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*The role of EUROCLIO – European Association of History Educators – in the  
implementation of the 2001 Council of Europe Recommendation*

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*Abstract:* Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have become important actors in dealing with transnational challenges. In academic literature, NGOs are often depicted as pro-active actors who try to influence the agenda setting of IGOs, but their executive capability regarding IGOs policies/ recommendations is quite undefined. In order to fill this academic gap, this thesis looks at the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Council of Europe Recommendation and seeks to explain its executive capability. The thesis makes use of a pre-theoretical discussion to test the hypotheses through the analysis of six semi-structured qualitative interviews. The results show that EUROCLIO has put the 2001 Recommendation into practice with the help of its intrinsic resources (objective expertise and legitimacy to represent history educators) but also with the support of its pan-European networks and the intergovernmental network of the Council of Europe, which has allowed the NGO to find political backing. The findings will contribute to future comparative on whether NGOs make use of the same resources in other fields.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1. Background discussion and academic relevance

Today's societies face an increasing number of problems that are of transnational nature, resulting in intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) playing a more prominent role in formulating policy solutions for states. In this new type of governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century described by James Rosenau (1995), a third actor has appeared after national governments and IGOs: non governmental organisations (NGOs).

Intergovernmental organisations are no longer the exclusive preserve of member governments as IGOs are increasingly engaging NGOs in their own governance. The United Nations (UN) – one of the biggest IGOs – has contributed to the creation of a culture of consultation to civil society since its foundation in 1945. Approximately 1,200 voluntary organisations were present at the founding conference of the IGO in San Francisco; these voluntary organisations actively participated in the writing of Article 71: “The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations” (Alger, 2002, p.93).

Nevertheless, civil society is no longer waiting for consultation and turns out to be very active through NGOs. This gives NGOs the opportunity to distinguish themselves from traditional powers because they create a space for civil society and they contribute to a new system of global governance, transforming the closed and top-down model of decision-making to an open one (Peter Willetts, 2011), in which citizens' voices can be expressed directly. Therefore, as a new type of transnational actor, NGOs possess innovative resources, sources of legitimacy and authority, channels of communication and actions. It would be idealistic, however, to claim that NGOs are independent actors who can survive by themselves in the global governance arena. NGOs work in a close cooperation with IGOs and this is why I believe that studying the cooperation between NGOs and IGOs would be a salient topic.

The increasing participation of NGOs in the global and European governance has raised many issues, that is why the literature discussing their role and influence is quite broad in the field of Public Administration. According to Jens Steffek (2013, p.995), most scholars interested in NGOs have focused their analyses on the determinants of their success in the global

governance, regarding their strategies, resources and tactics. The main concept that is at the centre of this literature is 'influence'. Social constructivists and international relations scholars have searched under which conditions NGOs are able to influence the decision-making.

As previously stated, the main partners of NGOs are intergovernmental (and/or regional) organisations. Although the literature about the relations between NGOs and IGO does exist, it is quite recent. Besides, most of this literature concerns the relations between international NGOs and the UN. This may be explained by the fact that the UN initiated this culture of consultation, as was mentioned before. Among this topic, I noticed that there is a predominance of NGOs that are specialised on environmental issues.

Steffek (2013, p.997) shows that another type of literature, which depicts NGOs as part of civil society, emerged in the 1990's, to go beyond international relations literature. In this model, NGOs are not conceptualised as pressure groups that lobby governments and IGOs, but as attempting "to shape public affairs by working within and across societies themselves" (Paul Wapner (1995) in Steffek, 2013). That is to say, according to this literature on the "NGOisation of civil society" (Lang, 2013), authors don't focus anymore on pathways of NGOs' influence, but rather on the emancipatory role of NGOs and social movements as the direct voice of citizens.

Finally, there is a little literature about the implementation of intergovernmental policies by NGOs, and it is very specific to empirical cases. For instance, Michael Sparks (2010) wrote an article about the implementation of the World Health Organization's Framework Convention on Tobacco Control by NGOs, but he does not draw a theoretical framework.

Hence, my dissertation would not only look at the cooperation between NGOs and IGOs, but also at the role of NGOs in implementing IGOs policies, rules or recommendations.

This topic is motivated by a literature gap: it is quite complicated to find a clear theory that stresses systematic patterns in the implementation process of NGOs, as transnational actors. It would be useful to have a theoretical framework that would highlight and explain the conditions under which NGOs can be involved in the implementation process of a policy or recommendation.

Taking into account these last observations, **my theoretical question** will be:

**What is the role of NGO in implementing IGO recommendations?**

I believe that my theoretical question is relevant for the field of Public Administrations for the following reasons. First of all, I will supplement the existing literature on the cooperation between NGOs and IGOs, at a regional level and not only at the UN scale. Secondly, I will try to draw a theoretical framework about the implementation of IGOs' recommendations by NGOs. Finally, I will examine in a deeper way the reasons (why) and tools (how) that account for the role of NGOs in the implementation phase.

## **1.2. Research question and justification of my case selection**

In order to answer my theoretical question and to try to fill the theoretical gaps, I will use an empirical case, based on the following **research question**:

**What was the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation of the Council of Europe (CoE), and how can we explain this role?**

The aim of this research is to understand the reasons why EUROCLIO has been involved in the implementation process of the CoE 2001 Recommendation and to grasp the tools that the NGO used (how) to implement the text.

I chose the case of EUROCLIO as an NGO and the Council of Europe as an IGO because I knew that there was a specific symbiosis between the two and that they had been involved in common projects.

The Council of Europe (CoE), founded in 1949, is the oldest intergovernmental organisation in Europe. It brings together the largest number of European countries: 47 member states, representing 800 million Europeans (CIIE, The CoE, n.d.). Although the CoE is fully independent from the European Union and its institutions, the two entities do collaborate in certain domains. The 28 Member States of the European Union are all members of the Council of Europe. The IGO is composed of two bodies: the Committee of Ministers, which gathers the Foreign Affairs Ministers of member states and is the main decision-making body, and the Parliamentary Assembly, which represents the national parliaments of the 47 member states. Next to it, the Secretary General of the CoE has the overall management of the activities. In order to protect human rights and parliamentary democracy, the CoE is active in many topics, such as culture, democratic institutions, human rights and human dignity,

education and training, languages, minorities, sport, sustainable development, youth, quality of medicine and healthcare. For my research question, I will focus on “education and training”.

One of the Council of Europe’s tools is to elaborate recommendations, which are written by the Committee of Ministers. These non-binding texts provide a policy framework and proposals that governments can implement on the national level. In appropriate cases, “the Committee may request the governments of members to inform it of the action taken by them with regard to such recommendations.” (Council of Europe, 1949)

Although the Committee of Ministers’ recommendations are targeted at member states, my aim is to prove that in certain cases, they are more easily implemented by NGOs.

On 31 October 2001, The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted a recommendation on “history teaching in the twenty-first-century Europe” (Council of Europe, 2001). In this non-binding text, the Committee reaffirmed the importance of history teaching in a democratic Europe to train active citizens, to reinforce reconciliation and cohesion between peoples and to promote fundamental values.

My research question will look into the role of the NGO EUROCLIO in the implementation of this specific recommendation. EUROCLIO - European Association of History Educators “is an umbrella association of more than seventy history, heritage, and citizenship educators’ associations and other organizations active in the field. The organisation was established in 1992 on request of the Council of Europe. Since then, EUROCLIO has worked in many European countries and beyond on a large variety of issues related to the learning and teaching of history. A special focus has been on countries in political transformation and in particular those with inter-ethnic and inter-religious tensions such as Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Romania, Russia and Ukraine. It also worked in regions that have experienced recent violent conflicts such as Former Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Lebanon and the Caucasus.” (EUROCLIO, Who we are, n.d.)

### **1.3. Research Design, data and methods**

This research will follow a single-case study utilising a theory-application. In fact, the theory that will be identified in Chapter 2 will lead to a set of hypotheses. These hypotheses will serve to test the theory in my research. In order to prove or disprove the hypotheses, the

methods used will be process tracing and interviews. I believe that the interviews will be the main sources of data.

#### **1.4. Societal relevance**

The Council of Europe is often confused with the Council of the European Union, the European institution that gathers the European ministers. I think it is therefore important to bring to light the role and actions of this intergovernmental organisation. Although the CoE is not a supranational organisation, like EU institutions, and it does not have the power to impose its policies to its member states, it does have an impact on European citizens. This thesis will demonstrate how the CoE can have an influence on the daily life of European citizens.

Besides, I believe that my empirical case will be useful to understand the current challenges of European societies. In the present European context, in which populism is on the rise and the European project is questioned by polls and elections, history education has an important role to play. The 2001 Recommendation of the Council of Europe stresses the role of history education in promoting an enlarged, democratic and peaceful Europe. I believe it will be beneficial for European members to notice if this recommendation has been implemented or not. The possible limitations of this implementation may explain the reconsideration of the European project and identity today.

Finally, history education and more generally education policy is related with a strong symbol of national identity as it can support social and political functions, such as socialising pupils. Therefore, it will be interesting and revealing to see how an NGO has succeeded or not to make history education more transnational.

#### **1.5. Roadmap**

Following this introductory chapter, we will discuss possible theories that could help to understand the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation and that will help to identify hypotheses (Chapter 2). Chapter 3 gives a clearest Research Design and explains why the methods will help to answer the Research Question. The subsequent chapter (Chapter 4) discusses the findings of the research and analyses them in relation to the hypotheses identified at the end of Chapter 2. Finally, Chapter 5 gives a concise summary of



the whole research, reflects on the theory used and makes suggestions for possible further research.

## Chapter 2: Theory

The theoretical question that is addressed in this thesis is: **What is the role of NGOs in implementing IGO recommendations?**

Through this question, I want to understand why and how NGOs are involved in the implementation process of IGO recommendations.

Before embarking in the research on the specific case of the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO, we must first identify relevant theories about NGOs and IGOs, which will aid us in interpreting and eventually analysing the findings. This passage is necessary in order to, at the end of the dissertation, be able to prove or disprove the hypotheses that will be identified at the end of this chapter.

First of all, cooperation between IGOs and NGOs is not necessarily evident, so it is important to understand and explain why both actors work together.

### **2.1. Why do IGOs and NGOs cooperate?**

Jens Steffek (2013) constructed a very useful theoretical framework to answer this question. According to him, the academic field has a large quantity of empirical literature about the relation between IGOs and NGOs but not enough theoretical patterns; that is why he wanted to develop a more systematic approach to the analysis of IGO-NGO relations.

Unlike the literature that describes NGOs as a “third force” (p.998), which rivals states and IGOs, Steffek wants to demonstrate that NGOs can also be their partners. In a partnership, both sides should have interests to cooperate and the aim of the article is to highlight both sides’ motivations.

First of all, the motivations of both parties can change depending on their tasks and roles in the policy-cycle. The policy-cycle is an idealised standard procedure of policy-making which includes different phases: (1) agenda-setting; (2) research and analysis; (3) policy formulation; (4) policy decision; (5) policy implementation; (6) policy evaluation.

In order to understand and explain cooperation between IGOs and NGOs, Steffek uses two concepts, which vary along the policy-cycle. On the one hand, “pull factors” are the motivations of IGOs to collaborate with NGOs (p.1003). On the other hand, “push factors”

are the motivations of NGOs to collaborate with IGOs (p.1006). The following table gives an overview.

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| <b>Influencing factors</b><br><b>Policy phase</b> | <b>Pull factors</b><br><b>(IGOs pulling NGOs in)</b>        | <b>Push factors</b><br><b>(NGOs pushing into IGOs)</b>  |
|---|---|---|
| <b>Agenda-setting</b>                             | IGOs seek NGO assistance in identifying new issues          | NGOs seek to influence the IGO's agenda   |
| <b>Research and analysis</b>                      | IGOs seek NGO collaboration to acquire additional expertise | NGOs seek to inform the research process and/or seek financing for the provision of expertise |
| <b>Policy formulation</b>                         | –   | NGOs seek to influence the IGO's policy formulation   |
| <b>Policy decision</b>                            | –   | NGOs seek to influence the IGO's policy choices   |
| <b>Policy implementation</b>                      | IGOs seek NGO collaboration to implement their own projects | NGOs seek financing for the implementation of projects  |
| <b>Policy evaluation</b>                          | IGOs seek NGO data to monitor parties' compliance           | NGOs wish to assure parties' compliance   |

Table 1. *A theoretical framework for analysing IGO-NGO relations*

Steffek (2013; p. 1008)

### ***From the point of view of IGOs (Pull factors)***

In the global governance of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Rosenau, 1995), IGOs seek for NGOs' collaboration in identifying emerging problems in the global agenda setting that often take place in "forum organisations" (p.1004). This corresponds to the culture of consultation initiated by the Economic and Social Council of the UN.

In the same context, the solutions to global problems have become more complex and IGOs look for NGOs' expertise for the formulation of their policies to deal with these problems. This is especially true in environmental and economic areas.

Furthermore, the most important pull factors, both in the text and for the theoretical question, take place in the policy implementation phase. At this policy stage, IGOs seek for NGOs because they do not have enough staff to implement their policies or projects. This is especially true in the field of development, in which IGOs transfer funds to NGOs to implement their projects. In the case of the World Bank, almost 70% of its development projects are implemented by NGOs, which has led to a gathering of NGOs in the field of development (p.1005). Lastly, IGOs look for NGOs' help to comply with international norms and agreements.

### *From the point of view of NGOs (Push factors)*

Most transnational NGOs usually fulfil two functions: they either act as service providers or they engage in advocacy (p.1006). In the first case, NGOs are engaged in a contract with IGOs and need money to implement the project. In the second case, NGOs seek to collaborate with IGOs to influence each policy stage and bring into it their own ideas, goals and values.

It is interesting to see that through the analysis of the policy implementation phase, both pull and push factors are very functional: IGOs are driven by a need of staff while NGOs are driven by a need of funds. Steffek admits that he analyses both organisations as a whole and that individuals may have additional interests or motivations in the cooperation.

Finally, more general reasons should be taken into consideration when searching for motivations. First, with the development of standards of “good governance” (p.1011), IGOs may be pressured to include civil society to increase their legitimacy. Secondly, sociological reasons may account for path dependence and organisational culture; cooperation between both organisations leads to socialising actors who are then stuck in the path-dependency of a “culture of consultation” (p.1012). From the side of IGOs, this culture of consultation makes it harder to exclude NGOs from new policies or new bodies. From the side of NGOs, this can result in their professionalization and bureaucratization.

To conclude, IGOs and NGOs seem to cooperate at the implementation phase of the policy-cycle for very functional reasons. However, I believe that this rational cooperation may be affected by other factors and their collaboration during the implementation of a project may not be that smooth. For instance, some conflicts may arise within member states of an IGO and that may impact the implementation of a certain project. When analysing IGO-NGO relations, it is also important to take into account the actors and not only look at the organisation as a whole; the professionalization and socialisation of actors can explain why both organisations keep on working together.

I expect that these functional reasons will be verified in the results, but that sounder reasons account for the cooperation between the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO. Furthermore, I expect that the argument of path-dependency will be very relevant to understand the historical connection between both organisations.

As mentioned above, the symbiosis between IGOs and NGOs varies according to the policy cycle. The research question of this thesis looks into the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the CoE 2001 Recommendation. It is therefore primordial to search for the factors that drive this stage, in order to understand how EUROCLIO has succeeded or not to implement the recommendation.

## **2.2. What characterizes the policy implementation stage?**

### **a) Definition**

First of all, implementation can be defined as “the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually made in a statute (although also possible through important executive orders or court decision.) Ideally, that decision identifies the problem(s) to be addressed, stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued, and, in a variety of ways, structures the implementation process” (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980, 540).

According to Sabatier and Mazmanian, a statute “structures” the implementation process by stipulating a set of clear and consistent objectives, incorporating a sound theory relating behavioural change to these objectives, selecting the implementing institutions and providing them with resources and giving opportunities to non institutional actors to be involved (p.544).

Donald S. Van Meter and Carl E. Van Horn (1975) have another definition of the implementation process, which focuses more on the implementers rather than on the decision-making actors embodied in the statute of Sabatier seen above. “Policy implementation encompasses those actions by public and private individual (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions. This includes both one-time efforts to transform decisions into operational terms, as well as continuing efforts to achieve the small and large efforts changes mandated by policy decisions.” (p.447)

I believe it is relevant to take into consideration both definitions because in Chapter 4 I will analyse the 2001 Recommendation that has driven the implementation process, but also the actors involved as implementers of this recommendation.

### **b) Which factors can affect the execution of a policy?**

Donald S. Van Meter and Carl E. Van Horn (1975) developed a conceptual framework of the implementation process. This framework will be useful to pinpoint relevant questions in the

interview guide but also to analyse the interviews and identify which factors had an influence on the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation by EUROCLIO.

### **I- The features of a policy**

First of all, the implementation of a policy depends on the features of this policy.

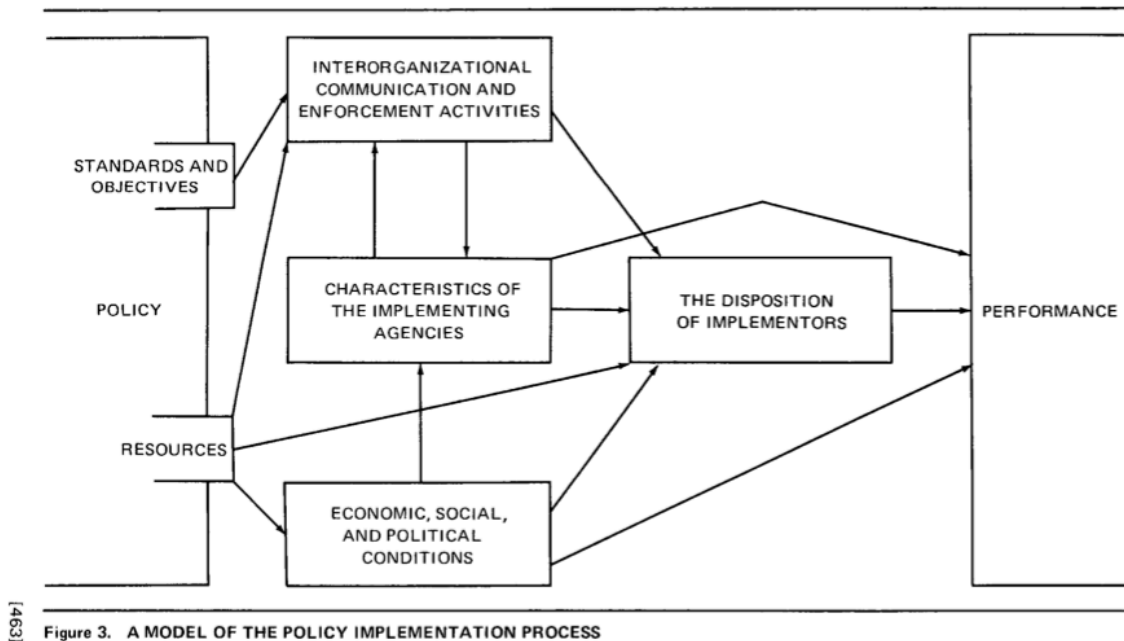
The authors classify policies according to two features: the amount of change implied by this policy and the consensus among the policy's goals and objectives (p.458). That is to say, most public policies fall in the "major change / low consensus" category, which require major change and then lead to goal conflict, or the "minor change / high consensus" category, which require little change and then lead to high consensus for the goals of this policy (p.460). Based on this typology, the authors conclude that the "goal consensus" feature is more important because policies with a higher consensus among the goals and objectives will be more easily implemented (p.462).

In the empirical case, I expect that the "goal consensus" feature may have affected the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation because the different member states of the CoE do not necessarily have common goals for their history education policies.

### **II- Factors that can link the policy with its performance**

Secondly, the implementation of a policy depends on other factors, which occur during the implementation process. Donald S. Van Meter and Carl E. Van Horn wanted to show how these factors can play a role in the policy's performance. By performance, the authors mean that the policy is executed.

Six factors are identified: **the policy standards and objectives** defined in the policy formulation and usually mentioned in the statute. According to Paul Sabatier and Daniel Mazmanian (1980), the achievement of these standards and objectives is more likely to happen when the statute demonstrates that the implementation is technically feasible, when it stipulates a set of clear and ranked objectives and when it assigns implementing agencies. The five other factors are the **policy resources** provided by policy-makers to administrators, the **inter-organisational communication and enforcement activities**, the **characteristics of the implementing agencies**, the **economic, social and political context** and finally **the disposition of the implementers**. The following model gives an overview.



Van Meter, Van Horn (1975; p.463)

As policy implementation is a **process**, these different factors are linked together and can have a positive effect on the execution of the policy in question.

First of all, if the standards and objectives are well communicated to the implementers, it will have a positive impact on their disposition to integrate the objectives, accept it, and implement it (p.474). Secondly, policy resources (funds or other incentives) have a direct positive effect on the disposition of implementers, but are also conditioned by good communication: implementers need to perceive what their interests are in implementing a policy (p.475). Thirdly, the economic, social and political conditions can have an impact on the characteristics of the implementing agencies (competences, vitality, network), the disposition of implementers and directly affect the performance of the policy. For instance, positive social conditions, such as the support by citizens, can strengthen the disposition of implementers (p.476). Fourthly, the characteristics of the implementing agencies have an effect on the behaviour and disposition of actors. As mentioned before, the nature of the communication network, the type of hierarchy and leadership can influence the individual's identification with the policy's aims (p.477), and then motivate them to implement the policy. Finally, there is an interactive mechanism between the characteristics of the implementing agencies and the organizational communication and enforcement activities. On the one hand, enforcement activities can provide the implementing agencies with added expertise and

vitality, which will enhance the implementation. On the other hand, the nature of these enforcement policies is conditioned by the characteristics of the implementing agencies. These enforcement activities can refer to normative powers such as socialisation, persuasion and co-optation or remunerative powers such as the participation in a program or the allocation of grants (p.478).

In the empirical case, EUROCLIO will be identified as the implementing agency, and the implementers will be history teachers coming from different member states of the Council of Europe. I expect that the enforcement activities that EUROCLIO provided to history teachers have had a positive effect on the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation. I also expect that the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation was conditioned by good inter-organisation communication, and may have been positively or negatively affected by political and social conditions.

In the framework, the characteristics of the implementing agencies are decisive as they condition the disposition of the implementers. It is therefore important to search for the characteristics of EUROCLIO as an NGO, in order to understand why it has been an important actor in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, NGOs are a new type of transnational actors, hence, they must possess specific characteristics and tools.

### **2.3. Why are NGOs important actors in the implementation process?**

#### **a) The sources of NGOs' authority and legitimacy**

In a review of the academic work on Transnational Civil Society (TCS), Richard Price (2003) identifies the principal factors that condition activists' success according to their characteristics: authority and legitimacy. According to the literature, TCS derives its authority from three sources: **expertise, moral influence and a claim to political legitimacy** (p.587).

First of all, **expertise** is often associated to the scientific community, identified as "epistemic communities" (Haas, 1992, as cited in Price, 2003, p.587), due to the power and authority of science in modern societies. However, human rights activists also seem to expand their legitimacy upon their reputation to provide "objective expertise", as "disinterested" actors (p.589). Therefore, NGOs, which most of the time work in the human rights field are



legitimised and respected among modern societies because they are perceived as objective experts.

The second source of their authority is **the moral authority**. TCS' actions are often perceived as morally right by citizens or policy-makers, as these actions are based on principles, such as peace, human rights, equality or freedom. However, this brand of authority is contested among scholars because organisations are legitimate in the eyes of a particular audience, therefore, this moral authority is not universal.

Finally, their authority derives from their claims to **represent communities**. NGOs can claim to speak directly for a substantial part of the population; this power of representation strengthens their legitimacy as they are presenting themselves as agents addressing the democratic deficit of traditional powers (Price, 2003, p.590). This basis of authority has encountered much criticism in the academic field as their accountability is sometimes questioned. In fact, not all NGOs that have members consult with them or provide them with opportunities to influence the NGO's agenda (Kotzian & Steffek, 2013, p.79).

When engaging with IGOs, NGOs can distinguish themselves by using these three sources of authority and legitimacy as resources that IGOs may lack. First, NGOs can present themselves as providers of the "right" information and usually seek to exchange this information for influence within IGOs (Kotzian & Steffek, 2013, p.64). Secondly, they can take advantage of their moral authority and use the moral quality of their arguments to push for certain policies (p.65). Finally, they can claim to have direct links with relevant people or engage in public action on behalf of their representation power (p.65).

With the rise of protests against corrupt governments in modern societies and the rise of post-factualism in the digital age, the sources of authority and legitimacy previously described become even more important for NGOs. In other words, in a context in which trust and knowledge are questioned, NGOs can enjoy a higher level of trust and knowledge than domestic governments or IGOs.

In the empirical case, I expect that NGOs' expertise and power of representation as sources of authority and legitimacy will be very relevant arguments. In fact, I expect that EUROCLIO has used its expertise and its capacity to represent history educators to first engage with the Council of Europe, and then to implement the 2001 Recommendation. I do not think that EUROCLIO's moral authority will be so often outlined as the NGO does not engage in public actions.

## **b) NGOs' Members**

As previously noted, the capacity of NGOs to compensate the democratic deficit of global governance has been questioned in the academic field. NGOs that have members seem to be more equipped to function as a “transmission belt” (Kotzian & Steffek, 2013 p.56) and therefore to connect citizens with international governance. Kotzian and Steffek (2013) tried to question this shared belief and raised an interesting question: do members make a difference? In other words, do NGOs with members have more legitimacy and resources than consultative NGOs without members?

Their main finding is that members do not automatically make NGOs more connected with their societal constituencies, because not all NGOs consult with their members or provide them with ways to influence the agenda setting or policy-making of the organisation (p.79).

However, if they do, they can fulfil the good governance criteria (transparency, accountability, inclusion efforts) more easily than consultative NGOs without members. Therefore, members can strengthen the legitimacy of NGOs only if these latter give them opportunities of participation.

In the empirical case, I expect that EUROCLIO has given opportunities to its members to influence the NGO's agenda and that this democratic participation has increased the legitimacy of EUROCLIO regarding influential actors (decision-makers, networks, institutions). More importantly, I presume that EUROCLIO's members have reinforced the legitimacy of EUROCLIO to act as a transnational actor and have been used as a platform for the dissemination of the 2001 recommendation.

## **c) NGOs' network**

Like Steffek noticed (2013, p.1006), transnational NGOs usually fulfil two functions: they act as service providers (with IGOs) or they engage in advocacy to influence politics. However, their success in influencing politics is conditioned by their network: “Success in influencing policy depends on the strength and density of the network, and its ability to achieve leverage.” (Keck & Sikkink, 2002, as cited in Tallberg et al., 2015, p.7).

In fact, Tallberg et al. (2015) found that NGOs are more likely to influence policy-making in IGOs if they join forces in transnational networks (p.22). Therefore, being part of a civil society network would give more credibility to NGOs and would in turn enable them to have access to policy institutions.

