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Capital, Politics and Pedagogy:
The Case of Education Inside the United Nations

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Centre of Governance and Human Rights Working Papers

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Abstract: *The UN is often questioned about its ongoing relevance and involvement in contemporary matters of peace and security, but its involvement in and provision of higher education for peace for the 21*[st] *century is rarely examined. This working paper investigates the use of higher education as a peacebuilding tool within the UN apparatus, looking at the issue from three different angles. First, I briefly describe the work that the UN universities are engaged in: their historical origins and operations today. Second, I examine the objective qualifications that UN officials / academics possess that presumably enable their admission into the UN and work in the institution. I examine this generally across UN agencies and then specifically in regard to faculty in one UN university. Third, I share commentary from scholars I interviewed in the pilot study in Ethiopia and Somaliland and at the UN university to corroborate and challenge the results of the qualifications review, and to elaborate on the education that the UN promotes. Findings of the study point toward social reproduction through peace capital in the UN, and UN university. Such results raise skepticism and challenge orthodox assumptions of the UN and international peace education as contributing to social transformation. On the contrary, my study exposes the ways in which the unintended consequences of the field reproduce social inequality. This contrasts sharply with the transformation touted in other academic literature (Clarke-Habibi, 2005; Felice, Karako & Wisler, 2015).*

Keywords: *United Nations; higher education peace studies; Bourdieu; peace capital*

1. Sociology of Peace

The United Nations (UN) is often questioned about its ongoing relevance and involvement in contemporary matters of peace and security, but its involvement in and provision of higher education for peace for the 21st century is rarely examined. Previous research into peace and higher education has largely focused on the production of protean normative theory for social justice, or theoretical conceptualizations pertaining to how educational practices relate to forms of violence and peace in schools, universities and society (cf. Snauwaert, 2008; Page, 2008; Shiva, Kester & Jani, 2007; Smith, 2005; Harber, 2004; Harris & Morrison, 2003); but in this piece I directly examine higher education peace and conflict studies (PACS) inside the UN universities. I do this to better understand 21st century aspirations and challenges for PACS higher education. The overarching questions guiding the work include: What theories and educational peace frameworks inform the practice of PACS within UN-based higher education? What resources do the educators possess and deploy in their negotiation of the discipline? And, to what extent might the premises of capital and pedagogy in the field be critiqued from a postmodern perspective?

Studying these questions with UN academics provides insights into how and why PACS scholars choose to enter into the field. The study reveals tensions between structure and agency with peace lecturers whom might become implicated in the perpetuation of structural and cultural violence through their peace work. I examine this in relationship to UN officials in general in terms of the capital that brings them into the peace field, and with UN university academics in particular as a sub-set of UN agents. This study is valuable to other academics working in educational peacebuilding in diverse higher education (non-UN) contexts that resemble many of the challenges and tensions present in the current case study. Non-academic, non-UN readers would be interested especially in the challenges to building peace on a larger scale through educational endeavors.

To explore my research questions, I reviewed global literature, curriculum vitaes (CVs) and archives in PACS education, conducted a pilot study in Ethiopia and Somaliland, and completed a six-month ethnographic case study with scholars in one UN university. Specifically, I conducted interviews and participant observation with 25 PACS scholars in the primary study and four East African scholars in the pilot study; reviewed the curriculum of the university, including 42 course syllabi; and completed an analysis of more than 1,000 CVs of UN officials, including the sub-set of UN peace academics. I also reviewed archives in the UN depository library at Yale University. In

this short piece, I will focus on the CV analysis and interviews, which allowed me to ascertain to what extent forms of peace capital are existent and awarded privilege in the UN and amongst scholars. I will draw in particular on pilot study interviews that provided rich data to interpret the meaning scholars ascribe to peace education, and to the capital resources they cite as enabling their practices.

I used the theoretical concepts of field, habitus and capital from Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1986) for gaining insights into the practices and perceptions of the scholars. The Bourdieusian analytic framework is insightful for exploring the boundaries of capital and habitus in UN peace education, and examining the role of 'peace capital' in legitimizing scholars' work in this domain. In the parts that follow, I first introduce the pedagogic context, outline the conceptual 'thinking tools' of Bourdieu, and explain the methodology through which I collected data. I then apply Bourdieu's tools to an analysis of the CVs and two pilot study interviews. In brief, the data points toward forms of peace capital and structural/symbolic violence in a field that promotes global equity and non-violence. In the discussion section, my findings are compared to other secondary data that highlight related themes on elitism, exclusivity and the reproduction of political and social privilege through secondary and higher education (cf. O'Rourke, Hogan & Donnelly, 2015; Howard & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2010; Malinowshi & Zorn, 1973). I turn now to outline the relevant literature, followed by the context and guiding concepts of the research.

2. Literature[1]

In the search for theories that help to explain the causes of violence and peace many PACS scholars are led to concepts from the intersecting fields of sociology, politics, and social psychology (cf. Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011; Bajaj & Hantzopoulos, 2016; Brantmeier, 2011; Cabezudo & Haavelsrud, 2013; Carr & Porfilio, 2010; Dietrich, 2012; Haavelsrud, 1996; McCowan, 2009; Reardon, 1988, 2001; Salomon & Cairns, 2010; Zembylas, 2015; Zembylas & Bekerman, 2013). My review of the literature indicates that among the most common socio-political theories and theoretical perspectives employed (both applied and more philosophical) are intergroup contact theory, Galtung's peace theory and forms of violence, social reproduction theory, critical pedagogy/Freirean methods, and post-structural critiques of both Western hegemonies and of PACS itself. Some scholars utilize these concepts directly to examine the United Nations and its affiliated educational peacebuilding agendas (cf. Alger, 2007; Jones & Coleman, 2005). I have reviewed these common theoretical lenses elsewhere (Kester & Cremin, 2017; Kester, 2016), but will review Galtung's peace theory here in particular. I will also make note of how Galtung's work relates to sociological concepts by Pierre Bourdieu, which I later draw on for my methods and data analysis.

Johan Galtung's (1969, 1990) primary elements in his peace theory include the concepts of negative and positive peace, and his concepts of direct, structural and cultural violence. By negative peace, Galtung is referring to a person, organization, culture or state not in direct violent conflict. In other words, negative peace is the absence of direct physical violence. In contrast, Galtung defines positive peace as an individual, organization, society or country in which there are political, social, and economic relationships as well as institutional mechanisms that support equality, dialogue, cooperation, and social justice (Cremin, 2016; Kester, 2016). He explains, "Whereas 'negative peace remains fairly constant, meaning 'absence of violence'…'positive peace' is constantly changing…I would now define 'positive peace' mainly with 'social justice'" (Galtung,

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[1] The writing in the following two sections that details peace literature and educational peacebuilding inside the UN has been published in modified form in the Journal of Transformative Education (see Kester, 2016), or Globalisation, Societies and Education (Kester, 2017).

1969, p. 190). Positive peace is thus cultivated through the creation and expansion of social values, normative dispositions, and structures of peacebuilding that manage conflict through nonviolent and socially just means.

Building on the concepts of negative and positive peace, Galtung articulates three forms of violence: direct, structural and cultural. He identified the first two in his original 1969 article, and the latter concept of cultural violence in a 1990 piece in the Journal of Peace Research titled 'Cultural Violence'. His direct violence concept concerns physical harm to self, others, and nature (Galtung, 1969). This is the type of violence that many consider to be the core of PACS education (cf. Alger, 2007). With changes in international / global relations post-1945, most PACS scholars, however, consider direct violence important but insufficient in explaining contemporary forms of violent conflict (Bajaj & Hantzopoulos, 2016).

