

平和で調和的な世界の構築のための教育——心理学的見解

Educating for a More Peaceful, Harmonious World

Several Psychological Perspectives

ラッカム, デービット W. RACKHAM, David W.

● 国際基督教大学
International Christian University

服部 純子 HATTORI, Sumiko.

● 国際基督教大学教育研究所
Institute of Educational Research and Service, International Christian University

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the roles that psychologists and educators can play in inculcating attitudes, beliefs and values that predispose individuals and the groups to which they belong to behave in ways supportive of a peaceful resolution of issues that may tend to bring them into contention. The argument is advanced that all psychologists and educators, as professionals, have a responsibility to share their expertise with society at large on issues of peace, security, and conflict, especially through making this expertise available in educational settings. Psychologists in many specialty areas can contribute to this mission. Three perspectives rooted in psychology are considered, including the psychological, physiological and medical consequences of a loss of peace and security, the dynamics of the social group, up to and including the level of the nation state, that, under certain circumstances, can bring groups into conflict with one another, and the dynamics of intra- and inter-group engagement that can expedite the resolution of conflict once initiated. The article concludes with various examples of how the insights and methods of psychologists of various perspectives can be incorporated into actual educational settings and programmes with the purpose of educating the constituents of these programmes to be active contributors to a future more peaceful and harmonious world through enhanced understanding of the psychological dynamics that can lead to a loss of peace and security.

本論では、心理学と教育の役割が、問題の平和的な解決をはかれるように、個人や集団に価値観や信念を付与することを目的とする。心理学者と教育者は、安全、平和、対立(紛争)を、社会全般の問題として、専門的知識を分かち合う責任があり、特に教育現場では、その専門性を生かす必要がある。心理学に根ざした三つの見解には、心理学、生理学、医学における平和と安全の喪失、ある状況下で集団同士の対立が生まれる国家も含めた社会集団の力学(力関係)、対立の解決を促す取り決めをした集団内あるいは集団同士の力学(力関係)がある。本論では、心理学の洞察と方法論が教育現場に組み入れられていることを、多様な例示から結論づけている。平和で調和的な世界の構築のために、心理学的力学が、平和や安全の喪失の理解に役立つように貢献するだろう。

Educating for Peace – A Psychological Perspective

We live in a world of many conflicts, while most people yearn to live in a world at peace. Conflicts may be intra-individual, inter-individual, inter-group, or inter-nation in context. While conflict, in and of itself, is not always a bad thing if it leads ultimately to the resolution of an injustice which sets the stage for a more peaceful situation in the future (Habermas, 1972; Deutsch, 1973), more often than not conflict brings negative and destructive consequences to the individuals and groups involved.

Definitions and Conceptualizations of Peace

A psychologist might be inclined to say that peace and conflict are inherently linked to the attitudes, values, and beliefs individuals and groups hold about the nature of the world in which they live. Although there is not necessarily a 1:1 correspondence between attitudes and behaviour, overt behaviour is often underpinned by prevailing attitudes held by individuals and the groups to which they belong. As such, an understanding of the dynamics of peace and conflict resolution/prevention is, inherently, within the domain of psychology whose mandate overall is the study of the structure and function of the mind.

From a psychological perspective, “peace” may be understood in a number of overlapping ways. It may be construed in terms of an individual’s inner sense of well-being or serenity. Alternatively, the term “peace” may be applied to a situation in which there is a lack of overt conflict between individuals or groups of individuals, up to and including the level of the nation state. Rapoport (1999) has provided an overview of issues associated with the attempt to define peace. Many definitions of peace have been offered such as those by Fogarty (2000) and Galtung (1969). Anderson (2004) suggests that

Western definitions of peace tend to be exclusive in nature, emphasizing the absence of overt conflict, while Eastern definitions are more inclusive in the sense that peace is defined in terms of the presence of certain attributes rather than by the absence of negative characteristics. Anderson’s own definition, which incorporates elements of both the western and eastern traditions, is that: “Peace is a condition in which individuals, families, groups, communities, and/or nations experience low levels of violence and engage in mutually harmonious relationships.” (p. 103). Conversely, conflict has been defined by Myers (1996) as based on “a perceived incompatibility of actions or goals.” (p. 568).

Educational Systems and the Inculcation and Promotion of Peace

Issues of peace, security and conflict are often considered to be within the special purview of professionals in the fields of political science, economics, development studies, geopolitical studies, etc. Many programmes in the field of Peace Studies seem to adopt the focus characteristic of these disciplines. However, professionals in many fields can contribute to the promotion of a sense of peace and security and to the prevention or amelioration of conflict at the level of the individual encountering another individual up through various levels of social aggregation, including that of the nation state. The contributions that can be made by practitioners in the fields of education and psychology are the particular focus of this paper. It is argued that in respect to issues of peace, security and conflict, professionals in these fields have a special contribution to make and, moreover, have a moral responsibility as professionals to share their expertise with the wider society of which they are a part.

In a speech delivered to the United Nations in

1958, Eleanor Roosevelt offered the following observation in respect to human rights:

Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home—so close and so small they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person; the neighborhood he lives in, the school or college he attends; the factory, farm, or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world.

- Eleanor Roosevelt, speech at the United Nations in 1958 (cited from Melton, 2005, p. 981).

The violation of human rights is frequently a major cause of injustice and a precursor to conflict. The inculcation in people of all ages of an understanding of, and respect for the basic human rights of all individuals surely falls within the professional domain of psychologists and educators. As Miller (1969) and Ross (2004) have argued, psychologists, and professionals in many other areas of specialization, have a responsibility to share their expertise to help promote the welfare of human societies.

