TEACHING HISTORY AFTER VIOLENT CONFLICT: THE STATE OF AN EMERGING FIELD

Rachel Rafferty

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of the Arts in the School of Education.

Chapel Hill
2013

Approved by:

George Noblit

Catherine Marshall

Deborah Eaker-Rich

ABSTRACT

RACHEL RAFFERTY: Teaching History after Violent Conflict; the State of an Emerging Field
(Under the direction of George Noblit)

This thesis surveys the emerging field of history education after violent conflict. A literature review places the current efforts of history educators in context by outlining the existing knowledge of the challenges and opportunities offered by innovative and responsible approaches to history education in post-conflict societies. A qualitative research study was carried out with a number of history educators working in societies transitioning out of violent conflict and findings are presented on both common and divergent approaches to teaching history among those practitioners. Conclusions are drawn as to what currently constitutes an agreement of 'good practice' in history education methodologies for post-conflict societies and what are the currently unresolved issues among the field. Recommendations are made as to future directions in which the field might move in order to deepen its impact, and on the need for further research into the effectiveness of the methodologies outlined in this paper.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES…… iv

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION…… 1

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE…… 3

History Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion……. 3

Challenges to Teaching History after Violent Conflict …… 5

Developing Approaches to History Education after Violent Conflict……... 8

Gaps in the Literature…… 11

III. METHODOLOGY…….……... 12

IV. OVERVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN THE RESEARCH…… 16

V. FINDINGS…… 18

Common Elements: Towards 'Good Practice' Guidelines……19

Differences in Approach; Variation and Innovation within the Field…….. 37

VI. CONCLUSIONS……. 48

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS…… …… 51

REFERENCES……...…… 53

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Different directions within the field…… 43

INTRODUCTION

The teaching of history after a period of violent conflict is a complex, sensitive, and often controversial topic. After wide-scale internal violence, it has been common for countries to attempt to reestablish a unified narrative through revising the history of the conflict (Freedman, Weinstein, Murphy & Longman, 2008). However, simplistic and one-sided narratives about the past can do much to promote future conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, Smith 2005), and the assertion of a dominant group's interpretation of history through the curriculum can be an act of cultural or structural violence against minority groups (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Steiner-Khamsi, 1996).

Those who wish to teach a new generation about the conflicts of the past in a balanced and responsible manner face many challenges. These range from staunch political and communal opposition to revising popular historical narratives, to a lack of adequate resources in the aftermath of civil war (Cole&Barsalou, 2006; Weinstein, Freedman & Hughston, 2007). At the same time, there are also obstacles within the teaching profession. In some post-conflict countries teachers are fearful to address controversial subjects, such as a recent history of violence (Kitson, 2007; Smith, 2005), whereas in other contexts teachers can see it as their duty to actively promote historical narratives which support national or ethnic group pride (Beckerman & Zembylas, 2011).

Nonetheless, the turn of the twenty-first century has seen the emergence of a number of educational initiatives, operating independently around the world, where new models of history education aim to increase social cohesion after a period of violent conflict (Cole & Barsalou, 2006). While these educational initiatives can be located within wider changes in the understanding of history education, such as an increasing emphasis on a skills-based approach, in seeking to overcome the challenges of teaching history after violent conflict, and in aiming to positively impact on social cohesion, these initiatives have developed some very particular approaches.

In making a link between education and social outcomes, these innovative history educators are following in a long tradition of thinkers who believe education systems shape the nature of society. As early as the seventeenth century, the Czech author and philosopher Comenius identified a common system of education as a means to bring peace and co-operation to Europe (Harris, 2010). John Dewey, the eminent pragmatist, went so far as to state that 'education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform' (Dewey, 1897, p.77).Other twentieth century educational thinkers such as Maria Montessori or Rudolph Steiner have created instructional methodologies designed to contribute to a more peaceful society (Coulter, 2003).

An overview and analysis of the emerging field of teaching history after violent conflict, therefore, has much to offer. With nationalistic and propagandistic approaches to history education linked to promoting and prolonging conflict, more responsible approaches to history education have the potential to contribute to more peaceful societies. This is particularly important after violent conflict, given the inherent fragility of relationships between different social groups in post-conflict contexts (Collier, Hoeffler, & Söderbom, 2008).

Furthermore, with so many challenges facing history educators in such contexts there are clear benefits to gaining greater certainty on the best methodologies for engaging with controversial topics. Thus, collating the ideas on good practice, as well as identifying possible future innovations, can be of practical assistance to history educators in societies emerging from violent conflict. At the same time, examining and questioning the methodologies can also lead to greater insight into the complexities involved, and into the need to choose methodologies carefully in order to best contribute to the desired outcome of greater social cohesion.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

History Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion

The relationship between history education and conflict is multifaceted. Bush and Saltarelli (2000) have identified the dual potentiality of education systems to either exacerbate or ameliorate conflict. While much has been written on the subject of how certain forms of history education can contribute to conflict and social division, there is less information available on the particular forms of history education which can contribute to social cohesion across ethnic lines.

History education has regularly been identified by scholars as the most obvious vehicle through which education systems create ideas about citizenship and group identity. History education affects political socialization, and is closely tied up with the promotion of group solidarity (Steiner-Khamsi, 1996; Seixas & Wineburg, 2000). Tawil and Harley (2004) have outlined the role of education systems in the development of national identity and transmission of collective memory, with history education offering either inclusive or exclusionary concepts of citizenship. Smith and Vaux (2003) identified history as the subject where teaching is most prone to bias. History education can be manipulated by political concerns, with authoritarian regimes particularly favorable to using history education as a vehicle to create loyalty to the regime and to denigrate minority groups or neighboring countries (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Mack, 1983). To borrow a phrase from Nietzsche, this could be thought of as a modern-day example of the 'abuse of history'.

A number of scholars have explored the link between historical memory and ethnic conflict, drawing lessons on the potential for changing views of history to play a role in conflict resolution (see Cairns and Roe, 2003).Collective memory, regardless of whether or not it is historically accurate, can play a role in either legitimizing or challenging the social status quo (Devine-Wright, 2003). Smith (2005) identified the potential of history education to embed exclusionary interpretations of the past,

thus increasing the likelihood of future inter-ethnic conflict. The field of Ethnosymbolism has explored how ethnic consciousness derives from a temporal understanding of nationhood. Through

myths and symbols which add up to a collective historical narrative of a group's common origin and culture, the group asserts its right to independent nationhood (Conversi, 2007). Given that many of the conflicts in the world today are considered to be 'identity-based' and take place between different ethnic or religious groups within a single nation state (Sheehan, 2008), the importance of addressing history education in societies affected by violent internal conflict begins to become apparent.

It is not surprising then, that new approaches to history education are believed to have the potential to promote social cohesion, particularly through fostering ideals of inclusive and engaged citizenship (Cole 2007; Korostelina 2012, McCully, 2010). Bush and Saltarelli (2000) have pointed the way to an approach to history education in areas of protracted conflict which would cultivate an inclusive sense of citizenship and which would equip students with the critical thinking skills necessary to perceive that collective historical narratives are social constructs, and can be questioned. Smith (2005) has identified a number of ways in which history education can contribute to a more peaceful society, namely through counteracting nationalistic myths, and through its capacity to challenge the mindsets and attitudes which underlie divisive group identities.

Other authors have identified history education as a vehicle through which students can learn the skills for living peacefully in a diverse society. Korostelina (2012) has argued that history education can actively promote a 'culture of peace', principally through changing how young people in divided societies form their sense of group identity and how they view those belonging to different social groups. McCully (2010), based on extensive research experience in Northern Ireland, has concluded that history education has the potential to contribute to a more peaceful society through cultivating skills of inquiry, promoting empathy, and engaging with topics which are relevant to the daily lives of young people in a conflict-affected society.

Some authors have gone further, arguing that history education can aid reconciliation through promoting an honest engagement with the past. Smith and Vaux (2003) and Cole (2007) have argued that education systems can help reconciliation through addressing the legacies of conflict. In a review of the challenges facing history educators in regions emerging from violent conflict, Cole and Barsalou (2006) concluded that history education is an integral, but often underutilized part of transitional justice. Murphy and Gallagher (2009) have identified a need for populations to confront their violent past as part of a successful post-conflict transition to a stable peace, and have argued that reforming history education is an important part of this process.

The ability of new, more responsible forms of history education to promote social cohesion in post-conflict societies is not without its limitations. As we shall see in subsequent sections, attempts to reform history education are hampered by a number of challenges. What can be said, however, is that there is a significant body of literature to support the idea that certain approaches to history education have the potential to contribute to greater social cohesion in societies emerging from violent conflict. What specific approaches should be used, and exactly what teaching methodologies are involved, represents a more complex issue, with less agreement in the literature.

Challenges to Teaching History after Violent Conflict

All educators are constrained by the context in which they operate. Thus, no discussion of the teaching of history after violent conflict would be complete without addressing the particular challenges which face the field. These challenges can be grouped into a number of themes; psycho-cultural, political and systemic or structural.

From the psychological perspective, post-conflict societies face challenges at both the collective and individual levels. Historical memory can be particularly fraught in the aftermath of violent conflict (Smith, 2005; McCully 2012). Populations emerging from conflict often suffer from powerful and polarized emotions (Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Minkina-Milko ,2012). Weinstein,

Freedman and Hughston (2007) identified a number of psychological challenges common among educators after violent conflict, such as widespread mistrust and fears that the conflict will return. Thus, educators in societies which have recently experienced internal violence tend to be drawn towards collective amnesia as a way of avoiding further destabilizing conflict which could emerge from an open examination of the past (Cole & Barsalou, 2006).

The existence of competing historical narratives which are intimately connected to group identities within the wider cultural environment has also been identified as a particular problem in post-conflict societies (Barton & McCully, 2005; Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Kitson, 2007; Korostelina, 2012; Smith 2005). Communal narratives about the past can be perpetuated throughout the education system in divided societies, not only in the history classroom but also through collective rituals and memorialization of conflict-related events (Beckerman & Zembylas, 2011). The perpetuation of these narratives can make discussion of certain historical events problematic, and potentially contentious.

As individuals who are part of the society which has recently undergone serious conflict, history educators can struggle to overcome personal objections to discussing the recent past in a balanced and responsible manner. Educators can be reluctant to open up discussion where divisive historical narratives may be voiced in the classroom (Kitson, 2007) or they can fail to recognize their own biases and present their group's historical narrative as fact rather than interpretation (Cvijic, 2008). Teachers in post-conflict countries have also been found to generally think that is not part of their role to contribute to reconciliation (Galto 2012; Kitson, 2007).

Politically, many post-conflict countries have an environment which is unfavorable to responsible approaches to history education. Power disparities may mean that it is a dominant group's narrative which is promoted through the history curriculum, and memory can become highly politicized (Weinstein, Freedman, & Hughston 2007). Educators who wish to reform history education may face substantial opposition from political authorities (Cole & Barsalou, 2006). Scholars have written on a number of post-conflict countries where attempts to reform history education have faced political opposition; such as Guatemala (Ogelsby, 2007), Croatia (Baranovic,

Jokic & Doolan, 2007), and Cambodia (Dy, 2009). In other cases, such as Rwanda, history education can be deliberately shaped by politicians to continue to perpetuate social divisions (Freedman, Weinstein, Murphy & Longman, 2008).

