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Author(s)	Hara, Kotono
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Peace Education in the 21st Century:

A Comparative Study of Peace Education in Japan, Germany and Bosnia-i-Herzegovina

Kotono HARA*

投稿論文

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Abstract

In response to the seamless web of conflicts, international society has actively promoted peace education in conflict-affected countries together with a number of international commitments to peace education since the end of Cold War. However, the titles, purposes and methods of peace education have greatly diversified and have been criticized for not having undergone careful scrutiny. Taking this situation into consideration, this article aims to first offer a systematic review of various peace education methods, and then attempts to model peace education in Japan and Germany, which have experimented with peace education for half a century. Finally, it tries to analyse to what extent these models are relevant to peace education in the present day, given that the nature of conflict has changed since World War II. It does this by looking at peace education in Bosnia-i-Herzegovina, which contains all the major causes of today's conflicts.

An analysis of the peace education experiences in these three countries provides a policy implication that peace education should proceed in a piecemeal but consistent manner, combining the strength of the Japanese knowledge-based *pacifist* model of peace education and the German skill-based *critical* model. The process seems to (i) start with abandoning a biased educational system and materials used during conflict, (ii) formulate the legal framework to shift education to more peace-oriented issues, (iii) introduce civic education as building a foundation of social capital such as common basic values and norms, (iv) equip children with critical-thinking and problem-solving skills throughout the curriculum, and finally, (v) teach them mutual/multicultural understanding as well as a knowledge of war through various subjects such as history, geography and literature.

Keywords : peace education, conflict, negative peace, positive peace, peace building

^{*} Ph. D. in International Public Policy, Osaka school of International Public Policy (OSIPP), Osaka University.

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INTRODUCTION

The Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations (UN) commits "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and "to unite our strength to maintain international peace" in order not to repeat the losses of the two world wars. However, the world has experienced about 180 wars and armed conflicts around the world since 1945. Tragically enough, around 30 wars and conflicts continue, even today.

After the events of September 11, 2001, the role of education in building and maintaining peace particularly came into the spotlight. As the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set education as one of its major targets, education can equip children with knowledge and skills to escape from the trap of poverty, which is a root cause of terrorism. It may also provide children with opportunities to acquire more balanced and wider views by teaching them the multidimensionality of cultures, languages and religions around the world (World Bank 2005). However, increasing the quantity of education does not necessarily contribute to the abovementioned positive impact of education on peace. On the contrary, education can also be an active cause of conflicts. In fact, modern warmongers are expert at using educational settings to indoctrinate and control children (Sommers 2002, p. 9). Therefore, the quality of education is a vital factor in making education conducive to peace, and it should be transformed to a more peace-oriented template. As a means of achieving this transformation, international society has counted on the potential of peace education, believing that peace education will equip children with the knowledge, skills and behavioural changes necessary for conflict resolution and peace building (Fountain 1999, p. i; Sinclair 2002). As a matter of fact, a number of international commitments to peace education have been launched since the end of the Cold War; governments, international organisations and NGOs have rushed into conflict-affected areas to actively promote peace education using a wide range of titles, purposes and methods. In fact, they have been criticized for not having undergone careful scrutiny (DFID 2003, pp. 33-34).

However, in view of the severe limitations of the budget and human resources of a conflict-ridden government, and a decline in the financial resources available to the international aid community, it is crucial to focus on a particular method of peace education that is most efficient and effective at a certain point in the process of peace building. Even when financial resources allow a country to introduce as many methods of peace education as possible, some methods may create a counter-productive environment for others. For example, when a country tries to create a cooperative community among people with diverse backgrounds through civic education, it may not be suitable to simultaneously introduce human rights education, which emphasises individual rights (Salomon 2003).

Taking this situation into consideration, this article aims first to offer a systematic review of various methods of peace education and then to analyse the following hypothesis: *Peace education is a piecemeal but* seamless approach to introducing different methods of peace education along with each level of peace

building. Chapter 1 will briefly review the definition of peace and the process of peace building, because these will eventually determine the necessary and appropriate methods of peace education. The same chapter will also categorise and map wide-ranging methods of peace education by content and approach. Chapter 2 will conduct a comparative study on the methods of peace education adopted by Japan, Germany (especially the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)) and Bosnia-i-Herzegovina (BiH). The comparison will provide significant insight into the design of the process of peace education, with methods selected appropriately at each stage of peace building for the following reasons: (1) While the current peace-education programmes introduced in developing countries are fairly new, and it is therefore too early to evaluate their impacts, both Japan and Germany have a 50-year history of serious experimentation with peace education; (2) The definitions and leading actors of peace education contrast between Japan and Germany (Toh 2002, p. 92); and (3) BiH includes most of the possible causes of conflict in the present day such as different languages, religions and ethnicities,¹⁾ and its education with three parallel and independent systems may act as a major impediment to peace building in the country (Davies 2004, p. 98), while it also has 10 years of experience of various pilot projects on peace education. Chapter 3 will attempt to model peace education in Japan and Germany and to analyse the relevance of the model of peace education in the present day, given that the nature of conflict has changed since World War II. The last chapter will provide a conclusion.