Educators are charged by society with the basic task of inculcating literacy and numeracy in students who represent the future of that society. Literacy and numeracy are the fundamental precursors of all other purposes for which an educational system might be established. Above

and beyond basic literacy and numeracy, a curriculum might be designed for the express purpose of enlightenment and liberation of the individual to his/her own potential. The progressive education movement associated with the American psychologist and philosopher, John Dewey, is a clear example of this, emphasizing, as it does, a respect for diversity and democratic engagement in society (Jervis and Montag, 1991; Dutton, 1992; Westbrook, 1991). The relative democratization of education during the Taisho Era (1912-1926) in Japan may be cited as another example. Alternatively, the goal of an educational system might be stated explicitly as the training of people to meet the needs of the state. The 1890 Meiji Imperial "Rescript on Education" in Japan emphasized the moral or ethical education of the people in line with standards considered acceptable by the state so that students would develop into good individuals willing to commit themselves to the service of the state. These various educational mandates are not mutually exclusive, but how they are resolved in a particular context reflects the societal and cultural needs and expectations of that society.

Whether explicitly or implicitly, all educational systems are transmitters of the culture of which they are a part. However, as the American psychologist and educator, Jerome S. Bruner, argued, education should go even further: "Education must, then, be not only a transmission of culture but also a provider of alternative views of the world and a strengthener of the will to explore them." (Quotation Number 8927 attributed to Jerome S. Bruner, "After John Dewey, What?" Bank Street College of Education Publication, March 1961, downloaded from <http://www.bartleby.com/quotations/>).

Educational Systems as Potential Agents of Prejudice, Discrimination and Violence

Depending on a variety of circumstances and the interests of the stakeholders, educational systems also have the potential of producing individuals who, while they may be literate and numerate in the narrower sense of these terms, have also been inculcated with attitudes, beliefs and values that are discriminatory and disrespectful of others and which may set the stage for possible conflict with those perceived as different and, perhaps, inferior. There is no shortage of examples in human history to illustrate the perverse and deadly consequences of educating people, either explicitly or implicitly, to be intolerant and disrespectful of others (Sternberg, 2003). Indeed, educational systems can sometimes become purveyors of state propaganda when the state adopts a political agenda such as war that seems to be best advanced by denigrating the perceived adversary. State education in Nazi Germany can be considered one example of this. However, even in societies that consider themselves democratic and egalitarian, biases and prejudices existing in that society may become officially sanctioned by the state and transmitted to the younger generation through a medium such as the educational system. An example of this is a school geography text authorized for use in the public schools by the Government of the Province of Nova Scotia, Dominion of Canada, in the last decade of the 19th century when the British empire was in the ascendancy (Calkin, 1893). In regard to the human condition, this text is rife with statements that would be considered highly discriminatory and racist from a 21st century. Nevertheless, humankind is still plagued by such sentiments even though they may more often exist in implicit, as opposed to, explicit form (Brauer, et al., 2000; Greenwald, et al., 2002; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Dovidio, et al., 2002). The explicit seeding of the minds of children, as Sluzki (2002)

puts it in respect to Afghanistan, can lead in the extreme to a prolonged tendency toward the use of unreasoned violence throughout the lives of these children as they pass through adolescence to adulthood.

In his volume, *The Mis-measure of Man*, Gould (1981) points to the way that supposed legitimate and scientific academic authority can sometimes be used to misrepresent the human condition as witness the eugenics movement, craniometry, and purported measures of intelligence that, in the end, have incorporated, explicitly or implicitly, ethnocentric and prejudicial biases in their application and interpretation.

How we can inoculate and/or liberate individuals from discriminatory attitudes and values such as those described above remains one of the greatest challenges of contemporary societies and their educational systems. Educators carry within their purview the potential to change individuals and societies for the better, or the worse, depending upon the expectations and demands of the individual educator, the educational system in general, and society at large. In addition to basic literacy and numeracy, an educational system can produce graduates endowed with a sense of responsibility that transcends personal aggrandizement, including a sense of responsibility for being agents of cooperative and peaceful interaction between individuals and the groups of which they are a part. In short, educators can play a powerful role in educating students to be catalysts for a more peaceful world of the future.

Psychologists and the Promotion of Peace

Educators are, by practice and nature, consumers of psychological theory and methodology. While there is no universally accepted definition of psychology, it would not be inappropriate to say that psychology is the scientific discipline concerned with the structures and processes of the

mind and their behavioural manifestations. Among the “products” of the mind are the attitudes, beliefs and values that incline individuals toward cooperative and peaceful engagements with others or competitive and conflicted interactions with others, either on an individual or a group basis. As such, psychologists have an inherent interest in issues of security, peace and conflict as psychological dynamics are the basis of these phenomena.

Bevan (1982, cited by Bevan, 1991) has argued that the social and personal implications of a successful scientific psychology could have enormous implications for the world. It is psychologists who have developed an expertise to help people change their behaviour, both individually and collectively, in ways conducive to solving many of the world’s major problems, including issues of peace, security and conflict.

Fowler (1990) has described psychology as a “core discipline”, not the least because it holds the potential to be a major contributor to the understanding and amelioration of major problems afflicting our world today, including issues of peace, security and conflict. The relevance of psychology to these issues is inherently multi-dimensional given the inter-disciplinary origins of psychology and its many contemporary cognate disciplines. For example, Fisher (1990) has explored the role that social psychology might play in the resolution of intergroup and international conflict, while Lore and Schultz (1993) offer a comparative analysis of psychological principles at work in the control of human aggression.

Ross (2004), as a social psychologist, argues that “One of the things we have to give back to the people is a method of learning about the world, studying problems, and suggesting solutions. The core of what we do is to try to ascertain causal relationships beyond the attributions made as part of the normal human attribution process.” (p. 1).

The newly emerging field of Peace Psychology attracts psychologists whose commitment is to deploying psychological theory and methods to an understanding of the complex factors that give rise to states of peace and security, or conversely, to states of conflict and war.