Structurally speaking, education systems in post-conflict societies can also face many challenges. Access to education can be unequal, and resources such as adequate training and learning materials for teachers can be lacking in the aftermath of violent conflict (Cole & Barsalou, 2006). It may also be difficult for teachers to find time within the structure of the school day to properly address complex historical issues (Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Kitson 2007). Additionally, the nature of school systems can pose problems for history educators. Where school systems are integrated, teachers can be particularly fearful about discussing contentious topics, as was found by Baranovic, Jokic and Doolan (2007) in their study of Croatian teachers. Where the school system is largely segregated, as in Northern Ireland, it can be difficult to encourage meaningful debate if students and teacher are all from the same background (Kitson 2007; Smith, 2005).

Therefore, history teachers face many challenges in societies emerging from violent conflict which can constrain or prevent their adoption of new teaching methodologies, particularly if it is perceived that changes in history education might challenge the post-conflict status quo. The collective sensitivities surrounding particular historical topics, the often unfavorable political environment, and the need to adapt to the structure of the education system mean that it can be difficult to directly address historical controversies in the classroom.

There is a clear need for approaches to history education which can address, or at least work around these challenges, approaches to history education which are balanced and responsible and which have the potential to contribute to greater understanding between different social groups. Fortunately, a number of innovative approaches to history education are being developed around the world, and some sense of this is beginning to emerge in the literature. While difficulties in the wider society may remain, these approaches may allow younger generations to gain a new, more inclusive understanding of their country's past.

Developing Approaches to History Education after Violent Conflict

New approaches to teaching history have the potential to disrupt the perpetuation of divisive communal narratives, and instead contribute to greater social cohesion between ethnic or religious groups (Cole, 2007; Korostelina, 2012; McCully, 2010; Murphy & Gallagher, 2009, Smith, 2005). These approaches draw partly on developments in the wider field of history education towards a more skills-based, multiperspectival approach (Spradling, 2000; Kitson, 2007), but can also derive from educators' responses to local culture and local challenges (Smith, 2005).

Probably the first recognition of the need to reform history education in the aftermath of violent conflict, was the case of Germany after World War Two. As part of the process of de-Nazification, textbooks were replaced and the history curriculum was revised to include specific teaching on the Holocaust and the lessons to be learned for a democratic society (Dierkas, 2007). The role of biased history textbooks underpinned with nationalistic narratives in contributing to conflict in Europe was gradually recognized in post-war Western Europe by agencies such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe (Low-Beer, 2000; Korostelina, 2012). In particular, the Georg Eckart Institute took a lead in researching bias in history textbooks on an international basis. The widely accepted goal of this work at the time, where different national or ethnic groups had conflicting accounts of past events, was 'harmonization' of historical accounts (Stradling, 2003).

However, beginning in 1970s Germany, a number of scholars began to question whether objectivity was possible, particularly when historical topics were contested or where dissenting minority voices could be silenced by 'objectivity' (Smith 2005). Gradually these critiques have led to the development of an approach sanctioned by the Council of Europe under the name of 'multiperspectivity' (Stradling, 2003). Multiperspectivity avoids presenting history through the lens of a single 'grand narrative' and instead puts students in contact with a range of historical evidence offering differing points of view on an historical event.

Beyond the core approach of 'multiperspectivity' there has been only limited literature produced on the specifics of how to teach history in post-conflict societies. Some of the most comprehensive suggestions to date have been offered by McCully (2010) and Korostelina (2012). McCully (2010) has identified three ways in which reformed history education can contribute to peace-building; by promoting critical thinking skills through examination of multiple perspectives, by fostering empathetic understanding for the experiences of others and by introducing democratic values. Korostelina (2012) has taken an approach based in social psychology, and recommended nine different ways in which history education could improve inter-group relations. These center on the ways in which history education contributes to the formation of group identity and to perceptions of other groups. Korostelina also argues that history education needs to select its heroes carefully – if the history textbooks present only war-leaders as heroes then students are likely to absorb the idea that violent rather than peaceful behavior is worthy and should be emulated.

Additionally, a number of authors have stated that education cannot be seen as taking place in a social vacuum, and thus have begun to identify the need for history education to engage actively with collective memory and communal historical narratives (Barton & McCully, 2005; Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; McCully& Pilgrim, 2004; Smith 2005). These scholars take the perspective that one of the primary functions of history education should be to equip students with the skills to deconstruct narrow interpretations and draw their own more inclusive and balanced conclusions. Their recommendations then, are that history education should not only present multiple perspectives, but should also encourage students to deconstruct the broader collective narratives which lie behind those perspectives.

At the same time, the potential limitations of multiperspectivity in post-conflict contexts have also been pointed out. Smith (2005) has critiqued the use of a straightforward multiperspectival approach, arguing that it may unintentionally reaffirm social divisions, by portraying group viewpoints as monolithic, unquestioned by group members. Additionally, studies in Northern Ireland have found that students have a tendency to select those accounts which agree with their pre-existing

communal narratives while according less validity to accounts given by members of other communities (Barton & McCully, 2005; Bell, Hansson & McCaffery, 2010). Smith (2005), then, puts forward a notion of 'interactive pluralism', arguing that history education in a divided society should engage with difference not simply as a fact of life, but as a desirable aspect of a democratic society.

A further area of debate in the literature is whether the discipline of history should be preserved as a quest for some degree of objective insight, or whether history students should be encouraged to make moral judgments about the past. Foster (2001) sees historical enquiry as a primarily cognitive function with little room for imagination or emotion. Meanwhile, McCully (2010) has argued the need for history education to maintain its status as an academic discipline in order to continue to be included in public school curricula, even while recognizing the importance of engaging students' capacity for 'caring' when teaching in a conflict-affected society.

On the other hand, Gallagher (2005) has argued strongly that in a post-conflict context it is valid for education to subvert some degree of academic rigor, in favor of promoting peaceful social outcomes. Other authors have affirmed that no discussion of mass violence in the past should take place without a clear moral dimension. This is what Shriver (2007) referred to as a 'humane' approach to history teaching which is 'moral but not partisan' (in McCully, 2010). In particular, the organization 'Facing History and Ourselves' has promoted an approach to history education which seeks to promote engaged citizenship through considering the moral lessons which can be learned from the Holocaust (Cole & Murphy, 2009; Murphy & Gallagher, 2009). In South Africa, Weldon (2005) has recommended using a human rights framework as a basis for discussing past conflicts in a way which engages moral values without becoming partisan.

The new approaches to history education after conflict can be seen as an emerging field of both scholarship and practice. A number of scholars have written on the topic, outlining the challenges faced. There is no single, agreed methodology in the literature for how history should be taught, rather there is a lively discussion on which are the strengths and limitations of various

approaches. While broad approaches to teaching history after violent conflict have been recommended, information on which specific forms of pedagogy are most appropriate is limited.

Gaps in the Literature

As we can see, there is existing literature on the challenges inherent in history education after violent conflict, and the possibilities for greater social cohesion offered by innovative and responsible approaches. The literature suggests that history education can promote social cohesion, through fostering particular skills and dispositions, and through presenting ideals of inclusive and engaged citizenship. Thus, new approaches to history education offer intriguing possibilities for establishing greater inter-group understanding in societies emerging from violent conflict.

At the same time, while pedagogy has been identified as being of critical importance (Cole & Barsalou, 2006; Cole & Murphy, 2009) there is a lack of literature available on the specific forms of pedagogy most appropriate in a real-life classroom in a post-conflict society. Indeed, Weinstein, Freedman and Hughston (2007) have criticized the generally abstract nature of discussion on post-conflict education in the literature. Presenting history in a way which is non-partisan and which allows students to engage with topics on both the intellectual and the moral levels, necessitates a high degree of skill from history teachers and from the creators of curricula and learning materials. However, to date, there are no widely agreed and published guidelines for teaching history in a post-conflict context.

At the same time, while there are a number of articles and book chapters dealing with history education in individual countries, there is a lack of any study which can draw international comparisons. An examination of history education reform efforts across a number of post-conflict societies has the potential to draw out common themes which can form the basis of good practice guidelines, as well as offering greater insight into how teaching methodologies may at times need to be adapted to local context.

From my professional background, as well as research done through the internet, I was aware that a number of educators around the world are developing, implementing and reevaluating history teaching methodologies as they seek to overcome the particular challenges confronting history education after violent conflict, and to exploit any available opportunities for history education to contribute to a more plural, tolerant and inclusive society. Consequently, in the summer of 2012, I set about interviewing a number of history education practitioners who work in various societies emerging from violent conflict. I felt that interviewing those who work directly on the practice of history education in post-conflict societies was likely to yield useful insight into the particular methodologies which can work in such contexts, and may even point the way to good practice guidelines which could be shared with others working in the field.

The study which was designed and carried out was shaped by a guiding research question; 'what form or forms of history education pedagogy can contribute to social cohesion in societies emerging from violent conflict?'. Within this, more specifically, I wanted to understand which approaches and teaching methodologies are most helpful in which contexts.

METHODOLOGY

I conducted a cross-national qualitative study into new, more responsible approaches to history education in post-conflict contexts. The study was designed to gain insight into commonalities and differences in practice among history educators in societies which had experienced serious internal violence within living memory.

I chose an exclusively qualitative approach for a number of reasons. Firstly, there was the pragmatic consideration that there are only a limited number of educators attempting to pilot this work around the world, meaning that a truly quantitative study would be difficult to achieve. Secondly, qualitative research has been identified as particularly appropriate for investigating emerging, or little-

understood phenomena (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). History education after violent conflict is an emerging field, so a qualitative study offered the chance to identify similarities and differences in teaching practice, without presupposing what those might be. This open ended approach seemed most suitable to gathering detailed information on pedagogical practices, a topic which is largely absent in the literature.

In terms of sampling, I made efforts to find willing participants in a number of regions around the world, and who work for a range of organizations, for the purposes of comparison. There was an element of feasibility which had to be considered, with limited time and resources. Thus, while it was not a purely convenience sample, I was constrained by certain limitations. I drew participants from organizations that I had previously known through my professional background, through contacts made over the summer when I was a visiting researcher with the Institute of Historical Justice and Reconciliation in The Hague, and from organization websites which I found through internet research. The organizations involved in the study do not represent the totality of those working to improve history education in post-conflict contexts, but they do offer a varied sample in terms of geographical location of their work, and their approach to history education. Limitations to the sample include a lack of organizations working in developing countries (only two have done work in such a context; in Cambodia, and Rwanda), and a lack of practitioners working with oral history (only the Epilogues program in Northern Ireland uses oral history as a primary learning resource).

A total of ten interviews took place with nine taking place either face-to-face or via skype and one via an exchange of emails. These interviews were with individuals working on developing and implementing new approaches to history education in a variety of regions which are transitioning out of violent conflict. The regions most comprehensively dealt with during interviews were Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, and Cambodia.

The interviews were semi-structured, with the conversation shaped by five key questions, but also free to touch on other topics which interview participants raised voluntarily. This allowed participants to spontaneously identify key issues of concern, rather than being prompted by me as interviewer to provide answers which might agree with those of other participants. The semi-

structured nature of the interviews also encouraged a thoughtful and detailed discussion, with participants free to describe complex issues in their own words.

The key questions sought to gather relatively similar information from participants, even as they were free to express their thoughts in their own words. Thus questions were directed at finding out what challenges face history educators in transitional societies, what strategies the participants were finding to overcome these challenges, what they believe represents good history practice and to what extent they feel reforms to history education can promote reconciliation after violent conflict.