CHAPTER 1: Conflict, Peace and Education

A large number of armed conflicts exist in which the division between opponents is, to a significant degree, defined by ethnic difference, or other types of difference in identity (Davies 2004, p. 74). However, many analysts conclude that ethnicity is more often mobilised and politicised by conflict rather than the other way round (DFID 2003, p. 5). For example, ethnic differences are almost imagined in BiH (Davies 2004, pp. 75-76). While international organisations tend to view education as a force for the good, education can also help create the conditions for conflict to occur (DFID 2003, pp. 2-5). This is apparent from the historical fact that the 'educated' are just as capable of turning to violence as the 'uneducated.' For example, training for combat has not been confined to specialist camps or military schools and is common in normal schools under the name of defence (Davies 2004, p. 110). In addition, military and political forces have often used the school curriculum and its language of instruction as a tool for indoctrinating students to become loyal followers. These historical facts show that simply providing education does not ensure peace and emphasize that it is necessary to look more closely at the quality of education and the values and attitudes it promotes (DFID

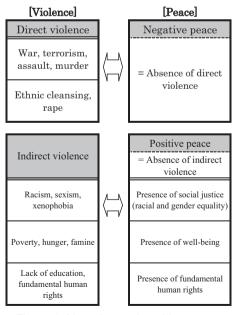
Tito famously described the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), as 'one country which has two alphabets, three languages, four religions, five nationalities, six republics, surrounded by seven neighbours, a country in which eight ethnic minorities live.' BiH was one of the six units constituting the SFRY.

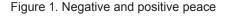
2003, p. 10). This chapter will review the definition of peace and the process of peace building and then categorise wide-ranging contents and approaches to peace education.

1.1. The meaning of peace and the peace-building process

The word *peace* was repeatedly used in the Charter of the UN, the Constitution of Japan and the Constitution of the European Union as their principal goal. The world has also witnessed global peace movements, such as the UN declaration of the year 2000 as the 'International Year for the Culture of Peace' and that of the years 2001-2010 as the 'International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World.' But, what is peace all about? For example, there is a sharp contrast between the Eastern concept of peace (*wa*, harmony), deemed to yield 'non-violent' outcomes, and the Western notion (*pax*) rooted in the 'just war' doctrine (Toh 2002, p. 92).

A divide in approaches among peace researchers has created two broad concepts of peace: positive and negative peace (Sommers 2001, p. 5), as summarized in Figure 1. According to Hicks, who explained the evolution of this divide in chronological terms, the initial emphasis in peace research in the 1950s focused on 'direct violence,' such as assault, torture, terrorism, or war, and, therefore, the emphasis on conflict led peace to be defined as merely the 'absence of direct violence' or *negative peace* (Hicks 1988, p. 6). By the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, definitions of peace came to emphasize violence that was indirect and structural by nature under the strong influence of Galtung (1969, 2008). 'Indirect violence' is a term that is used to refer to





Source: by the author based on Gultung (2008) and Sommers (2001)

injustices such as poverty, discrimination and unequal access to opportunities, which are at the root of much conflict. In other words, the term *peace* does not merely imply the absence of direct violence, i.e., *negative peace*, but also encompasses the presence of social, economic and political justice, which is essential to the notion of *positive peace* (Fountain 1999, p. 3). It intuitively appears that preventing conflict by working on its root causes, i.e., indirect violence, is far less costly than recovering from actual conflict, which destroys humanitarian, political, social and economic aspects of life with direct violence.

According to the UN document, *An Agenda for Peace* (Boutros-Ghali 1995), *peace building* is a long-term process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence. The process includes: (i) repairing damaged relationships, (ii) transforming politics and re-building institutions, and (iii) reconstructing and developing the economy. The relational dimension of peace building centres on the following steps: reconciliation, trust building, and future imagining (Lederach 1997, p. 82). At the reconciliation stage, parties can develop, through both high-level and community-level dialogues, a more accurate perception of the identities of themselves and other groups, both of which are embodied in their own unique history, traditions, and culture. As for trust building, social norms and networks, which Putnam calls 'social capital,' these are indispensable to encouraging social trust and cooperation, as they reduce incentives to defect, diminish uncertainty, and provide motivations for future cooperation (Putnam 1996, p. 177). As the last stage of the relational dimension of peace building, parties should be facilitated to form a vision of the commonly shared future they are trying to build.

1.2. Contents and methods of peace education

There have been many international commitments to peace education since the end of the Cold War. For example, the UNESCO resolution during the 44th session of the International Conference on Education in Geneva in 1994 aimed "to promote peace, human rights and democracy." Along with these commitments, UNICEF emphasises the view that peace education is an essential component of good-quality basic education that should be part of school education in all countries (Fountain 1999). However, despite this strong support of the international community for peace education, no global consensus has been reached on the definition and contents of and approaches to peace education.

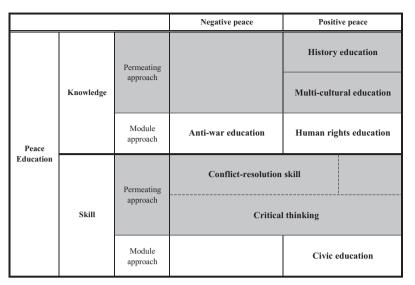
It is, in the first place, unclear when and in what context peace education emerged in the past: as an integral part of religious instruction early in human history, or in the context of modernisation and secularisation processes (Klagenfurt 2002, p. 14). Recently, peace education has appeared in the guise of a large number of terms, including: peace pedagogy, disarmament education, education for tolerance, education for conflict-prevention, etc. In addition, peace education is an important, if not the central, dimension of other approaches, such as human rights education and intercultural and global education (Klagenfurt 2002, p. 10). Moreover, a series of peace-education classes are also varied in their timing and in their principal actors. This ad hoc

nature of peace education seems to have resulted in the lack of comprehensive data on peace education around the world, and therefore it has prevented government officials of conflict-affected countries and aid workers from implementing peace education in a systematic and comprehensive manner (Reardon 1998; Bar-Tal 2002).

