

RESEARCH NOTE—LEST WE FORGET: JOHN DEWEY AND REMEMBRANCE EDUCATION

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Remembrance Education (RE) indicates “an attitude of active respect in contemporary society based on the collective remembrance of human suffering that is caused by forms of human behavior such as war, intolerance or exploitation, and that must not be forgotten.” Unlike traditional history education, the point of RE is not the straightforward teaching of historical facts (if that is even possible). Instead, RE’s purpose is to integrate learners into a community, a *community of memory*, where they are witnesses, judges and guardians of the memories of tragic past events. Writings on RE are conspicuously absent from Dewey studies. In this bibliographic essay, I offer an overview of RE, including a sample of its programs, initiatives and curricula. In addition, I propose that five concepts from Dewey’s educational philosophy can helpfully inform a theory of RE. Rather than articulate a definitive account of Dewey-inspired RE, my intention is only to draw a tentative ground map to motivate future research.

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Event is a term of judgment, not of existence apart from judgment. The origin and development of the Appalachian Mountain Range is an event, and so is the loosening and rolling of a particular pebble . . . That these are distinguished as particular events involves human judgment as to their event-ness.

—John Dewey¹

Remembrance Education (RE) indicates “an attitude of active respect in contemporary society based on the collective remembrance of human suffering that is caused by forms of human behavior such as war, intolerance or exploitation, and that must not be forgotten.”² Unlike traditional history education, the point of RE is not the straightforward teaching of historical facts (if that is even possible). Instead, RE’s purpose is to integrate learners into a community, a *community of memory*, where they are witnesses, judges and guardians of the memories of tragic past events. Writings on RE are conspicuously absent from Dewey studies.

In this brief bibliographic essay, I offer an overview of RE, including a sample of its programs, initiatives and curricula. In addition, I propose that five concepts from Dewey’s educational philosophy can helpfully inform a theory of RE. Rather than articulate a definitive account of Dewey-inspired RE, my intention is only to draw a tentative ground map to motivate future research.

¹ John Dewey, *The Collected Works, 1882-1953*, ed. By Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1967-1990), *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (1938), LW 12:222.

² This is the definition of RE provided by the Flemish Special Committee for Remembrance Education. Quoted in Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse and Kat Wils, “Remembrance Education between History Teaching and Citizenship Education,” *Citizenship Teaching & Learning* 7, no. 2 (2012): 157-171, 164.

Teaching to Remember

In the wake of human tragedy—such as the Holocaust, Chicago’s dark history of police torture and the New Zealand mosque attack—public calls for remembrance are commonplace. *Lest we forget* the events and relive the horrors, the reasoning goes, it is necessary to teach younger generations about these terrible past events, their antecedent conditions and the grotesque consequences of collective amnesia and malaise. According to Ann Chinnery, “if students are going to grapple with some of the more unsettling realities of the past, they will need a different kind of history education and a different experience of our ethical obligations to and for the past.”³

I highlight three representative areas of RE, identifying specific goals, programs and curricula: (i) Holocaust education, (ii) human rights education and (iii) police violence/torture education. Each illustrates how RE activists, teachers and survivors share the memory of tragic past events with learners and thereby co-create communities of memory.

Holocaust Education

Perhaps the most widely recognized RE projects are holocaust education programs.⁴ Given the scale and horror of Nazi Germany’s genocidal campaign as well as the sheer number of communities affected by this tragedy, educating students about the Holocaust is treated as the paradigmatic case for RE.⁵ On

³ Ann Chinnery, “On History Education and the Moral Demands of Remembrance,” in *Philosophy of Education 2011*, ed. by R. Kunzman, pp. 127-135 (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois: Philosophy of Education Society, 2011), p. 132.

⁴ According to Van Nieuwhuyse and Wils, “the Holocaust now seems in many countries to have become the most important instance of the concept of remembrance in the school context.” K. Van Nieuwhuyse and K. Wils, “Remembrance Education between History Teaching and Citizenship Education,” 159.

