



## **TALKING ABOUT HISTORY:**

**Conceptualizing uses and misuses of  
history education in Council of Europe  
policy 1991 - 2009**

### **MASTER'S THESIS**

Global History & International Relations  
ESHCC, Erasmus University Rotterdam

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Second assessor: dr. Tina van der Vlies

June 2021

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

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Even as the fall of the Berlin wall is further and further relegated into history and several decades into the development of an official European socio-political bloc, the debate surrounding European integration is still ongoing. In 2018 the Council of Europe (shortened: CoE), a major advocate for the European community ever since the Second World War, declared that amongst political setbacks and social upheaval such as the Brexit process, world-wide attacks on democratic values and the increasing diversity of societies – history education has an increasingly important role to play in the continued effort towards harmony within Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Dating back to the organization's founding Council ventures have ranged from humanitarian aid to international justice and from conflict reconciliation to identity formation. Throughout these activities the Council of Europe has consistently applied the history curriculum as a tool in the pursuit of its agenda. As such the Council has had a hand in many lasting projects and points-of-reference on history education reform along European cadre.<sup>2</sup> Especially after 1990, with the Cold War coming to an end and the (re)introduction of Eastern and Western European states within a larger European community, the CoE was confronted with many new questions and challenges regarding European-centric history. The precedents established then still inform our everyday conceptions of what Europe is, was and could be. As forerunners in the endeavor towards a European community the Council of Europe has continuously searched for and refined its policy on history education.<sup>3</sup> This aims to assess the language of this policy that aims to assess to come to a better understanding of how the Council attempts to mobilize history for peace, prosperity and cooperation within Europe.

This introductory chapter will first go over the general layout of the thesis and outlines the questions that will guide research. Policy discourse, whilst a popular academic framework is difficult to apply to its full potential. Proper execution requires indebt multi-disciplinary assessment of text and context

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<sup>1</sup> Avril Keating et al., "Citizenship Education Curricula: The Changes and Challenges Presented by Global and European Integration," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no. 2 (April 2009): 148–49; Council of Europe, *Quality History Education in the 21st Century: Principles and Guidelines* (Strasbourg: CoE Publishing, 2018), 5.

<sup>2</sup> Martyn Barrett et al., "Developing Intercultural Competence through Education" (Council of Europe Publishing, 2013); Tatiana Minkina-Milko, "Teaching and Learning History for Strengthening Reconciliation and the Peace-Building Process: Experience of the Council of Europe," in *Rethinking Education for Social Cohesion*, ed. Maha Shuayb (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012), 232.

<sup>3</sup> Luce Pépin, "The History of EU Cooperation in the Field of Education and Training: How Lifelong Learning Became a Strategic Objective," *European Journal of Education* 42, no. 1 (2007): 121–32.

and consistent theory and method.<sup>4</sup> To account for the former, this chapter will embed itself into the existing scientific debate through a literary review of academic work on the Council of Europe and implementation of its policy. To ensure the consistency of its theoretical framework this thesis will then operationalize the concepts central to its approach and outline an academic model facilitating consistency in the findings throughout the subsequent chapters: Seixas' History / Memory matrix.<sup>5</sup> Finally, the procedure used in the obtainment of the primary sources, periodization and application of the method thematic policy discourse analysis are discussed in the methodology section closing this chapter.

## 1.1 Research Question

This thesis will position itself in European educational politics between 1991 and 2009 to study the discourse of CoE policy on the history curriculum. Research will focus on how the language of policy developed and how it was affected by a changing European dynamic. Inherent to discourse on the instrumentalization of history education, the proper use of history as set out by the Council, is the opposition encountered in this pursuit. Throughout its analysis this thesis will not just to assess the discourse on use of history education in Council policy, but also its language and framing of malpractice. Returning to the statement in the opening of this chapter, if utilizing history education is now indeed of more importance than ever, what is it that it should be harnessed against?<sup>6</sup> As such the central theme that will serve as a red thread throughout the research is Council policy discourse on use and misuse of history education in Europe.

Mapping out the positions of the Council on history education reform will provide insights on the driving forces behind identity formation in Europe, such as the dynamic between the European and national levels of policy making. This thesis aims to assess the development of themes and paradigms present in the policy discourse of the Council of Europe on the use and misuse of history education. For this purpose, it will assess and compare the language of Council policy over three periods spanning nearly two decades in total: 1991-2009. This in the hope of gaining a better understanding of the practices and dynamics that drive history education reform. In this endeavor the thesis will be guided by the following question:

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<sup>4</sup> Des Gasper and Raymond Apthorpe, "Introduction: Discourse Analysis and Policy Discourse," *The European Journal of Development Research* 8, no. 1 (June 1, 1996): 3–5.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Seixas, "History in Schools," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, ed. Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 274–76.

<sup>6</sup> Council of Europe, *Quality History Education in the 21st Century: Principles and Guidelines*, 5.

*How has the Council of Europe conceptualized uses and misuses of history education between 1991 and 2009?*

The research question will be answered in three chapters each covering a period of roughly five years. These periods center around a fundamental theme or development in Council discourse, arrived at through preliminary research and refined during the analysis. The assessed cycle starts in 1991 with the CoE Symposium on History Teaching in the New Europe in Bruges, which is credited with laying the groundwork of many contemporary developments for European history education.<sup>7</sup> The methodology section of this chapter includes an in-depth discussion of the periodization.

Each analytic chapter will treat policy published to answer a sub-question focused on the major developments and themes present in discourse at that time. To further ground analysis in context each chapter is preceded by a brief discussion of the socio-political developments outside of Council discourse relevant to the period at hand. The sub-questions are, in chronological order:

- 1. How did the CoE conceptualize the aims and obstacles of European history education in policy after the end of the Cold War in 1991?*
- 2. How did the development of multiperspectivity affect Council of Europe policy discourse on use and misuse of history education between 1997 and 2003?*
- 3. How did CoE discourse on history education change after increased implementation of policy from 2004 onwards?*

Academic inquiry into the discourse of the Council of Europe is rare, and inquiry that is critical of the institution is rarer still. This thesis will add to the existing academic body by compiling a reference of Council discourse – surveying policy documents over audience, location, and time to create an inclusive account of the development of Council policy discourse on history education and the primary forces represented therein. This will aid in the construction a conceptual model of Council discourse incorporating the ideals, methods, objectives and limitations of use and misuse of history education towards European integration. This exercise will uncover discursive elements in policy that might not be constructive in the current European context or to policy implementation.

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<sup>7</sup> Joke Van Der Leeuw-Roord, “EUROCLIO, a Cause or Consequence of European Historical Consciousness,” in *EUSTORY Series, Shaping European History*, vol. 1, 2 (Hamburg: Koerber Stiftung, 2001), 249.

## 1.2 Literature review

The Council of Europe is a well-known and well discussed entity within academic circles. The organization's history and general efforts have been extensively written about. One can find many contemporary interpretations of the role of the Council on discourse on (international) justice, gender and LGBT issues, and many other themes.<sup>8</sup> Many of these works are strongly situated in the language surrounding human rights. Cole (2007) attempts to bridge discourse frameworks on international justice and human rights and on history education but admits that comparatively the latter is still in its infancy.<sup>9</sup>

The Council's activities on history education comprise only a modest cog in the greater Council machinery. As such scholarly perceptions on this topic prove much more specialized and heavily interlinked compared to those on the broader themes of human rights and the Council's humanitarian work.<sup>10</sup> The vast majority of writing on Europe-centric history education stems from within the Council of Europe or from close affiliates. Several scholars like Robert Stradling, Tatiana Minkina-Milko and Ann Low-Beer, respected historians in their own right, produced insightful works that cannot rightly be taken into consideration for this review as they have written policy for the Council that will be assessed in the main analysis of this thesis.<sup>11</sup> Others provide a level of discussion to policy outside of Council service, but should still be considered with caution because of their close association with the Council in past or parallel projects. The distinction between primary and secondary source can be ambiguous. Joke van der Leeuw-Roord has authored many informative texts on the state of history education. Yet, did so as EuroClio affiliate, which although an independent NGO in name was founded

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<sup>8</sup> Francesca Romana Ammaturo, "The Council of Europe and the Creation of LGBT Identities through Language and Discourse: A Critical Analysis of Case Law and Institutional Practices," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 23, no. 4 (April 21, 2019): 575–95; Shazia Choudhry, "Towards a Transformative Conceptualisation of Violence Against Women - A Critical Frame Analysis of Council of Europe Discourse on Violence Against Women," *The Modern Law Review* 79, no. 3 (2016): 406–41; Mieke Verloo, "Displacement and Empowerment: Reflections on the Concept and Practice of the Council of Europe Approach to Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Equality," *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 12, no. 3 (October 1, 2005): 344–65; Jon Yorke, "The Evolving Human Rights Discourse of the Council of Europe: Renouncing the Sovereign Right of the Death Penalty," in *Against the Death Penalty* (Routledge, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth A. Cole, "Transitional Justice and the Reform of History Education," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1, no. 1 (March 1, 2007): 137.

<sup>10</sup> Luigi Cajani, "History Teaching for the Unification of Europe: The Case of the Council of Europe," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, ed. Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 290. 160.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, Education (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2001); Minkina-Milko, "Teaching and Learning History for Strengthening Reconciliation and the Peace-Building Process"; Ann Low-Beer, "Politics, School Textbooks and Cultural Identity: The Struggle in Bosnia and Hercegovina," *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 23, no. 2 (2001): 215–23.

within the framework of the Council of Europe and remained a close partner organization since.<sup>12</sup> Anton Verder, writing on NGO involvement in international governance finds that NGOs tasked with execution of policy have a hand in policy formation through interpretation and feedback cycles.<sup>13</sup> The Council of Europe does thus not act alone in the creation and pursuit of its policy, but is in this accompanied by other institutions. Ruth Watts even positions that facilitation of the European Association of History Educators (EuroClio) was the most significant development the Council has made to affect the form of history education.<sup>14</sup> Debate on the current state of school history is still out. Generally, historians find that there is not enough history in the overall curriculum, but present little academic evidence in support of this. Van der Leeuw-Roord points at a study conducted in 1996 which compared historical knowledge of politicians with that of students (without finding significant differences) as one of the few attempts to measure this.<sup>15</sup> A more in-depth survey was conducted by EuroClio under van der Leeuw-Roord. This survey concluded that, despite a changing European context on discourse on history education, actual form and significance of the history curriculum changed little between 1989 and 2005.<sup>16</sup>

A central pillar of scholarship is the potential of history for peacebuilding versus the traditional motivations and functions of history education as determined by politicians. The latter defined along the lines of formation and securing of the national interest and community, maximizing trade rent, or managing and framing national rivalries.<sup>17</sup> The earliest efforts of instrumentalizing history education not towards national, but European efforts is marked by Keating *et al.* and Cajani to have started with the founding of the Council of Europe.<sup>18</sup> Korostelina points at a starting point several decades earlier

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<sup>12</sup> Semih Aktekin, "Participation of History and Social Science Teachers in International Activities: The Case of EUROCLIO," in *Teaching History and Social Studies for Multicultural Europe*, ed. Semih Aktekin et al. (Ankara: Harf, 2009), 178.

