



CISV – PEACE EDUCATION IN A CAN?

Allport's idea implemented in an educational context

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This thesis looks at CISV, a peace education organization that works with children and youth, teaching multi-cultural understanding by gathering children and youth at international camps, in order to demount inter-group stereotypes and prevent prejudice. The underlying idea behind CISV is simple. "You wouldn't go to war against your own friends". From a theoretical point of view, CISV is founded on the positive contact hypothesis by Gordon Allport. My question is then: How does CISV work to meet the conditions required for positive contact to reduce prejudice and racism, and does it succeed?

I did my fieldwork in a CISV program called Village, a short-term peace education program designed for 11 year old children to make "global friendship". The CISV Village was hosted by a local chapter of CISV Norway, where I was a member of the staff. My staff role gave me the chance to plan and prepare for the village, and a chance to see CISV as an insider and as an outsider, or as my main method of research was, as a participant observer.

My previous involvement in CISV was what gave me the chance to be a staff at a village, to sit on the board of CISV Troms and to get involved in CISV Norway as a national organization. This gave me background information. However, a fieldwork during a camp in 2009 gave me the additional information I needed to answer my questions.

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List of Abbreviations

AIM- Annual International Meeting

CISV – The name has been up for some changes, but originally Children International Summer Villages

IJBC – International Junior Branch Conference.

IPP - International People's Project

JC - Junior Counsellor (for the program Village)

JL – Junior Leader (for the program Interchange)

LTS- Leader Training Seminar

NA- National Association. The national members of CISV International.

NEO- Nettverk, Engasjement og Oppfølging/ Network, Involvement and Follow-up.

R7 - Replaces R-07 behaviour and cultural sensitivity. Behaviour rules and laws set by CISV International.

1. Introduction

1.1 CISV and culture of peace

This thesis is about the organization originally called Children International Summer Villages, from now on called CISV International. The main goal of CISV is to educate towards a culture of peace and global citizenship. A “Culture of peace” is a concept which, since 1989, has been used by UNESCO. In fact, UNESCO has claimed the years 2001-2010 as the international decade for a culture of peace and non-violence for the children of the world¹. According to UNESCO, *“Peace is not only the absence of violence, but requires a positive dynamic participatory process where dialogue is encouraged and conflicts are resolved in a spirit of co-operation and understanding”²*.

The concept is supported by the UN declaration of Human Rights.

“Progress in the fuller development of a culture of peace comes about through values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life conducive to the promotion of peace among individuals, groups and nations”³ ... A key role in the promotion of a culture of peace belongs to parents, teachers, politicians, journalists, religious bodies and groups, intellectuals, those engaged in scientific, philosophical and creative and artistic activities, health and humanitarian workers, social workers, managers at various levels as well as to non-governmental organizations.”(The United Nations general assembly, A/RES/53/243, Article 8⁴).

Peace education is the method of achieving this goal.

“A culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand global problems, have the skills to resolve conflicts and struggle for justice non-violently, live by international standards of human rights and equity, appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the Earth and each other. Such learning can only be achieved with systematic education for peace” (Hague Appeal for Peace Global Campaign for Peace Education⁵).

¹ http://www3.unesco.org/iycp/uk/uk_sum_cp.htm

² http://www3.unesco.org/iycp/uk/uk_sum_cp.htm

³ http://www3.unesco.org/iycp/uk/uk_sum_cp.htm

⁴ http://www3.unesco.org/iycp/uk/uk_sum_cp.htm

⁵ <http://www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/peace/frame2.htm>

CISV wants to teach children that peace is not just a goal, but it's also a value in life. It's the way of living our daily lives. CISV aims at giving children and youth the knowledge and skills needed to become active and contributing members of a peaceful society. In a constantly smaller and smaller world, acceptance of diversity, to encourage respect for cultural differences, self-awareness, enthusiasm, inclusiveness, engagement and cooperation, and to use this knowledge to become active members of society⁶. A well balanced society is when people feel they are a part of a society where they can contribute, and as a result the community is strengthened⁷. CISV is a cross-cultural training program, to enhance cultural understanding and cross-cultural friendship.

CISV is a voluntary organization and is completely independent of any government, political party, religious body or other umbrella organizations⁸. CISV is an NGO (Non Governmental Organization) that is affiliated with UNESCO. CISV was founded by Dr Doris Twitchell Allen in 1951 (Matthews Jr, 1991). She was a psychologist focusing on children and development. She worked with International and global psychology, a branch of psychology that focuses on worldwide topics like international communication, networking, cross-cultural comparison and pedagogy⁹. After founding CISV, she became president of the International Council of Psychologists, a member of a panel on contributions of psychologist to peace, and she was also nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979 (Matthews Jr, 1991).

After the WWII intellectuals were searching for new initiatives for world peace. Doris Allen's idea for CISV was initially a reaction from an article in New York Times, which suggested that international graduate students from philosophy, history, political science, economics, physics, and social science would meet at the United Nations and talk about their respective backgrounds (Matthews Jr, 1991). This meeting would be aimed at a leadership group towards world peace. But Doris Allen believed that getting adults together to talk and discuss is not enough, you have to start with the children (Matthews Jr, 1991). Children have an open mind and are eager to learn, it is therefore very important to expose children to environment that would promote coexistence, independent thinking, multi-cultural understanding and global friendship (Matthews Jr, 1991). The basic idea behind CISV is very

⁶ Mosquito Tactics

⁷ Mosquito Tactics

⁸ www.cisv.no

⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_psychology

simple; you wouldn't go to war against your own friends. To train children and youth for peace was not a new idea, but to use children as the resource of education was¹⁰.

Doris Allen presented her idea about CISV during the 1946 annual convention of the American Psychological Association meeting (Matthews Jr, 1991). She got support from her colleagues, but especially from Gordon Allport, who is the founder of the positive contact hypothesis.

2. The contact hypothesis & CISV

Gordon Allport introduced the contact hypothesis in 1954, where he explains how prejudice can be reduced through intergroup contact. There is a simplified “commonsense” belief that to place members of hostile groups together is enough to reduce their prejudice towards each other. But prejudice and stereotypes are really not that simple (Aronson et al. 2005). As Allport stated: *“It's easier, someone said, to smash an atom than a prejudice”* (Triandis, 1971). In several cases intergroup contact can make the prejudice worse. How can this be? Intergroup contact faces hard and tough challenges, it is therefore important to understand some of the basic psychological processes behind prejudice and stereotypes. I will then explain the conditions for Gordon Allport's contact hypothesis, before I finally explain CISV and how CISV meets these necessary conditions for intergroup contact.

2.1 What is prejudice and attitudes?

No human beings are neutral. Everyone has some degree of attitude towards almost everything they encounter in the world. Even six months old babies show attachment toward their caretakers and fear towards strangers (Staub, 2002). Social psychologists explain attitudes as consisting of three parts: Affections (emotional reactions), cognitions (our thoughts and beliefs about the attitude object) and finally a behaviour component (Triandis, 1971). And together, those three parts create an evaluation towards an object, event or another person. Social psychologists argue that attitudes are learned by others, therefore attitudes spread out and are often shared among a group of people. *“Prejudice can be defined as a shared attitude, generally negative, towards a social out-group....”* (Carlson et al. 2004:672)

¹⁰ <http://www.cisv.org/about/history.html>

Prejudice can be both positive and negative attitudes, but prejudice is mostly known as “...a hostile or negative attitude toward people in a distinguishable group of people, based solely on their membership in that group” (Aronson et al. 2005:433)

Everyone knows and has a certain degree of prejudice (Aronson et al. 2005). Stereotypes reflect cultural beliefs and are therefore well known by everyone even if prejudicial beliefs may not be that strong. Race and ethnicity are often main targets of prejudice, which is called basic level categories¹¹ (Carlson et al. 2004). But prejudice beliefs may be based upon several aspects of your identity, everything from nationality, religion, sexual orientation, gender, appearance (obesity, disabilities) to professions or hobbies. We all use stereotypes to some extent, and exactly therefore everyone can be or is a victim of prejudice (Aronson et al. 2005).

Why do we have prejudice? We humans are social beings; we need to belong to a social in-group¹² (Carlson et al. 2004). Evolution theory explains how being members of social groups like your family, tribe, race, nationality, and ethnicity increases the chances for the survivability of our offspring. Some researchers also argue that prejudice might be a part of our biological survival mechanism, to make sure we favour our own and express hostility towards possibly dangerous outsiders/out-groups¹³ (Aronson et al. 2005). But in contrast, human cooperation, being nice and open are factors that also secure the human survivability. The biological mechanisms behind prejudice are debatable, but social psychologists argue that certain prejudiced beliefs have to be learned (Aronson et al. 2005).

2.2 Learning prejudice

At a young age children identify with their parents, they crave their parent's approval and affection, and they fear rejection and punishment. So in early life children develop a 'habit of obedience' (Allport, 1954). A child learns the nametags before knowing what the nametags are or even mean. These nametags are called verbal rejection (Allport, 1954). This is the first stage of prejudice, when the children become aware of a group distinction. In early puberty, children reach their ethnocentric peak. Their verbal rejection then becomes a verbal acceptance (a more democratic manner of speaking), and a behavioural rejection (Allport,

¹¹ Zebrowitz (1996) defines basic level categories as...“ default categories that we first use to generate context-specific schemas of people- there are often based on visible cues such as skin colour, physiognomy, sex and dress” (Carlson et al 2004:622).

¹² “In-group; the group with which an individual identifies as a member” (Aronson et al. 2005:368).

¹³ “Out-group; any group with which an individual does not identify” (Aronson et al. 2005:368).

1954). It is in later puberty or early adulthood that we humans are able to know situational prejudice. Situational prejudice is to know when and where to speak in a prejudiced manner, and where and when to behave prejudicially. It takes a whole childhood to learn situational prejudice, which is also referred to as double talking and double behaving (Allport, 1954).

To learn about group distinction in early childhood does not automatically lead to prejudiced attitudes. But when a young child has prejudice, it is in most cases learnt by family members and society (Allport, 1954). Rohan and Zanna (1996) did a research about parents and children, and they found that less prejudiced parents often had adult children with the same attitude and values. While parents with high prejudiced attitudes and values had adult children who were less likely to hold the same views. Rohan and Zanna concluded that when the children move out they are confronted with an egalitarian society that gives disconfirming information and values (Aronson et al. 2005).

However, to learn that some groups are hate-worthy, despite of not knowing these groups or why, has a high influence as the child grows into adulthood. Children seek to adapt to what they have been told, to conform to their parent's desires (Allport, 1954). Social conformity is a powerful weapon for both learning and reducing prejudice, which I'll discuss later.

2.3 Categorization and stereotypes

Humans have the need to understand the behaviour of other humans, a built in curiosity as well as a need to understand why they do what they do? We explain other people's behaviour with the help of some mental tools or shortcuts called categorization or stereotyping¹⁴ (Aronson et al. 2005). The social world is complicated, and therefore when we encounter people with certain characteristics we rely on our previous perceptions and knowledge about the same group, this to help us know how to react to someone else with the same characteristics. We simplify the complicated social world by making these mental shortcuts, believing in simple beliefs of others. Gordon Allport describes this as 'The law of least effort' (Allport, 1954). These beliefs are often negative since we want to keep a more positive view of our own in-group (Aronson et al. 2005). The problem with stereotypes is not only that it is mainly a negative belief, but it also lacks the possibility to see individuality and the varieties within the members of the out-group. If you know something about one or a few out-group

¹⁴ "Stereotype; a generalization about a group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members" (Aronson et al. 2005:434).

member, you think and feel you know something about all of the out-group members¹⁵ (Aronson et al. 2005).

2.4 What is it about these mental shortcuts that are so dangerous?

First of all, prejudice and stereotypical beliefs often result in unfair treatment, discrimination¹⁶ (Aronson et al. 2005). Contact between groups is never equal, in all relations there are economic, political and social differences that create a power relationship. Tajfel's explains this power relation also as a part of people's self esteem (Aronson et al. 2005). In-group bias is people's desire to enhance their self esteem, but self esteem will be enhanced only if the individual sees these groups as superior to other groups. This makes you want to win against out-group members and therefore also treat the out-group members unfairly. To win strengthens your self esteem and pride of belonging to your in-group, as well as strengthen your identification with the in-group (Aronson et al. 2005, Carlson et al. 2004). These groups could be any type of groups, sporting teams, school teams, hobby groups, political parties, families, tribes or nations (Aronson et al. 2005).

Another phenomenon that supports the actions of discrimination is 'belief in a just world'¹⁷. When we hear something bad has happened to someone, we feel sorry for the victim, but it also reminds us that this is something that might happen to us in the future. So we protect ourselves from this fear by blaming the victim¹⁸ (Aronson et al. 2005). An example of blaming the victim is rape, often the rape victims gets blamed for the crime done towards them. Their previous promiscuous lifestyle (sex before marriage), their promiscuous clothes, their nice and polite behaviour that might have been interpreted as flirting and therefore lead the aggressor on. These beliefs helps us deal with tragedies in a protective and safe way, since we would never be that reckless ourselves (Aronson et al. 2005).

Secondly, stereotypes and prejudice affects peoples self esteem at all ages. An experiment done more than 60 years ago by Kenneth & Mamie Clark shows how children are affected by prejudice when it comes to their self esteem (Aronson et al 2005). They gave African-American children the chance to choose between wanting to play with a white or a

¹⁵ "Out- homogeneity: The perception that individuals in the out-group are more similar to each other (homogeneous) than they really are, as well as more similar than the members of the in-group are" (Aronson et al. 2005:442)

¹⁶ "Discrimination: Unjustified negative or harmful action toward a member of a group simple because of his or her member ship in that group" (Aronson et al. 2005:437).