This result shows that NGOs may be instrumental actors, like interest groups, that seek to deploy the means at their disposal in order to influence policy makers.

Elizabeth Bloodgood (2010) questioned the analogy between interest groups and NGOs, and concluded that although NGOs behave in many ways as interest groups through their strategies to influence politics, an important difference separates them: NGOs have transnational networks contrary to “nationally bounded interest groups” (p.104). Hence, NGOs can gain strength in two ways: first, by forming a coalition and putting pressure on powerful external actors, secondly, by using the great variety of strategic policy arenas, such as policymaking forums (p.104).

In the empirical case, I expect that the involvement of EUROCLIO in different networks has enabled the NGO to have access to policy bodies and eventually, to advocate for the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation or to find funds for projects which involve the 2001 Recommendation.

Moreover, I believe that there may be an interactive mechanism between the network of an NGO and its sources of authority (expertise, moral authority and power of representation). On the one hand, an NGO may have a better chance to enter a network if it possesses expertise, moral authority and power of representation. On the other hand, being part of a network may strengthen the expertise and the moral and political legitimacy of the NGO.

## **2.4. Hypotheses**

Following the analysis of the theory, and considering the case at hand, the following hypotheses have been identified:

**H1:** EUROCLIO has played a role in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation because of its objective expertise.

**H2:** EUROCLIO has played a role in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation because of its legitimacy to represent history educators.

**H3:** The two resources mentioned above have had a positive effect on the disposition of history educators to implement the 2001 Recommendation.

**H4:** EUROCLIO’s members have been a source of legitimacy for EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation.

**H5:** The political and social context has had a positive impact on the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation by EUROCLIO.

**H6:** The political and social context has had a negative impact on the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation by EUROCLIO.

**H7:** EUROCLIO has taken advantage of its networks to implement the 2001 Recommendation.

The next section presents the design chosen to test the hypotheses.

## Chapter 3: Research Design

The following design has been chosen to answer the question: **what was the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation of the Council of Europe (CoE), and how can we explain this role?**

### 3.1. Type of research and case selection

The type of the research is positive, empirical and explanatory.

The research follows a single-case study and utilises theory-application with the aim of answering the Research Question. In fact, the case study is based on a pre-theoretical discussion that has led to a set of hypotheses (Chapter 2). The theory will be applied in the empirical observation and will help to test the hypotheses (Chapter 4).

It is most likely that all the hypotheses will be verified in the empirical case even though H.1 and H.2 are the most strongly supported by the theory identified in Chapter 2.

The case selection is motivated by the literature gap identified in the introduction: the empirical case will help to identify systematic patterns and conditions under which NGOs can be involved in the implementation process of IGOs' policies or recommendations.

As previously identified in the theory, IGOs and NGOs collaborate for different reasons and the case of the CoE and EUROCLIO will aid to elaborate new explanations. The symbiosis between the CoE and EUROCLIO has been firstly verified by the fact that EUROCLIO was established in 1992 on the request of the CoE and it has been involved in different CoE projects since then.

The four most prominent themes in international governance are: Trade, Environment, Peace and Human Rights (Kotzian, Steffek, 2013). The CoE and EUROCLIO are active in latter two (peace and human rights), therefore, the findings of the case may be generalised to other NGOs and IGOs active in the same fields.

### **3.2. Operationalization and data collection**

The dependent variable of this case is the “implementation of the CoE 2001 Recommendation” and its independent variable is the “role of EUROCLIO”. These variables are very abstract and need to be translated into less abstract concepts that can be “detected, classified and measured in the empirical world.” (Toshkov, 2016, p.100)

Based on the hypotheses identified with the help of the theory, different concepts are hidden behind the “role of EUROCLIO”: EUROCLIO’s objective expertise, legitimacy to represent history educators and other external concepts such as EUROCLIO’s network, members, disposition of the implementers (history educators, ministries’ representatives) and the political and social context. The main concepts here are EUROCLIO’s expertise and legitimacy. EUROCLIO’s expertise can be translated into its capacity to bring the 2001 Recommendation to life by running intergovernmental projects, history education workshops and seminars. Then, the indicators of its expertise can be the number of projects run by EUROCLIO and related to the recommendation. EUROCLIO’s legitimacy can be translated as its capacity to be accepted and recognised as a legitimate NGO through the different projects by history educators, teacher trainers or representatives of the ministries. This will be measured mainly through the interviews. Another indicator can also be the number of meetings with ministries and official actors or the number of EUROCLIO’s members since its creation in 1992. EUROCLIO’s network is also an important concept and corresponds to its relations with other NGOs or involvement in European networks that contributed to its institutionalisation in the European arena and its access to policy-making bodies. Indicators can be the partners of EUROCLIO, its participation in forums or EU consultation meetings, its advocacy missions, its sources of funding by policy-making bodies. The “disposition of implementers” is identified as the willingness of history educators, teacher trainers or representatives of ministries from the CoE member states to spread the CoE’s instrument or to directly implement practices and principles coming from the recommendation. Furthermore, indicators are the dissemination of the 2001 Recommendation, the number of follow-up actions related to the recommendation, the number of teachers’ trainings, the development of new textbooks, curricula and their dissemination, and the similarity between these textbooks & curricula and the recommendation. Finally, the “political and social conditions” are the events that occurred in the different CoE member states and that had an impact on the previous indicators.

In order to measure and test these different concepts, different kinds of data will be collected and used. First of all, CoE reports, CoE website pages and other closed documents about history education at the CoE (which I can access thanks to my internship at EUROCLIO) will help me to understand the context and background that led to the writing of the 2001 Recommendation. I will then use the official recommendation and analyse it through the theoretical framework identified in Chapter 2. To grasp the reasons of cooperation between the CoE and EUROCLIO, I will look at the origins of EUROCLIO utilising its website, its statute, CoE website and written testimonies. The main focus of Chapter 4 will be on the MATRA programme, as a case example of the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation by EUROCLIO. The Dutch MATRA programme was launched in 1993 to support democratisation in Central and Eastern Europe. In the context of EU-enlargement, this programme has aimed to support the dialogue between civil society and governments, and to develop bilateral relations in the various countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009, p.6). The CoE and EUROCLIO took the opportunity to join this programme and made a common project proposal in 2001 to the Ministry to ask for a grant in order to implement actions of the programme. By focusing on this programme, I expect to find out how IGOs and NGOs cooperate during the implementation of a project and to apprehend the role of EUROCLIO as an implementer of the 2001 Recommendation through this programme. I will analyse the project proposal in order to identify the resources that both organisations used to convince the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

My second and main source of data will be **interviews**. I chose to use this data collection technique for the following reasons. First of all, the 2001 Recommendation and MATRA programme are aimed at history education, which implies one needs to speak with history teachers, in order to apprehend their personal points of view and understand national situations. Secondly, the CoE and EUROCLIO work most of the time on the field, that is to say: through workshops, seminars and teachers' trainings. Therefore, the best way to get a fair picture of their work is to interview people who have experienced said workshops, seminars or trainings. Finally, the interviews will compensate the lack of written sources on the MATRA programme. As I am interested in the implementation of the recommendation in certain member states of the CoE, I would have to search for reports written by the respective Ministries of Education, which are probably in their national languages, resulting in language barriers.

I therefore chose to do **six interviews**: First, I interview three history teachers coming from three CoE member states (Ukraine, Russia, Serbia) and in which EUROCLIO or the CoE ran projects for the MATRA programme. It is primordial to interview local participants of the MATRA programme in order to understand how they experienced the programme and how the projects had an impact at their level. Of these three history teachers, one of them works at the Serbian Ministry of Education, which is a great opportunity to learn the point of view of an intergovernmental actor. I will also interview two CoE experts who have become EUROCLIO experts too. As they are used to represent the CoE, I presume they will be able to speak on its behalf during the interviews. Furthermore, as they have worked with both organisations, they are in the position to explain the cooperation between the CoE and EUROCLIO best. Finally, one of them, Robert Stradling, is the author of the handbook *Teaching 20<sup>th</sup> Century European History* and he took part in the drafting of the 2001 Recommendation, so it is essential to interview him. My last interview will be with the founder and special advisor of EUROCLIO, Joke van der Leeuw-Roord. This interview will be a unique opportunity to collect data about the origins of EUROCLIO, about the relation between the NGO and the IGO, about the MATRA programme and concerning the role of EUROCLIO in the field of history education in the past 25 years.



## Chapter 4: Results and Analysis

Before looking at the data and analysing the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the CoE 2001 Recommendation, this chapter gives a contextual overview. First, we will examine the origins of EUROCLIO and its cooperation with the CoE. Then, we will analyse the text in question to see if it has structured the implementation process. Thirdly, the MATRA programme will be introduced as a case study for the implementation of the recommendation. For the analysis of this case study, one closed document and six interviews will be used. Throughout these different sections, the theoretical framework will be applied and will help to answer the Research Question and more essentially to confirm or reject the hypotheses.

### **4.1. The origins of EUROCLIO and its cooperation with the Council of Europe**

In 1991, the CoE organised a symposium in Bruges, bringing together experts, history teachers and education representatives from Western and Eastern Europe, to debate about history teaching in the “New Europe” (CoE, The “New Europe” (1989-1998) n.d.). This international seminar was an opportunity for practitioners in history education to discuss the possibilities of setting up an association of history teachers. This first step resulted in two other meetings, in Strasbourg (1992) and Leeuwarden (1993), where representatives of approximately 14 European countries met to set up the “European Standing Conference of History Teachers’ Association” (first name of EUROCLIO) (CoE, The “New Europe” (1989-1998) n.d.).

According to Robert Stradling – a CoE consultant, and Joke van der Leeuw-Roord – the founder of EUROCLIO, the CoE recommended the creation of EUROCLIO in 1992 (Strasbourg) because the intergovernmental organisation lacked practitioners in the field of history education. When she was at the first meeting in Bruges in 1991, the founder of EUROCLIO was told by the previous Deputy Director of the CoE that the work of the IGO in history education since in 1949 did not have enough influence on school practices, which is why the CoE wanted to change their method and start working with practitioners. This information is confirmed in a written testimony by Maitland Stobart (See Appendix 2), the previous Deputy Director in question who argued that the creation of EUROCLIO was driven

by historical and functional needs. First, the fall of Soviet Union in 1991 caused a massive redefinition of national and collective identities in Central, South Eastern and Eastern Europe, and the new Republics were looking for support from Western Europe to change their history curricula and set up independent associations. Secondly, the projects of the CoE failed to reach policy-makers and practitioners, due to weak dissemination, so “perhaps the new grouping could remedy this situation - at least for history teaching - through its annual conferences and seminars, its newsletter, and even a website on history education.” (Stobart, 2004). Furthermore, the ‘new grouping’ would “encourage the pooling and sharing of experience and good practice, sponsor co-operation and joint projects between associations of history teachers, and act as an adviser and as a relay for the international and European institutions.” (Stobart, 2004).

These first stories confirm certain theoretical arguments. First of all, the functional need mentioned above confirms one of the “pull factors” depicted by Jens Steffek (2013): in the policy implementation, IGOs seek for NGO cooperation to implement and disseminate their own projects. Furthermore, Steffek argues that IGOs usually lack staff for the implementation of their projects; here, we can say that the CoE lacked the right staff: they did not have history practitioners and the creation of EUROCLIO was an opportunity for them to work with experts throughout Europe. Secondly, Maitland Stobart underlined the tools that the “new grouping” (EUROCLIO) could possess as an NGO: a platform for dissemination (annual conferences, newsletter, website) but more importantly a network of experienced actors that could advise EU institutions. This last argument proves that NGOs are important actors because of their expertise and network (Chapter 2).

Following this brief contextualisation, and before searching for a deeper understanding of the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation, the next section will analyse the text in question.

## **4.2. The Council of Europe 2001 Recommendation**

The aim of the thesis is to grasp the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the CoE 2001 Recommendation, therefore, a first analysis of the non-binding text is necessary. A short background will help to understand what led to the creation of this recommendation.

## **a) Background**

Founded in 1949, the CoE had already undertaken many actions in the fields of history education, human rights, culture and the 2001 Recommendation refers at its beginning to CoE's emblematic texts and actions. The most famous text is the *European Cultural Convention*, signed in Paris on 19 December 1954, and which main purpose is to develop a mutual understanding among the peoples of Europe, to appreciate their cultural diversity while protecting the European culture, heritage and fundamental values (CoE, 1954). The convention was ratified by the 47 Member States of the CoE and 3 Non-Member States: Belarus, Holy See and Kazakhstan (CoE, 2017).

Since 1949, history education has occupied a special place in the CoE's education programme, as history has a role to play for the education of European citizens and in bridging differences (CoE, History teaching, n.d.). Between the 1950's and 1990's, the main responsibility of the CoE was to review history textbooks; after the Second World War and the use of history teaching as a weapon of propaganda by the Nazi regime, the task of the CoE was to eradicate bias and prejudice in history textbooks but also to encourage the highest standards of honesty and fairness in European countries (CoE, 1986, p.1).

The most relevant highlight mentioned in the introduction of the recommendation is the 'Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century (1997-2001)' project. Launched in 1997 upon a mandate of the European Ministers of Education, represented in the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education (See Appendix 1 to understand the administrative organisation of the CoE), the project lasted three years and resulted in different outcomes (CoE, Learning and teaching, n.d.). Among these outcomes, two can be outlined: the handbook *Teaching 20<sup>th</sup> Century European History* (Robert Stradling, 2001); the author realised that the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century represented a significant share of history curricula across Europe, so its intention was to provide teachers with a wider range of teaching material and perspectives for the study of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. This handbook was reinforced by the second outcome, which is the 2001 Recommendation.

To conclude this background, the 2001 CoE Recommendation did not come as a surprise and the Council of Europe had already undertaken many actions in the field of history education before. However, the CoE stipulates that "this text [the 2001 Recommendation] is the first, and so far the only European instrument of such nature in this area, setting clear methodological principles on the objectives of history teaching in a democratic and pluralist Europe." (CoE, Learning and teaching, n.d.) Therefore, it is even more revealing to see how EUROCLIO has implemented this "European instrument".

## **b) Analysis**

Based on the theory identified in Chapter 2, the aim of this reflection is to see if the recommendation fulfils the functions of a traditional statute in guiding the implementation process. However, it is important to notice that this recommendation is not binding to member states and the Committee of Ministers may only “request the governments of members to inform it of the action taken by them with regard to such recommendations.” (Statute of the Council of Europe, 1949, Art. 15 b) Nevertheless, the comparison will help to reflect on the influence of the recommendation in the implementation process.

As previously stated in Chapter 2, a traditional statute usually structures the implementation process by stipulating a set of clear and consistent objectives, incorporating a sound theory relating behavioural change to these objectives, selecting the implementing institutions and providing them with resources and giving opportunities to non-institutional actors to be involved (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980, p.544).

First of all, the recommendation does have four shorter recommendations that can be identified as four objectives, but the latter are not very consistent and are not ranked. For instance, one of the objectives that member states’ governments should fulfil is to “continue activities relating to history teaching in order to strengthen trusting and tolerant relations within and between states and to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century” (CoE, 2001). This objective is very broad and does not concretely indicate which type of activities governments should pursue. Furthermore, the recommendation does not prioritise any of the objectives, letting governments decide for themselves what should be achieved first.

Secondly, the recommendation inquires many behavioural changes in the field of history education but does not really demonstrate the technical validity and effectiveness of these desired reforms. The third and fifth points (selecting implementing agencies and non-institutional actors) are not relevant here because the intergovernmental organisation does not have this power as the recommendation is non-binding.

Last but not least, even though the text does not select implementing agencies, it provides member states’ governments with resources that can be identified as the strong guidelines written after the four objectives; the CoE especially incites governments to use the material developed in the CoE project ‘Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the twentieth century’ (Coe, 2001, appendix 3) in schools.

To conclude, the recommendation does not structure the implementation process as a traditional statute, but it includes strong and detailed guidelines that can drive and help the

implementers. We can presume that EUROCLIO has used these guidelines in its different projects, especially during the MATRA programme, to implement the recommendation.

### **4.3. The MATRA programme as a case study for the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation by EUROCLIO.**

As stated in the description of EUROCLIO's origins, the NGO was set up in the context of the collapse of the Iron Curtain, which caused a massive redefinition of national and collective identities in the Former Soviet Republics and other former Communist states. The 1990's were also marked by the Yugoslav Wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia, which entangled in extremely violent interethnic conflicts that majorly disrupted societies. After these wars, the three countries had to rebuild their societies and politicians used history education to manipulate group's identities and promote ethnocentric, nationalist and victimizing perspectives (Brouwer & Westerling, 2009).

Since its creation in 1992, EUROCLIO has engaged in many projects in Central and Eastern European countries to support a transition in history education and the creation of independent associations of history educators. I chose to focus on the following case study: 'Council of Europe and EUROCLIO in international co-operation on facilitating the innovation of the learning and teaching in history in the MATRA countries' (Secretariat General, 2001).

The MATRA programme was launched in 1993 by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs to support democratisation in Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union. "The name, MATRA, derives from the Dutch for social transformation, 'maatschappelijke transformatie'" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009, p.4). The programme has been aimed at countries in Eastern Europe, Western Balkans and Turkey.

As previously justified in the research design (Chapter 3), I chose this case study in order to concretely see how IGOs and NGOs cooperate through a project, and secondly, to grasp the role of EUROCLIO as an implementer of the 2001 Council of Europe recommendation.

It is also important to mention that the CoE and EUROCLIO have cooperated in many more projects and still do today.

I will first look at the project proposal in order to analyse the argument of the CoE and EUROCLIO and see what kind of resources they brought forward to prove their capacity as project managers as an IGO and an NGO. The next sections will present a reflection on the six interviews and will test the hypotheses.

**a) Proposal for a MATRA project: Council of Europe and EUROCLIO in international co-operation on facilitating innovation of the learning and teaching of history in the MATRA countries** (See Appendix 2)

The first source of analysis is the project proposal that the CoE sent on behalf of itself and EUROCLIO to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs in July 2001. In this document, the CoE asked for a grant for a three-year period from September 2001-September 2004 to support the executive capability of EUROCLIO, in order to “facilitate the Innovation of History Education with a focus on Peace, Stability and Democracy” in the MATRA countries (Secretariat General, 2001, p.2).

The most relevant points of this proposal for the research question are the approach and resources that both organisations have claimed to use in the project implementation in order to fulfil the following objectives: maintaining an extended network in the MATRA countries (1), lobbying governments for a responsible history education (2), organising different kinds of activities (3), implementing and disseminating the material developed to reach school practices (4 and 5) and finally leading comparative research (6) (SG, 2001, p. 5).

First of all, the Council of Europe as an IGO has an intergovernmental network, while EUROCLIO as an NGO has a professional network. The combination of these two networks would allow them to reach different actors and to strengthen the networks in the MATRA countries. Secondly, both organisations have been used to raise awareness about the importance of history education. This point is especially true for EUROCLIO, as the NGO depends on external funding and has the experience to raise funds to support projects. Nevertheless, the Council of Europe has an intergovernmental network and is able to reach the representatives of education policies in its 43 member states (at that time). Thirdly, both organisations have the experience in organising activities in history education. On the one hand, since its creation in 1949, the CoE has already organised many international conferences on history education. On the other hand, since its creation in 1992, EUROCLIO has worked on a more practical level through teacher trainings and the development of innovative teaching material. Therefore, the expertise of EUROCLIO would also be used to develop new curricula and textbooks in the MATRA countries. For the dissemination of these materials, both organisations have their own resources; the CoE has many dissemination channels, among which are the different European workshops, national disseminations and training events (Council of Europe, Activities, n.d.). EUROCLIO has its website and, more importantly, can use its 67 member organisations from 41 countries (at that time) as dissemination channels. Finally, thanks to its member organisations, EUROCLIO possesses a

huge amount of comparative research on history education across Europe, therefore, the NGO is able to advise and assist experts and institutions to contribute in defining priorities in the area of history education in Europe.

In conclusion, both organisations seem to be able to bring different inputs in order to implement the objectives of the project proposal. The Council of Europe, as an IGO founded in 1949, had already run bilateral and multilateral programmes in the MATRA countries and developed strong ties with education representatives. Thanks to its intergovernmental nature, they would be able to reach educational authorities to lobby for a better history education and disseminate the project outcomes.

Next to this, EUROCLIO had developed a strong professional network of history educators across Europe since its creation in 1992, therefore, it had the expertise and legitimacy to develop new teaching material and advise educational authorities.

“Guiding a process of change, which involves attitudes and beliefs of people, requires time and intensive contacts.” (SG, 2001, p.10) As an NGO, EUROCLIO seems to be the most appropriate actor to reach these “attitudes and beliefs”: its legitimacy to represent history educators has allowed it to develop strong ties with people, who must trust the NGO as they produce in kind contributions.

The first conclusion drawn from the project proposal supports Hypothesis 1 (“EUROCLIO has played a role in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation because of its objective expertise.”) and Hypothesis 2 (“EUROCLIO has played a role in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation because of its legitimacy to represent history educators.”)

The CoE chose to create this joint proposal with EUROCLIO because the NGO has the expertise to run activities, make comparative research and develop new teaching resources. Moreover, EUROCLIO was a relevant partner for the CoE because the NGO has the legitimacy in the field of history education to represent history educators with its 67 member organisations from 41 countries (at that time).

After analysing the project proposal, I will see how these different resources have concretely been applied during the MATRA programme, through the examination of the interviews.

## **b) Interviews**

As was previously noted, I conducted six interviews: three interviews with history teachers from CoE member states who were involved in the MATRA programme as national coordinators; two interviews with CoE/EUROCLIO experts; and one with the founder and special advisor of EUROCLIO (See Chapter 3 for a detailed description). Not all of the interviewees took part in the MATRA programme: the two CoE experts were not involved, nevertheless, interviewing them has been very useful to understand the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation.

This section has been divided based on the most relevant answers that can address the Research Question. The different hypotheses will be tested throughout the analysis.

### **I. Why the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO cooperate?**

As explained in Section 4.1 (origins of EUROCLIO), the creation of EUROCLIO in 1992 was an opportunity for the CoE to work with practitioners and have a better chance to influence and change school practices. For 25 years, EUROCLIO has developed its own professional network all across Europe and now has “the biggest network of history educators”, according to the Ukrainian history teacher. Therefore, the CoE can take advantage of this network when searching for history educators to run a project.

From the side of EUROCLIO, its cooperation with the Council of Europe is explained by different reasons. First of all, the most obvious functional reason is that the CoE has allowed and facilitated EUROCLIO actions by funding different projects. However, other reasons are identified in the interviews: EUROCLIO can benefit from the CoE’s intergovernmental network and reach different ministries of education. For instance, the founder of EUROCLIO argued that, although she has not experienced very well the MATRA projects with the CoE, she had the opportunity to talk with different ministers about new approaches in history education; this would not have been possible without the CoE. Furthermore, in the opinion of the CoE expert (10/07/17), the CoE contributed to the institutionalisation and legitimisation of EUROCLIO: “the fact that EUROCLIO was supported and had a partnership with the CoE at its foundation, it sent a message that it was a serious stuff and not only amateurs who want to build an NGO”.

Overall, the cooperation between the CoE and EUROCLIO is depicted as a “win-win situation” (CoE expert, 10/07/17) because they both benefit from their differences. EUROCLIO works in the field as a “proactive organisation” thanks to its professional



network of practitioners, while the CoE works at the ministries' level as a "reactive organisation." In other words, EUROCLIO can suggest projects to its members or other actors because "It needs to be proactive to survive" (CoE expert, 10/07/17) while the CoE implements projects only if it is requested by its member states. By combining both resources and levels, it is more likely that they will influence history education in Europe.

Finally, their cooperation can also be justified by a path-dependency explanation. Most CoE experts have worked also with EUROCLIO and have become part of their network; as mediators between both organisations, these experts have contributed to the path-dependency cooperation. The CoE expert (10/07/17) cannot distinguish anymore the work she has done for the Council of Europe or EUROCLIO because she has experienced the same activities with both organisations: running workshops, writing reports and participating to international seminars. This observation confirms Jens Steffek's (2013) sociological argument: cooperation between NGOs and IGOs leads to socialize actors who are then stuck in the path-dependency of a "culture of consultation" (p.1012). When the CoE experts started to cooperate with EUROCLIO, they met many new people (socialization), and they have kept on working with them.

In conclusion, the interviews have enabled to find new reasons for the cooperation between IGOs and NGOs that go further than the very functional reasons described by Jens Steffek (2013). IGOs may search for a proactive form of expertise and an extended network when cooperating with NGOs (pull factors), while NGOs may look for an opportunity to gain institutional legitimation and to benefit from intergovernmental network (push factors).

## **II. What are the resources that EUROCLIO could have used for the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation?**

The resource that is most often cited in the interviews is the objective expertise of EUROCLIO. According to the CoE expert (04/07/17), historians always aim to be as objective as possible when looking at historical sources and do not search for a single truth. This method is at the core of EUROCLIO Manifesto: "High quality history, heritage and citizenship education does not attempt to transmit a single truth about the past. However, it aims to approach the historical truth as near as possible based on solid facts and qualified evidence and by striving towards objectivity. It creates an understanding that historical

narratives are multi layered and interpretations, and it stimulates the willingness to question these narratives and think critically.” (EUROCLIO, 2013, Principle 1)

The willingness to have objective and transparent practices seems to increase their reliability. In fact, as stated by the founder of EUROCLIO, one of the best achievements is that the NGO gained the trust of history teachers throughout Europe because they are seen as a ‘neutral’ organisation which is able to deal with sensitive topics and to bring different points of view within a discussion and move it forward. Their ‘neutrality’ enabled EUROCLIO to run sensitive projects in the Former Yugoslav countries for instance, and to introduce to history teachers new practices and principles, coming from the 2001 Recommendation. This information is confirmed by the Ukrainian history teacher who argued that during the MATRA project, the founder of EUROCLIO helped to moderate the workshops when speaking about sensitive issues or when the discussion would be too long because participants could not agree on what to include in the new textbooks.

The first resource described in the interviews confirms that one of the NGO’s sources of authority is their capacity to provide objective knowledge (Price, 2013, p.589). Furthermore, EUROCLIO has used their objective expertise to run different projects that were related to the 2001 Recommendation. Therefore, this conclusion supports Hypothesis 1: “EUROCLIO has played a role in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation because of its objective expertise.”

The second important resource of EUROCLIO is their legitimacy that derives from their members. At its foundation, EUROCLIO’s legitimacy relied on its relationship with the well-known IGO and EUROCLIO depended on the projects of the CoE. But when EUROCLIO started to consult with its new member associations, it developed its own agenda, differing from that of the CoE (CoE expert, 10/07/17). By developing its own projects in Eastern and Southern Europe, EUROCLIO contributed to set up new independent associations that joined the NGO at a later stage, which has seen its number of member organisations grow quickly. Today, EUROCLIO membership covers 75 history educators’ organisations, associations and institutes from more than 40 countries (EUROCLIO, who we are, n.d.). This large number of members is very important because the influence of EUROCLIO is mainly on people. The founder of EUROCLIO explained that they understood quite early that their influence should not focus on changing history curricula or textbooks, as it involves external factors that will be addressed later, but should be on changing history educators’ practices. By working with history educators, EUROCLIO has an extended audience because each of these teachers is a

multiplier, as on average the profession reaches more than 200 pupils a year. As a result, the members of EUROCLIO have become a source of legitimacy for EUROCLIO as a transnational actor because they can claim to influence many different people in Europe.