Galtung's (1969) structural violence illustrates the ways in which laws and policies of the state and corporations may create socially unjust societies even during times of 'negative peace'. In this sense, the institutionalization of oppression, or the systematic exclusion of people from their rights and opportunities via political, economic and social regimes, policies, and bureaucracies, fosters social conflict and instability. This concept highlights discriminatory laws, such as ''separate but equal'' (e.g. in the US context) and the reification of sexist and racist beliefs through discriminatory hiring practices, which on a deeper level serve to underscore structural poverty and exclusion. Poverty is one example of structural violence, insomuch as it is institutionally engineered (through the education system, labor distribution, etc.) and prevents the full realization of the individual toward his or her development (Easterly, 2007; Kester, 2016; Sachs, 2005; Stiglitz, 2002; Unterhalter, 2009). Thus, Galtung illustrates that poverty is an indirect violence, an injustice in times of 'negative peace'. Eliminating structural violence would help foster a state of 'positive peace'.

Galtung's (1990) third concept, cultural violence, is deeply related to the previous two and illuminates the move away from the nation-state and corporation to other units of analysis in politics and education (e.g. family, community, global civil society, transnational social movements, etc.). It has signaled a similar shift from international war as the primary area of focus toward transnational, domestic, psychological, and other forms of non-state violence. The concept of cultural violence concerns attitudes and customs that support discrimination and social domination (e.g., machismo, patriarchy, and heteronormativity). This concept highlights the issues of psychological harm and group prejudices toward the other. Hence, Galtung's (1990) cultural violence helps explain the transition to the individual, community and discourse / narrative as units of analysis in violence prevention, grassroots peacebuilding and conflict transformation.

With this theory, Galtung argues that the core problematique in peace studies is the analysis and transformation of direct, structural, and cultural forms of violence (Bajaj, 2008; Harris, 2004; Harris & Morrison, 2003; Reardon, 2001). This includes a systematic analysis of destructive social practices—such as nationalism, imperialism, patriarchy, poverty, hierarchical teaching and learning, and militarism—at various levels of social organization (Alger, 2007; Bekerman, 2007; Harber, 1996; Kester, 2016). These practices are then compared with possible alternative social arrangements—such as social inclusion, dialogic communities, cooperatives, democratic teaching and learning, and nonviolent conflict management—as gazed through critical theoretical understandings of conflict and peace (Lederach, 2005; Lum, 2017; Novelli, 2011; Tikly & Barrett, 2011; Wenden, 2012). Translated onto the international stage, core concepts and critiques of liberal peacebuilding are also integral to the analysis of educational peacebuilding efforts today (Fontan, 2012; Richmond, 2011). It is here that Bourdieu's field-theory enters this study to help

provide field-based reflexive analysis on the role of PACS education/educators in the (re)production of social inequalities, violence and peacebuilding.

3. Context

The UN has been involved in international peace, security, development, and education projects since 1945. Given this, it might seem inevitable for the world body to develop universities to promote its peace and security objectives. The universities did not evolve until many years after the foundation of the UN organization: in 1969 with the creation of the United Nations University, and then again in 1980 with the establishment of the University for Peace (cf. Newland, 1984; Muller & Roche, 1995). These universities are influenced by other bodies of the UN involved in the advancement of education and peace, such as UNESCO, UNITAR, UNICEF, UNDP, UNHCR[2] and the World Bank, as well as multilateral institutions beyond the global body, such as the OECD and the forum for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. Other educational research has examined UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP and the World Bank due to their influential role in educational multilateralism (Jones & Coleman, 2005; Kennedy, 2006; Mundy, 1998; Page, 2008; Willets, 1996), but none has focused on the UN higher education institutes. Indeed, if the universities have been influential toward the UN agenda and wider field of PACS this is not evident in literature. Thus, there are dual dilemmas, and it is unclear which should be prioritized. If the institutions become better known, will this impact the wider influence, or vice versa? This is not the topic of this working paper, but it is a general concern among those working within the universities (cf. Kester, 2013; Martin, 2008; Weiss, Carayannis, Emmerij & Jolly, 2005).

Inside the UN family there are numerous agencies tasked with the responsibility to train UN officials and conduct policy-oriented research. These include the United Nations System Staff College (UNSSC); United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR); United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR); United Nations Research Institute for Sustainable Development (UNRISD); United Nations University (UNU) in Tokyo; and the University for Peace (UPEACE) in San Jose, Costa Rica (see Figure 1; Kester, 2016). UNSSC, UNITAR, UNIDIR and UNRISD are research and training institutes that conduct studies on contemporary issues important to the UN agenda. The objective of these institutes is to contribute evidence-based knowledge to inform policy decisions in New York and Geneva, pedagogic activity in related schools, and in the case of UNITAR to influence on-the-ground decisions by UN peace operatives through pre-service peacekeeper training. In addition to research and training institutes, the UN also has two affiliated private international secondary schools: the United Nations International School (UNIS) in New York and the International School of Geneva (ECOLINT). These schools educate primarily, though not exclusively, the children of UN officials in general in a spirit of international understanding and cooperation (Malinowski & Zorn, 1973).

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[2] UNHCR has a well-known peace education program in refugee camps in Dadaab and Kakuma, Kenya. It reached 42,000 students weekly (Bajaj & Hantzopoulos, 2016).

Figure 1. Peace and Conflict Studies Higher Education Inside the United Nations
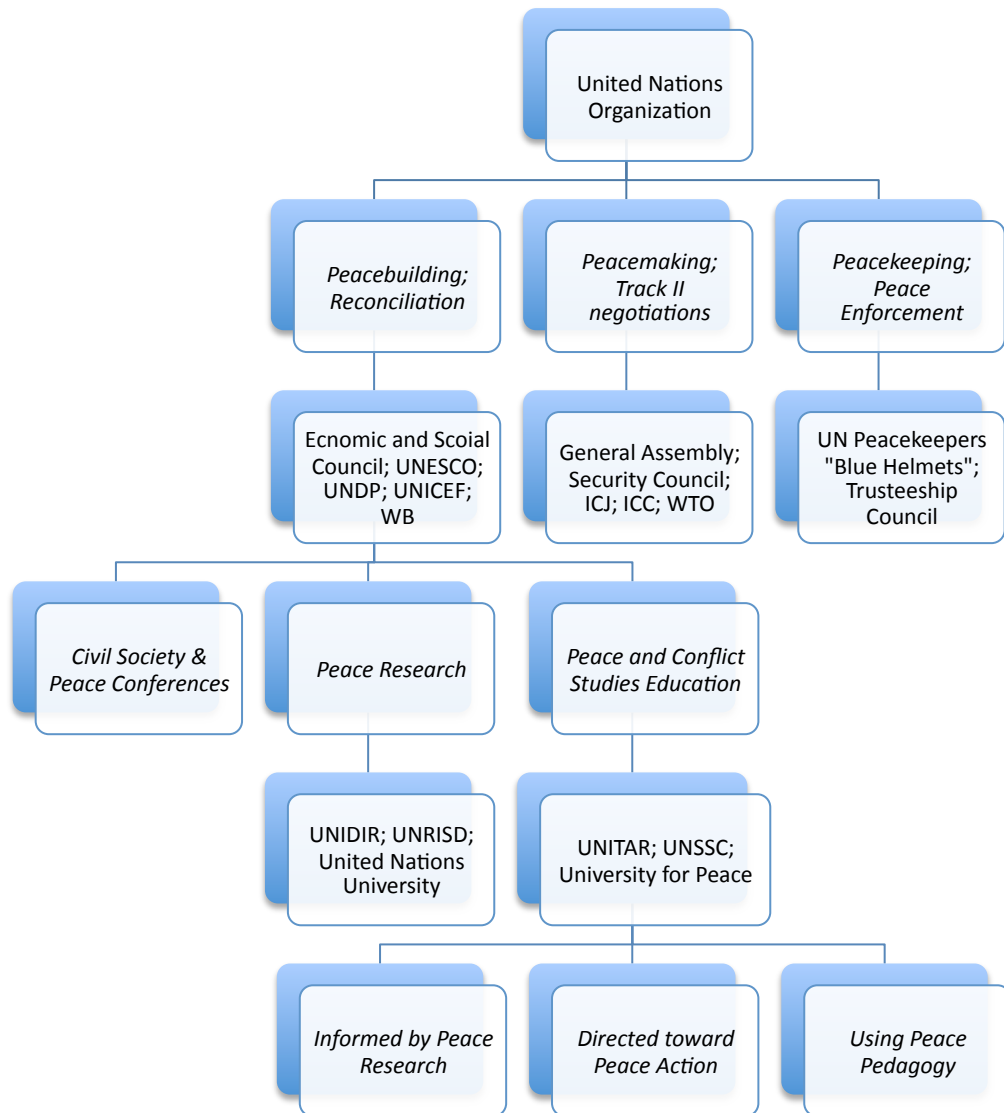
This chart provides an overview, to the best of my knowledge, of how these various organizations and processes fit together within the UN system. This is clearly a simplified chart of complex organizational relationships. I do not intend to suggest that there is no overlap between agencies and their activities, but I wish to give a brief overview of educational peacebuilding in the UN (Source: adapted from Kester, 2016, p. 6).

