

Peace Education as a Post-Conflict Reconciliation Method: The Case of Bosnia and Rwanda and the Importance of State Development

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ABSTRACT

Peace education is a tool of reconciliation that governments can use after civil conflict. This paper will focus on reconciliation, methods of reconciliation, and the role education plays in conflict resolution. Then, this paper will introduce the case studies of Rwanda and Bosnia, that experienced a genocide in the 1990s, and how they have dealt with reconciliation through peace education programs. After that, the paper will focus on the circumstances that led to the peace education programs in Rwanda and Bosnia to be more or less successful in reaching their society. It will find that the development of the country has a bigger influence on peace education than literature portrays. Without sufficient funding for schools and access to learning material, efforts of the government can only reach small parts of the population. Because of their development, Bosnia has a way better chance at implementing a successful peace education program that reaches more people than Rwanda.

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Introduction:

Reconciliation and education after a conflict occurs is the most important part in conflict resolutions. Especially in genocides or other traumatizing events, the time period after the initial conflict is resolved is the most critical. States need to invest all their efforts into educating their population about the conflict and resolving traumas and grievances for the likelihood of conflict to decrease. The pattern of the ‘conflict trap’ is an observation that civil conflict seems to reoccur and trap societies in that circle of conflict. Reconciliation addresses one of the reasons for conflict to reemerge and is a commonly used tool in international relations. This tool becomes especially important in civil conflicts because the populations are so heavily involved. After years of war between neighbors and violence based on ethnic, religious, or economic differences, it can be impossible for societies to function in an orderly fashion. Just because the actual fighting has ended does not mean that the societies are at peace within themselves, and that is where reconciliation matters. Educating the younger population about the history of genocide and civil conflict within their country is one of the most important tools of reconciliation.

This paper will compare the genocides of Rwanda and Bosnia, in particular how the governments approached the reconciliation process with peace education after the conflict ended. These two devastating genocides both happened around the same time period and both countries have dealt with reconciliation within their society differently. Particularly because the population was so heavily involved in both cases the process of reuniting the society was a centerpiece in the post-conflict period and still today. The focus will particularly lay on peace education as a centerpiece of reconciliation of societies after times of war. The literature review will focus on reconciliation, methods of reconciliation, and the role education plays in conflict resolution. The last part will focus on requirements for successful peace education. After that, the paper will focus on the circumstances that led to the peace education programs in Rwanda and Bosnia to be more or less successful. Since capturing the effect of peace education on society is difficult, this paper will look at the reach of the programs within the two countries. Bosnia’s programs were able to reach substantially more students with their program than Rwanda. This can be traced back to the development of each country as well as their economic state, which existing literature seems to underestimate. Without sufficient funding for schools and access to learning material, efforts of the government can only reach small parts of the population. Because of their development, Bosnia has a way better chance at implementing a successful peace education program than Rwanda.

Definitions and background information

What is reconciliation

Reconciliation is a widely used term in peace education and peacebuilding. It can be defined in changing the “motivation, goals, beliefs, attitudes, and emotions” of a conflict. Bar-Tal finds the creation and renewal of new “societal goals” as a key component of reconciliation. It requires participation from all major outlets of society like politics, media, and cultural leaders like churches and NGOs. NGOs especially can give economic assistance to members of society to reduce the negative sentiments within society (Bar-Tal, 2002). The goal is to build trust and prevent conflict from recurring. It is needed when sides struggle to overcome bitterness and grievances after violent civil conflicts (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004.) The reason for reconciliation can be found in the aftermath of civil conflict. After violent conflicts end, opposite parties still have to live and work together. Reconciliation can help members involved in the conflict to be integrated back into society (Deutsch, 2021). Goldstone names four solutions for that reconciliation process. Either everyone is granted immunity from prosecution, the regular justice system handles the situations, a truth and reconciliation commission is established, or the international community takes action in the matter (Goldstone, 1996).

What are requirements for successful reconciliation?

