Introduction: Connecting Historical Justice and History Education

Matilda Keynes, Henrik Åström Elmersjö, Daniel Lindmark and Björn Norlin

Introduction

In recent years, movements for historical justice have gained global momentum and prominence as the focus on righting wrongs from the past has become a feature of contemporary politics. This imperative has manifested in globally diverse contexts including societies emerging from a period of recent, violent conflict, but also, established democracies which are increasingly compelled to address the legacies of colonialism, slavery, genocide, institutional abuse, and war crimes, as well as other forms of protracted discord. A diverse suite of redress instruments including – but not limited to – criminal tribunals, truth commissions, reparations, and official apologies, are now regularly deployed in efforts to remedy and overcome historical injustices. Conceptions of historical justice have been embedded in existing legal systems and humanitarian frameworks, including human rights (Teitel 2014), and history increasingly occupies a central position in the mediation and management of the collective past (Olick 2007).

Educational initiatives of various kinds are located at the centre of these actions for historical justice. Educating the public, politicians or different categories of professionals by spreading knowledge generated in truth commissions, white paper projects, or criminal tribunals are, alongside different political and compensatory actions, important aspects of such initiatives. Schools, and other institutionalised educational contexts, have become important arenas of dissemination, as have museums and commemorative sites as well as broader governmental campaigns for spreading knowledge of historical injustices to the public. In this context, history education, broadly conceived, has become a focus for researchers and practitioners interested in how contested understandings of, and approaches to studying, the past can incite, exacerbate, and potentially, transform conflict.

While there are many books published on the topics of teaching difficult, sensitive, and contested histories (Bentrovato et al. 2016; Elmersjö et al. 2017; Psaltis et al. 2017; Peck and Epstein 2018), scholars have paid relatively less attention to the evolving relationship between historical justice and history education, including the challenges and possibilities this relationship generates for both fields. This volume is thematically located at the intersection of these two fields and is concerned with how the expectations of historical justice movements and processes are directed towards, and taken up, in educational contexts, particularly in history education. By presenting cases from a wide range of national contexts, this collection sets out to explore important empirically grounded and conceptual features of the evolving relations between history education and historical justice, as well as to discuss various problems and possibilities located at those junctures.

This book explores distinct but connected domains where agendas of historical justice and history education intersect. It considers the spread and use of knowledge generated from state-sponsored historical justice processes; current and potential functions of history education in processes of historical justice, and; the implications of historical justice movements and mechanisms for history education and vice-versa. The general aim of the volume is to provide an important touchstone for scholars, policymakers, practitioners, and teachers that can guide

future research, policy, and practice in the fields of historical justice, human rights and history education

Context

When Francis Fukuyama (1992) declared 'the end of history' in the early-1990s, he saw, in the victory of liberal democracy and free market capitalism over communism, the realisation of history attaining its highest and final goal. However, the early-90s will likely prove the highwater mark for the post-cold war order based on liberal principles of democracy, markets, and the rule of law. Since then, near-constant war in the Middle East, global financial crises, imminent environmental collapse, growing inequality, increasing human displacement, rising xenophobic populism, and the global covid-19 pandemic have, together, considerably undermined Fukuyama's prophecy. History, rather than fading quietly into insignificance, has become a prominent domain of dispute as various groups and leaders contest narratives of the past in order to proffer visions of the future and shape contemporary agendas.

In the face of unprecedented change (Simon 2019), alternate visions of past and future have rushed to fill the void. One response has been the global movement and proliferation of claims to redress the injustices of the past. According to Hartog (2016), as visions of a hopeful future recede from view, the thirst for knowledge of the past increases, while Torpey (2006) has suggested that the road to the future now leads through the disasters of the past. In the aftermath of mass violence, facing the memory of traumatic historical events has become imperative and widely seen to be a key aspect of advancing peace and reconciliation (Neumann and Thompson 2015). Further, as the traditional sovereignty of liberal nation-states is challenged by the contemporary forces of globalisation, displacement and environmental degradation, managing the polity's relationship with the national past has become a vital political agenda for modern governments (Keynes 2020). On the global stage, conveying truthful knowledge of the past is now an expectation of belonging to the liberal international community and is part of the "backbone of liberal democratic discourse" based on the architecture of universal human rights (Karn 2015, 61). This has elevated the status and authority of historical knowledge seen to be able to right moral wrongs (Bevernage 2012).