<sup>13</sup> Anton Vedder, *NGO Involvement in International Governance and Policy: Sources of Legitimacy*, vol. 72, Nijhoff Law Specials (Leiden, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007).

<sup>14</sup> Ruth Watts, "History in Europe," in *Issues in History Teaching*, ed. James Arthur and Robert Phillips (London: Routledge, 2000), 176.

<sup>15</sup> Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, "Yearning for Yesterday: Efforts of History Professionals in Europe at Designing Meaningful and Effective School History Curricula," in *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of History*, ed. Linda Sumcox and Arie Wilschit, *International Review of History Education* (Charlotte, North Carolina: Information Age Publishing, 2009), 75.

<sup>16</sup> van der Leeuw-Roord, 86–89.

<sup>17</sup> Keating, Ortloff, and Philippou, "Citizenship Education Curricula," 146; Maria Grever & Siep Stuurman, *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1-2; Simone Lässig and Karina Korostelina, "Introduction," in *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*, ed. Simone Lässig and Karina Korostelina, *Routledge Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1–2.

<sup>18</sup> Keating, Ortloff, and Philippou, "Citizenship Education Curricula," 148–49; Cajani, "History Teaching for the Unification of Europe," 289.



at the Paris World Peace Congress in 1889. She finds that then already this debate was perceived as “the important role history education plays in combating nationalistic and ethnocentric ways of thinking.”<sup>19</sup> Regardless of its long roots, history education deployed for National versus humanitarian purposes is an ongoing issue still. Grever & Stuurman have written disapprovingly on the implementation of the Dutch historical canon in 2006. Defined by Grever as: “A historical grand narrative, consisting of selected figures, events, story lines, ideas and values, colligated by definite plots, perspectives and explanations.” Politicians are said to blame innovation of the history education reform for deconstructing collective memory and “leaving disorientation and a divided community in its wake.”<sup>20</sup> The perspective from within state-sponsored history meanwhile gathers rather less attention. Bevernage & Wouters find their attempt to introduce state history as broader than ‘official’ government sanctioned history one of the first to do so.<sup>21</sup> They also find that whilst historians working on official histories are prone to be criticized for “merely executing a political agenda,” there is much room for innovation and autonomy to be had in the practice of history within the state context.<sup>22</sup>

Literature working with the policy of the Council of Europe is mostly limited to national-scale case studies of implementation. The main purpose these case studies is not to examine the characteristics and implications of Council language, but rather to chronicle the impact of its efforts. There seem to be no obviously overrepresented nations and no particular interest in any one region over other areas within Europe in these works. However, findings do suggest the existence of regional and temporal distinctions in the implementation of Council policy. Frans Doppen writing about the Netherlands and Davies *et al.* about England place their case within the Western hemisphere as opposed to the regional ‘other’ of Eastern Europe. They both deem educational reform policy not thoroughgoing enough. Doppen finds that slow-moving education reform can lead to alienation in the increasingly multicultural classroom whilst Davies *et al.* claim that in the English case partial implementation of civic education reform created tensions between the national and European levels where there were none before integrational efforts.<sup>23</sup> On case studies located in Eastern and Central Europe, Pabian, writing on the Czech Republic finds that the Czech experience of Europeanization

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<sup>19</sup> K. Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity: Toward a Culture of Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013), 5.

<sup>20</sup> Grever and Stuurman, *Beyond the Canon*, 1, 4–6.

<sup>21</sup> Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 1–2.

<sup>22</sup> Bevernage and Wouters, 2–3.

<sup>23</sup> Frans H. Doppen, “Now What?: Rethinking Civic Education in the Netherlands,” *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 2, no. 2 (July 1, 2007): 106, 116; Ian Davies, Mark Evans, and Alan Reid, “Globalising Citizenship Education? A Critique of ‘Global Education’ and ‘Citizenship Education,’” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 53, no. 1 (2005): 66-67, 79-83.

differs drastically from that in the West and this regional difference in experience is corroborated by multiple works focusing on different elements.<sup>24</sup> Jurado in an assessment of the effectiveness of Council of Europe practice in Estonia concludes that reform along European cadre is handed from the top down, with very little room for reciprocity from East to West and from the National- to European level.<sup>25</sup>

Whilst much has been written on the Council of Europe, the academic assessment of its policy is still lacking. This is both a challenge and an asset for this research. A challenge because, with limited independent previous research on themes in discourse of history education (misuse) the academic validity of this thesis could suffer if not adequately offset by our methodological approach. An absence of reliable discursive exploration from academia suggests analytic themes should be lifted from the primary sources rather than based on a previously fabricated academic framework. However, this point of attention means also that this thesis will make a major contribution to the existing body of literature. With the absence of substantial critical assessment on Council policy there is still much to learn about how educational politics affected Council framing of its intentions and methods.

Another manner in which this thesis can add to the existing literature is by providing a foundation for comparisons between studies of policy implementation. Whilst case studies are prevalent, there is virtually no literature that aims to compare the findings of these studies with each other.<sup>26</sup> This is unfortunate, as effective comparison could benefit efforts towards European integration. Much of the criticism voiced in isolated case studies is pertinent to the greater Council context. The results of this study could locate this criticism to a period and a discourse practice. Critical assessment, now done on a nation-to-nation basis could so be generalized towards broader scopes.

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<sup>24</sup> Petr Pabian, "Europeanisation of Higher Education Governance in the Post-Communist Context: The Case of the Czech Republic," in *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research*, ed. Alberto Amaral et al., Higher Education Dynamics (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2009), 73–74; Cole, "Transitional Justice and the Reform of History Education"; Magne Angvik and Bodo von Borries, *Youth and History: A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes among Adolescents* (Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung, 1997); Maria Grever, Terry Haydn, and Kees Ribbens, "Identity and School History: The Perspective of Young People from the Netherlands and England," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 56, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 76–94.

<sup>25</sup> Jurado, "Complying with European Standards of Minority Education," 408-09.

<sup>26</sup> With the notable exception of Cajani. His conclusions do include a page dedicated to summing up the state of affairs in multiple European nations, both in the East and the West, but this is only a peripheral part of his efforts and cases are once again not compared other than with an off the cuff: "Despite all the efforts, the specter of political bias on history education is still haunting Europe."

Cajani, "History Teaching for the Unification of Europe," 301–2.

### 1.3 Theoretical Framework

In their handbook on discourse analysis Gasper & Apthorpe warn that although discourse is a topic very much in vogue in the humanities, many researchers are at risk of compromising the validity of their research by inadequately supporting their work in theory.<sup>27</sup> Van Dijk, long time editor of 'Discourse & Society,' finds the problems in understanding discourses often lies in the requirement of effectively organized large amounts knowledge.<sup>28</sup> It is imperative to found discourse analysis in serious and consistent theory. As there are multiple interpretations and approaches to discourse theory the following paragraphs will first operationalize the concepts of discourse, policy and framing as they are to be understood in this thesis; then legitimize the use of primary sources stemming from a diverse authorship as policy discourse documents; and finally describe the theoretical model of the History / Memory matrix, which allows for controlled and consistent assessment of Council discourse on both use and misuse practices over the separate periods.

#### 1.3.1 Policy discourse & educational politics

Much has been written on what discourse is and how best to assess it. For an historiographical effort it will suffice to note that all discourse theory finds its origin in Foucauldian theory of the dynamics of knowledge and power structures between actors through exchanges of language, practice, and symbols.<sup>29</sup> This thesis will by applying discourse theory in the context of *educational politics*, holding that the degree to which actors can influence the school curriculum to represent their agenda is asymmetrically distributed depending on the amount of control and persuasive power held by an actor within its network. In the 'battlefield' of education politics the main weapons are rhetorical practices of educational discourse.<sup>30</sup>

In the words of Rein & Schön, prominent scholars on policy discourse: "Discourse is where efforts at defining public reality are made, so that it can achieve a collective validity."<sup>31</sup> Policy meanwhile is a means through which that discourse is officially communicated to others.<sup>32</sup> Rather than representing an absolute sense of reality, both the policy issue and solution are filtered through what

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<sup>27</sup> Gasper and Apthorpe, "Introduction," 5.

<sup>28</sup> Teun A. van Dijk, "Discourse & Society: A New Journal for a New Research Focus," *Discourse & Society* 1, no. 1 (July 1, 1990): 6–7.

<sup>29</sup> Sally Hewitt, "Discourse Analysis and Public Policy Research," *Centre for Rural Economy Discussion Paper*, no. 24 (2009): 1–8.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Edwards et al., *Rhetoric and Educational Discourse: Persuasive Texts* (London: Routledge, 2004), 2–4.

<sup>31</sup> Raymond Apthorpe, "Reading Development Policy and Policy Analysis: On Framing, Naming, Numbering and Coding," *The European Journal of Development Research* 8, no. 1 (June 1, 1996): 24.

<sup>32</sup> Gasper and Apthorpe, "Introduction," 6.