¹⁷ "Belief in a just world: A form of defensive attribution wherein people assume that bad things happen to bad people and that good things happen to good people" (Aronson et al. 2005:122)

¹⁸ "Blaming the victim: the tendency to blame individuals (making dispositional attributions) for their victimization, typically motivated by a desire to see the world as a fair place" (Aronson et al. 2005:455).

black doll. Majority of the children wanted to play with the white doll, feeling that the white doll was prettier and more superior (Aronson et al. 2005). Prejudice is widespread and dangerous not only towards individual's self esteem, but a general dislike of a group of people can easily escalate to more, depending on the situation. Research has proven that when two or more groups are in competition for limited economic and political resources, discrimination, intergroup tension, prejudicial beliefs and the conflict at hand increases significantly¹⁹. The gap between 'us' and 'them', where 'them' becomes a natural scapegoat for the limited and political problems and frustration (Aronson et al. 2005). Gordon Allport created the word scapegoat²⁰ less than a decade after holocaust, and he created the word from a biblical term, where ancient Israeli would transfer their sins to an innocent goat, to sacrifice it and to free themselves from their sins (Allport, 1954). Scapegoating has two psychological approaches, the Freudian theory where the society needs their members to repress their basic instincts of sex and aggression, as a result it would create internal frustration that would need to be channelled onto others (Allport, 1954). For example, Adams Wright and Lohr (1996) found that many sworn male heterosexuals that participated in anti homosexual behaviour and attitude, turned out to have homosexual impulses when watching a video of gay sex (Carlson, 2004). The second approach is frustration-aggression theory, where circumstances would block goal directed behaviour. This would create external frustration that needed to be displaced onto others (Allport, 1954). Both views of scapegoating choose targets that were innocent and weak, therefore unable to retaliate. Scapegoating together with limited resources can easily escalate to 'validate' torture, murder and even genocide. Examples of extreme scapegoating are the scapegoating of Jews during Nazi Germany and of Tutsis in Rwanda.

2.5 Why are prejudice and stereotypical beliefs so hard to change?

With stereotypical beliefs it's easy to see members of certain out-group behaving the way they do because of their membership, instead of the situation they are in²¹. Example, a black man fighting in the bar, by looking into the situation may have given him a reason for his violence, maybe even a good excuse. But if you see the same guy with dispositional attributions, the explanations would rather be he is like all other black men and have therefore

¹⁹ "Realistic Conflict Theory: The idea that limited resources lead to conflict between groups and result in increased prejudice and discrimination" (Aronson et al. 2005:457)

²⁰ "Scapegoating: The tendency for individuals, when frustrated or unhappy, to displace aggression onto groups that are disliked, visible, and relatively powerless" (Aronson et al. 2005:460).

²¹ "Ultimate attribution error: The tendency to make dispositional attributions about an entire group of people" (Aronson et al. 2005:452).

a naturally aggressive personality. An explanation where the violent behaviour is exclusively explained by referring to his personality or his out-group membership (Aronson et al. 2005:452). When “observing with your belief”, you only see what you want to see, and the observation would change to fit the already existing belief. Meaning, instead of looking into the situation of the bar, your first impression of the black aggressive man maintains because you didn’t think twice about looking into the situation. And therefore, the already existing belief of black aggressive man persists and the observation of that bar incident even shows proof of that prejudiced belief (Aronson et al. 2005:452).

On the contrary, when we experience a behaviour that doesn’t match the stereotype, we explain the behaviour by making situational attributions, or exceptions. ‘He is alright for a gay man’ meaning the prejudiced belief is still intact, and the one gay man that doesn’t fit the stereotype, he is only one exception to the rule. Gordon Allport calls this for ‘The failure of logic’ (Carlson et al. 2004). Instead of changing his mind when meeting contradictory facts, a prejudiced person would rather ignore and bend the facts to support his already existing belief. Even though a prejudiced person is given new information, he only sees what he expects to see. And when seeing what you expect to see, ironically the new information confirms in your mind that your stereotype is right, and another piece of proof that supports and strengthens the already existing belief²² (Aronson et al. 2005). There is a huge difference between cognitive and emotional attitudes and prejudice. Disconfirming information towards your attitude *may* help change the cognitive prejudice by thinking and understanding logically, but it may not change emotional ones. For example, a child brought up to be a racist may in adulthood overcome her cognitive racism, but might experience unpleasant emotions when seeing a mixed couple (Allport, 1954).

2.6 How can prejudice be reduced?

To reduce prejudice it’s important to look at how prejudice is being maintained. Prejudice is maintained by many forces in our social world, on macro level there are one form of maintaining prejudice that is highly effective, institutionalized racism/sexism²³ and normative

²² “*Illusory Correlation: The tendency to see relationships, or correlations, between events that are actually unrelated*” (Aronson et al. 2005:449).

²³ “*Institutionalized racism/sexism: Racist/Sexist attitudes that are held by the vast majority of people living in a society where stereotypes and discrimination are the norm*” (Aronson et al. 2005:461).

conformity²⁴. Institutionalized racism is for example the segregated public spheres like busses, schools, cafes etc in the 1950's USA. The likelihood of becoming prejudiced gets higher just by moving into a society that has institutionalized the normative discrimination (Aronson et al. 2005). In contrast, being highly prejudiced and moving to a less prejudiced society would most likely reduce your prejudiced behaviour (Aronson et al. 2005). As the social norms change, so does the social conformity²⁵, and when the social conformity changes, so does the prejudiced behaviour. One example of this is the change from segregated public schools in the USA to the mixed schools. When the laws changed in 1963, and schools in USA were forced to accept black students, there were resistance (Aronson et al. 2005). The prejudiced attitudes towards mixed schools didn't change dramatically, but the prejudice behaviour from society at large towards the black students did change. Now, 50 years later in the USA prejudice still exists in many forms, but may be in a little bit more subtle ways. Social psychologists call the subtle way *modern prejudice*²⁶ (Carlson et al. 2004). Instead of acting outwardly their prejudiced attitudes, they silence it, to fit the norm of the society, but yet keeping inwardly their prejudiced attitude. The prejudice behaviour has been reduced, but the prejudice attitude is still there, intact.

So finally, how can we change or prevent prejudiced attitudes? Since prejudice is based on false information, social psychologists believed that education was the answer (Aronson et al. 2005). Expose people to the truth, and prejudice would disappear. But that was naive, due to all the facts about prejudice that is written above. In America when they started with desegregated schools, the social psychologists were optimistic, but research done by Wilder and Shapiro 1989 showed no change in the core belief and in some cases it had even got worse (Aronson et al. 2005). Why is this? First of all, the American school system favoured the white schools, as a result the white students got a better education. Secondly, classrooms were not a setting of cooperation and equality. Students often 'fought' for the teacher's attention, to answer the questions right and to feel smarter. All of which was a way to enhance their self esteem (Aronson et al. 2005). Stereotype threat²⁷ is a phenomenon where members of a minority group feels that their behaviour might confirm a cultural stereotype,

²⁴ "Normative Conformity: The tendency to go along with the group in order to fulfil the group's expectations and gain acceptance" (Aronson et al. 2005:461).

²⁵ "Conformity: A change in one's behaviour due to the real or imagine influence of other people" (Aronson et al. 2005:240)

²⁶ "Modern Prejudice: Outwardly acting unprejudiced while inwardly maintain prejudiced attitudes" (Aronson et al. 2005:462).

²⁷ "Stereotype threat: the apprehension experienced by members of a minority group that their behaviour might confirm a cultural stereotype" (Aronson et al. 2004:453).

and to know that your actions may reflect not only yourself but also your race, creates a stress where the members then will in fact act more poorly on tests, or on types of behaviour that might confirm their stereotype (Aronson et al. 2005:453). For example, the school is having a test, where the white students are considered to be the smartest. The coloured students would feel anxious about this test because they know they are considered to be less smart and therefore with their anxiety for failing, they actually perform worse than the white students. This is also called ‘self-fulfilling prophecy’²⁸. The test becomes proof for the white students that it is a fact that white students are smarter than the coloured students (Aronson et al. 2005:456). Intergroup contact is dangerous when there is little or no support for equality and cooperation. The early desegregation of American schools did not work as Social Psychologists had hoped. In some cases the prejudice and stereotypes actually grew. What is then needed for intergroup contact to be successful?

2.7 Allport’s four conditions for intergroup cooperation and peace

Intergroup contact is meant to challenge the attitudes, and stereotypes, to see members of out-group as different from our prejudiced beliefs, or even more like ourselves. To create conditions necessary to build and find connection across a prejudiced boundary, to create some understanding and eventually respect for each other’s differences and similarities, and as a result reduce or even eliminate the prejudice. But intergroup communication is risky, and there is by far no guarantee for success.

Gordon Allport has laid down four necessary conditions for contact between groups to have a positive and successful outcome: First, Allport emphasises the importance of a *supportive environment* (Aronson et al. 2005). As explained above, by moving into a society that is prejudiced, the newcomer has a higher chance of becoming more prejudiced him-/herself. Social norms and conformity make changes to one’s behaviour, and therefore also one’s attitudes. More important, institutionalized rules and laws make the perfect foundation for a supportive environment. Social psychologists have proven that laws against discrimination decrease acts of discrimination and prejudice. Legislation is meant to break vicious circles, where only a strong public support through legislation can break this vicious circle. Laws created to give equal opportunities and advantages, are not only mainly focusing

²⁸ “Self-fulfilling prophecy: The case whereby the people (1) have an expectation about what other another person is like, which (2) influences how they act toward that person, which (3) causes that person to behave in a way consistent with people’s original expectations” (Aronson et al. 2005:456).

on prejudice itself, but rather to reduce the acts of discrimination (Gordon, 1954). As a result these laws increase the living standard of minorities when it comes to fundamental human needs, like healthcare, education, equal salary and opportunities. It also increases the equal status between intergroup contacts. But it should be said that laws do not prevent violations, but they rather acts as restraints (Allport, 1954). Unfortunately legislations against discrimination does not attack the central beliefs of the majority, the attitude is still intact. But even though these laws only control the outward expressions of intolerance, as psychologists knows, outward behaviour has eventually an effect upon inner thoughts and feelings (Aronson et al. 2005). So legislation laws and the supportive environment created by these laws are a very important method of reducing and prevent public discrimination as well as private prejudice. An example of institutional support, in 1848 African-American Beverly Garnett Williams applied for admission to Harvard College²⁹. There were loud protests, but the president of Harvard, Edward Everett replied “If the boy passes the examinations he will be admitted and, if the white students choose to withdraw, all the income of the college will be devoted to his education” (Allport, 1954). No students withdrew except some of the load protests. More than they know, administrators by executive orders in industry, government and schools, have the power to establish changes and to create the supportive environment that is needed for desired changes to happen.

Allport’s second and third conditions are: Since intra-group relation also is a power relation, it is important that the contact enhances *equality* and *cooperation* (Carlson et al. 2004). Both of which are important and crucial for the contact to have any success. For example, just weeks after a school in Austin, Texas became desegregated, the children were in open conflicts (Aronson et al. 2005). As explained above, in all classrooms there is a certain degree of competition. Competition for the teacher’s attention, the need to feel smart to enhance your own self esteem. There are also no need to pay your co-students any attention, and a personal bond is not being created unless there are personal efforts from both sides (Aronson et al. 2005). Aronson and colleagues in 1971 created an experiment called the Jigsaw classroom. The Jigsaw technique is designed to make the students across racial and ethnic boundaries work together, in pursuit of a common goal that would benefit them all. The students were placed in a mixed racial groups, and in their group each student were told to become an expert in certain topic, and each student was only given the literature for his/her

²⁹ Unfortunately, he died before the academic year had begun. It was first in 1870 that the first African-American, Richard T. Greener graduated from Harvard. <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/photo-journal/a-window-into-african-american-history/>

own specific assignment. They then had to teach each other the section they had become an expert in. If the students wanted to do well on their exams, they would be dependent on each other. If one of the students was having problems, it would be in the best interest of all the group members to help him out. This technique makes students listen to one another and gradually create respect and trust towards one another. With time, the outsiders would feel more comfortable. This will also affect the other students, suddenly realizing that the guy that used to have problems, are in fact smarter than first thought and experienced. The experiment showed decrease in prejudice and an increase in liking their group mates, in addition the students also did better on school exams (Aronson et al. 2005:469). Cooperation means breaking down the in-group versus the out-group perception, but in addition cooperative behaviour enhance and encourage the development of empathy for each other. This Jigsaw technique had such a success that it has now become a normal study form for group assignments in schools and universities (Aronson et al. 2005). This is why equality and cooperation is regarded as important keywords for successful intergroup contact.

