PEACEBUILDING IN THE BALKANS THROUGH HISTORY EDUCATION REFORM

By: Gleb Mytko

University of Leiden

First Supervisor: Dr. Francesco Ragazzi

Second Supervisor: Dr. Frank de Zwart

Master's Thesis

Acknoledgements

   I would like to thank all of the people who helped me during the thesis writing process. First and foremost, I would like to mention my first supervisor Dr. Francesco Ragazzi and my second supervisor Dr. Frank de Zwart. All of your input and advice was tremendously valuable. I would also like to thank Jonathan Even-Zohar, Steven Stegers, and Joke van Leeuw-Roord for helping me conduct my research. Without your help, support, and expertise, I would have been lost. A special thanks to Kristen Trayor for providing advice and helping me edit my lengthy thesis. Finally, I would like to thank all of the people associated with the Masters in International Relations and Diplomacy program offered by the University of Leiden and the Clingendael Netherlands Institute of International Relations. Thanks to you, I was prepared for the thesis writing process.

Abstract

Peacebuilding is a critical element of both real-world international relations and academic conflict resolution. Cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics have entered into a debate in recent years. Each group makes different assumption, arguments, and predictions about what motivates the actors engaged in peacebuilding; how such activities are designed, organized, and implemented; and what the outcomes and impact of peacebuilding are. In this thesis, I examine history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia in order to determine which theory has greater explanatory power. I find that these two cases generally support the assumptions, arguments, and predictions of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars. However, these projects also validate several points made by critics. My findings have many important implications for the conflict resolution and history education fields.

Word Count: 22,990

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Peacebuilding is a critical element of both real-world international relations and academic conflict resolution. The concept is generally understood as "an attempt, after a peace has been negotiated or imposed, to address the sources of current hostility and build local capacities for conflict resolution".[1] Peacebuilding aims to build structures of peace and remove structures of conflict order to facilitate the formation of a durable peace.[2] It should be conceptualized as an impact and not a type of activity.[3] Today, peacebuilding is widely accepted by both academics and practitioners. However, a number of scholars have criticized this concept extensively. Some have argued that peacebuilding is generally ineffective, while others assert that peacebuilding can often make things worse. Roland Paris, for instance, concludes that peacebuilding "is in effect an enormous experiment in social engineering – an experiment that involves transplanting Western models of social, political, and economic organization into war-shattered states in order to control civil conflict."[4] Despite this critique and many others, a consensus has developed around the cosmopolitan approach to peacebuilding in recent years. The goal of this author is to evaluate the theories put forth by cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics. Which set of assumptions and arguments has greater explanatory power?

To answer this question, I will examine two real world peacebuilding projects. The competing theories will be evaluated in terms of their ability to explain the implementation and predict the outcomes of these activities. I analyze history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia in this thesis because peace education is at the heart of peacebuilding. What do the cases of Bosnia and Macedonia tell us about how peacebuilding activities are designed,

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[1] Doyle, Michael and Sambanis, Nicholas (2006). International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 94 (2), pg. 779.

[2] Bush, Kenneth (2008). Hands-on PCIA: A Handbook for Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment. *The Federation of Canadian Municipalities*, pg. 3.

[3] Bush, Kenneth (2003). PCIA Five Years on: the Commodification of an Idea. *Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series*, pg. 45.

[4] Paris, Roland (1997). Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism. *International Security,* Vol. 22 (4) pg. 56.

organized, and implemented? What is the impact of such activities in the real world? By exploring these and other important questions (e.g., what motivates actors to engage in peacebuilding), I will be able to evaluate the arguments, and assumptions of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics, and determine which of the competing theories has greater explanatory power.

A multiple-case study approach will be used to analyze how peacebuilding activities are organized and implemented, and to evaluate the impact of such activities in the real world. The goal is to test two competing theories about peacebuilding. In this thesis, I argue that history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia generally support the assumptions, arguments, and theories of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars. However, it is also important to note that these cases validate a number of the criticisms directed at peacebuilding. Bosnia and Macedonia have been selected because each has recently experienced violent ethnic conflicts. From the perspective of peacebuilding, each case represents a tough test. Data will be collected from primary interviews and reports published by governments, international organizations, academics, and nongovernmental organizations.

This thesis has five chapters. The first chapter contains a literature review; a theoretical framework; a section explaining the argument of this thesis; and a methodological overview. In the second chapter, I evaluate the assumptions and arguments of peacebuilding scholars and critics about why actors engage in peacebuilding. Chapter three analyzes the two competing theories in terms of their ability to explain how peacebuilding projects are designed, organized, and implemented. In chapter four, I test the expectations of proponents and critics about the effectiveness and outcomes of peacebuilding projects. A detailed analysis of the findings will be carried out in chapter five. The implications and limitations of my findings will also be addressed.

Chapter 2- Literature, Theory, Arguments, Methods, & Limitations

Literature Review

Peacebuilding: A Recent Shift in Thinking

The concept of peacebuilding is now decades old. Johan Galtung was one of the first scholars to write about peacebuilding. In *Three Realistic Approaches to Peace* (1976), Galtung argued that peacebuilding was at the heart of conflict resolution.[5] Since his early pioneering works, the peacebuilding concept has been developed further by numerous scholars and has now become widely accepted in the field. As scholars and practitioners learned from real-world experiences, they challenged the existing conceptualization and understanding of peacebuilding. Simultaneously, they developed new and more effective approaches to such activities. The goal was to improve outcomes by addressing the shortcomings of previous peacebuilding. I will now discuss the most recent peacebuilding debates.

There has been a shift in thinking about peacebuilding in recent years. During the late 1990s, the "peacebuilding from below" approach prevailed. In many ways, it was a reaction to the discredited liberal approach to peacebuilding, which focused on state-building, and political and economic liberalization. Peacebuilding from below scholars emphasized "the significance of local actors and of the non-governmental sector" and "set out to enhance sustainable citizen-based peacebuilding initiatives and to open up participatory public political spaces in order to allow institutions of civil society to flourish".[6] The logic behind this approach is laid out by Adam Curle, one of the peacebuilding field's leading scholars. He argues that "since conflict resolution by outside bodies and individuals has so far proved ineffective [during the early 1990s]…it is essential to consider the peacemaking potential within the conflicting communities

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[5] Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom and Miall, Hugh (2011). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Polity Press, pg. 226.

[6] *Ibid.*

themselves".[7] John Paul Lederach similarly emphasized "indigenous empowerment", and asserted "that conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect, and promote the human and cultural resources from within a given setting.[8] Peacebuilding from below scholars argue that external actors are most effective when they concentrate on advisory, consultative, and facilitation activities.[9] This approach focuses on local actors; local resources; and local institutions. It emphasizes local solutions to local conflicts.

The peacebuilding from below concept has been criticized by numerous scholars and practitioners. A major problem with this approach, they argue, is that "just as top-down institutionally driven peacebuilding can, and frequently does, marginalize local interests and the disempowered, so too local cultures and communities are sites of power asymmetry, patriarchy and privilege in which customs and civil society actors and organizations may replicate what external actors are sometimes accused of".[10] Many scholars have identified problems with peacebuilding from below, including Goodhand and Klem (2005); Donais (2009); and Chopra (2009).[11] Looking at Sri Lanka, Donais notes that this type of approach has been:

> "hampered not only by the fact that the country's civil society is itself ethically divided but also by the reality that grassroots mobilization in Sri Lanka has traditionally been aggressively nationalist in orientation. In other words, activist civil society organizations may not necessarily be pro-peace, but might just as easily engage in the type of factionalized, zero-sum politics that stand in the way of sustainable peacebuilding."[12]

In light of these problems, critical scholars have proposed a more cosmopolitan approach to peacebuilding, which mediates between the local, national and international levels more

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[7] Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom and Miall, Hugh (2011). Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity Press, pg. 226.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.,* pg.236.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

effectively.[13] Because thinking exclusively in terms of either top-down (e.g., state-building, liberal peacebuilding) or a bottom-up peacebuilding is not sufficient, we need an approach that "exemplifies a model of global governance where a cosmopolitan human rights agenda is consistent with the communitarian defense of political autonomy and cultural diversity."[14]

Critics of top-down and bottom-up peacebuilding have presented the cosmopolitan approach as a viable alternative. They claim that cosmopolitan peacebuilding addresses the shortcomings of earlier approaches and meets all of the requirements for success listed above. This approach is based on the idea "that the complex relationship between insiders and outsiders lies at the very heart of contemporary peacebuilding processes."[15] According to Kristoffer Liden, cosmopolitan peacebuilding "implies the culturally adapted provision of material resources, security, political influence and education without political conditions except for inclusion and non-violence."[16] Cosmopolitan peacebuilding emphasizes social and economic rights as sources of peace and promotes the empowerment of marginalized groups. [17] For proponents, "the political meaning of peacebuilding is subject to negotiation between local and international actors".[18] Cosmopolitan peacebuilding is based on the assumption that there are local conditions and capacities upon which peace can be built in each setting.[19] Local ownership of peacebuilding activities is critical.[20]

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[13] Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom and Miall, Hugh (2011). Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity Press, pg. 226.

[14] *Ibid., pg. 235.*

[15] Donais, Timothy (2009). Empowerment or Imposition? Dillemas of Local Ownership in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Processes. *Peace and Change*, Vol. 34 (1), pg. 3.

[16] Liden, Kristoffer (2009). Building Peace Between Local and Global Politics: The Cosmopolitan Ethics of Liberal Peacebuilding. *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 16 (5), pg. 621.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid*.

[20] Donais, Timothy (2009). Empowerment or Imposition? Dillemas of Local Ownership in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Processes. *Peace and Change*, Vol. 34 (1), pg. 3.

Among the scholars who have argued in favor of cosmopolitan peacebuilding are Liden (2009); Donais (2009); Heathershaw (2008); Richmond (2008, 2005); Pearce (2005); and Orjuela (2005).[21] Although the scholars listed above refer to the same thing, they call this concept differently in their work because it is still being developed. For example, Liden names such activities social peacebuilding [22], while Donais calls them communitarian peacebuilding.[23] For the sake of clarity, I will refer to this concept as cosmopolitan peacebuilding throughout my thesis. This name – coined by Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall – captures an essential element of this approach to peacebuilding: support for a "cosmopolitan human rights agenda" that "is consistent with the communitarian defense of political autonomy and cultural diversity."[24]

With the ongoing shift in thinking about peacebuilding, a consensus has begun to develop around the cosmopolitan peacebuilding concept. It has become clear that earlier approaches to peacebuilding are no longer sufficient and do not produce the kind of outcomes the international community desires. Most scholars and practitioners now recognize that existing approaches to peacebuilding must be updated to "take into account arguments about the complexity of peacebuilding, the multiplicity of actors, and the hybridity and differences that need to be negotiated between the universal and the particular, the local and the international."[25] Cosmopolitan peacebuilding was developed in light of real-world experiences. It is a more sophisticated and flexible approach than either the top-down or bottom-up variants. Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall find that the cosmopolitan peacebuilding is "the best way

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[21] Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom and Miall, Hugh (2011). Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity Press, pg. 237.

[22] Liden, Kristoffer (2009). Building Peace Between Local and Global Politics: The Cosmopolitan Ethics of Liberal Peacebuilding. *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 16 (5), pg. 621.

[23] Donais, Timothy (2009). Empowerment or Imposition? Dillemas of Local Ownership in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Processes. *Peace and Change*, Vol. 34 (1), pg. 1.

[24] Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom and Miall, Hugh (2011). Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity Press, pg. 237.

[25] *Ibid.*

to advance the quest for the negotiation of a discursive practice of peace and peacebuilding".[26] In light of the recent shift in thinking, it is important to explore whether the cosmopolitan approach to peacebuilding is effective and whether the concerns of critics are justified. The decision to evaluate cosmopolitan peacebuilding reflects the fact that both theory and practice in the field are heavily influenced by this approach today and will continue to be in the future.

Peacebuilding: A Critical Perspective

Not all scholars agree that peacebuilding is effective or efficient, and a number of different criticisms have leveled against this concept. Pouligny claims that "the highly formal and...'elitist' approach generally favoured by aid programmes aimed at supporting civil society in post-conflict situations ignores a large portion of the changes occurring within the societies concerned" and the "resulting consequences affect the ways in which international and local actors interact in post-conflict contexts and, accordingly, the ways in which actual 'civil society' may contribute to PCPB [post-conflict peacebuilding].[27] According to Pouligny, these and other shortcomings prevent peacebuilding from being effective and efficient. Her critique focuses on the processes involved in peacebuilding and the outcomes produced.

Denskus offers a related critique, arguing that the "recent introduction of managerial tools and the focus on measuring the 'effectiveness' of peacebuilding have marginalised and depoliticized critical questions about the causes of violent conflict, and have replaced them with comforting notions for donors that peace can be built and measured without challenging Western understanding of economy, governance, and social aspirations of people."[28] For Denskus, this development has created a disconnect between the peacebuilding narrative and events on the

[26] Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom and Miall, Hugh (2011). Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity Press, pg. 237.

[27] Pouligny, Béeatrice (2005). Civil Society and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Ambiguities of International Programmes Aimed at Building 'New' Societies. *Security Dialogue,* Vol. 36 (4), pg. 495 & 507.

[28] Denskus, Tobias (2010). Peacebuilding does not Build Peace. In *Deconstructing Development Discourse: Buzzwords and Fuzzwords,* Oxfam, pg. 235.

ground.[29] He claims that peacebuilding no longer has a sense of context, or of the people that dwell in that context.[30] Denskus labels peacebuilding a "nonplace", which Augé defines as places that "exist only through the words that evoke them, and in this sense they are… imaginary places."[31]

Paris, one of the most prominent, long-term critics of peacebuilding, offers a much more harsh critique of this concept. He claims that:

> "A single paradigm-liberal internationalism appears to guide the work of most international agencies engaged in peacebuilding. The central tenet of this paradigm is the assumption that the surest foundation for peace, both within and between states, is market democracy, that is, a liberal democratic polity and a market-oriented economy. Peacebuilding is in effect an enormous experiment in social engineering-an experiment that involves transplanting Western models of social, political, and economic organization into war-shattered states in order to control civil conflict: in other words, pacification through political and economic liberalization."[32]

For Paris, peacebuilding has a dark side: it involves the imposition of Western ideas on non-Western countries. Simply put, "peacebuilding missions are not merely exercises in conflict management, but instances of a much larger phenomenon: the globalisation of a particular model of domestic governance—liberal market democracy—from the core to the periphery of the international system."[33] Another broader point made by Paris is that peacebuilding today is overly focused on political and economic factors, and is unable to deal with social factors properly. He also finds that most NGOs involved in peacebuilding are committed to the liberal political and economic system found in the West.[34] From this perspective, "peacebuilding resembles an updated (and more benign) version of the mission civilisatrice, or the colonial-era

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[29] Denskus, Tobias (2010). Peacebuilding does not Build Peace. In *Deconstructing Development Discourse: Buzzwords and Fuzzwords,* Oxfam, pg. 241.

[30] *Ibid.,* pg. 235.

[31] *Ibid.,* pg. 238

[32] Paris, Roland (1997). Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism. *International Security,* Vol. 22 (4), pg. 56.

[33] Paris, Roland (2002). International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice'. *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 28, pg. 637.

