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Education as an Outreach Partner for Transitional Justice

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Transitional Justice, Education, and Peacebuilding Project

This research project examines the relationship between transitional justice and education in peacebuilding contexts. It considers how transitional justice can shape the reform of education systems by ensuring programs are sensitive to the legacies of the past, how it can facilitate the reintegration of children and youth into society, and how education can engage younger generations in the work of transitional justice. The final products of this project include an edited volume entitled *Transitional Justice and Education: Learning Peace* (SSRC, 2017) and a summary report. For more details on this project, visit www.ictj.org/our-work/research/education-peacebuilding

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About ICTJ

ICTJ assists societies confronting massive human rights abuses to promote accountability, pursue truth, provide reparations, and build trustworthy institutions. Committed to the vindication of victims' rights and the promotion of gender justice, we provide expert technical advice, policy analysis, and comparative research on transitional justice approaches, including criminal prosecutions, reparations initiatives, truth seeking and memory, and institutional reform. For more information, visit www.ictj.org

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Introduction

Education,¹ as a critically important institution that is widely considered to be both formative and transformative, is something that transitional justice cannot afford to overlook. Transitional justice in its early years did not directly engage with education, but today this has changed. The field has moved from discursively recognizing the importance of education (though placing it beyond the ambit of transitional justice practice temporally and philosophically) to trying to find models for active engagement with it. Education can interact with transitional justice mechanisms in a number of ways. Its structural importance as a site of justice or injustice places it within the ranks of institutions with whose reform transitional justice is concerned (alongside security sector and judicial institutions, among others). In addition, education can be both a form and site of reparations for past harms to individuals and groups. However, this hardly exhausts the potential scope of the possible interactions between these two sectors.

This paper explores a third, quite broad area of interaction between transitional justice and education—what is known in the transitional justice field as *outreach*. Given the complex challenges that transitional justice faces as a politically difficult process, practitioners must be aware of the limit to which education, especially formal education, can be a collaborator in transitional justice processes. They cannot afford to understand education merely as a tool, nor should their hopes for education as a solution to many of transitional justice's outreach challenges be unrealistically high. Education as a field has a distinct normative value and a social function that places it on par with, not subordinate to, transitional justice and similar projects to promote justice and human rights. It also faces constant challenges and limitations, particularly in many of the often resource-poor contexts where transitional justice works today. Only by recognizing these limitations can transitional justice assess and share the power of education for the goals it aims to achieve.

1. Transitional Justice and Education

Transitional justice remains a changing and contested conception, though the broad contours of the field are well known. One of the challenges is to define the scope of this practice. Because transitional justice is more frequently applied in postconflict settings, as opposed to postdictatorial situations, it often overlaps with peacebuilding and reconciliation. At a basic level, transitional justice is consistently understood to take place in the aftermath of violent conflict or repression, although the relationship between the practice of justice for past wrongs in times of transition and particular outcomes or goals appears neither clear nor consistent.

Transitional justice is broadly related to dealing with past instances of large-scale human rights abuses. The 2011 UN Secretary-General’s report, *The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies*, for example, defines transitional justice as “the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society’s attempts to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past abuses, in order to ensure accountability, serve justice and achieve reconciliation.”² Similarly, the working definition used by the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) is “the set of judicial and non-judicial measures that have been implemented by different countries in order to redress the legacies of massive human rights abuses. These measures include criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparations programs, and various kinds of institutional reforms.”³ Although ICTJ asserts that transitional justice has effects beyond these measures and denies that a single formula for its achievement exists, its meaning for many practitioners remains largely self-referential, limited to the measures or processes said to comprise transitional justice.⁴

In developing his normative conception of transitional justice, UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence Pablo de Greiff links it inextricably with outcomes beyond transitional justice measures themselves. These measures, among other limitations, tend to be temporally bounded institutions, such as tribunals and truth commissions; one-off events, such as apologies; or policy decisions leading to processes like reparations or lustration. De Greiff, like the UN report, connects transitional justice to two “mediate goals”—providing recognition to victims and fostering civic trust—and two “final goals”—contributing to reconciliation and democratization.⁵ ICTJ lists the same outcomes as being what transitional justice can achieve, but de Greiff goes farther, saying that these outcomes “are not simply desirable aims but . . . are . . . systematically related to each other and, more importantly, to the concept of justice.”⁶

The differences in understandings of transitional justice are subtle but important in exploring where the boundaries of this concept lie and how it may relate to critical social institutions, like education. The dangers of weakening transitional justice by overextending its reach are real. (How many forms of injustice must transitional justice try to redress? How far temporally should its ambit reach?) Thus, the decision to argue for the inclusion of another major institution in the circle of those understood to be part of transitional justice’s work needs to be carefully made.

This raises other questions, including that of the primacy of institutions. If education is seen as an institution closely related to transitional justice, what is the specific nature of the relationship between the two? Is education a critical institution to be reformed as part of transitional justice? Is it a form of justice itself—in this case, a repair for past wrongs, including recognition of the identity and history of victims? Is it the fulfillment of a right (to education) that may have been violated? Does education provide the tools and the transformative capacity to make people not just passive and theoretical rights bearers but better able to actively claim, seek, and benefit from their own rights while recognizing and respecting the rights of others? Have the ways in which children have been educated contributed to injustice in the past? Does education serve transitional justice, and can transitional justice also serve education?

The concept of *reconciliation* is perhaps the strongest link between transitional justice and, more broadly, peacebuilding.⁷ Reconciliation, despite a great deal of contestation around the meaning of this term, is strongly linked to long-term, sustainable peace and—via changes in group identities away from the zero-sum understandings of “self” and “other,” including attending to the deeply conflictive potential of recent history—the transformation of conflict. The field of education and conflict (sometimes subsumed under “education and emergencies”) has for over a decade understood the links among education, violence and inter-group/political conflict, and peacebuilding. The links are often summarized as the “two faces of education,” referring to the seminal early work of Kenneth Bush and Diane Saltarelli,⁸ who discussed education’s ability to exacerbate conflict, often via violence and injustice in the education system, as well as contribute to peace. This example is only the best known in a large and growing body of literature and research, however. While direct links to justice have been made more in the field of human rights education, the potential synergies with transitional justice and its “mediate” and “final” goals are clear, and interest in exploring this area is rising.

Other conceptions of transitional justice have also linked basic education to the institutions connected to transitional justice’s main principles, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly, even though the field’s inclusion of education has been limited and inconsistent. For example, the UN General Assembly’s resolution on the 2005 Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy conceives of transitional justice in a slightly different way than the more common definition used by ICTJ and others, but its definition more explicitly brings education into the sphere of justice. The principles comprise five categories of reparation: 1) restitution for victims to the extent possible of the status quo ante; 2) compensation; 3) rehabilitation for harms; 4) satisfaction, including apology and knowledge/truth about human rights abuses; and 5) guarantees of nonrepetition. Unlike other definitions, principles 4 and 5 contain explicit references to education: Satisfaction should include “an accurate account of the violations that occurred in international human rights law and international humanitarian law training and in educational material at all levels,” and guarantees of nonrepetition should be measures “directed at sustainable peace such as . . . providing, on a priority and continued basis, human rights and international humanitarian law education to all sectors of society.”⁹

Peter Malcontent, in a recent appraisal of transitional justice, reviews these principles and calls nonrepetition possibly the most important remedy of all and the most “forward-looking.”¹⁰ He then notes how closely interrelated these five categories are, citing education as an important component of transitional justice and the perfect example of how “diffuse and artificial” the boundaries between these principles are in practice: “[E]ducation may foster sustainable peace through reconciliation and therefore can function as an important remedy to guarantee non-repetition of historical injustices.”¹¹ Education may give coherence to some of the pieces of transitional justice that *prima facie* look to be discontinuous, or in tension, by acting as a bridge between them. Examples of such dyads and education’s bridging possibilities include:

- *Transitional justice and historical justice.* Where considerable time has passed such that violations are no longer the subject of living memory and conventional processes, such as trials and truth commissions, can no longer be held, historical injustices can be the subject of history education for active, engaged citizenship and moral development, and recognition via representation in educational materials can serve a justice function.

