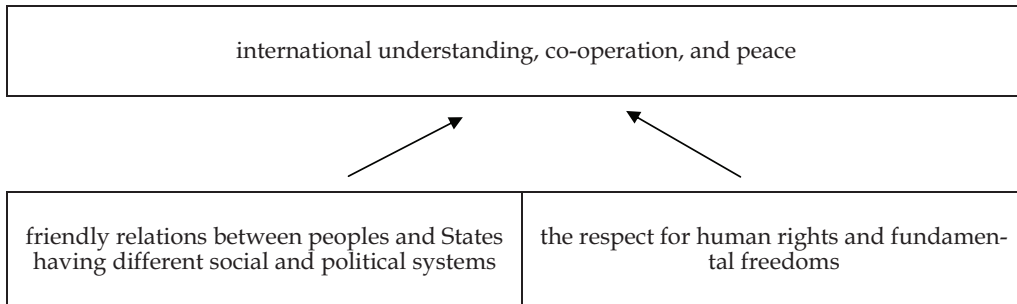
"International understanding, co-operation and peace" form "an indivisible whole" that rests on two pillars, articulated on an equal footing, namely "the principle of friendly relations between peoples and States having different social and political systems" and "the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." It can be said that this indivisible whole has primacy because it is supported by two other elements. Human rights and fundamental freedoms are part of this configuration (para. 1 b), but also have their own place in the next subparagraph (para. 1 c), thus underlining the specificity of human rights as a theme.

In an interesting move at the end of Para. 1 b, all the different terms of its constellation are placed under a new common denominator and given a joint meaning, "international education," as illustrated by Figure 3.

FIGURE 3   International education as a common denominator

international education

international understanding, co-operation, and peace	friendly relations between peoples and States having different social and political systems	the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms
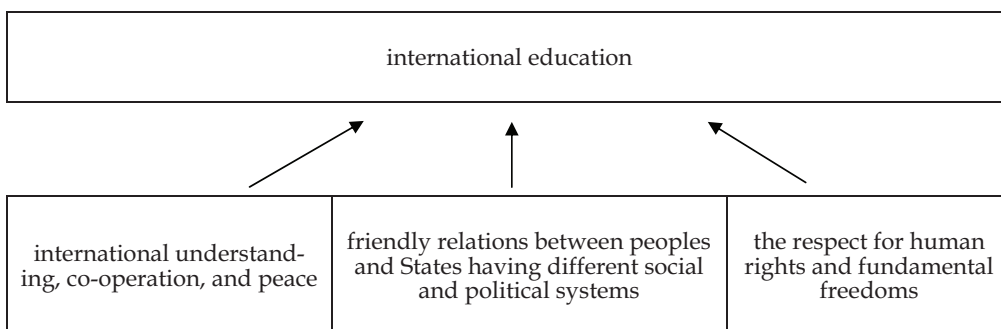
Naming "the different connotations of these terms" can be described as *catachresis*, the act of naming something that has not been named before (Laclau, 2006). This does not mean that international education did not exist before, but that it is given a specific meaning within the context of the *Recommendation*. In-

ternational education now becomes the presentation of a new unity, a moment of the hegemonic formation of the *Recommendation* in Torfing's (1999) sense: "the expansion of a discourse, or set of discourses, into a dominant horizon of social orientation and action by means of articulating unfixed elements into a partially fixed moment in a context crisscrossed by antagonistic forces" (p. 101).

According to Laclau (2006) a catachrestical displacement is the only way in which any system of signification can close itself. Here the concept of international education is at least partly displaced from its prior meanings, which overlap with new elements when the *Recommendation* seeks to fix its meaning. However, its previous connotations can also remain.

Several repertoires are in play here: a "concise expression" is adjusting by limiting the definition for the purposes of the *Recommendation*. Pragmatically, it presents the definition [called "significance of terms"] as an unimportant terminological issue—"the **different connotations** of these **terms** are **sometimes gathered together** in a concise expression" (para. 1 b)—although it makes an important political statement. The use of the adjusting repertoire has evidently facilitated acceptance because it does not claim to be universally applicable outside the purposes of the *Recommendation*. However, the definition itself under the "significance of terms" is presented via the use of the factual repertoire, thus suggesting that it constitutes a general truth.

The overall formulation of the whole paragraph, and in particular Para. 1 b, which deals with the relations between concepts, could be interpreted as the price paid for political détente, a Cold War compromise. It allots human rights their proper place, but, in this particular context, only when articulated with the principle of friendly relations between peoples and States with different social and political systems, and in relation to peace. This formulation should be understood in the historical context of the threat of nuclear war during the worst periods of the Cold War.

I would argue, then, that international education in the discourse of the *Recommendation* served a particular political function. It helped in the forming of a chain of equivalences (Howarth, 2000; Laclau, 1994, 1995, 2005b), meaning that it placed the demands of the East ("the principle of friendly relations between peoples and States having different social and political systems") and of the West ("human rights and fundamental freedoms"), as well as general demands not associated with any one bloc ("international understanding, co-operation and peace") in equivalent positions. In this way it constructed an internal frontier excluding those who did not accept the principle of friendly relations between countries with different systems—who, in other words, did not accept the politics of détente and its connection to international understanding, co-operation, peace, and the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In this context, the concept of international education helped to subvert the particularistic character of the demands of the two blocs.

This demonstrates that in the chain of equivalences with which Para. 1 b of the 1974 *Recommendation* was produced, different groups of countries had different content to bring into it, producing formulations and constellations ex-

pressed in a particular way. International education as a common denominator united controversial topics that ultimately had important consequences: the Eastern bloc had to agree to human rights and fundamental freedoms as a basis for international understanding, co-operation, and peace, and the Western bloc the existence of different social and political systems. As a result, a kind of status quo was apparently maintained, since international education was not a threat to power relations. However, the parameters emphasized by different blocs separately were now brought together. The discourse of international education would have important practical consequences for East and West as well as for the Third World—provided that UNESCO had enough prestige and the means to follow it up, MS were willing enough to fulfil the obligations they had engaged themselves to, or NGOs successfully exerted pressure on governments.

The term *international education* has since been used very little in official UNESCO documents. Subsequent resolutions used its full title, and the reporting system talks about "the full and comprehensive implementation" of the *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1989c). The term has been in use in Finland until recently ("Kansainvälisyyskasvatus", 2006) but seems to be becoming replaced by the concept of "global education" advocated by the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe (Savolainen, 2007). The reason it has not been used much within UNESCO could be, to borrow Laclau's terminology, that the term became filled with too many connotations and meanings and thus became an empty signifier, insufficiently particular to be useful in political debates and "meaning-making."

The concept of education itself is a debatable one, complicated and "essentially contested" (Winch & Gingell, 2008, p. 78). It reflects a variety of philosophical approaches, beliefs about human being and society, political orientations, and historical factors. In the language of discourse theory (Howarth et al., 2000; Laclau, 2005b), it cannot be anything other than a floating signifier whose meaning various currents of thought and ideologies are each seeking to fix.

The term *education* is used in the 1974 *Recommendation* in a number of paragraphs which specify what principles education should be infused with (para. 3), what objectives are to be regarded as major guiding principles of educational policy (para. 4), what education should stress (para. 6), what it should include (para. 14), what emphasize (para. 15), what its aims should be (para. 18), and what the different stages of education should accomplish (paras. 26, 29). The *Recommendation* also provides an indirect definition of education through the factual repertoire expression "the word education implies" (para. 1 a). The term is used to mean education as a whole. The discourse about education seeks to introduce a concept of universal education whose aims, contents, methods and structures, policies, and materials in "all stages and forms of education" (para. 2) are affected by international understanding, co-operation, and peace and by human rights and fundamental freedoms. In this respect, it constructs an "ideal type" of education. Older models of education need to be reformed, and the need for change in the role of education is presented as a fact: "**Since there must be a gradual but profound change in the role of education**, the re-

sults of experiments for the remodelling of structures and hierarchical relations in educational establishments should be reflected in training, information and advice" (para. 34).

Education discourse in the *Recommendation* does not underline specific activities; the issue is the orientation of education as a whole. The concept of international education can also be regarded as having been a pre-existing, floating signifier before it became a moment of the discourse of the 1974 *Recommendation* and acquired specific meaning. Wilson (1994) has analysed the concept of international education and what processes led to the change of the name of the Comparative Education Society to the Comparative and International Education Society. According to his account, international education had not been clearly defined by its users, whether societies, organizations, or institutions, in the USA, Germany, UK, Australia, and elsewhere.

Some passages of the 1974 *Recommendation* construct international education as a specific field of education. Its curricula and methods "are not always attuned to the needs and aspirations of the participating young people and adults" (Preamble, para. 4). The use of the factual repertoire can be interpreted to refer to a pre-existing form of international education with deficient curricula and methods. By implication, the new international education should take the needs and aspirations of students into account. The reform of the old international education should be fostered through documentation centres, by developing innovative ideas and materials and facilitating exchanges of information with other countries (para. 40).

Other features of the new international education are its sound psychological and sociological basis (para. 42), research on its various aspects (para. 41), innovative experiments (para. 33 f), and international co-operation in developing it, viewed as a responsibility of MS (para. 43). Among the aims of international education are to further "the appropriate intellectual and emotional development of the individual" (para. 5). It has materials (para. 38) and components (para. 35). It is an activity to which special attention and resources should be granted:

> Member States should endeavour to ensure that **international educational activity** is granted special attention and resources when it is carried out in situations involving particularly delicate or explosive social problems in relations, for example, where there are obvious inequalities in opportunities for access to education. (para. 21)

Other instructions and principles assume the existence of dispersed forms of international education, and state that they should be "concerted" (para. 8) and "co-ordinated" (para. 31). International education needs to be integrated into ongoing programmes of post-secondary education (para. 27).

Components of international education should be included in "any programme of further training for teachers in service or for personnel responsible for direction" (para. 35), and a global approach should include its elements in out-of-school education (para. 30 a). A number of passages speak of international education as part of education as a whole. Thus possible differences between education and international education become blurred.

Integrating components of international education concerns in "any programme of further training for teachers in service or for personnel responsible for direction" (para. 35). Materials for international education should be renewed, produced, disseminated, and exchanged; however, these requirements also apply generally to all materials (para. 38). Student participation is an element of international education and a factor in civic education (para. 16); active civic training for everybody is to be promoted by MS "at every stage of education" (para. 13).

These examples indicate that the overall emphasis of the discourses of education and international education is on education as a whole. References to specific international education activities might imply a desire to accommodate those who consider international education as more specific in scope. The discourse of international education can evidently also incorporate viewpoints of a number of epistemic communities involved in international education in various countries, as this passage suggests: "**To meet the needs expressed by those concerned with international education**, efforts should be concentrated on overcoming the lack of teaching aids and on improving their quality" (para. 38).

The repeated phrase "of [or in] this Recommendation" has the effect of addressing education and its various stages holistically: "activities which correspond to the purposes of this recommendation" (para. 24); "the attainment of objectives of this recommendation" (para. 25), "pursuing the objectives of this recommendation"(para. 33), or "the principles of co-operation and association which are inherent in this recommendation should be applied in all educational activities (para. 32). The terms *education* and *international education* do not have defined but rather blurred frontiers, both applying to education as a whole.

There is one more aspect to be explored with regard to possible differences between international education discourse and education discourse. International education is said to further "the **appropriate** intellectual and moral development of individual" (para. 5) while education is to be directed to "the **full** development of the human personality and to strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (para. 3). This paragraph stipulates that

> **Education should be infused with** the aims and purposes set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, the Constitution of UNESCO and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly Article 26, paragraph 2, of the last-named, which states: "Education shall be directed **to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms**. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace." (para. 3)

The UN Charter, the UNESCO Constitution, and the UDHR are articulated together as providers of the aims and purposes with which education should be infused. In the UDHR, the full development of human personality is articulated with the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and with the other outcomes that follow, namely understanding, tolerance, and friendship and the maintenance of peace through the UN. The articulation sets limits to the educational activities to be directed to the "full development of the

human personality": it cannot support the development of human personality in directions other than those specified.

In the case of international education, by contrast,

> Combining learning, training, information and action, **international education should further** the **appropriate intellectual and emotional development of the individual**. **It should develop** a sense of social responsibility and of solidarity with less privileged groups and should lead to observance of the principles of equality in everyday conduct. **It should also help to develop** qualities, aptitudes and abilities which enable the individual to acquire a critical understanding of problems at the national and the international level; to understand and explain facts, opinions and ideas; to work in a group; to accept and participate in free discussions; to observe the elementary rules of procedure applicable to any discussion; and to base value judgements and decisions on a rational analysis of relevant facts and factors. (para. 5)

The use of "appropriate" here belongs to the stand-taking repertoire. The details in the sentences that follow seek to fix the meaning of the term: developing a sense of social responsibility, solidarity, and equality, and a number of individual qualities, aptitudes, and abilities. These elements become moments of international education. The invocation of "appropriateness" implicitly sets off international education from its opposite, a kind of education that could, for example, allow individuals to pursue their own egoistic interests and deny the human rights of others. The "appropriate" intellectual and emotional development of the individual, it appears, is to implement Paragraph 2 of Article 26 of the UDHR on the full development of human personality, which includes the promotion of understanding, tolerance, and friendship and the furthering of the maintenance of peace by the UN.

Limits are also set through the definition of *education*:

> The word "education" implies the entire process of social life by means of which individuals and social groups learn to develop consciously **within, and for the benefit of, the national and international communities, the whole of their personal capacities, attitudes, aptitudes and knowledge.** This process is not limited to any specific activities. (para. 1 a)

Developing "personal capacities, attitudes, aptitudes and knowledge" takes place within "national and international communities" as learning environments and as beneficiaries of the learning of individuals and groups. In this respect the education discourse in the *Recommendation* is parallel to the international education discourse.

To sum up: In an analysis of the term *international education* in the 1974 *Recommendation* in terms of discourse theory, I argue that this expression had a specific political function in the context of the Cold War as a common denominator in uniting debated concepts, and that it was introduced through a process of catachresis, in Laclau's sense of the term. In spite of ideological controversies, it created within UNESCO a discourse that could unite adversaries. A comparison of the use of this term with the use of the term *education* alone shows that although *international education* included elements that might constitute it as a separate field of study, both concepts addressed education as a whole. Their use is not contradictory but rather complementary, and if there are any distinctions

between the two concepts they are blurred. A further aspect that emerged from these discursive readings was the development of personality as differently defined by education and by international education; possible differences between international education discourse, which talks about "the appropriate intellectual and moral development of the individual," and education discourse, which stresses "the full development of human personality," were explored, and it was shown that the two discourses do not differ substantively in this respect.

3.5.4 Educational aims concerning the individual

In this and the following Section two other substantive content issues, the educational aims of the individual and educational approaches, are examined, since they have an important place in the 1974 *Recommendation*. Education and international education are not distinguished here, as the foregoing analyses have shown no substantive difference between these discourses.

The list of major guiding principles of educational policy forms the basis for analysis of educational aims concerning the individual:

> **In order to enable every person to contribute actively to** the fulfillment of the aims referred to in paragraph 3, and promote international solidarity and co-operation, which are necessary in solving the world problems affecting the individuals' and communities' life and exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms, the following objectives should be regarded as major guiding principles of educational policy:
>
> (a) An international dimension and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms;
>
> (b) **Understanding and respect** for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations;
>
> (c) **Awareness** of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations;
>
> (d) **Abilities** to communicate with others;
>
> (e) **Awareness** not only of the rights but also of the duties incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations towards each other;
>
> (f) **Understanding** of the necessity for international solidarity and co-operation;
>
> (g) **Readiness** on the part of the individual to participate in solving the problems of his community, his country and the world at large. (para. 4)

Here the active individual contribution to the specified societal aims serves as a justification for individual qualities: "understanding" and "awareness" can be taken to include more than knowledge, and are concerned with societal issues (b, c, e, and f). The ability to communicate can be related to social aspects of education (d), and "readiness" can be seen as a psychological aspect of education that involves participation in problem-solving (g). Rights and duties go together, and they concern not only individuals but also social groups and na-

tions (e). The intellectual and the psychological, namely "understanding and respect," go together (b), and peoples and nations are interdependent (c).

Other passages define the educational aims of the individual along similar lines. A sense of social responsibility and of solidarity with less privileged groups is articulated together with the observance of the principles of equality in everyday conduct (para. 5). Emotional and behavioural aspects go together. Social responsibility and solidarity with less privileged groups are primary goals. Additional individual qualities (indicated by the expression "it should also help to develop") are

> to acquire a critical **understanding** of problems at the national and the international level; to **understand** and explain facts, opinions and ideas; **to work in a group**; **to accept** and **participate** in free discussions; **to observe** the elementary rules of procedure applicable to any discussion; and **to base value judgments and decisions** on a rational analysis of relevant facts and factors. (para. 5)

Participation and action are important aims at the individual level, as is stressed in several passages: "to **contribute** personally to the regeneration and extension of education in the direction indicated" (para. 11); "to **exercise** their rights and freedoms while recognizing and respecting the rights of others and to **perform** their social duties" (para. 12).

Knowledge is not isolated but linked to participation in solving fundamental problems, in the cultural life of the community, and in public affairs through "an active civic training" (para. 13).

At the level of higher education, "knowledge of major problems … possibilities for direct and continuous action [and] their sense of international co-operation" are articulated together (para. 26). In vocational education, training should "enable students to understand their role and the role of their professions in developing their society, furthering international co-operation, maintaining and developing peace, and to assume their role actively as early as possible" (para. 29).

To sum up: Education should instil a wide range of qualities in the individual. Several of these qualities are at least as important as knowledge, including critical understanding, awareness, social aspects, participation, motivation, and commitment. Individual characteristics are combined with societal issues of peace and human rights, and with active participation in them.

3.5.5 Educational approaches

Specific educational approaches are supposed to contribute to attaining the educational aims of the individual. An international dimension and a global perspective, as well as an interdisciplinary approach, are important methodological aspects of the *Recommendation*.

"An international dimension and global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms" is the first guiding principle of educational policy (para. 4 a). "A global approach" is to be adopted by post-secondary educational establishments, particularly universities, in all their teaching (para. 27). It

should be applied "as far as possible" in all out-of-school education programmes (para. 30 a), and in textbooks and other materials "with due regard to the value of the visual arts and music as factors conducive to understanding between different cultures" (para. 38 c). The global approach is specified more concretely via the emphasis on the "scientific and cultural history of mankind."

The interdisciplinary nature of education and its problem-oriented content are highlighted in several passages: it is necessary for studying the "major problems of mankind" (para. 18), in education "adapted to the complexity of the issues" (para. 20), and in the preparation of written and audio-visual materials (para. 38 d).

Educational goals are to be achieved through a combination of methods. Not only learning, but also training, information, and action are invoked in several passages, and the combination of them is important. "Combining learning, training, information and action, international education should further the appropriate intellectual and emotional development of the individual" (para. 5).

One of the approaches on which out-of-school education, including adult education, should be based is the combined use of different methods, mass media, self-education, and interactive learning, as well as the use of museums and public libraries (para. 30 b). "Appropriate and constructive use should be made of the entire range of equipment and aids available, from textbooks to television, and of the new educational technology" (para. 38 a). Media literacy should also be a component in teaching "to help the pupils to select and analyze the information conveyed by mass media" (para. 38 b), implying that not all the information conveyed by the media is reliable.

The needs and aspirations of young people and student participation are themes raised in different passages, using several repertoires. Student participation is a principle in itself: "Student participation in the organization of studies and of the educational establishment they are attending should itself be considered a factor in civic education and an important element in international education" (para. 16). In the same vein, the needs and aspirations of young people and adults are presented using the factual and instruction repertoires. Factually, "the curricula and methods of international education are not always attuned to the needs and aspirations of the participating young people and adults" (Preamble, para. 4), and MS are instructed to direct teacher training in this area: they should

> prepare teachers themselves to take an active part in devising programmes of international education and educational equipment and materials, **taking into account the aspirations of pupils and working in close collaboration with them**;

> help teachers work towards the objectives of this recommendation, **taking into account the aspirations of young people with regard to international problems and new educational methods that are likely to improve prospects for fulfilling these aspirations.** (paras. 33 c and 34)

Research on the formation of attitudes should devote substantial attention "to the aspirations of young people concerning international problems and relations" (para. 42).

To sum up: An international approach and global perspective, problem-solving, and the use of multiple methods including mass media are highlighted among educational approaches. Student participation, and taking into account pupils' aspirations and collaborating with them, has an important place in the *Recommendation*, a new approach in its historical context.

3.5.6 Summary of Chapter Three

Discursive micro-level analyses have been performed on the Preamble and main text of the 1974 *Recommendation*. Five repertoires and a wider discourse have been distinguished. Five content areas that emerged from discursive readings of the text have been analysed and interpreted using discourse theory. These content areas are summarized in terms of repertoires in Table 3.

TABLE 3 Content areas broken out by repertoires

Content areas	Instruction	Principled	Factual	Stand-taking	Adjusting
1. Peace					
(a) Articulation of peace and human rights	Aims of national policies, efficacy	Education aims	Significance of terms Societal aims		Limitation (significance of terms)
(b) International understanding, co-operation, and peace: (i) War, force and violence (ii) International co-operation	(ii) International actions and exchanges, persuasion rhetoric	Maintenance and development of just peace, world peace, including social justice, human rights, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, anti-fascism, anti-apartheid, equality of nations and peoples (i) Different types of war (ii) Among educational aims of individual	Real impediments to peace Fomenters of war (i) Incompatibility of the true interests of people and monopolistic groups (ii) Persuasion rhetoric	Just peace, true international co-operation (i) Real impediments to peace, incompatibility of the true interests of people and monopolistic groups (i) Inadmissible use of war, force and violence but implicit admissible purposes	Limitation (significance of terms)

		(ii) Study and practice			
		(ii) Responsi-bility of States			
2. Human rights					
(a) Articula-tion of peace and HR	Aims of na-tional poli-cies, efficacy	Education aims	Significance of terms Societal aims		Limitation (significance of terms)
(b) human rights aspects including cultural as-pects	Part of the personality of each child Teacher mo-tivations Rights and freedoms, rights of oth-ers and social duties Study of cul-tures	Guiding principles of education education content, refugees, racialism and discrimina-tion, exercise and obser-vance rights, duties and responsibili-ties, sense of belonging from family to world communities	Significance of terms		Limitation (significance of terms)
3. education and internat'l education	internat'l education: Research and experiments, sound psy-chological bases, inno-vative ex-periments, co-ordination	Reform of internat'l education Student par-ticipation Change of education education to comprise elements of internat'l education education: full devel-opment of personality	internat'l education: Significance of terms	internat'l education: The appro-priate devel-opment of personality	internat'l education as a Cold War compromise

4. Educational aims of the individual	Knowledge, action and sense, commitment, active participation, desire and ability, experiments	Intellectual and emotional, rights and duties, active participation A number of qualities that internat'l education should develop			
5. Educational approaches (a) in general (b) student participation	(a) Interdisciplinary problem-oriented content (a, b) Teacher training	(a) Global approach, combining efforts (b) Principle in itself (b) Research object	(b) Lacking in curricula (b) important element in internat'l education		Use of phrase "as far as possible"

The table demonstrates that repertoires and content areas are related. For example, the stand-taking repertoire is used for issues of war and peace but very little in other content areas. The use of the adjusting repertoire does not affect content and only appears in the section on the significance of terms (para. 1).

In studies that use discursive approaches, the question of the role of counter-discourses—meaning contradictions (Fairclough, 2002, p. 102) or contrary or competing arguments (Edley, 2001, p. 203) that can reveal the dilemmatic character of a discourse—can be raised. The repertoire analyses as such do not identify counter-discourses. They do, however, reveal two conceptions of education, one as a means and another as a value. Both maintaining and developing peace are incorporated, and these terms are presented not as contradictory but complementary. In this respect, the articulation of different elements uses a logic of difference, which attempts "to weaken and displace a sharp antagonistic polarity, endeavouring to relegate that division to the margins of society" (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000, p. 11), for example, weakening antagonism by articulating two elements together in such a way as to make them appear complementary rather than confrontational (Clohesy, 2005, p. 183). In other words, their articulation is what Laclau calls an *expanding formation*, meaning that internal differences between elements are unimportant and are complementary to each other. Through this formation it is possible "to retain the universal dimension while widening the spheres of its application—which, in turn, will define the concrete contents of such universality. Through this process, universalism as a horizon is expanded at the same time as its necessary attachment to any particular content is broken" (Laclau, 1995, p. 107). However, "maintaining" and "developing" could have different societal and educational consequences, since maintaining peace might require, for example, societal

measures to enforce it, whereas developing peace might require economic development and structural change in the abolishing of inequalities. In this respect the two could be treated as different discourses, yet reflected in the content of education as complementary in practice, not opposed. Principles, factually presented truths, and instructions, including self-evident aims, are presented without alternatives, but at the same time the adjusting repertoire provides some dilution.

4   PROCESSES, ACTORS, AND CONTEXTS

This chapter explores the processes that led to the 1974 *Recommendation*. Summary tables of main actions in these processes are listed in Appendix C. These processes are of interest with respect to the main topic of this work, and are analysed here in order to obtain a deeper understanding of the text as discussed in previous chapters.

4.1 Processes and actors

An answer to the overall question addressed in this chapter—What international political and organizational processes led to the 1974 *Recommendation*?—might begin with a description of the processes of the Resolution of the 17th GC, in 1972, when the decision was first made to draw it up (UNESCO, 1972i). However, a fuller understanding of those processes requires looking back at some aspects of the early history of UNESCO.

In what follows, the description and analysis of the processes that led to the 1974 *Recommendation* are conducted at a macro-level, mainly on the basis of UNESCO documents. For example, documents about the preparation of the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1972b, 1973b) contain references to earlier resolutions, decisions, and reports of the GC and the EXB of UNESCO, as well as those of the General Assembly (GA) of the UN related to the issue. These documents in turn contain references to earlier documents, thus pointing to other data to be traced back as far as is feasible. On the basis of the documents traced and analysed, I have identified several of the issues that arose and the various positions taken by the actors concerned.

Who were the actors in the processes that led to the 1974 *Recommendation*? Although it is not the main purpose of this study to differentiate the impact of particular actors, three groups may be distinguished: MS, experts and NGOs, and the Secretariat.

4.1.1 Member States and National Commissions for UNESCO

UNESCO is an international intergovernmental organization in which MS as political actors are responsible for the decision-making of the Organization through the GC and EXB. The GC approves programmes and budgets and adopts resolutions and normative instruments. The EXB discusses most issues and proposals before they are submitted with its comments to the GC for a final decision. The rules and procedures of UNESCO guide the work of the decision-making organs as well as the preparation of normative instruments (UNESCO, 2009a).

MS are also associated with the work of UNESCO through their Permanent Delegations, which follow its work and stay in contact with the Secretariat between official meetings. In most MS there are National Commissions for UNESCO, which participate in various ways in the work of the organization and in the preparation of its meetings. Through these Commissions civil society actors and experts are often associated with UNESCO's work. Several ministries, such as those of Education, Foreign Affairs, or Culture, participate in UNESCO's work in their fields of operation. UNESCO Clubs, Centres, and Associations can also exist for the promotion of different aspects of the organization's work. Other international Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) cooperate with UNESCO, in particular the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

MS are the main political actors, but approved texts are not simply a collection of their particular positions. UNESCO includes webs of complex interactions by other actors whose influences are intertwined. Senarclens (1993), for example, has argued that issues in international organizations are not only substantive matters: the socio-economic power of countries and the status of diplomats, national and international civil servants, and NGOs play a role in international negotiations where there is competition over programmes and their direction, both within and between international organizations.

4.1.2 Experts and NGOs

The intergovernmental nature of UNESCO was not so self-evident at the founding of the organization. Finnemore (1993) in her study of science policies and UNESCO has argued that "UNESCO's early science programs were designed to serve science and scientists rather than states" (p. 577); UNESCO provided services directly to scientists rather than states, and its early organizational structure reflected the understanding of science and culture as transnational and often non-governmental (p. 579). The same study also draws attention to the changes in the selection of the EXB members of UNESCO: they were selected in their personal capacity until 1954, when the Constitution was amended so that members of the EXB represented governments. Eminent personalities, experts, and intellectuals working in fields of UNESCO's competence were members of the EXB, but after 1954 they were largely replaced by diplomats, in line with the intergovernmental nature of the organization. Finnemore indicates that the

original non-governmental structure of the EXB was based on the conception of ideas as a unifying force, prevalent in the 1940s: "education, science and culture could weave a web that would draw a divided world of nation-states together" (p. 580). But

> By the mid-1950s this view had been eclipsed. At best, ideas were irrelevant to the intense power struggle raging in the world; at worst, ideas were viewed as divisive and dangerous, in which case states could not afford to leave them to a collection of unaccountable individuals. (Finnemore, 1993, p. 580)

However, experts in the fields of UNESCO's operations still have an important role to play. They are often among MS delegations to the decision-making bodies, the EXB and the GC, and they usually participate in the Commissions of the GC, where substantive issues are dealt with. According to the Rules of Procedure, in the preparation of a normative instrument a meeting of governmental experts can be organized. Participants in such a meeting are expected to be experts in subject matters such as social science, education or other domains of UNESCO fields of competence, but at the same time they represent the views of their respective governments.

Epistemic communities have an impact on the work of the organization through governments and NGOs. An epistemic community may be defined in various ways; according to Haas (1992) it is "a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area" (p. 3), and by definition "shares a belief or faith in the veracity and the applicability of particular forms of knowledge or specific truths" (p. 3). In the work of UNESCO, epistemic communities can have an influence through Consultative or Advisory Committees, whose members are usually proposed by MS and nominated by the DG in accordance with the statutes of their respective committees. International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) also represent epistemic communities. Their intellectual and moral co-operation with UNESCO, sometimes including the execution of programmes, is organized by categories decided by the GC.

In the preparation of international instruments, governments use experts who work in national research institutes but also have connections with international scientific networks and NGOs. The epistemic communities they constitute influence political decisions through their scientific and cultural knowledge, but they are also involved in struggles for power or in conflicts of interest between different bodies (Senarclens, 1993). For example, in the processes that led to the establishment of UNESCO, lobbying by NGOs in the United States in favour of including education in the organization and of the role of education in relation to peace played an important role. Many such groups and individuals enjoyed strong international connections; they included among others the National Education Association and the Dean of the School of Education of Stanford University (Jones & Coleman, 2005, pp. 46-47). The Board of Directors of the American Psychological Association (APA) unanimously expressed its formal approval of the principles on which UNESCO was based, thus endorsing

the purposes of its Constitution (Wolfle, 1946). APA' s Committee on International Research in Psychology in the early 1950s enlisted social psychologists to work on a UNESCO action project on reducing social tensions within Europe and "collaborating with Czech, Polish and Hungarian psychologists at a time when the U.S. government forbade official contact with those nations" (Torney-Purta, 2009, p. 826).

4.1.3 The Secretariat

The Secretariat consists of the DG and the staff appointed by him or her. Each staff member must subscribe to the *Staff Regulations and Staff Rules* (UNESCO, 2009i), which require them to discharge their functions and regulate their conduct solely with the interests of the Organization in view (Regulation 1.1), and neither to seek nor accept instructions from any authority outside the Organization (Regulation 1. 3).

The DG has considerable power over the Secretariat. Organizational units responsible for each programme action prepare documents or employ outside consultants, subject to the decision-making bodies. Official documents are presented formally as coming from the DG, but his or her actual name is not mentioned in these documents. The DG represents the function, an abstract embodiment of the Secretariat, and his or her influence is unquestionable. The DG can influence the preparation of documents related to the agendas of the EXB and of the GC, the interpretation of their decisions, and their practical follow-up in the organization's programme and budget. Decisions, however, are made by the EXB and ultimately by the GC. Members of the Secretariat have different cultural and political backgrounds, and it is impossible to suppose that their backgrounds and values do not affect their interpretations of decisions or actions. The position of the Secretariat can be reflected in the emphases of documents, the choice of experts invited to meetings, or the legal arguments used by their legal advisors.

The organization of the Secretariat is decided by the DG, and it has frequently undergone structural changes within the main programme sectors (namely education, natural sciences, social and human sciences, culture, and communication), although the overall organization of the Secretariat into programme sectors has not changed much. The unity of programmes falling within the competence of more than one Sector can be a problem. Human Rights were in the Social Sciences Sector while International Understanding was in the Education Sector. When in 1947 the second EXB decided to add to the programme of Education for International Understanding "that the International Study Center be included in the programme of the Social Sciences Section, or its direction ensured by a social science specialist" (UNESCO, 1947a, Decisions, p. 5), it also stated "that since the programme is a combination of activities arising out of the programmes of different Sections, the Secretariat be invited to determine the methods of work calculated to secure the unity of the project and its successful execution" (p. 5). The same affirmation of the unity of the execution of

the project of international understanding falling within different programme sectors had already been made at the first GC (UNESCO, 1946b).

The secretariat of any organization can be a site of competition for resources and programmes. Le Prestre (1986) argues that "value allocation" as the basic purpose of international organizations often becomes secondary to institutional aims, such as continuity or control over the running of affairs and resources. In the case of UNESCO, for example, the rules and procedures concerning normative instruments foresee a follow-up mechanism that requires at least some resources in terms of staffing and other costs. Actions mentioned in normative instruments naturally acquire higher status in the Secretariat. Finnemore (1993) suggests, based on her study of UNESCO science policy, that UNESCO officials' reasons for acting were due more to their status as international bureaucrats than to their expertise in science.

4.2 The normative regulation of education as it relates to peace

4.2.1 Precedents before UNESCO

Before World War Two, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was engaged in normative actions to improve education. These actions included publication of the *Declaration regarding the Teaching of History*, adopted in 1937, and a year before, the *International Convention Concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace,* as well as "'Casarès procedure' for the deletion or correction of passages in school textbooks 'of a nature to convey to the young wrong impressions leading to an essential misunderstanding of other countries' (adopted in 1925, expanded in 1933)" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 3).

Under the auspices of the League of Nations, an international committee of experts put forth in the mid-1920s a document with two major sections: "How to Make the League of Nations Known to Children and Young People" and "How to Develop the Spirit of International Cooperation among Children, Young People and their Teachers." It bears a remarkable resemblance to some part of the 1974 UNESCO *Recommendation* (Buergenthal & Torney, 1976, p. 25). Individuals who wanted to reinforce some of these international efforts established the International Bureau of Education in 1925 in Geneva, an organization which became an inter-governmental organization in 1929 (Buergenthal & Torney, 1976, pp. 24-27).

The Preparatory Commission of UNESCO represented predominantly Western bloc views and values. At the conference in November 1945, 44 governments were present. At the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission in December 1945, Sir Alfred Zimmern from Great Britain was elected to the post of Executive Secretary. There were 14 members of the Executive Committee; a 15th seat was left vacant for the USSR, which joined UNESCO only in 1954 (UNESCO, 1987a).

The report of the Preparatory Commission (UNESCO, 1946c) includes some important considerations on education. The Introduction states that while education can be discussed using standard terminology, education as such cannot be standardized but must be adapted to local conditions and traditions. Proposals for the programme include a survey of school textbooks in history, geography, and civics, "purging them of statements and attitudes likely to cause misunderstanding"; it speaks of "one world" and "a world consciousness and world understanding among all citizens" (UNESCO, 1946c). According to its report, the Preparatory Commission considered the role of education crucial in constructing the defences of peace and solving urgent problems confronting the world. It called for educational and psychological research and the collection of data on the causes of war by social scientists, and for the use of the knowledge and experience of those working in film and radio. It talked about the direct contribution of education to security and peace, and asked for change in the content and spirit of education in all its phases. Its authors were convinced "that society can eventually be transformed by education" and emphasized that "a broad and comprehensive view of education is essential, in order to prevent the growth of warlike spirit" (UNESCO, 1946c, Chapter II, p. 33). The Commission asserted that people have impulses of aggressiveness, combativeness, jealousy, and anxiety, which should be directed into constructive channels. Important qualities to foster were said to be co-operativeness, tolerance, kindness, and goodwill, and the reducing or eliminating of national, dogmatic, or racial tensions and conflicts, often rooted in age-long traditions.

Normative actions did not feature among the emphases of the Preparatory Commission. In a much later document, the Secretariat commented on the early normative efforts undertaken by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation before the war:

> The first effects of these normative activities coincided with the premonitory signs of the world war to come and passed unnoticed. In 1946, there were no grounds for believing that such measures, the futility of which seemed to be illustrated by recent events, were models that were worth following. (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 3)

To sum up: It is important to mention some precedents to provide a perspective and show that normative actions were undertaken before the establishment of UNESCO. The Preparatory Commission, dominated by Western bloc views, gave considerable importance to education for peace although not as a normative action.

4.2.2 The UNESCO Constitution

The normative and standard-setting work of UNESCO is embedded in the original rationales for its existence, although to what extent UNESCO should concern itself with the definition of those norms is a matter for judgement and constitutional interpretation, the latter not being clear in this case (Jones and Coleman, 2005, pp. 75-76). The Constitution of UNESCO defines its purpose:

> The purpose of the Organization is *to contribute to peace and security* by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture *in order to* further *universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms* which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nation [all emphases added]. (UNESCO, 1945, Article I, para. 1)

This is a broad definition, but the collaboration proposed was to serve the ultimate aims of the UN.

The Preamble of the Constitution stipulates that "since wars begin in the minds of men [*sic*], it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." It was the Chair of the Committee, Archibald MacLeish, US poet and Librarian of Congress (1892-1982), who wrote this famous phrase. One month after the establishment of UNESCO, he said in a radio discussion broadcast on 12 December 1945, published in the UNESCO *Courier*:

> Of course we can educate for world peace. I'd be willing to go a great deal farther than that, I'd be willing, for my own part, to say that there is no possible way of getting world peace *except* through education. … But peace, as we are all beginning to realize, is something a great deal more than the absence of war. Peace is positive and not negative. Peace is a way of living together which excludes war, rather than a period without war in which peoples try to live together. ("Can we educate," 2001)

In the same discussion, speaking of economic and political issues, he continued: "I am saying that these things, important as they are, are far less important than the creation of a world of words and images and mutual knowledge within which people may talk to each other."

The Preamble of the UNESCO Constitution, although making reference to states, does not see peace only as a responsibility of governments:

> That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind [*sic*]. (UNESCO, 1945, Preamble)

Explicit references to normative instruments in the Constitution include mention of international agreements concerning "the free flow of ideas by word and image" and conventions concerning "the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science" (UNESCO, 1945, Article I, para. 2a and c). The Constitution distinguishes between recommendations and international conventions: the former require only a majority vote, the latter a two-thirds majority of MS (Article IV, para. 4). The Constitution also defines the obligations of MS to report to the GC "on the action taken upon the recommendations and conventions referred to in Article IV, paragraph 4" (Article VIII).

The wording of the UNESCO Constitution was the result of a political process where competing views concerning UNESCO's purposes, its legal and structural character, its relationship with the UN, and its practical programme were reconciled, resulting in a lack of clarity (Jones and Coleman, 2005, p. 49).

However, this Constitution has been and still is a framework within which experts and politicians representing different political and cultural viewpoints have been trying to reconcile their positions, including on normative action on education as it relates to peace. The central constitutional mandate of UNESCO has been described as "knowledge of peace" and "concern with goals of knowledge in all fields, at all levels, and by whatever means communicated" (Wells, 1987, p. 46).

The UNESCO Constitution is part of the international legal order. In this respect, it can be considered together with the UN Charter as constituting the most significant elements of the current international legal order, in particular concerning the prohibition of the use of force (UN, 1945, Article 2 (4)). Although states have frequently breached this prohibition, no state has withdrawn its consent to be bound by Charter rules. "As a discourse, international law gives states a common language and set of principles with which to engage in meaningful debate with one another about the legitimacy of using force" (Armstrong et al., 2009, p. 147).

To sum up: The UNESCO Constitution, as an important piece of international law, seeks the promotion of peace in its fields of operation, not only through government actions but through human intellectual and moral solidarity, and in particular expresses a strong conviction about the role of education in world peace. Normative action was one of the approaches foreseen. Although the Constitution is necessarily not very clear about specific actions to be taken to promote peace, it provides a framework for these efforts.

4.2.3 Adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

At the UN, the adoption of the UDHR in 1948 was a major historical event. The UN GA proclaimed it "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations" (UN, 1948). The UDHR highlights "teaching and education" in its Preamble, and its Article 26 contains important provisions on education reflected in the 1974 *Recommendation* (see Section 3.5.1 of this study). Its adoption led to "dramatic growth and evolution" (Buergenthal, 2006, p. 783; 1998; see also Jolly et al. 2009, pp. 57-67) within international human rights law. Buergenthal (2006) described this evolution along two parallel paths: one is based on the UN Charter and comprising the human rights principles and institutional mechanisms which have been developed by different UN agencies including UNESCO; the other is the treaty based system that consists of a number of human rights treaties adopted by the UN. Those treaties are based on the rights proclaimed in the UDHR as regional human rights systems in Europe, the Americas and Africa (Buergenthal, 1998, p. 92). Although the UDHR is not legally binding, its normative effect, however, has been so important that it has become a source of legal obligations and thus is in practice a normative instrument (Buergenthal, 1998). It has gained a large acceptance across different cultures (see, Van der Heijden & Tahzib-Lie, 1998). However, "human rights ideas

have confronted the age-old dilemma of how to protect ethical principles in a world characterized by hierarchies and power imbalances both between and within states" (Normand & Zaidi, 2008, p. 340).

Its adoption involved settling several controversies; there were the western bloc, led by the USA and the UK; the communist countries, led by the Soviet Union, and Third World countries (Jolly et al., 2009, p. 56). Although a strong majority of members supported a single enforceable convention "in line with public hopes that human rights would be the basis for a new system of global justice" (Normand & Zaidi, 2008, p. 197), it was not possible because the USA and the Soviet Union did not want their domestic policies to be subjected to international standards, and both were in joint opposition against more binding instrument and enforcement. Major powers were willing to accept that the UN would promote human rights but they did not want to focus on enforceable standards protecting individuals. The historical context of the drafting of the UDHR is illuminated by the following:

> Britain had its colonies, where most citizens had no vote and other rights were denied. The Soviet Union had its widespread repression. And in the United States, blacks still had no vote and segregation and racial discrimination were widespread. In San Francisco, seven white waitresses walked out of a hotel, refusing to serve black delegates, and black waiters refused to serve Indians traveling by train to San Francisco until whites had finished their meals (Jolly et al., 2009, p. 55).

It took eighteen years of contentious negotiations at the UN before the what is often called the "international bill of rights" was adopted: two separate covenants split the integrated approach of the UDHR into two separate covenants, and the covenant of economic, social and cultural rights was placed in an inferior position to the covenant on civil and political rights despite public pronouncement about the "interdependence and indivisibility" of all rights (Normand & Zaidi, 2008, p. 198). The Soviet block and most Third World countries laid emphasis on economic, social and cultural rights while the western block on civil and political rights (see Normand & Zaidi, 2008, pp. 197-242).

To sum up: The adoption of the UDHR and its consequences, referred above, is important background for understanding the role which human rights had in the 1974 *Recommendation.*

4.3 Initial efforts (1945-1951)

4.3.1 The beginning: Practical action

Normative action was not one of the first activities proposed by the Preparatory Commission. According to a later document from the Secretariat, normative action was one of two pathways then open to UNESCO, the second being "that of practical action focused directly or indirectly on educators, pilot projects, psychological and educational research projects," which also aimed "to check

methodologically, by experiment, the validity of the postulate that education can be an instrument of peace" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 4). Later, the accumulation of experience in practical action—studies, expert meetings, training courses, and international conferences and gatherings—was used as a justification by the Secretariat for the drafting of an international instrument, since "new standard-setting action is feasible and timely" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 56).

Arguments in favour of practical action on the one hand, and of normative action on the other, were raised not only in debates at UNESCO but also at the UN: during the 1963 debate at the UN over the resolution on the drafting of a declaration about discrimination against women, the Nordic countries argued that the preparation of a declaration would take too much time away from the implementation of the work plan of the Commission on the Status of Women (Törnudd, 2008).

The programme of Education for International Understanding, established by the first GC in 1946 (UNESCO, 1946b) was one of four large-scale, comprehensive projects. At that time, all MS were concerned and united on the issue of education for international peace and security, because the memories of Nazism were fresh and the damage of war was still to be repaired. In this respect, the logic of political formation among MS concerning education for peace was operating via the use of the logic of difference. (Because I will go on to interpret subsequent processes in the light of discourse theory, it is important also to analyse these early processes in those terms.) In this instance, the logic of difference can be said to be present since internal differences on this particular question were not raised by the MS in building a united front against the type of education identified with Nazism.

Immediate work toward international understanding included, for example, a study of the equivalence of school standards and college and university degrees, assistance to international relations clubs, consultations, clearing-house activities, and international exchanges of persons. Long-term work was designed to establish a minimum fundamental education for all, a seminar on international understanding for teachers, publication of an international education yearbook, the establishment of a Committee on Educational Statistics, and a programme for the improvement of textbooks and teaching materials as aids in developing international understanding (UNESCO, 1946b). One of these proposals included a code of ethics for textbooks: the Secretariat was to "Draft a model method of text-book analysis, including the development of principles by which Member States might analyze their own text-books and teaching materials" (UNESCO, 1946b, Appendix, p. 272).

In 1972 the Secretariat explained that the phrase "education for peace and security," used by the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO, was replaced by the first GC with "education for international understanding" because of the separation of the political and the educational. The original terminology was in line with the UN Charter, whose Preamble stipulates two goals: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war [and] to unite our strength to

maintain international peace and security" (cited in UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 27), but designating the programme Education for International Understanding transposed the political term "the safeguarding of peace" into the language of education (para. 27).

Later fluctuations in the terminology have continued to reflect difficulties in defining this education. The terminology used to define the activities of UNESCO on education as it relates to peace was characterized by the 1972 Secretariat document as "to a certain extent fortuitous" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 29). Fluctuations in the terms used to define programmes for education as it relates to peace have continued, as will be seen in Chapter 5 below.

An important programme action was the organization of the first International Education seminar at Sèvres in France, in 1947. The idea of the seminar came from the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO, and was endorsed by the first GC. Its purpose was to define the "direct" contribution of education to international understanding and peace and the means of securing it (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 5). French politician Léon Blum, President of the first GC, who was invited to the seminar, brought a societal dimension to the discussion by linking peace with justice: "We never thought of it as a cowardly retreat; for us, peace—whether internal peace, peace between individuals and social classes, or peace between nations, states and peoples—was always linked with justice" (Blum, 1947). He also underlined the importance of political democracy and the role of education, science, and culture as instruments of peace, as well as the recognition of points of commonality and points of difference among peoples.

This first seminar lasted for six weeks, and thus offered a framework for participants to learn from other's experiences. A hundred educational leaders attended from countries on every continent. The report of the seminar (UNESCO, 1947d) sees it as a pioneering experience in international learning and living. However, the report also notes the brevity of the preparation time (governments were notified only about three months in advance, and many participants were selected at the last minute), which meant that there was not enough time to accumulate library resources and thinking many questions through.

To sum up: It became evident from the time of the first GC that education for international understanding was central to the organization's programme, although not through normative action The unity of the activities aimed at increasing international understanding and executed by different organizational units was already a concern of the first GC.

4.3.2 A united decision on the drafting of a convention

The issue of normative action in the field of education was raised at the second session of the GC, held in Mexico in 1947. The Mexican delegation proposed a draft convention to direct educational programmes at all levels "to the ends of international peace and security," justifying it by reference to recent events: "I ask myself whether if, in the interval between the first and second world wars, Germany had prepared the coming generation for peace, the results might not

have been quite different. But Germany prepared for war and we all know the tragic results" (UNESCO, 1947b, p. 483).

The proposal was seconded by Colombia and generally supported by the conference. For example, Cuba warmly welcomed the convention and hoped that it would be unanimously approved, and the USA delegate said that "Knowing that this proposal is one of a long sequence of international attempts to arrive at agreement through convention for the improvement of international education, the United States is very glad to support it whole-heartedly" (UNESCO, 1947b, p. 485). The GC adopted the resolution in accordance with the Mexican proposal, instructing the DG

> *to prepare* for consideration at the 1948 Conference *a draft convention* under the terms of which the Member States may agree, within the limitations and powers of their respective constitutional and legal provisions regarding the control and administration of education, to direct the programmes of their respective *educational systems at all levels to the end of international peace and security* [all emphases added]. (UNESCO 1947c, Res. VII.A.3.13.1)

It should be noted that the resolution talks about "international peace and security" while in the programme the phrase used was "international understanding."

To sum up: The unanimous political formation in favour of education for peace and security during the first GC continued during the second when MS were united in favour of an international convention for the promotion of a kind of education unlike the type that had contributed to the recent war, and believed that if education was not changed through a common effort, it would continue to promote warfare.

4.3.3 Other relevant debates

The same GC approved a "Solemn Appeal against the idea that war is inevitable" by acclamation. The Appeal refers to the dangers to peace arising from the expectation among many at the time that another war was inevitable. It was addressed "to all who are concerned for the dignity of Man [*sic*] and the future of civilization, particularly educationalists, scientists, artists, writers and journalists throughout the world" (UNESCO, 1947c, Res. X.3), and followed on the UN General Assembly resolution against war propaganda adopted on November 8, 1947 (UNESCO, 1987a).

However, its unanimous approval was preceded by debate about which subjects should belong within the competence of UNESCO and which that of the UN, prompted by another resolution, proposed by Poland (UNESCO, 1947b). That UNESCO should not deal with political issues was the majority view; because similar arguments reappeared later in other contexts, the debates on this Appeal are examined more closely here.

The draft of the Appeal was submitted by the French delegation, and welcomed by many delegates; the US delegate called it "a masterpiece" (UNESCO, 1947b, p. 144) and moved for its adoption. Czechoslovakia and Poland did not

agree, as a separate Polish resolution on the same issue had already been drafted. The Sub-Committee of the GC that dealt with the issue integrated the Polish draft into the French draft, but Poland, supported by Hungary, insisted that these were two separate resolutions and theirs should be voted separately. The French delegate maintained that UNESCO should not leave its own domain and "should avoid any overlapping into the political field" (UNESCO, 1947b, p. 144). China strongly supported the version as agreed by the Sub-Committee, emphasizing that it did not wish to involve UNESCO in political issues.

A separate vote on the Polish resolution became procedurally impossible when the USA delegate proposed an amendment that excluded consideration of further resolutions on this subject (UNESCO, 1947b, p. 150); the US proposal was adopted by roll-call vote: 25 in favour (including Western bloc, Latin American, and Arab countries), two against (Czechoslovakia and Poland), two abstentions (India and Uruguay), and nine countries absent. Poland's vote did not mean that it was against the substance of the Appeal, but that it did not agree to the exclusion of its own resolution. It was Poland that proposed that the Appeal should not be voted by roll-call but by acclamation, as in fact happened.

The procedural rejection of the Polish resolution produced two opposing groups: on the one side Poland and Czechoslovakia, the only Eastern European socialist countries in UNESCO at the time, were seen as politicizing the issue, while on the other side were the majority of MS. The abstentions, India and Uruguay, blurred this opposition. There were only 44 MS in UNESCO at the time of the second GC in 1947, and the GC had just admitted Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Switzerland as members. UNESCO was essentially still a Western bloc organization, since disputes among the Allied countries around the time it was established meant that the Soviet Union, along with Ukraine and Belarus, did not join until 1954 (Haggrén, 2005, p. 301).

Debates about education at the second GC were generally constructive and proposals were jointly constituted into common decisions. For example, Mexico proposed the establishment of UNESCO schools for pilot projects (UNESCO, 1947e). The Union of South Africa regretted that the Mexican proposal was limited to pilot schools and insisted that all schools should be UNESCO schools, not that some should promote international understanding and others not. The UK wanted to extend the concept of education to include all media, including the press, radio, and the cinema. Egypt agreed to begin some educational experiments but also insisted that international understanding should be taught in all schools. As a result, the motion on experimental schools was carried as amended by Egypt (UNESCO, 1947e, p. 485), and the DG was instructed "to suggest to Member States that they undertake experiments in education for international understanding to the end of extending instruction in international understanding eventually to all branches of education" (UNESCO, 1947c, Res. 3.13.3). These exchanges of views can be seen as an example of reaching agreement through discussion and exchange of views.

To sum up: The unity on the issue of a convention on education for peace and security was broken in the process of the adoption of the *Solemn Appeal against the idea that war is inevitable.* The proposal made by two Eastern European socialist countries was ruled out by the Western bloc majority. However, the Appeal was adopted by acclamation. The debate on experimental schools and the agreement reached on it can be taken as an example of constructive exchange of views.

4.3.4 Delaying the preparation of a convention

The third session of the GC, held in Beirut in November 1948, instructed the DG "*to draft a convention*, under which Member States may agree, within the limits of their legal powers, to ensure that *educational programmes* are directed at all levels towards *international peace and security* [all emphases added]" (UNESCO, 1948d, Res. 2.514). The mandate given to the DG no longer stipulated any time limit, as the Secretariat later remarked in its report (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 10). According to the records of the EXB, during the discussion of the convention the chairman stated that "no action could be taken in 1948 for lack of staff, and no action was planned for 1949 for lack of financial means" (UNESCO, 1948a, pp. 17-18). According to the same report, the French member of the EXB considered this project very important, implicit in UNESCO's Constitution, and thus the natural sequel to other tasks that had been undertaken at great cost. The member from Australia supported this view, and considered it inadmissible that the Secretariat should allow certain activities entrusted to it by the GC to be abandoned for lack of funds, since it was UNESCO's purpose to secure the adoption of conventions, and the finding of necessary staff should be given priority. The Acting DG defended the position of the Secretariat by pointing out that neither the EXB nor the GC had previously given priority to this project, but said that he was ready to assign the necessary staff to the project if they were released from other commitments. The verbatim records (UNESCO, 1948a, pp.17-18) do not indicate that any decision was taken on the issue, but in fact work on the convention was not foreseen in the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1949 (UNESCO, 1948b) prepared by the DG. However, the idea of such a convention remained on the UNESCO programme.

According to the Records of the third GC (UNESCO, 1948c), discussions of programme actions on education for international understanding showed a firm belief in the value of accurate knowledge, experts, research, and experimentation in education. The improvement of textbooks and teaching materials, especially in history and geography, was considered especially important to the work of UNESCO in Germany and Japan after the events of World War Two. However, the fourth session of the GC, in 1949, expressed itself more cautiously, instructing the DG "*To take steps towards* the drafting of a *convention* under which the Member States may agree, within the limits of their legal powers, to ensure that their *educational programmes* are directed at all levels towards *international peace and security* [all emphases added]" (UNESCO, 1949b, Res. 2.513). Later, in 1972, the Secretariat recalled that

> Between its first and third session, the sovereign body of UNESCO and the Secretariat had, in fact, been able to weigh all the difficulties inherent in the drafting of conventions in this field and the term "steps" expressed a realistic assessment of the complexity of the task. (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 11)

To sum up: The clear and precise instructions of the second GC on a convention were gradually undermined by the decisions of two subsequent GCs. The Secretariat's explanation for this was the lack of funds and staff.

4.3.5 The draft recommendation and its quiet abandonment

Because the decision to draw up a convention was a resolution passed by the GCs, after the fourth GC the Secretariat did take steps in this direction in November 1949, by inviting a committee of nine experts "to consider the advisability of UNESCO drafting a convention or recommendation directing educational programmes towards international peace and security" (UNESCO, 1949a). The participants were overwhelmingly education experts from Egypt, France, Italy, USA, India, Mexico, Norway, and the UK (UNESCO, 1949a): four out of the nine represented NGOs focused on teaching, four others were high-ranking officials from ministries of education in Italy, India, Norway, and Egypt, and only the Mexican delegate came from the diplomatic rather than the educational sphere. The Secretariat was represented by the Acting Assistant Director-General for Education (ADG/ED), the psychologist Jean Piaget.

The Committee "unanimously agreed that *in present circumstances* a recommendation, coupled with practical suggestions for action, could serve a useful purpose but the door *should not be shut on the possibility of drafting a convention on certain specific subjects* [all emphases added]" (UNESCO, 1949a, p.3).

This wording and the course of the proceedings described in the report indicate that the Secretariat pushed for a recommendation rather than the more binding instrument of a convention (UNESCO, 1949a, p. 7). The Committee was uncertain as to what action to take in this respect, and agreed that the Chair should write to the DG, asking him to decide whether to include in the proposed preamble of the recommendation a request that MS give their views about transforming the recommendation into one or more conventions. The Acting ADG/ED did not take a stand in favour or against, recalling that

> There were two schools of thought about conventions, some people had faith in them, and others thought that they did not lead to desirable results. A convention along the lines suggested had never before been drafted and UNESCO appreciated that if one were to be drafted entirely new ground would have to be broken. (UNESCO, 1949a, p. 2)

However, UNESCO's legal adviser certainly influenced the opinions of the experts during the discussion, by noting that

> A convention could only be drafted if the conditions to be referred to in the convention were similar and easily comparable in the countries concerned …it was therefore important for the members to ask themselves if the necessary similarity in school

programmes existed at the present time and if the political climate was propitious. (UNESCO, 1949a, p. 2)

The nine experts' draft, the "Recommendation Concerning the Direction of School Programmes Towards International Peace and Security" (UNESCO, 1949a, Annex II), contained a Preamble and two parts, "Guiding Principles" and "Measures of Implementation." The Preamble drew the attention of MS to the importance "of regarding the development of international understanding *as one of the major functions of education* [emphasis added]" (Annex II), and urged the authorities concerned to take necessary steps to ensure that this function was fulfilled.

The recommendation was discussed by the EXB in February 1950; it was decided that the draft prepared by the committee of experts should be revised and circulated to MS and National Commissions for comments (UNESCO, 1950d, Decisions 5 g and i). The revision dealt only with the wording of the French text, and no more detailed discussion on this item was recorded in the reports (UNESCO, 1950e). It was circulated in May 1950 with a letter from the DG asking for comments and suggestions by December 31, 1950, on the basis of which the recommendation could be considered by the sixth session of the GC.

Meanwhile, in 1948, the International Conference on Public Education (ICE) adopted the Recommendation on the Development of International Understanding among Young People and Teaching about International Organizations (UNESCO, 2010e), addressed to ministers of education. This title indicates the importance given to teaching about international organizations. Although this recommendation was not strictly speaking a standard-setting instrument of UNESCO, it "nevertheless urged compliance with certain norms" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 20). The title of this recommendation presented teaching about international organizations equally important with international understanding (also in a document of the League of Nations mentioned in Section 4.2.1). Later on, emphasis was laid rather on broader principles of international understanding than transmitting knowledge about international organizations.

The fifth GC, held in Florence in May-June 1950, had adopted a more general resolution covering all areas of UNESCO competence relative to the duties of the state. By that resolution the DG was authorized

> to consider the setting up of a committee to prepare a Charter on the duties of the State in regard to education, science and culture so as to ensure better understanding between the peoples, and to report thereon to the Sixth Session of the General Conference. (UNESCO, 1950b, VI General Res. 9.12)

But this resolution too was not followed up by the Secretariat: the Norwegian member of the EXB asked about it during the discussion on the draft programme and budget for 1952, and the DG replied that "it was difficult for the Secretariat to carry out the resolution as no corresponding budgetary provisions had been made" (UNESCO, 1951g, p. 15), and asked if the EXB might approve a budget transfer in order that the said committee might be convened (UNESCO, 1951g).

In 1951, the report on the comments received from MS on the draft prepared by the committee of nine experts (UNESCO, 1951c) was submitted to the EXB at its 25th session by the DG. Only 14 countries[12] had replied, and no opposing opinions were expressed. The report noted the positive replies and identified three options the EXB might propose to the GC: a progress report with no recommendations for future actions; a programme resolution addressed to MS and included in the programme; or a formal recommendation to MS. The third option had budgetary implications, as indicated in the report of the DG.

Based on the report of its Programme Committee (UNESCO, 1951e), the EXB instructed the DG to present to the sixth GC "a progress report on the steps already taken in this matter, without making any recommendations for further action" (UNESCO, 1951f, Decision 7.1). The report was duly submitted to the GC (UNESCO, 1951d). The delegate from the UK said "that his delegation heartily supported the proposal, but thought that it was relevant to all UNESCO's work" (UNESCO, 1951a, p. 283) and he therefore proposed its transfer to the general resolutions. The DG agreed that this was an excellent proposal and "suggested that the item should be maintained, making specific reference to it among the general resolutions" (UNESCO, 1951a, p. 283).

However, the general resolutions do not in fact contain any explicit reference to the draft recommendation of the committee of nine experts (UNESCO, 1951b, 1972b, para. 13). Wells (1987) believes that the sixth GC ignored or forgot it, possibly because of an accident in conference management, but points out "that leading Western States were not overanxious to pursue the debate" (Wells, 1987, p. 124) and that "it would seem reasonable to assume that these States might have felt some uncertainty as to whether liberal principles could in fact be assured of prevailing in debate and, in the circumstances, preferred to let the matter rest" (p. 124).

To sum up: The unanimous proposal of nine experts for a convention on directing school programmes towards peace and international security demonstrated the interest of professional NGOs in this type of education. The Secretariat's influence resulted in a less binding instrument, a recommendation rather than a convention. The draft proposal was sent for further consultation to MS, with a low but favourable response. A recommendation approved by the ICE in 1948 on international understanding is a further indication of the importance placed on this type of education. A resolution on another normative action, a Charter on the duties of the state relative to all UNESCO areas of competence, was not followed up by the Secretariat, due to its insufficient budget. In the end, the draft recommendation of the nine experts was ignored and set aside. It is possible that a more positive approach by the Secretariat would have led the EXB and the GC to make clear decisions on this issue, and to move towards a normative instrument, since response to it was positive even if not nu-

---

[12] Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, The Philippines, South Africa and Turkey.

merically substantial. (For the summary table of precedents and initial efforts, see Appendix C, part I).

4.3.6 Changes in the 1950s

Between 1951 and 1959 UNESCO appears to have abandoned any plans for normative action on education as it relates to peace (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 14). However, a number of normative instruments were adopted by UNESCO in this period in other fields, mainly that of culture (see UNESCO, 2010i).

The beginning of the 1950s was a period of turmoil in UNESCO. The organization was in financial difficulties; in 1952 the DG, Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico, resigned as a result of differences of opinion over the level of the budget, and his deputy, John W. Taylor of the USA, was appointed as Acting DG (UNESCO, 1952b). Another crisis was provoked by the Korean War, and in December 1952 Poland broke off relations with UNESCO following the situation created by that war. Hungary and Czechoslovakia also withdrew from UNESCO (UNESCO, 1953). During the same period, Yugoslavia joined UNESCO, and as a non-aligned state was to play an active role; Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) also became members. In 1954, the USSR joined UNESCO, along with Ukraine and Belarus.

The Cold War had an impact on members of the UNESCO Secretariat. The virulent anti-communism of McCarthyism in the USA limited open discussion and exchanges between ideological camps of the Cold War. Henquet (2009) identifies an episode from 1954 as fallout from McCarthyism: the DG of UNESCO, at that time Luther Evans of the USA, took measures to fire seven international civil servants of American nationality who had received an unfavourable report from the US government. In 1955 the ILO Tribunal ordered the cancellation of these measures and asked that the civil servants in question be reinstated or paid compensation (UNESCO, 1987a). A detailed account of these events is given by Julian Behrstock, a staff member of UNESCO, who was personally involved (Behrstock, 1987). Thirty years later, the Federal Court in the United States acknowledged the unconstitutional character of these investigations into the loyalty of Americans employed by international organizations (Lebar, 2009). Much later, in 1976, a staff member of Romanian nationality, Sorin Dumitrescu, was the object of pressure from the Romanian government. He was detained in Romania and prevented from returning to his duty station in Paris. In this case the DG, then Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, did not give in to this attack on the independence of international civil servants and made the return of Dumitrescu a matter of principle (Dumitrescu, 2009).

With respect to programme issues, it was in this period that UNESCO began its work on racism (UNESCO, 1987a): a committee of experts met to study ways of collecting and disseminating scientific data concerning racial questions, and the first UNESCO statement on race was issued in July 1950. UNESCO also initiated important new actions in conjunction with the UN programme of technical assistance. On October 25, 1950, UNESCO sent its first expert, Karl

Borch, a Norwegian mathematician, under the UN Assistance programme to Iran, and from then on technical assistance was provided by thousands of experts, advisers, and consultants for other field projects (UNESCO, 1987a). In the field of education the ASP was inaugurated in 1953 to promote the UNESCO ideals of international understanding at the level of schools in various countries, and became a widely accepted and supported programme. The ASP did not provoke controversy and did not demand change at the level of the education system as a whole.