[34]*Ibid.,* pg. 638.

belief that the European imperial powers had a duty to 'civilise' dependent populations and territories."[35]

In his analysis of peacebuilding in Bosnia, David Chandler argued that such activities bred dependence. He found "that extensive decision-making powers of international officials were 'undermining Bosnian institutions and creating relations of dependency' and consequently 'had done little to facilitate democracy and self-government in Bosnia'." Because of the way in which peacebuilding is implemented, post-conflict countries do not develop local capacities and capabilities. As a result, they become dependent on external actors and resources. This kind of argument is quite popular.

The critical scholars discussed above and a number others have offered thoughtful critiques of peacebuilding. They have challenged the arguments of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars about the organization and implementation of peacebuilding activities, and conclusions about the impact and effectiveness of peacebuilding. In light of their work, it becomes clear that not all academics and practitioners are convinced that peacebuilding can facilitate the formation of a durable peace. In a 2010 article, Paris noted that "peacebuilding has become the target of considerable criticism" and that "much of this criticism is warranted".[36] Critical opinions emphasize a wide range of problems and issues. This thesis will test the theories of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics about how peacebuilding activities are implemented and what impact they have in order to contribute to the ongoing debate. I will also consider their assumptions and arguments about what motivates actors to engage in peacebuilding.

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[35] Paris, Roland (2002). International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice'. *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 28, pg. 637.

[36] Paris, Roland (2010). Saving Liberal Peacebuilding. *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 36, pg. 337.

Theoretical Framework

Peacebuilding is based on the idea that "the means for managing conflict constructively must be rooted in the social structure", which is understood to be "the social, political and economic relationships of people and their institutions."[37] Structures of conflict are institutions that "strengthen the prospects for peaceful coexistence and decrease the likelihood of the outbreak, reoccurrence, or continuation of violent conflict, while structures of peace are that "increase the likelihood that conflict will be dealt with through violent means."[38] Structures can either be institutions like the bureaucracy or relationships (e.g., political marginalization of minorities).

Peacebuilding is an external intervention in the conflict cycle of a given country that aims to facilitate the formation of a durable peace. Michal Lund defines a durable peace as "a high level of reciprocity and cooperation, and the virtual absence of self-defense measures among parties".[39] It should be viewed as a "positive peace… based on shared values, goals, and institutions (e.g. democratic political systems and rule of law), economic interdependence, and a sense of international community.[40] Whether a durable peace prevails depends greatly on local decision-making. To be considered successful, peacebuilding activities simply have to build structures of peace and remove structures of conflict.

Cosmopolitan peacebuilding emphasizes "social movements, social actors and issues, and social justice as a pathway to peace" and "leaves the political organization of the state to the host society".[41] External assistance is only provided if conflicting parties are willing to cooperate.[42]

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[37] Bornstein, Lisa (2010). Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) in Community Development: A Case Study from Mozambique. *Evaluation*, Vol. 16 (2), pg. 166.

[38] Hoffman, Mark (2004), Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment Methodology. *Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management*, 2004, pg. 7.

[39] Lund, Michael (1996). Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventative Diplomacy. *United States Institute of Peace,* pg. 9. Accessed at: http://online.usip.org/analysis/2_0_1.php

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Liden, Kristoffer (2009). Building Peace Between Local and Global Politics: The Cosmopolitan Ethics of Liberal Peacebuilding. *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 16 (5), pg. 621.

Cosmopolitan peacebuilding focuses "on the facilitation of continuous conflict resolution processes in the post-settlement phase."[43] With this approach, the key decisions are made by local actors because this ensures strong local support for the resulting political order.[44] Cosmopolitan peacebuilding uses "targeted incentives" and "positive sanctioning" to encourage participation in peacebuilding projects, and punishes nonparticipation with exclusion (and not negative military and economic sanctions).[45] The cosmopolitan peacebuilding process has three primary steps: (1) analysis of the conflict cycle of a given country ; (2) design, organization, and execution of projects to remove structures of conflict and build structures of peace; (3) and the cessation of activities in the country. The goal is to bolster local efforts and initiatives in order to facilitate the formation of a durable peace.

This thesis analyzes and evaluates cosmopolitan peacebuilding because it is currently dominant in terms of theory and practice. I will test the validity of the assumptions, arguments, and theories made by cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics. The primary goals of this thesis are determine which theory better explains why actors in engage in peacebuilding; explain how peacebuilding projects are designed, organized and implemented; and makes the most accurate predictions about the outcomes and impact of peacebuilding. I will examine two specific peacebuilding activities in order to test the explanatory power of the two competing theories. To have the greatest value, my thesis must evaluate peacebuilding projects that are at the heart of the cosmopolitan approach.

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall find that peace education is a key component of cosmopolitan peacebuilding.[46] Before explaining why peace education is so critical, we must get a better understanding of this concept. According to Harris, there are five main postulates that characterize peace education: "(i) it explains the roots of violence; (ii) it teaches alternatives to violence; (iii) it adjusts to cover different forms of violence; (iv) peace itself is a process that

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.*
[46] Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom and Miall, Hugh (2011). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Polity Press, pg. 237

varies according to context; (v) conflict is omnipresent."[47] Proponents view education as the primary mechanism for achieving peace because "peace is, at once, a psychological, social, political, ethical and spiritual state with expressions at intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup and international areas of human life."[48] They find "that all human states of being, including peace, are the outcome of the main human cognitive, emotive, and conative capacities which, together, determine the nature of our worldview."[49] Education is critical because it develops these capacities.

By definition, peace education is missing in countries that have recently experienced a conflict. For this reason, education reform becomes a peacebuilding tool. The goal is to change content (what is taught), methodology (how it is taught), and the skills students acquire (e.g., critical thinking). The history education component of peace education is by far the most important in the context of post-conflict countries, and for that reason history education is the focus of this paper. "By its very nature, history, and especially recent history, is a very particular branch of learning" because it "exists in an uneasy relationship with the memories of those involved in the events concerned" and plays "an important role in either legitimizing or challenging a contemporary state, its regime and ruling class."[50] Andrzej Friszke accurately identifies the multi-faceted relationship between history and politics in this quote. Because most conflicts are driven by political claims grounded in interpretations of "historical facts", history education can potentially contribute to conflicts.

Elizabeth Cole finds that "in deeply divided societies, contending groups' historical narratives—especially the official versions presented most often in state-run schools—are intimately connected to the groups' identities and sense of victimization."[51] She also notes that

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[47] *Ibid.*, pg. 238.

[48] Danesh, H. B. (2006). Towards an Integrative Theory of Peace Education. J*ournal of Peace Education*, Vol.3 (1), pg. 56

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Swoboda, Hannes and Jan Marinus Wiersma (2009). Politics of the Past: The Use and Abuse of History, *The Socialist Group in the European Parliament*, pg. 18.

[51] Cole, Elizabeth and Karen Murphy (2006). Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict. *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report, pg. 1

the "history taught in schools is highly susceptible to simplified and biased presentations, and this is even more likely after conflicts."[52] The way in which "schools navigate and promote historical narratives through history education partly determines the roles they and those who control the schools play in promoting conflict or social reconstruction."[53] Because history education can often contribute to a conflict, reform is considered to be a critical element of post-conflict reconciliation in the current literature. For example, history education reform can help transform negative ethnic stereotypes.[54] Reform, Cole argues, is conceptualized as the way in which "content must be changed to include information and interpretations that have been repressed or manipulated" and "how its methodology must change to promote tolerance, inclusiveness, an ability to deal with conflict nonviolently, and the capacity to think critically and question assumptions that could…instigate conflict".[55]

In the pre-reform period, it is clear that different ethnic groups in Bosnia and Macedonia had their own "history-based interpretation" of conflicts and other events. These historical accounts contradicted one another because they each present "narratives of victimhood and collectivized guilt, which undermine attempts to foster tolerance and reconciliation".[56] Without a shared historical narrative, a durable peace will not prevail in these two countries. Winston Churchill once pointed out that countries in the Balkans produce more history than they can consume.[57] This overproduction fuels and sustains ethnic conflict in the area, and can often exacerbate the situation.

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[52] Cole, Elizabeth and Karen Murphy (2006). Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict. *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report, pg. 1

[53] Cole, Elizabeth (2007). Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation. *Carnegie Council for Ethnics in International Affairs*, pg. 1

[54] Cole, Elizabeth and Karen Murphy (2009). History Education Reform, Transnational Justice and the Transformation of Identities. *International Center for Transnational Justice Research Brief*, pg. 3.

[55] Cole, Elizabeth (2007). Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation. *Carnegie Council for Ethnics in International Affairs*, pg. 2.

[56] Babic, Dusan (2012, May 5th).The War of Narratives. *TransConflict. Accessed at:* http://www.transconflict.com/2012/05/the-war-of-narratives-235/

[57] *Ibid.*

History in the Balkans during the pre-reform period was nothing more than "a simple national and political narrative, with a positivist approach that produces an accumulation of facts, but poses no questions."[58] As Christina Koulouri notes, many Balkan countries "have yet to realize the extent to which their national histories still share the same self-satisfied and one-sided dogmatic interpretation".[59] Because ethnic conflict in the Bosnia and Macedonia is driven by political claims grounded in self-serving historical accounts, history education is a structure of conflict in these societies. It is widely recognized that "the representation of the past matters in a society in intense need of peace, justice, democratization and intergroup reconciliation".[60] History education in post-conflict countries is closely linked to political orientation; notions of citizenship; nationalism; ethnic identities and ethnic mobilization; religion; public history (e.g., monuments, holidays); international relations; and interpretations of both historical and recent events.

Instead of fueling ethnic tensions, communal rivalries, and narratives of victimization in Bosnia and Macedonia, history education should be a source of unity, stability, inclusiveness, and peace-oriented citizenship. It should teach critical thinking to help students see through simplistic nationalist narratives; promote multiperspectivity to bolster inter-communal dialogues; impart positive notions of citizenship to encourage the formation of common identities; and present controversial historical events in a way that can help facilitate conflict resolution. Reforms should also address structural issues in history education. Cole, for instance, finds that "structural issues in the education system—such as funding, ethnic segregation, issues of access and equity, the choice of languages to teach in ethnically divided societies, the system of national examinations, and the relative value accorded history education compared to other subjects—are crucial in determining education's role in post-conflict social reconstruction."[61] To transform

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[58] Pavlowitch, Stevan (2004). History Education in the Balkans: How Bad is it?. *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, Vol 6 (1), pg. 64.

[59] *Ibid.,* pg. 66.

[60] Cole, Elizabeth (2007). Transitional Justice and the Reform of History Education. *The International Journal of Transitional Justice,* Vol. 1, pg. 115.

[61] Cole, Elizabeth and Karen Murphy (2006). Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict. *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report, pg. 1.

history education from a source of conflict to a source of peace, effective reforms are needed. All of the issues discussed above must be addressed.

History education can influence the trajectory of a conflict because it deals with identities, values, political claims, and interpretations of important events. It also has a direct impact on inter-communal dialogue; conflict resolution activities; local politics; relations with neighboring countries; and public history (e.g. museums, monuments, and holidays). History education can support the peacebuilding process by helping peace-oriented actors counter nationalist historical accounts and simplistic narratives of victimization. It can also help prepare the next generation of peace activists. In terms of the future, history education has a profound impact on the identities, values, and skills of the next generation.

Argument

Cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars assume that actors engage in peacebuilding because of a desire to bring about stability in post-conflict countries. They are motivated by both a feeling of solidarity and their support for the global human rights agenda. To a lesser extent, these actors partake in peacebuilding because of self-interest. For example, they may be partly motivated by a desire to bring about stability in their home region.

Cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars make a number of key assumptions about the peacebuilding process, which consists of the design, organization, and implementation of projects. They believe that during peacebuilding activities there is extensive cooperation between local and foreign actors, and the balance of power is tilted towards local actors. Because most key decisions are made by local actors, there is considerable support for peacebuilding initiatives on the ground. Actors are able to facilitate the formation of a durable peace by addressing the social sources of conflict; organizing inclusive peacebuilding activities; exclusively relying on positive sanctions; and fostering deeper cooperation over time.

In terms of outcomes, proponents of peacebuilding expect such activities to have a profound impact on post conflict countries. They expect that sources of conflict, such as divisive history education, will be transformed into source of peace. Scholars favoring the cosmopolitan approach predict that peacebuilding will have a lasting impact; will increase cooperation over time; and will remove the social sources of conflict. All of these outcomes will make the formation of a durable peace much more likely.

The arguments and theories of peacebuilding critics are based on a completely different set of assumptions. They believe that the actors involved in peacebuilding are motivated primarily by self-interest. Critical scholars argue that the main motivating factors are the desire to protect strategic interests and the need to achieve personal goals. Furthermore, the actors engaged in peacebuilding view it as a mechanism for spreading their influence and improving their public image. In general, actors are not motivated by their support for human rights or the desire to help others out of a sense of solidarity.

The account of the peacebuilding process put forth by critics differs greatly from the arguments made by proponents. Critical scholars believe in the context of peacebuilding the balance of power is tilted towards foreign actors. They are primarily responsible for the design, organization, and implementation of peacebuilding projects. Because most key decisions are made foreign actors, there is limited support for peacebuilding activities on the ground. Frequently, the peacebuilding process consists of political, social, and economic liberalization. According to critics, foreign actors tend overlook local conditions and peacebuilding projects; depoliticize conflicts; and reorganize post-conflict countries in their own image. These scholars also point out that external actors only have a limited understanding of local conflict dynamics, so their activities tend to be ineffective and inefficient. Peacebuilding, they claim, has many unintended consequences.

Critics expect a completely different set of outcomes than scholars advocating for the cosmopolitan approach because they make different assumptions about peacebuilding. For example, critics expect peacebuilding to only have a minimal impact on the conflict cycle because they assume there is limited support for these activities on the ground. Critical scholars make a number of other predictions about the outcomes of peacebuilding. First, such activities are thought to cultivate the dependence of post-conflict countries on external actors. Second,

peacebuilding does not make the formation of a durable peace more likely because local actors have been marginalized and local conditions have been overlooked. Third, peacebuilding tends to create instability in post-conflict countries because it calls for political, social, and economic liberalization. As a result, the actors engaged in peacebuilding transform post-conflict countries in their own image. From this perspective, peacebuilding is generally ineffective, but sometimes it can be counterproductive.

Below is a table that summarizes the arguments of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics. This chart makes comparing and contrasting the two competing theories easier. It presents the arguments put forth by proponents and critics about what motivates actors to engage in peacebuilding; how projects are designed, organized, and implemented; and the impact of peacebuilding activities. The following section discusses the methodology of this thesis in detail.

EXPLAINING PEACEBUILDING

	Cosmopolitan Peacebuilding	Critical Approach
Motivating Factors	*Desire to bring stability to these countries; Respect for human rights; Solidarity; and Self-interest.*	*Protect strategic interests; Achieve personal goals; Increase influence; and Improve public image.*
Key Processes	*Extensive cooperation between local/foreign actors; Locally-driven initiatives; Balance of power tilted towards local actors; Address social source of conflict; Implementation of inclusive peacebuilding activities; Positive sanctions; and Increasing cooperation over time.*	*Foreign actors hold power and make key decisions; Limited support for activities on the ground; Local conditions ignored; De-politicization of conflict; Reorganization of post-conflict countries in image of foreign actors; and Political, economic, and social liberalization.*
Expected Outcomes	*Structures of conflict transformed into structures of peace; Lasting impact; Increasing cooperation overtime; Removal of social sources of conflict; and the Formation of a durable peace is more likely.*	*Growing dependence of post-conflict country on foreign actors; Limited impact of activities; No increase in the likelihood of a durable peace; Local actors disenchanted with peacebuilding process; and Instability due to political, economic, and social liberalization.*

I find that history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia generally support the assumptions, arguments, and theories of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars. Proponents are better able to explain what motives actors engaged in peacebuilding; describe how such projects are organized; and predict the outcomes and impact of peacebuilding projects. However,

it is also important to note that these two cases also validate a number of the criticisms directed at peacebuilding.