The UN universities, UNU and UPEACE, were developed as postgraduate institutions to serve a global body of students in Tokyo and San Jose, respectively (UNGA, 1973, 1980). Their curricula includes training in the mission, structure, philosophy and diplomatic practices of the UN system, and in conflict transformation techniques to address issues of security, peace, human rights, democratization, sustainable development, gender mainstreaming and international law in diverse settings. The universities are involved in the whole gamut of preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding education (cf. Bickmore, 2013; Galtung, 1976; Lund, 1996). In the universities, evident from my six-month ethnographic case study at one of the schools, peacekeeping is present through the employment of armed guards on campus (in compliance with UN regulations for work-place security). Peacemaking is present through the use of restorative

justice and mediation techniques to resolve disputes between students, staff and administration, and through model UN simulations. For example, the campus attempts (often failing admittedly) to pedagogically model the theories of conflict transformation taught in classes. Peacebuilding is present through the pedagogic employment of dialogue circles, participatory pedagogy, culture days, values exploration seminars, experiential simulations and nature walks.

One scholar (drawing on literature in the field) explained that the pedagogy of the institution must reflect the values and social purposes of the education beyond the university, namely to achieve democratic participation, social justice and nonviolent action in society. For this female scholar, PACS education is about preparing active citizens for democratic participation and ethical living. Another scholar problematized this over-reliance on political/pedagogic correspondence in his own style (and that of his peers) as reifying state-based orientations through mediation simulations. This approach, he insisted, serves to underscore the continuing dominance of liberal state-based peacebuilding in political discourse, despite some common oppositional rhetoric that places the field closer to grassroots peacebuilding efforts. I suspect this tension is amplified by the reality that UN-based peace education takes place within a state-based international organization. Different actors within the university have contested and differing stances on the degree of centrality and marginalization the institution receives inside the UN. His criticism also likely reflects trends across the field of PACS higher education beyond the UN. As will become evident, I seek to problematize who gains access to these institutions (students and staff), and how the institutions serve to reproduce privilege across generations and international boundaries.

4. Theoretical Framework

Pierre Bourdieu had much to say about the role of symbolic power and pedagogy in education and the consequent role of learning in shaping society. In this vein, Bourdieu (1989) suggests that, "to change the world, one has to change the ways of world-making, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced" (p. 23). Appropriate to this constructivist-structuralism ontology, where agents (e.g. educators, policy-makers, citizens) are definers of their world, constructivist-structuralism enters this research as a theoretical and methodological tool revealing the tenets of subjectivism and relational realist ontologies that permeate research into academics' perspectives on meaning and practice (cf. Hagner & Rheinberger, 2003). In extrapolating meaning from purpose and pedagogy, Bourdieu developed a number of 'thinking tools' that are useful in making sense of how agents move about the structures of their world. These tools include capital, habitus, field, and symbolic violence/capital.

To grapple with the various resources and perspectives of the scholars in my study, I designed an ethnographic and instrumental case study (Ragin & Becker, 2000; Stake, 1995; White, Drew & Hay, 2009; Yin, 2003; Zucker, 2009) around the conceptual instruments of Bourdieu. The purpose of the instrumental case study is the analysis of a distinct case for general understanding into a phenomenon (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Grandy, 2010; Stake, 1995). Here, the distinct case is the UN university lecturers and the broader phenomenon is UN lecturers' practices in the field of PACS higher education. Insomuch as lecturers and researchers find their own fields and practices reflected in the case study, there is the potential to contribute to other PACS higher education contexts (Patton, 2002; Williams, 2000). Reflecting on the challenges, successes and practices of PACS lecturers at one UN university may provide insights into practices at other popular peace institutes, and could illustrate schemata in play across the field (cf. Bourdieu, 1988).

Bourdieu developed the concepts of field and capital to explain the contextual conditions and objective resources enhancing or restricting how an agent moves about and impacts her domain

of practice. The field refers to "a space of objective relations between positions defined by their rank in the distribution of competing powers or species of capital" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 113). A field could refer to a discipline, bureaucracy or global community of practice. Examples of fields include politics, religion, art, music, fashion and education, among others. On capital, Bourdieu (1986) conceived multiple forms, such as social, cultural, economic and symbolic. In general, capital implies the capacity to impact the field through the deployment of these capacities or goods. In this paper I focus on Bourdieu's cultural capital with references to economic and social capital. Concerning cultural capital, Bourdieu further differentiated between three forms of cultural capital: embodied, objectified and institutionalized.[3] When I reference cultural capital throughout the paper, I am primarily referring to Bourdieu's idea of the institutionalized state of capital, which includes academic qualifications and titles of authority. Bourdieu (1984) also explicated the concept of 'habitus': one's dispositions and behaviors cultivated through past experiences and external social pressures. It is often sub-conscious. I introduce the concept here as it is an integral part of the holistic field theory that Bourdieu conceptualized, but I will not deal with it further as it plays only a small role in the analysis within this paper.

To illustrate Bourdieu's theory, consider that a multitude of educational agents share the same temporal and spatial structures of a university, but they occupy different social positions within that educational field. Educational agents embody different positions according to the types and degrees of capital they possess (e.g. institutional affiliation, level of qualifications, number of publications, scholarly networks). In the application of his theory, Bourdieu sought to understand how agents exist within, influence and define fields, but also how they do this in light of objective structures that impose upon them. His sense of an objective world borrowed from Marx and Durkheim. For Bourdieu, if the rules of the field (i.e. doxa) are allowed to operate unexamined there is a danger of unchecked symbolic domination. He explains this as a form of symbolic violence (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Operationalizing Bourdieu (1986)

Concept	Meaning	Operationalization
Field (the game)	The domain in which agents practice (e.g. in the case of education: higher education; PACS; Ministry of Education).	Structures of PACS education (e.g. organizational charts); roles possessed in the field; definitions of field; boundaries.