Most intergroup relations are a power relation, founded upon some kind of a hierarchy, creating unequal ground in/for communication. Without a common goal, this hierarchy will become reinforced. As explained before, since most in-group members keep a more positive image of themselves and a more negative image of the others, together with a hierarchy, the situation becomes a relation of competition. If you also add competition for limited resources, the situation might get very tense. An experiment done by Muzafer Sherif and his colleagues show how competition and 'limited' resources in a boy scout camp creates a tense situation that escalates to aggressive and violent behaviour (Aronson et al. 2005:459). In 1961, Sherif and colleagues divided the boys at a Boy Scout camp into two randomized groups, the "Eagles" and the "Rattlers"³⁰. The groups lived, slept and did activities separately to reduce intergroup contact. During activity time the groups would do activities that would enhance the group-feeling and group-cooperation within each group. Then the researchers would give the groups several competitive activities towards each other, where the winning team got rewards. These competitive games created tension, but it was first at the camp party that it escalated to more. The camp party had two sets of food, one fresh and appealing and

³⁰ Randomize for testing are imperative for the research and its verification of its results. But similarly, it's imperative to eliminate other controlled factors. Stratified sampling refers to dividing the population into homogenous groups, where each group contains subjects with similar characteristics. To sample from each group randomly would mean to choose/pick one person to represent their homogenous group (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 1994). In the case of the Sherif study, they randomly divided the boys, but the participants of the boy scout were all white, males within the same range of age and from an equal social status.

the other half was squashed and unappealing. Each group were told the party started at different times. So the early arriving guest (the Eagles) would eat the fresh food, while the later arriving group (the Rattlers) would be very unhappy with the food that was left. The Eagles believed they deserved what they got, they were first to come, therefore first served. This escalated to name-calling, to food fight and in the end a full-scale riot where punches were thrown (Aronson et al. 2005:459). Sherif did a small scale experiment in a boy scout camp. Nevertheless the researchers had problems reversing the hostility they had created. Imagine the same competitive and limited resources in the real world affecting several groups, all competing for job opportunities, healthcare, education, and social standing, all of which are important for basic human needs. The contact conditions of supportive environment, equal status and cooperation are the opposite of the reality we humans often live in. That's exactly why these conditions are so important.

Allport meant that it was through controlled intergroup contact, with the three conditions (supportive environment, equal status and cooperation), that the members would challenge their stereotypical beliefs of one another, and through their own first hand experiences discover similarities and differences, either way be it cultural or personal differences/similarities. But there is one last condition; *close, prolonged and frequent* intergroup contact. When the contact is frequent and prolonged, their discoveries of one another will be constantly reminded and maintained (Tal-Or, Boninger & Gleicher 2002).

2.8 Six conditions for the success of contact between groups

In later years Gordon Allports conditions for contact hypothesis have been further developed. The original four conditions set by Gordon Allport have now been slightly reformulated and increased to six conditions.

1. Mutual interdependence.

Mutual interdependence is...*"The situation that exists when two or more groups need each other and must depend on each other to accomplish a goal that is important to each of them"* (Aronson et al. 2005:466).

2. A common goal.

This goal could be anything; to plan for a neighbourhood festival, neighbourhood volunteer communal work or to discuss different topics of importance. All depending on the situation, the place and the people involved.

3. Equal status.

This condition is of high importance, but it is also the hardest one to fulfil.

Theoretically this condition is crucial and necessary. But as many peace educational programs that deal with intergroup contact have noticed, it is practically almost impossible to achieve (Salomon, 2002). It's hard to escape the reality that exists outside the inter-group contact setting, the hierarchy, majority versus the minority groups, the political, economic and social differences will always be communicated either by their cloths they are wearing, symbols of religious believes, jewellery, attitudes and even dental care. And then you have the topics of normal small-talk; where you come from, education, job, family, friends, normal daily chores of the household, political issues and economic standing. All of which are topics that in one way or another shows the out-group the economic differences, which again are political differences based upon inequality.

4. Social norms of equality.

Even though the reality outside the setting is based upon inequalities, it's important that the created setting enhance tolerance, acceptance of differences and that people are being able to show respect for those differences. An example where the participants are in need of showing tolerance and respect for group differences is religious believes. This can be translated to Gordon Allport's condition of equality and supportive environment.

5. Informal, interpersonal contact.

It is important that the setting makes the participants feel relaxed, so that they get to know one another on one-to-one basis. And finally,

6. Multiple, close, prolonged and frequent contacts.

Multiple contact with different members of the out-group, so that the participants don't make situational attributions, exceptions, or as Allport calls it the 'The failure of logic'. By making exceptions to the rule the core belief is still intact, and the new

information is not making any desired changes in the participant's prejudicial beliefs. In fact, according to social psychologists intergroup contact have best success when each participant has a strong identity and feel they are a good representative for their in-group (Aronson et al. 2005). So that both groups feel that they are having contact with the actual stereotype. As a result the contact would in time create a personal bond, where the contact is no longer based upon the stereotypical membership for the out-group, but rather a personal contact between individuals. In addition, when making this kind of contact with several members of the out-group the perceived stereotype will diminish. To break down the perceptions of out-group homogeneity, which I have explained above is the perception to see out-group members as more similar than what they really are.

Gordon Allport's contact hypothesis has got a lot of support from social psychologists, but his theory has also been criticised, mainly due to the practical problems of meeting the conditions needed to perform a successful and positive intergroup contact. According to Salomon (2002) when dealing with highly prejudiced people from different groups, who live in conflict with each other, the contact itself can never fulfil the needed conditions. As explained above, it's difficult to create a setting for equal status between the participants. The smallest symbols and behaviour easily triggers the hierarchy that exists outside the setting. And educators have also explained the difficulties of making the groups cooperate, when the reality outside is highly competitive. In addition, groups in conflict are not able to see their own contribution to the conflict at hand due to their collectively held narratives³¹ (Salomon 2002) Then it's easier to place blame and responsibility for the conflict on the other group. This is part of their own defence mechanism. Exactly therefore it is impossible to force the participants to come back several times, as long as they feel their attitudes and defence mechanisms are being attacked. But as research has shown, the practical problems of fulfilling these conditions are unique. Each organization works within their political-, societal-, and

³¹ Collective held narratives: "*Collective narratives are the comprehensive collection of stories, beliefs, aspirations, histories, and current explanations that a group holds about itself and about its surroundings....The group's history is constructed and reconstructed by the collective narrative, the past is therefore not just a part of the past, but also the present*" (Salomon, 2002:8). For example it would be hard to understand the Israel conflict without understanding the Jewish collective narrative of the holocaust. Collective narratives are a big part of the challenges peace educational programs in regions of intractable conflict face to reduce inter-group hostility. But CISV as a peace education organization that works with children and youth from all over the world, and not from one specific conflict or socio political situation face different challenges. Collective held narratives are therefore not relevant for my thesis, and will not be discussed.

economic- agenda within their given society. CISV as an international peace educational organization working with children and youth, has its own way of meeting these conditions.

2.9 CISV and the Contact Hypothesis

The CISV method of reducing prejudice is based on the contact hypothesis. How do CISV and the CISV program Village meet the conditions that were established by Allport & et al.?

2.9.1 Supportive environment

As explained above CISV is an NGO. CISV programs are offered to...”*participants irrespectively of gender, race, religion, ethnicity, political affiliation, socio-economic background or distinction of any other kind.*³²” CISV is a neutral and independent organization, not affiliated with or financially dependent on any religious organizations, political parties or states. CISV is also a silent and a quiet organization: No loud demonstrations or revolts come from their premises. To be a neutral organization means not to place blame and fault upon people, religion, ideology or governments. To be an independent and neutral organization is very important for CISV, because it gives the CISV International political support. And as a result CISV has been given the permission to be founded in nations where human rights don't have the best condition. To allow people from all over the world to attend CISV makes it easier to spread out and reach out to as many as possible, in all corners of the world. This is something I'll explain later in chapter 5. Today CISV International consists of 67 nations³³, where 47 nations are full worthy members while 20 have promotional membership. Within the membership there are different categories, each category explains and refers to their CISV involvement³⁴.

The CISV international main office is located in Newcastle England, but most of the CISV work is done by national and local chapters. Each 67 member countries have their own national chapter, where each national chapter are responsible to give the support needed for each local chapter. In CISV Norway there are 18 chapters in 17 different counties, all varying in the member size and local activity³⁵.

³² CISV International, CISV statement of educational purpose.

<http://resources.cisv.org/docs/main?action=document.view&id=455>

³³ Attachment nr 1, “CISV i verden”.

³⁴ Attachment nr 2, CISV International Membership list.

³⁵ <http://cisv.no/lokallag/>

The CISV program 'Village', which is where I did my fieldwork, is the most traditional program of CISV. And CISV Norway arranges six villages each year³⁶. Each village is created by the local chapter. Financially, the local chapters are responsible to fund the village costs, and through village committees find sponsors, campsite, food and excursions. All of which are free of charge for the participants. The local chapter creates normally 8 committees. The committees for CISV Troms village 2011 were; food committee, host-family committee, economy committee, equipment committee, transportation committee, excursions committee, and there is also a village committee boss. Together they plan and create a village.

As most CISV programs, all villages are based upon the same guidelines and structures, except the different sites of excursions and the leader's choice of theme days. The village activities, daily schedule³⁷ and the calendar³⁸ are more or less the same, the structure itself is created equal in every village all over the world. In theory, there is no fundamental difference between a village created in Norway or in Guatemala. A Village lasts for four weeks, where the CISV pedagogic theory divides these four weeks into activity focus areas. CISV calls this 'village progression³⁹', a recipe for which goals and activities the leaders and the planning group are to focus on during the different weeks, in order to make a successful international contact.

During a village it is the adult presence that creates the supportive environment for the children. In total there will be 20-25 adults during a village, all Leaders, Staff and JC's are required to attend a leader training seminar. In Norway the Leader Training Seminar, called LTS is being arranged by CISV Norway. And this LTS is mandatory. An LTS is a weekend filled with training, discussion and activities concerning topics of cultural sensitivity, problem solving, educational activities, cooperation skills, risk management, discussions, an introduction to CISV, and tips and aid for preparations. In CISV Norway all adult participants, after the CISV program is finished, are also invited to a weekend called NEO (Nettverk, Engasjement og Oppfølging/ Network, Commitment and Follow-up). All leaders, staff and JCs get the chance to discuss their experiences, to talk about CISV and their possibilities for future involvement in CISV.

³⁶ Attachment nr 3, Village and Summer camp plan of CISV Norway.

³⁷ Attachment nr. 4, Daily schedule.

³⁸ Attachment nr. 5, Village calendar.

³⁹ Attachment nr. 6, Village Progression.

Besides LTS, staff members are responsible of certain village preparations like; to send information to the invited delegations, camp site preparations, village theme, to know the plans made by the committees, to delegate areas of responsibility between the staffs, first family weekend preparations (your own little LTS just for your own village), and finally to deal with the practical arrangements of the village.

In addition, all leaders, JCs and Staff are all bound by the rules set by CISV International, R7 (Replaces R-07) behaviour and cultural sensitivity⁴⁰. R7 are divided in three categories, standards (forbidden), guidelines (unacceptable) and recommendation (inappropriate) behaviour. All categories have rules against intimacy/sexual relationships, use of narcotics, criminal behaviour, use of firearms or weapons, discrimination/ intolerance or lack of cultural flexibility, nudity, physical and psychological abuse or punishment, violation of public health standards, consumption of alcohol, security and comfort requirements for participants, failure to respect privacy and “house rules”, failure to respect different personal and cultural standards of appropriate educational activities, discipline or sanctions, and failure to use appropriate methods to resolve personal /group conflict in intercultural living and activities⁴¹. All of which, if under reasonable suspicion or violation, may invoke serious or severe sanctions like notification, exclusion, early return home and loss of CISV membership.

2.9.2 Equal status

According to Gordon Allport equal status among the participants is one of the hardest goals to achieve. Despite the work that is being done to create a setting of equality, minority and majority groups will always reflect the economic and social reality outside the contact setting. So is the case of CISV: Political and economic differences may vary greatly among the CISV participants, but CISV creates rules of equality to make sure those economic differences do not show in a Village. The challenges associated with economic equality will be discussed further in chapter 5.

Equality in gender, age and nationality is easily created by the setup of the delegation. A village consists of 10-12 delegations, each delegation consisting of two 11 year old boys, two 11 year old girls and a leader above the age of 21. In theory there is supposed to be equal numbers of male and female leaders, but that’s not always the case. Majority of leaders in CISV are female. And the age can vary greatly, as long as they are above the age of 21.

⁴⁰ <http://resources.cisv.org/docs/main?action=document.view&id=471>

⁴¹ <http://resources.cisv.org/docs/main?action=document.view&id=471>

Besides the delegations, it is also normal to have 6 JC's (Junior Counsellors) and 5-6 staff. JC's are teenagers at the age of 16-17, 50% boys and 50% girls who are there to help planning the activities and to take care of the children.

Each delegation has to prepare a national night for their village. A national night is an activity period that is set aside for some cultural and national learning. Each delegation has to teach the village something from their culture and their national identity. As a result, all participating nations are equally represented to the rest of the village.

The primary language of CISV is English, and for 11 year olds, the language knowledge may vary greatly. Some delegations have English as their first language, while other delegations speak English as their second or third language. The language barriers may vary greatly and create social problems among the participants. The majority of CISV activities are created to break down those language challenges by using other forms of communication and cooperation across language differences.

2.9.3 Cooperation

There are huge cultural and national differences among CISV participants, and cooperation is the method to create a bridge across these differences. CISV cooperation is an opposite example of Sheriff and his Boy Scout camp. While his experiment was done to enhance competition, CISV through its games and activities enhance cooperation. Cooperation doesn't mean not having competition, but the competition games are made in a cooperative spirit. Exactly therefore, group cooperation is the main focus of CISV activities.

2.9.4 Close, prolonged and frequent contact

I would like to differentiate between close, prolonged and frequent contact. Close, referring to contact that is tight and meaningful. Frequent contact is contact that happens repeatedly. And finally, prolonged, which is contact that last over a certain amount of time.

First of all, close contact. All CISV programs are intensive. All participants live together 24 hours a day and they have to do everything together. The days are filled with cooperative activities, but also the daily schedule and their living conditions requires contact during normal daily chores like eating, sleeping, brushing their teeth and everything else. Exactly therefore the whole experience is very intense and close.