Edwards *et al.* dub rhetorical practices: Framing devices applied by the policy maker.<sup>33</sup> As noted by Clay & Schaffen framing consists of; what is included, what is excluded, and how attention is spend and steered. Framing cannot be obtained by relying on the institutional rationality expressly presented, because that is what is being framed. It lies latent in the characteristics of language used to explain policy situations<sup>34</sup> These framing devices make up ‘narrative stories’ such as, ‘What is the matter?’ ‘What should be done?’ and ‘Who is responsible?’ These stories have political repercussions, in what is called *the mobilization of bias* through which a policy maker assigns blame and agency and attempts to persuade others according to its agenda.<sup>35</sup>

Framing is how a policy maker distinguishes some aspects of a situation rather than others.<sup>36</sup> This is often done by emphasizing on certain elements in policy, but the omission of elements can also be telling on *what* is being conveyed *how*. Audience too, is of particular importance for the form of policy discourse. Different audiences hold certain positions, values and amounts of power, and as such will be approached differently.<sup>37</sup> In the discussion at hand this could affect the framing devices and positioning towards audiences and other actors adopted by the Council in its texts in order to effectively pursuit its agenda. As there are many possible positions and solutions one can take on a given policy issue it is likely that there are multiple points of view represented within the discourse of one actor, even if these are not explicitly presented within the final product.<sup>38</sup> However, in policy discourse theory actors are defined by their ability to establish meaning and give direction to official institutional communication. Whilst a single publication might not perfectly encapsulate the Council doctrine, policy assessment over multiple documents and sources will come to reflect the general message the Council wants to convey. Apthorpe notes that points of policy once constructed typically do not invite discussion nor accept refutation. Especially when evaluated by the policy maker to be motivated by compassionate intent, which tends to be the case with humanitarian and non-governmental institutions such as the CoE.<sup>39</sup> It can thus be assumed that in analysis of Council policy publications stemming from different authors, this thesis is dealing with a position representative of the discourse of the Council of Europe as opposed to merely following a possible line of argumentation or the position of a single Council author.

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<sup>33</sup> Edwards et al., *Rhetoric and Educational Discourse*.

<sup>34</sup> Gasper and Raymond, 6.

<sup>35</sup> Maarten Hajer, “Discourse Analysis and the Study of Policy Making,” *European Political Science* 2 (January 1, 2004): 61–62; “Introduction,” 6.

<sup>36</sup> Maarten Hajer. 45.

<sup>37</sup> Gasper and Apthorpe, 23–24.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 3–4.

<sup>39</sup> Apthorpe, “Reading Development Policy and Policy Analysis,” 22–23.

### 1.3.2 the History / Memory Matrix

This theoretical framework central to this thesis is the History / Memory matrix as set out by Peter Seixas for use in school history. It will serve as a model on which the approaches, objectives and actor interactions of the politics of history education reform can be located. This allows analysis to pass beyond observing ‘what story is being told’ and examine instead the motivations and influences shaping curriculum policy.<sup>40</sup> In shaping collective memory and identity there is a dialogical relationship between disciplinary practices and “life practices” of history. These types, alternatively labelled *scientific* and *memory* history relate roughly as portrayed in the matrix through a repeating cycle of formation, questioning and revision.<sup>41</sup> Seixas places all memory- and community building efforts under the red-blue dividing line. These practices have historically been used first and foremost for the formation of national solidarity. Curriculum heavy on life practices tend to spend less attention for academic exercises such as the acquirement of critical thinking skills in the classroom.<sup>42</sup> History practice concerned with coming the ‘the truth’ of history, regardless of its consequences on established historical narratives (and the communities that rely on them) are placed above the line. This is where the ideal of academic practice resides.<sup>43</sup> What Seixas wishes to use to History / Memory Matrix for exactly is: “Comparative study of state-sponsored school history when we try to locate the latter in the matrix.” History education meant to propagate a particular collective memory lands below the line. History education based on teaching critical thinking skills would land above the line. According to Seixas, ideal school history would be placed neither above nor below but on the border between the two.<sup>44</sup>

For the purposes of this study this framework will prove beneficial in multiple ways. Most directly it can serve as a frame-of-reference to map the Council’s discourse and position in a tangible manner. At the end of each chapter the Council policy of that period will be pinpointed on the matrix to assess what elements of practice the Council emphasized. Doing so will grant a consistent measure of the practice of history advertised by the Council and the shifts therein overtime. The theory behind the Memory / History matrix will further provide explaining power for actor dynamics. This thesis will coopt the terms of *disciplinary* - and *memory practice* of history and apply these to the language of the Council regarding other forces in the field. This will provide insight on how the Council perceives the

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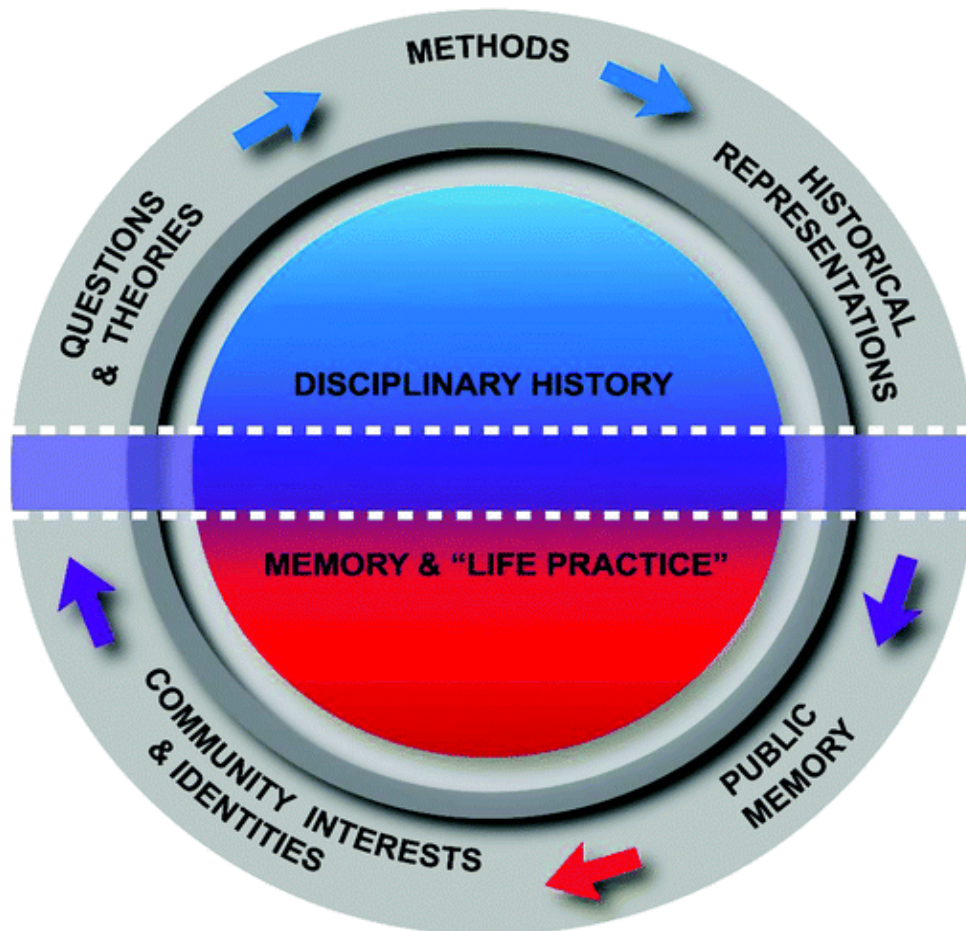
<sup>40</sup> Seixas, “History in Schools,” 275–76.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 274.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 274–75.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 275.



**Figure 1.1:** Seixas' History/Memory matrix.

Source: Peter Seixas, "History in School," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History after 1945*, ed. Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018): 275.

approaches of others and thus why policy might frame them in a certain manner. The exemplify, Council animosity towards a certain actor could be explained by that actor propagating a historical narrative incompatible to that pursued by the Council; the Council could ally itself with forces who support similar practice, or shift the framing of its own approach depending on the practice of others. Finally, this framework will aid in the search for the Council operationalization of *misuse* of history. Through its policy discourse the Council communicates what historical narrative it would ideally see promoted. Does the Council then define misuse as opposition of its narrative, or does the organization posture hostility towards propagandistic approaches in general? Answering these questions allows this thesis to draw conclusions on (according to the Council) which actors can perpetrate malpractice of history education and what position they are perceived to occupy in the History / Memory matrix.



There are certain limitations to be kept in mind in the application of this model. First, both disciplinary and life practices of history are proposed here as ideal types.<sup>45</sup> The border between the science of history and the memory of history is much less succinct than a straight line through the middle would imply. Complex moral institutions such as the Council of Europe might well have objectives and dual priorities that would fit in both sides simultaneously, or practice believes that do not neatly fit in either category. The reality of this must be kept in mind during analysis and argumentation. A further limitation is that Seixas developed this model for application on the national level. Upscaling towards a European context runs the danger that increased complexity; number of actors and regional versus local differentiations make for a context too convoluted and overcrowded for constructive comparison. This too should be considered during analysis and once again underscores the importance of a well-set scope and methodology.

## **1.4 Methodology**

This thesis relies on the assessment of primary sources in its analytical chapters. These sources consist mostly of Council of Europe publications specifically concerned with policy formation and implementation of history education reform. Selected primary sources were assessed through a method of thematic policy discourse analysis.

### **1.4.1 Source attainment & periodization**

The Council of Europe publishes a myriad of reports, discussion pieces, advice publications and conference minutes; many of which are freely available via its online archives. Whilst the Council of Europe is an independent organization and not an extension of the European Union or any other political institution it does at occasion integrate delegations of political representatives in policy and decision making. Although the documents resulting from these meetings are not often primarily concerned with history education they were also taken into consideration for this thesis' body of research. A main benefit of using these sources was the high level of availability even during the limiting factors present in the last year. What is more, the decentralized nature of Council publications makes it that the themes and language of policy are often repeated and summarized. This makes the resulting discourse particularly suited for the intended research of this paper.

In order to retain a focused and manageable research scope this thesis restricted itself to the spearheading efforts within these policy documents and declarations of Heads-of-State. Sources were

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<sup>45</sup> Seixas, 274.

initially obtained via the following search criteria in the Council of Europe online archive: ‘history education’, ‘multiperspectivity’, ‘plural history’, and ‘history teaching,’ and further include publications that were described as foundational or otherwise obtained special note during preliminary research. The three most prominent declarations of Heads-of-State were also included; conveniently one for each period. After assembling an initial corpus of data of the Council of Europe’s policy further criteria for relevancy were set. The Council of Europe does not solely concern itself with education, and even within this often focusses on general education rather than history specifically. Selection further aimed to get a good spread over time and geographic scope and over documents concerned with policy-formation versus implementation. Extra care was also taken to select sources mentioning the European socio-political context. A full overview of primary sources sorted per period, including summary and assessment of audience can be found in Appendix A.