As a researcher my position is not neutral and indeed, I saw my research as explicitly grounded in my personal belief that reforming history education in divided societies is a desirable and potentially beneficial act. I grew up in Northern Ireland where I was able to see firsthand the power of communal historical narratives to shape collective views on the past and thus make claims on what constitutes a just and desirable future. I also worked for five years as a coordinator of peace and reconciliation projects in Northern Ireland, and so already had some insight into the challenges facing educators in a divided society, as well as the potential results which could be gained in terms of individual attitudinal change through educational efforts directed at reconciliation.

Yet while I was already favorable to the work of the participants in the interviews, I was careful not to lead them with my questions, and encouraged them to be as open and honest as possible about the limitations of their work as well as the successes. The interview transcripts show that participants felt free to express the limitations and challenges they face, and to express doubt about the wider social impact of their work.

Emerging out of these interviews, I collected detailed data on the challenges facing history educators who want to reform their teaching in post-conflict contexts and also on the key elements which a number of actors in the field believe need to underlie such teaching reforms. I also learned about a range of practices and approaches which have been developed in a number of regions, and gained insight into the thinking behind how these approaches can overcome particular local challenges or harness particular local strengths.

I conducted data analysis based on full transcripts of the interviews / emails. Using the software program Atlas.Ti, I created codes in order to identify common themes across the interviews. I then clustered these codes around broader themes which allowed me to sort the data for presentation in this article and draw conclusions on the inter-relatedness or not of the identified themes. This process did not take place in a strictly linear fashion, but instead used the constant comparative method. I repeatedly returned to the original data, looking for new connections and testing emerging theories.

Thus, I invite the reader to consider that the information presented below has a number of valuable elements. Firstly, the data is drawn from people with direct experience of implementing changes in history education in post-conflict contexts. Secondly, their responses were spontaneously given rather than led by tightly focused interview questions. The data gathered also allows for some comparisons to be made within an emerging field of practice, across a number of contexts and across a number organizations working within the same context. Finally, it offers a thoughtful and detailed exposition of new teaching methodologies, the details of which are currently absent from the literature.

Validity, in the case of this study, stems from the fact that participants are immersed in the field, either as teachers or trainers of teachers in a post-conflict context. This fits the criteria of 'closeness' or the 'insider's view' which is an important element of qualitative validity (Spradley, 1979). The study can also make a claim to 'catalytic validity' (Lather, 1986) in that it was intended to be of service to those working in the field, and has already helped to inspire the development of a project for improved sharing of history education practice across a number of post-conflict and divided societies.

OVERVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN THE RESEARCH

The organizations in which research participants work are outlined below, according to the region where they conduct their work in reforming history education after violent conflict. The identities of interviewees have been protected through the use of pseudonyms.

Cambodia

The Documentation Center of Cambodia (DCCAM) began as an initiative of Yale university in partnership with Cambodians, to document the genocide which took place under the rule of Pol Pot from 1976-1979. They focus on four main areas; documentation, research and publication, outreach/education and the creation of a permanent archive. Their work in genocide education has led to the creation of a textbook and teacher training program relating to the genocide which is now being rolled out across Cambodia with the agreement of the Ministry of Education. Interviewee: Fatima.

Northern Ireland

Among its other activities, the University of Ulster provides post-graduate programs leading to teacher training certificates. As part of their training of future history teachers in Northern Ireland, a member of faculty has developed a comprehensive program which challenges the trainee teachers to look at the history of Ireland from multiple perspectives. This program involves group dialogue on contentious issue, and experiences designed to help the trainees examine critically their own perspective. It also provides trainees with the latest methodologies in a skills-based approach to history teaching. Interviewee: Adam.

The Epilogues program is a series of community education workshops designed for adults, based on discussion of the recent period of violent conflict known widely as 'The Troubles'. The workshop dialogues are structured around the core resource, a DVD of videoed testimony from interviews with people involved in and directly affected by the violence. The developers of Epilogues are currently working on adapting their educational model for use with adolescent students in the formal education system. Interviewees: Joe and Simon.

Corrymeela is a peace center with over forty years of experience working with communities in Northern Ireland to increase communication and understanding between divided groups. A few years ago they partnered with Facing History and Ourselves (see below) to adapt that model of history education to the Irish context, drawing on Corrymeela's experience in peace-building and citizenship education. The Facing Our History, Shaping Our Future project works on in-service teacher training, the development of educational materials, and some direct work with students. Interviewee: John.

The Balkans/ Europe

Euroclio is the European Association of History Educators. They work across Europe, with a particular focus on former-Communist countries. They have been actively engaged in the former Yugoslav countries for ten years, working with a number of educators across the region from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Their work focuses on teacher training, and also on the joint production of history education materials. Through their network I was able to interview the head of their organization and also two educators based in the Balkans – an academic historian in Croatia and a museum curator/educator in Montenegro. Interviewees: Jan (The Hague), Maran (Croatia), Anto (Montenegro).

International

Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO) is based in the United States, with a focus on empowering teachers to educate effectively about the Holocaust, with an emphasis on drawing lessons for present-day injustices and abuses of human rights. They have broadened their work, forming partnerships with organizations and educators in a number of countries emerging from violent conflict in order to adapt their approach to examining local history with the Holocaust as a comparison case study. They have been involved in projects in South Africa, Rwanda, Mexico and Northern Ireland (in partnership with Corrymeela – see above). Interviewee: Kate.

FINDINGS

Reviewing the data, through an extensive process of coding and analysis, it became apparent that there are significant similarities in the approaches used by practitioners across different contexts. These represent an emerging consensus around what constitutes good practice in history education after violent conflict. They center around an approach to history education which is, in general, based on dialogue and critical-thinking skills, rather than on presenting pre-agreed 'knowledge' for memorization by students. This new approach aims to put learners in contact with sources of evidence, encourage them to examine multiple points of view, and then provoke them to draw their own conclusions.

At the same time, not every form of history education encountered during this research was exactly the same. A certain tension seems to exist within the field around the question of whether history education should be primarily an intellectual exercise, or whether educators have a duty to engage the emotional and moral dimension of the topics covered in the classroom. While these two elements can be interlinked, the placing of priority on one or the other seemed to result in somewhat different approaches to history education.

Additional differences in practice stem from other sources; namely, from adapting to local context and from building on unique organizational strengths. In adapting to local context, practitioners seem to take both a deficit and an asset based approach – some adaptations are made in order to work around particular local challenges, while others take advantage of local assets such as sites of historic significance which can serve as an experiential learning resource. Adaptions due to organizational strengths include such elements as use of multimedia or web-based learning tools, or the creation of international networks of educators for peer support.

While the similarities uncovered may represent core elements of good practice, the differences show the creative tension and unanswered questions within the field. Rather than being seen as a deficiency, the variations in approach can provide examples of innovation which may point the way to future developments and improvements in the art of teaching history after conflict.

Common Elements: Towards 'Good Practice' Guidelines

Despite their geographical dispersion, and their independence from each other, the organizations and individuals I interviewed have developed approaches to teaching history after violent conflicts which are based on a number of similar elements. These common elements are the use of 'multiperspectivity', taking a dialogue-based approach to learning, connecting learning to both local and global context, and teachers taking a facilitative rather than directive role. Additionally, interviewees broadly agreed that, where feasible, it was desirable to support teachers in this work through learning materials, flexible curricula and by lobbying to gain support for history education reform among politicians and educational leaders.

The remarkable degree of similarity suggests that organizations working in the field may share some common values or assumptions , such as a belief in democratic principles. Equally, and this is the position of the practitioners I interviewed, the similarities may have arisen because these

methodologies have been observed to be the most appropriate and effective methods for teaching history after violent conflict.

Multiperspectivity

Probably the key element which underpins the work of history educators I was able to interview is multiperspectivity (with the possible exception of Cambodia – see below). This basis to history education has been growing in popularity in Europe since the 1970s (Spradling, 2003) and is now being employed in other parts of the world. Multiperspectivity is the practice of offering students a range of sources which present different points of view on a key historical event. The practice is to then let students explore and examine those points of view before formulating their own interpretation. An interviewee from Northern Ireland described how such an approach was introduced there in the early 1990s;

> …it was not 'here is what happened', it was 'here is evidence, here are a number of perspectives and interpretations, here is an opportunity for you to reason your way through this and to come to opinions for yourselves'. (Adam)

Introducing students to multiple points of view has a number of obvious benefits in a society emerging from violent conflict. It neatly side-steps the issue of lack of agreement among academic historians, not to mention the wider society, and instead empowers students to formulate their own interpretations and syntheses of the various points of view.

Multiperspectivity also means that history education will be less vulnerable to political propaganda , a common concern referenced by those working in former-Communist countries;

> …what we want to achieve is independent professionals who do very interesting history teaching, but not becoming an instrument for all sort of political power plays….history was always the tool of the communist system to give a very clear ideological story….and what we have seen is that a lot of these people changed their outlook from communist to nationalistic approaches but at the same time they didn't change anything of their methodology. (Jan)

Thus multiperspectivity is seen as an antidote to the single-narrative approach which was common under Communism, and which in has continued in the Balkans - with the only change being a switch from an ideological to a nationalistic narrative.

Indeed, engaging with multiple sources was widely believed to encourage in students the critical thinking skills necessary to question the propaganda and communal narratives in their surrounding society. Multiperspectivity, by its very nature offers some counterbalance to prevailing communal historical narratives which claim to be the sole and complete truth about the past. While communal narratives offer a single interpretation, often one which is damaging to relations with any group holding a different interpretation, multiperspectivity introduces students to the concept that interpretations rest on a point of view which is informed by one's identity. As outlined by an interviewee in Northern Ireland;

> You can't separate history education from a pupil's sense of identity. Particularly in this society but also in most conflict societies, those are interwoven, and therefore by helping them to understand their own and their community's identity formation you can help them to better understand, I think, the contemporary situation. (Adam)

In this way multiperspectivity can help students to question the group identities which frequently underpin inter-ethnic conflict. It can also make students aware of other points of view and other possible interpretations of historical events.

However, multiperspectivity also encounters some particular challenges in post-conflict contexts and thus does not offer a simple and complete solution to the complexities of teaching history after violent conflict. Firstly, there is some research evidence, alluded to during one interview conducted in Northern Ireland, to show that students in a divided society will select from the evidence presented to them in order to support their pre-existing communal narrative;

> ….somewhere about 14, as young people are becoming more politicized within their own communities…..our work would suggest that they become more selective in what is presented to them in the history classroom.(Adam)

This suggests that simply presenting multiple sources of evidence may not in itself be enough to challenge students to give equal consideration to viewpoints which differ from their own.