Methodological Overview

Brief Overview of Methodology & Data Collection

I will use a multiple-case study approach to explore the research question proposed by this thesis: do the theories of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars have greater explanatory power than those of critics? The two competing theories will be evaluated in terms of a set of criteria, which is described in the following section. I will examine history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia to test the assumptions and arguments of proponents and critics. Which theory is better able to identify why actors participated in these peacebuilding activities; explain how these projects were designed, organized, and implemented; and predict the outcomes of history education reform projects? The goal of this thesis is theory testing. Because a relatively small number of other actors are involved in the field, it is possible to attribute changes in history education in Bosnia and Macedonia to these two specific projects.

Primary data was collected from interviews with individuals who participated in the projects and EUROCLIO staff. The author of this thesis completed an internship at the organization in 2012 and traveled with the director of EUROCLIO on a fact-finding mission to Macedonia. Secondary data about the projects was collected primarily from EUROCLIO documents. I had access to interviews with teachers that participated in the workshops; internal and external reports; participants' evaluations of workshops; analysis documents; project plans and funding applications; budgets; participant lists; the educational materials developed by the organization; articles about the projects from Bosnia in Macedonia; and more. This information allowed me to present a detailed account of EUROCLIO's peacebuilding activities.

Chapter 3 – Motivating Factors and Peacebuilding

<u>Competing Explanations</u>

To test the theories of cosmopolitan peacebuilding proponents and critics, I will first evaluate their assumptions and arguments about why actors engage in such activities. Motivating factors are important because they are closely linked to the goals of peacebuilding and have a direct impact on decision making process. Any theory of peacebuilding must be able to explain why actors get involved in such projects. Are they motivated by self-interest or do they primarily have altruistic motives? Conveniently, peacebuilding proponents and critics identify very different motivating factors, and this makes theory testing easier. In this chapter, I explore what the history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia tell us about why actors engage in peacebuilding. By examining two real-world projects, I will be able to determine which of the two competing theories has the greatest explanatory power.

According to cosmopolitan scholars, the actors involved in peacebuilding are driven primarily by altruistic motives. For many, their participation is closely related to their support for a global human rights agenda. By building functioning societies in post-conflict countries, these actors help reduce human rights violations around the world. Those engaged in peacebuilding are also motivated by a desire to help, which grows out of a feeling of solidarity with peoples in other countries. In more practical terms, constituents often push actors to become involved in peacebuilding. Governments are pressured by citizens, international organizations are pressured by members, and civil society actors are pressured by their supporters. In this sense, they are carrying out such activities in order to maintain legitimacy. Cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars recognize that self-interest plays a role in peacebuilding. Often, actors also attempt to achieve strategic goals with such activities.

Critics have a different perspective on what motivates those involved in peacebuilding. They dismiss the idea that these actors are primarily driven by a respect for human rights and a desire to help others. Instead, critics attribute their engagement to pure self-interest. Simply put, peacebuilding is a tool for achieving personal goals and securing strategic interests. It also allows external actors to expand their sphere of influence overseas by building strong links with post-

conflict countries. Through peacebuilding, a former adversary or a distant country can become an ally over a period of years. Critics identify one final motivating factor: the desire to improve your public image at home and abroad. Actors see peacebuilding as a kind of public relations tool that presents the pursuit of personal goals as altruism. To sum up, critics assume that the actors involved in peacebuilding expect to benefit in some way.

<u>Motivating Factors</u>

What can the cases of Bosnia and Macedonia tell us about why actors engage in peacebuilding? The first step of answering this question involves identifying the actors that participated in the peacebuilding projects in these two countries. EUROCLIO and its local member associations handled the design, organization, and implementation of the various history education reform projects. The second important group of actors was the donors. In the case of Bosnia and Macedonia, the history education reform projects were funded by the Foreign Ministries of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway, and the Open Society Foundations. This section will examine what motivated EUROCLIO, local HTAs, and donors to engage in peacebuilding in Bosnia and Macedonia.

EUROCLIO and local HTAs

EUROCLIO is a nongovernmental organization that represents European history educators. It consists of more than 60 History Teacher Associations (full members) from 46 countries. The organization has three primary objectives. First, EUROCLIO seeks to improve the quality of history education in Europe through capacity building and the use of innovative teaching methodologies.[62] Second, the organization hopes to foster "professional knowledge

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[62] EUROCLIO Website (05/15/2013). Accessed at:
http://www.euroclio.eu/new/index.php/about-us--who-what-a-why/association-mission-a-objectives

exchange, intercultural dialogue and cross-community, national and trans-border networking".[63]

Third, EUROCLIO works to strengthen civil society in European countries and beyond by supporting independent History Educator Associations (HTAs).[64]

Each of these objectives is important for understanding why EUROCLIO engaged in peacebuilding. Although these are just stated goals, they indicate that the organization values dialogue, and works to encourage inter-group cooperation. EUROCLIO also helps empower educators, experts, and NGOs involved in the history education field in Europe by building networks, and developing their skills and capacities (e.g., lobbying, collaborative textbook writing). The organization invests in local teachers and NGOs because it wants history professionals (not politicians) to make key decisions about history education. From the stated objectives of EUROCLIO, it appears that it participates in peacebuilding because of a desire to foster cooperation in the history education field; to build up network of history educators; and to make history education in Europe more peace-oriented. These motivating factors are part altruistic, part professional, and part self-interest.

EUROCLIO was founded on the idea of solidarity between history educators in Europe, and recognizes that they have common needs and shared interests. Professional obligations towards other history professionals are a key motivating factor. EUROCLIO and its local member associations participated in peacebuilding because they wanted to ensure that history is a source of peace in Europe and not a source of conflict. This desire to prevent the misuse of history is based on a sense of professional responsibility. During discussions with EUROCLIO staff and local partners, it was clear that they took their professional obligations and responsibilities very seriously.

The stated objectives of EUROCLIO indicate that it works to foster inter-group dialogue and cooperation in the field of history education. Cole supports this claim, pointing out that EUROCLIO has "been active in spearheading collaborative international projects to examine and

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[63] EUROCLIO Website (05/15/2013). Accessed at:
http://www.euroclio.eu/new/index.php/about-us--who-what-a-why/association-mission-a-objectives

[64] *Ibid.*

reform history textbooks, curricula and teaching practices".[65] Because of these efforts, "conferences and exchanges for educators from different transitional societies to share their experiences and approaches… have become more common.[66] The fact that EUROCLIO works actively to promote dialogue and cooperation in the education field indicates that both professional and altruistic motives are at play. The peacebuilding work of EUROCLIO and its local partners is also motivated by a genuine desire to make history education in Europe more peace-oriented. Edward Webb points out that the EUROCLIO's peacebuilding activities are designed "to promote counter-narratives that challenge cherished myths of ethnic and cultural homogeneity or a particular civilizational trajectory."[67] Such narratives are often at the heart of conflicts. From a more critical perspective, it appears that the peacebuilding activities of EUROCLIO are partly motivated by the desire to achieve strategic goals, such as growing its member network and increasing its influence. EUROCLIO also benefits from peacebuilding because it helps the organization maintain legitimacy; secure funds for its work; and popularize its approach to history education.

I will now explore what the reform projects carried out by EUROCLIO in Bosnia and Macedonia tell us about why actors engage in peacebuilding. To shed light on the primary motivating factors, I will consider the specific goals these actors had for these peacebuilding projects, and why EUROCLIO choose to work in these two countries. The organization's work in Bosnia consisted of four projects: Stability Pact Project 1 (2003), Stability Project 2 (2004-2005), the History in Action project (2008), and the Bridging Histories project (2009).[68] EUROCLIO carried out three projects in Macedonia: Understanding a Shared Past (2000-2003); Retelling the History (2006-2007); and A Key to Unlock the Past (2011-2014).[69] A lot can be learned about what motivates peacebuilders from these cases. It is important to note that the

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[65] Cole, Elizabeth (2007). Transitional Justice and the Reform of History Education. *The International Journal of Transitional Justice,* Vol. 1, pg. 115.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Webb, Edward (2011). Resisting Anamnesis: A Nietzschean Analysis of Turkey's National History Education. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 19 (4), pg. 499.

[68] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 2.

[69] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 6.

ANIM (Macedonia) and EUROCLIO-HIP BIH (Bosnia) are local members associations of EUROCLIO, and played a major role in designing, organizing, and implementing the reform projects. For this reason, they are discussed in the same section.

According to EUROCLIO and EUROCLIO-HIP BIH, the primary goal of its activities in Bosnia between 2003 and 2008 was "rebuilding trust and networks among historians and history educators in the region."[70] This objective reflects a genuine desire to build a functioning history education system in Bosnia that doesn't fuel conflict. Alan McCully points out that EUROCLIO ensures "balance and multiple voices" in its educational materials by commissioning "resources that are authored, jointly, by those from different backgrounds or ethnic groups.[71] An inclusive approach to reform indicates that EUROCLIO wants to promote reconciliation; support inter-ethnic dialogue; and make history-education more peace-oriented. Each of these objectives reflects a desire to advance peacebuilding.

The activities of EUROCLIO and EUROCLIO-HIP BIH in Bosnia had three additional objectives: "enhance the quality of history education"; "enhance national and international cooperation, communication and networks of history educators; and "reinforce civil society…by creating sustainable and professional History Teacher Associations."[72] In large part, these goals were motivated by professional obligations towards educators and historians in Bosnia and a sense of responsibility for the state of history education in the country. EUROCLIO is a voluntary association of history educators, which means that it exists solely to address issues in the history education field.

In Macedonia, EUROCLIO and ANIM had a number of specific goals for their history education reform activities. With the Understanding the Past project (2003), these organizations attempted to develop "a cross- border, innovative and comparative approach to teaching about

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[70] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 3.

[71] McCully, Alan (2012). History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, Vol. 7 (2), pg. 152-153.

[72] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 12.

the recent past in" Albania, Bulgaria, and Macedonia.[73] EUROCLIO and ANIM hoped to advance a shared understanding of the past and to encourage networking between historians at the national and regional levels. EUROCLIO and ANIM implemented the Retelling History project between 2006 and 2007 in Macedonia in order to develop "a common, interethnic curriculum on the twentieth century, and related teaching materials" that respect "diversity and multiperspectivity". The project emphasized "innovative content with new ideas about methodology of history and pedagogy."[74]

EUROCLIO and ANIM carried out the A Key to Unlock the Past project in the country between 2011 and 2012. The goal was to develop the teaching capacity and capabilities of history educators in Macedonia through training workshops.[75] Emphasis was placed on dealing with controversial, recent historical events.[76] A secondary goal of the project was "strengthening ANIM as a multi-ethnic, multi-religious civil society organization" and "enhancing its skills in management, lobbying and networking". The A Key to Unlock the Past project specifically targeted the "younger generation of historians, history and civics educators in higher and secondary levels, curriculum developers, textbook authors, policy makers, historians and experts in the field of history and civic education."[77]

The goals of EUROCLIO's history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia tell us a number of things about why actors engage in peacebuilding. It "worked on preventing abuse of history by promoting respect for diversity, human rights, intercultural dialogue, and collaboration between stakeholders."[78] These objectives indicate that EUROCLIO's activities are in part motivated by a genuine urge to help post-conflict countries. In Bosnia and Macedonia, the organization's activities (described above) encouraged networking among history professionals

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[73] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 12

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 6.

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] Filov, Kire (2012) Interview with Jonathan Evan Zohar, project manager at EUROCLIO. *Macedonian Treasury, Electronic Magazine*, pg. 53. Accessed at: http://eprints.ugd.edu.mk/4746/1/Jonathan%20Interview.pdf

at the national and regional levels; developed the capacities of history teachers and local HTAs; published peace-oriented educational materials; and helped create a shared understanding of the past among the different ethnic groups. EUROCLIO's projects in Bosnia and Macedonia clearly indicate that it hoped to make history education more peace-oriented and inclusive. This is partly why the organization trained local history professionals and invested the production of peace-oriented educational materials. The objectives of EUROCLIO's projects indicate that altruistic motives help to explain what motivates actors engage in peacebuilding. In his massive study of peacebuilding for the International Peace Research Institute (Norway), Dan Smith also finds that "basic humanitarian impulse" is a key motivating factor.[79]

In the case of EUROCLIO and its local member associations, professional motivating factors were also of great importance. First and foremost, these organizations are voluntary association of independent history professionals. They founded on the idea of solidarity among history educators (due to common professional interests).This is why EUROCLIO invested heavily in developing the networking and lobbying capabilities of ANIM in Macedonia and EUROCLIO-HIP BIH in Bosnia.[80] Finally, these organizations were created to focus solely on problems in the history education field, indicating once again that professional obligations are important. Elizabeth Warden makes a similar conclusion in her study of history education reform in Moldova (EUROCLIO participated modestly). Warden found that many of the history professionals involved were driven "by a desire to promote pedagogical change, affirm their identity as professionals, and belong to a professional community.[81] She found that professional identity was important because "several of the teachers interviewed…felt that their social standing had been declining."[82] I heard similar comments during interviews with teachers from Macedonia.[83] Finally, Warden found that a number of history professionals "had strong opinions

[79] Smith, Dan (2004). Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together. *International Peace Research Institute* (on behalf of the Utstein Group), pg. 18.

[80] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 12.

[81] Warden, Elizabeth (2011). The "Mock Reform" of History Education in Moldova: Actors versus the Script. *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 55 (2), pg. 242.

[82] *Ibid.*

[83] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 6.

about the ethnic or cultural orientation of textbooks", which indicates that they were concerned about and responsible for the state of history education.[84]

History education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia also indicate that self-interest helps explain why actors become involved in peacebuilding. For EUROCLIO, EUROCLIO-BIH HIP, and ANIM, these history education reforms projects were an opportunity to expand their networks (stated goal); increase their visibility; and secure funds for their work. Legitimacy was another important consideration for these actors. Through the peacebuilding project in Bosnia and Macedonia, EUROCLIO, ANIM, and EUROCLIO-BIH HIP could justify their existence by addressing issues in the history education field. Warden agrees, noting that the history education reform project in Moldova "provided external recognition and legitimacy".[85] From the stated objectives, it is also clear that these organizations sought to increase their own influence through these peacebuilding projects. The goal of EUROCLIO was to have history professionals, often associated with the EUROCLIO network, make decisions about history education in Bosnia and Macedonia, not politicians. This is why they sought to empower history professionals and civil society. Self-interest can also help explain what motivates teachers to participate in the training workshops and became involved in local HTAs. Warden points out that for teachers in Moldova "the prestige that comes along with traveling abroad might counteract the perceived diminishing respect – and perhaps low remuneration – at home."[86]

To summarize, I find that actors engage in peacebuilding for multiple reasons. At least three kinds of motives can be identified for EUROCLIO, EUROCLIO-HIP BIH, and ANIM. These organizations were partly motivated by humanitarian considerations. They sought to make history education more peace-oriented (e.g., training of teachers, production of educational materials), which indicates a genuine desire to promote reconciliation and encourage inter-ethnic dialogue. Professional motives were also very important. EUROCLIO, EUROCLIO-HIP BIH, and ANIM were driven by a sense of responsibility for the state of history education and professional obligations towards other educators and historians. Finally, self-interest was also a

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[84] *Ibid.*

[85] Warden, Elizabeth (2011). The "Mock Reform" of History Education in Moldova: Actors versus the Script. *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 55 (2), pg. 244.