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[3] Embodied cultural capital involves inherited dispositions and ways of thinking from socialization, including linguistic capital. Objectified cultural capital includes books, works of art and scientific instruments. Institutionalized cultural capital is institutional affiliation.

Forms of capital:	The characteristics and capacities educational agents possess that provide them control over the field.	Observable via analysis of CVs, degrees, positions held, number of publications, quality of publishing venues.
Cultural	Cultural capital relates to knowledge, skills, education and possessions valued in a specific context, e.g. field of knowledge and institutional affiliation. Includes language used to signify 'knowing' the subject	Educational qualifications; institutional affiliations; academic publications; linguistic knowledge of key agents and concepts in the field
Social	Social capital refers to personal relations.	Connection to well-regarded scholars and practitioners.
Symbolic	Symbolic capital is control over legitimation channels, e.g. holding leadership positions.	Leadership positions in university, department; adjunct work with other institutions; invitations to conferences
Economic	Economic capital is wealth, public and personal.	Fellowships; research grants; travel stipends; personal travel
Habitus[4]	Dispositions, attitudes and behaviors of agents (time and place specific).	Explore educator perspectives on the purpose of PACS education; Attitudes toward academia (teaching, service, publication); Beliefs about capital.
Doxa	The practices and dispositions considered normal or taken-for-granted in the field.	The models and practices that are described by lecturers as the standard or global frameworks. Core theories and institutions that receive little critique.
Symbolic Violence (orthodoxy vs. heterodoxy; autonomy vs. heternomy)	The dissonance between what is accepted as standard in the field and what is practiced locally, particularly where the standard is imposed upon local traditions / practices.	Expressions of disagreement with core institutions and orthodoxy of the field; Times and places where educators intentionally divorce the official discourse of PACS.

The idea of symbolic control through language and pedagogy – or the use of hegemony to impose order upon subordinates – calls into mind Bourdieu's notion of 'symbolic violence'. I choose the language of symbolic violence particularly because of its linguistic and conceptual similarities to peace theory, especially Johan Galtung's (1969) peace studies typology of direct, cultural and structural violence, although there are few PACS educators who draw upon Bourdieu in their

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[4] Alice Sullivan (2002) argues that operationalizing habitus has been traditionally difficult in educational research; nonetheless, I posit lecturers' descriptions of attitudes and ideal qualities of PACS educators presents some semblance of observable habitus.

analysis of peace and conflict.[5] The notion of symbolic violence helps to expand on Galtung's structural violence to explain how individuals are complicit in suppressing themselves and others through discourse and internalized oppressions. This includes the internalization of regulatory rules and patterns of behavior and thinking, such as when working class youth are subsumed within middle class norms via the education system (cf. Bernstein, 1971; Reay, 1999). Symbolic violence, then, may be unveiled through the investigation of micro-level interactions between agents and their articulations of the meaning of these interactions, particularly as this dynamic process indicates inconsistencies and tensions between normative performances and the rules and behaviors that underscore the field – a field that is, in principle, supposed to suppress violence. Furthermore, I contend that the combination of structural and symbolic violence helps explain how PACS academics might be complicit in perpetuating symbolic violence through peace work, a type of post-structural violence (Kester & Cremin, 2017; Fontan, 2012).

This theoretical framework played multiple roles in the production of this study: it informed my methodological choices and research design, framed aspects of the research instruments I used in the field, and provided an initial analytic lens through which to examine the data. The Bourdieusian gaze helped underscore my critical examination of the taken-for-granted elements in the field. Although, in my final analysis, I investigate the data beyond the limits of Bourdieusian methodology, nonetheless this theoretical framework proved a useful starting point and is helpful for the analysis of data in this working paper.

5. Methods

To examine the field and capital resources UN officials (and UN academics in particular) have that allowed them admission into the UN, and UN university, I conducted in-depth in-person interviews with four PACS scholars in Ethiopia and Somaliland for my pilot study in April 2014 and a comprehensive CV analysis in November 2014. I then conducted an indeph ethnographic study with 25 further lecturers at one UN university from January to June 2015.[6] The interviews and CVs shared here focus on the pedagogic structures of the field (and classroom), and forms of capital (i.e., peace capital) that compose the knowledge economy of UN-based peace education. I posit that peace capital is an expansion on Bourdieu's (1986) original four forms of capital (i.e., social, economic, cultural and symbolic) to explain the resources and capacities that legitimate peace agents within the higher education peace field. Hypothetically, such capital plays the role of legitimizing the work of PACS scholars. The CV analysis involved a review of 1,000 Curriculum Vitaes (CVs) of UN officials, including the 25 lecturers I interviewed who work within / peripherally to the UN bureaucracy.[7]

This approach helped me 'objectively' gauge the qualifications and capacities that might have provided scholars privileged access into a position with the UN and more broadly in the field of PACS education. The analysis provided me insights into the social and political ideas that dominate the UN forum – first as a reflection of admissions criteria and second as subsequent output. I then compared this with the 'subjective' interpretations of four PACS scholars who were trained within the UN universities (and subsequently work within PACS higher education), and with leading scholars currently working within one UN university.

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[5] A review of syllabi, secondary literature and conversations with PACS educators reveals that Bourdieu's ideas are rarely included in formal PACS education, or PACS education research. I posit that this is one of the qualities of this research to offer new perspectives on the field of peace practice.

[6] An earlier version of the CV analysis was published in *The Korea Times*, 29 December 2014.

[7] CV research is gaining greater recognition in recent years as a research method of academic field analysis (Dietz, Chompaloy, Bozeman, Lane & Park, 2000; Lepori & Probst, 2009).

In the semi-structured interviews in Somaliland, Ethiopia and the UN university I further asked scholars for their thoughts on forms of capital active in the peace field, and to reflect on the findings from my CV analysis. The analysis and interviews gave me clues into the moral and material ideas that color the broader UN institution, its universities, the backgrounds of the individuals who compose the UN, and the 'recontextualizing' work of scholars trained in the UN who work in higher education peace studies elsewhere. All of this is as interpreted and explained by the scholars in the interviews and interpreted by myself in the macro CV review (Bourdieu, 1989; Cupchick, 2001; Maxwell, 2010, 2012). In turn, I compared this general analysis of cross-sector UN officials more closely with data from the CVs of 25 UN university lecturers. I assumed that similar forms of capital would bring the scholars into the UN domain, considering the UN lecturers as a sub-set of UN agents. I turn now to describing the methods I used to uncover these forms of peace capital.

I collected more than 1,000 UN CVs from those publically accessible online.[8] Those not completed were omitted until I had reached 850 completed CVs; which was the point at which I felt I had reached data 'saturation' (Jansen, 2010). CVs were deemed complete if they confirmed UN employment and listed the degree subjects studied under educational qualifications (those without higher education were included). The 850 CVs were selected purposively to ensure representation across the UN organization. Then, using two indicators of skill and prestige – educational qualifications and institutional affiliation – I analyzed the CVs for the subject degrees and level of education for each UN official. First, I examined the higher education qualifications written on the documents for subject of study. Only the highest degree and then each unique subject of study thereafter were recorded. Second, I mapped the institutional affiliations by noting the schools with which the officials were associated. I did not count the school affiliations from the outset, rather this is my reflection on those institutions that seemed to emerge as dominant; this 'feeling' was later confirmed through interviews.

To avoid idiosyncrasies with hiring practices at any one particular agency, CVs were examined for those working in 15 different bodies with at least 50 CVs examined for each agency. This included the UN Headquarters in New York, the United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), UN Women, UN-Habitat, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), United Nations University (UNU) and University for Peace (UPEACE).