Furthermore, EUROCLIO does not only speak on behalf of this European community of history educators, but they give them opportunities to influence the NGO's agenda. The founder of EUROCLIO is very proud that the members of EUROCLIO, represented by the Board, have established the Manifesto, which stands for the principles and identity of the NGO. This set of principles is very useful to justify the membership policy of EUROCLIO: in the situation where an association would like to join the NGO, the Board can verify if this association stands for the values of EUROCLIO.

In conclusion, the members of EUROCLIO seem to “make a difference” (Kotzian & Steffek, 2013) for different reasons. First of all, they have empowered the legitimacy of EUROCLIO as an independent transnational actor on the European scene. Secondly, they have contributed to build the NGO's identity by writing down its principles in the Manifesto. Finally, we can conclude that membership has reinforced the organisational legitimacy of EUROCLIO, as the NGO consults with its society constituencies (Kotzian & Steffek, 2013) and fulfils the democratic organisational criteria.

Hypothesis 4 (“EUROCLIO's members have been a source of legitimacy for EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation.”) has been verified in the last paragraph but the interviews have enabled to enrich the statement.

Although EUROCLIO has its own significant network of professionals, which provides it with its main resources as explained in the previous paragraphs, the NGO also takes advantage of its intergovernmental and pan-European networks. Like previously stated, EUROCLIO has significantly benefited from the CoE's intergovernmental network, as the NGO had opportunity to interact directly with Ministers from CoE member states. This high-level entrance is essential because NGOs often struggle to influence policy-making (Tallberg et al., 2015). Getting the support of educational authorities has been very important for the dissemination of the 2001 Recommendation, as we will see in analysing the interview with the Serbian history teacher, who works for the Ministry of Education.

In parallel, EUROCLIO has developed its own pan-European network by engaging with other NGOs and institutes. The founder of EUROCLIO has been secretary general of the ‘Lifelong Learning Platform’, the European Civil society for Education based in Brussels, which has increased the publicity of EUROCLIO and its ability to access the EU Commission and to

look for project funding. The involvement in such networks is also an opportunity to influence policy-makers; EUROCLIO recently joined a common call for a Copyright Reform for Education initiated by Communia (Communia, n.d.) and went to the European Parliament to advocate for a reform of copyrights in favour of history educators (EUROCLIO, 2017, News). This kind of advocacy action on behalf of history educators can be identified as an indicator of implementation of the 2001 Recommendation because history educators are not able to use “the widest variety of sources of teaching material” (CoE, 2001, Appendix 5) if they are constrained by restricted copyrights.

These observations support Hypothesis 7: “EUROCLIO has taken advantage of its networks to implement the 2001 Recommendation.”

Furthermore, there may also be an interactive mechanism with the two resources mentioned above (expertise and legitimacy) because EUROCLIO would probably not have been able to join the pan-European networks without its recognised expertise and legitimacy to represent history educators. Therefore, we can say that the resources of EUROCLIO make a difference when they are combined together.

Finally, the founder of EUROCLIO raised characteristics that distinguish EUROCLIO from the CoE that can enhance the theoretical framework.

First of all, as an IGO, the CoE is restricted to political influence, something which EUROCLIO can bypass. In other words, EUROCLIO has more freedom in its activities than the CoE. For instance, as the CoE works at a ministry level, if a representative from a ministry does not want to include a subject or sensitive discussion within a workshop or a seminar, the CoE cannot ignore this position. Whereas the strength of EUROCLIO is bringing together different views (political or societal) and making the discussion move forward, creating innovative teaching material. In the second place, according to the founder of EUROCLIO, CoE experts are too often bounded to the official programme of the CoE, which is not flexible enough to enable them to “make a progression” within the projects and push for follow-up actions. Furthermore, as an NGO, EUROCLIO is supposed to communicate to its donors the final outcomes of its projects, the association is therefore more stimulated to produce final products and push for follow-up actions in the different countries in which it works. The alternative reason for the difference between the way the two organisations deal with history education is that EUROCLIO includes more professionals who are passionate about history, whereas the CoE relies more on administrative managers. The differences in staff policy and management between IGOs and NGOs may be an interesting topic for further research.

In conclusion, EUROCLIO can distinguish itself as an NGO because of its resources (objective expertise, legitimacy, networks) but also because of its freedom to bypass political constraints and to work with diverse passionate professionals.

### **III. EUROCLIO as an “implementing agency” (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975) in the MATRA programme**

Now that different resources have been demonstrated with the help of the interviews, the next paragraphs will try to identify how EUROCLIO has used these resources during the MATRA programme in order to implement the 2001 Recommendation.

In this reflection, the policy implementation framework identified in Chapter 2 (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975) will be tested. Therefore, EUROCLIO is identified as an implementing agency and the different history teachers have the role of implementers in their own countries. At the end of the discussion, indicators of implementation will be highlighted, by looking back at the 2001 Recommendation.

As previously indicated in the policy implementation theoretical framework, different factors can have an impact on the execution of a policy and the latter are linked together, influencing the process of implementation (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

The two first factors of the implementation process, “standards and objectives” and “policy resources” should have a positive impact on the execution of the policy, if it is well transmitted and supported by enforcement activities (p.474). The 2001 Recommendation, which has the function of “standards and objectives”, has been very well communicated by EUROCLIO during the MATRA projects; according to the three history teachers, EUROCLIO would always introduce it to the participants during the first meeting. Otherwise, their national associations had already translated it (Ukrainian history teacher). The founder of EUROCLIO also argued that they always included the 2001 Recommendation in the projects’ information package. Next to the standards and objectives, the resources provided to implement a policy are obviously very important. The MATRA programme had been made possible with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs financial support, but other essential resources are also mentioned in the interviews. According to the Russian history teacher, one of the best resources brought by EUROCLIO came from international experts, who “educated the Russian authors” about the European dimension in history teaching and allowed them to develop new history textbooks. Another resource was the handbook ‘Teaching 20<sup>th</sup> Century

European History' (Robert Stradling, 2001) that set an example for the development of new history textbooks (Russia) or that has inspired further national curriculum (Ukraine). Furthermore, EUROCLIO came with "enforcement activities" (technical assistance, normative/remunerative powers) (p.475) that can have an impact on the disposition of the implementers. First, EUROCLIO experts helped to translate the 2001 Recommendation guidelines into practice by running workshops and seminars. Second, EUROCLIO used normative powers to motivate the different history teachers working on a voluntary basis: the socialization through the different workshops and seminars was the 'remuneration' of history teachers. The MATRA projects resulted in a "great network of committed people" (Russian history teacher) that local history teachers could use in their daily life. Another factor is "the characteristics of the implementing agencies" (p.477) that can have a positive effect on the disposition of the implementers. EUROCLIO leadership played a determinant role in the management of the projects; the Ukrainian history teacher affirmed that the "authority" of the founder of EUROCLIO was very valuable during the workshops because she would contribute to move the discussions forward.

Therefore, the expertise and network that EUROCLIO brought to the MATRA programme has contributed to history teachers identifying themselves with the 2001 Recommendation practices and developing new history textbooks. Hypothesis 3 ("The two resources mentioned above have had a positive effect on the disposition of history educators to implement the 2001 Recommendation") is supported by the conclusion.

Nevertheless, other external factors can influence the implementation process: political support and the political and social contexts in general.

According to the Serbian interviewee, who works at the Ministry of Education, nothing would have been possible without the support of the Ministry, which helped to organise international seminars but also disseminated the material produced; in fact, the Serbian Ministry recommended at a national level the new history textbook created during the MATRA project, and disseminated the handbook of Robert Stradling by sending many copies to high schools and to the universities that train history teachers. In the two other countries (Ukraine and Russia), the ministries of education assisted the MATRA projects as an umbrella actor but unfortunately the teachers do not have their support anymore to organise international seminars or teacher trainings, which are essential platforms to familiarise teachers with the principles and practices coming from the 2001 Recommendation.

The last observation may be related to the political and social context. This latter factor needs to be taken into consideration when looking at the policy implementation because it has an impact on the characteristics of the implementing agencies, the disposition of implementers and on the performance of the policy (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975, p.476).

The social and political context is mentioned in the six interviews. In Ukraine, the recent controversy and rising tensions concerning Crimea led to the development of a very nationalistic history curriculum, which is in total opposition with the 2001 Recommendation. In Russia, the personal political views of the interviewee undermined the follow-up of the MATRA programme; she started to cooperate with a corporation of public schools that wanted to print the textbooks developed in the MATRA project, but when they found out that the interviewee denounced the “Russian invasion of Crimea”, they immediately stopped contacting her. In Serbia, although the Ministry of Education has been very supportive, history teachers are divided, reflecting the society; a fraction of them is very nationalistic and opposed to the international seminars organised by EUROCLIO and the Council of Europe. As a result, the interviewee presumes that this fraction does not implement new practices in their classrooms, as “most teachers work in their own way when they close the door of the classroom.” (Serbian history teacher, 05/07/17)

In the opinion of the CoE expert (10/07/17), the current context in Europe (digital age, globalisation, rise of populism) has undermined the quality of history education. The founder of EUROCLIO raised a same remark, underlining that the influence of EUROCLIO on the political level is always uncertain because even if they bring innovation into the ministry level, it can be damaged later on by a populist government, which would bring a nationalistic history curriculum back.

In conclusion, Hypothesis 6 (“The political and social context has had a negative impact on the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation by EUROCLIO”) has been more thoroughly verified than Hypothesis 5 (“The political and social context has had a positive impact on the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation by EUROCLIO.”)

Finally, as Van Meter & Van Horn (1975) noted in their theoretical framework, policies that fall in the category “minor change/high goal consensus” (p.461) are more likely to be implemented. The 2001 Recommendation requires many changes in the history education curricula and practices of the Council of Europe member states. This first feature may be balanced by the common wish of most European education authorities to teach about the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and to have modern curricula and practices, which can be identified

as a consensus (CoE expert, 04/07/17). Nevertheless, school history classes fulfil political and social functions, such as socialising pupils and preparing them for citizenship in their nation state (CoE expert, 04/07/17), therefore, it is unlikely that a consensus will be reached between the different CoE member states. This observation may explain why it has been easier for EUROCLIO to implement the 2001 Recommendation, rather than for the different ministries of education of the CoE member states.

Having analysed the role of EUROCLIO in the MATRA programme by testing the policy implementation framework of Van Meter & Van Horn (1975), the next section will be more descriptive and highlight indicators of implementation of the 2001 Recommendation, based on the interviews with the three history teachers (Ukraine, Russia, Serbia).

#### **IV. Indicators of implementation of the 2001 Recommendation**

As previously noted, certain factors have facilitated the MATRA programme success, such as resources provided by EUROCLIO and policy-making bodies, enforcement activities and normative incentives that have motivated history teachers, while other factors such as the social and political conditions have slowed down the follow-up actions of the programme.

The aim of the empirical case was to explain and prove that EUROCLIO had contributed to the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation through the MATRA programme. The following indicators will support the statement. The different quotes come from the appendices of the 2001 Recommendation, which have been identified as guidelines in section 4.2.

- “It would be appropriate to (...) encourage teaching about periods and developments with the most obvious European dimension, especially the historical or cultural events and tendencies that underpin European awareness.” (CoE, 2001, Appendix 3)

In the three respective countries of the interviewees, Ukraine, Russia and Serbia, the textbooks that were written under the MATRA projects concern the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which is the period with the most European dimension. Furthermore, the Russian history teacher noted that EUROCLIO international experts ran workshops about European history for the Russian local teachers during the MATRA project.



- “It would be appropriate to (...) disseminate as widely as possible the teaching materials produced by the project "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the twentieth century" by making appropriate use of information and communication technologies.” (CoE, 2001, Appendix 3)

The main material produced during the CoE project ‘Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the twentieth century’ is the handbook *Teaching 20<sup>th</sup> Century – European History* (Robert Stradling, 2001), as previously noted. The dissemination of this textbook in the three countries has been unequal, but it has influenced the structure of the MATRA programme. In Ukraine “this book must be used by 10 or 15 people only” (Ukrainian history teacher, 25/06/17) because of a lack of financial support to disseminate it, however, it has guided the writing of the 2012 history curriculum, in which the interviewee was involved. In Russia, the handbook was used as an example for the development of three textbooks about the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, which have been printed and distributed, each history teacher who participated in the seminars received 30 copies. In Serbia, the dissemination of the handbook has been strongly supported by the Ministry of Education, which translated it and sent 2000 copies to every elementary and secondary school of Serbia and to universities that train history teachers.

- “It would be appropriate to (...) increase assistance in the preparation of new syllabuses and standards in history teaching, including production of new textbooks, in particular in the Russian Federation, the Caucasus countries, South-east Europe and the Black Sea region.” (CoE, 2001, Appendix 3)

The preceding paragraph has demonstrated that the MATRA programme led to the production of new history textbooks and curricula in the three countries. In Ukraine, the innovative national history curriculum written in 2012 was drawn from “EUROCLIO and the CoE approaches” according to the interviewee. In Serbia, the “Institute for Education Quality and Evaluation” has developed many new standards in history teaching in the years following the MATRA programme.

- “History teaching, while it must avoid the accumulation of encyclopaedic knowledge, must nevertheless encompass (...) Study of controversial issues through the taking into account of the different facts, opinions and viewpoints, as well as through a search for the truth. (CoE, 2001, Appendix 4)

The expression “controversial issues” is mentioned twice in the interviews: the Ukrainian history teacher affirmed that she tried to introduce the study of controversial issues when she contributed to the development of a new national history curriculum in 2012. Secondly, the Serbian interviewee mentioned that she took part in training on teaching about sensitive issues.

- One of the learning methods should be the “use of sources. The widest variety of sources of teaching material should be used to communicate historical facts and present them to be learnt about through a critical and analytical approach.” (CoE, 2001, Appendix 5)

The use of sources as learning methods is mentioned in the interviews with the Russian and Serbian history teachers. According to the Russian interviewee, although she cannot fully assert that the new textbooks are used in classrooms, she is sure that most teachers today work with historical sources, and even use the same method in other classes. More importantly, the national exams for history include exercises such as the analysis of historical sources. In Serbia, the teachers were trained to use historical sources during the different workshops of the MATRA project and are still trained today in national institutes.

Therefore, in both countries, the innovative practices that were introduced in the MATRA programme had a positive impact on the work of history teachers, and were even integrated into the national system.

- “It would be appropriate to (...) provide training institutes for history teachers with the support needed to maintain and improve the quality of their training, and develop the professionalism and social status of history teachers in particular.” (CoE, 2001, Appendix 7)

The training of teachers is unequal in the three countries. The Ukrainian history teacher is responsible of trainings in her institute, but the latter are quite small and do not reach so many teachers in Ukraine. In her opinion, Ukrainian teachers do not have the skills required in the 2001 Recommendation because the state does not support trainings and the postgraduate pedagogical institutions are not ready to change and to “re teach to 26 000 history teachers”.

In Russia, teachers have been trained during the MATRA programme through international, regional and local seminars, which were supported by the Ministry of Education, but they do not have its support anymore because of the political context. It is therefore difficult today to organise trainings without the financial support of the ministry. In Serbia, the Ministry of

Education has always supported trainings and international seminars. The interviewee gave an example of an international training organised with EUROCLIO and the Centre of reconciliation from Thessaloniki, in October 2017. History teachers attend different kinds of trainings: international trainings organised by the CoE, EUROCLIO and other International Organisations; local trainings organised by the 'National Institute for the improvement of education' and finally the Ministry can accredit other regional trainings or events.

In conclusion, different parts from the 2001 Recommendation appendices can be found in the information collected by the three interviews with history teachers from Ukraine, Russia and Serbia. Although the resources provided by EUROCLIO have been the same in the three countries, the follow-up actions have been stronger in Serbia because the Ministry of Education supported it. The political support in the implementation process is therefore a very relevant external factor.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

At this point of the thesis, it is appropriate to reiterate the research question: *what was the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation of the Council of Europe (CoE), and how can we explain this role?*

The pre-theoretical discussion on the relation between IGOs and NGOs and the resources of NGOs as unique transnational actors and the policy implementation framework, led to identify seven hypotheses that could have explained the role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation.

The empirical research has started with the origins of EUROCLIO; as it is officially stated that the CoE recommended the creation of the NGO in 1992, it was interesting to search for the reasons of this motivation in order to grasp how EUROCLIO could complement the work of the IGO in the field of history education. The main finding is that the CoE lacked the appropriate expertise to be able to exert influence on the school level: history practitioners throughout Europe.

The next step has been to analyse the 2001 Recommendation and to compare it with a traditional statute to see if it could have guided the implementation process. Although the structure and functions of the text are not comparable to binding-law, its strong guidelines, including CoE former projects, are very useful to structure the implementation.

EUROCLIO has run many different projects in the field of history education in the past 25 years, which may all be related to the recommendation; the research needed to be focused and I chose to look at the MATRA programme (2001-2004) because it brought together both organisations and because of the opportunity to interview a great diversity of actors. The examination of the project proposal, based on the theoretical framework, has enabled to make a first attempt in explaining the role of EUROCLIO as a transnational actor; in 2001, the NGO had acquired the expertise and legitimacy to represent history educators across Europe and to run an intergovernmental project. These both resources were reinforced by the intergovernmental network of the CoE, which seems to be very important to reach influential actors. The richest source of information came from the six interviews that I did with two experts of the Council of Europe, three history teachers who were involved in MATRA projects as national coordinators (Ukraine, Russia, Serbia) and finally with the founder and special advisor of EUROCLIO. Multiple conclusions have been drawn from the interviews.

First of all, the cooperation between the CoE and EUROCLIO is not only justified by functional needs, as noted by Jens Steffek (2013). Both organisations take advantage of their differences, as re-active (CoE) and pro-active (EUROCLIO) actors. Being a transnational NGO, EUROCLIO can distinguish itself for different reasons. Its capacity to provide objective knowledge and to be perceived as a neutral actor by the community of history educators has allowed the NGO to run sensitive projects in Eastern and Southern Europe and to expand its amount of numbers. This growing number of members across Europe has legitimised the NGO as a transnational actor, and has given it the opportunity to influence a great diversity of actors (history teachers, teacher trainers, representatives of ministry, museums, etc.). Changing national history curricula and textbooks requires many resources (financial, human) and political support; therefore, EUROCLIO has chosen to first focus on changing practices by working on the field with history educators. Nevertheless, the NGO is also dependent on its pan-European networks that give it access to policy-making bodies and advocate for principles and ideas that come from the 2001 Recommendation. Furthermore, the resources of EUROCLIO (objective expertise, legitimacy, network) are complemented by its freedom to bypass political constraints and to work as a pro-active organisation, contrary to the CoE, which may be restricted by the political influence of its member states. In the MATRA programme, EUROCLIO has used its international experts to put the 2001 recommendation into practice by running workshops and seminars. Its European professional network, combined with the intergovernmental network of the CoE, had a positive impact on the disposition of the participants, as they gained new knowledge and practices by socialising with colleagues from across Europe. This positive effect resulted in the commitment of history teachers who produced, together with international EUROCLIO experts, innovative teaching materials that are drawn from the 2001 Recommendation. However, a four years programme is not sufficient to reach every history teacher and the dissemination of the outcomes and follow-up actions seem to seriously take place only when the Ministry of Education support it, like in Serbia. Finally, the dissertation hypothesised that the political and social context could have both positive and negative effects on the implementation of the 2001 Recommendation by EUROCLIO. The different interviews have proven that the political and social context is more likely to undermine the work of EUROCLIO, as history education has always been used as a canal by nationalist governments.

In conclusion, most hypotheses have been confirmed in Chapter 4. The role of EUROCLIO in the implementation of the CoE 2001 Recommendation has been to translate the appendices

into practice through its different projects, especially in the MATRA programme, which has been the focus of this thesis. EUROCLIO has been able to carry out this role thanks to its intrinsic resources, its objective expertise and legitimacy to represent history educators, but also with the support of its pan-European network and the intergovernmental network of the CoE, which has allowed the NGO to find political backing.

Future research should look at the role of NGOs in the implementation process of IGOs in other policy areas, such as environment or health, in order to see whether NGOs use the same resources. Working in the field of history education across Europe requires time, knowledge, legitimacy, personal contacts and networks, but it is probably different in other policy areas. For instance, NGOs that are active in the field of health may take advantage of their technical expertise and capacity to collect information to engage with IGOs.

Furthermore, one of the findings of this dissertation is that EUROCLIO has more freedom and flexibility as an NGO than the Council of Europe, which is bounded to the political influence of its member states. It would be interesting to test this result in other cases of IGO-NGO cooperation. Future systematic research on the differences between IGOs and NGOs will be beneficial to understand why NGOs have gained an important role in governance of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. As already underlined in the dissertation, the differences between the ways IGOs and NGOs manage staff policies might be an interesting topic for further research.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1. The administrative organisation of the Council of Europe

### Administrative entities

#### Institutions

- [Committee of Ministers](#)
- [Secretary General](#)
- [Deputy Secretary General](#)
- [Parliamentary Assembly](#)
- [European Court of Human Rights](#)
- [Congress of Local and Regional Authorities](#)
- [Commissioner for Human Rights](#)
- [Conférence of INGOs](#)

#### External Offices

- [Full list of external offices](#)
- [Full list of liaison offices](#)

#### Council of Europe / European Union Co-operation

- [Joint Programmes Portal](#)

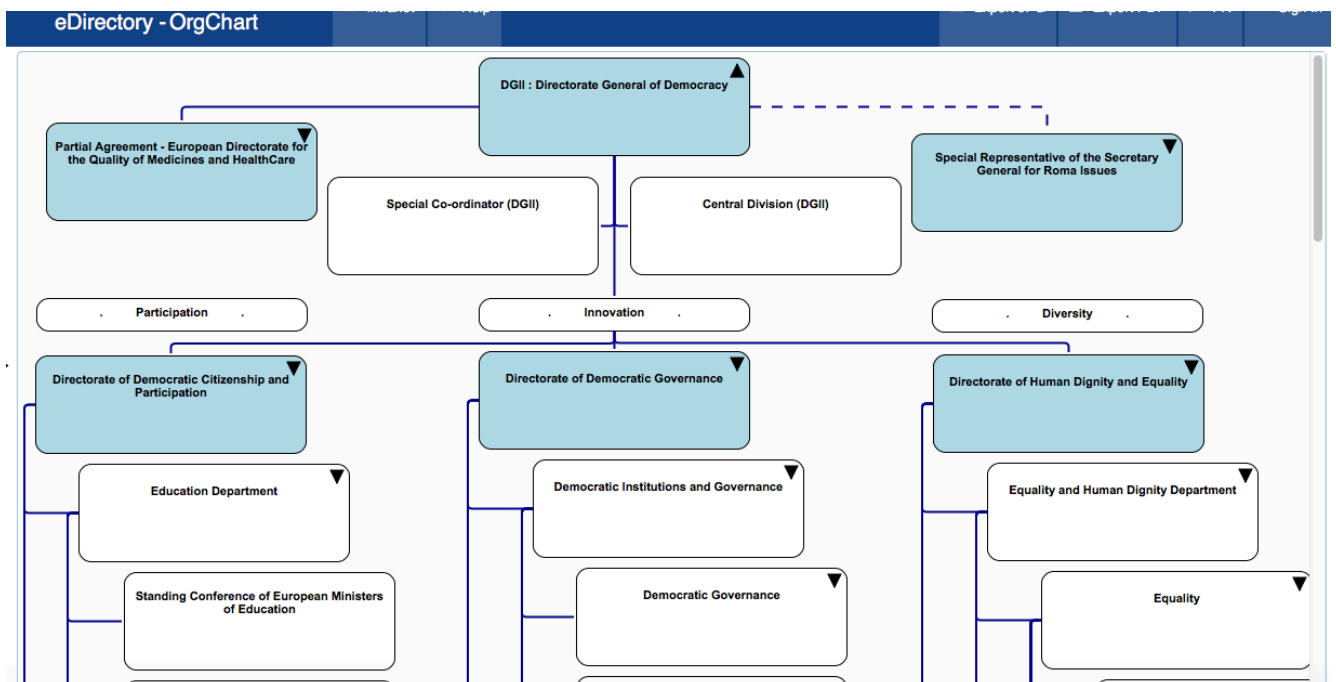
#### Secretariat General

- [Organisation and Mandates of the Secretariat](#)
- [Directorates](#)
  - [Directorate General Human Rights and Rule of Law](#)
  - [Directorate General Democracy](#)
  - [Directorate of Communications](#)
  - [Directorate of External Relations](#)
  - [Directorate of Policy Planning](#)
  - [Directorate of Legal Advice and Public International Law](#)
  - [Treaty Office](#)
  - [Directorate of Internal Oversight](#)
  - [Office of the Directorate General of Programmes](#)

#### Partial Agreements

- [European Commission for Democracy through Law \(Venice Commission\)](#)
- [Group of States against Corruption \(GRECO\)](#)
- [EDQM / European Pharmacopoeia](#)
- [Pompidou Group](#)
- [Council of Europe Development Bank \(Paris\)](#)
  - [Council of Europe Development Bank \(restricted website\)](#)
- [Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport \(EPAS\)](#)
- [EUR-OPA Major Hazards Agreement](#)
- [European Audiovisual Observatory](#)
- [North-South Centre \(Lisbon\)](#)
- [Eurimages](#)
- [European Centre for Modern Languages \(Graz\)](#)

Source: <http://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/organisation>



Source: [https://cs.coe.int/\\_layouts/15/orgchart/OrgChartCust\\_A.aspx?key=176&lcid=1033](https://cs.coe.int/_layouts/15/orgchart/OrgChartCust_A.aspx?key=176&lcid=1033)

# Organisation chart

## Directorate of Democratic Citizenship and Participation



### Education Department



Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education /  
Steering Committee for Educational Policy and Practice



### EDUCATION POLICY DIVISION

#### Competences & Qualifications

Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education  
Competences for democratic culture and Digital Citizenship Education  
Higher Education

#### Equal opportunities & Quality Education

History teaching  
Language policy  
Holocaust

#### Democratic governance

Ethics, Transparency and Integrity in Education (ETINED)  
Higher Education

Source: <http://www.coe.int/en/web/democracy/directorate-of-democratic-citizenship-and-participation>

## Appendix 2. Closed sources

SECRETARIAT GENERAL

Directorate General IV  
Education, Culture and Heritage, Youth and Sport

Please quote : AC

Strasbourg, 20 July 2001

copy



Subject : cooperation between the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO

Dear Mr van Geel,

Following your recent contacts with the European Standing Conference of History Teachers' Associations – EUROCLIO, I have pleasure in submitting the following Proposal for a Matra Project "Council of Europe and EUROCLIO - to facilitate the innovation of learning and teaching history in the Matra Countries".

