

CURRICULUM REFORM AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

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Guided tour for primary school students “Pillars of Memory” Permanent exhibition at Museum of Memory of Rosario, Argentina.

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INTRODUCTION

The Global Initiative for Justice and Reconciliation (GIJTR), led by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) called for case studies developed by Sites of Conscience from around the world that highlight both government and civil society initiatives that have promoted and enhanced peace and a culture of democracy and human rights among youth through education. There is a recognition that in fractured societies that have experienced repression, violence, conflict and atrocities, histories are often highly contested resulting in a need to develop rigorous processes of human rights education and peace-building.

The case studies are designed to showcase innovative practices, analyze successes and offer recommendations for sharing in the interest of promoting peace and reconciliation and consensus-building among a broad range of actors.

The overview paper is divided into four sections. **The first** outlines the guidelines for the case studies.

The second section addresses the prevalence and patterns of formal, government-initiated curriculum reform. It also offers some analysis of the patterns and highlights both successful examples and some of the challenges confronted in efforts at curriculum reform for transitional justice.

In the third section, the emphasis shifts to case studies of non-formal curriculum reform. In addition to illustrating the variety of types of initiatives and summaries of innovative activities, this section also provides an analysis of both the potential and limitation of non-state actors working in education to promote transitional justice goals. Emphasis in this analysis is placed not only on the responsiveness of government and civil society, but also on understanding the importance of state-civil society linkages.

The final section of the paper provides a set of global recommendations for both formal and informal curriculum reform.

THE GLOBAL INITIATIVE FOR JUSTICE, TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION

In 2014, the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) launched the Global Initiative for Justice, Truth and Reconciliation (GIJTR), a consortium of nine international organizations focused on offering holistic, integrative and multidisciplinary approaches to issues of truth, justice and reconciliation. GIJTR works primarily with local populations, civil society organizations, survivors and governments to develop transitional justice approaches that are victim-centered, collaborative, and support dignity, respect, inclusion, and transparency in societies emerging from conflict or periods of authoritarian rule. Since its founding, GIJTR has engaged with people from 60 countries, worked with 562 CSOs, and has supported over 245 community-driven projects and the documentation of more than 5040 testimonies of human rights violations.

For more information, please visit gijtr.org.



GIJTR

Global Initiative for Justice
Truth & Reconciliation



“Paths to Remembering” tour at El Ángel Cemetery. Visitors stand in front of the mausoleum in tribute to the journalists murdered in Uchuraccay. Photo courtesy of Asociación Caminos de la Memoria, Peú.

METHODOLOGY

The Curriculum Reform and Transitional Justice project aims to examine the way in which curriculum reform and non-formal education programs can contribute to breaking the cross-generational cycles of trauma and cultures of violence, while contributing to durable peace and social cohesion. The project draws on country lessons from locations that have undertaken formal curriculum reforms and those that have created informal curriculum support for truth, justice and reconciliation. The ultimate aim is to develop a series of global recommendations on curriculum reform for truth-seeking transitional justice, and atrocity prevention in diverse contexts.

GIJTR provided terms of reference for the case studies. The case studies are not intended to be new or original research. Rather the aim of the case studies is to capture the knowledge and expertise of ICSC member sites within a short timeframe. Prior to submission, the case studies followed a review process. As such, the case studies represent the views of the governance structures and management of the participating ICSC member sites and GIJTR partners.



Illustration by Susanne Kitlinski, Open Sustain.

A total of 18 cases were requested to focus on the following particular issues or dimensions:

1. The extent to which the new post-conflict governments or regional dispensations have been supportive, encouraging and have driven/spearheaded education and curriculum reform.
2. Post-conflict government responsiveness.
3. The non-formal or organic education activities in organizations for social justice in civil society, particularly ICSC member sites and GIJTR partners, to support curriculum and educational reform.
4. The successes and challenges that ICSC member sites and GIJTR partners have experienced.
5. Activities designed for out-of-school youth and university students.

This overview document does not attempt to capture all the key insights from the case studies. Rather it is designed to showcase promising practices that may have value for other participating organizations, GIJTR partners, educators and transitional justice practitioners and to provide an analysis of some of the key challenges and successes in specific localities.

FORMAL CURRICULUM REFORMS

This section of the paper focuses on formal curriculum reforms linked to the truth, justice and reconciliation processes in various localities. Given that the vast majority of all young people are enrolled in and attend schools, and that curriculum policy covers what is taught in these institutions, infusing transitional justice priorities into the curriculum is a powerful means by which a younger generation can be educated about past human rights violations in their countries and human rights values.

In order to move forward with the discussion about curriculum reform and justice, truth and reconciliation, it is useful to have a working definition of curriculum reform and summarize key insights about what is known about the strengths and pitfalls of curriculum reform.

With reference to the concept of curriculum, UNESCO (no date) draws the useful distinction between:

“INTENDED” CURRICULUM: i.e. the “written” and/or “official” curriculum: what a society envisages its citizens should learn and teachers should teach in formal schooling. This is expressed through documents, such as curriculum frameworks, subject curricula/syllabuses, learning material, (such as textbooks), teacher guides and assessment guides.

“IMPLEMENTED” OR “EXPERIENCED” CURRICULUM: the intended curriculum altered through a range of complex teaching and learning interactions in the classroom. This factors in the chosen pedagogy and quality of teaching (among other factors).

“ACHIEVED”, “ATTAINED”, OR “LEARNED” CURRICULUM: what learners really learn, often captured through what can be assessed and can be demonstrated as learning outcomes/learner competencies.

When politicians and policy actors often describe curriculum reform, they typically refer to the “intended” curriculum, and pay much less attention to the “implemented” or the “achieved” curriculum. When we make use of the extended notion of curriculum reform, to include both the “implemented” and “achieved” curriculum, it is necessary to recognize that curriculum reform includes the formal changes in the national curriculum, either by legislation, regulation or policy, but it also includes changes to the educational materials provided to schools, the continuous professional development to help teachers

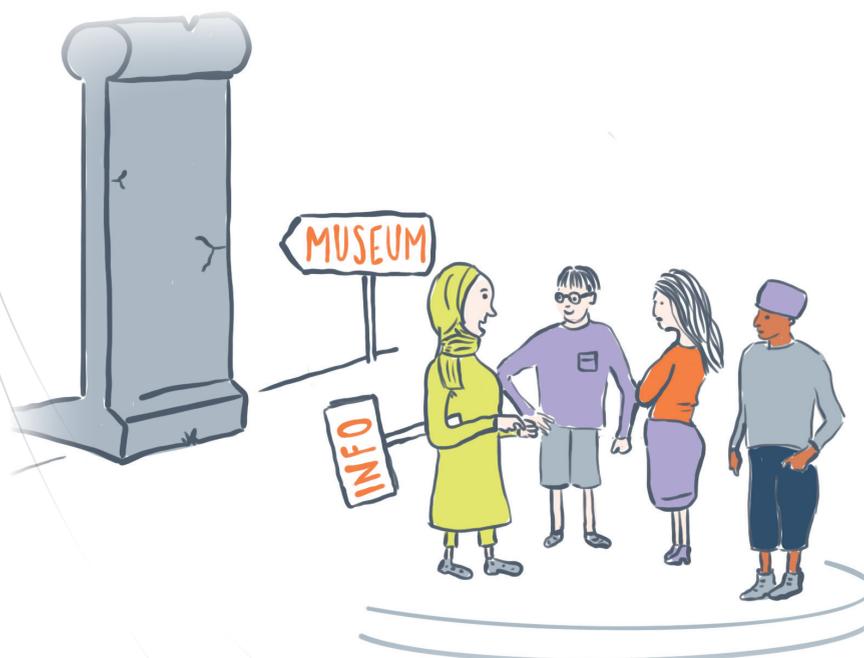


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prepare to teach the new mandates, changes in initial teacher education to prepare new teachers to teach the new curriculum mandates, and new assessments, both formative (e.g. for classroom diagnostic purposes) and summative (e.g. high stakes exit examinations).