Today, by synthesising wide-ranging approaches of peace education, UNESCO defines *peace education* as 'the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, inter-group, national or international level' (Mizuno 2001). As UNESCO's definition indicates, peace education can be divided into two groups by its contents: a *knowledge-based approach* and a *skill-based approach*. The former is based on an inquiry into the normative principles (non-violence, human rights, social, economic, political and ecological justice, etc.) that inform peace education (Peace Education Centre). The second dimension of peace education aims at equipping students with skills that enable them not only to understand the relevant obstacles to peace, but also to confront these obstacles, envision realistic alternatives and implement strategies for the realization of these alternatives (Peace Education Centre). Through teaching both knowledge and skills for peace, peace education ultimately aims to change students' attitudes, patterns of behaviour and worldviews (Klagenfurt 2002, pp. 16-17).

Peace education is diverse not only in its contents but also in the way it is taught. As shown in Figure 2, there are mainly two contrasting approaches—either the *independent-module approach* or the *permeating approach*. It can be taught as an explicit course or module, such as civic education (Crittenden 2007), or as human rights education (UNESCO 2005; Tibbits 2008). It can also be infused into existing courses such as history, literature, language, music and arts. Fountain believes that peace education is best taught not as an independent 'subject,' but as a "process to be mainstreamed into all quality educational experiences" (Fountain 1999, p. 3). The knowledge and skills for peace are expected to emerge as by-products of the study of other disciplines or as an outcome of the process of schooling itself. However, while it is true that history, literature, and other subjects do enhance students' understanding of peace, they cannot replace sustained, systematic attention to peace education (Quigley 2000). In this regard, a more thorough approach to peace education would be to introduce whole courses or programmes dealing with the topics of violence and peace, where students and instructors can examine in depth the nature of violence and the promise of peace (Harris and Morrison 2003, p. 110).

Lastly, it needs to look at the actors of peace education. For introducing and spreading peace education, international organisations, donor agencies and NGOs have played more active roles than central and local governments (Utsumi et al. 2006). This is because leadership by the latter groups involves political bargaining in what and how to teach peace education and therefore has to face more obstacles, including local resistance.





By contrast, the former groups are more able to create a relatively 'apolitical sphere' for peace education, which facilitates the active participation of local people with different or even confrontational backgrounds. However, in designing and implementing programmes for peace education, it is also important to be attentive to the balance between local and external control over the programme. If the local capacity of programme design and implementation exists, it is probably preferable for the in-country presence to be dominated by indigenous staff, and for decision-making responsibility to be concentrated there. If the local capacity does not exist, the programme should seek the early development of a local capacity in order to transfer the responsibility of designing and implementing peace education to local people (Brilliant 2000, pp. 19-20). This is because peace education is eventually all about the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes for the peace of the local people. Their active participation in peace education is therefore a key to making peace education conducive to building and maintaining peace.

CHAPTER 2: A Comparative Study of Peace Education in Three Countries

This chapter will conduct a comparative study to investigate which methods of peace education were introduced at what time, as well as what kind of capacities for peace they brought to society.

2.1. Post-war education reform and legal framework for peace education

In Japan, defeated in war in 1945, sovereignty was placed under the control of the General Headquarters of

the Allied Forces (GHQ), which propelled forward demilitarization, democratization, and the rebuilding of the country until 1951. With a view to examining the overall conception of Japanese post-war education reforms, the GHQ requested the United States to dispatch an investigation group of 27 education specialists in the form of the 'United States Education Commission to Japan' in 1946. According to the Commission, Japanese educators maintained their cooperative attitudes throughout the visit of the Commission in setting up an educational program that would eventually supplant nationalism, militarism, and mental slavery by democracy and freedom of thought (Eby 1946, pp. 203-4).²⁾

Then, what came to form the core of reforming education to a more pacific philosophy, the Fundamental Law of Education was enacted in 1947, immediately after a new constitution in 1946. The Constitution of Japan proclaims pacifism as well as democracy, as represented by its Preface and Article 9, which renounces war forever as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes (Government of Japan 1946; Nakamura 2006, p. 4; JICA 2003, pp. 22-26). The Fundamental Law of Education of Japan, which was deliberated by the Educational Reform Committee under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, principally followed the philosophy of the Constitution. For example, its preamble aspires "to bring up people who love truth and peace" (Government of Japan 1947).

In Germany, 're-education' (or more appropriately interpreted, 're-orientation') played a major role in the rebuilding of Germany in both the East and the West (Röhrs 1989). It was the main political concept openly and jointly introduced at the Potsdam Conference in 1945 by a consensus of the three Western allies, with the partial agreement of the Soviets. The United States and the United Kingdom exercised the dominant power in re-education, while France played a rather minor role (Heinemann 2007, p. 48). The initial tasks of re-education were as follows: to dismiss teachers whose backgrounds were tainted with allegiance to the Nazi party and to destroy ideologically biased textbooks (Heater 2004, p. 182). However, supervision of the German school system lasted for only 18 months due to the split among the four allied authorities in 1948. After the founding of the FRG, Education Control Officers were replaced by Educational Advisers, whose tasks were restricted exclusively to observation and advisory functions (Birley 1978, p. 57). Instead, the neutral states of Switzerland and Sweden, the International Red Cross, the United Nations and UNESCO, as well as many scientific and religious organizations offered their assistance in reforming education in the FRG (Heinemann 2007, p. 49).

The new constitution of the FRG, the Basic Law, also promoted peace and democracy. However, the Basic Law seemed to have emphasised 'peace' less prominently than the Constitution of Japan and allowed the Germans to have military forces, facing up to the reality of the Cold War, while it had quite detailed commitments to democracy with the concept of 'militant democracy (*Streitbare Demokratie*).' Article 7 of the

²⁾ As a result of the investigation, the Commission made the following three major recommendations: decentralisation of educational administration, learning by thinking rather than memorising, and revision of history and geography.