This project proposal was developed in close cooperation by the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO and is submitted to the Matra Programme of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands for financing. The proposal is for a grant for a three year period from September 2001-September 2004 to both organisations. You will, therefore, find enclosed:

- A full description of the project proposal;
- The proposed budget.

The amount of financing requested is 136,363.64€ for EUROCLIO each year to enable it to implement its programmes, and 80,000€ each year to the Council of Europe to enable it to continue to extend its work on the reform of history teaching in the region, to carry out new programmes on this subject, create new, and extend existing, networks, monitor EUROCLIO's activities and enable the two organisations to continue to work closely together.

If you need any further information, please do not hesitate to contact us.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Gabriele MAZZA  
Director of Education

Mr Bert van GEEL  
Director of the Matra Programme  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
DEU/UM  
PO Box 20061  
NL – 2500 EB THE HAGUE

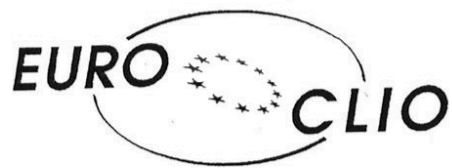
Council of Europe  
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E-mail: [alison.cardwell@coe.int](mailto:alison.cardwell@coe.int)  
<http://www.coe.int>



COUNCIL OF EUROPE    CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE



## PROPOSAL FOR A MATRA PROJECT

**Council of Europe and EUROCLIO  
in international co-operation on facilitating the innovation  
of the learning and teaching of history  
in the MATRA countries**

Ms Alison Cardwell  
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Ms Joke van der Leeuw-Roord  
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Tel & fax: +31 (0)70 38 53 669  
E-mail: [joke@euroclio.nl](mailto:joke@euroclio.nl)

## 1. CORE INFORMATION

***Name:***

Council of Europe and EUROCLIO in international co-operation on facilitating the innovation of the learning and teaching of history in the MATRA countries

***Location***

All MATRA countries

***Theme***

Actions to facilitate the innovation of history education with a focus on peace, stability and democracy

***Target group***

Key persons in history education, such as teachers, teacher trainers, history teachers' associations, educational authorities, ministries of education, advisers, inspectors, curriculum developers, textbook writers, experts in assessment.

***Submitted by***

Council of Europe

***To be implemented by***

Council of Europe: intergovernmental level, initiating and monitoring EUROCLIO, the European Standing Conference of History Teachers' Associations: executive activities

***Duration***

3 years: September 2001-September 2004

***Total project budget***

EURO 1.262.455,35

***Contribution requested***

EURO 649.090,91

## 2. PROJECT SETTING

The Council of Europe and EUROCLIO have been cooperating since the early 1990s when EUROCLIO was set up with the help of the Council of Europe. This partnership began at a timely moment with the changes in Central and Eastern Europe and requests from these countries for help in the renewal of their history education: the development of new history curricula, the preparation

and publication of new history textbooks and the initial and in-service training of history teachers. The aims of the work in the areas of both the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO are the same and the networks of history educators from all the countries have been developed in cooperation. It is and has been a two-way sharing process and each partner has contributed to the implementation of the other's activities.

The Council of Europe has, since 1949, encouraged educational authorities to democratise and innovate history education and raised awareness among educational authorities of their responsibilities for teaching controversial and sensitive issues in history classrooms.

The Council of Europe proposed in 1991 to the representatives of non-governmental History Teachers' Association in Bruges to set up an international organisation for the learning and teaching of history to implement the changes and innovations in classroom practice. This resulted in the foundation of EUROCLIO, the European Standing Conference of History Teachers' Associations in 1993. Since that time, EUROCLIO has been working on the implementation of practical solutions for the classroom level.

Since 1991, the Council of Europe has organised numerous activities, which enabled EUROCLIO to set up History Teachers' Associations in almost each European country and has provided EUROCLIO and its members with possibilities to develop and strengthen contacts between educational authorities and history educators in many countries.

The collapse of the Iron Curtain caused a complete reinterpretation of 20th century history. As a result, a massive redefinition of national and collective identities took place in Central, South Eastern and Eastern Europe. The process of democratisation and innovation of history education was obvious for all MATRA countries around 1990/1991. The educational authorities in the MATRA countries have acted at different speeds in the process of democratisation and innovation of history education, but all the countries are involved in this process of change. In some countries, such as Estonia, Latvia and Poland, developments are quite promising, but, in countries such as Belarus, Ukraine and Slovakia, the process of change has hardly started. Some countries have already written their third curriculum since 1990, others like Russia have not yet written their first. However, all actors in this area experience a wide gap between the theoretical change, which is written into most (history) curricula in 2001, and the actual practical implementation. To change knowledge, attitudes, opinions, approaches and ideas of people is a long term process. For the learning and teaching of

history, it sometimes requires from the people involved, more or less to forget all they had learned and taught and to start all over again. Without the support of specialists, experience and innovative materials, change is not possible.

The main aims of the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO in history education are to:

- raise awareness among history educators and educational authorities of their responsibilities towards carefully learning and teaching history, which contributes to peace, stability and democracy;
- raise awareness for the complexity of the past;
- strengthen the democratisation process through history education;
- enhance a pluralist approach to the past;
- develop critical and independent thinking;
- initiate innovations in the learning and teaching of history;
- improve the knowledge and understanding of history educators;
- strengthen the European dimension through history education;
- strengthen professional and management skills of history educators;
- widely disseminate information about the area of history education.

In order to be able to continue their work at a high level, the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO appeal to the MATRA programme of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs with this request to support the executive capability of EUROCLIO for the coming three years.

For the coming years, the focus should be on the following areas of action in the MATRA countries:

- Strengthening the expertise on the learning and teaching of history;
- History curricula and standards development;
- The development of textbooks and other teaching materials;
- The development of appropriate assessment procedures;
- The development and strengthening of initial and in-service teacher training;
- International co-operation. Especially strengthening the links between history educators in the different MATRA countries and their connections with other countries in Europe;
- Encouraging and supporting the foundation of independent Associations for History Teachers;
- The development of management structures and professionalism of history educators networks and Associations;
- The developing and interlinking the networks of history educators;
- The dissemination of information.



**Field of priority: All Matra Countries**

Special attention will be paid to Belarus, Croatia and Slovakia. In these countries, the networks of history educators are weak or even non-existent. Innovations in history education have hardly started.

**2. OBJECTIVES**

**a. Network**

To maintain and extend an active network of organisations, institutions and experts involved in history education in all MATRA countries and beyond. In this network, Associations of History Teachers have an important position as professional non-governmental organisations able and willing to implement and disseminate innovations in history education on a practical level.

The maintenance and extension of a network of sponsors is also vital. They should be interested in history education and prepared to sponsor activities in this area. Without the support of sponsors, only limited activities in the area of history education will be possible.

**b. Lobby**

To continuously raise and increase awareness, interest, responsibility and financial support for the problems and possibilities of history education and its role for peace, stability and democracy with governments, ministries of education, international organisations, professional groups and others involved in history education.

**c. Activities**

To organise uni-lateral, bi-lateral and multi-lateral activities in the area of history education, bringing together history educators and other professionals, aiming to innovate the quality of history education and the professional skills of the participants with a focus on the contribution of history education to peace, stability and democracy.

**d. Implementation**

To implement and foster implementation of innovations in the area of history education, with special focus on the implementation at classroom level of innovations developed and adopted on university and government level.

**e. Dissemination**

To disseminate innovative ideas and approaches and examples of good practice in the area of history education to as many persons and organisations as possible who may benefit from it, with a focus on the networks of EUROCLIO and the Council of Europe. To cooperate, to share

experiences and to learn from each other is far more efficient than 'inventing one's own wheel'.

**f. Comparative research**

To locate needs, problems and developments in history education in different countries in order to formulate priorities in EUROCLIO policy and provide such information to the Council of Europe. To compare the situation in history education in different countries on content, teaching and learning approaches and the philosophical background, with the aim of learning from each other.

**3. APPROACH**

**a. Network**

The aims of the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO for the coming years are to:

- Strengthen and widen the existing network of the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO in the MATRA countries;
- Consolidate the networks in the MATRA countries by filing and updating address and other information;
- Strengthen cohesion of the network and deepen the contacts in the MATRA countries;
- Organise European, regional and local meetings and conferences to facilitate international communication and co-operation;
- Participate in meetings, projects and activities on history education in Europe and beyond;
- Link and create synergy with the networks of other multipliers and players active in the field of history education in Europe such as the *EUROPEAN UNION*, the *OSCE*, *UNESCO*, the *Körber Stiftung* from Germany, *Kultur Kontakt* from Austria, the *Georg Eckert Institut* from Germany, the *Center for Democracy and Reconciliation* from Greece, the *Textbook Research and Information Centre of the Baltic States*, the *Anne Frank Foundation* from the Netherlands, etc.

**b. Lobby**

The Council of Europe and EUROCLIO are continuously creating awareness of the challenges and possibilities of history education in the MATRA countries and about the dangers and responsibilities.

They operate through:

- Missions and talks with political and educational authorities and key-players in the area of history education;
- Lectures and workshops;
- Actively attending meetings on history education;

- Publishing articles, books, newsletters, magazines and web sites on history education.

EUROCLIO is a non-profit organisation which is almost completely dependent on external funding and project raising.

EUROCLIO tries to raise funds through:

- Interesting potential fund giving organisations in its work;
- Missions and talks with political and educational authorities;
- Maintaining the quality, reliability and good name of the organisation;
- Investing in presentations, publications, information materials; mailings, press releases, travel and other forms of representation
- Organising high quality seminars, conferences and projects.

#### c. Activities

The Council of Europe and EUROCLIO take every opportunity to reach their aims and objectives for history education in the MATRA countries and beyond.

They make this possible through:

- Organising conferences, meetings and seminars;
- Organising teacher training courses, teacher in-service training courses;
- Setting up and running projects.

All in co-operation with a wide variety of international and local counterparts.

#### d. Implementation

Too often innovations in the area of history education do not reach classroom level. They are stuck at a theoretical level in ministries, in universities and in educational institutes of the MATRA countries. EUROCLIO, and to a lesser extent the Council of Europe, implement these innovations in the content and approach of history education at classroom level.

These tasks are carried out through:

- Developing and organising teacher training courses;
- Developing textbooks and other educational materials;
- Assisting and advising in the development of new curricula and assessment techniques, etc.;
- Publishing in the media aimed at teachers and teacher trainers;
- Publishing articles in the specialised media.

The Council of Europe and EUROCLIO are clearly focusing on a practical approach: learning by doing, co-operating, bringing people together and the development of concrete products such as teaching materials

#### **e. Dissemination**

The Council of Europe and EUROCLIO disseminate innovative ideas and creative solutions in the MATRA countries and beyond through:

- Web sites with updated information, educational resources and valuable links;
- Regular and monthly Newsletters;
- A magazine on the learning and teaching of history called the Bulletin with contributions from the network twice a year;
- Contributions in the media, papers and publications;
- Meetings and activities;
- Presentations, workshops, and consultancies;
- Projects.

#### **f. Comparative research**

EUROCLIO sends out questionnaires on relevant issues in history education to its member organisations, representing history educators in almost all European countries and analysing and publishing the results in the media and through presentations. To invite experts from different countries to publish on the same issues in history education. To assist and advise other institutions or organisations undertaking research in the area of history education. This research is unique and forms a useful tool in the defining of priorities in the area of history education in Europe, in localising progress and problems, as a confirmation or validation of theories and ideas, in convincing people and in putting political pressure and in asking attention for specific issues.

### **4. RELEVANCE**

Traditionally, history is an important school subject in most European countries. In all MATRA countries, it is without doubt an important such subject. During the communist period, history was the main channel of socialist propaganda. Pupils were taught the 'correct' Marxist interpretation of history and socialist values and ideas. After the collapse of the communist regimes, all countries tried to remove all the communist and socialist vocabulary, values and symbols from their history education. However, the traditions of Marxist historiography and education, in which all teachers, officials and historians were educated, were much more difficult to change. Moreover, history has now become the tool of the nation state. History has the task of creating patriotism and national identity with students, which is considered an important political aim.

These developments have some inherent dangers. The content of the curriculum is often dependent on the interpretation of the present government in the country. In order to strengthen patriotism and national identity, the

differences from and conflicts with neighbouring countries and peoples are generally magnified at the expense of similarities and peaceful cultural and economic relations in the history curriculum. Regularly, historical myths prevail above more nuanced and balanced views as they fit better in the politically desired image and represent national symbols and values. This approach towards history education contributes to nationalism, xenophobia and aggressive attitudes against neighbouring peoples and countries in the public opinion and, as a result, in government policy. It is counterproductive, even dangerous, to peace, stability, democracy and integration in Europe.

The Council of Europe and EUROCLIO both emphasise the responsibility of history educators, by continuously asking *why should we teach history?* The answer to this question gives us clues as to *what* and *how* to teach. They promote a balanced approach towards history in which both positive and negative elements come forward, both national and international history, both the powerful men and the ordinary people, both the traditional political and military history and the history of everyday life and of women, children, migrants and minorities. But, the approach of history education is as important as the content. History education should not be the tool of the dogma of democracy but focus on critical and independent thinking, individual responsibility, curiosity, multi-perspectivity and a pluralistic approach in order to raise responsible and educated citizens for a democratic society.

The Council of Europe has worked, since 1991, constantly for the process of change in history education in Europe, through a variety of bilateral and multilateral programmes. It is at the moment engaged with several actions for the reform of history education in

- a. The Black Sea area;
- b. Northern Caucasus (Part of the Russian Federation);
- c. Stability Pact countries;
- d. The Caucasus.

EUROCLIO and its member Associations have, since 1993, also worked for this process of change in history education in Europe, but on a more practical level, through a variety of bilateral and multilateral programmes, especially in-service training and the development of innovative teaching materials. It is at the moment engaged in several actions for history education in the same areas as the Council of Europe. Among these activities were two MATRA projects, one in Russia and one in Estonia and Latvia. A third MATRA project is being carried out in Ukraine, there is also a Stability Pact project in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia and several project proposals are in the application procedure. Big

international conferences for history educators are in preparation in Prague in 2002 and Warsaw/Cracow in 2003.

## 5. FEASIBILITY AND SUSTAINABILITY

Guiding a process of change, which involves attitudes and beliefs of people, requires time and intensive contacts. Modern information technology offers many new opportunities and is invaluable in our organisations. But to encourage people to change is rather individual and personal work. Man or woman power is required to make it happen. This counts for the Council of Europe, for EUROCLIO and for the local multipliers as well. Personal energy and time are vital to convince people that other approaches are possible and necessary. Existing projects have done and will do a lot of good, however the existing resources are too little to confront the total area of actions and to continue the level and quality of activities.

The fact that both the governmental network of the Council of Europe and the professional network of EUROCLIO are involved shows that the process of change will reach all the people involved. In fact, hardly anything that takes place in history education does not involve both organisations.

It also involves all levels in the process and prevents a top down attitude, which contradicts the democratisation process.

The process of change has already started in each country, however a lack of resources in most countries makes the process very slow. Each (financial) contribution will further speed up the process.

Both organisations only work with multipliers. The Council of Europe as an inter-governmental organisation reaches all those who are responsible for policy and decision-making in history education in the respective countries. EUROCLIO has created a network of organisations and associations of history educators including teacher training institutions, which goes beyond working with individual teachers. However, each teacher is a multiplier as the profession reaches out often to more than 200 pupils per year.

Both organisations aim to increase the professionalism and management qualities of local, regional, national and international multipliers. As a result these multipliers can more and more develop and carry out their own innovations, supported and assisted by expertise from the international networks they are performing in.

## 6. RESOURCES

**Contributions:**

Council of Europe

Staff who organises and runs projects on history education

The contributions of educational authorities from the MATRA countries

Experts from its network representing all its 43 member countries

Projects and bursaries

Dissemination channels

**EUROCLIO**

Experts from its network and their dissemination channels representing 67 member organisations from 41 countries

Educational authorities in the MATRA countries

History Teachers' Associations, organisations and institutions in the MATRA countries

Membership fees

Project funding organisations

Voluntary and in kind contributions of individuals, organisations and institutions

The MATRA programme of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs

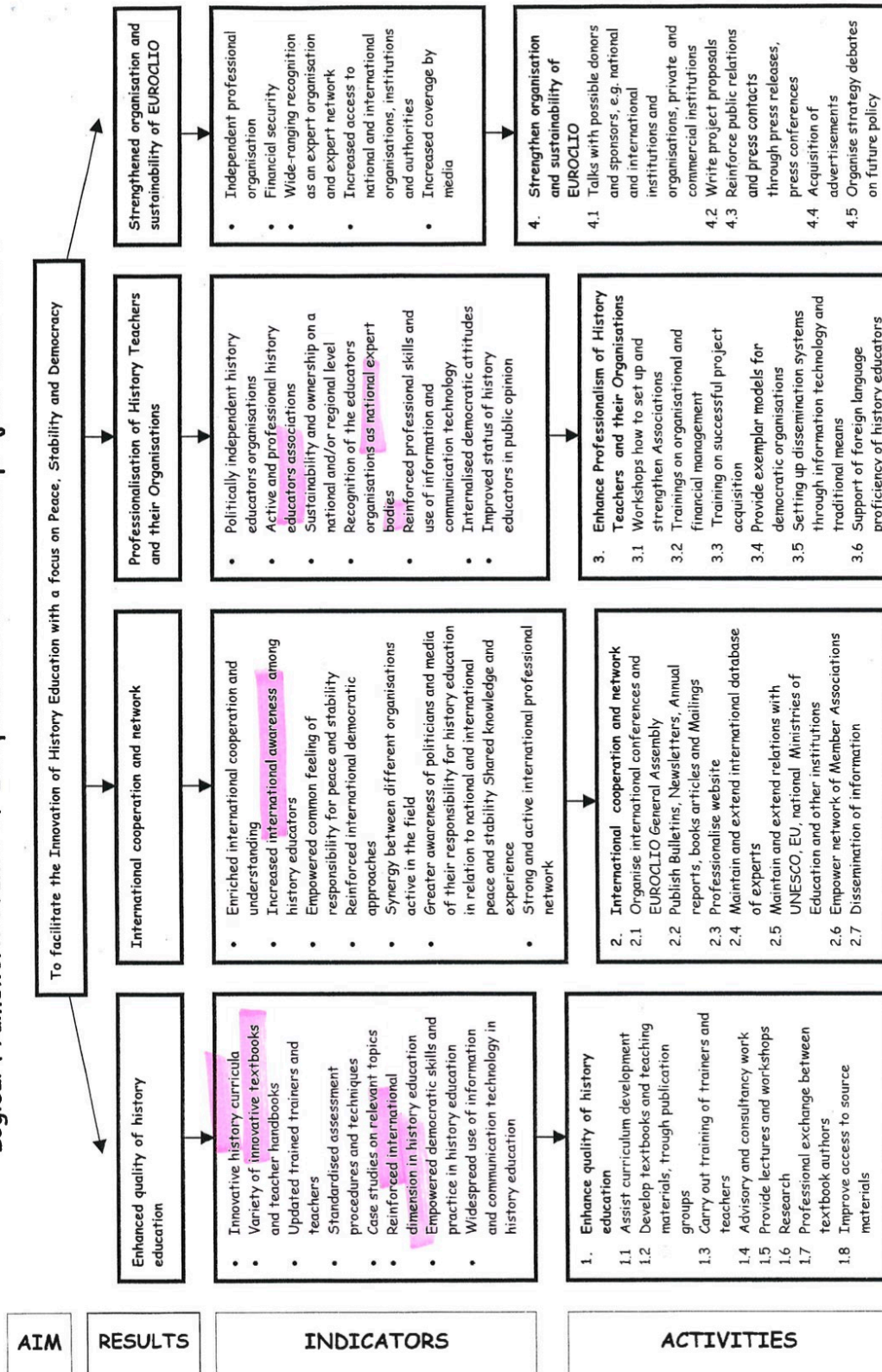
Other donors(see attached information)

**7. PROJECT MANAGEMENT**

In the Council of Europe the responsible project manager is Ms Alison Cardwell, Educational Policies and European Dimension Division.

In EUROCLIO the responsible project manager is Ms Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, Executive Director of the EUROCLIO Secretariat.

# Logical Framework Council of Europe/EUROCLIO/Ma... project 2001 -2004





**COUNCIL  
OF EUROPE**



**CONSEIL  
DE L'EUROPE**

June 1986

DECS/EGT (86) 42

## **Against bias and prejudice: the Council of Europe's work on history teaching and history textbooks**

**Recommendations  
on history teaching and history textbooks  
adopted at Council of Europe conferences and symposia 1953-83**

**COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION**

Strasbourg  
1986

## INTRODUCTION

### THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND HISTORY TEACHING

History teaching has always occupied a special place in the Council of Europe's education programme because of its importance in the formation of young people's attitudes to other countries, races and religions.

The Council's work on history has been carried out in two stages. The first was an attempt, mainly in the 1950s, to eradicate bias and prejudice in history textbooks, and to encourage the highest standards of honesty and fairness. In the second stage, the Council studied the place of history in the secondary curriculum and drew up recommendations on how to make history an enjoyable, stimulating and relevant part of a young person's education.

Recently there has been increased interest in history teaching in Europe, and there has been a renewed demand for the results of the Council of Europe's work on this subject. As all of the publications on the Council's 12 conferences on history textbooks and history teaching are now out-of-print, the Secretariat has produced the present document, which contains the recommendations put forward at these meetings.

#### The problem of unconscious bias

Between 1953 and 1958, six large-scale international conferences on the improvement of history textbooks were held under the auspices of the Council of Europe. The subjects of the conferences were:

- the European Idea in history teaching (Calw, 1953);
- the Middle Ages (Oslo, 1954);
- the Sixteenth Century (Rome, 1955);
- the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Royaumont, 1956);
- the period 1789 - 1871 (Scheveningen, 1957);
- the period 1870 - 1950 (Istanbul and Ankara, 1958).

During the six conferences, some 900 of the 2000 history textbooks then in use in schools in Western Europe were examined by teachers, school inspectors, professors from universities and teacher training colleges, textbook authors and representatives of Ministries of Education.

### A unique discipline

What sort of history teaching did the Council of Europe's experts propose to ministries of education, curriculum planners and teachers? How did they justify the retention of history in the secondary school curriculum? What meaningful alternative did they suggest to what Christopher HERROLD has called "the folklore known as classroom history"?

The Council's experts recommended that:

- all pupils should study history at every level of their education because it has a value that cannot be provided by other subjects. "History", they claimed, "is a unique discipline, concerned with a special kind of training of the mind and imagination and with the imparting of an accurate body of knowledge which ensures that pupils understand other points of view". History helps pupils to understand the relationship of events in time so that they can appreciate cause and effect, change and development;
- full use should be made of active methods in history teaching. These should stimulate individual research, reflection and expression by pupils. In particular, pupils should be given experience in the critical evaluation of different kinds of evidence, and it was felt that the history teacher should encourage pupils to adopt critical attitudes towards information imparted by the mass media. For example, in history lessons, pupils should learn to "read films" as critically as newspapers. The importance of mass media education has received increased recognition in many European countries in the past few years, and, at a Council of Europe Seminar on "Mass media education in schools" in 1983, the participants urged that young people should be helped to understand how experience and reality are re-constructed, re-presented and packaged by media institutions and media technologies and by the practices of media professionals;
- the teaching of history should be the teaching of a synthesis dealing not only with political and military history but with all aspects - spiritual, social, economic, cultural, and scientific - of the societies of the past. In particular, it was recommended that the history of science and technology should not be neglected.

With regard to the content of the history syllabus in secondary schools, the Council of Europe's history experts recognised the difficulty of striking a happy balance between local, national, European and world history. They thought local history

should not be seen as a subject in its own right but rather as a means of training pupils in historical method and of seeing large problems in microcosm. Inevitably, there was much discussion about the place and nature of European history in the school history syllabus during the Council of Europe's meetings on history teaching. At the Elsinore Conference in 1965, the participants agreed that there could be no question of adopting a uniform version of European history throughout the Council's member States. On the other hand, they suggested that "wherever an opportunity arises, teachers ought to show their pupils the European importance of, and the European influence on, events of national history". The participants noted that certain elements are common to the history of part, or all, of Europe and, thus, lend themselves to a European presentation. To illustrate what they meant, they prepared a list of 25 themes which could form the basis of a European history syllabus. The list is given in Section II of the present document.

Finally, the Council of Europe's history experts recommended that both world history and contemporary history should form part of the history syllabus. The Braunschweig Conference of 1969 suggested that every pupil in the compulsory secondary school should study one non-European culture in depth, and the Strasbourg Conference of 1971 stressed that "the history of Europe should be viewed in a world perspective".

#### Interdisciplinarity in secondary education

In the second half of the 1970s, the Council of Europe carried out less work on history because ministries of education in member States were interested in the development of programmes of interdisciplinary work in secondary schools. When they met in Berne in 1973, the European Ministers of Education recommended that "subjects should be de-compartmentalised so as to make pupils aware of the interpretation of knowledge in everyday life". As a result, the Council of Europe was asked to collect information on how schools in member States were seeking to establish links between subjects, in particular in two areas of the curriculum:

- the "human sciences" (involving history, geography, economics, sociology, and political education);
- the so-called "natural sciences" (usually involving physics, chemistry and biology).

The results of this work are analysed in Section I of the study, "Innovation in secondary education in Europe", which was published by the Council of Europe in 1979. This Section describes several models of how to establish links between subjects, and it also contains some interesting and sobering reflections on the planning and management of interdisciplinary courses in schools. The author, Mr. R.A. WAKE, warns that "to undertake interdisciplinary work is to embark upon a considerable

enterprise. If this is not realised, then it is not surprising that so much of (interdisciplinary) work is unsatisfactory and, on occasions, so depressing". Mr. WAKE put forward a checklist of the stages to be followed in the successful planning and implementation of interdisciplinary courses.

#### History and intercultural understanding

Since the late 1970s, the Council of Europe has been concerned with the contribution of history to the promotion of intercultural understanding and of democratic values in schools.

For example, in July 1983, the Council of Europe held a symposium in Lisbon on "Teaching about the Portuguese Discoveries in secondary schools in Western Europe". This Symposium was organised on the occasion of the 17th Council of Europe Art Exhibition which was devoted to "The Portuguese Discoveries and Renaissance Europe", and it proved to be an interesting case-study on the role of history in educating young people for life in a multi-cultural society. The participants at the Symposium noted that "in the past, the European 'Discoveries' were often taught in a chauvinistic or Eurocentric way. In view of the multi-cultural character of many schools in Western Europe, and of the need to educate young people for life in an inter-dependent world, it is essential that teaching about this topic should not lead to feelings of racial or cultural superiority." The Lisbon Symposium also suggested that "the term 'Discoveries' needs careful consideration because it might be taken to imply that the rest of the world was a blank before the European Voyages of Expansion". The Symposium concluded that "when teaching about the Portuguese and other European Voyages, care should be taken to do justice to the considerable achievements of the contemporary civilisations in other parts of the world, e.g. Africa, India, China and Japan. Teaching about the Voyages could, thus, serve as a window into other cultures and promoter better intercultural understanding".