The terminology on education as it relates to peace was also in flux. The 1972 report on the desirability of an international instrument (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II), explored the various expressions used at the time. "Education for world citizenship" was used in UNESCO's basic programme in 1950, and was retained in the biennial programme approved by the GC in 1952. This expression caused problems concerning, for example, the implication of "allegiance to some sovereign power other than that of the existing States" (para. 27), leading the DG to propose instead "Education for living in a world community"; however, this expression was used only in the English version of the programme for 1953-1954. "Education for international understanding and co-operation" was used in the programme adopted by the GC in 1954 (UNESCO, 1954, Res. IV.1.1.214). That expression was strongly urged by the expert committee convened in 1954 to study the principles and methods of education for living in a world community, and was, according to the Secretariat, a new formulation that allied knowledge and feeling (understanding) to action (co-operation) (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 28). However, "Education for international understanding" was also proposed, "prompted by the trend towards simplification" in the words of the Secretariat (Annex II, para. 28). That formulation in fact was used only in the 1960 GC resolution (UNESCO, 1960, Res. 1.1.53).

These problems of terminology can be illuminated to some extent by discourse theory. Interpreting them in terms of the concepts developed by Laclau, I see "world citizenship" and "world community" as presenting an illusion of unity. This universal ideal is seen as an expanded horizon that incorporates a wide range of particular views. However, this in turn creates a problem, because "at the same time its [particular] necessary attachment to any particular content is broken" (Laclau, 1995, p. 107). That universal ideal thus cannot represent only one particular concept of citizenship, so when MS agree on that universality, their internal differences need to be subsumed within it. All are in the same boat and implicitly against war and warmongers; those who propagate war are against "us" and the interests of a world community. In contrast, the concepts of international understanding and co-operation suggest more independent MS with differing, even opposing interests that then call for understanding and co-operation. However, different conceptions that are joined together within a universal ideal bring with them much particular content. In other words, so many particular concerns of particulars overload the ideal, and it can be seen as becoming an "empty signifier" with little specific concrete content.

In December 1958, Vittorio Veronese of Italy was appointed DG by 55 votes to 20 (UNESCO, 1958), a vote that demonstrated yet more divided positions. What was taking place at the UN affected UNESCO: for example, after the approval in November 1959 by the UN GA of a resolution on general and complete disarmament, this issue also became a UNESCO preoccupation and continued to be reflected in its resolutions (UNESCO, 1959, Decision 5.2; 1960, Res. 5. 201-2; 1961, Res. 3.73).

To sum up: In a period of turmoil in the 1950s normative action in the field of education was put aside, and political events in the world, in particular the Cold War, affected UNESCO and its staff. Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia withdrew due to the Korean War; new MS joined the organization, including Japan, the FRG, and the USSR; new issues such as racism were given attention and the technical assistance programme was introduced. The fluctuation of key terminology from the concepts of world citizenship and world community towards international understanding and co-operation is interpreted here as a shift from the use of the logic of difference to the logic of equivalence, in the sense that the emphasis shifted to the differences prevailing among MS, who were nonetheless united by their need of understanding and co-operation.

4.4   The second stage (1960-1962)

4.4.1 The **general context**

The 1960s were for UNESCO a time of expansion but also new problems. Many former colonies in Asia and Africa became independent and joined the organization: 17 African states became MS in 1960 (UNESCO, 2010j) and considerably increased the influence of the Third World within the UN and UNESCO. The dominant position of like-minded countries no longer existed (Haggrén, 2005, p. 307).

Decisions made at the UN impacted UNESCO, but sometimes UNESCO was ahead of the UN. A resolution, The Role of Unesco in Contributing to the Attainment of Independence by Colonial Countries and Peoples, was adopted on December 12 1960 (UNESCO, 1960, Res. 8.2), two days before the UN *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples* (UN, 1960). The UNESCO resolution formed the basis for its aid to national liberation movements; among other things it stated

> That one of Unesco's most urgent tasks is to help the newly independent countries, *and those which are preparing for independence* [emphasis added], to overcome any harmful after-effects of colonialism, such as economic, social and cultural underdevelopment, illiteracy, and the serious shortage of trained personnel. (UNESCO, 1960, Res. 8.2)

Economic and development issues became important within the UN system. The First Development Decade (1960-1970) was announced by the UN GA in

December 1961, and considered "the economic and social development of the economically less developed countries as basic to the attainment of international peace and security and to foster mutually beneficial increase in world prosperity" (UN, 1961). Education, hitherto considered exclusively from a humanistic perspective, was now viewed as a factor in economic development, a change with significant consequences for UNESCO activities (Lacoste, 1994). Theories of dependence, which argued that the underdevelopment of the Third World was caused by the forces and mechanisms of the West with its economic, political, and military superiority, became widely known and supported (Jones, 1988, p. 216).

In 1960, UNESCO adopted the Convention against Discrimination in Education, and the Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers was adopted by a special intergovernmental conference during the same year. They contain provisions relating to education for international understanding. It was noted that "These texts are all identical in substance to that of the second paragraph of Article 26 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights", and that "Unesco's standard setting activities in this field are thus based on the Declaration" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 19). At the United Nations, the "Declaration of the Rights of the Child" had been adopted the year before (UN, 1959).

4.4.2 Opposition to the return of normative action

The profound changes resulting from decolonization and the concerns of the programmes just described above help to explain subsequent efforts towards normative action on education as it relates to peace. After having been abandoned for about a decade, the idea of a normative instrument reappeared in 1960 through two resolutions, one proposed by the UN and the other by UNESCO. The UN General Assembly invited UNESCO especially

> to consider ways of intensifying international, national and voluntary action in this field, *including the possibility of formulation* [sic] *a draft of an international declaration* setting out the basic principles concerning *the promoting among youth of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples*, and to report on these considerations to the Economic and Social Council, if possible at its thirty-second session [all emphases added]. (UN, 1960b)

In 1960 the UNESCO GC invited the DG "to consider *the most effective means of contributing*…in the field of education, towards ensuring and developing *international understanding,* and to report on this subject to the GC at its Twelfth session [all emphases added]" (UNESCO, 1960, Res.1.1531). In 1961, "In order to fulfill these twin obligations" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 15), the Secretariat carried out "consequently" (UNESCO, 1973b, para. 16), an extensive consultation on education for international understanding, and in particular on the question of the advisability of an international declaration. The wording of these later reports (UNESCO, 1972b, and 1973b) indicates that the Secretariat had decided on a consultation instead of putting a declaration directly on the agenda of the EXB or of the GC. The Secretariat stated that this consultation

"coincided with the arrival of new Member States" in UNESCO, decolonization, the First Development Decade, and a new generation born before the war that was now reaching an active phase of life, and that education had to be adapted to new situations and preoccupations "in respect of human relations and international co-operation" (UNESCO, 1973b, para. 16).

The consultation showed that the feasibility of a declaration had become a divisive issue among countries. There were 39 in favour of a declaration, and 39 against (UNESCO, 1973b, paras. 16 and 17). A report, *Measures Designed to Promote among Youth the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples* (UNESCO, 1962a), indicated that among those who replied to the consultation there were only 24 MS, the great majority of them from the so-called developed countries; 42 replies came from NGOs, 6 from organizations belonging to the UN system, and one from a regional intergovernmental organization.

The socialist countries were in favour of a declaration, Romania and Czechoslovakia arguing that the action should not be limited to generally accepted principles but should also mention the dangers in some countries of the existence of a spirit of hatred between races and peoples, of feelings of distrust or superiority, of colonialism, fascism, militarism, and revanchisme. The Soviet Union, while favouring an international declaration, also adopted elements of the arguments used by the Western bloc countries, namely

> that one cannot ignore the suggestions made by those who affirm that the adoption and execution of effective programmes of action by the United Nations, Specialized Agencies and Member States would have greater influence and usefulness than the preparation of an international declaration. (UNESCO, 1962a, para. 341)

A traditional hegemonic formation was in this case broken. Opinions did not follow ideological divisions between the Eastern European socialist countries and the Western countries, the established divisions of the Cold War. Three countries from the West were in favour—Austria, Canada, and the FRG. Other countries in favour were Dahomey, from Africa, and Singapore (an Associate MS) and Viet Nam from Asia. Those against a declaration were mainly countries of the West—Australia, Denmark, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the USA. They contested its importance not with substantive arguments but on other grounds, for example that practical actions would be more useful, that a declaration might not be implemented and could arouse cynicism, that it was too controversial a question, or that its principles were already universally admitted.

In the summary report the Secretariat listed the pros and cons of such a declaration. This report covers opposing viewpoints on the subject and at the same time reveals the Secretariat's own position:

> 1) While there is a great deal of *agreement* concerning the value of many of the measures discussed in this report, *there is a sharp difference of opinion* as to the value and feasibility of an international declaration of principles.

> 2) This divergence of views in itself *cast doubts on the possibility of reaching agreement* on the terms of an international declaration.

3) To some extent, *divergence of opinion on this question may arise from deep-seated differences of view about the role of "declaration of principles" as a factor of progress.* Some tend to see such formulations as *a mainspring of action,* others as *verbal substitute for action.* Again, some envisage such a declaration as *reinforcing and extending the application of values and principles already agreed on,* others fear that *multiplication of declarations will weaken the force of existing basic instruments.*

4) However, initial divergences of this character *need not necessarily be taken as an insurmountable obstacle to later agreement. General agreement* has already been expressed in basic instruments and in resolutions of the United Nations and UNESCO, including the preambles of the resolutions which gave rise to this report, on some principles which govern the education of young peoples. Also, there is a large measure of *agreement* about the main lines of action which should be taken in implementation of these principles, as is recorded in this report. It might be feasible *to reach agreement* on a declaration, as far as it asserted these *agreed elements.*

5) However, it has to be recognized that *agreement on a text of this character may not be easily reached.* This is partly because it may prove necessary to some extent, to adapt the wording of *agreed existing statements of principles* for use in a declaration, and such adaptation may present many difficulties. More important, it is to be expected that proposals will be made *going beyond such previously agreed statements,* which may give rise to opposition. A dilemma may arise, in which a limited restatement of *existing agreed general principles* may be rejected by some as inadequate, while proposed extensions and additions may be rejected by others on various grounds.

6) It is reasonable to expect therefore that the process of *formulating a declaration would be more protracted and laborious than some proponents have thought* [all emphases added]. (UNESCO, 1962a, para. 48)

The Secretariat's own position appears to be centred on reaching agreement. To reach an agreement is here the nodal point that binds together its discourse (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001; Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000) thus implying an ideal of consensus. It contains a notion of the dissension (point 1), and therefore it doubts the possibility of reaching agreement (point 2); it further explores the dissension (point 3) but does not exclude an agreement "as far as it asserted these agreed elements" (point 4), and finally points to difficulties of reaching agreement (points 5 and 6). Thus, as its main aim was consensus, the position of the Secretariat in this case favoured those against a declaration.

The DG submitted the *Report* on measures to promote "the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples" (UNESCO, 1962e) to the EXB in May 1962. The EXB member from the USSR spoke in favour of the declaration, but also in favour of practical actions (UNESCO, 1962h, para. 36.4, 36.5). The member from the USA believed that no draft declaration should be drawn up, justifying this with the arguments against it as given in the Secretariat's report. The Acting DG, René Maheu, made a compromise proposal, accepted by both these members before the vote, which passed with 18 votes to none and one abstention (UNESCO, 1962h, paras. 43-49). It stated that

The Executive Board,

<u>Takes note</u> of the report… <u>Requests</u> the Acting Director- General to *transmit* to the Economic and Social Council the summary record of the discussion of the Board on this subject …to report to the Executive Board at its 62nd session and to the General Conference at its twelfth session, *appending*, in the latter case, any comments of the

> Executive Board, on the outcome of the discussion of the report by the Economic and Social Council and to submit proposals on the measures that Unesco should take to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples [underlining in the original, all other emphases added]. (UNESCO, 1962f, Decision 4.2.3)

The Acting DG's proposal led to what can be considered a typical diplomatic solution: the issue was left unresolved pending further developments and several additional reports were called for.

The UN bodies naturally did not take a stand, and the ECOSOC, in its 34th session in July 1962, "*noted* [emphasis added] the report with satisfaction" and transmitted it to the UN General Assembly (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 19). In September 1962 the issue was submitted to the EXB (UNESCO, 1962d). The EXB did not take a stand on the proposals, which were in effect suggestions and reflections rather than clear proposals; it noted the action taken and drew "*the special attention* [emphasis added] of the General Conference to the proposal contained in document 12 C/5 (Proposed Programme and Budget for 1963-1964) designed to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples" (UNESCO, 1962g, Decision 4.2.2). The idea of a declaration was thus effectively buried via the use of diplomatic language.

In November 1962, although the GC did not pass a follow-up decision on normative work in this respect, it took note of the report, drew the attention of MS to the useful ideas set out in it, and recommended that the DG include on the agenda of the International Conference on Youth scheduled for 1964 a question about "measures designed to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples" (UNESCO, 1962c, Res. 1.143). This decision bypassed the idea of an international declaration.

Ten years later, the Secretariat assessed this preparatory work, commenting that, "UNESCO was able to contribute to the drafting of the international declaration on the promotion among youth of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples, adopted in 1965 by the UN General Assembly," and that, "UNESCO was unable, or did not deem it expedient to extend its standard setting activities to include the specific contribution that *education must make* [emphasis added] to the development of international understanding and the maintenance of peace" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, paras. 19 and 20). The second comment suggests that the Secretariat was then in favour of these activities.

To sum up: The idea of normative action, in the form of a declaration, was introduced in 1960 in the form of UN resolutions on youth and by UNESCO. Extensive consultation showed opposed views on the advisability of such a declaration: all concerned were in favour of "peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples" in principle, but they split into two groups, those against and those in favour of a declaration. The idea was effectively buried by a series of diplomatic moves which first postponed the issue to wait on further developments and then put it aside entirely. Socialist countries were in favour and many Western countries against with exception of three Western countries. Therefore, it can be said that this issue was not considered in that context ac-

cording to Cold War allegiances. There were not many Third World countries who had replied but usually they were in favour. The Secretariat, by valuing consensus and having doubts about the possibility of reaching agreement on a declaration positioned itself, in this case, to favour those opposed to a declaration. (For the summary table of the second stage, see Appendix C, part II).

4.4.3 Debates on peace and normative action

General peace debates

General debates on peace paved the way for normative action. The Proceedings of the 12th GC, in 1962 (UNESCO, 1962b), show that delegations from the socialist countries were not satisfied with UNESCO's actions on peace and sharply criticized the Secretariat. The representative from Belarus, for example, asserted that UNESCO should "apply itself seriously to the problems of the preservation of peace, disarmament, peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding, the eradication of colonialism and its aftermath and other burning issues of the present day world" (p. 484). He believed that the Secretariat had not followed the decisions of the EXB in 1959, set out in "UNESCO's contribution to the action taken by the UN in favor of general and complete disarmament," nor the GC resolutions in 1960, expressed in "Studies on problems of international understanding and peaceful co-operation." He claimed that the Secretariat had not made "any attempt to implement" the resolution of the 11th GC, "The role of UNESCO in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples" (p. 485). He asserted that UNESCO was "busy in compiling all sorts of rambling reports, organizing surveys, and so on," when it should begin "to give more practical, effective aid to countries which have recently won independence" (p. 485), and also that UNESCO was associated with the colonialist programme of the USA in underdeveloped countries.

A resolution, "UNESCO's tasks in contributing to peace, peaceful co-operation, and living peacefully together, among States with different economic and social systems" (UNESCO, 1964b, Res. 6.2) was adopted by the GC in 1964. It was instrumental in paving the way for a normative instrument in education as it relates to peace. Its adoption was preceded by heated debates. The US delegate considered technical aid to be work for peace, and claimed that "peaceful coexistence" was "a euphemism for the destruction and subversion of existing systems of democratic government" (UNESCO, 1964a, 24, prov. para. 6.4-6.9). At that stage, the debate highlighted differences between the main adversaries of the Cold War which sought to seek support for their positions from Third World and Non-Aligned countries; although support for peace united the adversaries, differences on what it should mean in practice were sharp.

The adoption of the resolution required a drafting committee to settle its controversial aspects. It can be noted, for example, that its title does not mention "peaceful coexistence," which was considered by the USSR and other socialist countries to be an element of and a prerequisite for peace, but conveys

the same idea in the expression "living peacefully together, among States with different economic and social systems."

The 14th GC, in 1966, also introduced a basis for the preparation of a normative instrument on education as it relates to peace. In May 1966, UNESCO had organized a meeting about its contribution to peace in Bellagio, Italy (UNESCO, 1966d). Of the 15 participants, almost all were experts, academics from research institutes or scientific bodies; Jaime Torres Bodet, former UNESCO DG, was also present, and only two were diplomats who could be considered as political participants. This clarifies our understanding of the role of expects and the value of their input on substantive issues, especially in light of the debates at the GC, which are more likely to be "political".

The meeting underlined the relation between peace and human rights: "there can be no real and enduring peace without the achievements of human rights and since human rights cannot be fully respected unless peace prevails" (UNESCO, 1966d, p. 2). It recommended a number of actions, including: studies of the economic and social consequences of disarmament and arms control; "interdisciplinary studies on the problems and principles of peace and human rights"; assigning "a prominent role in their school curricula to … knowledge and reciprocal appreciation of other cultures, without deliberate omissions"; helping "improve its content and quality from the standpoint of scientific objectivity and contribution to international understanding" (p. 5). It laid emphasis on "awareness of both rights and duties," and proposed "international or regional conferences of Ministers of Education to review the progress achieved through measures aimed at orienting education towards peace and respect for human rights" (p. 5).

A Round Table on UNESCO's contribution to peace was also organized in connection with the 14th GC, with the participation of former presidents of the CG and EXB, former DGs, and Nobel Peace Laureates. Again, the relation between peace and human rights was raised. The report of the Round Table emphasized that "there can be no true and lasting peace without respect for human rights, and that human rights cannot be fully respected except in conditions of peace" (UNESCO, 1966b).

The DG also presented a report on comments by MS on UNESCO's contribution to peace (UNESCO, 1966e): this was not a compilation of these comments but a consolidated report. The DG raised the question of whether "specific activities" should be devoted to peace or "all UNESCO activities" should contribute to it. At the same time, he raised the question of whether UNESCO should be involved in political activities, in other words which issues fall within the competence of UNESCO and which that of the UN. Specific peace-related activities, mainly proposed by socialist countries, were claimed political and hence more appropriately to be considered by the UN by the West, which wanted UNESCO to confine itself to non-political issues and issue unanimous decisions.

This report showed that there was overall consensus on UNESCO's activities, in particular on its programmes aimed at eliminating prejudice and en-

couraging international understanding. These activities were considered by most states, including Western bloc and East European socialist countries, as having made an important contribution to the strengthening of peace (UNESCO, 1966e, para. 16).

Draft resolutions (DR) submitted relative to UNESCO's contribution to peace, and the configurations of the countries in favour of each of these, illustrate the political formations around the topic (UNESCO, 1966a). The Eastern European socialist countries, including Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Belarus, supported the USSR's proposed resolution (UNESCO, 1966a, PLEN/DR 11). The record of proceedings (UNESCO, 1966b) shows that they advocated peace and disarmament, brought up concrete world problems such as human rights violations in Viet Nam, were not satisfied with the actions of the Secretariat concerning UNESCO's contribution to peace, and wanted concrete and specific activities instead. However, they denied having any intention to transform UNESCO into a political organization, and agreed, in the words of the Hungarian delegate, that actions of UNESCO "which serve the full emancipation of developing nations and international intellectual co-operation serve at the same time the cause of peace" (UNESCO, 1966b, p. 76).

Yugoslavia, then a non-aligned socialist country, wanted concrete, genuine activities for peace and viewed it as strange that peace and disarmament were seen as political. Yugoslavia supported a Mexican DR concerning UNESCO's work for the elimination of educational inequalities and social differences between developing and developed countries (PLEN/DR 145), and called for greater emphasis on action for development. In this respect Yugoslavia was in a position midway between socialist views and those of the West.

Eight countries of the West (the FRG, Australia, Belgium, Canada, the USA, Italy, Japan, and the UK) presented another draft resolution (PLEN/DR 27), insisting that political issues, in particular Viet Nam, should not be brought to UNESCO, and that all UNESCO's activities should contribute to peace. Argentina, the Netherlands, Peru, and Thailand (UNESCO, 1966a, PLEN/DR 115) proposed, among other things, amendments to a Soviet Union DR, in particular with respect to the UNESCO Constitution, because the Soviet Union DR only included part of it (UNESCO, 1966b, p. 724). This move was intended to create an intermediate position between the USSR and the group of eight countries of the West, and thus to blur Cold War ideological frontiers. It was supported by the UK, the USA, and Australia, who agreed that it made the Soviet DR more satisfactory. The US delegate displayed willingness for détente with respect to the Soviet DR, which according to him contained some elements similar to those of the DR 27 proposed by eight Western bloc countries; his delegation supported these similar elements but not the rest. The USA also agreed with the Mexican proposal, expressing appreciation for the efforts of the Round Table, and the Indian proposal "for a research project on the nature and extent of the contribution of Member States to UNESCO's ideals and programmes" (UNESCO, 1966b, p. 731). The USA said that it would carefully study the DRs presented by India, Mali, and the United Arab Republic and endorse the estab-

lishment of the working group, because it contained common elements, and that the combined resolution on UNESCO's contribution to peace should be adopted unanimously (UNESCO, 1966b, pp. 729-732).

These draft resolutions, and the configurations of countries supporting or opposing them, demonstrate that the role of non-aligned and developing countries was important for socialist countries and countries of the West alike. In this particular case, six different draft resolutions were combined into one by the Drafting Committee, and the resulting resolution, Consideration, on the Organization's Twentieth Anniversary, of UNESCO's Contribution to Peace (UNESCO, 1966c, Res. 10), was adopted. The records show that in its meetings the Drafting Committee worked on the basis of the DR submitted by India, Mali, and the United Arab Republic (UNESCO, 1966a, DR 187), incorporating other proposals into it, and a remarkable spirit of co-operation in the group was noted by the President of the Drafting Committee (UNESCO, 1966b, p. 1008).

This resolution attached great importance to the implementation of previous GC resolutions and decisions of the EXB directed towards the strengthening of peace. It mentioned, among others, resolutions on peaceful neighbourly relations (UNESCO, 1960, Res. 8.1), on disarmament and nuclear weapon tests (UNESCO, 1963, Res. 9.3), and on peaceful co-operation and living peacefully together (UNESCO, 1964b, Res. 6.21). It was addressed to all areas of UNESCO competence and included important provisions on war and violence, specifying that the MS are to

> a) reject war once and for all as an instrument of their national policy and condemn all forms of direct or indirect aggression and of interference in the domestic affairs of States,

> b) renounce all recourse to violence in the settlement of their differences,

> c) respect the right of all nations to self-determination and independence, and freedom to choose their political, economic, social and cultural systems,

> d) take all necessary action to contribute to the agreement on general and complete disarmament under international control,

> e) associate themselves more closely by all possible means with the constructive work for peace through education, science, culture and mass communications with which UNESCO is directly charged. (UNESCO, 1966c, Res. 10)

The resolution also requested that the DG make greater efforts to implement the decisions and resolutions referred to in it, and that proposals be submitted to the 77th or 78th session of the EXB concerning "a concerted plan of activity" for the next biennium with a view to reinforcing the Organization's contribution to "peace, international co-operation and security of peoples through education, science and culture" (UNESCO, 1966c, Res. 10). It also requested the DG to consult the governments of MS and the UN Secretary-General on the issue and take into account the results of the Bellagio meeting and the Round Table on peace. Requests made to the DG opened up the possibility of including among "greater efforts" and in "concerted plan of activity" proposals concerning nor-

mative actions. It can be mentioned in this connection that a resolution on "Unesco's tasks in the light of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its twentieth session on questions relating to the liquidation of colonialism and racialism" (UNESCO, 1966c, Res. 11) was adopted by this same GC. On these issues there were links between the decisions of UNESCO and those of the UN; they included important principles relative to peace in Third World countries, which were supported by socialist countries; countries of the West could not reject these principles, only seek to circumvent them by claiming that they concerned "political" issues not within the area of competence of UNESCO.

Education for international understanding debates

The resolution on the programme for 1967-1968, on Education for International Understanding, recognized the importance of education for international understanding as an integral part of the curriculum in primary and secondary schools (UNESCO, 1966c, Res. 1.01). It was described in the DG's preliminary report as "the beginning of a new stage" (UNESCO, 1973b, para. 18) and contrasted with the tendency "to regard education for international understanding as completely self-contained, and the qualities and attitudes engendered by it as resulting from distinct studies and activities added over and above the regular curriculum or planned and carried out apart from it" (UNESCO, 1973b, para. 18).

However, integration of education for international understanding into the general curriculum was not a self-evident decision, but the outcome of debate in the Education Commission of the GC. According to its report (UNESCO, 1966b, para. 234), India proposed that international understanding form a specific subject of the curricula of both primary and secondary schools. Some agreed with this proposal while others expressed the opposing view, that it should form an integral part of education (a cross-curricular theme). A small working party (Cameroon, France, India, the UK, and Tunisia) was established to draft a new text which would incorporate and harmonize the ideas expressed by several delegates. The outcome was that

> the Commission noted that the substance of the Indian proposal would be carried out, to the extent possible, within the existing budgetary resources in the work plan of this Section, while the paragraph addressed to Member States, as revised by the working party, would be discussed by the Commission in connection with the proposed resolution 1.01 of the Draft Programme and Budget for 1967-1968 (14C/5). (UNESCO, 1966b, para. 235)

As noted, the final outcome at the plenary session of the GC was in favour of the integration of this education for international understanding into the curriculum, but the result was achieved without voting.

Another example demonstrates how delegates accepted arguments of others on issues of substance in the debates about the programme: the DR proposed by Austria (UNESCO, 1966a, DR 57) sought to include on the agenda of

one conference the discussion of whether innate human aggressiveness renders general disarmament impossible, and whether education for international understanding could overcome this. Some speakers asserted that aggressiveness was not innate, and while agreeing with the overall substance of the proposal they requested that the wording be modified. The Austrian delegation agreed to an amendment proposed by the USSR delegation stating that human aggressiveness was not innate, and a revised text was issued (UNESCO, 1966a, DR 57 (P) Rev.) The Commission noted that this amended proposal would be taken into account in preparing for the conference on the contribution of moral and civic education in the spirit of peace, understanding, and respect between peoples, and in the course of the conference itself, and would be accommodated in the revised work plan.

To sum up: The socialist countries advocated that UNESCO focus on disarmament, peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding, and the eradication of colonialism and its aftermath, all burning issues at the time. Many of their proposals were regarded by several countries of the West as raising political issues that ought not to be addressed by UNESCO but by the UN. Since no one opposed peace in general, the conflict arose rather over which issues were indeed political, and whether there should be specific activities to promote peace, as advocated by socialist countries, or all UNESCO activities ought to promote it, as argued by many countries of the West. The social space was thus divided between two opposing poles. The work of the drafting committee was instrumental in settling controversial points, and consensus was achieved through formulations which satisfied all, or at least the major parties. Unity, an ideal "universal," was sought through the logic of difference: in other words, with regard to peace the internal differences between MS were subsumed under the universal, and the social space was divided between those who supported peace and those against it. No MS wanted to be seen as opposing peace.

During that time the countries of the West had become the minority in UNESCO, and consensus was a way to safeguard minority positions. The establishment of the drafting group with a restricted membership can be seen as serving the same function. For both major groups it was important to get the support of non-aligned and developing countries. The case of the role of experts at the Bellagio meeting and on the Education Commission demonstrates agreement by experts on important issues, including the relation between peace and human rights, accepting the view of the other delegate about human aggressiveness, and cross-curricula integration of international understanding into the curriculum.

4.5 The final stage (1967-1974)

4.5.1 The possibility of an international instrument

The final stage began at the point when the idea of one or more normative instruments was included by the DG in the Supplement to the Approved Programme and Budget for 1967-1968 covering all programmes. In the form of the work plan, the Supplement was his response to the peace concerns expressed in the resolution of the GC described in Sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.3. The Supplement states about education:

> The Director General judges that the *preparation and adoption* by the Organization of *international instruments* bearing on the content of teaching and designed to promote the *ideals of peace, understanding and mutual respect* between the peoples through education might constitute an *important measure* for the execution of resolution 10. He will therefore *examine the possibility* of asking the *Executive Board* to consider the advisability of including the question of preparing one or more international instruments in the agenda of the *General Conference* [all emphases added]. (UNESCO, 1967d, para. 2159)

As indicated in the passage just quoted, the DG believed that international instruments in the field of education within a peace framework—"peace, understanding and mutual respect between the peoples"—were an important measure. This proposal was the result of an internal meeting of the Secretariat where all the Programme Sectors were represented, and at which the Deputy Director-General (DDG), Malcolm Adiseshiah, representing the DG had asked for proposals from staff members for the Supplement he was going to prepare as requested by the resolution of the GC (UNESCO, 1966c, Res. 10), and Sema Tanguiane,[13] at that time Division Director in the Education Sector and responsible for the programme, had made a proposal for a normative instrument (Tanguiane, personal communications, March 2007 and 7 May, 2010). In this way, the position of the Secretariat, as an interpretation of the implications of the GC resolutions for concrete action, became introduced into the programme.

At the 77th session of the EXB in October-November 1967, the DG presented his concrete action plan for reinforcing the required UNESCO contribution to "peace, international co-operation and security of peoples." He had consulted MS on the issue and prepared a document with preliminary proposals (UNESCO, 1967a), which included a letter from the Secretary General of the UN. It cited the dangers of new weapons of mass destruction, arguing that UNESCO should accept a solemn obligation to renounce war as the instrument of national policy, and four other related sources of tension in the world—the rivalry of political ideologies, economic disparity, unresolved colonial issues, and racial feelings exacerbated by a long history of discrimination (UNESCO, 1967a, Annex II, p. 6).

---

[13] He joined UNESCO in 1956 and stayed until 1962; returned in 1965 and was nominated Chief of Section, then Director of Division (1966-1971) and ADG/ED (1975-1988).

In the report, the DG offered his preliminary reflections on peace. He asserted that peace today can only be

> a <u>universal dynamic process</u>, both inventive and rational, by which man [*sic*] endeavors to control change in himself and in the world, and to preserve its meaning and true purpose for all. … If that peace is to be established and kept alive, education, science and culture are essential. But their effectiveness in the service of <u>that</u> peace remains subject to <u>certain conditions</u>. Such peace calls for a particular education, a particular science and a particular culture. (UNESCO, 1967a, para. 9).

He divided UNESCO's activity into three categories: international intellectual co-operation, aid to development, and moral action including establishing ethical and legal norms in UNESCO's fields of competence. He also took a stand in favour of international instruments at the school level: "dealing with the content of teaching might be a good way of implementing the above-mentioned resolution and would call for a large number of preliminary studies and meetings" (UNESCO, 1967a, para. 47).

The positions taken in written replies to this document by MS (UNESCO, 1967a and Add.) vary in their emphasis. Of the 19 replies, 7 state the positions of the respective governments (UNESCO, 1967a, para. 2). Eastern European countries and countries of the West proposed a number of practical actions, but only the former proposed a normative instrument.

An international instrument, "preferably an international recommendation concerning the content of teaching" (UNESCO, 1967a, Add. 1), was proposed by the USSR. It saw as important the principle of coexistence and co-operation between states with different political and economic systems, and the prohibition and exclusion from the curriculum and teaching materials of all direct or indirect propaganda in favour of war, a spirit of revenge, racialism, and chauvinism; it proposed that social scientists explore the differences between just and unjust wars, and between wars of liberation and wars of aggression. Poland (UNESCO, 1967a, Add. 3) emphasized similar elements, including an international instrument for the purpose of increasing the contribution of education to the cause of peace. Romania (UNESCO, 1967a, Add. 5) emphasized European co-operation and the ethical function of UNESCO, as well as calling for study and research on peace. Yugoslavia positioned itself between the socialist countries and the West: it emphasized intellectual co-operation, practical action, and development issues, and argued for making the content of peace less political (UNESCO, 1967a, Add. 4). It saw the danger of war, disarmament, the development of underdeveloped countries, and the eradication of colonialism and racialism not as purely political problems but as problems with economic, social, sociological, and moral aspects, and argued that UNESCO, by bringing together not only states but also educationalists, scientists, and cultural workers in all parts of the world, could open the way to direct co-operation.

The USA emphasized that "everything that UNESCO does is—or should be—a contribution to peace" (UNESCO, 1967a, Add. 2). It considered peace not as merely the absence of war, claiming that "the maintenance of order through

the repression of the human spirit is the opposite of peace" (Add. 2) and that peace should be "based on respect for human rights" (Add. 2). It called for adequate emphasis on teaching about the UN and the specialized agencies, and a framework for peaceful co-operation among nations to be provided by UNESCO, and stressed the importance of social science, international law, and peace research.

In introducing the EXB discussion on the issue of UNESCO's contribution to peace, the DG listed three main dilemmas (UNESCO, 1967c, para. 24.3-24.7). The first was whether UNESCO as a specialized agency in technical fields—education, science, culture, and information—should enter into the political domain or remain within the limits of its technical aspects. He observed that this question came up because these technical fields deal with the creative qualities of the human mind and thus cannot be arbitrarily limited, and also because specialists in these fields possess moral authority recognized by society—citing as one example a letter sent by twelve scientists to the UN on the possible effects of the use of nuclear arms. He also considered it significant that a political organization (referring to the letter of the UN Secretary General to UNESCO [UNESCO, 1967a, Annex II, p. 6]) would ask a technical institution to use its influence on governments and on the governed and thus to exceed its supposedly purely technical functions.

A second dilemma was whether the contribution of UNESCO to peace should be a general one concerning all programmes, or take the form of particular projects. In this respect, the DG saw the positions of the USA and the USSR as radically opposed, and noted that the Secretariat had adopted an intermediate position because it was not its role to express an opinion at this stage. The DG proposed a general orientation combined with particular projects. In fact, the Secretariat was to follow both these approaches, thus blurring the contradictions they presented.

The third dilemma was whether UNESCO's activity should be practical or normative. Here the DG talked about practical results on the one hand and preaching and persuasion (in the original, "de prédication et de persuasion") on the other. He pointed out that UNESCO's Constitution states that "It is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed," thus expressing an idealistic orientation. But in his view, preaching was not the only way to influence minds; the contribution of UNESCO is made manifest through its acts, and calls for "a just balance between words and acts." While he abstained from pronouncing on this point, he stressed the importance of dialogue among MS and affirmed that it was in the MS that UNESCO's contribution to peace was made or not. It is evident that the Secretariat wanted to blur the sharp frontiers between the contradictory opinions that divided MS.

In discussing the DG's report, the MS addressed the issue of specific projects versus the contribution of all programmes to peace. Countries of the West were doubtful about an international instrument (UNESCO, 1967c). For example, the UK considered it unnecessary to place too great an emphasis on separate projects concerning peace, seeing it as preferable to disseminate them

through the programme. It also noted that an international instrument on the content of teaching might cause difficulties in Britain, since such matters were left to the discretion of individual headmasters and teachers; the speaker was confident that no UK teacher would provide instruction that was contrary to the ideals of UNESCO. The UK also had difficulties with the Soviet proposal on just and unjust wars, and with the references to colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racialism, which seemed to have political implications. The United Arab Republic thought that a long-term effect of UNESCO's programmes might be better understanding among peoples, but that this did not always lead to peace, and that the superiority of rich nations was a potent factor in starting wars. Senegal[14] stressed the need for psychological preparation for peace, not only by repairing the damage of past wars but by building consciousness about bacteriological and thermonuclear wars, and argued that school programmes were important for transmitting positive notions of peace. Zambia claimed that greater knowledge of other countries' cultures did not necessarily remove the possibility of war, and that there was not enough emphasis on the problems posed by South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies.

The EXB decision on the item titled "Director-General's proposals concerning a concrete plan of activity to reinforce the contribution of the Organization to peace, international co-operation and security of peoples through education, science and culture" was to postpone the whole issue, leaving it open for further consultation with MS, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and the NGOs in the field (UNESCO, 1967b, Decisions 5.2).

The 15th session of the GC in 1968 adopted the resolution concerning the Work Plan of the Approved Programme and Budget for 1969-1970 (UNESCO, 1968a, para. 270), which planned for *"a preliminary study of the possibility of preparing an international instrument on education to promote ideals of peace, understanding and respect between peoples* [emphasis added], bearing in mind the suitability and timeliness of such an instrument" (UNESCO, 1968b, Res. 1.271).

The evidence suggests that the Secretariat did not follow up this decision, since by two years later the *Draft Programme and Budget for 1971-1972* (UNESCO, 1970a) did not include any action of this sort; the GC repeated the mandate given to the DG, but in somewhat different terms (UNESCO, 1970c, Res. 1.21), and the action was included in the Approved Programme and Budget for 1971-1972: "*A preliminary study of the technical and legal aspects of preparing an international instrument on education for international understanding, co-operation and peace* [emphasis added] will be submitted to one of the sessions of the EXB during 1971-1972" (para. 1195).

The related activities of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) deserve mention here. A comparative survey on education was conducted by the Secretariat and the IBE; 82 countries replied, and 37 of them mentioned laws and decrees on school organization and curricula that expressly referred to international co-operation and understanding (UNESCO, 1973b, para. 19). The

---

14 The delegate was Amadou-Mahtar M' Bow who became, in 1970, ADG/ED, and in 1974, the DG of UNESCO.

study pointed "both to general agreement on targets and to a wide diversity in ways and means—and in achievements" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 44).

The survey was done because in 1968, Human Rights Year, UNESCO and the IBE had organized the International Conference on Public Education, which adopted a Recommendation on Education for International Understanding as an Integral Part of the Curriculum and Life of the School (UNESCO/IBE, 2010e, Recommendation No. 64). This recommendation was "a sort of charter governing education for international understanding" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 20). Its guiding principles (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, Appendix 2, II) stipulated that "education at all levels should contribute to international understanding" (Appendix 2, II, para. 1), increasing knowledge of the world and engendering attitudes of mutual appreciation and respect concerning "cultures, races and ways of life" (Annex II, para. 2), mutual enrichment of cultures (Appendix 2, II, para. 3), human rights and their observance in daily life and "the conception of the equality of human beings and the spirit of justice embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (Appendix 2, II, para. 4), a "sense of human dignity," and an understanding of economic and social problems, while showing objectively "the harmful effects of colonialism, neocolonialism, racialism, apartheid, and slavery and of all forms of aggression" (Appendix 2, II, para. 5), "the equal right of every nation, great or small, to direct its own life and to develop fully all its cultural and material possibilities" (Appendix 2, II, para. 6), "international solidarity and an understanding of the interdependence of all nations and peoples," and that in spite of differences in their political systems and ways of life, they have a duty to co-operate (Appendix 2, II, para. 7).

The 16th GC in 1970 adopted a resolution on Unesco's Contribution to Peace and its Tasks with Respect to the Elimination of Colonialism, and Utilization of Unesco's Programme as a Means of Strengthening Co-operation Between European States in the Interests of Peace and Security in Europe (UNESCO, 1970c, Res. 8). This long resolution was adopted based on the work of a committee mandated to consolidate varying views and emphases with respect to peace. This drafting committee's function was to find formulations that satisfied all or most MS. It thus applied the logic of difference in order to diminish internal differences of viewpoint for a common text. This resolution mentions a normative action and its application in favour of peace (para. 13 vii). Among other issues, it requested UNESCO to break off relations with those NGOs

> in respect of which it has not been established, to the satisfaction of the Board, that their branches, sections, affiliates or constituent parts in the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia or Portuguese-dominated African territories neither practice racial discrimination or segregation in their policies, their activities or in their membership, nor co-operate in any way with the Government of the Republic of South Africa in the latter's *apartheid* policy. (UNESCO, 1970c, Res. 8, para. 10)

The resolution recalled a number of other UN resolutions, including the tenth anniversary of the adoption by the GA of the *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples* (UN, 1960) as well as the historic im-

portance of the principles proclaimed therein. It recalled other UN resolutions from 1969 and 1970, which had appealed to all international agencies to give assistance to peoples struggling against colonialism and racialism. These were topical and acute problems at that time, issues articulated with peace in particular by a number of Third World countries supported by socialist countries; they were seen by them as concrete components of peace.

Before the 16th GC, UNESCO organized a "Meeting of Experts on Education for International Understanding and Peace, with Special Reference to Moral and Civic Education" in Paris, 17-28 August, 1970. The report (UNESCO, 1970b) records that experts from 28 MS participated in their private capacity, along with observers from five international NGOs. Information about the report on the working papers prepared for the meeting indicates both theoretical and practical interests on the part of their authors. All the participants were professors and educators in high-level positions in their countries (UNESCO, 1970b, Annex).

To sum up: An international instrument in the field of education as it relates to peace became part of the programme through the Secretariat, but there was a delay in its implementation, caused by the Secretariat. The socialist countries in particular believed that specific UNESCO actions in the field of peace, including normative action, were important, while many countries of the West argued that all UNESCO actions contribute to peace. The Secretariat struck a balance between the different emphases of the MS. Context for the complicated character of peace issues included the work of the Drafting Committee after the adoption of the general resolution by the GC in 1970, which also addressed problems in Southern Africa, racial and colonial issues, and concerns of the UN.

4.5.2 The preliminary study and a decision on a recommendation

The question of whether international regulation of education for international understanding, co-operation, and peace should be included in the Provisional Agenda of the 17th session of the GC was discussed by the EXB at its 89th session in May-July 1972. The DG had prepared a document on the technical and legal aspects of the question (UNESCO, 1972f).

The preliminary study was discussed first by the Programme and External Relations Commission of the EXB. (Final decisions are made at the plenary session.) According to the report (UNESCO, 1972j, Part II, paras. 37-40), there were ten speakers, most of whom considered new standards in this field to be both "feasible and opportune"; one speaker opposed the preparation of a new international instrument, preferring other forms of UNESCO action; one proposed deferring the question because the ICE had already adopted a comprehensive recommendation on the subject; one proposed a convention, while others considered that a convention was not advisable and were in favour of a recommendation or declaration. The Commission decided, by 19 to 2 with 2 abstentions, to recommend the inclusion of the question in the forthcoming sessions of the GC.

At the plenary session of the EXB only one member voted against the inclusion of the item, *Desirability of Adopting an International Instrument on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace*, in the Provisional Agenda of the 17th session of the GC (UNESCO, 1972c, decision 4.2.2.). This was the USA delegate, who justified his vote by the absence of implementation and follow-up relative to Recommendation No. 64 of the ICE, saying that it was premature to study a possible new instrument (UNESCO, 1972j, p.122).

The item was then submitted to the 17th session of the GC in 1972, and the corresponding document (UNESCO, 1972b) prepared by the Secretariat. It described tensions related to the need for an international instrument in the field of education, and pointed to the need for standard-setting as emphasized by the GC resolutions in UNESCO's last three sessions. It highlighted the accumulation over the last 25 years of UNESCO action of ideas, proposals, practical suggestions, and information acquired from its various practical actions, which served as the basis for a recommendation (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 57). It noted the stimulation and support for these actions from the UN and other IGOs, and noted the fact that the UDHR, adopted by the GA of the UN in 1948, had since then guided the actions of the organization. UNESCO's will to fulfil its standard-setting function was mentioned, and the political and social situation of the time was deemed "neither more favourable nor less favourable than at any time during the last 25 years" (UNESCO, 1972b, Annex II, para. 60).

According to the report of the Programme Commission (UNESCO, 1972d), 17 MS spoke, and the great majority were in favour of a new international instrument in the form of a recommendation; two wanted it to be a declaration, one doubted that a new instrument would be effective in improving education for international understanding, and one opposed it on the grounds that it would duplicate in part the ICE Recommendation No. 64 of 1968, which had not yet been implemented (para. 164).

It was evident from this report that the Secretariat was favourable to regulation of education by way of an international instrument because the ADG/ED said in the Programme Commission and at the GC plenary session that the UNESCO recommendation would be much broader in scope than the ICE recommendation, and that there had been a favourable attitude to an international instrument in the Programme Commission (UNESCO, 1972d, para. 165; UNESCO, 1972h).

Belgium, the FRG, and the Netherlands presented a draft resolution (UNESCO, 1972a, DR 253 Rev.) that proposed to add the words "human rights and fundamental freedoms" to "education for international understanding, co-operation and peace." The Programme Commission recommended by a vote of 49 to one, with 12 abstentions, that the GC adopt the proposal of a recommendation that "should also cover education in human rights and fundamental freedoms" (UNESCO, 1972d, Annex, para. 80). The GC decided as proposed by the Programme Commission.

It is significant that when the issue was voted, there were no votes against. In the language of discourse theory, a hegemonic formation in favour of the

recommendation became possible by the use of the logic of difference. The decision united because it included the positions of the two blocs, and contradictions were subsumed under an universal ideal in which peace and human rights were articulated together. Those who abstained thus marked their reservations, but by not voting against the issue, they too subsumed their positions under the universal.

The resolution by the GC stated:

> Bearing in mind the Rules of Procedure concerning recommendations to Member States and International Conventions covered by the terms of Article IV, paragraph 4, of *the Constitution,*
>
> Having examined the preliminary study of the Director-General on the desirability of adopting *an international instrument on education for international understanding, co-operation and peace* (doc. 17C/19),
>
> 2. Considers it *desirable that an international instrument* should be drawn up for this purpose;
>
> 2. [*sic*] Decides that this instrument:
>
> (a) should take the form of *a recommendation to Member States within the meaning of Article IV, paragraph 4, of the Constitution*;
>
> (b) should *also cover education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms*;
>
> Authorizes the Director-General to convene under Article 10, paragraph 4, of the above Rules a *special committee*, which will be instructed *to prepare a draft recommendation for submission to the General Conference at its eighteenth session* [all emphases added]. (UNESCO, 1972i, Res. 1.222)

Noteworthy aspects of the resolution are all its points. Firstly, the issue is positioned within the constitutional framework of UNESCO; secondly [the paragraph above starting by "Having examined"], it indicates that the preliminary study that was presented to the GC was an international instrument covering only peace-related aspects [education for international understanding, co-operation and peace]; thirdly, an international instrument was considered desirable; fourthly, it was to be a recommendation (that was important because only recommendations and conventions are subject to the procedure defined by the Constitution and the Rules of Procedure), and fifthly, it should "also cover education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms"(para. 2b). Practical implications of a recommendation meant that it will be prepared according to the established rules and procedures, and its implementation in MS followed- up by their reporting (see Chapter 5). If the decision would have been a convention, it would have required also ratification by MS. In case of a declaration, it would not have had similar practical implications for MS and the Secretariat than a recommendation or a convention.

To sum up: In the preliminary study the Secretariat took a favourable position on an international instrument. The study was received positively by MS.

Education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms was added, on the suggestion of a group of countries of the West, to the original proposal on education for international understanding, co-operation, and peace.

4.5.3 The preliminary report and the draft recommendation

After the 17th GC, the Secretariat had a clear mandate to proceed with the recommendation, which still required several phases of preparation. The preliminary report was prepared by the DG (UNESCO, 1973b). In it, the Secretariat placed considerable value on the decision, identifying it as a milestone in the history of UNESCO: "The import and scope of this decision becomes apparent when it is placed in the context both of UNESCO's history and of the general situation obtaining over the past 25 years" (UNESCO, 1973b, para. 13) The year 1966 was characterized as the beginning of a new stage due to the decisions of the 14th GC, in particular because it recognized the importance of education for international understanding and asked that it be introduced as an integral part of the curriculum in primary and secondary schools. The Secretariat's appraisal was that

> in fact, the need for integration was felt by an increasing number of educators who, on the basis of experiments carried out since 1953 in the Associated Schools, reacted against certain excesses of a tendency to regard education for international understanding as completely self-contained, and the qualities and attitudes engendered by it as resulting from distinct studies and activities added over and above the regular curriculum or planned and carried out apart from it. (UNESCO, 1973b, para. 18)

The report provided paragraph-by-paragraph commentary on the draft recommendation (UNESCO, 1973b, paras. 38-70). Among the sources of material included in the draft, it mentioned the report "Learning to Be" by Edgar Faure et al. (1972) in connection with issues including the broad scope of the recommendation (para. 41), national policies (para. 42), participation, co-management, and self-management (para. 53), and the inclusion of pre-school education (para. 62). Also mentioned were the "East-West" Major Project that promoted mutual knowledge and understanding of cultures and ways of life (para. 60); the "Third International Conference on Adult Education" organized in 1972 and the meeting of experts held in 1970 (para. 62); surveys and studies carried out by UNESCO, the IBE, the UNESCO Institute for Education (Hamburg), and by certain NGOs (para. 65); "study of the major problems affecting mankind [*sic*]" based on experiments by the ASP (para. 59).

In August 1973, the DG submitted the preliminary report, together with the draft recommendation, to MS for their comments and observations (UNESCO, 1973a). In September-October the EXB, at its 93rd session, discussed the *Invitations to the Meeting of the Special Committee of Governmental Experts for the Preparation of a Draft Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (UNESCO, 1973c), to be convened according to the rules

and procedures for the preparation of the normative instrument, and added three INGOs[15] to the list (UNESCO, 1973d, Res. 4.3.3).

To sum up: Analysis of the preliminary report demonstrates that the Secretariat considered the recommendation important, especially as a tool for integrating education for peace into the mainstream of education, into its regular curriculum. The draft recommendation prepared by the Secretariat and included in the preliminary report reflected especially the ideas of the recent report "Learning to Be" and a number of conferences and other experimental studies.

4.5.4 The final report and the revised draft: MS responses

The final report (UNESCO, 1974f) prepared by the Secretariat included replies from MS to the preliminary report (Annex I), analysis of the replies by the Secretariat (Annex II), and the text of the revised draft recommendation prepared in light of the comments and observations received from MS (Annex III).

The DG informed MS (UNESCO, 1974b) about the new document supplementing the preliminary report, the two constituting the final report (UNESCO, 1974f). He also informed them about a Special Committee of Governmental Experts scheduled to meet at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris, 29 April-8 May, 1974, to consider the final report.

The final report is a source of information on how the recommendation was constructed on the basis of the positions of MS and the Secretariat. There were 17 countries who replied within the given time limit (UNESCO, 1974f, paras. 2, 3, and 4); four of them approved the draft without any comments, and 13 submitted detailed comments on matters involving changes in the text. Comments received after the deadline and presented in two addenda included 15 more replies, for a total of 32.

The positions of MS on the draft reflected an overarching agreement on principles even by those who made the most critical remarks. The draft recommendation was welcomed by those countries who replied. According to the final report (UNESCO, 1974f, Annex II), the majority of MS commenting on the preliminary draft endorsed the initiative and were in agreement with the "spirit and intent of the draft recommendation" (UNESCO, 1974f, Annex II, para. 3). Argentina , saw the preliminary draft as "useful and effective as regards both content and form," giving "concise expression to a large number of ideas implicit in the execution of a programme of education for international understanding" (UNESCO, 1974f, Annex I, p. 2). Cyprus considered it "well documented and helpful" (Annex I, p. 4), and Finland "most essential, in the implementation of the fundamental objectives of UNESCO" (UNESCO, 1974f, Annex I, p. 5).

However, several Western bloc countries had reservations and criticized the draft on formal grounds, such as its length. For the USA, its purposes were

---

[15]   The World Federation of Teachers' Unions, the International Commission of Jurists, and the Pan African Youth Movement.

unclear, its principles needed to be simplified, and it was "especially obscured by the generalities," although "UNESCO should continue its endeavors to support the development of education for international understanding and co-operation, peace, and equality of opportunity" (UNESCO, 1974f, Add. 1, pp. 21-25). While considering the goal of the recommendation valid but inadequate, the USA presented one of the longest lists, some four pages, of suggestions for its improvement. Switzerland was in favour of practical activities instead of a recommendation, but endorsed its principles. Due to its federal structure, the Swiss government could only transmit the recommendation, with no power over its implementation. The FRG considered that "such a comprehensive recommendation could lead to psychological inhibitions" (UNESCO, 1974f, Annex I, p. 6), and Italy said that it should be shorter. The UK also thought it was too long, too detailed, and too all-embracing, and proposed that it be rewritten as a much simpler and hence more effective document (Add. 1, p. 19). France too wanted a more concise text that would carry more weight, and proposed a simplified version (Add. 1, p. 3). Sweden responded that the draft was trying to cover too vast an area, and that "very much could be gained by making the recommendation more to the point, concise and stringent" (UNESCO, 1974f, Annex I, p. 14). Denmark proposed using the language of modern educational planning (Add. 1, p. 2).

The main adversaries of the Cold War, the USSR and the USA, both provided detailed comments on the substance of the text but emphasized different content areas (UNESCO, 1974f). The USA sought to introduce an intercultural dimension, to "reinforce international and domestic ethnic components" (Add. 1, p. 23), emphasizing the unity of "mankind" and the use of research and evaluation, although interestingly it did not mention human rights at all. The USA also believed that the draft included questionable or unproven assumptions, such as the direct contribution of education to the solution of problems of human rights and peace (Add. 1, pp. 21-25). The FRG highlighted détente, stating that "only in a climate aimed at détente can successful international education take place," and "It is dependent on political, economic and cultural relations between countries and on the intellectual and material living conditions prevailing inside countries" (Annex I, p. 6). It also asserted that this kind of education is not only intellectual in nature, but involves other realities, pointing to numerous examples in recent history as well as peace research showing the importance "of economic, political, social, and historical causes [of conflict] which lie outside the realm of subjective consciousness," arguing that those aspects needed more emphasis instead of the structures of prejudice focused on in the past, which provide only a partial explanation of events (Annex I, p. 7). In this respect, the FRG's position was intermediate between that of the socialist countries who also stressed these "other realities" and that of countries of the West who stressed individual attitudes. The FRG also pointed to the importance of pre-primary education for shaping attitudes about human rights and race, as shown by educational research (Annex I, p. 8). Japan considered that pedagogically controversial questions should be avoided: for example, student

participation was not viewed as appropriate by all MS (Annex I, p. 11). Egypt drew attention to the lack of resources (Add., para. 2).

The USSR supported those parts of the recommendation that concerned "the struggle against discrimination, racialism, colonialism and aggression in all their forms, and also the paragraphs containing proposals … of active education of young people in a spirit of respect for the history and culture of other nations and a feeling of solidarity with them in their struggle for their rights" (Add. 1, p. 20). It proposed to add to the list of ideas education should combat "Zionism, Nazism and neo-Nazism, and great-power chauvinism" (Add. 1, p. 21). It considered that aggressiveness among adolescents and young people was not a general psychological characteristic, but that "Soviet educational theory takes its stand on the Marxist-Leninist principle that the comportment of the individual is determined first and foremost by his [*sic*] social environment" (Add. 1, p. 20). It also proposed that only the Charter of the UN, not the Constitution of UNESCO and the UDHR, should have been mentioned in the draft, justifying this by reference to a number of other international instruments. Ukraine had a list of the evils education should combat similar to that of the USSR (Annex I, p. 17). The GDR believed that the current period of peace and security could be assured only "by way of peaceful coexistence and equal international co-operation by States with different social systems," and that "racialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, anti-communism and hatred among nations are incompatible with the UN Charter, the Statutes of UNESCO and the UDHR" (Add. 1, p. 7).

The positions of the MS expressed a conflict between the universal ideal and the particular, on both sides the Cold War divide, especially with respect to the possibility of implementing the recommendation and its binding force. This is evident from their replies (Annex I and Add.): on both sides, some countries did not want too many restrictions imposed on themselves. The FRG wanted to include not only states but also other forces in society that it saw as important for implementation. The UK claimed that the draft involved onerous commitments for MS and that "we should prefer general commitments rather than specific commitments as such"; it noted the difficulty the UK would have in subscribing to paragraphs beginning "MS should" because of its decentralized system of education (Add. 1, p. 19). The USA did not want UNESCO recommendations to be rigid, inflexible, or binding instruments with the force of international law, claiming instead that they should provide guidance based upon consultation and experience to MS who wish to develop or improve their educational activities. It also noted that the expression "national law" assumes highly centralized systems, and argued that educational research, experiments with innovative use of equipment, and new models of teacher development were more suitable activities than introducing obligations (Add. 1, pp. 22-24). The USSR criticized the statement in the Preamble that UNESCO should "encourage and support in MS any activity designed to ensure the education of all," because it considered that the UNESCO Constitution did not authorize such an

activity; it stipulated instead that UNESCO should collaborate with MS "at their request" (Add. 1, p. 21).

Some countries on both sides of the Cold War divide felt that the recommendation was good for others, but that they themselves already fulfilled its requirements. The USSR argued that the statement in the Preamble claiming that the activity of UNESCO and its MS affects "only a minute proportion of students" should be modified to read "in certain countries" or "in some cases," because otherwise the text "would be tantamount to agreeing that, in Soviet Union, education in the spirit of peace and respect for human rights is on a totally inadequate scale" (Add. 1, p. 21). The GDR proposed that in the Preamble the claim that "there is still a wide disparity between proclaimed ideals, declared intentions and the actual situation" should be qualified by the expression "in several States," or replaced by another phrase, "as far as this has not yet been done." Belgium stated that many of the recommendations of the draft "are already applied in our country" (Add. 1, p. 1), and that Belgium was inclined to think in terms of Europe. The position of Finland was one of the rare exceptions, because it judged the recommendation "a useful basic guideline of developing the curricula, teaching materials and teacher training in Finland" (Annex I, p. 5).

To sum up: The final report showed the various modifications the socialist, Western and Third World countries proposed to the draft recommendation that were important from their particular points of view, illustrating the sensitivity of some countries to formulations in the text that could be interpreted to mean that they were deficient in providing peace and human rights education. This sensitivity was found in replies of both socialist and Western countries. At the same time, the responses indicated the implicit adherence of these countries to peace and human rights as overarching values, and thus revealed the conflict between universal and particular values. (This can explain to some extent the use of the adjusting repertoire in the final *Recommendation*.)

4.5.5 The final report and the revised draft recommendation: The Secretariat

The Secretariat is in a strong position, since it interprets the decisions and resolutions of the EXB and the GC and prepares documents such as draft programmes and budgets for these decision-making organs, including drafts of normative instruments (all submitted in the name of the DG).

In this case, the Secretariat analysed MS replies and decided whether or not to include some proposals in the text (see UNESCO, 1974f, Annex II).

The Secretariat included the MS proposals as far as possible in the text. For example, it stated that it had extensively revised and shortened the preliminary draft in order to reply to criticisms of its length and style (Annex II, para. 4). The 53 paragraphs of the preliminary draft were reduced to 45, while the number of Preamble paragraphs remained the same. The Secretariat also adopted some wording changes: for example, as proposed by Italy "definitions" became "significance of terms" (para. 1 of the final text) and the word "psychomotor" was deleted (para. 20). It stated that "comments of Argentina, Italy, Sweden and the Ukrainian S.S.R. have been taken into account in redrafting the text" (Annex

II, para. 24). Argentina had proposed adding "force and violence" after the word "aggression" (Annex II, para. 24); Italy suggested adding the words "arms traffic" (Annex II, para. 24); Sweden proposed "ethnocentricity" (Annex II, para. 24), and Ukraine suggested revising a paragraph by adding "Education should be designed and put into practice in such a way as to make it possible to eliminate entirely such phenomena and tendencies as genocide, racialism, apartheid" (Annex II, para. 24). This illustrates another method the Secretariat used to try to satisfy MS, by showing that their concerns were taken note of, although not always exactly in the forms proposed. Similarly, the proposal by Finland to add "the inadmissibility of war, physical and structural violence, the destruction of nature, and the pollution of the environment in all their forms" (Annex II, para. 24) was, according to the Secretariat, covered by "the concept of the inadmissibility of war and violence" and the part concerning the environment "in paragraph 19 of the revised text" (Annex II, para. 24).

As proposed by Sweden, the specification that the recommendation was to cover all stages and all forms of education was added. The Secretariat revised the text accordingly (Annex II, para.18), but in reply to the proposal by Sweden that "an international dimension should permeate all forms of education," it said this was covered "in paragraph 9 of the revised text" (Annex II, para. 26).

Finland drew attention to "the fact that pupils receive most of their knowledge about international affairs through the mass media outside the school" (Annex II, para. 49), and proposed a new point on "information received through the mass media which may seem to run counter to the aims of the recommendation" (Annex II, para. 49); the Secretariat incorporated these into the text..

Study of the cultures of linguistic minorities, documentation centres for peace education, the relevance of international education in particularly delicate or explosive social situations, and research and experimentation in remodelling hierarchical structures and relations in educational establishments, were all included as proposed by Italy. More emphasis on research, experimentation, and international co-operation, and revision of textbooks, were proposed by the FRG; research and experimentation were also proposed by Japan. Rights and freedoms were incorporated on the basis of the proposals by Argentina and Italy. Teacher exchanges were included as proposed by Guatemala, and exchanges of equipment and materials as proposed by Argentina.

In some cases, the Secretariat showed that proposals had already been included. For example, Finland, the FRG, and Switzerland emphasized the relationship between education and society, but according to the report this had already been taken into consideration in a new paragraph and in several other paragraphs (Annex II, paras. 5-6). Japan wanted to motivate pupils to understand real problems in their own countries and in the world as a whole, and claimed that the ethics of human rights was necessary for that understanding as well as the study of different cultures and ways of life; it also wanted to add that "in some cases problems may not be susceptible of immediate solutions" (Annex II, p. 4). The Secretariat pointed out the paragraphs of the revised draft

in which these points were covered, namely Paragraph 10, which stated that "international education should help to develop a critical understanding of problems at the national and international levels," and Paragraph 21, which drew attention "to the complexity of the issues involved in human rights and in international co-operation" (Annex II, para. 20).

The Secretariat sometimes used new formulations to make the text more general, in order to consolidate the proposals. For example, Argentina criticized the use of the phrase "preventive and persuasive measures" with respect to textbooks, because it could imply state control over them. The Secretariat changed it to "MS should promote appropriate measures" (Annex II, para. 52). This was one of the uses of the adjusting repertoire, where the appropriateness of a decision was left for the MS themselves to determine.

When the Secretariat did not agree with a proposal, it rejected it on the grounds of expert opinion and general consensus, or on previous related decisions. For example, in a passage about student participation, Argentina proposed adding the word "positive" before "participation" (Annex II, para. 45); Japan held that student participation might not be appropriate in all MS, and Sweden suggested that the reference to student participation was unnecessary for the objectives of the recommendation. The Secretariat responded to the Argentinean proposal by noting that in the context of the recommendation "participation" was already positive. In response to the comments of Japan and Sweden, the Secretariat said that

> although there may not be unanimous agreement, it is felt that the kind of student participation referred to in this paragraph is now accepted to such an extent that it merits being mentioned and that it can be important in developing attitudes and providing experience relevant to civic and international education. (Annex II, para. 42)

Ukraine suggested replacing the words "should include elements of moral and civic education" with "should include intellectual, moral, aesthetic, labor and physical education" (Annex II, para. 20). The Secretariat responded that

> in the specific context of this paragraph the phrase "moral and civic education" seems more directly relevant than the formulation proposed by the Ukrainian S.S.R. and has therefore been retained at this stage. The words "elements of" have, however, been deleted in the revised draft. (Annex II, para. 20)

Sometimes the Secretariat rejected proposals on the grounds of conflict with previous GC resolutions, as when Sweden suggested that the term "international education" should be used in the title as well as the body of the text (Annex II, para. 11).

To sum up: The final report demonstrated how the Secretariat responded to MS proposals for the revised draft in three principal ways: incorporating as much of them as possible; using more general formulations, a solution that helps to account for the use of the adjusting repertoire; and rejecting proposals on the basis of previous decisions, general consensus, or expert opinion. This serves as an example of the power of the Secretariat in the preparation of the

text but also of the demanding nature of the work, due among other things to the sensitivities of the MS.

4.5.6 The draft of the Special Committee of Governmental Experts

The revised draft (UNESCO, 1974f, Annex III) had to be examined by a special committee before being submitted to the GC for final approval. The Special Committee of Governmental Experts for the Preparation of a Draft Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (UNESCO, 1974i) met in Paris in 1974, before the GC meeting, to examine the revised draft recommendation prepared by the Secretariat (UNESCO, 1974f, Annexes I, II, III and Add. 1 & 2). The Committee included representatives from 62 MS, with the right to vote, as well as 28 INGOs, 4 organizations of the UN system, and 3 other IGOs; 2 MS and 2 non-MS were represented by observers (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex, para.2). Its meeting lasted a week and included ten plenary sessions. Since 162 draft amendments had been submitted by delegates, the Committee set up a drafting committee, composed of the representatives of Colombia, France, the USSR, and the USA, the Chair (Mexico), and, ex officio, the Rapporteur-General (UK), to work with the amendments (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex).

Because the Committee was specifically identified as being composed of governmental experts, I have classified the participating MS under four categories, according to the titles of their representatives and the order of their names on the List of Participants (UNESCO, 1974d, Annex III). If the title was Ambassador, Permanent Delegate, or some similar foreign ministry title, I assigned the category "political." If the title was Professor or something similar, the classification was "expert." Two other categories were assigned on the basis of the order of the names on the list: "expert and political," or "political and expert." Note that this categorization does not imply that a political delegate is not an expert: "political" refers here only to the title of the delegate. Sometimes a country was represented only at the "political" level because it did not have the resources to send experts, but it is also possible that those who sent only experts did not concern themselves much with the issue, or did not think of it as having political aspects, or that their experts fulfilled an unspoken political function as well.