Curriculum, thus, is more than simply the government document that outlines the subjects that are taught at each grade and level; it includes how the learning experiences within the subjects contribute to the attainment of the wider educational goals.

Given the range of components to be reformed, Cunningham (2018) provides a sober assessment of the potential of curriculum reform. While primarily focused on an evaluation of the impact of competency-based curriculum reforms across the African continent, he concludes that curriculum reforms have more often than not achieved little to improve learning outcomes. To understand both the promise and the limits of curriculum reform, it is useful to understand the reason for the failure of curriculum reform. The fundamental problem is that curriculum reformers more often than not neglect to consider the organizational, financial and human capacity of the education systems.

Curriculum reforms are politically driven, are frequently overly ambitious, and ignore prevailing conditions. Jansen (2002) described how curriculum reform often becomes a form of “political symbolism”, a signaling tool in the political environment, rather than a means for deeper educational change. Specifically, new curricula generally require changes to classroom practice, changes teachers are often little prepared for, and more often than not resist, particularly if they are perceived to be controversial. Government curricula planners seldom plan adequately for and allocate adequate budgets for new learning materials, thorough and comprehensive teacher development and changes to assessment practices. Donor-funded curriculum reform initiatives rarely get institutionalized after the funding cycle ends.

This section addresses the extent to which the case study countries/contexts have addressed the formal national or sub-national curriculum to address issues of transitional justice, namely a reckoning with past human rights violations in the society and the root causes for those violations. While many countries have undergone dramatic reform of the national curriculum (both in Africa and Latin America), these reforms have not always addressed transitional justice issues in this round of educational change.

Many countries have the values associated with transitional justice, particularly human rights and peacemaking, flagged in the values that inform the overall national curriculum. Many of the case studies explicitly identify changes such as additional or new subjects or changes to topics or units within subjects both in formal schools, reception year to the end of the secondary education phase and post-schooling (university and other post-secondary education institutions). As noted below, most case study systems have signaled curriculum reforms that address issues of transitional justice.

TABLE 1: Formal Curriculum Reform in Education Systems

Argentina	✓	Mandatory teaching of transitional justice in history, commemorative dates in school calendar
Bangladesh	✓	State-driven nationalist interpretation of transitional justice. The focus is on the 1971 war with Pakistan.
Basque Country (region in Spain)	✓	Basque Education Plan for Peace and Human Rights (2007; Plan for Democratic Coexistence and De legitimization of Violence (2010)
Brazil	X	Large scale curriculum reform but no units in history on transitional justice
Cambodia	✓	Curriculum requires the teaching of Democratic Kampuchea in Grade 12 for a few hours in the year.
Chile	X	Mainly smattering of human rights education across the formal curriculum. Notable civil society initiatives with limited impact on formal curriculum reform.
Colombia	✓	General Education Law (1994) Articles 5-14. Provide training in respect for human rights, peace, democracy, coexistence, pluralism and exercise of tolerance and freedom. National Human Rights Education (2009)
Cote d'Ivoire	X	None
El Salvador	✓	In the early post-conflict, nothing but in 1993 Ministry published a two-volume history of El Salvador that addresses the key moments including dictatorial periods, indigenous insurrection, military regimes, and the democratic elections.
Guatemala	✓	In 2004, Ministry introduced a new primary school curriculum that included topics such as education for peace, conflict management, skills for peaceful coexistence, memory and recent history, and the promotion of human rights.
Kenya	X	Major focus on large-scale curriculum reform (introduction of Competency-Based Curriculum) that indirectly addresses human rights and atrocity avoidance.
Peru	✓	General Education Article 9 specifically deals with aspects of education associated with transitional justice
Serbia	✓	Three waves of curriculum reform since 2000. Human rights is an optional subject that can be replaced with religious education
South Africa	✓	Transitional justice taught in Grade 10-12 History. Proposal to make History a compulsory subject in senior secondary education
Timor-Leste	✓	Included human rights, civic education and history in reviewed curriculum 2015-2017.

CASE STUDY 1

Argentina Deepening the Legislative Base for Curriculum Reform and Commemorative School Days

The Argentinian experience of incorporating transitional reform into the formal school curriculum is explicit, extensive and recurring. Despite changing political positions in relationship to the past over the last three decades, there has been longstanding legislative activism on behalf of memorialization.

1988	Law No. 10671	"Day of the Rights of Secondary Students" in commemoration of "The Night of Pencils"
1993	Federal Education Law No. 24195	School commemorations and Civics Education that incorporated the study of successive coups
2002	Law No. 25633	Established March 24 as National Day of Memory for Truth and Justice
2004	Policy Priority Learning Core	Homogenized content across education levels and applicable to all jurisdictions. In Social Sciences required the study of the causes of political instability and state terrorism 1955-1976
2006	Law No. 26085	March 24 as National Public Holiday of Memory, Truth and Justice
2014	Law No. 27	September 16 as "National Youth Day"

Four insights about the Argentina case are worth noting.

First, curriculum reform activism did not occur in a single piece of legislation, and there was continuous legislative activism that addressed gaps and implementation challenges in early legislation.

Second, transitional justice activists not only focused on the school curriculum, particularly subjects of Civics and Social Sciences, but also put a great deal of emphasis on

the establishment of commemorative public holidays. Both have the potential to have a profound effect on the transmission of transitional justice to young people.

Third, the legal activists recognized the challenges of mandating transitional justice in a decentralized system. Finally, the formal and the informal curriculum overlapped with many teachers learning to teach the past from visits to, and training received from, the museums of memory. The Argentina case study notes that while the school occupies a central place in the transmission of the past, the education system is often accused of not fully implementing these legal mandates.

CASE STUDY 2

South Africa and Making History a Compulsory Subject in Senior Secondary Schools

Over the past 25 years, transitional justice has been incorporated into the official South African curriculum. But according to the District Six Museum report:

Implementation of these post-apartheid innovations is constrained by a lack of access to quality resources and inadequate learning environments; problems of poverty and hunger facing learners; increasing levels of corruption in governance and criminality in society; the monetization of education delivery; the lack of will and/or competence of local level education officials; and the weakness of human rights defenders in marginalized communities.

There is a disconnect between the stated intentions of our government and the material conditions that exist for the majority of citizens, which constitutes a violation of basic human rights. A minority of citizens are able to access quality and innovative educational experiences, including the realization of the stated intentions of a democratic government, by purchasing a place at a well-resourced and organized school – turning the intentions of our constitution into a privilege rather than a right.

Notwithstanding this critique, within the South African Grade 9-12 History curriculum specifically, the topic of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission occupies a prominent place, evident in the weight given to it in the final high-stakes examinations at the end of Grade 12, even though less than 30% of students choose History as a subject at this level. The South African case illustrates the importance of incorporating assessment into curriculum reform interventions.