At the time of writing, Black Lives Matter protests across the United States, sparked by the killing of Black man, George Floyd by police, constitute the largest movement in the country's history (Buchanan et al. 2020). In response, philosopher Colleen Murphy, has argued that the United States ought to pursue transitional justice, particularly a truth and justice commission, to address the history and continuing racial inequality and injustice in the United States (Murphy 2020). At the same time, in Bristol, UK, anti-racism demonstrators tore down a statue of 17th-century slave trader, Edward Colston, which had stood since 1895 (Picheta 2020). There, debates rage about the legacies of the British Empire including its role in the transatlantic slave trade, as well as other colonial oppressions and violences (Bentley 2015), debates echoed in the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany, for example (Henley et al. 2020). In Victoria, Australia, a truth and justice commission was announced in July 2020 to "formally recognise historical wrongs and ongoing injustices" against Aboriginal people, the first of its kind in the country's history (Allam 2020). Today, movements, debates and processes of historical justice dominate the headlines.

While numerous scholars have traced the origins of the trend towards historical redress to the Nuremberg Trials of the late 1940s (i.e. Teitel 1997), it is widely accepted that contemporary historical justice processes are largely a post-cold war phenomenon. The collapse of communism, wars in former-Yugoslavia and Africa, and political transitions in South Africa, Eastern Europe and Latin America of the 1980s and 90s mark what has been labelled the 'restorative turn'; a period whereby restorative approaches to past injustices – centred upon establishing historical truth and fostering peace-building – were elevated, alongside established legalist, retributive measures.

It is with the restorative turn that we can locate the emergent relationship between historical justice and history education. From the 2000s, education has been increasingly connected with agendas of historical justice. In an important article from 2007, Elizabeth Cole initiated scholarly conversation about the relationship of history education to processes of transitional justice arguing that "the two sectors have rarely intersected, and their work has generally proceeded along separate tracks" (2007, 115). In the decades since, that reality has altered significantly, a fact reflected in Paulson and Bellino's (2017) survey of truth commission's engagement with education. In that study, of the 20 truth commissions analysed, all "included some form of engagement with education" (p. 362). Those findings suggest that as truth commissions have "become established as a post-conflict norm" their engagement with education has grown in scope and substance (Paulson and Bellino in this volume).

These observations about truth commissions reflect the bourgeoning relationship of historical justice to education more broadly. Today, education is regularly framed as a significant site of historical injustice, for example; in official inquiries investigating institutional abuse (Arvidsson 2019), or where education has been complicit in policies of genocide, assimilation or indoctrination (Wilkie 1997; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015). It is also positioned as a site in need of considerable reform in order to address past injustices, and, as a vital mechanism for redressing the past in its own right, as a domain where injustices can be remedied. These diverse and expansive imaginings of education in relation to claims and processes of historical justice produce contradictory and confusing agendas. For history education in particular, relations to historical justice are neither clear nor always complimentary. In many ways, this is reflected in, and owing to, the abounding conceptions of both domains, to which we now turn.

Concepts, Tensions, and Opportunities

This volume treats *historical justice* as an expansive concept that signals the global impetus that has emerged in the post-cold war era to acknowledge and redress past wrongs, and, often, prevent their recurrence (Neumann and Thompson 2015). Historical justice is to be distinguished from *transitional justice*, although there exists no uniform understanding of either, normative or historical. For clarity, in this book we use historical justice as the broader term, and transitional justice specifically to describe *official* processes and mechanisms aimed at state redress and rebuilding (Winter 2014).

History education too, we treat broadly. While the majority of chapters are focused on formal, school education and related materials such as curricula, textbooks and pedagogy, many others frame history education more widely, as a domain of *public history*, that occurs in spaces such as museums, community history projects, memorials, and universities. Further, historical

justice processes themselves, such as truth commissions and official apologies, can be read as inherently educational domains because they aim to inform publics about past injustices, and in many cases, seek to transform or restore state—citizen relations (Bellino et al. 2017; Ramirez-Barat and Duthie 2017).