[86] *Ibid.*

major contributing factor. Through peacebuilding, EUROCLIO, EUROCLIO-HIP BIH, and ANIM, could increase their influence on the field; achieve strategic goals; and maintain legitimacy.

Both cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics present an overly simplistic account of what motivates peacebuilders. Proponents undervalue the role of professional motives and fail to recognize the significance of self-interest. Critics, on the other hand, greatly underestimate the importance of altruistic and professional factors. The actors engaged in peacebuilding are clearly motivated by a variety of factors, and the significance of each varies from case to case. The arguments of proponents and critics must take into account both of these points. From my analysis, I found that altruistic and professional motives and self-interest were critical. In other cases, additional factors may be important, including personal and organizational experiences, or connections with other actors. Explanations of why actors participate in peacebuilding need to be more nuanced and sophisticated.

I find that the cases of Bosnia and Macedonia support the arguments of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars more than those of critics. Both altruistic and professional factors reflect a desire to help post-conflict countries, which points to relatively benign motives. EUROCLIO and its local partners worked hard for nearly a decade on these projects and invested their own financial resources. Alone, the benefits the organization expected to accrue cannot justify the effort put it. The organizations goals for these projects also point motive that are more benign than nefarious, even if self-interest was important.

Critics like Roland Paris assume that peacebuilders simply transform post-conflict countries in their own image for strategic reasons. [87] However, this is not completely accurate. The history education systems in Bosnia and Macedonia contributed to conflicts by propagating nationalist interpretations of history and simplistic narratives of victimization. In 2003, for instance, the government of Macedonia published an encyclopedia that "caused a furor with what some saw as demeaning references to the Albanians and their history."[88] Similarly, history

[87] Paris, Roland (2002). International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice'. *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 28, pg. 637.

[88] Krauthamer, Ky (5/29/2013). Reconciling Differences in Macedonian Classrooms. Accessed, at:

education reforms initiated by the government in Moldova between 2003 and 2004 were widely criticized as being one-sided and led to widespread demonstrations.[89] EUROCLIO found that even today in Macedonia "Albanian authors have limited impact on the overall concept of the textbooks" for the field of history education.[90] This is a major source of inter-ethnic tensions.

Borrowing methodologies from countries that are in a state of peace is logical and does not necessarily point to ulterior motives. History education systems must help create a shared understanding of the past for a durable peace to prevail. This requires teaching methodologies and educational materials that cannot be found in post-conflict countries. Many developed nations dealt with similar issues in the past (e.g., Germany), so they are further ahead in this regard. Learning from their experiences is critical. Although the values promoted by EUROCLIO can be considered liberal, these do not point to self-serving motives. History education can only contribute to peace if it is inclusive, offers multiple perspectives, and is balanced. For example, the marginalization of the Albanian minority in Macedonia's history education system is a major source of conflict.

I will now briefly consider why EUROCLIO chose to work in Bosnia and Macedonia in order to shed light on what motivated its work. Both countries experienced violent ethnic conflicts in the 1990s that have still not been resolved, meaning the selection was at least partly driven by humanitarian considerations. According to EUROCLIO and ANIM, its work in Macedonia is largely motivated by the fact that "the past is an issue of controversy" in the country.[91] Ethnic groups have completely different interpretations of historical events.[92] Additionally, "there is a growing gap in history education between the Albanian and Macedonian speaking populations" because "history educators from each community focus primarily on the history of their own nation" so "learning about the other is not compulsory in national history

http://eastofcenter.tol.org/2012/09/reconciling-differences-in-macedonian-classrooms/

[89] Warden, Elizabeth (2011). The "Mock Reform" of History Education in Moldova: Actors versus the Script. *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 55 (2), pg. 241.

[90] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 10.

[91] *Ibid.*

[92] *Ibid.*

education."[93] EUROCLIO selected the country because "many history educators in Macedonia and beyond feel responsible" for the development of "history education into a modern school subject, appropriate for students in the 21st century global society."[94] This quote reflects a sense of professional obligation and responsibility for history education in Europe.

EUROCLIO carried out a fact finding mission in Bosnia to evaluate the history education system. Independent local actors identified a number of problems that alarmed the organization. For example, Edin Radusic of the University of Sarajevo found that "there are no teaching plans and programs at the level of Bosnia…there are separated plans and programs for Federation BiH and for RS."[95] Furthermore, "in Federation BiH there are, in essence, two plans and programs, one that is applied in cantons with Bosniak majority, the so-called federal program, and another one in cantons with Croatian majority population."[96] EUROCLIO's decision to engage in peacebuilding in Bosnia was largely motivated by the problems it found during its fact-finding mission.

The selection of Bosnia and Macedonia tell us a number of things about what motivates peacebuilders. First, humanitarian considerations are quite important. Both countries experienced bitter ethnic conflicts that continued to fester today. The dire state of the history education systems in Bosnia and Macedonia points to the significance of professional motives. EUROCLIO also achieved a number of strategic goals with this selection. Macedonia did not have a local HTA until ANIM was founded with the help of EUROCLIO in 2003. The selection of Bosnia and Macedonia was also driven by the realities of peacebuilding. It is easier to secure funding for countries that have experienced particularly violent conflicts that had been widely publicized, such as Bosnia. Finally, the past experiences of EUROCLIO had some impact on the choice of these countries. For example, the organization was aware of the Council of Europe's

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[93] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 6.

[94] *Ibid.*

[95] Radusic, Edin. EUROCLIO (2009). History Curriculum Analysis: Teaching History in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a Comment to the Significance of Teaching Plan and Program and their Characteristics [Analysis Document], pg. 2.

[96] *Ibid.*

work in the field of history education in Bosnia prior to Stability Pact Project 1 (2003).[97] I found that peacebuilders are motivated by multiple factors and these tend to vary in terms of important from case to case. It is not enough to just think in terms of the altruistic/self-serving dichotomy. The decision to engage in peacebuilding is based on a calculation of multiple factors.

Donors

Cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics also disagree about what motivates donors. This is another dimension along which the two competing theories may be evaluated. This section will examine whether the cases of Bosnia and Macedonia support the assumptions of peacebuilding proponents or critics about what motivates donors. EUROCLIO's first three reform projects (2003-2009) in Bosnia were largely funded by the Dutch and Danish Foreign Ministries.[98] Other donors also contributed, but to a much lesser extent. The Danish History Teachers Association approached their Foreign Ministry and secured financial support for a EUROCLIO project in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia in 2003.[99] The Dutch Foreign Ministry agreed to fund the projects after 2005, once Denmark ended its support.[100] The Open Society Fund in Bosnia and Herzegovina, an NGO, was the primary donor for the Bridging Histories project (2009).[101]

Denmark funded these reform projects because it recognized that "the learning and teaching of history in the region was nationalistically shaped and did not contribute to reconciliation in the post-conflict societies" and it was "convinced that a change of the approach in history education was needed."[102] The Danish Foreign Ministry supported the first two

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[97] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 10.

[98] *Ibid.*, pg. 3.

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] EUROCLIO (2009), Bridging Histories Project [Leaflet], pg.1.

[102] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 12.

projects (implemented in 2003, 2004-2005) through its Stability Pact Programme.[103] The Dutch Foreign Ministry supported the History in Action project (2008) through its MATRA Fund. Both of these programs were created to provide financial support for projects in other countries. The goal of the MATRA Fund, for instance, is to aid "the efforts of south-eastern European countries with European Union accession prospects to meet the EU's standards for the institutions of civil society and government."[104] The Open Society Fund Bosnia and Herzegovina financially supported EUROCLIO work as part of its normal operations. The organization seeks to "restore a sense of community and future among the country's young people through programs that promote civic engagement".[105]

The work of EUROCLIO in Macedonia was supported by the Foreign Ministries of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway. The Netherlands funded EUROCLIO's work in Macedonia from 2003 to 2012 through the MATRA Fund (discussed above).[106] Belgium financially supported history education reform projects in Macedonia through its peacebuilding program.[107] The Foreign Ministry of Norway provided a grant to fund EUROCLIO's work.[108] These actors supported EUROCLIO's work because they considered it important. For example, Belgium funded the project because it recognized that EUROCLIO's History that Connects project "directly deals with the issues outlined in the peacebuilding criteria policy document of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs."[109]

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[103] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 11.

[104] Foreign Ministry of the Netherlands Website (05/16/2013). Accessed at: http://www.government.nl/issues/matra

[105] Open Society Fund Website (05/22/2013). Accessed at: http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/offices-foundations/open-society-fund-bosnia-and-herzegovina

[106] EUROCLIO (2002). Proposal and Action Plan on History and History Teaching [Internal Document], pg. 1.

[107] EUROCLIO (2010). History that Connects Project [Application for Funding], *Belgium Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2010, pg. 7.

[108] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 6.

[109] EUROCLIO (2010). History that Connects Project [Application for Funding], *Belgium Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2010, pg. 7.

The history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia were funded by four European countries and a nongovernmental organization. These two types of donors will be discussed separately. I will explore the role of these actors in the region; their strategic interests; and the relationship between these interests and the reform project in Bosnia and Macedonia. With my analysis, I hope to shed light on why these actors financially supported EUROCLIO's peacebuilding activities.

Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway are among the wealthier and more developed countries of Europe. Each of them has been active in the peacebuilding field for many years and has contributed to projects throughout Europe. The Foreign Ministries of these countries tend to support similar peacebuilding and development activities. The Netherlands and Norway, for example, are members of the Utstein Group for development, along with Canada, Germany, Sweden and the UK.[110] The Utstein Group consists of countries that have been particularly active in the development and peacebuilding fields. It was created in 1999 to improve practices and coordinate policies[111], indicating that these countries have similar motives and share goals. Belgium and Denmark have an approach to development and peacebuilding that is similar to that of the Netherlands and Norway. Both groups also have similar motives, objectives, and interests. These conclusions are supported by the fact that all four supported history education reforms projects in Bosnia and Macedonia.

The four donor countries play a prominent role in Europe. In terms of development and peacebuilding, they have financially supported hundreds of projects. For example, from 1997 to 2001, the Netherlands spent 235 million euros on 213 peacebuilding projects worldwide, including 10 in Bosnia.[112] During the same period, Norway funded 122 projects.[113] In 2009,

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[110] Smith, Dan (2004). Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together. *International Peace Research Institute* (on behalf of the Utstein Group), pg. 12.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Smith, Dan (2004). Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together. *International Peace Research Institute* (on behalf of the Utstein Group), pg. 33.

[113] *Ibid,* pg. 35.

Belgium's Peacebuilding Service had a budget of 31.1million euros.[114] The four donor countries play an important role in the region: they actively support projects aiming at social, political, and economic reforms in less developed European states. Often, this involves liberalization. The Dutch MATRA program, which aims to strengthen civil society in Balkan countries, is a perfect example. The projects funded by Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway tend to have similar goals, including promoting human rights, spreading democratic values; and advancing economic development and institutional reform. For example, in a 2002 strategy paper on peacebuilding, the Norwegian Foreign Ministry stated that it in order to deal "with the long-term causes of armed conflict", its activities would address multiple sources of conflict, including "socio-economic inequalities"; the "marginalization of vulnerable groups"; the "lack of human rights and democracy; and the "historical tradition of violence".[115] The four donor countries are closely aligned in the European context and have nearly identical peacebuilding objectives, which indicates that the also have similar motives.

Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway share multiple strategic interests in Europe, ranging from economic development to conflict resolution. In terms of the Balkans, donor countries have a number of common goals. First, they work to advance regional integration in the area. The Dutch MATRA program, for instance, was designed specifically to help Southeast European countries seeking to join the EU.[116] The idea is that regional integration will help facilitate the formation of a durable peace in the Balkans. However, EU countries like the Netherlands also stand to benefit directly if the organization's membership and influence continues to grow. Second, the four donor countries pursue economic and political liberalization in the country. Through peacebuilding, the Foreign Ministry of Belgium works on protecting human rights; strengthening the rule of law; building up national institutions; and supporting free

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[114] Foreign Ministry of the Belgium Website (05/16/2013). Accessed at:
http://diplomatie.belgium.be/en/policy/policy_areas/peace_and_security/conflict_prevention_and_peacebuilding/

[115] Smith, Dan (2004). Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together. *International Peace Research Institute* (on behalf of the Utstein Group), pg. 34.

[116] Foreign Ministry of the Netherlands Website (05/16/2013). Accessed at:
http://www.government.nl/issues/matra

speech.[117] The idea is that political and economic liberalization leads to a durable peace. However, it is important to recognize that liberalization also serves the strategic interests of donors, who benefit greatly from countries in the Balkans opening up economically and stabilizing politically.

Third, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway try to strengthen civil society in Balkan countries (e.g., MATRA program). By empowering local, nongovernmental actors, donors hope to address multiple social issues; advance the peacebuilding process; improve governance; and advance human rights protection. It is also clear that by strengthening civil society in Balkan countries, which builds cross national-links between actors, the four donors are helping to further integrate the region into Europe. Fourth, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway want to permanently resolve the ongoing conflicts in the Balkans in order to stabilize the region. Doing so, would have significant benefits for the security of Europe as a whole. The four strategic interests identified so far are among the most important. However, it is important to keep in mind that the four countries being discussed share many others.

I will now explore the relationship between the work of EUROCLIO and the strategic interests of the four donor countries, and examine what this tells us about their motives. As explained in the previous section, EUROCLIO sought to increase networking between history professionals in the Bosnia and Macedonia at the national and regional levels; reform curricula; develop teacher capabilities; publish peace-oriented educational materials; and strengthen local HTAs. The goal was to transform history education into a source of peace that could advance inter-ethnic reconciliation and dialogue. The connections between the objectives of EUROCLIO and the strategic interests of donors are quite clear. History education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia coincide with multiple strategic interests, including conflict resolution; strengthening civil society; political liberalization; and the protection of human rights.

Multiple factors motivated Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway to financially support EUROCLIO's history education reform projects. The desire to help Bosnia and Macedonia was clearly an important motive. Smith finds that the peacebuilding projects of the Netherlands and Norway reflect "a general consensus... that international attention and

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[117] Foreign Ministry of the Belgium Website (05/16/2013). Accessed at:
http://diplomatie.belgium.be/en/policy/policy_areas/peace_and_security/conflict_prevention_and_peacebuilding/

resources are necessary for successful implementation of peace agreements."[118] In his study of more than 350 peacebuilding projects, Smith found the actors that engage in peacebuilding are motivated in part by "basic humanitarian impulse".[119] The "recognition of the global menace of local strife" is another important consideration; this concept refers to the idea that conflicts have far reaching effects in different spheres, including national living standards; environmental degradation; and regional stability.[120] The genuine desire to help can be seen in the donor's generous funding of history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia. For example, they continued to support the projects despite the pressures placed on their resources by the global financial crisis.