#### History and human rights education

Probably as a result of the economic recession, there has been a disturbing increase in challenges to democratic values in Western Europe in the past few years through the growth of intolerance, xenophobia, violence and terrorism.

Since 1978, the Council of Europe has worked with teachers, experts and non-governmental organisations to define how schools can help:

- to promote an active commitment to human rights and to the principles of pluralistic democracy;
- to equip young people with the knowledge, skills and attitudes that they will need if they are to take an active part in the operation of democratic institutions.

The Council of Europe's experts believe that some subjects in the curriculum have a privileged contribution to make to human rights education. They argue that among these is history because young people should realise that:

- human rights have had to be won and defended throughout history;
- human rights are not static, and new rights emerge as society develops.

In 1985, the highest political body of the Council of Europe, the Committee of Ministers, adopted a recommendation on "Teaching and learning about human rights in schools". This text, which is available on request from the Council of Europe Secretariat, recognises the importance of the historical dimension of human rights education and suggests that pupils should learn about "people, movements and key events, both successes and failures, in the historical and continuing struggle for human rights". In order to explore this idea in detail, the Council of Europe may organise in 1988 a seminar on "The history teacher and human rights education in schools".

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## **The Council of Europe and the origins of EUROCLIO**

Maitland Stobart

When I first learned about the moves to set up EUROCLIO, I was pleased and even relieved. I was then in charge of the Council of Europe's programmes of intergovernmental co-operation on education. I was surprised that, unlike their colleagues in geography or modern languages, history teachers in Europe did not have their own professional forum - a representative independent grouping which would speak for history teachers. There was a clear need for such a grouping. Experience had shown the Council of Europe that international non-governmental organisations possessed a unique capital of professional know-how, "grass roots" experience, and moral commitment. They were natural partners for official institutions like the Council, UNESCO and the European Union.

The Council of Europe's founding fathers had seen how history teaching and history textbooks could be misused to promote feelings of national antagonism and of cultural or racial superiority. From the outset in 1949, history had occupied a special place in the Council's education programme - not because the organisation wanted to use history as propaganda for European unity, but because it believed that history teaching should be free from bias and prejudice and that it should respect "the historian's quest for truth".

As the Council was an intergovernmental organisation, our projects on history involved representatives of Ministries of Education, usually senior officials and inspectors. I was convinced that we would benefit from closer links with history teachers' organisations, so I welcomed the attempts to establish the organisation which became EUROCLIO.

Such a grouping could, I thought, encourage the pooling and sharing of experience and good practice, sponsor co-operation and joint projects between associations of history teachers, and act as an adviser and as a relay for the international and European institutions. I hoped that, eventually, the new grouping would include national or regional associations of history teachers from all European countries. In particular, it should display its solidarity with history teachers in central and eastern Europe by helping them, during the difficult period of transition after the changes, to set up independent associations of history teachers and by providing them with contacts and partners in other European countries.

Furthermore, I hoped that the new grouping would help to solve a problem which had literally obsessed me since I joined the Council. As a result of ineffective dissemination many national and international projects on education did not have the impact which they deserved because their findings failed to reach policy-makers and practitioners. Perhaps the new grouping could remedy this situation - at least for history teaching - through its annual conferences and seminars, its newsletter, and even a website on history education.

These were the reasons which led me to support the lengthy and, at times, arduous negotiations which resulted in the establishment of EUROCLIO. It was a fitting symbol of the warm relationship which was to develop between the two organisations that EUROCLIO was launched officially at one of the Council of Europe's conferences. Since then EUROCLIO has more than fulfilled my initial hopes, and it has become the highly professional forum which history teachers in Europe need and deserve. EUROCLIO has had both the courage to deal with controversial and sensitive issues, as well as with straightforward pedagogical topics. Its annual

conferences have become a major event in the European educational calendar, and I have been particularly impressed by the way in which EUROCLIO integrated into its projects and networks history teachers from central and eastern Europe. Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, the Executive Director of EUROCLIO, has played an indispensable part in this process, and I would like to pay tribute to her vision, dynamism and entrepreneurial skills. EUROCLIO also owes a considerable debt to the many national representatives, who have guided the association's fortunes.

I am confident that, in its next 10 years, EUROCLIO will pursue its efforts to ensure that young people in schools throughout Europe receive a history education of quality - a history education which helps them to think for themselves, opens their horizons, and is a source of lifelong pleasure and personal enrichment.



### Appendix 3. Interviews tables

These interviews tables will help to have an overview of the six interviews. For the comprehension of these tables, I would like to remind that the *Teaching 20<sup>th</sup> Century European History* textbook written by Robert Stradling (2001) is mentioned several times because it was produced during the CoE project 'Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1997-2001)' (CoE, n.d.) that led to the 2001 recommendation. It was therefore important to ask to the interviewees if this handbook has been disseminated and used, as an indicator of implementation of the recommendation.

#### 1- Interviews with History teachers from Ukraine, Russia and Serbia, involved as national coordinators during the MATRA programme

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|--|--|---|--|---|---|---|
| <b>1- Who?</b>                                 | <b>2- How did you get involved in the MATRA project?</b>   | <b>3- Your role in the MATRA project</b>  | <b>4- Were you in communication with the CoE during the project? Did they help?</b>  | <b>5- Were you in communication with EUROCLIO? Did they help you and how?</b>   | <b>6- What were the outcomes of the project in your country?</b>  | <b>7- Dissemination of the outcomes?</b>  |
| Ukrainian History teacher and teachers trainer | -By the head of her association of history teachers who knew the founder of EUROCLIO.<br>-Knew nothing about the MATRA project at the beginning. | National coordinator.<br>-Built the project team (finding contacts and organising meetings)<br>-Developed content: 50 pages recommendation for teachers + textbooks | No because she was not responsible of the institutional communication. She had other responsibilities: working on content, contacting publishing houses. | -They put her in contact with other history teachers through international seminars / workshops<br>-They were very flexible and helpful in sensitive discussions<br>-EUROCLIO introduced during the first meeting of the project the 2001 CoE Recommendation and the handbook of R. | -A 50 pages set of methodological recommendations aimed for History teachers: how to teach through innovative ways?<br>-A textbook: <i>Ukraine 1901-1938, the period seen through the eyes of an individual</i> | -The state system in Ukraine is not flexible. Teachers are not trained enough to use the new textbooks and new practices. |

|   |   |   |  |  |  |   |
|---|---|---|--|--|--|---|
| <p><b>Russian History and Civic Teacher in Moscow</b></p>                                       | <p>-Has worked with EUROCLIO since 1992. (sas there at the founding conference)<br/>-Wrote a grant application with Joke (founder of EUROCLIO) for MATRA projects in Russia</p>   | <p>National coordinator: found book authors, organised seminars, piloted the material to test it with teachers (trainings), printed the material.</p> | <p>Not in direct contact with the CoE as EUROCLIO was in contact with them.</p>  | <p>Yes<br/>-EUROCLIO invited many international experts<br/>-These experts educated Russian authors about international ideas, coming from the CoE<br/>-Many workshops in the UK by the British Association member of EUROCLIO</p> | <p>-3 textbooks about the History of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. (1<sup>st</sup> project)<br/>-Another textbook for the second project<br/>-A network of committed people. Unfortunately, as there is no events or workshops anymore, it is a “sleepy network”.</p>   | <p>-Each teacher got 30 textbooks for their classrooms. (1<sup>st</sup> project)<br/>-For the second project, because of financial problems, they could not print enough copies. But they uploaded it on internet.<br/>-In current national exams, influence of EUROCLIO and CoE practices: working on sources.<br/>-Teachers learned new skills that they use in other topics.</p> |
| <p><b>Serbian History teacher / Master of Education Policy in the Ministry of Education</b></p> | <p>-Started to work with EUROCLIO in 2001, when she met with Joke.<br/>-After a conversation with Joke, she get involved in 2005 in the MATRA project as a person responsible of History education in the Ministry.</p> | <p>-Coordinator from the Ministry: research about teachers’ practices, organisation of seminars, content development</p>                              | <p>-No, she was in contact with the Council of Europe for another project. (Teachers trainings about multi perspective...)</p> | <p>Yes all along the project<br/>-EUROCLIO invited international experts<br/>-Helped to produce the material</p>   | <p>-Textbook: "Ordinary people in an extraordinary country, Every Day Life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia 1945-1990. Yugoslavia between East and West."<br/>-The first relations after the 90's Wars in the Balkans were between History teachers from Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia. This network was made possible thanks to EUROCLIO and the CoE.</p> | <p>-The Ministry recommended this textbook to History teachers for classes. It was and will be available on the website of the Ministry.</p>  |
| <p><b>Who</b></p>   | <p><b>8- What is the achievement in History education that you are the most proud of?</b></p>   | <p><b>9- Influence of the Ministry of Education</b></p>   | <p><b>10- Influence of the 2001 CoE Recommendation</b></p>   | <p><b>11- Influence of Robert Stradling textbook “Teaching 20<sup>th</sup> Century European History” ?</b></p>   | <p><b>12- Limits of History education in the country?</b></p>  | <p><b>13- Political / social context</b></p>  |

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| <p>Ukrainian History teachers and teacher trainer (Iryna Kostyuk)</p>   | <p>The 2012 curriculum in Ukraine that she developed with other colleagues. Proud because she followed EUROCLIO and CoE approach.</p> <p>Unfortunately, with the invasion of Crimea by Russia, the ministry of education wrote a more nationalist curriculum in 2016.</p> | <p>-The ministry of education supported the project as an umbrella organisation. But their behaviour changes depending on the political context.</p> <p>-It is not possible to make something without the support</p>   | <p>Words such as “multi perspective” or “critical thinking” have become “ritual words”, it is not possible to ignore it.</p>   | <p>-Brought by EUROCLIO.</p> <p>-Influence of the national curriculum of 2012.</p> <p>-But the dissemination of this book is not enough</p>                                  | <p>-During the MATRA project, they developed many teaching material.</p> <p>But unfortunately history teachers are not trained enough because of the State system in Ukraine.</p> <p>-Hope for an other EUROCLIO project in the future in Ukraine, with a focus on teachers’ trainings.</p> <p>- Unfortunately, with the invasion of Crimea by Russia, the ministry of education pushed for a more nationalist curriculum in 2016.</p> | <p>-With the “invasion of Russia in Crimea”, the new History curriculum is very nationalistic and in opposition with the ideas of EUROCLIO and the CoE.</p>                  |
| <p>Russian History and Civic Teacher (Tamara Eidelman)</p>  | <p>-Her best achievement is the MATRA project and her cooperation with EUROCLIO because it has changed her life as a History teacher.</p> <p>-She is very proud to have brought EUROCLIO in Russia.</p>   | <p>-In the 1990’s, the Ministry helped history teachers for the organisation of regional/international seminars. But at the moment, they don’t have their support anymore.</p>  | <p>All their work and material developed was based on the 2001 Recommendation.</p>   | <p>-This textbook influenced a lot the development of new textbooks in Russia.</p>   | <p>-The bureaucracy is much stronger now and so teachers need special permission to use educational material and to represent new ideas. The situation is getting worse</p> <p>-Don’t have money anymore to organize international teacher trainings</p>   | <p>-Because the History teacher affirmed her opposition to the “Invasion of Crimea”, the publishing house in Russia stopped contacting her for publishing new textbooks.</p> |
| <p>Serbian History teacher / Master of Education Policy at the Ministry of Education (Biljana Stojanovic)</p> |   | <p>-Since 2005, the Ministry of Education has established two educational institutes: the Institute for the Improvement of Education and the Institute for Education Quality and Evaluation.</p> <p>-The Ministry supported international trainings during the MATRA project and still supports it.</p> | <p>-Both in international seminars and in the Ministry meetings, they used the Recommendation. According to her, every Serbian teachers knows this recommendation.</p> <p>-The new competences included in the curriculum and exams are based on the recommendation and EU key competences (2006).</p> | <p>-The Ministry translated this book and sent 2000 copies to each elementary and secondary school of Serbia + sent it to the universities which train History teachers.</p> | <p>-Financial problems: it is complicated to pay the travel / accommodation of History teachers.</p>   | <p>-The society is divided: one part is pro-European while the other part is more nationalist. Same division among history teachers.</p>                                     |

2- Interviews with Council of Europe experts:

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| 1- Who?  | 2- What was/ is your role as Council of Europe Consultant?   | 4- For you, why the CoE recommended the establishment of EUROCLIO?  | 5- Were you involved in projects bringing together the CoE and EUROCLIO?   | 7- The outcomes of these projects?  | 8- Has EUROCLIO always depend on the CoE?   |
| Senior Research Fellow – Previous CoE consultant – EUROCLIO Researcher (Robert Stradling)      | -To link practice of school history education across Europe with the theoretical discussions of the Parliamentary Assembly + Committees<br>-To write report about International seminars – These reports are sent to the PA and Committees | -The CoE did not have History practitioners who could have an impact on school practices.<br>-Because of the Context: Fall of Soviet Union - Former Soviet Republics were looking for experts / practitioners to reform their school history curriculums. | Yes, 3 projects in the 90's, in the Former Soviet Republics and Former Yugoslavia countries  | -Creation of History teachers Associations in Central and Eastern Europe<br>-Establishment of the network of EUROCLIO -> new members<br>-At the beginning: a lot of resistance in Serbia/ Croatia/ Bosnia | No, quite soon, EUROCLIO developed its own agenda, depending on its member organisations' needs. It had a bigger agenda than the CoE. |
| Historian, consultant and training expert of the CoE and EUROCLIO (Maria Luisa de Bivar Black) | -As an expert of the project, help to design the project<br>-Run workshops and seminars, make people work  | -EUROCLIO brought some practitioners to the CoE.<br>-It is a win-win relationship: EUROCLIO works on the field while the CoE works at the European level and has official links.<br>Difference between pro-active and re-active organisations             | -Yes, but also involved in projects initiated only by the CoE: in Kosovo and Bosnia, with the OSCE and EU Commission funds.<br>-She does not remember for which project she went with the CoE or with EUROCLIO because for her, it is the same, she works in the same way with both organisations. | -Two handbooks that she wrote for Kosovo and Bosnia.  | -Not after its institutionalisation – it has its own projects now.  |
| Who?   | 9- What were the origins of the 2001 CoE Recommendation?   | 10- Implementation of this Recommendation by Member States?   | 12- What does the CoE bring to EUROCLIO?   | 13- What is the achievement in History Education that you are the most proud of?  |   |

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| <p><b>Senior Research Fellow – Previous CoE consultant – EUROCLIO Researcher</b></p>                         | <p>-Spanish member of the PA pushed for it.<br/>-He drafted the Recommendation Unit within the CoE that would work closely with NGOs<br/>-The 20<sup>th</sup> century was taught in every European countries and covered more than the half of curricula</p> | <p>-They read it<br/>-But history in schools has social and political functions for the building of a Nation – so it takes time for a IGO to have an impact / influence</p> | <p>-Funding for the projects<br/>-Contacts with Ministries of Education of Europe<br/>-Network of experts<br/>-Possibility to get EU money through common call</p>   | <p>-He is proud of the fact that EUROCLIO has now more than 70 Member Associations of History Educators.<br/>-Proud that EUROCLIO is becoming global: connections with America, the Middle East.<br/>-Proud of <i>Historiana</i>: the platform for History teachers</p>   |
| <p><b>Historian, consultant and training expert of the CoE and EUROCLIO (Maria Luisa de Bivar Black)</b></p> | <p>-There were contributions by CoE and EUROCLIO experts.</p>  | <p>-The CoE does not impose its recommendations to its Member States.<br/>-The recommendation is aimed at every CoE member states</p>                                       | <p>-The CoE contributed to the institutionalisation of EUROCLIO: It was important for EUROCLIO at its beginning to be supported officially by the famous IGO.<br/>-The CoE can bring venues: when a project becomes intergovernmental, so when a project is decided by the CDPPE, any Ministry of Education can suggest to host a Seminar.</p> | <p>-She is proud of all the work that she has achieved in the past with the CoE and EUROCLIO<br/>-But she is quite sceptical about the current situation in Europe: because of populism, digital age, post factualism, the youth does not look how the knowledge is constructed. Lack of interest for History. But EUROCLIO has still a role to play.</p> |

3- Interview with the Founder and Special Advisor of EUROCLIO

|                    |                                    |  |   |   |   |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| <p><b>Who?</b></p> | <p>1- The origins of EUROCLIO?</p> | <p>2- Why did you engage in the MATRA programme?</p> | <p>3- How did you experience the MATRA programme?</p> | <p>4- Why it was important for EUROCLIO to work with the CoE?</p> | <p>5- When running a project, what kind of resources does EUROCLIO provide?</p> |
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| <p><b>Historian / Founder and Special Advisor of EUROCLIO (Joke van der Leeuw-Roord)</b></p> | <p>-The CoE needed practitioners because their previous actions had not influence the school level.<br/>-Importance of the context: Fall of the Soviet Union – the new Republics needed new curricula and textbooks</p> | <p>-The Dutch Ministry of FA invited EUROCLIO to make a proposal with the CoE.</p>   | <p>-On the one hand, not so well because there was an inequality between the CoE and EUROCLIO: EUROCLIO couldn't suggest new ideas in the programme or new experts, because already had been already decided by the CoE.<br/>-On the other hand, it was an opportunity to meet many ministers in Eastern and Central Europe.<br/>-It ended quite dramatically in 2005: the idea of another project fell down because the CoE was not willing to and because of the political context: The “NO” of the Dutch referendum for the EU Constitution.</p> | <p>-Nothing would have been possible without the network and contacts of the CoE.<br/>-Example of a previous administrator in Russia who enabled EUROCLIO to make teacher trainings.<br/>-EUROCLIO can get political support thanks to the CoE.<br/>Political support is very important.</p> | <p>-Bring inspirational speakers to motivate History teachers<br/>-Make active workshops to motivate participants and make them realise that a change is needed: use of sources, new practices...<br/>-Always produce final products<br/>-Objective expertise: EUROCLIO is seen as a neutral actor, people trust them.<br/>-EUROCLIO can moderate the debate and contribute to move it forward.</p> |
| <p><b>6- What are the differences between EUROCLIO and the CoE?</b></p>                      | <p><b>7- How can you make sure that EUROCLIO reach the school level and have an impact?</b></p>   | <p><b>8- Influence of the 2001 Recommendation? Handbook of Robert Stradling?</b></p> | <p><b>9- Which external factors can affect the work of EUROCLIO?</b></p>  | <p><b>10- Is the field of History education / Education policy area more open to NGOs than other fields?</b></p>   |   |

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| <p>-Events organised by the CoE are always the same and follow-up actions are not sufficient.<br/>         -Experts have the same expertise and experience but the CoE experts don't have the opportunity to do a bit more in terms of follow-up actions because they are bounded by the official programme.<br/>         -EUROCLIO uses more experts from Central and Eastern Europe.<br/>         -The CoE can deal hardly with sensitive issues because is bounded by the veto of its Members, while EUROCLIO is not because its not an IGO.</p> | <p>-It is difficult to influence textbooks because in Eastern/Central Europe, most of the textbooks are sacrosanct of the State.<br/>         -But the influence of EUROCLIO is mainly on people -&gt; History teachers are influenced by EUROCLIO practices and use it in their classrooms.<br/>         -Building of a network of: history teachers, PhD, Museum directors, Teacher trainers, Administrators in Ministries.</p> | <p>-It influenced a lot of curricula<br/>         -Words like "multiperspectivity" became famous.<br/>         -EUROCLIO disseminated it as a signature of the CoE<br/>         -But the translation depended on the willingness of countries because the CoE only translated it in French &amp; English.</p> | <p>The political context: rise of extreme / populist governments affect the work of EUROCLIO because they establish nationalist History curricula.</p> | <p>Not necessary.<br/>         To survive as an NGO, you have to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be organised</li> <li>• Have authority</li> <li>• Have the expertise to run always projects</li> <li>• Find money to run these projects</li> <li>• Give evidence that you are able to run projects</li> </ul> <p>-EUROCLIO get a "name" also because is part of European platform/networks -&gt; Lifelong learning platform / Europeana</p> |
|---|---|---|--|--|

## Transcript of the interviews

### 1) 1<sup>st</sup> interview

This interview was made on 25<sup>th</sup> June 2017 via Skype between 17h00 and 18h00 (CEST time). The interviewee was a Ukrainian history teacher and is now a methodologist / teachers' trainer of *Lviv Regional Institute of Post-Graduated Pedagogical Education*. She was involved as a national coordinator in the MATRA programme.

**Interviewer:** Hello. How are you? Do you hear me well?

**Interviewee:** Hello. Yes. Just a moment. I hope that internet will work for me.

**Interviewer:** No problem. Let me just install the camera. It is ok now.

**Interviewee:** Ok great. Shall we start?

**Interviewer:** Yes sure. So let me ask first to introduce you please.

**Interviewee:** Yes sure. I am a history teacher with 27 years of teaching in secondary schools in a small town of Ukraine. When I cooperated with "Lviv regional Institutedin" the end of 1990 I met \_\_\_\_\_ there. She established the NGO Nova Doba (means New Epoch) – association of History and Social studies teachers. I was a member of this NGO from its beginning in 1999 and up to 2015. Thanks to my membership of this organisation I had the happy opportunity to be involved in international projects in civic education field and in history education. With these projects I had the possibility to discuss with colleagues from whole Europe the aims and tools of History curriculum and to study the practise of history teaching of lot of European countries, such as Scotland, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Latvia, Italy and other, were the main achievement of these projects.

Now I work as a specialist of teachers' methods in a teacher trainers institute and I work in the department of development of education of this institute. Thanks to my experience I've got participating in several international projects in History teaching, Civic and HR education I was invited to working group of History curriculum in 2011-2012 . I made a lot of seminars and trainings for history and other subject teachers, and I'm happy to have experience of creating of history textbooks and teacher's guides.

**Interviewer:** The trainings you were talking about are organised by the ministry of education?

**Interviewee:** No no, these one were organised by the department of education of my institute. I have a wide experience thanks to international projects, thanks for going outside of the



country and having a lot of contacts. To compare for instance my knowledge and their situation (*history teachers in Ukraine*) for instance (...) because Ukraine is in a complicated situation right now, of course, in this situation, national discourses come, as you know, it means the freedom of mind, because we have censorship from Soviet times. Most of the teachers are 45-55 years old and are women. The situation for our children is not ideal. I try to bring new ideas, new experiences, to make their eyes look wider, and bring some innovative method of course.

**Interviewer:** Thank you for this presentation. How and when did you start working with EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** Euh... firstly I was involved in a Ukrainian competition for the best lesson plan of civic education, organised by Nova Doba in 1999 and later as one of winner of it I was involved in the first international European-American-Ukrainian project "Education for democracy in Ukraine". This project was aimed to share the international experience of Civic Education. It included study visit to USA of seven history teachers, the creation of this team the student's textbook and teachers' guide "We are the citizens of Ukraine" for 16-17 -age students and following up seminars. After that the head of Nova Doba \_\_\_\_\_ invited me to be part as coordinator in this project with EUROCLIO. It was basically MATRA program. It was in September 2001 and I knew nothing (*laugh*) about what I will do, but I was very surprised and this project looked very interesting and I agreed to be a national coordinator, without understanding what job I have to do. (*laugh*)

**Interviewer:** Ok I see. So it is not EUROCLIO who contacted you?

**Interviewee:** No no, not directly. At this time EUROCLIO was used to provide this kind of projects in Baltic States, in Russia. As I know, Ukraine is a quite big country, so I understand why EUROCLIO went to Ukraine. It was quite a chance that Nova Doba was a big NGO, ready for this project. The head of Nova Doba met Joke (*founder of EUROCLIO*) in a conference and they discussed the possibility of it, and after that they started common talk and only after that the head of Nova Doba contacted me. With EUROCLIO they made an introduction meeting and we talked about the possibility of my participation and I agreed.

**Interviewer:** Ok. In this preparatory meeting, do you remember what they told you about the project and its aims?

**Interviewee:** This project was very on time for Ukraine, because it was 10 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of Ukraine. Of course, like Eastern or Central European countries, we faced with the question: how to change historical curriculum? Of course in Soviet times the learning of History was not only about Bolshevik history but the

conceptualisation of history teaching was based on indoctrination of Common past brotherly people. After the Collapse, Ukrainian teachers needed new approaches and knowledge in history education. The MATRA project proposal was about updating approaches in history education, and it was perfect because EUROCLIO approach is based on multiperspectivity, critical thinking and sources. It was very modern and on time. Of course in our country it is not possible to make something without the support of Ministry.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Did the Ministry of education of Ukraine participate in the organisation of the project?

**Interviewee:** The ministry participated as an umbrella, so not really, but some specialists of education were invited as experts to this project. I don't know if I should say it or no... *(laugh)* but it is like a political game for the ministry to invite this person to play a role as an expert. But of course the main actors were history teachers who produced historical material and especially international experts.

**Interviewer:** As a national coordinator, what did you have to do during the project?

**Interviewee:** Firstly, on the first stage... because the project lasted 3 years... the first step was to organise contacts and meetings, helping with logistics. After the creation of the project team I was involved in the discussion, in the content of the project: what is the project, what is our goal, with whom we do it. As I remember, the first aim of the project was to create methodological recommendations for history teachers: how to teach with innovative ways? But after one year, when Joke and \_\_\_\_\_ saw that the team was very active and very interested in the project, the project was extended for 2 more years and we started to create more. As I said, firstly we had to write 50 pages of methodological recommendations for teachers. When we ended this. (...) Just a moment please. *(She stood up to take something)* Sorry, I prefer showing you something. At the end of the project we created this kind of textbooks for student, in addition to the recommendations. It was a very innovative design for our practice.

**Interviewer:** What is the name of the textbook?

**Interviewee:** The name is "History of people in Ukraine. 1900-1939" You can find it on the website of EUROCLIO.

**Interviewer:** Ok thank you. How many people contributed to this textbook?

**Interviewee:** You can see on the back of the cover the whole team *(she mentioned all the names of the team)* but next to the team there were different experts from Europe. (Austria, Scotland, Russia)

**Interviewer:** Do you know if these experts have been contacted by EUROCLIO or the Council of Europe?

**Interviewee:** No no, as I know it was through EUROCLIO. They worked for EUROCLIO. Probably I can explain more. As I remember I took part in few seminars organised by the Council of Europe and the Ministry of Education of Ukraine. Sometimes the people whom I met in EUROCLIO conference were the same because they were experts in the field. But as I know, EUROCLIO worked, not really separately, but separately at the same time from the Council of Europe. There was the MATRA program which financed the project in the country, and I am very sorry that the program is closed. I understand that is a financial point for the Netherlands, I understand it is very expensive, and I know that it is difficult to measure the impact of this project, but the influence exists and I strongly believe that without this project, the pedagogical community would not have existed really. And EUROCLIO organised it and people who were involved, they were invited to other EUROCLIO activities for instance. It was not something hermetic on Ukraine only but made on multi perspective from many people.