The periodization was, although guided by timelines found during the literature review, derived primarily through the assessment of policy documents. Ultimately it was decided to uphold a three-fold periodization covering roughly five years. Each period centers around a theme or fundamental development in Council discourse and includes leading policy publications and a declaration by the Committee of Heads-of-State. The final year of each period is marked by the publication of an advice-on-practice work by the Council. These documents conveniently summarized the discourse of the period and provided insight as to how the Council attempt to apply that periods policy discourse into in practice.

The first period runs from 1991 until 1996, starting with the 1991 CoE *Symposium on History Teaching in the New Europe* held in Bruges. The report of this symposium is part of *Against Bias and Prejudice* (1995); a glossary of summaries and reports of most notable symposia held before 1996.<sup>46</sup> The Bruges symposium is often credited with laying the groundwork of many contemporary developments for European history education.<sup>47</sup> This groundwork was expanded in the leading 1992 publication by Maitland Stobart also carrying the name *History Teaching in the New Europe*.<sup>48</sup> The period further includes a report on the Prague symposium of 1995, *Mutual Understanding and the Teaching of European History*. This report was authored by Robert Stradling who would go on to

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<sup>46</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice: The Council of Europe’s Work on History Teaching and History Textbooks* (Council of Europe Publishing, 1995), 52–58.

<sup>47</sup> John Slater, “History Education in the New Europe: Challenges, Problems and Opportunities. A Commentary on a Symposium Organized by the Council of Europe, Bruges, December 1991,” in *International Yearbook of History Education*, ed. Alaric Dickinson et al., 1st ed., vol. 1, 1 (London: Routledge, 2013), 173–75.

<sup>48</sup> Van Der Leeuw-Roord, “EUROCLIO, a Cause or Consequence of European Historical Consciousness”; Maitland Stobart, “The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe,” *International Review of Education* 38, no. 6 (1992): 693–96.



become one of the main voices of the Council in the second period set out by this thesis. Also included are Carmel Gallaghers *Handbook for Teachers*, the first practice-oriented publication after to the fall of the wall,<sup>49</sup> and the *Vienna Declaration* from 1993 which is the first of the three documents stemming from Summits of State and Government under the Council banner.<sup>50</sup>

The second period, spanning 1997 to 2003 centers around the strategy of multiperspectivity – which would become the Councils history education methodology of choice. This concept is first outlined in-depth by Ann Low-Ber in 1997. Her publication the *Council of Europe and School History* summarizes and adds many aspects to previously established discourse. The introduction of multiperspectivity and break with previous Council discourse mark a relatively clean threshold for the periodization to hinge on.<sup>51</sup> Further included were the *Declaration of Strasbourg*, the second Summit of Head of State and Government from 1997, and two texts authored by Robert Stradling; *Teaching 20th-Century European History* from 2001 and another *Guide for Teachers* published in 2003.<sup>52</sup>

The final period starts in 2004 and end in 2009 with the publication of *Recommendation 1880, History Teaching in Conflict and Post-conflict Areas*.<sup>53</sup> This period includes multiple publications reflecting on completed Council programmes and refinement of Council practice; such as *Ten Year Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Council of Europe* published in 2006 and the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* from 2008.<sup>54</sup> Tatiana Minkina-Milko is the most prominent voice for Council policy in this period, representing Council discourse in the publication on Russian cooperation as well as providing an overview of Council discourse in *Teaching history without dividing lines* (2004).<sup>55</sup> The latter fulfills a similar role to Ann Low-Ber publication at the start of the second

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<sup>49</sup> Carmel Gallagher, “History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers” (Council of Europe Publishing, 1996).

<sup>50</sup> Council of Europe, “Vienna Declaration: First Summit of Heads of State and Government” (Council of Europe Publishing, 1993).

<sup>51</sup> Ann Low-Ber, *The Council of Europe and School History* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1997).

<sup>52</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Strasbourg: Second Summit of Heads of State and Government” (Council of Europe Publishing, 1997). Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*; Robert Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2003).

<sup>53</sup> Council of Europe, “History Teaching in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas” (Council of Europe Publishing, 2009).

<sup>54</sup> Tatiana Minkina-Milko, “Introduction by Tatiana Minkina-Milko,” in *History Education in Europe: Ten Year Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Council of Europe* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2006); Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue: Living Together as Equals in Dignity* (Council of Europe Publishing, 2010).

<sup>55</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History: Presentations from Seminars and Workshop Materials* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Council of Europe Publishing, 2004), 15–22.

period. Lastly, the third period includes *the Declaration of Warsaw*, third and final summit-outcome of Heads and State of Government held in 2005.<sup>56</sup>

#### 1.4.2 Thematic Policy Discourse Analysis

In its analysis this thesis considers the policy discourse of the Council of Europe; Its ‘communicated reality on the instrumentalization of history education’.<sup>57</sup> To this end *thematic policy discourse analysis* was chosen as the preferred method for this thesis’ purposes. This is a well-established broadly applicable and source driven method of assessment, which emphasizes how interaction between institutions –political processes and contexts— influence decision making on policy issues.<sup>58</sup> This makes thematic policy discourse analysis expressly suited for this research needs considering the nature of the sources; a diverse range Council of Europe policy documents, and the nature of our context; educational politics in Europe, wherein multiple levels of organizations and activity are present.

David Hyatt speaks of policy discourse analysis as “especially relevant to processes of social transformation and change, (...) for discourses that are culturally formed, but historically changing ways of talking and writing about, as well as acting with and towards, people and things.”<sup>59</sup> Policy discourse analysis would thus account for the changing nature of Council Europe over several periods.

Themes of ‘the other’ or ‘dangers of misuse’ are not necessarily explicitly addressed in Council policy discourse, but rather by implied by the characteristics of its language. These elements would lie latent in current discourse, stemming perhaps from obsolete and unconstructive narratives or heritage of outdated ideological affinities. The methodology of thematic policy discourse analysis allows for the assessment of latent elements in a data by adopting a bottom-up approach. Some methodologies of discourse analysis require a strictly defined thematic framework from the start, acquired through existing academic literature. Thematic discourse analysis however, arrives at a thematic framework by performing several rounds of coding. Themes and codes are lifted out of texts and are tested for validity through consecutive coding. This grants the flexibility to assess and discover themes on which substantial academic exploration is still lacking, and further provided some leniency during an

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<sup>56</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw: Third Summit of Heads of State and Government” (Council of Europe Publishing, 2005).

<sup>57</sup> Apthorpe, “Reading Development Policy and Policy Analysis,” 22–24.

<sup>58</sup> Hewitt, “Discourse Analysis and Public Policy Research,” 2–8; Gasper and Apthorpe, “Introduction,” 2–7.

<sup>59</sup> David Hyatt, “The Critical Policy Discourse Analysis Frame: Helping Doctoral Students Engage with the Educational Policy Analysis,” *Teaching in Higher Education* 18, no. 8 (November 1, 2013): 837.

impetuous year of research.<sup>60</sup> In the final round of coding this approach resulted in 1033 codes divided over 122 themes centering around the concepts of use and misuse of history education in Europe. A full coding report is included in Appendix B.

Before the analysis in each following chapter an effort is made to contextualize the primary sources. For the first period this was done by distinguishing elements of pre-90's Council discourse otherwise outside of the scope of this research. The second and third analytical chapter refer to discourse established in the preceding periods which is unavoidable because of the self-referential nature of Council policy, although ideal practice would see analysis per periods in isolation. After contextualization recurring patterns in language and framing were mapped per period starting from assumptions lifted from the preliminary research and literature review. In this the thesis relied on the Scriven method as laid out by Gasper. This method serves to identify the components and structure of a piece of (policy) discourse. The steps consist out of *clarifying meanings* using the in-text context, *identifying conclusions* including preeminent unstated assumptions, *portraying structure* of the premise → inference → conclusion argumentative line taken in discourse, and finally *identifying unstated assumptions*.<sup>61</sup> Through this process the thematic substance and research sub-questions of each chapter were obtained. When research came to a halt or discursive themes became convoluted the Scriven method was applied to reestablish focus.

Broad strokes of what drives the form of Council policy arguments had to be identified before getting into its specifics. Following the recommendations made by Gasper and Apthorpe special attention was spend on the framing of the timescale, the boundaries of the system, the burden of proof distribution, the establishment of a baseline or status-quo, the comparisons made in-text, the self-defined range of means and finally the definition of constraints.<sup>62</sup> From this relatively broad scope many potential returning factors and latent themes were established and a second round of more focused coding was conducted taking the History / Memory Matrix into account<sup>63</sup> By encompassing as many potential codes as possible and working upwards research scope became more aimed overtime and subthemes were established per period. These form the main body of the analysis in each chapter.

In total three round of coding were conducted per period (not including the initial reading using the Scriven method). All coding was performed using the MAXQDA 12 program. Software assisted qualitative data analysis has as its advantage that coding and managing codes are made more

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<sup>60</sup> Hyatt. 836.

<sup>61</sup> Des Gasper, "Analysing Policy Arguments," *European Journal of Development Research* 8, no. 1 (June 1996): 37.

<sup>62</sup> Gasper, 49–50.

<sup>63</sup> Bevernage and Wouters, *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, 274–76.

manageable and structured.<sup>64</sup> In a comparative study Saillard notes that MAXQDA specifically excels at interrelationship building and inference-based methodologies, both aspects that are of utmost importance for a successful performance of this study.<sup>65</sup> This program was further chosen for ease of use in looking up and saving specific quotes to be recalled as examples in the analysis. These references will guide the reader through the arguments in the analytical chapters that follow.

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<sup>64</sup> Patricia Rogers and Delwyn Goodrick. "Qualitative data analysis." *Handbook of practical program evaluation* (2010): 452.

<sup>65</sup> Elif Kuş Saillard, "Systematic Versus Interpretive Analysis with Two CAQDAS Packages: NVivo and MAXQDA," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12, no. 1 (January 30, 2011), 73.

## Chapter 2: Discourse Formation at a New Dawn (1991-1996)

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In 1991 whilst European political representatives were signing the Maastricht treaty, delegates from all corners of continent gathered under the banner of the Council of Europe for a meeting about school history. Participants were historians, educators, students and curriculum officials hailing from France to Greece, Albania to Belgium, and Britain to the USSR.<sup>1</sup> For many of the Eastern European delegates it was their first time setting foot on Western soil. Views on history were exchanged, heated discussion took place, and above all a tone was set.<sup>2</sup> Soon afterwards the Council of Europe published the first of a series of documents aimed to realign its policy with the new European context. The following chapter will assess these publications which set the policy discourse of the Council of Europe until the establishment of a coherent teaching strategy in 1997. These texts contain interesting themes and framing devices on the status, role and objectives of history education. Some specific to the Council of Europe, others indicative of the language of the narratives in education development at that time.