Basic Law, which was the only article spared for education, did not contain any expressions related to peace. Moreover, as Article 7 (1) of the Basic Law granted educational autonomy to the State (*Länder*) governments, there was no law equivalent to the Fundamental Law of Education of Japan in the FRG (Government of FRG 1949). The decentralisation of education led to more widely varying and grass-roots peace education in the FRG compared to Japan.

As for BiH, the political and administrative divisions that arose during the Yugoslavian War were retained in the Dayton Peace Accord, which was signed in November 1995. As a result, the country is divided into two administrative divisions: a joint Bosniak/Croat *Federation*, with 10 constituent cantons, and the *Republika Srpska*, except Brčko in north-eastern Bosnia as a self-governing administrative unit. With regard to education, the *Federation* has a Federal Ministry of Education; authority is then further devolved to the 10 constituent cantons. Some, but not all of these 10 cantons allow further devolution of educational authority to the municipal level, particularly if there are disputes over access by a national group to education in its own language. There are no parallel subunits of government in the *Republika Srpska*, where educational authority is exercised by a single, central Ministry of Education (OECD 2001, pp. 2-11). Education was only mentioned as a part of one Annex of Dayton, which related education to human rights and fundamental freedoms.

This decentralisation of the educational system along ethnic lines allowed the three parallel systems created during the war to persist in BiH. During the war, these systems, together with the syllabi, teaching methods and school environment played a role in stereotyping ethnicity and indoctrinating ethnic intolerance and exclusion.³⁾ Children are still separated according to their national groups, and in some places one national group goes to school in the morning, while the other national group uses the same building in the afternoons (Torsti 2003, p. 156). Under these circumstances, school-aged children and youth, in addition to the adult population, continue to have fresh and full memories of the war, fear and anger based on ethnic generalization, and hopelessness towards the future of BiH (Habibi 2005, pp. 40-41).

For the first time, education was recognised as an important part of the peace process in the Bonn conference and in the resulting article in December 1997. This stated that education must promote understanding and reconciliation between ethnic and religious groups (Torsti 2003, p. 154). Then, the international community made education one of its priorities in 2002, and the responsibility for reform in education was assigned to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in July. Therefore, it was not the government of BiH but the international community that took the first initiative of legislative reform for education (OSCE 2006, pp. 6-7). Paragraph 3 of Article 59 in the Framework Law for Primary and Secondary Education (FW PSE Law), which became enforced in July 2003, stipulates that all lower-level laws at the cantons, entity, and

³⁾ In addition, during the school years 1992-1994, the number of lessons per school year was reduced, the curricula abridged by approximately 50 per cent, and a good number of BiH schools were partially or fully destroyed during the war and some of them used as detention or torture centres. Furthermore, teachers and teaching standards were changed so that people with degrees from higher education were allowed to teach at the primary and secondary school levels without formal pedagogical training (Westin 2004, p. 495).

Brčko District level should have been harmonised by 1 January 2004, although most of the lower-level authorities carried out this process belatedly (Government of BiH 2003a).

2.2. Peace education as an independent module

2.2.1. Anti-war education for negative peace

After the independence of Japan in 1951, the damage inflicted by the two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki started to be revealed to the public. At the same time, in the context of the outbreak of the Korean War, the Japan Teachers Union (JTU) adopted the slogan 'Never send our students to the battlefield again' in 1951, and it became the central focus of JTU activities for a long time. Media coverage of the nuclear devastation was further intensified and the antinuclear peace movement fuelled after a US nuclear test affected a Japanese fishery boat in 1954 (Murakami 2007, pp. 197-98). Against this background, the Hiroshima Municipal Board of Education distributed its first official guidelines for teaching the subject of *peace education* to elementary, junior high and senior high schools in 1968. Having suffered the first experience in human history of the terrible destruction wrought by an atomic bomb, the emphasis of its peace education in Hiroshima was centred on passing on the experiences of the atomic bomb survivors to the younger generation, both in Japan and around the world. Their peace education all over Japan (Short 2005, p. 94). No subjects putting as much emphasis on 'anti-war' or 'negative peace' as this peace education in Japan can be found either in Germany or in BiH.

2.2.2. Civic education for positive peace

As Aristotle said in *Politics*, civic education, whenever and however undertaken, prepares people of a country, especially the young, to carry out their roles as citizens. In this regard, civic education was once a major subject used to indoctrinate totalitarianism or ethnocentricity, but it also has the potential to be a driving force for democratization, which is a fundamental condition for peace (Crittenden 2007). Japan and Germany are no exceptions. Japan transformed 'moral science' into 'moral education' after the war. *Shūshin*, translated as 'moral science' (Fukuzawa 1898), was introduced as a compulsory subject in the new educational system of the Meiji period (Shimada et al. 1986, p. 51). In the Imperial Rescript on Education issued in 1890, the Emperor ordained that 'moral science' should be based on Confucianism and should guard and maintain the prosperity of imperial power, which had just been restored (Oshiya and Naito 1998, p. 65).

Following the 1951 curriculum revision carried out during the occupation, the Ministry of Education issued a further revised version of the curriculum guideline in 1958 (Ministry of Education of Japan 1958a, 1958b), which strengthened its legally binding force. In the revision, 'moral education' was made a separate subject from 'social studies,' and then 'social studies' was renamed 'civics' in 1968 (JICA 2003). The basic purpose of 'moral education' is to raise Japanese who respect each other's life and dignity, who work hard for the

creation of a culture of great individuality and the development of a democratic nation and society, and who actively contribute to making international society peaceful. Both elementary and junior high schools have allocated a slot of 35 hours for each grade.