**Interviewer:** So you never have been in contact with the Council of Europe during the project?

**Interviewee:** Mmm... to be honest I don't remember really. Tatiana Milko (*the current head of history education unit of the CoE*) was (...) probably, (...) I am sorry it was in 2004 it is not yesterday (...) probably she was invited for the final symposium of the project. But we were invited separately to other EUROCLIO projects.

In 2008 there was another big MATRA project in Ukraine: "Ukrainian education for tolerance". Another organisation was invited, it was the Ukrainian Centre for Holocaust Studies, Civic Education Centre and something like it. I was invited as an expert training and it was successful. It resulted in 20-25 textbooks. It was very important for me. We went in the different regions of Ukraine for seminars. It was based on MATRA programme too.

**Interviewer:** Ok I see. I am a bit surprised that you were not in contact with the Council of Europe as they were the leader of MATRA project with EUROCLIO.

**Interviewee:** It is my personal story, I was not responsible for the institutional communication part. Probably the head of Nova Doba \_\_\_\_\_ was in contact with the Council of Europe. I had other responsibilities: I worked on content, on discussions, with publishing houses. I remember it was really hard work because I had to do after my lessons in schools to publishing houses to make the design, it was really new.

**Interviewer:** Did EUROCLIO provide you with some guidelines to make these textbooks?

**Interviewee:** They provided us with the CoE recommendation and of course we learnt experience from previous projects in the Balkans and Russia. An expert from Russia was invited in the project and she understood closely our system of course. During the seminars we met a lot of people, from the Balkans, from Bulgaria for instance. These professional discussions somehow were more useful than concrete guidelines. For me personally, I am very thankful to Joke (founder of EUROCLIO) and EUROCLIO staff, at this time, because they were very flexible with our needs and request. For instance, we visited Glasgow University and we found a lot of material that does not exist in Ukraine. It is very surprising for me that some newspaper from twentieth century I can't find it in Ukraine but I can find it in Glasgow. And of course, I think that this flexibility helped us to create really good textbooks that I use with my students up today.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Can you explain a bit more what you mean exactly by "flexibility"?

**Interviewee:** Flexibility because, as I know, during one year, we discussed about what to include in the textbook. Our discussions were so deep and long, and for instance, Joke, with her authority and with my respect to her, was not like "Please. We decide and do it". No, she was more like "Ok that would be more helpful for our students and teachers." That is what I mean by flexibility. She would tell us to discuss and then made a good management of the process, and then make check-in of results on each step. For me it was really the best school of management.

**Interviewer:** You said before that you learned more from exchanges and contacts rather than concrete guidelines. Who allowed you to make these exchanges? EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** Yes of course, we met with teachers from the Netherlands, from Scotland (because we had special school visits in Scotland during one week and we met not only experts but also real teachers in schools.) One week with other teachers is very important. I remember once in Italy in 2003 when we met a lot from the Balkans states. I met with experts who worked for other projects for Bulgaria team or Albanian team, and of course we can communicate. I prefer to underline that these communications with teachers who work like you in other countries was very important. This network and possibility to contact, it was without Facebook time (laugh) was great. I remember my feeling that " Ok the world is wide and teaching in another country has the same problems" and we can unite our effort to make it more understandable for our students.

**Interviewer:** I would like to ask you now some more general questions about the relation between EUROCLIO and the Council of Europe. If you don't know the answer personally, don't worry.

First of all, with the MATRA project, why do you think that the Council had an interest to work with EUROCLIO?

*Interviewee:* I think it is very clear, because EUROCLIO has the biggest network. The second reason is that the bigger community of social and history teachers who already work with EUROCLIO are ready for ideas and for the recommendations that the Council of Europe make. For example, the Recommendation about teaching History in the 21st century (2001), I am very happy that we have official translation from these papers on the side of our permanent. I think it is very important. The ministries and other people from government say that they read the Council of Europe work, but without EUROCLIO projects, without people that involve in EUROCLIO activities and share these ideas of the recommendation, it won't work efficiently. But it is my personal opinion and I am probably subjective.

*Interviewer:* You mentioned the Council of Europe recommendation about History teaching in 21st century. How did you know about this recommendation?

*Interviewee:* It was translated from the side of our permanent and I don't know from what time it is on this page, but I know from the MATRA project in 2001, it was the first paper that EUROCLIO introduced to us with the book of Robert Stradling about teaching in 20th century. As an important book, Joke brought it to us and I improved my english with it. (laugh)

*Interviewer:* Do you think that this book is used today in Ukraine?

*Interviewee:* If this book is used by 10 or 15 people, what do you think, is it used or not? with 40 millions of people and 22 000 of history teachers. No, probably not. But at the same time, it is not possible to ignore these recommendations directly. For example, I was involved in history curriculum development in 2012 and I think with our team, we created a new curriculum for pupils from 10 to 15, with these EUROCLIO approaches. But now I am very sorry but we have a new curriculum, it is very fresh, from May, with more nationalistic, more military and more political approach. I think because of the war, the aggression of Russia in the East of Ukraine. In this case, State make patriotism as a main trend: freedom of mind but patriotism: "our students should be patriots"!

Some words like "critical thinking" or "multiperspectivity" have become, let's say, "ritual words". It is not possible to ignore it, but again it is my personal point of view, you have to ask someone else from Ukraine.

*Interviewer:* Do you know some people who were involved in the creation of this nationalist curriculum?

**Interviewee:** Yes, actually the person who was head of the working group is my chief and we had a lot of discussions. For instance I tried to explain how it was better than now, but the main argument was "the situation changed and we need more Ukrainian history than before". Of course i am very sorry about it. I remember Soviet education was very ideological and was very good organised, much better than now. But at the same time one, two, three, four years and everything collapsed. I don't believe that indoctrination should be good for teaching.

**Interviewer:** When you developed the new curriculum in 2012, were you supported by the ministry?

**Interviewee:** Yes, our ministry support each time each working group, but changes very quickly. It is the same person since 20 years who works with EUROCLIO, with the Council of Europe, with different NGOs but as the same time if the line of the ministry changes, this person changes behaviour too. It depends on the political context.

**Interviewer:** Would you say that your work with EUROCLIO and the new curriculum in 2012 was well perceived by policy-makers and public opinion?

**Interviewee:** In my opinion, this curriculum was innovative enough, but was not very good for Ukraine because was not enough patriotic. I think the explanation was not enough for history teachers. Our curriculum is not the same as Western countries; One paper is what subject and what time should be taught and another paper is the content and what achievement should be done, and of course our standards exist, but teachers don't read these standards. There is a lot of "who does what" but very little about "why and how". It means that all teaching process are based on this knowledge approach. I tried with my colleagues to make this program more flexible, more open to students. We put special lessons based only on different kind of courses. But in my opinion teachers are not ready, without good textbooks, to provide these approaches.

**Interviewer:** Why do you think that they are not ready?

**Interviewee:** Because unfortunately they don't have the skills, like participation to EUROCLIO projects.

**Interviewer:** But there are training of teachers, no?

**Interviewee:** There was not enough trained program in the project for instance, because there was no money for it. Creation of textbooks was very expensive process. And i think it was the main reason why a lot of teachers don't know anything about this project and these approaches.

**Interviewer:** But there was not training of teachers in the follow-up of the MATRA project?

**Interviewee:** No, why, because we have State system and we have informal system, based on activity of NGOs. Sometimes ministry agrees that these NGOs do something, but on the same time to make it compulsory for the whole country, it is complicated. How is it possible to re-teach to 26 000 of history teachers? Only through official system of postgraduate pedagogical institutions. But people who work in these institutions are not ready to. Who will teach them? I think it is a problem. Why do we have a reform period? The system of education is very strong and not flexible in Ukraine.

**Interviewer:** Do you think that these people take into account the Council of Europe recommendations?

**Interviewee:** They say they do, but it is only recommendations, it is not an order from your chief. As I said it is a complicated situation. But we are not the only one, as I know it is the same in Azerbaijan, in Armenia, in Moldova, in Russia. Only probably in Baltic States and some of Central Europe States have these reforms. When I talk with the Macedonian colleague, it depends only on personal activities of some people, and good opportunities with ministries or not. Ministry people they decide what they should do and then people come to ministry structures to change their mind.

**Interviewer:** Let me ask you a final question. In the 15 past years, what is the achievement in history education that you are the most proud of, in general or personally?

**Interviewee:** Mmm... for me personally, the great achievement is that the curriculum of 2012 exists. I am proud that new approaches exist. With my colleague we put a part of EUROCLIO approaches. We created not a lot but many articles, describing these approaches. I tried to translate the examples of projects from the Balkans to my teachers colleagues, to show that it is not only our will but a common approach. We tried to include controversial issues in lesson plans. For example, we translated Georgian project in our magazine. I try to work always with these approaches. But of course my personal activity is not enough. I think it is possible only step by step.

What I want now (laugh) is a new EUROCLIO project in Ukraine with big part of teachers seminars, not only creation of material. I would like to deepen attention to work with teachers. Because we have this experience. We have 3 textbooks in Ukraine based on the EUROCLIO approach. But printing copies is about 1000 or 2000, for 22 000 teachers.

It is the responsibility of our civic society, I understand it. But of course I would be happy if EUROCLIO will make a new project in Ukraine, with attention to teach to teachers and show them that sources-based approach works really, and multi-perspectivity and thinking and speaking about critical issues.

## 2) Second interview

This interview was made via Skype on Tuesday 4th July between 10 am and 11 am (CEST time). The interviewee is Senior Research Fellow and Director of the Blueprint Research Centre at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK. He is a former Council of Europe consultant and still works with EUROCLIO. He is the author of the handbook *Teaching 20th Century European History (Strasbourg 2001)* and *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching (Strasbourg 2003)*.

**Interviewer:** Good morning Bob.

**Interviewee:** Good morning Juliette.

**Interviewer:** Sorry for the technical problems. Now it is working, great.

Shall I start with my questions?

**Interviewee:** Yes, fine.

**Interviewer:** So, can you introduce yourself please?

**Interviewee:** Yes ok. My name is Robert Stradling, I am a former academic, I am retired now, I was based at the University of Edinburgh, where I ran a multi disciplinary research centre, and a lot of our work there was about evaluating governmental policies. Before that, I have been an Historian and worked at London University. So I found myself, when I moved to Edinburgh, not working so much with History, most of our research was interviewing people, finding policy recommendations. But there was an opportunity for me to work in the Consortium of Institutions for Development and Research in Education in Europe. (CIDREE) This was back in 1990, I was asked to find out what is happening in History Education all across Europe. And that is how I got into History education basically, I wrote a report, this report came to the attention of Maitland Stobart who was the Deputy Director of Education, Culture & Sports of the Council of Europe and asked me to come to Strasbourg to talk about the report. At that moment he asked me if I would be prepared to be a part-time consultant for the Council of Europe, which has lasted for more than 20 years during which I wrote several books on their behalf, among which is the handbook about how to teach the History of the 20th Century. I continue to be a Researcher. I got involved with EUROCLIO quite early and I would be happy to provide more details about that. In 2006, when I talked with EUROCLIO, we both concluded that what was needed is a History website for history teachers, and Steven and Jonathan joined the organisation just before that. Steven took the responsibility to set up this. I was a member of the Steering Committee responsible of this.



When they asked who would like to be the editor in chief of the website, I was the only one who raised my hand so that is how I became editor in chief of Historians. (laugh) That is basically my biographical statement Juliette.

**Interviewer:** (laugh). Ok. So I am gonna go back through what you said and ask for more explanations. So you started with the Council of Europe as a Consultant. What was your role exactly?

**Interviewee:** In a way it is a link to practice of history education all across Europe with the Parliamentary Assembly and the Diplomats. The CoE has always had limited fundings to work with schools and the way to use this money is to run conferences and workshops, and of course, they needed specialists to provide inputs for these workshops and that is why they work very closely with EUROCLIO. They worked a lot with Joke and latter on with Jonathan to find people from within EUROCLIO network who will come along and run training sessions. My job would be to also go to these workshops and to report to the CoE what was happening. The problem that the CoE had was that ever since it was established in 1949, it had a huge responsibility in particular for teaching history and this is because History had been used as a weapon in Nazi Germany and to some extent in Fascist Italy. So at the end of the War, the major task was to looking at textbooks, re training teachers in these countries. And the CoE took this job on and it was the main responsibility of Maitland Stobart, the Deputy Director of Education, Culture & Sports of the Council of Europe. So what they have done from 1949 to the 1990's was either review textbooks from different countries, or to work with organisations which are experts with that such as in Germany. Maitland concluded that the report written by the CoE got back to the politicians and diplomats, but never reach the Education, it never influenced practices in Europe, so the schools were not very aware of what the Council of Europe were doing. So he saw the need for different kind of reports, some reports which could be available for schools, through the membership of EUROCLIO, and also of course that was a key role for EUROCLIO and I became a mediatory between the CoE and EUROCLIO, in terms of practice of history education. While other people like Alison Cardwell or Tatiana Mirko were the administrative link between EUROCLIO and the CoE, such as making sure that money was available for conferences, making sure that conferences worked and so on. So my role was to attend the conferences, make a report back and write it in such a way that they have recommendations for Committees of the CoE and also recommendations that would be passed to the Parliamentary Assembly.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So you just said that the CoE did a lot between 1949 and the 90's, but that the dissemination of their work was not enough, because it did not reach schools.

Would you say that EUROCLIO was funded to allow the dissemination of such work?

**Interviewee:** That is certainly how Maitland Stobart and the CoE saw it. But I think that Joke and other colleagues from History Associations saw something much bigger than that. What happened then I think, once you have membership, annual conferences and that members start to say 'I would like that', you have to start funding these things yourself as well. So it was not that the CoE and EUROCLIO stopped their relations, they remained very close, but the CoE had a smaller and tighter agenda than EUROCLIO did. So a lot of things developed and the CoE had nothing to do with.

**Interviewer:** Ok I understand. Were you in the founding conferences of EUROCLIO in 1991-1992?

**Interviewee:** Yes. I had my first meeting with the CoE people roughly at the same time Joke had their first meeting with them about the possibility to set up an NGO. Maitland Stobart wanted to discuss the possibility of setting up an NGO that might be able to work with the Council of Europe to spread good practice in history education.

I attended the first inaugural meeting which was in Leeuwarden in 1993. I was unable to attend the first meeting in Bruges in 1992 as I was ill but I got the report from that. But for your information, in December, 1991 the Council of Europe organised a pan-European conference in Bruges in December 1991. The theme was 'Learning and Teaching History in the New Europe'. Many of the participants then helped to form a network of history educators prepared to work together and with other colleagues. A year later the Council and the Dutch History Teachers Association invited around 30 to 40 representatives from other History Teachers Associations to Strasbourg to discuss what was needed. They agreed that it was necessary to set up an international organisation to support history education in Europe. At first, they came up with a really awful name for it: the "European Standing Conference of History Teachers". Luckily, the Belgians came up with a much better name, EUROCLIO! Then in 1993, Joke and the Dutch History Teachers Association organized a conference in Leeuwarden. I think there were representatives from 14 European countries, and this was EUROCLIO's inaugural conference. I attended along with others from the Council of Europe and acted as the rapporteur for the conference.

As a rapporteur, one of the things I was expected to say was that whether or not the CoE should support EUROCLIO in the future. Which meant that my relation with Joke in the conference was quite tensed (laugh), she was not sure which conclusion I would reach and was way too more honourable to ask me to reach a certain conclusion. Of course the audience for my report was the CoE although it was distributed to everybody who attended the conference but

I was impressed about the ideas I heard during the conference and concluded that the CoE should fully support the establishment of EUROCLIO and worked closely with EUROCLIO and that went back as a recommendation to the Council Committee.

*Interviewer:* Do you remember what kind of arguments did you put in this report? My question would be: Why did the CoE need an organisation such as EUROCLIO? What kind of assets did have EUROCLIO and that the CoE lacked?

*Interviewee:* Well, first of all, the CoE does not have history practitioners, you know, some people were Historians, most were trained administrators who came from different member states of the Council. And so they were never really in a position to influence practice. I gave you a yellow and blue book that gives a summary of the work of the CoE before EUROCLIO and you can see that they did focus on textbooks very much and they realised that it was not enough; they were improving the look of textbooks, making them non ideological and encouraging authors and publishers to think about these issues, but they were very aware that was not making a difference to classrooms practices. Whereas what EUROCLIO brought was people like Joke who was a very experienced History teacher, who represented the Dutch Association of History teachers. At the conference there were like 17 teachers Associations there. So that was the first thing: reach practitioners who could work with the CoE to run workshops and conferences around Europe.

The next thing is the time of course, 1992. By this time we had 1989, fall of the Soviet Communism in Europe, the 1991 break up of the Soviet Union, and we got a lot of new States, new democratic States if you like. So these countries were looking at the reforms of education curriculum, textbooks and re training of teachers, and were looking outside of their countries for experts to come and help them. And this was a job that turned to the CoE, and as you may expect, the CoE turned to EUROCLIO to help them. So from 1991 onwards, there was two big projects that we were looking at:

-The first one was called the "Secretary General Initiative". The SG is the overall Director of the CoE. This was called the "SG Initiative" to highlight the importance that was given by the CoE to this initiative. The idea was to go and work with the education Ministries of Central and Eastern Europe that was formally Communists. Throughout the 1990's, EUROCLIO and people like myself were working in the Former Soviet Republics: Russian Federation, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Belarus, Georgia and so on. We had three main aims: 1) encouraging learning of their history but also the history of their neighbours, because we were concerned about cross-border relations 2) to develop the skills of history thinking of students, such as enable to use and analyse critically sources 3) encourage fundamental values for these

young people, that are necessary for the practices of history education: tolerance, intellectual curiosity, openness, multi perspective... The key concern was to provide a good alternative history class to the think of nationalistic history. Once a country frees himself from the control of a major super power such as Soviet Union, his first instinct is to work for a nationalist history rather than a biggest or Soviet History, but secondly their instinct is to make it more nationalistic because they see themselves building a Nation State. So there is nothing wrong with teaching national history, but what is wrong is to say: "your country is better than everybody else and has a deserve to be treated better". So it is what we were doing throughout the 90's, we were going into Central and Eastern countries and working with Ministers, history teachers associations.

**Interviewer:** Ok. And all of these history teachers were brought through EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** Yes, I mean they were trained by EUROCLIO and most of them have become members of EUROCLIO, although many have retired today. So there were setting up new History teachers Associations, that were not so ideological such as the previous ones, they were coming to the Annual meetings of EUROCLIO and discussing their needs. I think there was a kind of issue at that time. Both CoE and EUROCLIO had been initially working for a Western European target group. And I suppose that there was a feeling at the late 90's from the Western Europe that they had been neglected here, all the focus was on Central and Eastern Europe. The content developed throughout the 90's was not so aimed to countries such as the Netherlands, the UK or Germany.

There was a second initiative, in the mid-90's, which was jointly the CoE and EUROCLIO, but it was part of something bigger, which was called "The Stability Pact for Southeast Europe". Now this followed the War in the Former Yugoslavia Wars. You know you had wars between Serbia and Croatia, between Serbia and Slovenia, Slovenia and Croatia. You had all the problems of multi ethnic groups living in Bosnia, the Muslims, Serbs, Croats, Catholics and Orthodox and so on. So one of the questions was: How can education support the work that was going on by Diplomats to try negotiate a peace. So you had an agreement at that time that was negotiated mainly under American influence, also American money was going to that region that we are calling today the Balkans.

So we went in to see if we could do something similar than what we were doing in the Former Soviet Republics: again, working with Ministries, teachers, history teachers associations. Sometimes it was incredibly interesting, we went to Sarajevo, not long after the conflict ended, and we found the three different groups coming at the meeting, setting quite separately, and then at the end of the sessions, leaving quite separately without any

conversation. It really gave messages about the importance of working together, training together, looking at a shared history and so on. But there was a lot of resistance so it took a long time to work with some groups. You could go to a country such as Slovenia and they consider themselves as Western anyway, so they grasp the ideas very quickly, and became quite an important group within EUROCLIO. I think that the Head of the History teachers Association was one of the first members on the Board who was a Treasurer. But it took more time to get Serbia involved and it was always difficult to work in Bosnia. So those were the two kind of piece of work that we did together.

And that also led to another project, that was a CoE's initiative, "Teaching and learning 20th century European century" and a number of EUROCLIO born members stood in the steering committee for that project.

**Interviewer:** Can you just explain to me what is exactly a steering committee?

**Interviewee:** Yes. A steering committee is set up by an IGO like the CoE to show that it brought experts in the field and to show that their work is appropriate and provide the right kind of inputs. So for example, there was a publisher of history textbooks, Joke was there as the director of EUROCLIO, Ineke as a member of the Board, and a man called "Leclerc" was the Treasurer I think. And there was also representatives of the CoE. We were trying to produce a set of material that would help teachers training across Europe. The initial idea was that I would coordinate this work and edit it, and that we would get volunteers to write these material. But it is actually to get very busy people, they are often willing to volunteer but then they get very nervous about the deadlines, because IGO have limited funds and limited deadlines so they push people to finish the work and these people drop out because they believe they can't make it on time. So what happened then that I finished writing the material and other people wrote specific material: using mass media and an other one about History agenda, which was about how to teach women history. These material came in 2001.

**Interviewer:** Ok, and you wrote the handbook "Teaching 20th century European History" right? You wrote it alone?

**Interviewee:** Yes that's right. Basically yes, although I had meeting 4 times a year with the steering committee and I would provide draft and they would make suggestions, criticisms and so on. So it took me 2 years to complete because initially I was just supposed to edit the material. People like Joke and Ineke were very important to me at that time because they were willing to be contacted on a daily basis to send feedbacks. They also promoted it within the EUROCLIO network and it ended up to be translated in 17 languages. And as you might have heard during the 25th anniversary reception, in some countries it is still considered as a Bible

for teachers training, although I feel now that it must be updated, but I don't have the energy to re write it. (laugh)

**Interviewer:** (laugh). Ok, so EUROCLIO helped you to disseminate the handbook?

**Interviewee:** Yes a lot. To be honest I don't think it would have been possible without the commitment of some people like Joke or Ineke. And that is how I got to meet Chris Rowe, Dean Smart, who were very helpful. There was always problem of getting people who speak french to be involved. There was a tension within EUROCLIO I believe because there was a concern that all the money was coming through EUROCLIO Secretariat from the Dutch ministry of foreign affairs, and I think that the French wanted the money to be spread out more so that the Dutch did not influence so much. In fact, I don't think that the Dutch Ministry was trying to attempt the work of EUROCLIO, they were just trying to get some reports to see if the money was well spent. But you know you get conspiracy theories and some people left EUROCLIO at that time from Switzerland and France and it took us some time to get back them involved. The CoE got a French speaker to work on that project, but it did not bring the french back in the EUROCLIO history approach, for a long time. I probably digressed from your original question (laugh), remind me again what was it?

**Interviewer:** (laugh). I have another question actually. On the website of the CoE I saw that this project and the handbook that you wrote led to the 2001 Recommendation of the CoE? What do you know about this Recommendation?

**Interviewee:** Yes. There was always members of the Parliamentary Assembly who were very supportive of that project, and particularly the Spanish at that time, and were the driving forces in favour of this Recommendation. I was involved with Administrators for drafting the Recommendation, although it is such a long time ago now. It really was to have a proper History Unit within the CoE, that would work closely with other Associations, such as obviously EUROCLIO, but also other associations of Citizenship and Human Right. We really looked how Young people could have a better sense of European History, what they shared with other countries and what they don't, to better understand the History of the 20th century. That was the heart of this recommendation, it could have been about teaching the medieval history or about teaching religious history but the focus was really the teaching of the 20th century. And it was a recognition that it was a Century that divided Europe but that re united Europe again. But also, it was now in many European countries, it covered mainly half of the history curriculum. They covered the rest of the last 2000 years in a kind of survey. But they would spend a good length of time on the 20th century and it is a sensitive period: many

wars, conflicts across Europe, Cold war. So young people need to understand: how we got to come where we are now? And that is at the heart of the CoE approach.

**Interviewer:** Ok. This Recommendation of the CoE was aimed to the Member States right? So do you think that these Member States implemented the Recommendation?

**Interviewee:** I am sure that every representative of Ministry of Education read it. There are political issues. It is something that is always a matter of concern more than in other areas of school education. We see Historians as aiming to be objective as possible. The way they interpret History will depend on the sources they can access, so depends also on the languages they can use. So even if it is not necessarily the truth, it is always aimed to be objective. Different Historians can interpret differently the same piece of evidence. When you come to History in schools, it isn't only about making students very good Historians, although that would be nice, it is about preparing you for life, preparing you for citizenship, it is about your national identity. So we realised that History in schools has other functions, social and political functions. So in a way, you have to come to the conclusion that the different governments in Europe will have different views about these social functions of History curriculum, which is separated with "how to teach good history". Therefore, we are aware that we have to make recommendations, make international trainings, but it is very much a slow process to try to change things. I think that all countries looked at it, some put it in a Shelf and never looked at it again, some took parts of the Recommendation that fitted with their policies, some grasped it and wanted to get involved with the CoE and EUROCLIO.

**Interviewer:** Do you have an example of such country who get involved quickly with the work of the CoE and EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** Yes I think at least two: the Czech Republic did and Slovenia did. For other countries it took more time, but Georgia also got involved. The Baltic States got involved also. Both Joke and I worked in the Russian Federation, and it is not surprising, a former Super Power can't believe that international organisations can teach them many things. And I understand that, I mean they had their own initiatives which was to start by creating standards, as they called them: what should students have learnt at the end of the curriculum? Initially it was all about content and not about skills or about to think critically. In the early 90's when we went to St Petersburg or Moscow, I could remember in 1992, going to Moscow with one representative of CoE and one from EUROCLIO, where the whole workshop was controlled by the Ministry of Education, and they directly told us that they will not learn anything from us and will do their own reforms. At the same time, some people in the workshops had astonishing ideas, one who came along and wished to distribute curriculum about 1917,

before the Russian Revolution, and History should not teach the 20th Century. Another wanted the History education and the religious education to be merged. While the Ministry of Education wanted to get a quite modern curriculum.

Things were not easy, it was not easy to work there. So it takes time to bring development, while in other countries it can happen very quickly. At the same time there is countries that have been actively involved in the trainings but possibly don't see themselves as countries where trainers of other countries can be invited to come in. I tend to see Britain in that way, we have lot of experts who go in other countries, but they don't invite others.

They have a very clear idea of what they should teach or not. So sadly, I don't think that there is enough interest today to think "what French are teaching" and to invite them to run a workshop. I would say it is probably the same in the other way around.

Some of the Great Old Powers (France, UK...) need to be a bit more Europeans and think about both history curriculums and about the training of History teachers.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So you spoke before about 3 projects in the 90's, but there was also another project bringing together the CoE and EUROCLIO: the MATRA. Were you involved?