Reconciliation is the goal of both truth commissions and education. In order for that goal to be reached, Bar-Tal finds “mutual recognition and acceptance [...] and mutual trust” as a necessary component. “Collective forgiveness and healing” have to be reached especially in conflicts with two-sided violence. Both sides need openness to learn about other perspectives in order to create a future that includes the past rivals. It requires a mass involvement from society to reach reconciliation after traumatizing and violent conflicts like genocide (Bar-Tal, 2009). In order for the interaction between both sides and at the end reconciliation to be successful, Deutsch names multiple requirements. Successful reconciliation requires “mutual security, mutual respect, humanization of the other, fair rules of managing conflict, curbing extremists on both sides, gradual development of trust, and cooperation”. There

needs to be an environment shaped in which open communication is possible and both victims and criminals feel safe to share their story (Deutsch, 2011).

Another step towards reconciliation is creating new relations in politics. A society cannot keep functioning under the same government under which crimes happened. Politicians need to be free and equal participants in the system in order to evolve from the past (Mazzei, 2011). It cannot be forced upon societies that are not ready for addressing the past. Reconciliation has to openly target the painful past while pushing for security, economic relations, and political cooperation (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004). What role does education play in conflict resolution?

Education plays a huge role in conflict resolution. Through education, younger generations learn about the culture of conflict, how they identify with conflict, and how that may differ from their family's beliefs about the conflict. Education is a "major agent for socialization," and it has all the means for peacemaking and reconciliation (Bar-Tal, 2009). It can help to alter the worldview of generations, which helps the peace process and prepares them to live in a peaceful future without past grievances. Especially since school is one of the most powerful influences in children's lives and has all the resources needed like time, authority, consistency, mandatory attending, it should be used as a tool in the peace-making process (Bar-Tal, 2009). Johnson finds peace education or education as a whole as a tool of "long-term maintenance of peace," and it is a way of achieving consensual peace. Education gives the opportunity to children and can discourage them from joining violent groups. It is a form of reintegration into society and can be used as a practice to live out the peace and practically learn skills to achieve long-term peace. Children learn how to respect each other and gain skills to handle conflicts. Through education, common goals across groups create "positive interdependence" and a feeling of unity (Johnson, 2005).

For conflicts in which children were part of the violence as soldiers, education has another major role beyond just teaching peace. Education can serve as a tool to reintegrate children back into their society and foster the "prevention of youth's engagement" in violence. Wessells claims that children can be easily exploited as soldiers in ethnic conflicts. They are either coerced into joining militant groups, or they have other motivation like desperation, survival, abuses at home, revenge, past grievances, and the lack of access to education and jobs. Examples for this are the post-2002 fighting in Liberia where Human Rights Watch found that almost half of the soldiers were children. Likewise, nearly half of Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone were children. Even during the conflict, efforts to reintegrate these children back into their societies can help foster peace (Wessells, 2005).

In Bar-Tal's article on concepts and principles of peace education, he points out that peace, as a symbol, can be taught through schools. It is the only place where a government has access to a whole generation and the means to do so. Peace education is not only a tool that can be used after the civil conflict, but is implemented at all times. How peace education is approached models the politics, society, and economy of a whole nation. Through that socialization process of a generation, changes can be fostered within a society. Bar-Tal also names three social implications of peace education: the "condition-dependent nature of peace education, its dependence on social agreements, and its function as a social platform". In order for peace education to work, these implications have to be present in society (Bar-Tal, 2002). What are the requirements for successful conflict education?

In his article, Bar-Tal finds four political-societal conditions for successful peace education. Firstly, there needs to be progress towards peace within the society and a general support for the peace process and all means that come along. Then, Bar-Tal requires a condition of ripeness for reconciliation in the society. Lastly, peace education requires governmental and political support in order to be successful. Continuing, he also proposes educational requirements that have to be present for successful conflict resolution through peace education. There needs to be ministerial support in order for the peace education to get enough resources and means to properly fulfill their purpose. Another requirement is a well-defined peace education policy. The government should think through the methods, goals, and means that are being used in this lengthy process thoroughly which is supposed to last for centuries. Lastly, there needs to be enough authority given to the peace education in order for it to achieve anything (Bar-Tal, 2009). Another general requirement is "mandatory public education" to reach everyone in society. The schools have to be integrated by all members of society and all members have to participate in the process. The goal is to be introduced to colliding world views and to people the students would usually not interact with (Johnson, 2005).