- *Transitional justice and conflict transformation or peacebuilding.* If transitional justice has typically focused primarily on “rules as well as other structures and the reform of institutions,” while conflict transformation actors focus on “processes and relationships” and “the transformation of behavior and attitudes,” then education as an institution that has a critical role in forming and changing attitudes and behaviors is a critical link between these fields of practice, which, despite tensions and contradictions, both “share the same vision of sustainable just peace and societal reconciliation, based on a process of social and political change.”¹²
- *Transitional justice and reconciliation.* Schools are spaces that can mediate the tensions between, on the one hand, the confrontational processes of justice and truth telling and the imperative of historical memory, and, on the other, what peace educators call “learning to live together” and education for social cohesion.
- *Transitional justice’s original orientation toward civil/political rights.* With the goal of educated citizens as engaged and empowered civic actors, the call for transitional to focus more on violations of economic/social rights, as Julia Paulson points out, is strongly linked to education conceived of as development.¹³
- *Global and local conceptions of justice.* Among the more familiar measures of transitional justice, trials and truth commissions are “imports” for many contexts, in which a sense of local ownership is hard to achieve, while formal education, in the form of schools, classrooms, teachers, and textbooks, is both a globalized phenomenon and one for which local ownership by local stakeholders is not a foreign idea, allowing it to help localize conceptions of justice and accountability.

Thus, education, by virtue of its multiple functions, universality (despite the fact that it has not yet met the goal of global access and quality), and ability, in Karen Murphy’s formulation, to “simultaneously reach multiple generations,”¹⁴ offers the functional and institutional capacity to link many of transitional justice’s disparate tasks.

2. Overview

The professionalization of “outreach” in transitional justice, and the inclusion of educational institutions in its practice, can perhaps be traced to the 1999 creation of the Outreach Programme of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), as a belated realization that the ICTY was functioning in isolation from the people whose violent conflicts inspired the tribunal’s response and that it was, therefore, losing a critical opportunity to influence justice, interethnic relations, and long-term peace in the former Yugoslavia.¹⁵ It included a youth subprogram that concentrated in large part on formal, secondary, and tertiary education. Nerma Jelacic points out that in addition to coming woefully late, the effort to reach out to, or communicate with, the peoples of the region that made up the tribunal’s ambit “was never seen as part of the core mandate.”¹⁶ Moreover, the Outreach Programme’s current and future financial support is insecure, weakening the scope of its work.¹⁷ Nevertheless, this program, including the component for youth described by Jelacic, represented a pioneering development in the field of transitional justice (and one with many positive outcomes), and in the 15 years since its founding, the idea of outreach as a more substantive, robust activity than press relations has begun to attract focused attention.

Only in its simplest conception is outreach for transitional justice measures limited to a function like public relations. In one of the only in-depth studies of the topic to date, Clara Ramírez-Barat sees the outreach of transitional justice measures as the opening of “a political process with a fundamental public dimension.”¹⁸ To be effective, she writes, transitional justice must

build direct channels of communication with the societies in which they operate. Such channels of communication can include dissemination of information, promotion of an open dialogue, establishment of consultation channels with different stakeholders, and, ideally, the opening of avenues for local participation. Devised to raise awareness and promote understanding about the goals and functioning of transitional justice measures, outreach programs ultimately aim to contribute to the legitimacy of transitional justice initiatives and engage the social body according to the values of the normative democratic shift they seek to promote.¹⁹

Ramírez-Barat identifies five main aims of outreach, or engagement with the public: “properly informing the public so that they can participate in the justice process; giving affected populations a voice in the process to ensure [transitional justice] methods address their needs; publicizing goals and results so that justice is seen to be done; promoting inclusiveness and transparency in the justice process to promote democratization; and building a sense of local ownership over the justice process.”²⁰ In addition, outreach has been seen as an indispensable part of the creation of a “legacy” for transitional justice, a lasting impact beyond the life of institutions such as tribunals and truth and historical commissions.²¹

The field has tended to underestimate the importance of outreach and to neglect this function, at least until recently, and “outreach has not been widely systematized; there is still no common definition of the term or understanding of the activities it entails.” Notably, although Ramírez-Barat points out that “outreach activities should work not only to disseminate information to the public, but also to create forums for two-way communication through dialogues, consultations, and participatory events of the [transitional justice] process,” this critical insight has not been explored deeply. The essential set of outreach-program goals implies the continuation of a vision of a rather one-way relationship, and “outreach,” despite an awareness in the field of its importance for justice, continues to be seen mainly in utilitarian and procedural terms. She recognizes, “as a technical term, outreach in a [transitional justice] context refers to a set of tools—[a] combination of materials and activities.”²²

The concept remains relatively untheorized. If outreach is moved beyond the usual sum of “materials and activities,” what are some of the ways in which outreach and its goals can be understood?

Transitional justice outreach is the process of creating bridges between elite-led, often urban institutions and broader societies, in effect “socializing” justice to make it part of the daily life of people.²³ It can be understood as communication, inclusion, and the transformation or creation of new communities in the aftermath of conflict. (Both inclusion of the formerly excluded and the transformation of conflict-affected societies belong to the set of broad goals shared by conflict transformation and transitional justice enterprises.) Outreach is critical to the localization of justice, an important response to the common critique that transitional justice is a Western, colonial enterprise and that transitional justice activists belong to a globalized elite who rely on a set of toolkits and a “cookie-cutter” approach to justice that is alien to many communities and, if not done properly, potentially harmful. Outreach also has a temporal element, in that it creates links between the present processes, which have limited life spans, and a future in which mechanisms like truth commissions may no longer operate but transitional justice ideas and findings in principle will remain alive and matter to people beyond the limited group involved with the official processes. In this sense, as mentioned earlier, outreach is linked to the goal of creating living legacies for these processes.

Further, outreach, in much of its potential impact, is similar to that of artistic processes in deepening transitional justice processes. It is, however, a deliberate strategy, embedded in the politics of transitional justice institutions; the arts, by contrast, can “work alongside” transitional justice but must remain clear of “prescriptions,”²⁴ not least because the arts are not institutions but also because of the importance of the independence of artists.²⁵ Education (including in the arts), however, is both institutional in its formal identity and a transformational process. Education, and especially educational institutions and actors, is a powerful outreach partner for transitional justice; it can be both part of a strategy and the target of prescriptions, although it is not a tool and has certain important limitations.

Education has increasingly been included as a critical part of transitional justice outreach since the ICTY began its program. Yet, education in the sense of formal learning, despite being present in nearly every truth commission report via recommendations for reform, has not had a strong presence in most transitional justice outreach.²⁶ For instance, it has been included in outreach programming in a number of cases at least discursively, although much of what is called “education outreach” has actually meant engagement with or inclusion of children and youth that sometimes relates to education in a very broad sense, meaning general knowledge, rather than in the sense of institutionalized or formal learning. It is important to mention here that outreach to children and youth itself was not a priority for transitional justice in the formative years of the field, appearing first in the context of the postconflict search for justice in Sierra Leone and Liberia, which were pioneers in the inclusion of children and youth in transitional justice due to the especially heavy use of child soldiers in both conflicts. The case for including youth and children in transitional justice was strongly made by ICTJ both through its research projects and the establishment of its Children and Youth program.²⁷ The recognition and inclusion of children and youth as active stakeholders in transitional justice

processes has undoubtedly played a role in putting a greater focus on the promise of education as a powerful, hitherto underutilized form of outreach.

In a more specific sense than educating or informing the public, education understood as learning among children and youth, especially in institutionalized settings, has not been the most developed form of outreach. Neither has it been intensively researched to better understand its forms, outcomes, and impact.

One critical development to point out is that when education has been mentioned in regard to transitional justice until fairly recently the connection has been limited to what educators call “content,” specifically, history as a subject and history textbooks. Discussions of education’s relation to past violence and injustice, peacebuilding, reconciliation, and transitional justice have finally moved beyond this narrow understanding of education, whose reform is now understood to be neither easy to achieve nor necessarily influential. Education specialists have recognized the limitations of focusing on history education for some time.²⁸ Attention to justice and education has broadened to include reform of education at the institutional level, from classroom pedagogy and behavior like corporal punishment and making classrooms into places that better model fairness and justice, to school segregation, to corruption and dysfunction at the level of school governance, arts education, language of instruction policies, civics education, teacher education, and educational spaces beyond classrooms, such as museums and “sites of conscience.” Nevertheless, history education inevitably retains a prominent role in the connection between education and transitional justice because it deals with the past, and, in formal education settings, with officially sanctioned versions of the past.

This broader, and broadening, understanding of education’s potential relationship to building more just societies is reflected in the growing range of ways that education can work as a form of outreach for transitional justice. However, the first and perhaps most important point that should be made here is that if transitional justice outreach is to intersect with education substantively and meaningfully, outreach itself must be a more deliberate and well-resourced area of activity than it has been in the past. If outreach is not seen as a critical part of the work of transitional justice by actors who have status within the field (commissioners of truth commissions, prosecutors) and by donors, and is not planned for nor built into transitional justice activities from the onset, it cannot work well in its engagement with education or any other sector or institution. Further, if an educational strategy is to play a major role in outreach, the challenges that this sector itself faces as well as its complexities and social character must be appreciated and recognized via the incorporation of education experts into the outreach office from the beginning.