Secondly, frequent contact. The importance of frequent or repeatedly contact is due to the fact that the newly learned knowledge gained from the contact has to be maintained and

constantly reminded. After the Village program is over, the chances for everyone to meet each other again are slim. In some cases there is a chance for a reunion, but sadly this doesn't happen that often. The frequent contact for CISV is not always a face-to-face encounter, but rather contact over internet. CISV has exploited the possibilities of internet and created an internet page⁴² where CISV people can sign up for the villages and camps they have participated in and many years later being able to find each other again.

Finally, prolonged contact. All CISV programs are short term programs, they last at most for four weeks. Being a short term program is something peace education programs that work with multicultural contact and prejudice have being criticized for; the argument is that short term programs have little or no effect (Salomon, 2002). I will explain this further in chapter 5. Even though CISV only host short term programs, there are several possibilities for camp participants to continue keep contact for the rest of their lives. There are several CISV programs, one may join the same program as a child participant, as a JC (Junior Counsellor for Village) or JL (Junior Leader for Interchange), leader or as a staff member. All of which encourages CISV participants to keep contact with your CISV friends for the rest of your life.

CISV programs

The CISV history began with the program Village⁴³. A village is a four weeks international camp for 11 year old children; the camp consists normally of 12 delegations from different nations, where each delegation consist of two girls and two boys, and one leader (+21 years old). The camp is organized by adult staff members and supported by Junior Counsellors. Normally a village consists of around 70-80 participants. The founding idea behind this camp is for the participants to live together closely during a period of four weeks. They are to learn from another through activities and their close living conditions. The goals of a village are for the children to develop intercultural awareness, develop friendship within the group, develop positive attitudes towards one another, and to gain awareness to peace education⁴⁴. All villages are created with the aims of providing an experience for the participants of the values of consideration for and cooperation with their fellow villagers in various activities, including practical work, are respected. They are also to participate creatively in decision-making, and to learn through experiences how to understand and appreciate different cultures.

⁴² <http://friends.cisv.org/>

⁴³ <http://www.cisv.org/programmes/village.html>

⁴⁴ CISV annual review, 2008.

Youth Meeting⁴⁵ is an international camp for youth and teenagers. The participants are usually from the ages of 13-18, and since most youth meetings are being arranged during the winter months of the northern hemisphere, the program normally lasts no longer than 2 weeks. The participants travel alone without any delegation or leader, which leaves the staff group as the only adult leadership. That's because the participants are old enough to take responsibilities for making their own activities and give them the chance to influence their own camp. It is therefore normal that some participants have some previous CISV experiences from a Village, but that is not a requirement. It is a program where the participants are to continue their involvement in CISV, to experience a CISV camp, meet new people, make more friends, and develop responsibilities for themselves and others and also to face more global challenges when it comes to discussions, themes and activities.

Summer camp⁴⁶ is also an international camp for youth and teenagers. The participants are normally from the ages of 13-15 where they travel in delegations of 2 boys, 2 girls and a leader, but the size may vary. The camp setup is much like a village. But the participants are expected to get more involved in the domestic duties, plan their own activities and have more intense and heavy discussions. The goals for the summer camp program are for the participants to develop intercultural awareness, leadership skills, self awareness and co-operative goals.

Interchange⁴⁷ is an exchange program between two nations, where the participants (age 12-15) are to visit each other's homes and families. An interchange program usually last two + two or four + four weeks. And the size of the delegation can vary from 3 girls and 3 boys and a leader, to 6 girls and 6 boys and a leader. There can also be a Junior Leader (JL) in the delegation. The goal of an interchange is for the participants to experience a different culture up close. Interchange gives their participants the possibility to live in another host family during those interchange weeks. To live in, experience and to adapt to the cultural differences and similarities, cultural awareness is being thought and experienced not only with the participants, but also by the hosting families.

Seminar camp⁴⁸ is an international camp that lasts for three to four weeks where the participants are from the ages of 17-19. The participants travel alone without any delegation

⁴⁵ <http://www.cisv.org/programmes/youthmeeting.html>

⁴⁶ <http://www.cisv.org/programmes/summercamp.html>

⁴⁷ <http://www.cisv.org/programmes/interchange.html>

⁴⁸ <http://www.cisv.org/programmes/seminarcamp.html>

or leader. And the only adults are staff members. The staff members are responsible for the participations, and to make sure they have everything they need like food, excursion details etc. But it is the seminar participants who responsible for all activities, to choose topics, and to get involved in discussions, while the staff members are there merely to give them a push in the right direction.

IPP stands for International People's Project⁴⁹. This program is the newest program in CISV. The participants are from the ages of 19 and above. An IPP program last for three weeks and does not consist of any camp or typical CISV program. It is a co-operation program together with other organizations, where they work close with their specific topic and line of work. The topics and work vary greatly, where the participants are expected to research and read upon their chosen topic and then to lead educational activities on their subject. Here are some examples of IPP work; to help build schools for children, cleaning up after natural disasters, holding lectures in schools, take care of children, build bridges, any kind of work that would give and help out the local community and their cooperative organization. IPP goals are to develop intercultural perspectives, learn how to use knowledge and skills within their project and beyond. Develop knowledge of the theme, community and partner organizations. While also carry out the project which benefits the community.

Mosaic- local work⁵⁰. Mosaic is a program created by the local community to activate all CISV participants in all ages to help out their local community and people. The projects are often developed to meet local needs together with like minded organizations. The goals are to create a desire for active citizenship, empower participants to take initiative in their own community. Create co-operation foundations for future work with other organizations.

All of the above mentioned programs have adjusted their goals according to the age of the participants. The older the participants are the more heavy discussions and responsibilities are given. In 2009, CISV had 207 international programs and meetings. 50 villages, 77 Interchanges, 28 Summer camps, 17 Seminar camps, 30 Youth meetings, 3 International People's Projects, 1 Annual International Meeting and 1 International Junior Branch Conference. In total, 7.884 people participated in a CISV program⁵¹. Added to this is the number of voluntaries before and after the camp, a huge number of family members, youth and parents working to create and plan a CISV program.

⁴⁹ <http://www.cisv.org/programmes/ipp.html>

⁵⁰ <http://www.cisv.org/programmes/mosaic.html>

⁵¹ <http://www.cisv.org/programmes/>

3. Methodological framework

3.1 Personal experience

I have been involved in CISV since I was 11 years old. I have attended several CISV programs; Youth meeting, Seminar camp, Interchange as a child participant and as a leader, three times in a Village as a child participant, JC's and staff member and I have spent two summers working as a kitchen staff. For the past three years I have been sitting on the board of CISV Troms, and through this position I have been involved in local CISV Troms work, as well as CISV Norway.

CISV Norway consists of a total of 31 local chapters, represented in 17 different counties⁵². CISV Troms is a small chapter with few active members, compared to the other chapters in CISV Norway. But in contradiction to its size, CISV Troms have been existing for a long time, in fact CISV Troms have had their 50 years anniversary.

We were six board members on the board of CISV Troms. The local CISV boards and committees normally consist of dedicated parents, in CISV Troms the board members consist of 4 parents, a 1 youth represent and me. My position as a board member of CISV Troms has given me the chance to get to know not only local work, but also CISV Norway as a national organization. Through CISV Norway I have attended several training seminars (LTS, NEO) and annual CISV meetings. These meetings have given me a chance to talk and interview other leaders, staff, JCs and board members from other local chapters. My involvement in CISV Troms has also given me the chance to learn about CISV Norway as a member of a broader international organization. To sit on the board of CISV Troms has also given me the chance to see the parental involvement and to hear their stories, this has also given me the parental view of CISV, which can be rather though.

Without my previous experiences with CISV, I would not have got the board member position, or the staff member job, it requires some amount of experience and CISV willingness. My former experiences with CISV have been, the way I see it, useful for gathering information due to the access of many and several different channels of information. But my previous experiences also gave me problems keeping an objective research point of view. I am after all a "product" of the CISV education.

⁵² <http://cisv.no/lokallag/>

I have already experienced CISV as a child participant, youth and adult, on local, national and international level. I have attended 3 LTSs and 2 NEOs, where each seminar was adjusted to the CISV international theme of the year, the CISV programs, and possible opportunities for how to keep being involved in CISV. But during the Village of fieldwork I participated with a different perspective. Being a master student in peace studies had filled my head with peace educational theories, which gave me a different CISV experience and point of view.

3.2 My area of fieldwork

My fieldwork was done in a CISV village in Norway. There were 12 delegations participating in this Village, one of the delegations was not completely full, so in total there were 46 children participants, 6 JC's, 12 leaders, 5 staffs including me, and 4-5 kitchen staffs. All together there were 73-74 participants at the campsite at all times, from 17 different nations. The campsite was a public junior high school where we were restricted to these areas; dining hall, the teachers' lounge which became the leader's area, the gym, the school kitchen, the outside playground and four classrooms used as sleeping rooms for the children. Both the leader area and school kitchen were restricted areas for the children. Each bedroom consisted of 12 children, one from each participating nation.

3.3 My responsibilities as a staff

The staff group together had divided the workload and staff responsibilities among us. My staff name was 'village mother' because of my job responsibilities, which were; kitchen and diets, health care, first aid, cleaning, schedules and R7 laws set by CISV International (Replaces R- 07, Behaviour and Cultural sensitivity).

This was my third Village, I have attended once as a child participant, second time as a JC and now as a staff. All of which had given me different experiences, responsibilities and a variety of roles: child, planner and executor. As a child participant, my 'job' was to have fun and to participate in activities. As a JC my main focus was the children and to plan and conduct activities. As a staff I was no longer required to be in the planning group, but rather focus on my staff responsibilities, to follow the plan and organization done by the local

committees and to guide the leader group towards the village progression and the goals we had set during the first leader weekend.

3.4 Data collection techniques

My fieldwork was a qualitative research or a case study on CISV and the Village setting where I was a staff member. As my educational background is social anthropology I found it naturally to do my fieldwork with the two methods that are typically associated with ethnographic field research: interview and participant observation.

My interviews were done in a non-formal manner, in fact most interviews were mainly talks and discussion late at night, or information received through our daily leader meetings. All leaders had a daily delegation meeting. During the leader meetings the leaders got the chance to pass on that information from the children to the rest of the leader group. All of which I attended or was informed about.

Participant observation is a method used by social anthropologists to be on the inside of what they are studying (as a participant) and as an outsider (an observer). My role at the village was being “staff”, and as a staff I had a general responsibility for all the children, leaders, JC’s and the events at the village. It gave me the natural observer role, but yet as a participant of the village. Since my role as a staff member required several months of preparations before the village started, and since I was in charge and fully aware of all the events during the village, I was more of a participant than an observer. The method applied in the role as staff could therefore be called “active participant observation⁵³” (Burgess, 1994, 45:49).

Due to the amount of work being done at a Village. I didn’t always get a chance to write in my field diary, but I did get some time late at night, after everyone had gone to bed. I also kept leader meeting papers and pictures as a reminder of events during the village. I knew before the village and especially during the village that it was clear that my job responsibilities as a staff would come first before my fieldwork, which was in the beginning of the village a concern of mine.

⁵³ Participating observation may be defined as various degrees of participation along a scale with active and passive approach. “Active participant observation”, being an approach where the researcher maximizes participation to gather data. While opposite “passive participant observation”, is a method where the researcher interacts as little as possible with those being observed (Robert G. Burgess, 1994).

3.5 Challenges being a staff member and doing MA research

Being a staff and doing a MA research at the same time created certain problems.

One problem came accidentally: Two weeks before the village began, I broke my leg. To limp around on one leg and to be depended of crutches reduced my chances for participating in certain activities. But even though my broken leg didn't make it easy getting to know all the children, it did in retrospect give me a bigger observer role. I spent several activities sitting on the sideline writing and taking pictures.

Secondly, a staff member is a role of authority. The staff group is responsible that the leader group knows and follows the rules set by CISV International, to conduct the arrangements given by the local committees and to support and help the participants. For instance, the leaders would come to us for help, either it was with one of their children, medical issues, family events back home, sleep problems, allergies, diet or national night preparations. As a team, all staff had the role of authority, especially the camp director. Therefore being a staff and a researcher at the same time was somewhat complicated.

Third, my job responsibilities as a staff had to be prioritized above my research for the MA thesis. As explained above we were in total 73-74 participants, most of them were far away from home, and everyone was depending on the work done by the staff. For instance the food and the kitchen was my responsibility which required a lot of work. In the beginning I was worried that I wouldn't be able to do my planned research. My plan was to create a good relation with all of the children, and to weekly keep a track on how they would grow from the beginning to the end. But instead, because of that busy first week, I had to abandon that plan. My plan went to a growing concern that the children would only/mainly see me as a kitchen worker. But even though the first week was filled with kitchen duties I still got a good connection with the children, JCs and leaders. In fact, most of my information came from the leaders and the leader meetings. To work in the kitchen gave me a position of importance and responsibility, which meant many of the leaders, would choose to come to me for help dealing with issues related to their children.

Fourth, as explained above, a village only lasts for four weeks. I knew from the very beginning that my MA research had a very short time limit, which created high levels of pre-nervousness and worries.

All in all, my broken foot, my staff job, my staff responsibilities, and the short amount of time I had to do my field research, all of which was responsible for my pre-nervousness, my worries, troubles and problems concerning my MA field research. But even with all of these problems, my staff role gave me access to the greatest information channel, the leaders. Through this contact I got to see the children through their eyes, hear and help them with small issues and events that concerned the children without being directly involved. And as all researchers know, research involving children comes with big challenges and certain ethical considerations.