Stout (1994, 2004) echoes the famous American architect, R. Buckminster Fuller, in noting that psychologists, like everyone else, are citizens of the world, and should be interested in what they can do to be of help on the world stage. Psychologists, in particular, can offer principles and conceptualizations that not only help with an understanding of issues of injustice, peace, conflict and warfare but also how to address these issues in a practical way.

Consider the following quotations, none of which is attributable to a psychologist, *per se*, each of which is inherently psychological in nature. Each one implicates psychology as an important discipline in regard to issues of peace and conflict.

- Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice. (Baruch Spinoza).
- Peace is not a relationship of nations. It is a condition of mind brought about by a serenity of soul. Peace is not merely an absence of war. It is also a state of mind. Lasting peace can come only to peaceful people. (Jawaharlal Nehru).
- Problems cannot be solved at the same level of awareness that created them. (Albert Einstein).
- We used to wonder where war lived, what it was that made it so vile. And now we realize that we know where it lives, that it is inside ourselves. (Albert Camus).
- War is an invention of the human mind. The human mind can invent peace with justice. (Normal Cousins).

- If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then he becomes your partner. (Nelson Mandela).
- Five enemies of peace inhabit with us—avarice, ambition, envy, anger, and pride; if these were to be banished, we should infallibly enjoy perpetual peace. (Petrarch)

Spinoza refers to peace as a “state of mind” and a disposition to behave in a certain way. The first Prime Minister of an independent India, Jawaharal Nehru, also invokes the idea of peace as ensuing from an emotional disposition which he equates with serenity (an inner peace). Einstein acknowledges that a “reconfiguration” of the mind is necessary if peace is to emerge out of an existing conflict. Albert Camus points out that war is the result of an internal disposition, while Normal Cousins contends that if war is an “invention” of the human mind, then that same mind can invent “peace with justice.” Nelson Mandela, the former South African president, and himself a victim for many years of state-sponsored discrimination and violence, invokes a well established principle of social psychology, namely that if a state of common interest can be identified between enemies, then peace can ensue through cooperation. This requires a recognition that in many conflicts, the core of true incompatibility may be much less than commonly believed. Finally, Petrarch refers to five motives that he identified as enemies of peace. If these motives, as the engines of behaviour, can be modified or eliminated, then the prospects for peace increase accordingly.

All these quotations implicate the mind, the content domain of psychology, in issues of peace, security and conflict. They also implicate the training or shaping of the mind, hence, education, as the prerequisite for peace or conflict.

What Can Psychologists Contribute to “Educating for Peace?”

Contemporary psychology has many specialty fields. A significant number of these are relevant to the focus of this article – “Educating for Peace.” If an individual is considered to be a complex mix and product of the biological, the psychological, and the social, then there are many perspectives that could be adopted or developed from within psychology itself that are fundamental to issues of peace, security and conflict. Apart from educational psychology, which informs educators about many theoretical and practical aspects of the learning and enculturation process, psychologists of various persuasions could contribute to a content enhancement of a curriculum whose declared mandate is to educate its students for a more peaceful world. Among these various perspectives and traditions in psychology, only three are considered here at any length: (1) the physiological, psychological and medical consequences of a loss of peace and security which are often overlooked or deliberately ignored in advance of, or even during, a conflict; (2) the various social psychological principles, both explicit and implicit, related to the phenomena of attribution and group processes that bring people into cooperative or competitive arrangements with one another; and (3) managing and/or resolving conflict, once initiated.

(1) Consequences Following Upon a Loss of Peace and Security

The humanistic psychologist, Abraham Maslow, formulated a hierarchy of human needs often represented pictorially in the form of a triangle or pyramid (Maslow, 1968). Variations on this basic theme of human needs or goals were proposed subsequently by Alderfer (1972) who spoke of existence, relatedness and growth as basic needs. The needs most basic to all human beings,

regardless of society or culture, are physiological in nature – the needs for food and water, which are essential to individual survival, and the need to reproduce, which is essential to the survival of the species. Also basic are safety and security needs and belongingness and love needs as studies of children deprived of basic emotional support during their earlier years confirm. Needs higher in the hierarchy are also important but are more subject to cultural variation in terms of how they are construed and met. Given that the most basic needs are being met consistently and reliably, then those needs higher in Maslow's hierarchy such as esteem, cognitive, and aesthetic needs, assume a greater importance to the individual. Failure to meet the most basic needs creates a life threatening crisis for the individual.

Conflict often compromises, or even eliminates, the possibility of meeting basic needs. Even if basic needs can be met to some degree, quality of life is compromised. A natural reaction to the departure from normality occasioned by conflict is a stress reaction which, if it is acute and short-lived, is of adaptive value to the individual. If the crisis is prolonged, as it often is in conflict

situations, then a chronic stress reaction may develop. A schematic representation of the fundamentals of the stress reaction (General Adaptation Syndrome) incorporating elements of the original Selye (1955, 1956, 1973, 1978), and the subsequent Lazarus and Folkman (1984) modification incorporating an appraisal dimension, is seen in Figure 1. The body is not equipped to deal with a prolonged period of stressful arousal, leading to the possibility of maladaptive physiological, psychological and medical consequences for the individual. At the very least, the individual's quality of life is compromised. At the worst, longevity and life, itself, are threatened as shown in Figure 2.