Aided by the theoretical framework of the History / Memory matrix this chapter will assess how the Council re-interpreted the European context of the early 90's as a *New Europe* and attempted to steer the development of history education therein. The Council would see history education used to achieve its goals of tolerance and cooperation. Opposed to that stand Council interpretation of the dangers and obstacles of history education. As much as history education could serve as a tool towards harmony, it could be a be an apparatus for discord and conflict when misused. This chapter studies where Council policy discourse stands in respect to the Cold War, how it frames the role of history education in Europe, and what the CoE meant to accomplish and counter by instrumentalizing history education. Throughout this the chapter will be guided by the following question:

*How did the CoE conceptualize the aims and obstacles of European history education in policy after the end of the Cold War in 1991?*

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<sup>1</sup> Slater, "A Commentary on the Brugges Symposium," 173–74.

<sup>2</sup> Impressions of the Brugge symposium were obtained through reports and correspondence found in the EuroClio archive (accessed February 2020). These included: Hèlène Budé-Janssens and Joke Van Der Leeuw-Roord, "EUROCLIO, European Standing Conference of History Teachers' Associations - Factsheet 1994," November 1994, EuroClio office archive; Ann Low-Beer, "Council of Europe Symposium on History Teaching in the New Europe: Challenges, Problems and Opportunities," January 1992, EuroClio office archive; Joke Van Der Leeuw-Roord, "Report Brugge Symposium Voor KLEIO," January 1992, EuroClio office archive.

To ground Council policy discourse in its historical context this chapter will start by providing a brief overview of Council involvement in European history from its founding to 1990.

## 2.1 Context – Europe in the history curriculum before 1990

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 sent ripples throughout the globe. Political, social, and cultural institutions within and outside Europe realized that this stood to be a major turning point in the very conceptualization of the contemporary world. Predictions on what a new order would look like ranged from surges of nationalism-driven instability to declarations on the end of History.<sup>3</sup> The Council of Europe supported a notion of Europe no longer split along ideological lines. A more unified and mutually tolerant Europe. This organization was from its founding after the second World War occupied with avoiding the repeat of such devastation in Europe. The Council's primary means towards this was the integration of its members, as codified in the first article of the Council's founding document from 1949:

1a. The aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve a greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress.<sup>4</sup>

The Council operated without legal sovereignty over its members, instead depending on good will and 'peer pressures' to ensure cooperation. Cajani finds that this principle differentiated the CoE from other extranational institutions from the start.<sup>5</sup> The founding statutes were signed by the governments of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, the United

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<sup>3</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security* 15, no. 1 (1990): 5–8; Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?," *The National Interest*, no. 16 (1989): 3–5. These are two widely appropriated, yet widely divergent interpretations on the state of the European context. They are offered here to represent the chaotic and unpredictable state of Europe at the time.

<sup>4</sup> Council of Europe. *Statute of the Council of Europe London, 5th May, 1949*. London: Stat. Off., 1949.

<sup>5</sup> Cajani, "History Teaching for the Unification of Europe," 289.

Whilst not explicitly stated, this is the generally accepted reading of Article 1 par. b and c:

- b. This aim shall be pursued through the organs of the Council by discussion of questions of common concern and by agreements and common action in economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative matters and in the maintenance and further realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- c. Participation in the Council of Europe shall not affect the collaboration of its members in the work of the United Nations and of other international organisations or unions to which they are parties.

Kingdom, and the Irish Republic.<sup>6</sup> Of the initial members only France and the Netherlands had previously undertaken projects on the Europeanization of the history curriculum.<sup>7</sup>

Early in the 20th Century the concepts of citizenship and nationhood had been virtually synonymous.<sup>8</sup> But the World Wars and an ever-growing European connectedness introduced the need to rethink 'citizenship education' as existing exclusively within National contexts.<sup>9</sup> Traditionally the push for a shared history curriculum was legitimized by invoking common heritage, but academic perception became more skeptical about the validity of a universal history in the second half of the 20th Century.<sup>10</sup>

One of the first Council projects that addressed the topic of community through education was a universal European history textbook in the 1950's, but this turned into a chiefly academic endeavor as the Cold War quickly became a prominent paradigm of curriculum makers.<sup>11</sup> Notions of shared European history in schools stayed closely connected to political context in Europe and even with the intent there, virtually no practical attempts towards Council policy implementation in history education took place until well in the '60s.<sup>12</sup> Early attempts only served to increase academic skepticism as the shared history textbooks proved heavily biased northwestern Europe.<sup>13</sup> Members maintained that not much advancement could be made in history education and began to focus instead of integration via other means, under which higher education projects.<sup>14</sup>

Pingel finds the efforts of instrumentalizing history education towards European integration were lagging behind other socio-political processes leading to the end of the Cold War. Once the wall

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<sup>6</sup> Cajani, 289.

<sup>7</sup> Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 5; Keating, Ortloff, and Philippou, "Citizenship Education Curricula," 148.

<sup>8</sup> Davies, Evans, and Reid, "Globalising Citizenship Education?," 68.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.; Pépin, "The History of EU Cooperation in the Field of Education and Training"; Keating, Ortloff, and Philippou, "Citizenship Education Curricula"; Peter Maassen and Christine Musselin, "European Integration and the Europeanisation of Higher Education," in *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research*, ed. Alberto Amaral et al., Higher Education Dynamics (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2009), 3–14.

<sup>10</sup> Falk Pingel, "History as a Project of the Future: The European History Textbook Debate," in *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*, ed. Karina Korostelina and Simone Lässig (London: Routledge, 2013), 155–56.

<sup>11</sup> Keating, Ortloff, and Philippou, "Citizenship Education Curricula," 149–50.

<sup>12</sup> Anne Corbett, "Process, Persistence and Pragmatism: Reconstructing the Creation of the European University Institute and the Erasmus Programme, 1955–89," in *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research*, ed. Alberto Amaral et al. (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2009), 61.

<sup>13</sup> Pingel, "History as a Project of the Future," 155–56, 159; Keating, Ortloff, and Philippou, "Citizenship Education Curricula," 149–50.

<sup>14</sup> Corbett, "Process, Persistence and Pragmatism," 65.

falls however Euro-centric history education starts to garner attention once again, which led to amongst many things the organization of the Bruges symposium in 1991.

## 2.2 Analysis

Analysis will first assess the Council claim to legitimacy and discourse on its involvement in history education reform. This is done by providing a broad overview of the Council's 'origin story' and the position of history education in the Council agenda. Use and misuse of history education will feature more prominently as analysis zooms in on the theme. The subparagraphs that follow outline the discourse on the current European context under the nomen 'New Europe'; cover policy discourse on use and misuse of history education in this New Europe; and end the chapter by conceptualizing the Council discourse on its relations in educational politics and its approach to history education using the History / Memory matrix.

### 2.2.1 Sources of legitimacy

Both in its own description as in academic accounts the Council of Europe has a long record of being involved in history education reform.<sup>15</sup> Whilst education is far from the only pursuit of the Council of Europe this aspect is habitually referred to in the CoE 'origin story'. A clear example of this practice can be found in *Against Bias and Prejudice*: "History and history teaching have always occupied a special place in the Council of Europe's work on educational because of their importance in establishing mutual understanding and confidence between the peoples of Europe."<sup>16</sup> Although the absence of executive power over members is not addressed, policy language does reflect that the Council of Europe is aware of what this means for its position. Recurring trends in formulation are "*We call upon the leaders of these peoples*"; "*We urge the Organisation*" (referring to European Communities); and continued use of 'we recommend' and 'we invite to' over more authoritative calls to action.<sup>17</sup> That the results of its involvement were limited before the 1990's is also not explicitly mentioned in the assessed documents.

Conform with the dominant characterization in academic circles the Council describes itself primarily as a humanitarian organization with education whilst far from its only activity holding a

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<sup>15</sup> Keating, Ortloff, and Philippou, "Citizenship Education Curricula," 148–49; Cajani, "History Teaching for the Unification of Europe," 289; Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 4, 8.

<sup>16</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*.

<sup>17</sup> Council of Europe, "Vienna Declaration," 1–2; Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 9, 67.



prominent position in the agenda.<sup>18</sup> This comes to the fore through its prevalence as a topic and is described in several of the assessed texts. Most clearly by Stobart, who describes the Council's programmes on culture and education as making integral contribution to the overarching policy objectives.<sup>19</sup> The Declaration of Vienna, the one document of this period not primarily occupied with education, confirms this inserting history education as a point of attention in its plan of action.<sup>20</sup> Early in the period, in 1992, the Council of Europe describes its scope as determined by its work programme. Its work programme is in turn described as covering matters of human rights; media and communication; social and economic affairs; education and more.<sup>21</sup> This broad range of pursuits is juxtaposed by the statement, "only questions related to national defense are excluded from its activities," which frequently returns in some form when the Council agenda is described.<sup>22</sup>

The broadness of the Council agenda is matched by the size of its geographical scope. Maitland Stobart text opens with the observation that the Council of Europe has become the widest intergovernmental and interparliamentary forum in Europe as of 1992.<sup>23</sup> This scope has been expanded to include formerly Soviet territories in Council activities early and eagerly. Reports on symposia and early projects include language along the lines of: "The participation of delegates from Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and the USSR was considered particularly gratifying."<sup>24</sup> From the Bruges symposium onwards the fall of the wall is credited as a watershed opportunity after which the attitudes in Europe towards the role and importance of history education have changed in favor of the Council. The Council of Europe describes this wave of renewed interest in the history curriculum enabling its practices to be extended and include Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>25</sup>

These three self-ascribed aspects of the Council of Europe; its long-time involvement in the educational politics, the (broad) humanitarian agenda, and flexible geographic scope are compiled in an argument for the Council's involvement in history education reform. That is, the Council of Europe occupies a *unique position* which would allow it to act towards integration more effectively than any other European institution. Unique too is so for that they operate without transference of any of the

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<sup>18</sup> Cajani, "History Teaching for the Unification of Europe," 290.

<sup>19</sup> Stobart, "The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe," 693.