CASE STUDY 3

Peru and the Problem of Contestation Around Textbooks

The inclusion of transitional justice into the school curriculum in Peru has not been without controversy. The period immediately after Fujimori's exile was marked by significant educational reform both around transitional justice processes and broader educational change initiatives. Since 2009, the national curriculum of Peru has formally included the study of the internal armed conflict in 6th Primary and the 5th Secondary, the end grades of each of the respective school levels. In the final year of primary school, the national curriculum focuses on the "most important facts of 20th Century Peru". In the final year of secondary education, the following curriculum topics have been included in Civics, History, Geography and Economics subjects:

- violent and internal conflict in Peru
- truth, justice and the collective report

- terrorism and subversion in Peru and Latin America and
- the process of peacefulness in Peru

The problem however, has been that there is misalignment between curriculum and education reform more generally (which aimed at strengthening the education system) and the specific reform initiatives to incorporate knowledge about the violent past.

CASE STUDY 4

Bangladesh's Liberation War Museum (LWM): A State-driven Interpretation of Transitional Justice

The Liberation War Museum (LWM) spearheaded approaches to incorporating of knowledge about atrocities associated with the Liberation War into the school curriculum. Although supported by government, the museum was started originally in 1996 as a grassroots initiative with financial donations from ordinary citizens. Citizens also contributed many of the items currently exhibited by the museum.

The Liberation War Museum (LWM) of Bangladesh aims to promote a human rights culture as well as support collective memory and local histories of the 1971 Liberation War. The museum has mobilized an extensive network of teachers throughout the country who assist learners to collect oral histories based on eyewitness accounts of elderly survivors of the 1971 Liberation War. These testimonies have been published in series of booklets. The initiative has put these resources together as a Mobile Museum which includes historical documents, artefacts and a data projector to screen the DVD documentary film entitled, "History of the Liberation Struggle: 1947–1971". The Mobile Museum also includes posters with photographs depicting the history of the Liberation Struggle and its links with the ancient history of Bengal as well as the diverse ethnic and religious groups that have co-existed in Bengal.

The Bangladesh case illustrates the value of a reciprocal relationship between a national museum of memory and the school system. Teachers can play a role in reserving important parts of national memory, as well as playing a role in ensuring that that memory is transmitted to a new generation.

CASE STUDY 5

Guatemala's Zigzag Road to Curriculum Reform

Although the need to incorporate curriculum reform as part of the transitional justice process was flagged at the very start of the post-conflict process in Guatemala, it took many different efforts and over two decades to formally introduce these topics into the school curriculum.

In 2008, the newly elected social-democratic government implemented a memory policy by officially including the judgements of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights into what students are expected to learn in Guatemala's schools. This report on the Inter-American Court Judgement recognized both the victims and named perpetrators of human rights abuses. Initially the impact of this intervention on the school curriculum was limited. However, in 2018, the components or topics: History and Memory, Intercultural Citizenship and Peace Culture, were formally incorporated into the subject of Social Sciences in the first three years of high school. The topics that are now covered include the recent history of Guatemala and specifically the history of the armed conflict. In the final year of the basic school phase, when students are around 15 years of age, the official curriculum now requires all students to study and understand the injustices of the Guatemala's past.

CASE STUDY 6

Timor-Leste Lacking Institutional Capacity for Curriculum Reform

At the time of independence in 2002, Timor-Leste emerged out of 24 years of human rights violations during which over 100 000 people were killed, rape perpetrated on a mass scale, and political imprisonment and torture, abduction of children was widespread. Given the country's relative isolation and lack of capacity, much of the focus in Timor-Leste was on rebuilding the basics of the education system.

In the early years after independence, the Ministry of Education was heavily dependent on external assistance particularly in the area of education reform. This meant that there was limited engagement with Timor-Leste history and culture in the curriculum. The one exception was the UN Peacekeeping Mission which developed human rights learning materials for schools, but these were not taken up by the Ministry.

Since 2010, the Timor-Leste government began a major review of the school curriculum. During this phase, there was a much stronger push to incorporate Timorese content into the curricula. Specifically for learners in Years 4-6 (Grades 4-6), the curriculum incorporated the study of *Chega!* (Report of the Truth Commission) on human rights abuses under Indonesia. This was followed a few years later with reforms of the curricula for Years 7-12 (Secondary School). The new secondary curriculum incorporated topics on human rights, civic education and local history with the Social Sciences curriculum. Both the *Centro Nacional Chega* and human rights consultants worked together on both the curricula and linked learning materials.

The key insight from the Timor-Leste case is understanding the stages in the journey towards incorporating transitional justice into formal curriculum.

CASE STUDY 7

Serbia Meanderings

The first attempts to introduce issues related to transitional justice and a multi-perspectivity approach into the Serbian curriculum began immediately after the democratic changes in 2000. In place of Religious Studies, a Civics course that incorporated aspects of truth and justice was introduced as a “an obligatory elective course” (with or opposite to Religious Studies). This curriculum policy decision remains controversial to this day. Although History textbooks were also amended, scholars suggest that the core elements of Milosevic’s nationalist value system were retained in the new school texts.

The second round of curriculum reform preceded Serbia’s integration into the European Union. There is some evidence that teachers were skeptical particularly as it was linked to the adoption of a competency-based curriculum approach. In this round of curriculum, human rights knowledge was to be taught both in the primary and secondary cycles through a multidisciplinary approach embedded in History, Geography, Serbian language, Art and Science. The concerns about the latest round of curriculum reform, particularly as they pertain to transition justice, are that the basic goals and content is not clearly defined, and lacks an implementation plan.

One of the big challenges facing Serbia is the high turnover of political leadership in education. This has resulted in frequent interruptions and reversals. Even when there are supportive governments, concerns have been raised about the extent to which most Serb teachers are willing to teach human rights and related controversial topics.

Beyond the formal curriculum reform process initiated by the Ministry of Education, the introduction of transitional justice has occurred through the influence of the Thessaloniki Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe. In 1999, 60 historians from all eleven countries in the region published a comparative analysis of history textbooks from all Southeast European countries. They found that all participating countries tended to present themselves as historical victims. To replace nationalist narratives, these historians advocated the idea of teaching multi-perspectivity to ensure that students learn that all people in the region experienced the common suffering of hunger, fear, and loss.

CASE STUDY 8

Cambodia and the Role of Sites of Memory

There are two important insights from the Cambodian case. The first relates to the slow and incremental incorporation of themes related to transitional justice into the curriculum. The second is linked to the role that museums and sites of memory can play as co-curriculum learning.

In the decade after the fall of Democratic Kampuchea, the official History school textbooks focused on teaching about the commemoration days such as May 20, the “Day of Hatred”. By 2001 History textbooks began to provide a more in-depth study of the atrocities. This included the study of Democratic Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge’s rise to power, the administrative structure of state, and the socio-economic framework of Democratic Kampuchea. A decade later the Grade 12 History textbooks began to specifically mention torture in their discussions of S-21 or Tuol Sleng Prison.

A strong emphasis in official teaching of transitional justice was placed on organized visits to museums and sites of memory. Unfortunately, the actual numbers of high school History student visits has been small. For example, only about 1600 students per year visit the S-21 Museum in Phnom Penh. Another way in which the atrocities are remembered is through official days of remembrance. May 20 is now a national public holiday to commemorate the beginning of the Khmer Rouge’s brutal genocide of the Cambodian people.