As for Germany, it transformed 'civic training' to 'civic education' after World War II. 'Civic training' was originally introduced into secondary schools by the Prussian Ministry of Education in 1911, based on both political and economic needs. While Wilhelm II revealed the positive motive that schools should teach a patriotic commitment to the Empire, the business community was recognising the need for young people to take a more active part in this community (Heater 2004, pp. 174-75). However, during the Third Reich,⁴⁾ every aspect of learning was adapted to achieve maximum support for the regime. Moreover, the youth movement for civic training, known as the Hitler Youth, indoctrinated young people unquestioningly to accept Nazism and militarised them (Heater 2004, pp. 177-78).

The early years of the FRG were dominated by the need for economic reconstruction and by disillusionment with the politics that had led to the catastrophe of 1943 to 1945. Civic education mirrored this mood and students were taught the importance of community and social partnership, not of political disputes and activity. By the mid-1960s, when the FRG had gained self-confidence, teaching about the democratic processes and institutions became generally regarded and encouraged as educationally and politically healthy. Today, the following characteristics of civic education are commonly observed in Germany's fifteen states: (1) teaching explicit civic lessons, usually in grades 7 and 8 of secondary schools; (2) a teacher-led recitation basis; (3) an extremely broad interpretation of 'civics'; and (4) the knowledge of formal democratic functions as a central goal (Heater 2004, p. 187).

In BiH, civic education widely pendulated from being defensive to being constructive after the Yugoslav War. Civic education of the SFRY emphasized the obligations of Yugoslav citizens under the slogan of 'brotherhood and unity,' which was a guiding principle of the inter-ethnic policy of the SFRY (Mesic 2004, p. 246). The subject 'security and defence,' in particular, represented this obligation and aimed at preparing students for defence during the Cold War. While the subject was taught within sports, chemistry and/or biology curricula, it was later turned into a once-a-week compulsory subject for grade 8. The major aims of the subject during both the Cold War and the Yugoslav War were: to rear students in the spirit of patriotism and to give students skills in unarmed and armed defence against an aggressor (Westin 2004, p. 495).

After the war, because of the country's history of authoritarian government and the sharp divisions along ethnic and community lines in BiH, many of its citizens did not accept the principles that underlie constitutional democracy, such as the equality of all citizens before the law. Shortly after the Dayton Peace Accords, the Office of Public Affairs of the US Department of State (formerly the United States Information

⁴⁾ The Third Reich is the common name for the country of Germany while governed by Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist German Workers' Party during 1933-1945.

Agency, USIA) participated in an assessment trip to BiH to determine what it could do to support the accords and to create a stronger foundation for democratic government in the country (US Department of State 2005). As the school system was one of the few institutions that were still minimally functioning, the USIA determined that it would try a pilot project at the end of the 1996-1997 school year. As the pilot project, the Civitas International Civic Education Exchange Program, which is administered mainly in the US by the Center for Civic Education (CCE) with a grant from the United States Department of Education, was also launched by Bosnian staff in BiH under the name Civitas@BiH (Brilliant 2000, pp. 29-30). Civitas@BiH has reached more than 200,000 students in all three parts of the country since its introduction in 1996. In 1999, approximately 43 per cent of the elementary and secondary schools in the country used Civitas@BiH (Brilliant 2000, p. 35). Soule, Coordinator for Research and Evaluation for CCE, conducted a study on Civitas@BiH in May 1999,⁵⁾ and found that the programme had a significant, positive impact on students' participatory skills and their knowledge of local government. It also showed a positive impact on the political tolerance of the participating students, on their commitment to the rule of law and fundamental rights, and on their disobedience to authoritarianism (Soule 2000, p. 20; Brilliant 2000, pp. 36-37).

External pressures from the international community on the entity education ministers brought about an inter-entity agreement on 10 May 2000 to introduce civic education as an independent and compulsory subject (Brilliant 2000, p. 31). This is because, while it is also possible to teach democracy through other subjects such as social studies (history, geography and economics) and literature, it is as an independent subject that democracy can be taught in a sustainable and systematic manner (Komatsu 2006, p. 34).

2.3. Peace education throughout the curriculum and its textbooks

2.3.1. Contrasting approaches to History education between Japan and Germany

In Japan, peace education has been taught not only as an independent subject, i.e., moral education, but also across different subjects such as social studies and Japanese literature, as well as special activities such as school excursions to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, since the 1980s (Murakami 2007, p. 197-98). Among these, peace education in history classes has been the centre of controversy, especially since the 1980s. Since 1903, at the elementary education level, a system of national editing of textbooks, which approved only one kind of textbook for each subject, had been in force. Immediately after World War II, teaching the three subjects that had encouraged militarism, namely moral science, history and geography, was suspended by the GHQ, and textbooks in these subjects were withdrawn. (JICA 2003, pp. 22-26). After independence, the central government reasserted its right to review and authorize school textbooks and a new system of textbook authorization was launched (Jeans 2005, p. 183).

⁵⁾ The study was based on a sample of 25 participating upper elementary and 25 secondary school classes (Soule 2000, p. 5).

After the controversy over how to describe Japan's expansion into Asia during the war between the Ministry of Education and the Chinese and Koreans in 1982, textbook guidelines were revised to state that proposed texts should "show the necessary consideration for international understanding and . . . harmony in their treatment of the events of modern and contemporary history between Japan and its Asian neighbours" (Murakami 2007, pp. 197-98). Following another wave of disputes over backsliding in the description of the war in some nationalistic history textbooks in the autumn of 2000—one network organized 1,000 lecture meetings opposing these textbooks—the focus of the struggle over history textbooks shifted from the national level (the Ministry of Education, the Japanese government, and the Korean and Chinese governments) to the local level in Japan. Although the Ministry of Education has the power to approve texts, the decision whether or not to adopt textbooks for classrooms lay in the hands of local authorities throughout Japan. In the middle of 2001, local school districts in Japan overwhelmingly rejected the nationalist textbooks. Of 542 school districts, 532 (around 98 per cent) refused to adopt the textbook (Jeans 2005, pp. 191-92).