Education is no less complex than a country’s legal system. Its vertical structures need to be considered in order to get the buy-in of the necessary officials, which, except in the most decentralized systems, means the ministry of education as well as regional ministry offices. And, unsurprisingly, as appreciation increases for how context should determine the contours of transitional justice more broadly, local education experts are crucial to include in an outreach team, because each education system has its local character and its own history and relationship to the past violence that transitional justice is trying to deal with.

In addition, the critical sector of higher education should not be overlooked. Institutions of higher learning traditionally have had a prestige that imparts a distinct value as a partner for transitional justice. Furthermore, in many contexts (as seen in several case studies in this project), activities related to transitional justice may be too politically sensitive for introduction into primary and secondary schools (basic education) but are possible in universities, which are widely granted more political space than basic education. In some cases, universities may function as the only possible education partners for transitional justice outreach, at least at certain times. Thus, the educational expertise on the outreach team, or at least available to it, optimally should include familiarity with both the local basic school system and universities.

Transitional justice outreach projects that have been linked to education over the last 15 or so years have taken

a variety of forms. The most prominent among these are formal partnerships between transitional justice institutions and the education sector; the creation of new educational materials; engaging with teachers in order to affect pedagogy; engaging with students to involve them as documenters of history and contributors to historical archives; engaging with young people outside the formal education system via a variety of media, including the arts; and the development of extracurricular sites of learning, such as museums, memorials, and sites of conscience. This is not an exhaustive list, and many practices overlap. No formal mapping has been carried out of educational practices defined as involving deliberate learning as a part of transitional justice, but the snapshots below of six areas of practice may help to define the contours of the field, the obstacles it has faced, and its promise as a vital part of transition after violence and repression.

3. Transitional Justice, Outreach, and Education: Practices and Experiences

In Sierra Leone, a Revolutionary Focus on Children and Tentative Engagement with the Education Sector

While different outreach practices have focused on one area of education or another, Sierra Leone presents a multidimensional approach to education in a transitional justice context in which engaging children, youth, and their advocates was neither an afterthought nor an add-on but consciously done from the planning stage on. The work revolutionary of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Sierra Leone (TRC-SL) involved children via statement taking and hearings as well as activities that led to the creation of educational materials for children and classrooms. While the TRC-SL was not the first truth commission to examine the role of education in conflict and make recommendations for education reform (most such commissions, in fact, have done this to different degrees),²⁹ it was one of the first to have a major focus on children. The transitional justice community inside and outside Sierra Leone recognized the large impact the conflict had had on children and planned early on to include children in the TRC-SL as witnesses and victims.

Well before the creation of the TRC-SL, UNICEF, in collaboration with the Human Rights Section of the UN Mission for Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and the National Forum for Human Rights (an umbrella organization for human rights nongovernmental organizations in Sierra Leone), convened a consultative meeting of stakeholders, including both international and Sierra Leonean experts in child and human rights, transitional justice, international criminal law, social welfare, counseling, and child psychology.³⁰ While the early planning for the involvement of children in general in the TRC-SL's work and the range of stakeholders convened is innovative and admirable, it is striking that this group of experts apparently did not include anyone from Sierra Leone's education sector nor any experts in teacher training, educational psychology, materials preparation, education in emergencies, or education development and reconstruction. The emphasis here was on children, their rights and welfare—but not on education as a system, institution, or set of institutions (formal and informal).

After the TRC-SL began its work, its National Vision for Sierra Leone initiative launched an equally innovative project calling for artistic contributions to its mandate to portray the kind of future Sierra Leoneans envisioned for their postconflict country in five to ten years. This call took the form of pamphlets, which were to be widely distributed to education institutions, and a workshop on the project that apparently included students, although the level of students and from how far outside Freetown they were to be recruited from is not clear.³¹ Even in a country as small as Sierra Leone, a transitional justice institution's ability to reach the population broadly is a serious challenge, and the lack of infrastructure in the postwar country made the process even more difficult, which studies confirmed based on survey and interview research carried out in Sierra Leone

post-TRC-SL and after the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) to assess how much Sierra Leonians knew about the two institutions and how they felt they had impacted their lives.³²

The challenge for outreach missions of connecting with society beyond the capital and possibly other urban centers is common to all transitional justice measures. This difficulty shows the importance where education is concerned in trying whenever possible to work with institutions capable of impacting the entire system, such as the national and local offices of the ministries of education as well as teacher training colleges and teachers' unions. Indeed, this characteristic is one of the potential strengths of education as a target and partner for outreach. The institution of education contains both horizontal and vertical structures, potentially giving it the means to offer sustainability, particularly in comparison, for example, to the nongovernmental sector, which is much more fragmented. This organizational potential of the education sector must always be weighed against its limits, which are that in a resource-poor, postconflict country the education system does not reach all or even a majority of children, as many remain out of school. The TRC-SL and the Truth Commission for Liberia (TRC-L), for example, grappled with this conundrum extensively as they tried to balance the number of in-school and out-of-school children they engaged with.³³

Despite apparently not including experts from the formal education sector in their preliminary consultations, the TRC-SL and SCSL did include formal educational institutions and activities in their outreach work. Although the education system was not the main target, the SCSL hosted visits by school groups, as did the National Museum when artworks gathered by the National Vision project were exhibited there. Jessica Lincoln notes the effect on inhabitants of Freetown, whose impressions of the SCSL included the images of visiting groups of school children, neatly clad in their uniforms, walking in and out of the court buildings.³⁴ The SCSL also reached schools via partnerships with local nongovernmental organizations, such as Peace Links and universities, via a project its outreach team created in partnership with the Sierra Leone Teachers' Union, the Accountability Now clubs.³⁵ The TRC-SL created one of the first "child-friendly" versions of a truth commission final report for children in primary school, for which its partners were international organizations (UNICEF and UNAMSIL, which provided much of the funding) and local Sierra Leonean children's networks, including a radio station. The Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) also produced children's versions of its final report, *Chega!*, both in a comics edition and in video format.

However, the absence of actors from the formal education system here is puzzling. How would the child-friendly version of the final report reach children, and continue over the years to reach them, unless it was embedded in schools? Children in very poor, postconflict countries face a serious lack of books with which to develop their reading skills. Printed materials provided to schools by transitional justice institutions could be enormously valuable resources for this reason alone.³⁶ Certainly, given the number of children out of school in Sierra Leone, schools should not be the only vector through which to reach children, and the inclusion of other partners, including radio stations, is critical. It is curious, however, that the education system was not a partner from the beginning in the creation, dissemination, and teaching of the child-friendly report, as it was for the 2002–2004 Peruvian Truth Commission (Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación, or CVR), which was ambitious in its aims to affect the education system.³⁷

The TRC-SL also created a version of its report for secondary school students in the creative form of a graphic novel,³⁸ and it was through this project that outreach efforts engaged the formal education system, including the Ministry of Education and teachers, in consultations and piloting. In addition, a video version of the final report was shown around the country, including in both secondary schools and colleges. The print version of the secondary-school-level report was disseminated "as a one-off when 200 copies were distributed to secondary schools across the country, reaching about 40,000 students."³⁹ However, no research is cited to confirm that those copies were actually taught in the classroom or read by students. Post-TRC-SL research revealed that the reports were barely known, including in the ministry itself; that they were barely being used in schools; and that the TRC's recommendations, including that the contents of the final report be incorporated into primary,

secondary, and tertiary education and regarding the need to banish corporal punishment and other authoritarian practices in Sierra Leone's schools, were not known, much less followed.⁴⁰

Despite this disappointing outcome, which was essentially mirrored, unfortunately, in Peru in spite of the more deliberate process of involving the education system from the ministry on down from the beginning of the country's CVR process, the ideas, techniques, and partnerships tried in Sierra Leone to work with and for children via the education system were important first steps in the effort to engage a critical partner institution in furthering the work of transitional justice. Outreach via education at the TRC-SL, like the CVR, focused on the creation of materials and the engagement of both students and teachers, both to elicit their opinions and to inform them of how the TRC-SL and SCSL functioned, the principles by which they worked, and their ultimate goals (accountability, transparency, and justice for victims).

Transitional Justice Experts in the Education Space

The ICTY's Youth Outreach Programme offers future transitional justice processes examples of outreach activities for the education system in the form of pedagogic strategies. To a greater extent than that of the TRC-SL, the ICTY's outreach program directly targeted schools with their activities. The tribunal employed this method because of the sensitive politics around its trials and the knowledge that, without official approval, the ICTY would be unable to implement formal education programs in the countries of the former Yugoslavia (as opposed to gaining access to schools through civil society organizations, which might be the case in other contexts).