Individuals vary in the extent to which, and the way in which, they respond to stressful circumstances. The existentialist psychologist, Viktor Frankl (1905-1997), was incarcerated in Nazi concentration camps in the 1940s. All around him he saw people perish while a few, including himself, survived. Seeking an answer to this fundamental question of survival, Frankl concluded that it was the presence of hope and meaning in an individual's life that can sustain certain individuals

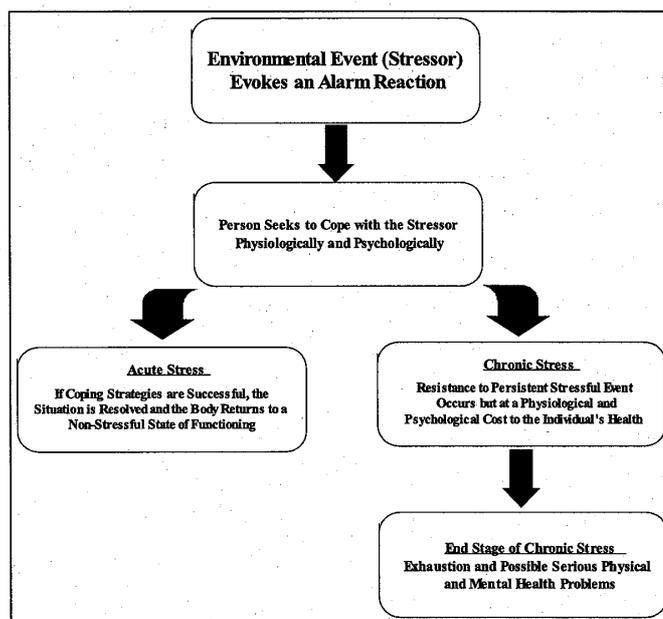


Figure 1. Basic aspects of a stress reaction, acute or chronic, as a sense of peace and security are lost (Adapted from Taylor, 1999, p. 171).

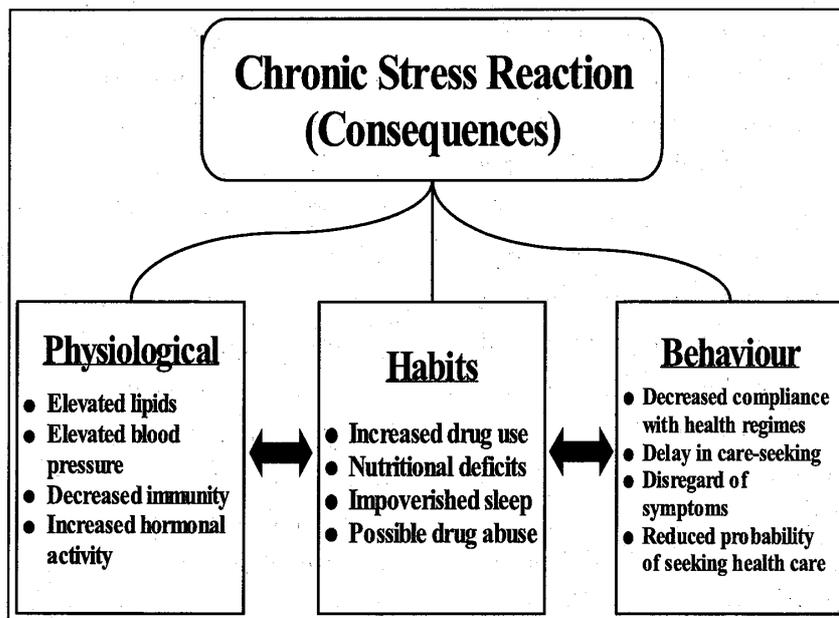


Figure 2. Possible consequences for health and illness as a result of chronic, unrelieved stress possibly occasioned by conflict (Adapted from Taylor, 1999, p. 174).

even in the midst of the most atrocious circumstances. This led Frankl (1962) to write his classic volume, *Man's Search for Meaning*, based upon his experiences in the concentration camp.

Today we would speak of a stress reaction as consisting of an environmental trigger and two stages of appraisal. The first stage of appraisal involves ascertaining whether the event is a threat to the individual (primary appraisal). If the answer is yes, then the second stage of appraisal is invoked (secondary appraisal) which relates to the coping resources the individual can muster to cope with the threat. To the extent that coping resources are sufficient, the stress is managed; to the extent that coping resources are inadequate, the arousal begins to exact a toll – psychological, physiological, medical – in the longer term.

In short, psychologists adopting a biopsychosocial approach to the human condition can, among other possibilities, shed light on the maladaptive physiological and psychological consequences of chronic stress often associated with conflict situations. It is unfortunate that such consequences

are often not acknowledged with any great clarity, especially by those with no prior experience of conflict. Educating people to the consequences of unnecessary or unintended consequence can, therefore, be a valuable conflict psychologists and educators can make to educating for a more harmonious and peaceful world.

(2) Social Psychological Dynamics Related to Peace and Conflict

The Process of Attribution

In seeking to understand factors contributing to cooperative (peaceful) or competitive (conflictual) outcomes in interactions between individuals and groups, social psychology has much to contribute. Attribution is the process by which we seek to explain the behaviour of others. As Myers (1996) points out, various biases may result in misunderstanding of the origins of the behaviour of others. The “group-serving bias” tends to explain the behaviour of one’s own group as due to positive dispositions while attributing the behaviour of the outgroup to negative dispositions. The “just world

phenomenon” points to the tendency to believe that people get what they deserve. If one is advantaged, then this is the result of natural justice. Conversely, for the disadvantaged, the situation they encounter is “what they deserve.” In addition, the fundamental attribution error describes a situation in which contextual influences on others’ behaviour are minimized as an explanation for their behaviour in favour of attributing their behaviour to inherent dispositional factors. When such behaviour is viewed in a negative light, the conditions are set for the possible emergence of discrimination, prejudice and racism.

Membership in social groups is a salient feature of the human species. While the social group is of special importance in cultures with a more collectivistic orientation, it is also of critical importance even in cultures which cultivate a spirit of individualism and independence. Social psychologists focus on the individual in the group setting, how that individual is influenced by the group, and how the group is influenced by that individual.