<sup>20</sup> Council of Europe, "Vienna Declaration," 1

<sup>21</sup> As described by Stobart, The Council's work programme covers: human rights; media and communication; social and economic affairs; education; culture and sport; youth; health; the environment and regional planning; local democracy; and legal co-operation.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Stobart, 693.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 698.

<sup>25</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 7.

powers bestowed upon the state and hold no interest in national security – and thus remain politically unaffiliated; Solely interested in facilitating cooperation and understanding within Europe.<sup>26</sup> In an Appendix to the Declaration of Vienna it is noted that, “the Council of Europe created an international system for the protection of human rights which is unique of its kind.”<sup>27</sup> Whilst this does not refer to history education directly it is an example of the trend in policy discourse to describe the Council as leveraging its exceptional position for exceptional results. The distinguishing feature of the abovementioned ‘unique international system’ is discerned to be its achievement through willing cooperation and self-monitoring of members (as opposed to forceful coaxing or reluctantly through legal authority). Contracting States “*assume the obligation* to effectively protect human rights enshrined in the Convention and to *accept* international monitoring in this respect.”<sup>28</sup> In these early stages of policy discourse the Council optimistically aims for similar results in the instrumentalization of history education, with members willingly coopting history education towards European integration and harmony.<sup>29</sup>

The Council envisions in its policy discourse that it would assuming the role of a *broker*. Pursuing history education reform by connecting and bringing about partnerships and networks on an international level.<sup>30</sup> Whilst the term broker is not repeated after 1992 the theme of network building and facilitating second- or third-party action return throughout the period. A great deal of Council effort was dedicated to connecting with other European (Union) initiatives and supporting NGO’s.<sup>31</sup> These relations would be tasked with practical execution and spreading the Council agenda. In a seminar on the topic they were described as, “important sources of information and advice, and they also act as effective relays for the dissemination of the results of the Council of Europe’s work.”<sup>32</sup> The Council of Europe itself would also serve as a haven for research and knowledge on the range and use of history education. Stobart claims to Council to be “an important source of information because - through its meetings, surveys and studies - it possesses a rich capital of shared experience, good practice, innovation and research.”<sup>33</sup> The role of NGOs in policy and policy-execution is an ongoing academic debate. They could serve Council discourse as a source of legitimacy and by removing the

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<sup>26</sup> Council of Europe, “Vienna Declaration,” 3; Stobart, “The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe,” 693.

<sup>27</sup> Council of Europe, “Vienna Declaration,” 4.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Stobart, 694; Council of Europe Publishing, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 5, 52.

<sup>30</sup> Stobart, 693–96.

<sup>31</sup> Stradling, “Mutual Understanding and the Teaching of European History: Challenges, Problems and Approaches,” 18, 49-50.

<sup>32</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 9–10.

<sup>33</sup> Stobart, “The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe,” 694.

Council from policy execution conserves the framework of neutrality.<sup>34</sup> The Council thus creates a narrative validating its involvement in history education reform with several framing devices, exemplified in an excerpt of the report on the 1994 *Symposium on History Teaching and European Awareness*:

These observations led to certain conclusion, some placing additional burden upon the Council of Europe, not only because of the fine, innovative record that it has already achieved but also because it stands out as a visible source of action above the preoccupations of individual States.<sup>35</sup>

First its unique position in the field because of the long-term involvement in educational politics and broad agenda and scope; and second its political neutrality obtained by lack of executive authority, non-concern for security, and capitalized on by adopting a broker role and NGO involvement.

### 2.2.2 the *New Europe*

The early frameworks of Council policy discourse are not limited to imaginings of the role the institution in history education reform, but also construct a framework for the socio-political European landscape history education would be used in. Similar to the language surrounding the Council position the European context is described as unique, communicated in several manners. Most prominently, first in the treatise of the changes affecting Europe as *dramatic*, and consequently through the framework of *the New Europe*. Both themes are established in the Bruges symposium and Stobart's publication, see par example their respective titles, and feature heavily in subsequent policy documents between 1992 and 1997.<sup>36</sup>

The Council does not refrain from referring to Central and Eastern European territories using Cold War legacies but avoids terminology that could imply the endurance of mistrust.<sup>37</sup> This was done by referring to Central and Eastern Europe going from USSR centered control to national level

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<sup>34</sup> Anton Verder, *NGO Involvement in International Governance and Policy: Sources of Legitimacy*, vol. 72, Nijhoff Law Specials, 2–9.

<sup>35</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, 63. As part of a report on the findings Symposium on "History Teaching and European Awareness," held in Delphi, Greece on May 1994.

<sup>36</sup> Stobart, "The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe," 2–3; Council of Europe, "Vienna Declaration," 1; Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 9; Gallagher, "History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers," 22.

<sup>37</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, 52; Barrett et al., "Developing Intercultural Competence through Education," 14.

governance and becoming receptiveness to Western European influences as dramatic. Stobart uses the term as follows: “As a result of the *dramatic* changes in Central and Eastern Europe (...),”<sup>38</sup> which is echoed almost verbatim in *Against Bias and Prejudice*<sup>39</sup> The repeated use of a dramatic framing emphasizes that the consequences of convergence between East and West is perceived as a radical break from all that has come before. Jurado finds a similar tendency of the Council to emphasize the distance between USSR domain and the current situation during its involvement in democratization in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>40</sup> Closely related is the description of this new situation as an historic point-of-interest. A watershed moment from which new possibilities and horizons have opened up. The Declaration of Vienna does not reverberate the wording of dramatic exactly, but it does at several instances refer to the ‘historic opportunities’ that stem from this shift; further implying that the shift itself is perceived carrying considerable consequences:

The end of the division of Europe offers an *historic opportunity* [*emphasis added*] to consolidate peace and stability on the continent. All our countries are committed to pluralist and parliamentary democracy, the indivisibility and universality of human rights, the rule of law and a common cultural heritage enriched by its diversity. Europe can thus become a vast area of democratic security.<sup>41</sup>

In this context history education is referred to by Council policy as the obvious means to steer the formation of the national identities the in former Soviet states, with the Council guiding towards good use of civic education through its role as broker and information platform.<sup>42</sup>

The quotation above further serves to illustrate another characteristic of policy in this period: The *language of positivity* the Council adopts referring to the European context.<sup>43</sup> This is not a feature exclusive to the discourse of the Council of Europe. Korostelina finds that optimistic forecasts of the future are a common feature of shared history projects.<sup>44</sup> Keating similarly includes a ‘Climate of Optimism’ as a central mechanism in her 1999 model of the relationship between citizenship and

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<sup>38</sup> Stobart, 693.

<sup>39</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, 7.

<sup>40</sup> Jurado, “Complying with European Standards of Minority Education,” 409.

<sup>41</sup> Vienna Declaration,” 1.

<sup>42</sup> Stobart, “The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe,” 696; Gallagher, “History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers,” 22.

<sup>43</sup> Stobart, 694; Council of Europe, “Vienna Declaration,” 1; Council for Cultural Cooperation, Council for Cultural Cooperation, 8, 49, 59, 62, 64, 67; Stradling, “Mutual Understanding and the Teaching of European History: Challenges, Problems and Approaches,” 1; Gallagher, 15, 21, 23, 51.

<sup>44</sup> Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 13.

education.<sup>45</sup> The hopes of the Council are set high, with these dramatic changes framed as the potential end the bilateral division within Europe and marking a move towards humanitarian values.

The positive policy discourse on the socio-political context of Europe is tied together in the terminology of the *New Europe*. Gallagher gives a working definition as follows:

In many parts of Europe, the lessons of that carnage have been learned, and the spirit of national hatred and rivalry has been replaced by a spirit of tolerance and economic co-operation. The 'New' Europe is a source of immense hope that a new type of society can be created based on democratic values and tolerance.<sup>46</sup>

For this he refers to the Declaration of Vienna rather than to Stobart, although the publishing of Stobart's document 'The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe,' and the under his leadership organized CoE symposium by the name 'History Teaching in the New Europe,' took place a year before the Vienna meeting.<sup>47</sup>

New Europe includes the narrative that moving from (Cold War) division to stability and peace has constituted a new baseline of normalcy. Council values are thus included in the 'natural state' of the New Europe.<sup>48</sup> An example on how this situation relates to history education is found in the conclusion of *Against Bias and Prejudice* where it is written that "the history teaching profession is being asked to assume great responsibilities. History teachers may not welcome the compliment, but they *cannot* refuse it."<sup>49</sup> The new European context becomes an inevitable order in which the humanistic and democratic shift and use of history education therein are universally supported and even natural.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Avril Keating, *Education for Citizenship in Europe: European Policies, National Adaptations and Young People's Attitudes*, Education, Economy and Society (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014), 52.

<sup>46</sup> Gallagher, 19.

<sup>47</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, 52; Stobart, 695.

<sup>48</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 8, 52; Gallagher, "History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers," 16.

<sup>49</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, 64.

<sup>50</sup> Stobart, "The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe," 695–97; Council of Europe, "Vienna Declaration," 1; Council for Cultural Cooperation, 8, 62, 64, 67; Gallagher, 16, 22.

### 2.2.3 Use of history education in the New Europe

This chapter discussed the discourse on the role of the Council in history education and the context in which history education would be used. Language surrounding the form of history education has thus far been absent. Whilst it was clear to the Council that history education would be used to spread its values and help construct the new shared European identity, what this proper use of history education looked like exactly is not clearly set out in the policy documents during most of the first period. This critique of non-specificity in use of history education was directed at the Council during symposia in 1995.<sup>51</sup> Especially the older member states, supposedly already committed to the Council values, received few recommendations on how to apply history education other than staying on course and learning more about their European neighbors within the context of the Council.<sup>52</sup> The needs of new members received more attention in policy documents, but other than facilitating the creation of new national identities, without policy recommendation on history education practice these demands were to become more like the older members.<sup>53</sup> Counter to what the New Europe framework would suggest, this would resemble development along a one-way-street much more than through mutual convergence. In that case the new order would indeed be determined by, as laid out in the conclusion of the 1991 Brugge Symposium, "tasks not so much new as vaster."<sup>54</sup>

Two levels of objectives of history education use were identified in Council of Europe discourse. First, an aim of history education directly preventing misuse by others and imbuing students with certain academic competencies. Second, the overarching objective of imposing the Council ideology and promoting European integration. These objectives are closely connected, with the former standing in service of the latter. However, especially near the end of this period framing the practical use of history use tends not to be explicitly connected to larger Council values. Gallagher, author of the last text discussed in this period, does this most. He sets out several skills and aptitudes pupils should take away from history education; under which awareness of and ability to deal with a range of historical evidence, and an understanding of key concepts of history.<sup>55</sup> This is part of what he calls the *process approach*, further founded on the principle that students of history should be challenged to think

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<sup>51</sup> Stradling, 18.