The Youth Outreach Programme aimed to reach young people aged 16–18 and university students. The programs consisted of visits by experts from the court to secondary schools in Serbia, Kosovo, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina and to universities and law faculties, particularly when visits to secondary schools proved politically unfeasible. Remoteness of the ICTY from the contexts of the crimes with which it was involved, in addition to political resistance to its work, made it difficult (i.e., prohibitively expensive) to bring young people *to* the court. However, alternatively, sending trained experts to represent a transitional justice body to schools offers a powerful outreach approach that could be used (even when the represented institution is not located in another country) in order to deepen young people's sense of direct connectedness to the institution and processes of justice and truth telling.

While the ostensible topic of this outreach was the work of the ICTY itself,

the project was never envisaged as a simple public information exercise, “by the Tribunal about the Tribunal.” The aim was to use the ICTY's work, the myriad of facts it has established, and the cases it has adjudicated in order to encourage youth to reflect on the validity of entrenched opinion not only regarding the ICTY, but more importantly regarding the conflicts of the past and the views of neighboring nations/ethnicities.⁴¹

The Youth Outreach Programme was confined mainly to expert visits and lectures in schools and universities; there was no attempt to create materials about the ICTY for use in the schools, to insert new areas of study into the curriculum, or to work separately with teachers—approaches that could be used to accompany and deepen the impact of the visits. Outreach officers sent to secondary schools, instead, integrated passages from works of national literature that formed a part of the schools' curricula into their presentations. Although the ICTY presentations were carefully crafted to make use of engaging photos, graphics, and audio-visual footage to communicate how the tribunal worked and what its principles were, they utilized existing teaching materials (materials that were also likely to be familiar and appreciated as points of national pride among their audiences), rather than trying to create their own. Presentations were also balanced to show evidence that acts of violence had taken place in other communities as well as the students' own communities, with the aim of

encouraging students to grapple with the experience of being victims of violence and the possibility that their community members may have committed violence as well.⁴² ICTY outreach work in universities, again, focused on contributing to the academic subject matter the students were studying, which was of future professional interest for them, particularly international and human rights law.⁴³

The strategies and successes of the program reveal that the most engaged consumers of the expertise of the representatives of the ICTY were the students, not the teachers or local education and political authorities, many of whom were resistant to working with the tribunal or downright hostile to its work. This behavior points to an important consideration in outreach: Potential partners have to be carefully analyzed to decide which social groups are likely to be most open and most closed to the work of transitional justice bodies and their messages.

The Youth Outreach Programme in the former Yugoslavia was limited by funding challenges, political opposition, and the fact that the ICTY added outreach quite late in the game while dealing with a population already alienated from the tribunal due to early neglect, distance, and the legacy of the wars. Yet the initiative managed, nonetheless, to reach young people within the space of educational institutions and to present the work of the ICTY and international criminal law as neutral and critical issues relevant to people across the divided, embittered region.

Engaging with Teachers and Transforming Pedagogy

It is crucial for transitional justice experts to understand that perhaps the most neglected part of any basic school system is the teachers themselves—without whom education cannot function. Teachers are a critical social group for transitional justice bodies to reach if they are to achieve real social change. While justice measures may not carry out extensive teacher training directly, they can affect it through early consultations with: organizations that are qualified to train teachers, both in pre-service and in-service settings; ministry of education staff; teacher training colleges; and nongovernmental organizations that so often provide both supplemental teacher training and materials. Education systems can lose many important attributes, including classrooms, school campuses, books, and equipment, and still function at least temporarily, but teachers are the critical software that enables learning—academic and social, cognitive and affective—to take place. Given that teachers' salaries represent both fixed costs and, particularly in secondary education where increased training and specialization is required, the largest expense of an education system, it stands to reason that in resource-poor countries, funds are often short for teaching materials, pre-service teacher education and training, and in-service continuing professional development and support. Yet, not only are teachers' abilities to grasp and feel confident teaching new materials on politically contested topics such as justice, human rights, and recent histories critically limited, but in postconflict contexts teachers have lived through the violent events and are deeply impacted by them. Their discomfort with new realities, proposed new methods of teaching, and difficult-to-teach materials and events may well stem not only from intellectual and professional challenges but also from personal experiences and internal, ideological conflicts.

“Facing the Past, Transforming Our Future,” a program in South Africa offering professional training and support to teachers grappling with materials related to South Africa's apartheid past in the new post-apartheid environment, was not initiated or even envisioned by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC-SA), but it offers lessons and ideas for future truth commissions and similar bodies. Institutionally, the offering is the result of a partnership between an international, US-based education nongovernmental organization, Facing History and Ourselves,⁴⁴ and a South African nongovernmental organization, Shikaya. Together, they created a new program in 2003, drawing on its teacher professional development methodology, which includes a scope and sequence, years of experience, and a wealth of materials, tailored to the South African experience.

In the absence of a specific mandate from a transitional justice institution, the program initiated by civil society worked to deepen the processes of addressing past injustices started by the TRC-SA via an important stratum

of society—teachers in South African schools—and through them, to impact many students over the professional life of each teacher.⁴⁵ The Facing the Past program is not required for teachers, nor is its scope South Africa-wide. It is currently focused on reaching teachers in one province, the Western Cape.

In assessing the successes of this program, it is important to point out that the terms of South Africa's transition, including the discourse and commitments enshrined in the Constitution and the TRC-SA process, had important enabling functions in the launch of an educational endeavor with enough status to attract teachers in search of in-service training opportunities. Conditions in other transitional justice contexts, particularly the credibility of the transitional justice processes, may not be as friendly for the establishment of programs for teachers.

The Facing the Past program focuses on history education and history teachers. The role that history, a humanities subject and one that had been deeply tarnished by apartheid, should play in the education system of the new South Africa was highly contested. Eventually, however, leadership under Kader Asmal, a well-known human rights lawyer and Minister of Education from 1999 to 2004, and processes (including the 2000 Report of the Working Group on Values in Education, which Asmal convened) that were intimately connected to transitional justice in South Africa strengthened the profile of history education as a key force in deepening values critical to South Africa's post-apartheid future: tolerance, democracy, reconciliation.

Significantly, the authors of the report mentioned teachers when they linked South Africa's reckoning with the past to its future as a changed country: "More than any other discipline, good history put to good use taught by imaginative teachers can promote reconciliation and reciprocal respect of a meaningful kind, because it encourages a knowledge of the other, the unknown and the different."⁴⁶ And the report specifically cited the importance of education as the creation of a legacy for the TRC-SA, identifying "the teaching of the TRC in particular as being an important preventative measure to not allow the mistakes of the past to be repeated."⁴⁷

However, unlike the many peace and justice-oriented education programs and policy recommendations that focus on the content of history education, the Facing the Past program focuses on pedagogy and teacher training, based on the philosophy that *how* the material is taught is as important as *what* is taught. History teachers were not included in discussions of exactly how these challenging new topics were to be taught in a new South Africa, a country very much burdened with the legacies of the old South Africa: racial segregation; different systems of education, of different quality, for different ethnic groups; and schools and their staff members embedded in the injustices of the old system.

Facing the Past moved to fill a void—the lack of formal training and support programs to help teachers cope with teaching history and the larger legacy of apartheid within their schools. Facing the Past's pedagogy is very personal and experiential, encouraging teachers to keep journals and express themselves verbally and in drawings during workshops, for example, and makes extensive use of international case studies in addition to discussions of South Africa's own history, such as Germany's loss of democracy during the Weimar Republic and then the Holocaust, and the US civil rights movement.

A major goal of the program is to introduce the teachers to inquiry-based methods of teaching, based on the philosophy that difficult issues in history cannot be taught without discussion and debate, and that education that relies on transmitting facts for students to memorize and repeat will not help students become more active citizens in a democracy. Facing the Past's themes and cases help teachers and students see that arguments in favor of committing or condoning violence and injustice must be questioned and resisted and, indeed, have been successfully implemented in the past.

The scope of this program is limited, with 500 teachers having participated in the multiday workshops over nearly 12 years. Shikaya and Facing the Past have partnered with the Ministry of Education of the Western Cape, so the program has had official endorsement. The group's methodology is aligned with South Africa's

national history curriculum in such a way that even if teachers choose not to teach the entire Facing the Past curriculum, the methods and content can easily be imported into the required curriculum.⁴⁸ In addition to the multiday workshops, Shikaya runs larger-capacity, shorter-duration conferences for teachers from across South Africa.