Illustration by Susanne Kitlinski, Open Sustain.

INFORMAL CURRICULUM REFORMS

While the aims and formal content of informal transitional justice programs and discourses may seem consistent across the various case studies, the actual practices, pedagogical methods and historical and political settings within which these initiatives take place vary greatly. The diverse array of memory and peace-building initiatives described in these country reports include the following:

- First-hand testimonials of survivors and affected persons
- Whole-school activities built around commemorative national holidays
- School arts projects that engage with the past
- Visits to appropriately equipped museums and sites of conscience
- Pilgrimages to sites of memory
- School debating activities and competitions
- Creative use of digital platforms/new media
- Serious didactic games managed as part of school activity
- Acts of remembrance managed by the school community
- Peer-to-peer activities (guided by other students)
- Integrating themes arising from national history into the cultural offerings at school
- Public art installations and exhibitions, poetry, theatre productions and other live performance, dance, various forms of musical expression
- Filmmaking – both documentary and historical fiction, cinema screenings
- Public lectures
- Rituals and festivals, including collective memory practices centered on eating and socializing

So, what are we to make of these different types of engagement and the wide variety of contexts within which they take place? And, most importantly for the discussion below, what are the roles and relationships of civil society and the state in these informal transitional justice initiatives?

In order to learn from these diverse initiatives, it is necessary to analyze the diverse ways in which global discourses of transitional justice are translated and mediated in different settings. The implication of this is that there can be no single, standardized approach, blueprint, or check list of recommendations for transitional justice ‘best practice.’ In other words, there is unlikely to be any standardized transitional justice ‘traveling model’ that can be implemented across these contexts. Instead, what is needed is an analysis of the specificity of the contexts of different informal transitional justice initiatives in order to better understand how they work, how they can be improved, and what elements, if any, can be translated or serve as inspiration in other settings.

One of the observations that comes across when reviewing the country reports is that these informal curriculum reforms are implemented through quite different institutional configurations. For instance, some of the case studies described appear to be implemented by donor-funded NGOs, while others are the work of small, local community activist groups. In addition, whereas some of the NGOs and social movements appear to operate more or less autonomously as grassroots organizations, others work in collaboration with the state sector, e.g., the school and Ministry of Education. From reading the cases, it appears that there are often trade-offs when it

comes to these different institutional options. For instance, by deciding to work autonomously as a grassroots organization, interventions may be confined to specific localities with limited reach beyond a relatively small group of participants. On the other hand, by deciding to enter into a collaboration with the state sector (e.g., Ministry of Education), autonomy may be compromised, in the name of ‘scaling up’.

Some of these initiatives operate across the civil society and state divides allowing for interaction, partnership and collaboration. This is perhaps not surprising given that it is typically assumed that introducing transitional justice pedagogical programs into the school curriculum is an intrinsically good thing, i.e., ‘best practice’. But as the Serbian case discussed below illustrates, transitional justice programs can easily be thwarted when these ideas are perceived to be a threat to ethno-nationalist ideologies. Similarly, the case studies also suggest that transitional justice education programs can be appropriated by nationalist governments and used to stifle critical thinking, for instance by claiming that “our people are the only real victims” of historical conflicts and political violence. In these circumstances, bringing transitional justice programs into the state educational sector can have unintended, and counter-productive outcomes.

What some of the case studies discussed below also reveal is that community-based grassroots initiatives often face the dilemma of “staying local and authentic,” or scaling-up and submitting to the bureaucratic and institutional logics of state-driven education programs, which often end up diluting or distorting the content and quality of the work they do. For instance, once transitional justice initiatives enter the formal schooling system, teachers may resent this additional work or view it as a challenge to their political, professional or religious beliefs. Similarly, should NGOs have to rely on donor funding in order to scale-up their programs, this could result in having to submit to ‘audit culture’ requirements and bureaucratic procedures that may constrain the ways in which these NGOs can operate. It is also the case that some social movements and activist groups that come to rely on donor funding, may find themselves in a situation where they are compelled to adopt approaches and styles of leadership and management that are typically associated with professionalized NGOs, state bureaucracies, or even businesses; this can be perceived to undermine the ad hoc, ‘organic’ and autonomous styles of mobilization and campaigning associated with activism.

Yet, the case studies discussed below also reveal that some organizations, such as the Khulumani Support Group (KSG) and the Human Rights Media Centre (HRMC) in South Africa, may conform to certain constraining donor requirements while simultaneously retaining their dynamic activist modes of community engagement. So, while some of the initiatives discussed below appear to operate as relatively autonomous, activist-oriented grassroots groups, others are involved in ongoing collaborations and partnerships with donors and state sector institutions such as Ministries of Education.

This raises questions about how, when and under what specific conditions it becomes feasible for these initiatives to ‘scale up’ by establishing civil society-state partnerships, and when it makes more strategic sense to opt for more autonomous, grassroots approaches. In other words, the question is when, and under what circumstances, scaling-up becomes practical and desirable, as well as politically and ethically justifiable, and when it is counter-productive or simply unfeasible. The accounts of the cases below draw attention to a variety of institutional configurations of these initiatives and will hopefully encourage further research and analysis of the strategic choices available to these initiatives depending on the particular contexts within which they operate.

CASE STUDY 1

The Basque Learning Model

AN AUTONOMOUS CIVIL SOCIETY EDUCATION EXPERIMENT

Between October 2019 and June 2020, the CEA and the Euskadi (Basque) Youth Council (EGK) established a program for young people that encourages critical reflection and dialogue about political violence in a safe and open space. The discussions were organized in three stages: the first phase focused on reflections on personal and collective memories of political violence; the second phase involved the exposure of participants to the testimony of a victim of political violence with the aim of interpreting the testimony; and the third phase involved critical reflections on the historical context of the Basque conflict in order to historicize personal and collective memory. This aim of this initiative is to delegitimize political violence by ‘working through’ traumatic experiences of violence. This involves historicizing and analyzing these emotively-charged testimonies of traumatic violence, rather than focusing exclusively on either the emotional or the analytical dimensions

AUTONOMOUS MEMORY ACTIVIST INITIATIVE: THE *MEMORIALAB* IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY

The *Memorialab* is a social movement/activist group that combines cognitive learning and bodily practices such as circles of testimony, storytelling, body maps and other creative methods for engaging with the region’s violent past. It also uses these methods to develop collective visions of a democratic, non-violent future. For example, the Afaloste project uses the concept of the ‘gastronomic-social laboratory’ whereby a diverse and intergenerational group gather around a ‘txoko’ or gastronomy society to eat and talk about their personal experiences of political commitment and memories of violence. Sitting together for a meal in a relaxed context of trust and safety, allows for difficult conversations to take place.

CASE STUDY 2

Civil Society-state Sector Partnerships in Peru

THE JOSÉ ANTONIO ENCINAS (JAE) SCHOOL

Although this JAE initiative is largely based within a school environment, its activities go well beyond a traditional school-based curriculum approach. In fact, many of its activities and forms of community engagement are typically associated with community-based activism. The JAE’s initiatives include activities on commemoration days when civil society groups and students march to the El Ojo Que Lloro memorial in Lima. The account below further illustrates how the JAE initiatives straddle the civil society vs state divide.