**Interviewee:** No I was not because there was two projects running at the same time and I was involved in the other one. With Chris Rowe we were producing a CD-ROM containing a multiplicity of sources drawn from across the whole of Europe, about the History of the 20th century. But I know that Joke was very involved in the MATRA project. But what happened with the book "Teaching 20th Century European History", was that teachers came to us and said : "We want to use other sources from other countries but we can't get them", it is fine to speak about multi perspectivity, but where do you get the sources? So we persuaded the CoE to do something about it, and as technology is moving, at that time we thought about CD-ROM to develop these sources.

**Interviewer:** So far, we mainly spoke about the point of view of EUROCLIO and how EUROCLIO brought help to the CoE, in terms of expertise and network. But from the other side, what the CoE brought to EUROCLIO according to you? Why do you think that EUROCLIO needed the CoE?

**Interviewee:** Well the first thing is funding because the CoE could pay for all the conferences, and pay for the travels of everybody, pay for speakers and workshops activators. Also, it had a direct line with Ministers of Education, as an intergovernmental organisation. If the Parliamentary Assembly and Committee of CoE thought it was a good project, then Governments would come on board and offer a venue for an international conference and



provide support for travels. In a way, they facilitated what EUROCLIO could do. EUROCLIO had its own money but always needed project funding.

There was also the opportunity that these two organisations working together could tap into European money and I think that is how they came into MATRA. As you know with European Commission funding, you always have to have a joint funding, so it was attractive for the EU Commission to see that the CoE would be involved with NGOs.

*Interviewer:* Ok. So it is more functional reasons somehow?

*Interviewee:* Yes. Of course, over time people got a lot of expertise and contacts, so you have to think also that the CoE has its own network. It has a good network of people who will run workshops and come along to join conferences. People like Ineke is both a CoE and EUROCLIO expert, same as Chris Rowe and John Hamer.

*Interviewer:* Ok, so they are like mediators between the CoE and EUROCLIO.

*Interviewee:* Yes.

*Interviewer:* Let me ask you a final question. What is the achievement in History education that you are the most proud of?

*Interviewee:* Oh my god. (Laugh). I am proud... first thing, I would not say "most". Let me say two things: I am not sure exactly how many organisations belong to EUROCLIO now, the last time it was 66.

*Interviewer:* Now it is a bit more than 70.

*Interviewee:* That is something to be very proud of. Obviously EUROCLIO staff must be proud of that, but because I was there since the beginning that is something I feel proud about. The other thing is Historiana, we started by saying "we need a website for History teachers to allow them to get sources" and that exists now.

And EUROCLIO is becoming global and not only european, there is connection with America, the Middle East. It becomes quite big while at the beginning we struggled to find fundings.

### **3) Third interview**

This interview was made on 5th July 2017 via Skype between 10h00 and 10h40 (CEST time). The interviewee is a Russian history teacher, and she was involved as a national coordinator in the MATRA programme.

*Interviewer:* Good morning. Do you hear me well?

**Interviewee:** Good morning. Yes perfectly.

**Interviewer:** Ok perfect. Just before we start, let me remind you that I am doing this interview for my Master thesis. As I already asked you in our emails, I will record this conversation as I have to transcribe it. If you want, I will send you the transcript so that you can agree or edit it?

**Interviewee:** Ok. Ah well, I trust you. You know I am leaving for the USA tomorrow so I am afraid I won't have time to look at it.

**Interviewer:** Ok no problem. Shall I start?

**Interviewee:** Yes please.

**Interviewer:** Can you introduce yourself please?

**Interviewee:** My name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I am a History and Civic teacher in a Moscow high school.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Since when have you started working with EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** Since the very beginning as I was present at EUROCLIO founding conference in 1993 and since when we have worked a lot with Joke. Well at first, I came there and then she (Joke) came to Moscow and I introduced her to the history teachers and educators here. Then EUROCLIO invited us to some activities and then in (...) 1997 the Moscow History teachers association was launched and we entered EUROCLIO and we had two projects, two MATRA projects (...)

**Interviewer:** Sorry to interrupt you. How was launched the history teachers association?

**Interviewee:** What do you mean "how"?

**Interviewer:** I mean, was it your initiative or EUROCLIO initiative?

**Interviewee:** Well it was our idea but it was supported by EUROCLIO and we had from the very beginning a lot of meetings and connections with EUROCLIO experts, so we like to say that we work under the umbrella of EUROCLIO.

**Interviewer:** Ok and this association was recognised by the State?

**Interviewee:** Yes. Unfortunately it was not as large as we wished. Well the association is officially recognised but now it is not very important because the State is creating its own official association and so they do not look at us for important decisions.

**Interviewer:** Oh I see. And they never did in the past?

**Interviewee:** Well it was better in the 1990's of course and our project let us make connection with a lot education authorities and they were very happy to have us, because we came with this MATRA money but also because we had two different very interesting projects and very interesting teaching material. Now the things are very different because the bureaucracy is

much stronger and so you need special permission to use educational material and to represent new ideas. So the situation is changing for worse.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So you told me that you were a national coordinator for two MATRA projects. Can you tell me how did you get involved in these projects and who contacted you to take part?

**Interviewee:** Well it was again through EUROCLIO and that was Joke idea of course, so we wrote a grant application together and EUROCLIO applied to the Dutch ministry of foreign affairs. So it was all thanks to EUROCLIO.

**Interviewer:** The CoE did not contact you at this time?

**Interviewee:** Well, no because EUROCLIO was in contact with the CoE so we did not contact them directly.

**Interviewer:** At that time, did you know that the MATRA project involved other countries?

**Interviewee:** Well of course, because it involved international events, EUROCLIO events and also events, by the way maybe also by the Council of Europe. We went to Baltic States, to Balkans, some of our experts went to Georgia, to Ukraine. So we had a lot of connections, we invited them to our seminars and they invited us. So it was a very fruitful and diverse cooperation. We had many interesting meetings with Western experts but it was also very important for us to have meetings with history teachers from previous USSR countries, like Hungary, Bulgaria, previous Yugoslavia.

**Interviewer:** Did you stay in contact with these people after the project?

**Interviewee:** Well you know at the moment I am not very active in the association as I am getting older, but the association is in contact and we have personal contacts. But unfortunately as the MATRA project is over and as the EU institutions, as I understand, are not very keen on giving money to Russia, I understand completely why, we can't have events, where we can meet them, and it is very sad because we need them.

**Interviewer:** Ok so you are saying that after the MATRA project there was not training of teachers or other projects?

**Interviewee:** It is much less. We are trying to do something, but it is hard for us to find money here. MATRA was great help.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Let me ask you more questions about the MATRA project. What was your role in the project?

**Interviewee:** We had two projects. The first project was about history lessons, and it was quite special because it lasted 3 years from 1997 to 2000 and we had two Russian coordinators and two Dutch coordinators. The tasks of Russian coordinators were (...) we had a lot of them of

course. First we had to find potential authors, experts and we organised seminars. First it was working seminars in which we were discussing the concepts of the projects, and then the authors developed material and we worked with them. Our task was to get these material and to send them to the participants to translate them for European donations. Then we had to find teachers to pilot the material. We organised seminars with them in Moscow, it was big events because we had history teachers, teachers trainers, authors, Russian and international experts. It was a lot of work. Then we were responsible of printing these material, 3 books were made on the history of the 20th century, and then when they were printed, we had a lot of seminars out of Moscow, in St Petersburg and in a lot of cities around Russia.

**Interviewer:** Ok. You just said that you developed textbooks about the history of the 20th century. Do you know the handbook of Robert Stradling about the History of the 20th century?

**Interviewee:** Yes of course, it influenced a lot the development of these textbooks. That was the innovative aspect for Russian because textbooks are very much separated in Russia. These new books had common view and merged Russian history with international history. And it had very innovative tasks, we worked a lot with sources. And then we had these seminars and for each seminar, each teacher got 30 books for their classes.

**Interviewer:** Wow it is a lot. So would you say that there was a good dissemination?

**Interviewee:** Yes. Then we had to collect the reviews and we had a lot of positive reviews.

Then we had the second project which lasted from 2003 to 2005. It was called "Mosaic of cultures. Teaching history in multi cultural societies". Again, a textbook was produced. But unfortunately, because of finance problems, we had way less copies. But at the same time, it was a much higher and wonderful textbook. If we need we can still provide computer versions and that's what we did at the end of the project. And also it was more or less the same organisation: finding authors, developing materials, trying the material and disseminate it.

**Interviewer:** Ok, so you did a lot! During all this time, did EUROCLIO help you?

**Interviewee:** Yes of course, it was all done in a very very tight cooperation with EUROCLIO. It was not only our project, it was EUROCLIO project. Of course coordinators were in constant contact and then we also, at every seminar, from the very beginning to dissemination, we had international experts invited by EUROCLIO. At first, these EUROCLIO experts organised workshops for our authors to present them international ideas of history teaching. And that was already quite innovative. So we can that EUROCLIO helped first to educate our authors. Then we worked with this material, still in close cooperation with EUROCLIO experts. They were really involved. When we disseminated seminars, we always had one or

two authors from Russia who went to other cities, and we always had Dutch coordinators, Joke and \_\_\_\_\_. And always international experts came to all events, even in distant ones like Caucasus. They made workshops and gave many contributions such as the European history. It was very fascinating for the history teachers in the region. Ah, and also, during all these years, we sent our experts or authors to EUROCLIO events or to some events organised by some associations members of EUROCLIO. A lot of went to England made by the British Association of EUROCLIO. It was very important because these people get aware of new ways to teach history. It changed our minds I would say.

**Interviewer:** Ok, I see. So you are saying that teachers from Russia learned a lot of new practices through EUROCLIO events. Do you think that they implemented these new tools in their classrooms?

**Interviewee:** Yes I think so. At the moment I can't tell you how many teachers keep on using these material. We hope they are, but we don't know. But I heard from many of them, and it is something that I experienced myself as a teacher: materials are very good, but teaching skills are more important. As soon as you start using these new materials, you can't just stop using these skills in other classes. So teachers started to use these active teaching, using sources in other classes. This is very important, because for the last 10 years, we had national exams for history, and some part of these exams, they include analysing sources; this is very much what we did in the MATRA project. So I am sure that the teachers who acquired new skills in the MATRA project, they are using it in their classrooms, also to make prepare their students for the exams.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Were you supported by the Russian ministry of education?

**Interviewee:** Ah, that's the problem unfortunately. We try to get their support. In the 90's, at first, they were supportive and they helped us a lot when we went to different regions and we could say that we were supported by the Ministry. But then things started to change and to get their support, you need to be inside their system. So at the moment we don't have their support. We were contacted by several big publishing houses who wanted to re print these materials. But, at first, we had a problem, because they did not understand all these innovative ideas. They just wanted it to be narratives, to have a lot of facts and so on. Then, some years ago we were contacted by a school that represents (...) well Russian railroad. Of course it is a big corporation as we have many railroads in Russia and they have their own schools. They wanted to have our books from the "mosaic of cultures" MATRA project to use it in their classrooms. We started to cooperate with them, we made workshops for teachers, we prepared our books for them, and it was printed. The idea was that the books will be used in their

schools all over Russia. But at that moment things changed politically after the annexation of Crimea. As I am very active politically, and as I am strongly against this annexation, as soon as they heard my opinion, they stopped it, because they don't want to have anything now with me. I mean, I don't know, they printed these books, so maybe they use it now, I hope so. But they do not contact us anymore.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So the political conditions stopped the process...

**Interviewee:** Yes unfortunately. That is very sad.

**Interviewer:** Do you remember something about the 2001 CoE recommendation?

**Interviewee:** Of course and our second project was all based on this: it is multi cultural, it is interactive, it is multi dimension.

**Interviewer:** Ok. And how was the recommendation disseminated?

**Interviewee:** Well I can't say that we all read it but they were aware of this. What is more important is that all our work was based on this. When we discussed and developed new materials, we had the recommendation in mind.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Would you say that the MATRA projects led to the creation of a network in Russia?

**Interviewee:** That is a sad thing because we had this network and it was a wonderful network of committed people. Some of them were just teachers and some of them were teachers trainers and some representative of centres and so on. That was something great that could be used for other projects or for all Russian teachers associations, although it is difficult because we are so big.

But then MATRA project stopped, and the situation in Russia changed dramatically and we had no State support. So unfortunately at the moment I can't say that we have this network, I prefer saying that we have a sleeping network. Theoretically we can activate these connections. And the longer time we wait, the more difficult it will be because a lot of people have already retired, there are new people, that is a problem. We have personal connections but not professional.

**Interviewer:** So you would need financial support to support these connections?

**Interviewee:** Yes, it is very difficult to support it. Of course we have internet, that is what we do, but you need seminars, workshops, and so on, and these things don't exist at the moment.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Let me ask you a final question. What is the achievement in history education that you are the most proud of?

**Interviewee:** Well, I can tell you that these are our MATRA EUROCLIO seminars and my cooperation with EUROCLIO because it has completely changed me as a history teacher. I

had some new ideas myself when I met EUROCLIO, but EUROCLIO made such a wonderful influence on me and on others teachers in Russia. I am very proud I helped EUROCLIO to come in Russia.

#### **4) Fourth interview**

This interview was made on 5th July 2017 via Skype between 21h00 and 21h40 (CEST time). The interviewee is a former Serbian History teacher and she works in the Serbian Ministry of Education. She was involved in the MATRA programme as a ministry representative and coordinator.

*Interviewer:* Hello?

*Interviewee:* Hello Juliette

*Interviewer:* Nice to hear you.

*Interviewee:* I am very grateful to Joke and Jonathan that they advised you to contact me for an interview.

*Interviewer:* Yes. In fact they said it was a very good idea. As I told you in our email, I am doing this interview for my Master thesis in Leiden University.

*Interviewee:* Ok.

*Interviewer:* And as I told you, I will record this interview so that I can transcribe it. Do you have any problem with it?

*Interviewee:* No, not at all.

*Interviewer:* Great. Can you introduce yourself please?

*Interviewee:* Ok. I am \_\_\_\_ from Republic of Serbia. I am history teacher and I worked in school during 16 years, one elementary school in Belgrade. After that I started to work in the ministry of education and when I started I was responsible for history education, i mean the curriculum, textbooks and teachers trainings. And when I said history education, I mean in primary and secondary schools. In 2013 I became Master of education policy and this moment I am working in sector for international cooperation and e-PACT project (EUROCLIO project: Education Partnership for Advocacy, Capacity-Building and Transformation) and I am head of a group for e-PACT project. I continue to work with history teachers and also I work as a coordinator about the Holocaust education in Serbia since 2006.

*Interviewer:* Ok. So you did a lot of things. *(laugh)*

**Interviewee:** (laugh). Yes. And also, I want to explain, that since 2005, the Republic of Serbia has established 2 Institutes, Institute for the Improvement of Education and the Institute for Education Quality and Evaluation. In the first one, there are groups of experts working for curriculum and textbooks. The second one works for standards in history education and in this moment we have the standards in elementary and secondary education, and I was a member of that group for the preparation of the standards in History and we also prepared the teaching material.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So as you work for the Ministry of education, would you say that you are happy with the education today in Serbia?

**Interviewee:** Yes but as I am a history teacher I have to say something. History education in Serbia is divided in elementary and secondary schools. Students start to learn history at 9 years old, but it is very very basic. From 10-11, they start to learn history. In secondary education, they learn history during 4 years. In this moment, the history teachers from 2001 until today pass so many trainings and this is the difference with teachers from other subjects. History teachers have the opportunity to attend international events organised by EUROCLIO, the Council of Europe or other international organisations, Memorial de la Shoah from Paris. Because of that, we have so many international connections, and on the other hand, we have regional connections. On the regional level, we have very good cooperation. I think that this cooperation was established thanks to EUROCLIO.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So when did you start working with EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** EUROCLIO started working in Serbia in 2001. I remember that Joke was in Serbia for the first time in 2001, or I met Joke for the first time in 2001, and EUROCLIO worked with the CoE. But now they both have their own agenda, but they work with the same authors, trainers and experts. But I started to work with EUROCLIO in 2005 when I had a big conversation with Joke in Belgrade, and after that I was included in the MATRA project not as an author but as a person responsible for history education in the Ministry.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So what was your role in the MATRA project?

**Interviewee:** I looked at what the teachers did, I organised trainings, I worked with teachers to define roles and outcomes and I was included in the conversations in the debates related to some questions.

**Interviewer:** So the ministry of education supported the actions?

**Interviewee:** Yes the ministry of education supported in that time and now also, supports the international trainings. At the end of October, there was an event organised by the Ministry, EUROCLIO and the Centre of reconciliation from Thessaloniki. From 2001, the Ministry of



Education organised events with the Council of Europe, sometimes at the level of the Republic of Serbia or sometimes at the regional level.

**Interviewer:** What was produced in Serbia during the MATRA project?

**Interviewee:** As you know the project was financed under the Netherlands Embassy in Belgrade and it was a project connecting Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia and the teachers worked in 3 groups: one group related to the standard, the second was about ideology and the third about popular culture. And the results of that MATRA project at the regional level was a book named "Ordinary people in an extraordinary country, Every Day Life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia 1945-1990. Yugoslavia between East and West."

**Interviewer:** Yes I heard about this book.

**Interviewee:** Yes it is a very very good manual and the Ministry recommended to teachers and schools to use during history classes.

**Interviewer:** Oh it is great.

**Interviewee:** We also recommended other books, which were prepared under EUROCLIO.

**Interviewer:** So they are used in the classrooms?

**Interviewee:** Yes and they are available in Serbian on EUROCLIO page. It is not on our page currently because as the Minister changed, we want to create a new page. But I hope that when I will be back from my holiday, I will put the manual on the internet page of the ministry of education.

**Interviewer:** Ok, great. During the project, were you in contact with EUROCLIO or the CoE?

**Interviewee:** I was in contact with EUROCLIO. Also with the CoE, but not for the MATRA project. The MATRA project was, as I understand correctly, I worked with EUROCLIO. On the other side, I worked on other projects with the CoE.

**Interviewer:** Do you remember on which project you worked with the CoE?

**Interviewee:** The CoE, the Serbian teachers were not included, but Serbian teachers had trainings about controversial and sensitive issues in history teaching. We translated the book written by Robert Stardling and we worked on multi perspective in history teaching. It was a very important topic for us, and it was new for us. We had so many trainings related to multi perspective. We also had trainings on "how to use sources". In the last 5 years we had seminars with the CoE on Human rights and inter cultural education.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Is there a difference in working with EUROCLIO and the CoE?

**Interviewee:** No. No. No. Please repeat the answer?

**Interviewer:** Do you see a difference when you work with EUROCLIO or the CoE?

**Interviewee:** No, there is no difference because when Jonathan became the new director of EUROCLIO, I continued cooperation and we have many mails, we talk about new projects. I know that Jonathan wants to change the history curriculum. On the other hand, the CoE works on the policy level: how to put things in history education, how to push history teachers to work on different things.

**Interviewer:** Would you say that the MATRA project created a network in the Balkans region?

**Interviewee:** Yes. I think that the first relations between Balkan countries, especially between Serbia and Croatia, started between history teachers. In that, we have a very good relation, we work together and have so many debates about Previous Yugoslavia.

In the 90's, each country stayed on their side but now it is different. Now we work together on many topics of history education. We change ideas and manuals. In my mind, we must say thank you to the CoE and EUROCLIO for that.

**Interviewer:** So what were the biggest changes between the 90's and Today?

**Interviewee:** I think that the most important thing is the Recommendation of the CoE of 2001. In our meetings we talk about that recommendation, especially which type of language we will use in our instructions, and how we will use different sources. On the other hand, the book of Mr. Stradling is very important. It is very new for the Balkans teachers, this book opened new perspectives for the teachers. Also I think the most important is the Institute for history textbooks and manuals in Germany, because with EUROCLIO and the CoE they have a very strong impact on the Balkans region. The Institute prepared very good textbooks. Because we had problem of languages and sources with our textbooks in the 90's. Now we have also the problems, but less less less than the 90's because the many trainings, the many manuals have had a big influence. They changed so many things. The Ministry of Education try to inform people about all these new material.

**Interviewer:** Ok. And are there trainings of teachers?

**Interviewee:** Yes. In Serbia the history teachers have different trainings:

-on international level, organised by the CoE, EUROCLIO and other IO

-In the National Institute for the improvement of education, there is a department for professional teachers development

-The Ministry can accreditate some trainings. It receives the list of international trainings and adopts it.

**Interviewer:** Ok. In the trainings and seminars, where do come from the experts?

**Interviewee:** For the international trainings, the experts come from Europe, most of them from UK, The Netherlands. For the national seminars, the experts come from Serbia, especially from Universities.

**Interviewer:** Do you know if these experts from Serbia work with experts from Croatia or Bosnia?

**Interviewee:** It is the problem (...) The Serbian teachers can go to the other campus in the Balkan region, but the question is: who pays the travel, accommodation and participation costs? 29:07

**Interviewer:** Ok. What does the public opinion say about all these actions?

**Interviewee:** Euh...

**Interviewer:** Would you say that the actions of EUROCLIO and the CoE are well perceived in the society?

**Interviewee:** Yes, but now the society is divided. The first group is the group of nationalists who say that Serbia is the greatest nation of the Balkan and of the world. The second group is a group of population who says that Serbia is a part of Europe, that the serbian culture is a part of Europe. In this divided society we have divided teachers: we have a group of teachers that work with the CoE and EUROCLIO, but on the other side we have a group of teachers who don't want to work and to participate in the international seminars. 'Oh seminars with english language, I don't like that". It is a problem.

I have a small Teachers Association, and last year, I did some research about what think the students of history education. The most of students said that they don't like History and also that they like History in which they are involved, in which they work together with the teacher on sources. On that way, they learn so much. I also asked about inter cultural education, and most of them said that some teachers don't want to speak about other nations. It is our problem. It is not the problem of history education but it is the problem of our society.

**Interviewer:** Ok. In Serbia, who develops the mandatory curriculum?

**Interviewee:** The Institute for the improvement of education prepares the curriculum and the national education council adopts it. In this moment we have a new curriculum, and it is based on learning outcomes. It is a big news in our educational system. When I say "learning outcomes" i think about competences standards, and we have for the end of secondary education, we define what students should know and do, and related to these competences, we define the standards. One big reform is that teachers must organise activities based on competences and standards. Some of them don't like that, and the inspectors visit classes.

**Interviewer:** And these competences are based on the 2001 CoE recommendation?

*Interviewee:* Yes they are, and also based on the key competences of the European Union. We reconnect the 2001 Recommendation and the EU competences of Lifelong learning of 2006.

*Interviewer:* Ok. I think I will ask you a final question. What is the achievement in History education that you are the most proud of?

*Interviewee:* At the end of elementary school, students have final exam. And they have final exam on Serbian language, maths and science (nature and social). In social science, they have 4 questions of History, and the results of History are very good. Its a big achievement of process which has started in 2001. I am very proud but I know that most of teachers work on their own way when they close the door of the classroom. However the standards have changed the working practices. But the most important thing is the international trainings. It was very very useful for history teachers and the best achievement is the change in the process of teaching and learning. In the previous time teachers gave lectures while today students work more and together. So there was a change in the philosophy, in the practices and textbooks.

*Interviewer:* Yes, I am quite surprised when you say that there was a good dissemination of the material, because I also interviewed History teachers from Ukraine and Russia, who told me that the textbooks were not enough disseminated in the society.

*Interviewee:* I would like to say this. The Ministry of Education translated the Robert Stardling textbook and we published the translation in 2000 copies and each elementary and secondary school in Serbia received the book. It is for the school library, on the second hand we put the serbian version on the website of the Ministry and sent copies to the libraries of universities which prepare history teachers. It is on the one hand. On the second hand, I have organised seminars for teachers since 2001 and I disseminated the Recommendation of the CoE. Every teacher in my mind know what is the CoE Recommendation.

## **5) Fifth Interview**

This interview was made via Skype on Monday 10th July between 11h30 am and 12h20 am (CEST time). The interviewee was a university teacher and teacher trainer in Lisbon, Portugal. She works as an expert for both CoE and EUROCLIO.

*Interviewer:* Hello Luisa. Sorry for the misunderstanding about the time.

*Interviewee:* Good morning Juliette. No problem. You can start asking me questions.

*Interviewer:* Sure. Can you start by introducing yourself?

**Interviewee:** Ok. I have been working as a consultant and expert for the CoE and EUROCLIO since 1996 for the CoE and I think since 1997-98 for EUROCLIO. I am a Historian who then became a teacher trainer in the University of Lisbon. I was directing the department of training before I retired. So this is my profile. I work in Portuguese and in English and I understand French but I don't work in French. So this is been my life for many years.

**Interviewer:** Ok. How did you start working with the CoE in 1996?

**Interviewee:** In 1995, there was a Seminar in York University and I was a participant. In the seminar, which was very interesting, it was about "National identity", someone from the CoE invited me for another Seminar, it was Alison Cardwell. There was another one in \_\_\_ and I don't know exactly the title, but it was related with national identity again and I went again as a participant. In this seminar I was invited as an expert in another seminar in Albania which occurred in 1996 and that is why I am telling you I started in 1996 as an expert. Sometimes they call me a expert, sometimes they call me an expert. It is not my choice. *(laugh)*.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So what was your role as a CoE consultant or expert?

**Interviewee:** It has been very diverse. Sometimes I am in the expert group so I help to design whatever the project is, sometimes I am just someone who deliver a message and make a contribution, I done it in many different ways, by delivering workshops, by making people work. I have been in charge in Kosovo and Bosnia of organising a full seminar for education reforms. I have written reports and books mainly for Kosovo and Bosnia.

**Interviewer:** These projects were the CoE initiative? or there was other organisations like EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** It was only the CoE initiative with OSCE. Wait, I think I have the outputs here, I can show you. Just a minute. *(She goes take the books)*. I can send you a photograph of it. This is the Kosovo one and Bosnia one. This was a European Union funded project managed by European Commission and implemented by the Council of Europe. And this was the one from Bosnia, it was CoE, OSCE, and funded by Canadians.

**Interviewer:** You wrote these handbooks alone?

**Interviewee:** The one for Kosovo, I wrote it alone and the one for Bosnia I had inputs from other experts who were invited for the Seminar. I was responsible to suggest expert names, depending on the field of the seminars.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Would you say that these handbooks were disseminated?

**Interviewee:** Yes. And I have the PDF and I am really often asked to send PDF to people who are interested. It was sold out. I mean it was given, it was offered to teachers, to help them to introduce practices. I think it was better in Kosovo than Bosnia because Bosnia was extremely

divided. While in Kosovo the minority was very small or inexistent, and she could go back to Serbia.

**Interviewer:** Ok. And how did you start working for EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** I met Joke for the first time in Ukraine in 1997, there was again a Seminar, I can't remember the theme, and I was invited. Again, what was interesting for other countries, is that I could share my experience, because my country came from a dictatorship to democracy. It was interesting for the Former Soviet Satellites. So I went to Ukraine and It was always my focus, what happened in Portugal and how we deal with it, and I met Joke there. Then, she, as EUROCLIO president, would invite me for EUROCLIO seminars for a while. We became friends.