A total of 32 countries (out of 62) sent only political delegates (either one or two).[16] Most of these were developing countries and had probably made use of diplomatic personnel who were already at the site of the meeting. There were

---

[16] Only political: Algeria (1), Argentina (2), Austria (2), Byelorussian SSR (1), Brazil (1), Cameroon (1), Republic of Korea (1), Dahomey (1), Dominican Republic (1), El Salvador (2), Ecuador (1), Guatemala (1), India (1), Iraq (1), Israel (1), Jamaica (1), Jordan (1), Khmer Republic (3), Lebanon (2), Libyan Arab Republic (1), Maroc (1), Mexico (1), Mongolia (1), Nigeria (1), Pakistan (2), Panama (1), Philippines (2), Rwanda (1), Togo (1), Tunisia (1), Ukrainian SSR (1), Uruguay (2)

another 15 countries, both developed and developing, represented only by experts (either one or two).[17]

The most interesting group was composed of the eight countries who sent both experts and political delegates (named in that order).[18] The countries who were taking an active and major role in this process named their experts first on the list of the participants, as did the two main Cold War adversaries, the USA (3 delegates) and the USSR (2 delegates), and East and West Germany (4 and 5 delegates respectively). By "active" countries I mean those who had sent comments, presented draft resolutions, or spoken when the issue was being debated. It could be concluded that they saw the recommendation as professionally and politically important, but they did also have the resources to send more than one participant to the meeting. Four countries sent both political and expert representatives[19] (named in that order); these countries were also active during the process leading up to the recommendation. Four observers were also present.[20]

The final outcome of the work of this Committee was unanimous, but it called for considerable effort, down to taking votes on individual paragraphs. The report of the Committee (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex) provides some indication as to how it reached unanimous agreement on a text in spite of differing particular positions. The report summarizes the main issues discussed, but it is not a verbatim record and thus does not name the individuals who spoke or their countries, except in cases when a representative wanted his or her position to be recorded in the report.

Those who participated in the general debate (23 delegates, one observer, and 4 representatives of INGOs) all expressed their support for the principles of the draft. One or two delegates raised the possibility of converting the recommendation into a more binding instrument, namely a convention (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex, para. 14), and the need for a better balance between education for human rights and education for international understanding was expressed (Annex, para. 19). There was general approval on a number of points, such as the broad application of the recommendation to all levels and types of education, including life-long education, and making education for international understanding integral to education in all its forms. It was also generally agreed that peace education was not solely about acquiring knowledge, but that

> it was important to appeal to the character and convictions of the individual learner, to influence attitudes, to help create a sense of involvement and commitment and to encourage a willingness to participate actively in the solution of problems which

---

[17] Only experts: Belgium (2), Central African Republic (1), Egypt (1), Spain (1), Gabon (2), Hungary[17] (2), Iran (2), Japan (2), Liberia (1), Peru (2), Poland (1), Senegal (1), Sudan (1), Sweden (1), Czechoslovakia (1).

[18] Experts and political: FRG (5), GDR (4), USA (3), Finland (2), France (3), UK (3), Switzerland (2), USSR (2).

[19] Political and experts: Chile (4), Denmark (2), Guinea (3), Netherlands (3).

[20] Four observes: Canada (one participant at the political level), Hungary (one expert), San Marino (one participant, eventually at the political level, and the Holy See: three participants, only political.

> stand in the way of international co-operation and peace. (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex, para. 17)

It was also generally agreed that the recommendation should be more readable and more easily understood, and that it would be more effective if it were considerably curtailed in length (Annex, para. 12). A proposal to reduce the length, not only of paragraph 7 of the draft recommendation, "but also of the entire section in that its adoption would entail the deletion of paragraphs 8, 9 and 12" (Annex, para. 44), was supported by some delegates, "subject to certain alterations and additions to the text put forward," while others felt that "the proposal represented too radical a departure from the original text and would alter the whole tone of the recommendation, which was both clear and comprehensive" (Annex, para. 45). As a result, "after the incorporation of a number of additional points in the original amendment, this was put to the vote and approved" (Annex, para. 47). The Committee reduced the total number of paragraphs in the main text only by 3, from 46 to 43 (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex III). In the final text adopted by the GC there are 45 paragraphs (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38; see Appendix A).

Alternative formats for the presentation of the recommendation were proposed by a number of delegates but rejected when the Secretariat explained that

> the Committee as constituted was *obliged to submit its recommendation* to the General Conference *in the form demanded by the General Conference and adopted by the Secretariat* in ED/MD/32 Annex III. This format was consistent with *established and recognized procedure*. The Committee was completely *free to amend* the draft recommendation *but it would be departing from its terms of reference and creating certain legal and procedural complications if it altered radically the form in which the recommendation was drafted* [all emphases added]. (UNESCO, 1974i, para. 13)

This passage shows the power of the Secretariat as vested in its legal advisor, laying weight here on rules and procedures. At the same time, this example demonstrates that rule and procedures to be followed in the preparation of normative instruments, and constituting part of their genre, can be used to limit discursive possibilities.

The legal advisor participated in the debate on whether MS should be "required" or "invited," and explained that a distinction should be made between "recommendations addressed to MS" and "suggestions to those involved in teaching and in teacher training." The advisor noted that there was nothing new about the use of the expression "Member States should" as used in the recommendation, and that it should not arouse problems of implementation in MS with decentralized systems of education (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex, paras. 27-28). The use of both the instruction repertoire ("MS should") and the principled repertoire ("education should") in the text can be explained at least to a certain extent by the fact that instructions were problematic for certain MS, whereas the more general obligations communicated by the principled repertoire were perhaps easier to accept.

One could say again that basic agreement on the principles of the draft within which a number of amendments were accommodated followed the logic

of difference: the recommendation and its intention to direct education towards peace and human rights was unifying in spite of differences of opinion about what it should contain.

There were, however, a number of difficult and controversial issues. It was proposed that "the acquisition of critical understanding should be based on free access to facts, opinion and ideas" (Annex, para. 49), presumably a Western bloc proposal. This was countered by the argument that it "introduced political overtones in what was clearly a non-political document," apparently made by the USSR[21]; it is interesting that the "non-political" position earlier used by Western bloc countries was used here instead by the USSR. The report continued that "although it was denied that this was not [*sic*] the intention behind the proposed use of this phrase, it was agreed, after a lengthy exchange of views, to withdraw the suggestion" (Annex, para. 49). This can be seen as willingness to find a solution to ideological controversies, in a spirit of détente.

Political controversies were settled both in a spirit of détente and by the authority of the Chair, and also by maintaining terminology adopted earlier by UNESCO. For example, some delegates (apparently the USSR) wanted to include Zionism, Nazism, and neo-Nazism among the evils of the contemporary world, while others wanted a complete redrafting of the paragraph at issue, emphasizing the inadmissibility of all forms of violence and stressing the need for all to accept responsibility for the maintenance of peace and the protection of human dignity (Annex, paras. 53-55). The report of the Commission described the solution:

> The unlikelihood of reconciling these two points of view by discussion became increasingly apparent and the problem was only eventually resolved by *the delegates' willingness* to accept an alternative text provided by the Chairman [*sic*] which employed *terminology approved by the General Conference of UNESCO* and went most of the way towards meeting the points raised during the discussion [all emphases added]. (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex, para. 55)

In this case the delegate of the USSR, after accepting that its position would be left out of the text, wanted to include in the report "that zionism was an ideology based upon the domination of one nation over others and was therefore to be condemned" (Annex, para. 53). The final text approved by the GC does not mention Zionism, but uses the formulation "as well as other ideologies which breed national and racial hatred and which are contrary to the purposes of this recommendation" (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38, para. 6; see Appendix A), thus implicitly allowing those who so wish to include Zionism among those ideologies. This episode explains the presence of the adjusting repertoire in the final recommendation: this repertoire was a way to include the maximum number of particular views of MS in a universal text, and in this case the formulation was general enough to allow for the implicit inclusion of particular positions that would otherwise be rejected. Contradictions were simply "swept under the rug."

---

21   or by Byelorussian SSR, or Ukrainian SSR

A number of issues were put to a vote and a universal position achieved as a result. For instance, it was debated "whether or not the definition [of education] should suggest that education should be conceived and conducted with the existence and interests of the national and international community in mind" (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex, para. 31). Agreement was achieved when "one of the four amendments submitted on this section was withdrawn; a joint amendment incorporating the substance of the remaining three was eventually put to the vote and approved" (Annex, para. 32). This led to a solution concerning the term "education" in Section I ("Significance of terms" in the final version).

"Lengthy and involved discussion" (Annex, para. 33) took place on the definition of international understanding, co-operation, and peace (included in Para. 1 b of the final text), and "a bid to define international education as opposed to international understanding, co-operation and peace was rejected" (Annex, para. 33). At the same time, "the principle of friendly relations between peoples and States with different social and political systems" was accepted by a number of delegates as a prerequisite to international understanding, co-operation, and peace.

> After lengthy and at times inconclusive discussion and consideration of a number of proposed modified procedures for expediting the work of the Committee, the difficulties were eventually resolved by the withdrawal of one amendment and the incorporation of the substance of the two remaining amendments into a joint amendment. This was put to the vote and approved. (UNESCO, 1974i, Annex, para. 33)

In the discussion of national education policy (Para. 7 of the final text as approved by the GC), "the majority of delegates agreed that substitution of 'development of a just peace' for the 'maintenance of peace' would provide a clearer and more forceful text" (Annex, para. 37). The delegation from Switzerland explained that a single national education policy did not operate in Switzerland and asked that the reasons for its abstention be recorded (Annex, para. 38).

A discussion on the meaning of "less privileged groups" (Annex, para. 50) showed how difficult it was to clarify the concept by examples. It was proposed to insert "such as refugees"; many supported this but wanted to add a further example, "migrant workers." It was argued that "the insertion of one or two examples was unacceptable when so many other equally representative less privileged groups could be cited" (Annex, para. 50), and after a prolonged discussion the suggestion of including examples was withdrawn.

The text of the original draft was retained in a number of places, sometimes with minor changes (Annex, paras. 52, 62, 72, and 30). Student participation was discussed at length, and seemed to have posed a problem for some delegations (Annex, paras. 63-66). One or two delegates were concerned that student participation would disrupt education. "A number of delegates were prepared to accept student participation in the management of educational establishments but were hesitant about recognizing the merits of supporting such

participation in the organization of studies" (Annex, para. 63). The original text was finally adopted, excluding the word "management" (Annex, para. 66).

In another place the original text was maintained with additions. It was proposed that a paragraph be deleted because it "was no more than a statement upon accepted pedagogical practice" (Annex, para. 60). This was opposed by a number of delegates. One pointed out that it was the only reference to the creativity of children; another suggested that it was not strong enough, and stressed the importance of social activities and of encouraging willingness in the young to perform social duties. In the end, the original text with the addition of a reference to social activities and duties was approved.

To sum up: The purpose of the foregoing account is to provide insight into how a common text was achieved unanimously by actors who were different politically, culturally, and economically. It brings out several separate points:

- The difficulties entailed in shortening the text, because MS wanted to add elements that resulted in long and complicated formulations
- The power of rules and procedures and previous decisions, and through these of the Secretariat and its legal advisor
- The importance of the authority of the Chair
- The recording of significant disagreements in the report to explain certain votes while accepting the majority position, as in the discussion of Zionism among others
- The role of a spirit of détente, for example in the withdrawal of the wording on "free access to facts, opinions and ideas" when it was said to be political
- The usefulness of analysing the text in terms of repertoires; especially the adjusting repertoire, and also the principled and instruction repertoires became more understandable in the light of these debates
- The logic of difference that united participants in approving the draft recommendation, finally unanimously.

Within the context of the Cold War, the unanimous draft was an important achievement given the many controversies and opposed viewpoints that emerged during its preparation. That the Committee spent a week discussing the text meant that there was an opportunity for social interaction and for better understanding of each others´ points of view, in addition to willingness to reach an agreement within a spirit of détente. The role of experts from diverse countries and disciplinary perspectives was evidently important in reaching the agreement.

4.5.7 The draft of the Education Commission

The draft recommendation, as amended and approved unanimously by the Special Committee of Governmental Experts, was submitted to the 18th GC in November 1974 (UNESCO, 1974d, Annex 1). It was first examined by the Education Commission of the GC. The report of this Commission (UNESCO, 1974e,

Sub-chapter 1.2) indicates general satisfaction with the draft recommendation by the delegates who participated in the discussion. Two delegates, from the UK and Switzerland, recorded their reservations about the application of the recommendation, the first because his government could not intervene in educational matters due to the decentralized system of education, the second because of the federal structure of his government. Nevertheless, the UK delegate was in favour of adopting the recommendation.

However, five draft resolutions were then formally presented, intended to amend the draft recommendation (UNESCO, 1974e, Sub-chapter 1.2, paras. 4-7). Austria proposed three of these. One was a new paragraph that stipulated that "Member States should respect the fundamental right of parents to ensure for their children an education and a teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions" (UNESCO, 1974a, ED/DR 1). This was voted down, with 7 in favour, 18 against, and 15 abstentions. The second was a sentence stating that MS should consult National Commissions before taking any required steps (UNESCO, 1974a, ED/DR 2). This was also voted down, with 8 in favour, 12 against, and 49 abstentions. However, the third proposal of Austria (UNESCO, 1974a, ED/DR 3), to add the "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" after the UDHR in Para. 11, was approved by a vote of 29 in favour, 4 against, and 32 abstentions.

The fourth draft resolution, from Switzerland (UNESCO, 1974a, ED/DR 5), proposed that the Preamble mention the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of Victims of War of 12 August, 1949. This was approved by a vote of 25 in favour, 4 against, and 33 abstentions (Preamble, para. 2 of the final text). This is how reference to the Geneva Conventions became articulated here along with other fundamental international instruments (the UN Charter, UNESCO Constitution, and UDHR).

The fifth draft resolution, from Peru, proposed additions (which became Paras. 14 and 15 of the final text), stating that

> Education should include critical analysis of the historical and contemporary factors of an economic and political nature underlying the contradictions and tensions between countries, together with study of ways of overcoming these contradictions, which are the real impediments to understanding, true international co-operation and the development of world peace.

> Education should emphasize the true interests of peoples and their incompatibility with the interests of monopolistic groups holding economic and political power, which practice exploitation and foment war. (UNESCO, 1974a, ED/DR 6)

This two-part resolution was approved by a vote of 32 in favour, 8 against, and 32 abstentions.

The additions proposed by Peru generated considerable controversy among many Western bloc countries. The report of the Education Commission notes that the delegates of the FRG, Romania, and the USA explained their votes, but the explanations were not recorded (UNESCO, 1974e, Sub-chapter 1.2, para. 7). It can be assumed in the light of their earlier positions that the USA and FRG voted against the Peruvian resolution and Romania in favour.

The proposals from Austria, Switzerland, and Peru were made at this late stage even though the MS had had several previous opportunities to propose changes. It is conceivable that at the time when these proposals were made the delegates included experts or diplomats who felt these particular points were political or substantive issues important or of interest to them or their countries. The history of the inclusion of these amendments in the text thus not only explains why these elements came to be there but also demonstrates the contingent nature of discourse (Howarth and Stavrakakis, 2000; Laclau and Mouffe, 2001), in this case with respect to elements that become constituent parts of the discourse of the recommendation.

In all five cases there were more abstentions than votes in favour; it is probable that the countries who abstained were not necessarily against the substance of the amendment but did not wish to reopen debate on an already agreed-on text. The same may be true of some of those who voted against.

The recommendation as a whole was voted on by the Education Commission with 72 in favour, one against, and 6 abstentions, and the Commission recommended that the GC adopt it as amended. The report does not say how each country voted; Buergenthal and Torney (1976, p.6) claim that the dissenting vote was that of the USA, due to the Peruvian proposal, but this did not mean that the USA opposed the recommendation as a whole.

To sum up: The Education Commission of the GC was generally satisfied with the unanimous draft of the Special Committee of Governmental Experts. However, five proposals for change were made, of which three were adopted. The one that amended two paragraphs of the final text of the recommendation (paras. 14 and 15) was particularly controversial in the eyes of some Western bloc countries. Reference to the Geneva Conventions was included in the Preamble of the text. Analysis of the process, specifically the addition of amendments at a late stage, illustrates the contingent nature of discourse as it applies to the recommendation.

4.5.8 Adoption of the final text

Final adoption of the recommendation required approval by the plenary session of the GC. As noted in the preceding Section, the agreement achieved by the Special Committee, which blurred, to a certain extent, the ideological frontiers between the two blocs of the Cold War, began to break down in the Education Commission. The draft as amended and recommended by the Education Commission (UNESCO, 1974c) was submitted to the plenary session for adoption. The debate is described and analysed here on the basis of the GC's records (UNESCO, 1974g, Part 2, pp. 276-286).

The amendments proposed by Peru, and approved by vote in the Education Commission generated new debate at the plenary session. Five Nordic countries (Finland, Denmark, Island, Norway and Sweden) presented an alternative wording of the paragraphs in question (UNESCO, 1974a, ED/DR 7), hoping to get the recommendation accepted by consensus. The Norwegian delegate, speaking on behalf of five Nordic countries, emphasized that the

amendment was only a matter of wording: by using somewhat more moderate expressions than the Peruvian proposal it was hoped that it would pave the way for consensus. He asked that Paragraphs 14 and 15 be amended to read:

> Education should include critical analysis of *all* the economic, political and social factors both of a historical and a contemporary nature underlying tensions between countries, together with study of ways of overcoming these tensions, which are impediments to international understanding, co-operation and peace.

> Education should emphasize the genuine interests of *all* peoples in obtaining economic, political and social equality, both at the national and at international level, viewed as a prerequisite *for avoiding exploitation by political and economic pressure groups* [all emphases added]. (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 277)

The Nordic countries' effort for consensus also had the effect of blurring the ideological frontier introduced by the approval of the Peruvian amendment in the Education Committee. It did this through generalized wording, talking about "all" factors, as in "critical analysis of all the economic, political and social factors both of a historical and contemporary nature underlying tensions between countries, together with study of ways of overcoming these tensions, which are impediments to international understanding, co-operation and peace," whereas the Peruvian amendments voted by the Education Commission had stipulated in Paragraphs 14 and 15 that

> Education should include critical analysis of *the historical and contemporary factors of an economic and political nature underlying* the contradictions and tensions between countries, together with study of ways of overcoming these contradictions, *which are the real* impediments to understanding, *true* international co-operation and the development of world peace.

> Education should emphasize the *true interests* of peoples and their incompatibility with the interests of monopolistic groups holding economic and political power, which practice exploitation and foment war [all emphases added]. (UNESCO, 1974a, ED/DR.6)

These paragraphs implicitly distinguished "real" and "unreal" impediments to understanding and "true" and "untrue" interests of peoples. In paragraph 15, the Nordic countries' approach was more general, talking about "the genuine interests of *all* peoples in obtaining economic, political and social equality, both at the national and at international level, viewed as a prerequisite *for avoiding exploitation by political and economic pressure groups* [all emphases added]," while the text with the Peruvian amendment voted by the Education Commission clearly contrasted the true interests of peoples to those of monopolistic groups "which practice exploitation and foment war" (UNESCO, 1974a, ED/DR.6).

The French delegate supported "without any reserve" (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 279) the Nordic amendment and noted that the draft of the Special Committee of Governmental Experts had been unanimously adopted after a long process of debates, meetings, and seminars and in view of the UNESCO's mandate constituted a major event. Italy also supported the Nordic proposal. Canada, the USA, Switzerland, and the Netherlands said that they would not vote for the recom-

mendation unless the alternative wording was accepted. The delegate from Guinea added to the controversy by asking whether unanimity for its own sake was worthwhile if it neglected the interests of the great majority of peoples, and arguing that the Nordic amendment distorted the meaning of the recommendation. He proposed that inadmissible uses of war should include "expansion, aggression and domination" and inadmissible uses of force and violence should include "for purposes of repression" (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 280), claiming that without those additions the wording maintained the status quo and prevented the realization of a common goal of all peoples, in particular those under foreign domination and those fighting for their national territory in South Africa and in the Middle East. Two opposing groups were formed, one including socialist, non-aligned, and many developing countries, the other by most of the Western bloc countries. The delegations of Poland, Cuba, Nigeria, Ukraine, and Niger spoke in favour of maintaining the controversial paragraphs introduced by Peru and Guinea. Algeria wanted a unanimous recommendation but said that if this was not possible it would side with Peru and Guinea; Congo criticized the Nordic proposal as masking the truth. Finally, the Nordic proposal was narrowly rejected, with a vote of 37 in favour, 39 against, and 17 abstentions.

The delegations which opposed the Nordic resolution were in favour of the proposal by Guinea, as were the delegates of Liberia and of China, the later stating that a distinction must be made between just and unjust war, revolutionary and reactionary violence. The Guinean proposal (para. 6 of the final text) was adopted by 61 votes to 11, with 20 abstentions, a much more significant majority than in the vote on the Nordic proposal where those against and in favour were almost equally balanced.

The French delegate wanted to postpone the debate over the final adoption of the text, which in his view was "the fruit of long maturity" and "a major event" for UNESCO, and deserved to be accepted unanimously (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 279). The FRG was in favour of the postponement, but Peru was against it, noting that the text had already been carefully studied and improved by the Special Committee and the Education Commission, and that the Guinean amendment was a further improvement. The Peruvian delegate argued that later generations should be able to make the distinction between revolutionary violence and a violence of domination and aggression; otherwise their countries would be condemned to passivity, conformism, and the status quo. The French motion was rejected by vote, with 26 in favour, 59 against, and 8 abstentions (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 284).

The final text of the 1974 *Recommendation*[22] was adopted by 76 votes to 5, with 15 abstentions. Those voting against were apparently Australia, Canada, France, the FRG, and the USA (Buergenthal & Torney, 1976). The Mexican delegate, who had been Chair of the Committee of Governmental Experts, abstained, explaining his decision by noting among other things that Peru and Guinea had

---

[22] From here onwards I return to referring to the document as the *Recommendation*, to indicate that I am speaking about the final approved version.

both been present in the Commission when the previous agreement was reached. The Chilean delegate explained that he voted in favour although his delegation was not in agreement with all aspects of the text, but considered that the instrument was useful. The Peruvian delegate explained that he voted in favour because the *Recommendation* presented the view of the majority and that by revealing existing contradictions it had an educational function of its own. The delegates from Portugal and the UK put on record that they were in favour of the Nordic amendment and had voted against the Guinean amendment, but nevertheless voted for the final document.

It was clear that the adoption of the Guinean proposal was what pushed the "no" votes up to five upon the final vote [one against in the Education Commission]. Both the Peruvian and Guinean proposals were controversial in the eyes of a number of Western bloc countries, but were supported by the socialist countries and by most Third World countries. The attempt at consensus made by the Nordic countries had the effect of blurring the ideological frontiers between the opposing groups, by proposing a more general formulation, whereas in this period of national liberation wars the majority wanted to take a stand on the issue as expressed by the delegate from Guinea. The strategy of Peru and Guinea, and of those supporting their amendments, was to reject the previous consensus; the rejection of the Nordic proposal brought the logic of equivalence into this process and divided the social space of the MS accordingly. Differences of opinion on what to include became highlighted, and the universal was sought by vote. Although there were some abstainers, the main constellation was composed of those in favour and those against. This strategy also placed those Western bloc countries which opposed the amendments of Peru and Guinea in a defensive position, because they had to show that they were nonetheless in favour of the abolition of colonialism and for national liberation, and generally for the *Recommendation*.

To sum up: At the plenary session, the final moment in the adoption of the 1974 *Recommendation*, several controversial amendments were voted on prior to the vote on the text as a whole. These controversial points can be seen as belonging to the stand-taking repertoire, and thus explaining its use. This stand-taking also divided the social space; it is interesting to note that the use of this repertoire essentially resulted from the use of the logic of equivalence in the political formation that divided the social space during the final stage of the adoption of the *Recommendation*. Differences of opinion between countries became highlighted; however, the final text of the *Recommendation* was adopted by a large majority. (For the summary table of the final stage, see Appendix C, part III).

4.5.9 Related UNESCO debates on peace

In 1974 the GC debated another text, UNESCO's Contribution to Peace and its Tasks with Respect to the Promotion of Human Rights and the Elimination of Colonialism and Racialism and Implementation of the Relevant Resolutions Relating to the African Peoples Striving for Their Freedom (UNESCO, 1974j).

Peace and human rights were brought together and articulated with the elimi-nation of colonialism and racialism. The adoption of a resolution with the same title (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. 11) was preceded by an extensive discussion, and by efforts by the Working Group set up by the GC plenary to create one resolution (UNESCO, 1974a, PLEN/DR 28) out of several draft resolutions (UNESCO, 1974a, PLEN/DR 2, 3, 11, 12, and 18). Many aspects were debated, even the in-clusion of "human rights" in the title of the combined resolution (UNESCO, 1974g, pp. 435-436).

The document prepared by the Secretariat conceived of peace in line with previous UNESCO resolutions and decisions. It stated that "Peace founded on injustice and the violation of human rights cannot last and unfailingly leads to violence" (UNESCO, 1974j, para. 9). It held ethical and standard-setting activi-ties to be important "in establishing rules which lead to a rational organization of society taking the place of violent reactions" (UNESCO, 1974j, para. 38). The position of the Secretariat can be seen as a response to potential criticisms and as a justification of the actions in question:

> It might appear paradoxical that an international body devoted to the cause of peace should adopt a policy supporting within its fields of competence, movements that are based on violence. Analysis of conflicts in international relationships shows, however, that peace which is based on inequality and racial discrimination is not a genuine peace: there can not be genuine peace without a just distribution of intellec-tual and material resources. (UNESCO, 1974j, para. 67)

The debate revealed which issues were important for peace in the eyes of those who spoke. The USSR along with other socialist countries, often supported by the non-aligned countries, promoted peaceful coexistence and détente as well as disarmament, based on the UN resolution on the issue (UNESCO, 1974g, pp. 123-125). The Democratic People's Republic of Korea condemned the neo-colonialist policy of the USA in many parts of Asia, such as South Korea, South Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Taiwan (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 181). Yugoslavia, sup-ported by other non-aligned countries such as India, was in favour of liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Cape Verde, South Africa, Rhodesia, and Palestine, and proposed halting aid to Israel (UNESCO, 1974g, pp. 173-177). Algeria presented on behalf of a number of cosponsors a draft resolution dealing with apartheid and racialism and the participation of the Republic of South Africa in certain UNESCO activities (UNESCO, 1974a, PLEN/DR 12), supported by the non-aligned countries (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 129). The GDR, Algeria, Cuba, India, Syria, Togo, Ethiopia, and Hungary presented a separate draft resolution on apartheid (UNESCO, 1974a, PLEN/DR 11), which stated that the elimination of apartheid and all manifestations of racism was one of the most important tasks for humanity as a whole, thus identifying apartheid as one of the central concerns of peace. China and Albania opposed all Soviet draft resolutions, in particular that relating to détente. However, they could not oppose the interests of developing countries on colonialism and apartheid.

Western bloc countries also opposed the inclusion of reference to apartheid and other problems, but in general terms. The USA emphasized non-political co-operation and the stimulation of practical intellectual collaboration within UNESCO (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 191), among other issues. Three West European countries—the Netherlands, France, and Italy—together with representatives from three other continents—Dahomey, Jamaica, the Philippines, Mexico, Togo, and Indonesia—submitted a DR that defined peace as not only the absence of armed conflict but a process of progress, justice, and mutual respect among peoples, designed to secure the building of an international society (UNESCO, 1974a, PLEN/DR 18). It stated that peace founded in injustice and the violation of human rights could not last, and would lead inevitably to violence; its particular concern was the most underprivileged persons, groups, and countries, and respect for each nation's individual identity and cultural aspirations. This wording could be considered as belonging to a discourse of détente, but in a very generalized form. The draft also mentioned equitable distribution of the world's resources. The overall emphasis of this DR was on the promotion of human rights and peace, named in that order.

The DR proposed by the group of Arab countries (UNESCO, 1974a, PLEN/DR 5) was not addressed by the Working Group because it was seen as a separate issue (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 435). It shows, however, that from their perspective an important obstacle to peace and the elimination of colonialism and racialism was military occupation of Arab territories by foreign forces, as a constant danger to peace and human rights, including the inalienable right to national education and cultural life (UNESCO, 1974a, PLEN/DR 5, Preamble para. 2). Its implicit target was the occupation of Palestine by Israel.

The Working Group did not take a vote on the combined draft resolution, although there had been a number of disagreements over it (UNESCO, 1974g, pp. 438-439). The GC plenary voted to adopt the resolution (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. 11) with 72 votes to 11, and 16 abstentions (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 540). According to GC records (UNESCO, 1974g, pp. 441-549), the socialist countries (Czechoslovakia and the GDR) were very satisfied with it, as were many Third World countries.

Among those who voted against were seven Western bloc countries (the FRG, France, Belgium, the UK, Japan, the USA, and Israel). Many complained that the Working Group was not balanced, regretted its lack of time, and criticized the form and content of the document on the grounds that it went beyond the competence of UNESCO, that it required real consensus, and that it was impossible to implement. The USA and Israel especially opposed the phrase "in which the hope is expressed that a non-existent country will join our organization" (UNESCO, 1974g, p. 542), which implicitly referred to the observer status of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Those who abstained and gave an explanation for their choice argued, for example, that sanctions against South Africa were the province of the Security Council of the UN; the five Nordic countries stated that the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination was one of the most important aims of the

UN, and that the Nordic countries have assisted victims of apartheid, refugees, and liberation movements in Southern Africa. Australia stated its agreement with the Nordic countries and was also concerned by the totally inadequate time allowed for studying the resolution, and by the procedure as a whole.

Other resolutions presented at this GC were viewed as highly political by the West. One of them requested the DG to co-operate with the Palestine Liberation Organization "with a view to providing the populations in the occupied Arab territories with every means of enjoying their rights to education and culture so as to preserve their national identity" (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. IV, 13.1). Another invited the DG to withhold assistance from Israel because of its persistence in altering the historical features of the city of Jerusalem (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. 3.427); another asked the GC to reject the inclusion of Israel in the European region (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. XI, 46.1).

To sum up: The general debate on the text of UNESCO's Contribution to Peace and its Tasks with Respect to the Promotion of Human Rights and the Elimination of Colonialism and Racialism and Implementation of the Relevant Resolutions Relating to the African Peoples Striving for Their Freedom provides a context for the processes and some of the content of the 1974 *Recommendation*. In particular it identified some problems of jurisdiction for Western bloc countries, who argued for non-political co-operation in UNESCO, saying that a number of issues introduced were properly the province of the UN.

5 FOLLOW-UP

This chapter presents a brief and less thorough, macro-level analysis of events within UNESCO after the passage of the 1974 *Recommendation* and some relevant contextual information. (A chronology of UNESCO, UN, and other relevant actions after 1974 is included in Appendix D).

5.1 Initial reports on implementation

The 1974 *Recommendation* is a normative instrument as defined in Article IV, paragraph 4 of the UNESCO Constitution. This means that "each of the Member States shall submit recommendations or conventions to its competent authorities within a period of one year from the close of the session of the General Conference at which they were adopted" (UNESCO, 1945, Article IV, para. 4). The term "competent authorities" was defined by the GC (see for example UNESCO, 1972e). It was noted, however, that "this obligation does not mean that the ratification or acceptance of a convention or the application of a recommendation must be proposed to the 'competent authorities'; the governments enjoy full freedom, in this matter, with regard to the nature of the proposals they deem fit to make" (UNESCO, 1976e, Res. 34.1, Annex, para. 19).

These instruments also impose a constitutional requirement to submit reports to UNESCO on the actions taken "at such times and in such manner as shall be determined by the General Conference" (UNESCO, 1945, Article VIII). It was stated that these "shall be 'special' reports, and that initial special reports relating to any convention or recommendation adopted shall be transmitted not less than two months prior to the first ordinary session of the General Conference following that at which such recommendation or convention was adopted" (UNESCO, 1976e, Res. 34.1, Annex, para. 2).

The *Recommendation* was adopted in November 1974, and in January 1975 the DG sent out its certified true copies with two other recommendations adopted by the same GC, namely the Revised Recommendation concerning

Technical and Vocational Education and the Recommendation on the Status of Scientific Researchers (UNESCO, 1975). In the accompanying letter he reminded MS of their obligation to submit the recommendations to their competent authorities and the initial special reports to UNESCO. A total of 26 replies were received from MS on the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1976c), and similar numbers on the other two instruments. Those who replied were mainly those MS who had been active in the preparation of the 1974 *Recommendation*.

Not all the replies were reproduced in full, because the GC noted that much of the information did not respond to the questions set out by the resolution (UNESCO, 1976c, para. 9). In the published report, the replies are rather short, with the exception of those from Bulgaria and the USSR (UNESCO, 1976c, pp. 4-6 and 15-21). Some replies claimed that the principles concerned were already in place: for example, the FRG stated that "the principles embodied in this Recommendation, in many instances, are already part of the constitutions and/or the education laws of the various Länder" (UNESCO, 1976c, p. 2), and several socialist countries replied in similar terms.

In 1976 the DG informed the 19th GC of the initial special reports. The reports (UNESCO, 1976c, and Add.) were first examined by the Legal Committee of the GC, which prepared a general report summarizing them (UNESCO, 1976a, Annex II). The GC responded with a resolution regretting that a substantial majority had not sent their reports:

> A substantial majority of Member States have still not transmitted to the Organization the reports required by the Constitution and the Rules of Procedure. The General Conference regrets this state of affairs and points out that the Member States which have not submitted initial special reports have, by their omission, withheld from the General Conference information on whether or not the Member States concerned have discharged their constitutional obligation to submit the Recommendations adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session to their "competent authorities", or whether they discharged this obligation within the prescribed time-limit. (UNESCO, 1976e, Res. 34.1, Annex, para. 10)

To sum up: The two constitutional responsibilities of MS are to inform their own authorities and to report to UNESCO. There were problems with the initial special reports on the *Recommendation*: a substantial majority did not report, and there was a tendency to claim that its principles were already implemented.

5.2 Peace and human rights, together and apart

The 1974 *Recommendation* had brought peace and human rights together presenting an integrated approach in this respect. Later, separate plans were approved for each of these aspects, one for human rights teaching in 1980, and another for education for peace in 1985, but their co-ordination and interconnection were emphasized in several resolutions of the GC. (See Appendix D)

5.2.1 Programming by objectives

Programming by objectives for the Medium Term Plan for 1977-1982 (UNESCO, 1976d) was used to structure the resolutions adopted on the 1979-1980 Programme by the GC in 1978. These objectives were similar for education and social and human sciences. They articulated human rights and peace (integrated approach) *and* presented human rights separately.

Respect for Human Rights (Objective 1.1) and Education and Information Concerning Human Rights, Peace and International Understanding (Objectives 1.5 & 2.3) were objectives in education, and the same objectives were repeated in the social and human sciences (UNESCO, 1978c, Res. 3/1.1/1 and 3/1.5 & 2.3/1). These were separate objectives for activities related to respect for human rights on the one hand, and to human rights, peace and international understanding articulated together (integrating them) on the other. Execution of the programme fell administratively into two different sectors in the Secretariat. The GC considered "that, by the very complexity of the problems which it must help to solve, education must be conceived in an interdisciplinary context as a factor of multidimensional development of which man [*sic*] is both the end and the instrument" (UNESCO, 1978c, Res. 1/0.1).

The resolution relative to education called for analytical methods of reporting by MS and for the evaluation of UNESCO's educational programmes on the basis of the 1974 *Recommendation*. The implementation of the recommendations of the "International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights" and of the Special Session of the UN Conference on Disarmament was placed in the overall context of the 1974 *Recommendation*, thus giving it the dominant role and highlighting an integrated approach that brought peace and human rights together in education.

The processes that led to programming by objectives are not explored here, but it can be supposed that countries or groups of countries, with similar interests emphasized either the human rights (Western countries) or the peace aspects (socialist countries) of the objectives. The organization of programme sectors by disciplines, in this case education and the social sciences, presumably meant that the staff in these organizational units promoted actions so that human rights were emphasized in the programme sector dealing with the social sciences and actions related to the 1974 *Recommendation* by the programme sector dealing with education. The rhetoric of integration was retained by resolutions of the GC.

UNESCO published guidebooks and organized, or supported the organization of international seminars to implement the 1974 *Recommendation* in educational practice. For example, the UNESCO Handbook for the Teaching of Social Studies (Mehlinger (Ed), 1981) was prepared by a group of 24 co-authors selected throughout the world. UNESCO commissioned and published a book with a UK scholar as the senior editor to give concrete examples of methods of teaching international understanding and human rights (Graves, Dunlop, & Torney-Purta (Eds.), 1984). The suggestion for the preparation of this handbook was made at the European seminar organized in Finland in 1978 on the imple-

mentation the 1974 *Recommendation.* Several experts familiar to it, including Hilkka Pietilä from Finland, prepared chapters in this book.

To sum up: Programming by objectives linked peace and human rights in education and also assigned a separate role to human rights education. The execution of activities with the same objectives by different programme sectors in the Secretariat contributed to the separation of these activities, in particular those concerning education on human rights on the one hand and peace on the other. That co-ordination between sectors was lacking is evident from the emphasis on this problem in the resolutions. Expert seminars were organized and guidebooks published for practical implementation of the *Recommendation.*

5.2.2 A separate Plan for human rights teaching

Following the recommendations of the "International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights," held in Vienna, 12-16 September, 1978, human rights education continued to develop separately. The organization of this congress fell under the social and human sciences sector. The final document of the Congress invoked the 1974 *Recommendation* and invited the DG to develop projects relating to the teaching of human rights, and restated the close relationship between peace, including disarmament, and human rights:

> Care should be constantly taken to create awareness about the close relationship between human rights, on the one hand, and development and peace, including *inter alia* disarmament, on the other hand. UNESCO should make it a priority task to promote the analysis and understanding of this relationship. (UNESCO, 1978d; UNESCO, 1978b, I, para. 5)

Because this Congress was organized by UNESCO, the DG reported on its conclusions to the 20th GC in 1978 (UNESCO, 1978d). The GC then adopted several resolutions, two of them requesting the DG "to study the advisability of preparing a convention on education and teaching in the field of human rights and to submit the results of the study to the twenty-first session of the general Conference" (UNESCO, 1978c, Res. 3/1.1/5), and "to develop a six-year plan for intensified Unesco activities along the lines recommended by the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights" (UNESCO, 1978c, Res. 3/1.1/4). The relationship between human rights and peace was stated in principle but separated at the level of programme actions executed administratively by two different sectors. The proposals for a new normative instrument (a convention), and the development of a six-year plan in the field of human rights teaching and education, highlighted the distinct status of human rights education.

The proposal for a convention on the education and teaching of human rights was rejected by the 21st GC as inadvisable, according to the DG's report (UNESCO, 1980c). However, the DG was invited by the GC

> to continue studies with a view to the formulation of appropriate international standards in respect of specialized teaching and education in the field of human rights, particularly in the context of university teaching and in that of vocational training,

> with the object of establishing genuine lifelong education in human rights. (UNESCO, 1980b, Res. 3/02)

In a second resolution as regards human rights, the GC approved the Plan for the Development of Human Rights Teaching and the seven-year timetable proposed for its implementation (UNESCO, 1980b, Res. 3/03). The Plan (UNESCO, 1980a) did not include specific educational guidelines but identified various measures to be taken at the global and national level, for example the preparation of materials and programmes and the development of methods via studies, meetings, and training courses. A third resolution as regards human rights addressed the Development of Human Rights Teaching and Information (UNESCO, 1980b, Res. 3/04). These resolutions gave separate human rights education a high profile within UNESCO, administered mainly within the social and human sciences sector.

To sum up: The separate development of human rights education continued subsequent to the "International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights," which at the same time restated the close relationship between peace and human rights. The proposal for a convention was explored by the DG but rejected, although the GC did approve a plan for the development of human rights teaching. This was not a normative instrument but listed a number of actions to be taken at the global and national level.

5.2.3 A separate Plan for education for peace

In education, the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* continued to link peace and human rights together in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Separate activities, specific to human rights, were performed by the social sciences sector. In 1980, the 21st GC urged all MS to apply the provisions of several instruments, including the 1974 *Recommendation,* on whose implementation MS were also asked to report in preparation for the upcoming conference (UNESCO, 1980b, Res. 1/02).

Security, disarmament, and the rights of peoples became elements of peace education as a result of the UN and UNESCO's actions. The *Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace* (UN, 1978b) was adopted by the GA in 1978; it referred to the role of UNESCO. This same *Declaration* was mentioned in the resolution of the 21st GC of UNESCO in 1980, noting that its Preamble had echoed the Constitution of UNESCO and that it had asked UNESCO's DG to place "special emphasis on preparations for the intergovernmental conference on education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, with a view to developing a climate conducive to the strengthening of security and disarmament" (UNESCO, 1980b, Res. 10/02, para. 2, 4).

In the general resolution on the education programme, mention was made of an intergovernmental conference to be organized for the application of the 1974 *Recommendation*, and the DG was asked to develop analytical reporting methods before that conference was held (UNESCO, 1980b, Res. 1/01, para. 5 d).

Through this conference the themes of the *Recommendation* were put into the perspective of security and disarmament.

The first Special Session on Disarmament of the UN GA was held in 1978 (UN, 1978a). In 1980 UNESCO organized the "World Congress on Disarmament Education," held in Paris. An issue of the *UNESCO Courier* was devoted to disarmament education ("Disarmament", 1980), and published in 25 languages including a selection in Braille in English, French and Spanish. It included an article dealing with education, disarmament and human rights (Torney and Gambrell, 1980). According to the final report of the World Congress, it was organized in connection with the launching of the Second Disarmament Decade, proclaimed by the UN in a resolution on 11 December, 1979, and as a demonstration of UNESCO's efforts in disarmament education as a distinct field of study, as urged by the UN (UNESCO, 1980d, para. 2). Numerous recommendations made at the "World Congress" on measures to promote both research and education in disarmament were noted in the UN Secretary-General's 2002 report, which also noted, "While little progress was made on their implementation, many of those recommendations remain applicable today, but must be adapted to present and evolving circumstances" (UN, 2002, para. 13).

The DG had prepared a report on the Intergovernmental Conference (UNESCO, 1983d). The 1983 resolution of the GC on Major Programme XIII: Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples (UNESCO, 1983c, Res. 13.1) referred to the 1974 *Recommendation* and the Intergovernmental Conference among other aspects of peace. It noted that the UN GA had proclaimed 1986 as International Year of Peace, and stated that it was important for the Organization "to take the necessary measures in 1984-1985 to assist in the preparation of the International Year" (UNESCO, 1983c, Res. 13.1). It also established "a permanent system of reporting on the steps taken by Member States to apply the 1974 Recommendation" (para. 2 c (i)) and sought to elicit "*inter alia* a greater contribution from educational institutions at various levels to the World Disarmament Campaign and to the implementation of the Plan for the Development of Human Rights Teaching" (para. 2 c (ii)).

In 1983, at the 22nd GC, UNESCO programmes were designated Major Programmes, and Programmes under them. As a Major Programme, peace and human rights were articulated together with the rights of peoples:

> Major Programme XIII Peace, international understanding, human rights and the rights of peoples
>
> Programme XIII.1 Maintenance of peace and international understanding
>
> Programme XIII.2 Respect for human rights
>
> Programme XIII.3 Education for peace and respect for human rights and the rights of peoples
>
> Programme XIII.4 Elimination of discrimination based on sex (UNESCO, 1983c, Res. 13.1, para. 2 a-2 d)

The rights of peoples become one of the "controversial" issues in the eyes of some Western bloc countries (Wells, 1987). Immediately after the 1983 GC, the USA officially presented its withdrawal from UNESCO, to take effect in 1984; the UK followed in 1985 (Coate, 1988, pp. 94, 104, 105, and 122). Those arguing for the U.S. withdrawal used as reasons the recurring issues of Zionism and accusations of "control" of journalists (see Section 1.2.3).

The Plan for the Development of Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace was approved by the resolution of the 23rd GC in 1985, which decided at the same time on reporting about its implementation (UNESCO, 1985c, Res. 13.4). This Plan was neither a normative instrument nor a substantive educational guideline but, like the Plan on the Development of Human Rights Teaching, a package of activities and measures to be undertaken. Two phases were foreseen, the first covering two biennia (1986-1987 and 1988-1989) and the second the period 1990-1995. The actions were general in nature, including the promotion and evaluation of the Plan and measures relating to curricula, textbooks, educational materials, teacher training, research, information, and exchange of experiences. These same areas appeared in the 1974 *Recommendation*.

It is evident that not only UN and subsequent UNESCO actions but also the Plan for human rights teaching approved earlier had an impact on the approval of a separate plan that covered education "for international understanding, co-operation and peace," while the 1974 *Recommendation* covered these peace aspects *and* education "related to human rights and fundamental freedoms." The resolution on the Plan, which covered only peace aspects, saw it as complementary to the Plan for Human Rights Teaching, and justified the decision to introduce the new Plan on peace by appealing to the opinion of the 1983 Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, with a View to Developing a Climate of Opinion Favourable to the Strengthening of Security and Disarmament, which had stated

> that it would be appropriate, *in order to promote the full and comprehensive implementation of the 1974 Recommendation, to draw up and adopt a plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace* [emphasis added], which shall be based upon the fact that the promotion of and respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rights of peoples are indispensable pre-conditions for the success of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace, with a view to developing a climate of opinion favourable to the strengthening of security and disarmament. (UNESCO, 1985c, Res. 13.4)

Although one of the tasks of the Intergovernmental Conference was to promote "the full and comprehensive implementation of the 1974 Recommendation," one of its results was this separate Plan relating to the peace components. The same resolution recognized the leading role of the 1974 *Recommendation* and the close interdependence between human rights and peace:

The General Conference,

Noting with satisfaction the recommendation of the Executive Board at its 121st session that the activities under Programme XIII.3, "Education for peace and respect for human rights and the rights of peoples" should be primarily guided by the provisions of the 1974 Recommendation. (UNESCO, 1985c, Res. 13.4)

It also referred to the Seven-Year Plan for the Development of Human Rights Teaching, "which is *inseparable from education for international understanding, co-operation and peace* [emphasis added], as is evident in Major Programme XIII of the second Medium-Term Plan" (UNESCO, 1985c, Res. 13.4). The same resolution emphasized this inseparable relationship, "in particular in the composition of the Consultative Committee and in the implementation of both Plans" (para. 6 e).

To sum up: The focus on security, disarmament, and the rights of peoples, resulting from conferences and resolutions by the UN and UNESCO, along with the previously approved UNESCO Plan for human rights teaching, led to a separate Plan for education for peace, not as a normative instrument nor as a guide with specific content, but as a list of measures to be taken. The inseparable connection between the Plans was highlighted by the GC resolutions.

5.3 The reporting system and the Consultative Committee

A permanent system of reporting on the steps taken by MS to apply the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1985c, Res. 13.3) was set up in 1985. This had been one of the recommendations of the 1983 Intergovernmental Conference. The draft questionnaire for reporting by MS[23] was, among others, discussed at a European preparatory meeting for the Intergovernmental Conference which was held at Espoo, Finland, in March 1982 (UNESCO, 1983a, para.91).
Setting up an expert committee was justified in a document of the Secretariat:

> The provisions of the 1974 Recommendation are rich in content and focus partly on individual development, and partly on collective processes and structures. It cannot be said that there is any common theory on individual developmental processes or social processes leading towards the values expressed. Member States have different educational structures and constitutional provisions. To draft a simple questionnaire which is easy to answer, as well as to prepare a synthesis of the reports and to draw conclusions is no easy task. (UNESCO, 1985b, para. 7)

The reporting system included the submission of national reports by MS every six years, and examination of those reports by a Consultative Committee of experts

> whose statutes will be approved by the Executive Board and whose terms of reference will include advising the Director-General on the drafting of questionnaires on

---

23   I was at some time earlier commissioned by the Secretariat to prepare for its use, a draft questionnaire for reporting by MS.

the application of the 1974 Recommendation and assisting him in the analysis of Member States' reports on this question. (UNESCO, 1985b, para. 11(1 b))

The system also included in-depth studies and consultative missions, and publication by UNESCO every six years of a world status report on the progress made in implementing the *Recommendation* (see UNESCO, 1991d, 1997).

The resolution (UNESCO, 1985c, Res. 13.3) specified detailed procedures to be followed and other elements of the reporting system. The Secretariat, after preparing the questionnaire and asking MS for reports, had to (1) prepare a synthesis of the MS reports to the Consultative Committee that was to study it; (2) submit the synthesis, including the comments of the Consultative Committee, to the Committee on Conventions and Recommendations (CR) of the EXB; (3) prepare the report of that Committee to the EXB; and (4) prepare the final report for the GC. The same resolution (UNESCO, 1985c, Res. 13.3, para. 4) invited MS to submit the first reports on the application of the 1974 *Recommendation*, to be prepared on the basis of the draft questionnaire appended to the document (UNESCO, 1985b), to the GC at its 25th session and also to the International Conference on Education (ICE) at its session following that of the GC.

It was specified that the Consultative Committee should concern itself with

> advising the Director-General, in preparing the medium-term plans and the draft programmes and budgets, on measures *to ensure the promotion of the full and comprehensive implementation of the Recommendation* [emphasis added], including the co-ordination of the plans of action [sc. the Plan for the Development of Human Rights Teaching and the Plan for the Development of Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace] approved or to be approved for the implementation of the Recommendation. (UNESCO, 1985c, Res. 13.3, para. 2 c)

The Consultative Committee was thus entrusted with the task of ensuring the implementation of the peace and human rights aspects of the 1974 *Recommendation*. This role was specifically enforced later on after the adoption in 1995 of the Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (UNESCO, 1988a, 1990b, 1990a).

To sum up: The reporting system established was comprehensive and demanded a considerable amount of work both from the Secretariat, including the organization of the work of the Consultative Committee, and from MS. The Consultative Committee was entrusted with a unifying role that kept the issues of peace and human rights in education connected, by "the full and comprehensive implementation" of the 1974 *Recommendation*.

5.4   First reports from Member States

The reporting system of the 1974 *Recommendation* was situated within the overall procedures of UNESCO's standard-setting activities. It is evident that the difficulties MS encountered in the preparation of their replies, as well as the

complicated task the Secretariat had to perform in analysing them, were similar to those encountered in the reporting of all such standard-setting activities (UNESCO, 1985c, Res. 29.1).

Actions with respect to the first MS reports included the following:

A draft synthesis of the replies … by 37 MS … was submitted to the Consultative Committee at its second session, held 21-25 November 1988…

The Consultative Committee considered that this draft provided a satisfactory basis for the preparation of a synthesis … but it regretted that so few replies had been received… It therefore thought it advisable that a letter of reminder be sent to those MS which had not replied to the questionnaire. It also put forward a number of suggestions for preparing the synthesis of the national reports, including a suggestion for a clearer presentation of the qualitative aspects of the development of international education and the varied nature of countries' experience and suggestions…

In response to a letter of reminder, 26 additional replies, from 25 Member States and one Associate Member, were received by the Secretariat, bringing to 63 the total number of answers received by 30 June 1989. (UNESCO, 1989a, paras. 3, 4, and 5)

Difficulties in reporting were noted in the Secretariat's report (UNESCO, 1989a and Add.), which indicated, among other problems, that

the answers received varied very appreciably in respect of the nature of the documents submitted and the wealth of information supplied. Some MS returned completed questionnaires, sometimes only partly completed, and in certain instances, annotated. Others attached to the questionnaire a brief memorandum giving explanations or supplementary information to the answers given in the questionnaire. Still others submitted long reports containing details of steps taken in order to implement the spirit or the letter of the Recommendation. Some MS attached annexes to their reply (e.g. legal texts, reports on studies undertaken or meetings organized with a view to implementing the Recommendation, or teaching material produced in accordance with the provisions of the Recommendation).

Some MS did not provide information under the heading corresponding to a given question, but in some cases provided an implicit or indirect answer in another part of their reply or in documents attached. Every effort was made to take account of the information provided in this manner. (UNESCO, 1989a, paras. 6 and 7)

The first reports and the corresponding synthesis were submitted to the GC at its 25th session in 1989 (UNESCO, 1989a and Add.), prepared on the basis of the questionnaire approved by the EXB at its 126th session (UNESCO, 1987b). The DG's report on progress in implementing the first phase of the Plan for the Development of Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace was also submitted to the GC (UNESCO, 1989d) after first being considered by the EXB (UNESCO, 1989e).

To sum up: Measures for reporting were undertaken and typical difficulties were encountered, as indicated in the Secretariat's reports. The first reports resulted in 63 answers of varying quality.

5.5 An integrated approach versus multiple strategies

The 1974 *Recommendation*, by bringing components of peace and human rights together in the context of education, presented an integrated approach. However, two separate Plans, one on human rights in education and the other on peace in education, emphasized the specificity of each topic and separated these two previously integrated elements. In the terms of discourse theory the *Recommendation*, by articulating education for international understanding, co-operation, and peace with education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, was a discursive formation using the logic of difference. Two components, peace and human rights, complemented each other and together formed the *Recommendation*'s concept of education, implicitly making a difference and opposed to education that was against peace and human rights. When peace education and human rights education were separated into two respective Plans, several resolutions laid emphasis on the interrelations between peace and human rights in education, thus continuing to use the logic of difference at the rhetorical level. However, in practice those who emphasized human rights education had their own Plan, as did those who emphasized peace education. The hegemonic formation by which a universal was achieved in the case of the 1974 *Recommendation* was breaking into two particular but equivalent positions: there were two equal universals, human rights and peace, brought together only by a vague desire for integration and coordination.

Integration between components of peace and human rights was difficult in practice because, as already noted, the 1974 *Recommendation* was the province of the education sector, but human rights (including education about human rights) that of the social and human sciences sector. For example, the latter sector was responsible for the "International Congress" held in Montreal in March 1993 where the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy was adopted, and prepared the related follow-up actions to be decided by the GC and the EXB. At the GC, one Commission dealt with education programmes, with the participation of educational experts from the delegations, while another Commission, with the participation of experts in the social and human sciences, dealt with issues of peace and human rights, including education relative to these issues. Joint sessions of the Commissions were held to approve decisions made by each separate Commission.

The integration of both main components of the 1974 *Recommendation*, peace on the one hand and human rights on the other, was emphasized by resolutions on the programme and in particular by the Consultative Committee, which considered the implementation of several plans in these related fields in education. The Consultative Committee had since its first session been in favour of the co-ordination of the two plans, "keeping with an integrated approach to international education" (UNESCO, 1988a, para. 33), and had agreed to the initiation of the integration of the two Plans, "without prejudice to the specific aspects of each one" (para. 34).

At its 25th session, in 1989, the GC noted "with satisfaction" (UNESCO, 1989c, Res. 7.2) the outcome and suggestions made at the second session of the Consultative Committee on steps to promote the full and comprehensive implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation*, and asked the DG to consider planning an intergovernmental conference on its implementation to mark the 20-year anniversary of its adoption, possibly within the framework of the 44th session of the ICE in 1994. The same resolution asked for a report on progress in the preparation of the integrated plan for the development of international education to be submitted to the GC at its 26th session. At the Consultative Committee's third session, held in Moscow in September 1990, it was decided that it was unnecessary to create a more binding instrument, and a preference for maintaining the 1974 *Recommendation* was reiterated (UNESCO, 1990a, 1990b). The Committee also presented a number of proposals for the preparation of an integrated action plan for international education.

The DG submitted the draft integrated action plan (UNESCO, 1991b, Annex) to the 26th GC in 1991. In its resolution, Full and Comprehensive Implementation of the Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974), the GC reiterated its previous decision "to establish a new, integrated approach to international education," and described the draft as "a flexible and open ended preliminary framework initiating action designed to integrate peace and human rights education" (UNESCO, 1991c, Res. 7.3). It also suggested that it be developed further on the basis of MS reactions and proposals, and that an expanded version be presented to the GC at its 27th session after being considered by the 1994 ICE. The presence of the wording "full and comprehensive implementation" in the title of the resolution may have been meant to imply that implementation was incomplete, with a tendency to stress either the peace or the human rights aspect but not both.

The possibility of making the 1974 *Recommendation* a more binding instrument, that is, a convention, can be seen as one of the background factors leading to a new integrated plan of action. According to the report of the Secretariat, the USSR considered a convention advisable because it would attract more government resources and also the social resources of participating states (UNESCO, 1989a, para. 82). The issue was discussed by the Consultative Committee at its second session, 21-25 November, 1988, but the majority of its members were in favour of maintaining the 1974 *Recommendation*, which was "as a whole, still being relevant" (para. 83) and benefiting from a broad consensus. "One member, however, considered that since it was the survival of humankind that was at stake, a mandatory instrument was required" (para. 83).

In 1991 the DG presented the report on the *Desirability of Replacing by a Convention the Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (UNESCO, 1991a). The GC decided that a convention was unnecessary because "the content and form of this normative document are still topical and effectively reflect the nature of the Member States' obligations in this area,"

but it was "notwithstanding of the opinion that some revision of the Recom-
mendation is indispensable to ensure that it better reflects the new context of
international education in the light of the considerable recent changes in the
international situation" (UNESCO, 1991c, Res. 7.4). In the same resolution, the
DG was invited to consider the question of the revision of the 1974 *Recommenda-
tion* within the framework of the 1994 ICE and to prepare a preliminary study,
to be submitted to the GC at its 28th session.

In 1992, MS were consulted via circular letter on the preparation of the ex-
panded version of the Integrated Action Plan on the Development of Interna-
tional Education (UNESCO, 1992). It is noteworthy that "international educa-
tion" was used very little in other UNESCO documents or resolutions. It ap-
pears in the report of the Consultative Committee (UNESCO, 1988a), and in the
document submitted to the 27th session of the GC on the preparation of the ex-
panded version of this Integrated Action Plan (UNESCO, 1993b, Part 2).

The resolution passed by the GC in 1993, under the title of The 1974 Rec-
ommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-
operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental
Freedoms (UNESCO, 1993c, Res. 5.7), held that "the full and comprehensive
implementation" of the 1974 *Recommendation* should remain the mainstay of MS
and UNESCO programmes in this field. It emphasized the particular impor-
tance of UN normative documents recently adopted by the GA, namely the
Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Declaration on the Rights of Per-
sons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, and
the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action for Human Rights, adopted
by the "World Conference on Human Rights" held in Vienna on 14-25 June,
1993, organized by the UN. It took note "with satisfaction" that replies from MS
confirmed "the great topicality and value of developing an integrated approach
to programmes on education for peace, human rights and democracy"
(UNESCO, 1993c, Res. 5.7). It was also "considering" the development of an
integrated approach, justified by invoking the decisions of the "World Confer-
ence on Human Rights":

> *The integrated approach* [emphasis added] in the field of international education as
> promoted by UNESCO is in line with the statement of the World Conference on Hu-
> man Rights that, on the one hand, human rights education, training and public in-
> formation are "essential for the promotion and achievement of stable and harmoni-
> ous relations among communities and for fostering mutual understanding, tolerance
> and peace" and, on the other hand, "human rights education should include peace,
> democracy, development and social justice." (UNESCO, 1993c, Res. 5.7)

The same resolution asked the DG to ensure

> the evaluation of the implementation and consideration of the possible updating of
> the 1974 Recommendation, on the basis of national reports by Member States and of
> the deliberations and recommendations of the regional meetings to be organized
> within the framework of the preparation of the 44th International Conference on
> Education [held in 1994 in Geneva]. (UNESCO, 1993c, Res. 5.7)

The resolution also asked the DG to finalize the integrated action plan on education for peace, human rights, and democracy by

> taking into account all existing action plans in the field of international education and in particular the relevant provisions of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action for Human Rights adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, June 1993), the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy adopted by the International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy (Montreal, March 1993), in particular the needs of the target groups identified in the Montreal Plan, and the Associated Schools Project Strategy and Plan of Action 1994-2000, and to submit the integrated action plan for consideration by the International Conference on Education in 1994 and for approval by the General Conference at its twenty-eighth session, taking due account of any comments and recommendations made by the 1994 International Conference on Education. (UNESCO, 1993c, Res. 5.7)

In parallel, at the same 27th GC in 1993 the DG communicated the results of the UNESCO "International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy" (UNESCO, 1993d), and the GC endorsed the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy (UNESCO, 1993c, Res. 5.8). Another resolution on Education for Human Rights and Democracy did not mention integration or interrelations between peace and human rights. However, it "recalled" the 1974 *Recommendation* but mentioned only documents and congresses on human rights organized by UNESCO and the UN, recommending that the DG continue, "in line with the recommendations of the Malta Congress, to give high priority to UNESCO's activities in the field of education for human rights and democracy" (UNESCO, 1993c, Res. 5.9).

To sum up: An integrated approach to following up the 1974 *Recommendation* existed in parallel with specific approaches to human rights in education on the one hand and aspects of peace in education on the other. The concept of international education was brought up by the Consultative Committee but was otherwise very little used in UNESCO documents and resolutions. A suggestion to upgrade the *Recommendation* to a convention was rejected on the advice of the Consultative Committee and the decisions of the GC, but the possibility of a revision was maintained, leading to the development of a new Integrated Framework of Action.

5.6 The approval of the Declaration and the Integrated Framework of Action

Ever since 1934 the International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva has organized the ICE as a forum for dialogue between ministers of education (UNESCO/IBE, 2010e). The IBE works in close co-operation with UNESCO. The theme of its 44th conference in 1994 was Appraisal and Perspectives of Education for International Understanding. The Draft Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy and the Draft Declaration were submitted to that conference (UNESCO, 1994c). Now, a new ele-

ment, "democracy" was added to the components of peace and human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The conference was attended by 736 participants, with 598 delegates including 70 ministers and 27 vice-ministers of education, and 138 representatives and observers. The Committee of Governmental Experts meeting beforehand studied over 100 comments on the preliminary Draft Declaration and over 300 on the Draft Integrated Framework of Action (UNESCO, 1994e). Several countries sent in their comments well after the agreed deadline, creating considerable difficulties for the work of the Committee, and a working group composed of three representatives from each region was set up (UNESCO, 1994e).

The ICE adopted the Declaration but only considered the Draft Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy. In the resolution adopted on the proposal of the Committee of Governmental Experts, the ICE stated that the 1974 *Recommendation* had played an important role in the promotion of education for international understanding, and that it continued to inspire the implementation of education for peace, human rights, and democracy. The ICE also asked the UNESCO DG "to undertake, in due course, appropriate consultations with regard to the Draft Integrated Framework of Action and to submit it through the Executive Board to the twenty-eighth session of the General Conference" (UNESCO, 1994e, Res.). The following year the GC adopted the resolution Updating of the 1974 Recommendation on International Education: Endorsement of the Declaration of the 44th Session of the International Conference on Education and Approval of the Draft Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41), through which it endorsed the Declaration and approved the Integrated Framework of Action (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annexes I and II). These new integrated Guidelines, now known as the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (1995), are treated here as one document (see Appendix B) and referred to here as the new Guidelines.

As noted above, the question of integration, in the meaning of bringing together within the same Guidelines issues of peace, human rights and democracy which were dealt by a number of related but separate declarations and action plans was one of the main factors in their approval. However, other issues also arose. Upgrading the 1974 *Recommendation* into a convention was no longer an option after the adoption of the new Guidelines. They are not strictly speaking normative instruments of UNESCO; thus, although they were intended to update the 1974 *Recommendation* 20 years after its adoption, this normative instrument remained unmodified.

The 1974 *Recommendation* was adopted during the Cold War, when the threat of nuclear war was present, world peace was at stake, and a number of new states had become members of UNESCO after decolonization. The 1995 Guidelines were approved in the post-Cold War period, in which internecine wars were frequent but the immediate threat of nuclear war had receded. However, some of the processes leading up to the new Guidelines also took place

during the Cold War. In particular moves of the separation of peace and human rights in education in the form of separate plans for each arose in that period (see Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3).

By the time of the 1994 ICE the Berlin Wall had fallen. The USSR had become the Russian Federation, and East European countries had dropped "socialist" from their names. The list of participants at the 1994 ICE (UNESCO, 1994e) included the Czech Republic, the formerly Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and a reunified Germany.

Some important events which evidently influenced thinking in education in the fields of peace and human rights can be mentioned here. One was the introduction of a programme and a concept of the culture of peace. UNESCO began the Culture of Peace programme in 1994 (UNESCO, 1993a), and added an organizational unit for it. It was based on the initiative of some of the Nobel Peace laureates, and introduced at the "International Congress for Peace in the Minds of Men," organized in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire, in 1989. It became the Transdisciplinary Project: Towards a Culture of Peace for 1994-2001. The idea of a culture of peace was recognized by the UN General Assembly, which declared the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010) as a follow-up to the International Year for the Culture of Peace (2000).