<sup>52</sup> Jurado, "Complying with European Standards of Minority Education," 408.

<sup>53</sup> Stobart, 694–95; Gallagher, 34; Council of Europe, "Vienna Declaration," 1; Stradling, 23.

<sup>54</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, 52.

"The discussions brought out the variety of points of view and sharpened the participants' perception of the situation of both history and its reaching in European countries. The Brugge Symposium is therefore not an end result, but a starting point for co-ordination exchanges and efforts on a much wider basis than in the past. Now the whole of Europe is participating in tasks not so much new as vaster."

<sup>55</sup> Gallagher, "History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers," 34.

critically, derive their own understanding from a variety of sources and become constructively skeptical to imposed historical narratives.<sup>56</sup>

Gallagher find the risk of manipulation through history education greatest where ‘emerging identities’ are still uncertain and under contention.<sup>57</sup> These emerging identities refer primarily to the national identities in the former Soviet states, but following the New Europe discourse all of Europe was engaged in a conversation on the emergent European identity supported by the Council. The process approach in the New Europe context framed academic skills as part of the European-community building potential of history education. Gallagher summarizes as follows:

In these closing years of the 20th Century, the debate involves consideration of the values and attitudes which education in general should be promoting and the potential contribution of history teaching towards the goal of creating a more tolerant and democratic society.<sup>58</sup>

In this period of Council policy discourse the proper use of history education is inseparably bound to the integrational agenda. History education should be used to conceive a shared European identity and “common responses for the challenges faced within Europe.”<sup>59</sup> In discussion of history education and formation of a European identity the Council refers to a common European heritage, in line with more traditional approaches to Euro-centric education.<sup>60</sup> Many “fundamental freedoms” included in the European identity such as human rights are framed to have been discovered in the historical process in Europe and therefore be spread fostered in society at large.<sup>61</sup>

#### **2.2.4 New Europe on the History / Memory matrix**

Whilst there are elements of disciplinary practice of history present in policy discourse of the *process approach* these do not stand as objectives in-and-of themselves, but in service of forming a European community along the lines of its ideological agenda. The function of education reform was in this period of Council policy discourse primarily framed as a means to guide the construction of a European community in the New Europe context. This chapter thus finds that the Council approach to history education during this period can be located under the category of memory practices. Memory practice

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<sup>56</sup> Gallagher, 18.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>59</sup> Stobart, “The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe,” 693.

<sup>60</sup> Pingel, “History as a Project of the Future,” 155–56.

<sup>61</sup> Stobart, “The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe,” 693.

of history education, paraphrasing Seixas, serve to affirm community ties, collective identities and common foes and thrive on preservation and enhancement.<sup>62</sup> Without policy recommendations setting out a method beyond the broad ‘inclusion of European elements’ in the history curriculum the Council’s proposed use of history inevitably influences students of history to identify more strongly with Europe. The discursive themes of re-building Europe from a blank slate, the inevitability and naturalness of Council values included in the language of positivity, inclusion of new members in existing Council practices (making tasks vaster), and values found in European historical process all count towards this description.

The question remains of who and what are framed as threatening the Council’s vision of the New Europe – a common foe. Following the theory of educational politics, the consideration of other interests in discourse invokes the element of contention of agendas.<sup>63</sup> The issue of Council of Europe propagating its own agenda to the possible detriment other interests is raised in 1994. The segment below defends the memory practice in this period through a careful choice of wording and confirms the validity of the Council’s position – ‘may be accused’ and ‘even though for the best of reasons’ being examples of this: “Although there is a risk that the Council of Europe may be accused of social engineering, even though for the best of reasons, we must not be deterred from our effort to see that history teaching reflects the positive values in which liberal democratic societies believe. (...)”<sup>64</sup> Whilst not explicitly framed as such in the assessed documents, academic literature points at state history as the opposing (history) education innovators.<sup>65</sup> Terminology affiliated to ‘social engineering’ was encountered during research, but this is the only instance of it being used in reference to Council practices. In all other cases it referred to opposing interests. Manipulation (of history) is mentioned as a continuing process in national curricula, and ‘political manipulation’ in the Bruges symposium as a danger for history educators.<sup>66</sup> Recommendations of an Council affiliate NGO included in the *Against Bias and Prejudice* links a decline of the status of history education over the last twenty years to misuse practices for political and social purposes.<sup>67</sup> This latter statement stands in stark contrast to the overall narrative of positivity and renewed interest in history encountered throughout the rest of policy discourse.

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<sup>62</sup> Seixas, “History in Schools,” 274.

<sup>63</sup> Edwards et al., *Rhetoric and Educational Discourse*, 2–4.

<sup>64</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 64.

<sup>65</sup> Keating et al., “Citizenship Education Curricula,” 146; Grever and Stuurman, *Beyond the Canon*, 1; Lässig and Korostelina, “Introduction,” 1–2.

<sup>66</sup> Gallagher, “History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers,” 23; Council for Cultural Cooperation, 49.

<sup>67</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, 61.



Misuse of history education is framed not solely as antithetical to the values of the Council of Europe, but also to the values shared within European society. Equating the ideology held by the Council to that of European society is a powerful discursive framework included in the narrative of universal support for the Council within the New Europe. This would imply opposition to Council values to be ‘un-European.’<sup>68</sup> This practice is more typical of the first half of the period. The declaration of Vienna after declaring the Council member commitment to ‘natural’ liberal values warns:

This [New] Europe is a source of immense hope which must in no event be destroyed by territorial ambitions, the resurgence of aggressive nationalism, the perpetuation of spheres of influence, intolerance or totalitarian ideologies. We condemn all such *aberrations* [*emphasis added*]. They are plunging peoples of former Yugoslavia into hatred and war and threatening other regions. We call upon the leaders of these peoples to put an end to their conflicts. We invite these peoples to join us in constructing and consolidating the new Europe. (...) <sup>69</sup>

The natural order of liberal democracy comes to the fore through use of the term ‘aberration’. The quotation above continues in an illustration of dangers of misuse, the themes of memory practice, and the importance of the Council role to be perceived as neutral in order to retain the legitimacy of its involvement in history education:

(...) History can so easily be abuse to sanction or even promote racial, religious or cultural prejudice hatred and violence. We have to ensure that, in contrast, it is a vehicle for civilized behaviour and values. Indeed, we have to be able to devise recommendations in such an open and balanced way that we cannot be accused of favouring any political party or faction or any mere theoretical fad or fashion. That is our challenge.<sup>70</sup>

Later in the period Gallagher (1996) dedicates several paragraphs to the timeline of history education use. According to this timeline, in the late 19th early 20th century nationalistic forces led the way instrumentalizing the political and socializing potential of civic education for “legitimizing their authority and developing loyal citizens,”<sup>71</sup> His text relays a fitting narrative under the paragraph title

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<sup>68</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 64.

<sup>69</sup> Council of Europe, “Vienna Declaration,” 1.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Gallagher, “History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers,” 16.

‘the resurgence of nationalism in Eastern Europe’: “1989 was the finest hour of East European nationalism, when the *natural* desire for liberation was expressed through a reassertion of national identity. At the point of revolution this threatened nobody except the existing power structures, and for a short time it created an unimaginably warm sense of community that extended beyond national barriers. (...) Although the revolutions began as beacons of piercing sharp light, they have become dull, almost invisible glows behind the dark cloud of nationalist intolerance whose shadow swamps the region’s history. In one country, Yugoslavia, the collapse of communist power was accelerated by nationalist conflict. To dismiss the threat of nationalism in Eastern Europe is to be lulled into a dreamy world of European integration”<sup>72</sup> There is little positivity set aside for nationalism in policy discourse outside of its role in ending the Cold War, with language condemning it more directly later in the period. Over time policy discourse starts to frame nationalism it as prone to misuse of history education, emphasizing the threat to newer members from East and Central Europe.<sup>73</sup>

### 2.3 Conclusion

The branch of the Council of Europe that is concerned with reforming education did so relatively unbothered by the larger organization at this time. In service of the greater objectives – but within its own context and action-logic. In policy discourse history education reform so becomes simultaneously framed as subsidiary to a greater ideological value of the Council and as a goal in-and-of itself. But even in policy primarily occupied with history education the greater pursuits of the Council of Europe take center stage. Over the course of the first period history education becomes framed more as an instrument in the arsenal of the Council of Europe to be utilized for the formation of a European community, if not a European identity.

Whilst there are elements of disciplinary practices present in the policy discourse of this period the Councils main objectives in using history education can be filed under memory practices; building a European community, creating a European identity. In its pursuits the Council competes primarily with the state interest. Early in the period policy language surrounding state actors remains positive, due to the prospect of creating new democracies in emerging states and ascribing nationalism in these countries a large role in breaking up the USSR and ending the Cold War. Over the course of the period

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<sup>72</sup> Gallagher, 22. Quoting BBC correspondent Misha Glenny.

<sup>73</sup> Council of Europe, “Vienna Declaration,” 1; Council for Cultural Cooperation, 11, 63; Gallagher, 17, 21–23.

this shifts towards a harder attitude more in line with the prevailing positions in academia where education innovators are perceived in opposition with national agendas.<sup>74</sup>

The concept of a New Europe is *the* defining aspect of Council of Europe policy discourse in this period. It is typified by a language of optimism about the future of Europe, and a framework of Europeanization and the role the Council of Europe will play therein as natural and self-evidencing. The outcome of this policy discourse would be deserving of the title of a New Europe. Not only by virtue of the Council of Europe's vision of unity in a continent which in the past "most of the time (...) has been characterized by its divisions,"<sup>75</sup> but also a radical cutoff from the preexisting conceptualizations of integrational forces which generally hold (North)Western European institutions having the upper hand in steering the development of discourse. A progressive message of a holistic coming together of Europe in which Eastern and Central Europe states have as much of a part to play as the West can thus be recognized in the language employed by the Council.<sup>76</sup> The possibility of a pan-European vision is reflected in the repeated use of *historic-* or *key moments*. If ever the possibility was there, it is now. Brought about by this *dramatic* socio-political paradigm shift at the end of the Cold War. But imbedded in policy discourse are also themes that run counter to this. A new Europe might not be based on shifts as bilateral as interpretation would have justified. Systematically the dramatic change is described as taken place solely in Central and Eastern Europe as opposed to Europe as a whole, with Western Europe would be retaining the status-quo and set the baseline for normalcy.