By maintaining a broad understanding of both historical justice and history education, in this volume we aim to survey the burgeoning relationship between these fields, and to initiate conversation about the possibilities and difficulties being generated by their association in diverse contexts. In this process, several core themes and crucial tensions emerged that signal challenges and opportunities for future research in this field, and these are outlined below.

(a) Historical Justice in Different Contexts

The first reflects a long-standing quandary in the field of historical justice regarding different 'kinds' of societies undertaking retrospective justice processes. Much existing research has focused on the role of history education in 'archetypal' post-conflict societies – those undertaking regime transition after societal breakdown – and not established democracies (For example; Bellino 2015; Bentrovato 2017). Until recently, this has reflected a narrow interpretation of transitional justice, understood as the transition to liberal democracy following civil unrest, violence, and authoritarianism (Nagy 2008). This understanding of transitional justice, as the transition to democracy and liberal norms, has arguably inhibited recognition of different conceptions of political transition (see for example; Hobbs 2016) and has privileged establishing legal accountability and civil and political rights over addressing longer-term, structural causes of conflict (Lykes and van der Merwe 2017). This limited interpretation has also elided the role of liberal democracies themselves in causing harm (Maddison and Shepherd 2014), or has created a binary where democratic states are not imagined as sites in need of political transition and historical justice (Matsunaga 2016).

Our collection draws out these tensions by bringing insights from more typical post-conflict settings such as South Africa, (Ahonen and Robinson in this volume) and Rwanda (Bentrovato in this volume), together with broadening interpretations of historical justice, including in established democracies. An important feature of this volume is that it contributes new perspectives on the relation of historical justice measures to education in long-standing democracies. Chapters on Sweden, Canada, Finland, and the United Kingdom reveal diverse political and historical traditions, challenge assumptions, and generate new possibilities for analysis. For example, two chapters about Sweden introduce the category of 'welfare state' democracies to this field of research. Chapters by Arvidsson and Elmersjö, and Lindmark and Norlin show that redress processes in Sweden have focused on the measures undertaken by the welfare state to establish social cohesion and societal norms at the expense of the rights of minorities, and elsewhere Arvidsson has extended this analysis to cases of abuse in Danish state institutions (Arvidsson 2019). These can partly be distinguished from approaches to historical justice in settler colonial states contending with the continuing, structural injustices of settler-colonialism (explored by Miles and Anuik in this volume), societies divided by the legacies of colonialism such as Cyprus (Christodoulou in this volume), and also formerly imperial states of the United Kingdom (see; Gauld and Grosvenor, Mann in this volume) and Japan (see Ropers, Eriksson in this volume), reckoning with the legacies of their respective wartime and imperial pasts in class-rooms, memorials and museums. In these diverse contexts, the relationship of history education to historical justice movements and processes can radically differ, and this leads to a second core theme explored in this volume.

(b) History Education Paradigms and Traditions

This volume draws attention to the many, complex ways that conceptions of historical justice and history education are taken up by researchers from different disciplines and national contexts. On the one hand, that diversity is a natural outcome of researching areas that are multidisciplinary and connected to different local developments, histories, and educational and political contexts. On the other hand, it can create certain impediments for establishing a common conceptual understanding for future research dialogue. For example, historical justice might be approached differently depending on the motivation of teaching history in different national contexts. If history is taught in schools primarily in order to construct and celebrate the national story, then knowledge of historical injustice may be subsumed with nation-building narratives. Alternatively, if it is taught to develop historical thinking skills, teaching might focus, not on truth itself, but on how to critically evaluate truth claims. If history is primarily taught to develop historical consciousness in students, teaching might focus on developing an orientation in time in relation to a particular group identity. This volume seeks to acknowledge and make room for these approaches, rather than homogenise them, however it does suggest that these contextual and conceptual differences make different kinds of research into history education and historical justice – including sustained, comparative approaches – desirable.

Broadly speaking, historical justice challenges history education by; blurring its civic and scientific agendas through linking history teaching to normative goals; reanimating epistemological questions of truth and narrative; drawing attention to the limits of the history discipline as the arbiter of justice, and; by extending understandings of history education and its obligations beyond the space of the classroom and linear temporal frames. In return, approaches and concepts from history education challenge conceptions of historical justice. They contest assumptions that a unified narrative about the past can resolve conflict, and complicate simplistic uses of history, using disciplinary tools to resist the idea that history education should be aligned with normative goals. Ideas and methods from history education deepen understandings of historical justice itself, with theoretical frameworks such as historical consciousness (Rüsen 2005; Thorp 2014) and historical culture (Grever and Adriaansen 2017), and through the surprising perspectives of history teachers (Mann, Robinson in this volume) and students (Löfström in this volume).