There is additionally, the question of whether multiperspectivity can contribute to a form of moral relativism, and whether this is potentially damaging in a society which has known the horrors of mass violence. Another interviewee from Northern Ireland alluded very neatly to this issue;

> I think it's easy to get into all sorts of relativism around this stuff, and we see that in Irish history teaching here, where I think teachers are afraid to support young people to really draw their own conclusions around this stuff. So, for example… IRA bombing campaigns… when you look at individual stories about why people joined, I can really empathize with a lot of what was going on for them. But that doesn't make bombs that kill 20 people alright. It doesn't make it ok. So I think there is a need to support empathetic understanding of what was happening, but also be able to draw a line somewhere and say 'that's actually not right'. (John)

While history as an academic discipline has generally, in recent decades at least, tried to move away from making subjective judgments, viewing them as a vestige of traditional nationalistic narratives, this tendency could be questioned in at least some post-conflict circumstances. In particular, in the context of Cambodia which saw severe genocide practiced by the Khmer Rouge on the ordinary population, followed by a government which sanctioned an official silence on the past, there is more concern with documenting and presenting the truth of the atrocities than with helping students to empathize with a variety of viewpoints. As the Cambodian interviewee put it;

> The center has two main objectives; memory and justice….there were about two to three million people who died under the Khmer Rouge regime. This is very important – to understand our own history… in order to address current issues and move on. (Fatima)

A final reservation about unconsidered or unrestrained use of multiperspectivity is if narratives from each group are presented as the sole point of view, shared by everyone in that group. In this way, presenting multiple narratives could actually be unintentionally reproductive of a divided society where ethnic groups are viewed as fixed, monolithic political entities. An interviewee from Northern Ireland advocated for a more pluralistic concept of multiperspectivity;

> I think making kids aware of multiple perspectives is important, but that tends to be misunderstood …..understanding that when these events were being debated in their own time there wasn't a monolithic Catholic or Protestant…. viewpoint. That on all these issues there is a continuum. … I think that's another way we can help kids to break this idea that it is 'that group vs that group', making them recognize that in all these events there are shades of opinion ….hopefully this demonstrates to them that there is… room to think for yourself in all of these things. (Adam)

Thus we can see that multiperspectivity is a relatively common approach, at least among practitioners in ethnically or politically divided societies such as Northern Ireland and the Balkans. It offers clear benefits over a single narrative approach, and neatly side-steps many of the challenges facing history educators in post-conflict contexts. However, it is also clear that multiperspectivity is not in itself a panacea and should not be blindly and thoughtlessly applied. Rather, interviewees generally recognized that the core value of multiperspectivity should be linked with a number of other elements which can help to form an appropriate and effective methodology of history education after violent conflict.

A Dialogue-Based Approach to Learning

A further element commonly discussed by interviewees is that effective engagement with history in a post-conflict society involves a process of open dialogue. The element of dialogue is important in order to avoid the danger inherent in a directive model of teaching, that teachers will present their own narrative as objective fact. As the interviewee from Euroclio explained;

> So as long as teachers think ‘ ok I tell my narrative and you make your notes and then you come back to me’, then nothing will change. Only when a teacher learns to question his or her own opinion, is willing to come with a variety of material into the classroom…..that there is group work, that there is discussion…. that people have to listen to each other, to understand different opinions, understand that if you have different opinions you are not the others’ enemy… (Jan)

In this part of our interview, Jan was also getting at another key benefit of a dialogue-based approach – that students become accustomed to hearing different opinions without falling into conflict. This is an essential skill for young people growing up in a divided society (Korostelina, 2012; McCully, 2010).

The benefits of dialogue-based learning relate closely to those of multiperspectivity, but add the dimension that the discussion takes place openly among the class. Discussing multiple sources of

evidence as a group can further encourage critical-thinking skills, which many interviewees identified as a core purpose of effective history education;

> Part of the goal is to help students ask questions and see things critically… we know that if you are really trying to help them grapple with the past…..you've got to create the space for discussions which means hearing them think out loud and providing the kind of safe, organized space to do that (Kate).

A dialogue-based approach also has the advantage of modeling democratic values in the classroom. The importance of this was summed up by an interviewee from Northern Ireland;

> …you are really reconstructing a society….. a democratic society in which people's voices are heard and are seen to be heard, but also where dissidence and disagreement are ok and it doesn't have to be resolved through violence. Given that's what we're aiming for, I think… the pedagogy has to match the content. (John)

In this way, a dialogue-based approach allows students a controlled experience in which to build important skills for functioning in a pluralistic, democratic society. By educating through a process of dialogue, teachers can add an additional dimension where the form of pedagogy is a learning experience in and of itself.

Again, as with multiperspectivity, practitioners offered a number of provisos to the use of dialogue in the classroom, namely that it should be evidence-based and that thought should be given to how balanced dialogue can be responsibly managed within particular educational structures. Awareness of these caveats prevents the simplistic application of dialogue as a learning tool, and instead offers more specific guidance as to when, and in what forms, dialogue is an appropriate teaching methodology.

An important proviso is that it is pieces of evidence which are discussed rather than students' pre-existing narratives. This issue was raised by the interviewee from Euroclio;

> …what is extremely important is that people learn that they can only build their historical narratives on evidence. So, not 'I feel' … 'I think'… 'I've heard'… but only on the hard evidence. And that sounds for so many people so normal but it's not. History is so much still in the area of belief. (Jan)

Linking historical debate to direct contact with source material was a common approach mentioned by interviewees, aiming to bypass distorted perceptions of the past, while still allowing some space for different viewpoints on how the evidence should be interpreted.

Furthermore, the structure of the educational system can affect how easily a dialogue-based approach can be applied. Where the school system is segregated, students in a classroom will all be from a single community background and dialogue may become one-sided. This is a particular problem in Northern Ireland, where history education reform projects have had to find creative ways of working around that structural division;

> …we're working in a segregated education system so that makes it harder – that's why we have the element of bringing pupils together on cross-community residentials and all our teacher work is one a cross-community basis as well. (John)

Meanwhile, in a mixed classroom in a post-conflict society opening up dialogue on contentious historical events carries certain emotional and social risks. It can be an uncomfortable experience for students to be asked to voice their opinions especially, as Cole and Barsalou (2006) have pointed out, the general tendency of post-conflict societies is towards historical silence in the interests of maintaining a fragile social stability.

An interviewee from Croatia explained the degree of emotion attached to the recent wars in his country;

> …this is fresh, this is present. They (students) can see, not only on TV, but on the streets, people who fifteen years ago were on the opposite side, maybe in the army who bombed their buildings or killed their fathers, brothers and so on. (Maran)

There is, consequently, a particular risk for minority students to face social alienation from their peers if they voice perspectives which contradict or challenge those of the majority group.

Ultimately, simplistic use of dialogue is not a sufficient foundation for effectively teaching history after violent conflict, rather the dialogue should be carefully handled in order to introduce students to alternative points of view, without the discussion descending into hostility and conflict. Dialogue should also be clearly based on historical evidence, so as to move students beyond the

repetition of communal narratives and into forming their own independent opinions It was generally agreed, when discussed by interviewees, that dialogue should be controlled enough that students feel safe, but not so directed by the teacher that democratic principles are violated.. In all this, the role of teacher is crucial, and will be dealt with in depth in a subsequent section.

Connected to the Local and Global Context

Another theme emerging from the interviews was the value of making connections between the history classroom and the wider world. Rather than focusing solely on the challenges presented by the surrounding post-conflict context, a number of the programs also seek to engage with the present-day world beyond the classroom as a source of intellectual and emotional experience which can enrich the students' education. In this approach, events in the past are linked to present-day reality, and become a source of lessons for how a better future might be created.

An example of this in practice was shared by the interviewee at the University of Ulster, where trainee teachers are taken on a visit to a site of controversial historic significance, where they;

> …encourage them to get off their professional pedestal, to go into the courtyard where the executions took place and to get them to think ' how do I feel here?'….. 'what's the emotion?'..... and then sitting down and talking about the emotional experience that they have had. (Adam)

In this way, a visit to a site of historical significance brings the past emotionally to life, and as the interviewee went on to explain, helped trainee teachers to become more aware of how their prejudices were affecting their view of the current social situation in Northern Ireland.

The benefits of connecting historical topics to students' knowledge of present day society were cited in a number of interviews. Advantages mentioned were that it can make lessons relevant and engaging for students, and that lessons can be drawn from past events. In particular, the interviewee from Facing History and Ourselves was explicit about the importance of connecting historical learning to concepts of active citizenship in the present day;

> One piece of Facing History is about how do you, through the study of history, and the choices individuals and communities have made over time, help young people to make the connections between those and their own experiences, their own choices their own life choices…to help them become more critically thinking, more compassionate and more courageous in their actions. (Kate)

Again, this approach attempts to draw on the local context as a learning resource, by encouraging students to apply moral lessons drawn from past events to their present-day situation in a post-conflict society.

Further potential for connected learning was felt to come from drawing parallels with other conflicts in order to improve understanding of the factors which contribute to conflict more generally. A number of the practitioners interviewed mentioned the value of trying to put local conflict in context by connecting it with similar experiences in other countries. As an interviewee from Northern Ireland explained;

> Part of it is about supporting young people to make connections that are helpful – that's not saying one thing is the same as the other, but there may be some universal themes that we can connect to, while other things will be specific to a particular time and place and conflict. (John)

Thus the study of past conflicts in a number of countries can help students to understand how their own society descended into violent conflict, and thus, how this might be avoided in future.

As explained by the Cambodian interviewee, making connections to other contexts can also have emotional benefits for students. The Documentation Center of Cambodia (DCCAM) encourages history educators to teach;

> …comparative genocide so students …. don't feel that they are alone … different countries have also experienced hardship and atrocities… and they can share and can learn from that" (Fatima).

In this way, some of the collective emotional burden of being a member of a conflict-affected society can be lessened but broadening students' perspective on conflict so that they realize many countries have experienced conflict in the past.

If done thoughtfully, drawing connections between the recent local conflict and other conflicts around the world can enrich both the intellectual and emotional experience of students. A

key benefit of connecting history education to the local context is that it allows students to make a deeper and more personal engagement with the historical material than is traditionally common in formal education. An interviewee from Northern Ireland explained how the value of engaging emotions in the history classroom has only recently come to be recognized in that country;

> If there was one ingredient missing… not enough attention was paid to the emotional dimension. And I think we have learnt from that. There are many teachers who are quite happy to address what might be regarded as controversial history….but that isn't necessarily controversial if it is kept in the past, if the relevance, those connections, aren't made. (Adam)

Thus, it seems it is only in connecting history to present-day society, that the potential of history teaching to contribute to social cohesion truly becomes manifest. If historical events are discussed as detached and irrelevant issues, the opportunity the skills for living peacefully in present-day society can be lost.

Indeed, some of the interviewees were explicit that the goal of their programs is to help students make a connection between history and the present-day which would lead to them to become more active citizens, committed to social justice. As a worker from the Epilogues program in Northern Ireland described;

> …ultimately I think it is about saying to everyone who does the program, 'we're all in this together', ' don't delegate responsibility for the world to somebody else, you've a part in shaping it'… the more you become conscious of that, the more there is the potential for democracy to come into being" (Joe).

Employing such forms of engaged learning acknowledges the truism which teachers are often trained to ignore, that students are part of the society around them, Students in a post-conflict context almost inevitably bring social baggage to the classroom, but, conversely they can also learn through actively engaging with the social world around them. Thus, challenging students to formulate and articulate personal responses to complex topics which affect their social world can be an empowering experience for them, as argued by Freire and other proponents of critical pedagogy.

While making such connections may result in valuable social outcomes, such as more engaged citizenship, the approach nonetheless needs to be applied with a degree of caution and consideration. A number of interviewees warned against connecting to present day issues while they

were still too contentious, and others were wary about the possibility of making global connections which were too simplistic and may in fact fuel conflicting narratives.