3.6 Ethical considerations

A basic principle in all research on humans is the principles of informed consent. Several months before the village had started I attended an LTS where I asked about research and CISV. To do research on children I would need a written consent from all the parents, which CISV Norway would not permit me to ask for. The reason is obvious and clear: First of all, it is already scary enough for parents to send their children half way around the world to a international camp “alone”, yet for the parents to know that there will be done research on them. Secondly, some parents don’t always understand English that well, and to ask for their signing of a written permission slip would not be reasonable. CISV Norway however gave me an oral permission to do a general research upon CISV and the village, but without using the children directly. My research methods then became informal methods for gathering information, such as informal interviews and talks, as well as a more active participant observation.

My informal methods also included that I would not emphasize my role as a researcher too often. I did however explain to the leaders that I was writing a master thesis and that this is my fieldwork. I promised the leaders not go into details, names, nationality or to directly use the children for information. My master research would only be as an observer, and if there were events that were important for my research I would anonymize all children, leaders, JCs and staff members.

There are several other good reasons for not directly using the CISV children for my research, first of which is linguistic challenges. Secondly, 11 year old children have a tendency to tell you what they believe what you want to hear. This is called ‘interviewer

effect', an interview consist of human interaction, an interpersonal relation, which means the researchers personality, status and behaviour will have an effect on the interviewees and collected data (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2001). And this is especially the case, if I, as a member of the staff, an authority figure, where to interview the participants. And finally, there are cultural considerations. In my experience, there are certain cultural differences when it comes to outspokenness and shyness: Some cultures expect shyness, while other cultures are more outspoken and extrovert. Those differences may cause bias in data importance and data misinterpretation.

3.7 In retrospect

My previous experiences with CISV have given me several sources of information such as several CISV programs, sitting on the board of CISV Troms and arranging camps. All of which has given me a fuller understanding of CISV, all of which has been equally important in my CISV research. But in retrospect, my wide involvement has given me a lot of information, in fact too much information which made it hard for me to choose and differ between the information that was relevant from that which was not.

In the end, my fieldwork became my main method of research, because it was there I could see CISV from a peace education perspective, how the CISV program Village fulfilled the four necessary conditions set by Gordon Allport's positive contact hypothesis. My empirical chapter is therefore based upon the Village of my fieldwork, where my empirical data are mostly gathered from my Village observations, interviews, field notes, field diary, and pictures.

4. From the drawing board to reality, experiences from CISV camps

My previous experiences with CISV has given me insight in CISV as a participant, as a JC, leader, a local board member and now as a staff member with knowledge of peace educational theories. But it was during my fieldwork it became clear to me that the conditions set by Gordon Allport's positive contact hypothesis was the foundation and the method of training at

CISV camps. So, after several months of preparations for the camp and those 4 weeks the camp lasted, this is how I observed CISV meet the necessary conditions for the positive contact hypothesis. Later I wish to discuss areas of problems that might challenge those necessary conditions.

4. 1 Supportive environment

The local committees and chapter do a lot of work before the village program has started. Those committee members were not directly involved during the Village, as participants. But rather as follow ups and to give the necessary help and aid for the staff. They also did jobs like night angels (night watchers), host family, cake baking and kitchen staff, but the committees are not there 24 hours a day, as the staff, leaders and JC's are required to be.

4.1.1 Leaders, Staff and JC's

The adults are in charge of creating a supportive environment at and during the village. Most importantly, to be good role models for their children. In fact, in most cases, a good leader group equals a good village. If the leader group is good at cooperation, communication, planning activities and are to show international tolerance for cultural differences, language differences and are an including group, the children in most cases copy their behaviour. Therefore the first weekend in a Village is a family weekend⁵⁴. During this weekend the children are sent to host families, while the leaders, staff and JC's spend the weekend getting to know one another, prepare for the village they are to create together. During our first family weekend we went through a lot of information; staff responsibilities, medical supplies, risk management, leader responsibilities, excursions, camp site, village progression, theme days, signing up for planning groups, DoD (Delegation of the Day), national nights, birthdays, R7 and a short introduction of all the children, especially allergy, other medical issues, family life, personality, language knowledge, and other relevant information.

The first leader weekend is crucial to build the supportive environment needed for the village. That's when the leaders get to know one another, so that they together may be good role models and show intercultural tolerance and cooperation. Exactly therefore, the leaders'

⁵⁴ Look attachment nr. 5, Village calendar.

communication is crucial throughout the village, so every day there was a leader meeting⁵⁵. During this meeting we went through five points: 1. Circle of nations, 2. Staff announcements, 3. Short evaluation on previous day, 4. Planning group and 5. Topics and issues that need to be discussed. First, circle of nation is the leaders' chance to express their children's concerns and to highlight areas of possible problems. For instance big and minor medical issues, like allergies, mosquito bites, climate changes and sleep arrangements. Secondly, staff announcements were information from the staff group and the local committee groups concerning excursions, camp site etc. Thirdly, short evaluation on the previous day gave the leaders a chance to evaluate the activities, the planning, highlight problems and tips and aid in how to plan better. Fourth, planning group. The planning group went through their planned activities for the next day. And finally, topics and issues that need to be discussed. These issues could be miscellaneous, depending on the children, leaders, events and individual concerns. During the village of my fieldwork we encountered very few, and only minor problems. But one of our focus areas, that I believe is universal at all international camps, was language, which I will discuss under "equal status".

All activities and theme days we planned followed the village progression set by CISV International. The first week we made activities for the children to get to know one another, to learn each other names, and to feel safe in the CISV camp. The second week was cooperation games, and third week we had trust activities. In the end of the third week we had the ultimate trust game called '*house of feelings*.' House of feelings is an activity done during the night, we woke one child at a time, blindfolded them and an adult would guide them on a track throughout the camp site. The camp site had 'feeling' posts; to smell objects, taste food, hear funny sounds, and to touch items. All of these post were done blind folded and in the dark, with nothing spoken or said. The guides would guide their children around with the end of their fingertips, and walk both outside and inside the house, so they would lose their sense of direction and not being able to recognize where they were going. Most of the posts were therefore in the leader area, an area where all children were normally "off-limits". We also placed a lot of mattresses in the stairs and created a slide which the child would slide down together with their guide. We also had a post were the child was placed on a very small edge and pushed down onto a big mattress, so that they would feel shock. Before placing them back into their beds they were guided into a sleeping/massage room, with low relaxing music so that they would be ready to fall asleep again. The house of feelings is an activity that

⁵⁵ Look attachment nr. 4, Daily Schedule.

requires a lot of trust, and I'm glad that our house of feelings activity was implemented so nicely. Almost⁵⁶ all the children loved it and it was nice to see how much trust we had been able to build in such a short period of time.

During the two last weeks of the village we had several theme days. These themes were decided during the first family weekend, and we had had 2-3 weeks time to plan and prepare. Our chosen topics were environmental day (green day), economic injustice (rich and poor day), handicap day, peace-war-peace, JC day (up-side-down day), house of feelings and love/friendship day. I will explain these theme days more in details under cooperation.

Delegation of the Day (DoD) is how CISV encourage their Village participants to learn and to take responsibility. In the Village of my fieldwork we gave the delegation of the day the responsibilities of certain daily chores like to pick out the songs for lullabies, decide some of the energizers, to decide where to place the dinner plates for every meal, to do the flag time and in the morning to wake everyone up. Every day a new delegation became the Delegation of the Day (DoD). Delegation of the Day was something the children love to be, since it gave the children a chance to make the day their own. To do the normal daily chores with their own little twist.

4.2 Equal status

There is a difference between Gordon Allport's concept of equal status and CISV's concept of equal status. CISV participants are children, and for children equal status may be experienced differently than among adults. For children equal status may not be based upon religious, political or even economic reality back home. Equality for them is rather the equality they experience, like age, gender, members of national participants, language, and the way they are treated by the adults. In a CISV setting there are many different nationalities, most participants speak different languages, and everyone has their own cultural background: Being different *was* to be normal. To be different, is not a difference that would make a difference (Bateson, 1972). Equality and cooperation across these 'normal differences' are therefore easier than expected when working with children, particularly 11 year old children.

⁵⁶ Because the Village days are filled full of activities, some of the children were not happy about been woken in the middle of the night, they would rather continue to sleep.

4.2.1 Financial equality

At a village the children's financial background is of no or small relevance. As explained above the local chapters and their village committees are responsible for all village expenses. There is however only one event on the village calendar where children were given money to spend, and that was during the shopping day. The staff and leaders together decide an equal amount of money for all participants to spend on small gifts, presents and souvenirs. Besides the shopping day, the village set up a 'JC shop'. The JC shop was a shop that the JCs were responsible for. This shop was only open during the siesta time, and here the children could buy some candy, ice-cream, postcard and stamps. The children didn't handle money at the JC shop, the JCs created a bill instead, which the leaders would pay during the village. All children had a daily max limit of money to spend, and that max limit was also decided by the staff and leaders together. At a Village all participants had the same economic standing, even though the economic reality back home may be very different.

As a staff member at a Village, I could observe economic differences among the children indirectly. Especially how they would take responsibility over their own belongings, during cleaning time, and how they saw/treated their leader, all of which reflected their economic background. There are economic differences among the children, and those differences are often related to where they come from and the national economic structure. This is something I will also discuss in chapter 5. But among the children, the economic differences were not that obvious; I suspect the differences they noticed were cultural rather than economic.

4.2.2 Religious equality

CISV's neutrality is of high importance. CISV goals are to teach their participants respect for religious diversity. But religious beliefs are considered to be personal, and those religious beliefs are not to influence the religiously neutral environment of the CISV. Similarly, since religion is considered to be a personal matter, the staffs are required to help those who are in need of religious services. During my time as a member of the staff there were a delegation and some leaders who asked for a chance to attend to their religious sermons. Unfortunately finding their local religious sermon was not always possible or easy in Norway.

4.2.3 National equality

All national participants are in principle equally represented at a Village. As explained above a national night is an activity period set aside for all delegations to show some of their national and cultural identity, it is something the children have prepared before arriving at the village. During the Village of my fieldwork, these were some of the national night activities we saw; some did a little national play, did a folkdance, wore national outfits, sang a song, showed pictures, prepared a little game or activity, taught the other children some words or phrases in their national language, gave out some small national presents, handed out their scrapbooks and brought some national snack. Most delegations decides together what they want to show, and exactly therefore the children showed their national identity proudly. The point behind national night is to teach children about national and cultural diversity, not from school books, but through their own experiences, from their own friends. Your own friends were your “curriculum” and teachers, and exactly therefore, the rest of the participants showed great respect for the national differences presented at the village.

But national equality is not the same as cultural equality. The majority of delegations that participate in CISV belong to the western world. There are economic reasons for this, which I will discuss later. Since most participants come from the western part of the globe, it leads to inequality between east, west and south. In fact, Africa is hardly represented in CISV. Nonetheless people find it amazing to believe that children from Egypt, Sweden, USA, Thailand and Ecuador can become friends across their cultural differences. But western ideologies and popular culture has influenced most of the world, so the children at the village of my fieldwork knew the same music, watched the same movies, knew the same popular fashion and modern technology. During a CISV program all technological equipment are taken from the children except their cameras. CISV wants the children to spend time with each other instead of being unsocial, playing games or listening to music on headset. But nonetheless the interest and knowledge of computer games, you tube, internet, facebook and music was similar among all the child participants despite different national identity. I observed how those similarities were easy to find, just by pressing the play button on a stereo, and the bond of ‘communication’ and connection was already there.

4.2.4 Language equality

Language is the biggest challenge for the children's communication. In every village there will always be some children who have English as their mother tongue, and obviously speak fast, with slang and dialect. While other delegations have English as their second or third language. But these language challenges are not only within the English language, if Denmark, Sweden, Norway and in some cases also Finland participate in the same village, there will be a big group of Scandinavian speaking children. This is also the case with Central and South America who speak Spanish together. CISV tries to reduce the dominance of the biggest group of language majority through activities like non verbal games, group cooperation games, songs, national night and translation time. Translation time is normal in the beginning of every activity. All activities are first explained in English, after that, if needed, all leaders get a few minutes each to translate to their children. During the Village of my fieldwork we had two language majority groups, and some children who spoke very little English at first. But most of our participants spoke English well enough. Translation time wasn't always needed, but before beginning big activities with some complicated rules, translation time was always helpful. All of this translation happened in front of everyone. This meant that all children had to be quiet during the translation and listen to the funny words and phrases that they didn't understand. As a result, I could observe all the children hear and understand the language diversity.

As explained, CISV uses the children as a resource for education. To live and learn from one another, the same goes for languages. Every child is encouraged to learn "good morning", "good night" and "thank you" in each language attending the camp. For instance, it took only a week or two before the children learned how to say good night in all the languages represented at the village. There was a CISV good night song to make sure that happened.

"It's time to say good night, the stars are shining bright. Tomorrow you meet your friends again, let's say good night to them. There goes our friends from Norway, we hope that they sleep well, we all say "god natt" to them and tomorrow we'll meet again."⁵⁷

During the village I observed a clear difference between the first week and the rest of the village, as the children got used to the camp situation. Their confidence in themselves

⁵⁷ For each verse a new delegation is being called, where you say goodnight in their language.

speaking English grew as well. Children really absorb the knowledge that surrounds them. And as an adult I found it interesting to see how much English the children learned in such a short period of time. I also found it amazing to see how children also increased their other communication skills, the use of body language, face expressions, eyes and sounds were just as important as the use of words and the English language. I observed how children learned on their own terms how to include other children, for instance by changing language, by speaking more clearly or slowly and by using other forms of communication. Almost every day I could observe children learning from their friends words and phrases in different languages presented at the Village. Even in some cases where the verbal communication faced the toughest challenges, the children would pronounce difficult words they didn't understand; it was a sense of humour which created a social bond, even though not a single correct or understandable word was said between them. All of which were their own methods of including children across language and communication barriers. Their awareness for including shows signs of respect for the language differences presented at the Village.