Peace education can function through two methods, either through a direct peace education model or an indirect model. The direct model, like the name says, directly addresses the conflict and its causes. The main goal is to create a peace ethos within this targeted generation. In the lessons, students learn about the definition of conflict and peace, the peace process of their own conflict,

a presentation of the rival side and their viewpoint, an accurate representation of the conflict history, as well as learning how to have empathy for their opponents. The indirect model, on the other hand, educates on conflict-related topics without directly addressing the conflict at hand. Subjects like human rights, tolerance, ethno-empathy, conflict resolution, and reflective thinking are being discussed in this type of peace education method. It aimed towards long-term change in society's attitudes towards conflict (Bar-Tal, 2009).

In their discussion of creating lasting peace, David and Rodger Johnson list multiple steps towards successful peace education. First, as already mentioned before, there needs to be mandatory school attending. Second, mutual goals, cooperation, and support for each other need to be created in the schools. This can allow for "reconciliation, forgiveness, and giving up of a combat or victim mentality" in the students. Lastly, there is the decrease in prejudice through interaction with rivals. The interaction, teamwork, and equality they experience in schools transfers into their lives, and the goal is for them to find that empathy for their neighbors again and be able to move into the future without holding negative emotions against groups based on specific characteristics (Johnson, 2005).

Important here is to realize that different societies have different histories to deal with and different conditions within society. That is why the content of peace education differs extremely from nation to nation and can't be created as a global incentive. It requires legitimization within society and approval from parents. Therefore, schools cannot be the only outlet for peace education. There need to be other means like mass media or historical sites that bring across the same inclusive message (Bar-Tal, 2002).

The history of both genocides

The genocide in Rwanda is estimated to have killed between 800 to 500 thousand Rwandans from April to July of 1994, which left $\frac{1}{3}$ of the ethnic minority Tutsi dead. The ethnic cleansing was perpetrated by the ethnic majority Hutus, who resented and feared Tutsis since colonial times. Through force and intimidation, the Hutu government made huge parts of the population engage in the slaughter (Human Rights Watch, 1999).

The Bosnian genocide, on the other hand, was perpetrated by the Serbian government and its government against Muslims living in Bosnian territory. The Serbian government claimed it was liberating Bosnian Serbs and reuniting them with their homeland since Bosnia and Herzegovina was inhabited by Bosnian Muslims, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Croats. It is estimated that around 100 thousand people were killed from 1992 to 1994, including Bosnian Serbs and Croats that opposed the ethnic cleansing agenda of the JNA (Toal, 2011; Holocaust Museum Houston).

Framework for case studies:

In the second part, this paper will take a look at the peace education efforts of Rwanda and Bosnia after their genocides in the 1990s. The implementation of peace education after civil conflicts is a difficult task for governments. This part will explore the approaches both governments used after the conflict ended. What resources did the government grant towards the peace education process, and did it have international support? Important to explore here is if there was societal support as well and how many people the peace education efforts reached. It will also further investigate what model of peace education, direct or indirect, introduced by Bar-Tal was used. This also includes looking at the content of the education, so if the focus was more on historic recertification or teaching skills to resolute conflicts in a peaceful matter and gain qualification for future jobs or reintegrate children back into society. Another focus will lay on the ripeness for implementing peace education as part of the reconciliation process.

After comparing the approaches of Bosnia and Rwanda, this paper will look at the differences and similarities between the two peace education efforts and how that led to the program being more or less successful. The question becomes which factors led to the peace education to be working better. Both countries experienced a traumatic genocide in which the civil population was heavily involved. These genocides were both centered around ethnicity, and the distrust and grievances in the population go back many years. Both genocides happened around the same time period, and, in both countries, the international community failed to get involved in time. They both count as one of the "failed" missions of the United States peacekeeping efforts. With this in mind, it seems like peace education efforts had the same starting point in trying to reconcile the population. This paper will look at two other variables that influenced the effectiveness of peace education. These are the quality of the education system and GDP, which

is connected to state resources. It will find that having a better education system and more state resources leads to peace education being more successful and reaching more people. The methods used in both Rwanda and Bosnia do matter, but, without having a general successful education system in place, even national efforts will fail.