I analyzed the data by first transcribing the interviews with the four pilot study participants followed by the 25 interviewees and the points of interests in the CVs. I then read the transcripts and CV data multiple times, which allowed me to create a coding list. From this list I created categories for which I wrote reports to better understand the nuances of the themes, such as who expresses what, how frequently, and in which context. This led to my generation of an overarching concept: post-structural violence, which I explicate elsewhere (Kester & Cremin, 2017).

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[8] To ensure ethical research practices, I followed the ethics guidelines of the British Psychological Association (BPA) (2013) concerning internet-mediated research. This included maintaining strict anonymity and using only that data which can be reasonably considered public. The BPA is one of the few professional associations to have developed detailed guidelines for online research.

6. Findings

What became apparent in the CVs is that the education of UN officials / academics is broad and interdisciplinary, but some distinct trends emerge in the macro-analysis. First, most officials have a university degree and many have a postgraduate qualification. There are few without higher education and even fewer with a doctorate degree. Furthermore, a university qualification is almost certainly necessary for those working in agency headquarters, though degrees may not be required for work in country offices or local branches.[9] Those few with a doctorate tended to be at the highest levels of the Secretariat or Heads of their respective agencies, and those without degrees tended to work in the security sector arming country field offices. There are not exact numbers here, as I did not count the numbers of those at a specific level of education. The focus was on the types of subjects (i.e., the dominant knowledge economy) studied to give an impression of the knowledge backgrounds that bring scholars into the UN, and in turn affect the institutional environment. It is likely indicative of what UN agencies seek when they select their own.

Second, for the degree subjects (which I did count), training in international relations, business and development seemed to be the preference of those hiring for the UN organization. The specific breakdown of degree subjects is as follows: political science and international relations (*in percentage of total*: 36%)[10], international business and management (17%), development (17%), human rights and law (13%), economics (11%), STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) (11%), communications (9%), environmental studies (7%), sociology (7%), English language and literature (6%), peace studies (6%), global and area studies (5%), education (4%), war studies (4%), history (3%), health and medicine (2%), psychology (2%), and philosophy (1%). Figure 3 shows a list of the ten most common degree subjects (i.e., dominant forms of peace/cultural capital) among UN workers.

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[9] This point is moot in the peace academic field due to its more theoretical and professional orientation and the requirement of a postgraduate degree to teach at university.

[10] Subjects may add up to more than 100% due to many individual officials holding multiple degrees in several subjects.

Figure 3. Common Degree Subjects of UN Officials (in percentage of total)
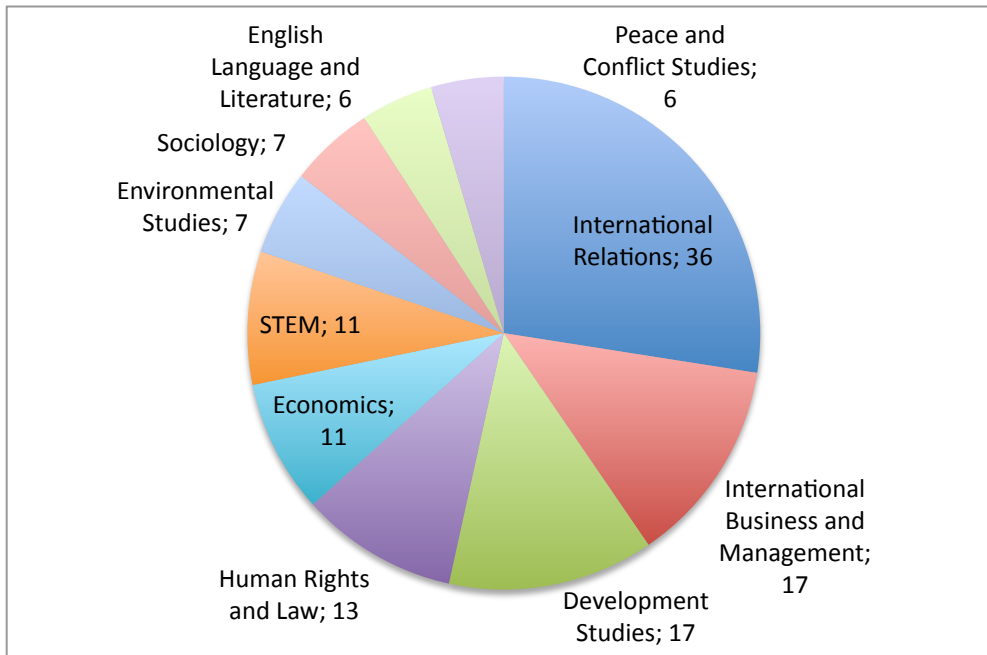
Third, the training of peace workers comes from myriad institutions, most schools likely unknown beyond their regional locales. There were seven Western universities that emerged dominant in the analysis, however. Collectively they were present in approximately 20-25% of the CVs. This includes three US universities and four UK institutions: Harvard University, University of Cambridge, University of Oxford, Columbia University, New York University (NYU), London School of Economics (LSE), and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London. In addition, within these universities there were particular institutes that emerged: Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge International Relations, Oxford Migration Institute, Columbia School of International and Public Affairs. NYU, LSE and SOAS presented more generally. The universities of the United Nations also emerged but did not dominate the profiles; the UN schools are noted here only due to the focus of my study, not as popular institutions.

In the CVs of the scholars at the UN university where I completed my study six (24%) of the 25 lecturers I interviewed had degrees from at least one of these institutions noted here, and an additional six that I did not interview had degrees from an elite institution: Harvard (4), Cambridge (3), Columbia (2), LSE (2), NYU (1) and SOAS (1). The most popular degree was from the UN university itself (5). None of the pilot study scholars had degrees from elite schools, but they each had a degree from one of the UN universities. The large proportion of qualifications from only seven schools is in line with the reproduction of elite degrees as admissions capital in politics more widely and in the UN specifically (Malinowski & Zorn, 1973; O'Rourke, Hogan & Donnelly, 2015; Weiss, Carayannis, Emmerij & Jolly, 2005). Yet, while these schools are disproportionately represented, the other side of the equation indicates that nearly 75% of the lecturers do not have elite degrees. Thus, I must reiterate that most UN professionals (in the broader organization and the university) have degrees from regional universities. Elite degrees, then, do not necessarily offer a certain pathway into the organization. Nonetheless, the seven schools identified here softly dominate the field.