This volume reflects these tensions and possibilities. This is evident in the different epistemological positions and ideas presented in the book, about how to relate to knowledge in the researched areas. While some chapters are merely explanatory and aim at attaining knowledge or achieving an understanding of processes connected to, for instance, reconciliation or classroom activities (see Lindmark and Norlin in this volume), others take a more normative approach directed towards the improvement of teaching (see Collste in this volume), or the ways in which historical justice is practiced (see Paulson and Bellino in this volume). What's clear is that there is no 'one-size fits all' approach in this field.

(c) Educationalisation

There exist few conceptual frameworks for the analysis of processes by which knowledge from historical justice agendas gets translated into educational domains, such as curricula, pedagogy, materials, museums, and memorial sites. Scholars seeking to survey this field have tended to focus on specific redress mechanisms in relation to education, like truth commissions (Paulson and Bellino 2017) or discrete educational materials such as textbooks (see for example; Bellino and Williams 2017; Bentrovato and Wassermann 2018; Christodoulou 2018), and curricula (See for example; Miles 2018; Keynes 2019).

The process of rendering certain forms of knowledge (for example, knowledge of state crimes produced through inquiry commissions) into a new educational discourse might be labelled *educationalisation*. This concept was popularised in English-language historical research on education by Belgian historian, Marc Depaepe and colleagues and is generally used in historical analyses to explore "the qualitative expansion of 'educational' ('pedagogical') interventions in society." This volume indicates that educationalisation may be a helpful, organising concept for framing analysis in this field.

In Citizenship and the Learning Society, Naomi Hodgson (2016, 1) claimed that "educational responses to social problems are often triggered by a sense of crisis." From a longer, historical vantage-point, historian Daniel Tröhler has argued that educationalisation can be understood as a form of modernisation, whereby, since the eighteenth-century, perceived societal challenges started to be interpreted as problems to be solved by educational means (Tröhler 2016, 698). In contexts characterised by recent mass violence or authoritarianism, historical justice measures may respond to the breakdown of civil and political institutions, seeking to reckon with and remedy the harms of the past and restore or establish legitimate state-citizen relations. In established democracies confronting the enduring legacies and structures of unjust pasts, historical justice measures might seek to repair state legitimacy, encourage social cohesion, adhere to international norms, and deliver forms of justice to victims through truth-telling, reparation and memorialisation. A sense of crisis, whether of legitimacy, morality, trust, or accountability, animates these efforts. In these situations, education is clearly positioned as a key part of an urgent agenda; to reconstruct society, and to contribute to the restoration of victims and the prevention of future violence.

In this turn to educationalise the urgent problems associated with historical justice movements and measures, a particular developmental and decontextualized vision of education can arise. While education has more frequently been positioned as a partner or arm of historical justice processes, this has not always been coupled with reflection about the role of education in inciting or exacerbating conflict, as Paulson and Bellino note (in this volume). Taking note of harms committed in schooling and educational institutions has not easily aligned with the developmental orientation of education, which McLeod (2017, 14) notes, remains a "modernist project dedicated to social and individual improvement and progress."

This is related to the 'two-way gaze' of historical justice measures, which, as Davies has observed (2017), places both forward and backward-looking demands on the education sector. Conceiving of these processes broadly in terms of educationalisation signals an awareness of the complexities, historical and contemporary, of seeking educational solutions to pressing societal problems, such as historical justice. It encourages scholars and practitioners to consider

how the forward-looking project of education interacts with the backwards-looking orientation of historical justice. For example, by emphasising not remorse but rather moral recommitment to a particular set of values and norms, do particular historical justice processes precipitate an educational dimension that is by its nature forwards-looking and normative? Or rather, does the recognition of persisting injustices facilitated by educational measures in the past necessitate a confrontation with the developmental character of education, including its role in embodying and carrying out historical justice work? These are vital questions for researchers in this field.

