

[Paper]

A Descriptive Review of Research on Peace Education Concerning Okinawa

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Introduction

Islands located at the ends of national territories are important in terms of national and international security (Fujita, Toguchi, and Karimata 2014; Ikegami et al. 2019). Some of them are used for military bases, making them important strategic points for both the invasion and defense of national territory. Relatively small island nations use their whole territories for military bases. Relatively large, continental nations use their islands, and sometimes off-mainland island regions and territories, for military bases.

When used for military bases, islands can become battlefields during war, as was the case during World War II with Okinawa, a defense base for Japan that the Allies invaded to gain an airbase and a supply base in the Battle of Okinawa, which is well known for its ferocity. Not only military personnel but also civilians experienced aerial bombardment, ground battles, and refuge in shelters. Aerial bombardment by the United States military took place across a wide portion of the main island of Okinawa, and some ground battles took place in populated areas. Civilians, including many students, participated in battle as per the policy of the Japanese government and Japanese military of the time. In addition, the Japanese military inflicted harm on the civilians.

The experiences of Okinawans during the Battle of Okinawa have been used for peace education that prompts learners to think about war and peace as they listen to the survivors recount their experiences of war in detail. After the war, peace education concerning Okinawa became a topic of history education in Japan, making Okinawa a major school trip destination. School trips visit places such as the Peace Memorial Museum, Mabuni Hill, the Himeyuri Peace Museum, the caves and tunnel systems that were used for bunkers, and the US Forces Japan bases. They visit places where ground battles actually took

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place and listen to Okinawan survivors recount their experiences of the war or visit war-time ruins. In addition to the fact that Okinawa was a key battlefield during World War II, its popularity as a school trip destination was reinforced by the presence of US military bases, which have continued from after the war until today, resulting in accidents during US Forces' training in Okinawa, criminal cases involving US military personnel, and environmental pollution by the bases. For such reasons, the presence of US bases has been recognized as a resource for learning about US-Japan relations in addition to war and peace.

This paper will review studies of peace education related to Okinawa and consider approaches for future research. Okinawa has undergone environmental and geographical militarization. Therefore, reviewing and considering the future of studies on peace education concerning Okinawa allows us to consider the resilience and vitality of these islands from the perspectives of military affairs and the environment. This paper will first review studies on peace education concerning Okinawa in chronological order to trace changes in the methods employed in peace education. This review will be accompanied by the introduction of classroom activities that school personnel can incorporate in their lectures. Finally, the discussions of these studies will be summarized to consider approaches for future research.

A Review of Studies on Peace Education Concerning Okinawa

Saito and Tanaka (1991) conducted an Okinawa study trip as a school trip for high school students, reporting on how Okinawa came to be the destination of the trip, the activities during the trip, and the results of a survey concerning post-trip behavioral changes in the students. At first, the designation of Okinawa as the destination of a school trip raised the issues of cost and logistics. However, the trip was realized in consideration of requests from parents and its educational aspect. The educational aspect was rich because the students would be able to visit places where ground battles had taken place and learn about the history and background of events such as the massacre of civilians by the Japanese military, thereby receiving peace education from two sides: of both the victims and the perpetrators. The class time designated for "international understanding and peace education" was used for peace education in the form of pre-trip instruction. The students watched a film to learn about the battle, the group suicide of residents, the massacre of residents by Japanese forces, postwar military base issues, and the return of the islands to Japan. A lecturer was hired to give a lecture on Okinawa at the high school. In addition, peace education was conducted in classes of subjects such as "modern society." The students watched videos, read a book, watched an anime film, and watched a play. The students themselves gave a series of informational lectures, and group work was conducted. The school trip used the local guide services of the Heiwa Gaido no Kai (Peace Guide Association) and received a battle site/relic tour, a US Forces Japan base tour, and a lecture on the Himeyuri students. Group presentations and the creation of

study records took place in post-trip instruction. Finally, the researchers administered a questionnaire on the school trip to the students, and written impressions of the trip were collected. The results showed that most students were impressed, learning-wise, by the visit to Abuchiragama (an extensive cave/tunnel system that was used as bunkers). For example, one of the students reported in a written impression that experiencing the actual environment of the cave during the school trip gave a strong, lasting impression. As for changes in the students' awareness, male students answered that the school trip influenced their way of thinking and approaches to life "strongly" or "a little, 32% and 49%, respectively," with similar figures of 49% and 45% for the female students. The researchers concluded in this study that the school trip influenced almost all the students to some degree. On the other hand, however, there was a group of students whose experience during the school trip was that of a sightseeing tour, despite the school trip being an Okinawa study trip. The researchers noted this as an issue to ameliorate through future consideration.