The concept of a culture of peace was formulated by UNESCO "in response to the new needs and new ethical and historical demands" (Mayor, 1997, p. 122), and promoting a culture of peace and democracy as emerging from the UNESCO Constitution. Two main facets of the Culture of Peace programme were specific national and sub-regional projects for post-conflict peace building and conflict prevention, and the promotion at a global level of a movement from violent to non-violent social change, from a culture of war to a culture of peace (see Adams, 1995; Mayor, 1997). A culture of peace was defined in the working document of the ICE as "characterized by non-violent social change, linked to justice, human rights, democracy and development, [which] can only be constructed through the participation of people at all levels" (UNESCO, 1994g, para. 21). "Conflicts will continue to exist and the culture of peace must therefore be defined by the ability to face up to them constructively, on the basis of negotiation and participation," said Federico Major, then UNESCO DG, at the opening session of the 44th ICE (UNESCO, 1994e, Annex II).

Among other related events can be mentioned the establishment of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, chaired by Jacques Delors, which started work in March 1993. The President of the World Commission on Culture and Development, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, called for sustainable growth to be established on the basis of cultural development. The Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit was organized, focusing on sustainable development. The year 1995 was the 50th anniversary of the founding of the UN and UNESCO; on the initiative of the UNESCO GC, the GA of the UN proclaimed it the United Nations Year for Tolerance (UN, 1995c). The United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education began on 1 January, 1995, and the GA of the UN

adopted the Plan of Action for the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education, 1995-2004 (UN, 1994).

To sum up: The Declaration was adopted and the Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy considered by the 1994 ICE. They were respectively endorsed and approved by the 1995 GC of UNESCO and treated as one document referred here as the new Guidelines. Their approval took place within a new international political context after the Cold War. The culture of peace, a new concept introduced in UNESCO and recognized by the UN, international commissions on education and on culture, and the emphasis on sustainable development at the Rio Earth Summit all brought fresh ideas to UNESCO and were reflected in the new Guidelines to be explored below.

5.7   A comparison of the 1974 *Recommendation* and the 1995 Guidelines

A comparison between the 1974 *Recommendation* and the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy referred to here as the new Guidelines is done below concerning some of their salient aspects (see Appendix E). The contexts of their adoption were different, as has been shown here. This means that caution is in order in comparing the discourses produced within each document (Howarth, 2005). The Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action is not discursively analysed in this study in as much detail as the 1974 *Recommendation*. These new Guidelines articulated democracy as a new integrated element along with peace and human rights; they incorporated the concepts of a culture of peace and sustainable development as perspectives of their educational approach.

The Declaration section of the 1995 Guidelines is a political statement made by ministers of education. It is closely linked with the Integrated Framework of Action, whose principles and objectives are based on "the commitments contained in the Declaration" (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para.4; see Appendix B to this study). Here the Declaration and the Introduction of the Framework of Action are compared to the Preamble of the 1974 *Recommendation* (consistent with the analysis of the *Recommendation* in Chapter Three, elements emphasized for analyses are in boldface type).

The 1974 Preamble was presented in the name of the GC. Its style and voice were solemn, formal, and impersonal. The authority of the GC was based on self-evident truths about the responsibility of states and the consensually predetermined aims of international understanding, co-operation, and peace along with respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In contrast, the 1995 Declaration speaks in the voice of ministers of education, and in a somewhat more personal style. The language forms used indicate that the ministers

are acting as a consensual group. The document's authority is based on their personal commitments and concerns.

The Declaration starts, "*We, the Ministers of Education* meeting at the 44th session of the International Conference on Education," and continues

> **deeply concerned** by the manifestations of violence, racism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism and violations of human rights, by religious intolerance, by the upsurge of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and by the growing gap separating wealthy countries from poor countries, **phenomena** which threaten the consolidation of peace and democracy both nationally and internationally and which are all obstacles to development. (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex I)

The expression "deeply concerned" has an emotional resonance. Violence, racism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism and violations of human rights, religious intolerance and terrorism, and the growing gap separating wealthy from poor countries are all presented as phenomena that threaten peace and democracy. These "phenomena" have consequences for peace and security, but the causes of these phenomena are not specified. In the 1974 *Recommendation* the reasons for problems affecting human survival and well-being were specified as conditions of inequality, injustice, and international relations based on the use of force (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38, para. 18; see Appendix A to this study). Here it is "**We**, the Ministers of Education…", "Mindful of **our** responsibility" (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex I, para. 1). In the 1974 *Recommendation*, states were responsible for societal and educational aims relative to peace and human rights.

The more personal style of the Declaration is seen in other wording: "we" [the Ministers of Education] are "convinced" (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex I, para. 1), we "strive resolutely" (Annex 1, para. 2), and "we are determined to increase our efforts to" (Annex I, para. 3).

The Declaration also has persuasive force, because it "**allows** Member States and UNESCO to **integrate, within a coherent policy**, education for peace, human rights and democracy in the perspective of sustainable development" (Annex I, the closing statement). This is the only place in the Declaration where MS are mentioned. In the Integrated Framework of Action they are only mentioned once in the Introduction (Annex II, para. 4). In the 1974 *Recommendation*, instructions to MS were a dominant form of speech.

The Integrated Framework of Action has four major parts: Introduction; Aims of education for peace, human rights, and democracy; Strategies; and Policies and lines of action. It has 41 paragraphs, compared to the 1974 *Recommendation*'s 45 (plus the Preamble). Demands for simplification and brevity, as demonstrated in the description of the processes leading to the 1974 *Recommendation,* were still in force.

The visual presentation of the published documents differs: the 1974 *Recommendation* was printed in black and white, while the new Guidelines were printed in colour, with graphics (see Appendix D). The cover page description of the Integrated Framework of Action uses topicality as a persuasive device: "The Framework **offers a contemporary view of the problems** relating to edu-

cation for peace, human rights and democracy. It sets out objectives for such education, action strategies and policies and lines of action at the institutional, national and international levels" (see the cover page of the Framework of Action in Appendix D).

Its Introduction lists some recent instruments seen as a response by the international community to current global challenges (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para.3). Through expressions like "seeks to suggest" it speaks with caution, and uses the vocabulary of up-to-dateness, efficiency, integration, and coherence; it appeals and persuades (Annex II, paras. 1-4). Its vocabulary of effectiveness, change, new directions, and other persuasion rhetoric is reminiscent of the political vocabulary often used before national elections: change is promised and persuasion is the strategy. The Guidelines' Introduction also seeks to justify itself:

> **In a period of transition and accelerated change marked by** the expression of intolerance, manifestations of racial and ethnic hatred, the upsurge of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, discrimination, war and violence towards those regarded as "others" and the growing disparities between rich and poor, at international and national levels alike, **action strategies must aim** both at ensuring **fundamental freedoms, peace, human rights, and democracy** and at promoting **sustainable and equitable economic and social development** all of which have an essential part to play in building **a culture of peace**. This **calls for** a **transformation of the traditional styles of educational action**. (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para. 2)

The wording indicates that the aims of action strategies follow logically from "a period of transition and change," a factually presented situation. The societal aims are presented as self-evident and include not only "fundamental freedoms, peace, human rights, and democracy" but also "promoting sustainable and equitable economic and social development." All these have an essential part to play in building a culture of peace. These aims are conceived as necessary consequences, that is, as instrumental responses to situational demands rather than as values in themselves. In the Preamble of the 1974 *Recommendation*, peace and human rights were presented as self-evident aims but also as values in themselves.

In the passage just quoted, what is said about the situation and the strategic aims is used to warrant the final phrase, "a transformation of the traditional styles of educational action," which becomes a necessity following from the foregoing as marked by the wording "this calls for." The implicit message is that the Framework of Action is needed to help with this transformation. The 1974 *Recommendation* also considered "a gradual but profound change in the role of education" as a self-evident need (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38, para. 34; see also Appendix A of this study).

Repertoires

Analysing the Guidelines in terms of the repertoires distinguished in Chapter Three shows that they set goals for education for peace, human rights, and democracy, by the repeated use of "education must" (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41,

Annex II, paras. 7-11), and only once "education should" (Annex II, para. 12); their use of the principled repertoire is thus more prescriptive. The use of the present tense can be interpreted as relating to the factual repertoire, but in some passages its function is a principled one: for example, "The ultimate goal of education for peace, human rights and democracy **is** the development in every individual of a sense of universal values and types of behaviour on which a culture of peace is predicated" (Annex II, para. 6). The present tense indicates factuality more clearly in

> To strengthen the formation of values and abilities such as solidarity, creativity, civic responsibility, the ability to resolve conflicts by non-violent means, and critical acumen, **it is necessary** to introduce into curricula, at all levels, true education for citizenship **which includes** an international dimension. (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para. 17)

Here the necessity of citizenship education follows from values and attitudes presented as self-evident; it is also self-evident that this education includes an international dimension. The factual and principled repertoires are used overwhelmingly, in turns, throughout the text of the Integrated Framework of Action (Annex II, paras. 6-41).

In the 1974 *Recommendation* instructions to MS, the instruction repertoire was dominant. In the new Guidelines, instructions and the stand-taking repertoire are not used. Only the word "true" is used, as in "true education for citizenship which includes an international dimension" (Annex II, para. 17), implying that without an international dimension civic education might be too nationally oriented and would not be "true" civic education.

The adjusting repertoire might perhaps be identified here: "All human rights **are** universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. **The strategies of action for their implementation must take specific historic, religious and cultural considerations into account**" (Annex II, para. 5).

The universal nature of human rights is presented factually (this might also be interpreted as the use of the principled repertoire, because of the unconditional character of the statement). In the sentence that follows, the principled repertoire is clearly in use, via the word "must." It could perhaps be interpreted as adjusting the factually and normatively presented statement on the universality of human rights. However, it talks only about strategies for implementation and does not adjust the status of human rights as such. According to Van Hasselt (1994), the drafting group at the ICE, which included three members from each of six regions, managed to avoid the efforts of some countries, in particular China and Iran, to introduce relativism into the universal standing of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The affirmation of the universal nature of all human rights followed by an adjusting statement on their implementation in this example can be seen in the light of the apparent paradox of the relation between universal and particular: "the universal is incommensurable with the particular, but cannot, however, exist without the latter" (Laclau, 1995, p. 107). This can be illustrated by the case of apartheid: "if the oppressed is defined by its difference from the oppressor,

such a difference is an essential component of the identity of the oppressed" (Laclau, 1995, p. 102). Consequently, if all particular differences were subsumed under a universal concept of human rights, that concept would be totally hegemonic: nothing would be different from it, and particulars could not make reference to it in order to establish their difference.

On a practical level, this is the conflict between universalism and relativism. The adjusting repertoire seems to serve an important function here; as in the 1974 *Recommendation*, it is a solution that saves universalism but allows some countries to claim their particular difference.

Another occurrence of the adjusting repertoire in the Integrated Framework of Action is

> The ultimate goal of education for peace, human rights and democracy is the development **in every individual of a sense of universal values** and types of behaviour on which a culture of peace is predicated. It is possible to identify **even** in different socio-cultural contexts values that are **likely** to be universally recognized. (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para. 6)

Here a slight adjustment, or at least caution, could be seen as following the strong factual statement about universal values. The adjusting repertoire could also be seen as present in another passage: "In view of religious and cultural differences, **every country may decide which approach to ethical education best suits its cultural context**" (Annex II, para. 17). It might seem that this sentence in effect says nothing; however, it does indirectly reaffirm the value of ethical education however implemented. Another such example is: "In order to achieve these aims, the strategies and forms of action of education systems will clearly need to be modified, **as necessary,** in respect both of teaching and of administration" (Annex II, para. 13).

A rational discourse can be found also in the Integrated Framework but it refers to a concept of knowledge that is less absolute than the "right knowledge" of the 1974 *Recommendation*, and can include different perspectives:

> The textbooks should offer **different perspectives on a given subject** and make transparent **the national or cultural background against which they are written**. Their content should be based on **scientific findings**.

> The citizens of a pluralist society and multicultural world should be able to accept that their interpretation of situations and problems is rooted in their personal lives, in the history of their society and in their cultural traditions; that, consequently, no individual or group holds the only answer to problems; and **that for each problem there may be more than one solution**. (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, paras. 18 and 8)

At the same time, revisions of textbooks to eliminate negative stereotypes and distorted views "of the other" were held to be necessary (Annex II, para. 18).

Peace concept

The perspective of a conception of a culture of peace (see UNESCO, 1993a; Adams, 1995; "UNESCO and", 1995; Mayor, 1997) is clearly present in the Guidelines, as in "action strategies must aim both at ensuring fundamental freedoms, peace, human rights, and democracy and at promoting sustainable and equitable economic and social development all of which have an essential part to play in building **a culture of peace**" (Annex II, para. 2), and in phrases such as "joining together with others to solve problems" (Annex II, para. 7) or "people should understand and respect each other and negotiate on an equal footing, with a view to seeking common ground" (Annex II, para. 8). Paragraph 25 as a whole is another example:

> Specific strategies for the education of vulnerable groups and **those recently exposed to conflict or in a situation of open conflict** are required as a matter of urgency, giving particular attention to children at risk and to **girls and women** subjected to sexual abuse and other forms of violence. Possible practical measures could include, for example, **the organization outside the conflict zone of specialized forums and workshops** for educators, family members and mass media professionals belonging to the conflicting groups and an intensive training activity for educators in post-conflict situations. Such measures should be undertaken in co-operation with governments whenever possible. (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para. 25)

In the 1995 Guidelines, war and violence are articulated with other markers of a period of "transition and accelerated change," namely

> the expression of intolerance, manifestations of racial and ethnic hatred, the upsurge of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, discrimination, **war and violence towards those regarded as "others"** and the growing disparities between rich and poor, at international and national levels alike. (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para. 2)

Work for peace is not for world peace as in the 1974 *Recommendation*, but "for a just, peaceful and democratic community" (Annex II, para. 7), suggesting a more local, even personal, interpretation of the concept in emphasizing the ability of non-violent conflict resolution, and "inner peace in the minds of students" (Annex II, para. 9).

The Integrated Framework of Action does not address structural problems as did the 1974 *Recommendation*, but it is only mentioning "the growing disparities between rich and poor, at international and national levels alike" (Annex II, para. 2), which could be interpreted as a reference to a structural problem. Also, among the aims of action strategies are "sustainable and equitable economic and social development" (Annex II, para. 2) as a components of a culture of peace.

Human rights

Universality of human rights and their implementation as conceived in Integrated Framework of Action was dealt with in above passages about repertoires.

The major difference is on issues of concern to women and girls. They were not mentioned in the 1974 *Recommendation*, but received a lot of emphasis in the new Guidelines. The rights of women were conceived fundamental in education for peace, human rights and democracy:

> In order to achieve these aims, the strategies and forms of action of education systems will clearly need to be modified, as necessary, in respect both of teaching and of administration. Furthermore, providing basic education for all, and **promoting the rights of women as an integral and indivisible part of universal human rights**, are **fundamental** in education for peace, human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para. 13)

It is noted that girls and women subjected to sexual abuse and other forms of violence ought to receive particular attention (Annex II, para. 25).

Educational aims concerning the individual

Personal abilities are directly mentioned, and they are also part of peace concept: "Education must develop **the ability of non-violent conflict-resolution**. It should therefore promote also the development of **inner peace in the minds of students** so that they can establish more firmly the qualities of **tolerance, compassion, sharing and caring**" (Annex II, para. 9). The individual qualities cited here also include the concept of "harmony" (Annex II, para. 11). These values and vocabulary were advocated at the preparatory meeting for the 1994 ICE organized in the Philippines[24].

The concept of the citizen is an important one in the Integrated Framework. Abilities linked to it through aims of education are numerous (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, paras. 7, 8, 10 and 11), for example:

> Education must develop the ability to value freedom and the skills to meet its challenges. This means **preparing citizens** to cope with difficult and uncertain situations and fitting them for personal autonomy and responsibility. Awareness of personal responsibility must be linked to recognition of **the value of civic commitment**, of joining together with others to solve problems and **to work for a just, peaceful and democratic community**. (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para. 7)

> to respect the cultural heritage, protect the environment and adopt methods of production and patterns of consumption which lead to sustainable development (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, Annex II, para. 11).

Educational approaches

The approaches to education do not fundamentally differ, but decentralization is evident in the new Guidelines, whereas obligating states and through them other actors were the objects of change identified in the state-centred 1974 *Recommendation*. The Integrated Framework introduces a principle of decentralization, or what one could call "cultural sensitivity": "The degree of change required, priorities for action and the sequence of actions **should be determined**

---

[24]   I represented UNESCO at this meeting

at **all decision-making levels taking into account different historical back-grounds, cultural traditions and development levels of regions and countries, and even within countries**" (Annex II, para. 15).

To sum up: A comparison between the 1974 *Recommendation* and the 1995 Guidelines adopted in different historical contexts reveals considerable changes in style, repertoires (the latter neither including instructions to MS nor stand-taking, and using the adjusting repertoire differently), conceptions of peace and human rights issues emphasized, as recapitulated in Appendix E.

5.8 The new Committee: The second, third, and fourth reports

After the 1994 ICE, the Consultative Committee on Steps to Promote the Full and Comprehensive Implementation of the Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding (as explained in Section 5.3) was replaced by the Advisory Committee on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (UNESCO, 1994a, Decision 4.3.1). Developments of reporting by MS are illustrated in Figure 4.

FIGURE 4   Developments of reporting by MS on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation*

1985: Permanent System of Reporting	
Elements of the reporting sytem: ▪ Submission of national reports by MS every six years ▪ Undertaking in-depth studies and consultative missions ▪ Preparing a World status report on the progress made every six years ▪ Establishing a Consultative Committee of Experts	Tasks of the Secretariat: ▪ Preparation of questionnaires to MS on implementation ▪ Drafting the synthesis of the MS reports to the Consultative Committee, then to the CR of the EXB ▪ Drafting the Final Report to the GC

1986: The Statutes of the Consultative Committee approved

1994: The Advisory Committee on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (replacing the Consultative Committee) established

1995: The Permanent System of Reporting updated (to cover the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation*, the 1995 Guidelines and other related plans)

2007: New procedures for monitoring the standard-setting instruments applied

Note: CR = Committee on Conventions and Recommendations.

It is to be noted that the Statutes of the Consultative Committee approved in 1986 included also advising the DG on the co-ordination of activities envisaged under the Plan for the Development of Human Rights Teaching and the Plan for the Development of Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace. The separate advisory committee for the implementation of the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, proposed in Montreal in 1993, was integrated into a joint committee by the decision of the GC in 1993 (UNESCO, 1993c, Res. 5.8). The Secretariat explained that the replacement of the previous Consultative Committee was "to make possible more concerted action in the fields of education for peace, human rights and democracy and to avoid the existence within UNESCO of advisory bodies with similar mandates" (UNESCO, 1994d, para. 3).

The permanent system of reporting was updated in light of a number of new UNESCO and UN instruments and action plans regarding education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding, and tolerance. The GC at its 28th session, in 1995, decided that the reporting system

> should also cover the implementation of the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, as well as the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy (Montreal, 1993) and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (Vienna, 1993) as regards education for human rights and democracy, as well as the Plan of Action of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2005). (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, para. 5)

The synthesis of MS replies to the questionnaire on the theme of the 1994 ICE session was viewed by the GC as constituting the second synthesis of national reports on the application of the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, para. 4). A document, the *Situation of Education for International Understanding*, was based mainly on the replies of MS to the IBE questionnaire on the theme of the 44th ICE to which about 40 percent of MS had replied by the time limit (UNESCO, 1994g, cover page). Part Two of the same document, Appraisal of Education for International Understanding in Member States (paras. 26-69), provided an overview of the situation, stating that the redefinition of the training of citizens had become a priority for all MS (UNESCO, 1994g, para. 26). In 1997, the second sexennial report on progress made in implementing the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1997) was submitted to the 29th GC as an information document. It was based on 67 national reports submitted to the 44th session of the ICE, as well as three in-depth studies conducted in 1992-1993 in Zimbabwe, India, and the Pacific region (covering Australia, New Zealand, and the small Pacific states).

In 1998 the EXB decided to set up "a temporary working group among its Members with the task of proposing through the Executive Board to the General Conference at its 30th session an overall strategy for human rights education to be taken into account in the planning of the biennial programmes and of the Medium-Term Strategy of the Organization" (UNESCO, 1998b, Decision 8.5, III, para. 11). The working group was also asked "to look into the structural

problems arising from the fact that human rights education depends, within the Organization, on both the Education Sector and the Social and Human Sciences Sector" (Decision 8.5, III, para. 13). The group reported to the EXB in May 1999 (UNESCO, 1999h), and the Overall Strategy for Human Rights Education (UNESCO, 1999f) was then submitted to the 30th GC, which endorsed the EXB's recommendations (UNESCO, 1999h) with its own resolution (UNESCO, 1999g, Res. 16). This strategy proposed co-ordination among all units dealing with human rights and intensified human rights education. It included several proposals concerning the work of the Advisory Committee, including annual meetings. (In other developments, the year 2000 was proclaimed as the International Year of a Culture of Peace by the UN.)

For the third report, a draft questionnaire was prepared in collaboration with the German Commission for UNESCO and submitted to the Advisory Committee on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy in accordance with its Statutes and the GC's decision that it should also advise the DG on matters relating to the permanent system of reporting (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.41, para. 6). The fourth session of the Advisory Committee, held in Paris on 21-23 September, 1998, considered the draft and made a number of recommendations (UNESCO, 1998a, paras 3.1-3.6). In 1999, the *Draft Questionnaire for the Permanent System of Reporting on Education for Peace, Human Rights, Democracy, International Understanding and Tolerance*, as revised by the Secretariat, was discussed by the EXB (UNESCO, 1999b), which decided to send it to MS and invited them as well as governments and NGOs to send their reports to the DG,

> in order to enable the above-mentioned Advisory Committee to examine these reports and assist the Director-General in the preparation of a synthesis of the reports prior to their submission to the Executive Board for transmission with its comments to the General Conference at its 31st session. (UNESCO, 1999a, Decision 3.2.1, para. 7)

In 2001, the synthesis of reports was prepared by the Secretariat for the EXB but represented only 24 replies out of a total of 185 MS, or 12.97 percent (UNESCO, 2001d, para. 11). This report stated that

> the national institutions concerned should attach greater importance to this reporting system... [for] the instruments concerning which Member States have made commitments [and that] the replies received all refer essentially to measures taken in order to improve educational content, and provide scant information on the process of democratic organization of their education systems (improvement of the rules governing the operation of educational establishments, community-school interaction, etc.). (UNESCO, 2001d, para. 11)

The EXB transmitted this document to the GC along with its comments, but without any proposal for a decision (UNESCO, 2001a, Decision 5.3). In 2001 the 31st GC received the synthesis of MS reports as an information document (UNESCO, 2001c), meaning that no decision was taken upon it.

When this synthesis was presented to the EXB, the DG's representative pointed out that it was directly related to UNESCO's ethical mission, and although the number of reports submitted was quite low (32 countries out of 185), they revealed that some significant new measures and initiatives had been

taken in support of the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action. A number of MS emphasized the importance of this education "in the light of the present world situation and the recent events of 11 September" (UNESCO, 2001c, para. 3), and stressed that "today culture and cultural diversity should be taken into account when reinforcing education for peace, human rights, and democracy" (para. 3), not only in terms of the content but in "the learning processes and organization of the education system as a whole" (para. 3). The Secretariat stated that it found the reporting system a useful instrument (para. 13).

New procedures for monitoring the standard-setting instruments of UNESCO were decided by the EXB and the GC, and it was declared that the 1974 *Recommendation* was one of 11 recommendations on which the EXB should chiefly focus its monitoring efforts (UNESCO, 2007, Res. 87, 2009b, Decision 31, 2009d). The Secretariat noted that, "in particular, awareness has been raised through a series of activities on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (UNESCO, 2009c, Annex, p. 5).

For the fourth consultation on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation*, in 2009, the UNESCO Secretariat received 35 reports from MS (UNESCO, 2009h, para. 5). For comparison, 26 MS had sent initial reports in 1976, 63 first reports in 1989, 67 second reports in 1994 (for the ICE) and 24 third reports in 2001. The report in 2009 included a comment on poor co-ordination at the international level, with overlapping frameworks (para. 20). It seems that the problem of overlapping frameworks has not yet been solved. This consultation contributed to the monitoring of the first phase of the Plan of Action of the World Programme for Human Rights Education, 2005-2009 (UNESCO, 2009d, Annex I, p. 8).

The debate in the CR Committee of the EXB (UNESCO, 2009g) identified a problem with the submission of the report of the fourth consultation to the UN: the Secretariat had used the wording "Member States and UNESCO," but the committee held that the report did not necessarily reflect the view of the entire Organization owing to the small number of replies received. It was changed to read "Suggestions for future action by *some* [emphasis added] Member States" (UNESCO, 2009g, para. 27). The report (UNESCO, 2009h) was submitted to the GC as an information document (UNESCO, 2009e, Annex III).

The 1974 *Recommendation* is still on the monitoring agenda of UNESCO normative instruments. It is foreseen as of this writing that the reports of the next consultation will be examined at the 192nd session of the EXB, and the summary report submitted as an information document to the 37th session of the GC in 2013 (UNESCO, 2009d, Annex II). This consultation will fall under the general monitoring of the implementation of UNESCO's standard-setting instruments (UNESCO, 2009d), but the GC will not discuss it because it will be submitted as an information document.

To sum up: Generally speaking, the MS who reported on the implementation of the *Recommendation* indicated its considerable impact (UNESCO, 1989a, 1994g, 2001c, 2001d). The new Advisory Committee and updated reporting system were established in 1994, to ensure an integrated approach in education for

peace, human rights, and democracy. The temporary working group on human rights education of the EXB made proposals for intensified human rights education including co-ordination with all units dealing with human rights. A rather small number of reports was received by UNESCO from MS for the second, third, and fourth consultations. Within the new system for monitoring the implementation of UNESCO's standard-setting instruments, the 1974 *Recommendation* is still one of the recommendations on education to be monitored. The next consultation report will be submitted to the GC in 2013.

5.9   Peace: Fading away or re-emerging?

The 1974 *Recommendation* focused on international understanding, co-operation, and peace, and on education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms. Democracy was added by the Integrated Framework of Action in 1995, a document that can be seen as an important effort towards integration and consolidation of all these aspects together into education, as well as sustainable and equitable economic and social development, among components of a culture of peace. The concept of a culture of peace was broad and accommodated various contents, and it was intended to be applied to all areas of UNESCO´s action.

Meanings and significations given to conceptions related to peace in the *1974 Recommendation* and in the 1995 Guidelines were represented by a notion of a culture of peace. It brought unity between all actors with different demands and points of emphasis varying from human rights to sustainable development. It became an empty signifier uniting those demands while any original particular content it may have had was diluted, and it thus signified a unity, practically impossible but a symbol of the missing fullness (Laclau, 1995, 1996, 2005b, 2006). Education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education related to human rights and fundamental freedoms which were articulated in the 1974 *Recommendation,* as well as components added by the 1995 Guidelines, became overshadowed by the concept of a culture of peace, subsumed into a wide notion of a culture of peace. Each articulation establishes the relationships between concepts, and each era brings its own key concepts. New key concepts are related to existing concepts on the one hand, and differences between them on the other, as shown by this study. A culture of peace can be seen as marking a paradigm shift in UNESCO´s discourse after the end of the Cold War. The conception of a culture of peace highlighted the original constitutional purpose of UNESCO and thus maintained the "old" concepts of peace while renewing them by the articulation with new elements.

It was Federico Mayor, the DG of UNESCO, who made the idea of a culture of peace visible in the programme and in the structure of the Secretariat. He established the Department of Education for a Culture of Peace[25] (in the education sector) and the Department of Peace, Human Rights, Democracy and

---

[25]   I was nominated Director of this Department.

Tolerance (in the social and human sciences sector) (UNESCO, 1999d), and the Department of Intercultural Dialogue and Pluralism for a Culture of Peace (in the culture sector) (UNESCO, 1999c); the co-ordination of the Transdisciplinary Project Towards a Culture of Peace was performed by the unit that had managed specific programme activities for a culture of peace (UNESCO, 1999d).

In 1999, a number of resolutions adopted by the GC referred to peace directly or by implication: Towards a Culture of Peace (UNESCO, 1999g, Res. 42), Physical Education and Sports for a Culture of Peace (Res. 18), and Promotion of Arts Education and Creativity at School as Part of the Construction of a Culture of Peace (Res. 33), as well as topics such as Self-regulation to Reduce Violence in the Electronic Media (Res. 40), and the Overall Strategy on Human Rights Education (Res. 16). The last of these discussed the conceptual work needed to clarify the intrinsic value and strategic importance of human rights education within the Transdisciplinary Project for a Culture of Peace.

A new DG, Koichiro Matsuura, was appointed in November 1999 (UNESCO, 1999g, Res. 2). The GCs of 2001-2007 did not present any resolutions with peace in the title (see UNESCO, 2001b, 2003, 2005, 2007). There were, however, some related resolutions: Call for International Cooperation to Prevent and Eradicate Acts of Terrorism (UNESCO, 2001b, Res. 39), Integrated Strategy to Combat Racism, Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (UNESCO, 2003, Res. 28), UNESCO Strategy on Human Rights (UNESCO, 2003, Res. 27), Combating Fanaticism, Extremism and Terrorism (UNESCO, 2005, Res. 4), and the resolution on the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the UDHR (UNESCO, 2007, Res. 38). Resolutions dealing with human rights did not mention anything about the relations between human rights and peace.

The word "peace" also disappeared from the names of organizational units: for example, the Department of Education for a Culture of Peace became the Division for the Development of Quality Education soon after the new DG took office. In the organizational charter for 2010, only one division has peace in its title, namely the Division for Freedom of Expression, Democracy and Peace (UNESCO, 2010k).

Although peace-related activities in education, such as the ASP, continued in the first decade of the century, as well as continued reporting on the 1974 *Recommendation*, these changes suggest that interest in peace issues in UNESCO is directly related to the interests of its DGs. In 2009, a new DG, Irina Bokova, the first woman to hold the post, was elected. Among the GC resolutions of 2009, peace is mentioned in the titles of three resolutions. Two deal with the establishment of institutions under the auspices of UNESCO (UNESCO, 2009f, Res. 16, 38), namely the Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development in New Delhi, India, and a research and documentation centre for women, gender, and peace-building in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo. The third resolution addressed UNESCO's work on a culture of peace, asking for a coherent, interdisciplinary, and intersectoral programme of action in this area (UNESCO, 2009f, Res. 108). It was evidently followed up: the DG's report on UNESCO's work on a culture of peace was sub-

mitted to the EXB in March 2010. It noted the significance of the 1974 *Recommendation*:

> Within the framework of the 1974 Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation, Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, UNESCO fosters a culture of peace through education by supporting Members States to provide quality, inclusive education that promotes the values of peace, human rights, tolerance, intercultural understanding, democracy, non-violence and respect. (UNESCO, 2010f, para. 5)

This report mentions that the 2011 EFA Global Monitoring Report will focus on the impact of violent conflict on education and on how education can promote peace (para. 7). It also proposes four "pillars" of the interdisciplinary and intersectoral programme of action on a culture of peace for UNESCO's four fields of competence (UNESCO, 2010f, Add. para. 9). An information document including details of a programme of action for a culture of peace by a number of countries[26] was submitted to the same EXB (UNESCO, 2010a).

To sum up: It seems that after the end of the Cold War, the conception of culture of peace maintained the "old" concepts of peace while renewing and widening them and highlighting the original constitutional purpose of UNESCO. It seems also that peace was fading away as a concern of UNESCO in the decade of the 2000s. In the reporting on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation,* the emphasis shifted to human rights aspects. Whether peace will now receive new emphasis in UNESCO, in the context of an integrated approach to education for peace, human rights, and democracy, with sustainable development, in the perspective of a culture of peace, remains to be seen. The Year 2010 marks the end of the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World. However, we are still far from achieving its goals.

---

[26] Congo, Cuba, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, India, Kuwait, Morocco, Senegal, Tunisia and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Findings, research questions, and previous studies

This study demonstrates that education was considered, especially in UNESCO's early years, as an important means to achieving world peace, and that normative regulation of education was seen as one possible path towards this goal. The overall research question addressed is: What outcomes can be achieved, and what processes lead to them, when politically, economically, and culturally different actors seek to define common standards for education related to peace in UNESCO?

It has been explored through the case of the *Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, adopted by UNESCO in 1974. The general context of the study is intergovernmental effort to put an end to war, and it shares the optimism of those who consider this possible.

The first specific research question—What the *Recommendation* incorporates and how are its themes addressed?—was explored thoroughly using micro-level analysis to identify repertoires in it. While the repertoire analysis addressed formal aspects of the language of the text, analysis of content issues discussed substantive aspects. A discursive approach that addresses both content and forms (see Jokinen et al., 2004, p. 228) was applied in identifying a wider discourse. Both repertoire analysis and discourse theory were used as tools to make explicit a number of features implicit in the text (Fairclough, 2002, p. 122). Two other studies (Allahwerdi, 2001; Buergenthal and Torney, 1976) have dealt with the 1974 *Recommendation*, but did not use a discursive approach; their findings differ but in no way conflict with the present study.

The analysis produced several crucial findings. It was shown that in the Preamble, international understanding, co-operation, and peace, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, all elements of the title of the 1974 *Recommendation*, were presented as overarching goals and supreme values, and that the achievement of the aims of the UN, UNESCO, UDHR, and the Geneva

Conventions was affirmed as the responsibility "incumbent on States." Education was seen as a means to that goal. Statements were made in the name of the GC, using an official, solemn style that suggests a quasi-religious profession of faith collectively pronounced by a community. I used principles drawn from the work of Laclau to argue that the GC justified the importance of the *Recommendation* by creating an implicit vision of ideal fullness while revealing existing shortages in prevailing education, in order to convince its readers of the necessity of its provisions and to suggest that this new form of education would be better than existing international education.

6.1.1 The repertoires

The analysis distinguished five different ways of speaking in the 1974 *Recommendation*, which I named the instruction, principled, factual, stand-taking, and adjusting repertoires. Using these analytical categories I sought to reveal variations in the establishing of norms. These repertoires implicitly place actors in different positions; they are embedded in and function in conjunction with one other. The instruction, principled, and stand-taking repertoires are normative, the factual repertoire was usually employed to "warrant" others, and the adjusting repertoire was instrumental in creating agreement.

The instruction repertoire was used to tell MS what purposeful actions they should implement and how they should go about it. This repertoire is dominant and indicates the important roles assigned to MS in this education—from direct execution to ensuring, promoting, or encouraging action. By issuing instructions, the GC placed itself in the position of authority and MS as followers, potentially creating conflict between two types of authority, the GC and the individual MS who want to maintain their independence.

The use of the principled repertoire demonstrates a focus on the substance of issues in question, such as student participation presented as an end in itself, or other such required actions. MS are not mentioned directly; indeed, there are no legally responsible actors. Education as an abstract entity is constructed as an ethical actor, or as a means to achieve societal goals. The societal goals of peace and human rights, presented as self-evident, were incorporated into this repertoire, organized according to a pattern reflecting a wider discourse of rationality. The GC's use of this repertoire placed it implicitly in a position of authority.

The factual repertoire indicates the conditions and situations to be addressed and affects the instruction, principled, and stand-taking repertoires. Conditions and situations were presented as facts or necessities, or as presupposing consensual knowledge or expertise. In some cases, this repertoire can also have a normative function: it presents claims to truth and makes the assumption that the user has right knowledge in its possession. The GC was implicitly viewed as an expert and MS as co-constructors of factually presented knowledge that provided a certain image of the state of affairs in the world. The factual repertoire makes reference to anonymous expertise or to cultural consensus, recalling the argument of Derek and Potter (1993) that in the attribution

of causation, "attributional event variables (consensus, distinctiveness and consistency) can be relocated as rhetorical criteria" (p. 38). For example, by constructing certain actions as universal or normative, the 1974 *Recommendation* justifies them factually and often presents them as containing an implicit cultural consensus.

The stand-taking repertoire includes statements of values or ethical judgements relative to the issues under discussion. It is usually embedded in the principled or other repertoires, but the use of the vocabulary of qualification and judgement makes it a distinct repertoire. Both the GC and MS distanced themselves from stand-taking positions, as is shown by the subjects of sentences using the repertoire: not legal entities or individuals but rather abstract actors such as "education" or "international education" are supposed to follow principles and achieve norms. By its use of this repertoire, the GC implicitly positioned itself as a collective judge, constructing a frontier between "good" and "bad." Stand-taking always reveals the presence of two options, explicitly or implicitly.

The adjusting repertoire was seen to be both interesting and important. It is manifested in the form of limitation, the use of appropriateness, open-endedness, or the introduction of another principle as an implicit counter-argument. This repertoire functions not normatively but in conjunction with other repertoires. Here the GC's implicit position was that of mediator, and MS subordinated their particular position to a universal. Adjusting functioned mainly with respect to MS obligations, but did not affect the substantive content of the presentation of the issues in question.

The adjusting repertoire can be found at the heart of any international normative action, where it accommodates different political, economic, and cultural views and interests in order to reach agreement. It demonstrates the importance of seemingly minor details in the drafting of texts of this genre. The adjusting repertoire evidently helped those MS which don't have centralized control over education and facilitated their agreement with universal norms. It was instrumental in the political accommodations that made this *Recommendation* possible. This suggests that there may be some significant peace lessons here: the adjusting repertoire helps politically, economically, and culturally different actors to find solutions by taking into account the needs and preoccupations of others.

The adjusting repertoire can be considered as a form of mitigation; it has been argued that "blame, denial, excuse, and mitigation are the nexus of discursive activities" (Derek & Potter, 1993, p. 34). It also describes some important aspects of the formulation of international documents in general. According to Steffek (2003), the UN GA demonstrates the connection between the institutional and discursive dimensions of governance, in that arguments expressed at this forum must be formulated in such a way that all other states can agree with them. Steffek sees this as "applied Kantianism, which is inherent in Habermas's theory of communicative action [and] requires arguments to be formulated in

such a way that everybody concerned can—in principle—agree to them" (Steffek, 2003, p. 265).

The repertoires distinguished here are also relevant to the critique by Wells (1987, pp.130-131), who considers the 1974 *Recommendation* a liberal document expressing a Western bloc viewpoint, since it did not contain references to the responsibilities of educators, it presented the goals of education via the impersonal and thus in her view liberal formula "education should," and it recommended only indirect action by states concerning teacher preparation.

A discourse analysis by Tamatea (2005) of a text in a similar genre, the *Dakar Framework of Action on Education for All*, showed how that text left no room for alternatives. The 1974 *Recommendation* did incorporate them: a single truth was constructed by the use of factuality and self-evident aims, but MS´ s obligations were adjusted by wording, and the use of this repertoire diminished the prescriptive character of several passages.

I have also identified a wider discourse, the rational. Rationality is inherent in the appeal to purposeful action and in the way the text is organized, as well as in the expressed belief in science, research, experimentation, and "right" knowledge. The rational discourse cuts across repertoires in the text of the *Recommendation.*

A study of a text in a similar genre, the Health Promotion Programme of the European Commission for 1996-2000 identifies religious, military, and scientific discourses in it (Sykes, Willig, and Marks, 2004). The scientific discourse identified by this study is similar to what I call rational discourse, as used also by Steffek (2003), who argues that the most important resource for legitimating international governance by international organizations is rational justification. I also noticed the use of military vocabulary in some passages of the text.

Finnemore (1996) discusses the concept of world culture, which is in effect Western culture expanded around the globe, one of its central features being rationality and purposive action. Here rationality means the structuring of action in terms of ends and means, and is assumed to be not only good but also natural. Among other existing ways to structure social action, Finnemore mentions roles, rituals, duties, and obligations that are not consequentialist in a Western rational way. She sums up Western rationality in these terms:

> Progress and justice are the two ends toward which Western societies structure their rational action. Through historical experience these two goals have come to be defined in particular ways. Progress or "success" is defined materially, which for individuals usually means increasing wealth and for states means increasing gross national product. Justice is usually defined in terms of equality. Rational means to both these goals, in the Western cultural framework, are bureaucracies and markets. Claims of efficiency in contributing to increased wealth and progress legitimize both. Both locate authority in impersonal rules that can be legitimated in terms of equality—equal access, equal opportunity. (Finnemore, 1996, p. 331)

The 1974 *Recommendation* strongly emphasizes justice and equality, not in terms of markets but perhaps implicitly through bureaucracies. Duties and obligations are invoked, and efficiency is applied in the service of peace and human

rights. Rationality, belief in science, right knowledge, and efficiency are values that both socialist and Western bloc countries can easily be associated with.

6.1.2 Analysis of content issues

Several content areas in the 1974 *Recommendation* were analysed, using some of the conceptual tools of discourse theory.

1. Conceptions of peace and human rights obviously called for exploration. I focused on three aspects in particular:

(a) In the articulation of peace and human rights, the use of the prepositions "for" in the case of peace issues and "relating" in the case of human rights in the title of the Recommendation led me to ask whether this meant that priority was being given to peace aspects. Peace and human rights were articulated in three ways: as a single entity, as separate entities that formed part of an "expanding formation," and as separate entities. Further analysis showed that human rights did indeed have a prominent place in the text, reflecting its importance during the Cold War, in which one side emphasized peace and the other human rights.

(b) The conception of peace, presented as one element of the integrated trio of "international understanding, co-operation and peace," broke down into various types or emphases. In some passages, peace was to be maintained or developed, in others maintained and developed at the same time. Reference was made to a just peace, and to world peace. World peace was articulated with international understanding and co-operation, with the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, and the struggle against racialism, fascism, and apartheid.

Recognition of the equality and necessary interdependence of nations and peoples was an important component of peace. The abolition of social and economic inequalities and the fight for social justice could be interpreted as structural aspects of the development of peace. War was stated to be inadmissible for the purposes of expansion, aggression, and domination, and the use of force and violence for purposes of repression was also condemned. However, these formulations immediately suggest that there are other admissible purposes for recourse to war and the use of force and violence; more light was shed on this in the analysis of processes.

The emphasis on the structural aspects of peace—social and economic equality and social justice—can be seen as expressing a concept of "positive" peace, as defined by Galtung (1969). Positive peace means the absence of structural or indirect violence, sometimes referred to as social injustice, underpinned by inequality in the form of the uneven distribution of resources such as education and medical services, or the unevenly distributed power to decide the distribution of resources. Negative peace by contrast means simply the absence of direct violence. But peace is not only a matter of the control and reduction of overt violence: "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential reali-

zations" (Galtung, 1969, p. 168). For example, a life expectancy of thirty years would not be considered an expression of violence during the Neolithic period, but the same life expectancy today, whether due to wars, or social injustice, or both, would amount to structural violence (Galtung, 1969, p. 169). The WHO report on violence (Krug et al., 2002) included deprivation or neglect as one type of violence, similar to the concept of structural violence, along with armed conflict within or between states, genocide, repression and other human rights abuses, terrorism, and organized crime. The 1974 *Recommendation* calls for structural changes for the prevention of war, namely "the eradication of conditions which perpetuate and aggravate major problems affecting human survival and well-being—inequality, injustice, international relations based on the use of force" (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38, para.18).

The peace to be maintained, as it appears in the 1974 *Recommendation*, can thus be interpreted as negative peace, without direct violence but allowing for structural violence. At the same time, invoking the development of peace and issues articulated with world peace expresses a desire to end structural violence, meaning inequality and injustice. Human rights are among the elements that constitute positive peace, as reflected in the literature of peace education, which continues to move beyond the notion of peace as merely the absence of inter-state armed conflict to include the conditions of justice that might overcome the causes of such conflict (see for example, Reardon, 1995).

International co-operation appears as an indivisible element along with international understanding and peace in the 1974 *Recommendation*. The study and practice of international co-operation were presented as self-evident aims that justified actions required of MS or of educational institutions. That international co-operation was understood as an absolute value is shown in a number of formulations, for example that "post-secondary educational establishments should systematically take advantage of the forms of international action inherent in their role" (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38, para.28). More recent research (Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld & Barber, 2008) has shown that a country's public statement in international fora have an influence on their students' awareness of the importance of human rights.

International co-operation was especially important in the context of the Cold War, when many channels of communication between the two blocs were closed. UNESCO provided an international legal framework as the basis for that co-operation. International education exchange programmes were developed during the Cold War by the USA and the Soviet Union in an attempt to build up and maintain their allegiances in countries all over the world (see for example Tsvetskova, 2008). The ASP was an important tool of international co-operation, and one of the oldest programmes of UNESCO. Its inclusion in the *Recommendation* was significant, since it could then maintain and eventually reinforce its status within the Organization. The ASP was not viewed as controversial or "political." In the field of education for international understanding it did not threaten the status quo during the Cold War but increased opportunities for international exchanges.

(c) The conception of human rights included rights and freedoms articulated with duties, social activities, and respect for the rights of others. The struggle against racialism was articulated with fascism and apartheid, "all forms and varieties" of them and with "other ideologies which breed national and racial hatred" (UNESCO, 1974h, Res. X, 38, para. 6), the latter leaving open the implicit possibility for the inclusion, for example, Zionism among those other ideologies brought up upon the debates. Importance given to racism was the inclusion of the international convention on the elimination of racism and articulated with the UDHR, which it was stated should become "an integral part of the developing personality of each child, adolescent, young person or adult" (para. 11). There was a strong human rights component in teacher training; commitment to the ethics of human rights was articulated with the aims of changing society so that human rights could be applied in practice. Human rights was maintained as a distinct area of concern while being integrated into peace actions in education. Measures countering discrimination and inequality were also mentioned, although there was no explicit reference to discrimination against women.

2. The use of the terms "education and "international education" was analysed and compared.

International education was frequently used and it had a particular political function in the *Recommendation*, as a Cold War compromise. I see the concept of international education here as a common denominator in the debates about international understanding, co-operation, and peace, conceived as an indivisible whole based on two principles: friendly relations between peoples and states with different social and political systems, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. When all the connotations of those debated terms were subsumed under "international education," I identified the process as catachrestical in Laclau's sense, the act of naming something that has not been named before. Although the concept of international education was used before this naming fixed a new meaning to it as a common denominator of those three groups of concepts. The "old" concept of international education was used before in several meanings and was not clearly defined by its uses, whether by societies, organizations, or institutions in the USA, Germany, UK and Australia, among others (see Wilson, 1994).

The use of international education to effect a Cold War compromise might be seen to belong to the "status quo" aspects of the *Recommendation*. Christie (2006) like Galtung distinguishes between direct violence, which he calls "episodic," and indirect or structural violence; he argues that peace-building measures addressed to episodic violence support the status quo, whereas emphasizing social justice to reduce structural violence challenges the status quo. In this respect, the maintaining of peace as included in the 1974 *Recommendation* could be interpreted, following Christie (2006), as addressing episodic violence and thus supporting status quo elements in international relations; the concept of

international education had a similar function when introduced as a common denominator.

The other use of the term "international education" in the *Recommendation* was compared with the use of "education" by itself. The frontiers between these concepts as used in the *Recommendation* were found to be blurred; in other words, any apparent differences were not important, and both were used to speak of education as a whole.

3. The stated aims of education of the individual included emotional, behavioural, knowledge, and action components.

Knowledge, critical understanding, the ability to co-operate, motivation, commitment, and active individual contribution all appeared as part of the terminology used in this connection. Individual qualifications were not isolated elements but articulated with societal aims, which in some places were used to justify the qualifications deemed important for the individual. Participation in solving fundamental problems and taking part in the cultural life of the community and in public affairs were held to be important.

4. Educational approaches stressed an "international dimension and global perspective" (para.4 a) and the interdisciplinary and problem-oriented content of peace education.

A variety of methods for learning and training, including the use of mass media and new educational technologies, were advanced. The needs and aspirations of young people, and student participation in the organization of their studies and of the educational establishment they attend, were raised at several points. Student participation in the structuring of education was indeed an important issue in many countries in the 1960s and 1970s; massive student demonstrations, for example in France, Mexico and the USA and many other parts of the world, were not only about political issues such as the Viet Nam War but also the rights of students within their universities (see for example Kurlansky, 2008). Student participation was a modern educational and pedagogical goal in that historical context and is still a valid one: it has been shown that democratic practices at school, enhancing students' participatory rights, have a positive association with knowledge of human rights among 14-year-olds (Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, & Barber, 2008).

These content areas were also studied in terms of their use of different repertoires. It was evident that repertoires were linked to specific areas. The stand-taking repertoire was used almost exclusively in speaking about war and peace, whereas the instruction repertoire was not used in this area at all. Interestingly, the use of the adjusting repertoire did not have any impact on the content of the *Recommendation*.

6.2   The processes leading to the *Recommendation*

The second research question—Which international political and organizational processes led to the 1974 *Recommendation* and how did they come about?—was explored primarily on the basis of UNESCO documents, identifying the positions of different actors including MS and their various groupings, and the Secretariat. Verbatim records of proceedings often made it possible to identify which country or delegate had taken the floor. I also looked at the roles of a third group of actors—experts and NGOs at the relevant meetings.

Processes were analysed on a macro-level in their historical context. I looked at constellations of actors' positions in the process of arriving at a common text; in Laclau's terminology, my focus was on hegemonic processes in search of an universal ideal. In these constellations two different "logics," the logic of difference and the logic of equivalence, were in use. It was also evident that MS, the Secretariat, and experts all played a role in these hegemonic processes. This part of the study sheds light in particular on the complexity of UNESCO's work.

Normative regulation of education as it relates to peace had deep roots. Even before the establishment of UNESCO, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had initiated normative activities with respect to school textbooks. When UNESCO was founded, international understanding was of unanimous and crucial concern. The first GC emphasized practical action, while the second decided on a convention on education for "international peace and security." MS were united in favour of this, as opposed to the kind of education that had cultivated hatred and mistrust between nations and encouraged war. However, in the general debates on peace the issue of what issues are political and hence the province of the UN rather than properly educational came to be a continuing source of contention. During that time, UNESCO was ideologically dominated by the West.

A decision was made about a convention on education for peace and security but not implemented for reasons of "lack of funds and staff" as explained by the Secretariat, and UNESCO eventually organized a meeting of experts in 1949, which proposed a recommendation and prepared a unanimous draft. There was a strong shared belief in UNESCO in accurate knowledge, experts, and investigative studies. However, by 1951 the reluctance of the decision-making organs of UNESCO, including the Secretariat, to decide on a recommendation led to the idea being dropped or side-stepped for about a decade. The impact of the Cold War was felt in many ways in the Secretariat at this time.

A second round of attempts at normative action in education took place in the period from 1960 to 1962. MS now had conflicting attitudes on normative action. New states had joined following decolonization, including 17 African states in 1960. (The Soviet Union, Ukraine, and Belarus had joined in 1954.) Socialist countries advocated peace, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence, as well as the eradication of colonialism and its aftermath. Many of their proposals

relative to peace, often supported by non-aligned and Third World countries, were seen from a Western bloc perspective as "political" and not appropriate for UNESCO. The meaning of "political" continued to divide MS.

At the beginning of the 1960s the idea of a normative instrument on education, now in the form of a declaration, was reintroduced in UNESCO. The idea was supported by socialist countries and also by a number of developing, non-aligned, and some Western bloc countries. The ideological dividing line of the Cold War became blurred in this respect, as the idea of peace held differing groups together. In spite of their differences they were in favour of peace in general terms, which meant that the logic of equivalence prevailed. But in the end the idea of a normative instrument was diplomatically side-stepped and buried.

Meanwhile, general debates on UNESCO's role in fostering peace paved a way for normative action in peace education, although opinions as to what peace should include were divided. Drafting committees[27] were instrumental in settling controversial issues, and consensus was achieved through formulations that satisfied all, or at least the major players. This strategy was especially important for Western bloc countries now that they were a minority in UNESCO. By the beginning of the 1960s, UNESCO had 120 Member States, compared to 44 in 1947; moreover, those 44 had all been united against fascism, in the aftermath of the Second World War.

The final stage, from 1967 to 1974, began when the DG stated in the Supplement to the Approved Programme and Budget for 1967-1968 that international instruments in the field of education "might constitute an important measure for the execution of resolution 10" (UNESCO, 1967d, para. 2159), showing that the Secretariat was now in favour of a normative instrument. At the same time opinions continued to differ on what counted as political, whether all UNESCO programmes should promote peace or only specific programmes, and whether actions should be practical or normative.

After the idea of a normative instrument was reintroduced, a preliminary study was prepared by the Secretariat. The GC decided in 1972 on a recommendation to cover not only international understanding, co-operation, and peace but also human rights and fundamental freedoms, the latter elements being proposed by a group of Western European countries. It is evident that the inclusion of education related to human rights and fundamental freedoms made it easier for the Western bloc countries to join in the hegemonic political formation that took place in the committee of experts and led to the unanimous approval of the *Recommendation*. The combination of peace with human rights became an integral part of the discourse of the 1974 *Recommendation*. In this respect, it accommodated the interests of both West and East, and by adding such concepts as a "just peace," most of the South as well.

---

[27]   For example, in 1978, these committees involved three participating bodies, a) the Group 77, b) the group of industrial countries having a market economy (generally called the Western group although Japan, Australia and New Zealand with its members, and c) the group made up by the socialist countries (M´ Bow, 1978).

A Special Committee made up of political and expert participants finalized the text and proposed it unanimously after often heated debate. Experts were well represented on the Committee and evidently played an important role in defining content areas of the text and in achieving agreement.

In spite of general satisfaction with this draft, consensus broke down at that year's GC conference, due to a series of amendments at subsequent stages. Disputed elements were incorporated in the final text by majority vote. The final text was adopted by a majority of MS, with 76 in favour, 5 (Western bloc countries) against, and 15 abstentions. It was clear that agreement on pressing issues such as the admissible recourse to war and violence in the pursuit of national liberation, as well as the elimination of colonialism and racism, was difficult, especially for many Western bloc countries who considered these issues political and thus appropriate to the UN, not UNESCO.

This study of the processes leading up to the 1974 *Recommendation* explains why some elements were present in the text and which repertoires were used. It is noteworthy, for example, that the stand-taking repertoire was used especially in relation to the more controversial issues included by majority vote, and that the adjusting repertoire corresponded to formulations that satisfied the concerns of countries with decentralized systems of education. It also explains why "human rights" was added to the title: this was due to a proposal by Western European countries, who were also responsible for the inclusion of reference to the Geneva Conventions in the Preamble and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in the text late on in the process. On the other hand, study of these processes does not provide any explanation of the absence of specific reference to women. The examples of process discussed can be taken to show the contingent nature of discourse (Howarth et al., 2000; Laclau, 1994): the inclusion of elements in the text depended on the interests of a particular MS or of an expert present at a key meeting. The Secretariat also played an important role both in the introduction of a normative action and in its substance. For a summary table of actions in these processes, see Appendix C.

6.3 The follow-up to the *Recommendation*

The third research question—What kind of follow-up took place after the 1974 *Recommendation* was adopted?—was explored here in a macro-level analysis. It linked UN actions in the fields of peace and human rights with related UNESCO initiatives (see a chronology in Appendix D). A series of conferences was organized, and their recommendations followed up by separate programme sectors of the Secretariat within UNESCO. Co-ordination was called for by various resolutions, but putting it into practice was another matter. Three separate courses of action developed after 1974:

1. Education as it relates to human rights and fundamental freedoms

An International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights, organized by UNESCO in 1978, was followed up by the social and human sciences sector in the Secretariat of UNESCO. A convention on education in the field of human rights was proposed, then explored but rejected in 1980 by the GC. Instead, it approved the Plan for the Development of Human Rights Teaching in 1980. This Plan is not a normative instrument or a set of guidelines but a list of actions and measures.

2. Education as it relates to peace

An Intergovernmental Conference on education for international understanding, co-operation, and peace and relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms "with a view to developing a climate of opinion favourable to the strengthening of security and to disarmament" (UNESCO, 1983d) was organized in 1983. It was intended as a follow-up to the 1974 *Recommendation* and to the first Special Session on Disarmament, held by the GA of the UN in 1978, and the World Congress on Disarmament Education organized by UNESCO in 1980. Both the UNESCO conferences recommended lists of proposed actions and measures including a proposal for a separate plan for peace issues, and the Plan for the Development of Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace was approved in 1985. Like the human rights teaching Plan, this is not a normative instrument or a set of guidelines but a list of actions and measures.

3. An integrated approach

Integration between peace and human rights as an educational approach was emphasized in a number of GC resolutions that pointed to the close relations between peace and human rights. They were articulated together in the titles of programme resolutions: for example, in 1983 the Major Programme was titled Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples, the last of these being a controversial issue at the time. However, in the Programmes categorized within that Major Programme, peace and human rights were separate, except in the case of education where they were articulated together as Education for Peace and Respect for Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples.

Integration between several peace related issues was evidently a problem, but at the same time it was an important pedagogical trend that was continued in the 1995 Integrated Framework of Action: the trend was towards a more holistic approach in the practice and the philosophic underpinnings of comprehensive peace education (Reardon, 1988, 1995).

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, this integration approach was continued. The proposal to upgrade the 1974 *Recommendation* into a convention was abandoned as superfluous by the GC in 1991; however, some revision of it was seen as indispensable, and it approved a draft Integrated Action Plan. Again in 1993, an integrated approach was highlighted by GC resolutions, leading to the

Integrated Plan of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy. The 1994 ICE adopted a Declaration on the same theme, and the two documents were eventually treated as one (see Appendix B). In the post-Cold War climate, international commissions on education and culture, as well as the introduction of the concept of a culture of peace by UNESCO and the UN, brought new elements into these Guidelines.

Discursive comparison of the 1974 *Recommendation* with the 1995 Guidelines identified considerable differences in their style, content, repertoires, and wider discourses (see Appendix E). The Guidelines articulated education for peace, human rights, and democracy with sustainable development, and placed them all within the perspective of a culture of peace. They made no use of the instruction and stand-taking repertoires, but the factual and principled repertoires were used in turns. The adjusting repertoire was used in both documents, but applied to different issues: in the Integrated Framework of Action it occurred in the context of the universality of human rights, and in the 1974 *Recommendation* in the context of the instructions to MS. In both cases this repertoire was used to balance particulars and universals. The term "international education", which had an important use in the 1974 *Recommendation*, was not mentioned at all in the Guidelines.

An updated reporting system was established after 1995, but the problem of a low response rate was not solved. Human rights education received more attention; by contrast, after 2000 peace concerns faded from view, a development that correlated with the appointment of a new DG in 1999.

It is also possible that the concepts of peace and human rights became somewhat ideologically tainted by their respective supporters: socialist countries and a majority of the developing countries advocated the former and Western bloc countries the latter dimension. Accordingly, the Plan on peace issues was important for socialist countries and the Plan on human rights for Western bloc countries, while both groups were concerned with the implementation "fully and comprehensively" of the 1974 *Recommendation* that led to the approval of the new Guidelines in 1995. After the dissolution of the socialist bloc, peace concerns began to vanish altogether in UNESCO. The new emphasis given to a culture of peace in UNESCO after the end of the Cold War, faded away after the departure of the DG, Federico Major, in 1999.

The future of an integrated approach to education in UNESCO, maintaining both peace and human rights aspects, remains to be seen. The same can be said about a culture of peace. A resolution on a culture of peace was passed in 2009, and a report was submitted by the newly appointed DG [Irina Bokova] to the EXB in March 2010 on UNESCO's work on a culture of peace. These developments may mean that peace will once again receive more emphasis in UNESCO. The reporting system of the 1974 *Recommendation* is still in force. Its implementation by MS is included among the recommendations to be monitored by UNESCO, and the results of the next consultation are expected to be submitted to the GC in 2013.

6.4   General conclusions

This study has provided a number of elements for further reflection and research in several areas.

1. Bringing together peace and human rights during the time of the Cold War was a major accomplishment with political, educational, and ethical dimensions.

Making a close link between education for peace and education regarding human rights was seen as one of the breakthroughs of the 1974 *Recommendation* (Torney and Gambrell, 1980). It was an outstanding achievement from the point of view of educators, who were provided with one comprehensive recommendation. Many concrete steps were suggested that built upon nascent trends in education in many countries (e.g., student participation, expansion of civic education; see Sherrod, Torney-Purta & Flanagan, 2010). The heated debates generated by ideological conflicts during the formulation of the *Recommendation* were themselves fruitful because they compelled antagonists to justify their arguments more carefully than they would have needed to among the like-minded.

The 1974 *Recommendation* has been seen as a contribution to détente (Haggrén, 2005). According to Hopf (1999), the Viet Nam War and the crisis caused by the OPEC oil price increase showed "that power traditionally understood as nuclear superiority could not explain outcomes in world politics" (p. 3).

The 1974 *Recommendation* was adopted one year before the signature in Helsinki in August 1975 of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It presented 10 groups of principles for guiding relations between participating states, including the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, and human rights ("Conference on Security," 1975). The impact of the Helsinki Final Act was far-reaching: Thomas (2001) argues that the efforts of the European Community brought human rights for the first time onto the political agenda, and the final recommendations contained "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms including freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief," negotiated with the issue of "non-intervention in internal affairs" (Thomas, 2001, p. 62). It is apparently not as well known that bringing peace and human rights together had already been accomplished in the 1974 *Recommendation*.

2. The *Recommendation* can be seen in a broader international context than that of European security.

An important event in the radicalization of the Third World was the sixth special session of the UN GA hosted by Algeria in April 1974, when the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) was adopted. According to Rajagopal (2005), this was "a fundamental challenge to the 'old' international economic order that rested on colonial relationships" (p. 78): attempts to establish the NIEO took place during the period when "for the

first time, the Third World emerged as a major actor in a system-wide international crisis by claiming a right to economic development" (p. 77). However, by the end of the 1970s the NIEO was judged a failure by the USA and other countries of the West, who had blocked it, and "cracks in Third World coalition began to appear" (p. 78). Radical, fundamental change was replaced by incremental reforms (Rajagopal, 2005). The concerns of peace educators, in particular the continuing threat of nuclear war, as well as student unrest in Europe and other parts of the world, were still timely. UNESCO reports, such as *Learning to Be*, and Paolo Freire's pedagogy of freedom had a definite impact, especially in the West.

The implicit acceptance of "admissible" recourse to force and violence in the 1974 *Recommendation* should be seen in the light of support for the national liberation struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, the armed opposition to repression and dictatorship in Latin America, the Cuban revolution, and the Viet Nam War. This contributed to widespread arguments in favour of legitimizing the use of war and violence for liberation purposes, including the theoretical work of intellectuals such as Franz Fanon, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Michel Foucault (Wieviorka, 2004, p. 68). Apartheid in South Africa was another international concern within the UN system, and racism was thus a prominent issue.

The admissibility of force in favour of human rights and for humanitarian reasons is still topical. Jolly et al. (2009, pp. 27, 176) note that a norm is emerging concerning "humanitarian intervention" and "the responsibility to protect," with a belief in collective international responsibility to protect human beings when governments engage in murder or ethnic cleansing.

3. Peace, and what constitutes a "good" education, are increasingly broad concepts.

This study shows that it has been difficult to agree on the components of peace and introduce them into a normative instrument. The 1974 *Recommendation* linked peace and human rights in the field of education, and the Integrated Framework of Action added democracy and articulated sustainable and equitable economic and social development with peace, human rights, and democracy: all of these were conceived as essential to building a culture of peace. In 1983, the Intergovernmental Conference positioned the 1974 *Recommendation* "within a perspective to develop a climate conducive to the strengthening of security and disarmament." Specific programme areas articulated peace, respect for human rights, and the rights of peoples. The rights of women, who were not mentioned in the 1974 *Recommendation*, received a lot of emphasis in the 1995 Guidelines.

In the Integrated Framework of Action peace included non-violent conflict resolution and negotiation on an equal footing, approaches characteristic of a culture of peace. If peace was to be promoted by peaceful means, non-violence was crucial not only at a personal but also at an international level.

The difficulty of defining peace might also help explain the fluctuations of terminology, from talk of peace and security through international understanding to that of a culture of peace within UNESCO. The analysis of content issues

showed how the concept of international education had a political function; follow-up events support that interpretation, in that the term "international education" was used very little in UNESCO documents afterwards, probably because lots of Cold War countries were suspicious of each other's interpretation of what should be included in it.

But broad concepts introduced in the *Recommendation* are still used very broadly, for example under the name of "global education," as now used by the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe ("North-South Centre," 2010). An initiative by some NGOs ("Global campaign," 2010) uses the concept of peace education in an action called the "global campaign." The term "education for global responsibility" is used in a project of the Ministry of Education of Finland, following the North-South Centre concept of "global education"(Kaivola & Melén-Paaso, 1997; Savolainen, 1997). However, a year before "International Education 2010" figures in the title of the proposal by a working group of the Finnish Ministry of Education ("International Education", 2006). International education has been an important concept in the USA and the UK for several decades.

The integration of international understanding, co-operation, and peace with human rights and fundamental freedoms in the 1974 *Recommendation*, and the Integrated Framework of Action's addition of democracy, were far-sighted decisions. According to Jolly et al. (2009), the UN´ s work in the fields "of peace, sovereignty, development, and human rights have increasingly been brought together and become more *integrated intellectually*, [emphasis added] especially within the concepts of human security and human development" (p. 255). The importance of integration is evident in Chapter titles of their book, "Social Development: From Sectoral to Integrated Perspectives" (p.130), or "Human Development: From Separate Action to an Integrated Approach" (p. 186). The High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change convened by the Secretary General of the UN in 2004 (UN, 2004) identified six global threats:

- economic and social problems, including poverty, infectious disease, and environmental degradation
- interstate conflict
- internal conflict, including civil war, genocide, and other large-scale atrocities
- nuclear, radiological, chemical, and biological weapons
- terrorism
- transnational organized crime.