While making space for students' personal and/or emotional responses was widely agreed to be important, there is a danger that the experience may trigger a degree of trauma in students, or simply provoke conflict in the classroom. As the interviewee from Croatia explained;

> …the war was strongest in eastern parts of Croatia ……and in these regions, teaching about this period …. could be a problem. Especially after the return of some Serbs who stayed after 1995, and now their children …..go to the same school. It is a problem to teach in one classroom when you have some kids with parents on the opposite sides in the war.(Maran)

Given the complexities and emotions inherent in post-conflict contexts, the general feeling among interviewees was that history educators should proceed with care. While the value of engaging with contentious historical topics was widely recognized by interviewees, the role of the teacher in carefully and fairly presenting learning materials, and in facilitating balanced dialogue in the classroom was considered to be crucial. This is treated in more detail in the following section.

Potential pitfalls in drawing simplistic connections between conflicts around the world were identified by a number of interviewees. As one explained;

> I think in Northern Ireland we make terrible connections. So Israel-Palestine is the same as Northern Ireland , The Basque Country is the same as Northern Ireland. My struggle is your struggle – you get a lot of that and that's part of the internationalization of the conflict. But in historical terms…. it just doesn't add up …(John).

Thus it can be seen that in some cases, drawing simplistic connections between conflicts can be damaging to social cohesion if connections are made which use other conflicts to provide evidence of one group's sole claim to victimhood in the local context.

In sum, it seems that connecting history education to the local and global context can be a valuable teaching methodology, alongside multiperspectivity and the use of dialogue-based learning. Drawing connections between conflicts can be helpful when it used to identify common drivers of conflict, or to help students process their emotions about a local conflict by framing conflict as universal human problem. Making connections between history and present day sites can enrich the

learning experience and allow students to engage with historical events which have contributed to the social world in which they live.

However, as with all the methodologies discussed, it is also clear that drawing connections should be done carefully and thoughtfully, in order to avoid inadvertently providing further material with which students could support their pre-existing narratives while ignoring other perspectives. Thus the role of the teacher in deciding how and in what circumstances to make connections is of crucial importance, as is their role in presenting multiple perspectives and facilitating a balanced dialogue based on historical evidence.

The Teacher's Role: A Courageous, Self-Aware Facilitator

Addressing the teacher's role in history education after conflict was widely identified as an essential element of good practice. Indeed, the majority of projects and practitioners involved in this research focus their efforts on working with and training teachers. Interviewees therefore had much to say on what teachers need to bring to the learning experience. Common responses were that teachers should be willing to take appropriate risks, they should be self-aware and self-reflexive, they should be open to other viewpoints and they should use a facilitative rather than a directive style of teaching.

While engaging with contentious and emotional historical topics is believed to be an important experience for students in a post-conflict context, there was widespread agreement among interviewees that this needs to be handled carefully, with every effort to create a safe and appropriate space for students to handle their own reactions. Thus, the role of the history educator in managing this process in a group environment can be seen to make the difference between creating a valuable space for engaged and reflexive learning, or opening up collective trauma which may in fact result in students becoming more entrenched in their pre-existing perspectives.

An extremely important part of the teacher's role is to create a structured space where differing points of view can be heard in a respectful atmosphere. An interviewee described how the aims of the Epilogues program to create a safe space for discussing difficult issues have been well-received, according to feedback from participants;

> …they felt they were in a process that was well structured, that was thought-through and where they felt that the space was democratically handled, in that they felt their story was valued, they were listened to, and the guidelines which everybody had signed up to ensured that they were respected throughout the process. (Simon)

This quotation neatly captures the dimensions of 'safe-space' which were alluded to across the research interviews, namely that a facilitator provides a structured space for dialogue where all are equally welcome to contribute and contributions are received respectfully by both the facilitator and other participants.

Linked to this facilitative style of education is the skill of asking questions which can open up a reflective and respectful dialogue. As an interviewee from Northern Ireland asserted, of crucial importance is;

> … the skill of questioning, being able to ask good questions that open up discussion rather than closing it down. And not being afraid to challenge young people's views, particularly when they may be more extreme. And to use the historical skill of supporting young people to think about what evidence is there to back up their conclusions, and how reliable is that evidence. (John)

In this quotation, the interviewee makes a clear link between the importance of being able to opening up dialogue but at the same time challenging communal narratives which are inaccurate or one-sided, and thus developing critical thinking skills in students.

In terms of attitudes, it was naturally felt that it was an asset if teachers were open to the social possibilities offered by this work. While some interviewees considered this to be an innate quality, others emphasized that it could be cultivated through effective teacher training;

> I asked teachers, and still do, what is the purpose of their work. And that was one of the things we started to address – 'Ok, what am I doing, and am I aware of my positive and negative influence in society'? (Jan)

Thus, in the first instance, teachers should be aware that their role has a social impact, and therefore give thought to the likely consequences of how they introduce students to the field of historical enquiry.

Courage was frequently mentioned as an important quality. Teachers who present history in innovative ways will have to go against prevailing narratives and practices in the local community. As the interviewee from University of Ulster explained; *"They have to be risk-takers. They have to recognize that, to a degree, their work will run at variance to the prevailing ethos of the environment in which they're in"* (Adam). The notions of courage discussed entailed the ability to overcome one's own fears about 'opening a can of worms' in the classroom, and at the same time being willing to provide an appropriate framework where difficult issues could be discussed in a responsible way.

At the same, it also requires both self-awareness and a degree of reflexivity for teachers to confront their own assumptions, and to recognize the historical narratives of their own community as interpretation rather than objective fact. Many interviewees spoke about how teachers need to acknowledge that they themselves have a position within their society, a background which can influence their teaching. In the University of Ulster's training program they try to: *" help them to think about why they think the way they do, and how that might influence their teaching"* (Adam).

While teachers were felt to need to acknowledge their own perspective, it was also cited as extremely important that they be able to move past that position when they are presenting historical topics in the classroom;

> …. (some) teachers still harbor hatred and resentment, (so) one aspect of training and working with them as adults is that they have got to figure out a way to deal with that stuff – not in the classroom. (Kate)

Thus, it is important that teachers can recognize their own perspective on history, understand it and deal with it, and then leave it aside when they are at work in the classroom.

With all this comes the necessity for an attitude of openness to other points of view. This was mentioned by many of the research participants. One interviewee argued that one of the most important factors is;

> …that teachers are comfortable with the topics themselves, that they've had a chance to explore these issues for themselves…..that they are used to hearing difficult things that might counter their own experience or their own attitudes. (John)

Teachers need to be able to hear a variety of viewpoints in their history classroom, and to continue to facilitate dialogue as impartially as possible.

There was widespread agreement among interviewees that a facilitative teaching style was most appropriate for the dialogue-based, multiperspectival nature of this work. There was strong agreement across interviewees, that the teacher's own views should not hold a privileged or unquestioned position in the classroom. It should not be a case of "*ok, I tell my narrative and you make your notes*" (Jan). It was widely asserted that teachers should be mindful of how they present history lessons, and of how their behavior might be modeling certain values to students.

Unfortunately, the skills necessary to facilitate dialogue are not usually developed during teacher preparation within the formal education system. Particularly in post-Communist countries, but also in many others, the emphasis is still on presenting knowledge to students, rather than drawing out knowledge or personal responses from them. While finding teachers with all these attributes might seem like a tall order, many interviewees were optimistic that they could be developed through training opportunities;

> I don't think it's about personalities. I think it's about being trained to do it…. the reality is it's a profession with skills. There's content knowledge and pedagogic knowledge. Those are the things that need to be mastered. In these contexts, teachers need more experience at recognizing what it (innovative pedagogy) looks like, so they need to practice…. with other people who are practicing and then they should get the kind of follow up support that provides feedback. (Kate)

Indeed, the interviewee from Euroclio, with more than twenty years of experience working with teachers across Europe, was enthusiastic about the interest of educators in adapting to new methodologies which would improve their practice;

> ….what I know is that the amount of educators who are not interested in the process, who are not extremely motivated can really almost be counted on one hand….. There's a very big interest in this sort of learning. Unfortunately, too often history teachers are confronted with training which is not dedicated specifically to history (Jan).

Thus, while the new approaches to history education require a high degree of skills and motivation from teachers, the overall feeling among interviewees was that these can be imbued through the right kind of teacher training and peer support – if there are the resources to provide it.

With regards to all the elements involved in effective history education after violent conflict – multiperspectivity, dialogue and connected learning, it is the role of the teacher to bring these principles to life in the classroom. By carefully facilitating discussion, teachers can create a space where students develop important skills such as critical enquiry, tolerance and empathy for other viewpoints and conflict management.

Given the importance of the teachers role, and the general willingness of educators to improve their practice, engaging with the teaching profession is a logical point of intervention for those interested in reforming history education. It does seem, emerging from this research study, that there is significant consensus as to how teachers can best facilitate historical learning in societies emerging from conflict, which can form the basis of teacher training programs. The challenge which remains, then, is how to give teachers enough support through the educational system, so that once they know they can play their role to the full.

Supporting Teachers to do the Work

It is to be expected that individual teachers operating in isolation are going to have limited social impact. While they can do important and valuable work directly with students, they are not in a position to make systemic or curricular changes which can be implemented nationwide. Rather it falls to policy-makers and educational leaders to create the spaces in which teachers can effectively implement these new approaches to history education – space in the curriculum, and in the school

timetable, and the social space that comes from knowing they are supported by their school leader even if their work runs up against parental objections.

Lone, unsupported teachers will thus face additional challenges if their work is not integrated into the wider educational system and leadership structures. As an interviewee from Northern Ireland explained;

> (teachers) …have to recognize that, to a degree, their work will run at variance to the prevailing ethos of the environment which they're in. They've got to be careful about that and they've got to be sensible about that and they've got to make sure there is a level of institutional support for the work they're doing. (Adam)

This highlights the need for teachers to receive support from higher educational authorities, precisely because they are undertaking work which can have repercussions from those who believe history education should promote nationalistic narratives. Indeed, a number of interviewees, operating in different contexts asserted that it is important to not only train teachers but also to find ways to lobby for curriculum reform at the policy level.

Thus, while the present paper is deliberately focused on the specific methodologies which teachers can employ in post-conflict societies, those who are interested in significant social change would do well to give thought to the need to build political support for this work. Where governmental support is achieved, the necessary resources can be invested in training teachers and giving them appropriate teaching materials, and educational leaders are then empowered to drive forward a radical change in approach to history education.

As the staff member at Euroclio outlined, the greatest impact comes when there is engagement with both teachers and the wider realm of educational politics;

> If you don't work with governments then it doesn't make sense, but then I think, yes, but if you….have been pushing the government to make a change but then you haven't prepared the profession then also we are nowhere. So, our first target is the professional group and then from the professional group the curriculum, the textbooks, the exam system and everything that has to do with teaching history. (Jan)

And as Jan went on to explain, working to train individual teachers can be surprising fruitful if these individuals later rise in their careers:

> Sometimes we are just lucky, like in Ukraine, where nobody would expect, all of a sudden there is a new curriculum that is totally written by the people we have been working with. And you can be sure that, compared to what it was, it is an enormous change. There is fighting in the parliament because of use of language, but at the same time these things are happening because the people are in the place to do it. (Jan)

Thus, structural change does not come about only from direct lobbying of ministries of Education, but can also result when previously-trained teachers rise to a position of educational leadership.