Given the difficulties in affecting entire national education systems illustrated by the Sierra Leonean, Peruvian, and Balkan experiences—based on an array of challenges from political will and social opposition, to competition for tight budgets and limited classroom hours, to deeply under-resourced education systems, to ever-changing line-ups of education officials with ever-changing priorities—the decision to limit Facing the Past’s work to the Western Cape while maintaining its high quality and intensely personal focus was admirable. What the program sacrifices in scalability may well be made up for in the power of a high-quality, well-received, and popular program to influence debates on education across the country and beyond. The key for this program, as it would be for similar programs, is to ensure the sustainability of the project at its chosen (mainly province-wide) scale and to find ways to create and influence conversations about how best to address the nation’s transition in the classroom beyond the program’s immediate scope.

Creation of Materials for Teaching and Learning

Although engagement with the educational establishment, especially teachers, is a necessary precondition for ensuring that educational materials, once created, are used and used effectively, the materials can be used only if they exist. Creating materials for teaching and learning is one of the most effective outreach strategies for those aiming to disseminate and socialize the concepts of transitional justice. Materials creation may well be the area of transitional justice activity in which we have the most practice to draw on, although the impact of these materials, including whether they are being used, exactly how they are used, and how students receive them, still needs research and evaluation. The wealth of examples includes educational materials created by transitional justice institutions, mostly truth commissions themselves, as well as those created by civil society organizations and trained educators connected to the education sector, such as writers and publishers of textbooks.

Reference has already been made to the child- and youth-friendly versions of truth commission reports produced in Sierra Leone and Peru. These included teaching materials to help teachers. In Timor-Leste the truth commission developed youth-friendly versions of its report in two media: print and film. The creation of such reports targeted at young people and children was a critical innovation in transitional justice. The major challenge now is to find ways to ensure that the materials are used in schools and that teachers are familiar with and comfortable teaching them. This means that materials creation cannot be an end in itself but just one part of a broader engagement with schools, educators, and educational nongovernmental organizations. In some cases, the issue may not be the creation of new materials so much as the review of existing materials by diverse groups of educators and recommendations for any needed reforms. Europe’s experience with educational material reform and/or creation, largely via official textbook review commissions and nongovernmental organizations, offers lessons for transitional justice professionals.

Historical commissions, which predate truth commissions, have focused on historical inquiry, and while not often considered as typical transitional justice processes, they are indeed part of the same spectrum of entities serving truth telling, although usually not with the inclusion of victims’ voices. A largely European phenomenon associated with World War II controversies and often binational in nature (French-German, German-Polish, German-Czech, and so on), historical commissions have often been followed by initiatives to review textbooks for signs of biases, errors, and stereotyping. While the commissions did not themselves create materials, they focused on reforming existing materials and significantly transformed older conceptions of textbooks from tools to promote national identity to tools for peacebuilding rooted in presentations of truth combined with a pedagogy of inquiry through an internationalist/European lens.⁴⁹ This European

experience of textbook reform as a kind of diplomacy has already influenced education in the region (many of the history textbooks used in Northern Ireland, for example, have been written by mixed teams of history educators since the 1990s⁵⁰) and provides important background for transitional justice experts to keep in mind when considering how to engage with the education sector, create or influence materials, and win official buy-in for their implementation.

The post–World War II creation of the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI), a unique textbook research center in Braunschweig, Germany, was an important intersecting of peace, justice, and education. GEI was involved in many of the bi- and multi-national consultations and analyses of existing textbooks and recommendations for reform in portrayals of former enemies, controversial historical events, and pedagogical approaches. Originally focused on Europe, the institute now sponsors research on teaching and learning materials worldwide and advises on textbook reform and creation.⁵¹ The post–World War II European textbook project, originally focused on binaries of Germany and various neighbors, is an example of the diplomatic processes needed to bring together key actors—educators, historians, textbook writers, officials—to agree on approaches to past violence, injustices, and controversial events in official texts.

The role of an independent institute appears to have been critical; so were the international political developments that preceded and accompanied the educational cooperation. The lessons may be of limited value in contexts where political and social transformations have been weak or nonexistent, where regional development has remained subordinate to individual state identities (for example, East Asia, as compared to Western Europe), and where a degree of agreement must be achieved at the intrastate level, as opposed to the interstate level. (Note that a project to create a new Macedonian history textbook in the aftermath of civil violence in the late 1990s, and the continued lack of social cohesion there, succeeded as far as building collaboration between educators representing the main ethnic groups and producing a new, well-reviewed book that has attempted to present the Macedonian experience from the point of view of all its major groups. However, the book was never actually adopted by the ministry of education and has not been widely used. It proved to be too politically controversial.)

In addition to textbooks and materials directly drawn from truth or historical commissions, many other media and formats of materials exist to convey the basic concepts and specific experiences behind transitional justice processes. The experience of the ICTY (referenced above) demonstrates the appeal of using classical national literature (novels) to explain the work of war crimes tribunals and the challenges of seeking accountability for the kind of intergroup violence portrayed, for example, in the Yugoslav classic *The Bridge over the Drina*, but other formats can be used as well. There have been no in-depth evaluations of how students receive films like the one produced by the Timor-Leste truth commission and the graphic novel form used by the TRC-SL. Such investigations would help us to understand how well such media resonate with young people.

In addition, poetry, drama, films, and websites could all be used to further the goals of transitional justice. The production of more creative and engaging materials for young people necessitates broad collaboration by many different actors, from transitional justice experts to textbook writers, professional historians, educators in history and the arts, and, in many contexts, religious leaders and educators. The sheer range of actors who could be potentially engaged in transitional justice through outreach to these potential communities offers a broader audience for transitional justice than just students. Such activities also imply a broadening of the conception of transitional justice, as education becomes the potential bridge referred to earlier, between transitional justice in contexts of true transition to long-term historical justice; between transitional justice and broader social processes, such as reconciliation, or the creation of community (*convivencia*, cohesion) and inclusion; and between parochial and cosmopolitan conceptions of justice and history, that is, one's own group's historical experiences and those of other groups. The last is the pedagogy used by Facing History and Ourselves, which relies on comparative cases.

Engaging Students and Young People in Truth and Memory: Justice Projects Inside and Outside the Formal Education System, via Schools and Civil Society

Yet another way to further the work of transitional justice via learning projects for young people is to engage with them directly. While the ICTY's Outreach Programme provided one way of doing that (sending transitional justice experts into schools and universities), other projects have engaged with young people by making them central actors in the work, essentially empowering them to become historians of periods of violence and injustice—for example, in a nonofficial form of truth telling that is educational in terms of both learning about history and interacting with different generations and members of “other” groups.

Badna Naaref was an “intergenerational oral history” project in Lebanon developed by a nongovernmental organization working on transitional justice themes whose main aim was to engage with young people. The project, which ran from 2010–2013, was a response not to a transitional justice process but rather to a stated need of young people: In the face of continuing violence, the ever-present (and currently rising) danger of renewed large-scale fighting, and the reality of thousands of people who went missing in the war without their fates being clarified, there is a thirst among young Lebanese to understand the war so that they can address its legacy of violence and divisions.⁵² In the context of Lebanon, “the absence of an overarching curriculum has paradoxically opened up a space to explore new methods of addressing the country's history in classrooms, and especially to promote multi-perspectivity in education.”⁵³

Several small-scale projects to open up dialogue about the past, all with the assistance of external partners, have been developed in Lebanon by partnerships involving history teachers and Lebanese nongovernmental organizations. Many of these focused on teacher training, but the more ambitious Badna Naaref project that focused on students as actors grew around the idea of training students to be oral historians of the civil war, in order to help them to understand the experiences of people from different groups in Lebanese society and at the same time to create an oral history archive. The two main actors in what became the “Badna Naaref—We Want to Know—Project” were ICTJ and a Lebanese university. This was a “truth-seeking project”—“truth-seeking” for the students who would interview family members or others they knew well and “truth-telling” for the interviewed, thus a kind of decentralized, unofficial, and informal truth process. Both teachers and students from 12 different schools were selected to participate. The target ages of the original students, 15 to 16 years old, were carefully chosen. Students in this age group were felt to be less politicized than university students and also not under as much pressure as older high school students to prepare for matriculation exams.⁵⁴ Trainers of the students in oral history techniques were also selected and trained. The project also involved the development of a website to publicize the project, archive hosting by both Lebanese partners, and venues for the students to meet one another, a significant achievement in a deeply divided society.

Ultimately, the project proved to be unsustainable, and some related components, such as a documentary film based on it, were unable to get off the ground. While the project directly affected the 44 students, family members, teachers, trainers, and project organizers who were involved in it, its impact may have been larger if it had garnered media coverage. But the limits faced by the project grew directly out of the fact that it took place not as part of a transition but in the absence of official processes meant to address the past via the law, public truth telling, and commitments to reform and the transformation of social identities based on sectarian divisions. Issues related to the civil war were too sensitive for many schools and individuals to get involved in the project, and safety was a concern in a society where impunity has not been addressed and perpetrators of atrocities not only remain at large but in many cases hold high positions. The growing turmoil in the Middle East, and the implications for intensified violence in Lebanon, even beyond its existing state fragility and divisions, further undermined the project's ability to achieve its goals. Finally, the project owed its existence, and its tenuous nature, to the fact that it grew out of civil society. Even without the political problems in Lebanon to contend with, the partners lacked stable sources of funding and the human resources to devote to it over time.