It is clear that all these threats are interlinked threats to peace. The list did not include a seventh threat: racism, ethnic and religious discrimination. However, the Panel considered that "the biggest failures of the United Nations in civil violence have been in halting ethnic cleansing and genocide" (UN, 2004, para. 87). The focus in the area of peace and security is shifting from preventing state conflict to protecting individuals within their own countries (Jolly et al., 2009).

In this respect, it should be noted that in the 1995 Guidelines MS were not even mentioned, although in the 1974 *Recommendation* their role was central. This reflects a change of focus: in 1974 world peace was the issue of concern, while in the 1995 Guidelines war and violence were seen as inflicted on those regarded as "others." Peace and human rights, conceived as absolute values in the 1974 *Recommendation*, became in the 1995 Guidelines, as I interpret them, political and instrumental responses to problems such as racial and ethnic hatred and the upsurge of terrorism. However, states are needed to settle peace related problems inside countries and between them.

Peace can be more difficult to define because it is not object of similar normative instruments as in the case of human rights. What kind of peace, to be achieved by what means, is a topic of permanent debate an interpretation. By contrast, international instruments of human rights are agreed at the level of the UN, and have specific content that limits their interpretation.

Peace itself as a subject of education was a central focus at the founding of UNESCO and during the Cold War. Then, "old approaches" to peace became overshadowed by a notion of a culture of peace. After 2000, it appeared to vanish from UNESCO's educational and other activities. New emphases were introduced and education for all became central to UNESCO activity. Human rights education acquired a higher profile in the reporting of the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation*. The Convention on the Rights of the Child has provided an impetus for new visions of citizenship and respect for human rights internationally (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011).

Environmental and development issues, in particular sustainable development and related education, have become prominent in the context of the UN's Millennium Development Goals. To these international examples a national example could be added, from Finland: the Law on the Comprehensive School in 1983 set as its general educational aim "to educate pupils who are balanced, are in good physical condition, are responsible, autonomous, creative, co-operative and willing to promote peace" ("Peruskoululait," 1983, Section 2 [my translation]). A subsequent law on comprehensive education ("Peruskoululait," 1998) did not mention peace any more but emphasized ethical responsibility, equality, and participation. Instead, the paragraph 2 containing educational objectives for children´s daycare that was included in 1983 into the law on the children´s day care in Finland ("Päivähoitolaki", 19.1.1973/36, 2 a §, (25.3.1983/304) has remained unchanged for 27 years. One of the goals of the day care is that it "should support the child's growth for joint responsibility and peace as well as for caring of the environment" [my translation]). Education for peace had its background in the 1974 *Recommendation*, but it was also a political issue in Finland.

4. The concept of a "good education" in relation to peace and human rights follows developments in the field of education policy.

In the 20 years that separated the 1974 *Recommendation* and the 1995 Integrated Framework of Action, considerable changes had taken place in education and

politics. Both documents introduced "modern" concepts of education for their time. Some terminology changed significantly: for example, the rights and responsibilities of the individual became citizen and civic commitments, and student participation was replaced by democratic management. The decentralization of educational policy recognized in the Guidelines contrasts with the state-centred world of the *Recommendation*, which focused on international action and co-operation. Rationality remained central to both documents, but the individual qualities invoked in the 1995 Guidelines reflected a new emphasis on conflict resolution, inner peace, and non-violence.

The authors of a book drawing upon the findings of the UN Intellectual History Project identify challenges for the future:

> The UN should initiate a global initiative to include an international component in school curricula at all levels. A globalized world requires that countries slowly adjust their national educational systems to help students gain some global perspective and improve cultural and religious understanding. Familiarity with emerging technologies is also important. Students need to leave school equipped to understand the global political, economic, and technological developments that will affect their lives. (Jolly et al., 2009, p. 231)

It seems that they were not aware of UNESCO's existing actions in this domain; however, the most important thing is that these challenges are recognized, and that they are still topical.

5. Work on normative action in education as it relates to peace involved collaboration by several actors.

UNESCO's MS, the Secretariat of UNESCO, and experts including those from NGOs all played a role in the political, economic, and cultural contexts at each period analysed. A similar complex grouping of actors was observed in the assessment by Jolly et al. (2009) of the development and implementation of UN ideas for sustainable development and human security: they suggest that there are three UNs—the first composed of the MS, who form the UN of governments, a second UN of staff members, and a third UN of closely associated NGOs, experts, and consultants (pp. 32-33).

Although MS (and the National Commissions for UNESCO) were the primary actors, it is evident that experts played an important role in the preparation of the 1974 *Recommendation*. The role of the Secretariat was a powerful one at all stages of the process. Acting in the name of the DG, the Secretariat influenced decisions in its capacity as the preparer of reports, documents, and drafts, intervening at meetings and interpreting decisions. The Secretariat is also expected to be familiar with earlier decisions, resolutions, rules, and procedures that can be brought up in debate, which are not always known to other participants. As noted, the Secretariat could also appeal to budgetary constraints and technical difficulties as a justification for choosing not to follow up decisions with action.

The role of these three groups of actors as identified here is consistent with other studies on international relations that recognize the role of non-state ac-

tors in these processes (Chabbott, 1998; Finnemore, 1993; Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001; Haas, 1992; Jones and Coleman, 2005; Senarclens, 1993), and with studies of the effect of competition for resources and programmes in international organizations (Le Prestre, 1986). These factors can outweigh consideration for the needs of the supposed beneficiaries, the educators themselves. Co-ordination and co-operation have been a concern from the beginning of UNESCO and evidently still need major effort if they are to be solved.

6. The role of consensus was crucial.

Consensus in the UNESCO context has been defined as a practice "designed to achieve the elaboration of a text by means of negotiation and its adoption without taking a vote" (M'Bow, 1978, p. 1). Consensus requires the agreement of practically all MS. The promotion of consensus by the Western bloc countries in UNESCO as almost a "natural" value and practice arose after the developing countries in combination with the socialist bloc came to form the majority in the UN and UNESCO in the 1960s. Wells (1987, p. 17) argues that the creation within a number of agencies of bodies mandated to achieve consensus on "controversial" issues, as defined by the West, was a means of containing opposition by the new majority. If this majority had systematically used their voting power to outvote the Western minority it would have caused major problems for UNESCO, as the Western bloc countries were its chief financial contributors. Although the USA did withdraw in 1985, followed by the UK and Singapore, other Western bloc countries remained in the organization. The former UNESCO DG, Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, considered consensus as a style of decision-making to be inevitable in the then state of the international community, although he also noted that consensus gives the minority a weight it would not have if the issue were settled by vote (M'Bow, 1978).

7. Definition of a universally agreed-on text is one thing, its practical interpretation is another.

A uniform interpretation of internationally drafted texts representing a universal ideal can be difficult to achieve. To reach that universal would require accommodating within it as many particular MS demands as possible. A universal, according to discourse theory, can be filled with so much content that it becomes an empty signifier that signifies a unity, a symbol of missing fullness, in other words, excessively general, and can then be interpreted to suit the particular interest of any MS. The main function of the adjusting repertoire, as shown, is to help reach agreement, but it also leaves space for different interpretations.

The universal is needed as a point of reference for the particular; in other words, universal guidelines are needed both for educators and for governments. The concepts of universal and particular, or of universal and relative values, are not mutually exclusive: "the universal is the symbol of missing fullness and the particular exists only in the contradictory movement of asserting at the same time a differential identity and canceling it through its subsumption in a non-

differential medium" (Laclau 1995, p. 101). Merry (2001) claims that relativism and universalism are not diametrically opposed, incompatible positions, and that both rights and culture are historically changing concepts, fluid and contested. Dembour (2001) argues that universalism and relativism cannot be considered independently of each other because each needs to accommodate the other to be sustainable. She sees the moral agent as inevitably drawn into a pendulum motion between universalism and relativism; when too close to one, the agent is compelled to revert to the other. (The adjusting repertoire, balancing the universal and the particular, functions as one mechanism of the pendulum.) If the in-between position is inherently unstable, as Dembour claims, this implies the need for awareness of the limitations of political efforts, for example in drawing up human rights legislation (see also Eriksen, 2001).

When the universal was sought in the internationally defined text of the *Recommendation*, by the use of what Laclau calls the logic of difference, the process was usually consensus; when the logic of equivalence was used, agreement was secured by a vote, in which majority opinion took the place of the universal (see Laclau, 2005a, 2005 b; Clohesy, 2005). MS were divided by their differences on the issues voted but were held together through the idea and general principles of the *Recommendation*.

As members of an international community constituted by the UN and UNESCO, MS are attached to the universalism that they represent. UNESCO as an organization exists for the sake of the universal ideal of peace, not an easy but necessary mission to fulfil even not to be fully achieved.

6.5 The originality and significance of this study

6.5.1 Originality of the study

I found almost no previous research on the normative work of UNESCO in education as it relates to peace, and none that combined discursive analysis of the text with analysis of the processes that led to it and followed it, as this study does. In particular, the application of the methodological approaches of repertoire analysis and also of discourse theory in this study is an original approach.

Problems of focus arose in the course of the study; this is of course a common problem in research, but some specific challenges had to be addressed in this case. "Education as a means to world peace through the case of the 1974 *Recommendation*" might seem a well-defined research topic, but the themes involved in it were wide-ranging and complex, as were their contexts, since the topic is intertwined with the whole history of UNESCO.

The normative work of UNESCO in the field of education as it relates to peace has been treated here as a point of convergence of many fields of study that do not fall within any specific academic discipline. Although very few academic studies have dealt with this particular issue, considerable research has

been done on the related fields of peace, human rights, international law, and international relations, among others.

The research process was difficult due to UNESCO's complex structure and the variety of types of document to be studied: working documents, reports, normative instruments, decisions, resolutions, declarations, action plans, frameworks of action, to name only a few. However, my access to documents was easier because of my position as former staff member. These various documents frequently refer to one another, facilitating the tracing of issues across time but making it hard to track their interconnection, even for someone familiar with UNESCO's workings.

On the positive side, repertoire analysis provided new insights into the nature of normative texts, and discourse theory helped to understand content areas of the 1974 *Recommendation* and interpret the processes of its composition. It might have been a problem to use two theoretical approaches in the same study, but in fact they complement each other; both are discursive approaches which belong within a general framework of social constructionism.

Analysing discourse is a subjective, intuitive, and interpretative process, and I have therefore quite frequently used the first person in the course of this work. What I was able to "see" in the text (Taylor, 2001), in the processes, and in the follow-up, and how I interpreted these, cannot be independent of my educational and professional experience, including that obtained at UNESCO. Having worked in the organization made analysis initially more difficult because it was different from looking at documents for work-related purposes. At the same time, familiarity with UNESCO terminology and to some extent with its documentation was helpful. The most interesting documents for this research were the proceedings of GC and EXB meetings, which transcribe the actual words of the delegates. (Many of these verbatim records were not on the Internet as of the writing of this study and had to be researched at UNESCO Archives.)

I approached my research as an analyst attempting to avoid promoting any issue or position (Juhila, 2006), merely the intention of understanding the process of drafting a normative instrument on education as it relates to peace and hence an understanding of this difficult kind of work. My interpretations may well be culturally bound: for example, and especially since rationality is a theme touched on, I should say that I too sought rationality in my search for some "reason" in the phenomena studied. Needless to say, the actors (MS, the Secretariat, and experts) who participated in the formulation of these texts may not have been aware of the repertoires and discourses I have identified based on my readings and re-readings. Other researchers can see the same documents from other perspectives and through other lenses.

6.5.2 Significance of the study

The significance of this study can be seen in societal and methodological terms, both intertwined in the research process. Societally, it describes the broad panorama of issues, difficulties, limitations, and possibilities involved in interna-

tional normative action in the field of education as it relates to peace. This panorama makes the work of UNESCO in this area more understandable: for example, although I formerly worked at UNESCO, the powerful impact of the Secretariat on many issues was surprising to me.

Methodologically this study provides tools for reading texts in similar genres from a hitherto unusual angle and can open new ways of reading the instruments developed by UNESCO. The repertoires and a wider discourse identified show how this internationally defined normative text contained implicit elements, values, and meanings which were not obvious from a "normal" reading.

The analysis of the repertoires and positions of different actors, in this case the GC and MS, stimulates reflection on the consequences that the use of different repertoires might have on social practices. For example, should UNESCO be an organization that instructs MS, declares universal principles, takes stand, or provides information from a variety of sources? Whichever is chosen has implications for practice, for example in the use of experts, the participation of NGOs, and relations between MS and UNESCO.

The methodological approaches used to analyse the text, the processes leading to it, and the follow-up show how the universal ideal was sought through particular actions and at the final stage by consensus or vote. This can be applied in further studies of crucial issues in democratic decision-making in international organizations, and also in other areas, since the problem of how to consolidate different viewpoints on one issue is a general and fundamental one. Whether decisions should be made by majority vote or by consensus, and whether consensus masks real problems, is a subject to be explored by other studies and debates.

Although the findings of this study are particular to the selected topic, many of them are generalizable to the reading of other international texts produced with the participation of culturally and politically different actors. I see these findings as being of interest for the democratic definition of policies, strategies, and action plans more generally, including the strategic documents produced by cities and municipalities. They also help explain why drafting and formulations are so important and time-consuming, in international organizations in particular—a situation often the target of criticism. (One might comment that compared to the time and resources spent on armaments, there is hardly a need for justification of these activities in any case.)

Given the political, cultural, economic, and practical importance of peace in all its facets, and that solutions still have to be found in all these areas, this study should provide elements for researchers, UNESCO, its Member States, and interested NGOs, all of whom might profit from the information included here and the history of related UNESCO actions. "Peace in the minds of people": this core component of UNESCO's purpose still requires work if it is ever to be fully achieved.

KASVATUS MAAILMANRAUHAN VÄLINEENÄ: TAPAUS-TUTKIMUS UNESCON 1974 HYVÄKSYMÄSTÄ SUOSITUK-SESTA (FINNISH SUMMARY)

Tutkimuksen tausta, tehtävät ja teoreettinen kehys

Väitöskirjani tavoitteena oli tutkia YK:n kasvatus-, tiede- ja kulttuurijärjestön (Unesco) normatiivista toimintaa rauhaan liittyvässä kasvatuksessa. Järjestö perustettiin toisen maailmansodan jälkeen vuonna 1945 nimenomaan rakentamaan rauhaa ihmisten mieliin. Normatiivinen toiminta tarkoittaa, että hallitukset sopivat asiaa koskevista yhteisistä säännöistä eli normeista ja laativat niistä kansainvälisen instrumentin. Se voi olla sopimus, suositus tai julistus (Unesco, 2010i). Sopimukset tulevat voimaan vasta jäsenvaltioiden ratifioitua ne, sen sijaan suositukset ja julistukset eivät edellytä tällaista lainsäädäntötoimenpidettä. Ne ovat silti merkittäviä asiakirjoja, joiden tarkoitus on vaikuttaa jäsenvaltioiden lakeihin ja käytäntöihin (UNESCO, 2010b).

Sekä rauha että kasvatus kuuluvat Unescon toiminnan ytimeen. Hallitustenvälisen kansainvälisen järjestön normatiivisessa toiminnassa on sovitettava yhteen erilaisia poliittisia ja kulttuurisia näkökantoja. Tulokseen pääseminen vaatii yleensä pitkällisiä neuvotteluja ja joskus äänestyksiä kiistakysymyksistä. Tekstin muotoilusta tulee olennainen osa normatiivisen instrumentin laadintaa. Siksi asetin tutkimukseni pääongelmiksi seuraavat kysymykset: Millaisia tuloksia voidaan saavuttaa ja mitkä prosessit johtavat niihin, kun poliittisilta, taloudellisilta ja kulttuurisilta taustoiltaan erilaiset toimijat pyrkivät Unescossa määrittelemään yhteisiä normeja rauhaan liittyvälle kasvatukselle? Koska yhteisistä pelisäännöistä sopiminen kuuluu olennaisesti myös demokraattisten yhteisöjen toimintaan, tutkimukseni pääongelmaa voidaan tarkastella yleisemmältäkin näkökannalta.

Tutkin pääongelmaa valitsemalla kohteeksi vuonna 1974 Unescossa hyväksytyn suosituksen Suositus *kasvatuksesta kansainväliseen ymmärtämykseen, yhteistyöhön ja rauhaan sekä ihmisoikeuksiin ja perusvapauksiin liittyvästä opetuksesta*. *Suositus* on yhä ainoa Unescon voimassaoleva normatiivinen instrumentti, joka käsittelee nimenomaan rauhaan ja ihmisoikeuksiin tähtäävää kasvatusta. Se hyväksyttiin kylmän sodan aikana, jolloin poliittiset ja taloudelliset eroavuudet ja ristiriidat silloisen Neuvostoliiton ja Yhdysvaltojen välillä vaikuttivat kansainvälisiin suhteisiin. Tämä konteksti luo lisävalaistusta tapaustutkimukseni pääongelmaan.

Rauhaan liittyvän kasvatuksen normatiivista toimintaa on tutkittu hyvin niukasti, mutta tällä toiminnalla on yhtymäkohtia moniin alueisiin, joita on tutkittu. Näitä ovat kansainväliset suhteet, kansanvälinen laki, normien vaikutus yleensä, sota ja rauha, rauhankasvatus ja ihmisoikeudet sekä niihin liittyvä kasvatus. Unescoa järjestönä on tutkittu varsin vähän.

Lähestyin tutkimuksen pääongelmaa useista eri näkökulmista. *Ensiksi* tarkastelin vuonna 1974 hyväksytyn *Suosituksen* tekstiä ja sen teemojen käsittelytapoja.

Suosituksen teksti syntyi useissa laatimisvaiheissa, joihin osallistuivat eri näkökantoja ja intressejä edustavat toimijat. *Suositus* ilmaisee näkemyksiä kasvatuksesta, rauhasta ja ihmisoikeuksista tiettyihin historiallisiin yhteyksiin liitettyinä. Selvittääkseni pääongelmaa analysoin *Suosituksen* sisältöä ja sen teemojen käsittelytapoja. *Toiseksi* selvitin, mitkä kansainväliset poliittiset ja Unescoon järjestönä liittyvät prosessit johtivat Suositukseen ja kuinka nämä prosessit etenivät. Kuvailin ja analysoin kaikkien *Suosituksen* laadintaan osallistuneiden toimijoiden – jäsenvaltioiden, asiantuntijoiden ja Unescon sihteeristön – kannanottoja kulloisessakin historiallisessa yhteydessä. *Kolmanneksi* kysyin, miten *Suositusta* seurattiin Unescossa ja mitä seurantaan liittyi. Normatiivisiin instrumentteihin kuuluu säännöstenmukainen seuranta, mutta sen lisäksi otin huomioon toimet, jotka Unescossa liittyvät rauhaa ja ihmisoikeuksia koskevaan kasvatukseen. *Suosituksen* vaikutukset jäsenvaltioissa jäivät tutkimukseni ulkopuolelle.

Käytin tutkimukseni yleisenä teoreettisena kehyksenä sosiaalista konstruktionismia ("Social constructionism", 2010). Sen puitteisiin voidaan sisällyttää kaksi diskurssianalyyttistä näkökulmaa, ensinnäkin sekä repertuaarianalyysi (Burr, 2002; Potter & Wetherell, 1990) että laajempien diskurssien erottaminen tekstistä ja toiseksi diskurssiteoria (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Howarth, Norval & Stavrakakis, 2000; Stavrakakis, 1997). Sovelsin näiden kahden diskursiivisen suuntauksen teoreettisia käsitteitä tutkimusaineistoni analysointiin ja tulkintaan. Analysoidessani *Suosituksen* tekstiä käytin repertuaarianalyysia ja laajempien diskurssien analyysia. Erittelin tekstin diskursiivisen lukemisen perusteella esiin nousseita sisältökysymyksiä diskurssiteorian avulla kiinnittämällä erityistä huomiota asioiden artikulaatioon eli siihen, miten asiat oli esitetty suhteessa toisiinsa esimerkiksi puhuttaessa rauhasta ja ihmisoikeuksista. *Suositukseen* johtaneita prosesseja analysoin ja tulkitsin diskurssiteorian käsitteiden avulla.

Vuoden 1974 suosituksen tekstin diskursiivinen analyysi

Vuoden 1974 suosituksen johdannossa kansainvälinen ymmärtämys, yhteistyö ja rauha sekä ihmisoikeuksien ja perusvapauksien kunnioitus esitettiin kaiken kattavina tavoitteina ja ylivertaisina arvoina. YK:n, Unescon ja yleismaailmallisen ihmisoikeuksien julistuksen tavoitteiden saavuttamista pidettiin *Suosituksessa* valtioitten velvollisuutena, ja kasvatus käsitettiin keinoksi saavuttaa nämä tavoitteet. Laclaun diskurssiteoriaan nojaten tulkitsin yleiskokouksen perustelevan *Suosituksen* tarpeellisuutta sillä, että se paljasti vallitsevan kansainvälisyyskasvatuksen puutteita ja loi näin implisiittisesti vaikutelman täyteydestä, jota *Suosituksen* esittämä uusi kasvatus edustaisi.

Analyysissä *Suosituksessa* erottui viisi erilaista puhe- tai esitystapaa. Nimesin ne ohjeistavaksi, periaatteelliseksi, tosiasialliseksi, kantaaottavaksi ja mukauttavaksi repertuaariksi. Ohjeistavassa repertuaarissa yleiskokous oli epäsuorasti ohjeitten antaja, koska se esitti jäsenvaltiolle, millaisia tavoitteita niiden tulisi kasvatukselle asettaa ja mitä niiden tulisi tehdä näiden tavoitteiden saavuttamiseksi. Ohjeistava repertuaari oli vallitseva, ja siinä jäsenvaltioille annettiin keskeinen rooli rauhaan tähtäävässä kasvatuksessa. Rooli vaihteli suoranaisesta toimeenpanijasta asian edistäjään tai rohkaisijaan. Käyttämällä tätä reper-

tuaaria yleiskokous, joka oli epäsuorasti ohjeitten antaja, asemoi itsensä auktoriteetiksi ja jäsenvaltiot ohjeitten noudattajiksi. Ongelmana tässä esitystavassa on kahden auktoriteetin välinen ristiriita, sillä jäsenvaltiot pyrkivät yleensä pitämään kiinni omasta riippumattomuudestaan.

Periaatteellisessa repertuaarissa ei mainittu jäsenvaltioita eikä niiden velvollisuuksia, vaan painopiste oli itse asiassa. Esimerkiksi opiskelijoiden osallistumista pidettiin itseisarvona ja kasvatus esitettiin abstraktina yksikkönä, jonka tulisi toteuttaa annettuja tavoitteita. Näin kasvatuksesta rakentui eettinen toimija, jonka piti noudattaa annettuja periaatteita, tai se nähtiin keinoksi toteuttaa yhteiskunnallisia päämääriä. Rauhaan ja ihmisoikeuksiin nivoutuvat yhteiskunnalliset tavoitteet oli esitetty itsestään selvinä. Niillä perusteltiin tai niistä johdettiin keinoja tai toimintatapoja tavalla, jonka katsoin kuvastavan laajempaa puhetapaa eli rationaalista diskurssia. Yleiskokous asemoi itsensä auktoriteetiksi myös periaatteellista repertuaaria käyttämällä.

Tosiasiallinen repertuaari ilmaisi olosuhteita ja tilanteita, joilla ohjeita, periaatteita tai kannanottoja perusteltiin. Tässä repertuaarissa olosuhteet ja tilanteet oli esitetty tosiasioina, olemassa olevina välttämättömyyksinä, oletettuun yhteisymmärrykseen perustuvana tietona tai asiantuntemuksena. Joissakin tapauksissa tosiasiallisella esitystavalla oli normatiivinen funktio: se esitti asian itsestään selvänä totuutena olettamalla, että myös käyttäjällä on oikea tieto asiasta. Tätä repertuaaria käyttämällä yleiskokous asemoi itsensä asiantuntijaksi, joka yhdessä jäsenvaltioiden kanssa tuotti tosiasioina esitettyä tietoa maailmasta ja sen tapahtumista. Tosiasiallinen repertuaari viittasi yleiseen, nimettömään asiantuntemukseen tai kulttuuriseen konsensukseen; molempia voidaan pitää retorisina keinoina selittää asian syitä (Derek & Potter, 1993). Kun *Vuoden 1974 suositus* esimerkiksi esitti tietyt toimet universaaleina, se perusteli niitä tosiasioilla, joista sai vaikutelman, että ne olivat yleisesti hyväksyttyjä, siis perustuivat kulttuuriseen yhteisymmärrykseen.

Kantaaottava repertuaari sisälsi arvolausumia tai eettisiä kannanottoja tiettyihin kysymyksiin. Tämä repertuaari oli sulautunut periaatteelliseen tai muihin repertuaareihin, mutta nimesin sen erilliseksi repertuaariksi sen sisältämän arvioivan sanaston perusteella. Tässä esitystavassa eivät yleiskokous tai jäsenvaltiot olleet suoranaisia kannanottajia eivätkä lauseiden subjektit olleet juridisia yksiköitä tai yksilöitä vaan abstrakteja toimijoita, kuten "opetus" tai "kansainvälisyyskasvatus", joiden oletettiin ottavan kantaa annettujen periaatteiden mukaan. Tässä repertuaarissa yleiskokous asemoi itsensä epäsuorasti kollektiiviseksi tuomariksi, joka määritteli "hyvän " ja "pahan" rajat. Kannan ottaminen merkitsee suorasti tai epäsuorasti aina kahden option olemassaoloa.

Mukauttavalle repertuaarille olivat tyypillisiä seuraavat seikat: 1. rajaaminen, joka merkitsi termien rajaamista *Suosituksen* puitteisiin (pykälä 1.). 2. normien soveltuvuusharkinta, jossa harkinta jätettiin jäsenvaltioille esimerkiksi näin: "Tarpeittensa *ja mahdollisuuksiensa mukaan* [painotus lisätty] kunkin jäsenvaltion olisi..." (pykälä 40). 3. avoin esimerkkiluettelo, kuten ilmaisussa "sellaisia ongelmia kuin" (pykälä 18). Luetteloon jätettiin implisiittisesti lukijalle mahdollisuus täydentää sitä. 4. toisen periaatteen käyttö vaihtoehtona, jolloin nostettiin

esiin muitakin kokemuksia kuin vain Unescon ASPRO- koulukokeilua (pykälä 23). Tämä repertuaari sisältyi muihin repertuaareihin eikä sen funktio ollut normatiivinen. Repertuaari osoitti, kuinka tärkeitä pienet yksityiskohdat voivat olla tekstin muotoilussa. Mukauttava repertuaari koski lähinnä jäsenvaltioiden velvollisuuksia eikä vaikuttanut *Suosituksen* varsinaiseen asiasisältöön.

Väitän, että mukauttava repertuaari on kansainvälisen toiminnan keskiössä, koska se auttaa sovittamaan yhteen erilaisia poliittisia, taloudellisia ja kulttuurisia näkemyksiä ja intressejä. *Suosituksessa* se lievensi jäsenvaltioille asetettuja velvollisuuksia esimerkiksi ilmaisuilla "sikäli kuin mahdollista" (pykälä 30a), tai "sopivaksi katsottuja" (pykälä 39) jolloin harkinta jäi jäsenvaltioille. Näin se edisti universaalien normien hyväksymistä. Tällä repertuaarilla oli välinearvoa siinä poliittisessa yhteensovittamisessa, jonka ansiosta Suositus voitiin hyväksyä. Tästä saatettaisiin ottaa oppia rauhan työssä yleisemminkin, sillä mukauttava repertuaari syntyi nimenomaan niin, että poliittisesti, taloudellisesti ja kulttuurisesti erilaisten toimijoiden näkemykset ja kiinnostuksen kohteet otettiin huomioon ja sovitettiin toisiinsa. Mukauttavaa repertuaaria voidaan pitää eräänlaisena lieventämisenä; on väitetty että "moite, kieltäminen, selitys ja lieventäminen ovat diskursiivisen toiminnan ydintä" (Derek & Potter, 1993, s. 34).

Nimesin *Suosituksesta* myös yhden laajemman diskurssin, rationaalisen puheen. Rationaalisuus ilmeni tarkoitushakuisena toimintana, tiettynä tapana rakentaa teksti ja uskona tieteeseen, tutkimukseen, kokeiluihin ja "oikeaan" tietoon. Sykes, Willig & Marks (2004*)* tekivät diskurssianalyysin Euroopan Komission terveydenedistämisohjelmasta ja erottivat siinä uskonnollisen, tieteellisen ja militaristisen diskurssin. Diskurssissa, jota nämä tutkijat kuvasivat tieteelliseksi, oli samoja piirteitä kuin erottamassani rationaalisessa puheessa. Kiinnitin myös omassa tutkimuksessani huomiota sotaisten sanojen käyttöön, kuten "taistelu" kolonialismin yhteydessä (pykälä 6) tai "taistelu elämisen laadun parantamiseksi" (pykälä 18d). Steffek (2003) piti rationaalista perustelua yhtenä kansainvälisten järjestöjen tärkeimmistä legitimoinnin keinoista, ja Finnemore (1996) katsoi länsimaisen rationaalisuuden levinneen kaikkialle maailmaan.

Analysoin useita *Vuoden 1974 suosituksen* sisältökysymyksiä käyttämällä välineinä myös diskurssiteorian käsitteitä.

1. Tapa, jolla rauha ja ihmisoikeudet oli ymmärretty tekstissä, vaati selvästi tarkempaa tutkimista. Niinpä erittelin erityisesti seuraavia kolmea seikkaa:
a) Rauha ja ihmisoikeudet oli tekstissä artikuloitu kolmella tavalla: ne oli esitetty yhtenä kokonaisuutena, erillisinä yksikköinä osana "laajenevaa kokonaisuutta" ja kokonaan omina erillisinä yksikköinään. Koska *Suosituksen* otsikko puhui kasvatuksesta kansainväliseen ymmärtämykseen, yhteistyöhön ja rauhaan sekä ihmisoikeuksiin ja perusvapauksiin liittyvästä kasvatuksesta, kysyin, oliko rauhaa koskeville seikoille annettu mahdollisesti etusija. Näin ei kuitenkaan ollut.

b) Rauha oli käsitetty integroiduksi osaksi kansainvälisen ymmärtämyksen, yhteistyön ja rauhan muodostamaa kokonaisuutta, ja se sai erilaisia painotuksia suosituksen eri yhteyksissä. Puhuttiin rauhan ylläpitämisestä tai maailmanrauhan kehittämisestä, toisessa yhteydessä taas ylläpitämisestä *ja* kehittä-

misestä yhtä aikaa. Rauhaa luonnehdittiin oikeudenmukaiseksi rauhaksi ja maailmanrauhaksi, ja se oli nivottu kansainväliseen ymmärtämykseen ja yhteistyöhön sekä taisteluun kolonialismia, uuskolonialismia, rasismia ja apartheidiä vastaan. Kansojen yhtäläiset oikeudet ja kansojen itsemääräämisoikeus kuuluivat olennaisesti *Suosituksen* rauhankäsitykseen. "Opetuksen olisi tähdennettävä, että sotaan turvautumista ei voida hyväksyä aluelaajennus-, hyökkäys- tai hallitsemistarkoituksissa, eikä pakkokeinojen tai väkivallan käyttöä voida hyväksyä alistamistarkoituksissa" (pykälä 6). Tämä muotoilu johti kuitenkin kysymykseen, mitkä sitten ovat "hyväksyttäviä" tarkoituksia sotaan turvautumiselle ja väkivallan käyttämiselle. Prosessien tutkiminen osoitti, että lausuman tarkoitus oli antaa oikeutus kansallisille vapautusliikkeille ja erottaa tässä mielessä "oikeutetut" sodat muista sodista.

Suosituksessa rauhan kehittämisen edellytettiin tähtäävän rauhan rakenteellisten esteiden poistamiseen ja korostavan sosiaalista ja taloudellista tasa-arvoa ja oikeudenmukaisuutta. Tässä mielessä rakenteelliset rauhan esteet vastaavat Galtungin (1969) käsityksiä positiivisesta rauhasta. Rauhan ylläpitämisen voidaan taas käsittää liittyvän negatiivisen rauhan käsitteeseen, jossa ei välttämättä esiinny avointa väkivaltaa vaan rakenteellista, jolloin siihen sisältyy yhteiskunnallista epätasa-arvoa ja epäoikeudenmukaisuutta mm. koulutukseen pääsyssä tai terveydenhoidossa. Kansainvälinen yhteistyö oli *Suosituksessa* ehdoton arvo sen lisäksi, että se sisälsi lukuisia käytännön toimenpiteitä. Tämä oli erityisen tärkeää kylmän sodan aikana, jolloin monet kommunikaatiokanavat osapuolten välillä olivat suljettuja.

c) ihmisoikeudet ja perusvapaudet oli artikuloitu yhdessä yhteiskunnallisten velvollisuuksien ja toisten oikeuksien kunnioittamisen kanssa. Rasismin vastaiset toimet olivat olennainen osa *Suositusta*. Sen mukaan opettajia olisi motivoitava tulevaan työhönsä, "johon kuuluvat ihmisoikeuksien etiikan omaksuminen ja halu muuttaa yhteiskuntaa siten, että ihmisoikeudet toteutetaan käytännössä." (pykälä 33a.) Syrjinnän vastaisia toimia ja epätasa-arvon poistamista korostettiin, mutta missään kohdassa ei mainittu selvästi naisiin kohdistuva syrjintää.

2. Analysoin ja vertailin termien "kasvatus" ja "kansainvälisyyskasvatus" käyttöä *Suosituksessa*.

Käsitteellä kansainvälisyyskasvatus oli siinä erityinen poliittinen funktio kylmän sodan kompromissina. Tämä käsite esitettiin yhteisenä nimittäjänä käsiteryhmälle, johon kuuluivat ensiksi "kansainvälinen ymmärtämys, yhteistyö ja rauha", toiseksi "erilaisen yhteiskunnallisen ja poliittisen järjestelmän omaavien kansojen ja valtioiden ystävällisten suhteiden periaate" ja kolmanneksi "ihmisoikeuksien ja perusvapauksien kunnioitus" (pykälä 1b). Kun nämä kolmen käsiteryhmän eri merkitykset tiivistettiin *Suosituksessa* ilmaisuun kansainvälisyyskasvatus, tulkitsin prosessin Laclaun terminologian mukaisesti katakrestiseksi eli toimeksi, jossa nimetään jokin, jolla ei ole aiemmin ollut nimeä. Kansainvälisyyskasvatus-käsitteen käyttö kuuluu nähdäkseni *Suosituksen* status quo -elementteihin eli rauhan säilyttämiseen Galtungin (2006) määrittelemän nega-

tiivisen rauhan käsitteen mukaan tai Christien (2006) määrittelemän väkivallan poistamiseen tähtäävän "episodisen" rauhankasvatuksen mukaan. Siinä ei pyritä muuttamaan vallitsevaa tilannetta vaan säilyttämään status quo. Verratessani termien kansainvälisyyskasvatus ja kasvatus käyttöä *Suosituksessa* havaitsin, että molempien haluttiin tähtäävän kasvatuksen kehittämiseen kokonaisuutena. Opetussuunnitelman ulkopuolisten toimien ei katsottu riittävän tavoitteen saavuttamiseen.

3. Kasvatuksen tavoitteet yksilötasolla sisälsivät emootioihin, käyttäytymiseen, tietoon ja nimenomaan sen kriittiseen analyysiin sekä toimintaan liittyviä seikkoja. Yksilötason tavoitteet olivat kiinteästi sidoksissa yhteiskunnallisiin tavoitteisiin, joilla perusteltiin usein sitä mitä yksilöltä edellytettiin. Yksilöllä tuli olla valmiudet osallistua ihmiskunnan tärkeimpien ongelmien ratkaisemiseen, yhteisön sivistyselämään ja julkisten asioiden hoitamiseen.

4. Kasvatuksellisissa lähestymistavoissa painottui "kansainvälinen ja maailmanlaajuinen tarkastelutapa"(pykälä 4 a). Rauhaan pyrkivän opetuksen sisällössä korostui tieteidenvälisyys ja ongelmakeskeisyys. Suositus sisälsi monia aikansa moderneja kasvatuskäsityksiä, kuten koulutukseen osallistuvien nuorten ja aikuisten tarpeitten huomioonotto ja "opiskelijoiden osallistuminen opintojensa ja oppilaitoksensa organisointiin" (pykälä 16). Jälkimmäinen kysymys oli tärkeä monissa maissa 60- ja 70-luvuilla, jolloin yliopistoissa eri puolilla maailmaa järjestettiin suuria mielenosoituksia nimenomaan opiskelijoiden osallistumisen puolesta (katso esim. Kurlansky, 2008).

Tarkastelin sisältöalueita myös repertuaarien näkökulmasta, jolloin kävi ilmi, että repertuaarit liittyivät tiettyihin sisältöihin. Kantaaottavan repertuaarin käyttö rajoittui lähes kokonaan sodan ja rauhan kysymyksiin, joissa ohjeistavaa repertuaaria ei käytetty ollenkaan. Mielenkiintoista erityisesti mukauttavassa repertuaarissa oli, ettei se mukauttanut varsinaista asiasisältöä vaan lähinnä sitä koskevia toimenpiteitä, joita jäsenvaltioiden tuli noudattaa.

Suositukseen johtaneet prosessit, toimijat ja kontekstit

Selvitin toista tutkimuskysymystä - mitkä kansainväliset poliittiset ja Unescoon järjestönä liittyvät prosessit johtivat *Vuoden 1974 suositukseen* ja kuinka niissä edettiin – pääasiassa Unescon dokumenttien pohjalta niin, että tarkastelin eri toimijoiden – jäsenvaltioiden ja niiden muodostamien ryhmittymien sekä Unescon sihteeristön – kantoja käsiteltyihin kysymyksiin. Kiinnitin huomiota myös asiantuntijoiden ja kansalaisjärjestöjen (NGO) rooliin. Tein analyysin makrotasolla ottamalla huomioon kunkin vaiheen historiallisen tilanteen. Tarkastelin hegemonista prosessia, jonka avulla päädyttiin universaaliin tekstiin. Toimijat ryhmittyivät prosessissa tekstin taakse yhtenäisenä joukkona tai erillisinä ryhmittyminä korostaen näkemystensä mukaisia asioita. Laclaun terminologian mukaan tulkittuna hegemoninen prosessi tapahtui kahta eri "logiikkaa", yhtäläisyyden tai erilaisuuden logiikkaa, noudattaen (Howarth, 2000; Laclau, 2005). Ensimmäisessä tapauksessa toimijoiden sisäiset erot eivät olleet merkittäviä,

mutta jälkimmäisessä ne korostuivat, jolloin kiistakysymykset saatettiin ratkaista äänestämällä. *Suositukseen* johtaneisiin hegemonisiin prosesseihin osallistuivat sekä jäsenvaltiot, sihteeristö että asiantuntijat. Tämä tutkimukseni osio valottaakin erityisesti Unescon työn monimutkaista luonnetta.

Rauhaan tähtäävään kasvatuksen normatiivisella säätelyllä on varsin pitkälle ulottuvat juuret. Siksi otin huomioon myös Unescon perustamista edeltävät toimet sekä sen, miten normatiivinen toiminta oli sisällytetty järjestön peruskirjaan. Seuraavaksi tarkastelin normatiivisen toiminnan kehittymistä rauhaan tähtäävässä kasvatuksessa eri historiallisissa yhteyksissä. Etenin Unescon varhaisista vaiheista (1945–1951) toiseen vaiheeseen (1960–1962) ja päädyin Suosituksen valmistelun lopulliseen vaiheeseen (1967–1974).

Unescon alkuvaiheissa jäsenvaltiot olivat yksimielisiä siitä, että kasvatus olisi suunnattava tukemaan kansainvälistä ymmärtämystä ja turvallisuutta, toisin kuin natsismin propagoima kasvatus, joka oli kylvänyt epäluuloja ja vihaa toisia kansoja ja kansanryhmiä kohtaan. Meksikossa järjestetyssä Unescon toisessa yleiskokouksessa vuonna 1947 tehtiin kaikkien kannattamana päätös kansainvälisen sopimuksen laatimisesta rauhaan ja turvallisuuteen tähtäävään kasvatukseen. Samassa yleiskokouksessa ei yleisen vetoomuksen hyväksyminen sodan vääjäämättömyyttä vastaan sujunut enää yhtä ongelmattomasti. Puola oli nimittäin tehnyt rinnakkaisesityksen, jota enemmistö piti poliittisena eikä katsonut sen kuuluvan Unescon toimivaltaan, joten se vastoin Puolan näkemystä integroitiin Ranskan laatimaan tekstiin.

Sihteeristö ei kuitenkaan pannut toimeen yleiskokouksen päätöstä kasvatusta koskevasta rauhaan ja turvallisuuteen tähtäävästä kansainvälisestä sopimuksesta. Tosin asiasta järjestettiin 1949 asiantuntijakokous, joka sopimuksen sijasta esitti suosituksen laatimista; päätökseen vaikutti sihteeristön kanta. Kokous laati myös suosituksesta yksimielisen luonnoksen. Sihteeristö konsultoi asiasta jäsenvaltioita, joista harvat vastasivat ja joista kukaan ei vastustanut suositusta. Vuoden 1951 yleiskokous ei tehnyt asiasta minkäänlaista päätöstä. Näin ajatus normatiivisesta instrumentista haudattiin noin vuosikymmeneksi. Tuona aikana kylmän sodan vaikutukset tuntuivat erityisen voimakkaina myös Unescon sihteeristössä.

Toinen vaihe normatiivisen instrumentin laatimisessa rauhaan tähtäävää kasvatusta varten sijoittui vuosille 1960–1962. Tällöin järjestöön oli liittynyt siirtomaavallan päätyttyä suuri joukko uusia jäsenvaltioita. Näihin kuului 17 Afrikan maata vuonna 1960, jolloin kokonaisjäsenmäärä oli 120, kun se järjestön alkuvaiheessa vuonna 1947 oli ollut vain 44. Ajatus julistuksesta rauhan edistämiseksi nousi uudelleen esiin 1960-luvun alussa YK:n yleiskokouksen päätöslauselmassa, joka esitti Unescon harkittavaksi mahdollista julistusta rauhan, keskinäisen kunnioituksen ja kansojenvälisen ystävyyden edistämiseksi. Myös Unescon yleiskokouksen päätöslauselma kehotti pääjohtajaa harkitsemaan mahdollisimman tehokkaita keinoja näiden seikkojen edistämiseksi. Jäsenvaltioitten mielipiteet jakautuivat puolesta ja vastaan. Sosialistiset maat olivat julistuksen kannalla useiden länsimaiden kannattaessa pikemminkin käytännön toimia. Tosin myös jotkut länsimaat kannattivat julista, joten mielipiteet eivät

siinä kysymyksessä jakautuneet kylmän sodan osapuolijaon mukaan. Ajatus julistuksesta kuitenkin haudattiin diplomaattisin kääntein niin, että päätöstä ensin siirrettiin ja sitten asia jätettiin sihteeristön myötävaikutuksella kokonaan ratkaisematta.

Unescossa käydyt keskustelut rauhasta yleensä ja siellä tehdyt päätöslauselmat tasoittivat tietä myöhemmälle normatiiviselle toiminnalle kasvatuksen tällä alueella, vaikka maaryhmittymien välillä vallitsikin näkemyseroja siitä, mitä rauhaan tulisi sisällyttää.

Katson lopullisen vaiheen *Suositukseen* johtaneissa prosesseissa alkaneen vuonna 1967. Tällöin pääjohtaja arvioi vuosille 1967–1968 hyväksyttyyn ohjelmaan tehdyssä täydennysosassa, että kansainväliset instrumentit kasvatuksessa olisivat tärkeitä rauhaa koskevien päätöslauselmien toimeenpanossa. Sen jälkeen sihteeristö teki alustavan selvityksen asian laillisista ja teknisistä näkökohdista. Vuonna 1972 yleiskokous päätti laatia suosituksen, joka ei koskisi vain kasvatusta kansainväliseen ymmärtämykseen, yhteistyöhön ja rauhaan, kuten sihteeristön selvityksessä esitettiin, vaan kattaisi myös ihmisoikeuksiin ja perusvapauksiin liittyvän kasvatuksen. Lisäys hyväksyttiin joidenkin Länsi-Euroopan maiden tekemän esityksen pohjalta. Sen jälkeen sihteeristö valmisteli alustavan raportin ja tekstiluonnoksen, jotka lähetettiin lausunnolle jäsenvaltioille. Saatuaan lausunnot ja kommentit sihteeristö laati uuden luonnoksen, jonka hallitustenvälinen asiantuntijakomitea viimeisteli ja jonka se lopulta, kiivaitten keskustelujen jälkeen, hyväksyi yksimielisesti toimitettavaksi samana vuonna 1974 pidetylle yleiskokoukselle. Työläästi saavutettu konsensus kuitenkin hajosi, koska yleiskokouksessa tehtiin muutamiin pykäliin (pykälät 6, 14 ja 15) muutoksia, jotka hyväksyttiin äänestyksen jälkeen. Viiden pohjoismaan vaihtoehtoista esitystä konsensuksen saavuttamiseksi (pykälät 14 ja 15) ei hyväksytty. Monet länsiryhmän maat pitivät kyseisiin pykäliin tehtyjä muutoksia poliittisina. *Suositus* hyväksyttiin kokonaisuudessaan äänestyksessä, jossa 76 maata äänesti puolesta, 5 (länsiryhmän maata) äänesti vastaan ja 15 pidättyi äänestyksestä.

Prosessien tutkiminen valaisi myös syitä siihen, miksi Suosituksen tekstiin oli sisällytetty tiettyjä asioita eli, kuten edellä mainittiin, miten *Suositus* lopulta käsitti myös ihmisoikeuksiin tähtäävän kasvatuksen. Tämä tutkimukseni osa syvensi myös ymmärrystä käytetyistä repertuaareista. Kantaaottavaa repertuaaria oli käytetty lähinnä edellä mainittuihin, länsiryhmittymän kiistanalaisiksi katsomiin kohtiin, jotka hyväksyttiin enemmistön äänin. Mukauttava repertuaari taas oli käytössä, kun kyse oli jäsenvaltioiden velvollisuuksista. Näin repertuaari auttoi mm. niitä maita hyväksymään tekstin, jotka korostivat hallintonsa desentralisoitua luonnetta. Tekstiin tehtiin myös viime hetkellä lisäyksiä, jotka olisi todennäköisesti voitu tehdä jo aiemmissa valmisteluvaiheissa. Tulkitsin lisäykset osoitukseksi diskurssien satunnaisuudesta (Howarth, Norval, & Stavrakakis, 2000; Laclau, 1994) ja katsoin niiden johtuneen paikalla olleiden jäsenvaltioiden tai asiantuntijan silloisista kiinnostuksen kohteista. Sihteeristön rooli oli keskeinen kaikissa valmisteluvaiheissa, niin esityksessä sisällyttää normatiivisen instrumentin laadinta Unescon ohjelmiin kuin tekstin muotoilussa ja sen asiasisällön määrittelyssä.

Suosituksen seuranta Unescossa

Seurannan analysointi makrotasolla osoitti *Vuoden 1974 suosituksen* hyväksymisen jälkeen, että Unescon rauhaan ja ihmisoikeuksiin liittyvässä kasvatusohjelmassa oli kolme erillisistä ja osittain päällekkäistä toimintalinjaa:

1. Ihmisoikeuksiin liittyvä kasvatus
Tätä kasvatusta varten hyväksyttiin erillinen suunnitelma vuonna 1980. Suunnitelma ei ole normatiivinen instrumentti eikä substanssia käsittelevä asiakirja vaan toimenpidelista. Sen hyväksyminen liittyi Unescon järjestämän ihmisoikeuksien opettamista käsittelevän kongressin suositusten toteuttamiseen. Suositusten toimeenpano kuului Unescon sihteeristön yhteiskuntatieteelliselle ohjelmasektorille.

2. Rauhaan liittyvä kasvatus
Tästä kasvatuksesta hyväksyttiin erillinen suunnitelma vuonna 1985, ja sen seuranta kuului Unescon sihteeristön kasvatussektorille. Suunnitelma vastasi muodoltaan ja sisällöltään ihmisoikeuksiin liittyvää kasvatusta koskevaa suunnitelmaa. Se hyväksyttiin yhtenä niistä suosituksista, jotka Unescon järjestämä hallitustenvälinen konferenssi laati ja toimeenpani. Konferenssin tarkoituksena oli tarkastella *Vuoden 1974 suosituksen* seurantaa "turvallisuudelle ja aseistariisunnalle suotuisan ilmapiirin kehittämisen näkökulmasta" (UNESCO, 1983d). Tämän hallitustenvälisen konferenssin järjestämiseen puolestaan vaikuttivat vuonna 1978 pidetyn YK:n yleiskokouksen ensimmäinen aseistariisuntaa koskeva erityisistunto ja Unescon vuonna 1980 järjestämä aseistariisuntakasvatusta koskeva maailmankongressi.

3. Integroitu lähestymistapa
Tässä lähestymistavassa rauhaan ja ihmisoikeuksiin liittyvä kasvatus oli esitetty toisiinsa kytkeytyvinä, kuten *Vuoden 1974 suosituksessakin.* Monissa yleiskokouksen päätöslauselmissa, myös niissä, jotka koskivat kahta muuta edellä mainittua toimintalinjaa, korostettiin rauhaan ja ihmisoikeuksiin liittyvän kasvatuksen yhteenkuuluvuutta. Unescon ohjelmissa, kuten esimerkiksi vuoden 1983 pääohjelmassa, rauha, kansainvälinen ymmärtämys, ihmisoikeudet ja kansojen oikeudet oli kirjattu kaikki samaan otsikkoon, mutta ohjelma- ja alaohjelmaosioiden otsikoihin ne oli merkitty erikseen.

Integrointi oli ilmeinen ongelma, mutta samanaikaisesti se oli tärkeä pedagoginen suuntaus, joka pyrkii holistiseen lähestymistapaan kokonaisvaltaisen rauhankasvatuksen käytännössä ja filosofiassa (Reardon, 1988, 1995). Integrointi jatkui, kun Unescon yleiskokous hyväksyi vuonna 1995 integroidun toimintakehyksen *Rauhan-, ihmisoikeus- ja demokratiakasvatuksen yhteiset perusteet.* Samalla yleiskokous vahvisti julistuksen, jonka kansainvälinen kasvatuskonferenssi (ICE) oli hyväksynyt samasta aiheesta edellisenä vuonna. ICE oli myös käsitellyt integroitua toimintakehystä, mutta se hyväksyi vain julistuksen ja jätti toimintakehyksen Unescon yleiskokouksen hyväksyttäväksi.

Vertailin *Vuoden 1974 suosituksen* ja *Vuoden 1995 ohjeiden* [Rauhan-, ihmisoikeus- ja demokratiakasvatuksen yhteiset perusteet] repertuaareja ja diskursseja. Ne olivat varsin erilaisia tyyliltään, asiasisällöltään ja repertuaareiltaan. *Vuoden 1995 ohjeet* ei ole Unescon normatiivinen instrumentti juridisesti katsottuna, vaikka sen tarkoitus oli saattaa *Vuoden 1974 suositus* ajan tasalle. *Ohjeet* sisältävät rauhan ja ihmisoikeuksien lisäksi uutena asiana demokratian; nämä kaikki artikuloidaan *Ohjeiden* sisällössä yhdessä kestävän kehityksen kanssa ja sijoitetaan osaksi rauhankulttuurin rakentamista. *Ohjeissa* ei ole kantaaottavaa eikä ohjeistavaa repertuaaria [jäsenvaltioita ei edes mainita], vaan siinä käytetään vaihdellen tosiasiallista ja periaatteellista repertuaaria. Mukauttavan repertuaarin käyttö on ominaista molemmille asiakirjoille, mutta *Ohjeissa* se koskee lähinnä ihmisoikeuksien universaaliutta, kun taas *Suosituksessa* sitä käytetään lieventämään jäsenvaltioille annettuja ohjeita.

Vuoden 1974 suosituksen seurantaa varten perustettu raportointijärjestelmä, jonka puitteissa jäsenvaltiot raportoivat suosituksen toimeenpanosta, uudistettiin vuonna 1995, mutta alhainen vastausprosentti oli edelleen ongelma. Ihmisoikeudet olivat korostetusti esillä, mutta rauhaan liittyvät näkökohdat olivat jääneet vähemmälle huomiolle, kuten Unescon ohjelmissakin vuosina 2001–2007. Asiaan saattoi vaikuttaa Koichiro Matsuuran nimitys pääjohtajaksi vuonna 1999, sillä aiempi pääjohtaja Federico Major oli panostanut nimenomaan rauhankulttuuriin sekä ohjelmissa että sihteeristön rakenteessa. On myös mahdollista, että rauhan kysymykset leimautuivat kannattajiensa vuoksi, sillä entiset sosialistiset maat ja useimmat kehitysmaat kannattivat niitä, kun taas länsiryhmittymä korosti ihmisoikeuksia. Kun sosialistiset maat lakkasivat olemasta sosialistisia, tilanne muuttui. Nähtäväksi jää, miten rauhan, ihmisoikeudet ja demokratian yhdistävään integroituun lähestymistapaan suhtaudutaan tulevaisuudessa ja miten kiinnostunut Unesco on tulevaisuudessa rauhan kysymyksistä. Joka tapauksessa seuraava *Vuoden 1974 suositusta* koskeva jäsenvaltioiden konsultointiraportti on suunniteltu esitettäväksi yleiskokoukselle vuonna 2013. Yleiskokous hyväksyi syksyllä 2009 rauhankulttuuria koskevan päätöslauselman, ja se johti uuden pääjohtajan Irina Bokovan toimesta hallintoneuvostolle maaliskuussa 2010 annettuun rauhankulttuuria koskevaan raporttiin.

Yleisiä johtopäätöksiä

Tutkimus antoi aihetta monien kysymysten lisäpohdintaan ja lisätutkimukseen.

1. Rauhan ja ihmisoikeuksien yhdistäminen kasvatuksessa oli kylmän sodan aikana merkittävä asia, jolla oli poliittisia, kasvatuksellisia ja eettisiä ulottuvuuksia.
Ihmisoikeuksien ja rauhan välinen läheinen yhteys on eräs *Vuoden 1974 suosituksen* läpimurroista (Torney & Gambrell, 1980). Kasvattajien näkökulmasta näin kattavaa suositusta voi pitää erinomaisena saavutuksena. *Suositusta* on pidetty myös osana idän ja lännen välistä poliittista liennytystä. (Haggrén, 2005). Se hyväksyttiin vuotta aiemmin kuin Helsingissä allekirjoitettu Euroopan turvallisuus- ja yhteistyökonferenssin päätösasiakirja ("Conference on Security",

204

1975). Euroopan yhteisön aloitteesta ihmisoikeudet tuotiin tässä asiakirjassa ensimmäistä kertaa poliittiselle agendalle, ja niistä neuvoteltiin yhdessä ”valtioitten sisäisiin asioihin puuttumattomuuden periaatteen kanssa” (Thomas, 2001, s. 62). Thomas (2001) arvioi tämän asiakirjan tulokset kauaskantoisiksi ja korosti niiden merkitystä entisen Neuvostoliiton hajoamiselle.

2. *Suositus* on nähtävä Euroopan turvallisuutta laajemmassa kansainvälisessä yhteydessä.
Uuden kansainvälisen taloudellisen järjestyksen (NIEO) hyväksyminen vuonna 1974 oli tärkeä tapahtuma kolmannen maailman radikalisoitumisessa. Kolmas maailma esiintyikin merkittävänä tekijänä sen aikaansaamisessa (Rajagopal, 2005). Kolonialismin vastaiset kansalliset vapautusliikkeet, Latinalaisen Amerikan diktatuurit, Kuuban vallankumous, Vietnamin sota ja Etelä- Afrikan apartheid radikalisoivat myös länsimaiden nuorison ja älymystön mielipiteitä. Mm. väkivallan käyttöä saatettiin pitää hyväksyttävänä ja laillisena, jos sen tarkoituksena oli maan tai kansan vapauttaminen kolonialismista tai diktatuurista. (Wieviorka, 2004).

3-4. Sekä rauha että se, mitä ”hyvällä ” kasvatuksella tarkoitetaan, ovat laajenevia käsitteitä.
Tutkimus osoitti, kuinka vaikeaa oli ollut sopia siitä, mitä rauhaan kuuluu. *Vuoden 1974 suositus* yhdisti rauhan ja ihmisoikeudet, *Vuoden 1995 ohjeet* lisäsi niihin demokratian ja piti rauhaa, ihmisoikeuksia, demokratiaa sekä kestävää ja oikeudenmukaista taloudellista ja sosiaalista kehitystä rauhankulttuurin rakennusvälineinä. Vuonna 1983 järjestetty hallitustenvälinen konferenssi näki *Vuoden 1974 suosituksen* antavan mahdollisuuden *”turvallisuudelle ja aseistariisunnannalle suotuisan ilmapiirin luomiseen”*, ja Unescon pääohjelmissa käsitteet rauha, ihmisoikeudet ja kansojen oikeudet kirjattiin kaikki samaan otsikkoon. Naisten oikeuksia ei mainittu *Vuoden 1974 suosituksessa,* mutta *Vuoden 1995 ohjeissa* ne olivat korostuneesti esillä. Rauha oli jälkimmäisessä asiakirjassa konfliktien rauhanomaista ratkaisua; se ei ollut enää maailmanrauhaa, vaan pikemminkin paikallista, rauhankulttuuriin liittyvää tai jopa sisäistä rauhaa.

Termin ”kansainvälisyyskasvatus” käytöllä oli *Vuoden 1974 suosituksessa* myös poliittinen funktio. Sitä käytettiin yhteisenä nimittäjänä yhdistämässä länsimaitten ja sosialististen maitten korostamia käsitteitä (pykälä 1b), joten se toimi siinä yhteydessä kylmän sodan kompromissina. Sen jälkeen termiä käytettiin Unescossa varsin vähän. Suomessa se on ollut käytössä kauan, mutta ”globaali kasvatus” näyttää tulevan sen tilalle (Kaivola & Melén-Paao, 1997; Savolainen, 1997). Eri elementtien integrointi sekä *Vuoden 1974 suosituksessa* että *Vuoden 1995 ohjeissa* vaikuttaa varsin kaukonäköiseltä nykyisen ihmisoikeuksia ja rauhaa koskevan kehityksen valossa (Jolly, ym., 2009). Rauha oli keskeisenä huolenaiheena Unescon alkuaikoina, mutta myöhemmin etusijalle ovat nousseet uudet painopisteet: ympäristö, kestävä kehitys, vuosituhannen tavoitteet ja ihmisoikeudet. Suomen peruskoululaissa rauhantahtoisuus oli tavoitteena vielä vuonna 1983, mutta ei enää vuonna 1998. Sen sijaan vuonna 1973 hyväksytyssä

päivähoitolaissa se on pysynyt 27 vuotta ("Päivähoitolaki", 19.1.1973/36, 2 a §, (25.3.1983/304)).

Myös kasvatukseen on tullut uusia painotuksia, kuten *Vuoden 1974 suosituksen* ja *Vuoden 1995 ohjeitten* välinen vertailu osoitti. Vaikka Unescon toimintaa ei tällä alueella tunnettane kovin hyvin, sekä *Suosituksen* että *Ohjeitten* viitoittama kasvatus vaikuttaa yhä ajankohtaiselta, sillä YK:n historiaprojektin yhteenvedossa esitettiin yhtenä tulevaisuuden haasteena (Jolly, ym., 2009) globaali aloite kansainvälisen ulottuvuuden sisällyttämisestä kasvatukseen.

5. Rauhaan tähtäävä normatiivinen toiminta vaati useiden toimijoiden yhteistyötä.

Normatiivissa toiminnassa toimijoina olivat niin jäsenvaltiot, asiantuntijat (kansalaisjärjestöt mukaan lukien) kuin sihteeristökin. Jolly ym. (2009) nostaa myös esille nämä kolme toimija ryhmää ja ehdottaa, että tässä mielessä tulisi puhua kolmesta YK:sta. Oma tutkimukseni osoitti, että sihteeristöllä oli vahva asema kaikissa toimintavaiheissa. Myös muut tutkimukset ovat osoittaneet muidenkin kuin valtioitten ja hallitusten roolin merkityksen kansainvälisissä suhteissa (Chabbott, 1998; Finnemore, 1993; Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001; Haas, 1992; Jones & Coleman, 2005; Senarclens, 1993).

6. Konsensuksen merkitys oli suuri.

Sen jälkeen kun kehitysmaat, liittoutumattomat ja sosialistiset maat tulivat enemmistöksi YK:ssa ja Unescossa (katso Wells, 1987; M´Bow, 1978), konsensuksesta, jota erityisesti länsiryhmän maat ajoivat, tuli tärkeä "luonnollinen" käytäntö ja arvo.

7. Universaalin tekstin laatiminen on asia sinänsä, sen käytännön soveltaminen toinen.

Suosituksen yhtenäinen tulkinta voi olla vaikeaa, sillä universaalin ideaali on saavutettu vain sovittamalla yhteen jäsenvaltioiden mahdollisimman monia erityisiä vaatimuksia. Universaali, yleinen on kuitenkin välttämätön, koska partikulaari, erityinen tarvitsee oman erityisyytensä vaatimiseksi universaalin, ja siksi nämä kaksi käsitettä eivät voi olla toisensa poissulkevia: "Universaali on puuttuvan täyteyden symboli, ja erityinen on olemassa vain vastakohtaisissa liikkeissä, jotka korostavat samaan aikaan eroavaista identiteettiä ja mitätöivät sen liittämällä sen osaksi jotain erottelematonta." (Laclau, 1995, s. 101). Samoin moraalinen toimija tulee väistämättä vedetyksi mukaan universalismin ja relativismin keskinäiseen heiluriliikkeeseen (Dembour, 2001). Itse asiassa mukauttavalla repertuaarilla oli tässä tutkimuksessa heilurin asema universaalin ja erityisen [jäsenvaltioiden erityisten vaatimusten] välillä. Unescon universaalinen ideaali, rauhan rakentaminen ihmisten mieliin ei ole helppo tehtävä, mutta se on välttämätön vaikka sitä ei täysin saavutettaisikaan.

REFERENCES

Adams, D. (Ed.) (1995). *UNESCO and a Culture of Peace, Promoting a Global Movement*. Paris: UNESCO.

Allahwerdi, H. (2001). *Kansainvälisyyskasvatuksen suosituksista mailman-kansalaisen kypsyyskokeseen* [From international recommendations to the challenge of global citizenship maturity test. The Finnish UN Association as an educator in international education]. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitos.

Armstrong, D., Farrell, T., & Lambert, H. (2009). *International law and international relations* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Behrstock, J. (1987). *The eighth case: Troubled times at the United Nations.* Lanham: University Press of America.

Blum, L. (1947). Address at the summer seminar on education for international understanding, Sèvres, 12 August 1947. UNESCO.SemLec/16. Unesco Archives.

Blumberg, H. H., Hare, A. P., & Costin, A. (2006). *Peace psychology. A comprehensive introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boulding, E. (1996). *Peace behaviours in various societies*. Paris: UNESCO.

Boulding, E. (2000). *Cultures of peace: The hidden side of history.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Brock-Utne, B.(1985). *Educating for peace: A feminist perspective.* New York: Pergamon Press.

Brock-Utne, B. (1989). *Feminist perspectives on peace and peace education.* New York: Pergamon Press.

Buergenthal, T., & Torney, J. (1976). *International human rights and international education.* Washington, DC: US National Commission for UNESCO.

Buergenthal, T. (1998). Certerpiece of the human rights revolution. In B. van der Heijden & B. Tahzib-Lie (Eds.), *Reflections on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A fiftieth anniversary anthology* (pp. 91-94). The Hague, the Netherlands: Kluwer Law International.

Buergenthal, T. (2006). The evolving international human rights system. *American Journal of International Law*, *100*(4), 783-807.

Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism.* London: Routledge.

Burr, V. (2002). *The person in social psychology*. London: Psychology Press.

Burr, V. (2003). *Social constructionism* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Can we educate for world peace? (2001). *UNESCO Courier*, *54* (12), 41. Retrieved 12 June 2010 from
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/ulis/cgi-bin/ulis.pl?catno=124780&set=4C13D1F3_1_252&database=unesbib&gp=2&mode=e&lin=1&ll=1

Carabine, J. (2001). Unmarried motherhood 1983-1990: A genealogical analysis. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S. Yales (Eds.), *Discourse as data. A guide for analysis* (pp. 267-307). London: Sage.

Chabbott, C. (1998). Constructing educational consensus: International development professionals and the World Conference on Education for All. *International Journal of Educational Development, 18* (3), 207-218.

Checkel, J. T. (1997). International norms and domestic politics: Bridging the rationalist-constructivist divide. *European Journal of International Relations, 3* (4), 473-495.