While the central government of Japan remains in control of the final authorization of textbooks and gives to local people a limited free hand to make a choice only among the authorized ones, Germany decentralized the whole process of writing, publishing and choosing textbooks to local people. Moreover, active promotion of history education and new history textbooks have been observed in Germany. After the war, the allies struggled to replace the old indoctrinatory textbooks, especially in History, and these textbooks were eventually withdrawn (Heater 2004, p. 182). Since then, textbooks in Germany have not been written and published by scholars selected by the central government and therefore differ between states. Publication companies have handed their textbook drafts to state governments and these governments have sought authorisation of these textbooks from a committee of school teachers. In principle, a textbook draft was judged based on whether it was in line with the Basic Law, not on whether its ideology was problematic. This has been based on the belief that school education should not undermine the independent and critical thinking of children (Bruma 2003, pp. 298-99).

The reason why Germany could realize this method of educating peace is largely owing to two specific situations. First, in order to accomplish its economic recovery, Germany needed to be understood by the neighbouring industrial countries of Europe and have an economic exchange with them. On the other hand, Japan, controlled by the US alone since the occupation period, experienced its economic growth by means of business related to the Korean War and therefore was able to rejoin international society without confronting victim countries (Kimura 2007, p. 87). Second, the memory that a number of Germans resisted Nazism gave them and their offspring an incentive to spontaneously teach Nazism at school. For example, the Catholic churches, which were a front-runner of peace education in Germany, played an important role in the resistance movement (Buruma 2003, pp. 302-3).

History education at school is now regarded as a part of peace education in Germany, and the curriculum

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reserves a substantial amount of time for modern history. Although the states' educational guidelines vary to some extent, but they have much in common in their attitudes towards history education. For example, the educational guidelines of Hamburg, which were revised in 1994, set the acquisition of a 'democratic way of thinking' as the objective of studying history. They focus on seeking the necessary conditions for democracy by analysing the value and behaviour of Germans in the past; in particular, the cruel and inhuman political system and activities of the Third Reich (Hayashi 2003, pp. 116-19).

2.3.2. Three steps of peace education through curriculum in BiH

In schools of the SFRY, students were taught about socialism, war and revolution, but seldom learnt about domestic ethnic problems. For example, textbooks only spared a chapter for these problems and focused on emphasizing the slogan 'brotherhood and unity.' Students had no opportunity to learn about different cultures. The teachers in the SFRY did not allow students to think about and discuss issues in a multi-perspective manner and tried to resolve issues of the opposing groups in an imposing manner (Komatsu 2006, pp. 4-5). During the Yugoslav War, the concept of ethnic (and "ethnified") nationalism in the context of education also became prominent, for instance, by focusing on national subjects, differencing the three main national languages and introducing religion (Westin 2004, p. 495).

After the war, the nationally divided textbooks became the first subject of international intervention in 1998 as part of the Sarajevo Declaration, where one of the issues was education. In 1999, when BiH applied for recognition by the Council of Europe, one of the minimum requirements for accession was the withdrawal of potentially offensive material from textbooks before the start of the 1999-2000 school year. In July 1999, all the ministers of education in BiH signed the Agreement on Removal of Objectionable Material from Textbooks in history, geography, mother languages, visual and music culture, and music used there in the 1999-2000 school year. They agreed to remove objectionable materials from textbooks for the primary and secondary schools (Torsti 2003, pp. 157-58).

Then, a Textbook Commission was re-established, which completed a review of textbooks for national subjects prior to the 2003/2004 school year. While this Textbook Commission made much progress toward ensuring that inappropriate content was removed from the textbooks of the national subjects, it did not look at long-term solutions nor did it review every textbook in use across the country for all subjects. Therefore, the contents of many textbooks remained one-sided and biased. However, the Commission finally developed guidelines for textbook authors on the writing of history and geography textbooks, which mainly aim to ensure that students have a basic understanding and multi-perspectivity of the history and geography of all three constituent peoples and national minorities (Commission for the Development of Guidelines 2005a, 2005b). The guidelines required new textbooks and training for teachers before the introduction of the new textbooks in the 2006/2007 school year.

The second stage of making the educational curriculum more peaceful in BiH is currently being pursued by

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universalizing the Education for Peace (EFP) programme and the Common Core Curriculum (CCC). On the basis of formal invitations and a grant from the Government of Luxembourg in May 2000, the EFP programme was introduced as a pilot project in six primary schools (Danesh 2006, pp. 61-73). The EFP curriculum involves integration of the principles of peace in the daily lessons of every subject area and for students of all grades. The curriculum includes a major component on the principles and skills of leadership for peace with the aim of preparing the students—the future leaders of their society—to become peacemakers (Habibi 2005, pp. 41, 49). By the end of the first year of the implementation of EFP, this objective had been achieved at a very significant level through multiple modalities including: conceptual and cognitive instructions; meaningful, effective and sustained dialogue; complete transparency and openness; and full appreciation and profound respect for the rich and unique cultural heritage of all participants. Gradually, students and teachers who experienced the pilot project began to discuss the impact of war on themselves and their families and communities in an environment characterized by mutual trust, optimism and a sense of empowerment. In May 2005, an EFP-BiH Advisory Commission, with appointed representatives from the Ministries of Education and eight pedagogical institutes (who are responsible for teacher training and curriculum development) representing all regions of BiH, formally began its work with the mandate to review and provide input to the government on the framework for formal integration of the EFP curriculum into BiH education reform policy (Danesh 2006, pp. 61-73).