⁵ Aleida Assmann echoes this point: “Given the transnational nature of the crime [mass genocide of the Holocaust], one that not only pulled together and concentrated millions of victims in the bureaucratic machinery of death, but also unleashed a centrifugal effect of scattering the families of victims across

May 7, 1998, the International Task Force on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF) was founded at the 'Meeting on the Holocaust' hosted by Sweden and attended by historians and diplomats from U.S. and Britain. On January 27, 2000, the ITF was revisited, once again in Sweden, but this time involving experts and politicians from 13 nations. A dense network of associations and non-governmental organizations committed to Holocaust education sprung out of the ITF meetings.⁶

Although there is relative consensus on the need for Holocaust programs, the rationale for them varies. Some Holocaust historians and educators insist that the primary reason for learners to study this mass genocide event is to prevent the tragedy from reoccurring.⁷ Others see it as a way to remind students that they have an individual moral duty "to remember" the Holocaust, its perpetrators and its victims.⁸ Still others believe that the point of Holocaust education is to facilitate the interaction between young people and survivors, who have the "experiential authority of being there and telling it like it was."⁹

Human Rights Education

Human rights educators have also employed RE to share the

five continents, it is to be expected that this mega-event should find its resonance in transnational memory." "The Holocaust — A Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community," in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, ed. by A. Assmann and S. Conrad, pp. 97-117 (New York: Palgrave MacMillan), p. 97.

⁶ Association of Holocaust Organizations. "An International Network for the Advancement of Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research." <https://www.ahoinfo.org/> (accessed September 4, 2019).

⁷ David H. Lindquist, "Meeting a Moral Imperative: A Rationale for Teaching the Holocaust," *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas* 84, no. 1 (2011):26-30. Samuel Totten, "A Note: Why Teach about the Holocaust?" *Canadian Social Studies* 31, no. 4 (1997): 176-177.

⁸ Thomas D. Fallace, "The Origins of Holocaust Education in American Public Schools," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20, no. 1 (2006): 80-102, 92.

⁹ Stacey Zembrzycki and Steve High, "'When I was your age': Bearing Witness in Holocaust Education in Montréal," *The Canadian Historical Review* 93, no. 3 (2012): 408-435, 411.

experiences of refugees traumatized by state violence, civil war and genocide. The Montréal Life Stories Project (MLSP) in Canada collects oral histories from refugees who fled high-conflict zones (e.g. Rwanda, Syria, Haiti and Cambodia). With these oral histories, they develop a curriculum to teach youths in Montréal.¹⁰ The twin purposes of the project are (i) to safeguard the refugees' memories for future generations and (ii) to provide the educational means to help Canadian citizens and policymakers empathize with the plight of refugees in the immigrant community.

According to the MLSP's co-directors, Bronwen E. Low and Emmanuelle Sonntag, the project promotes shared understanding. "First-person accounts bring world history and politics to life," they explain, "helping us to understand the processes and human costs of violence and war, and expanding our awareness of our fellow residents and citizens."¹¹ The MLSP curriculum includes a series of engaged listening and learning activities, such as reading a graphic narrative created by a survivor of the Rwandan genocide, conducting research and then supplementing the narrative with new materials.¹² The Montréal RE program permits students to connect tragic past events through contact with human voices, comprehending, in Low and Sonntag's words, "the legacy of trauma, the place of memory in everyday life, and the interconnectedness of human experience through the coexistence of different life trajectories and stories in Montréal."¹³ Besides Montréal, human rights-related RE plays a prominent role in other parts of the world, especially where it coincides with transitional justice projects—for instance, in South Africa (apartheid), Kosovo (ethnic

¹⁰ Life Stories Montreal. "Histoires de Vie Montréal." <http://lifestoriesmontreal.ca/> (Accessed September 7, 2019).

¹¹ Bronwen E. Low and Emmanuelle Sonntag, "Listening in Human Rights Education: Learning from Life Stories of Survivors of Atrocities," in *Listening to Teach: Beyond Didactic Pedagogy*, ed. by L. J. Waks, pp. 137-147 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), p. 138.

¹² Low and Sonntag, p. 141.