There are other promising and complimentary conceptual tools developed in this volume. For instance, in their chapter, Arvidsson and Elmersjö develop a framework for analysing processes of educationalisation, by marrying Apple's (2003) concept of 'official knowledge' with Bernstein's (1986) theory of recontextualization. Bermudez (in this volume) develops a set of analytic tools for interrogating narratives that normalize violence in history education, which she shows can extend and complement existing paradigms for history education research. Bentrovato (in this volume) argues that a 'dialogic multivocal' approach, as in South African textbook reform, is more facilitative of reconciliation after violent pasts than the univocal approach pursued in Rwanda. These insights, and many others, represent promising opportunities for future research and practice.

The Parts of the Book

The book is structured in four thematic sections: State-Sponsored Processes and Education (Part I), Historical Justice in Public History Spaces (Part II), Educational Materials: Textbooks, Curricula, Policy (Part III) and Pedagogy, Teachers, and Students (Part IV). Part I focuses on the area of state-sponsored processes and their relation to education. Its opening chapter is authored by Malin Arvidsson and Henrik Åström Elmersjö and deals with what happens when knowledge from a state-sponsored white paper project is transformed into educational texts for use in schools. By marrying the concepts of 'official knowledge' and 'recontextualization', the process by which knowledge is educationalised is highlighted. Arvidsson and Elmersjö show that the knowledge about historical abuse of the Roma minority in Sweden was mainly framed as part of general human rights education.

In her chapter, Sirkka Ahonen writes about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and the ethical implications of the commission's work for history education in South Africa. Ahonen discusses the liberal 'rainbowism' of the early post-apartheid South African society and education and the challenge posed by a contrary, social memory based in post-colonial Africanism.

In the last chapter of this section, Julia Paulson and Michelle J. Bellino discuss general patterns, possibilities and implications of truth commissions for history education. Analysing 20 different truth commissions, they find that truth commissions seem to become more engaged in education over time. However, truth commissions do not seem to make their contributions educational from the start, and often leave the educationalisation of the historical knowledge they produce to educational policymakers and individual teachers.

Part II provides perspectives on historical justice in public history contexts, broadly. The section contains six chapters dealing with a wide variety of public contexts where historical justice is being pursued. The first chapter of this section is written by Erik Ropers and deals

with the Hanaoka incident in Japan during World War II, where authorities brutally suppressed an uprising of Chinese forced labourers. Roper investigates how local educators have framed this history in different contexts. Discussing both schools and local organisations, Ropers demonstrates how the incident is understood differently in the local community compared to the official history produced following the war crimes trials and verdicts. He shows how local educators can push back against national curricula in making historical narratives part of local memory.

In the following chapter, Daniela Romero-Amaya discusses historical narratives and the socio-political implications of ascribing meaning to the past in post-conflict societies. She first theorises about how the post-conflict citizen is normatively constructed for a specific type of democracy. Then, she discusses how historical injustices are embedded in different overarching narratives, both official and subversive.

Björn Norlin and Daniel Lindmark discuss what happens to historical knowledge when historical problems are formulated, researched and published within truth commissions and white paper projects, in this case, the ongoing reconciliation process between the Church of Sweden and the Indigenous Sami people. Norlin and Lindmark note that the undertaking of a truth commission is always imbued with academic, ideological, and ethical considerations making the knowledge they produce complex to analyse. They conclude that different shapes of historical knowledge exist parallel to each other, and also converge, in these processes.

In their chapter, Nicola Gauld and Ian Grosvenor consider collaborative projects about the memories of World War I involving community organisations and academics. They specifically discuss how these collaborations addressed historical injustices connected to the legacy of colonialism and empire in conflict, as well as the impact of the War on the rights of disabled persons. They conclude that in addressing issues that are well-known, but emotionally and politically inconvenient, there is a lot to gain from establishing a relationship between academia and communities engaged in and effected by issues of historical injustice.

Anna-Karin Eriksson's chapter addresses the intersections of historical justice and history education in the history of 'comfort women' in Japan. Eriksson studies the organisation of 'comfort women discourse' as a false dichotomy which has created an unnecessary forced choice between gender justice and the victor's narrative and the victor's justice.