At the same time as introducing EFP, paragraph 4 of Article 59 in the FW PSE Law also stipulates that a CCC must have been implemented in all schools in BiH, at the beginning of the 2003/2004 school year at the latest (Government of BiH 2003b). The objective of the CCC was to ensure that students learn at least a minimum of common elements across the entire country and to facilitate greater student mobility. This essentially means that for each of the 18 subjects covered by the CCC, a certain percentage is the same for all pupils, with the remaining percentage varying depending on the curriculum or curricula of each canton or entity. The common portion covers virtually the entire subject content in subjects such as mathematics or science, whereas the common portion comprises a far smaller percentage in subjects such as history, geography, language and literature. Although the CCC does not resolve the issue that the curriculum across the country remains ethnically tainted, it should be considered as a first step in the right direction. With significant support from the international community, all Ministries of Education adopted the CCC on August 8, 2003.

The final stage of making the curriculum more peaceful may be the integration of the school system in BiH. Despite all the efforts mentioned above, the phenomenon of 'two-schools-under-one-roof' is perhaps the most vivid example of segregation in schools in BiH and has seen foot-dragging and obstruction to the relational dimension of peace building for more than a decade. Despite intensive calls from the international community, including the Office of the Higher Representative (OHR), today there are still 54 'two-schools-under-one-roof.' In many of these schools, Bosniak and Croat children as well as the teachers have no mutual

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contact. Students often enter these schools through separate entrances and have separate breaks while teachers do not use the same teachers' rooms. In July and August 2003, after intense pressure from the international community, all Ministries of Education in BiH issued Instructions on Administrative and Legal Unification of these schools. While the situation on the ground differs somewhat in each canton and entity, the end result is the same—almost no progress (OSCE 2006, p. 16).

CHAPTER 3: Process of Peace Education in the 21st Century

3.1. Japanese pacific model or German critical model?

Overby (2001) states that the only way to save this planet is to spread the message of Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan among all the people of the world (Nakamura 2006, p. 5). In that sense, the peace education of Japan, which basically focuses on an anti-war message, i.e., *negative peace*, may have contributed to producing citizens who seriously promote negative peace in the world. In this aspect, a series of surveys conducted by Murakami, which investigates the attitudes of Japanese students towards peace together with those of students in the US, UK and China, provides valuable statistics about the outcome of peace education in Japan (Murakami 2007, 2009).⁶⁾ Among these sample countries, Japan is the only country where more than half of students have disagreed with a 'just war,' even after the events of September 11, 2001. In addition, more than 80 per cent of Japanese students support the principle that Japan should not engage in any form of war in the future. The results imply that peace education in Japan has made some contribution to producing robust and resilient peace orientation among students.

Despite this outstanding outcome of fostering Japanese students' consciousness towards negative peace, teaching knowledge of negative peace is now attracting less attention. Even in Japan, the focus of peace education has gradually shifted from anti-war education to multi-cultural education, human rights education and environmental education in the last two decades, as globalisation has proceeded (Nakamura 2006, p. 69). Along with this trend, the Fundamental Law of Education, which was revised in 2006, toned down the commitment to peace by changing its Preamble from 'truth and *peace*' to 'truth and *justice*.'

Moreover, the survey by Murakami also revealed a shortcoming in terms of students' skills for peace. According to the survey, while around 70 to 80 per cent of Japanese students are eager to do something for peace, about 60 per cent of them are not sure what they can or should do to this end. The major cause of this seems to be that Japan has overemphasised the knowledge aspect of peace education while neglecting the importance of skills for peace, such as critical thinking, or perhaps teachers found teaching these skills

⁶⁾ The 1997 survey conducted in January and February 1997 has 1,154 valid samples of 8th grade students in Tokyo, Kyoto, Hiroshima and Naha, Okinawa, and the 2006 survey conducted in February and March 2006 has 1,449 valid samples of 8th grade students in the same cities, as well as valid samples of 322 8th grade students in the UK in 2006. Murakami also conducted a similar survey on 505 valid samples of 9th grade students in Kyoto, Shanghai, Honolulu and Denver in 2009.

difficult. As regards teaching skills for peace, peace education in Germany, particularly its history education, would be complementary to peace education in Japan. For example, Germany has offered history education using largely objective and balanced facts about the country's war crimes and has tried to equip students with critical-thinking skills to deal with these facts (Nakamura 2006, p. 7). How to combine the strengths of peace education in Japan and Germany in the most effective manner will be discussed in the following section.

3.2. Integrating the two models into a seamless process of peace education

Through the comparative study above, this section will lay out an ideal path of elaborating peace education along with the peace-building process of a country, by combining Japan's *pacifist* and Germany's *critical* models of peace education, which are complementary, and by taking into consideration the lessons newly learnt from the recent case of peace education in BiH. Figure 3 shows this path. In addition, the current experience in BiH indicates that the combination of these two models remains viable in today's conflicts.

First, pressure from the international community plays an initial role in halting education, which was a driving force of conflict, as was the case both in Japan and in Germany as well as in BiH. This should be immediately followed by setting the legal framework for education, with support or even pressure from the international community, in order to legalise a national commitment to peace as a national vision. Besides these immediate actions, the experience of peace education in BiH shows that today's peace education seems to put more emphasis on civic education with a view to build at least a minimum level of social capital at the early stage of peace building, compared with the models of peace education in Japan and Germany. Civic education may help teachers and students acquire common values and norms, which are almost lacking in a conflict-affected society but are indispensable for the process of reconciliation. While the central government of Japan and the local governments in Germany, therefore insiders, took the initiative in introducing civic education after World War II, BiH's experience shows that a conflict-affected country seems to have difficulty in taking the initiative by itself due to the lack of political consolidation among the various political or ethnic groups in the country. That is why outside pressure is a more feasible way to implement civic education successfully in the present day.