¹³ Low and Sonntag, p. 145.

cleansing) and Rwanda (genocide).¹⁴

Police Violence/Torture Education

The third area of RE I wish to highlight addresses the harm police inflict upon community members through unjustified violence and torture. An example is the “Reparations Won” curriculum in Chicago Public Schools, which aims to inform students about the Burge police torture controversy and the hard-fought grassroots campaign to compensate victims.¹⁵ Between 1972 and 1991, Chicago Police Detective and then-Commander John Burge and a group of fellow police officers and detectives detained and tortured crime suspects, mainly black residents from the poorest areas of Chicago. After Burge’s conviction, hundreds of survivors and activists came forward to demand reparations. After a long, hard-fought political struggle with the City of Chicago their demands were partially met and a process of memorializing, healing and educating began.¹⁶ One demand the City met was for the Chicago public schools to collaborate with community members in the development and teaching of a curriculum about the city’s dark history of police

¹⁴ Patryk Wawrzyński and Alicja Stańco-Wawrzyńska, “South African Post-Apartheid Remembrance Policy (1994-1999),” *Polish Political Science Yearbook* 45, no. 1 (2016): 145-154. Gëzim Visoka, “Arrested Truth: Transitional Justice and the Politics of Remembrance in Kosovo,” *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 8, no. 1 (2016): 62-80. Rachel Ibreck, “International Constructions of National Memory: The Aims and Effects of Foreign Donors’ Support for Genocidal Remembrance in Rwanda,” *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 7, no. 2 (2013): 149-169.

¹⁵ Chicago Public Schools, “CPS and CPD Unveil Burge Reparations Curriculum for All CPS Schools.” August 28, 2017. https://cps.edu/News/Press_releases/Pages/PR1_08_28_2017.aspx (accessed September 3, 2019).

¹⁶ Ashvini Kartik-Narayan and Maddie Anderson explain: “Part of that renewal begins with remembrance. For decades, survivors of the Burge torture scandal tried to make their harm known, to no avail. Now, activist organizations in Chicago, families of torture survivors, and torture survivors themselves are working to enact truly meaningful reparations and to ensure that these stories are never forgotten.” A. Kartik-Narayan and M. Anderson “Never Can You Compensate Nobody for Their Life,” *Southside Weekly*, July 24, 2019. <https://southsideweekly.com/never-can-compensate-nobody-life-burge-chicago-police-torture/> (accessed September 3, 2019).

torture: “The ‘Reparations Won’ curriculum was established by the ordinance and requires all Chicago Public Schools to educate students about the Burge torture scandal and the path to reparations. The curriculum has been established successfully in majority Black and Latinx communities but largely delayed in majority white communities where parents are extremely resistant.”¹⁷ While it has not been universally welcomed (as predominantly white schools opt out), the RE curriculum ‘Reparations Won’ nevertheless created a vibrant community of memory in Chicago, offering hope that episodes like the Burge torture episode would never happen again.

Dewey’s Educational Philosophy

In order to theorize RE, five concepts that feature strongly in Dewey’s educational philosophy are deployed: (i) habit, (ii) communication, (iii) hope, (iv) growth, and (v) progress.¹⁸

Habit

Dewey defined a ‘habit’ as “a way or manner of action, not a particular act or deed.”¹⁹ The closest Dewey comes to invoking a habit to remember is in chapter 16 of *Democracy and Education*. There he states that certain habits are “taken up” by the individual from the group through “sufferings and trials over long periods of time.” This uptake can also occur as a result of careful instruction, for it is the “business of educators to supply an environment” suitable for the formation of proper habits.²⁰ Educators teach new members their “history” or “the body of

¹⁷ A. Kartik-Narayan and M. Anderson, “Never Can You Compensate Nobody for Their Life.”

¹⁸ These five concepts are inspired by Jim Garrison’s similar account. J. Garrison, “John Dewey’s Philosophy as Education,” ed. by L. A. Hickman, *Reading Dewey: Interpretations for a Postmodern Generation*, pp. 63-81 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 63-4. I alter Garrison’s list of Deweyan educational-philosophical notions (habit, environment, growth, communication and democracy), substituting hope and progress for environment and democracy, respectively.

¹⁹ J. Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (1938), LW 12:21.