Most importantly is the presence of adults who are focused on the language challenges and to help to include those children that may fall outside the English communication circle, by correcting undesired behaviour related to language insensitivity and cultural intolerance.

To sum it up, the nonverbal activities, the standard of being normal is to be different, translation time, close living conditions, cooperation, presence of adults, trust games and CISV songs and energizers in other languages than English, are all a part of creating a supportive environment for the language challenges at a Village. Other experiences I have had with CISV, especially at my Seminar camp, the language difference became more difficult due to the amount of political discussions and the need for verbal communication. But for the children at my village, they were not in need of full sentences and good pronunciation of words for the communication to work. For most adults this is difficult to understand or even imagine.

4.3 Cooperation

Group cooperation is the key to CISV activities. All activities in CISV are in one way or another based upon cooperation, or the understanding of how important cooperation is. The reason for this is because cooperation builds bridges across national stereotypes, cultural

differences and language challenges; and cooperation is also what builds friendship which is the main goal of CISV, “building global friendship⁵⁸”.

Like in all other CISV Villages, it was the planning group of leaders who create the activities, and who made the activity groups. We deliberately spread the national and language majorities on different groups. And for those children who had English problems, we always provided a leader, JC or a staff who could either speak their language to help out with translation, or any adult to make sure the rest of the group included all members in their cooperation tasks. In fact, cooperation activities are created so that all group members have to contribute and be active to reach their common goal for this activity. But language problems are not the only considerations the leaders are faced with when making these activity groups, some participants are extremely shy, while others are extremely eager. So during our leader meetings, the planning group would present the group set up and the leaders would take a look to see if there might be any problems for either of their children.

During the village of my fieldwork we followed the village progression; from making acquaintance, cooperation, trust games, and finally theme days. But most games, no matter where in the village progression we were, the activities were always made to enhance the cooperation spirit among the participants. This were especially true during theme days, a theme day are activities that last throughout a whole day with a special education message. During the village of my fieldwork the leader group decided upon these themes: environmental day (green day), economic injustice (rich and poor day), handicap day, peace-war-peace, JC day (up-side-down day), house of feelings and love/friendship day. In this thesis I have only room to explain a few of them, I decided upon peace-war-peace, international relation game and handicap day.

4.3.1 Handicap day

I have experienced handicap day twice in my CISV villages, the first time as a child participant and the second time as a Staff. Both handicap days had their different versions, with their own special twists. Handicap day is a ‘normal’ day where everyone gets a handicap. Some of the handicaps given were blindness, mute, no arms, one leg and so on. The first 30 minutes of that day, the children thought this was funny. But that was as expected, and that’s why it is important that the handicap theme is a full day theme, where the children are not able to “remove” the handicap before they are ready for bed. Everything that happened that

⁵⁸ The Logo of CISV International, <http://www.cisv.org/>.

day had to happen together with their handicap. And everyone was in one way or the other “helpless” on their own. The first activity period of handicap day were not particularly co-operational, in fact it was rather competitive and everyone was against everyone. Were all the children’s handicap would face difficult challenges, and the impossibility of winning. The last activity period on the other hand, focused on group competition. They were given the same competitive tasks and activities done earlier that day, but this time instead of everyone against everyone; it was group against group which made the given tasks easier now than before.

During the day certain ‘social relations’ were made based on their given handicap, and the different challenges they would face, for instance the blind people would join together with participants with no arms. Together they were a team that was able to help each other out throughout the day. These social relations were not always the ‘relations’ that normally would have happened otherwise. Handicap day laid the foundation for new friendships, which again is the goal behind CISV. The spirit of cooperation grew in many ways throughout the day, and as I could observe, particularly during the dining table. At the dining table everyone needed help in one way or the other.

At the end of the day, the children told their stories, discussed and shared experiences. And as I could observe the children showed a new understanding and respect for people with a handicap. They also showed gratefulness for the help they received and that they felt their friendship bonds were stronger now than before. They learned the importance of group cooperation and they found a new respect for handicaps.

Ironically, for my own sake, at my first village I showed up with a broken arm and the second time with a broken leg. Both times I was not given an extra handicap.

4.3.2 International relations game

During one of my Villages and Interchanges we had a water activity where the children and leaders were divided into 5-6 groups. Each group got one hour to create their own national identity; a name for their country, a flag, national dance, create some symbols, a national anthem, to create a few words in their own made up national language and so on. They then presented their nation like they would do on a shorter version of a CISV national night. After their presentation each national group were given a designated national area, a bucket of waterballoons in different colours and a list. On the list there were written down the amount of coloured waterballoons each nation needed to get, where each national group where to try and complete their list without no further instructions on how to do so. After a quick

explanation of the rules, each nation were given some time to make a 'plan' in how to defend their water balloons and how to get the rest of the water balloons they needed to finish their list. The leaders often play a role in CISV games. In this game the leaders were to be a bit aggressive, and to insinuate war and violent confrontations to get what they needed. And then the activity started, the 'nations' were attacking each other's water balloons, and running all over the place to take what they needed. Those few nations that were trying peaceful solutions to finish their list were often annoyed about the other nation's raids against their own water balloons and in the end they wanted revenge. After a lot of running and a lot of fun, most of the water balloons were destroyed. The next activity period was a discussion activity, where all delegations got a chance to explain their original plan, how they blame other nations for their own violent attacks on other nations and so on. In the end of the discussion one of the leaders would then explain that it was in fact enough water balloons for everyone to finish their list, if they only had cooperated and not destroyed so many balloons. The lesson in the end, was that if the children had shared their resources it would have been a win-win situation for everyone. So the underlying message of this activity was the importance of cooperation.

I have played the water balloon activity in many different ways; for instance, some groups/nations may be given far less balloons than others. Or some groups having more group members than the others, or that one nation could be given everything they needed to finish their list and only had to defend what they had. This creates unfair advantages, and the theme could easily be changed to economic inequalities on the international level. I can easily see this activity being done at a seminar camp for 17-19 year old participants, but that the discussion afterwards would have been harder and on a deeper political level. For Village participants CISV activities are created to be fun, with a small discussion in the end as an introduction in what they had just experienced may be related to the real world, being economic differences, discrimination, international politics, or peace.

4.3.3 Peace-war-peace

Peace-war-peace is an activity that is created similar to the water balloon activity, where each group is to create their own national identity. In some programs for older participants the 'nations' are also given 'money', and the list given to each group does not consist of coloured water balloons, but rather life necessities like food, water, wood, cotton, oil and so on. And the 'nations' have to make 'international' trading agreements to get these items. The staff

would then come once every 15 minutes and take some of their coupons and say that the group had just “consumed” or used them for life-support. Then new trading agreements were made and certain poor nations were desperate for certain types of coupons to survive for another 15 minutes. The more desperate you got, the rich nations saw possibilities to raise the prices to be able to compete against the other rich nations. The rich nations were able through their unfair trading agreements to create self-sufficient items like wells and farms, while other nations had no resources left to even survive the next 15 minutes. But as the name of the activity suggests, there comes a war which destroys everything. When I played this game during a national youth gathering it lasted for days. Our given territory and our homes that we built became also where we spent the night. This was done to create a strong bond between the members of the fake nations. Peace-war-peace activities may vary, depending on the age of the participants, the desired learning goal of the activity and the possibilities presented at the camp.

But peace-war-peace for 11 year olds, and the Village of my fieldwork, was not that complicated. All the children were placed in 6 different groups together with a JC. While all the leaders were placed in a group on their own. The groups, which in this game pretended to be nations, were given their own territory to create their homes and a chance to create their own nationality. During the war, everything created by the nations was destroyed, except the nation of the leaders. The children got angry and accused the leaders for attacking their homes. The children were forced to try and rebuild their homes, but their homes were completely devastated and what they were able to rebuild was nothing like it used to be. The discussion at the end of that day was heated and emotional, and it lasted for a long time. The leader nation explained that they had nothing to do with the attack against their homes, but the children didn't believe them. All the children got involved and had something to say, and even some became so sad that they started to cry. I was surprised to see that the children got so emotional, and that the attack on their homes would hurt their fake national identity and pride. The discussion ended with the children learning how hard it was to rebuild their homes, that war destroys everything in its path, and that the ‘international’ bond between the nations of the children and leader was not trustworthy. In the very end of the discussion, the staff announced that it was them who had destroyed their homes and not the leader nation. And the national bond that was between the children and the leaders were again intact with some minor changes, the children were suspicious towards the staff and had some resentment against the leaders, since their home was untouched and ‘better’ than theirs.

4.4 Close, prolonged and frequent contact

Again I would like to differentiate between the words close, prolonged and frequent.

First of all, close contact. At a village, those 11 year olds are in for a four weeks intensive intercultural program. The close contact was easily observed by how quickly they adjusted to one another and the CISV setting. How they were able to change language, adapt to the daily schedule and to learn each other's names. Learning each other's names is never easy, there are normally around 70 names to learn, and normally half of them are long and complicated with hard pronunciation.

Visible symbols of their close contact were trading items and friendship bracelets. Most common trading items in CISV are clothes (CISV t-shirts, CISV sweaters, and national outfits), friendship bracelets, small CISV objects for instance key chains, and small national objects like trolls and flags. It is being said for parents who are packing their children's luggage; *"do not pack items or pieces of cloths of value, because when they come back the suitcase will be filled with everything except what your child initially brought with themselves. Even underwear is a possible trading item"*. (Katrin Reil Conradi, the leader of CISV Troms).

Secondly, prolonged contact. A four weeks peace educational program is a short term program. Lack of continuity is something peace educational programs are being criticized for, for having no or little effect (Salomon, 2002). But when working with child participants, a 4 weeks intense program is a long time. Especially when the days are filled with the amount of activities and events that CISV has, for children and adults, it makes the days feel extra long.

As explained above there are many CISV programs, both on international, national and local level. According to the applications CISV Troms received, statements from CISV children who attended local post-camps and the local membership list, I have noticed a tendency that most village participants gets involved in other CISV programs as well. The local chapters are always looking for new members, so when CISV Troms needs applications we publish the CISV programs through local newspapers, doing information rounds at schools and sending e-mails, but the most effective method of getting applications are to use those connections we already have, which is clearly shown when most applications are from children who have already done a CISV program or have family and friends who are members of CISV. Though, it should be said even though people apply for their second or third CISV

involvement the chances of meeting the same CISV friends is very small, even though it does happen. The most common way of having face-to-face contact with your CISV friends again are by visiting them, which happens often and a lot according to facebook pictures and stories at NEO. There is a saying that a true CISV'ers plan their holidays and vacation according to where their CISV friends lives. For example, backpacking trip throughout Europe with very few overnights stays at hotels.

There are several events during a Village that are created so that the CISV experience and memories gets prolonged. For example, all children are encouraged to write a CISV dairy. In the Village of my fieldwork we also created a common village diary, where the delegation of the day was responsible for writing and drawing some of the events and experiences they had during that particular day. Similarly are the trading items. Trading items may be anything from a simple piece of clothing, to some small national items, scrapbooks or friendship bracelets. Friendship bracelets are one of the most traditional CISV trading items, it is typical and normal to come home with the arm filled with these friendship bracelets. Those traditional homemade friendship bracelets have gone through some changes due to the fabric those bracelets were made of. The fabric gets wet and over some time it becomes unhygienic, and they can easily break. Now CISV Norway and some other countries are selling plastic CISV bracelets to make it more lasting and hygienic. All items being traded contain the memoires of CISV relationships, so when the participants get older those items will still contain those memories. In the Village of my fieldwork, one of the staff members was responsible for taking a lot of pictures during all activities and throughout the village. According to other leaders and staffs I met at NEO, this is normal. All together, the CISV village diary, the photos, trading items and friendship bracelets are all objects that are meant to hold memories of their CISV experiences and the friendship bonds created during their village. So even though the contact is short, those items are meant to make the CISV experience prolonged and their memories live longer.

Finally, some comments on the condition of *frequent contact*: Internet among youth and teenagers are more in use now than before, and it really has made the world a smaller place, where information and contact across cultural and national boundary is easier now than ever before. The use of internet is definitely been a part of keeping the CISV contact more frequent and long-lasting⁵⁹. As I can observe, facebook in particular. Very often I can observe

⁵⁹ For instance, as explained above, CISV Friends: <http://friends.cisv.org/index.cfm?contentid=3>

some of the children from the Village writing to each other on their walls, but it's not only writing, its pictures and videos as well.

4.5 CISV Spirit

The CISV Spirit is a term that defines the CISV memories and experiences. A CISV camp creates their own sphere filled with people who participate, and this sphere becomes their reality, their contact, their 'belonging' to one another, and the memories they create together. The CISV spirit is something that only they and no one else share together. The personal relationships is what makes this sphere so special, everyone knows that the chances of everyone to meet again is very small, and that what is being experienced at that very moment will never be the same. That is what the CISV spirit is, it is the sphere and the memories that those who participate create together.

5. Is CISV a travel organization for rich children?

In this chapter I wish to discuss some of the challenges and criticism of CISV. Two such questions are: 1) How does CISV teach cultural diversity? 2) Is CISV a travel organization for rich children in a fancy cover of peace and peace education?