Christie, D. (2006). What is peace psychology the psychology of? *Journal of Social Issues*, *62*(1), 1-17. Retrieved 23 June 2010 from *Academic Search Elite*, EBSCO*host.*

Clohesy, A. M. (2005). The Human Rights Act: Politics, power and the law. In D. Howarth & J. Torfing (Eds.), *Discourse theory in European politics: Identity, policy, governance* (pp.170-189). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Coate, R. (1988). *Unilateralism, ideology, and US foreign policy. The United States in and out of UNESCO*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Coleman, K. (2007). *International organisations and peace enforcement. The politics of international legitimacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. (1975). *Final Act, Helsinki, 1975.* Retrieved 7 July 2010 from
http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/1975/08/4044_en.pdf

Dai, X. (2007). *International institutions and national policies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Daudet, Y., & Sing, K. (2001). *The right to education: An analysis of UNESCO's standard-setting instruments*. Paris: UNESCO.

Dembour, M.-B. (2001). Following the movement of a pendulum: Between universalism and relativism. In J. K. Cowan, M.-B. Demour, & R. A. Wilson (Eds.), *Culture and rights, anthropological perspectives* (pp.56-79). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Derek, E., & Potter, J. (1993). Language and causation: A discursive action model of description and attribution. *Psychological Review, 100* (1), 23-41. Retrieved 18 June 2010 from *Academic Search Elite*, EBSCO*host.*

Deutch, M., & Coleman, T. P. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of conflict resolution: Theory and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Disarmament education: a farewell to arms? (1980). *The UNESCO Courier: a window open on the world*, XXXIII (9). Paris: UNESCO.

Dumitrescu, S. (2009). The arbitrary nature of a totalitarian regime. In *UNESCO: Memories and reflections of former staff* (pp. 59-61). Paris: UNESCO.

Edley, N. (2001). Analysing masculinity: Interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, and S.Y. Yates, *Discourse as data. A guide for analysis* (pp. 189-228). London: Sage.

Eriksen, T. H. (2001). Between universalism and relativism: A critique of the UNESCO concept of culture. In J. K. Cowan, M.-B. Demour, & R. A. Wilson (Eds.), *Culture and rights, anthropological perspectives* (pp. 127-148). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (2002). *Media discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.

Faure, E., Herrera, F., Kaddoura, A. R., Lopes, H., Petrovski, A. V., Rahnema, M., & Ward, F. C. (1972). *Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow.* Paris: UNESCO.

Finnemore, M. (1993). International organizations as teachers of norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and science policy. *International Organization, 47* (4), 565-597. Retrieved 20 June 2010 from *Business Source Elite* database.

Finnemore, M. (1996). Norms, culture, and world politics: Insights from sociology's institutionalism. *International Organization, 50 (*2), 325-347.

Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (2001). Taking stock: The constructivist research program in international relations and comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science, 4,* 391-416.

Forster, N. (1996). The analysis of company documentation. In G. Symon & C. Cassell (Eds.),*Qualitative methods and analysis in organizational research: A practical guide* (pp. 147-166). London: Sage.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge.* London: Routledge.

Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research 6* (3), 167-191.

Galtung, J. (1975). *Essays in peace research* (Vol. 1, Peace research, education, action). Copenhagen: Ejlers.

Galtung, J. (1984). *There are alternatives! Four roads to peace and security.* Nottingham: Spokesman Books.

Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful means. Peace and conflict, development and civilization.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Gawerc, M. I. (2006). Peace-building: Theoretical and concrete perspectives. *Peace and Change, 31* (4), pp. 435-478.

Global campaign for peace education. (2010). The NGO campaign. Retrieved 8 May 2010 from http://www.peace-ed-campaign.org

Global education guidelines. (2010). North-South Centre of the Council of Europe. Retrieved 8 May 2010 from
http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/nscentre/GEguideline_presentation_en.asp.

Graves, N., Dunlop, O. J., & Torney-Purta, J. V. (1984). *Teaching for international understanding, peace and human rights.* Paris: UNESCO.

Haas, P. M. 1992. Introduction: Epistemic communities and international policy coordination. *International Organization*, *46* (1), 1-35.

Haggrén, H. (2005). Pohjoismainen Unesco-yhteistyö, Se oli semmosta arkista niin [Nordic co-operation within UNESCO, it was so commonplace]. In K. Lindgren (Ed.), *Ajankohta. Poliittisen historian vuosikirja 2005* [Point of time, yearbook of political history] (pp.295-321). Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Hawkins, D. G. (1997). Domestic responses to international pressure: Human rights in authoritarian Chile. *European Journal of International Relations (3) 4,* 303-434.

Henquet, P. (2009). The fallout of McCarthyism: The affair of the seven Americans. In *UNESCO: Memories and reflections of former staff* (pp. 57-59). Paris: UNESCO.

Hermon, E. (1988). The international peace education movement, 1919-1939. In C. Chatfield & P. van den Dungen (Eds.), *Peace movements and political cultures* (pp. 127-142). Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

Hinde, R. A. (1991). *The institution of war*. London: Macmillan.

Hinde, R., & Pulkkinen, L. (2001). Human aggressiveness and war. In *Pugwash: Occasional papers*, 2, 5-37.

Holsti, K. J. (1991). *Peace and war: Armed conflicts and international order 1648-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hopf, T. (1999). Introduction: Russian identity and foreign policy after the Cold War. In T. Hopf (Ed.), *Understandings of Russian foreign policy* (pp. 1-13). University Park: Penn State University Press.

Hornby, P., & Symon, G. (1996). Tracer studies. In G. Symon & C. Cassell (Eds.), *Qualitative methods and analysis in organizational research: A practical guide* (pp. 167-207). London: Sage.

Howarth, D. (2000). *Discourse*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Howarth, D. (2005). Applying discourse theory: The method of articulation. In D. Howarth & J. Torfing (Eds.), *Discourse theory in European politics: Identity, policy, governance* (pp. 316-349). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Howarth, D., Norval, A. J., & Stavrakakis, Y. (Eds.). (2000). *Discourse theory and political analysis: Identities, hegemonies and social change.* Manchester: Manchester University Press/New York: St. Martin's Press.

Howarth, D., & Stavrakakis, Y. (2000). Introducing discourse theory and political analysis. In D. Howarth, A. J. Norval, & Y. Stavrakakis (Eds.), *Discourse theory and political analysis: Identities, hegemonies and social change* (pp. 1-23). Manchester: Manchester University Press/New York: St. Martin's Press.

Howarth, D., & Torfing, J. (Eds.). (2005). *Discourse theory in European politics: Identity, policy, governance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Johnson, R., Pulkkinen, L., Oranen, M., & Poijula, S. (1986). Attitudes concerning nuclear war in Finland and in the United States. *Aggressive Behavior*, *12*, 155-166.

Jokinen, A., & Juhila, K. (2004). Valtasuhteiden analysoiminen [Analysing power relations]. In A. Jokinen, K. Juhila, & E. Suoninen (Eds.), *Diskurssianalyysin aakkoset* [Alphabets of discourse analysis] (3rd ed.) (pp. 75-108). Jyväskylä: Gummerus.

Jokinen, A., Juhila, K., & Suoninen, E. (2004). Diskursiivinen maailma. Teoreettiset lähtökohdat ja analyyttiset käsitteet [Discursive world. Theoretical approaches and analytical concepts]. In A. Jokinen, K. Juhila, & E. Suoninen (Eds.), *Diskurssianalyysin aakkoset* [Alphabets of discourse analysis] (3rd ed.) (pp. 17-47). Jyväskylä: Gummerus.

Jokinen, A., Juhila, K., & Suoninen, E. (Eds.). (2006). *Diskurssianalyysi liikkeessä* [Discourse analysis in movement] (3rd ed.). Vaajakoski: Gummerus.

210

Jolly, R., Emmerij, L., & Weiss, T. G. (2009). *UN ideas that changed the world.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Jones, M., & Salter, B. (2003). The governance of human genetics: Policy discourse and constructions of public trust. *New Genetics and Society, 22* (1), 21-42.

Jones, P. W. (1988). *International policies for third world education: UNESCO, literacy and development.* London and New York: Routledge.

Jones, P. W. (1990). UNESCO and the politics of global literacy. *Comparative Education, 34* (1), 41-60.

Jones, P. W. (1998). Globalisation and internationalism: Democratic prospects for world education. *Comparative Education, 34* (2), 143-155.

Jones, P. W. (1999). Globalization and the UNESCO mandate: Multilateral prospects for educational development. *International Journal of Educational Development, 19 (*1), 17-25.

Jones, P. W., & Coleman, D. (2005). *The United Nations and education. Multilateralism, development and globalization.* London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Juhila, K. (2006). Tutkijan positiot [Positions of the researcher]. In A. Jokinen, K. Juhila, & E. Suoninen (Eds.), *Diskurssianalyysi liikkeessä* [Discourse analysis in movement] (3rd ed.) (pp. 160-198). Vaajakoski: Gummerus.

Kaivola, T., & Melén-Paaso, M. (Eds.). (2007). *Education for global responsibility – Finnish perspectives.* Helsinki: Ministry of Education.

Kansainvälisyyskasvatus 2010 [International education 2010]. (2006). Ehdotus kansalliseksi kansainvälisyyskasvatuksen toimenpideohjelmaksi [A proposal for the national strategy of international education]. Helsinki: Opetusministeriö.

Kellogg-Briand Pact 1928 (2010). Retrieved 1 September 2010 from http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/kbpact.asp.

Krug, E. G., Dalberg, L. L., Mercy, J. A., Zwi, A. B., & Lozano, R. (Eds.). (2002). *World report on violence and health.* Geneva: WHO.

Kurlansky, M. (2008). *1968 vuosi joka vavahdutti maailmaa* [The year that rocked the world]. Helsinki: Like.

Laclau, E. (Ed.). (1994). *The making of political identities.* London: Verso.

Laclau, E. (1995). Universalism, particularism and the question of identity. In J. Rajchman (Ed.), *The identity in question* (pp. 93-108). New York and London: Routledge.

Laclau, E. (1996). Why do empty signifiers matter to politics? In *Emancipation(s)* (pp. 36-44). London: Verso.

Laclau, E. (2005a). *On populist reason.* London: Verso.

Laclau, E. (2005b). The "people" and the discursive production of emptiness. In E. Laclau, *On populist reason* (pp. 67-128). London: Verso.

Laclau, E. (2006) Ideology and post-Marxism. *Journal of Political Ideologies, 11* (2), 103-114.

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2001). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics* (2nd ed.). London: Verso.

Lacoste, M. C. (1994). *The story of a grand design. UNESCO 1946-1993.* Paris: UNESCO.

Le Prestre, P. (1986). A problematique for international organizations. *International Social Science Journal, 38* (1), 127-138

Lebar, P. (2009). The fallout of McCarthyism: Julian Behrstock. In *UNESCO: Memories and reflections of former staff* (pp. 55-57). Paris: UNESCO.

List of countries without armed forces. (2010). Wikipedia. Retrieved 22 May 2010 from

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_without_an_army

Maastricht Global Education Declaration. (2002). European strategy framework for increasing global education in Europe to the year 2015. Retrieved 8 May 2010 from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/nscentre/GE/GE-Guidelines/GEgs-app1.pdf

MacBride, S. (1981). *The media crisis: The problems faced in Unesco, the MacBride Commission report, the new information order, the challenges of Belgrade.* Miami: World Press Freedom Committee.

Mahatma Gandhi. (2010). Wikipedia. Retrieved 22 May 2010 from

http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma_Gandhi.

Mayor, F. in collaboration with Tanguiane, S. (1997). UNESCO, an ideal in action: the continuing relevance of a visionary text. Cultures of peace. Paris: UNESCO.

Martin Luther King, Jr. (2010). Wikipedia. Retrieved 22 May 2010 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Luther_King,_Jr.

M'Bow, A.-M. (1978). Address to the International Diplomatic Academy on "Consensus in international organizations." Paris: UNESCO.

Mehlinger, H. D. (Ed). (1981). *UNESCO handbook for the teaching of social studies.* Paris: UNESCO.

Merry, S. E. (2001). Changing rights, changing culture. In J. K. Cowan, M.-B. Demour, & R. A. Wilson (Eds.), *Culture and rights, anthropological perspectives* (pp. 31-55). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Middleton, H. (1991). Some psychological bases of the institution of war. In R. A. Hinde, *The institution of war* (pp. 30-46). London: Macmillan.

Mueller, J. (1991). War: Natural but necessary. In R. A. Hinde, *The institution of war* (pp. 13-29). London: Macmillan.

Mundy, K. (1999). Educational multilateralism in a changing world order: UNESCO and the limits of the possible. *International Journal of Educational Development, 19*, 27-52.

Normand, R., & Zaidi, S. (2008). *Human rights at the UN: the political history of universal justice.* United Nations intellectual history project. Bloomington, USA: Indiana University Press.

North-South Centre. (2010). Retrieved 31 May 2010 from

http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/nscentre/default_en.asp

Ochs, R. (2009). Stereotyped language. In *UNESCO: Memories and reflections of former staff* (pp. 36-37). Paris: UNESCO.

Page, J. S. (2004). Peace education: exploring some philosophical foundations. *International Review of Education, 50* (1), 3-15.

Page, J. S. (2008). The United Nations and peace education. In M. Bajaj (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of peace education* (pp. 75-83). Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.

Päivähoitolaki. (1973). [The Finnish law on the children´s day care]. 19.1.1973/36, 2 a §, (25.3.1983/304).

Pälli, P., Vaara, E., & Sorsa, V. (2009). Strategy as text and discursive practice: A genre-based approach to strategizing in city administration. *Discourse and Communication*, *3* (3), 303-318.

Palonen, E. (2008). Laclau ja Mouffe, diskurssiteoriaa ja radikaalia demokratiaa [Laclau and Mouffe, discourse theory and radical democracy]. In K. Lindroos & S. Soininen (Eds.), Politiikan nykyteoreetikkoja [Contemporary theorists of politics], pp. 209–232. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Peruskoululait. (1983, 1998). [Finnish laws for the Comprehensive School].

Pitkänen, L. (1969). A descriptive model of aggression and nonaggression with applications to children's behaviour. (Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research, No. 19). Jyväskylä, Finland: University of Jyväskylä.

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1990). Discourse: Noun, verb or social practice? *Philosophical Psychology, 3* (2/3), p. 205. Retrieved 26 June 2010 from Academic Search Elite database.

Pragmatism. (2010). Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy. Retrieved 2 October 2010 from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pragmatism/.

Public Execution. (2010). Wikipedia. Retrieved 22 May 2010 from http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special%3ASearchandsearch=public+executions&button=.

Pulkkinen, L. (1986). Sodan uhka turvattomuustekijänä [The threat of war as an insecurity factor]. In *Suomalaiset ja turvallisuuspolitiikka* [Finns and the security policy] (pp.160-172). Maanpuolustustiedotuksen suunnittelukunta [Planning committee of national security]. Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.

Pulkkinen, L., & Wahlström, R. (1987). Kasvu yhteisvastuuseen ja rauhaan [Growing to joint responsibility and peace]. Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.

Pulkkinen, L. (1989). Progress of education for peace in Finland. In R. Hinde & D.A. Parry (Eds.), *Education for peace* (pp. 88-101). Nottingham: Russell

Rajagopal, B. (2005). International law from below: Development, social movements and third world resistance. New Delhi: Foundation Books.

Rauner, M. (1999). Research report. UNESCO as an organizational carrier of civic education information. International Journal of Educational Development, 19, 91-100.

Reardon, B. (1988). *Comprehensive peace education: Educating for global responsibility.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Reardon, B. (1995). *Educating for human dignity: Learning about rights and responsibilities.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Reardon, B. (1997). Tolerance, the threshold of peace. Three units (primary, secondary and teacher education). (English, French, Spanish). Paris: UNESCO.

Rissom, H.-W. (1996). Erziehung zu Frieden, Menschenrechten und Demokratie: Von der 74er Empfehlung zum 94er Aktionplan. In K. Hüfner & W. Reuther (Eds.), *UNESCO-Handbuch* (pp. 31-36). Berlin: Luchterhand.

Savolainen, K. (2008). International aspects in defining global education. In T. Kaivola (Ed.) *Puheenvuoroja maailmanlaajuisen vastuuseen kasvamisesta* [Education for global responsibility] (pp. 14-25). Helsinki: Opetusminsiteriö.

Senarclens, P. (1993). Regime theory and the study of international organizations. *International Social Science Journal, 45* (4), 453-463.

Sherrod, L. R., Torney-Purta, J., & Flanagan, C. (2010). *Handbook of research on civic engagement in youth.* Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Published Online: 13 AUG 2010. Online ISBN: 9780470767603.

Short history of CEDAW convention. (2010) Retrieved 22 May 2010 from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/history.htm

Smith, A. M. (1998). *Laclau and Mouffe: The radical democratic imaginary.* London: Routledge.

Social constructionism. 2010. Wikipedia. Retrieved 2 March 2010 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_constructionism

Special rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery. (2010). *Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.* Retrieved 22 May 2010 from http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/slavery/rapporteur/index.htm

Stavrakakis, Y. (1997). Green ideology: A discursive reading. *Journal of Political Ideologies, 2* (3), pp. 259-279.

Steffek, J. (2003). The legitimation of international governance: A discourse approach. *European Journal of International Relations, 9* (2), 249-275.

Strang, D., & Chang, P.M.Y. (1993). The International Labor Organization and the welfare state: Institutional effects on national welfare spending, 1960-80. *International Organization, 47* (2), 235-262.

Suoninen, E. (1992). *Perheen kuvakulmat: diskurssianalyysi perheenäidin puheesta* [Angles of view to family: Discourse analysis of housewife's talk]. Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto.

Suoninen, E. (2004). Kielenkäytön vaihtelevuuden analysoiminen [Analysing variations in the use of language]. In A. Jokinen, K. Juhila, & E. Suoninen (Eds.), *Diskurssianalyysin aakkoset* [Alphabets of discourse analysis] (3rd ed.) (pp. 48-74). Jyväskylä: Gummerus.

Suoninen, E. (2006). Näkökulma sosiaalisen todellisuuden rakentumiseen [A perspective on the construction of social reality]. In A. Jokinen, K. Juhila, & E. Suoninen (Eds.), *Diskursssianalyysi liikkeessä* [Discourse analysis in movement] (3rd ed.) (pp. 17-36). Vaajakoski: Gummerus.

Sykes, C., Willig, C., & Marks, D. (2004). Discourses in the European Commission's 1996-2000 health promotion programme. *Journal of Health Psychology, 9* (1), 131-141.

Tamatea, L. (2005). The Dakar Framework: Constructing and deconstructing the global neo-liberal matrix. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 3, 311-334.

Taylor, S. (2001). Locating and conducting discourse analytic research. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S. Yales (Eds.), *Discourse as data. A guide for analysis* (pp. 5-48). London: Sage.

Thomas, D. C. (2001). *The Helsinki effect: International norms, human rights, and the demise of communism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Torfing, J. (1999). *New theories of discourse: Laclau, Mouffe and Zizek*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Torney, J., & Gambrell. L. (1980). Education, disarmament and human rights. In *UNESCO Courier: a window open on the world*, XXXIII (9), pp.5-9. Paris: UNESCO.

Torney-Purta, J. (2009). International psychological research that matters for policy and practice. *American Psychologist, 64(8),* 822-837.

Torney-Purta, J & Amadeo, J-A. (2011). Participatory niches for emergent citizenship in early adolescence. In F. Earls (Ed.). *The child as citizen. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 633 (in press).

Torney, F. V., & Gambrell, L. (1980). Disarmament education and teaching about human rights. Offprint from *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, 4. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Torney-Purta, J., & Wilkenfeld & Barber, C. (2008). How adolescents in 27 countries understand, support, and practice human rights. *Journal of Social Issues, 64*, 857-880.

Törnudd, K. (2008). Helvi Sipilän mukana Yhdistyneissä kansakunnissa [With Helvi Sipilä at the United Nations]. In M. Mickwitz, A. von Essen, & E. Nordgren (Eds.), *Roolien murtajat. Tasa-arvokeskustelua 1960-luvulta 2000-luvulle* [Breakers of gender roles. The discussion of gender equality from the 1960s to 2000] (pp. 138-150). Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Tsvetskova, N. (2008). International education during the Cold War: Soviet social transformation and American social reproduction. *Comparative Education*, 52 (2), 199-217.

UNESCO and a Culture of Peace. Promoting a Global Movement. (1995). Paris: UNESCO.

Van Hasselt, J. (1994). Welt-Bildungsministerkonferenz der UNESCO in Genf nach neuem Konferenzmodell. UNESCO heute IV. Bonn: Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission.

Van der Heijden, B., & Tahzib-Lie, B. (Eds.) (1998). *Reflections on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A fiftieth anniversary anthology*. The Hague, the Netherlands: Kluwer Law International.

Watson, K. (1999). UNESCO's vision for education in the twenty-first century: Where is the moral high ground? *International Journal of Educational Development 19*, 7-16.

Weil, P. (2002). *The art of living in peace. Guide to education for a culture of peace*. Paris: UNESCO.

Wells, C. (1987). *The UN, Unesco and the politics of knowledge*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Wieviorka, M. (2004). *La violence*. Paris: Lavoisier.

Wilson, D. N. (1994). Comparative and international education: Fraternal or Siamese twins? A preliminary genealogy of our twin fields (Presidential address). *Comparative Education Review, 38*, 449-486.

Winch, C., & Gingell, J. (2008). *Philosophy of education: The key concepts*. New York: Routledge.

Wolfle, D. (1946). Across the secretary's desk. *American Psychologist, 1* (6), 218-219.

Wood, L. A., & Kroger, R. O. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis. Methods of studying action in talk and text*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

World education report. (2000). *The right to education: Towards education for all throughout life*. Paris: UNESCO.

Yusuf, A. (Ed.). (2007). *Standard-setting in UNESCO*. Volume I. Normative action in education, science and culture. Leiden: UNESCO/Koninklijke Brill NV.

Zeeman, L., Poggenpoel, M., Myburgh, C. P. H., & Van Der Linde, N. (2002). An introduction to a postmodern approach to educational research: Discourse analysis. *Education, 123* (1), 96-102.

Unesco documents

Documents available in print only are shown as published in Paris by UNESCO. When no place of publication is specified, the document is available online at http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/ and its subpages, where it can be accessed by document name or document code.

UNESCO. (1945). *UNESCO constitution*. Retrieved from http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO. (1946a). *Programme commission. Verbatim record of the second meeting held on Monday 25 November 1946* (C/Prog.Com/Plen/V.R.). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1946b). *Records of the General Conference, first session, held at UNESCO House, Paris, 20 November-10 December 1946 (including Resolutions)* (1 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1946c). *Report of the preparatory commission for UNESCO* (UNESCO/C/2, 15 September 1946). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1947a). *Record of decisions of the Executive Board at its second session* (2 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1947b). *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, second session, Mexico 1947, Vol. 1: Proceedings*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1947c). *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, second session, Mexico, 1947, Vol. 2: Resolutions* (2 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1947d). *UNESCO's first summer seminar: an experiment in education for international understanding, report submitted by Howard E. Wilson, director of the seminar, to the Director-General of UNESCO* (SEM/25/ED).

UNESCO. (1947e). *Working party M: Education for international understanding. Summary record of the third meeting held on 18 November 1947* (2 C/M/SR.3). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1948a). *Executive Board, programme committee, fourth session: Summary record of the third meeting, 27 April 1948* (EX/4CP/SR3). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1948b). *Proposed programme and budget for 1949.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1948c). *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, third session, Beirut, 1948, Vol. 1.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1948d). *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, third session, Beirut, 1948, Vol. 2: Resolutions* (2 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1949a). *Meeting of experts to consider the advisability of UNESCO drafting a convention or recommendations directing educational programmes towards international peace and security* (Minutes, ED/Conf.10/SR).

UNESCO. (1949b). *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, fourth session, Paris, 1949: Resolutions* (4 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1950a). *Recommendation concerning the direction of school programmes towards international peace and security* (19 EX/12).

UNESCO. (1950b). *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO, fifth session, Florence, 1950: Resolutions* (5 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1950c). *Report of the programme committee of the Executive Board* (19EX/13 and ADD.).

UNESCO. (1950d). *Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its nineteenth session from 13 to 25 February 1950* (19 EX/Decisions & ADD. & CORR.).

UNESCO. (1950e). *Summary records* (19 EX/SR.1-24).

UNESCO. (1951a). *Records of the General Conference, sixth session, Paris, 1951: Proceedings*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1951b). *Records of the General Conference, sixth session, Paris, 1951: Resolutions* (6 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1951c). *A report of comments received from Member States on the draft recommendation concerning the direction of school programmes towards international peace and security* (25 EX/10).

UNESCO. (1951d). *Report of comments received from member states on the draft recommendation concerning the direction of school programmes towards international peace and security: General Conference, programme commission, sixth session, 4 April* (6C/PRG/6 & Appendix).

UNESCO. (1951e). *Report of the programme committee, 12th session* (25 EX/46).

UNESCO. (1951f). *Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its twenty-fifth session, 15-27 January 1951* (25 EX/Decisions & CORR.).

UNESCO. (1951g). *Summary records* (25 EX/SR.1-15 & CORR.).

UNESCO. (1952a). *Records of the General Conference, seventh session, Paris, 1952: Proceedings.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1952b). *Records of the General Conference, seventh session, Paris, 1952: Resolutions* (7 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1953). *Communications received from the governments of Hungary and Czechoslovakia* (33 EX/20 & ADD*).*

UNESCO. (1954). *Records of the General Conference, eighth session, Montevideo: Resolutions* (8 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1958). *Records of the General Conference, tenth session, Paris: Proceedings* (10 C/Proceedings).

UNESCO. (1959). *Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its fifty-fifth session, Paris, 23 November-5 December 1959* (55 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1960). *Records of the General Conference, eleventh session, Paris: Resolutions* (11 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1962a). *Measures designed to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples: report by the Acting Director-General of UNESCO* (ED/189, Annexes I, II, III and IV, 3 May 1962; WS/0362.47 (prov.)).

UNESCO. (1962b). *Records of the General Conference, twelfth session, Paris, 1962: Proceedings* (12 C/Proceedings).

UNESCO. (1962c). *Records of the General Conference, twelfth session, Paris: Resolutions* (12 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1962d). *Report of the Committee set up to draft the comments of the Executive Board on the reports of the Acting Director-General on the activities of the Organization: Executive Board, sixty-second session, Paris, 7 September 1962* (62 EX/12). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1962e). *Report on measures designed to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples* (61 EX/39 and Add.Rev.).

UNESCO. (1962f). *Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its sixty-first session, Paris, 7-29 May 1962* (61 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1962g). *Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its sixty-second session, Paris and Istanbul, 27 August-12 September 1962* (62 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1962h). *Summary Records. Executive Board, sixty-first session* (61 EX/SR, 21, 28). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1963). *Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its sixty-sixth session, Paris, 25 September-29 October 1963* (66 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1964a). *Proceedings* (13 C/VR). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1964b). *Records of the General Conference, thirteenth session, Paris, 1964: Resolutions* (13 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1966a). *Amendments submitted by Member States to the Draft Programme and Budget for 1967-1968* (14 C/8 & CORR. & ADD). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1966b). *Proceedings* (14 C/VR). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1966c). *Records of the General Conference, 14th session, Paris, 1966, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (14 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1966d). *UNESCO's contribution to peace: Bellagio meeting* (CLT/PH/CONF.BEL.66; WS/0866.56/CLT).

UNESCO. (1966e). *UNESCO's contribution to peace: Consolidated report by the Director-General concerning comments received from Member States* (14 C/11).

UNESCO. (1967a). *Preliminary proposals of the Director-General to the Executive Board to intensify during the next one to two budgetary periods the activities of the Organization in the service of peace, international co-operation and security of peoples through education, science and culture* (77 EX/16, Annex II and Add.1, 2, 3, 4, and 5). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1967b). *Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its seventy-seventh session, Paris, 9 October-4 November 1967* (77 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1967c). *Summary records. Twenty-fourth meeting, 31 October 1967* (77 EX/SR.1-32 (SR.24)). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1967d). *A supplement to the approved programme and budget for 1967-1968. Work plan for implementing the general resolutions adopted by the General Conference at its fourteenth session, May 1967.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1968a). *Approved programme and budget for 1969-1970* (15 C/5 APPROVED).

UNESCO. (1968b). *Records of the General Conference, 15th session, Paris, 1968, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (15 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1970a). *Draft programme and budget for 1971-1972* (16 C/5 & INDEX).

UNESCO. (1970b). *Meeting of experts on education for international understanding and peace, with special reference to moral and civic education* (Report, ED/MD/17).

UNESCO. (1970c). *Records of the General Conference, sixteenth session, Paris, 12 October to 14 November 1970, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (16 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1972a). *Amendments proposed by Member States to the draft programme and budget for 1973-1974 (document 17 C/5) and to the draft medium-term outline plan for 1973-1974 (document 17 C/4)* (17 C/8).

UNESCO. (1972b). *Desirability of adopting an international instrument on education for international understanding, cooperation and peace* (17 C/19).

UNESCO. (1972c). *Executive Board decisions* (89/EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1972d). *General Conference, 17th session, programme commission I (Education)* (17 C/95).

UNESCO. (1972e). *General Conference. Legal committee, 19th session, Nairobi, 1976, 3rd report* (19 C/128).

UNESCO. (1972f). *Possible international regulation on education for international understanding, cooperation and peace* (89 EX/11).

UNESCO. (1972g). *Preliminary study of the technical and legal aspects of international regulation on education for international understanding, co-operation and peace* (17 C/19, Annex II).

UNESCO. (1972h). *Proceedings. General Conference, 17th session, Paris, 17 October-21 November 1972* (17 C/Proceedings).

UNESCO. (1972i). *Records of the General Conference, 17th session, Paris, 17 October-21 November 1972, Vol. 1: Resolutions, recommendations* (17 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1972j). *Report of the PX Commission of the EXB (89/EX/SR)*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1973a). *Circular letter of the Director General (CL/2318)*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1973b). *Education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms: Preliminary report prepared in pursuance of Article 10.1 of the rules of procedure concerning recommendations to Member States and international conventions covered by the terms of Article IV, paragraph 4 of the Constitution* (ED/MD/27).

UNESCO. (1973c). *Invitations to the meeting of the special committee of governmental experts for the preparation of a draft recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* (93 EX/11). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1973d). *Resolutions and decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its 93rd session, Paris, 12 September-11 October 1973* (93 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1974a). *Amendments proposed by Member States to the draft programme and budget for 1975-1976: Document 18 C/5* (18 C/8).

UNESCO. (1974b). *Circular letter of the Director General (CL/2357)*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1974c). *Draft recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* (18 C/118).

UNESCO. (1974d). *Draft recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, special committee of governmental experts for the preparation of a draft recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, Paris, 1974* (18 C/24 & ADD) [Annex I: Draft recommendation, II: Report and III: List of participants] .

UNESCO. (1974e). *General Conference, 18th session, programme commission I (Education)* (Report, 18 C/120 & Annex).

UNESCO. (1974f). *Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms: Final report prepared in pursuance of Article 10.1. of the rules of procedure concerning recommendations to Member States and international conventions covered by the terms of Article IV, paragraph 4, of the Constitution* (ED/MD/32 & CORR. & ADD.1 & 2).

UNESCO. (1974g). *Records of the General Conference,18th session, Vol. 3* (18 C/Proceedings).

UNESCO. (1974h). *Records of the General Conference, 18th session, Paris, 17 October- 23 November 1974, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (18 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1974i). *Special committee of governmental experts to examine the draft recommendation concerning education for international understanding,*

220

cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, Paris, 1974 (Report, ED.74/CONF.208/4; ED.74/CONF.208/COL.4).

UNESCO. (1974j). *Unesco's contribution to peace and its tasks with respect to the elimination of colonialism and racialism, and implementation of the relevant resolutions relating to the African peoples striving for their freedom* (18 C/14/15).

UNESCO. (1975). *Circular letter of the Director General* (CL/2417). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1976a). *General Conference. Legal committee, 19th session, Nairobi, 1976, 3rd report* (19 C/128).

UNESCO. (1976b). *General report on the initial reports submitted by Member States on the action taken by them on the Recommendations adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session* (19C/128, Annex II).

UNESCO. (1976c). *Initial special reports submitted by Member States on the action taken by them upon the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the general conference during its 18th session* (19 C/19 & ADD).

UNESCO. (1976d). *Medium-term plan, 1977-1982, General Conference, 19th session, Nairobi, 1976* (19 C/4 approved).

UNESCO. (1976e). *Records of the General Conference, 19th session, Nairobi, 26 October-30 November 1976, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (19 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1978a). *Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war* (Res 4/9.3/2).

UNESCO. (1978b). *International congress on the teaching of human rights, Vienna, 1978: Final document* (SS.78/CONF.401/33; SS.78/CONF.401/COL.29).

UNESCO. (1978c). *Records of the General Conference, 20th session, Paris, 24 October-28 November 1978, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (20 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1978d). *Report of the Director-General on the conclusions of the international congress on the teaching of human rights, Vienna, 12-16 September 1978, General Conference, 20th session* (20 C/121).

UNESCO. (1980a). *Draft plan for the development of human rights teaching, General Conference, 21st session, Belgrade* (21 C/79).

UNESCO. (1980b). *Records of the General Conference, 21st session, Belgrade, 23 September-28 October 1980, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (21 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1980c). *Study of the advisability of preparing a convention on education and teaching in the field of human rights, General Conference, 21st session, Belgrade, 1980* (21 C/31).

UNESCO. (1980d). *World congress on disarmament education, Paris, 1980, report and final document: Disarmament education* (SS/MD/35).

UNESCO. (1983a). *Analytical methods of reporting on measures taken by Member States with regard to the implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education*

relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms (ED.83/CONF.214/3; ED.83/CONF.214/COL.2).

UNESCO. (1983b). *Education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, with a view to developing a climate of opinion favourable to the strengthening of security and disarmament* (ED-83/Conf.214/4).

UNESCO. (1983c). *Records of the General Conference, 22nd session, Paris, 25 October-26 November 1983, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (22 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1983d). *Report of the Director-General on the proceedings of the intergovernmental conference concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms with a view to developing a climate of opinion favourable to the strengthening of security and to disarmament* (22 C/74.).

UNESCO. (1983e). *Report on the evaluation of Unesco's educational programme and other relevant programmes from the point of view of the implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* (22 C/66).

UNESCO. (1983f). *Synthesis of Member States reports on the application of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* (ED.83/CONF.214/2; ED.83/CONF.214/COL.1).

UNESCO. (1984). *Decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its 120th session, Paris, 26 September-22 October 1984* (120 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1985a). *Draft plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace* (23 C/67).

UNESCO. (1985b). *Establishment of a permanent system of reporting on the steps taken by Member States to apply the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its 18th session, on 19 November 1974, General Conference, 23rd session, Sofia* (23 C/73).

UNESCO. (1985c). *Records of the General Conference, 23rd session, Sofia, 8 October-9 November 1985, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (23 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1986). *Draft statutes of the consultative committee on steps to promote the full and comprehensive implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* (Executive Board, 124 EX/14).

UNESCO. (1987a). *A chronology of UNESCO 1945-1987. Facts and events in UNESCO's history with references to documentary sources in the UNESCO archives and supplementary information in the annexes 1-2* (LAD. 85/WS/4 Rev).

UNESCO. (1987b). *Draft questionnaire on the application of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms: report, Executive*

Board, 126th session, committee on conventions and recommendations (126 EX/17).

UNESCO. (1987c). *Implementation of the plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace: Report of the Director-General* (126 EX/16).

UNESCO. (1987d). *Report on the activities undertaken to give effect to the recommendations of the Intergovernmental Conference on education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms with a view to developing a climate of opinion favourable to the strengthening of security and disarmament, 1983* (24 C/92).

UNESCO. (1988a). *Consultative committee on steps to promote the full and comprehensive implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms; 2nd session, Paris, 1988, final report* (ED.88/CONF.505; ED.88/CONF.505/COL.3).

UNESCO. (1988b). *Draft summary of national reports on steps taken by the Member States to implement the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, consultative committee on steps to promote the full and comprehensive implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, 2nd session, Paris, 1988* (ED.88/CONF.505.1/3; ED.88/CONF.505/COL.2).

UNESCO. (1989a). *First reports by Member States on the implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, General Conference, 25th session* (25 C/30 & ADD).

UNESCO. (1989b). *International congress on peace in the minds of men, 26 June-1 July 1989, Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire, final report* (SHS.89/CONF.401/6).

UNESCO. (1989c). *Records of the General Conference, 25th session, Paris, 17 October to 16 November 1989, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (25 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1989d). *Report by the Director-General on progress in implementing the first phase of the plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace, General Conference, 25th session* (25 C/73 & ADD.).

UNESCO. (1989e). *Report on progress in implementing the first phase of the plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace, Executive Board, 132nd session* (132 EX/11).

UNESCO. (1990a). *Background and guiding principles for elaborating an integrated action plan for the development of international education, consultative committee on steps to promote the full and comprehensive implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, 3rd session, Moscow, 1990* (ED.90/CONF.501/5).

UNESCO. (1990b). *Consultative committee on steps to promote the full and comprehensive implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, 3rd session, Paris, 1990, final report* (ED.90/CONF.501; ED.90/CONF.501/COL.1).

UNESCO. (1990c). *Final report, World conference on education for all: Meeting basic learning needs, 5-9 March 1990, Jomtien, Thailand.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1991a). *Desirability of replacing by a convention the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, 1974, General Conference, 26th session* (26 C/38 & CORR.).

UNESCO. (1991b). *Implementation of 25 C/Resolution 7.2 on the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace, and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, 1974: Report* (26 C/82).

UNESCO. (1991c). *Records of the General Conference, 26th session, Paris, 15 October-7 November 1991, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (26 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1991d). *Sexennial report on the progress achieved in the implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace, and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, 1974* (26 C/32).

UNESCO. (1992). *Consultation on the preparation of the elaborated version of the integrated action plan on the development of international education: Circular letter of the Director General* (CL/3295). Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1993a). *Action programme to promote a culture of peace, Executive Board, 141st session* (141 EX/16).

UNESCO. (1993b). *Full and comprehensive implementation of the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, 1974, and the preparation of the elaborated version of the integrated action plan for the development of international education* (27 C/90).

UNESCO. (1993c). *Records of the General Conference, 27th session, Paris, 25 October-16 November 1993, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (27 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1993d). *Report by the Director-General on the work of the international congress on education for human rights and democracy and follow-up in Member States to the world plan of action on education for human rights and democracy, Montreal, March 1993* (27 C/115).

UNESCO. (1994a). *Decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its 144th session, Paris, 25 April-5 May 1994* (144 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1994b). *Declaration of the 44th session of the International conference on education* (ED/BIE/CONFINTED 44/5).

UNESCO. (1994c). *Draft integrated framework of action on education for peace, human rights and democracy* (ED/BIE/CONFINTED 44/4).

UNESCO. (1994d). *Draft statutes of the Advisory Committee on education for peace, human rights and democracy* (144 EX/13).

UNESCO. (1994e). *International conference on education, 44th session, final report* (ED/MD/99).

UNESCO. (1994f). *Resolution of the International conference on education, 44th session, Geneva* (ED/BIE/CONFINTED 44/6).

UNESCO. (1994g). *Situation of education for international understanding, International conference on education, 44th session, Geneva, 1994* (ED/BIE/CONFINTED 44/INF.2).

UNESCO. (1995a). *Records of the General Conference, 28th session, Paris, 25 October-16 November 1995, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (28 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1995b). *Updating of the 1974 recommendation on international education: endorsement of the declaration and approval of the draft integrated framework of action of the International conference on education, 1994* (28 C/37).

UNESCO. (1996a). *Learning: The treasure within. Report of the international commission on education for the twenty-first century.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1996b). *Our creative diversity: Report of the world commission on culture and development.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1997). *Sexennial report on progress made in implementing the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, 1974* (29 C/INF.4).

UNESCO. (1998a). *Advisory Committee on education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding and tolerance: final report* (ED.98/CONF.501; ED.98/CONF.501/CLD.3).

UNESCO. (1998b). *Decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its 154th session, Paris, 27 April-7 May 1998* (154 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1999a). *Decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its 156th session, Paris, 25 May-11 June 1999* (156 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (1999b). *Draft questionnaire for the permanent system of reporting on education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding and tolerance* (156 EX/5).

UNESCO. (1999c). *Notes of the Director General: Adjusting the structure of the culture sector, DG/Note/99/9, 18 March 1999.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1999d). *Notes of the Director General: Coordination of the transdisciplinary project "Towards a culture of peace." DG/Note/99/10, 18 March 1999.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1999e). *Notes of the Director General: Establishment of a department of education for a culture of peace (education sector) and a department for peace, human rights, democracy and tolerance (social and human sciences sector), DG/Note/99/1, 21 January 1999.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (1999f). *Proposal by the Executive Board for an overall strategy for human rights education* (30 C/13).

UNESCO. (1999g). *Records of the General Conference, 30th session, Paris, 26 October-17 November 1999, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (30 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (1999h). *Report by the Executive Board's temporary group on human rights education* (156 EX/43).

UNESCO. (2000). *Dakar framework of action, World education forum, Dakar* (ED.2000/CONF.211/1).

UNESCO. (2001a). *Decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its 162nd session, Paris, 2-31 October 2001* (162 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (2001b). *Records of the General Conference, 31st session, Paris, 15 October-3 November 2001, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (31 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (2001c). *Synthesis of reports by Member States in the context of the permanent system of reporting on education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding and tolerance* (31 C/INF.5).

UNESCO. (2001d). *Synthesis of reports by Member States in the context of the permanent system of reporting on education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding and tolerance, and report of the committee on conventions and recommendations thereon* (162 EX/20).

UNESCO. (2002a). *Decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its 165th session, Paris, 7-17 October 2002* (165 EX/Decisions, 165 EX/10).

UNESCO. (2002b). *UNESCO-mainstreaming, the culture of peace.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2003). *Records of the General Conference, 32nd session, Paris, 29 September-17 October 2003, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (32 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (2005). *Records of the General Conference, 33rd session, Paris, 3-21 October 2005, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (33 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (2006). *UNESCO: Sixty years of standard-setting in education, science and culture.* Retrieved 17 June 2010 from http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=12024&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO. (2007). *Records of the General Conference, 34th session, Paris, 16 October - 2 November 2007, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (34 C/Resolutions).

UNESCO. (2009a). *Basic texts, 2010 edition, including texts and amendments adopted by the General Conference at its 35th session, 2009.* Retrieved 17 June 2010 from unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001874/187429e.pdf

UNESCO. (2009b). *Decisions adopted by the Executive Board at its 182nd session, Paris, 7-23 September 2009* (182 EX/Decisions).

UNESCO. (2009c). *Monitoring of the implementation of UNESCO's standard-setting instruments* (181 EX/27).

UNESCO. (2009d). *Monitoring of the implementation of UNESCO's standard-setting instruments* (182 EX/31).

UNESCO. (2009e). *Monitoring of the implementation of UNESCO's standard-setting instruments: comprehensive report by the Director-General on the Organization's standard-setting instruments* (35 C/INF.10).

UNESCO. (2009f). *Records of the General Conference, 35th session, Paris, 6 October - 23 October 2009, Vol. 1: Resolutions* (35 C/Resolutions).UNESCO. (2009g). *Report of the Committee on conventions and recommendations* (182 EX/68 & CORR.).

UNESCO. (2009g). *Report of the Committee on conventions and recommendations* (182 EX/68 & CORR.).

UNESCO. (2009h). *Results of the fourth consultation on the implementation of the 1974 recommendation concerning education for international understanding,*

cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms (182 EX/35).

UNESCO. (2009i)**.** *Staff regulations and staff rules, 2009* (HRM/SRR/1).

UNESCO. (2010a). *Considerations on a programme of action on a culture of peace* (184 EX/INF.9).

UNESCO. (2010b). *General introduction to the standard-setting instruments of UNESCO.* Retrieved 22 May 2010 from
http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-
URL_ID=23772&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO. (2010c). *History project of UNESCO.* Retrieved 15 February 2010 from
http://www.unesco.org/archives/committee.htm

UNESCO. (2010d). *Implementation of the 1974 Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* (184 EX/22).

UNESCO/IBE. (2010e). *International bureau of education.* Retrieved 27 March 2010 from http://www.ibe.unesco.org/en/organization/international-conference-on-education-ice.html

UNESCO. (2010f). *Report by the Director-General on UNESCO's work on a culture of peace* (184 EX/15 & CORR. & ADD).

UNESCO. (2010g). *Report of the Committee on conventions and recommendations* (184 EX/39, Annex).

UNESCO. (2010h). *Rules of Procedure concerning Recommendations to Member States and International Conventions covered by the terms of Article IV, paragraph 4, of the Constitution.* Retrieved 1 March 2010 from
http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-
URL_ID=21681&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO. (2010i). *Standard-setting instruments.* Retrieved 10 May 2010 from
http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-
URL_ID=12024&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO. (2010j). *UNESCO Member States.* Retrieved 5 April 2010 from
http://erc.unesco.org/portal/UNESCOMemberStates.asp?language=en

UNESCO. (2010k). *Who's who? Staff of UNESCO's communication and information sector.* Retrieved from http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-
URL_ID=1808&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UN documents

Unless otherwise noted the documents are available online at http://www.un.org/en/ and its subpages, and can be accessed by document code.

UN. (1945). *Charter of the United Nations.* Retrieved 9 May 2010 from
http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml

UN. (1948). *The Universal declaration of human rights.* Retrieved 3 November 2010 from http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/.

UN. (1959). *Declaration of the rights of the child* (A/RES/1386 (XIV)).

UN. (1960a). *Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples* (A/RES/1514 (XV)).

UN. (1960b). *Measures designated to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples* (1572 (XV)).

UN. (1961). *First UN development decade (1960-1970)* (A/RES/1710 (XVI)).

UN. (1975). Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (A/RES/3379(XXX)).

UN. (1978a). *The first special session on disarmament* (S-10/2).

UN. (1978b). *Declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace* (A/RES/33/73).

UN. (1979a). *Consideration of the declaration of the 1980s as the second disarmament decade* (A/RES/34/75).

UN. (1979b). *Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women* (A/RES/34/180)

UN. (1986). *International year of peace* (A/RES/37/16; A/RES/40/3).

UN. (1992a). *Declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities* (A/RES/47/135).

UN. (1992b). *United Nations conference on environment and development, Rio de Janeiro, 3-14 June 1992.* Retrieved from United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

UN. (1993). *Vienna declaration and programme of action for human rights* (A/CONF.157/23).

UN. (1994). *Plan of action for the United Nations decade for human rights education, 1995-2004: Human rights education – lessons for life* (A/RES/50/173).

UN. (1995a). *Report of the fourth world conference on women, Beijing, 4-15 September 1995* (A/CONF.177/20 and Add.1).

UN. (1995b). *The United Nations decade for human rights education* (A/RES/49/184).

UN. (1995c). *The United Nations year for tolerance* (A/RES/48/126).

UN. (1995d). *World summit for social development, Copenhagen, March 1995* (A/CONF.166/9).

UN. (1998). *International decade for a culture of peace and non-violence for the children of the world (2001-2010)* (A/RES/53/25).

UN. (1999). *Programme of action on a culture of peace, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations* (A/53/243).

UN. (2000). *International year for the culture of peace* (A/RES/52/15).

UN. (2002). *The report of the Secretary General of the UN on disarmament and non-proliferation education* (A/57/124).

UN. (2004). *Report of the high-level panel on threats, challenge and change. A more secure world: Our shared responsibility.* New York: United Nations.

APPENDIX A

(Available from
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001140/114040e.pdf#page=144)

Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

19 November 1974

The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris from 17 October to 23 November 1974, at its eighteenth session,

Mindful of the responsibility incumbent on States to achieve through education the aims set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, the Constitution of UNESCO, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of Victims of War of 12 August 1949, in order to promote international understanding, co-operation and peace and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Reaffirming the responsibility, which is incumbent on UNESCO to encourage and support in Member States any activity designed to ensure the education of all for the advancement of justice, freedom, human rights and peace,

Noting nevertheless that the activity of UNESCO and of its Member States sometimes has an impact only on a small minority of the steadily growing numbers of schoolchildren, students, young people and adults continuing their education, and educators, and that the curricula and methods of international education are not always attuned to the needs and aspire actions of the participating young people and adults,

Noting moreover that in a number of cases there is still a wide disparity between proclaimed ideals, declared intentions and the actual situation,

Having decided at its seventeenth session, that this education should be the subject of a recommendation to Member States,

Adopts this nineteenth day of November 1974, the present recommendation.

The General Conference recommends that Member States should apply the following provisions by taking whatever legislative or other steps may be required in conformity with the constitutional practice of each State to give effect within their respective territories to the principles set forth' in this recommendation.

The General Conference recommends that Member States bring this recommendation to the attention of the authorities, departments or bodies responsible for school education, higher education and out-of-school education, of the various organizations carrying out educational work among young people and adults such as student and youth movements, associations of pupils' parents, teachers' unions and other interested parties.

The General Conference recommends that Member States submit to it, by dates and in the form to be decided upon by the Conference, reports concerning the action taken by them in pursuance of this recommendation.

I. Significance of terms

1. For the purposes of this recommendation:

(a) The word `education' implies the entire process of social life by means of which individuals and social groups learn to develop consciously within, and for the benefit of, the national and international communities, the whole of theirs personal capacities, attitudes, aptitudes and knowledge. This process is ~not limited to any specific activities.

(b) The terms `international understanding', `co-operation' and `peace' are to, be considered as an indivisible whole based on the principle of friendly relations between peoples and States having different social and political systems and on the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In the text of this recommendation, the different connotations of these terms are sometimes gathered together in a concise expression, `international education'.

(c) `Human rights' and `fundamental freedoms' are those defined in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and on Civil and Political Rights.

II. Scope

2. This recommendation applies to all stages and forms of education.

III. Guiding principles

3. Education should be infused with the aims and purposes set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, the Constitution of UNESCO and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly Article 26, paragraph 2, of the last-named, which states: `Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.'

4. In order to enable every person to contribute actively to the fulfilment of the aims referred to in paragraph 3, and promote international solidarity and co-operation, which are necessary in solving the world problems affecting the individuals' and communities' life and exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms, the following objectives should be regarded as major guiding principles of educational policy:

(a) An international dimension and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms;

(b) Understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations;

(c) Awareness of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations;

(d) Abilities to communicate with others;

(e) Awareness not only of the rights but also of the duties incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations towards each other;

(f) Understanding - of the necessity for international solidarity and cooperation;

(g) Readiness on the part of the individual to participate in solving the problems of his community, his country and the world at large.

5. Combining learning, training, information and action, international education should further the appropriate intellectual and emotional development of the individual. It should develop a sense of social responsibility and of solidarity with less privileged groups and should lead to observance of the principles of equality in everyday conduct. It should also help to develop qualities, aptitudes and abilities which enable the individual to acquire a critical understanding of problems at the national and the international level; to understand and explain facts, opinions and ideas; to work in a group; to accept and participate in free discussions; to observe the elementary rules of procedure applicable to any discussion; and to base value judgements and decisions on a rational analysis of relevant facts and factors.

6. Education should stress the inadmissibility of recourse to war for purposes of expansion, aggression and domination, or to the use of force and violence for purposes of repression, and should bring every person to understand and assume his or her responsibilities for the maintenance of peace. It should contribute to international understanding and strengthening of world peace and to the activities in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations, and against all forms and varieties of racialism, fascism, and apartheid as well as other ideologies which breed national and racial hatred and which are contrary to the purposes of this recommendation.

IV. National policy, planning and administration

7. Each Member State should formulate and apply national policies aimed at increasing the efficacy of education in all its forms and strengthening its contribution to international understanding and co-operation, to the maintenance and development of a just peace, to the establishment of social justice, to respect for and application of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to the eradication of the prejudices, misconceptions, inequalities and all forms of injustice which hinder the achievement of these aims.

8. Member States should in collaboration with the National Commissions take steps to ensure co-operation between ministries and departments and co-ordination of their efforts to plan and carry out concerted programmes of action in international education.

9. Member States should provide, consistent with their constitutional provisions, the financial, administrative, material and moral support necessary to implement this recommendation.

V. Particular aspects of learning, training and action

Ethical and civic aspects

10. Member States should take appropriate steps to strengthen and develop in the processes of learning and training, attitudes and behavior based on recognition of the equality and necessary interdependence of nations and peoples.

11. Member States should take steps to ensure that the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination become an integral part of the developing personality of each child, adolescent, young person or adult by applying these principles in the daily conduct of education at each level and in all its forms, thus enabling each individual to contribute personally to the regeneration and extension of education in the direction indicated.

12. Member States should urge educators, in collaboration with pupils, parents, the organizations concerned and the community, to use methods which appeal to the creative imagination of children and adolescents and to their social activities and thereby to prepare them to exercise their rights and freedoms while recognizing and respecting the rights of others and to perform their social duties.

13. Member States should promote, at every stage of education, an active civic training which will enable every person to gain a knowledge of the method of operation and the work of public institutions, whether local, national or inter-national, to become acquainted with the procedures for solving fundamental problems; and to participate in the cultural life of the community and in public affairs. Wherever possible, this participation should increasingly link education and action to solve problems at the local, national and international levels.

14. Education should include critical analysis of the historical and contemporary factors of an economic and political nature underlying the contradictions and tensions between countries, together with study of ways of overcoming these contradictions, which are the real impediments to understanding, true international co-operation and the development of world peace.

15. Education should emphasize the true interests of peoples and their incompatibility with the interests of monopolistic groups holding economic and political power, which practice exploitation and foment war.

16. Student participation in the organization of studies and of the educational establishment they are attending should itself be considered a factor in civic education and an important element in international education.'

Cultural aspects

17. Member States should promote, at various stages and in various types of education, study of different cultures, their reciprocal influences, their perspectives and ways of life, in order to encourage mutual appreciation of the differences between them. Such study should, among other things, give due importance to the teaching of foreign languages, civilizations and cultural heritage as a means of promoting international and inter-cultural understanding.

Study of the major problems of mankind

18. Education should be directed both towards the eradication of conditions which perpetuate and aggravate major problems affecting human survival and well-being-inequality, injustice, international relations based on the use of force-and towards measures of international co-operation likely to help solve them. Education which in this respect must necessarily be of an interdisciplinary nature should relate to such problems as:

(a) equality of rights of peoples, and the right of peoples to self-determination;

(b) the maintenance of peace; different types of war and their causes and effects; disarmament; the inadmissibility of using science and technology for warlike purposes and their use for the purposes of peace and progress; the nature and effect of economic, cultural and political relations between countries and the importance of international law for these relations, particularly for the maintenance of peace;

(c) action to ensure the exercise and observance of human rights, including those of refugees; racialism and its eradication; the fight against discrimination in its various forms;

(d) economic growth and social development and their relation to social justice; colonialism and decolonization; ways and means of assisting developing countries; the struggle against illiteracy; the campaign against disease and famine; the fight for a better quality of life and the highest attainable standard of health; population growth and related questions;

(e) the use, management and conservation of natural resources, pollution of the environment;

(f) preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind;

(g) the role and methods of action of the United Nations system in efforts to solve such problems and possibilities for strengthening and furthering its action.

19. Steps should be taken to develop the study of those sciences and disciplines, which are directly related to the exercise of the increasingly varied duties and responsibilities involved in international relations.

Other aspects

20. Member States should encourage educational authorities and educators to give education planned in accordance with this recommendation an interdisciplinary, problem-oriented content adapted to the complexity of the issues involved in the application of human rights and in international co-operation, and in itself illustrating the ideas of reciprocal influence, mutual support -and solidarity. Such programmes should be based on adequate research, experimentation and the identification of specific educational objectives.

21. Member States should endeavour to ensure that international educational activity is granted special attention and resources when it is carried out in situations involving particularly delicate or explosive social problems in relations, for example, where there are obvious inequalities in opportunities for access to education.

VI. Action in various sectors of education

22. Increased efforts should be made to develop and infuse an international and inter-cultural dimension at all stages and in all forms of education.

23. Member States should take advantage of the experience of the Associated Schools which carry out, with UNESCO's help, programmes of international education. Those concerned with Associated Schools in Member States should strengthen and renew their efforts to extend the programme to other educational institutions and work towards the general application of its results. In other Member States, similar action should be undertaken as soon as possible. The experience of other educational institutions which have carried out successful programmes of international education should also be studied and disseminated.

24. As pre-school education develops, Member States should encourage in it activities which correspond to the purposes of the recommendation because fundamental attitudes, such as, for example, attitudes on race, are often formed in the pre-school years. In this respect, the attitude of parents should be deemed to be an essential factor for the education of children, and the adult education referred to in paragraph 30 should pay special attention to the preparation of parents for their role in pre-school education. The first school should be designed and organized as a social environment having its own character and value, in which various situations, including games, will enable children to become aware of their rights, to assert themselves freely while accepting their responsibilities, and to improve and extend through direct experience their sense of belonging to larger and larger communities-the family, the school, then the local, national and world communities.

25. Member States should urge the authorities-concerned, as well as teachers and students, to re-examine periodically how post-secondary and university education should be improved so that it-may contribute more fully to the attainment of the objectives of this recommendation.

26. Higher education should comprise civic training and learning activities for all students that will sharpen their knowledge of the major problems, which they should help to solve, provide them with possibilities for direct and continuous action aimed at the solution of those problems, and improve their sense of international co-operation.

27. As post-secondary educational establishments, particularly universities, serve growing numbers of people, they should carry out programmes of international education as part of their broadened function in lifelong education and should in all teaching adopt a global approach. Using all means of communication available to them, they should provide opportunities, facilities for learning and activities adapted to people's real interests, problems and aspirations.

28. In order to develop the study and practice of international co-operation, post-secondary educational establishments should systematically take advantage of the forms of international action inherent in their role, such as visits from foreign professors and students and professional co-operation between professors and research teams in different countries. In particular, studies and experimental work should be carried out on the linguistic, social, emotional and cultural obstacles, tensions, attitudes and actions which affect both foreign students and host establishments.

29. Every stage of specialized vocational training should include training to enable students to understand their role and the role of their professions in developing their society, furthering international co-operation, maintaining and developing peace, and to assume their role actively as early as possible.

30. Whatever the aims and forms of out-of-school education, including adult education, they should be based on the following considerations:

(a) as far as possible a global approach should be applied in all out-of-school education programmes, which should comprise the appropriate moral, civic, cultural, scientific and technical elements of international education;

(b) all the parties concerned should combine efforts to adapt and use the mass media of communication, self-education, and inter-active learning, and such institutions as museums and public libraries to convey relevant knowledge to the individual, to foster in him or her favorable attitudes and a willingness to take positive action, and to spread knowledge and understanding of the educational campaigns and programmes planned in accordance with the objectives of this recommendation;

(c) the parties concerned, whether public or private, should endeavour to take advantage of favorable situations and opportunities, such as the social and cultural activities of youth centers and clubs, cultural centers, community centers or trade unions, youth gatherings and festivals, sporting events, contacts with foreign visitors, students or immigrants and exchanges of persons in general.

31. Steps should be taken to assist the establishment and development of such organizations as student and teacher associations for the United Nations, international relations clubs and UNESCO Clubs, which should be associated with the preparation and implementation of co-ordinated programmes of international education.

32. Member States should endeavour to ensure that, at each stage of school and out-of-school education, activities directed towards the objectives of this recommendation be co-ordinated and form a coherent whole within the curricula for the different levels and types of education, learning and training. The principles of co-operation and association which are inherent in this recommendation should be applied in all educational activities.

VII. Teacher preparation

33. Member States should constantly improve the ways and means of preparing and certifying teachers and other educational personnel for their role in pursuing the objectives of this recommendation and should, to this end:

(a) provide teachers with motivations for their subsequent work: commitment to the ethics of human rights and to the aim of changing society, so that human rights are applied in practice; a grasp of the fundamental unity of mankind; ability to instill appreciation of the riches which the diversity of cultures can bestow on every individual, group or nation;

(b) provide basic interdisciplinary knowledge of world problems and the problems of international co-operation, through, among other means, work to solve these problems;

(c) prepare teachers themselves to take an active part in devising programmes of international education and educational equipment and materials, taking into account the aspirations of pupils and working in close collaboration with them;

(d) comprise experiments in the use of active methods of education and training in at least elementary techniques of evaluation, particularly those applicable to the social behavior and attitudes of children, adolescents and adults;

(e) develop aptitudes and skills such as a desire and ability to make educational innovations and to continue his or her training; experience in teamwork and in interdisciplinary studies; knowledge of group dynamics; and the ability to create favorable opportunities and take advantage of them;

(f) include the study of experiments in international education, especially innovative experiments carried out in other countries, and provide those concerned, to the fullest possible extent, with opportunities for making direct contact with foreign teachers.

34. Member States should provide those concerned with direction, supervision or guidance-for instance, inspectors, educational advisers, principals of teacher-training colleges and organizers of, educational activities for young people and adults-with training, information and advice enabling them to help teachers work towards the objectives of this recommendation, taking into account the aspirations of young people with regard to international problems and new educational methods that are likely to improve prospects for fulfilling these aspirations. For these purposes, seminars or refresher courses relating to international and inter-cultural education should be organized to bring together authorities and teachers; other seminars or courses might permit supervisory personnel and teachers to meet with other groups concerned such as parents, students, and teachers' associations. Since there must be a gradual but profound change in the role of education, the results of experiments for the remodelling of structures and- hierarchical relations in educational establishments should be reflected in training, information and advice.

35. Member States should endeavour to ensure that any programme of further training for teachers in service or for personnel responsible for direction includes components of international education and opportunities to compare the results of their experiences in international education.

36. Member States should encourage and facilitate educational study and refresher courses abroad, particularly by-awarding fellowships, and should encourage recognition of such courses as part of the regular process of initial training, appointment, refresher training and promotion of teachers.

37. Member States should organize or assist bilateral exchanges of teachers at all levels of education.

VIII. Educational equipment and materials

38. Member States should increase their efforts to facilitate the renewal, pro-duction, dissemination and exchange of equipment and materials for international education, giving special consideration to the fact that in many countries pupils and students receive most of their knowledge about international affairs through the mass media outside the school. To meet the needs expressed by those concerned with international education, efforts should

be concentrated on overcoming the lack of teaching aids and on improving their quality. Action should be on the following lines:

(a) appropriate and constructive use should be made of the entire range of equipment and aids available, from textbooks to television, and of the new educational technology;

(b) there should be a component of special mass media education in teaching to help the pupils to select and analyse the information conveyed by mass media;

(c) a global approach, comprising the introduction of international components, serving as a framework for presenting local and national aspects of different subjects and illustrating the scientific and cultural history of mankind, should be employed in textbooks and all other aids to learning, with due regard to the value of the visual arts and music as factors conducive to understanding between different cultures;

(d) written and audio-visual materials of an interdisciplinary nature. illustrating the major problems confronting mankind and showing in each case the need for international co-operation and its practical form should be prepared in the language or languages of instruction of the country with the aid of information supplied by the United Nations, UNESCO and other Specialized Agencies;

(e) documents and other materials illustrating the culture and the way of life of each country, the chief problems with which it is faced, and its participation in activities of world-wide concern should be prepared and communicated to other countries.

39. Member States should promote appropriate measures to ensure that edu-cational aids, especially textbooks, are free from elements liable to give rise to misunderstanding, mistrust, racialist reactions, contempt or hatred with regard to other groups or peoples. Materials should provide a broad background of knowledge, which will help learners to evaluate information and ideas disseminated through the mass media that seem to run counter to the aims of this recommendation.

40. According to its needs and possibilities, each Member State should establish or help to establish one or more documentation centres offering written and audio-visual material devised according to the objectives of this recommendation and adapted to the different forms and stages of education. These centres should be designed to foster the reform of international education, especially by developing and disseminating innovative ideas and materials, and should also organize and facilitate exchanges of information with other countries.

IX. Research and experimentation

41. Member States should stimulate and support research on the foundations, guiding principles, means of implementation and effects of international education and on innovations and experimental activities in this field, such as those taking place in the Associated Schools. This action calls for collaboration by universities, research bodies and centres, teacher-training institutions, adult education training centres and appropriate non-governmental organizations.

42. Member States should take appropriate steps to ensure that teachers and the various authorities concerned build international education on a sound psychological and

sociological basis by applying the results of research carried out in each country on the formation and development of favourable or unfavourable attitudes and behaviour, on attitude- change, on the interaction of personality development and education and on the positive or negative effects of educational activity. A substantial part of this research-should be devoted to the aspirations of young people concerning international problems and relations.