What is required for further progress in the relational dimension of peace building is the development of critical-thinking and conflict-resolution skills. When we turn our attention to today's conflicts, whose major battle fields are within national borders, making efforts to promote mutual understanding and to earn trust are indispensable for building sustainable peace in the long term. To this end, the German way of critically teaching peace education has a significant potential to make peace education work successfully in today's conflict-affected countries (Richter 2006). As the success in the case of Germany's history education and the struggle in Japan shows, it is crucial that students are equipped with these skills before moving on to the heavier mutual/multicultural understanding. This is particularly important for a conflict-affected country

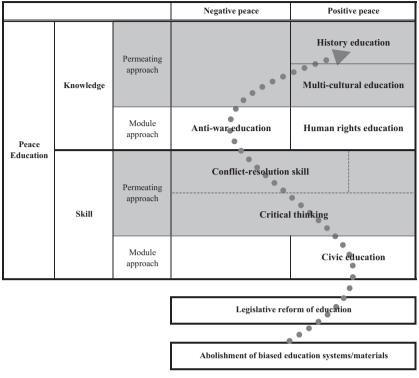


Figure 3. S-shaped development path of peace education in the 21st century Source: by the author

where both enemies and victims exist in the same country, or even where each person is both an enemy and a victim. Under these circumstances, the grass-roots and bottom-up approach of the NGOs seems to be more effective than the top-down approach by outsiders in order to attract the participation of local people, as evidenced by the experience of EFP. As the pilot projects of EFP indicate, students who learn how to think critically will spontaneously begin to discuss war and come to want to know about other cultures. Following these preparations, the next stage is to promote mutual/multicultural understanding through various subjects, such as history, literature and music, as well as to teach about the cruelty of war and conflict. It is likely that unification of national subjects will need more time to be realised in BiH, where students have just started to learn critical thinking, for example, through EFP.

As for teaching the knowledge of *negative peace*, Japan, where social capital had developed over its long history, could immediately inculcate anti-war attitudes in students through teaching about the damages done by war. But, in a country where both enemies and victims are mixed, teaching the memory of war without equipping children with the above-mentioned skills, may result in students being reminded of hatred, grief and pain and could therefore delay the healing of trauma and the process of reconciliation. Nevertheless, what

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should not be neglected is the invaluable role that negative peace still plays. While the ultimate goal of peace education is to establish *positive peace*, indirect violence may not disappear easily, as evidenced by the current global situation where a large number of people are still living below the international poverty line (Chen and Revellion 2008) and most of the MDGs seem to be unattainable by 2015.⁷⁾ Today, indirect violence is even more exacerbated by natural disasters or financial crises. Under these circumstances, making a national commitment to educating children on *negative peace* should not be neglected or given up, as it serves as the last resort to prevent conflicts from generating or re-emerging in the future.

CONCLUSION

After the events of September 11, 2001, the role of education in building and maintaining peace came into the spotlight. Education may save children from poverty, which is one of the root causes of conflict or terrorism, and make them more tolerant to religious and ethnic differences by opening their views and minds. However, increasing access to education does not automatically contribute to the above-mentioned positive impact of education on peace. On the contrary, education can also be an active cause of conflicts by biasing and indoctrinating children. In this regard, international society has counted on the potential of peace education, believing that it will equip children with the knowledge, skills and behavioural changes necessary for conflict resolution and peace building. Governments, international organisations and NGOs have therefore actively promoted peace education together with a number of international commitments to peace education. However, the names, purposes and methods of their peace education have greatly diversified and have been criticized for not having undergone careful scrutiny.

Taking this situation into consideration, this article aimed to first offer a systematic review of various methods of peace education and then to analyse the following hypothesis: *Peace Education is a piecemeal but seamless approach of introducing different methods of peace education along with each level of peace building.* Chapter 1 briefly reviewed the definition of peace and the process of peace building, which are the major determinants of what and how peace education should be. The same chapter also mapped wide-ranging peace education by approach and content. Chapter 2 conducted a comparative study of peace education adopted by Japan and Germany (especially the FRG), which has experimented with peace education for half a century, and peace education as practiced in Bosnia-i-Herzegovina (BiH), which contains most of the major causes of today's conflicts. Chapter 3 attempted to model peace education in Japan and Germany and to analyse to what extent these models are relevant to peace education in the present day, given that the nature of

⁷⁾ These estimates are based on sources from the United Nations, based on data and estimates provided by: Food and Agriculture Organization; Inter-Parliamentary Union; International Labour Organization; International Telecommunication Union; UNAIDS; UNESCO; UN-Habitat; UNICEF; UN Population Division; World Bank; World Health Organization statistics available as of June 2009, and compiled by Statistics Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations.

conflict has changed since World War II.

An analysis of the experiences of peace education in these three countries brought about a policy implication that peace education should proceed in a piecemeal but seamless manner, combining the strengths of the Japanese knowledge-based *pacifist* model of peace education and the German skill-based *critical* model. The process seems to (i) start with abandoning biased educational systems and materials during conflict, (ii) formulate a legal framework to shift education to a peace orientation, (iii) introduce civic education as building a foundation of social capital such as common basic values and norms, (iv) equip children with critical-thinking and problem-solving skills through a curriculum, and finally, (v) teach them mutual/ multicultural understanding as well as the knowledge of direct violence through various subjects such as history, geography and literature. The ultimate goal of the process is to build more robust and future-oriented social capital, which is crucial for maintaining peace and preventing conflict in the long term. In this regard, this comparative study also indicated that peace education needs to be promoted not solely by outside pressure or assistance but also by close and enthusiastic cooperation between local governments, teachers and people in order to assist peace education in bringing about the most durable and sustained positive impacts on peace.

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