²⁰ J. Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (1916), MW 9:221.

known facts about the activities and sufferings of the social groups with which . . . [their] own lives are continuous." The rationale for cultivating a habit to remember and learn about a group's past, Dewey contends, is that "knowledge of the past is the key to understanding the present."²¹ Likewise, the point of RE is to induct new members into a community of memory, so that knowing a group's history, even one fraught with tragedy, helps inform the individual about the group's present circumstances.²²

One assumption guiding RE is that instruction prepares learners to act in a specific way, namely, to "prevent the past [tragic event] from being repeated."²³ Habits of hearing testimony, reading stories, and relating to survivors' experiences, however, are not identical to future action that would stop a tragic event from reoccurring. To appreciate how RE facilitates tragedy prevention requires a more refined notion of habit than simply a tendency to act. Dewey recommended learning-by-doing or supplying the learner with an environment rich in material and social conditions analogous to those in future life situations: "What he [the student] has learned in the way of knowledge and skill [or habit] in one situation becomes an instrument for understanding and dealing with the situations that follow."²⁴ While RE instruction cannot

²¹ Dewey also insists that this knowledge of the past for the sake of the present has moral value: "The assistance which may be given by history to a more intelligent sympathetic understanding of the social situations of the present in which individuals share is a permanent and constructive moral asset." J. Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (1916), MW 9:221-222.

²² One possible objection to this account is that pragmatists such as Dewey are too forward-looking to appreciate the past on its own terms. According to Richard Rorty, "[n]ostalgia is unbecoming to pragmatists, who are supposed to look forward rather than back." R. Rorty, "Remembering John Dewey and Sidney Hook," *Free Inquiry* 16 (1995). While there is some truth to Rorty's characterization, RE is, similar to pragmatism, *both* backward- and forward-looking, for it aims to cultivate the conditions for a community of memory to induct new members and educate them about their shared history, thereby preserving the memories of past tragic events and preventing their reoccurrence in the present and future.

²³ K. Van Nieuwhuyse and K. Wils, "Remembrance Education between History Teaching and Citizenship Education," 168.

²⁴ J. Dewey, *Experience and Education* (1938), LW 13:25-26.

guarantee that a learner's future self will undertake action to prevent an imminent tragedy, it can cultivate a disposition to anticipate similarly tragic events by, for instance, modeling the historical situation and the pattern of prior conditions that precipitated the original event.²⁵

Communication

In RE, students, teachers and survivors participate in the communicative give-and-take of telling stories and actively listening. The communication and reception of traumatic narratives has been widely theorized. Teresa Strong-Wilson calls the process "storied formation" or the telling of stories of others' past experiences, relating them to more recent and familiar narratives and thereby bridging the gulf between the self and the other.²⁶ Also, survivors and their relatives share their own stories, while listeners accept what Simon and Eppert call their "ethical obligation to witness [their] testimony."²⁷ Dewey scholar and educational theorist Leonard Waks writes about the importance of deep listening, quieting the mind and being aware of "situations and the opportunities they present," all skills crucial for teachers, students and survivors participating in RE.²⁸ Likewise, while demonstrating the

²⁵ RE also disrupts "our culturally inscribed habits of reading, listening, and attending to the voices of the other" in ways that foster new, more refined habits, such as heightened empathy, selfless devotion to the less fortunate and personal growth through public service. A. Chinnery, "On History Education and the Moral Demands of Remembrance," p. 132. Garrison also suggests that habit cultivation is regulated by values that foster growth, involving "the critical acquisition of habits of conduct, controlled by the ideal values that nurture human growth." J. Garrison, "John Dewey's Philosophy as Education," p. 63.

²⁶ Teresa Strong-Wilson, *Bringing Memory Forward: Storied Remembrance in Social Justice Education with Teachers* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), p. 89.

²⁷ Roger I. Simon and Claudia Eppert, "Remembering Obligation: Pedagogy and the Witnessing of Testimony of Historical Trauma," *Canadian Journal of Education* 22, no. 2 (1997): 175-191, 175.

²⁸ Leonard J. Waks, "John Dewey on Listening and Friendship in School and Society," *Educational Theory* 61, no. 2 (2011): 191-205, 195. Waks also explores a Deweyan distinction between straight listening and transactional

relevance of Dewey's educational ideas for contemporary citizen education, Sarah Stitzlein remarks that storytelling is "a helpful tool for nurturing the habit of hope in schools."²⁹

Telling stories contributes to collective identity formation and community building. According to Chinnery, "public practices of remembrance function in much the same way as family stories and the narratives surrounding family photos do to ensure an ongoing family identity."³⁰ With the help of RE, affected communities integrate survivors' recollections of past tragedies into their collective consciousness and construct a shared identity around the shared memories. Through ongoing education, they build a community of memory, a process that parallels the development of a Deweyan community of inquiry.³¹ Dewey claimed that the formation of "common meanings" contribute to the creation of a "community

listening.