The Social Psychology of the Group

A standard textbook in social psychology, such as that by Myers (1996), will provide an outline of what is known about how individuals behave in group settings. It is important to indicate from the outset that the dynamics of the group often produce outcomes favourable to human welfare. Many tasks cannot be accomplished, or goals achieved, in the absence of cooperation with others. However, the group also carries within it the potential for perverse outcomes related to issues of peace, security and conflict. By understanding what these dynamics are, and how they can be exploited to negative ends under certain circumstances, social psychologists can share with the wider community an understanding that can help defuse situations which may lead to a loss of peace and security. Peace

psychologists can apply these insights to particular conflict situations with which they may be conversant or involved and educators may share them with students under their charge.

As Myers indicates, individuals may belong to many groups for many reasons, including the availability of certain rewards, social support, validation and support of an individual’s attitudes, beliefs and values, and the need to work with others to attain a particular goal. All groups have their norms, which are expected ways of behaving. All members of a social group play a particular role (s) in promoting the activity and welfare of the group. The classic work of Solomon Asch (1955) revealed the strong tendency of group members to conform to the expectations of others even when such conformity is inconsistent with that individual’s own perceptions. The tendency to conform encourages a sense of group loyalty which is also encouraged by group pressure. Milgram (1974) demonstrated in a classic experiment the strong tendency to obey authority figures. All these factors encourage acceptance by individuals of the goals of the groups to which they belong. The success of any group often depends critically on leadership of which they are several styles, none of which is appropriate to all groups or all circumstances.

Generally speaking, social groups at whatever level of aggregation, up to and including the level of the nation state, can produce very favourable and adaptive outcomes for the individuals in question, considering that much of what needs to be done in human affairs can only be accomplished through cooperative intra-group and inter-group engagement. These adaptive possibilities need to be mobilized whenever groups confront situations that bring them into conflict with others. “Educating for Peace” must incorporate, therefore, an understanding of these basic group dynamics so that individuals have a better understanding of how groups get into conflicts

and, if immersed in a conflict, what might be done to ameliorate or resolve the conflict.

As noted, the social psychological dynamics of the group can sometimes produce maladaptive consequences for individual members of the group, the group as a whole, and other groups with which a given group might be in conflict. Individual members of a group can confront social dilemmas in which their own attitudes, beliefs, values and goals are contrary to those of the group. Under such circumstances, the individual at odds with the group will often experience pressure to conform to the goals of the group and may also feel strongly pressured to bow to the imperative of the group leader (s). Depending on the nature of the group, those who fail to act in accordance with the group, at least publicly, may be threatened in various ways, including being ostracized from the group or even have their physical and/or psychological welfare threatened. Deindividuation is the process by which people in group settings have their individual sense of identity and responsibility muted to some degree. The anonymity associated with deindividuation may then lead individuals to engage in activities which they would never consider if they were acting on their own initiative. The process of group polarization can lead individuals to take a stronger stand on issues than they would if they were not members of the group. Groupthink is a form of consensus building that, when perverted, can lead to decisions that better satisfy the need for harmony (consensus) than the need to make the correct decision for the overall welfare of the group and its members. Perverse leadership can lead a group to disastrous consequences not only for members of that group but for other groups with which conflict may have developed over what seem to be incompatible goals and agendas.

Social Psychological Dynamics of Groups in Conflict

The dynamics that lead social groups to produce positive, adaptive outcomes also carry within them the seeds of negative outcomes fuelled by prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping and racism. If such tendencies are inherent in the membership of a group and/or its leadership, then the dynamics described above may make them difficult to resist. Myers (1996) defines prejudice as “an unjustified negative attitude toward a group and its individual members.” (p. 390). Discrimination is “unjustifiable, negative behavior toward a group or its members.” (p. 391). Stereotyping is “an unjustified belief about the personal attributes of a group of people [and] stereotypes can be overgeneralized, inaccurate, and resistant to new information.” (p. 391). Racism is “an individual’s prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior toward people of a given race, or institutional practices (even if not motivated by prejudice) that subordinate people of a given race.” (p. 392).

Prejudicial attitudes may be based on unequal status between groups, religion, ethnic differences. Prejudice may emerge as a result of frustration when goals are blocked and that blocking is attributed to members of another group. When differences between “in-group” and “out-group” become amplified, ethnocentrism becomes a distinct possibility such that one’s own group is seen as superior in some way to other groups. It is a natural cognitive phenomenon to “categorize” or “organize” to confer a sense of consistency and predictability on a world that may be constantly in flux. Stereotyping is a form of categorization which is often based on some element of “truth” but typically inaccurate in a number of significant ways. These various elements of prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping and racism are sometimes institutionalized and taken as the “natural” state of affairs by members of a particular

society or culture.

Groups can come into conflict for a variety of reasons, including disputes over territory, access to resources, etc. Indeed, many quarrels between nation states resolve to issues of jurisdiction and control over territory. If such disputes are coloured by the dynamics of prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping, ethnocentrism, and racism, and if such dynamics are fuelled by a pathology of group dynamics, then the stage may be set for conflict between groups that perceive themselves as irreconcilably different from their antagonists. Once conflict begins, then it is often very difficult to resolve in a way that is mutually satisfactory to the contending groups.

Conflict and Differing Views of Unfairness Across Cultures

A sense of unfairness or injustice is often cited as a precursor to conflict. However, notions of unfairness seem to differ to some degree across cultures. Finkel, et al. (2001) have explored commonsense notions of unfairness in Japan and the United States, societies often used as contrast cultures in cross-cultural research, and concluded that while the concept of unfairness seems to be culturally ubiquitous, Japanese respondents in their study tended to focus on discriminatory treatment as more important compared to American respondents who focussed more on unfairness arising out of misfortune. This has implications for negotiation and conflict resolution strategies as Gefland, et al. (2002) point out. When groups of different cultural persuasions come into conflict, that conflict may be perpetuated by misapprehension of the perspective of the other group, including what is deemed fair and just by the opposing side.