Peace education in Rwanda:

After the brutal genocide in 1994, peace education was one of the tools for the Rwandan government on the road of reconciliation. In 2013, the Rwanda Peace Education Program (RPEP) was launched. Its goal was the promotion of “social cohesion, positive values- including pluralism and personal responsibility- empathy, critical thinking and action to build a more peaceful society” (Genocide Archive of Rwanda). It was a three-year collaborative effort between four local and one international partner from Sweden (Rwanda Peace Education Programme). It included everyone from school children, decision makers, and young people.

There are four main pillars of the program. The first one is the Education Outreach Program that initiates training of teachers, workshops in schools and communities, as well as debates in schools. It uses a story telling methodology to introduce the students to their painful past. The second part is the Kigali Genocide Memorial Education Program. At the memorial, school classes can take workshops which focus on social cohesion and personal responsibility. Then, there is the Genocide Archive of Rwanda, which gives access to material on causes, implementation, and consequences of the genocide. The last pillar is the Youth Champion Program that trains young leaders to help their communities and organize activities so that the effects of the program go beyond just the three years (Genocide Archive of Rwanda).

The RPEP also hosted forums about peace education where experts and government officials planned the integration of peace education into the national school curriculum. In the new curriculum, peace education is taught through multiple subjects. Part of the RPEP are also radio programming, education and training workshops, and lots of other events to engage Rwandans into the peace process (USC Institute for Visual History and Education, 2014). The weekly radio drama program has existed since 2004. It is free of costs and even reaches Rwandans that fled after the genocide to neighboring countries. It uses a storytelling approach and is testimony-based to educate Rwandans about their past and other elements of peace education. Ten thousand people have attended the workshops across Rwanda and about 32 thousand have attended the National Art Exhibition Tour. For the debates, RPEP counts 12 thousand participants, and the genocide Archive website has counted 150 thousand visitors. The website is especially valuable because it gives teachers the tools to integrate the genocide in their lessons without leaving them alone with the planning. This was supported by training teachers from all regions on how to integrate the new curriculum into their lessons so they would be able to help all of their colleagues with it. The new curriculum has been in place since 2016 and is supported by the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace that helps to review materials and methodologies across Rwanda schools (Rwanda Peace Education Programme).

Rwanda’s peace education was a national incentive with heavy involvement of the Rwandan government. The project started because of local organizations, but, with positive results, the government made an effort to include some of the peace education into all schools so more children could be reached. There is mandatory school attendance, but most Rwandans do not attend more than a third of that schooling. Compared to a population of roughly 12 million people, the effects on the population of peace education are relatively low. The government is trying to address old prejudice in school materials, but their resources can hardly provide for sufficient materials anyways (Human Development Reports, 2019).

The RPEP uses a combination of the direct and indirect education model. Their four main strategies include direct knowledge about the causes and history of the genocide through the Genocide Archive as well as indirect methods that focus on teaching civic values like critical thinking, conflict resolution, and empathy. By training individuals to become leaders in their community and incentivizing professional development, they not only focus on teaching values but also offer life skills that participants can use in their future career. The program uses a variety of options for Rwandans from debates, to interactive learning experience in the online archive or the memorial, to workshops and classical teaching for students in school. In a report put out by the REPEP about their achievements and stories, the Rwandans that interacted with the system were supporting the peace process.