The desire to achieve strategic interests was an equally powerful motive for Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway. EUROCLIO's peacebuilding projects clearly coincide with many of their strategic interests, indicating that the donor's decision to support the reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia was partly influenced by motives based on self-interest. The donors used a list of criteria based on their interests and objectives to determine which projects to fund.[121] Among the most important considerations are the location of the project; the type of project; and its goals. Between 1997 and 2001, for instance, Norway funded twelve peacebuilding projects in Bosnia and the Netherlands funded ten because this country was a strategic priority for both.[122] The interests of donors clearly influence their decisions about which projects to fund and how much support to offer. In this way, self-interest is connected to the activities of peacebuilders. Even the initial decision of actors to engage in peacebuilding reflects a desire to achieve specific goals that are directly or indirectly linked to strategic interests.

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[118] Smith, Dan (2004). Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together. *International Peace Research Institute* (on behalf of the Utstein Group), pg. 18.

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] *Ibid.*

[121] EUROCLIO (2010). History that Connects Project [Application for Funding], *Belgium Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 2010, pg. 7.

[122] Smith, Dan (2004). Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together. *International Peace Research Institute* (on behalf of the Utstein Group), pg. 33-35.

For Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway, the decision to fund history education reform projects was primarily motivated by self-interest and a genuine desire to help post-conflict countries. Other factors contributed as well, albeit to a lesser extent. For example, donor countries felt responsible for the security situation in Europe because it was directly linked to their legitimacy and the legitimacy of regional institutions. The fact that multiple motives can be identified for donors has important implications for peacebuilding scholars and critics. Their arguments about motivating factors need to take into account that neither altruism nor self-interest alone can explain why actors engage in peacebuilding. Both are powerful motives, but others may be involved as well. Also, there is good reason to believe that the importance of motivating factors will vary.

The Open Society Fund of Bosnia was the primary donor for EUROCLIO's Bridging Histories project (2009).[123] This NGO is part of Open Society Foundations, which has worldwide operations and is funded by George Soros, an American billionaire. The stated goal of the Open Society Fund in Bosnia is to "restore a sense of community and future among the country's young people through programs that promote civic engagement".[124] According to Iveta Silova, George Soros (through the Open Society Foundations) is "the most prominent supporter of democracy assistance projects…with a considerably higher profile than bilateral assistance programs".[125] She notes that Soros made "significant investments to build open democratic societies", "giving away nearly US$6 billion since the early 1990s and US$417 million in 2006".[126] The national Open Society Foundations have some autonomy from their parent organization, which allows them to "adjust programming to their local contexts".[127] Soros tends to support already existing initiatives in countries and his foundations are managed by

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[123] EUROCLIO (2009), Bridging Histories Project [Leaflet], pg.1.

[124] Open Society Fund Website (05/22/2013). Accessed at:
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/offices-foundations/open-society-fund-bosnia-and-herzegovina

[125] Silova, Iveta (2008). Championing Open Society. In How NGOs React: Globalization and Education reform in the Caucuses, Central Asia, and Mongolia. *Kumarian Press*, pg. 44.

[126] *Ibid.*

[127] Silova, Iveta (2008). Championing Open Society, in How NGOs React: Globalization and Education reform in the Caucuses, Central Asia, and Mongolia. *Kumarian Press*, pg. 44.

nationals.[128] Broadly speaking, the goals of the Open Society Foundations are democratic governance; human rights; and legal, economic, social and education reform.[129]

Other scholars have taken a much more critical view of the Open Society Foundations activities. Their analysis can also help improve our understanding of that organization's motives. Nicolas Guilhot argues that the "philanthropic practices", like the kind attributed to Soros, "allow the dominant classes to generate knowledge about society and regulatory prescriptions, in particular by promoting the development of the social sciences."[130] Guilhot finds that "philanthropy offers a privileged strategy for generating new forms of 'policy knowledge' convergent with the interests of their promoters."[131] The Open Society Foundations, for instance, work closely with the World Bank.[132] Guilhot points out that "because the social sciences potentially promoted an alternative to the liberal order, the philanthropists contributed to their depolitization by encouraging their professionalization and their academic institutionalization."[133]

I will now examine what history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia tell us about why the Open Society Fund in Bosnia funded EUROCLIO's work. First, it is clear that the interests and objectives of the two organizations are nearly identical. Both seek to reform history education in order to make it more inclusive and peace-oriented. Funding these projects allowed the Open Society Fund in Bosnia to justify its existence; expand its influence in Bosnia; and achieve its strategic goals. At the same time, its financial support for the Bridging Histories project also reflects a genuine desire to help a post-conflict country. With this project, EUROCLIO sought "to strengthen and empower the network of the history educators and other

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[128] Silova, Iveta (2008). Championing Open Society, in How NGOs React: Globalization and Education reform in the Caucuses, Central Asia, and Mongolia. *Kumarian Press*, pg. 44.

[129] *Ibid.*, pg. 45.

[130] Guilhot, Nicola (2007). Reforming the World: George Soros, Global Capitalism and the Philanthropic Management of the Social Sciences. *Critical Sociology,* Vol. 33, pg. 447.

[131] *Ibid.*

[132] *Ibid.*, pg. 466.

[133] *Ibid.,* pg. 452.

professionals in Bosnia" through a variety of training activities.[134] Helping history professionals from different ethnic communities work together on an equal basis is important for reconciliation. By funding these reform projects, the Open Society Fund in Bosnia intended to advance peacebuilding. It is important to point out that the organization had no real influence on the design or implementation of the project, which indicates that the organization was not solely motivated by self-interest. Had they been, they would have been more likely to exert control. Nevertheless, they did have a say about whether they would fund the project or not.

Critics of peacebuilding rightly point out that donors support projects that are closely aligned with their strategic interests. The Open Society Fund in Bosnia was an advocate of education reform, just like EUROCLIO. Both organizations also worked to empower civil society. However, it is not possible to say that EUROCLIO's project sought to impose a single approach to history, as critics suggest. The organization actively trained teachers to offer multiple perspectives to students and supported inter-ethnic teams of local textbook authors.[135] Cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars are right when they argue that the actors involved in such activities intend to help post-conflict countries. At the same time, it appears that they exaggerate the significance of altruistic factors. Through history education reform, the Open Society Fund was able to advance its ideas in Bosnia, effect the production of knowledge, and influence education policies in a desired way. These factors cannot be minimized. It appears that self-interest is less important than critics argue and altruism is less important than proponents assert. Additionally, it is important to recognize that other factors may be involved in the decisions of donors to support peacebuilding projects, including the desire to help a partner organization or a feeling of solidarity towards a specific group.

Conclusion

My findings have a number of important implications. I found that EUROCLIO engaged in peacebuilding because of humanitarian and professional motives, and self-interest. Donors were also motivated by multiple factors. From this analysis, it is clear that it is not enough to

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[134] EUROCLIO (2009). Bridging Histories Project [Leaflet] pg. 1.

[135] EUROCLIO (2012). History that Connects Project [Application for Funding]. Open Society Foundation, pg. 4.

think of a simple altruistic/self-interest dichotomy. The arguments of both proponents and critics need to recognize that other motives may be at play. Their approach needs to be more nuanced and sophisticated. They also need recognize the importance of each motivating factor varies from case to case. This is a critical point, and any theory of peacebuilding must take it into account. In terms of the bigger picture, the case of EUROCLIO lends more support to the arguments of proponents. I found that the organization was primarily motivated by altruistic and professional motives, and self-interest was somewhat less important. In the case of the donors, however, it appeared that humanitarian motives and the desire to achieve strategic interests were of similar importance.

Chapter 4 – Peacebuilding: Design, Organization, and Implementation

<u>Competing Explanations</u>

     As part of the second test of cosmopolitan peacebuilding and critical theories, I will evaluate their assumptions and arguments about how peacebuilding activities are designed, organized, and implemented. To be valid, any theory of peacebuilding must be able to explain the peacebuilding process in detail. Because proponents and critics offer two very different perspectives, theory testing is relatively straightforward. In this chapter, I will evaluate the arguments of proponents and critics about how peacebuilding activities are design, organized, and implemented.

     According to proponents of cosmopolitan peacebuilding, these activities involve extensive cooperation between local and foreign actors. They argue that the balance of power in the context of peacebuilding tilts towards local actors, so they make many of the key decisions. The peacebuilding process is assumed to be inclusive; locally-driven; and based on cooperation. Each of these traits has a profound impact on decision-making and on relations between the different actors involved. Peacebuilding is assumed to rely exclusively on positive sanctions, which are used to induce cooperation and ensure compliance. For cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars, these activities specifically target social sources of conflict in order to strengthen inter-group relations and to encourage increased cooperation over time. Through peacebuilding, external actors facilitate the formation of a durable peace by addressing the social sources of conflict.

     Critics challenge many of the assumptions and arguments proponents make about the peacebuilding process. They argue that the peacebuilding is dominated by external actors, who make most of the key decisions about how activities are designed, organized, and implemented. Because local actors only play a modest role, there is limited support for peacebuilding activities on the ground. Cooperation is not very extensive. Furthermore, external actors tend to overlook local conditions and depoliticize the peacebuilding process. Critics also argue that peacebuilding transforms post-conflict countries in the image of the external actors and makes them dependent. From their perspective, peacebuilding serves external actors as much as it does post-conflict

countries. This can be seen in how key decisions are made, and the way in which actors interact during the peacebuilding process. In turn, this affects outcomes.

In order to evaluate the arguments of proponents and critics about the peacebuilding process, I will explore how history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia were designed, organized, and implemented. In terms of these two cases, I will consider the role of local actors; the extent of cooperation; the balance of power between external and local actors; how key decisions were made; the kind of activities that were organized; whether the peacebuilding process was inclusive; and if only positive sanctions were used. I will also explore whether inter-ethnic cooperation in the history education field increased over time.

The Peacebuilding Process in Bosnia and Macedonia

In Bosnia, the history education reform activities of EUROCLIO consisted of four projects: Stability Pact Project 1 (2003); Stability Project 2 (2004-2005); History in Action (2008); and Bridging Histories (2009).[136] Simultaneously, the organization carried out parallel activities in Croatia and Serbia. I will start my examination with a discussion of how these peacebuilding projects were initiated. I will trace developments through the conclusion of the final activity.

In 2002, "a group of young history educators from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia" came together and "decided that an alternative approach to the past was needed in order to sustain a peaceful future in the region."[137] The Danish History Teachers Association and EUROCLIO supported this initiative, and the Danish Foreign Ministry agreed to provide funds.[138] Local history educators, the Danish History Teachers Association, and EUROCLIO implemented Stability Pact Project 1 between 2002 and 2003. The first step was to identify

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[136] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 12.

[137] EUROCLIO (2012). History that Connects Project [Application for Funding]. Open Society Foundation, pg. 3.

[138] EUROCLIO (2012). History that Connects Project [Application for Funding]. Open Society Foundation, pg. 3.

history educators in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia that were prepared to work with colleagues from different ethnic groups at home and abroad.[139] This task, made much more difficult by the recent conflicts, was left to local actors. Once a sufficient number of participants were identified, EUROCLIO, the Danish History Teachers Association, and local history educators began to design and organize Stability Pact Project 1.

Each actor played a different role. Local teachers, historians, and experts in Bosnia provided information about history education in the country and identified major problems. In turn, EUROCLIO and the Danish History Teachers Association designed training activities and workshops to target the problems pointed out by local actors. These two organizations utilized their past experiences working in the Balkans and expertise in the field of history education to organize Stability Pact Project 1. EUROCLIO and the Danish HTA also provided a variety of resources during the design phase, including independent experts, financial support, and advanced information about history education (e.g., new teaching methodologies). Because each had something to contribute, both local actors and these two organizations made key decisions about the training activities. Cooperation was extensive during the design and organization phases.

Stability Pact Project 1 was implemented during 2003. All of the training activities focused on "the innovation, professionalization, and disarming of history education."[140] The implementation stage included multiple training workshops, the development of innovative educational materials, and initiatives to increase networking among teachers at the national and regional levels.[141] Much of the implementation was handled by EUROCLIO, but local actors also provided input and were involved in decision-making. For example, EUROCLIO handled most of the logistics. Although the Stability Pact Project 1 lasted about a year, it had a long-term impact because it encouraged cooperation in the field.

Stability Pact Project 2 succeeded its predecessor (2004-2005). Again, EUROCLIO, the Danish HTA, and local actors jointly designed the activities. After identifying important

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[139] *Ibid.*, pg. 4.

[140] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 12.

[141] *Ibid.,* pg. 4.

problems, these actors organized "project teams consisting of a carefully balanced group of academic historians and class room teachers" to participate in "several regional and national training seminars" in Bosnia.[142] It is important to note that "in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, this meant that the team consisted out of people representing the different ethnic/religious groups of the country."[143] Together, these project teams organized and carried out training activities; handled logistics; and publicized the project. During the implementation phase, a growing number of local history educators engaged in the development of inclusive, multi-perspective educational materials through a collaborative approach.[144] This writing process complemented the training activities organized during Stability Pact Project 2 because it involved the applying what these participants had learned during the workshops. It is important to note local actors were the driving force behind the development of new educational materials. EUROCLIO and the Danish History Teachers Association supported their work by providing experts and technical advice.

Because of changes in the governing coalition in Denmark, the country ended its financial support for the work of EUROCLIO in Bosnia in 2005. The Netherlands funded the History in Action project (2008) through its MATRA Fund program, after lobbying by EUROCLIO. Before designing this third project, the organization and its local partners evaluated the state of history education and found a number of existing problems. For example, there were issues with the introduction of new, innovative teaching materials and methodologies. As part of the History in Action project, EUROCLIO and EUROCLIO-HIP BIH organized activities that targeted a wide range of problems. The focus was on building up teacher capacity and improving the curriculum. These workshops culminated in the collaborative publication *Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country, Every Day Life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia 1945-1990*.[145] This source was published in three languages and distributed in each country.

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[142] EUROCLIO (2012). History that Connects Project [Application for Funding]. Open Society Foundation, pg. 4.

[143] *Ibid.*

[144] *Ibid.*
[145] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 5.

This collection of educational materials was developed to make history education "contribute to peace, stability, democracy and reconciliation".[146] The publication adopts an innovative approach to history because it presents a regional perspective on the 1945-1990.[147] This is done to "enhance living together".[148] It deals with three broad themes: ideology; standards of living; and mass culture.[149] *Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country* includes accounts and pictures of everyday life in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia between 1945 and 1990; a variety of statistics to show similarities and differences between the countries; multiple primary sources from each country; and exercises to develop skills like critical thinking.[150] One of the exercises in this collection asks students to research and describe the living standards in post-World War Two Yugoslavia.[151] The educational materials in this collection emphasizecommon experiences and promoted a shared understanding of the past in order to promote reconciliation in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia.

In 2009, EUROCLIO and EUROCLIO-HIP BIH initiated the Bridging Histories project in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia in order to build on earlier gains. The activities in Bosnia were funded by the Open Society Fund Bosnia and Herzegovina. Continuing the work of its three predecessors, the Bridging Histories project was designed "to strengthen and empower the network of the history educators and other professionals in Bosnia and Herzegovina".[152] The project had another important objective: putting-together a detailed list of recommendations for future history education curriculum reform.[153] Both EUROCLIO and local history professional made key decisions about the subject and design of training activities. In total, "five workshops

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[146] Razpotnik, Jelka; Foric, Melisa; and Emina Dautović (2009). Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country: Yugoslavia and its Approach to Communism 1945–1990. *EUROCLIO Bulletin* [Annual Report], pg. 12.

[147] *Ibid.*

[148] *Ibid.*

[149] *Ibid.*

[150] *Ibid.* pg. 14-19.