Significantly, the project did leave a legacy: It inspired a two-year oral history project with university students, under the leadership of a nongovernmental organization, with a focus on the issue of missing persons and interviews of the families of the missing. Also, while the organizers lacked the resources to carry out evaluations of Badna Naaref, which would have yielded much more fine-grained information on the program's achievements, it nonetheless yields insights into "natural avenues for young people to engage with the principles underpinning transitional justice," including types of activities and the most appealing and effective media for them to use.⁵⁵

In many of the cases discussed here, formal education institutions are able to act as partners or participate in projects, even when the projects cannot achieve official, system-wide integration of the programs. In others, however, the education system as a whole is either too compromised by violence and injustice to be a partner or the issues are too politically sensitive to expect enough teachers and schools to be involved to make a difference. In Côte d'Ivoire after the 2010 violence the education system was left deeply implicated in the grievances over inequities that had helped drive the violence; universities were politicized sites of violence.

Côte d'Ivoire's Commission for Dialogue, Truth, and Reconciliation (CDVR) and ICTJ, together with UNICEF, planned to develop a methodology to involve children and young people in its work, as had happened in Sierra Leone. However, the commission was caught up in Ivorian politics, and the planned involvement of children and outreach to education did not take place. Indeed, the announcement that the ministry of education had plans to include transitional justice as a theme in the national curriculum was a cause for concern for supporters of transitional justice, as the process has been so compromised.⁵⁶

Cognizant of the challenges to transitional justice processes in the Ivorian political climate, ICTJ and UNICEF developed what they called a "Plan B," to be implemented in case official processes and institutions were unavailable for "outreach" to young people. Instead of working with the CDVR or educational institutions, ICTJ worked with the leadership of about 15 nonpartisan student groups and youth-run local nongovernmental organizations with outreach capacity to mobilize youth throughout the country. While the youth leaders focused on truth telling and "how the past could be dealt with from the perspective of children and youth, the project also involved some deviation from the usual transitional justice script, as the partners' goals were conceived of as 'dialogue,' rather than justice" per se. Thus, the topics and methodologies pointed more toward the "final goals" of reconciliation and civic trust of transitional justice than the "mediate goals" of redress or accountability. ICTJ provided the requested resources and training to these leaders but defined its role in the project as "catalytic," because leadership and the definition of the project ultimately came from the youth leaders themselves.⁵⁷ The young Ivoirians came up with the idea of using testimonies from youth throughout the country to create their own reports in the form of radio broadcasts, which were then disseminated across the country as a vehicle for further dialogue about youth, their experiences during the war, and their place in the country's future.⁵⁸

Transitional justice could also engage directly much more than it currently does with university students. Working through universities and civil society groups, for example, Peru's CVR created a program called PROVER, to involve young Peruvians in the work of the commission as volunteers, participating in taking testimonies, disseminating information about the CVR, assisting at the exhumation of mass graves, and creating and leading community forums about the CVR. After the CVR ended its work, a Peruvian civil society organization created a volunteer program for university students who wanted to contribute to the future of the country in a variety of ways. Similarly, in Sierra Leone, the SCSL's Outreach Unit organized the Accountability Now clubs for university students to learn more about the work of the court, human rights, international law, and transitional justice, both so that they could contribute to outreach work about the court and as a source of learning among the country's future leaders about transitional justice values. The Accountability Now clubs have been popular and exist today in Liberia as well as Sierra Leone.⁵⁹ Colombia is currently creating a network of regional university-based historical memory centers to carry on the work of its Historical Memory Center as

part of its peace and transitional justice processes. This will be a very important project for transitional justice professionals to observe.

Development of Extracurricular Sites of Learning

Finally, the creation of alternative sites and institutions of learning, or partnerships with them, can also function as outreach vectors from transitional justice institutions to schools. Perhaps the most prominent are museums, both in the classical sense of purpose-built institutions but also the category that in the last two decades has come to be known as “sites of conscience”—museums created around critical historical sites that involve tragedy and injustice in order to both educate and commemorate.⁶⁰ The Liberation War Museum in Bangladesh, for example, has established its identity as both a memorial to the violence that led to the founding of Bangladesh as well as a site of learning about human rights and peace. The privately funded museum was conceived and developed by civil society actors. High school students are a primary audience for the museum’s activities, which are not limited to its onsite collection of donated historical documents and artifacts but extend to activities intended to make students active participants in their own history. In much the same spirit as Badna Naaref in Lebanon, the museum has sponsored a nationwide oral history project for high school students to interview family members who lived through the violence and submit the transcripts to the museum’s archive to encourage students to feel they are contributing to writing the country’s history.⁶¹

The challenge with this kind of activity is that it can easily be drawn into other priorities, sometimes in tension with transitional justice. In the case of the Liberation War Museum, the mission appears to be both nation building as well as the historical memory of injustice and learning about international human rights. Conceptions of countering impunity, measures of redress, and building the cornerstones of a culture of human rights (namely, rule of law)—the classical themes of transitional justice—are not what the museum stresses (and given that impunity for atrocities committed during the liberation war has been a political reality in Bangladesh, the museum may be under political pressure not to address this topic). But oral history and history education as a form of truth seeking and truth telling, particularly in a context where there has been official resistance to truth telling about events connected with the liberation war, are within the museum’s mandate.

It should be noted that oral history, particularly as practiced by untrained students interviewing family members, carries its own problems for history and truth. As a kind of crowd-sourcing of national history, it would not meet a professional historian’s standards of investigation. But in contexts where there is a lack of intergenerational communication about historical events, particularly those connected to a state’s founding or transitional moments, oral history is an activity that can inspire thinking about past and present injustices and give young citizens a sense of agency. In addition, as in Lebanon, where the oral history project involved students from the country’s main confessional groups, the participation of students from all over the country may reduce the likelihood that a single narrative dominates the histories being archived for public readership.

While the Liberation War Museum currently lacks the resources to host teachers or visit schools around the country and engages directly with teachers mainly in Dhaka, it has a country-wide network of teachers and schools to whom it provides materials via manuals, DVDs, and pamphlets. The museum’s authority is recognized by educators. The co-founder and now trustee of the museum, Mofidul Hoque, was appointed as a member of a committee of the National Curriculum and Textbook Board to recommend new ways to integrate the history of the liberation war into textbooks. The addition of a section on children’s rights was included in the National Curriculum in 2012, after the museum submitted a proposal to the Ministry of Education on incorporating human rights into the curriculum.

Many other alternative sites of transitional justice learning exist as potential models of practice, including, to mention just a few: District 6 in South Africa, the site of forced removals during apartheid; Robben Island, also in South Africa, where Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the resistance to apartheid were imprisoned; and

the former secret prisons at the Navy Mechanics School (ESMA) in Argentina, the Villa Grimaldi in Chile, and Tuol Sleng Prison in Cambodia—all former sites of torture, enforced disappearance, killings, and other violence that now function as museums/educational centers and memorials in countries that have experienced transitional justice processes. These and many others, including older sites—such as former Nazi death camps; sites of rescue and resistance, such as the Amsterdam house where Anne Frank and her family were hidden; and the slave house of Gorée, from which slave ships set sail as part of the Atlantic slave trade—can carry forward the work of transitional justice, all with varying relationships to official institutions, including schools, and each with its own focus within the discourse of transitional justice.

4. Conclusion

In many senses, it is impossible to imagine how transitional justice processes could have a legacy without the inclusion of education. The belief that the lessons and messages of transitional justice, ranging from knowledge about the past to a commitment to human rights and nonviolence to new ways of conceiving of civic identity, can be disseminated through society and become long-term norms simply by holding events at one point in time is unproven and weak in theories of change. Unless transitional justice leaves tangible and long-lasting traces it remains open to the critique that it consists of a series of one-offs, often with a strong role for outside actors, that in the end make very little difference in the lives of ordinary people. The “gold standard” of ensuring that transitional justice outreach creates a transitional justice legacy is that it affects the influential institution of education in positive and lasting ways, helping to shape the new curriculum, teaching materials, and forms of teaching in order to touch directly the lives of students and, through them, their communities. In reality, however, this is an extremely difficult process that has rarely been achieved, meaning that alternative educational sites must be found if the goals of transitional justice are to be pursued through education.