Explicit vs. Implicit Factors Promoting Inter-Group Conflict

Many of the group dynamics described above have an explicit manifestation. That is, individuals and/or the groups of which they are a part have conscious awareness at least to some degree of the factors driving them to behave in certain ways. What is not apparent to many people are the unconscious or implicit factors embedded in attitudes, beliefs and values that may gain expression in overt behaviour of a prejudicial, discriminatory, or ethnocentric nature. In this regard, Brauer, Wasel, & Niedenthal (2000) sought to differentiate between explicit and implicit components of prejudice. Their data suggest that explicit and implicit prejudice are differentiable and also that there are two forms of implicit prejudice corresponding to what they characterize as automatic activation and automatic application of prejudice. Detecting these different forms of prejudice, they argue, requires different forms of measurement such as the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald, et al., 1998). Acknowledging that implicit attitudes, beliefs and values can affect overt behaviour is the first step to encouraging a more systematic analysis of why people may tend to behave in prejudicial and discriminatory ways even though explicitly denying any such intention or bias. Interestingly, Greenwald et al. (2002) also acknowledge that implicit partisanship, which is often seen as prejudicial in nature, tending to fuel inter-group conflict, may also act in a more benign or even affirmative way in the sense that information of a more positive nature about an out-group may make that group implicitly more attractive than it might otherwise have been.

(3) Psychological Perspectives on Resolving Conflict, Once Initiated

Conflicts can arise for a variety of reasons.

Peace emerges, as Myers (1996) suggests, “when adversaries reconcile their perceived differences and reach a genuine accord”. (p. 568). According to Straub (1999), conflicts can emerge for many reasons, including difficult life conditions, disputes over territory, inequities between the “haves” and the “have-nots”, ethnic and religious differences, issues of identity, psychological and social forces setting the stage for violence as noted above, scapegoating, cultural prerogatives that encourage compliance, aggression as a preferred mode of resolving disputes, and leaders who use conflict to rise to power and to sustain their power. As Myers (1996) points out, many conflicts, while they may be based on a core of true incompatibility between adversaries, may also be fuelled by a wealth of issues and perceptions that, while they may be perceived as incompatible, may, in fact, not be truly incompatible but misperceptions of the intentions of the adversary. In the extreme, conflict may become full scale warfare and even lead to horrendous “crimes against humanity” in the form of genocides and massacres. As Sternberg (2003) argues in the introduction to his “Duplex Theory of Hate,” genocides and massacres remain relatively widespread even in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, are fuelled by psychological dynamics, although often couched in political or economic terms, and are, therefore, among the most important problems that psychologists can study.

Conflict, once engendered, requires changes in attitudes and behaviour to resolve. This is often very difficult to achieve. Competition must give way, at least to some degree, to cooperation toward a common goal. The literature on experimental games (e.g., Colman, 1982), as analogues of social dilemmas, provides some insights into what leads people toward cooperative interaction with others. These include adequate and reliable communication between antagonists, an understanding of what type of conflict is occurring

(win-loss, win-win, etc.) as different types of conflicts will require different strategies to resolve (Deutsch, 1993), overcoming misperceptions which lead to suspicion, greed and fear, and agreeing upon the consequences anticipated for all parties following a resolution of the conflict. When conflicts extend across cultural boundaries, additional factors must be enjoined in the interest of conflict resolution. Working with Japanese and American samples, Gefland, et al. (2001) found that while both Japanese and Americans represented conflict cognitively in terms of compromise versus win, Japanese respondents were more inclined to see conflict in terms of compromise compared to American respondents.

Overall, psychologists have much to contribute to the understanding of the dynamics that foster peaceful and cooperative engagements between individuals and groups or lead to a loss of peace and security and, therefore, to conflict. In the foregoing, only three of many possible psychologically-based perspectives are addressed. While conflict may be an inevitable aspect of the human experience, war is often only one, and frequently not the best, option for bringing conflicts to successful resolution.

The final section of this paper deals with how such psychological insights might be more widely disseminated in educational contexts, formal and informal, thereby helping to produce a generation of citizens who, being more aware of the psychological dynamics that can bring people into conflict, may be better equipped to avoid such conflicts, when possible, and to resolve them equitably when they cannot be avoided.

Educating for a More Harmonious and Peaceful World Based on Psychological Theory and Methodology

When it comes to issues of peace and conflict, psychologists and educators might ask the

following basic questions: (1) Where conflict is present, can we educate people for peace? (2) Can we predispose individuals through appropriate educational practice to adopt a respectful and cooperative attitude toward others, and especially those others who are perceived as different from themselves? (3) Can we teach people how to avoid unnecessary conflicts or to resolve them once they have developed, recognizing that conflict is sometimes inevitable and necessary to resolve an injustice? (4) Can we inoculate individuals through education against a tendency to succumb to attitudes, beliefs, and values that are the precursors of discriminatory action against other individuals and groups? (5) How might psychologists and educators work together to educate students to contribute to the emergence of a more harmonious and peaceful world than presently exists?

In a recent article entitled "Why smart people can be so foolish," Sternberg (2004) outlines five reasons why people typically acknowledged as "smart" or "intelligent" can end up doing foolish things. These include unrealistic optimism about their capabilities, an egocentrism that ignores responsibilities to others, a failure to recognize what they do not know, a sense of omnipotence leading to the belief that they are all-powerful, and a sense of invulnerability whereby they believe that they cannot or will not be held culpable for irresponsible or unethical behaviour. The antidote to foolishness, says Sternberg, is wisdom. In educating people toward a more peaceable world, we need to find an antidote to the foolishness that leads us into so many conflicts. Can the antidote be found in an educational environment in which psychological wisdom can lead people to avoid the traps that lead to a loss of peace and security? As Sternberg (2004) notes, while an understanding of the psychological dynamics that lead us into destructive conflict will not necessarily shield us from experiencing such conflict, it may give us

sufficient insight to understand how we might exert some control over the cognitive processes that may predispose us to becoming involved in such conflict and help us to understand in a more systematic way how conflict might be resolved, once initiated.