[151] *Ibid.* pg. 12.

[152] EUROCLIO (2009). Bridging Histories Project [Leaflet] pg. 1.

[153] *Ibid.*

were organized in Banja Luka (for area of Krajina), Bihać (for north-western Bosnia), Goražde (for eastern part of the country), Sarajevo, and Tuzla (for central Bosnia).[154] More than 270 history professionals from Bosnia and neighboring countries attended these five workshops.[155] The Bridging Histories project consisted of multiple training activities run by international experts and local professionals. For example, the program in Banja Luka included workshops that dealt with the use of technology in history education and curriculum assessment in Bosnia.[156]

The history education reform activities of EUROCLIO in Macedonia consisted of three projects: Understanding a Shared Past (included Bulgaria and Albania, 2000-2003); Retelling the History (2006-2007); and A Key to Unlock the Past (2011-2014). In this section, I will describe and evaluate how these projects were designed, organized, and implemented. I will focus will be on the primary elements of the peacebuilding process. The goal is to determine what these cases tell us about the explanatory power of the two competing theories.

The Understanding a Shared Past project was launched in Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria in 2000, after discussions between EUROCLIO and local educators in these three countries. Because it was apparent to all that "the learning and teaching of history in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia divides people more than it unites", the project was initiated jointly by these two groups of actors.[157] Between May and June 2000, teams of local history educators and professionals (many of whom were part of HTAs in these three countries), EUROCLIO staff, and international experts met to design and organize the Understanding a Shared Past project.[158] Key decisions were generally made by consensus. In September 2000, a four-day organizing and

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[154] EUROCLIO (2009). Bridging Histories Project [Leaflet] pg. 2.

[155] *Ibid.*

[156] EUROCLIO (2009). Banja Luka Workshop [Event Program], pg. 1.

[157] EUROCLIO (2000). Activities in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia [Project Plan], pg. 2.

[158] *Ibid.*

training meeting was held in Macedonia for project teams from each of the three countries. [159] The project was finalized during this meeting and the three project teams were trained.

Multiple training activities were organized in Albania, Bulgaria, and Macedonia by EUROCLIO, its local partners, and international experts. In March 2001, a workshop was held in Albania for all of the project teams.[160] It consisted of multiple components, training, project development, discussions, and the development of educational materials.[161] A similar workshop was held in September of 2001, and led to the finalization of the educational materials being developed by participants.[162] Local educators began to translate these materials into different languages during late 2001. EUROCLIO and the local HTAs in Albania, Bulgaria, and Macedonia organized four training activities in four different regions of each country between April and November 2002.[163] The primary objective of these workshops was to train history teachers in the use of the educational materials developed during this project.

In early 2003, *Change and Continuity in Everyday Life in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia 1945-2000* was released in Albanian, Bulgarian, English, and Macedonian, and was distributed by EUROCLIO and its partners.[164] This publication is an innovative teacher-resource book that was designed to improve the quality of history education and increase its peacebuilding impact. It consisted of chapters dealing with four broad themes: political life (e.g., constitution, elections, political figures, and human rights); economic life (e.g., changes property rights, industrialization, environmental issues, and agriculture); social life (e.g., family rituals; technology; and religion and atheism); and cultural life (e.g., education, science, and art).[165] This

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[159] EUROCLIO (2000). Activities in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia [Project Plan], pg. 2.

[160] *Ibid.*

[161] *Ibid.*

[162] *Ibid.*

[163] *Ibid.*

[164] EUROCLIO (2010). Motivation Statement for the History That Connects Project [Internal Document], pg. 2.

[165] EUROCLIO (2003). Change and Continuity in Everyday Life in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia 1945-2000 [Educational Materials], pg. 23.

collection of educational materials is innovative because it adopts a regional perspective and emphasizes common experiences in order to help create a shared understanding of the past.

The Macedonia: Retelling the History project, implemented between 2006 and 2007, built on the achievements of its predecessor. EUROCLIO and ANIM sought to develop "innovative teaching materials related to the history of Macedonia in the twentieth century" through a collaborative approach to writing.[166] These materials were to be written jointly by history educators from the Macedonian and Albanian communities on an equal basis, something that rarely occurred in the country.[167] Their purpose was to introduce multiperspectivity into history education in Macedonia.[168] To ensure a long term impact, the Macedonia: Retelling the History project also planned to organize and train "a small teacher led writing team to create materials which explore multiethnic contributions to history in…Macedonia."[169] The directors of EUROCLIO and ANIM initiated the project together and began the planning process.[170]

In January 2007, the first training seminar was held in Macedonia.[171] It consisted of teacher training workshop on multiperspectivity, and a series of meetings dealing with team building, planning, and the division of tasks.[172] In February, a second workshop was held; it included a meeting to help search for historical information to be used in the production of educational materials and a workshop on "resources to encourage mutual respect, tolerance and promote peace education."[173] There was also a meeting to finalize the division of tasks, and set deadlines for the production of educational materials.[174] It also included discussions about the

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[166] EUROCLIO (2007). Complete Description of Projects [Internal Document], pg. 1.

[167] *Ibid.*

[168] *Ibid.*

[169] *Ibid.*

[170] *Ibid.*, pg. 2.

[171] *Ibid.*

[172] *Ibid.*

[173] *Ibid.*

[174] *Ibid.*

final publication that would be published. Between March and April 2007, research was conducted; the writing process was initiated; and the organization of the first draft was concluded.[175] The work continued through June 2007, when a final meeting was held to "compare and edit materials"; the editing was done by local project leaders. In late 2007, *Retelling the History*, a thematic book of teaching materials that considers political life and interethnic relations, was published in Albanian, Macedonian, and English.[176]

This collaborative publication focused on the developing historical, analytical and critical thinking skills; building peace-oriented attitudes; and presenting a multi-perspective approach to history.[177] This thematic book of teaching materials focuses on Macedonia in the 20th century. It consists of chapters dealing with the First World War and its implications for the country (e.g., immigration, everyday life, consequences of the War); the inter-war period (e.g., politics, everyday life, culture and education); the Second World War (e.g., resistance, creation of the Macedonian state); Federative Yugoslavia (e.g., social life, ideology, education, mass culture, position of women, the disintegration of Yugoslavia); and independent Macedonia (e.g., new politics, inter-ethnic relations, democratic transition).[178] Each of these historic episodes was presented in a way that was acceptable to both Macedonians and Albanians because authors came from both communities. For example, while earlier historical textbooks marginalized the contributions of Albanians, *Retelling the History* discusses Albanian political parties[179], the establishment of the first independent (illegal) Albanian University in Tetovo[180], and Macedonia's relationship with Albania.[181]

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[175] EUROCLIO (2007). Complete Description of Projects [Internal Document], pg. 2.

[176] EUROCLIO (2010). Motivation Statement for the History That Connects Project [Internal Document], pg. 2.

[177] EUROCLIO (2007). Retelling the History [Educational Materials]. Published in Skopje, pg. 1.

[178] *Ibid.*, pg. 3.

[179] *Ibid.*, pg. 10.

[180] EUROCLIO (2007). Retelling the History [Educational Materials]. Published in Skopje, pg. 23.

[181] *Ibid.,* pg. 11.

This publication was designed to help create a shared understanding of the past among the different ethnic groups of Macedonia. A durable peace cannot prevail if Albanians and Macedonians subscribe to contradictory interpretations of history. During our interviews in Macedonia, I came face to face with this problem. Joke van der Roord-Leeuw explains:

> "The curriculum does not challenge the dominant national narratives/nation building myths of both ethnic communities…Both produce the traditional story of their considered national pasts. The Albanian academics I spoke with refused even to call it a common past for Macedonia; they insisted that their national history was fully separated from the history of the Macedonian speaking community. Addressing sensitive and delicate/controversial history and white spots/hidden history is therefore also avoided."[182]

It is important to keep in mind that these professors were preparing the next generation of students. If Albanians in Macedonia refuse to accept that they are part of the country and its history (continuing to look to Albania), the conflict in Macedonian cannot be resolved peacefully. In such a situation, there is no hope for inter-ethnic reconciliation. This is why collaborative, peace-oriented educational materials that offer multiple perspectives are needed.

In 2011, EUROCLIO and ANIM began the A Key to Unlock the Past project in Macedonia, after jointly securing a grant from the Belgian Foreign Ministry.[183] The two organization decided that these activities should be designed to "further the professional capacities of history educators in Macedonia", particularly in terms of "addressing sensitive issues."[184] A secondary goal was to strengthen "ANIM as a multi-ethnic, multi-religious civil society organization"; EUROCLIO focused on "enhancing its skills in management, lobbying and networking."[185] Both organizations agreed that the project should "reach out to a younger generation of historians, history and civics educators in higher and secondary levels, curriculum

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[182] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 15.

[183] *Ibid.,* pg. 6.

[184] *Ibid*

[185] *Ibid.*

developers, textbook authors, policy makers, historians and experts in the field of history and civic education and students."[186]

Together, EUROCLIO and ANIM designed and organized a number of training activities for the A Key to Unlock the Past project. The two organization divided tasks and responsibilities during the project in much the same way EUROCLIO had always done. It was responsible for finances; reporting; quality control; and professional implementation.[187] EUROCLIO is also responsible for monitoring, supporting, and coordinating.[188] The fourteen authors from Macedonia were responsible for developing "innovative educational materials that enhance active learning styles, critical thinking skills, and competencies relevant for democratic citizenship education".[189] The authors were trained by four international and four Macedonian experts who were selected by EUROCLIO and ANIM.[190] A group of six editors was responsible for "the final design and production of the educational materials, in close cooperation with the local and EUROCLIO coordinators".[191] An external, independent evaluator from the Georg Eckert Institute examined the educational materials.[192] Both EUROCLIO and ANIM organized activities to train teachers in the use of these new materials throughout Macedonia.

During 2012, three workshops were organized in the country. They were held in Ohrid, Stip, and Veles, and more than 120 history educators from Macedonia participated.[193] These training activities were carried out by experts from Macedonia, "Estonia, Finland, The Netherlands,

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[186] *Ibid.*

[187] EUROCLIO (2009). History without Borders [Funding Application]. MATRA Program, Foreign Ministry of the Netherlands, pg. 8.

[188] *Ibid.*

[189] *Ibid.*

[190] *Ibid.*

[191] *Ibid.* pg., 9.

[192] *Ibid.*

[193] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 6.

Scotland, Turkey, and Ukraine".[194] Observers from a number of regional countries also attended.[195] The training activities in Ohrid included a roundtable discussion on integrated history education in Europe, and presentations by EUROCLIO and ANIM on the state of history education in Macedonia. Additionally, workshop participants discussed the possibility of an integrated approach to the history education "curriculum, the textbooks, the training of teachers, classroom practices", and the introduction of new educational materials and teaching methodologies.[196] The activities in Stip focused on training teachers in the use of the educational materials developed during the A Key to Unlock the Past project.[197] Emphasis was placed on how history education in Macedonia deals with sensitive issues.[198] Special workshops were held on active learning; and multiperspectivity and critical thinking.[199] The Veles training activities, attended by more than thirty educators from Macedonia, focused on the use of new teaching methodologies in the history education field.[200]

As part of the A Key to Unlock the Past project, ANIM and EUROCLIO "were asked to make an overall scan of the process of textbook production and publishing during their visit to the Macedonian Minister of Education Mr Pance Kralev" in late 2011.[201] He asked for "a systematic analysis" and "guidelines on how to improve the process and concrete suggestions for process interventions."[202] These two organizations carried out a fact-finding mission in Macedonia in mid-2012, and interviewed dozens of professionals from the history education field. EUROCLIO and ANIM's "independent inquiry… looked into the current history curricula,

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[194] *Ibid.*

[195] EUROCLIO (2012). Ohrid Workshop [Event Report], pg.4-5.

[196] EUROCLIO (2012). Ohrid Workshop [Event Report], pg.6.

[197] EUROCLIO (2012). Stip Workshop [Event Report], pg.5.

[198] *Ibid.*, pg. 6.

[199] *Ibid.*

[200] EUROCLIO (2012). Velez Workshop [Event Report], pg. 3.

[201] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 6.

[202] *Ibid.*, pg. 7.

current history textbooks, class room practice, teacher preparation and in-service teacher training"; it resulted in a series of specific recommendations, which were presented to the Minister in late 2012.[203] This project led to the production and publication of educational materials in Macedonia. About 120 history teachers were trained in the use of these materials; handling sensitive issues; promoting critical thinking among students; and increasing multiperspectivity.

The history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia tell us a number of things about the peacebuilding process. It is clear that local actors played an important role. The first reform project in Bosnia was initiated by local history professionals, and EUROCLIO only became involved a few months later. It is also apparent that local actors had influence over the peacebuilding process because they identified participants for the projects; made key decisions about the design and organization of the projects; had veto rights; produced educational materials; and helped set up and strengthen local HTAs. It is important to note that because of its expertise and resources, EUROCLIO sometimes handled important tasks unilaterally during the projects, including securing funding and finances. This meant that local actors had less input at times. From a broader perspective, it is clear that external peacebuilders have unique skills and more resources than local actors, meaning that they tend to have more influence that cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars assume. Sometimes, local actors can depend heavily on external peacebuilders. Without EUROCLIO's experience, for example, ANIM and EUROCLIO-HIP BIH would have trouble securing funding. This means that local actors sometimes can feel pressure to accept decisions of external actors. However, it is wrong to portray local actors as being powerless.

On the whole, it is clear that local actors were very important during EUROCLIO's peacebuilding projects. Without them, success would not have been possible. Local actors had influence because of their knowledge of local conditions; language skills; links to other educators; and experience working in the country. History professionals from Bosnia and Macedonia were selected to produce educational materials and joint-decision making was widely practiced during the projects. Overall, the case of EUROCLIO supports the arguments of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars about the role of local actors and how decisions are made.

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[203] *Ibid.*

It is clear that external actors do not just simply dominate peacebuilding activities and impose a pre-selected model. I also found that the extent to which local actors were involved fluctuated during the project. In Bosnia and Macedonia, for instance, they were more important during the implementation stage because of their particular expertise (e.g., knowledge of local education system, logistics) and capabilities (e.g., language skills). This is important to keep in mind for both proponents and critics.

Clearly, EUROCLIO's history education reform projects were inclusive and cooperation based. For example, workshops in Macedonia were attended by history educators from all parts of Macedonia, international experts, EUROCLIO staff, members of ANIM, and professionals from neighboring countries. EUROCLIO adopted a collaborative approach to the production of educational materials. Alan McCully concurs, pointing out that EUROCLIO ensures "balance and multiple voices" in its educational materials by commissioning "resources that are authored, jointly, by those from different backgrounds or ethnic groups.[204] Facilitating networking among history professionals at the national and regional levels is also an important objective for EUROCLIO. Elizabeth Cole notes that EUROCLIO has "been active in spearheading collaborative international projects to examine and reform history textbooks, curricula and teaching practices" and because of its efforts, "conferences and exchanges for educators from different transitional societies to share their experiences and approaches… have become more common.[205] The organization even met with individuals that opposed its work in Macedonia.[206] The case of EUROCLIO generally contradicts the arguments critics make about the extent to which the peacebuilding process is inclusive and cooperation-based.

The kind of workshops that were organized by EUROCLIO tells us that the history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia intended to have a peacebuilding impact. Through these activities, EUROCLIO attempted to strengthen local HTAs; train teachers in multiperspectivity; produce peace-oriented educational materials for use in different ethnic

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[204] McCully, Alan (2012). History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, Vol. 7 (2), pg. 152-153.