²⁹ Stitzlein writes: "Stories, especially when presented under the guidance of teachers, help students to see how their worlds could be different. Stories of struggle and success develop children's sensitivity to the lives of other people and provide examples of creative solutions that others have crafted to solve their social problems. When students see how others have worked to improve their lives, they are provided fodder for how they might try out ideas in their own situations. But more than just reading the stories of others, students should be encouraged to create stories as well." S. Stitzlein, "Habits of Democracy: A Deweyan Approach to Citizen Education in American Today," *Education and Culture* 30, no. 2 (2014): 61-86, 78.

³⁰ A. Chinnery, p. 128.

³¹ 'Community of memory' is a recurring phrase in the RE literature. Assmann notes that the "collective emotional trauma" of the Holocaust has contributed to the creation of a "transnational memory" and with it a "memory community." A. Assmann, "The Holocaust - a Global Memory," pp. 112-113. Chinnery asks, "instead of thinking about history as a process of individual knowledge acquisition, what if we were to see the history classroom as a space where students and teachers come together as a community of memory?" A. Chinnery, "On History Education and the Moral Demands of Remembrance," p. 132. Referring to Holocaust education, Zembrzycki and High mention the importance of welcoming new generations into a "community of remembering." S. Zembrzycki and S. High, "When I was your age," 411. A similar focus on collective memory can be found in the Transitional Justice literature, which similar to RE addresses the trauma experienced by survivors of violence. For example, see Magdalana Zolkos, "Redressive Politics and the Nexus of Trauma, Transitional Justice and Reconciliation," in *Theories of Transitional Justice*, ed. by S. Buckley-Zistel, T.K. Beck, C. Braun and F. Mieth, pp. 163-183 (New York: Routledge, 2014).

of interest and endeavor.”³² In a community of memory, the school functions much like it does in a community of inquiry, that is, as a site for what Dewey describes as the “intermingling of youth of different races, differing religions, and unlike customs” as well as a “broader environment” for sharing ideas, experiences and, of course, memories.³³

Hope, Growth and Progress

Due to their relatedness, the last three concepts—hope, growth and progress (which I have elsewhere termed the “three cornerstones of pragmatism”)—are treated together.³⁴ Growth for Dewey has many meanings,³⁵ but for our purposes the most important of them connects hope and progress in a biological metaphor. Growth here is understood as context-sensitive development. An organism grows when it overcomes a disruption to the harmonious balance it maintains with its environment.³⁶ Hope motivates the organism to restore balance to the unsettled environment. Progress indicates the organism’s

³² J. Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (1927), LW 2:124. James H. Tufts and Dewey note how birth and death events are capable of unifying a community around common sympathies and judgments: “The [birth or death] event, as often as it occurs, appeals by both sympathy and awe to the common feeling, and brings to consciousness the unity of the group and the control exercised by its judgments.” *Ethics* (1908), MW 5:64.

³³ Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (1916), MW 9:25-26. See also Waks, “Rereading Democracy and Education Today: John Dewey on Globalization, Multiculturalism, and Democratic Education,” *Education and Culture* 23, no. 1(2007):27-37, 34.

³⁴ Shane J. Ralston, “Hope, Growth and Progress: Three Cornerstones of Pragmatism.” *Social Science Research Network*, 2011.
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1927216 (accessed September 5, 2019).

³⁵ S. J. Ralston, “A More Practical Pedagogical Ideal: Searching for a Criterion of Deweyan Growth,” *Educational Theory* 61, no. 3 (2011): 351-364.