Two points set Saito and Tanaka (1991) apart from other studies. First, the study conducted a school trip in the form of an Okinawa study trip in consideration of the richness of peace education that the students could receive by visiting Okinawa. Second, the study properly evaluated and reported on the education that was carried out. The researchers pointed out the importance of visiting this place that became a battlefield, emphasizing the fact that teaching about the history and background of atrocities such as the massacre of civilians by the Japanese forces could allow peace education from the angle of the perpetrator in addition to that of the victim. The researchers also administered a questionnaire to the students and reported how the school trip, as an Okinawa study trip, renewed the students' awareness, influencing their thoughts or their approaches to life. Some studies on education merely conduct education with no evaluation while others conduct an evaluation but do not report on the educational results. This study is valuable because it reported on the evaluation of the education. As mentioned above, the researchers noted the necessity to consider ways to avoid the study trip experience becoming similar to that of a sightseeing tour. This issue was addressed in a subsequent study discussed next.

Following Saito and Tanaka (1991), Kawai and Nagaoka (1992) reported on an Okinawa study trip that was conducted as a school trip from the same high school the following year. Having an educational policy that places importance on allowing students to exercise their own discretion, the school had sought to allow students to autonomously make plans and manage their activities at trip destinations as much as possible and had also considered study trip opportunities to learn outdoors as opposed to in sedentary contexts. It had therefore been providing education of an interdisciplinary nature, covering geography, history, literature, and folk culture. However, the suitability of this breadth was considered insufficient on this occasion. Aiming for educational effectiveness, this study trip focused on learning about the experiences of war in the Battle of Okinawa. Pre-trip instruction for this school trip involved the selection of student trip managers in charge of carrying out the trip plan and other duties: a reading session using a book; work

using study handouts; viewing a film; discussions of study themes assigned to each group (the themes included the female student nurse corps, group suicide, the field hospitals, discrimination related to the battle of Okinawa, and the tunnel/cave systems used as bunkers); creation of a field notebook to keep track of the study schedule and write down the activities that were carried out; and explanation by the student trip managers to parents at the parents' association. Local peace guides were hired for the student trip, and students moved around in groups using taxis. In addition, survivors of the Battle of Okinawa gave lectures. Post-trip instruction comprised a research presentation meeting, a meeting involving giving a report to students who would go on the study trip the following year, and the creation of study records. Having completed the whole peace education program, the researchers noted that the creation of field notebooks turned out to be useful for preparing research presentations and creating study records. In addition, one student wrote in a report that he or she learned about the issue of unexploded bombs, that seeing the belongings of the deceased in Okinawa made the misery of war clearer, and that, while it was originally difficult to understand the point of using funds on a trip that had little free time and hardly any sightseeing, he or she felt that learning about war through the trip was a valuable experience.

Two points set Kawai and Nagaoka (1992) apart from other studies. First, it placed importance on ensuring that this school trip, an Okinawa study trip organized for the second year in a row, would not be a sightseeing tour but a study trip. The other point was that it properly evaluated and reported on the educational outcomes. This high school was attached to the education department of a university, and one of its purposes is to study education and publicize the results. Accordingly, the researchers who conducted the study trip also kept detailed track of its activities to facilitate reference by other high schools. In addition, the researchers presented the results of behavioral changes in the students based on their written impressions collected as reports. This study is valuable because it reported the evaluation of the education that it carried out.

Additionally, in the form of a general evaluation of Saito and Tanaka (1991) and Kawai and Nagaoka (1992), Maruyama (1993) highlighted the results in the area of "international understanding and peace education," the class hours of which were used for the high school study trip to Okinawa. Maruyama pointed out that students could learn about the issue of "perpetration" in the context of the Battle of Okinawa from topics such as the massacre of residents by the Japanese forces, coerced suicide, the transportation and forced labor of Koreans, and comfort women. Based on reports submitted by students, Maruyama confirmed that they were able to learn about topics such as the forced transportation and the comfort women.