**Interviewer:** Ok, so then you started to become a EUROCLIO expert?

**Interviewee:** Yes, I was always invited when she thought my experience would be useful. To be honest, it was a long time ago and I don't remember all the names of the Seminar. Also, there was the link and still is between the CoE and EUROCLIO, it is not a formal link (...) it can be sometimes formal. There is this connection and idea that the CoE works at the European level like an overview and when we go to different countries, we ask EUROCLIO for the local teachers and stakeholders because EUROCLIO goes on the field and has many connections with teachers and stakeholders in education. So this is it how it works between the CoE and EUROCLIO, so I really don't remember where I went with EUROCLIO or where I went with the CoE. But I know that with EUROCLIO I did a first project with a format that EUROCLIO followed then. We went to Albania and Macedonia, with Mire, who is on the board now.

**Interviewer:** You said that EUROCLIO can bring local teacher to the CoE. So (...)

**Interviewee:** (...) When the CoE needs participants who want to participate, because you know, some people are shy and don't want to talk while we need people who are active, because this becomes very expensive all these international seminars, and EUROCLIO usually provides these participants. When it is official, the CoE asks to the Ministries for specific stakeholders who are link to the field of education, and this is the work of the Council of Europe, and he likes to put together the official and practitioners, because there is always gap between the Ministries of education and practitioners in schools.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So why do you think that both organisations need each other?

**Interviewee:** Well, it is a win-win situation. EUROCLIO is good for the CoE and CoE takes the transparency out of EUROCLIO. Right now EUROCLIO has been on the field since 25 years so it is not a question anymore, but at the beginning, the fact that EUROCLIO was

supported and had a partnership with the CoE, it sent a message that it was serious stuff, it was not only amateurs coming with an NGO stuff, something like this. It gave to EUROCLIO the credibility, that it has on its own today, but when you start, it was not that easy. It was a win-win situation for everybody, because EUROCLIO had the practitioners and the CoE wanted the practitioners.

**Interviewer:** Ok. And for you as a consultant, is there a difference in working with the CoE or EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** Not in what I deliver. The last time I worked with EUROCLIO, I think it was in Kosovo in 2014. And what I do, it is in the same way with the CoE, I deliver some work. That's is why I don't remember when I work for EUROCLIO or the CoE, it is the same for me. Many times, it was something organised by the CoE, but Joke was invited like Jonathan today, so at a certain level, it is always the same group.

What EUROCLIO tried, I don't know if it is the same policy, it is not to have always the same experts for the same people. So if I do this big project with Bulgaria and Macedonia, in the next one I won't be involved, which is correct.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Have you heard something about the 2001 Recommendation?

**Interviewee:** Yes of course. *(She shows me a printed version of the Recommendation)*

**Interviewer:** (Laugh) Were you part of the draft?

**Interviewee:** It was drafted by many people, but I don't really know who. But of course there was a contribution by the CoE experts, by EUROCLIO. Because of course that is how EUROCLIO works. There was a period where this work in coming together was not so evident, I can think of MATRA project. Because MATRA project, and I might be wrong, so please check, EUROCLIO negotiated or saw the opportunity and seized it, and it was funded by the Netherlands. But when it is funded by the Netherlands, this country has an agenda and it is directly negotiated with EUROCLIO, so there is no point in including directly the CoE. I think it was a great initiative but they did not involved directly the CoE. But indirectly the CoE is always involved as a think tank. There is no really defined borders. For instance, the manifesto of EUROCLIO, everybody at the CoE is aware of it. In our work, things become merged because it does not matter, our common aim is to improve history education and we are aligned in how to do it. Of course the CoE does it with its 47 Members, linking and making recommendation for its Ministries, but with the support of the practitioners that is EUROCLIO. So it is a win-win situation and the borders are not very clear. For instance, one of the practitioners that came to Bosnia was \_\_\_\_\_, and he is involved with EUROCLIO, so

when he delivers something in Bosnia, his mind is full of ideas of EUROCLIO which are very welcome anyway. Jonathan works a lot with the CoE also.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Would you say this Recommendation was more aimed to the Western countries or Eastern / Central?

**Interviewee:** No, no. On the field, you can invest and make a lot of projects in the Eastern part because they need it more than the Western part. But the Recommendation is never, never, just for a small group of countries. It is for the 47 Members. The CoE does not work like that. The CoE does not impose the CoE proposals. Then the Ministers have to accept and make the Recommendation, and then it is a recommendation for the 47 Members. Then, if the Eastern countries ask for the CoE help, it is understandable because they need it more than the Western countries. But the CoE does not aim countries, it is not possible. It is not the mind of the CoE at all.

**Interviewer:** Ok I see. But at least, do you think certain countries were more responsive to this Recommendation?

**Interviewee:** This implementation is also something that is not clear cut. What makes the CoE DNA is what I was telling you, the CoE proposals. The CoE is not a pro active organisation, it is a reactive organisation. EUROCLIO is pro active because it needs to be pro active to survive. It is a different format. It is a different format. EUROCLIO proposes to these or that associations, ministers or groups of teachers "We can do that", and who ever is listening to EUROCLIO says "Well we will need more that" and EUROCLIO re designs. But the CoE works either at bilateral or intergovernmental level according to what the CoE is asked to do, it is not pro active, it is reactive. EUROCLIO is non stop on the field for implementation, whereas the CoE implements if requested. It is different, that is why the CoE survives, and that is why it can includes EUROCLIO or small NGOs, because it needs all these inputs to make it coherent for everybody.

**Interviewer:** Ok. But then, if the CoE is reactive, how does it decide in which countries it should go for projects?

**Interviewee:** Projects is like this: the CoE has the CDPPE (Steering Committee for Education Policy and Practices). They are permanently meeting in Strasbourg. If the History Unit or Democracy General Directorate have an idea, they go to CDPPE and say "look we have this idea, we think the 47 countries need to tackle this or that" and then the Council come up with a project to teach democracy across Europe for example. So the History Unit designs the project and sends it to the CDPPE. If it approves it, it becomes an intergovernmental project. Because it is an intergovernmental project, one of the Member States can say "look we want



to have this seminar here" and this is how we came to Utrecht. Because of all these Ministries approve, it is reactive. We could go to other places but it depends on the suggestions of the Ministries.

**Interviewer:** Ok. I have a quite broad question now. *(laugh)* What is the achievement in History Education that you are the most proud of?

**Interviewee:** *(laugh)* Oh well, I don't know, let me think about it. Because there is this situation right now in Europe with all this post truth period, the digital age and globalisation are questioning things that were not questioned before. People seem not to be so interested in History education, which in my view, is a big big mistake, because it can deliver abilities that no other subject matter can. But this message right now is very difficult, because people think "Well the past is the past we are at the digital age we can go on Google to find something" but you need to understand History, you need knowledge and undressing before you can have a critical understanding. It is a process. In most classrooms unfortunately, because of this political context, teachers rely on textbooks and textbooks are not very reliable in the sense that they have only one perspective. The fact that they have these narratives and discourses which is in itself is authoritative, make things a bit strange. I am proud of what was happening before but I am not proud anymore. Before, people started to understand across Europe how this work and how knowledge is something constructed. All of this was being disseminated, we were working on it. Now with the populism and the political context which is changing, History needs to make a case for itself again and this generation is becoming old, we can't do it anymore. Young people of your age, if you like it, it should be your agenda. All this digital age and environment make people more isolated. I am connected with you now, where are you now?

**Interviewer:** In the Hague.

**Interviewee:** I am near Lisbon. We are connected but we are alone. People sometimes spend all day in their social media environment, they think they make a lot of connections but they don't. When we go to these seminars, like Utrecht, people speak face to face and come to me and say "oh it was so nice, we shared" and they are re discovering this. The sharing was the basis of our work. I remember it was in the discourse of Joke or Alison Cardwell: "We are coming here with some experience to share." You can and you should have your own experience but the fact that you know that other countries have faced similar situations will help you not feeling alone. But now it is all written and it is not the same at all. Well I am very proud of our work because we traveled very long hours, got very tired. When I went to Russia it was four hours of difference and I slept few hours and I got up and worked. When I

returned I was very tired. But when you have the adrenaline it is different, and thing worked. Well, this is where we are.

But I am very proud of EUROCLIO and very proud that after identity crisis and structural crisis which are normal in a new institution, Joke came out with a brilliant organisation, Jonathan and Steven work very well together.

But there are a lot of things to be done by your generation and the generation of Jonathan.

## **6) Sixth interview**

This interview took place on Tuesday 18th July at EUROCLIO office in the Hague between 11h00 and 12h00. The interviewee is the founder of EUROCLIO.

***Interviewer:*** Can I start by asking you to introduce yourself?

***Interviewee:*** Oh, yes. I am Joke van der Leeuw-Roord. I can tell big stories, so what kind of information do you need?

***Interviewer:*** Just something short so that the people who will read my thesis know who you are, regarding EUROCLIO.

***Interviewee:*** Ok. I am Joke van der Leew-Roord, I am Historian, I am the founder of EUROCLIO and was president the first 6 years and after that I was the Director of the Organisation and I retired in 2013. Since then, I still do sorts of consultancy activities.

***Interviewer:*** Ok. Can you tell me your story about the origins of EUROCLIO?

***Interviewee:*** Yes. The point was that I was asked to come to a meeting organised by the CoE which was the first pan-european meeting on History education. In that time, I was the president of the Dutch Association of History Educators and also president of a Committee responsible for innovation of the History and Citizenship examinations in the Netherlands. So for that, I was invited by the Dutch Ministry of Education to go to that meeting. When I came, the first evening, I was seated next to the Deputy Director of Education of the CoE and he started to talk, and informed me that the CoE was very interested since its creation in the role of History education in building a European project, and they organised a huge amount of events with people representing Ministries, but unfortunately they noticed that there was very little change. So he thought that perhaps they would change focus, and work more with practitioners, it could make a difference, and of course at that time it was important, because so many people from Central and Eastern Europe had ideological and national subjects, and wanted to change it. So they asked me if I was interested and I thought ok. This meeting in

Bruges was very a life changer. I thought it was so fantastic, because I am born in 1949 in a very sharp Europe and now it was open and I could talk to people I never had the opportunity before, so it was so emotional, and I gave it a try. But of course you have to realise that at that time there was no internet, most people in Central and Eastern Europe did not speak any English, nor German, a bit of French but not so much, so the communication was quite challenging. But I thought ok, so we started to collect a bit of people, even already during the meeting because there were other representatives of Associations such as the Danish and also the Finnish. That was another point because the idea that you organise yourself as an Association with 3 civil societies was unknown in Central and Eastern Europe where everything was organised and centralised. So we started to talk during this event already, Switzerland was also there and Sweden, and then we said, ok let's try. Then I came home and I went to the Board of the History Educators Association in the Netherlands and I told them about the opportunity. The Deputy Chair said yes, said that it was wonderful opportunity, so we started.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So Bob told me that after EUROCLIO foundation, you had different projects with the CoE, such as the Stability Pact or so, but I chose to focus on the MATRA programme. I analysed the project proposal and I spoke with three History teachers who were involved in the programme. But of course I also want to have your point of view about it. How did you submit the MATRA programme to the Dutch Ministry of FA?

**Interviewee:** (Laugh). I think it was hardly submitted. I was more from their side; they saw what we were doing and they wanted also to do something with the CoE, so they basically invited us to work with them. At that time it was quite complex, it was a bit outside of the ordinary procedure that it happened. But they thought it was a good idea, that the CoE could deal with the level of Ministries, and that EUROCLIO could really deal with the educators. We already did this before so they thought we could help them in more localised projects like Ukraine or whatever. Basically it was a continuation (...) and I think it is very important to realise (...) when we went to Bruges, followed up by the other meeting two years later in Leeuwarden, the CoE started its project "Teaching 20th Century in Europe". That project was interesting, because we started to speak about the content, then textbooks, then teacher trainings, but that gave us the opportunity to meet a lot of people and look around for people who were interested to continue to work in a wider sense. Because the events organised by the CoE were always exactly the same, the programme was exactly the same: there were seminars, workshops and somehow some results but the people who organised it did not have so much ideas about how to make a progression and produce outcomes, and for the MATRA

projects it was exactly the same issues. That made it quite complicated to work together although I had really good relationship with Alison Cardwell who was really great and I can't complain about that, because without them EUROCLIO would not have been able to go where it is today, but at the same time, I had very little influence on building better programme, ideas. Like I had ideas for the planning, but then it would be always changed because the CoE events were organised and we couldn't have a good common discussion. On the one hand it was fantastic but on the other there was a big inequality between the big Council of the small NGO.

**Interviewer:** So you would say that you worked independently from the CoE in this programme?

**Interviewee:** *Mmm*, in a sense not because, let's say, they determined what was going to happen, and gave us the opportunity to talk with Ministers. In this programme I talked a lot of Ministers about new approaches, if you talk about Moldova, Georgia (...) really you had this high level entrance that we would never have had without the CoE, but on the other hand, the CoE itself was very silent, they enabled a lot, but had very little idea about what they wanted to achieve throughout the programme. The programme was that we would work in all the MATRA countries, but one of the problems was also the choice of experts. We had very little influence on that, and if we wanted to propose people that we thought were very good, it could be easily blocked because the CoE didn't want that particular person to operate. For me, it was a very interesting model, but at the same time, there was no equality in the operation. But perhaps it was also due to the fact that we were running our own programme with Russia, Estonia, Latvia, etc.. Therefore I found it a bit difficult and I can't say it was my happiest experience. I felt that we did not do enough. Usually in projects there should be a good interaction between what is planning and what is expected. This was the total opposite of that, there was no ideas: it was like, now we talk about textbooks, now we do trainings, but there was not overall.

**Interviewer:** Ok. I am a bit surprised, because the three History teachers with whom I spoke, told me that they were very influenced by EUROCLIO during the programme and that for instance they would be always in contact with EUROCLIO and not with the CoE.

**Interviewee:** Yes but that is because there were different projects. At the same time that this programme worked, we had since 10 years projects in Russia and for 3 years a very intense project in Ukraine. From 1995, the CoE had this "Teaching about the 20th Century" and if you see in the excel file I made, I was everywhere, I traveled and I met people. A lot of these people were dramatic, I mean, their History was like story telling, they moved from a

Communist story telling to a nationalist story telling and they were hardly open to question anything. But there were always people like the one you interviewed, that questioned things. So we started to say, "Ok, can we set up a project?" and with Tamara, I started to work in 1993. Yes the CoE came by, but never invited her because they didn't like her, her colleague was sometimes invited. I found it a bit difficult to talk about, because at the same the political life was very difficult in Russia. But I met a deputy director that was an Historian who was really interested in innovation. So I met him thanks to the CoE, then he lost his position, so for the CoE he was not interesting anymore, but for us he was very useful. Because the next Minister, I talked with him and he literally kicked me out of the room. And we wanted to organise teacher trainings in Russia, so the Minister didn't want to cooperate, but the previous Deputy Director said "Oh but I have all my contacts, I have all my network, don't worry" so we could organise it. So again, due to the CoE, I had that contact, but the CoE could not work with him at that time because he did not have a governmental position. So it is a bit difficult for me to talk about it because I am very critical. In the same time, I am extremely grateful because without the network and contacts, nothing would have happened. But If I look into the content, there was no thinking. On the other hand, people who were leading it, like Alison or Tatiana, were not practitioners. Tatiana was Historian but had no specific life in History Education, Alison didn't come from the History world. So they organised it well, they brought all these people together, but compared to Maitland Stobard, who in my opinion, retarded too early, he was the passionate person, he knew exactly what was around and what he wanted to achieve. If he would have been there longer, then I think that the impact of the projects might have been much bigger. And then what happened was, after these 3 years, the Dutch Ministry of FA was quite satisfied because we did quite a lot of work, so there was the second thought that we would prolonged it (...)

**Interviewer:** When was it this?

**Interviewee:** In 2005. But then the problem was that the Ministry stipulated that they had given quite a lot of money already to the CoE and they thought that the CoE was willing to let that go. So they thought "Ok, we are not going to pay the CoE anymore, but we will only pay EUROCLIO and they would do the programme on behalf of the CoE". But the CoE was not willing for that and at the same time in Europe we had this unfortunately "No" for the referendum of the EU Constitution, then this whole second project fell and nobody talked about it anymore.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Now I would like to ask you questions about running projects in general. When you work with History teachers, what kind of resources do you provide them to motivate them?

**Interviewee:** The first thing that we did was to bring inspirational people, who were able not only to do inspirational talks, but also to show through workshops what it means to have alternative and innovative approaches in History education. And that was for instance a big difference with the CoE, because there were speakers, and then, people would do round tables. But we wanted to have a different approach because we wanted to have these active workshops and we really thought how to inspire people but also how to make them realise why it was necessary to change.

For instance, I am going to share a personal experience: I gave many workshops, but I realised that people had a lot of knowledge, about the Second World War for instance, but I noticed that they were not willing to leave this knowledge back and to work with material. So once, years ago, in the early 90's, I gave a workshop and I used different material and sources about an emblematic Dutch Figure who was living in the Netherlands during the Revolt against Spain. I gave it to the people, who never knew about her, and I asked them to define what was her role during the protest, because the sources said opposite stories. The fun was that, nobody knew about her, so they really had to study the sources, every group came with another conclusion. I took away their sort of mistakes because what happened is that they never worked with critical sources before.

So what was in this sort of exercises, was to show them how History was built and for me it was a big surprise that almost nobody from Eastern and Central Europe had that sense. They did not question it.

**Interviewer:** Ok. Do you think that there is a difference in being an expert for EUROCLIO and for the CoE?

**Interviewee:** I think that the quality of the people is very much the same, they are both very experienced people. The only thing is that CoE experts had not the opportunity to do a bit more, because the scheme of the programme was basically all the time the same. There is interesting work, but then what is the follow-up? We had this idea that for every project, we have to come with a product, and of course that comes from the expectations of the Donors, who hope that it will be used in Schools. That was quite complicated because these countries had not been feed very much of centralised political influence and whatever, but what we saw what that, these products were the masterpiece of the people.

That is basically the difference: you come, you work, but how do you bring the progression? How do you go for the next step?

Another thing in our culture is that: ok, we start to bring experts from Western Europe, but as soon as we have been able to detect people from Eastern and Central Europe who had the same qualities, we started to introduce them as experts or trainers.

**Interviewer:** Ok. How can you make sure that you reach the school level?

**Interviewee:** That was one of the things that we started to realise quite soon. As I said, textbooks were really a sacrosanct of the States but that was a bit more than that, textbooks was also mafia. So textbook authors came from Communist periods, they didn't want to join these sort of projects, because they changed from Communist to Nationalist and didn't have open attitudes. On top of that, it was really about money. If you were a textbook writer in Russia, and a book is printed, even if you get a little portion, you still get a lot of money. So what you say was that, influencing the textbooks market was extremely difficult. Some systems allowed books to be used as extra materials, for instance Ukraine, but again, Ukraine is a bit country with 50 million inhabitants, so just count how many schools there are, so the printings are not that much.

But very soon we realised that our influence was somewhere else. That was through the people we worked with. We saw that those people were working in school and that every year it was a contingent of 200 students, and that over the years, is still quite a big impact. What we noticed is that many of them started to have a carrier and became History teachers, textbooks authors or at least had their associations and made trainings about what they have learned through EUROCLIO. So in the end, we realised that our work was far more creating a group of people who were agents of change in their countries. This could work on the school level, on the national level, many of our friends have PhD in History education and are teacher trainers, museums Directors. Some of them even became diplomats or administrators in Ministries. So what we wanted to create is really new people with new ideas and to see how they could spread that in their countries.

But to influence the school subjects, you need the political support, and for that we need the Council of Europe.

**Interviewer:** What do you know about the 2001 CoE Recommendation?

**Interviewee:** Well I was involved of course because I was part of the Steering Committee. Bob of course was one of the most important author of this text, but we all discussed it.

The most important thing is that the Recommendation was accepted by the Ministers, and I dare to say that it influenced a lot the curricula. When the Soviet Union collapsed, History

education was everywhere and everybody understood that it should be different. The work done by the CoE and the Recommendation led to influence the curricula and you would find it the new ideas and practices in the section "what should be done in History classroom". But then the problem was that the History curricula and History textbooks were written by Academics, and these Academics didn't want to decide that things should be different. So yes, on the one hand, you see that all the curricula talked about multi perspective, about more interest for Social History, but if you look further, they still want to have their things there in History councils. Sometimes you would see some change accidentally, for instance in Romania, they had the History of the "Romanians", and we were like "Ok come on, are there not other people in this country?" and when we talked about it nothing change. But suddenly there was a political change, and then it became the History of the Romania, acknowledging Jewish etc, so it was really a big change. In some other countries, they were a bit more aware that they had to rethink. For instance, Slovenia was in the most healthy process to move towards new curricula. As soon as you started to re address the curriculum, the Second WW and its legacy went on the table. One of the things that the West did not understand enough is that, ok, communism came in, but it was not only due to the fact that there was the power of the Russians and whatever, it was also because there was a political development in the countries it selves. Many of them had extreme right and fascist governments and people wanted to get rid of that. So this is very complex and what happened in the Second WW and in the three years after, that really came on the table. Until now it is an unsolved problem.

**Interviewer:** Ok. So would say that EUROCLIO disseminated the CoE material (Robert Stradling handbook and Recommendation)?

**Interviewee:** Oh yes sure, everything, I would say that was even in the information package of every projects. The only problem of course is that at the very beginning it was only available in two languages, english and french, eventually, it came in different languages, but the problem is that it was not paid by the CoE because they only published it in french and in english. So then it was due to the willingness of countries to translate it; so Estonia did, Romania did; but that was of course one of the deepest problems, because most of people didn't speak english. People working in Ministries were very active and were able to convince administrators that it was a good idea to translate it.

This official document was a signature from the CoE, so it was important for us because we could argue that it was accepted by their own ministers. So it became again extremely important. The problem was only that the political level is very difficult to influence. And even if you influenced it, like what you saw in the Baltic States in the beginning, they had a



lot of innovations and advanced thoughts, but then the political forces of these countries changed and the extreme right and nationalistic parties became so strong that after 10 years the old fashion nationalistic approach came back. It can change for the worse always. But this was not only in Eastern and Central Europe, you saw similar tendencies in Britain for instance, when the Conservatives gained power, or in Australia or in Canada. The fact that you have a critical thinking about your past in your country is something that is not liked by Nationalist historians and politicians.

**Interviewer:** Ok. How having so many members make a difference for EUROCLIO?

**Interviewee:** Yeah I think of course that together you are powerful. As an organisation, you really have to see how you can influence, and you can only influence if you have a good critical mouth otherwise what are you talking about if there is only few people around you, who share your ideas. One other thing even more important is that together, we have been able to design the EUROCLIO Manifesto, and I think at the beginning we had our principles but they were not written down and that was good because we really had to develop ourselves. But after 15 years of working, we had quite a good idea of our principles and actions. So we went back to our members with the text. This text is very important because if one association doesn't want to stand for these principles, then we can say "you are not welcome to our organisation". With our manifesto, it is really something that has been developed out of our experience in a bottom-up approach.

10 years ago, many associations wanted to join every year EUROCLIO and I can remember that a very nationalistic Polish association wanted to become member, and at what time it was very difficult to reject it, I mean we did because we felt very uncomfortable but at that time we didn't have heart arguments while today we have the Manifesto and we can say "look what you do is against the principles of our Manifesto".

So yes the size of EUROCLIO is very important because otherwise you are nothing, you are an empty empire, but at the same time the most important is that we developed together this Manifesto to say "this is on what we stand for and this is what we think is a innovative and responsible History education."

**Interviewer:** Ok. I will have two last questions. First, do you think that the field of History Education or at least the education policy area involves more easily NGOs? Rather than the environmental or security policy areas for instance?

**Interviewee:** I think (...) due to the fact that we acquired a Name, I think that is true. But its not only due to EUROCLIO. EUROCLIO is also member of pan-european organisations and one of them is the "Lifelong learning platform" in Brussels, where I was Secretary General for

quite a period. Through that organisation I was able to enter into EU working groups and policy events and we could speak there quite easily. I also noticed that when I was representing the Lifelong learning platform in these events, people looked more at EUROCLIO as really an organisation with something to say. So I think people take us quite seriously and I see that in the work that I have been doing in Brussels, but also through *Europeana*. (European collections). So I think its not so much that there is a place for civil society more than in other areas, it depends also on how civil society organises itself. And that was an issue when I started, there was this big sense of Europe, we all believed in that and at that time there were many pan-european associations, and if you now look at these organisations, some of them disappeared or don't have any activity, so one of the issues is that you have to continuously to give evidence that you are something and able to deliver. And that is not easy because there are finance issues, so I won't blame the others, because many of them were not able to continue existing.

**Interviewer:** I remember once that you told me that it was easier for EUROCLIO to deal with sensitive issues rather than for the CoE. Why?

**Interviewee:** Because we are not an intergovernmental organisation and politicians could not have a say. You noticed that talking about sensitive issues such as the Second WW or Communism in workshops like I said was of course difficult because there was political influence. But for the CoE, if one of the representatives of Education would say, "No I don't want to discuss that", then it won't be possible to discuss about it, whereas we could always could do it. I remember once in 2003 I was asked to deal with Bosnia by the Danish Ministry, and then we started immediately with the Wars of the 90's. Then I said "if you want to do a second meeting I would not advise it because then there would be wars again." (*laugh*).

So one of the things with sensitive issues is that you have to build trust, you have to build a sense that "Ok we are here among professionals, and we can disagree without resulting to violence." And then, we can talk. But it takes times. And I think that we have done very well if you look at the History of the people of our colleagues of Yugoslavia: they worked together and you saw them growing. People really opened up in dealing with these things and they felt that "ok, we can do this". And I was heard that it was very important that at the very beginning I was here to say "Oh! Oh! That is not how we debate. Sorry I agree with your point, but perhaps you could bring it in another way and not be so aggressive." The first year in Bosnia I felt a bit like a police. (*laugh*) But it was in a really fantastic environment. I mean the whole life has been a fantastic experience.

But it had to do with trust, with professionalism of people with whom we were working and in a way with a sort of leadership that came from outside and that was accepted because it was neutral. Working in such a controversial environment, we never had a major problem and I think that one of the reasons, I mean it is nothing to make me feel proud or whatever, but one of the reasons is that people always trusted my sort of neutrality. I am very proud that people in this office have still this capacity and that projects are still possible because people feel that EUROCLIO is really always asking to next questions so that parties think that "Oh they are only looking at the others" and I think that was very important.

But the CoE could not do these kinds of things, I mean they did, but for instance for Cyprus, that stayed at a very superficial level you know, you look at common things that people had, but they didn't look at the real problems. That doesn't mean that History education should always look at that. History education shouldn't only reflect on the difficulties of course, but if we only speak about the nice things, then we are not realistic. So for us we really looked at these different dimensions, the CoE did it also but was often blocked by the politicians who said "Ok, this is not your area. You are not allowed to talk about it."