Peace as a Worldview

Koltko-Rivera (2004) invokes the concept of "worldview" which he defines as "a set of assumptions about physical and social reality that may have powerful effects on cognition and behavior." (p. 3). Is it possible to educate people to a worldview that encompasses beliefs and values fostering tolerance and respect for diversity? Is it possible to establish worldviews that predispose people, and the groups, including nations, of which they are a part, to engage cooperatively with those perceived to be different, thereby lessening the possibility of unnecessary conflict, or to predispose them to adopt a cooperative stance in the interests of resolving a conflict, once begun? Is it possible, in short, to educate for peace?

Enculturation may be considered as education in the broadest sense of the term, leading to a worldview such as that described by Koltko-Rivera (2004). Enculturation occurs in both formal (e.g., educational) and informal settings (family, society at large). Bonta (1997), in his examination of cooperation and competition in peaceful societies, notes that overt competition is discouraged as it is seen to encourage an undesired aggressiveness. According to Bonta, various rituals serve to reinforce a sense of harmony which, with its associated belief and value structure, is internalized cognitively and sustains a non-violent society. Cooperation becomes the norm; competition is devalued and discouraged. Of course, some will point to the implications of "progress" for a society if competition between its individual members is too strongly discouraged.

Morton Deutsch's Programme – Educating for a Peaceful World

The peace psychologist, Morton Deutsch (1993), outlined a programme he thought was capable of educating for peace. It incorporates most, and perhaps all, the psychological principles discussed earlier in this paper. Deutsch's programme was construed for an American school context and emphasized cooperative learning, conflict resolution training, constructive use of controversy as a pedagogical tool, and the incorporation of centres for dispute resolution in the schools.

Deutsch found it necessary at the beginning to rationalize his programme by dispelling a set of common myths that cooperative learning would (1) not prepare children for the real (competitive) world, (2) penalize high-achieving students, (3) result in unfair grading, and (4) encourage social loafers.

In the conflict resolution aspect of the programme, Deutsch argues that it is necessary to be aware of the psychological dynamics described earlier that can produce conflicts of different sorts. He points to the importance of instilling in children a sense of the negative consequences of violence. Among many other recommendations, Deutsch advocates teaching children to avoid ethnocentrism, to expect cultural misunderstandings, to distinguish between interests and positions, to empathize with antagonists or would-be antagonists, to limit the conflict to its minimal domain, to avoid-black-white thinking often associated with stereotyping, and to avoid the fundamental attribution error described above. By being "wise" to one's psychological self, one is better able to avoid or manage conflict. To Deutsch, this is a programme that would educate students who embody within themselves the prerequisites for a more peaceful and harmonious world in the years to come as they assume positions of responsibility in society and in the world at large. Deutsch's programme to

"educate for a peaceful world" is akin, in many ways to the philosophy underpinning the John Dewey tradition of "progressive education."

The PeaceBuilders Programme

The PeaceBuilders School-Based Violence Prevention programme is a North American based effort implemented at the elementary school level that seeks to create a school climate that mitigates against aggressive behaviour by emphasizing social competence. It focuses on encouraging individual behavioural change in interpersonal, social settings and includes activities that can be implemented on a daily basis. Emphasis is placed on rewarding prosocial behaviours and avoiding situations that might lead to unnecessary conflict. Flannery, et al. (2003) undertook an evaluation of the effectiveness of the programme over a two year period and found significant gains in social competence and peace-building behaviour in certain grades of the elementary school years. Their results overall pointed to the efficacy of implementing peace-building programmes at the elementary school level as a way of increasing social competence and reducing the incidence of aggressive behaviour among children of these age levels. While not all results were in accordance with expectations, Flannery et al were able to conclude overall that early intervention brings longer term dividends in respect to reducing conflict in school settings.

The UN Charter on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

In an article entitled "Building humane communities respectful of children," Melton (2005) focuses on the United Nations Charter on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1959, 1989, 2001) as a transformative instrument by which the intent of the charter takes root at the local, individual level. When respect for human rights becomes part and parcel of the cognitive structure of the individual,

then one can hope that such attitudes, beliefs and values will inform to a significant extent the various transactions that an individual will have with the world throughout his/her lifetime. An educational experience, formal or informal, which actively seeks to implant the spirit of the CRC in the minds of its constituents is clearly consistent with the goal of educating for a more harmonious and peaceful world of the future, both at the local level of human reality and up to including the level of nation states engaging one another in the geopolitical sphere.

Educating for a More Harmonious and Peaceful World in the Japanese Context

Secondary School Education

The Japanese educational system, especially at the elementary school level, has been admired for producing graduates who are both literate, numerate, and community-minded. The Meiji Rescript on Education issued in 1890 called, among other things, for educating students not only in language, mathematics, and science, but also in terms of respect for and service to the state. Disciplined work habits, persistent effort, and a cooperative attitude produced major dividends for the Japan of that era which had, as its national agenda, the goal of “catching up” with the West.

This emphasis on “self-sacrifice” was relaxed to some degree during the Taisho Era (1912-1926) which has been described by some as an age of democratization in Japan during which, to some degree, a spirit of individualism was apparent in some levels of society, particularly among members of the urban middle class.