Figure 4. Common Degree Subjects for Lecturers in the University (in percentage of total)
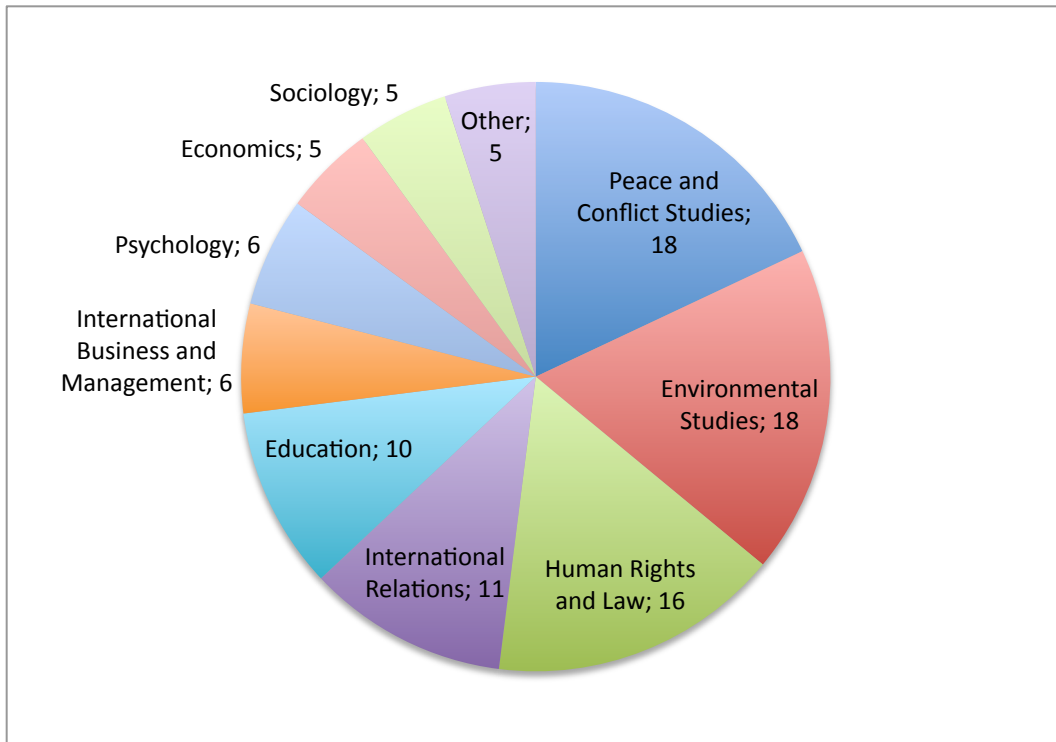
In addition, when the degree subjects for scholars within the UN university are disaggregated, what I notice is a preference for peace and conflict (18%), environmental studies (18%), human rights and law (16%), politics (11%), education (10%), international business and management (6%), psychology (6%), economics (5%), sociology (5%), and other smaller subjects combined (5%) (see Figure 4). To arrive at this count, I reviewed 62 CVs from the university, including the 25 participants I interviewed for the study. It is notable that the preference for PACS training and education studies in the university indicates a starkly different priority from the UN aggregate. Nonetheless, the popular UN-wide subjects of politics, human rights and law, and business remain core subjects held by scholars in the university.

Through applying Bourdieu's concepts of capital to the CVs it is evident that the field-wide and university-specific data correspond with regards to human rights and international business priorities. There is also potential overlap between international relations and peace studies, discussed further in the discussion section. To summarize, it is clear from this CV analysis that the education of UN officials / academics is broad and interdisciplinary, which the UN academics confirmed as desirable in my interviews with them. A university qualification is almost certainly necessary for those working in agency headquarters, though degrees may not be required for fieldwork. Training in international relations, business, development and law seem to be the priority of the world body. This training can come from any institution, though a few select universities do seem to reign.

7. Two Cases

In this section I share two cases from my pilot study interviews that illustrate the application of the Bourdieusian techniques to the data, considering two exemplary stories of PACS scholars from Ethiopia and Somaliland. The stories chosen here were selected for diversity of responses from across gender, ethnic and national boundaries. They reveal three general themes of peace capital in the UN peace field, which I take up in the discussions section.

Aamina's story

I interviewed Aamina[11] on a hot day in April 2014 in a Kaldi's coffee shop in the heart of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. She immediately spoke of her background and stories about how she came to the field and why she continues to work in peace studies.

> **Kevin:** Would you provide a brief overview about your personal and professional background…the things that you think are important that contribute to the type of work that you do?
>
> **Aamina:** So…let me start with my undergraduate degree: I studied sociology for my undergraduate degree, and then I worked with the non-profit organizations, mostly working with children – orphan support projects and I also worked on child-protection projects with abused children. So after working almost two years with these people, I thought I would want to focus more on women's rights issues and on gender and peacebuilding, so I went to UPEACE to study gender and peacebuilding. After that I joined another human rights organization working on harmful traditional practices, working mostly with young rural girls. So I worked there for two years, and I was also interested in working on women's political participation, and so I joined UPEACE Africa Center to conduct research. We had a small grant from IDRC to conduct this research and so…we studied women's political participation focusing on women parliamentarians, researching on young women's political participation. So, because there was a significant increase in the number of women in parliament in Ethiopia, we wanted to see if this brought about change for women. So we did this research and published it finally. Then I decided that I wanted to focus on teaching, so I joined the center for human rights at Addis Ababa University. It's a multi-disciplinary institute. I'm mostly teaching courses on culture and gender-related issues for the past two years.
>
> **Kevin:** Can you tell me more about activities outside of your professional career – so more personal experiences – perhaps when you were a child that started this interest in gender rights and inequality. It could be conversations you had with people or something that happened when you were young that contributed to your interest in inequality issues?
>
> **Aamina:** I don't think that these are instances, but growing up in Ethiopia with poverty, inequality and injustice (especially with women and families, women's rights issues) is what contributed to my work. It's always men who are the breadwinners and benefit from the system. So, I think growing up looking at those things, especially violence against women at home or in the schools, I started to get interested in studying doing something about it, studying women's rights issues especially. That's why, we don't have a gender studies department at university, I chose to study sociology. This would help me understand better the context; maybe if we had had a gender studies undergraduate

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[11] The names used in this section are pseudonyms to protect the identity of participants.

department I would have joined that … That's why I went to sociology. But I know my cousins: some of them need company - male cousins - to walk them to school everyday. So this thing, the unfairness and treatment of women in society in Ethiopia…they have changed some since I was a kid … but those kinds of injustices and women's gender roles, chores in the house, treatment in society, still exist. They added up I think … So I don't think it's a specific incident that made me get interested in this field….

Aamina has detailed her professional trajectory in the field, including degrees in gender and peace studies and work with non-profit organizations, prior to teaching PACS at the university. From her story it is clear that an initial concern with gender inequality and witnessing cultural violence against women in society led her to the field of PACS education. A strong sense of righting social injustices underscores her practice. She details in the rest of her interview a belief that the field is concerned with teaching nonviolence, challenges to patriarchy, negotiation and mediation practices, and participatory teaching techniques. In the following excerpt, she grapples with these issues, particularly with the local challenge of implementing a global field.

Kevin: Are there any ways that local scholars here challenge the orthodoxy of the field? Is there any way that locally educators challenge the ideas of the UN and teach something different?

Aamina: I think not so much. [Thinking.] Yeah, not so much. In a way this is also because the field is not yet developed in the country. And it's because if you start for instance when you are teaching you talk about those kinds of issues, challenging those things … It's very difficult, because people are just being introduced to these types of ideas … So to challenge them might be confusing. But when it comes to Universal Declaration of Human Rights, there are always discussions of culturally relative issues … Can human rights actually be universal? There are many debates that are always raised that human rights are a Western idea and to make them universal is debatable. [Thinking.] In a way there is this challenge, these discussions, but not so much since it is a new field. [Pausing.] And the way it is presented, like when it comes to women's rights issues, it's always the cultural issue that is raised. When it comes to, for instance, harmful traditional practices such as FGM and early marriage and abduction, it's always related to culture … People will say that our culture has to be respected. They will say our culture has to be respected and there are cultural rights. The conflict of culture is always an issue.

Kevin: Using this same debate - because it's still there and it's important - what have you taken from the UN university that you use here in Ethiopia…What are you using here that you took from the UN? What has influenced the way that you practice?

Aamina: I think the teaching, just if I start with the teaching methodology at the UN univeresity, I think that is one thing that I really use here. It's because it is was mostly discussions, it was mostly you know readings and discussing about the issues and actually debating the readings. So I think it has helped me to critically read those articles, you know those readings that we were provided. That I have really brought it here; when I teach I use a similar methodology so that teaching methods at the UN I think were very relevant and useful for teaching peace studies.

Kevin: Ok, can you tell me more about those methods? So reading articles…discussing articles…what other methods from the UN university were really different from Addis Ababa?