X. International co-operation

43. Member States should consider international co-operation a responsibility in developing international education. In the implementation of this recommendation they should refrain from intervening in matters, which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State in accordance with the United Nations Charter. By their own actions, they should demonstrate that implementing this recommendation is itself an exercise in international understanding and co-operation. They should, for example, organize, or help the appropriate authorities and non-governmental organizations to organize, an increasing number of international meetings and study sessions on international education; strengthen their programmes for the reception of foreign students, research workers, teachers and educators belonging to workers' associations and adult education associations; promote reciprocal visits by schoolchildren, and student and teacher exchanges; extend and intensify exchanges of information on cultures and ways of life; arrange for the translation or adaptation and dissemination of information and suggestions coming from other countries.

44. Member States should encourage the co-operation between their Associated Schools and those of other countries with the help of UNESCO in order to promote mutual benefits by expanding their experiences in a wider international perspective.

45. Member States should encourage wider exchanges of textbooks, especially history and geography textbooks, and should, where appropriate, take measures, by concluding, if possible, bilateral and multilateral agreements, for the reciprocal study and revision of textbooks and other educational materials in order to ensure that they are accurate, balanced, up to date and unprejudiced and will enhance mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.

APPENDIX B

Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy

(The colour version distributed by UNESCO is available from: http://www.unesco.org/education/nfsunesco/pdf/REV_74_E.PDF. Retrieved 24 September 2010.
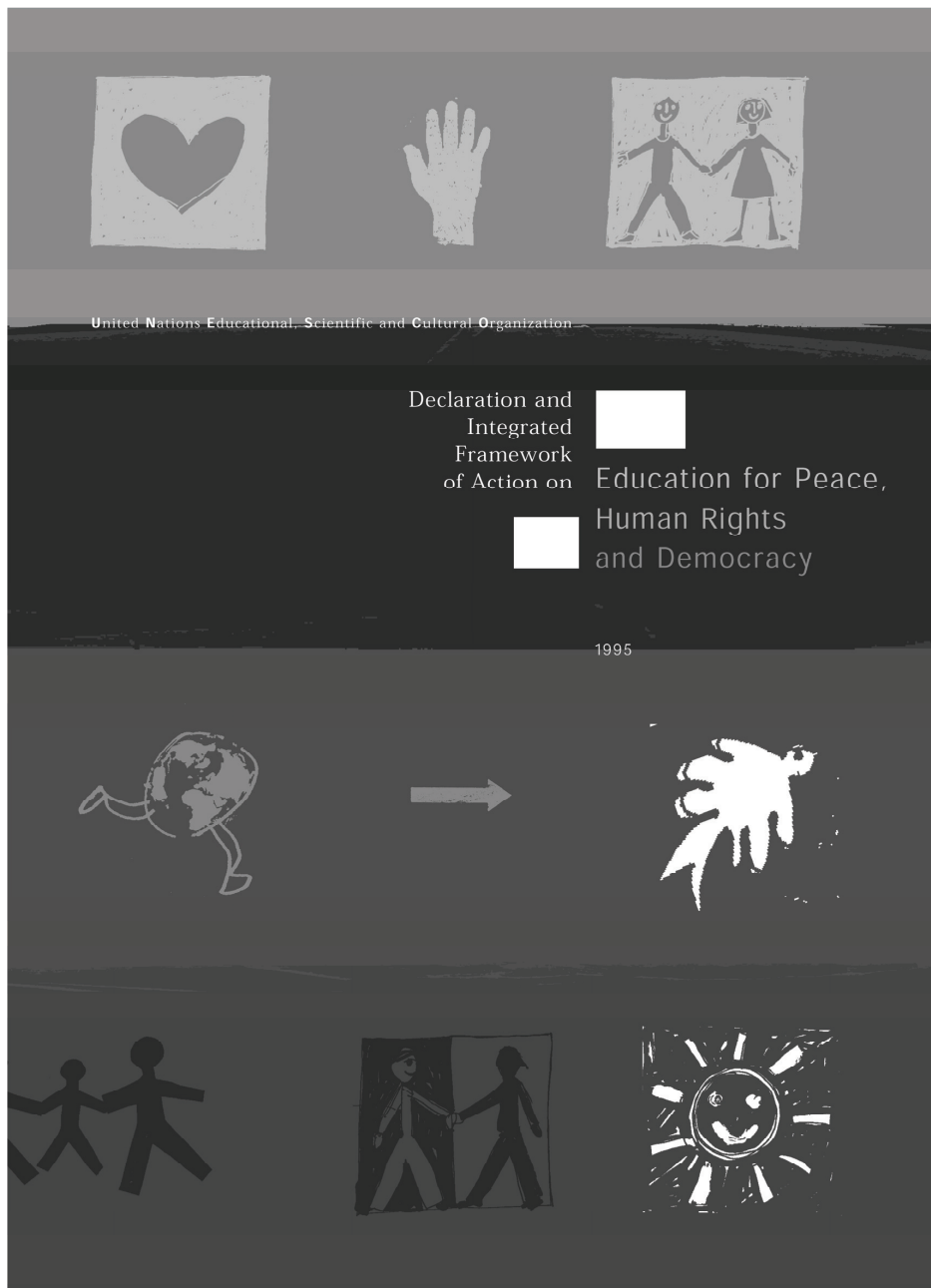
Declaration

of the 44th session
of the International
Conference on Education

(Geneva, October 1994)

endorsed
by the General Conference
of UNESCO
at its twenty-eight session

Paris, November 1995

Declaration and
Integrated
Framework
of Action on   Education for Peace,
   Human Rights
   and Democracy

4

1. **We,** the Ministers of Education meeting at the 44th session of the International Conference on Education,

Deeply concerned by the manifestations of violence, racism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism and violations of human rights, by religious intolerance, by the upsurge of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and by the growing gap separating wealthy countries from poor countries, phenomena which threaten the consolidation of peace and democracy both nationally and internationally and which are all obstacles to development,

Mindful of our responsibility for the education of citizens committed to the promotion of peace, human rights and democracy in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, the Constitution of UNESCO, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant instruments such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the conventions on the rights of women, and in accordance with the Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms,

Convinced that education policies have to contribute to the development of understanding, solidarity and tolerance among individuals and among ethnic, social, cultural and religious groups and sovereign nations,

Convinced that education should promote knowledge, values, attitudes and skills conducive to respect for human rights and to an active commitment to the defence of such rights and to the building of a culture of peace and democracy,

Equally convinced :

- of the great responsibility incumbent not only on parents, but on society as a whole, to work together with all those involved in the education system, and with non-governmental organizations, so as to achieve full implementation of the objectives of education for peace, human rights and democracy and to contribute in this way to sustainable development and to a culture of peace;

- of the need to seek synergies between the formal education system and the various sectors of non-formal education, which are helping to make a reality of education that is in conformity with the aims of the World Declaration on Education for All, adopted in Jomtien;

- of the decisive role that also falls to non-formal educational organizations in the process of forming the personalities of young people.

Declaration and
Integrated
Framework
of Action on Education for Peace,
Human Rights
and Democracy

5

2.

_____ **Strive resolutely :**

2. 1 • to base education on principles and methods that contribute to the development of the personality of pupils, students and adults who are respectful of their fellow human beings and determined to promote peace, human rights and democracy;

2. 2 • to take suitable steps to establish in educational institutions an atmosphere contributing to the success of education for international understanding, so that they become ideal places for the exercise of tolerance, respect for human rights, the practice of democracy and learning about the diversity and wealth of cultural identities;

2. 3 • to take action to eliminate all direct and indirect discrimination against girls and women in education systems and to take specific measures to ensure that they achieve their full potential;

2. 4 • to pay special attention to improving curricula, the content of textbooks, and other educational materials including new technologies, with a view to educating caring and responsible citizens, open to other cultures, able to appreciate the value of freedom, respectful of human dignity and differences, and able to prevent conflicts or resolve them by non-violent means;

2. 5 • to adopt measures to enhance the role and status of educators in formal and non-formal education and to give priority to pre-service and in-service training as well as the retraining of educational personnel, including planners and managers, oriented notably towards professional ethics, civic and moral education, cultural diversity, national codes and internationally recognized standards of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

2. 6 • to encourage the development of innovative strategies adapted to the new challenges of educating responsible citizens committed to peace, human rights, democracy and sustainable development, and to apply appropriate measures of evaluation and assessment of these strategies;

2. 7 • to prepare, as quickly as possible and taking into account the constitutional structures of each State, programmes of action for the implementation of this Declaration.

3.

_____ **We are determined to increase our efforts to :**

3. 1 • give a major priority in education to children and young people, who are particularly vulnerable to incitements to intolerance, racism and xenophobia;

3. 2 • seek the co-operation of all possible partners who would be able to help teachers to link the education process more closely to real social life and transform it into the practice of tolerance and solidarity, respect for human rights, democracy and peace;

Declaration and
Integrated
Framework
of Action on Education for Peace,
Human Rights
and Democracy

6

3.3 • develop further, at the national and international levels, exchanges of educational experiences and research, direct contacts between students, teachers and researchers, school twinning arrangements and visits, with special attention to experimental schools such as UNESCO Associated Schools, to UNESCO Chairs, educational innovation networks and UNESCO Clubs and Associations;

3.4 • implement the Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, June 1993) and the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy adopted at the International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy (Montreal, March 1993), and make the internationally recognized instruments in the field of human rights available to all educational establishments;

3.5 • contribute, through specific activities, to the celebration of the United Nations Year for Tolerance (1995), and particularly to the inauguration, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and UNESCO, of the celebration of the International Day for Tolerance.

Consequently, we, the Ministers of Education meeting at the 44th session of the International Conference on Education, adopt this Declaration and invite the Director-General to present to the General Conference a Framework of Action that allows Member States and UNESCO to integrate, within a coherent policy, education for peace, human rights and democracy in the perspective of sustainable development.

Integrated Framework

of Action

on Education for Peace,

Human Rights

and Democracy

approved

by the General Conference

of UNESCO

at its twenty-eight session

Paris, November 1995

This Integrated Framework of Action was prepared in accordance with resolution 5.7 adopted by the General Conference at its twenty-seventh session, which invites the Director-General 'to finalize the integrated action plan on education for peace, human rights and democracy, taking into account all existing action plans in the field of international education ... and to submit the integrated action plan for consideration by the International Conference on Education in 1994 and for approval by the General Conference at its twenty-eighth session, taking due account of any comments and recommendations made by the 1994 International Conference on Education'.

The Framework offers a contemporary view of the problems relating to education for peace, human rights and democracy. It sets out objectives for such education, action strategies and policies and lines of action at the institutional, national and international levels.

I.

Introduction

1 • This Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy is intended to give effect to the Declaration adopted at the 44th session of the International Conference on Education. It suggests basic guidelines which could be translated into strategies, policies and plans of action at the institutional and national levels according to the conditions of different communities.

2 • In a period of transition and accelerated change marked by the expression of intolerance, manifestations of racial and ethnic hatred, the upsurge of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, discrimination, war and violence towards those regarded as "other" and the growing disparities between rich and poor, at international and national levels alike, action strategies must aim both at ensuring fundamental freedoms, peace, human rights, and democracy and at promoting sustainable and equitable economic and social development all of which have an essential part to play in building a culture of peace. This calls for a transformation of the traditional styles of educational action.

3 • The international community has recently expressed its firm resolve to provide itself with instruments adapted to the current challenges in the world in order to act in a concerted and effective way. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action for Human Rights adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, June 1993), the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy adopted by the International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy (Montreal, March 1993), and the Associated Schools Project Strategy and Plan of Action 1994-2000 are, in this respect, attempts to respond to the challenge of promoting peace, human rights, democracy and development.

4 • Taking inspiration from the Recommendation on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, this Framework of Action seeks to suggest to Member States and international governmental and non-governmental organizations an up-to-date and integrated view of problems and strategies concerning education for peace, human rights and democracy. It was drawn up at the request of the General Conference at its twenty-seventh session, taking into account existing action plans, and its purpose is to enhance their practical relevance and effectiveness. The idea then is to draw on accumulated experience in order to chart new directions for the education of citizens in every country. The Framework of Action accordingly identifies principles and objectives of action and formulates proposals for the consideration of policy-makers within each State and for co-operation between countries on the basis of the commitments contained in the Declaration, to which it is closely linked. It also attempts to bring together into a coherent whole the

Declaration and
Integrated
Framework
of Action on   **9**   Education for Peace,
Human Rights
and Democracy

various measures aimed at defining study topics, realigning education at all levels, rethinking methods and reviewing teaching materials in use, stimulating research, developing teacher training and helping to make the education system more open to society by means of active partnership.

5   •   All human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. The strategies of action for their implementation must take specific historic, religious and cultural considerations into account.

II.

Aims of education for peace, human rights and democracy

6   •   The ultimate goal of education for peace, human rights and democracy is the development in every individual of a sense of universal values and types of behaviour on which a culture of peace is predicated. It is possible to identify even in different socio-cultural contexts values that are likely to be universally recognized.

7   •   Education must develop the ability to value freedom and the skills to meet its challenges. This means preparing citizens to cope with difficult and uncertain situations and fitting them for personal autonomy and responsibility. Awareness of personal responsibility must be linked to recognition of the value of civic commitment, of joining together with others to solve problems and to work for a just, peaceful and democratic community.

8   •   Education must develop the ability to recognize and accept the values which exist in the diversity of individuals, genders, peoples and cultures and develop the ability to communicate, share and co-operate with others. The citizens of a pluralist society and multicultural world should be able to accept that their interpretation of situations and problems is rooted in their personal lives, in the history of their society and in their cultural traditions; that, consequently, no individual or group holds the only answer to problems; and that for each problem there may be more than one solution. Therefore, people should understand and respect each other and negotiate on an equal footing, with a view to seeking common ground. Thus education must reinforce personal identity and should encourage the convergence of ideas and solutions which strengthen peace, friendship and solidarity between individuals and people.

9   •   Education must develop the ability of non-violent conflict-resolution. It should therefore promote also the development of inner peace in the minds of students so that they can establish more firmly the qualities of tolerance, compassion, sharing and caring.

10   •   Education must cultivate in citizens the ability to make informed choices, basing their judgements and actions not only on the analysis of present situations but also on the vision of a preferred future.

11   •   Education must teach citizens to respect the cultural heritage, protect the environment, and adopt methods of production and patterns of consumption which lead to sustainable development. Harmony between individual and collective values and between immediate basic needs and long-term interests is also necessary.

12   •   Education should cultivate feelings of solidarity and equity at the national and international levels in the perspective of a balanced and long-term development.

Declaration and
Integrated
Framework
of Action on   Education for Peace,
Human Rights
and Democracy

10

III.

Strategies

13 • In order to achieve these aims, the strategies and forms of action of education systems will clearly need to be modified, as necessary, in respect both of teaching and of administration. Furthermore, providing basic education for all, and promoting the rights of women as an integral and indivisible part of universal human rights, are fundamental in education for peace, human rights and democracy.

14 • Strategies relating to education for peace, human rights and democracy must:

a - be comprehensive and holistic, which means addressing a very broad range of factors some of which are described in more detail below;

b - be applicable to all types, levels and forms of education;

c - involve all educational partners and various agents of socialization, including NGOs and community organizations;

d - be implemented locally, nationally, regionally and worldwide;

e - entail modes of management and administration, co-ordination and assessment that give greater autonomy to educational establishments so that they can work out specific forms of action and linkage with the local community, encourage the development of innovations and foster active and democratic participation by all those concerned in the life of the establishment;

f - be suited to the age and psychology of the target group and taken account of the evolution of the learning capacity of each individual;

g - be applied on a continuous and consistent basis. Results and obstacles have to be assessed, in order to ensure that strategies can be continuously adapted to changing circumstances;

h - include proper resources for the above aims, for education as a whole and especially for marginalized and disadvantaged groups.

15 • The degree of change required, priorities for action and the sequence of actions should be determined at all decision-making levels taking into account different historical backgrounds, cultural traditions and development levels of regions and countries, and even within countries.

IV.

Policies and lines of action

16 • The incorporation into curricula at all levels of education, formal and non-formal, of lessons on peace, human rights and democracy is of crucial importance.

Content of education

17 • To strengthen the formation of values and abilities such as solidarity, creativity, civic responsibility, the ability to resolve conflicts by non-violent means, and critical acumen, it is necessary to introduce into curricula, at all levels, true education for citizenship which includes an international dimension. Teaching should particularly concern the conditions for the construction of peace; the various forms of conflict, their causes and effects; the ethical, religious and philosophical bases of human rights, their historical sources, the way they have developed and how they have been translated into national and international standards, such as in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of

Declaration and
Integrated
Framework
of Action on

11

Education for Peace,
Human Rights
and Democracy

All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the bases of democracy and its various institutional models; the problem of racism and the history of the fight against sexism and all the other forms of discrimination and exclusion. Particular attention should be devoted to culture, the problem of development and the history of every people, as well as to the role of the United Nations and international institutions. There must be education for peace, human rights and democracy. It cannot, however, be restricted to specialized subjects and knowledge. The whole of education must transmit this message and the atmosphere of the institution must be in harmony with the application of democratic standards. Likewise, curriculum reform should emphasize knowledge, understanding and respect for the culture of others at the national and global level and should link the global interdependence of problems to local action. In view of religious and cultural differences, every country may decide which approach to ethical education best suits its cultural context.

Teaching materials and resources

18 • All people engaged in educational action must have adequate teaching materials and resources at their disposal. In this connection, it is necessary to make the necessary revisions to textbooks to get rid of negative stereotypes and distorted views of "the other". International co-operation in producing textbooks could be encouraged. Whenever new teaching materials, textbooks and the like are to be produced, they should be designed with due consideration of new situations. The textbooks should offer different perspectives on a given subject and make transparent the national or cultural background against which they are written. Their content should be based on scientific findings. It would be desirable for the documents of UNESCO and other United Nations institutions to be widely distributed and used in educational establishments, especially in countries where the production of teaching materials is proving slow owing to economic difficulties. Distance education technologies and all modern communication tools must be placed at the service of education for peace, human rights and democracy.

Programmes for reading, expression and the promotion of foreign languages

19 • It is essential for the development of education for peace, human rights and democracy that reading, and verbal and written expression programmes, should be considerably strengthened. A comprehensive grasp of reading, writing and the spoken word enables citizens to gain access to information, to understand clearly the situation in which they are living, to express their needs, and to take part in activities in the social environment. In the same way, learning foreign languages offers a means of gaining a deeper understanding of other cultures, which can serve as a basis for building better understanding between communities and between nations. UNESCO's LINGUAPAX project could serve as an example in that respect.

Educational establishments

20 • Proposals for educational change find their natural place in schools and classrooms. Teaching and learning methods, forms of action and institutional policy lines have to make peace, human rights and democracy both a matter of daily practice and something that is learned. With regard to methods, the use of active methods, group work, the discussion of moral issues and personalized teaching should be encouraged. As for institutional policy lines, efficient forms of management and participation must promote the implementation of democratic school management, involving teachers, pupils, parents and the local community as a whole.

21 • Direct contacts and regular exchanges should be promoted between pupils, students, teachers and other educators in different countries or cultural

Declaration and
Integrated
Framework
of Action on   Education for Peace,
Human Rights
and Democracy

12

environments, and visits should be organized to establishments where successful experiments and innovations have been carried out, particularly between neighbouring countries. Joint projects should be implemented between establishments and institutions from different countries, with a view to solving common problems. International networks of pupils, students and researchers working towards the same objectives should also be set up. Such networks should, as a matter of priority, ensure that schools in particularly difficult situations due to extreme poverty or insecurity should take part in them. With this in mind, it is essential to strengthen and develop the UNESCO Associated Schools System. All these activities, within the limits of available resources, should be introduced as an integral component of teaching programmes.

22 •   The reduction of failure must be a priority. Therefore, education should be adapted to the individual student's potential. The development of self-esteem, as well as strengthening the will to succeed in learning, are also basic necessities for achieving a higher degree of social integration. Greater autonomy for schools implies greater responsibility on the part of teachers and the community for the results of education. However, the different development levels of education systems should determine the degree of autonomy in order to avoid a possible weakening of educational content.

Teacher training

23 •   The training of personnel at all levels of the education system - teachers, planners, managers, teacher educators - has to include education for peace, human rights and democracy. This pre-service and in-service training and retraining should introduce and apply in situ methodologies, observing experiments and evaluating their results. In order to perform their tasks successfully, schools, institutions of teacher education and those in charge of non-formal education programmes should seek the assistance of people with experience in the fields of peace, human rights and democracy (politicians, jurists, sociologists and psychologists) and of the NGOs specialized in human rights. Similarly, pedagogy and the actual practice of exchanges should form part of the training courses of all educators.

24 •   Teacher education activities must fit into an overall policy to upgrade the teaching profession. International experts, professional bodies and teachersí unions should be associated with the preparation and implementation of action strategies because they have an important role to play in the promotion of a culture of peace among teachers themselves.

Action on behalf of vulnerable groups

25 •   Specific strategies for the education of vulnerable groups and those recently exposed to conflict or in a situation of open conflict are required as a matter of urgency, giving particular attention to children at risk and to girls and women subjected to sexual abuse and other forms of violence. Possible practical measures could include, for example, the organization outside the conflict zone of specialized forums and workshops for educators, family members and mass media professionals belonging to the conflicting groups and an intensive training activity for educators in post-conflict situations. Such measures should be undertaken in co-operation with governments whenever possible.

26 •   The organization of education programmes for abandoned children, street children, refugee and displaced children and economically and sexually exploited children are a matter of urgency.

27 •   It is equally urgent to organize special youth programmes, laying emphasis on participation by children and young people in solidarity actions and environmental protection.

Declaration and
Integrated
Framework
of Action on

13

Education for Peace,
Human Rights
and Democracy

28 •   In addition, efforts should be made to address the special needs of people
with learning difficulties by providing them with relevant education in a non-
exclusionary and integrated educational setting.

29 •   Furthermore, in order to create understanding between different groups in
society, there must be respect for the educational rights of persons belonging to
national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, as well as indigenous people,
and this must also have implications in the curricula and methods as well as in the
way education is organized.

Research and development

30 •   New problems require new solutions. It is essential to work out strategies for
making better use of research findings, to develop new teaching methods and
approaches and to improve co-ordination in choosing research themes between
research institutes in the social sciences and education in order to address in a more
relevant and effective way the complex nature of education for peace, human rights
and democracy. The effectiveness of educational management should be enhanced
by research on decision-making by all those involved in the educational process
(government, teachers, parents, etc.). Research should also be focused on finding
new ways of changing public attitudes towards human rights, in particular towards
women, and environmental issues. The impact of educational programmes may be
better assessed by developing a system of indicators of results, setting up data banks
on innovative experiments, and strengthening systems for disseminating and
sharing information and research findings, nationally and internationally.

Higher education

31 •   Higher education institutions can contribute in many ways to education for
peace, human rights and democracy. In this connection, the introduction into the
curricula of knowledge, values and skills relating to peace, human rights, justice,
the practice of democracy, professional ethics, civic commitment and social
responsibility should be envisaged. Educational institutions at this level should also
ensure that students appreciate the interdependence of States in an increasingly
global society.

Co-ordination between the education sector
and other agents of socialization

32 •   The education of citizens cannot be the exclusive responsibility of the
education sector. If it is to be able to do its job effectively in this field, the education
sector should closely cooperate, in particular, with the family, the media, including
traditional channels of communication, the world of work and NGOs.

33 •   Concerning co-ordination between school and family, measures should be
taken to encourage the participation of parents in school activities. Furthermore,
education programmes for adults and the community in general in order to
strengthen the school's work are essential.

34 •   The influence of the media in the socialization of children and young people
is increasingly being acknowledged. It is, therefore, essential to train teachers and
prepare students for the critical analysis and use of the media, and to develop their
competence to profit from the media by a selective choice of programmes. On the
other hand, the media should be urged to promote the values of peace, respect for
human rights, democracy and tolerance, in particular by avoiding programmes and
other products that incite hatred, violence, cruelty and disrespect for human dignity.

Declaration and
Integrated
Framework
of Action on   Education for Peace,
Human Rights
and Democracy

14

Non-formal education of young people and adults

35 • Young people who spend a lot of time outside school and who often do not have access to the formal education system, or to vocational training or a job, as well as young people doing their military service, are a very important target group of education programmes for peace, human rights and democracy. While seeking improved access to formal education and vocational training it is therefore essential for them to be able to receive non-formal education adapted to their needs, which would prepare them to assume their role as citizens in a responsible and effective way. In addition, education for peace, human rights and respect for the law has to be provided for young people in prisons, reformatories or treatment centres.

36 • Adult education programmes - in which NGOs have an important role to play - should make everyone aware of the link between local living conditions and world problems. Basic education programmes should attach particular importance to subject-matter relating to peace, human rights and democracy. All culturally suitable media such as folklore, popular theatre, community discussion groups and radio should be used in mass education.

Regional and international co-operation

37 • The promotion of peace and democracy will require regional co-operation, international solidarity and the strengthening of co-operation between international and governmental bodies, non-governmental organizations, the scientific community, business circles, industry and the media. This solidarity and co-operation must help the developing countries to cater for their needs for promoting education for peace, human rights and democracy.

38 • UNESCO should place its institutional capability, and in particular its regional and international innovation networks, at the service of the efforts to give effect to this Framework of Action. The Associated Schools Project, the UNESCO Clubs and Associations, the UNESCO Chairs, the major education projects for Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Arab States and Europe, the follow-up bodies of the Jomtien World Conference, and in particular the regional and international conferences of ministers of education should make specific contributions. In these efforts, especially at national level, the active participation of National Commissions for UNESCO should be a strategic asset in enhancing the effectiveness of the actions proposed.

39 • UNESCO should introduce questions relating to the application of this Framework of Action at meetings to be held at the highest level regionally and internationally, develop programmes for the training of educational personnel, strengthen or develop networks of institutions, and carry out comparative research on teaching programmes, methods and materials. In accordance with the commitments set forth in the Declaration on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, the programmes should be evaluated on a regular basis.

40 • In this context, UNESCO, in line with the United Nations actions such as "Agenda for Peace", "Agenda for Development", "Agenda 21", "Social Summit" and "the Fourth World Conference on Women", should launch initiatives to implement this operation with other institutions in the United Nations system and other regional and international organizations, so as to establish a global plan of activities and set priorities for joint, co-ordinated action. This could include a UNESCO-managed fund for international co-operation in education for peace, human rights and democracy.

41 • National and international non-governmental organizations should be encouraged to participate actively in the implementation of this Framework of Action.

APPENDIX C

Summary tables of actions relative to a normative instrument for education as regards peace

I Precedents and initial efforts (Sections 4.2 and 4.3)

Year	Actor	Decisions/normative actions on education with regard to peace	Other aspects
1925-1937	ICIC	Normative procedures on school textbooks	Terminology: education for security and peace
1945	Preparatory Commission	Normative action included in UNESCO Constitution	
1946	GC		Practical actions for international understanding Terminology on education for international understanding
1947	GC	To draft a convention on education for international peace and security for submission to the next GC	Terminology on education for international understanding Solemn appeal against the idea that war is inevitable
1948	a) GC b) ICE c) UN	a) To draft a convention on education for international peace and security (no time limit set)	b) Recommendation on Development of international understanding among young people and teaching about international organizations c) Universal Declaration of Human Rights
1949	a) GC b) Committee of nine experts	a) To take steps to prepare a draft convention on education for international peace and security b) A draft text for a recommendation	
1950	a) Programme Committee of the EXB b) EXB	a) No decision b) To consult MS and National Commissions	

1951	a) EXB b) GC	a) To send the report of the consultation to the GC without any proposals for further action b) No action	

Note: ICIC = International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation

II The second stage (Section 4.4)

Year	Actor	Decisions/normative actions on education with regard to peace	Other aspects
1960	a) GA of the UN b) GC	a) UNESCO to consider a declaration on the promotion of peace among youth b) DG to consider the most effective means towards international understanding in education and to report to the 12th GC	a)The First Development Decade (1960-1970) a) and b) Resolution on the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples b) 17 African States became MS of UNESCO
1961	DG	Consultation on education for international understanding among youth and on advisability of an international declaration	
1962	a) EXB (61st) b) ECOSOC c) EXB (62nd) d) GC	a) To communicate the report on the consultation to ECOSOC, to the EXB and to the GC b) Notes the report and transmits it to the GA of the UN c) Draw the attention of the GC to the proposals in the draft programme for 1963-1964 d) Notes the report	a) Divided opinions on advisability of an international declaration

Note: ECOSOC = Economic and Social Council of the UN

III The final stage (Section 4.5)

Year	Actor	Decisions/normative actions on education with regard to peace	Other aspects
1967	a) DG b) EXB c) UNESCO and IBE	a) Considers international instruments an important measure in the Supplement to the Programme and Budget for 1967-1968 b) Asks DG to pursue consultations and make definite proposals to the GC c) Undertakes a comparative survey on education for international understanding	a) Terminology: peace, understanding, and mutual respect between peoples b) Debates on UNESCO's contribution to peace, international co-operation, and security of peoples
1968	a) GC b) ICE	a) Includes a preliminary study of the possibility of an international instrument on education to promote ideals of peace, understanding, and respect between peoples in the work plan	b) Recommendation on Education for international understanding as an integral part of the curriculum and life of the school
1970	GC	Includes a preliminary study of preparing an international instrument on education for international understanding, co-operation, and peace in the work plan	
1972	a) EXB b) GC	a) Includes the item Desirability of Adopting an International Instrument… on the Agenda of the GC b) Decides on a recommendation that should also cover human rights and fundamental freedoms	a) By vote 21 to 1 with 2 abstentions b) By vote 49 to none with 12 abstentions
1973	DG	Sends a preliminary report and a draft recommendation to MS	
1974	a) The Special Committee of Governmental Experts b) The Education Commission of the GC c) GC	a) Revises and approves the draft recommendation b) Amends the text and adopts the draft recommendation c) Makes further amendments to the text and adopts the final text of the *Recommendation*	a) Unanimously b) By vote 72 to 1, with 6 abstentions c) By vote 76 to 5, with 15 abstentions

APPENDIX D

A chronology of UNESCO, UN and other relevant actions after 1974

Actions as regards peace and human rights in education and other relevant actions are categorized as follows:
A. Integrated approach (peace and human rights together)
B: Human rights separately
C: Peace separately
D: Other relevant actions. Their linkages with respective educational approaches, when appropriate, are indicated in parenthesis. Some actions can belong in more than one category.

Year   Approaches to peace and human rights in education and other relevant actions

1975   A. Transmission of the 1974 *Recommendation* to MS (UNESCO, 1975)

D. Conference on security and cooperation in Europe, Helsinki, Finland ("Conference", 1975)

1976   A. Initial special reports by MS on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1976c, 1976e, Res.34.1)

D. Medium-term plan for 1977-1982; programming by objectives (UNESCO, 1976d)

1978   A. To develop a plan for analytical methods of reporting on measures taken by MS on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation*[1] (UNESCO, 1978c, Res.1/ 1.5 & 2.3)

B. To study the advisability of preparing a convention on education and teaching in the field of human rights[2] (UNESCO, 1978c, Res. 3/1.1/5)

B, (A). To co-ordinate education and information activities on human rights, peace and international understanding with education[3] (UNESCO, 1978c, Res. 3/1.5 & 2.3/1)

B. To develop projects relating to the teaching of human rights[4] (UNESCO, 1978c, Res. 3/1.5 & 2.3/2)

B. To study the possibility of a six-year plan for human rights teaching and education[5] (UNESCO, 1978c, Res. 3/1 .5 & 2.3/3)

B. Report on the conclusions of the international congress on the teaching of human rights, Vienna, (UNESCO, 1978d)

D, (B). Declaration on race and racial prejudice (UNESCO, 1978c, Res. 3/1.1/2)

D, (C). Declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace (UN, 1978b)

D, (C). The first special session on disarmament (UN, 1978a)

---

[1]   The resolution on education
[2]   The resolution on social sciences and their application
[3]   *Ibid*
[4]   *Ibid*
[5]   *Ibid*

D. Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war (UNESCO, 1978a, Res.4/9.3/2)

1979 D, (C). Second disarmament decade (UN, 1979a)

1980 A, (C). To organize an intergovernmental conference[6] to promote the application of the 1974 *Recommendation* and to develop analytical methods of reporting (UNESCO, 1980b, Res. 1/01, (d) 1.5 and 2.3)

A. To submit (MS) reports on the application of the 1974 *Recommendation*, with a view to the preparation of the Intergovernmental conference (UNESCO, 1980b, Res.1/02)

B. The inadvisability of a convention on education and teaching in the field of human rights (UNESCO, 1980c, 1980b, Res.3/02)

B. The draft plan for the development of human rights teaching (UNESCO, 1980a)

B. Approval of the content and form of the plan for the development of human rights teaching and the timetable for its implementation for 1981-1989 (UNESCO, 1980b, Res. 3/03)

C. World congress on disarmament education (UNESCO, 1980d)

1981 A. Questionnaire on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* to MS (UNESCO, 1983d, para.5)

A. Consultation of specialist for the preparation of the intergovernmental conference (UNESCO, 1983d, para.6)

1983 A. Analytical methods of reporting on measures taken by MS with regard to the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* [working document of the intergovernmental conference] (UNESCO, 1983a)

A, B, C. Review of UNESCO´ s action on the themes of the intergovernmental conference (UNESCO. (1983b)

A. Report on the evaluation of UNESCO´ s educational programme and other relevant programmes from the point of view of the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1983e)

A. Synthesis of MS reports on the application of the1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO. (1983f)

A, C. Report on proceedings of the intergovernmental conference (UNESCO, 1983d)

A, C. Implementation of the recommendations of the intergovernmental conference (UNESCO, 1983c, Res.13.3)

A, B, C. Major Programme XIII: "Peace, international understanding, human rights and the rights of peoples" (UNESCO, 1983c, Res.13.1)

---

[6]   There is also another resolution, on UNESCO´ s contribution to peace, inviting the DG to place "special emphasis on preparations for the intergovernmental conference on education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, *with a view to developing a climate conducive to the strengthening of security and disarmament* [emphasis added]" (UNESCO, 1980a, Res. 10.2, II, para.2 (iv)).

A. To establish a permanent system of reporting on the steps taken by MS to apply the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1983c, Res.13.1)

1984   C. To launch, in 1986, the plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace, in accordance with the recommendation of the intergovernmental conference (UNESCO, 1984, Decision 4.1, para.92)

1985   A. Establishment of a permanent system of reporting on the steps taken by MS to apply the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1985b, 1985c, Res.13.3)

A. Establishment of a consultative committee of experts within the system of reporting on the steps taken by MS to apply the1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1985c, Res.13.3).

C. Plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace, for 1986-1995 (UNESCO, 1985c, Res.13.4)

D. USA leaves UNESCO

D. Procedures used to monitor the application of Unesco's standard-setting instruments (UNESCO, 1985c, Res.29.1)

1986   A. Draft statutes of the consultative committee (UNESCO, 1986)

D, (C). International year of peace 1986, (UN, 1986)

D. UK and Singapore leave UNESCO

1987   A, C. Report on activities undertaken to give effect to the recommendations of the intergovernmental conference (UNESCO, 1987d)

C. Report on the implementation of the plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace (UNESCO, 1987c)

1988   A. Draft summary of national reports on steps taken by the MS to implement the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1988b)

1989   A. First reports by MS on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1989a)

A. To organize an intergovernmental conference on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* possibly within the framework of the 44th session of the ICE in 1994; to prepare the new integrated plan for the development of international education (UNESCO, 1989c, Res.7.2, para.2 (v and b))

A. To study the desirability of replacing the present 1974 *Recommendation* by a convention (UNESCO, 1989c, Res.26, para.5 (g))

A. To conclude the preparation of the integrated plan for international education on peace and human rights (UNESCO, 1989c, Res.26, para.5 (h))

C, A. To implement the plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace as part of an integrated plan; to maintain the specificity of these fields of international education (UNESCO, 1989c, Res.25, para.2 (a and b))

D. International congress on peace in the minds of men [sic], Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire (UNESCO, 1989b)

D. Follow–up to the international congress on peace in the minds of men: Yamoussoukro declaration; Seville statement on violence (UNESCO, 1989c, Res.22)

1990 D. World conference on education for all: meeting basic learning needs, Jomtien, Thailand (UNESCO, 1990c)

1991 A. To present an elaborated version of the draft integrated action plan for approval to the GC after being considered by the 1994 ICE (UNESCO, 1991c, Res. 7.3, para.4)

A. Convention for replacing the 1974 *Recommendation* not necessary but revision to be considered (UNESCO, 1991c, Res.7.4)

B. Follow-up to the international congress on human rights teaching, information and documentation (Malta, 1987) (UNESCO, 1991c, Res. 7.5)

C. Sexennial report on the progress achieved in the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1991d)

D. To explore further the concept of a "culture of peace" in view of the links connecting human rights, democracy, citizenship and sustainable development (UNESCO, 1991c, Res. 7.2, para.2 (a))

1992 A. Consultation on the preparation of the elaborated version of the integrated action plan on the development of international education (UNESCO, 1992)

D. United Nations conference on environment and development, Agenda 21, Rio de Janeiro , Brazil (UN, 1992b)

B. Declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (UN, 1992a)

1993 D, (A, B). Major programme V, Social and human sciences: contribution to development, peace, human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 1993c, Res.5.1)

A. To maintain the full and comprehensive implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* as the mainstay of MS` s and UNESCO's programmes in this field; to finalize the integrated action plan (UNESCO, 1993c, Res.5.7)

B. International congress on education for human rights and democracy and the follow-up in MS to the world plan of action on education for human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 1993d)

B. Endorsement of the world plan of action on education for human rights and democracy endorsed; establishment of a committee for its follow up with other plans (UNESCO, 1993c, Res.5.8, paras.1 and 4(b))

B. To give a high priority to UNESCO's activities in the field of education for human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 1993c, Res.5.9)

D. Proclamation of the UN year for tolerance; adoption of the declaration on tolerance (UNESCO, 1993c, Res.5.14)

D, (B). Vienna declaration and programme of action for human rights (UN, 1993)

1994 A. Situation of education for international understanding (UNESCO, 1994g)

A. The draft integrated framework of action on education for peace, human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 1994c)

A Declaration of the forty-fourth session of the ICE (UNESCO, 1994b)

A. Resolution of the 44th session of the ICE (UNESCO, 1994f)

A. Replacement of the consultative committee for the full and comprehensive implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* by the advisory committee on education for peace, human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 1994a, Decision 4.3.1, 1994d)

B. Plan of action for the UN decade for human rights education, 1995-2004 (UN, 1994)

1995 A. The 1974 *Recommendation* continues inspiring the implementation of education for peace, human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 1995a, Res.5.41, para.1)

A. Declaration and integrated framework of action on education for peace, human rights and democracy respectively endorsed and approved by the GC (UNESCO, 1995a, Res.5.41, para.2)

A. Synthesis of the MS´ s replies to the questionnaire on the theme of the 1994 ICE (UNESCO, 1994) as the second synthesis of national reports (UNESCO, 1995a, Res.5.41, para.4)

D, A, B, C. Transdisciplinary project: towards a culture of peace (UNESCO, 1995a, Res. 5.3)

D. Declaration of principles of tolerance (UNESCO, 1995a)

B. United Nations decade for human rights education, (UN, 1995b)

D. United Nations year for tolerance (UN, 1995c)

D. Fourth world conference on women: action for equality, development and peace Beijing, (UN, 1995a)

D. World summit for social development, Copenhagen (UN, 1995d)

1997 A. Sexennial report on progress made in implementing the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1997)

1998 B. Temporary working group for overall strategy for human rights education (UNESCO, 1998b, Decision 8.5.III, para.11)

D. International decade for a culture of peace and non-violence for the children of the world (2001-2010) (UN, 1998)

1999 A. Draft questionnaire for the permanent system of reporting on education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding and tolerance (UNESCO, 1999a, Decision 3.2.1)

B. Report of the Executive Board's temporary working group on human rights education (UNESCO, 1999h, 1999a, Decision 10.1)

B. Overall strategy for human rights education (UNESCO, 1999g, Res.16)

D. Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, adopted by the GA of the UN (UN, 1999)

2000 D. International year for the culture of peace (UN, 2000)

D. Dakar framework of action, world education forum, Dakar (UNESCO, 2000)

2001 A. Synthesis of reports by MS in the context of the permanent system of reporting on education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding and tolerance (UNESCO, 2001d, 2001c, 2001a, Decision 5.3)

D. Universal declaration on cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2001b, Res.25)

2002 D, (B). Elements for an overall UNESCO strategy on human rights (UNESCO, 2002a, Decision 3.4.1)

2003 D, (B). UNESCO strategy on human rights (UNESCO, 2003, Res.27)

2005 D, (B). Universal declaration on bioethics and human rights (UNESCO, 2005, Res.36)

2007 D (A). Monitoring of the implementation of UNESCO's standard-setting instruments (UNESCO, 2007, Res.87)

D, (B). Celebration of the 60th anniversary of the universal declaration of human rights (UNESCO, 2007, Res.38)

2009 A. Fourth consultation on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* (UNESCO, 2009h, 2009b, Decision 35)

D. UNESCO's work on culture of peace (UNESCO, 2009f, Res.108)

A. Report on the implementation of the 1974 *Recommendation* foreseen in 2013 (UNESCO, 2009d, Annex II)

2010 D. Report on UNESCO's work on a culture of peace (UNESCO, 2010f)

APPENDIX E

A comparison of the 1974 *Recommendation* and the 1995 Guidelines

Features	The 1974 *Recommendation*	The 1995 Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action
Context	Adopted during Cold War	Approved after Cold War
Legal status	Normative instrument Recommendation adopted by the GC Morally binding On the list of legal instruments of UNESCO Drawn up according to the constitutional and procedural rules and decisions of the EXB and GC	Guidelines Declaration adopted and the Integrated Framework of Action considered by the ICE, respectively endorsed and approved by GC Morally binding Not on the list of legal instruments of UNESCO Drawn up according to decisions of the EXB and GC
Style	Preamble: Solemn and formal, in the name of the GC, established principles to which States are bound Text: Preamble and 45 paragraphs, complicated structure, long sentences,	Declaration: personal, "We the Ministers of Education" Integrated Framework: suggesting and persuading Text: Introduction and 41 paragraphs, simpler,
Appearance	Black and white, no graphics	Colour, graphics
Repertoires a) Instructions b) Principled c) Factual d) Stand-taking e) Adjusting	Repertoires interlinked and embedded a) Addressing MS b) Obligating generally by "should" c) Justifying other repertoires d) Obligating generally, on issues of war and peace e) Balancing between universal and particular, used in instructions	Fewer repertoires in turns a) No instructions, MS are not mentioned b) Obligating generally by "must" c) Factual and principled in turns, justifying each other d) No stand-taking e) Balancing between universal and particular, used on cultural issues, and on universal values
Rational discourse	Correct knowledge, science belief, experiments, research, and the structuring of argumentation	Correct knowledge but with different perspectives, transparency of the national or cultural background, and the structuring of argumentation
Relation of peace and human rights	International understanding, co-operation and peace, human rights and fundamental freedoms A gradual but profound change in the role of education needed	Peace, human rights and democracy, sustainable and equitable economic and social development in building a culture of peace A transformation of the traditional styles of education needed

Peace terminology	World peace, world problems, just peace, social justice, development and maintaining peace, structural conditions to be changed Inadmissibility of war and the use of force and violence for defined purposes Equality and necessary interdependence of nations and peoples Understanding across different social, political, and economic systems Disarmament	Peace seen as local, war and violence inflicted on those regarded as "others" Forms of violence include vulnerable groups Culture of peace, non-violent conflict resolution, inner peace, harmony, tolerance, sharing and caring, working for joint projects, girls and women
Human rights terminology	Human rights instruments Refugees Racialism, fascism, apartheid, discrimination Rights and responsibilities Women not mentioned	Human rights as universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated; historical, religious, and cultural conditions of implementation Racial and ethnic hatred, racial discrimination Rights of women, human rights violations, sexual abuse and other forms of violence
International co-operation	Important as aim, object of research and studies International exchanges MS important actors	Regional and international co-operation Actors are NGOs, the scientific community, business circles, industry and media, regional and international networks of UNESCO
Education and international education	Wide definition of education International education used, also as a "Cold War compromise"	No definition of education International education is not mentioned
Educational aims concerning individual	Individuals Knowledge, abilities, understanding, awareness, active personal contribution and active participation, critical understanding, motivations, commitments Civic training	Citizens Values of solidarity, creativity, civic responsibility, resolving conflicts by non-violent means, critical acumen, self-esteem, personal autonomy, commitment
Educational approaches	State-centred, centralized Interdisciplinary, global approach, international dimension, problem-oriented, active methods, creativity, innovation, efficacy, evaluation, daily conduct of education, broad use of materials, mass media, international education on a sound psychological and sociological basis Foreign languages Student participation in the organization of studies and of the educational establishment	Decentralized, autonomy of educational establishments Integration, comprehensive, holistic, suited to age and psychology of students Assessment, adaptation to change, efficacy, evaluation, research, innovations, change, reform, new approaches Reading and verbal and written expression Co-operation of all possible partners Efficient management and participation, democratic school management

JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

1 KYÖSTIÖ, O. K., Oppilaiden terveydentilan riippuvuus koulutyypistä. – Health status of pupils according to type of school. 78 p. Summary 6 p. 1962.

2 HEINONEN, VEIKKO, Differentiation of primary mental abilities. 136 p. 1963.

3 ELONEN, ANNA S., TAKALA, MARTTI & RUOPPILA ISTO, A study of intellectual functions in children by means of the KTK performance scales. 181 p. 1963.

4 JUURMAA, JYRKI, On the ability structure of the deaf. 114 p. 1963.

5 HEINONEN, VEIKKO, Lyhennetty faktori-analyysi. – A short method for factor analysis. 76 p. Summary 5 p. 1963.

6 PITKÄNEN, PENTTI, Fyysisen kunnon rakenne ja kehittyminen. – The structure and development of physical fitness. 163 p. Summary 10 p. 1964.

7 NURMI, VELI, Maamme seminaarien varsinaisen opettajakoulutuksen synty ja kehittyminen viime vuosisadalla I. – Die Entehung und Entwicklung der praktischen Lehrer-bildung unserer Lehrerseminare im vorigen Jahrhundert I. 270 p. Zusammenfassung 15 p. 1964.

8 NURMI, VELI, Maamme seminaarien varsinaisen opettajakoulutuksen synty ja kehittyminen viime vuosisadalla II. – Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der praktischen Lehrer-bildung unserer Lehrerseminare im vorigen Jahrhundert II. 123 p. Zusammenfassung 10 p. 1964.

9 NUMMENMAA, TAPIO, The language of the face. 66 p. 1964.

10 ISOSAARI, JUSSI, Bruno Boxström ja Sortavalan seminaarin kasvatusaineiden opetus 1882-1917. – Bruno Boxström und der Unterricht in den pädagogischen Fächern am Seminar von Sortavala 1882-1917. 167 p. Zusammen-fassung II p. 1964.

11 NUMMENMAA, TAPIO & TAKALA, MARTTI, Parental behavior and sources of information in different social groups. 53 p. 1965.

12 WECKROTH, JOHAN, Studies in brain pathology and human performance I. – On the relationship between severity of brain injury and the level and structure of intellectual performance. 105 p. 1965.

13 PITKÄNEN, PENTTI, Ärsyke- ja reaktioanalyyttis-ten faktorointitulosten vastaavuudesta. – On the congruence and coincidence between stimulus analytical and response analytical factor results. 223 p. Summary 14 p. 1967.

14 TENKKU, JUSSI, Are single moral rules absolute in Kant's ethics? 31 p. 1967.

15 RUOPPILA, ISTO, Nuorten ja varttuneiden opiskeli-joiden väliset asenne-erot eräissä ylioppilas-pohjaisissa oppilaitoksissa. – Attitude differences between young and advanced university and college students. 182 p. Summary 14 p. 1967.

16 KARVONEN, JUHANI, The structure, arousal and change of the attitudes of teacher education students. 118 p. 1967.

17 ELONEN, ANNA S., Performance scale patterns in various diagnostic groups. 53 p. 1968.

18 TUOMOLA, UUNO, Kansakouluntarkastajaan kohdistuvista rooliodotuksista. – On role-expectations applied to school inspectors. 173 p. Summary 8 p. 1968.

19 PITKÄNEN, LEA, A descriptive model of aggression and nonaggression with applications to childrens behaviour. 208 p. 1969.

20 KOSKIAHO, BRIITTA, Level of living and industrialisation. 102 p. 1970.

21 KUUSINEN, JORMA, The meaning of another person's personality. 28 p. 1970.

22 VILJANEN, ERKKI, Pohjakoulutustaso ja kansa-koulunopettajan kehitysympäristöjen muo-dostuminen. – The level of basic education in relation to the formation of the development milieus of primary school teachers. 280 s. Summary 13 p. 1970.

23 HAGFORS, CARL, The galvanic skin response and its application to the group registration of psychophysiological processes. 128 p. 1970.

24 KARVONEN, JUHANI, The enrichment of vocabulary and the basic skills of verbal communication. 47 p. 1971.

25 SEPPO, SIMO, Abiturienttien asenteet uskonnon-opetukseen. – The attitudes of students toward religious education in secondary school. 137 p. Summary 5 p. 1971.

26 RENKO MANU, Opettajan tehokkuus oppilaiden koulusaavutusten ja persoonallisuuden kehittämisessä. – Teacher's effectiveness in improving pupils' school achievements and developing their personality. 144 p. Summary 4 p. 1971.

27 VAHERVA, TAPIO, Koulutustulokset peruskoulun ala-asteella yhteisömuuttujien selittäminä. – Educational outcomes at the lower level of the comprehensive school in the light of ecological variables. 158 p. Summary 3 p. 1974.

28 OLKINUORA, ERKKI, Norm socialization. The formation of personal norms. 186 p. Tiivistelmä 4 p. 1974.

29 LIIKANEN, PIRKKO, Increasing creativity through art education among pre-school children. 44 p. Tiivistelmä 4 p. 1975.

30 ELONEN, ANNA S., & GUYER, MELVIN, Comparison of qualitative characteristics of human figure drawings of Finnish children in various diagnostic categories. 46 p. Tiivistelmä 3 p. 1975.

31 KÄÄRIÄINEN, RISTO, Physical, intellectual, and personal characteristics of Down's syndrome. 114 p. Tiivistelmä 4 p. 1975.

32 MÄÄTTÄ, PAULA, Images of a young drug user. 112 p. Tiivistelmä 11 p. 1976.

33 ALANEN, PENTTI, Tieto ja demokratia. – Episte-mology and democracy. 140 p. Summary 4 p. 1976.

34 NUPPONEN, RIITTA, Vahvistajaroolit aikuisten ja lapsen vuorovaikutuksessa. – The experi-mental roles of reinforcing agent in adult-child interaction. 209 p. Summary 11 p. 1977.

35 TEIKARI, VEIKKO, Vigilanssi-ilmiön mittaamisesta ja selitysmahdollisuuksista. – On measuring and explanation of vigilance. 163 p. Summary 2 p. 1977.

36 VOLANEN, RISTO, On conditions of decision making. A study of the conceptual foundations of administration. – Päätöksenteon edellytyksistä. Tutkimus hallinnon käsitteellisistä perusteista. 171 p. Tiivistelmä 7 p. 1977.

37 LYYTINEN, PAULA, The acquisition of Finnish morphology in early childhood. – Suomen kielen morfologisten säännönmukaisuuksien omaksuminen varhaislapsuudessa. 143 p. Tiivistelmä 6 p. 1978.

38 HAKAMÄKI, SIMO, Maaseudulle muutto muuttoliikkeen osana. – Migration on rural areas as one element of migration as a whole. 175 p. Summary 5 p. 1978.

39 MOBERG, SAKARI, Leimautuminen erityispedagogiikassa. Nimikkeisiin apukoululainen ja tarkkailuluokkalainen liittyvät käsitykset ja niiden vaikutus hypoteettista oppilasta koskeviin havaintoihin. – Labelling in special education. 177 p. Summary 10 p. 1979.

40 AHVENAINEN, OSSI, Lukemis- ja kirjoittamishäiriöinen erityisopetuksessa. – The child with reading and writing disabilities in special education. 246 p. Summary 14 p. 1980.

41 HURME, HELENA, Life changes during childhood. – Lasten elämänmuutokset. 229 p. Tiivistelmä 3 p. 1981.

42 TUTKIMUS YHTEISKUNTAPOLITIIKAN VIITOITTAJANA. Professori Leo Paukkuselle omistettu juhlakirja. 175 p. 1981.

43 HIRSJÄRVI, SIRKKA, Aspects of consciousness in child rearing. – Tietoisuuden ongelma kotikasvatuksessa. 259 p. 1981.

44 LASONEN, KARI, Siirtolaisoppilas Ruotsin kouluyhteisössä. Sosiometrinen tutkimus. – A sosio-metric study of immigrant pupils in the Swedish comprehensive school. 269 p. Summary 7 p. 1981.

45 AJATUKSEN JA TOIMINNAN TIET. Matti Juntusen muistokirja. 274 p. 1982.

46 MÄKINEN, RAIMO, Teachers' work, wellbeing, and health. – Opettajan työ, hyvinvointi ja terveys. 232 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 1982.

47 KANKAINEN, MIKKO, Suomalaisen peruskoulun eriyttämisratkaisun yhteiskunnallisen taustan ja siirtymävaiheen toteutuksen arviointi. 257 p. Summary 11 p. 1982.

48 WALLS, GEORG, Health care and social welfare in, cooperation. 99 p. Tiivistelmä 9 p. 1982.

49 KOIVUKARI, MIRJAMI, Rote learning comprehension and participation by the learnes in Zairian classrooms. – Mekaaninen oppiminen, ymmärtäminen ja oppilaiden osallistuminen opetukseen zairelaisissa koululuokissa. 286 p. Tiivistelmä 11p. 1982.

50 KOPONEN, RITVA, An item analysis of tests in mathematics applying logistic test models. – Matematiikan kokeiden osioanalyysi logistisia testimalleja käyttäen. 187 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 1983.

51 PEKONEN, KYÖSTI, Byrokratia politiikan näkökulmasta. Politiikan ja byrokratian keskinäinen yhteys valtio- ja yhteiskuntaprosessin kehityksen valossa. – Bureaucracy from the viewpoint of politics. 253 p. 1983.

52 LYYTINEN, HEIKKI, Psychophysiology of anticipation and arousal. – Antisipaation ja viriämisen psykofysiologia. 190 p. Tiivistelmä 4 p. 1984.

53 KORKIAKANGAS, MIKKO, Lastenneuvolan terveydenhoitajan arvioinnit viisivuotiaiden lasten psyykkisestä kehityksestä. – The psychological assessment of five-year-old children by public health centres. 227 p. Summary 14 p. 1984.

54 HUMAN ACTION AND PERSONALITY. Essays in honour of Martti Takala. 272 p. 1984.

55 MATILAINEN, JOUKO, Maanpuolustus ja eduskunta. Eduskuntaryhmien kannanotot ja koheesio maanpuolustuskysymyksissä Paasikiven-Kekkosen kaudella 1945-1978. – Defence and Parliament. 264 p. Summary 7 p. 1984.

56 PUOLUE, VALTIO JA EDUSTUKSELLINEN DEMOKRATIA. Pekka Nyholmille omistettu juhlakirja. – Party, state and representational democracy. 145 p. Summary 2 p. 1986.

57 SIISIÄINEN, MARTTI, Intressit, yhdistyslaitos ja poliittisen järjestelmän vakaisuus. – Interests, voluntary assiociations and the stability of the political system. 367 p. Summary 6 p. 1986.

58 MATTLAR, CARL-ERIK, Finnish Rorschach responses in cross-cultural context: A normative study. 166 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 1986.

59 ÄYSTÖ, SEIJA, Neuropsychological aspects of simultaneous and successive cognitive processes. – Rinnakkaisen ja peräkkäisen informaation prosessoinnin neuropsykologiasta. 205 p. Tiivistelmä 10 p. 1987.

60 LINDH, RAIMO, Suggestiiviset mielikuvamallit käyttäytymisen muokkaajina tarkkailuluokkalaisilla. – Suggestive covert modeling as a method with disturbed pupils. 194 p. Summary 8 p. 1987.

61 KORHONEN, TAPANI, Behavioral and neural short-lateney and long-latency conditioned responses in the cat. – Välittömät ja viivästetyt hermostol-liset ja käyttäytymisvasteet klassisen ehdollista-misen aikana kissalla. 198 p. Tiivistelmä 4 p. 1987.

62 PAHKINEN, TUULA, Psykoterapian vaikutus minäkäsitykseen. Psykoterapian käynnistämän muutosprosessin vaikutus korkeakouluopiskelijoiden minäkäsitykseen. – Change in self-concept as a result of psychotherapy. 172 p. Summary 6 p. 1987.

63 KANGAS, ANITA, Keski-Suomen kulttuuritoimintakokeilu tutkimuksena ja politiikkana. – The action research on cultural- activities in the Province of Central Finland. 301 p. Summary 8 p. 1988.

64 HURME, HELENA, Child, mother and grandmother. Interegenerational interaction in

Finnish families. 187 p. 1988.

65 RASKU-PUTTONEN, HELENA, Communication between parents and children in experimental situations. – Vanhempien ja lasten kommunikointi strukturoiduissa tilanteissa. 71 p. Tiivistelmä 5 p. 1988.

66 TOSKALA, ANTERO, Kahvikuppineurootikkojen ja paniikkiagorafoobikkojen minäkuvat minäsysteemin rakenteina ja kognitiivisen oppimis-terapian perustana. – The self-images of coffee cup neurotics and panic agoraphobics as structures of a selfsystem and a basis for learning therapy. 261 p. Summary 6 p. 1988.

67 HAKKARAINEN, LIISA, Kuurojen yläasteen oppilaiden kirjoitetun kielen hallinta. - Mastery of written language by deaf pupils at the upper level of Comprehensive school. 281 p. Summary 11 p. 1988.

68 NÄTTI, JOUKO, Työmarkkinoiden lohkoutuminen. Segmentaatioteoriat, Suomen työmarkkinat ja yritysten työvoimastrategiat. - Segmentation theories, Finnish labour markets and the use of labour in retail trade. 189 p. Summary 10 p. 1989.

69 AALTOLA, JUHANI, Merkitys opettamisen ja oppimisen näkökulmasta Wittgensteinin myöhäisfilo-sofian ja pragmatismin valossa. - Meaning from the point of view of teaching and learning in the light of Wittgenstein's later philosophy and pragmatism. 249 p. Summary 6 p. 1989.

70 KINNUNEN, ULLA, Teacher stress over a school year. - Opettajan työstressi lukuvuoden aikana. 61 p. Tiivistelmä 3 p. 1989.

71 BREUER, HELMUT & RUOHO, KARI (Hrsg.), Pädagogisch-psychologische Prophylaxe bei 4-8 jährigen Kindern. - Pedagogis-psykologinen ennaltaehkäisy neljästä kahdeksaan vuoden iässä. 185 S. Tiivistelmä 1 S. 1989.

72 LUMMELAHTI, LEENA, Kuusivuotiaiden sopeutuminen päiväkoteihin. Yksilöllistetty mallioppimis-ohjelma päiväkotiin heikosti sopeutuvien kuusivuotiaiden ohjauksessa sekä vanhempien kasvatuskäytännön yhtey-det lapsen sopeutumiseen ja minäkäsitykseen. - The adjustment of six-year-old children to day-care-centres. 224 p. Summary 9 p. 1990.

73 SALOVIITA, TIMO, Adaptive behaviour of institutionalized mentally retarded persons. - Laitoksessa asuvien kehitysvammaisten adaptiivinen käyttäytyminen. 167 p. Tiivistelmä 4 p. 1990.

74 PALONEN, KARI et SUBRA, LEENA (Eds.), Jean-Paul Sartre - un philosophe du politique. - Jean-Paul Sartre - poliittisuuden filosofi. 107 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 1990.

75 SINIVUO, JUHANI, Kuormitus ja voimavarat upseerin uralla. - Work load and resources in the career of officers. 373 p. Summary 4 p. 1990.

76 PÖLKKI, PIRJO, Self-concept and social skills of school beginners. Summary and discussion. -

Koulutulokkaiden minäkäsitys ja sosiaaliset taidot. 100 p. Tiivistelmä 6 p. 1990.

77 HUTTUNEN, JOUKO, Isän merkitys pojan sosiaaliselle sukupuolelle. - Father's impact on son's gender role identity. 246 p. Summary 9 p.1990.

78 AHONEN, TIMO, Lasten motoriset koordinaatiohäiriöt. Kehitysneuropsykologinen seurantatutkimus. - Developmental coordination disorders in children. A developmental neuropsychological follow-up study. 188 p. Summary 9 p. 1990.

79 MURTO, KARI, Towards the well functioning community. The development of Anton Makarenko and Maxwell Jones' communities. - Kohti toimivaa yhteisöä. Anton Makarenkon ja Maxwell Jonesin yhteisöjen kehitys. 270 p. Tiivistelmä 5 p. Cp2`<, 5 c. 1991.

80 SEIKKULA, JAAKKO, Perheen ja sairaalan rajasysteemi potilaan sosiaalisessa verkostossa. - The family-hospital boundary system in the social network. 285 p. Summary 6 p. 1991.

81 ALANEN, ILKKA, Miten teoretisoida maa-talouden pientuotantoa. - On the conceptualization of petty production in agriculture. 360 p. Summary 9 p. 1991.

82 NIEMELÄ, EINO, Harjaantumisoppilas peruskoulun liikuntakasvatuksessa. - The trainable mentally retarded pupil in comprehensive school physical education. 210 p. Summary 7 p. 1991.

83 KARILA, IRMA, Lapsivuodeajan psyykkisten vaikeuksien ennakointi. Kognitiivinen malli. - Prediction of mental distress during puerperium. A cognitive model. 248 p. Summary 8 p. 1991.

84 HAAPASALO, JAANA, Psychopathy as a descriptive construct of personality among offenders. - Psykopatia rikoksentekijöiden persoonallisuutta kuvaavana konstruktiona. 73 p. Tiivistelmä 3 p. 1992.

85 ARNKIL, ERIK, Sosiaalityön rajasysteemit ja kehitysvyöhyke. - The systems of boundary and the developmental zone of social work. 65 p. Summary 4 p. 1992.

86 NIKKI, MAIJA-LIISA, Suomalaisen koulutusjärjestelmän kielikoulutus ja sen relevanssi. Osa II. - Foreign language education in the Finnish educational system and its relevance. Part 2. 204 p. Summary 5 p. 1992.

87 NIKKI, MAIJA-LIISA, The implementation of the Finnish national plan for foreign language teaching. - Valtakunnallisen kielenopetuksen yleissuunnitelman toimeenpano. 52 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 1992.

88 VASKILAMPI, TUULA, Vaihtoehtoinen terveydenhuolto hyvinvointivaltion terveysmarkkinoilla. - Alternative medicine on the health market of welfare state. 120 p. Summary 8 p. 1992.

89 LAAKSO, KIRSTI, Kouluvaikeuksien ennustaminen. Käyttäytymishäiriöt ja kielelliset vaikeudet peruskoulun alku- ja päättövaiheessa. -

of cancer. Accounts given by patients and professionals. 234 p. Summary 5 p. 1995.

113 VÄLIMAA, JUSSI, Higher education cultural approach. - Korkeakoulututkimuksen kulttuurinäkökulma. 94 p. Yhteenveto 5 p. 1995.

114 KAIPIO, KALEVI, Yhteisöllisyys kasvatuksessa. yhteisökasvatuksen teoreettinen analyysi ja käytäntöön soveltaminen. - The community as an educator. Theoretical analysis and practice of community education. 250 p. Summary 3 p. 1995.

115 HÄNNIKÄINEN, MARITTA, Nukesta vauvaksi ja lapsesta lääkäriksi. Roolileikkiin siirtymisen tarkastelua piagetilaisesta ja kulttuurihistori-allisen toiminnan teorian näkökulmasta. 73 p. Summary 6 p. 1995.

116 IKONEN, OIVA. Adaptiivinen opetus. Oppimis-tutkimus harjaantumiskoulun opetussuunni-telma- ja seurantajärjestelmän kehittämisen tukena. - The adaptive teaching. 90 p. Summary 5 p. 1995.

117 SUUTAMA, TIMO, Coping with life events in old age. - Elämän muutos- ja ongelmatilanteiden käsittely iäkkäillä ihmisillä. 110 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 1995.

118 DERSEH, TIBEBU BOGALE, Meanings Attached to Disability, Attitudes towards Disabled People, and Attitudes towards Integration. 150 p. 1995.

119 SAHLBERG, PASI, Kuka auttaisi opettajaa. Post-moderni näkökulma opetuksen muu-tokseen yhden kehittämisprojektin valossa. - Who would help a teacher. A post-modern perspective on change in teaching in light of a school improvement project. 255 p. Summary 4 p. 1996.

120 UHINKI, AILO, Distress of unemployed job-seekers described by the Zulliger Test using the Comprehensive System. - Työttömien työntekijöiden ahdinko kuvattuna Compre-hensive Systemin mukaisesti käytetyillä Zulligerin testillä. 61 p. Yhteenveto 3p. 1996.