West Germany was almost certainly the best example of an education system that went through thorough transformation, along with the entire society, in the decades after World War II, but this example, embedded in international, regional, and national developments, will almost certainly be impossible to replicate. For example, even in South Africa, where studying the TRC-SA is mandated in grades 9 and 12, the incentives for teachers and students to focus on the topic are limited: History is only one of thirty elective subjects, of which seven are selected to be tested on, for the final matriculation exam (the TRC-SA is the topic of one essay question that can be selected by students). In 2014, the test also included related questions on the US civil rights movement as well as resistance to apartheid.⁶² According to South African history education expert and Facing the Past Advisor Gail Weldon, the number of South African students opting to take the history test is dropping.⁶³ However, the inclusion of the TRC-SA and related topics in the national required curriculum, and the inclusion of this material on national examinations, is a signal of achievement. In other contexts, in which transition did not happen as it did in South Africa (where space for discussions about education reform was created by the transition and related transitional justice processes), lasting institution-wide reforms are even more difficult to achieve.

However, even in the absence of the political conditions for formal transitional justice processes to take place, it is rare that absolutely no political space exists for educational activities, particularly if sites of learning outside of schools can be utilized or created. Perhaps what transitional justice professionals should aim for via outreach is to create meaningful conversations, rather than large-scale institution-wide reforms. Not only is this more realistic, but it may help to gradually socialize difficult and controversial new approaches to historical and current injustices and former enemies in ways that provoke less opposition and finally prove more sustainable.

It is apparent that the creation of parallel institutions, museums, sites of conscience, and education-focused nongovernmental organizations may offer the most longevity for outreach. It is critical that museums and sites of conscience have strong education programs for teachers, students, and the public and that they are able to interact with the school system, including, if possible, teacher-education programs. These sites have the added value of being sites of learning for different social groups, not just students. They can offer a wide array of activities: internships, competitions, student exhibitions and curatorship projects, activities for parents or grandparents and children, films, performances, and clubs. They can also have a virtual presence through their websites, which enable them to reach beyond live audiences for their work. Transitional justice institutions themselves, such as Liberia's truth commission and both the ICTY and International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), have been developing their own legacy plans—Liberia's truth commission for an enduring, interactive web presence (in partnership with the Georgia Institute of Technology) and the ICTY and ICTR for archives.

As outreach has grown in recognition of its importance, perhaps the legacy plans of transitional justice institutions will include more attention to education and partnerships with other sites of learning. Whatever the form, it is clear that educational legacies of transitional justice will be shaped by local forces and contexts and will adapt, if they are to survive, to local realities. As such, they can serve as living legacies to the all-too-short lives of transitional justice institutions.

Notes

1. While defining education is beyond the scope of this paper, I mean by *education* both learning in school as well as extracurricular learning that is intentional and more deliberate than simply the learning about the world that takes place as a child grows up. The scope of education here is what is often called *basic education*, K–12. Universities, important potential sites of transitional justice outreach, will be referred to as such in the paper—while noting the reality that many children in the world’s poorest countries still do not have the opportunity to continue their education beyond primary or lower high school. While I am particularly interested in formal schooling because of its critical, and universal, institutional component, extracurricular learning will be considered as well, because of the contexts in which transitional justice–related themes are too politically sensitive to introduce in schools, which are frequently under political pressure and tend to be conservative. Generally, I work from Julia Paulson’s definition of education: “That education is an important component of human development processes has been established normatively and empirically. The empirical argument is grounded most strongly in evidence about the contribution of education to economic growth and to fostering social cohesion and democracy. Normatively, there is a strong consensus around education as a fundamental human right.” In Julia Paulson, “(Re)Creating Education in Postconflict Contexts: Transitional Justice, Education and Human Development,” ICTJ, New York, November 2009, 6, www.ictj.org/publication/recreating-education-postconflict-contexts-transitional-justice-education-and-o
2. UN Secretary General, *The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies*, S/2004/616*, August 23, 2004, 4, www.unrol.org/doc.aspx?n=2004+report.pdf, cited in Pablo de Greiff, “A Normative Conception of Transitional Justice,” in *Politorbis* 50, no. 3 (2010): 17.
3. Website of the International Center for Transitional Justice, www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice
4. Naomi Roht-Arriaza, “The New Landscape of Transitional Justice,” in *Transitional Justice in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Truth versus Justice*, ed. Naomi Roht-Arriaza and Javier Mariezcurrena (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2, looks at broader and narrower conceptions of transitional justice and opts for a narrower one—neither definition quite gets at what we expect transitional justice to achieve, which has implications for involving more social institutions and processes.
5. De Greiff, “A Normative Conception of Transitional Justice,” 21.
6. *Ibid.*
7. See Undine Kayser-Whande and Stephanie Schell-Faucon, “Transitional Justice and Conflict Transformation in Conversation,” *Politorbis* 50, no. 3 (2010): 97–110, on broadening the conception of transitional justice and considering its ultimate aims in relation to the conflict-resolution field.
8. Kenneth D. Bush and Diane Saltarelli, *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peace Building Education for Children* (Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Center, 2000). The literature on education and conflict is vast, but a sample that seems especially relevant for transitional justice due to impact, issues, or the case studies includes Elisabeth King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Graça Machel, *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children. Report of the Expert of the Secretary General of the United Nations* (New York: UNICEF, 1996), at www.unicef.org/graca/; Anna Obura, *Never Again: Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda* (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 2003); Marc Sommers, *The Children’s War: Towards Peace in Sierra Leone. A Field Report Assessing the Protection and Assistance Needs of Sierra Leonian Children and Adolescents* (New York: Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 1997); Eric Stover and Harvey Weinstein, eds., *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Sobhi Tawil and A. Harley, eds., *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* (Geneva: International Bureau of Education, 2004). A closely related but distinct field in which justice and human rights issues are often foregrounded focuses on history education; see, among many others, Sirkka Ahonen, “Politics of Identity through History Curriculum: Narratives of the Past for Social Exclusion—or Inclusion?” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 179–94; Elizabeth A. Cole, ed., *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006); Sarah Warshauer Freedman, Harvey M. Weinstein, Karen Murphy, and Timothy Longman, “Teaching History after Identity-Based Conflicts: The Rwanda Experience,” *Comparative Education Review* 52, no. 4 (November 2008): 663–90; Wolfgang Hoepken, “War, Memory and Education in a Fragmented Society: The Case of Yugoslavia,” *East European Politics and Societies* 13 (1999): 190–227; and Elizabeth Jelin

- and Federico Guillermo Lorenz, eds., *Educación y Memoria. La Escuela Elabora el Pasado* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2004).
9. Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, General Assembly resolution 60/147, December 16, 2005, www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/RemedyAndReparation.aspx; cited in Peter Malcontent, “Amending the Past: A Novel Urge?” in *Facing the Past: Amending Historical Injustices through Instruments of Transitional Justice*, ed. Peter Malcontent (Antwerp: Intersentia, 2016).
 10. Malcontent, “Amending the Past.” Julia Paulson also links education and transitional justice via the concept of nonrepetition: “For an education sector committed to responding to conflict and its own role within it—for an educational sector imagining development rooted in *Nunca Más*—a transitional justice initiative, if appropriate and well run, should seem a natural ally.” Paulson, “(Re)Creating Education in Postconflict Contexts,” 26.
 11. Malcontent, “Amending the Past.”
 12. Kayser-Whande and Schell-Faucon, *Transitional Justice and Conflict Transformation in Conversation*, 100–101.
 13. Paulson, “(Re)Creating Education in Postconflict Contexts,” 10.
 14. Karen Murphy, “Educational Reform through a Transitional Justice Lens: The Ambivalent Transitions of Bosnia and Northern Ireland,” in *Transitional Justice and Education: Learning Peace*, ed. Clara Ramírez-Barat and Roger Duthie (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2017).
 15. See Nerma Jelacic, “Building a Legacy: The Youth Outreach Program at the ICTY,” in *Transitional Justice and Education*.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. www.icty.org/sections/Outreach/OutreachProgramme
 18. Clara Ramírez-Barat, “Introduction: Transitional Justice and the Public Sphere,” in *Transitional Justice, Culture and Society: Beyond Outreach*, ed. Clara Ramírez-Barat (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2014), 27–45, 27.
 19. *Ibid.*, 29.
 20. Clara Ramírez-Barat, *Making an Impact: Guidelines on Designing and Implementing Outreach Programs for Transitional Justice* (New York: ICTJ, 2011), 2, at <https://ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-Global-Making-Impact-2011-English.pdf>.
 21. For a detailed discussion of “legacy” in one case study, Sierra Leone, see Jessica Lincoln, *Transitional Justice, Peace and Accountability: Outreach and the Role of International Courts after Conflict* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), chapter on “Legacy.”
 22. *Ibid.*, 3–4.
 23. Kirsten Campbell, “Reassembling International Justice: The Making of ‘the Social’ in International Criminal Law and Transitional Justice,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 8, no. 1 (2014): 53–72.
 24. Catherine M. Cole, “Review Essay: At the Convergence of Transitional Justice and Art,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 8, no. 2 (2014): 314–22.
 25. Catherine M. Cole, “The Reverberations of Testimony: South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Arts and Media,” in *Transitional Justice, Culture and Society*, 426.
 26. The scholar who has written the most about education and transitional justice is Julia Paulson; see, for example, “Truth Commissions and National Curricula: The Case of Recordándonos in Peru,” in *Children and Transitional Justice: Truth Telling, Accountability and Reconciliation*, ed. Sharanjeet Parmar, Mindy Jane Rosen, Saudamini Siegrist, and Theo Sowa (Boston: Human Rights Program of Harvard Law School and New York: UNICEF, 2010), 327–64; and “The Educational Recommendations of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions: Potential and Practice in Sierra Leone,” *Research in Comparative and International Education* 1, no. 4 (2006): 335–50.
 27. See Ramírez-Barat, “Making an Impact,” 16.
 28. On the need to look beyond history education, see Elizabeth A. Cole, “Education in the Shadow of History: Education, History Education and Their Place in Historical Justice,” in *Facing the Past*. The continued reflexive focus on history education can be seen, for example, in Kayser-Whande and Schell-Faucon, “Transitional Justice and Conflict Transformation in Conversation,” 106: “Both fields might claim that the revision of school history curricula and thinking about history-related human rights education of young people is part of their interventions.” It is striking that this line is the only mention of education in the article; the list of actors working in conflict transformation and transitional justice includes human rights activities and scholars, democratization actors, religious actors, and conflict transformation activists and scholars—but does