Aamina: Yeah, Addis Ababa University, now it's really changing and they are trying to do these student-centered teaching methods. But before that it was mostly the teacher lecturing. But for a very long time, since it was mostly like that, many of the professors are having a hard time to change the methods. At UPEACE it was mostly discussion of readings and everybody participated. So I think that was very different from my undergraduate studies [in Ethiopia]. So the readings provided were very relevant, writing reflection papers, and the discussions. [Thinking.] And that also helps to learn from each other, because at UPEACE, all students come from different countries and that helps us to learn from each…that kind of teaching methodology really helps us to learn from each other….

Aamina has voiced a number of concerns for PACS educators in Ethiopia surrounding participatory pedagogy and the cultural relevance of human rights frameworks. This also resonates with comments on the correspondence between peace and pedagogy mentioned by the UN scholars. The contestation between supposed global conceptions of the field of PACS education and local resistance from some educators might surface a point of contention to be explored further in the examination of symbolic violence. Furthermore, Aamina speaks in the I-subject position throughout the interview; this is different from Mohamed's approach hereafter, where he speaks from the we-subject position. In listening to Mohamed, it was as though he were speaking on behalf of his PACS colleagues in Somaliland, while Aamina was reflecting on her own experiences.

Mohamed's story

I met with Mohamed in his office on a blisteringly warm afternoon in Hargeisa, Somaliland. Mohamed is the Director of a Conflict Resolution organization and professor of environmental studies at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Hargeisa. Our conversation began with reminiscence of his studies at the UN.

Kevin: I'm interested in educators like yourself, not the institution … I understand you teach one of the courses in the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies. I'm looking at the ways that PACS educators conceptualize and think about the field … And what are the challenges of implementing peace and conflict studies from the UN university in Somaliland? But first, would you tell me a little bit about yourself, your personal and professional interests and background?

Mohamed: Actually, during the war in 1988 - there was a civil war here in this town and this part of the country, Somaliland, that's the northern part of Somalia, back then between the Somali National Movement (SNM) and Siyad Barre's governmental forces. I was then in class 8 and moving to secondary level at that time… So when the war broke out the whole family, my brothers, father and sisters moved to the Somali-Ethiopia border, and we ended up moving to Ethiopia and later on to Djibouti. Then from there I was advised to continue my education in other parts of the world, so I moved to Sudan to continue my secondary school … and then from there I moved to Nigeria to do my undergraduate at the University of Maiduguri, which is in the northern part of Nigeria. My socialization was in clinical human anatomy, so after my graduation there as a clinical anatomist I a little bit taught clinical medicine in Nigeria as a lecturer for one year … Then in 2005 I decided to move back to Somaliland.

In 2005, I arrived in Hargeisa and came down to this university. One of my friend's – who were together in Sudan before I moved to Nigeria – was a lecturer here and he said the university recently started a faculty of medicine, and definitely they don't have this type of course here [suggesting a lack of trained faculty], so why don't you come down. He gave me some course to teach biology, introduction to anatomy, one physiology course, and so

on. So, I was teaching and in 2006 the university senate asked me if I could join the university management team. I became the first director of the examination office… So I was there until the beginning of 2008, when I was appointed to become the Dean of Student Affairs. It was there that the university began speaking of starting a peace institute. Eastern Mennonite University became our university partner early on. I attended a lecture by Barry Hart on peace studies, and the knowledge I learned I thought was really relevant to the challenges we face here. So I developed an interest in this course. I then got another opportunity to participate in a conference by the UN university at Addis Ababa University. The workshop by the UN university brought together six universities in the Horn of Africa, and Hargeisa was one of them. In that meeting at the UN headquarters in Addis Ababa, I thought this is the university I want to go to.

Mohamed highlights, like the other PACS lecturers in Somaliland, the role of the war in his youth as contributing to his interest in peace work. He additionally speaks bluntly about the role of social capital in assisting him with receiving his job in Somaliland, a point he reiterates in the next section. Social capital works as a type of glue that ties together the web of PACS educators the world over, as I've witnessed over the past decade and including my invitation to teach and conduct research in Somaliland.

In the following excerpt, Mohamed emphasizes this social network and symbolic capital the UN-affiliation affords him in his professional career. He also begins to identify traits of a peace habitus, including 'positivity', 'being a role-model', and 'taking peace seriously'.

> **Kevin:** What do you think are the important attitudes and values for PACS educators?
>
> **Mohamed:** As a peace expert, your message is always positive. You have to tell the people, this is how…you demonstrate it yourself with the examples you give. That very much shapes the way we do business, the way we become role-models for young people who want to study peace and conflict … There are so many things going on in this country, clan dynamics and so many other issues. So as a peacemaker you have to show yourself as someone who takes peace seriously. The way you do things, the way you select your stuff. So people are asking if the message you are giving really reflects your morals … If people from 56 countries can live together, become brothers and sisters in a small environment at the UN university and get along, why can't Somalis…?
>
> **Kevin:** What kinds of educational qualifications do you think are important, or have allowed educators in Somaliland to be able to practice peace studies?
>
> **Mohamed:** I think the advantage we have here, to attract leading groups in the country and various sectors perhaps, is maybe because of the qualification we have attached to the UN. The name of the UN-mandated program actually is known everywhere we go here…Maybe it's not big in other parts of the world … But wherever we go, the four of us UN university graduates are recognized – they say "those guys who went to the UN."
>
> **Kevin:** Really? The UN university is known here? How does that help you?
>
> **Mohamed:** It gives you legitimacy to teach and to lead the courses. There are so many other people who graduated in peace studies in other parts of the world, for example we have people from Brighton University in the UK, but again the way … the university and the UN in this context is really a prestigious one.

For Mohamed, the UN university provides him a competitive edge and legitimacy over graduates of other institutions practicing in the field. He goes on to explain that many of the international models for peacebuilding – that he learned at the university and now teaches in his courses – are not relevant, or are insufficient, to the needs of practitioners in Somaliland.

> **Kevin:** What are the guiding frameworks of peace studies? And is this framework the same as practiced in Somaliland?
>
> **Mohamed:** The frameworks don't really carry over to Somaliland. There's no specific guideline. We just want to make it relevant, understand local values. For example, if you are doing mediations and negotiations in one particular environment, you look for those who are already practicing. It has it's own local challenges, but basically the rule is how can you best contribute to what is happening locally. But sometimes it is entirely different from international norms and values.
>
> **Kevin:** …[friendly laughing] You don't need Johan Galtung here?
>
> **Mohamed:** The challenge they have is there is no model here. There's no format, like [Galtung's] ABC, unfortunately these things have not been written, or they don't exist. Something good happens but it's ad hoc … If we develop a model, we can teach it to our kids. We can say this is how our people solve problems. I have had so many discussions with the leading peacebuilders in this society, and they said, "we have no model." There's nothing I can teach my kids. But we have some elders who if they say stop the war, the war will stop. It's their charisma that helps them…they aren't following procedures…when they speak to the parliament others listen…The elder comes and listens to you, and then he listens to the other. He tells you to go home and come back the next day when he will make his decision. He can end conflict, but his ways are not written….

In the above quotation Mohamed notes the role of charisma and active, emphatic listening, and his UN qualification, as the qualities and capacities that influence his peacemaking, and by extension possibly influence other PACS educators in the field. Together, Mohamed and Aamina highlighted early life experiences with violence that led them into the peace field with a desire to prevent others going through similar experiences. In addition to relevant social science degrees (institutional cultural capital), they emphasized embodied capacities of nonviolence, positive leadership, negotiation and mediation abilities, participatory teaching (embodied cultural capital), and the ability to rely on social networks (social capital) to resolve conflict as important capacities for peace scholars.