[205] Cole, Elizabeth (2007). Transitional Justice and the Reform of History Education. *The International Journal of Transitional Justice,* Vol. 1, pg. 115.

[206] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 15.

communities; and challenge narratives of victimization and nationalist interpretation of history in order to improve inter-ethnic relations. In broader terms; these reform projects sought to disarm history education (a social source of conflict) and create a shared understanding of the past. Critics are wrong when they argue that peacebuilders simply transform post-conflict countries in their own image. EUROCLIO's projects were designed to make history education more peace-oriented and not to make it "more Western". Simply consider the emphasis it placed on multiperspectivity and the fact that it left the production of educational materials to local professionals. In her study of history education reform in Moldova, Elizabeth Warden similarly found that "when national history is contested" educators play "an important role in constructing the meaning(s) of reforms and aiding in their implementation".[207]

To conclude, it is clear that cooperation in the history education field increased overtime because of EUROCLIO, as cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars predict. The organization established local HTAs in Bosnia and Macedonia, which grew tremendously in terms of size and capabilities. Today, ANIM and EUROCLIO-HIP BIH regularly organize their own events. Because of EUROCLIO's work, history professionals were able to network at the national and regional level. The organization invested in young history teacher to ensure a long-term impact. Finally, EUROCLIO relied exclusively on positive sanctions during its peacebuilding projects because it had no means to punish noncompliance. The organization invited active participants to workshops abroad[208] and offered additional training.

Overall, the case of EUROCLIO tends to support the arguments of proponents about the peacebuilding process, even though their assumptions about the balance of power between local and external actors are wrong. Both groups of scholars must also recognize that measures of various elements of the peacebuilding process, such as the importance of local actors and the way decisions are made, tend to fluctuate during a project.

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[207] Warden, Elizabeth (2011). The "Mock Reform" of History Education in Moldova: Actors versus the Script. *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 55 (2), pg. 231.

[208] *Ibid.,* pg. 244.

Chapter 4 – The Outcomes of Peacebuilding

History Education Reform and Peacebuilding in the Balkans

Due to the region's violent conflicts, the international community has paid a lot of attention to history education in the Balkans since the 1990s. Early on, external actors recognized a major problem: "national building architects make extensive use of history to promote those historical narratives that embody the politically correct teleology of the state."[209] Joseph Zajda points out that "the historiographies of new Eastern European states, engaging in nation-building process, continue to be essentially monolithic and intolerant to alternative views as those of their communist predecessors, merely exchanging a communist ideological coloring for a national one.[210] Macedonia, where the Albanian minority was largely ignored in history education until recently, is a perfect example. Federico Sicurella notes that history education in Macedonia in the post-independence period provides "strong evidence of an acute ethno-centric cultural turn".[211]

The Council of Europe, which was instrumental in the creation of EUROCLIO (1993), was one of the first regional organizations to pursue serious reforms. In the late 1990s, it funded several projects in Eastern Europe aimed at improving history education and making it more peace-oriented.[212] The Council of Europe emphasized the "need for stronger mutual understanding and confidence between peoples, particularly through a history teaching syllabus intended to eliminate prejudice and emphasizing positive mutual influence between different

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[209] Zajda, Joseph (2009). Teachers and the Politics of History School Textbooks. In International Handbook of Research on Teaching and Teachers. *Springer*, pg. 373.

[210] *Ibid.*

[211] Sicurella, Federico (2008). History Education from Division to Reconciliation in the New Countries of Southeast Europe. *Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica,* Vol. 3, pg. 15.

[212] Zajda, Joseph (2009). Teachers and the Politics of History School Textbooks. In International Handbook of Research on Teaching and Teachers. *Springer*, pg. 373.

countries, religions, and ideas".[213] Its approach to history education mirrored those of EUROCLIO and its members. As early as 1998, the organizations were already working together in Bosnia.[214] In addition to NGOs and IOs, multiple European countries became supported such projects, including Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway. History education reform in the Balkans grew in importance during the last decade, and external actors became involved to a much greater extent.

EUROCLIO, the Council of Europe, and European countries generally have similar objectives and strategies, and regularly work together. Their notion of reform is based on the idea that "ideological falsification and manipulation of history are incompatible with the fundamental principles" of the European community.[215] These actors also offer similar prescriptions. The Council of Europe, for example, recommends emphasizing the regional dimension of history; developing the critical thinking skills of students; paying greater attention to the social and cultural aspects of history; and challenging nationalist interpretations of history.[216] Each of these recommendations is a critical element of EUROCLIO's work, which European donor countries support. Together, EUROCLIO, the Council of Europe, European countries, and their local partners are the leading advocates of history education reform in the Balkans. These actors have carried out multiple projects in almost every regional country, as the cases of Bosnia and Macedonia demonstrate.

However, a number of scholars and local actors have spoken out against reforms. Critics claim that the "Europeanization of history textbooks" has occurred in Balkan countries, and that these textbooks now "contain a manifest European dimension, as well as increased emphasis on European ideals, such as democracy, human rights, and social justice".[217] This creates two problems. First, national history is covered to a lesser extent in such educational materials.

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[213] *Ibid.*, pg 374.

[214] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 10.

[215] Zajda, Joseph (2009). Teachers and the Politics of History School Textbooks. In International Handbook of Research on Teaching and Teachers. *Springer*, pg. 374.

[216] *Ibid.*

[217] *Ibid.*

Second, it is not clear to what extent the Europeanization of history education is imposed by external actors. Critics in Balkan countries have pointed out that:

> "The non-critical adoption of the models which are successful in the developed countries and their exact copying represent a danger for the countries in transition, because of two reasons. First the entire school infrastructure, the organization of the system, the administration, the methods of preparation of the teachers and the textbooks would be challenged in such a case...Secondly, cultural and educational paradigms, and this is even more important than economic problems, which served as the basis of the creation of a successful school model cannot be transposed."[218]

This line of reasoning is critical of how reforms are carried out and is in line with arguments put forth by peacebuilding critics. From this perspective, history education reform is imposed from outside without consideration of local conditions.

Critics predict that there will be little local support for reforms. They argue that "attempts such as those in the EUROCLIO project to recover memory, to promote counter-narratives that challenge cherished myths of ethnic and cultural homogeneity or a particular civilizational trajectory, will inevitably encounter substantial resistance."[219] According to Edward Webb, scholars in Turkey have argued that "teachers and student teachers cannot help but evaluate the developments of the 2000s with the viewpoints of the 1920s".[220] Even "those who prefer to place Turkey in the geography of Europe in such areas as sports, music, fashion, and cinema act differently when it comes to politics, the independence of the country, mutual inspection, and cooperation of states."[221]This dynamic can also be seen in Bosnia, where many politicians have widely criticized history education reform.[222] Alenka Bartuovic citest the example of Lazarevic, a political figure from Republic Srpska, that "aggressively responded to the removal of objectionable material from the textbooks which was carried out by the international community

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[218]Kolouh-Westin, Lidija (2004). Education and Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol. 24, pg. 507.

[219] Webb, Edward (2011). Resisting Anamnesis: A Nietzschean Analysis of Turkey's National History Education. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 19 (4), pg. 499.

[220] *Ibid.*

[221] *Ibid.*

[222] Bartulovic, Alenka (2006). Nationalism in the Classroom: Narratives of the War in Bosnia- Herzegovina (1992-1995) in the History Textbooks of the Republic of Srpska. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Vol. 6 (3), pg. 55.

in the 1999-2000 academic year".[223] Lazarovic and other local critics argued that "the offensive material about the other nations which was removed from the textbook used by the BH Serbs presents the truth".[224] This line of criticism deals with how reform projects, and therefore peacebuilding, are received on the ground and the impact they have.

History education reform is a widely contested concept because it plays "a significant role in re-positioning competing and ideologically driven discourses of historical narratives and processes."[225] In new countries it can be used as an instrument of ideological transformation and nation-building.[226] Through history education, new countries forge a national identity and create an understanding of the past.[227] In the context of peacebuilding, history education reform is of great importance because it can address social sources of conflict. Reforms can be used to challenge nationalistic interpretations of history; reject self-serving narratives of victimization; and question national identities that exclude minorities. For these reasons, history education reform is an important tool for peacebuilders.

In his comprehensive study of peacebuilding for the International Peace Research Institute (Norway), Dan Smith found that peacebuilding projects attempt to achieve four kinds of objectives: security; political foundations for long-term peace; socio-economic foundations for long-term peace; and reconciliation.[228] History education reform can have a peacebuilding impact by helping to address social sources of conflict (particularly difficult), like the education system and public history. It can also improve inter-group relations by disarming history and promoting a shared understanding of the past. EUROCLIO, the Council of Europe, and donor countries believe that a durable peace can only prevail if history is a source of unity in post-

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[223] Bartulovic, Alenka (2006). Nationalism in the Classroom: Narratives of the War in Bosnia- Herzegovina (1992-1995) in the History Textbooks of the Republic of Srpska. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Vol. 6 (3), pg. 55.

[224] *Ibid.*

[225] Zajda, Joseph (2009). Teachers and the Politics of History School Textbooks. In International Handbook of Research on Teaching and Teachers. *Springer*, pg. 375.

[226] *Ibid.*

[227] *Ibid.*

[228] Smith, Dan (2004). Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together. *International Peace Research Institute* (on behalf of the Utstein Group), pg. 20.

conflict countries. Simply put, reconciliation requires reform. From the peacebuilding perspective, history education must be reorganized to achieve important peacebuilding goals, including promoting inter-group dialogue, human rights, and responsible citizenship.

Critics reject many of the conclusions made cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars. They argue that peacebuilding is essentially social engineering. [229] Reorganizing post-conflict countries in the image of developed countries is risky because it can have many unintended consequences. Many critics argue that such peacebuilding projects fail because they overlook what is happening on the ground, including Béatrice Pouligny. [230] Beth Fetherson similarly finds that the "understandings of war implied in the definitions, researches and methodologies of conflict settlement…lack connection to the everydayness of the warzone.[231] From this perspective, peacebuilders simply impose a preferred institutional model on post-conflict countries, which often leads to failure. Critics also argue that because peacebuilding fails to address certain aspects of conflicts, it is often ineffective. Toby Denskus, for example, points out that peacebuilding often cannot deal with "alternative forms of governance and order…because they lie outside the normative framework of the liberal democratic model" upon which such activities rely.

Evaluating Competing Theories

Cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics make very different predictions about the impact and outcomes of peacebuilding projects. To determine which of the two competing theories has the greatest explanatory power in this regard, I will use history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia to test the expectations of both groups of scholars. Proponents predict that peacebuilding have a significant impact on post-conflict countries. For our purposes, this means that history education will become much more peace-oriented. Cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars expect such activities to address social sources of conflict; strengthen

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[229] Paris, Roland (1997). Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism. *International Security,* Vol. 22 (4), pg. 56.

[230] Pouligny, Béatrice (2005). Civil Society and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Ambiguities of International Programmes Aimed at Building 'New' Societies'. *Security Dialogue,* Vol. 36 (4), pg. 495 & 507.

[231] Denskus, Tobias (2010). Peacebuilding does not Build Peace. In *Deconstructing Development Discourse: Buzzwords and Fuzzwords,* Oxfam, pg. 235.

inter-group relations; improve the quality of history education; and facilitate long-term cooperation in the field. They predict that reform projects will address each of these impact areas by reforming curricula; producing peace-oriented educational materials; introducing new teaching methodologies; increasing the number of learned skills students acquire; promoting desired values; and empowering educators. The peacebuilding impact of history education reform projects must be analyzed at the systemic level.

Critics reject most of these predictions made by proponents. For these scholars, a key outcome of peacebuilding is the growing dependence of the post-conflict country on external actors, who often are responsible for key tasks during the peacebuilding process. Such activities are also expected to have a limited impact on the conflict cycle. Critics argue that because peacebuilding often overlooks local conditions and depoliticizes conflicts, such activities are ineffective. For this reason, they expect that there will only be limited support for peacebuilding on the ground. Finally, critical scholars point out that peacebuilding results in the reorganization of post-conflict countries in the image of the foreign actors engaged in peacebuilding. This typically involves political, social, and economic liberalization, and can sometimes lead to instability.

To evaluate the predictions of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics, I will analyze how reform projects effected history education in Bosnia and Macedonia. This section will trace developments from the pre-reform period through today in order to evaluate the systemic impact of these peacebuilding projects. The theories of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics will be evaluated in terms of their ability to predict the specific impacts and outcomes of history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia.

Prior to testing the competing theories, I will examine the state of history education in Bosnia and Macedonia during the pre-reform period. As part of the Bridging Histories project, EUROCLIO asked Edin Radusic and Boro Bronza to analyze the evolution of history education in Bosnia. These two scholars identified multiple problems. Edin Radusic of the University of Sarajevo found that the history education system in the country is fragmented; "there are no

teaching plans and programs at the level of Bosnia".[232] In other words, Bosnians, Croats and Serbs often present contradictory historical accounts and explanations. The fragmented Bosnian history education system breeds conflict because it allows each ethnic group to promote self-serving, nationalistic interpretations of history and narratives of victimization. In his analysis of history education in the Balkans, Dusan Babic found that these historical "narratives of victimhood and collectivized guilt…undermine attempts to foster tolerance and reconciliation".[233]

Boro Bronza of the University of Banja Luka noticed that the institutions of history education in Bosnia prevent the "adequate treatment of history as a science or a teaching subject".[234] This "situation implies that history is generally treated as a...teaching subject for which there is less and less need for in…Bosnia".[235] In reality, however, the opposite is true: history education can contribute greatly to resolving the ongoing conflict by creating a shared understanding of the past; teaching multiperspectivity and critical thinking; presenting controversial/sensitive issues responsibly; passing on peace-oriented values to students; emphasizing positive citizenship; and empowering civil society and history educators to make key decisions about the field (not politicians). Education is also closely connected to public history in Bosnia, which includes museums, monuments, and commemorative holidays.

Lidija Kolouh-Westin research shows that history education in the country failed to emphasize "democratic values and human rights to any considerable extent"; instead, "patriotic feelings, nationalism, loyalty and high moral standards are …clearly and affectively stressed.[236] Branislava Baranovic concurs, pointing out that Bosnians, Croats and Serbs used "ethnically-oriented" history textbooks during the pre-reform period that contributed "more to the creation of

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[232] Radusic, Edin. EUROCLIO (2009). History Curriculum Analysis: Teaching History in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a Comment to the Significance of Teaching Plan and Program and their Characteristics [Analysis Document], pg. 2.

[233] Babic, Dusan (2012, May 5th).The War of Narratives. *TransConflict. Accessed at:* http://www.transconflict.com/2012/05/the-war-of-narratives-235/

[234] Bronza, Boro. EUROCLIO (2009). History Curriculum Analysis: Comparative analysis of the Position of History as a Science and as a School Subject in Different European and World Systems [Analysis Document], pg. 1.