Discussing issues of peace education in Okinawa, Oda (1995) proposed a class for elementary schools. In Okinawa Prefecture, a local ordinance has designated June 23 as Okinawa Memorial Day, and special classes on peace are held on this day in elementary schools. In addition to classroom activity concerning the issues of war and peace, these special classes involve activities such as tours of battle sites/relics and bases by parents,

teachers, and children together; surveys concerning war and peace and publications of collections of reports; exhibitions of photographs or historical material pertaining to war and the screening of documentary films about the Battle of Okinawa at libraries; peace music festivals; open debates organized by student councils; and long-term peace education programs making use of school trips and annual cultural festivals. Such peace education has been a center of debate as to whether it is appropriate to simply impose “No war. Peace.” For this reason, Oda proposed a class that involved listening to survivors of the war recount their experiences, touring battle sites/relics, and making use of museums. Oda thus proposed a class that could allow children to learn about the atrocities and miseries of war by learning about the Battle of Okinawa, nurture minds that value life and pray for peace, allow children to understand that the school education of the time had been mistaken, and make children think about the meaning of Okinawa Memorial Day and why it is observed only in Okinawa. The aim was to allow children to hold diverse opinions on matters such as the meaning of peace. Oda advised teachers to show the students various examples and options of ways to approach the concept of peace rather than imposing certain ideas about it.

Oda (1995) was significant in that it took into consideration the issue of peace education in Okinawa and pointed out the importance of education that did not impose ideas but rather encouraged students to think. However, the study did no more than propose the class. As a result, the value of this study is limited for the reason that its basis is unclear at times, and it is scattered with statements that rested on subjective views.

Yoshihama (2004) discussed the possibility of using as educational material the military facilities that were used in the Battle of Okinawa. The medium for passing down experiences of the battle has shifted from people to things; it has shifted from listening to a survivor’s testimony to vicarious experiences through things such as wartime relics as the number of people who can give their testimonies has been falling: survivors of the battle are aging and passing away. The local government conducted a tour of battle sites and relics as an effort in peace education, and several battle sites and relics in local regions gained public attention through a series of publications of editions of municipal histories or local histories (*azashi*) concerning the battle. The tour of the local battle sites/relics was conducted to allow people to learn more about the results of these efforts to record and publish local history. Many of the battle sites/relics used for peace education today are the cave and bunker systems that are related to the residents’ war experiences. This reflects the achievements of movements to record testimony and study the battle from the perspectives of the residents. Yoshihama argued for the use of, as peace education materials, the military facilities built by the Thirty-Second Army, specifically the aerodromes, the command bunker, shoreline battle positions, a position for protracted battle, a base for suicide motorboats, a naval artillery battery, a naval torpedo boat base, and a hospital bunker.

Yoshihama (2004) made the salient point that as the survivors of the Battle of Okinawa are aging and passing away, reducing the number of people who can give their tes-

timony, the medium for handing down experiences during the battle has shifted from people to material things, from listening to the testimonies of survivors to vicarious experiences through wartime relics and other material things. This paper was published 59 years after the end of the war.

Murakami (2012) discussed peace education, conducting a questionnaire on perceptions of peace and war in elementary schools and middle schools in Okinawa Prefecture. From around the time of the return of Okinawa to Japan in 1972, peace education concerning Okinawa had been a focal topic of the peace education movement carried out principally by the Japan Teachers' Union. Later, as air travel became more convenient, the number of middle schools and high schools that organized school trips to Okinawa increased in the 1990s. Okinawa is frequently chosen as a school trip destination for its relics of its ground battle during World War II and its Peace Memorial Museum. Nearly 70 years had passed since the end of the war at the time of the publication of this paper, and the issue was how to transmit the history of the war to people in Okinawa as well. The study surveyed Okinawan middle school and elementary school students' perceptions toward peace, finding that over 90% of the students had knowledge about the Battle of Okinawa. The researchers pointed out that this was the result of preexisting activities to hand down experiences during the battle. The agents through which information about the battle was passed down were: television, 70.2%; survivors of war, 66.0%; teachers, 59.8%; grandparents, 50.1%; manga and books, 37.3%; the internet, 22.0%; parents, 15.3%; great-grandparents, 9.6%; and others, 3.7%. These results indicate that the information had been passed down mostly through television, and that teachers played a significant role as well. The agents that handed down wartime experiences had been changing from relatives to public media as the war passed further into the past. Stories of the battle had been passed down by agents other than relatives in the nearly 70 years that had passed since the war.