In the final chapter of Part II, Göran Collste discusses relations between ethics and historical justice and relates this to history education and the concept of historical consciousness. In doing so, Collste calls for interdisciplinary cooperation, both in academia and in schools, when matters of historical justice are being addressed.

Part III is concentrated on the area of educational materials, curricula and policy. Its first chapter is authored by Eleni Christodoulou who writes about the revision of history textbooks in Cyprus, which she describes as a divided society that is neither 'transitioning' nor 'post-conflict.' Christodoulou argues that although no form of history education can completely rectify or compensate for past crimes, history textbooks can contribute to minimal forms of historical justice through their performative effects. She discusses the educational and historical context in Cyprus before offering four challenges/principles for history textbook revisions to materialise as forms of historical justice.

In the next chapter, James Miles scrutinises the reform of social studies curricula in the Canadian state of British Columbia. Miles argues that the new social studies curriculum treats

injustices attributed to colonialism as events and thereby isolates colonial injustice from the structures of settler colonialism. Even though historical injustices are now visible, and even important parts of the curriculum, the framing of injustices as events does not necessarily challenge the nature of the settler-colonial state.

Angela Bermudez writes about ten tools to deconstruct narratives about violent pasts and how teachers can help students develop a more critical understanding of violence in the past and reject the normalisation of violence. Exploring the relationship between historical inquiry and ethical reflection she also discusses the legitimacy of different goals in history education stemming from ideas of historical thinking as well as from ideas of historical consciousness. With the ten tools provided, students and teachers are invited to examine representations of violence in the past more critically.

In the last chapter of the section on educational materials, curricula and policy, Denise Bentrovato examines the differences in approaches to a violent past in South African and Rwandan textbooks. She argues that the Rwandan textbooks more closely follow a univocal narrative based in the transitional justice process that Rwanda went through following the 1994 genocide that was in turn based in justice and accountability. The South African textbooks on the other hand, are found to have more multivocal narratives based in the South African approach to transitional justice centred around forgiveness and negotiation.

Part IV treats closely with pedagogy, focusing on teachers' and students' ambitions and perspectives on historical justice. Jonathan Anuik's chapter revolves around a book club for student teachers in Canada. By encouraging student teachers to read a novel about Indigenous struggles in the face of settler colonial society, they were able to engage on a deep level with historical empathy. The book chosen, a historical fiction novel, also tended to embed Indigenous knowledge as part of the Canadian story. Anuik concludes that a book club enables its participants to understand how a fictional story can contribute to grassroots practices of reconciliation.

In her chapter on formal history education in South Africa, Natasha Robinson argues that a focus on how young people understand the past, including its legacy and meaning in contemporary society, is urgently required. In her study, Robinson finds that history teachers in South Africa approach recent South African history quite differently, either framing apartheid as having a profound impact on the present or as a past parenthesis in South African history.

In their chapter, Andy Pearce and Stuart Foster question the idea that teaching about the Holocaust inevitably inculcates tolerance in young people. The authors argue that learning about the Holocaust presents opportunities for young people to explore the complexities of both justice and injustice in history. However, these complexities can only be utilised to reinforce students' understanding of justice and tolerance by a deeper recalibration of how we think about, and practice Holocaust education.

Heather Mann also engages with teaching about genocide in her chapter. Drawing on interviews with secondary school history teachers in England, she analyses teachers' motivations when teaching about the Holocaust and whether attaining justice for more recent genocides motivates them and informs their lesson planning. Mann also asks why the Holocaust enables teachers in England to articulate genocidal violence, but not colonial violence to the same degree.

In the final chapter of this section, and of this volume as a whole, Jan Löfström explores how Finnish upper secondary school students interpret the motives and effects of historical apologies. Löfström finds three different interpretations: promotion of the strategic interests of the state, the communication of moral lessons and immaterial redress to victims of transgenerational harm. Because the last category was harder for the students to accept, Löfström suggests that ethics of care, rather than ethics of justice, could be a way to deal with transgenerational guilt and harm in history classrooms.