Engaging with government and educational leadership structures was also deemed by some interviewees to be an important element of creating a sense of ownership of the reform process throughout the educational system. In Cambodia, DCCAM lobbied the Ministry of Education for ten years in order to have approval for their textbook and teacher training programs. However, they felt it was worth the effort because, as their staff member explained;

> You cannot do this alone as a NGO….you need State approval, because it will last long into the future if it belongs to them….. That's why it is very important to seek help from the Ministry of Education…. If you do it alone it works, but it is not really nationwide, and may be less supported, and because you are going to collaborate with teachers you cannot do it alone. (Fatima)

This captures neatly the value of engaging with the educational system as a whole, in order to access teachers nationwide, and create ownership of the social change project at the very highest levels.

Ultimately, in terms of making a significant contribution to social cohesion in post-conflict countries, teachers need to be supported by the wider structures of educational leadership. They need to be equipped with appropriate training and teaching resources, and they need the support of school and national leadership to enable them to undertake ground-breaking and risky work. Non-governmental organizations whose intention is to improve social cohesion at the national level would do well to devote some time to engaging with the political leadership in charge of education in order

to broaden and deepen the impact of their work. Where this is not possible, due to the political hostility which can be directed towards attempts to reform history education, efforts to train individuals can still be worthwhile, particularly if those individuals are in a position (and are encouraged) to rise to positions of educational leadership.

Differences in Approach; Variation and Innovation within the Field

Despite the notable common elements, not every educator or organization is approaching history education in exactly the same way. While there is broad agreement on the above-mentioned core elements of good practice in teaching history after conflict, organizations and individuals seem to adapt these principals through educational methodologies which reflect local context, their personal educational philosophy and the assets which they personally bring to the process.

Local ownership of the history education reform process was widely felt to be important, with a particular emphasis on sensitivity to the timing of changes to history teaching after violent conflict. Thus, a number of 'locally-grown' initiatives exist within the field, based on the need to navigate specific cultural realities. Where organizations operate in more than one country, they tend to adapt their overall approach to the specifics of each context.

There are, furthermore, interesting variations in approach which reflect the underlying philosophy and intentions of the organization or individual educator. Within this area, a certain tension can be observed around whether history education should be primarily an intellectual exercise, or whether it should serve as a platform for moral or ethical discussions relating to present-day society and notions of citizenship.

Additionally, a number of organizations also have certain strengths, whether they are international networks or multimedia skills, which further shape and refine their unique approach to history education. Through exploiting these individual strengths, innovations can emerge which can contribute to the overall development of the field.

In examining these differences, I hope to provide some insight into which approaches may work best in certain circumstances. As has already been seen where interviewees discussed the potential limitations of common approaches such as multiperspectivity, different circumstances may benefit from modifications to the core elements of responsible history education practice. An exploration of the variations can also point the way future developments in the field as practice continues to expand and improve.

Differences emerging from adapting to context

It became clear, as interviewees discussed their ideas of best practice in the field, that they are careful to adapt their approach to specific social realities, and that this results in some variation within the approaches used across different countries. Some differences emerged from the need for local ownership of the reform process, and the need for history teaching to fit within the existing educational system. Other variations in approach were shaped by the form and intensity of the recent conflict, and the degree of political will to reform history education. Some of the resulting variations within practice relate to a preference for engaging directly with contentious topics, or alternatively for building a sense of commonality through examining shared historical experience. A final source of variation was the desire to use teaching methodologies which reflect local culture.

It was widely felt that there should be local ownership of the process of creating a new form of history education in societies emerging from violent conflict. As one interviewee described;

> What we do is really build local capacity and local ownership. So that people who are in the process feel that it is their process….. it is the most important thing, that everything is directed at educators who in the end feel, despite all the things around them, 'it is our history, it is our work'. Because then they can go outside, they can meet others, and they really have a story to tell which is acceptable at least for their colleagues and eventually also for authorities. (Joke)

In this way, local ownership relates not only to good practice, but to the creation new methods of teaching history which have the best chance of being more widely adopted in the local society.

Variations within the educational systems in different countries can have an impact on how educators approach historical topics. For example, teachers in post-Communist and low income contexts face challenges to adapting from a traditional, knowledge-based style of teaching to new skills-focused methodologies within the restrictions of the existing educational culture. As the interviewee from Croatia explained;

> …in Croatia, you know, it is still 'knowledge', not 'skills'. So the whole educational process is focused on knowledge, on facts – so many facts….. and teachers are not familiar with the many skills they could give to their students" (Maran).

It can be difficult for teachers to implement new approaches when these run at variance to the traditional mode of education in their country.

Furthermore, the lack of adequate resources in the educational systems in parts of the Balkans, was also creating problems for the work of Euroclio;

> … the problem is ….not because the teachers are not willing to change, but that they haven't got any equipment to do that. They were not trained in university to become a teacher, they have never had any teacher training…. I asked young teachers in Macedonia last week 'ok so you came in front of the class a few years ago….did you copy your old teacher?'. They said 'yes', and that is the problem. (Jan)

Thus, approaches to history education in these contexts are necessarily constrained by the limitations of the existing education system. Approaches must first introduce the concept of a skills-based approach to teaching and learning history before other core principles can be introduced.

While in many countries educators must handle dialogue sensitively because students are from diverse backgrounds with sharply differing opinions, segregated education systems can also cause problems. A particular challenge to applying a multiperspectival, dialogue based approach in Northern Ireland is the segregated nature of the education system. Only 5% of the school-aged population there attend officially integrated schools, while the remainder are in schools with only minimal representation from the other main religious tradition (Smith, 2005).

Thus, history educators there have had to find strategies to encourage genuinely open discussion, making efforts to bring together students and teachers from different parts of the schooling system;

> …structurally, we're working in a segregated education system so that makes it harder – that's why we have the element of bringing pupils together on cross-community residentials and all our teacher work is one a cross-community basis as well. (John)

Consequently, in Northern Ireland, interviewees agreed on the importance of the teacher / facilitator introducing students to a variety of perspectives, and in challenging communal narratives even if the teacher/facilitator was brought up with those same narratives.

The form and intensity of the recent conflict in a society emerging form mass violence can also shape the approach taken to history education. Among the countries where interviewees conduct their work, there is significant disparity between the recent conflicts. For example, while Cambodia saw an ideological conflict and suffered major genocide in the 1970s perpetrated by a minority against the rest of the population, Northern Ireland was home to a protracted but relatively low-intensity dispute where violent actors on all sides perpetrated acts of violence against civilians as well as other conflict actors.

In this way, Cambodia sits as something of an outlier within the scope of the research study, for while DCCAM were willing to engage with former Khmer Rouge cadre and include them in discussions about the past, their over-riding mission was not to debate the evidence, but to make sure that the truth of the atrocities could not be hidden;

> At the center we focus on four main areas. First, documentation, second, research and publication, third, outreach and dissemination and fourth our transition towards a permanent center…. The center has two main objectives; memory and justice. (Fatima)

In this context then, multiperspectivity naturally is accorded a lesser role; genocide certainly raises the question of whether there are some historical events which cannot, by their very nature, be allowed to be debated in terms which could potentially lead to moral relativism.

In Northern Ireland meanwhile, 'truth' is a more complicated concept, given the multi-faceted nature of the conflict. In this context, educators are tending more towards challenging narratives of Irish history which are openly discussed in the society, but which are often one-sided or incomplete. As one interviewee explained;

> Young people encounter history in all sorts of different places - in the media, in computer games, in songs ….. But it is important that they ask questions of those interpretations. Who made it? …. What's their angle? So that when they encounter history in the community they ask the right questions and they have the historical knowledge from the past to make judgments about the purpose of what's going on (Adam).

In this sense, then, formal history education in Northern Ireland does not need to deal with an official culture of silence, but rather must contend with single-narrative presentation of popular history in a divided society. The differences between Cambodia and Northern Ireland are therefore indicative of the ways in which core principles of history education after conflict may need to be adapted to particular social contexts.

Political factors were a commonly cited challenged among interviewees, despite the fact that getting policy-level support for reforming history education was felt to be extremely important. As one interviewee put it;

> You can be a good teacher, you can be ready for reconciliation, for multiperspectivity but if your curriculum gives you other directions it can be a problem. So, policies, state educational policies are really, really important (Maran).

The degree of success in obtaining this support varied widely across countries, and affected their ability to operate openly and roll out new methodologies across state-run education systems. Educators from the Balkans found it was best to engage with outside donors and agencies rather than the local ministries of Education. In Cambodia, meanwhile, after ten years of persistent lobbying, DCCAM has been successful in getting government support to implement their programs across the education system. Northern Ireland, perhaps due to thirty years of direct rule from London, faces a relative lack of political interference in the history curriculum;

> …own politicians were so busy fighting over other things that education was way down the list. So I think it is one of the most interesting aspects of the conflict here, in the role of history education, that it has never been a major issue. (Adam)

In this way, Northern Ireland was able to create a curricular framework which encouraged teachers to address Irish history in a balanced way in the classroom even while the conflict was still ongoing. Thus, political context may not directly inform the choice of teaching methodologies, but it clearly puts limits on what can be achieved and it can worth investing resources in not only training teachers but also in political lobbying work.

There can also be substantial difference in the willingness of teachers to directly address historical controversies. This is often linked to the nature and intensity of the conflict but can also stem from a local culture which discourages dissention and debate. For example, in the case of The Balkans, it was generally felt by interviewees that it was still too soon to directly teach about the wars of the 1990s. As one interviewee outlined;

> When wounds are still fresh it's really hard to teach and to learn about the period. It is sometimes hard to teach about the period of WW2 but it is much easier….. but talking about Croatian-Serbian relations…… you have problems because you are not really teaching about history, this history is still present. (Maran)

Thus among interviewees who work in the Balkans there was a preference among educators to focus on exploring issues of historical similarity in the first instance as a means to build trust before starting on more controversial topics.

The importance of moving slowly was also highlighted by those working in the Balkans;

> …the first thing you have to do is trust-building…. it is a process of presenting, sharing, getting peer review, getting expert review, going back to it; and in that process you can slowly move it from a very basic topic to more sensitive areas…..we started with the period of Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1990, where everybody thought it was not very problematic. And the first topic was all about sports and about fashion and that, but slowly we began to ask questions like 'look here – why were there problems about that?' and so they move to that. (Jan)

Thus, while there is a clear value to discussing controversial events in an open, democratic and respectful manner, in certain social contexts it may be appropriate to first look at issues of common historical experience as a trust-building mechanism.

Meanwhile, given the intensely violent nature of events in Cambodia history, DCCAM particularly work to ensure there is emotional space in the classroom for young people to process the enormity of what took place in their country;

> ….you really need to develop syllabus or the course which works well with our culture. Because in Cambodia you need to use several kinds of poem, of art, in order to help ease pain of violence, because when they learn they need also to think about the other side. The positive side not just the negative side. (Fatima)

This approach aims to address the pain of such major death and destruction through the Cambodian tradition of poetry as a means of expression. The development of empathy is directed towards the victims of genocide, with lesser emphasis on trying to understand the motivations of perpetrators than might be appropriate in the aftermath of a conflict where all sides were involved in acts of violence.