Since 2010, the JAE has incorporated the topic of Peru’s ‘internal armed conflict’ and issues related to political violence and human rights into the secondary education curriculum. Relatives of victims of political violence are invited to share their testimonies and answer students’ questions, and the students themselves are actively involved in organizing this program and they conduct interviews with the relatives of victims and perpetrators of political violence. The students also participate in artistic and theater productions that address Peru’s violent past, and some of these interventions make connections between Peru’s history of violence and contemporary issues, including climate change and the rights of indigenous Amazonian peoples. These initiatives routinely straddle NGO, activist, and state educational institutional spaces.

PERUVIAN FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGY TEAM'S (EPAF) MEMORY PATHS

In 2013, the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (EPAF) proposed to the Municipality of Lima the Rutas de la Memoria project, which was established as a symbolic form of reparation for the victims of political violence in the city of Lima. This initiative led to the establishment of several memory routes in Lima, which begin at the El Ojo en Lloro Memorial. These events supported by the Municipality, civil society organizations and local universities, thereby straddling the divide between civil society and the local state.

CASE STUDY 3

Brazil's Heterogenous Approaches to Transitional Justice

In Brazil, due to perceptions of lack of state support for human rights, transitional justice and peace-building work within formal education sector, individual educators and civil society organizations have taken on various initiatives at memory sites – even though this is typically not part of state programs or the official school curriculum. These initiatives include the following:

- Sao Paulo Resistance Memorial (MRSP) is involved in memory projects related to human rights violations.
- Santa Maria College initiates visits by high school students to places of memory in Sao Paulo where conversations are facilitated with former prisoners and politicians who opposed the military dictatorship.
- The Federal University of Paraíba/Citizenship and Human Rights Centre is involved in human rights teaching and research.

The Brazilian case reveals that due to the current political climate in Brazil, civil society organizations have taken up the task of promoting transitional justice and the rights of marginalized groups, including people with disabilities and those facing racism, homophobia and gender-based violence.

CASE STUDY 4

Civil Society Pressure Group in a Context of Relative State Inaction: El Salvador's Museum of Word and Image (MUPI)

This case – more an institutional representation than an analysis of non-formal educational programs in El Salvador – suggests that ongoing pressure from civil society organizations can achieve results, including gaining access to state support. For instance, in 2003, following inaction on the Truth Commission's recommendation of a national monument to the victims of political violence, a civil society-based committee succeeded in pressuring the government to erect the "Memory and Truth Monument" to the 30 000 victims of political violence.

The El Salvador case suggests that, in a context of political change and unpredictability, sustained civil society pressure can be rewarded and result in state support for memory and peace-building projects. For

example, with the change of government in 2009, the Museum of the Word and Image (MUPI) was able to move from doing ad hoc informal work with schools and teachers to establishing formal agreements with the Ministry of Education.

The MUPI case also draws attention to the complex and historically contingent relationship between formal and informal interventions and between civil society and the state. For example, while governments may initially be reluctant to engage with what are considered 'low priority' projects, initiatives such as those undertaken by MUPI reveal that it is still possible to negotiate access to state support for education programs that can provide alternative historical narratives that are typically silenced and marginalized in official state discourse.

CASE STUDY 5

Civil Society-state Sector Collaboration: Colombia's School-Based Model of Creating 'Learning Communities' In a Context of Ongoing Violence – Learning Peace and Unlearning War in the 'Safe Space' of the School

This initiative establishes 'learning communities' for peace-building by means of a set of resources, texts, memory routes, pedagogical practices and activities that aim to critically reflect upon various aspects of the Colombian armed conflict within the relative safety of the school environment. This approach focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the context of the armed conflict, as well as analyzing the impact of past and present violence in relation to gender, ethnicity, race, age and cultural identity. Like the approach of the Basque-based 'learning communities', this approach seeks to establish 'educational communities' that can address both the emotional dimensions of traumatic memory and the need for historical and political analysis of violence, both past and present, in order to delegitimize violence.

With support from the Peace Schools Foundation, these initiatives have established 'educational communities' (consisting of community teachers, teaching directors, students, and parents) and 'community researchers' (consisting of one teacher, one teaching director, one member of the Community Action Board of each municipality and two students). The aim of this initiative is to address personal and collective experiences of political violence through 'memory recovery' and historical analysis. To obtain information for these interventions, the community researchers use social cartography, timelines, memory circles, interviews, photographic records and drawings. Each group systematizes the information collected and produces a short video, song or mural that is part of the school's dissemination strategy. These initiatives build upon a sense of safety that schools can provide for transitional justice work.

CASE STUDY 6

Civil Society-state Sector Collaborations in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Constitution Hill, the Human Rights Media Centre (HRMC) and the District Six Museum

These South African cases draw attention to the possibilities for mutually potentially beneficial relationships between the post-conflict state and civil society-based transitional justice programs.

The **Constitution Hill** program includes a range of civil society initiatives that engage with apartheid violence and contemporary issues of conflict and human rights violations. This is done by means of theatre, poetry, music, film, food, books, exhibitions, a Human Rights walk and other participatory methods of engagement. These initiatives have contributed towards building a strong network of civil society organization, academic, government and other stakeholders.

The Cape Town-based NGO, **Human Rights Media Centre (HRMC)** uses multimedia and participatory methodologies involving theatre, body-maps, photographs, memory cloths, drawings, paintings, art and film in its transitional justice work.

The Constitution Hill and HRMC programs reveal how civil society organizations can sustain a grassroots human rights activist approach while simultaneously partnering with state institutions.

The **District Six Museum (D6M)** is dedicated to creating a community-based history of apartheid forced removals in Cape Town's inner city. Its work involves land restitution meetings, exhibitions, community workshops, art installations, memorialization initiatives such as walks of remembrance, screening of films, lectures and oral history research and memory mapping projects, including a food and memory project. The Oral History projects of the Museum have been important catalysts for informal education programs that promote a collective sense of place and the reclaiming community histories, dignity and identity after apartheid.

All three initiatives (Constitution Hill, HRMC and D6M) reveal the potential synergies of community-driven informal education programs in memory work, citizen participation and peace-building through partnerships with the state and public universities.

CASE STUDY 7

Transitional Justice Initiatives in the Context of an Ethno-Nationalist State: The Serbian Case

The Serbian Ministry of Youth and Sports oversees 'non-formal' human rights education programmes for youth at the national level alongside civil society initiatives aimed at young people between 15 and 30 years of age. Research indicates that these 'non-formal' programmes typically do not directly engage with Serbia's war crimes from the 1990s. Engaging with this recent past is usually left to a range of civil society organisations and NGOs such as the Humanitarian Law Centre, Helsinki Committee, Radio B92, BBC Media Action and Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, among others.

The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, which is one of the civil society initiatives that critically engages with nationalist prejudice and the culture of violence, has found that students attending its programmes are often initially unwilling to acknowledge Serbia's role in promoting ethnic discrimination and violence. There are also a number of civil society-driven activist online and new media platforms such as #YouSayIt that are designed for young people from the Balkan region to discuss a range of contemporary concerns about ethnic tensions and conflicts in the region.

The Serbian case illustrates how civil society initiatives can encounter opposition and pushback from both the state and the wider public, especially when these programmes directly challenge official nationalist narratives. In such cases, civil society actors may find themselves having to rely exclusively on donor funding to do their work and there may be limited opportunities for partnerships with the state sector. However, this case also illustrates that opportunities for youth programs such as online human rights activism and documentary filmmaking usually depend on international donor funding, which is typically short-term, if not fickle.