Since the genocide time has passed, and with a new government, it might have been the right timing to start implementing peace education as a reconciliation effort (Rwanda Peace Education Programme). Still, it is difficult to implement a program nationally,

so it reaches lots of people when the government does not have the financial resources to do so. It seems to be effective and changing for the people it reaches, but this is only a fraction of the society, so the long-lasting effects might not be too high. It is difficult for a government to focus on peace education when there are fundamental developing issues like mortality rate, poverty, and broken infrastructure. Without the financial and governing means, peace education will continue to only impact a small percentage in the population and have no significant change on the people of Rwanda. For example, only about one third of the students in Rwanda have access to internet and could technically be able to reach the archive website (Human Development Reports, 2019). The program is planned out to be very effective and meets the criteria for a successful peace education, but it lacks the applicability for most Rwandans. It is unlikely that the program will be able to implement reconciliation through peace education throughout Rwanda.

Peace education in Bosnia

In Bosnia, there are many different programs running to bring reconciliation through peace education to the society. One example is the Genisis Project. It was set up in 1997 to educate about “tolerance and coexistence, children and human rights, child safety, violence prevention, peacebuilding, conflict prevention and resolution, gender equality and bullying prevention”. Since 2009, the project was implemented in divided primary schools. In Bosnia, there are segregated schools based on Bosnian and Croatian ethnicity, which some refer to as “two schools under one roof”. The goal of the Genisis Project in those schools is to decrease “prejudice and stereotypes and rebuild trust and confidence among major ethnic groups”. Children also learn about “freedom of speech, democracy, basic human rights and peaceful conflict prevention and resolution”. The project already reached 100 thousand children since it started (Peace Insights). The general objective of the program is to train students and staff of elementary schools to incorporate cooperation, respect, and tolerance in the classroom. Students work on critical thinking, problem solving, and communication. The project also offers a handbook for students and staff on how to successfully implement these goals in the classroom. Another part of their project are dialogue platforms for communities where daily challenges and solutions can be discussed (UNICEF, 2018).

A similar project that was implemented in Bosnia is the Education for Peace Program. It started in 2000, and the main goal of it was to transform the worldview and character of Bosnian participants. Their objective was for Bosnia to recognize the “oneness of humanity and the earth, the fundamental importance of unity in diversity, the application of standards of justice and equality”. The framework of this project can be applied in families, schools, businesses, NGOs, media, and governments. In Bosnia, peace was used as a framework for education. Teachers and schools’ staff were trained in peace concepts in class and interaction between participating schools was encouraged. Peace as a concept was integrated into all lessons, and regional peace events were organized where students could present their peace projects to their communities. The focus here was especially on art as a form of self-expression. Another part of the project were seminars for teachers where specific questions on the genocide could be asked. This equipped the staff with knowledge on the topic while giving them the opportunity to process their own experience with the past (Clarke-Habibi, 2005).

The Bosnian efforts for peace education lack national coordination. There is no national effort that reaches all Bosnian school children equally, but many different programs with local importance. The Education for Peace Program and the Genisis Project both reached a relatively large amount of the school population since there are only around 3.3 million Bosnians. The Education for Peace Program is the one with the most governmental support, and the goal of the education ministries was to implement the peace related topics in all schools in Bosnia (Changemakers, 2017). There is still a huge separation between the major ethnicities in Bosnia, and stereotypes and prejudice hold up until today. This was visible in the schools when the peace education programs started and children that weren’t even alive at the genocide had prejudice against kids from another ethnicity. The school system still seems segregated with the different ethnicities having different curriculums in their own languages, sometimes even in the same school (Tolomelli, 2015). Therefore, the necessity for peace education is very high, and the government has recognized that. The timing of the peace education is good since the fighting has stopped between the parties and people have had some time to process the violence. Especially since the internal conflict seems to be present to this day, it was necessary for the government to enact some change in their society.

One might even argue that the implementation of a national curriculum change is past due and should have been the focus of the Bosnian government earlier. When it comes to governmental resources, Bosnia is in a better position than Rwanda. Since schooling

is mandatory in Bosnia and the majority of Bosnians attend school for most of the expected 13 years, the peace education has the conditions to be very successful (Human Development Reports, 2019). The two different projects introduced in this paper used an indirect approach to peace education. The focus of their programs was to teach values like peaceful conflict resolution, tolerance, diversity, and human rights. Also present was the connection to artistic expression for children to use their knowledge and articulate themselves. Since the divide between ethnicities was still present years after the conflict it might be helpful for the government to invest into reducing polarizing content out of Bosnians everyday life. The education system itself can serve as a successful preparation for the professional world. Bosnia is way more developed in comparison to Rwanda and does not need the peace education to be more than just teaching values to foster peace.