Thus, a number of differences have emerged in approaches to history education after violent conflict as educators have adapted the core of their approach to specific local contexts. In attempting to overcome local challenges, and take advantage of specific local resources or opportunities, a number of variations in approach have developed. These suggest the ways in which history education needs to be grounded in local context – according to the nature of the conflict and the level of collective trauma, according to the resources available in the educational system, and according to the local cultural resources which can be used to enrich the learning experience. In response to these elements seems to shape which aspects are prioritized in these history education programs, as well as how successful they will be in encouraging teachers to change their practices.

Differences emerging from educational philosophy

Emerging from the interviews, it seems that there are certain differences in educational philosophy which has led organizations or individuals to have different intentions for, and take different approaches towards their work. At first glance it seems like a simple dichotomy between whether the goal of teaching history after conflict should be to inculcate the skills of objectivity and

critical intellectual judgment, or to inculcate the skills of empathy/caring and making informed moral judgments.

However, the tension between these two aims can be better understood as a spectrum ranging from, on the one hand, practice which is based strongly in the moral-emotional dimension and which explicitly intends for history education to be tailored towards social outcomes, and on the other hand practice which aims for students to practice intellectual skills base on a rigorous academic approach to history which they implicitly hope will leave students less vulnerable to believing politically-motivated propaganda. In the latter case, emotions can actually be seen as part of the problem, with collective narratives needing to be taken apart by critical thinking before personal judgments can be made about historical events.

An example given by the employee of Euroclio, cited an instance in the Balkans where they uncovered;

> … more hard evidence of what actually happened. And I think that is very important – that the rumor sphere stops, and that you really are listening to each other on the hard information…. then it becomes easier to talk about, that you go away from 'my feelings, my emotions' to the sort of harder way of talking about it. (Jan)

This shows the value of sometimes taking a less emotional approach, where historical facts are indisputable, and students are encouraged to let go of their pre-existing communal narratives and engage directly with the evidence.

In the moral-emotional approach, meanwhile, history education is viewed explicitly as a vehicle to encourage the skill of making ethical judgments. As the employee of Facing History and Ourselves outlined;

> This kind of work is interdisciplinary. It means asking kids to work cognitively and affectively. Those have to be married….. the goal is for kids to be more inclusive, and for social justice and these things to be a priority….. history isn't just this field of study - we're talking about worldviews and political narratives and the way people understand themselves. (Kate)

In this approach, the aim of social change is more explicit, and seems, judging from my analysis of the interviews, to hold a higher priority than academic outcomes.

This tension between the social-emotional and the academic -intellectual aims of history education after conflict was also alluded to by the interviewee from the University of Ulster;

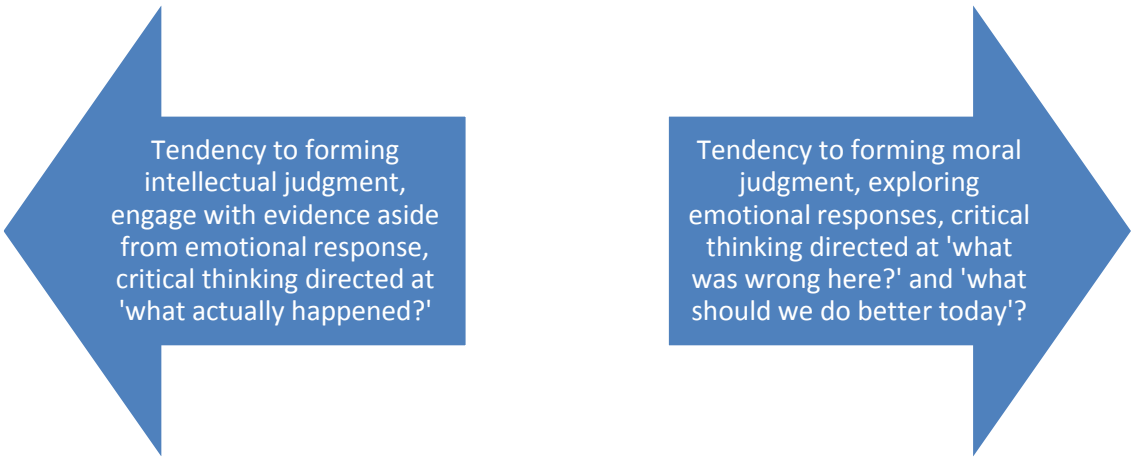
> I think we've had a history profession that hasn't really talked through that tension, between those who want to keep….the aims of history… within the discipline of the subject, and those who want to draw out the subject's contemporary relevance…. (some initiatives) are in danger of losing touch with that rigorous discipline of history….I do think we need to articulate what history education can and should do within its disciplinary procedures and where it can hand over to other areas of the curriculum, particularly citizenship (Adam).

Thus, it seems, there is some disagreement in the field about the goal of history education, but fruitful developments and improvements may result from an open conversation between proponents of the two approaches.

While some interviewees prioritized one dimension over the other, almost all made reference to both elements – critical thinking and emotional engagement. To clarify, then, the two tendencies may not be mutually exclusive, but rather confusion arises when it is not understood that the place of emotions in the history classroom is not in making subjective judgments about the validity of the evidence presented, but rather in engaging with the human dimension of conflict, which lies in loss, grief and the moral choices made by individuals in particular circumstances.

In diagram form, the tension between the two tendencies can be represented like this:

Figure 1: Different directions in the field.



Thus, further future harmonization of practice may emerge, not from deciding if emotions do or do not have a place in the history classroom, but rather by reaching consensus on which aspects of history should be engaged with cognitively, and which affectively. This may also relate to whether History or Citizenship is the most appropriate school subject for discussing the human dimension of historical conflicts. A further dimension to consider is whether some conflicts would be most appropriately taught about using one emphasis or the other. While a post-conflict society with competing, emotively-driven historical narratives may benefit most from a 'critical thinking' approach, in the face of official silence about a genocide, however, it seems inappropriate to engage on only an intellectual level, without drawing lessons in ethics and moral judgment.

Differences emerging from organizational strengths

As much as practitioners have shaped their approaches towards local context, and on the basis of their educational philosophy, another factor influencing specific methodologies is the strengths of the different organizations and individuals. Although these differences generally manifest in the nuances of implementation, they represent a valuable contribution to creative diversity in the field and could potentially become sources of wider innovation in methodology and techniques in future.

For example, the Epilogues project in Northern Ireland is a non-formal or community education project which has developed a unique methodology for discussing the recent conflict in Northern Ireland. The duo behind the project have a background in film-making, and have recorded a series of videoed testimonials from people involved in or affected by the violence. The video excerpts have been arranged to give multiple perspectives on a series of universal themes, including 'violence', 'loss', 'justice' and 'human rights'. The course then takes the form of a series of dialogue-based workshops on each theme, with discussion inspired by video material but with plenty of space for the group to be facilitated to express their own opinions and reactions. While the material pre-supposes a

certain knowledge of the Northern Irish conflict, knowledge which the current generation of school students might not share, it nonetheless offers an interesting model of how personal testimonies can introduce an ethical and affective dimension to historical discussion.

Another example of an organization basing its approach upon pre-existing strengths is that of Facing History and Ourselves. Having already developed a model in the United States based on examination of the Holocaust, FHAO have adapted their moral-based discussion approach to a number of contexts around the world. They continue to use the Holocaust as a case study for examining the roles played by different actors in an historical situation – victim, perpetrator, or bystander. Their focus on the role of bystanders in not opposing morally-questionable actions by others can have particular relevance where the aim is to encourage young people to become more active at improving their own, still-divided, society.

Euroclio, meanwhile, based on their nature as a pan-European network dedicated to innovative history education, have developed an award-winning history website. The website contains bright and engaging historical material shaped around the causes and consequences of historical case studies from across Europe. Although the use of multimedia materials is a beneficial development for the field of history education as a whole, it can be particularly useful in a post-conflict context because it allows teachers to present a range of perspectives and sources of evidence.

So, as we can see, not all innovations in the field of history education after conflict have emerged as a response to challenges in the local context. Rather, a number of innovations have been, to some extent, internally-driven, with individuals and organizations bringing their unique attributes into play. Thus, as those in the field seek to improve practice and develop new innovations, they need not only to be aware of the needs in post-conflict societies but they can also benefit from reflecting on how their own unique strengths can be brought to bear on the situation.

CONCLUSIONS

From all of the above, it can be seen that while practices are somewhat varied and while the organizations doing this work are dispersed and largely unconnected at present, there exists a field of practice which can be called 'history education after violent conflict'. This form of history education rejects the propagandistic narratives of authoritarian regimes and nationalistic politicians, and instead seeks to take an approach which is, as described by the employee of Euroclio; '*innovative and responsible'* (Jan). The foundational elements of this pedagogical approach, given greater or lesser emphasis according to organizational preference and local context, are multiperspectivity, dialogue-based learning, connecting learning to the local and global context, and having teachers play a facilitative role. Many of the interviewees explicitly grounded their use of these methodologies in the belief that it is essential to emulate democratic practices in the history classroom in societies emerging form mass violence, as a way of developing in students the skills necessary to operate peacefully in a still-divided society.

Indeed, there are enough shared principles underlying the range of methodologies used by educators in this field to merit the term 'good-practice guidelines'. These commonalities in methodology suggest that there is an emerging consensus, in broad terms, on the fundamentals of how history should be taught in a post-conflict society. While interviewees were not in agreement on every detail, they have clear similarities in their educational practice, similarities which have been developed as a thoughtful and logical response to the challenges of teaching history in a post-conflict context. These elements of good practice can be adapted to local context, and indeed, will probably e most effective in contributing to social cohesion when the specific nature of the local society is taken into account.

Having said that, there are still a number of unresolved questions for the field. In particular, there is a certain tension between the aim of creating rigorous, innovative, but primarily intellectual, history education and that which aims to shape future citizens who will be confident to make moral judgments when they see wrong-doing, socially-committed, and able to empathize with others. The tendency towards different directions rests in educational philosophy, and in particular with regards to what is understood by the term 'caring', and to what degree of emotionality is appropriate in the history classroom. When discussing how emotions could cloud students' objectivities, with negative results for social cohesion, the problem cited was that of nationalistic emotions which caused students to ignore not only the historical experience of other groups but even to dispute clear historical evidence which did not agree with their communal narratives. Conversely, caring, when understood as the skill of empathizing with other points of view, was widely viewed by interviewees as beneficial. Where 'caring' or 'empathy' were mentioned by interviewees in favorable terms, it was when these would be applied to the experience of other groups and other viewpoints, not only to the social group to which the student belongs.

This issue relates to an underlying dimension of educational philosophy. While education is widely regarded in Western society as an intellectual exercise, the practice of history education after violent conflict shows the difficulties inherent in ignoring the emotional and affective in the classroom. As we can see from the data gathered, as well as the literature, a high level of collective emotion attaches to conceptualizations of the past in post-conflict countries. While this emotion should not be allowed to interfere with students intellectual assessment of what actually happened during certain historical events, I agree with the interviewees who felt that it was important to allow students to process their emotions in the classroom rather than discussing events in their country in purely abstract terms.

Ultimately, the appropriateness of engaging students affective abilities may depend on specific circumstances and the nature of the historical topic being discussed. According to the nature of the conflict, and the problems of division which continue to affect the society, then aiming to form

moral judgments or aiming for a degree of objectivity and critical thinking may be more appropriate. While the present study has pointed to some instances which illustrate the need to adapt teaching methodologies to the particular social context, more widespread research is needed before definitive statements can be made.