Murakami (2012) indicated through the survey that public media had become the primary agents handing down the experiences of the Battle of Okinawa. Similar to Yoshihama (2004), Murakami pointed out that the issue was how to transmit the experiences of the battle to future generations. Murakami conducted a questionnaire on perceptions toward peace and war among elementary and middle school students in Okinawa Prefecture, the results of which indicated that the mediums of wartime experiences had shifted from survivors to public media in proportion to the number of years that had passed since the war.

Discussing the content of social studies classes taught in Japan and how it changed after World War II, Dunbar (2016) discussed education concerning the Battle of Okinawa. An important aspect of education for middle school students is that of covering the angle of the wartime perpetrator, including the pain and agony inflicted upon Okinawans during the battle. Discussing content that should be taught in the classes, Dunbar wrote, "Compared to simpler themes adopted for primary school students which are considered to be more appropriate for their stage of development, the themes for junior high school stu-

dents can bring about conflicted feelings in said students (such as having to accept shocking stories about Japanese soldiers committing atrocities against Asian people), and these themes require students to possess the ability to understand and imagine the feelings of other people they have never met from places they have never been to. For Okinawa, aside from lesson plans that covered the perpetrator side of Japan, there are lesson plans that cover the battle at the junior high school level” (49). Moreover, Dunbar noted that:

“how Japanese people have interpreted the war has come to have a special meaning to people in East Asia, and history classes in schools are an important tool in cultivating Japanese people’s historical consciousness, however the content of these classes has not been well received by the international community”(41); and “Two out of the five plans were reports based on the learning activities that occurred during school trips where students visited places such as caves where local people hid from US soldiers and eventually killed themselves. One out of the five involved an activity where students listened to the experiences of female Okinawan survivors, as well as an activity of exchanging videos of students’ questions and answers about the battle with local university students. There was also a report which used the testimony of a survivor who had to kill his family, and another which focused on how the lives of Okinawan people were neglected during the battle and how they still suffer the burden of having US military bases near their homes. In these lessons, students were required to consider why the Okinawans were running away, and why the mass suicide happened. These questions shone a light on the education Japanese people received at that time, the agendas of the Japanese government, and the conflict between the Okinawan people and the government that still exists to this day, all of which are quite challenging for students to understand.” (49–50)

Dunbar (2016) was significant in discussing peace education while taking into account the cognitive development of the learners. Piaget’s stage theory in psychology uses the term “concrete operational stage” to refer to the cognitive stage of children of ages ranging from around six to twelve, that is, the age range of elementary school students in Japan. This theory states that children at this stage can perform logical thinking only if it concerns a concrete matter. In accordance with this theory, elementary school education in Japan has adopted a policy encouraging the use of familiar and concrete examples to teach students in classes.

Kawakami and Hirota (2016) developed and proposed peace education materials for sixth-graders that covered the Battle of Okinawa. In all, seventy-one years had passed since the war when this paper was published, and the paper pointed out that the transmission of wartime experiences to children had become an issue as the survivors of the war aged. The reason the study included the battle in the materials was because it was an event in which civilians, that is, people in similar circumstances as the children participated in various aspects of the battle, because it presented a comprehensible, realistic picture of both victimhood and perpetration, and because it showed clear examples of the relationships between the troops and the residents. This study pointed out the significance of learning from material things, and it proposed a class that transmitted the experiences of the war through pictures drawn by survivors of the battle because this would allow an

adjustment of the psychological burden that the children would bear, because pictures were easy to visually comprehend, and because they could deepen discussion. In the class, the teacher would show the students a picture showing, in chronological order, scenes of the battle, prompting the students to think about what they noticed or any questions that came to their minds. The teacher would anticipate students' comments on the large number of residents' lives that were taken and on the relationship between the Japanese military and the residents. The teacher would respond to the students' comments with information on the characteristics of the battle. The idea was peace education that encouraged children to think about a war that was "far" from them by bringing it into a more concrete and "familiar" context of learning.