Discussion:

As mentioned earlier, there are quite a few similarities between the genocide in Rwanda and Bosnia. These will be the constant variables which seemed to have no impact on the success of the peace education programs. Summarizing the history of both genocides, they were already described. In both cases, the population was heavily involved. In Rwanda, the government coerced the Hutu population to participate in the killings, and when individuals were opposing, they were killed as well. In Rwanda, Croats, Serbs, and Muslims were displaced and killed, and parts of the Serbian population were involved through the SDS. This also points to the second constant: the focus on ethnicity in the conflict and the violence that was directed at one specific ethnicity. In Rwanda, these were the Tutsis, and, in Bosnia, the Bosnian Muslims. The time period in which the killings happened are also the same. The Bosnian war happened from 1992 to 1994, and Rwanda's genocide happened in 1994, but the buildup to the attacks started in 1990. Both conflicts were rather short but had a long history of tensions and grievances that build up to the escalation. Lastly, both cases count towards one of the failed UN peacekeeping missions in which the international community failed to protect the local community. In Rwanda, Belgian military forces left the Tutsi population vulnerable shortly before the killings began, and, in Bosnia, the Srebrenica massacre that was supposedly a UN safe zone couldn't help to protect Bosnian Muslims (McGreal, 2015).

What seems to be differing between the two is the development state of the country, which impacts both the quality of the education system and the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or state resources. This will be the independent variables that impact the dependent variable, in this case, the success of the peace education programs. The Human Development Index (HDI) of Rwanda and Bosnia in 2000 portrays the difference accurately. In 2000, Rwanda's HDI was 0.341 and Bosnia's was 0.68. The HDI is a "simple unweighted average of a nation's longevity, education and income and is widely accepted in development discourse". It is claimed that it captures development better than a strictly economic measure like the GDP because it takes other important development factors into account (Human Development Reports, 2019). The GDP captures the total monetary value of everything produced (goods and services) within a year in a country. In 2000, the GDP per capita, which is basically the GDP divided by the population, was 261 dollars for Rwanda and 1467 dollars for Bosnia (The World Bank, 2021). These indexes show that the development within the countries was at a totally different point when peace education programs were implemented. This also includes the state of the education system as mentioned in the description of the peace education methods above.

Measuring the effectiveness of the peace education programs implemented in Bosnia and Rwanda is almost impossible. Research suggest that peace education programs cannot be evaluated on "whether it brings peace to the world, but rather by the effect it has upon students" (Harris, 2003). In order to develop a metric to capture the impact of the peace education programs on students, this paper will use the reach of the programs within society. In that regard, this paper will take into account how many students the program was able to reach throughout society and the time frame that students usually are in contact with peace education in schools or programs from non-governmental organizations. This can be an effective measure of success because encountering the idea of peace through indirect and direct models can at least challenge peoples' thinking patterns in regard to the genocide. If that challenge actually changes, beliefs and attitudes about peace are less certain, but starting the thinking-process with as many people as possible is a desirable outcome.

Following the dependent variable, 'success of peace education programs', it can be impacted by more than just how many people it reaches. There are other causes of success of the peace education programs that need to be considered. The program design and educational delivery may impact how much of the ideas introduced in the exercises stick with students. Here, it is important to look at when the direct or indirect model of peace education was used and if it was appropriate for the population at that time. How trained teachers are in delivering the ideas taught in the program is also crucial to the success of the program. The reach of

programs is certainly also impacted by mandatory schooling and literacy rates within society. Illiteracy is connected to mandatory schooling and quality of education. In countries where not all of the population go to school or go to school for an extended amount, the percentage of illiterate population is higher. When high parts of the population are illiterate, it is substantially more difficult to teach about peace ideas. In order for peace education to work, the students need to be able to understand the material and have the ability to work with it. If students cannot read and write, peace education comes second to that need to improve that. All the materials are useless without that skill. Lastly, the social and political climate is important to the success of peace education. Literature points to the ripeness within society to start peace education. The government and society need to be ready to address the painful past and be able to admit to mistakes. On the other hand, they also need to be ready to forgive and to give space to victims of the conflict for them to feel safe to share their stories and interact with the rest of society. The government also needs to be willing to use their resources for the peace education programs. Having the economic resources as a government is one thing, but they also need to be allocated to these programs in order for them to be successful.