not include educators! Finally, an example of the unwavering focus on history textbooks as a dangerous and potent part of international politics can be seen in East Asia, in which references from Korea and China to Japan’s revisionist and unrepentant history textbook portrayals of the Pacific War abound—detached, however, from any consideration of what is really being taught inside Japanese classrooms; how popular media, including films and video games, portray the war; how teachers understand Japan’s role in the war and try to convey it; how other educational sites, such as Japanese museums and monuments, portray the war; how relations with other Asian countries are portrayed aside from the years of the Asian Pacific War; and so forth. History education, and particularly textbooks, have become overdetermined in the effort to understand the role of history and memory in justice and conflict.

29. The truth commissions that have included educational recommendations in their reports are those in Guatemala, Peru, Sierra Leone, and South Africa. Paulson, “Truth Commissions and National Curricula,” 329.
30. Zoe Dugal, “Outreach to Children in Transitional Justice Processes in Sierra Leone,” in *Transitional Justice and Education: Learning Peace*.
31. Ibid.
32. See Jessica Lincoln, *Transitional Justice, Peace and Accountability: Outreach and the Role of International Courts After Conflict* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007); Matiangai V.S. Sirleaf, “The Truth about Truth Commissions: Why They Do Not Function Optimally in Post-Conflict Societies,” *Cardozo Law Review* 35 (2014): 2263–347, especially 2301 and 2309 ff. Sirleaf’s research covered popular opinion about truth commissions in Ghana and Liberia as well as Sierra Leone; the institutions in Sierra Leone were much better known throughout the country than the Liberian truth commission, and the research revealed a degree of positive assessment about how much the two institutions, especially the SCSL, achieved for Sierra Leone, especially in the area of security and reducing impunity. This speaks well to the outreach work of the Sierra Leonean outreach programs, despite their many limitations, particularly in the area of funding.
33. See Philip Cook and Cheryl Heykoop, “Child Participation and the Sierra Leonean Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” in *Children and Transitional Justice*, 159–92; Theo Sowa, “Children and the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” in *ibid*, 193–230.
34. Lincoln, *Transitional Justice, Peace and Accountability*, 99: “School visits were conducted every Wednesday at the Court. These were mentioned by many Court employees, often with a positive note. Upwards of fifty children was the norm, seen in uniform walking around the Court premises.”
35. Dugal, “Outreach to Children in Transitional Justice Processes in Sierra Leone,” 9–11. Also see Cook and Heykoop, “Child Participation and the Sierra Leonean Truth and Reconciliation Commission.”
36. Personal communication with Margaret Sinclair.
37. The CVR had an agreement with the Ministry of Education as well as a dedicated coordinator on staff for the “sub-area” of education who liaised with the ministry and worked with the national curriculum. The group piloted materials over the course of a year and organized training workshops for teachers. Educational materials related to the truth commission had versions for primary and secondary students and teachers. For the most detailed study of the Peruvian CVR’s engagement with education and the results of that engagement in English, see Paulson, “Truth Commissions and National Curricula,” 337–47.
38. Both the “child-friendly version” and the secondary school version of the TRC-SL’s reports can be found online at www.sierraleonetrjc.org/index.php/view-the-final-report/popular-reports
39. Dugal, “Outreach to Children in Transitional Justice Processes in Sierra Leone.”
40. See Paulson, “The Educational Recommendations of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions.”
41. Jelacic, “Building a Legacy.”
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. FHAO, a nongovernmental organization based in Boston, MA, with offices in many locations in the United States as well as international programs, uses a core curriculum about the fall of the Weimar Republic, the rise of the Third Reich, and human behavior through the lens of the Holocaust to help teachers present history as an opportunity for middle and high school students to develop moral and civic thinking. The group has added other cases since its inception, including the US civil rights movement and the Armenian genocide. Themes include “What Is Justice after Genocide?” FHAO was a partner organization in the formation of the South African teacher-training program discussed above, Facing Our Past. FHAO’s highly developed and well-evaluated curriculum offers a wealth of lessons for future transitional justice outreach projects. See www.facing.org

45. Dylan Wray, “The Past Is Passed Down: An Introduction to the South African History Teacher Professional Development Programme, Facing the Past—Transforming Our Future,” in *Transitional Justice and Education*.
46. Ibid, citing the Report of the Working Group on Values in Education.
47. Ibid, citing the Report of the Working Group on Values in Education. For more on the debates on history education within South Africa, the Facing the Past program, and the challenges teachers face in classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa, see Elizabeth A. Cole and Karen Murphy, “History Education Reform, Transitional Justice, and the Transformation of Identities,” in *Identities in Transition: Challenges for Transitional Justice in Divided Societies*, ed. Paige Arthur (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 334–67.
48. Cole and Murphy, “History Education Reform, Transitional Justice, and the Transformation of Identities,” 357.
49. See Alexander Karn, “Historical Commissions and Educational Outreach: Challenges and Lessons for Transitional Justice?” in *Transitional Justice and Education*.
50. Alison Kitson, “History Teaching and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland,” in *Teaching the Violent Past*, 123–53, 133.
51. More on GEI can be found at www.gei.de. GEI’s roots go back to post–World War I Europe and the idea that how history, in particular, is taught can have important consequences for war and peace. The inclusion of topics more directly related to transitional justice came in the decades following GEI’s founding. GEI still focuses on history as opposed to transitional justice per se, but once again its work, according to its mission statement, can be seen to bridge truth telling and “accepting responsibility” with “international communication.”
52. Lynn Maalouf and Christalla Yakinthou, “Grappling with Lebanon’s Enduring Violence: The Case of Badna Naaref, an Inter-Generational Oral History Project,” in *Transitional Justice and Education*.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. See Virginie Ladisch and Joanna Rice, “The Challenges of Addressing the Past in Educational Systems in Post-Conflict Contexts: Reflections from Côte d’Ivoire,” in *Transitional Justice and Education*.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Clara Ramírez-Barat and Virginie Ladisch, “Between Protection and Participation: Involving Children and Youth in Transitional Justice Processes,” in *Transitional Justice, Culture and Society*, 173–207, 189–90.
60. www.sitesofconscience.org. The term is associated with the International Network of Sites of Conscience, initiated by the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in the late 1990s. The network now has 185 members in every part of the world. Sites include prison camps, massacre sites, genocide memorials, peace museums, the site of community evictions, sites connected to the Atlantic slave trade, and so on.
61. Mofidul Hoque, “Outreach and Education at the Liberation War Museum, Bangladesh,” in *Transitional Justice and Education*.
62. Exemplars from the South African Matriculation Exams, 2–6, www.education.gov.za/Examinations/Grade-122014Exemplars/tabid/1202/Default.aspx. See History, English, Memos 1, www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=9HRsIVidHHE%3d&tabid=1202&mid=3291, 16–20, and 2, www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=UD0jr13sPpI%3d&tabid=1202&mid=3291
63. Cole and Murphy, “History Education Reform, Transitional Justice, and the Transformation of Identities,” 356.