During the early years of the Showa Era (1926-1989), particularly in the 1930s and 1940s, economic and political forces resulted in the demise of the Taisho democratic spirit and Japan embarked as a nation and an empire on a venture

that led ultimately to its defeat in 1945. From the perspective of the American Occupation forces, the pre-war educational system was seen as having played a major role in leading Japan down the path to war. The spirit of the Meiji Rescript on Education, which on the surface, seems to have encouraged lofty and noble educational goals to the betterment of society, was now seen as having been hijacked to the service of the militaristic government. Accordingly, a post-war educational reform took place under American oversight whose mandate was, in part, to educate students in a way that would counter the kind of forces and pressures that had fuelled Japan’s engagement in the wars of the 1930s and 1940s.

The remarkable Japanese economic recovery after the war became possible to a significant degree as a result of self-sacrificing workers, particularly males, who “surrendered” their lives in large part to the welfare of the organizations and companies of which they were a part. Households often had “absentee” fathers and family dynamics became distorted by economic imperatives. Mothers assumed the major responsibility for maintaining the household and for child care, especially in regard to providing support for the formal, centralized school education system.

In the late 1990s, Japan entered a long period of economic stagnation from which it is only recently beginning to recover. Concomitant with this, problems began to surface in the school system, especially at the junior high level. Ijime (or bullying) was widely reported in the media. Increasing levels of student violence and a significant number of teachers under unsustainable stress were frequently headlined in the media. Complaints began to be lodged to the effect that educational quality and moral values were being eroded.

Post-Secondary Education in Japan – The Case of the International Christian University

At the post-secondary level of education, brief mention is made in closing to the International Christian University (ICU), the home of the Institute for Educational Research and service (IERS), which publishes this journal. ICU was founded in the wake of the Second World War as an institution to train new leaders for a new Japan, employing a liberal arts curriculum with an international orientation underpinned by basic Christian values of love and respect for one's neighbour, known and next door, unknown and located on the far side of the world (See Iglehart, 1964; Takeda, 2003). With its transformative curriculum and ambience, ICU was to be the "University of Tomorrow", and in the context of this article, could be construed as having as a major part of its mandate the education of its students to contribute to the emergence of a more harmonious and peaceful world of the future. The extent to which ICU has been successful in this mission needs to be examined systematically fifty or more years down the road since it admitted its first students.

A welcome and recent contribution to the ICU educational repertoire has been the development of a World Peace and Conflict Resolution Centre in collaboration with Rotary International. ICU is one of seven such centres around the world, the others being situated at the University of Bradford in the United Kingdom, Science Po in France, Duke University/University of North Carolina and the University of California, Berkeley in the United States, the University of Queensland in Australia, and Universidad del Salvador in Argentina. The programme is implemented at the graduate level and students receive an M.A. degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution. The hope of Rotary International, which funds the programme, is to develop a network of "peace-minded"

individuals around the world who will contribute their skills, individually and collectively, and in various contexts, to the furthering of peace and justice in the world. It is still too early to assess the overall success of this endeavour, but it serves as a good example of how an educational programme can be harnessed to the all-important goal of preparing its graduates to be agents and catalysts for a more harmonious and peaceable world in the years to come.

Concluding Remarks

This article has focused on the roles that psychologists and educators can play in inculcating attitudes, beliefs and values that predispose individuals and the groups to which they belong to behave in ways supportive of a peaceful resolution of issues that may tend to bring them into contention.

It has been argued that psychologists and educators, as professionals, have a responsibility to share their expertise with society at large on issues of peace, security, and conflict, especially by making this expertise available in educational settings. Psychologists in many specialty areas can contribute to this mission.

Three perspectives on these issues rooted in psychology have been considered, including the psychological, physiological and medical consequences of a loss of peace and security, the dynamics of the social group, up to and including the level of the nation state, that, under certain circumstances, can bring groups into conflict with one another, and the dynamics of intra- and inter-group engagement that can expedite the resolution of conflict once initiated. The article concludes with various examples of how the insights and methods of psychologists of various perspectives can be incorporated into actual educational settings and programmes with the purpose of educating the

constituents of these programmes to be active contributors to a future more peaceful and harmonious world through enhanced understanding of the psychological dynamics that can lead to a loss of peace and security, to warfare, and even massacres and genocides.

Lt.-Gen. Roméo Dallaire, the Canadian officer in charge of the ill-fated United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda in the mid-1990s, described what can happen when the psychological dynamics of the group, as outlined in this article, are deployed for perverse ends. At least 800,000 Tutsi members of the Rwandan state lost their lives in the genocide which might have been prevented had Dallaire's appeal to the UN Security Council been heeded. In his book entitled "Shake Hands With the Devil," Dallaire speculates on the fate of a little boy he had encountered in Rwanda, caught up in the frenzy of the genocide. How, we may ask, was he educated? Was he educated at all? What attitudes, beliefs, and values did he acquire and internalize? How did they affect his behaviour and his fate? Did he become an agent for peace or a vehicle for war, a child soldier, and then an adult.

Peace, security and conflict are driven by attitudes, beliefs and values that translate into behaviour. It can be hoped that one day a world will emerge in which "educating for peace" is a widespread aspect of both formal and informal educational experience and that such education is underpinned by a "psychological literacy" that will provide the necessary insights to understand what tends to lead us down the path to peace and security, or down the path to conflict and war.

I still think of that little boy, who if he lived, would be a teenager as I write. What has happened to him, and the tens of thousands of other orphans of the genocide? Did he survive? Was he reunited with any members of his family,

or was he raised in one of Rwanda's overcrowded orphanages. Did anyone care for him and love him for himself, or was he raised with hate and anger defining his young life? Did he find it in himself to forgive the perpetrators of the genocide? Or did he fall prey to ethnic hate propaganda and the desire for retribution and take his part in perpetuating the cycle of violence? Did he become yet another child soldier in the region's wars?

- Dallaire (2003, p. 510)

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