Similar to Yoshihama (2004) and Murakami (2012), Kawakami and Hirota (2016) was significant because it pointed out the need to consider ways to hand down the experiences of war, developing peace education materials while pointing out the significance of resourceful ways to allow students to learn from material things. Material things could be visually understood and could therefore facilitate the deepening of discussions with elementary school students.

Murakami et al. (2016) pointed out the need to seek ways to update peace education by finding ways to promote the transmission of wartime experiences as the number of living survivors of the war declined. The study, published 70 years after the end of World War II, presented the results of a survey in Okinawa Prefecture on this issue, when the number of members of the generation that had experienced the war had fallen in all three centers of peace education in Japan: Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Okinawa. This had made the direct transmission of wartime experiences difficult, raising questions as to what should be taught in what manner in the area of peace education, which had conventionally centered on the direct transmission of wartime experiences. The researchers conducted interviews with peace guides working in Okinawa Prefecture, the Peace and Gender-Equality Division of Okinawa City's Residents' Department, and Katsuren Elementary School in Uruma City, which had been designated for this research. The results were intended to indicate the challenges involved in updating peace education. The results from Katsuren Elementary School showed that peace education had been approaching a turning point as the number of survivors decreased and non-survivors had become the majority. Interviews with survivors had also become increasingly difficult as they aged. However, the results also showed that there were people who still recounted their wartime experiences, thinking that they should pass down those experiences while they were still alive. In addition, the researchers learned that teachers were providing peace education by reading picture books to the students, organizing group reading performances, inviting survivors to recount their experiences, and organizing peace plays. As for Okinawa City, the city had been making efforts to spread the knowledge that September 7 had been designated "Okinawa Citizens' Peace Day." For this purpose, the city had created pamphlets and web content, had engaged in joint projects with residents' organizations related to Okinawa City, designating the period from August 1 to September 7 as "Peace Month,"

and was running programs and spreading information about seminars that could raise the younger generations' interest in peace. The aim was to realize a "city that creates peace and spreads fragrant culture." The study pointed out that this was a rare case of a local government having a designated division for planning and carrying out peace projects. As for the peace guides, these people worked as local guides for school trips and tours for college students and professionals. As individuals with no firsthand experiences of war, these peace guides indicated that they faced challenges in the transmission of wartime experiences, and direct transmission to the next generation was becoming difficult as the survivors aged and passed away.

Murakami et al. (2016) was significant because it pointed out the need to update peace education by seeking ways to promote the transmission of wartime experiences as the number of living survivors of the war decreased. In the same manner as Yoshihama (2004), Kawakami and Hirota (2016), and Murakami (2012), the study was conscious of the need to consider new methods to transmit the experiences of war.

As "peace education for the next generation," Tonoike (2018) introduced a style of peace education that used transmissive archives instead of direct recounts of wartime experiences. Tonoike pointed out that if we were to consider that no one younger than age 10 at the end of the war was capable of recounting experiences of the war, then the people who could recount their experiences of the war constituted only about 8% of the total population at the time of publication of the paper. Tonoike stated that amid the decline in the number of people with firsthand experiences of war, "peace education for the next generation" would be characterized by the use of things and practices that did not depend on "recountings" of war experiences. These things and practices were war ruins/relics and the secondhand transmission of recountings. Tonoike then introduced some examples of peace education practiced in Okinawa. Okinawa Prefecture had been implementing a "10 days for peace" program, a period of intensive peace education that took place around Okinawa Memorial Day on June 23. During this time, Makabi Elementary School, run by Naha City, designated the whole month of June as "peace education month" and implemented various forms of peace education. In addition to peace lectures carried out in the typical style of the recounting of, or testimonies of, experiences of war, the school organized: readings of picture books; a special collection of peace-education-related books in the library; an exhibition of photographs related to the Battle of Okinawa in the entrance area; a musical gathering to sing a song titled *Okinawa kara Heiwa no Uta wo* (Song of Peace from Okinawa); and lectures by people from the Okinawa Peace Memorial Museum. The speaker at the peace lecture of 2017 had been zero years old at the end of the war. In Urasoe City, Minatogawa Elementary School also organized a variety of peace education programs for Okinawa Memorial Day on June 23. In addition to peace plays and the creation of posters in art class, the school autonomously integrated survivor testimonies into learning activities, using "general learning time" for first-hand accounts of experiences during the war in cooperation with a local residents' association. Tonoike underlined the fact that this was a case of activity-based learning, autonomous transmis-