[235] *Ibid.*

[236] Kolouh-Westin, Lidija (2004). Education and Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol. 24, pg. 501.

a closed, ethnocentric identity than to an identity open to diversity". [237] During the pre-reform period, history textbooks were "more…a disintegrative than integrative factor in the post-war reconstruction period…in Bosnia".[238] Janine Clark also found that the country had a history "education system that keeps young people divided", thereby "helping to fuel prejudice and stereotypes", both of which are an "impediment to reconciliation."[239]

In Macedonia, history was "an issue of controversy" during the pre-reform period because ethnic groups had very different interpretations of historical events.[240] This had a profound impact on politics in the country. In Macedonia, there was also a "growing gap in history education between the Albanian and Macedonian speaking populations", which helped fuel the conflict.[241] During the pre-reform period, "history educators from each community" focused "primarily on the history of their own nation" because "learning about the other" was not "compulsory in national history education."[242] As a result, there was no shared understanding of history in Macedonia history education did not contribute to conflict resolution meaningfully. Elizabeth Cole concurs, arguing that "history instruction in Macedonia is the same for Albanians and Slavs—but only in the sense that each group separately learns a remarkably similar history of victimization by the other, and each claims the same distinctions, such as a longer presence in the region."[243] Violeta Petroska-Beska and Mirjana Najcevska similarly found that "ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia have distinctly different but

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[237] Baranovic, Branislava (2001). History Textbooks in Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Intercultural Education*, Vol. 12 (1), pg. 13.

[238] *Ibid.*

[239] Clark, Janine (2010). Education in Bosnia-Hercegovina: The Case for Root-and-Branch Reform. *Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 9, pg. 344.

[240] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 5.

[241] *Ibid.*

[242] *Ibid.*

[243] Cole, Elizabeth and Judy Barsalou (2006). Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict. *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report, pg. 1

equally ethnocentric views of the causes and course of the armed conflict in 2001."[244] They conclude that such "attitudes, which are largely emotionally driven and fueled by prejudice, are likely to stifle efforts to overcome existing animosities and may well sow the seeds of future conflicts."[245]

This brief overview helps us to understand the state of history education during the pre-reform period, and how it contributed to the conflicts in Bosnia and Macedonia. I will now evaluate the projects carried out by EUROCLIO in terms of their ability to address social sources of conflict; strengthen inter-group relations; improve the quality of history education; and facilitate long-term cooperation in the field. Cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars expect reform projects to have such impacts. Critics, on the other hand, predict that these peacebuilding activities will have a limited impact; will make post-conflict countries dependent on external actors; will transform post-conflict countries in the image of peacebuilders; and will not be popular on the ground.

EUROCLIO's reform projects addressed multiple social sources of conflict in Bosnia and Macedonia. They dealt with history education; public history (e.g., museums); ethnic identities; and national interpretations of history. By developing new educational materials, introducing new teaching methodologies, and facilitating networking in the history education field, EUROCLIO made history education more peace-oriented. As part of Stability Pact Project 1, the organization published *Change and Continuity in Everyday Life in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia 1945-2000.* This collection of educational materials adopts a regional perspective on history and emphasizes common experiences.[246] In late 2007, EUROCLIO published *Retelling the History* in Macedonia, a thematic book of teaching materials that considers political life and interethnic relations.[247] This source presents history in a way that was acceptable to both Macedonians and Albanians because authors came from both communities. It no longer

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[244] *Violeta Petroska-Beska and Mirjana Najcevska (2009). Macedonia: Understanding History, Preventing Future Conflicts. United States Institute of Peace, Special Report, pg. 1*

[245] *Ibid.*

[246] EUROCLIO (2010). Motivation Statement for the History That Connects Project [Internal Document], pg. 2.

[247] *Ibid.*

marginalizes the contributions of Albanians to national history. In Bosnia, EUROCLIO published *Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country, Every Day Life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia 1945-1990*.[248] This collection of educational materials also emphasizes a regional perspective on history presents accounts and pictures of everyday life in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia ; offers a variety of statistics to show key similarities and differences; and provides multiple primary sources from each country; and includes exercises to develop skills like critical thinking.[249]

Peace-oriented educational materials that emphasize common historical experiences help to disarm history and create a shared understanding of the past. Through such publications, EUROCLIO challenged self-serving narratives of victimization and questioned nationalist interpretations of history. For example, its educational materials in Macedonia presented the contributions of Albanians in a much more balanced way than official state textbooks, which barely mentioned minorities. Reconciliation requires national identities that are not based on exclusion. By publishing peace-oriented educational materials, EUROCLIO helped shape the public debate about history; promoted desired values (e.g., inclusiveness); improved the teaching of learned skills of students; and helped start to change ethnic identities. The organization also introduced new teaching methodologies that emphasized multiperspectivity and promoted critical thinking skills to challenge nationalism. In this way, EUROCLIO helped to create a sense of understanding among different ethnic groups in Bosnia and Macedonia. The organization also encouraged networking among history professionals from different ethnic communities, which had a similar peacebuilding impact. ANIM, for instance, includes large numbers of both Albanians and Macedonians. The case of EUROCLIO supports the idea that peacebuilding addresses multiple social sources of conflict and helps improve inter-group relations.

However, critics predict that the impact of peacebuilding projects will be limited. The history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia impacted several hundred educators, who have thousands of students. For example, 120 history educators participated in Ohrid, Stip,

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[248] EUROCLIO (2009). Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia [Report], pg. 5.

[249] *Ibid.*

and Veles workshops held in 2012.[250] While this does constitute a significant impact, it is not as large as cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars predict. It is important to recognize that hundreds of teachers still need to be trained in Bosnia and Macedonia. Even the history professionals who participated require further training. The educational materials produced by EUROCLIO are primarily used by the history teachers that participated in the workshops or are members of local HTAs. In a few cases, these sources are part of the official curriculum.

This line of criticism has some validity. Joseph Zajda, for example, cites the example of Ukraine, where "a new textbook for grade 10 [official] on Ukrainian history, produced in cooperation with EUROCLIO…reflects Western models of innovative pedagogies, grounded in pluralist discourses, multiculturalism, and social justice.[251] However, "the curriculum for year 5, as before, still presents a strictly linear and chronological Grand Narrative of Ukrainian history, continuing myth making of past historical events, which is at odds with critical thinking and pluralist discourses."[252] Such a situation indicates that the impact of history education reform projects was not systemic, which supports the predictions of critics. Nevertheless, EUROCLIO's work did have a significant impact in Bosnia and Macedonia, and this shouldn't be overlooked.

The organization's projects clearly had a lasting effect on history education in these two countries and led to increased cooperation overtime. First, it is clear that EUROCLIO's projects grew in size and ambition. In 2012, for instance, the government of Macedonia asked it to carry an analysis of the country's history curriculum. [253] Both the number of training events and participants increased overtime. Second, the work of EUROCLIO has a significant, long-term peacebuilding impact because it targeted younger history professionals, supported local HTAs, and helped initiate curriculum reforms. Third, the organization helped facilitate networking among history educators from different countries and ethnic groups, making it easier for them to work together in the future. Elizabeth Cole similarly found that the work of EUROCLIO has

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[250] *Ibid.*

[251] Zajda, Joseph (2009). Teachers and the Politics of History School Textbooks. In International Handbook of Research on Teaching and Teachers. *Springer*, pg. 374.

[252] *Ibid.*

[253] van der Leeuw-Roord, Joke. EUROCLIO (2012), A Key to Unlock the Past [Report], Skopje & Den Haag, pg. 6.

facilitated cooperation in the field.[254] Fourth, the organization has helped to develop the capabilities of local HTAs. As part of the A Key to Unlock the Past project in Macedonia in 2011, for instance, EUROCLIO sought to build up "ANIM as a multi-ethnic, multi-religious civil society organization" by "enhancing its skills in management, lobbying and networking." Local HTAs in Bosnia and Macedonia have many more members now and regularly organize their own events.

The case of EUROCLIO validates the predictions of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars about such activities having a lasting impact and leading to increased cooperation over time. Simultaneously, it calls into question the argument critics make about the growing dependence of post-conflict countries on external actors. EUROCLIO invested in local HTAs; held training workshops for local teachers; and trained teams of local authors in collaborative writing. It clearly sought to empower local professionals and HTAs by developing their capacity to act independently. The goal is to have local professionals making decisions about the history education field in Balkan countries. However, critics rightly point out that EUROCLIO has considerable influence over what decisions these local actors make, which helps determine outcomes. There is indirect pressure placed on them to accept the decisions and advice of external actors. EUROCLIO also provides the theoretical foundation and sets the tone for their activities, as critics expect. For example, the teaching methodologies preferred by ANIM and EUROCLIO-HIP BIH are those of EUROCLIO. On the whole, this case indicates that peacebuilders genuinely want to empower local actors but in a selective way. For EUROCLIO, this means investing almost exclusively in peace-oriented actors in the history education field and developing models for reform that embody certain values and preconceptions .

Finally, it is clear that EUROCLIO helped improve the quality of history education in Bosnia and Macedonia. The organization trained teachers; introduced innovative methodologies; published new educational materials; improved the teaching of learned skills; encouraged multiperspectivity and promoted responsible citizenship. It also helped to reform curricula, increase the use of technologies in history education, and strengthened links between history professionals in Balkan countries. Overall, EUROCLIO helped make history education more

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[254] Cole, Elizabeth (2007). Transitional Justice and the Reform of History Education. The International Journal of Transitional Justice, Vol. 1, pg. 115.

modern, inclusive and peace-oriented, as peacebuilding proponents expect. Also, because of its work, the subject of history has grown in prominence. Its activities are even more valuable in the context of pre-reform Bosnia and Macedonia, when history education was a major source of conflict. From this perspective, it is apparent that EUROCLIO had a peacebuilding impact on the field. Just because these projects borrowed from the "Western approach" to history education, does not mean that EUROCLIO simply sought to transform these two countries in its own image, as critics assert. The logic behind the sharing of methodologies is that Western countries have dealt with such issues in the past and area the forefront of history education, which means that they can be a useful model for post-conflict countries. In this regard, the cases of Bosnia and Macedonia seem to support the conclusions of peacebuilding proponents about the ability of EUROCLIO to improve the quality of history education. However, it is important to recognize that critics rightly point out that cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars overstate the impact of such activities. The reforms in Bosnia and Macedonia were clearly not systemic.

Overall, I found that the history education reform projects organized by EUROCLIO did address multiple social sources of conflict; strengthen inter-group relations; improve the quality of history education; and facilitate long-term cooperation in the field. At the same time, these cases did validate a number of the points made by critics. First, proponents overestimate the peacebuilding impact of EUROCLIO's work and the extent to which it improve the quality of history education. It was clearly not able to transform the system in its entirety. Second, EUROCLIO's projects reflect its values; ideology; and theoretical preconceptions. As critics point out, the organization empowered local actors and promoted concepts on a selective basis. The organization made many key decisions that determined outcomes. Reforms reflected EUROCLIO's ideals. In this way, the broader political dimension and peacebuilding are interconnected.

Chapter 5 – Conclusion

In this thesis, I examined the assumptions, arguments, and expectations of proponents and critics in order to determine which approach to peacebuilding has greater explanatory power. Specifically, I evaluated their explanation of why actors engaged in such activities; description of the peacebuilding process; and expectations about the outcomes and impact of peacebuilding. The history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia indicate that peacebuilders have multiple motives and the importance of these varies greatly from case to case. For EUROCLIO, altruistic and professional motives were important, and self-interest was less so. For donors, self-interest was of greater importance. I found that both cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics fail to take professional motives seriously. I also identified several motivating factors missed by critics and proponents, including past experiences in the post-conflict countries. Explanations of what motivates peacebuilders must take into account that multiple factors are involved and that there is considerable variation among cases.

The history education reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia tell us a lot about the peacebuilding process, particularly how such activities are designed, organized, and implemented. Overall, the projects of EUROCLIO support the arguments of proponents about the peacebuilding process. I found that local actors did play an important role; cooperation was extensive; key decisions were made jointly; the process was inclusive; and reforms were designed to have a peacebuilding impact. However, the assumptions of proponents about the balance of power between local and external actors are wrong. Critics rightly point out that external actors have significantly more power than peacebuilding supporters predict. Both groups of scholars must also recognize that measures of various elements of the peacebuilding process, such as the importance of local actors and the way decisions are made, tend to fluctuate during a project. The peacebuilding process is much more dynamic then both assume.

In terms of impact and outcome, the reform projects in Bosnia and Macedonia generally support the expectations of cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars. I found that the history education reform projects organized by EUROCLIO addressed several social sources of conflict; strengthened inter-group relations; improved the quality of history education; and facilitated

long-term cooperation in the field. At the same time, these cases did validate a number of the points made by critics. For example, peacebuilding proponents overestimate the peacebuilding impact of EUROCLIO's work and the extent to which it improve the quality of history education. In other words, its project did not have a systemic impact.

The goal of this thesis is theory testing. History education reform projects carried out in Bosnia and Macedonia help to shed light on the ongoing debate between cosmopolitan peacebuilding scholars and critics. According to my findings, proponents generally offer a compelling and accurate account of today's peacebuilding. However, my analysis also confirmed a number of the arguments made critics. I also found shortcomings that both groups of scholars must address. In terms of the bigger picture, it is also clear that the cosmopolitan peacebuilding is much more sophisticated and nuanced than earlier approaches. Many of the criticisms of the peacebuilding process have been addressed by actors like EUROCLIO. However, there is still considerable room for improvement. For example, I argued that peacebuilders must pay more attention to empowering local actors during the peacebuilding process. They must do more to develop their capabilities and capacity to act. I found that EUROCLIO's projects tended to build on the achievements of their predecessors, which contributed to their success.

This finding of this thesis has a number of implications. First, critical scholars help improve the quality of peacebuilding by offering thoughtful critiques. Many earlier criticisms have been addressed by the cosmopolitan approach. Second, it is important to recognize that the effectiveness of such activities increases overtime. EUROCLIO's reform projects became much more ambitious as it gained experience. Third, this thesis sheds light on how transforming a structure of conflict into a structure of peace can have a multidimensional peacebuilding impact. The work of EUROCLIO addressed inter-ethnic relations; promoted responsible citizenship and democratic values; encouraged multiperspectivity and critical thinking; and empowered local actors and civil society. Fourth, to meaningfully move towards the formation of a durable peace, different groups in post-conflict countries must have a shared understanding of the past.

I want to point out that my findings have several limitations. It is difficult to generalize from just two cases, even if they both represent tough tests. A wide range of activities can have a peacebuilding impact, so history education reform projects may not share key characteristics. However, the activities of EUROCLIO tell us a lot specifically about the cosmopolitan approach

to peacebuilding. This thesis focused on Bosnia and Macedonia, two countries that are experiencing inter-ethnic conflict. It is not clear how my findings relate to peacebuilding in countries experiencing ideological or other types of conflict. It is not possible to accurately gauge how these reform projects directly affected the conflicts Bosnia and Macedonia because there are too many intervening variables. However, I am still able to contribute to the debate between because my thesis analyzes the specific outcomes of history education reform projects and evaluates their peacebuilding impact on the history education field.

To conclude, I showed that history education can either fuel ethnic conflicts or encourage peace. My thesis highlighted the multi-faceted relationship between history education, and politics, identities, grievances, personal experiences, and inter-ethnic relations. More broadly speaking, the cases examined in thesis demonstrate how social institutions can drive and sustain conflicts. This has important implications for how post-conflict countries should be organized. Institutions designed to have a peacebuilding impact can facilitate the formation of a durable peace. For instance, history education that promotes reconciliation and a shared understanding of the past in post-conflict can have a significant peacebuilding impact. The relationship between social institutions and conflicts is also important to countries in a state of peace. The manner in which social institutions are organized has profound implications for the society as a whole.