Conclusion

This volume demonstrates that history education, in schools and beyond, has an important contribution to make to agendas and understandings of historical justice. While generalised human rights and peace education may have been the favoured educational outlets for historical justice processes, history education occupies an increasingly vital position. With the growing legal recognition of the 'right to truth' in international humanitarian discourse, and the global rise of truth-seeking processes elevating the status of historical knowledge as a moral force, the 'turn to history' centres history education as a mediator of historical justice agendas. Methods and concepts from history education, whether understood in terms of orientation, or disciplinary thinking, provide vital means and opportunities for contextualising the longer-term causes and structures that lead to mass harm and injustice. In this way, this volume contributes something distinctive to the field of historical justice. While education has typically been framed as a partner of primary redress mechanisms, such as trials and truth commissions, the chapters in this book underscore the thoroughly educational character of historical justice in its own right and contribute vital educational approaches and insights that should challenge the field of historical justice. As history education comes into view as an important domain of historical justice, this volume highlights important new directions and approaches, and incites crucial agendas for further research.

References

- Allam, Loreta. 2020. Victoria to set up Australia's first truth and justice commission to recognise wrongs against Aboriginal people. *the Guardian*, July 10, sec. Australia news.
- Apple, Michael W. 2003. *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age.* Third. New York: Routledge.
- Arvidsson, Malin. 2019. Retroactive Responsibility: *Scandinavian Journal of History* 0: 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2019.1621195.
- Bellino, Michelle J. 2015. So That We Do Not Fall Again: History Education and Citizenship in "Postwar" Guatemala. *Comparative Education Review* 60: 58–79.
- Bellino, Michelle J., Julia Paulson, and Elizabeth Anderson Worden. 2017. Working through difficult pasts: toward thick democracy and transitional justice in education. *Comparative Education* 53: 313–332.
- Bellino, Michelle J, and James H Williams. 2017. (Re)constructing memory education, identity, and conflict.