sion of recountings by the school and local residents, contrasting it with the organizational transmission of testimonies as seen in the “transmitters of atomic bomb experience” held by Hiroshima City and the “family testers” and “exchange testers” held by Nagasaki City, which were organized by local governments.

Tonoike (2018) was significant in introducing “peace education for the next generation” that used transmissive archives in place of recounts of first-hand experiences of war. As this study pointed out, peace education is now shifting toward handed-down recountings.

The Future of Peace Education Concerning Okinawa

The present study reviewed prior studies of peace education concerning Okinawa, which was one of the major battlefields of World War II, serving as a military base in its status as a group of islands located at the end of national territory. The prior studies presented useful insights for future peace education in addition to reports of examples of educational practice. That is, in addition to reporting examples of education, they proposed classes and materials for peace education, conducted surveys, and pointed out issues related to peace education.

The materials for peace education that were discussed in prior studies could be classified into three types: (a) human resources, (b) material resources, and (c) hybrid resources. Education using (a), human resources, uses narratives from survivors of the Battle of Okinawa and explanations provided by people such as peace guides. Education using (b), material resources, uses things such as photographs, historical documents, battle sites, and wartime relics. Education using (c), hybrid resources, combines (a) and (b), which is optimal in cases where an abundance of materials is desired or where the aim is to allow consideration from multiple angles.

It is necessary to consider ways to select resources for future peace education concerning Okinawa. Preparation of sufficient (b) resources will be necessary to address issues related to qualitative differences within (a), which faces issues such as the aging and decline in numbers of survivors of the Battle of Okinawa; it is becoming increasingly difficult to hear living survivors recount their experiences. In order to address this issue, experiences of the battle have been handed down to peace guides and other people who do not have first-hand experience but are knowledgeable about those experiences; the knowledge and insights of these people are being transmitted to learners in peace education. In addition, the aging and declining numbers of people who experienced the battle have been attended by a shift toward education using (b): material resources such as photographs, historical documents, battle sites, and wartime relics. There has been a tendency to use material things to teach about the war in a concrete manner in the absence of people who can share first-hand experiences.

What should be noted here is the increasing abundance and availability of material resources, in addition to the point that concreteness in teaching materials, while impor-

tant, is not absolutely necessary. As mentioned earlier, Dunbar (2016) introduced the importance of taking into account the developmental stage of the learners when providing education. Elementary school students are in the concrete operational stage of cognitive development. Their education therefore centers on instruction that allows them to learn based on concrete matters and examples. The experience of war is not something that can be transmitted only by those who have had first-hand experience. Peace guides have been making continuous efforts in this area for many years. In addition, there have been efforts to materialize people's experiences. The Okinawa Peace Memorial Museum has been archiving recordings of survivors recounting their experiences of war, and visitors can watch and listen to these recordings. As historical material, the Okinawa Prefectural Museum exhibits relics of World War II and postwar historical material from the United States, and Kawakami and Hirota (2016) have developed and proposed peace education using pictures for clarity, tailored to elementary school students. However, concreteness and clarity are adjustable even when using other types of material things.

The passing down of the past as island wisdom is important for the resilience and vitality of this group of islands, and peace education is capable of aiding this. There is much that should and can be transmitted by peace education concerning Okinawa, which has been a battlefield due to environmental and geographical militarization. US military bases still remain in Okinawa today, and Okinawa has faced what are called "base issues." There also remains the issue of unexploded shells. School trips to Okinawa, as part of a course in peace education, have become standard practice in Japan, and it is possible to recognize tourism related to this education as an industry. There is much that can and will be transmitted by peace education concerning Okinawa.

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