8. Discussion

There are three areas to discuss drawing from the data. Roughly these relate to three levels of analysis in PACS education, namely the state, society and individual (Kester & Cremin, 2017; Kester, 2016). I begin with the state and its possible relationship to the choice of international relations priorities over peace studies in the UN CVs. Except for the UN university where I conducted my study, training in PACS did not seem to be a priority of the world body. This is despite the creation of tertiary PACS education training institutes within the UN – and especially in light of the focus of the UN on issues of global peace and security, with perhaps the security portion of the peace and security agenda emerging as the focus. This indicates a possible leaning toward a state-centric model of international relations and security, and the dominance of realist political thought within the UN institution. Such an approach is built on a deficit model of peace as

the absence of violence and the concomitant need for training in technocratic capacities to manage conflict (Cremin, 2016; MacGinty, 2012).

Corresponding with the deficit conflict resolution model of peace as military intervention, state mediation and legal arbitration, this realist security approach is in contrast with a constructivist approach to PACS as human rights fulfillment, non-violent conflict resolution, reconciliation and restorative justice (cf. Alger, 2014; Bajaj, 2015; Fraser, 2009; Zembylas, Charalambous & Charalombous, 2016). Admittedly, this is a crude dichotomy between international relations and peace studies; it is entirely possible to find programs on either side of this rigid divide that will resemble each other. Yet, the history of the two fields suggests that international relations is indeed far more grounded in realism vis-à-vis Thomas Hobbes, Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz, while peace studies on the other hand often tends to draw its inspiration from more liberal and constructivist thinkers such as Immanuel Kant, Anatol Rapoport and Johan Galtung (cf. Miall, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 2011). Galtung's (1969, 1976) negative and positive peace concepts also help explain the state-based approach of war prevention (i.e., state security) versus the human-centered approach of pro-social justice (i.e., human security).

The dominance of international relations degrees in the UN peace institution begs the question: Why does the UN promote the teaching of peace in its universities (as constructivist endeavor) and then function as a security and international relations organization at the core (indeed hiring primarily international relations agents)? The state-centric priorities of the UN system, made partially clear through the CV review, reveals that the state-centered critique of PACS education should be amplified within the UN universities, which makes one wonder why the UN universities do not teach the more conventional international relations theories instead. Perhaps the academics resist this technocratic approach? Indeed, this tension was at the heart of the UN university reforms taking place during the ethnographic portion of my research at the school.

Second, at the level of society concerns the reproduction of Western values over others, with the status quo assumption being that Western values are prevalent because of inherent qualities rather than external political and educational priorities (cf. Posecznick, 2013). Such social value tensions have led to the dominance of liberal peacebuilding models based on faith in international law, economics and democracy to underscore global peace (cf. Richmond, 2011). This is a blind spot in the field where scholars are (perhaps willfully) blind to their own privilege and cultural values. Understandably, this makes some academics unwilling to offer a genuine challenge to the status quo, or to embrace complexity, diversity and contingency in ways that impact on their own lived experiences (Freire, 1988; Davies, 2003; Dietrich, 2012), but it does not negate the heavy presence of Western ideals as a leviathan force in the peace field.

For example, the soft domination of Ivy League and Oxbridge institutions emerged to impact the global body and its universities. The values promoted through elite degrees include elitism, Scientific rationalism, and the privileging of Western discourse (all of the elite universities are Western). This raises questions of structural violence and social inequalities in a field that seeks to foster equality and fairness. This trend was confirmed in my ethnographic case work at the UN university, and it is evidenced in other literature on the UN bodies (Weiss, Carayannis, Emmerij & Jolly, 2005). This relationship between power, capital and the elite, and the structural violence it supports, has been explicated by other scholars in relation to secondary and post-secondary schooling in the US and UK (Cookson & Persell, 1985; Howard & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2010), the UK and Ireland (O'Rourke, Hogan & Donnelly, 2015), and in secondary schooling within the UN (Malinowski & Zorn, 1973; Weiss, Carayannis, Emmerij & Jolly, 2005).

Third, at the level of the individual are at least two intersecting and sometimes competing theses. On the one hand, the individual is upheld as the ultimate unit of concern and protection in international relations and peace studies. This is manifest in international politics, for example, in the third pillar of the UN: if the first is the state and the second the economy, the third is the protection of individuals through human rights instruments. The interest on the individual as unit of protection in matters of peace, development and security is manifest, for example, in the human development approaches to global work within the UN (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Sen, 2000). Mahbub ul Haq (1995) explained the purpose of this approach is "to shift the focus of development economics from national income accounting to people centered policies" (p. 9). In some respects, this represents the triumph of neo-Kantian laws (and Locke's social contract) to protect the individual in exchange for the individual relinquishing some aspects of sovereignty, but such methodological individualism, when taken to the extreme, indeed threatens the state and social levels of analysis.

On the other hand, the individual is often conceived as the locus of the problem (from a bureaucratic and state-based technocratic standpoint), or the site to be addressed to achieve social and state security. For example, efforts to prevent terrorism through surveillance frequently clash with liberal rights of the individual. Examples include CCTV and 'neighborhood watches'. In addition, many educational efforts to prevent war and conflict through values education and conflict resolution training seek at their core to change the supposed 'sick' mindsets of the Other with 'healthy' normalized mindsets of the dominant society (cf. UNESCO, 1974; Fielding, 2014).

This third area is more evident in the interviews and transcripts with the scholars. For example, Aamina emphasized the tensions between perceived local versus global practices of human rights. In some respect, the substitution of the local practice (e.g., FGM, although this is an extreme case) with the global represents a pathologized version of PACS education as a technocratic person-by-person approach to social change and peacebuilding. This is a complicated challenge for the field particularly if it becomes conflated with ethno-centricity and evangelicalism. Mohamed spoke about the individual in terms of the social and cultural capital that enable scholars to move across borders and between institutions via social connections. From a purely technocratic and transparency perspective the role of social networks could be frowned upon as proliferating privilege; yet, at the same time, from a personal development standpoint these are the types of opportunities that many aspire toward through investments in education. What is clear is that in the field of PACS, peace capital is at play via social connections with certain institutions and individuals, and through the acquisition of symbolically favored intellectual subjects.

9. Conclusion

As indicated throughout this working paper, a Bourdieusian analysis of CVs and interviews reveals a number of forms of peace capital prevalent in the field. These forms of capital may legitimate the work of peace scholars. They include the possession of higher education qualifications in general, and elite universities in particular, as well as degrees in the social sciences broadly. Further, peace capital includes previous UN work and affiliations with UN institutions and the UN universities. The findings from the CV data were further illustrated through the voices of two educators in describing their aspirations for the field as a channel through which to address forms of violence in society (e.g. war, poverty, domestic violence, gender-based discrimination), and through the review of relevant secondary sources.

In conclusion, the findings of this study point toward social reproduction through peace capital inside the UN and its universities. These are results that raise skepticism and challenge orthodox assumptions of the UN and international peacebuilding education as contributing to global justice

and social transformation. On the contrary, my study exposes the ways in which the unintended consequences of the field reproduce social inequality. This contrasts sharply with the transformation touted in other academic literature (Clarke-Habibi, 2005; Felice, Karako, & Wisler, 2015). Finally, the aspiration for emancipatory learning in and through the United Nations, and the meaning the scholars make of the educational peace endeavor they are involved in, provides the foundation for further examining what is apparently the opposite result: the social and cultural reproduction silently taking place inside the UN.

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