³⁶ According to Tom Burke, the “basic picture, generally speaking, is that of a given organism/environment system performing a wide range of operations as a normal matter of course—scanning, probing, ingesting, discharging, adapting to, approaching, avoiding, or otherwise moving about and altering things in routine ways, in order to maintain itself.” T. Burke, *Dewey’s New Logic: A Reply to Russell* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 23.

steady advance towards reunification of the whole. Without an awareness of context, especially the nature of the problem that initiated the disruption, there is no way for the organism to successfully reunify the whole and, in turn, grow. Without an appreciation of the context, hope or anticipation that the whole will be reunited recedes from view (usually replaced by its opposite, fear). In relation to RE, hope for a better future motivates a community's calls for remembrance. Growth regulates students' learning, the refinement of simple habits of reading, witnessing, listening and relating to others into more refined habits or virtues. A community of memory achieves progress in roughly the same way as a Deweyan community of inquiry.³⁷ Both carefully respond to the conditions out of which, in the case of the community of memory, the tragic past event occurred and is later recollected and, in a community of inquiry, the problematic situation emerges and is subsequently resolved.³⁸ Both aim to restore balance after a critical disruption (whether a tragedy or felt difficulty) through education, understanding and, in the case of RE, remembrance and healing.³⁹

³⁷ Peter Seixas, "The Community of Inquiry as a Basis for Knowledge and Learning: The Case of History," *American Educational Research Journal* 30, no. 2 (1993):305-324, 312.

³⁸ Dewey claims that "the writing of history is an instance of judgment as a resolution through inquiry of a problematic situation." J. Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (1938), LW 12:231.

³⁹ A possible objection to this account is that Dewey lacks an appreciation of the tragic dimension of human experience, which is a precondition for RE. However, Dewey does acknowledge the tragic in his experiential metaphysics, specifically, in the precarious (secondary) mode of human experience (see *Experience and Nature*) and in the risks associated with finite human existence, risks that the ancient Greeks sought to evade by positing fixed truths and stable foundations to all knowledge and existence (see *The Quest for Certainty*). J. Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (1925), LW 1:3-4 and *The Quest for Certainty* (1929), LW 4:76-80. According to Melvin Rogers, Dewey's theory of action betrays a "tragic point of view," especially in its "aleatory" (risk managing) mode. M. Rogers, *The Undiscovered Dewey: Religion, Morality, and the Ethos of Democracy* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. 86-7. For Corey McCall, not only is the objection mistaken, but Dewey's sense of the tragic also aligns with the notion of tragic sensibility: "The objection that Dewey's thought leaves no room for the tragic dimension of existence misses its mark. Indeed, Dewey's emphasis on

Final Thoughts

Tragic historical events are not objectively true apart from human judgment. ‘Event’ is, as Dewey reminds us in the *Logic*, “a term of judgment.”⁴⁰ By adjudging a past event, it is not simply decreed good or bad. Its “event-ness” or significance is (re-)constructed when the judge selectively emphasizes some factors and deemphasizes others.⁴¹ Members of a community of memory—activists, teachers, students and survivors—make tragic past events meaningful by selective de/emphasis. Through judgment, they remake the event for themselves (in light of their own experience and memory) and for each other (through collective experience and memory), and then convey its significance (its event-ness) to new members and others outside the community. Historical judgments or reconstructions of the past always reflect underlying agendas—in the case of RE, (i) the desire to heal those who have suffered as a consequence of a tragic past event, (ii) the need to form a community of memory and (iii) the hope that a similar event will never occur again.⁴²

experience as novel, contingent, and unpredictable has much in common with the tragic sensibility.” C. McCall, “John Dewey and James Baldwin on History, Tragedy, and the Forgetting of Race,” *Journal of the Philosophy of History* 13(2019): 343-362, 352.

⁴⁰ Op. cit. note 1.

⁴¹ Dewey writes: “All historical construction is necessarily selective. Since the past cannot be reproduced in toto and lived over again, this principle might seem too obvious to be worthy of being called important. But it is of importance because its acknowledgment compels attention to the fact that everything in the writing of history depends upon the principle use to control selection.” *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, LW 12:234. On how to pragmatically reconstruct a past event, see the introduction to S. J. Ralston, *John Dewey’s Great Debates—Reconstructed* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2011), pp. 9-14.

⁴² Given their politicized objectives, both RE and citizenship education have come under increasing scrutiny by historians, some of whom insist that objective truth alone should inform history curricula. Niewenhuyse and Wils explain: “Although academic historians are increasingly inclined to acknowledge that there is no hard and fast dividing line between collective memory and professional historiography, they do not always welcome the increasing pressure from national governments and international organizations to guide the collective memory and in some cases even to

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