5.1 CISV and cultural education

One of the main goals of CISV is to raise cultural awareness. Culture is a wide and complex word. The meaning has over centuries changed and modified into the daily lives of people. And exactly therefore, the word 'culture' is explained by Williams as one of the most complicated words in the modern language (Hylland Eriksen, 2001:24). To simplify and to sum it up in my own words, culture is the complex whole that consist of and develops; knowledge, skills, behaviour, values, symbolic patterns, synthesis between nature and conditions, system of messages, communication, organize life with others, moral, art, norms, rules and a wide conception of beliefs, which are assigned members of a society (Hylland

Eriksen, 2001)⁶⁰. The definition of culture would vary greatly within the field of work. My field of work is peace education to develop cross-cultural understanding, to build global friendship for children and youth and exactly therefore I find it important what methods CISV uses to educate and present culture, and how culture is being experienced by the children.

5.1.1 National night

One of the main methods of cultural education at a CISV Village is national night. National night is an activity period that most of the children from the Village of my fieldwork loved. From observation and conversations, national night was a big and important event. All delegations had spent several months preparing for their national night, it was their responsibility, but also their time to shine. The children would dress up, dance, sing, tell a story and give out national snack and candy. National night is a simplified way of teaching national and cultural differences to 11 year olds without the use of complex words like culture, ethnicity and cultural stereotypes. CISV wants to give their participants an introduction and experiences to the complex multicultural world. And as they get older, CISV hopes that these experiences lay the foundation for critical thinking when the participants are faced with stereotypical influences, and processes of social conformity.

There are no leaders, staff or JCs capable to teach about culture to children without a clear, generalist, oversimplified use of stereotypes or conceptions of culture. CISV's cultural education is therefore based upon personal intergroup contact, close living conditions and 'learning by doing', where the participants themselves are the curriculum and the teachers.

5.1.2 Nation \approx Culture?

A nation is often perceived as a cultural unity, with their shared history, language, ancestry, religion, geographic area and cultural similarities which differ from other national identities⁶¹. This is very common in for instance Europe who has an ethnic ideology behind their nation-state. Nationalism can metaphorically be seen as an attempt to broaden the concept of imagined family to the whole nation. For instance in most European countries there are a word describing the country as 'the land of the fathers', fedreland in Norwegian and Patrio in Italian.

⁶⁰ "Self-composed" definition by Hylland Eriksen 2001.

⁶¹ <http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nasjon>

Culture is *not* nationality or nation based. For instance USA is a ‘melting pot’ of race and cultures, and because of this ‘melting pot’ USA is the leading nation of studies upon prejudice and stereotypes. But despite being a ‘melting pot’, USA is a very patriotic nation. How can this be? Out of necessities? May I be this bold to suggest that there even might be a correlation between the American war history and patriotism? That the American war history has created enemy out-groups, that the in-group boundary has been broadened to include the cultural diversity among them? According to social psychologists, patriotism and nationalism are cognitive tools to strengthen the in-group. And if successful gives the feeling of belonging, a sense of security, and a boarder to the rest of the world (Hylland Eriksen, 2001).

5.1.3 National night = National stereotype

In a village, national night is a method to raise *national* awareness. National night exposes the participants to two educational processes; preparations before the village and the presentations of the national nights during the village. Firstly, preparations for the national night require the children to learn about their own national identity. The children are expected ironically enough to present something they don’t normally do, that is new to them. The participants are required to learn about their own national identity. To learn these national and cultural aspects of their own lives, is the beginning of creating mental shortcuts called categorization or stereotyping, what is typical ‘us’ would naturally mean in differences from ‘them’. Secondly, the participants also learn about everyone else’s national identity. National Night is a presentation of a national stereotype, which is ironically enough exactly what CISV wants to break down.

Through my experiences with CISV, and then especially my adult experiences as a staff member and a leader, national night shows the cultural identity of our ancestors and a folkloristic romantic view of national identity. One of my Norwegian delegates from my interchange delegation said “*When do we ever dance Halling?*”⁶². Planning and preparing for our national night was a lot harder than expected. What should we present as ‘typical Norwegian’? Rømmegrøt, rosemaling, troll outfit, snow, mountains, fjords, Vikings etc. The list was long. But according to Lien (1997) the most typical Norwegian food, beverage and national outfit should in fact be; Pizza Grandiosa, Coca Cola and Levis Jeans. (Hylland

⁶² Said by one of my delegates from the Interchange program.

Eriksen, 2001). Which leads me to the questions of; what aspects of your national identity is the correct cultural education to present to your CISV friends? All states impose a national identity on their population, but is that picture culturally representative of the nation?

5.1.4 Cultural, national or individual *differences*

According to the contact hypothesis individual differences/similarities will only be discovered when the contact is personal and informal, which is a ‘must’ to be able to break down the perceived out-group homogeneity (Tal-Or, Boninger and Gleicher (2002). But as explained above, contact on the individual level, will be explained as an exception to the rule, or as Gordon calls it, failure of logic. It is therefore crucial, when dealing with highly prejudiced people to make sure they experience human variation within the out-group (Tal-Or, Boninger & Gleicher, 2002).

All participants in a CISV program represent their nation, their cultural background and themselves. Nation is what your passport tells you, nationality is your sense of national identity, cultural identity is what your social in-group tells you, and then there are individual differences. Children might experience these differences as only differences, and not based upon national, cultural or individual backgrounds. So, how good are children at representing “themselves”, their nation and their cultural background?

Representation is not the same as interpretation of your national identity. As a staff during the village I noticed that some nations had clearer lines of national identities, while some nations had a stronger sense of national belonging, while others had higher level of patriotism. There are clearly individual differences in national identity, also within one delegation there might be cultural diversity. For instance when I was an interchange leader, some of my children were Sami. In order to present a culturally correct image of my delegation, both the Norwegian and the Sami cultures should be represented during national night. But at the same time what aspects of the Norwegian and Sami culture should the delegation choose to present. National night is the responsibility of the delegation, to share with the rest of the village. Exactly therefore, it is important that the children are involved in the planning of what they are and want to present. By making the children responsible of their own activities, to organize, and then if possible to evaluate, that would be an educational process that would benefit every child. During any international CISV programs the

participants might experience a cultural shock, “Why do they do like that?” But by learning about their own cultural background may change that question to, “Why do we do like that?”

At a village concept culture and nation are simplified concepts, but the older the participants are the cultural activities become more complicated. For instance it's not required or common to have national nights at Summer camps or Seminar camps. Instead of presenting stereotypes, participants are asked to present an issue, or something theme-related, or even something that participants personally feel strong about. Summer camp and Seminar camp has broaden the concept of national night and there is more focus on individuality, how every person is also a member of several groups and has several layers of either taken or assigned identities.

5.1.5 Cultural, national or individual *similarities*

The point of national or cultural education for 11 year olds is to introduce them to national and cultural differences, and through these differences also learn the cultural similarities. Cultural similarities are easier to find now than 60 years ago when CISV was founded. The world has grown smaller and bigger at the same time. It is a smaller world because of modern technology, travels, access for information, international communication, cooperation and economy. But the world has also grown bigger because of the easy access to global information has made us more aware of the cultural and human diversity that's out there (Hylland Eriksen, 2001). The easy access to human diversity has influenced and spread out through the world, this is called cultural integration (Hylland Eriksen, 2001), which has laid the foundation for common cultural traits, like for instance popular music, food (pizza, sushi etc), movies, sports, internet, computer games, media etc. For the CISV participants to know popular culture is for children a cross cutting/ common identity⁶³, which makes the international contact in CISV camps easier.

To experience cultural similarities are the first step to break down the national boundary and to see each other and themselves as members of the humanity. To provide a

⁶³ Cross Cutting and Common Identity theory: To reduce the group distinction by finding cross cutting and common identity traits between in and out-group members. To reduce the intra-group distinction by enhancing common types of identification that might unite them. For instance, in 1870, Julia Ward Howe called for the mothers of both sides to arise together to put an end to the American civil war. She wanted the women from both sides to recognize what they held in common; being mothers with soldier sons and husbands killing each other, instead of what divided them (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julia_Ward_Howe).

strong sense of belonging to humanity is the key for a strong intercultural, effective and empowering peace-building strategy (Livert & Kadushin, 2002). National night is a tool for cultural education where LTS should train the leaders to get the most out of it. For instance, it is normal, but not always common to take a small geography lesson before leaving for village. That geography lesson is not only about where they are going, but also what part of the world the other participating delegations come from, it may give the children something to be excited about. To be able to place all the participating nations on the map may give the children an understanding of the geographic differences and distances, while during the village, the children learn through national night that those nations on the map are no longer only places on a map, but rather the faces of their friends. A CISV mother told me during an annual CISV Norway meeting that her child had taken much more interest in the news on the TV since he came back from his village, and that the events of the world affected him more now than ever before⁶⁴.

National nights are representations of constructed identities that are based upon excluding others. But from my experiences is the best way of breaking down national and cultural stereotypes among children. How can this be? The bigger national and cultural differences being presented, makes the similarities seem even more similar. Therefore, to use folkloristic romantic pictures to present your national identity to the rest of the village is highly effective. Because then it becomes truly amazing to see children from Egypt, Sweden, USA, Thailand and Ecuador become friends across their wide and broad cultural differences.

5.2 Is CISV a travel organization for rich children in a fancy cover of peace education?

CISV has received criticism for being a ‘travel organization for children and youth in a fancy cover of peace and peace education’. This is because CISV created peace where there is already peace, the work is done before it even got started. My comments to this critique are: Salomon differentiates between three categories of peace education. First, peace education in intractable regions, second, peace education in region of interethnic tension, and finally, peace education in regions of experienced tranquillity (Salomon, 2002). CISV would fit the latest category, peace education in regions of experienced tranquillity, because CISV educated

⁶⁴ Information gotten from one of CISV Norway parents.

about peace, rather than for peace since there is no out-group were peace is sought. As a result, the criticism of CISV for being a rich man's travel organization in a fancy cover of peace has some truth; CISV is not doing peace education where it is needed the most. Therefore the goals and aims of CISV are also being questioned; *What is the point of creating peace between rich people that are already at peace?*

5.2.1 The economy behind CISV

We live in a capitalist world. Consequently, all work done by organizations is depending on capital. First of all, CISV is an NGO. Only national chapters are able to apply for economic support from their own state. CISV International is affiliated with UNESCO, but besides that has to rely on their own facilities and charity. Secondly, CISV is mostly founded and exist in the richest countries of the world⁶⁵. There is a certain need for national structure and support to be able to found and maintain an organization like CISV. And finally, CISV cost money. CISV membership fee is not high, but the travel expenses might be. To participate in a CISV program most delegates have to pay their own travel expenses, travel insurance, the CISV delegation fee, and CISV membership fee. In addition, all leaders work voluntarily therefore the expenses of the leader are to be divided among the delegates. The travel expenses vary greatly due to where the camp is being hosted. A delegation travelling from Thailand and a delegation travelling from Sweden to attend a village in Norway, would have great differences in travel expenses. But in CISV Norway and in most other CISV nations, the biggest cost is not monetary, but rather CISV's requirements for future involvement in the work of CISV. As all other voluntary and charity organization, CISV is depending on the willingness of voluntaries to continue the work, and this workload is often placed upon the parents and some older participants.

The costs of sending participants to CISV programs are high, and there have been many suggestions on how to lower these costs. For instance to buy a CISV campsite in central Europe to host most of the CISV camps, this would reduce the rent costs of campsites and most of the participants would have lower travel costs. But in practice this would require a lot of work for some local committees in that region, the idea is therefore very optimistic.

⁶⁵ Attachment nr 1, "CISV I Verden" or attachment nr 2, CISV International Membership list.

CISV national arrangements in Norway have had some economic arrangements where all the travel expenses are gathered and split among all the delegates. And in other cases, and then especially the travel expenses for leaders, staff, committees and members of the board, CISV Norway or the local chapters pay for the travel expenses. But no matter who pays the travel expenses the travel expenses will be just as high.

5.2.2 Economic challenges

One of the biggest economic challenges for CISV is the individual economic reality of the CISV children. Except the northern parts of Europe and North America, most of the CISV members consist of the economic upper class. The capitalist reality is that those nations are either very rich or extremely poor, with basically none middleclass. The huge difference between rich and poor makes CISV activities only available for the insanely rich upper class of the poor nations. The educational potential of our programs is severely limited by the lack of economic representation in CISV. CISV talk about learning from our experiences, but how can CISV talk about issues of poverty, war, famine, if these are not issues that are relevant to the majority of the participants' lives?

From an economic perspective CISV is an elite organization for rich children. That is a fact, and something I have learned to accept. I have attended two interchange programs with what you can call the economic elites of CISV. And for my delegation this was a shock, but shockingly enough, a shock can be very educational. And the economic differences show the cold hard facts of the world, something Norwegian children are not really exposed to in their daily lives. At the same time, for the elite children to come to Norway, and live in their Norwegian family was just as much of an educational shock. Just to mention a few things, they noticed: no slums, the "lack" of security around the houses, and for the leaders after a quick visit to the hospital, no need for travel insurance or health insurance.

One of the biggest economic obstacles I can see is that each delegation and each child represent their country, but how can these rich children represent the majority of their nation? From an adult perspective, in one way, these rich children do represent the economic reality of their country, and this representation is not a false one. It shows hard economic facts from their part of the world. As explained above, I don't believe the children at a Village noticed or

felt any economic differences among themselves. But in cases of older participants and other CISV programs, and then especially interchange, the economic differences become very clear.