- Bentley, Tom. 2015. *Empires of Remorse: Narrative, postcolonialism and apologies for colonial atrocity*. Routledge Studies on Challenges, Crises and Dissent in World Politics. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Bentrovato, Denise. 2017. Accounting for genocide: transitional justice, mass (re)education and the pedagogy of truth in present-day Rwanda. *Comparative Education* 53: 396–417.
- Bentrovato, Denise, Karina V. Korostelina, and Martina Schulze, ed. 2016. *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies*. Gottingen: V&R unipress GmbH.
- Bentrovato, Denise, and Johan Wassermann. 2018. Mediating transitional justice: South Africa's TRC in history textbooks and the implications for peace. *Global Change, Peace & Security* 30: 335–351. https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2018.1438386.
- Bernstein, Basil. 1986. On pedagogic discourse. In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson, 205–240. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Bevernage, Berber. 2012. *History, Memory, and State-Sponsored Violence: Time and Justice.* New York: Routledge.
- Buchanan, Larry, Quoctrung Bui, and Jugal K. Patel. 2020. Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History. *The New York Times*, July 3, sec. U.S.
- Christodoulou, Eleni. 2018. Deconstructing resistance towards textbook revisions: the securitisation of history textbooks and the Cyprus conflict. *Global Change, Peace & Security* 30.
- Cole, Elizabeth. 2007. Transitional justice and history education. *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1: 115–137.
- Davies, Lynn. 2017. Justice-sensitive education: the implications of transitional justice mechanisms for teaching and learning. *Comparative Education* 53: 333–350.
- Elmersjö, Henrik Åström, Anna Clark, and Monika Vinterek, ed. 2017. *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories. Pedagogical Responses to Contested Narratives and the History Wars.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1992. The End of History and the Last Man. New York: Free Press.
- Grever, Maria, and Robert-Jan Adriaansen. 2017. Historical Culture: A Concept Revisited. In *Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education*, ed. Mario Carretero, Stefan Berger, and Maria Grever, 73–89. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hartog, François. 2016. *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time*. Translated by Saskia Brown. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Henley, Jon, Philip Oltermann, and Daniel Boffey. 2020. European colonial powers still loth to admit historical evils. *The Guardian*, March 11, sec. World news.
- Hobbs, Harry. 2016. Locating the Logic of Transitional Justice in Liberal Democracies: Native Title in Australia. *UNSW Law Journal* 39.
- Hodgson, Naomi. 2016. Citizenship for the Learning Society: Europe, Subjectivity, and Educational Research. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.
- Karn, Alexander. 2015. Amending the Past: Europe's Holocaust Commissions and the Right to History. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Keynes, Matilda. 2019. History Education for Transitional Justice? Challenges, Limitations and Possibilities for Settler Colonial Australia. *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 13: 113–133. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijy026.
- Keynes, Matilda. 2020. History education, citizenship and state formation. In *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education*, ed. Tanya Fitzgerald. Springer International Handbooks of Education. Singapore: Springer.
- Lykes, M. Brinton, and Hugo van der Merwe. 2017. Exploring/Expanding the Reach of Transitional Justice. *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 11: 371–377.
- Maddison, Sarah, and Laura J. Shepherd. 2014. Peacebuilding and the postcolonial politics of transitional justice. *Peacebuilding* 2: 253–269.
- Matsunaga, Jennifer. 2016. Two faces of transitional justice: Theorizing the incommensurability of transitional justice and decolonization in Canada. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 5: 24–44.
- McLeod, Julie. 2017. Marking time, making methods: temporality and untimely dilemmas in the sociology of youth and educational change. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 38: 13–25.
- Miles, James. 2018. Teaching history for truth and reconciliation: the challenges and opportunities of narrativity, temporality, and identity. *McGill Journal of Education / Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill* 53.
- Murphy, Colleen. 2020. Transitional Justice in the United States. *Just Security*, July 16, sec. Civil Liberties.
- Nagy, Rosemary. 2008. Transitional Justice as Global Project: critical reflections. *Third World Quarterly* 29: 275–289.
- Neumann, Klaus, and Janna Thompson, ed. 2015. *Historical Justice and Memory*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin press.
- Olick, Jeffrey. 2007. *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility*. New York: Routledge.
- Paulson, Julia, and Michelle J. Bellino. 2017. Truth commissions, education, and positive peace: an analysis of truth commission final reports (1980–2015). *Comparative Education* 53: 351–378.
- Peck, Carla, and Terrie Epstein, ed. 2018. *Teaching and Learning Difficult Histories in International Contexts: A Critical Sociocultural Approach (Hardback) Routledge*. New York: Routledge.
- Picheta, Rob. 2020. Protesters tear down statue of slave trader as anti-racism demonstrations take place worldwide. *CNN*.
- Psaltis, Charis, Mario Carretero, and Sabina Čehajić-Clancy. 2017. *History Education and Conflict Transformation Social Psychological Theories, History Teaching and Reconciliation*. Springer International Publishing.
- Ramirez-Barat, C, and R Duthie, ed. 2017. *Transitional Justice and Education: Learning Peace*.
- Rüsen, Jörn. 2005. *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation*. Making Sense of History. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Simon, Zoltán Boldizsár. 2019. *History in Times of Unprecedented Change: A Theory for the 21st Century*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

- Teitel, Ruti G. 1997. Transitional Justice. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Teitel, Ruti G. 2014. Globalizing Transitional Justice: Contemporary Essays. Oxford University Press.
- Thorp, Robert. 2014. Towards an epistemological theory of historical consciousness. Historical Encounters 1: 20–31.
- Torpey, John. 2006. Making Whole What Has Been Smashed. On Reparations Politics. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Tröhler, Daniel. 2016. Educationalization of Social Problems and the Educationalization of the Modern World. In Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory, ed. Michael A. Peters. Singapore: Springer.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. 2015. Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future: summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.
- Wilkie, Meredith, ed. 1997. Bringing them home: report of the national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families. Parliamentary Paper no. 128 of 1997. Sydney: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.
- Winter, Stephen. 2014. Transitional Justice in Established Democracies. A Political Theory. Palgrave Macmillan.

¹ Although there are long-standing literatures addressing history education in Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine which are established democracies. See for example; McCully, Alan. 2012. 'History teaching, conflict and the legacy of the past', Education, Citizenship and Social Justice 7: 145-159; Goldberg, Tsafir. 2017. 'The Official, The Empathetic and The Critical: Three Approaches to History Teaching and Reconciliation in Israel', In History Education and Conflict Transformation Social Psychological Theories, History Teaching and Reconciliation,

ed. Charis Psaltis, Mario Carretero, and Sabina Čehajić-Clancy, 277–300. Springer International Publishing.