CASE STUDY 8

Civil Society Initiatives that Complement and Extend the Reach of the Formal Curriculum: The Cambodian Case

Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum was the former S-21 Detention Centre where over 18 000 people were killed between 1975 and 1979 by the Democratic Kampuchea regime. After the fall of the regime, the Khmer Rouge's violent past became part of secondary school history curriculum (Grade 12 High School students), and former sites of violence were converted into memorials and museums - for instance, the S-21 building complex was converted into the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum.

The Museum was visited by over 400 000 international tourists between 2014 and 2019, but there is concern that far fewer Cambodian nationals and students visit the site. This concern is heightened by the fact that the numbers of surviving victims and witnesses are dwindling, and a number of memorial sites and archival resources are in a poor and deteriorating condition.

DC-Cam has partnered with the state to ensure that the traumatic history of the genocide is disseminated widely within schools and the wider Cambodian society. DC-Cam is involved in a wide variety of informal initiatives that were established before the history of genocide was incorporated into the formal history curriculum. These include media and outreach programs, museum exhibitions, banners at schools and public buildings, educational music and film programs, oral history and village history projects, intergenerational dialogues, home visits (including in rural areas), peace and human rights tours to sites of remembrance (e.g. Tuol Sleng and Anlong Veng), public education forums and so on.

The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and DC-Cam are significant civil society initiatives that have been able to complement and extend the reach of the formal curriculum's engagement with the history of mass atrocities in Cambodia.

CASE STUDY 9

Chile's Digital-driven Transitional Justice Education Initiatives

Educational initiatives around transitional justice and memory in Chile have mostly been in the field of citizen education. The Ministry of Education has, however, made very limited use of the resource materials produced by these civil society initiatives largely due to a reluctance to address 'politically sensitive' matters concerning human rights violations during the coup and military dictatorship. This has resulted in the limited impact of civil society on formal school curriculum reform. Most of the work done by civil society organisations focuses on sites of memory which are visited by schoolchildren, who are then exposed to the historical legacies, traces and testimonies of human rights violations.

Most of the school resource material content on Chile's authoritarian past targets secondary education. There appears to be a reluctance to expose young children to issues of state violence. There is also very limited access to resource material for teachers to use when it comes to teaching these transitional justice issues. As mentioned above, this is a symptom of a widespread political and societal sensitivity about opening-up the wounds of state violence in the recent past.

There are useful websites of museums and memory sites that provide resources for teaching. These digital resources have proved to be even more important during the period of Covid-19. Through virtual visits and virtual workshops transitional justice initiatives have been extended to schools outside of the capital city, Santiago. These digital platforms have also allowed for more interaction and feedback from participants.

CASE STUDY 10

Timor-Leste: A Case of Successful Civil Society Pressure on the State to Promote Transitional Justice Educational Initiatives?

Timor-Leste's Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) sought to address the legacy of over two decades of political violence and human rights violations and to promote reconciliation amongst the Timorese. In the aftermath of the 1999 violence, Timorese human rights activists and civil society organizations had successfully pressured government to establish the CAVR, which operated between 2001-2005.

There is widespread recognition of the national importance of the CAVR's final Report, *Chega!* (*Enough!*), which was widely disseminated by film, radio, and translations of the text into English, Indonesian and Portuguese. Yet, there was still widespread frustration with the inadequate response to the Report's recommendations. This was attributed by some to 'political sensitivity' about engaging with the country's violent past. There are also few professional historians in Timor available to research and write about this violence.

In response to the slow and uneven implementation of the CAVR's recommendations, civil society groups once again pressured the government, this time calling on it to establish the *Centro Nacional*

Chega! (CNC), an institution located in the Prime Minister's Office, that is responsible for implementing the CAVR's recommendations. The CNC has been involved in numerous civil society-initiated youth educational programs, both in schools and through extra-curriculum initiatives. Civil society initiatives have had a significant influence on the content and direction of the state's transitional justice initiatives, and civil society pressure on government has been necessary precisely because of the gaps resulting from government's inadequate responses to the recommendations of the Commission.

CASE STUDY 11

Côte d'Ivoire: The Financial, Pedagogical and Logistical Challenges of Establishing a 'Culture' of Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice

Côte d'Ivoire has had a long history of post-Independence political instability and violence that has continued into the present. State efforts at transitional justice, peace-building and reparations for victims of political violence have had limited successes. While there is interest in youth programs and public initiatives aimed at establishing memory sites and teaching about Côte d'Ivoire's history of political violence, a culture of preserving memory sites and teaching about the country's violent past has yet to be developed. For example, places where political violence has occurred such as the Nahibli refugee camp in Duékoué have yet to be used for transitional justice programs.

The peace-building initiatives that have taken place in schools and communities, often with government and NGO support, include awareness-raising campaigns through sports activities, and festivals for peace and reconciliation. However, these initiatives are typically viewed by students, teachers, and parents as 'entertainment' rather than educational – unless they are given proper institutional support from the educational authorities. These programs are also often seen to come from the outside, and there is typically no sense of local community ownership of these initiatives.

Moreover, due to financial and logistical resources constraints, as well as a relative absence of an established 'culture of memory' regarding histories of political violence, these programs usually have limited reach, and there is often a lack of understanding by the beneficiaries of the aims of these initiatives. The challenge identified for Côte d'Ivoire is to establish sustainable transitional justice programs that are locally embedded rather than 'parachuted' into local settings.

CASE STUDY 12

Kenya: Civil Society Responses to the Recurring Crises of Post-Election Violence

Kenya has had a long history of political violence going back to the colonial period. This has been attributed to inter and intra-communal conflicts, ethnic and political competition and struggles over access to natural resources. In particular, the country has experienced numerous episodes of post-election violence (PEV). Following the violence of the 2007 elections, a number of state and civil society programs sought to promote reconciliation and peacebuilding. It was within this context that the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) developed a training toolkit that aims to promote the goals of transitional justice.

The Trust for Indigenous Culture and Health (TICAH) has implemented a transitional justice program in Nairobi's informal settlements that involves young people who have been exposed to post-election violence, including police brutality, torture, and extra-judicial killings. The program uses art activism (e.g., murals and photography), body mapping and street theatre performances to explore how the shared positive values of 'African culture' can help to promote democratic values, healing, and peacebuilding. These programs have also worked with child survivors of gender-based violence and use intergenerational dialogues and community discussions for human rights education.

Challenges include inadequate understanding of transitional justice objectives, a lack of political will from government, poor co-ordination and implementation of state programs and policies, lack of accountability for post-election violence and police brutality, unsatisfactory protection and enforcement of children's rights due to understaffed and underfunded state institutions.

Negative cultural practices also discriminate against marginalized groups such as women, youth, people living with disabilities, the elderly and the poor. Despite these shortcomings, there are a number of civil society initiatives in Kenya that are responding to human rights violations and promoting transitional justice objectives.

GLOBAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CURRICULUM REFORM

There are some key insights from the academic literature that need to be considered prior to formulating policy recommendations for curriculum reform. Bellino et al (2017) provide some important observations. Although most activists in the transitional justice space conceive of education, formal, informal and non-formal as a vehicle for achieving transitional justice, education has ‘two faces’. It is a site of injustice, inequality, violence, atrocities and cultural suppression as much as it is a site for the human rights and movement towards social justice.