With this background information in mind, the results of peace education efforts in both countries varies. Johnson and Bar-Tal both point to the importance of the government in order to achieve positive outcomes. The government needs to support the initiative and it needs the resources to successfully do so (Bar-Tal, 2009; Johnson, 2005). Adding to this, this paper points to the importance of development of a country to succeed in reconciliation. Rwanda might have had the better approach in implementing a national scale program, but because of lack of resources and a struggling education system, they were unsuccessful in reaching major parts of Rwandans. Rural areas that are severely behind in development are unable to join reconciliation efforts because of missing funding. Bosnia, on the other hand, is further developed. Though they chose a more local approach with multiple programs throughout the country, they were able to reach much more children with their initiative. This can be traced back to their development scale. Their education system is reliable, and the majority of children attend school for up to 13 years. Their government has more resources available which makes schooling better. Children have access to better resources like computers and the internet or a diverse number of books. The Bosnian system struggles in other areas than Rwanda because of their development. While Rwanda is dealing with poverty and mandatory schooling, Bosnia struggles to unite its children as they are still segregated in their schooling. They have the resources to do so, but there is no nationwide program in place in order to teach children about their history and how to deal with conflicts in general. The programs that have been implemented are successful in reaching the population. By the metric introduced earlier, this means that the peace education program of Bosnia can be considered more successful than the peace education program in Rwanda. The better development and more resources the Bosnian government has available lead to them reaching students all across the country. Rwanda, on the other hand, has less of these resources and therefore struggles to reach students that live in rural parts of the country. They lack resources in these areas and have other focuses in school in these areas.

	Rwanda	Bosnia-Herzegovina
GDP in 2000	2.069. billion	5.506 billion
Population in 2000	7.9 million	3.7 million
GPP per capita in 2000	261 US\$	1467 US\$
GDP per capita in 2020	762 US\$	5387 US\$
HDI in 2000	0.341	0.68
Data from Human Development Reports and World Bank		

Conclusion

Bosnia and Rwanda both have a history of a brutal genocide that had ethnic tensions as a cause. Still, the two countries are at different development levels and have chosen different approaches to peace education. Rwanda has implemented a mixture of indirect and direct teaching methods but lacks the financial and administrative means to implement their Rwanda Peace Education Program on a national effective scale. Bosnia chose an indirect approach to peace education and has reached a larger percentile of its students with their different programs. Still, the peace education project seems to lack national coherence with multiple programs implemented at the same time. The necessity of peace education is still present in both countries and should further be developed

as part of a reconciliation strategy. Both countries have challenges to a successful implementation of peace education. In Rwanda, there are fundamental issues like poverty, urbanization, and lack of resources that make Rwanda a vulnerable nation. It is logical that there can be fewer financial means allocated to peace education, and, therefore, the ability to reach a majority of the society is low. This shows that the development of a country has a huge impact on its ability to reconcile their population. They are dependent on donations from the international community and, even then, rural areas can hardly be reached. In Bosnia, on the other hand, the country is further developed, but, since the genocide included at least two different countries, it is impossible to coordinate a functioning peace education system in which both governments cooperate. Bosnia's struggles also with segregation within their country, which shows how much reconciliation still has to be done. This paper has shown that how developed a country is and the state of their economy impacts the success of peace education programs by being able to reach more people. Rwanda struggles with reaching more of their population because of lack of development and state resources. Bosnia's programs on the other hand were more successful in reaching people because of its general development and economic resources.

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