These two elements do not have to be mutually exclusive however, and the tension between them can actually be a source of creative strength for the field. I believe that interesting future developments may emerge from attempts to better understand and clarify these two positions, and from a dialogue between practitioners around when caring and emotions should be encouraged, and when students should be prompted to step back from a topic and try to view it with a greater degree of objectivity.

An additional question, to which I would have liked the research study to yield answers but found that participants were unsure themselves of the answer, is whether this work to reform history education can and does have defined social impacts in terms of promoting peace and understanding between formerly opposed groups. Certainly all interviewees are engaged in this work because they believe it can have a positive impact on society. But there was substantial disagreement or confusion about how this takes place, and whether, with all the many factors which underlie a given conflict, reforming history education alone is going to have any observable impact at national level.

With regards to the potential for wider social impact, the importance of engaging with educational and political leadership should not be underestimated. While costly in terms of time, efforts to persuade policy-makers at local and national level seem to offer the best chance of broad, sustainable impact. While individual history teachers can, and should, make efforts to reform their own pedagogical practices, they can best be enable to do so with support from school and policy leaders, and with curricular frameworks and school scheduling which gives them the space to explore historical conflicts in all their complexity.

Despite the challenges to create nationwide impact, a number of anecdotes were shared during interviews of successes where program participants had experienced a major attitudinal shift. Additionally the theories of change expressed by participants were logical, and suggest a thoughtfulness in developing approaches intended to have the maximum impact. The abuse of history by propagandists was cited as evidence by a number of interviewees for the power of history education to shape societies and contribute to conflict. Thus, what can be said is that while further research into the effectiveness of the programs at a wider social level is needed, it is also very much merited.

Future research should concentrate on empirically evaluating the social outcomes emerging from this work, and where a practice is demonstrated to be effective it should be scaled up to the national level. If support for scaling up cannot be found at the policy-making level, then non-governmental organizations can still play an important role in working with future educational leaders who, it is hoped, will one day rise to a position where they can make sweeping changes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To sum up the lessons emerging from this research, it can be said that history education after violent conflict should be approached in a thoughtful and responsible manner, and should involve an array of methodologies. As part of a multi-faceted approach, educators should make space for engaging both the cognitive and affective dimensions of history. History should be presented in a way which humanizes both victims and perpetrators but does not excuse harmful actions, nor fall into moral relativity. Dialogue based on source evidence can be used to explore and question collective narratives and identities. None of these should be applied rigidly however, but should take into account specific local needs, cultural proclivities and the nature of the recent conflict. The elements of

effective practice presented in this paper represent a framework, a set of guiding principles which educators should adapt to the specific circumstances of their post-conflict context.

Given the need to adapt and employ methodologies carefully, it is of crucial importance to train and support teachers. Their role is to not only present information but to create a democratic and respectful learning environment. Due to the general willingness of teachers to engage with new practices, as cited repeatedly in the interviews, teacher training can offer an important point of intervention for those who wish to build social cohesion in fragile post-conflict societies. Even where political support is lacking, work to train teachers can be valuable, though ultimately, greater impact will be achieved where teachers are supported by educational leaders. A twin-track approach involving both work with individual teachers, and efforts to bring about policy reform, is therefore the most desirable option, when feasible.

This training requires a certain amount of resources which, to date, have typically come from multilateral donors such as the European Union or the United Nations rather than from within the existing educational budget in the countries concerned. While the presence of outside sources of funding and expertise can be useful at first in piloting training programs and methodologies without undue political interference, ultimately the goal should be to lobby for political buy-in in the country concerned, so that the new model of history education is adopted and implemented throughout the school system.

Such efforts to reform history education should not be particularly costly, relative to other attempts to build social cohesion – such as civil society initiatives. History teachers are already in place and in-service teacher training should be part an integral part of national educational budgets anyway. Thus, as Cole (2007) has argued, history education is so far an underutilized part of transitional processes, but one to which donors should turn their attention. In low income contexts (and post-conflict countries do often have under-performing economies), outside financial assistance may be needed for training teachers, designing new curricula and providing appropriate learning materials. The international community would do well to assist this work, for, if the costs seems high

at first, they should be compared with the likely costs if the country were to return to violent conflict a generation later. The cost of promoting peace-building through the formal education system also compares favorably with the resources required to build peace through civil society initiatives. Given than the education system and teachers are already in place, it requires only changes in teaching methodology and materials to contribute to social cohesion – rather than the creation of new civil society organizations which must be staffed and resources, and which even then may fail to reach many in the population.

As part of an emerging field, educators in history after violent conflict should continue to innovate and to try out new approaches where they feel these are needed. The field as a whole can benefit from communication and collaboration internationally, and should look for ways to integrate the best elements of different approaches into comprehensive best-practice guidelines. Thus, as practice continues to be refined and clarified, and as the unresolved questions for the field are addressed, this new, responsible history education can come to be fully recognized as an important contribution to social cohesion in countries emerging from violent conflict.

REFERENCES

Baranović, B., Jokić, B., & Doolan, K. (2007). Teaching history in a postwar social context—the case of the Croatian Danube region. *Intercultural Education*, *18*(5), 455-471.

Barton, K. C., & McCully, A. W. (2005). History, identity, and the school curriculum in Northern Ireland: an empirical study of secondary students' ideas and perspectives. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *37*(1), 85-116.

Barton, K., & McCully, A. (2010). You can form your own point of view: Internally persuasive discourse in Northern Ireland students' encounters with history. *The Teachers College Record*, *112*(1).

Bekerman, Z., & Zembylas, M. (2011). *Teaching contested narratives: Identity, memory and reconciliation in peace education and beyond*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Bell, J., Hansson, U., & McCaffery, N. (2010). *The Troubles aren't history yet'. Young people's understanding of the past.* Belfast, UK: Community Relations Council.

Bush, K. D., & Saltarelli, D. (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict*. Innocenti Research Centre: Italy.

Cairns, E., & Roe, M. (Eds.). (2003). *The role of memory in ethnic conflict*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan

Cole, E. A. (2007). Transitional justice and the reform of history education. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, *1*(1), 115-137.

Cole, E. A., & Barsalou, J. (2006). *Unite or divide? The challenges of teaching history in societies emerging from violent conflict*. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Cole, E, & Murphy, K. (2009). History education reform, transitional justice, and the transformation of identities. (Research brief). Retrieved from http://www.ictj.org/publication/history-education-reform-transitional-justice-and-transformation-identities.

Collier, P., Hoeffler, A., & Söderbom, M. (2008). Post-conflict risks. *Journal of Peace Research*, *45*(4), 461-478.

Conversi, D. (2007). Mapping the field: Theories of nationalism and the ethnosymbolic approach. *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, 15-30.

Coulter, D. J. (2003). Montessori and Steiner: A pattern of reverse symmetries. *Montessori Life*, *15*(1), 24-25.

Cvijic, S. (2008). Swinging the pendulum: World War II history, politics, national identity and the difficulties of reconciliation in Croatia and Serbia. *Nationalities Papers*, *36*(4), 713-740.

Devine-Wright, P. (2003). A theoretical overview of memory and conflict. In E. Cairns and M. Roe (Eds.) *The role of memory in ethnic conflict* (9-33). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dewey, J. (1897). *Ethical principles underlying education*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Dierkas, J. (2007). The trajectory of reconciliation through history education in post-reunification Germany. In E.A Cole (Ed.), *Teaching the violent past: History education and reconciliation* (31-50) Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Dy, K (2009). Teaching genocide in Cambodia; Challenges, analyses and recommendations. *Human rights education in Asian schools, 12,* 129-148.

Freedman, S. W., Weinstein, H. M., Murphy, K., & Longman, T. (2008). Teaching history after identity-based conflicts: The Rwanda experience. *Comparative Education Review*, *52*(4), 663-690.

Galto (2012). Education as a form of reconciliation or recognition: teachers' perspectives on genocide

education in Cambodia. (Unpublished master's thesis). Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL.

Gallagher, T. (2005). Balancing difference and the common good: Lessons from a post-conflict society. *Compare*, *35*(4), 429-442.

Harris, I. (2010). History of peace education. *Handbook on Peace Education*, 11-22.

Kitson, A. (2007). History teaching and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. In E.A Cole (Ed.), *Teaching the violent past: History education and reconciliation*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Korostelina, K. (2012). Promoting culture of peace through history education. In K. Korostelina (Ed.), *Forming a culture of peace: Reframing narratives of intergroup relations, equity and justice* (87-110). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lather, P. (1986). Issues of validity in openly ideological research: Between a rock and a soft place. *Interchange*, *17*(4), 63-84.

Low-Beer, A. (2000). *The Council of Europe and school history*. Council of Europe. Retrieved from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/historyteaching/Source/Results/Reports&Studies/LowBeer1997_en.pdf

Mack, J. (1983). Nationalism and the self. *Psychohistory Review*, *11*, 47-69.

Marshall, C., and Rossman, G. (2010). *Designing qualitative research* (5th Ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McCully, A. (2010). The contribution of history teaching to peace building. In G. Salomon & E. Cairns (Eds.).*Handbook on peace education*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.

McCully, A. (2012). History teaching, conflict and the legacy of the past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, *7*(2), 145-159.

McGrew, L (2011). Reconciliation in Cambodia; Victims and perpetrators living together, apart. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Coventry University, Coventry, UK.

Minkina-Milko, T. (2012). Teaching and learning history for strengthening reconciliation and the peace-building process: Experience of the Council of Europe. *Rethinking Education for Social Cohesion: International Case Studies* (232- 243). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Murphy, K., & Gallagher, T. (2009). Reconstruction after violence: how teachers and schools can deal with the legacy of the past. *Perspectives in Education*,*27*(2), 11.

Oglesby, E. (2007). Educating citizens in postwar Guatemala: Historical memory, genocide, and the culture of peace. *Radical History Review*, *2007*(97), 77-98.

Pavlowitch, S.,K. (2004). History education in the Balkans; How bad is it? *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, *6*, 1, 63-68.

Petritsch, W. (2012). Confronting conflicting memories in the Balkans. In V. Dzihic and D. Hamilton (Eds.), *Unfinished business; The Western Balkans and the international community*. Washington DC : Center for Transatlantic Relations.

Seixas, P., & Wineburg, S. (2000). *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives*. NYU Press.

Sheehan, M. (2008). The changing character of war. In J.Bayliss, S. Smith & P. Owens (Eds.) *The globalization of world politics: An introduction to international relations* (214-229). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Smith, M. E. (2005). *Reckoning with the past: Teaching history in Northern Ireland*. Oxford, UK: Lexington Books.

Smith, A., & Vaux, T. (2003). *Education, conflict and international development*. London, UK: Department of International Development (DFID).

Spradley, J.P. (1979). *The Ethnographic Interview.* New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. (1996). Minority-inclusive history curricula in secondary schools: Adopting methods of comparison and multiperspectivity. *European Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *7*(1), 29-43.

Tawil, S., & Harley, A. (2004). Education and identity-based conflict: Assessing curriculum policy for social and civic reconstruction. *Education, Conflict, and Social Cohesion.* Geneva, Switzerland: UNESCO International Bureau of Education.

Tortsi, P. (2009).Segregated education and texts; A challenge to Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *International Journal on World Peace, 26,* 2, 65-82.

Weinstein, H. M., Freedman, S. W., & Hughson, H. (2007). School voices: Challenges facing education systems after identity-based conflicts. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, *2*(1), 41-71.