Bellino and colleagues make two other significant points. First, we need to be focused not only on curriculum reform but on structures and institutional cultures when we think of the potential of education to be an agent of transitional justice. Second, the focus of education as an agent of transitional justice must be at the classroom level, with the teacher and not at the national policy level. “Education policies and standardized curricula depend on the classroom teachers’ interpretations of the curriculum, as well as their capacities and desire to enact, adapt and resist them.” (p. 321). Also, the teachers are not free of the impact of the national trauma and carry strong views. They may also prefer not to deal with conflictual content especially if the learners in the classrooms have varying positions and histories.

The 18 case studies on curriculum reform and transitional justice highlight the varied approaches taken in different societies and demonstrate the value of learning from a wide range of experiences. They present many ideas that can be shared across different geographies provided that context is adequately taken into account.

Recommendation 1

ASSESS THE WIDER ENVIRONMENT TO DECIDE ON THE APPROPRIATE CHANGE JOURNEY

The evidence from the 18 case studies clearly shows that there are multiple change journeys or unique reform pathways towards incorporating transitional justice into the school curriculum or making other, less formal interventions. No two contexts are identical. In some cases, the wider environment is open and ready for substantial and rapid change. In other cases, there is considerable resistance to change or other factors that must be taken into account. In some countries, the state pursues an agenda which mitigates against ideas of transitional justice and makes curriculum reform very difficult.

Some of the questions that should be asked to determine the most suitable path include:

- Does state policy create the space for curriculum reform and the policy environment promote the vision of transitional justice?
- Are there adequate resources to support curriculum reform including teacher training, textbooks or other learning materials, online materials and audiovisual resources?

- Do school communities as a whole, including parent bodies, support new approaches?
- Are teachers open to learning about and teaching the relevant material, and are they willing and able to deal with difficult conversations or controversial issues that may arise?
- Are activists and leaders of co-curricular activities able to co-operate with state institutions, or do they face a more hostile environment?
- Are transitional justice programs likely to bring students into conflict with one another? And, if so, how will teachers be prepared/trained to respond to this conflict?
- How much consensus is there in the society about how to understand the historical context?

Rather than adopting a 'one-size-fits-all' approach, transitional justice advocates need to assess the most apposite approach.

Recommendation 2

PURSUE FORMAL CURRICULUM CHANGES BUT UNDERSTAND THE LIMITS AND CHALLENGES OF THIS PROCESS

Changes to the formal curriculum are powerful but challenging. The school curriculum can be a very important tool in the right circumstances, and changes to the curriculum are worth pursuing even where there are obstacles.

- It is often difficult to convince legislators and policy makers to make formal changes to the official curriculum, and we have seen in various country experiences that the absence of such changes makes the transitional justice agenda much more difficult.
- The formal curriculum can be a powerful tool because it reaches so many people and because of the time and resources that are devoted to the curriculum in classroom settings. However, it is a necessary (but often insufficient) condition to embedding transitional justice into the lived-experiences of young people.
- Changes to the curriculum are complex and may be ineffective, or lead to unintended negative consequences, if handled incorrectly. Curriculum changes involve contested terrain. Implementation is often uneven, and can give rise to superficial approaches, to the teaching of a simplistic orthodoxy or to the silencing of alternative views. Although the case studies do not focus on the process of designing content and reaching consensus around it, it is clear that such a process requires integrity, leadership and consensus building.
- Effective curriculum change requires curriculum reform advocates to engage with the entire cycle of change that includes curriculum design and planning,

debates over content and methodology, changes in teacher education programs both at teacher training institutions, as well as in-service teacher training, the provision of high-quality educational materials for both teachers and students and changes to both classroom assessments and high-stake examinations.

- In the context of transitional justice, teaching multiple perspectives and encouraging analytical views and historical empathy in students is critical. Students need to be taught how to analyze events or problems from several different perspectives or points of view. It is also important for students to develop the skill of historical empathy to enable them to appreciate that all those affected by the conflict have in common suffering generally related to hunger, fear and loss.

A sample of the country reports that include changes to the formal school curriculum that have accommodated a transitional justice agenda – with varying degrees of success – are those of Argentina, Guatemala, South Africa and Timor-Leste.

Recommendation 3

PURSUE FORMAL CURRICULUM CHANGE WHEREVER POSSIBLE, BUT TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE REALITY OF LOCAL CONDITIONS AND DESIGN REFORMS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONTEXT

The state is, by definition, a key player in educational reform in general, and curriculum reform in particular. Other key players include teacher trade unions or professional organizations, academics, and activists working in cultural, museum or memory projects. The political context, and whether or not there is a shared public understanding of the nature of historical events, will determine much of what is possible. Depending on the context, curriculum reform can take different pathways such as:

- 1. Big bang approach.** In contexts where all the key ingredients are present, i.e. strong bi-partisan political support for curriculum reform, durable public sentiment, professional capacity to ensure effective implementation and monitoring, extensive capacity within the ministry and schools, and the sustained fiscal backing, transitional justice advocates could build guiding coalitions to implement large-scale curriculum reform to promote transitional justice.
- 2. Incrementalism.** For those contexts that may not have all of the key ingredients for large-scale reform, the focus should be on developing, expanding and sustaining networks, building system capacity, and working closely with internal government curriculum reform processes on incremental change to the official subject curricular or syllabi, on teacher development and on production and dissemination of educational materials. The key here is the recognition of a phased approach, with the assumption that the system would be 'ready' for dramatic change should external circumstances change.

3. Working around the margins. In contexts where there is very little appetite for curriculum reform for transitional justice, advocates need to carefully assess the risks and challenges. Adapting a working-around-the margins approach may mean focusing more on co- or extra-curricular innovations (see below) or linking to other curriculum reform movements that may not necessarily have identical objectives but may be open to dialogue. It may involve collaborating with like-minded educational professionals to find common ground.

Regardless of the change journey and the pathways to achieving deep and sustainable change, curriculum reformers need to pay close attention to the entire cycle of curriculum change, including monitoring and evaluating the impact that the reform activities are having on students' understanding of truth, justice and reconciliation.

Recommendation 4

WHERE FORMAL CURRICULUM CHANGE TAKES PLACE, SUPPLEMENT CLASSROOM WORK WITH CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Both formal and non-formal approaches are valuable in helping young people to understand and grapple with traumatic histories. Curriculum reform is crucial to developing a sustained program but should be complemented by co-curricular activities. Ideally these should form part of an integrated vision so that learning opportunities outside the classroom are used to complement formal learning. We have seen that outcomes have been most powerful in contexts where linkages have been built between the formal curriculum and co-curricular approaches such as:

- First-hand testimonials of survivors and affected persons, e.g. the Basque Country and South African case study – Human Rights Media Centre, Bangladesh's *Liberation War Museum*
- Whole-school activities built around commemorative national holidays, e.g. Peru's José Antonio Encinas School and 28 August commemorations, Brazil's Sao Paulo Resistance Memorial *Resistance Saturdays* civil society activities
- School arts projects that engage with the past, e.g. Kenya's *Trust for Indigenous Culture and Health (TICAH)* programs in informal settlements, Basque Country's *Memorialab* integrating storytelling with body mapping
- Visits to appropriately equipped museums and sites of conscience, e.g. Bangladesh's *Liberation War Museum* and Cambodia's *Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum* (though the latter is visited by international tourists more than locals)
- Pilgrimages to sites of memory, e.g. memory routes in Peru and Chile
- School debating activities and competitions
- Creative use of digital platforms/new media, e.g. Chile's use of digital platforms, particularly during COVID
- Serious didactic games managed as part of school activity