121 ANTIKAINEN, RISTO, Clinical course, outcome and follow-up of inpatients with borderline level disorders. - Rajatilapotilaiden osasto-hoidon tuloksellisuus kolmen vuoden seurantatutkimuksessa Kys:n psykiatrian klinikassa. 102 p. Yhteenveto 4 p. 1996.

122 RUUSUVIRTA, TIMO, Brain responses to pitch changes in an acoustic environment in cats and rabbits. - Aivovasteet kuuloärsykemuu-toksiin kissoilla ja kaneilla. 45 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 1996.

123 VISTI, ANNALIISA, Työyhteisön ja työn tuotta-vuuden kehitys organisaation transformaa-tiossa. - Development of the work communi-ty and changes in the productivity of work during an organizational transformation process. 201 p. Summary 12 p. 1996.

124 SALLINEN, MIKAEL, Event-related brain potentials to changes in the acustic environ-ment buring sleep and sleepiness. - Aivojen herätevasteet muutoksiin kuuloärsykesar-

jassa unen ja uneliaisuuden aikana. 104 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 1997.

125 LAMMINMÄKI, TUIJA, Efficasy of a multi-faceted treatment for children with learning difficulties. - Oppimisvaikeuksien neuro-kognitiivisen ryhmäkuntoutuksen tuloksel-lisuus ja siihen vaikuttavia tekijöitä. 56 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 1997.

126 LUTTINEN, JAANA, Fragmentoituva kulttuuripoli-tiikka. Paikallisen kulttuuripolitiikan tulkinta-kehykset Ylä-Savossa. - Fragmenting-cultural policy. The interpretative frames of local cultural politics in Ylä-Savo. 178 p. Summary 9 p. 1997.

127 MARTTUNEN, MIIKA, Studying argumentation in higher education by electronic mail. - Argumentointia yliopisto-opinnoissa sähkö-postilla. 60 p. (164 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 1997.

128 JAAKKOLA, HANNA, Kielitieto kielitaitoon pyrittä-essä. Vieraiden kielten opettajien käsityksiä kieliopin oppimisesta ja opetta-misesta. - Language knowledge and language ability. Teachers´ conceptions of the role of grammar in foreign language learning and teaching. 227 p. Summary 7 p. 1997.

129 SUBRA, LEENA, A portrait of the political agent in Jean-Paul Sartre. Views on playing, acting, temporality and subjectivity. - Poliittisen toimijan muotokuva Jean-Paul Sartrella. Näkymiä pelaamiseen, toimintaan, ajallisuuteen ja subjektiivisuuteen. 248 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 1997.

130 HAARAKANGAS, KAUKO, Hoitokokouksen äänet. Dialoginen analyysi perhekeskeisen psykiatri-sen hoitoprosessin hoitokokous-keskusteluis-ta työryhmän toiminnan näkökulmasta. - The voices in treatment meeting. A dialogical analysis of the treatment meeting conversations in family-centred psychiatric treatment process in regard to the team activity. 136 p. Summary 8 p. 1997.

131 MATINHEIKKI-KOKKO, KAIJA, Challenges of working in a cross-cultural environment. Principles and practice of refugee settlement in Finland. - Kulttuurienvälisen työn haasteet. Periaatteet ja käytäntö maahanmuuttajien hyvinvoinnin turvaamiseksi Suomessa. 130 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 1997.

132 KIVINIEMI, KARI, Opettajuuden oppimisesta harjoittelun harhautuksiin. Aikuisopiskeli-joiden kokemuksia opetusharjoittelusta ja sen ohjauksesta luokanopettajakoulutuksessa. - From the learning of teacherhood to the fabrications of practice. Adult students´ ex-periences of teaching practice and its super-vision in class teacher education. 267 p. Summary 8 p. 1997.

133 KANTOLA, JOUKO, Cygnaeuksen jäljillä käsityön-opetuksesta teknologiseen kasvatukseen. - In the footsteps of Cygnaeus. From handicraft teaching to technological education. 211 p. Summary 7 p. 1997.

134 KAARTINEN, JUKKA, Nocturnal body movements

and sleep quality. - Yölliset kehon liikkeet ja unen laatu. 85 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 1997.

135 MUSTONEN, ANU, Media violence and its audience. - Mediaväkivalta ja sen yleisö. 44 p. (131 p.). Yhteenveto 2 p. 1997.

136 PERTTULA, JUHA, The experienced life-fabrics of young men. - Nuorten miesten koettu elämänkudelma. 218 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 1998.

137 TIKKANEN, TARJA, Learning and education of older workers. Lifelong learning at the margin. - Ikääntyvän työväestön oppiminen ja koulutus. Elinikäisen oppimisen marginaalissa. 83 p. (154 p.). Yhteenveto 6 p. 1998.

138 LEINONEN, MARKKU, Johannes Gezelius vanhempi luonnonmukaisen pedagogiikan soveltajana. Comeniuslainen tulkinta. - Johannes Gezelius the elder as implementer of natural padagogy. A Comenian interpretation. 237 p. Summary 7 p. 1998.

139 KALLIO, EEVA, Training of students' scientific reasoning skills. - Korkeakouluopiskelijoiden tieteellisen ajattelun kehittäminen. 90 p. Yhteenveto 1 p. 1998.

140 NIEMI-VÄKEVÄINEN, LEENA, Koulutusjaksot ja elämänpolitiikka. Kouluttautuminen yksilöllistymisen ja yhteisöllisyyden risteysasemana. - Sequences of vocational education as life politics. Perspectives of invidualization and communality. 210 p. Summary 6 p. 1998.

141 PARIKKA, MATTI, Teknologiakompetenssi. Teknologiakasvatuksen uudistamishaasteita peruskoulussa ja lukiossa. - Technological competence. Challenges of reforming technology education in the Finnish comprehensive and upper secondary school. 207 p. Summary 13 p. 1998.

142 TA OPETTAJAN APUNA - EDUCATIONAL TA FOR TEACHER. Professori Pirkko Liikaselle omistettu juhlakirja. 207 p. Tiivistelmä - Abstract 14 p. 1998.

143 YLÖNEN, HILKKA, Taikahattu ja hopeakengät - sadun maailmaa. Lapsi päiväkodissa sadun kuulijana, näkijänä ja kokijana. - The world of the colden cap and silver shoes. How kinder garten children listen to, view, and experience fairy tales. 189 p. Summary 8 p. 1998.

144 MOILANEN, PENTTI, Opettajan toiminnan perusteiden tulkinta ja tulkinnan totuudellisuuden arviointi. - Interpreting reasons for teachers' action and the verifying the interpretations. 226 p. Summary 3p. 1998.

145 VAURIO, LEENA, Lexical inferencing in reading in english on the secondary level. - Sanapäättely englanninkielistä tekstiä luettaessa lukioasteella. 147 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 1998.

146 ETELÄPELTO, ANNELI, The development of expertise in information systems design. - Asiantuntijuuden kehittyminen tietojärjestelmien suunnittelussa. 132 p. (221p.). Yhteenveto 12 p. 1998.

147 PIRHONEN, ANTTI, Redundancy as a criterion for multimodal user-interfaces. - Käsitteistö luo

näkökulman käyttöliittymäanalyysiin. 141 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 1998.

148 RÖNKÄ, ANNA, The accumulation of problems of social functioning: outer, inner, and behavioral strands. - Sosiaalinen selviytyminen lapsuudesta aikuisuuteen: ongelmien kasautumisen kolme väylää. 44 p. (129 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 1999.

149 NAUKKARINEN, AIMO, Tasapainoilua kurinalaisuuden ja tarkoituksenmukaisuuden välillä. Oppilaiden ei-toivottuun käyttäytymiseen liittyvän ongelmanratkaisun kehittäminen yhden peruskoulun yläasteen tarkastelun pohjalta. - Balancing rigor and relevance. Developing problem-solving associated with students' challenging behavior in the light of a study of an upper comprehensive school. 296 p. Summary 5 p. 1999.

150 HOLMA, JUHA, The search for a narrative. Investigating acute psychosis and the need-adapted treatment model from the narrative viewpoint. - Narratiivinen lähestymistapa akuuttiin psykoosiin ja tarpeenmukaisen hoidon malliin. 52 p. (105 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 1999.

151 LEPPÄNEN, PAAVO H.T., Brain responses to changes in tone and speech stimuli in infants with and without a risk for familial dyslexia. - Aivovasteet ääni- ja puheärsykkeiden muutoksiin vauvoilla, joilla on riski suvussa esiintyvään dysleksiaan ja vauvoilla ilman tätä riskiä. 100 p. (197 p.) Yhteenveto 4 p. 1999.

152 SUOMALA, JYRKI, Students' problem solving in the LEGO/Logo learning environment. - Oppilaiden ongelmanratkaisu LEGO/Logo oppimisympäristössä. 146 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 1999.

153 HUTTUNEN, RAUNO, Opettamisen filosofia ja kritiikki. - Philosophy, teaching, and critique. Towards a critical theory of the philosophy of education. 201 p. Summary 3p. 1999.

154 KAREKIVI, LEENA, Ehkä en kokeilisikaan, jos .... Tutkimus ylivieskalaisten nuorten tupakoinnista ja päihteidenkäytöstä ja niihin liittyvästä terveyskasvatuksesta vuosina 1989-1998. - Maybe I wouldn´t even experiment if .... A study on youth smoking and use of intoxicants in Ylivieska and related health education in 1989-1998. 256 p. Summary 4 p. 1999.

155 LAAKSO, MARJA-LEENA, Prelinguistic skills and early interactional context as predictors of children´s language development. - Esikielellinen kommunikaatio ja sen vuorovaikutuksellinen konteksti lapsen kielen kehityksen ennustajana. 127 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 1999.

156 MAUNO, SAIJA, Job insecurity as a psycho-social job stressor in the context of the work-family interface. - Työn epävarmuus työn psyko-sosiaalisena stressitekijänä työn ja perheen vuorovaikutuksen kontekstissa. 59 p. (147 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 1999.

157 MÄENSIVU KIRSTI, Opettaja määrittelijänä, oppilas määriteltävänä. Sanallisen oppilaan arvioinnin sisällön analyysi. - The teacher as a determiner - the pupil to be determined -

content analysis of the written school reports. 215 p. Summary 5 p. 1999.

158 FELDT, TARU, Sense of coherence. Structure, stability and health promoting role in working life. - Koherenssin rakenne, pysyvyys ja terveyttä edistävä merkitys työelämässä. 60 p. (150 p.) Yhteenveto 5 p. 2000.

159 MÄNTY, TARJA, Ammatillisista erityisoppilaitoksista elämään. - Life after vocational special education. 235 p. Summary 3 p. 2000.

160 SARJA, ANNELI, Dialogioppiminen pienryhmässä. Opettajaksi opiskelevien harjoitteluprosessi terveydenhuollon opettajankoulutuksessa. - Dialogic learning in a small group. The process of student teachers´ teaching practice during health care education. 165 p. Summary 7 p. 2000.

161 JÄRVINEN, ANITTA, Taitajat iänikuiset. - Kotkan ammattilukiosta valmiuksia elämään, työelämään ja jatko-opintoihin. - Age-old craftmasters -Kotka vocational senior secondary school - giving skills for life, work and further studies. 224 p. Summary 2 p. 2000.

162 KONTIO, MARJA-LIISA, Laitoksessa asuvan kehitysvammaisen vanhuksen haastava käyttäytyminen ja hoitajan käyttämiä vaikutuskeinoja. - Challenging behaviour of institutionalized mentally retarded elderly people and measures taken by nurses to control it. 175 p. Summary 3 p. 2000.

163 KILPELÄINEN, ARJA, Naiset paikkaansa etsimässä. Aikuiskoulutus naisen elämänkulun rakentajana. - Adult education as determinant of woman's life-course. 155 p. Summary 6 p. 2000.

164 RIITESUO, ANNIKKI, A preterm child grows. Focus on speech and language during the first two years. - Keskonen kasvaa: puheen ja kielen kehitys kahtena ensimmäisenä elinvuotena. 119 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2000.

165 TAURIAINEN, LEENA, Kohti yhteistä laatua. - Henkilökunnan, vanhempien ja lasten laatukäsitykset päiväkodin integroidussa erityisryhmässä. - Towards common quality: staff's, parents' and children's conseptions of quality in an integration group at a daycare center. 256 p. Summary 6 p. 2000.

166 RAUDASKOSKI, LEENA, Ammattikorkeakoulun toimintaperustaa etsimässä. Toimilupahakemusten sisällönanalyyttinen tarkastelu. - In search for the founding principles of the Finnishpolytechnic institutes. A content analysis of the licence applications. 193 p. Summary 4 p. 2000.

167 TAKKINEN, SANNA, Meaning in life and its relation to functioning in old age. - Elämän tarkoituksellisuus ja sen yhteydet toimintakykyyn vanhuudessa. 51 p. (130 p.) Yhteenveto 2 p. 2000.

168 LAUNONEN, LEEVI, Eettinen kasvatusajattelu suomalaisen koulun pedagogisissa teksteissä 1860-luvulta 1990-luvulle. - Ethical thinking in Finnish school's pedagogical texts from the 1860s to the 1990s. 366 p. Summary 3 p. 2000.

169 KUORELAHTI, MATTI, Sopeutumattomien luokkamuotoisen erityisopetuksen tuloksellisuus. - The educational outcomes of special classes for emotionally/ behaviorally disordered children and youth. 176 p. Summary 2p. 2000.

170 KURUNMÄKI, JUSSI, Representation, nation and time. The political rhetoric of the 1866 parliamentary reform in Sweden. - Edustus, kansakunta ja aika. Poliittinen retoriikka Ruotsin vuoden 1866 valtiopäiväreformissa. 253 p. Tiivistelmä 4 p. 2000.

171 RASINEN, AKI, Developing technology education. In search of curriculum elements for Finnish general education schools. 158 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 2000.

172 SUNDHOLM, LARS, Itseohjautuvuus organisaatiomuutoksessa. - Self-determination in organisational change. 180 p. Summary 15 p. 2000.

173 AHONNISKA-ASSA, JAANA, Analyzing change in repeated neuropsychological assessment. 68 p. (124 p.) Yhteenveto 2 p. 2000.

174 HOFFRÉN, JARI, Demokraattinen eetos – rajoista mahdollisuuksiin. - The democratic ethos. From limits to possibilities? 217 p. Summary 2 p. 2000.

175 HEIKKINEN, HANNU L. T., Toimintatutkimus, tarinat ja opettajaksi tulemisen taito. Narratiivisen identiteettityön kehittäminen opettajankoulutuksessa toimintatutkimuksen avulla. - Action research, narratives and the art of becoming a teacher. Developing narrative identity work in teacher education through action research. 237 p. Summary 4 p. 2001.

176 VUORENMAA, MARITTA, Ikkunoita arvioin- nin tuolle puolen. Uusia avauksia suomalaiseen koulutusta koskevaan evaluaatiokeskusteluun. - Views across assessment: New openings into the evaluation discussion on Finnish education. 266 p. Summary 4 p. 2001.

177 LITMANEN, TAPIO, The struggle over risk. The spatial, temporal, and cultural dimensions of protest against nuclear technology. - Kamppailu riskistä. Ydinteknologian vastaisen protestin tilalliset, ajalliset ja kulttuuriset ulottuvuudet. 72 p. (153 p.) Yhteenveto 9 p. 2001.

178 AUNOLA, KAISA, Children's and adolescents' achievement strategies, school adjustment, and family environment. - Lasten ja nuorten suoritusstrategiat koulu- ja perheympäristöissä. 51 p. (153 p.) Yhteenveto 2 p. 2001.

179 OKSANEN, ELINA, Arvioinnin kehittäminen erityisopetuksessa. Diagnosoinnista oppimisen ohjaukseen laadullisena tapaustutkimuksena. - Developing assessment practices in special education. From a static approach to

dynamic approach applying qualitative case. 182 p. Summary 5 p. 2001.

180 VIITTALA, KAISU, "Kyllä se tommosellaki lapsella on kovempi urakka". Sikiöaikana alkoholille altistuneiden huostaanotettujen lasten elämäntilanne, riskiprosessit ja suojaavat prosessit. - "It's harder for that kind of child to get along". The life situation of the children exposed to alcohol in utero and taken care of by society, their risk and protective processes. 316 p. Summary 4 p. 2001.

181 HANSSON, LEENI, Networks matter. The role of informal social networks in the period of socio-economic reforms of the 1990s in Estonia. - Verkostoilla on merkitystä: infor-maalisten sosiaalisten verkostojen asema Virossa 1990-luvun sosio-ekonomisten muutosten aikana. 194 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 2001.

182 BÖÖK, MARJA LEENA, Vanhemmuus ja vanhem-muuden diskurssit työttömyystilanteessa . - Parenthood and parenting discourses in a situation of unemployment. 157 p. Summary 5 p. 2001.

183 KOKKO, KATJA, Antecedents and consequences of long-term unemployment. - Pitkäaikaistyöttömyyden ennakoijia ja seurauksia. 53 p. (115 p.) Tiivistelmä 3 p. 2001.

184 KOKKONEN, MARJA, Emotion regulation and physical health in adulthood: A longitudinal, personality-oriented approach. - Aikuisiän tunteiden säätely ja fyysinen terveys: pitkittäistutkimuksellinen ja persoonallisuuskeskeinen lähestymis-tapa. 52 p. (137 p.) Tiivistelmä 3 p. 2001.

185 MÄNNIKKÖ, KAISA, Adult attachment styles: A Person-oriented approach. - Aikuisten kiintymystyylit. 142 p. Yhteenveto 5 p. 2001.

186 KATVALA, SATU, Missä äiti on? Äitejä ja äitiyden uskomuksia sukupolvien saatossa. - Where's mother? Mothers and maternal beliefs over generations. 126 p. Summary 3 p. 2001.

187 KIISKINEN, ANNA-LIISA, Ympäristöhallinto vastuullisen elämäntavan edistäjänä. - Environmental administration as promoter of responsible living. 229 p. Summary 8 p. 2001.

188 SIMOLA, AHTI, Työterveyshuolto-organi-saation toiminta, sen henkilöstön henkinen hyvinvointi ja toiminnan tuloksellisuus. - Functioning of an occupational health service organization and its relationship to the mental well-being of its personnel, client satisfaction, and economic profitability. 192 p. Summary 12 p. 2001.

189 VESTERINEN, PIRKKO, Projektiopiskelu- ja oppi-minen ammattikorkeakoulussa. - Project - based studying and learning in the polytechnic. 257 p. Summary 5 p. 2001.

190 KEMPPAINEN, JAANA, Kotikasvatus kolmessa sukupolvessa. - Childrearing in three generations. 183 p. Summary 3 p. 2001.

191 HOHENTHAL-ANTIN LEONIE, Luvan ottaminen – Ikäihmiset teatterin tekijöinä. - Taking permission– Elderly people as theatre makers. 183 p. Summary 5 p. 2001.

192 KAKKORI, LEENA, Heideggerin aukeama. Tutkimuksia totuudesta ja taiteesta Martin Heideggerin avaamassa horisontissa. - Heidegger's clearing. Studies on truth and art in the horizon opened by Martin Heideg-ger. 156 p. Summary 2 p. 2001.

193 NÄRHI, VESA, The use of clinical neuro-psychological data in learning disability research. - Asiakastyön yhteydessä kerätyn neuropsykologisen aineiston käyttö oppimisvaikeustutkimuksessa. 103 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 2002.

194 SUOMI, ASTA, Ammattia etsimässä. Aikuisopiskelijat kertovat sosiaaliohjaaja-koulutuksesta ja narratiivisen pätevyyden kehittymisestä. - Searching for professional identity. Adult students' narratives on the education of a social welfare supervisor and the development of narrative competence. 183 p. Summary 2 p. 2002.

195 PERKKILÄ, PÄIVI, Opettajien matematiikka-uskomukset ja matematiikan oppikirjan merkitys alkuopetuksessa. 212 p. - Teacher's mathematics beliefs and meaning of mathematics textbooks in the first and the second grade in primary school. Summary 2 p. 2002.

196 VESTERINEN, MARJA-LIISA, Ammatillinen har-joittelu osana asiantuntijuuden kehittymistä ammattikorkeakoulussa. - Promoting professional expertise by developing practical learning at the polytechnic. 261 p. Summary 5 p. 2002.

197 POHJANEN, JORMA, Mitä kello on? Kello moder-nissa yhteiskunnassa ja sen sosiologisessa teoriassa. - What's the time. Clock on modern society and in it's sociological theory. 226 p. Summary 3 p. 2002.

198 RANTALA, ANJA, Perhekeskeisyys – puhetta vai todellisuutta? Työntekijöiden käsitykset yhteistyöstä erityistä tukea tarvitsevan lapsen perheen kanssa. - Family-centeredness rhetoric or reality? Summary 3 p. 2002.

199 VALANNE, EIJA, "Meidän lapsi on arvokas" Henkilökohtainen opetuksen järjestämistä koskeva suunnitelma (HOJKS) kunnallisessa erityiskoulussa. - "Our child is precious" - The individual educational plan in the context of the special school. 219 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 2002.

200 HOLOPAINEN, LEENA, Development in reading and reading related skills; a follow-up study from pre-school to the fourth grade. 57 p. (138 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2002.

201 HEIKKINEN, HANNU, Draaman maailmat oppimisalueina. Draamakasvatuksen vakava leikillisyys. - Drama worlds as learning areas - the serious playfulness os drama education. 164 p. Summary 5 p. 2002.

202 HYTÖNEN, TUIJA, Exploring the practice of human resource development as a field of professional expertise. - Henkilöstön

kehittämistyön asiantuntijuuden rakentuminen. 137 p. (300 p.) Yhteenveto 10 p. 2002.

203 RIPATTI, MIKKO, Arvid Järnefeldt kasvatusajattelijana. 246 p. Summary 4 p. 2002.

204 VIRMASALO, ILKKA, Perhe, työttömyys ja lama. - Families, unemployment and the economic depression. 121 p. Summary 2 p. 2002.

205 WIKGREN, JAN, Diffuse and discrete associations in aversive classical conditioning. - Täsmälliset ja laaja-alaiset ehdollistumat klassisessa aversiivisessa ehdollistumisessa. 40 p. (81 p.) Yhteenveto 2 p. 2002.

206 JOKIVUORI, PERTTI, Sitoutuminen työorganisaatioon ja ammattijärjestöön. - Kilpailevia vai täydentäviä?- Commitment to organisation and trade union. Competing or complementary? 132 p. Summary 8 p. 2002.

207 GONZÁLEZ VEGA, NARCISO, Factors affecting simulator-training effectiveness. 162 p. Yhteenveto 1 p. 2002.

208 SALO, KARI, Teacher Stress as a Longitudinal Process - Opettajien stressiprosessi. 67 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 2002.

209 VAUHKONEN, JOUNI, A rhetoric of reduction. Bertrand de Jouvenel's pure theory of politics as persuasion. 156 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2002.

210 KONTONIEMI, MARITA, "Milloin sinä otat itseäsi niskasta kiinni?" Opettajien kokemuksia alisuoriutujista. - "When will you pull your socks up?" Teachers´ experiences of underachievers. 218 p. Summary 3 p. 2003.

211 SAUKKONEN, SAKARI, Koulu ja yksilöllisyys; Jännitteitä, haasteita ja mahdollisuuksia. - School and individuality: Tensions, challenges and possibilities. 125 p. Summary 3 p. 2003.

212 VILJAMAA, MARJA-LEENA, Neuvola tänään ja huomenna. Vanhemmuuden tukeminen, perhekeskeisyys ja vertaistuki. - Child and maternity welfare clinics today and tomorrow. Supporting parenthood, family-centered sevices and peer groups. 141 p. Summary 4 p. 2003.

213 REMES, LIISA, Yrittäjyyskasvatuksen kolme diskurssia. - Three discourses in entrepreneurial learning. 204 p. Summary 2 p. 2003.

214 KARJALA, KALLE, Neulanreiästä panoraamaksi. Ruotsin kulttuurikuvan ainekset eräissä keskikoulun ja B-ruotsin vuosina 1961–2002 painetuissa oppikirjoissa. - From pinhole to panorama – The culture of Sweden presented in some middle and comprehensive school textbooks printed between 1961 and 2002. 308 p. Summary 2 p. 2003.

215 LALLUKKA, KIRSI, Lapsuusikä ja ikä lapsuudessa. Tutkimus 6–12 -vuotiaiden sosiokulttuurisesta ikätiedosta. - Childhood age and age in childhood. A study on the sociocultural knowledge of age. 234 p. Summary 2 p. 2003.

216 PUUKARI, SAULI, Video Programmes as Learning Tools. Teaching the Gas Laws and Behaviour of Gases in Finnish and Canadian Senior High Schools. 361 p. Yhteenveto 6 p. 2003.

217 LOISA, RAIJA-LEENA, The polysemous contemporary concept. The rhetoric of the cultural industry. - Monimerkityksinen nykykäsite. Kulttuuriteollisuuden retoriikka. 244 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 2003.

218 HOLOPAINEN, ESKO, Kuullun ja luetun tekstin ymmärtämisstrategiat ja -vaikeudet peruskoulun kolmannella ja yhdeksännellä luokalla. - Strategies for listening and reading comprehension and problematic listening and reading comprehension of the text during the third and ninth grades of primary school. 135 p. Summary 3 p. 2003.

219 PENTTINEN, SEPPO, Lähtökohdat liikuntaa opettavaksi luokanopettajaksi. Nuoruuden kasvuympäristöt ja opettajankoulutus opettajuuden kehitystekijöinä.- Starting points for a primary school physical education teacher. The growth environment of adolescence and teacher education as developmental factors of teachership. 201 p. Summary 10 p. 2003.

220 IKÄHEIMO, HEIKKI, Tunnustus, subjektiviteetti ja inhimillinen elämänmuoto: Tutkimuksia Hegelistä ja persoonien välisistä tunnustussuhteista. - Recognition, subjectivity and the human life form: studies on Hegel and interpersonal recognition. 191 p. Summary 3 p. 2003.

221 ASUNTA, TUULA, Knowledge of environmental issues. Where pupils acquire information and how it affects their attitudes, opinions, and laboratory behaviour - Ympäristöasioita koskeva tieto. Mistä oppilaat saavat informaatiota ja miten se vaikuttaa heidän asenteisiinsa, mielipiteisiinsä ja laboratoriokäyttäytymiseensä. 159 p. Yhteenveto 4 p. 2003.

222 KUJALA, ERKKI, Sodan pojat. Sodanaikaisten pikkupoikien lapsuuskokemuksia isyyden näkökulmasta - The sons of war. 229 p. Summary 2 p. 2003.

223 JUSSI KURUNMÄKI & KARI PALOINEN (Hg./eds.) Zeit, Geschicte und Politik. Time, history and politics. *Zum achtzigsten Geburtstag von Reinhart Koselleck*. 310 p. 2003.

224 LAITINEN, ARTO, Strong evaluation without sources. On Charles Taylor's philosophical anthropology and cultural moral realism. - Vahvoja arvostuksia ilman lähteitä. Charles Taylorin filosofisesta antropologiasta ja kulturalistisesta moraalirealismista. 358 p. Yhteenveto 4 p. 2003.

225 GUTTORM, TOMI K. Newborn brain responses measuring feature and change detection and predicting later language development in children with and without familial risk for dyslexia. - Vastasyntyneiden aivovasteet puheäänteiden ja niiden muutosten havaitsemisessa sekä myöhemmän kielen kehityksen ennustamisessa dysleksia-riskilapsilla. 81 p. (161 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2003.

226 NAKARI, MAIJA-LIISA, Työilmapiiri, työnte-kijöiden hyvinvointi ja muutoksen mah-dollisuus - Work climate, employees' well-being and the possibility of change. 255 p. Summary 3 p. 2003.

227 METSÄPELTO, RIITTA-LEENA, Individual differences in parenting: The five-factor model of personality as an explanatory framework - Lastenkasvatus ja sen yhteys vanhemman persoonallisuuden piirteisiin. 53 p. (119 p.) Tiivistelmä 3 p. 2003.

228 PULKKINEN, OILI, The labyrinth of politics - A conceptual approach to the modes of the political in the scottish enlightenment. 144 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 2003.

229 JUUJÄRVI, PETRI, A three-level analysis of reactive aggression among children. - Lasten aggressiivisiin puolustusreaktioihin vaikuttavien tekijöiden kolmitasoinen analyysi. 39 p. (115 p.) Yhteenveto 2 p. 2003.

230 POIKONEN, PIRJO-LIISA, "Opetussuunnitelma on sitä elämää". Päiväkoti-kouluyhteisö opetussuunnitelman kehittäjänä. - "The curriculum is part of our life". The day-cara - cum - primary school community as a curriculum developer. 154 p. Summary 3 p. 2003.

231 SOININEN, SUVI, From a 'Necessary Evil' to an art of contingency: Michael Oakeshott's conception of political activity in British postwar political thought. 174 p. Summary 2p. 2003.

232 ALARAUDANJOKI, ESA, Nepalese child labourers' life-contexts, cognitive skills and well-being. - Työssäkäyvien nepalilaislasten elämän-konteksti, kognitiiviset taidot ja hyvinvointi. 62 p. (131 p.) Yhteenveto 4 p. 2003.

233 LERKKANEN, MARJA-KRISTIINA, Learning to read. Reciprocal processes and individual pathways. - Lukemaan oppiminen: vastavuoroiset prosessit ja yksilölliset oppimispolut. 70 p. (155 p.) Yhteenveto 5 p. 2003.

234 FRIMAN, MERVI, Ammatillisen asiantuntijan etiikka ammattikorkeakoulutuksessa. - The ethics of a professional expert in the context of polytechnics. 199 p. 2004.

235 MERONEN, AULI, Viittomakielen omaksumi-sen yksilölliset tekijät. - Individual differences in sign language abilities. 110 p. Summary 5 p. 2004.

236 TIILIKKALA, LIISA, Mestarista tutoriksi. Suomalaisen ammatillisen opettajuuden muutos ja jatkuvuus. - From master to tutor. Change and continuity in Finnish vocational teacherhood. 281 p. Summary 3 p. 2004.

237 ARO, MIKKO, Learning to read: The effect of orthography. - Kirjoitusjärjestelmän vaikutus lukemaan oppimiseen. 44 p. (122 p.) Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2004.

238 LAAKSO, ERKKI, Draamakokemusten äärellä. Prosessidraaman oppimispotentiaali opettajaksi opiskelevien kokemusten valossa. - Encountering drama experiences. The learning potential of process drama in the light of student teachers' experiences. 230 p. Summary 7 p. 2004.

239 PERÄLÄ-LITTUNEN, SATU, Cultural images of a good mother and a good father in three generations. - Kulttuuriset mielikuvat hyvästä äidistä ja hyvästä isästä kolmessa sukupolvessa. 234 p. Yhteenveto 7 p. 2004.

240 RINNE-KOISTINEN, EVA-MARITA, Perceptions of health: Water and sanitation problems in rural and urban communities in Nigeria. 129 p. (198 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2004.

241 PALMROTH, AINO, Käännösten kautta kollektiiviin. Tuuliosuuskunnat toimija-verkkoina. - From translation to collective. Wind turbine cooperatives as actor networks. 177 p. Summary 7 p. 2004.

242 VIERIKKO, ELINA, Genetic and environmental effects on aggression. - Geneettiset ja ympä-ristötekijät aggressiivisuudessa. 46 p. (108 p.) Tiivistelmä 3 p. 2004.

243 NÄRHI, KATI, The eco-social approach in social work and the challenges to the expertise of social work. - Ekososiaalinen viitekehys ja haasteet sosiaalityön asiantuntijuudelle. 106 p. (236 p.) Yhteenveto 7 p. 2004.

244 URSIN, JANI, Characteristics of Finnish medical and engineering research group work. - Tutkimusryhmätyöskentelyn piirteet lääke- ja teknisissä tieteissä. 202 p. Yhteenveto 9 p. 2004.

245 TREUTHARDT, LEENA, Tulosohjauksen yhteis-kunnalliuus Jyväskylän yliopistossa. Tarkastelunäkökulmina muoti ja seurustelu. - The management by results a fashion and social interaction at the University of Jyväskylä. 228 p. Summary 3 p. 2004.

246 MATTHIES, JÜRGEN, Umweltpädagogik in der Postmoderne. Eine philosophische Studie über die Krise des Subjekts im umweltpädagogischen Diskurs. - Ympäristökasvatus postmodernissa. Filosofinen tutkimus subjektin kriisistä ympäristökasvatuksen diskurssissa.400 p. Yhteenveto 7 p. 2004.

247 LAITILA, AARNO, Dimensions of expertise in family therapeutic process. - Asiantunti-juuden ulottuvuuksia perheterapeuttisessa prosessissa. 54 p. (106 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2004.

248 LAAMANEN (ASTIKAINEN), PIIA, Pre-attentive detection of changes in serially presented stimuli in rabbits and humans. - Muutoksen esitietoinen havaitseminen sarjallisesti esitetyissä ärsykkeissä kaneilla ja ihmisillä. 35 p. (54 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2004.

249 JUUSENAHO, RIITTA, Peruskoulun rehtoreiden johtamisen eroja. Sukupuolinen näkökulma. - Differences in comprehensive school leadership and management. A gender-based approach. 176p. Summary 3 p. 2004.

250 VAARAKALLIO, TUULA, "Rotten to the Core". Variations of French nationalist anti-system rhetoric. – "Systeemi on mätä". Ranskalaisten nationalistien järjestelmän vastainen retoriikka. 194 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 2004.

251 KUUSINEN, PATRIK, Pitkäaikainen kipu ja depressio. Yhteyttä säätelevät tekijät. – Chronic pain and depression: psychosocial determinants regulating the relationship. 139 p. Summary 8 p. 2004.

252 HÄNNIKÄINEN-UUTELA, ANNA-LIISA, Uudelleen juurtuneet. Yhteisökasvatus vaikeasti päihderiippuvaisten narkomaanien kuntoutuksessa. – Rooted again. Community education in the rehabilitation of substance addicts. 286 p. Summary 3 p. 2004.

253 PALONIEMI, SUSANNA, Ikä, kokemus ja osaaminen työelämässä. Työntekijöiden käsityksiä iän ja kokemuksen merkityksestä ammatillisessa osaamisessa ja sen kehittämisessä. - Age, experience and competence in working life. Employees' conceptions of the the meaning and experience in professional competence and its development. 184 p. Summary 5 p. 2004.

254 RUIZ CEREZO, MONTSE, Anger and Optimal Performance in Karate. An Application of the IZOF Model. 55 p. (130 p.) Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2004.

255 LADONLAHTI, TARJA, Haasteita palvelujärjestelmälle. Kehitysvammaiseksi luokiteltu henkilö psykiatrisessa sairaalassa. - Challenges for the human service system. Living in a psychiatric hospital under the label of mental retardation. 176 p. Summary 3 p. 2004.

256 KOVANEN PÄIVI, Oppiminen ja asiantuntijuus varhaiskasvatuksessa. Varhaisen oppimaan ohjaamisen suunnitelma erityistä tukea tarvitsevien lasten ohjauksessa. - Learning and expertice in early childhood education. A pilot work in using VARSU with children with special needs. 175 p. Summary 2 p. 2004.

257 VILMI, VEIKKO, Turvallinen koulu. Suomalaisten näkemyksiä koulutuspalvelujen kansallisesta ja kunnallisesta priorisoinnista. - Secure education. Finnish views on the national and municipal priorities of Finland's education services. 134 p. Summary 5 p. 2005.

258 ANTTILA, TIMO, Reduced working hours. Reshaping the duration, timing and tempo of work. 168 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2005.

259 UGASTE, AINO, The child's play world at home and the mother's role in the play. 207 p. Tiivistelmä 5 p. 2005.

260 KURRI, KATJA, The invisible moral order: Agency, accountability and responsibility in therapy talk. 38 p. (103 p.). Tiivistelmä 1 p. 2005.

261 COLLIN, KAIJA, Experience and shared practice – Design engineers' learning at work.– Suunnitteluinsinöörien työssä oppiminen – kokemuksellisuutta ja jaettuja käytäntöjä. 124 p. (211 p.). Yhteenveto 6 p. 2005.

262 KURKI, EIJA, Näkyvä ja näkymätön. Nainen Suomen helluntailiikkeen kentällä. – Visible and invisible. Women in the Finnish pentecostal movement. 180 p. Summary 2 p. 2005.

263 HEIMONEN, SIRKKALIISA, Työikäisenä Alzheimerin tautiin sairastuneiden ja heidän puolisoidensa kokemukset sairauden alkuvaiheessa. – Experiences of persons with early onset Alzheimer's disease and their spouses in the early stage of the disease. 138 p. Summary 3 p. 2005.

264 PIIROINEN, HANNU, Epävarmuus, muutos ja ammatilliset jännitteet. Suomalainen sosiaalityö 1990-luvulla sosiaalityöntekijöiden tulkinnoissa. – Uncertainty, change and professional tensions. The Finnish social work in the 1990s in the light of social workers' representations. 207 p. Summary 2 p. 2005.

265 MÄKINEN, JARMO, Säätiö ja maakunta. Maakuntarahastojärjestelmän kentät ja verkostot. – Foundation and region: Fields and networks of the system of the regional funds. 235 p. Summary 3 p. 2005.

266 PETRELIUS, PÄIVI, Sukupuoli ja subjektius sosiaalityössä. Tulkintoja naistyöntekijöiden muistoista. – Gender and subjectivity in social work – interpreting women workers' memories. 67 p. (175 p.) 2005.

267 HOKKANEN, TIINA, Äitinä ja isänä eron jälkeen. Yhteishuoltajavanhemmuus arjen kokemuksena. – As a mother and a father after divoce. Joint custody parenthood as an everyday life experience. 201 p. Summary 8 p. 2005.

268 HANNU SIRKKILÄ, Elättäjyyttä vai erotiikkaa. Miten suomalaiset miehet legitimoivat parisuhteensa thaimaalaisen naisen kanssa? – Breadwinner or eroticism. How Finnish men legitimatize their partnerships with Thai women. 252 p. Summary 4 p. 2005.

269 PENTTINEN, LEENA, Gradupuhetta tutkielmaseminaarissa. – Thesis discourse in an undergraduate research seminar. 176 p. Summary 8 p. 2005.

270 KARVONEN, PIRKKO, Päiväkotilasten lukuleikit. Lukutaidon ja lukemistietoisuuden kehittyminen interventiotutkimuksessa– Reading Games for Children in Daycare Centers. The Development of Reading Ability and Reading Awareness in an Intervention Study . 179 p. Summary 3 p. 2005.

271 KOSONEN, PEKKA A., Sosiaalialan ja hoitotyön asiantuntijuuden kehitysehdot ja opiskelijavalinta. – Conditions of expertise development in nursing and and social care, and criteria for student selection. 276 p. Summary 3 p. 2005.

272 NIIRANEN-LINKAMA, PÄIVI, Sosiaalisen transformaatio sosiaalialan asiantuntijuuden diskurssissa. – Transformation of the social in the discourse of social work expertise. 200 p. Summary 3 p. 2005.

273 KALLA, OUTI, Characteristics, course and outcome in first-episode psychosis. A cross-cultural comparison of Finnish and Spanish patient groups. – Ensikertalaisten psykoosipotilaiden psyykkissosiaaliset ominaisuudet, sairaudenkulku ja ennuste. Suomalaisten ja espanjalaisten potilasryhmien vertailu. 75 p. (147 p.) Tiivistelmä 4 p. 2005.

274 LEHTOMÄKI, ELINA, Pois oppimisyhteiskunnan marginaalista? Koulutuksen merkitys vuosina 1960–1990 opiskelleiden lapsuudestaan kuurojen ja huonokuuloisten aikuisten elämänkulussa. - Out from the margins of the learning society? The meaning of education in the life course of adults who studied during the years 1960-1990 and were deaf or hard-of-hearing from childhood. 151 p. Summary 5 p. 2005.

275 KINNUNEN, MARJA-LIISA, Allostatic load in relation to psychosocial stressors and health. - Allostaattinen kuorma ja sen suhde psykososiaalisiin stressitekijöihin ja terveyteen. 59 p. (102 p.) Tiivistelmä 3 p. 2005.

276 UOTINEN, VIRPI, I'm as old as I feel. Subjective age in Finnish adults. - Olen sen ikäinen kuin tunnen olevani. Suomalaisten aikuisten subjektiivinen ikä. 64 p. (124 p.) Tiivistelmä 3 p. 2005.

277 SALOKOSKI, TARJA, Tietokonepelit ja niiden pelaaminen. - Electronic games: content and playing activity. 116 p. Summary 5 p. 2005.

278 HIHNALA, KAUKO, Laskutehtävien suorittamisesta käsitteiden ymmärtämiseen.Peruskoululaisen matemaattisen ajattelun kehittyminen aritmetiikasta algebraan siirryttäessä. - Transition from the performing of arithmetic tasks to the understanding of concepts. The development of pupils' mathematical thinking when shifting from arithmetic to algebra in comprehensive school. 169 p. Summary 3 p. 2005.

279 WALLIN, RISTO, Yhdistyneet kansakunnat organisaationa. Tutkimus käsitteellisestä muutoksesta maailmanjärjestön organisoinnin periaatteissa - From the league to UN. The move to an organizational vocabulary of international relations. 172 p. Summary 2 p. 2005.

280 VALLEALA, ULLA MAIJA, Yhteinen ymmärtäminen koulutuksessa ja työssä. Kontekstin merkitys ymmärtämisessä opiskelijaryhmän ja työtiimin keskusteluissa. - Shared understanding in education and work. Context of understanding in student group and work team discussions. 236 p. Summary 7 p. 2006.

281 RASINEN, TUIJA, Näkökulmia vieraskieliseen perusopetukseen. Koulun kehittämishankkeesta koulun toimintakulttuuriksi. - Perspectives on content and language integrated learning. The impact of a development project on a school's activities. 204 . Summary 6 p. 2006.

282 VIHOLAINEN, HELENA, Suvussa esiintyvän lukemisvaikeusriskin yhteys motoriseen ja kielelliseen kehitykseen. Tallaako lapsi kielensä päälle? - Early motor and language development in children at risk for familial dyslexia. 50 p. (94 p.) Summary 2 p. 2006.

283 KIILI, JOHANNA, Lasten osallistumisen voimavarat. Tutkimus Ipanoiden osallistumisesta. - Resources for children's participation. 226 p. Summary 3 p. 2006.

284 LEPPÄMÄKI, LAURA, Tekijänoikeuden oikeuttaminen. - The justification of copyright. 125 p. Summary 2 p. 2006.

285 SANAKSENAHO, SANNA, Eriarvoisuus ja luottamus 2000-luvun taitteen Suomessa. Bourdieulainen näkökulma. - Inequality and trust in Finland at the turn of the 21st century: Bourdieuan approach. 150 p. Summary 3 p. 2006.

286 VALKONEN, LEENA, Millainen on hyvä äiti tai isä? Viides- ja kuudesluokkalaisten lasten vanhemmuuskäsitykset. - What is a good father or good mother like? Fifth and sixth graders' conceptions of parenthood. 126 p. Summary 5 p. 2006.

287 MARTIKAINEN, LIISA, Suomalaisten nuorten aikuisten elämään tyytyväisyyden monet kasvot. - The many faces of life satisfaction among Finnish young adult's. 141 p. Summary 3 p. 2006.

288 HAMARUS, PÄIVI, Koulukiusaaminen ilmiönä. Yläkoulun oppilaiden kokemuksia kiusaamisesta. - School bullying as a phenomenon. Some experiences of Finnish lower secondary school pupils. 265 p. Summary 6 p. 2006.

289 LEPPÄNEN, ULLA, Development of literacy in kindergarten and primary school. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 49 p. (145 p.) 2006.

290 KORVELA, PAUL-ERIK, The Machiavellian reformation. An essay in political theory. 171 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2006.

291 METSOMÄKI, MARJO, "Suu on syömistä varten". Lasten ja aikuisten kohtaamisia ryhmäperhepäiväkodin ruokailutilanteissa. - Encounters between children and adults in group family day care dining situations. 251 p. Summary 3 p. 2006.

292 LATVALA, JUHA-MATTI, Digitaalisen kommunikaatiosovelluksen kehittäminen kodin ja koulun vuorovaikutuksen edistämiseksi. - Development of a digital communication system to facilitate interaction between home and school. 158 p. Summary 7 p. 2006.

293 PITKÄNEN, TUULI, Alcohol drinking behavior and its developmental antecedents. - Alkoholin juomiskäyttäytyminen ja sen ennusta minen. 103 p. (169 p.) Tiivistelmä 6 p. 2006.

294 LINNILÄ, MAIJA-LIISA, Kouluvalmiudesta koulun valmiuteen. Poikkeuksellinen koulunaloitus koulumenestyksen, viranomaislausuntojen ja perheiden kokemusten valossa. - From school readiness to readiness of school – Exceptional school starting in the light of school attainment, official report and family experience. 321 p. Summary 3 p. 2006.

295 LEINONEN, ANU, Vanhusneuvoston funktioita jäljittämässä. Tutkimus maaseutumaisten kuntien vanhusneuvostoista. – Tracing functions of older people's councils. A study on older people's councils in rural municipalities. 245 p. Summary 3 p. 2006.

296 KAUPPINEN, MARKO, Canon vs. charisma. "Maoism" as an ideological construction. - Kaanon vs. karisma. "Maoismi" ideologisena konstruktiona. 119 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 2006.

297 VEHKAKOSKI, TANJA, Leimattu lapsuus? Vammaisuuden rakentuminen ammatti-ihmisten puheessa ja teksteissä. – Stigmatized childhood? Constructing disability in professional talk and texts. 83 p. (185 p.) Summary 4 p. 2006.

298 LEPPÄAHO, HENRY, Matemaattisen ongelman ratkaisutaidon opettaminen peruskoulussa. Ongelmanratkaisukurssin kehittäminen ja arviointi. – Teaching mathematical problem solving skill in the Finnish comprehensive school. Designing and assessment of a problem solving course. 343 p. Summary 4 p. 2007.

299 KUVAJA, KRISTIINA, Living the Urban Challenge. Sustainable development and social sustainability in two southern megacities. 130 p. (241 p.) Yhteenveto 4 p. 2007.

300 POHJOLA, PASI, Technical artefacts. An ontological investigation of technology. 150 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 2007.

301 KAUKUA, JARI, Avicenna on subjectivity. A philosophical study. 161 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 2007.

302 KUPILA, PÄIVI, "Minäkö asiantuntija?". Varhaiskasvatuksen asiantuntijan merkitysperspektiivin ja identiteetin rakentuminen. –"Me, an expert?" Constructing the meaning perspective and identity of an expert in the field of early childhood education. 190 p. Summary 4 p. 2007.

303 SILVENNOINEN, PIIA, Ikä, identiteetti ja ohjaava koulutus. Ikääntyvät pitkäaikaistyöttömät oppimisyhteiskunnan haasteena. – Age, identity and career counselling. The ageing, long-term unemployed as a challenge to learning society. 229 p. Summary 4 p. 2007.

304 REINIKAINEN, MARJO-RIITTA, Vammaisuuden sukupuolittuneet ja sortavat diskurssit: Yhteiskunnallis-diskursiivinen näkökulma vammaisuuteen. – Gendered and oppressive discourses of disability: Social-discursive perspective on disability. 81 p. (148 p.) Summary 4 p. 2007.

305 MÄÄTTÄ, JUKKA, Asepalvelus nuorten naisten ja miesten opinto- ja työuralla. – The impact of military service on the career and study paths of young women and men. 141 p. Summary 4 p. 2007.

306 PYYKKÖNEN, MIIKKA, Järjestäytyvät diasporat. Etnisyys, kansalaisuus, integraatio ja hallinta maahanmuuttajien yhdistystoiminnassa. – Organizing diasporas. Ethnicity, citizenship, integration, and government in immigrant associations. 140 p. (279 p.) Summary 2 p. 2007.

307 RASKU, MINNA, On the border of east and west. Greek geopolitical narratives. – Idän ja lännen rajalla. Narratiiveja kreikkalaisesta geopolitiikasta. 169 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 2007.

308 LAPIOLAHTI, RAIMO, Koulutuksen arviointi kunnallisen koulutuksen järjestäjän tehtävänä. Paikallisen arvioinnin toteutumisedellytysten arviointia erään kuntaorganisaation näkökulmasta. – The evaluation of schooling as a task of the communal maintainer of schooling – what are the presuppositions of the execution of evaluation in one specific communal organization. 190 p. Summary 7 p. 2007.

309 NATALE, KATJA, Parents' Causal Attributions Concerning Their Children's Academic Achievement . – Vanhempien lastensa koulumenestystä koskevat kausaaliattribuutiot. 54 p. (154 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2007.

310 VAHTERA, SIRPA, Optimistit opintiellä. Opinnoissaan menestyvien nuorten hyvinvointi lukiosta jatko-opintoihin. – The well-being of optimistic, well-performing high school students from high school to university. 111 p. Summary 2 p. 2007.

311 KOIVISTO, PÄIVI, "Yksilöllistä huomiota arkisissa tilanteissa". Päiväkodin toimintakulttuurin kehittäminen lasten itsetuntoa vahvistavaksi. – "Individual attention in everyday situations". Developing the operational culture of a day-care centre to strengthen children's self-esteem. 202 p. Summary 4 p. 2007.

312 LAHIKAINEN, JOHANNA, "You look delicious" – Food, eating, and hunger in Margaret Atwood's novels. 277 p. Yhteenveto 2 p. 2007.

313 LINNAVUORI, HANNARIIKKA, Lasten kokemuksia vuoroasumisesta. – Children's experiences of dual residence. 202 p. Summary 8 p. 2007.

314 PARVIAINEN, TIINA, Cortical correlates of language perception. Neuromagnetic studies in adults and children. – Kielen käsittely aivoissa. Neuromagneettisia tutkimuksia aikuisilla ja lapsilla. 128 p. (206 p.) Yhteenveto 5 p. 2007.

315 KARA, HANNELE, Ermutige mich Deutsch zu sprechen. Portfolio als evaluationsform von mündlichen leistungen. – "Rohkaise minua puhumaan saksaa" – kielisalkku suullisen kielitaidon arviointivälineenä. 108 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 2007.

316 MÄKELÄ, AARNE, Mitä rehtorit todella tekevät. Etnografinen tapaustutkimus johtamisesta ja rehtorin tehtävistä peruskoulussa. – What principals really do. An ethnographic case study on leadership and on principal's tasks in comprehensive school. 266 p. Summary 5 p. 2007.

317 PUOLAKANAHO, ANNE, Early prediction of reading – Phonological awareness and related language and cognitive skills in children with a familial risk for dyslexia. – Lukemistaitojen varhainen ennustaminen. Fonologinen tietoisuus, kielelliset ja kognitiiviset taidot lapsilla joiden suvussa esiintyy dysleksiaa. 61 p. (155 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2007.

318 HOFFMAN, DAVID M., The career potential of migrant scholars in Finnish higher education. Emerging perspectives and dynamics. - Akateemisten siirtolaisten uramahdollisuudet suomalaisessa korkeakoulujärjestelmässä: dynamiikkaa ja uusia näkökulmia. 153 p. (282 p.) Yhteenveto 2 p. 2007.

319 FADJUKOFF, PÄIVI, Identity formation in adulthood. - Identiteetin muotoutuminen aikuisiässä. 71 p. (168 p.) Yhteenveto 5 p. 2007.

320 MÄKIKANGAS, ANNE, Personality, well-being and job resources: From negative paradigm towards positive psychology. - Persoonallisuus, hyvinvointi ja työn voimavarat: Kohti positiivista psykologiaa. 66 p. (148 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2007.

321 JOKISAARI, MARKKU, Attainment and reflection: The role of social capital and regrets in developmental regulation. - Sosiaalisen pääoman ja toteutumattomien tavoitteiden merkitys kehityksen säätelyssä. 61 p. (102 p.) Yhteenveto 2 p. 2007.

322 HÄMÄLÄINEN, JARMO, Processing of sound rise time in children and adults with and without reading problems. - Äänten nousuaikojen prosessointi lapsilla ja aikuisilla, joilla on dysleksia ja lapsilla ja aikuisilla, joilla ei ole dysleksiaa. 48 p. (95 p.) Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2007.

323 KANERVIO, PEKKA, Crisis and renewal in one Finnish private school. - Kriisi ja uudistuminen yhdessä suomalaisessa yksityiskoulussa. 217 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2007.

324 MÄÄTTÄ, SAMI, Achievement strategies in adolescence and young adulthood. - Nuorten ajattelu- ja toimintastrategia. 45 p. (120 p.) Tiivistelmä 3 p. 2007.

325 TORPPA MINNA, Pathways to reading acquisition: Effects of early skills, learning environment and familial risk for dyslexia.

- Yksilöllisiä kehityspolkuja kohti lukemisen taitoa: Varhaisten taitojen, oppimisympäristön ja sukuriskin vaikutukset. 53 p. (135 p.) 2007.

326 KANKAINEN, TOMI, Yhdistykset, instituutiot ja luottamus. - Voluntary associations, institutions and trust.158 p. Summary 7 p. 2007.

327 PIRNES, ESA, Merkityksellinen kulttuuri ja kulttuuripolitiikka. Laaja kulttuurin käsite kulttuuripolitiikan perusteluna. - Meaningful culture and cultural policy. A broad concept of culture as a basis for cultural policy. 294 p. Summary 2 p. 2008.

328 NIEMI, PETTERI, Mieli, maailma ja referenssi. John McDowellin mielenfilosofian ja semantiikan kriittinen tarkastelu ja ontologinen täydennys. - Mind, world and reference: A critical examination and ontological supplement of John McDowell's philosophy of mind and semantics. 283 p. Summary 4 p. 2008.

329 GRANBOM-HERRANEN, LIISA, Sananlaskut kasvatuspuheessa – perinnettä, kasvatusta, indoktrinaatiota? – Proverbs in pedagogical discourse – tradition, upbringing, indoctrination? 324 p. Summary 8 p. 2008.

330 KYKYRI, VIRPI-LIISA, Helping clients to help themselves. A discursive perspective to process consulting practices in multi-party settings. - Autetaan asiakasta auttamaan itse itseään. Diskursiivinen näkökulma prosessikonsultoinnin käytäntöihin ryhmätilanteissa. 75 p. (153 p.) Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2008.

331 KIURU, NOONA, The role of adolescents' peergroups in the school context. - Nuortentoveriryhmien rooli kouluympäristössä. 77 p. (192 p.) Tiivistelmä 3 p. 2008.

332 PARTANEN, TERHI, Interaction and therapeutic interventions in treatment groups for intimately violent men. 46 p. (104 p) Yhteenveto 2 p. 2008.

333 RAITTILA, RAIJA, Retkellä. Lasten ja kaupunkiympäristön kohtaaminen. – Making a visit. Encounters between children and an urban environment. 179 p. Summary 3 p. 2008.

334 SUME, HELENA, Perheen pyörteinen arki. Sisäkorvaistutetta käyttävän lapsen matka kouluun. – Turbulent life of the family. Way to school of a child with cochlear implant. 208 p. Summary 6 p. 2008.

335 KOTIRANTA, TUIJA, Aktivoinnin paradoksit. - The paradoxes of activation. 217 p. Summary 3 p. 2008.

336 RUOPPILA, ISTO, HUUHTANEN, PEKKA, SEITSAMO, JORMA AND ILMARINEN, JUHANI, Age-related changes of the work ability construct and its relation to cognitive functioning in the older worker: A 16-year follow-up study. 97 p. 2008.

337 TIKKANEN, Pirjo, "Helpompaa ja hauskempaa kuin luulin". Matematiikka suomalaisten ja unkarilaisten perusopetuksen neljäsluokkalaisten kokemana.– "Easier and more fun that

JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

359 JUMPPANEN, AAPO, United with the United States – George Bush's foreign policy towards Europe 1989–1993. 177 p. Yhteenveto 3 p. 2009.

360 HUEMER, SINI, Training reading skills. Towards fluency. - Lukemistaitojen harjoittaminen. Tavoitteena sujuvuus. 85 p. (188 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2009.

361 ESKELINEN, TEPPO, Putting global poverty in context. A philosophical essay on power, justice and economy. 221 p. Yhtenveto 1 p. 2009.

362 TAIPALE, SAKARI, Transformative technologies, spatial changes: Essays on mobile phones and the internet. 97 p. (184 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2009.

363 KORKALAINEN, PAULA, Riittämättömyyden tunteesta osaamisen oivallukseen. Ammatillisen asiantuntijuuden kehittäminen varhaiserityiskasvatuksen toimintaympäristöissä. - From a feeling of insuffiency to a new sense of expertise. Developing professional knowledge and skills in the operational environments for special needs childhood education and care. 303 p. Summary 4 p. 2009.

364 SEPPÄLÄ-PÄNKÄLÄINEN, TARJA, Oppijoiden moninaisuuden kohtaaminen suomalaisessa lähikoulussa. Etnografia kouluyhteisön aikuisten yhdessä oppimisen haasteista ja mahdollisuuksista. - Confronting the Diversity of Learners in a Finnish Neighbourhood School. An Ethnographic Study of the Challenges and Opportunities of Adults Learning Together in a School community. 256 p. Summary 4 p. 2009.

365 SEVÓN, EIJA, Maternal Responsibility and Changing Relationality at the Beginning of Motherhood. - Äidin vastuu ja muuttuvat perhesuhteet äitiyden alussa. 117 p. (200 p.) Yhteenveto 5 p. 2009.

366 HUTTUNEN-SCOTT, TIINA, Auditory duration discrimination in children with reading disorder, attention deficit or both. - Kuulonvarainen keston erottelu lapsilla, joilla on lukemisvaikeus, tarkkaavaisuuden ongelma tai molemmat . 68 p. (112 p.) Tiivistelmä 3 p. 2009.

367 NEUVONEN-RAUHALA, MARJA-LIISA, Työelämälähtöisyyden määrittäminen ja käyttäminen ammattikorkeakoulun jatkotutkintokokeilussa. - Defining and applying working-life orientation in the polytechnic postgraduate experiment. 163 p. Summary 7 p. 2009.

368 NYMAN, TARJA, Nuoren vieraan kielen opettajan pedagogisen ajattelun ja ammatillisen asiantuntijuuden kehittyminen. - The development of pedagogical thinking and professional expertise of newly qualified language teachers. 121 p. (201 p.) Summary 4 p. 2009.

369 PUUTIO, RISTO, Hidden agendas. Situational tasks, discursive strategies and institutional practices in process consultation. 83 p. (147 p.) Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2009.

370 TOIVANEN, JUHANA, Animal consciousness. Peter Olivi on cognitive functions of the sensitive soul. 369 p. Yhteenveto 4 p. 2009.

371 NOKIA, MIRIAM, The role of the hippocampal theta activity in classical eyeblink conditioning in rabbits. - Hippokampuksen theta-aktiivisuuden rooli klassisessa silmäniskuehdollistamisessa kaneilla. 41 p. (80 p.) Yhteenveto 2 p. 2009.

372 LÄHTEENMÄKI, VILI, Essays on early modern conceptions of consciousness: Descartes, Cudworth, and Locke. 160 p. 2009.

373 BJÖRK, KAJ, What explains development. Development strategy for low human development index countries. 212 p. Yhteenveto 1 p. 2009.

374 PUUPPONEN, ANTTI, Maaseutuyrittäjyys, verkostot ja paikallisuus. Tapaustutkimus pienimuotoisen elintarviketuotannon kestävyydestä Keski-Suomessa. - Rural entrepreneurship, networks and locality. A case study of the sustainability of small-scale food production in Central Finland. 100 p. (191 p.) Summary 3 p. 2009.

375 HALTTUNEN, LEENA, Päivähoitotyö ja johtajuus hajautetussa organisaatiossa. - Day care work and leadership in a distributed organization. 181 p. Summary 4 p. 2009.

376 KAIDESOJA, TUUKKA, Studies on ontological and methodological foundations of critical realism in the social sciences. 65 p. (187 p.) Yhteenveto 9 p. 2009.

377 SIPPOLA, MARKKU, A low road to investment and labour management? The labour process at Nordic subsidiaries in the Baltic States. 272 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2009.

378 SANTALA, OLLI-PEKKA, Expertise in using the Rorschach comprehensive system in personality assessment. 150 p. Tiivistelmä 1 p. 2009.

379 HARJUNEN, HANNELE, Women and fat: Approaches to the social study of fatness. - Naiset ja lihavuus: näkökulmia lihavuuden yhteiskuntatieteelliseen tutkimukseen 87 p. (419 p.) Tiivistelmä 4 p. 2009.

380 KETTUNEN, LIISA, Kyllä vai ei. Peruskoulun sukupuolikasvatuksen oppimateriaalin kehittämistyö ja arviointi. - Yes or no? The development and evaluation of teaching material for sex education in the Finnish comprehensive school. 266 p. Summary 3 p. 2010.

381 FROM, KRISTINE, "Että sais olla lapsena toisten lasten joukossa". Substantiivinen teoria erityistä tukea tarvitsevan lapsen toiminnallisesta osallistumisesta toimintaympäristöissään. - To be a child just as the others in the peer group. A substantive theory of activity-

based participation of the child with special educational needs. 174 p. Summary 4 p. 2010.

382 MYKKÄNEN, JOHANNA, Isäksi tulon tarinat, tunteet ja toimijuus. - Becoming a father – types of narrative, emotions and agency. 166 p. Summary 5 p. 2010.

383 RAASUMAA, VESA, Perusopetuksen rehtori opettajien osaamisen johtajana. - Knowledge management functions of a principal in basic education. 349 p. Summary 5 p. 2010.

384 SIISIÄINEN, LAURI, Foucault´s voices: Toward the political genealogy of the auditory-sonorous. - Foucault´n äänet. Kohti auditoris-sonoorista poliittista genealogiaa. 207 p. Tiivistelmä 2 p. 2010.

385 PULLI, TUULA, Totta ja unta. Draama puhe- ja kehitysvammaisten ihmisten yhteisöllisenä kuntoutuksena ja kokemuksena. - The Real and the Illusory. Drama as a means of community-based rehabilitation and experience for persons with severe learning and speech disabilities. 281 p. Summary 7 p. 2010.

386 SIISKONEN, TIINA, Kielelliset erityisvaikeudet ja lukemaan oppiminen. - Specific language impairments and learning to read. 205 p. Summary 3 p. 2010.

387 LYYRA, PESSI, Higher-order theories of consciousness: An appraisal and application. - Korkeamman kertaluvun tietoisuusteoriat: arvio ja käyttöehdotus. 163 p. Yhteenveto 5 p. 2010.

388 KARJALAINEN, MERJA, Ammattilaisten käsityksiä mentoroinnista työpaikalla. - Professionals' conceptions of mentoring at work. 175 p. Summary 7 p. 2010.

389 GEMECHU, DEREJE TEREFE, The implementation of a multilingual education policy in Ethiopia: The case of Afaan Oromoo in primary schools of Oromia Regional State. 266 p. 2010.

390 KOIVULA, MERJA, Lasten yhteisöllisyys ja yhteisöllinen oppiminen päiväkodissa. - Children's sense of community and collaborative learning in a day care centre. 189 p. Summary 3 p. 2010.

391 NIEMI, MINNA, Moraalijärjestystä tuottamassa. Tutkimus poliisityöstä lasten parissa. - Producing moral order. A Study on police work with children. 190 p. Summary 3 p. 2010.

392 ALEMAYEHU TEKLEMARIAM HAYE, Effects of intervention on psychosocial functioning of hearing and hard of hearing children in selected primary schools of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. 195 p. Executive summary 4 p. 2010.

393 KASKIHARJU, EIJA, Koteja ja kodinomaisuutta. Tutkimus vanhenemisen paikoista valtiopäiväpuheissa 1950 - 2005. - Homes and homelikeness. A study on places for ageing in parliamentary speeches from 1950 to 2005. 244 p. Summary 5 p. 2010.

394 MAHLAKAARTO, SALME, Subjektiksi työssä - Identiteettiä rakentamassa voimaantumisen kehitysohjelmassa. - Becoming a subject at work - Constructing identity within a program of empowerment. 95 p. (198 p.) Yhteenveto 1 p. 2010.

395 TAPIO, TARJA, "Meilä on kaikila samanlaiset tarinat". Tarinankerrontatutkimus tornionlaaksolaisuudesta vanhimpien aapualaisten arjessa ja tulevaisuudessa. - "We all have the same stories". A storytelling case study of Torne Valley -ness in the everyday life and future of elderly Aapua residents. 261 p. Summary 6 p. 2010.

396 RAUTIAINEN, EIJA-LIISA, Co-construction and collaboration in couple therapy for depression. - Yhteistoiminnallisuus masennuksen pariterapiassa. 56 p. (122 p.) Yhteenveto 3 p. 2010.

397 AALTONEN, TERHI, "Taiteilija ei vanhene". Haastattelututkimus kuvataiteilijoiden ikääntymiskokemuksista taidemaailmassa. - "An artist doesn´t get old". An interview-based study of painters' experiences of ageing in the world. 216 p. Summary 5 p. 2010.

398 SAVOLAINEN, KAISA, Education as a means to world peace: The case of the 1974 UNESCO recommendation. - Kasvatus maailmanrauhan välineenä: Tapaustutkimus UNESCON 1974 hyväksymästä suosituksesta. 262 p. Yhteenveto 12 p. 2010.