To include the less fortunate children in CISV programs would create a huge experience for them. But it would also make their normal lives look miserable in comparison. Instead of taking less privileged children out of their homes, CISV has created programs where CISV participants could get involved in their reality. With the introduction of seminar participants doing some charity work and IPP, CISV is now focusing a lot more on getting into the community, rather than making it simply a “travel program”.

Doris Twitchell Allen created CISV in a capitalist world, aware of the economic inequalities. But instead of seeing the capitalist world as an obstacle or challenge, she knew that in the future it will be those rich children who will have the power in their societies. CISV was created to educate, influence, and give knowledge of peace and international communication to tomorrows’ potential leaders (Matthews Jr, 1991). Over the years, this has changed. CISV education is not meant to be exclusive. But the recruitment from some nations is extremely socially biased. I don’t like to promote CISV as an elite organization, but as long as the capitalist world exists the way it is today, so will CISV continue being an elite organization, and that is something we have to admit, as a matter of fact. CISV can’t be what it is not, but it can project ideals and let the children experience what the world might be like.

5.2.3 To create peace where there is already peace

During one of our annual meetings in CISV Troms one of the parents asked what CISV was directly doing about a natural disaster that had just happened. When being faced with such a question, the board didn’t really know what to say. To say that CISV is not an emergency organization, or an organization that reacts to global events of war and conflict, makes the work of CISV sound worthless, tiny and naïve. CISV is a neutral organization and that status is important to be able to spread to all corners of the world. CISV often reacts to natural disasters, for instance the tsunami fundraising campaign⁶⁶, but natural disasters is one thing, where should CISV draw the line? There are political grey areas, and as a neutral organization CISV cannot give official political statements to create a CISV movement. It would compromise the neutral status of CISV. So CISV doesn’t change the world: CISV gives

⁶⁶ <http://resources.cisv.org/docs/main?search=CISV+Tsunami+Fundraising+Campaign&action=query.execute>

people experiences, so that they can change the world. CISV offers individual training to become active members of their local and national community, with other organizations and projects, which again would have an effect on a global scale. CISV can't be everything, and the one thing CISV focuses on is the one thing that CISV does so well, so why change it? There are 1000's of organizations and projects out there, and CISV encourage their members to get involved. For instance IPP is a program which is meant as a cooperation project together with other organizations or projects. When working in multicultural setting, it is crucial that the organization makes small and neutral steps in peace education. There is fine line between 'learning by doing' education and indoctrination education about the 'correct' culture, the right religious beliefs or political ideologies.

There is, however, one political ideology that is encouraged by CISV and that is democracy and the importance of voting and speaking your mind. For instance, during the 2011 county and municipality election in Norway, CISV Norway was looking for youth between the ages of 15-20 years old to become democracy agents⁶⁷. 2011 is the first year where 16 years old in certain counties have been given the rights to vote. Therefore CISV Norway was looking for democracy agents to insure those teenagers the importance of using their new gained right.

All national CISV chapters have their own projects, and often there are projects that require cooperation between CISV nations. For instance "*a project to think, educate and act for development and sustainability*⁶⁸" that is called 'I have a mango/ yo tengo un mango⁶⁹'. This sentence comes from a CISV energizer that has been used and translated in many languages in CISV, the ones I have heard is Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese and English. 'Yo tengo un mango' is new, experimental and a cooperation project between CISV Norway and CISV Colombia. There are four participants who are to do a 9 months exchange program to learn about each other's national CISV community and to work with other organizations and to compare a third world country system to a developed country. During those 9 months the participants are to create their own projects and put into action, and when they come back home, share their knowledge and experiences with the rest of CISV.

CISV educational approaches haven't changed much during the last 60 years. The Contact hypothesis and learning by doing is still the foundation behind the CISV programs.

⁶⁷ <http://cisv.no/blog/2011/05/18/bli-demokratiagent/>

⁶⁸ <http://cisv.no/projectlnu/>

⁶⁹ <http://cisv.no/projectlnu/>

But CISV has grown into being more than just the program Village. For many CISVers Seminar camp and IPP are so much more than just making contact. CISV International is slowly taking steps towards getting involved and at the same time being able to hold on to their neutrality.

5.3 “Building global friendship⁷⁰”

“Curiously, the sociological literature on friendship and the social psychological literature on the contact hypothesis seem largely unaware of one another, despite the fact that a major outcome of contact is friendship. Friendship is perhaps the most fragile yet the most far reaching consequence of contact” (Kadushin & Livert, 2002:118).

Kadushin & Livert (2002) explains how contact is not a random event, but it follows social structural rules. People often bond friendship ties with those who are alike themselves, this is called homophily⁷¹. There are two reason for this, first of all because people like to bond with people who are alike themselves, and secondly, because people becomes friends with those they have contact with, those they share the same sphere with, which again may show to common interests, common life, and common situations.

With the growing processes of globalization, peace education has a growing importance to teach and educate people on cultural understanding and international building (Shapiro, 2002). As explained above, the world has gotten smaller and bigger at the same time. International influences, cooperation, information and contact in a multicultural setting is not rare or special. BUT that contact is hardly based upon the conditions set by Gordon Allport’s positive contact hypothesis. In fact, most intergroup contact is based upon the opposite. CISV creates the *possibilities* of international contact with children and youth based upon the necessary conditions set by Gordon Allport for positive contact hypothesis, which is what makes CISV International as an organization unique. CISV gives an education that is important for the internationalization of today’s society on a global scale.

⁷⁰ In the Logo of CISV International at: www.cisv.org

⁷¹ Status homophily: age, race, sex and etc. Acquired homophily: marital status, education, occupation and etc. Value homophily: attitudes and stereotypes (Kadushin & Livert, 2002).

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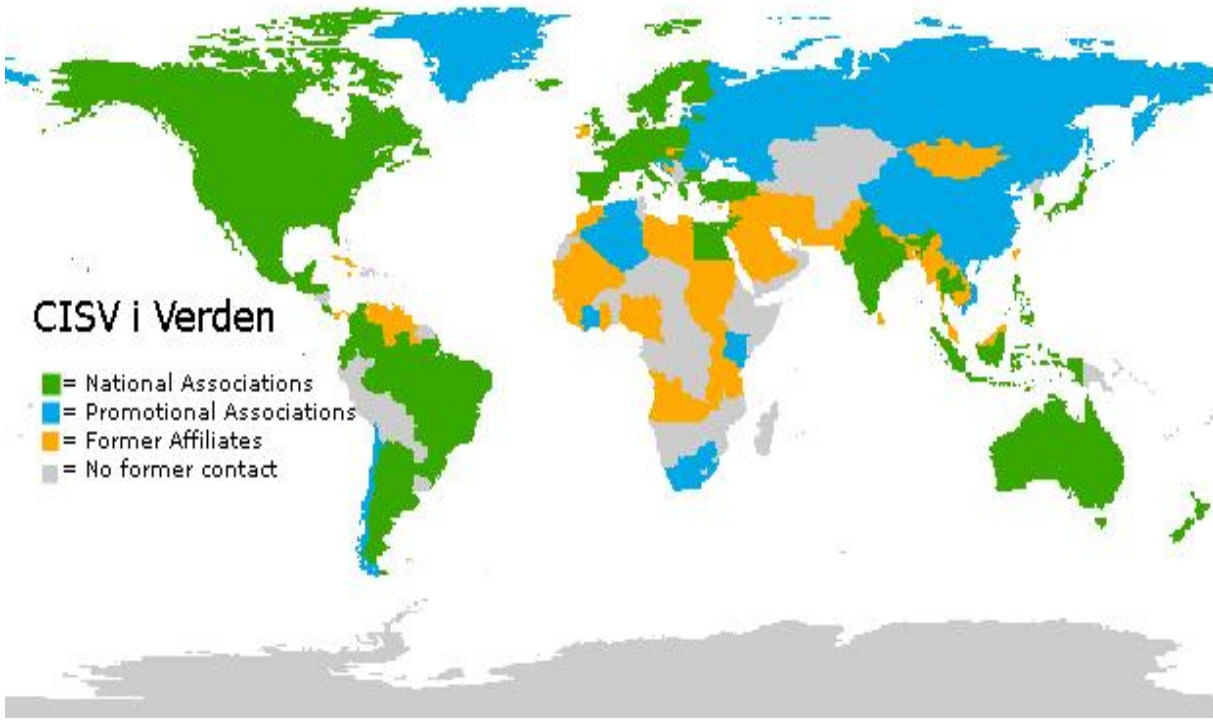
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List of CISV International Member Associations.

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Attachments

Attachment 1: "CISV i Verden"



Attachment 2: CISV International membership list

2008 Member Affiliates	First CISV delegation	Total 2008 participants	International programs hosted in 2008	Numbers of chapters
1. Argentina	1955	76	2	1
2. Australia	1979	40	1	2
3. Austria	1952	216	9	4
4. Belgium	1952	73	2	2
5. Brazil	1955	494	20	10
6. Bulgaria	1979	25	1	1
7. Canada	1958	379	11	12
8. Chile	1984	3	0	1
9. Colombia	1979	114	6	2
10. Costa Rica	1955	97	1	1
11. Czech Republic	1956	61	3	1
12. Denmark	1951	289	11	15
13. Ecuador	1994	108	2	1
14. Egypt	1956	91	4	1
15. El Salvador	1970	17	0	1
16. Faroe Isles	1978	21	0	1
17. Finland	1953	165	6	7
18. France	1951	369	15	8
19. Germany	1951	534	17	10
20. Great Britain	1591	150	3	5
21. Greece	1977	16	0	1
22. Guatemala	1955	111	2	1

23. Honduras	1955	5	0	1
24. Hungary	1975	45	2	1
25. Iceland	1954	53	1	1
26. India	1956	63	1	3
27. Indonesia	1965	138	3	2
28. Israel	1957	111	2	2
29. Italy	1952	562	28	12
30. Japan	1958	136	4	4
31. Jordan	1980	60	0	1
32. Korea	1965	45	1	1
33. Latvia	1993	1	0	1
34. Lebanon	1975	42	0	1
35. Luxembourg	1955	19	0	1
36. Mexico	1951	172	5	2
37. Netherlands	1959	146	4	1
38. New Zealand	1980	21	0	2
39. Norway	1951	473	15	17
40. Philippines	1962	118	2	5
41. Poland	1969	45	2	3
42. Portugal	1961	186	6	1
43. Slovakia	1956	0	0	1
44. Spain	1961	243	7	3
45. Sweden	1951	497	25	17
46. Switzerland	1952	34	2	1
47. Thailand	1978	73	0	1
48. Turkey	1952	60	0	1
49. Uruguay	1985	0	0	1
50. United States of	1951	624	32	22

America				
Sub total		7,421	258	196

Promotional Associations				
51. Algeria	1977	30	3	1
52. Belarus	2006	0	0	1
53. Bosnia & Herzegovina	2006	5	0	0
54. China	1996	51	1	1
55. Cote d'Ivoire	1971	6	0	2
56. Estonia	1993	5	0	1
57. Georgia	2006	28	0	1
58. Greenland	2000	10	0	1
59. Hong Kong	2007	10	0	1
60. Kenya	1998	3	0	1
61. Lithuania	1957	28	1	1
62. Peru	1956	27	1	1
63. Romania	2000	32	1	1
64. Russia	2002	13	0	1
65. Slovenia	2003	23	1	1
66. Ukraine	2004	5	0	1
67. Vietnam	2004	10	0	1
Sub Total		286	9	17
OVER ALL				
		7,707	267*	213
* each interchange phase is deemed to be one international activity. Due to the national hosting statistics.				

Attachment 4: Daily Schedule

08.00 Wake up

08.20 Flag time

08.30 Breakfast

09.10 Cleaning time/staff meeting

09.45 First activity

12.30 Lunch

13.30 Siesta+ Jc shop

14.30 Second activity

16.30 Shower time/ leaders meeting

17.30 Delegation time

18.15 Dinner

19.15 Third activity

21.00 Flag time

21.15 Lullaby

22.00 Bedtime

22.30 Lights out

Attachment 5: Village Calendar

<u>Friday 27/6</u>	<u>Saturday 28/6</u>	<u>Sunday 29/6</u>	<u>Monday 30/6</u>	<u>Tuesday 1/7</u>	<u>Wednesday 2/7</u>	<u>Thursday 3/7</u>
Leaders preparation weekend.						Excursion
<u>Friday 4/7</u>	<u>Saturday 5/7</u>	<u>Sunday 6/7</u>	<u>Monday 7/7</u>	<u>Tuesday 8/7</u>	<u>Wednesday 9/7</u>	<u>Thursday 10/7</u>
Leaders weekend.				Shopping day		
<u>Friday 11/7</u>	<u>Saturday 12/7</u>	<u>Sunday 13/7</u>	<u>Monday 14/7</u>	<u>Tuesday 15/7</u>	<u>Wednesday 16/7</u>	<u>Thursday 17/7</u>
Family weekend/ Leaders weekend	Family Weekend/ leaders weekend	Family weekend/ leaders weekend			Excursion	
<u>Friday 18/7</u>	<u>Saturday 19/7</u>	<u>Sunday 20/7</u>	<u>Monday 21/7</u>	<u>Tuesday 22/7</u>	<u>Wednesday 23/7</u>	<u>Thursday 24/7</u>
		Open day			Last day of camp	See you later, bye bye =(
<u>Friday 25/7</u>	<u>Saturday 26/7</u>	<u>Sunday 27/7</u>	NN = National Night DoD = Delegation of the day			
Staff weekend/ evaluation	Staff weekend/ evaluation	Staff weekend/ evaluation				

Attachment 6: Village Progression