- Acts of remembrance managed by the school community, e.g. Colombia's school-based model of learning
- Peer-to-peer activities (guided by other students), e.g. students interviewing victims of political violence in Peru and Timor-Leste's *Centro Nacional Chega!*
- Integrating themes arising from national history into the cultural offerings at school, e.g. Cambodia's DC-Cam initiatives
- Public art installations and exhibitions, poetry, theatre productions and other live performance, dance, various forms of musical expression, e.g. El Salvador's *Memory & Truth Monument* 'open air classroom', South Africa's Constitution Hill's annual Human Rights Festival, Côte d'Ivoire's awareness-raising campaigns through sport and festivals
- Filmmaking – both documentary and historical fiction, cinema screenings, e.g. Serbia's Helsinki Committee for Human Rights's short video project
- Public lectures
- Rituals and festivals, including collective memory practices centered on eating and socializing, e.g. Basque Country's Afaloste and South Africa's District 6 Museum's Food and Memory Project

Recommendation 5

WHERE FORMAL CURRICULUM CHANGE IS NOT POSSIBLE OR IS INEFFECTIVE, PURSUE INITIATIVES OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AND USE THESE TO BUILD TOWARDS MORE COMPREHENSIVE CHANGE

While formal curriculum change is worth pursuing in the transitional justice and peace-building space, there may be many contexts in which such change is politically or administratively impossible, or is ineffective. In this case, extra-curricular activities (as listed above) are even more important and can be offered by a range of players outside the state or in state-supported cultural institutions.

Ideally these should be managed by institutions like museums, sites of memory and NGOs that have the required longevity and can operate at scale. Where this is not possible, grassroots initiatives can still be powerful particularly if they receive some external encouragement and support. Without such support, grassroots initiatives may be short-lived as community activists or 'champions' experience burnout or are unable to reach a wider audience.

Having said that, it is also important to note that even when transitional justice and memory projects do not have a wide reach, they may still exert influence on efforts to consolidate democracy and peace-building. By virtue of their roles as custodians of collective memory of political violence, they may have significant influence beyond the number of visitors they attract. Similarly, even if the impact of such projects on the state's educational programs may be limited, they are often able to keep alive the memories of atrocities, while simultaneously inspiring young people to aspire towards peace-building and democratic futures.

In an environment where curriculum change has not taken place, much will depend on the relationship between activists, cultural institutions and the state. The case studies include examples where the state is antagonistic to the transitional justice agenda or pursues an exclusionary or narrow nationalist agenda. In such environments, transitional and memory projects may have to operate in an oppositional mode or at the margins. There are other examples where a relationship with the state is more productive and where transitional justice projects can supplement state efforts or can step into the breach left by weak state environments.

Careful attention should be paid, however, to the nature of the relationship. While state agencies and departments may offer the advantages of resources or social legitimacy, there are also cases where projects may find themselves drawn into inefficient and ineffective processes which drain their resources, or even into corrupt environments. There may also be difficult trade-offs between autonomy, vitality and 'grassroots authenticity' on the one hand, and 'dilution' or, even more problematically, co-option into the ethno-nationalist agendas and ideological projects of governments on the other.

When institutions are created to work on transitional justice and peace-building, there is always the risk of changes in policy as a result of a shift in government. The key is to establish mechanisms by which the autonomy of institutions dealing with memory is guaranteed.

Recommendation 6

NURTURE MUSEUMS AND SITES OF CONSCIENCE AND ENCOURAGE THEM TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE EDUCATION LANDSCAPE

Various case studies show that museums and sites of conscience generally – whether they are state-run, private or non-profit institutions – play a key role in leading and implementing a transitional justice and peace education agenda. Where a museum is located at a site of historic significance, it can play a particularly powerful role, not only in educational programs but also in memorialization, archiving of historical material and inter-generational dialogue. Museums can also be important sites for public programs and for meetings between young people and survivors of conflict.

Museums and historical sites are precious resources. However, running and sustaining museums and sites of conscience requires ongoing and careful management, appropriate resources and proper governance and leadership. There are examples of museums and sites that are under-resourced or sites that become moribund, bureaucratic and more committed to the interests of their staff than to their mandate. Others suffer from the effects of domination by founders or other individuals or become riven with internal conflicts. Like all cultural institutions, the key to success is to be found in the committed and humble leadership, good governance and adequate resourcing. Ideally, museums and sites should be able to cover a portion of their costs from visitors (especially international tourists) or from independent sources.

Museums and sites of conscience also need to be very cognizant of the political and psychological impact of their work on visitors. They must pay close attention to the experience of visitors especially young people or communities and individuals who may have been affected by the conflict. What is clear from case studies is that encounters with firsthand testimonies of political violence in the actual physical spaces of memory sites can be very powerful emotionally and psychologically. From a psychological and pedagogical perspective, it will be very important to debrief participants and provide them with an understanding of the connections between these potentially traumatic encounters with histories of violence and the aims of transitional justice and peace-building.

It cannot be taken for granted that exposure to the 'raw memories' of political violence will produce responses that are convergent with those of transitional justice. Instead, it could generate feelings of anger, resentment, ethno-nationalist sentiment and a desire for retribution rather than reconciliation and peace-building.

"Addressing collective, cross-generational, individual and familial trauma is key in stopping the cycle of violence, promoting safe spaces at school and community levels and ensuring that learners can thrive." **(CSVR case study)**

Recommendation 7

PLAN THE CHANGEOVER FROM FIRST-GENERATION TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE ACTIVISTS TO SECOND-GENERATION PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

While the case study reports reveal that the first-hand experiences of political violence by transitional justice activists have the potential to animate and vitalize these pedagogical initiatives in powerful ways, there is a danger that this affective aspect could be dissipated by a second-generation professional leadership that does not necessarily have this close connection to the historical events in question.

A number of possible options exist to address this. For example, digitalized personal testimonies, podcasts and film documentaries can be used to convey a closer personal connection to this past. Visiting the actual sites of memory, intergenerational gatherings to discuss the meanings of the past for the present, as well as ritualized walks of remembrance can also help to animate the past, thereby providing affectively-charged personal encounters that ensure that personal memory does not seamlessly slide into 'mere history', i.e. a sequence of dry facts and impersonal narratives about the past.

Recommendation 8

PROMOTE INTER-COUNTRY CO-OPERATION, REGIONAL NETWORKING AND DRAWING ON THE RESOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Many of the case studies demonstrate that museums and sites of conscience in developing countries are difficult to sustain and often require material or moral support. It is also clear that many institutions could increase their impact if they had additional or more steady forms of funding and could reach wider audiences. Many of the institutions covered in the case studies would value the opportunity to draw on the experiences of similar institutions in other contexts and to interact with peers working in similar environments.

This highlights the importance of the work being done by the Global Initiative for Justice, Truth and Reconciliation, as well as the broader work of the International Coalition for Sites of Conscience. There is a great need to nurture and link the work being done in different contexts and to support and expand the efforts of those working on the ground.

There may also be value in trying to mobilize the support and resources of other agencies such as UNESCO, which may be able to supplement the work that has started.

Finally, it would be useful to deepen and extend the work that has emerged from this project by including additional case studies (Rwanda, Germany, Ireland to name but a few examples) and to deepen the country reports by looking more closely at specific experiences that were covered only partially in this project.

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