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<sup>74</sup> Maria Grever & Siep Stuurman, *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Stradling, "Mutual Understanding" 9.

<sup>76</sup> Keating et al., "Citizenship Education Curricula," 145–46.

## Chapter 3: The Council of Europe and Multiperspectivity (1997-2003)

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In the middle of the 1990s the Council of Europe policy introduced what would become its preferred method of instructing history. This method was at first labelled the process approach or active- and explanation-seeking method. After 1997 the methodology would widely come to be referred to as *multiperspectivity*. In essence, multiperspectivity is the incorporation of academic elements such as sourced based inquiry into the history curriculum. Rather than being taught a “simplistic” version of historic events as was the case in traditional methods of history education, students were introduced to a multitude of sources stemming from different viewpoints. By studying these different perspectives students should come to their own conclusions on the course of history, learn to place events in a larger context and acquire academic skills such as critical thinking and analytical assessment.<sup>1</sup> Through this, students would increase their understanding of other European communities, resulting ultimately into a more tolerant and harmonious society.<sup>2</sup> In the eyes of the Council inclusion of academic elements in the history curriculum so stands in service of the greater objective of European integration.<sup>3</sup>

Naturally, this only serves as a limited description of multiperspectivity. This chapter will delve into the language of multiperspectivity policy discourse as both a continuation of and as a shift away from the New Europe discourse of the early 90s. To place the formation of multiperspectivity in its context the chapter starts with a briefly review of earlier Council methodologies and the integrational developments in European education outside of Council policy discourse. Analysis hones in on the language of multiperspectivity and its proposed use in school- and academic history, and subsequently assesses how having a defined methodology affected the Council framing of European educational politics and its relations therein. This latter part of the analysis will specifically look at the Council’s operationalization of history education misuse, and its relation with the history educator and state interest between 1997 and 2003. Finally, the approach presented by the Council in this period will be located on the History/Memory matrix, allowing assessment of how its policy discourse on use and misuse of history education developed since the last period.

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Seixas, “History in Schools,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, ed. Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 276; Ann Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1997), 35, 54; Robert Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers* (Germany: Council of Europe Publishing, 2003), 13.

<sup>2</sup> Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Stradling, 14; Tatiana Minkina-Milko, “Teaching and Learning History for Strengthening Reconciliation and the Peace-Building Process: Experience of the Council of Europe,” in *Rethinking Education for Social Cohesion*, ed. Maha Shuayb (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012), 16.

This Chapter thus adopts a twofold approach, looking first at how multiperspectivity developed, and second how once developed this affected the Council discourse of proper use and misuse of history. This chapter will so attempt to answer:

*How did the development of multiperspectivity affect Council of Europe policy discourse on use and misuse of history education between 1997 and 2003?*

### **3.1 Context – moving beyond the history textbook**

Development of multiperspectivity started for several reasons. By 1996 the ideological framework based on fostering humanistic values and European solidarity was well established. This was identified in the last chapter as part of New Europe discourse. But crucially, a uniform and multi-deployable approach through which the Council could integrate this framework into history education was still missing from its policy repertoire, as a result its policy recommendations for the use of history had thus far stayed rather non-specific.<sup>4</sup> A key obstacle encountered in coming to such an approach was that the Council had to balance the advancement of its values with retaining its image of neutrality and bipartisanism. A Euro-centric approach would either be taught in addition to state-centered history or replace it.<sup>5</sup> Adding a European dimension on top of the national one ran the risk of adding too much content to an already overcrowded history curriculum. A maxim repeated by the Council and its affiliated institutions was, “there is too much history per square kilometer.”<sup>6</sup> Moreover, research found that projects attempting this balancing act even as late as 1992 tended to majorly neglect Eastern European and smaller countries in favor of the West.<sup>7</sup> The Council had in the past experimented with fully replacing National narratives in shared history textbooks, which garnered equally little success and were never approved for classroom use.<sup>8</sup> Directly substituting state narratives ran the risk of antagonizing national governments against the Council cause. Shared

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<sup>4</sup> Keating, Ortloff, and Philippou, “Citizenship Education Curricula,” 148; Jurado, “Complying with European Standards of Minority Education,” 408.

<sup>5</sup> Pingel, “History as a Project of the Future,” 158.

<sup>6</sup> Joke Van Der Leeuw-Roord, “An Overview of the Way in Which the History of the 20th Century is Presented in Curricula in Some European Countries,” in *The Reform of the Curricula for Teaching 20th-Century History in Secondary Schools* (The Hague, Netherlands: EuroClio, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> Van Der Leeuw-Roord, 21; Pingel, 159.

<sup>8</sup> Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 4–5.

textbook projects had all been dead in the water and for a while in the 80s and early 90s international organizations recoiled from such endeavors.<sup>9</sup>

A barrier preventing effective competition with state authority over the history curriculum was the lack of a supporting institutional framework. Even halfway through the 1990s European educational policy had not yet developed the institutions and cooperative practices that set the standard today. Pépin identifies the launch of the Lisbon Strategy, which served as a development plan for the European Union from 2000 onwards, as the moment whereafter “for the first time, education was considered a key factor in the implementation of the EU economic and social objectives.” And where for Europe-oriented education “a real change of perspectives and expectations for concrete actions will emerge.”<sup>10</sup> Whilst the Council of Europe has never been confined to the scope of the European Union and had been pioneering cooperation in European education for decades, these developments served its purposes well. An earlier document originating from the Union, the Maastricht Treaty, had done much to shore up the legal basis for Council operations after the fall of the wall. Where before voluntary cooperation hinged on the drawing power of the Council’s statutes and reputation, the adoption of Maastricht Treaty Article 126, explicitly mentioning the Council of Europe by name, proved fruitful in securing work programmes and codifying the scope of Council budget and activities.<sup>11</sup> This is one of the elements that enabled the Council to push its aspirations and agenda more decisively into mainstream discussion during this period.<sup>12</sup> Whilst the Council was getting to grips with the new geopolitical context and developing its New Europe discourse in the first half on the 90s, parallel processes promoting European integration were taking place. Although not much discussed in Council policy discourse, these external developments are just as important as internal circumstances to explain why and how the Council was now able to draw up its methodology.

Once both external framework and internal discourse were in place the Council could start to develop multiperspectivity. This process had already set in motion before 1997; the term is first encountered in the reports of early Council symposiums. However, accounts from before 1997 were

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<sup>9</sup> Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, “A Common Textbook for Europe: Utopia or a Crucial Challenge?,” in *Geschichtslernen — Innovationen Und Reflexionen*, ed. Jan-Patrick Bauer, Johannes Meyer-Hamme, and Andreas Körber, Reihe Geschichtswissenschaft (Herbolzheim: Centaurus Verlag & Media, 2008), 1.

<sup>10</sup> Luce Pépin, “The History of EU Cooperation in the Field of Education and Training: How Lifelong Learning Became a Strategic Objective,” *European Journal of Education* 42, no. 1 (2007): 121.

<sup>11</sup> Council of the European Communities and Commission of the European Communities, “Treaty on European Union” (Maastricht: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992), 47: Chapter III Art 126, par III: “The Community and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organizations in the field of education, in particular the Council of Europe.”

<sup>12</sup> Keating et al., “Citizenship Education Curricula,” 148–49.

without much clarity of form and function of the method.<sup>13</sup> Even in Gallagher's 1996 Handbook for Teachers descriptions an approach incorporating academic activities stay rather generic and neither the term multiperspectivity nor a consistent alternative label is applied.<sup>14</sup> In contrast multiperspectivity is *the* established and preferred method adopted by Council going forward in the writings of Anne Low-Bear in 1997: "'Multi-perspectivity' is a concept which has increasingly been used at Council of Europe conferences to describe a way of learning history and a particular kind of approach to the content of the curriculum."<sup>15</sup> From then on multiperspectivity gets dedicated chapters and a fully realized operationalization in Council documents. With this Council policy introduces the topic to the outside world with aimed deliberation, marking the beginning of our second period.

### 3.2 Analysis

There is much overlap between the language and themes of Council policy before and after 1997. Establishing the legitimacy of the Council's acting within the field for example, relies similar framing devices; long-term involvement, a unique position of neutrality, etcetera. In those cases the discourse developed in the first half of the 90s is now used as a shorthand for Council legitimacy, oftentimes directly referring to earlier texts. Narration of the socio-political events around 1990 as 'dramatic' also subsists, albeit not using the exact same terminology. The dramatic changes still make it that "governments as well as teachers and curriculum planners, became much more concerned with the history taught in schools than at any time since the founding of the Council of Europe." The Council makes a deliberate effort to come to a keener awareness of its own discourse and position within educational politics, streamlining earlier discourse by *distilling* and *summarizing* on many of the previously reported themes. The following excerpt is an example of the very direct and pressing attention the Council now paid to matters of terminology and framing. In this case related to the operationalization of *misuse*:

Another seminar noted that the distinction between national and nationalistic history could lie in terminology: the language of what is meant by, 'the nation', or 'minorities', can be important. Should teachers use words like 'we' and 'us' and 'them' in history?<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 63.

<sup>14</sup> Gallagher, "History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers," 51–52.

<sup>15</sup> Low-Bear, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 54.

<sup>16</sup> Low-Bear, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 39.

Having witnessed the political developments of the early 90s play out in real time and becoming increasingly aware of its own language, the Council introduces a level of nuance into discourse that was absent in the grand and positive statements associated with the New Europe discourse. A statement such as, “there has been a growing interest towards teaching some European and world history in its own right,” now comes supplemented by the line “by no means universal across Europe as yet.”<sup>17</sup> Difficulties of applying policy are also recognized more acutely. Especially the inadequacies of previous methods and the dominance of national governments in curriculum formation get a lot of attention.<sup>18</sup>

The Council acknowledges a high barrier of entry when it comes to competing with national historical narratives. This is not just because of the entrenched position of state governments in curriculum formation, but also because the relatively abstract nature of ‘the European’ can lead to discrepancies in perceptions and expectations of what this entails. Research reflecting on development of European higher education finds that people still primarily define themselves by ethnicity and nationality, and interpret Europe according to this position.<sup>19</sup> The Council of Europe reaches a similar conclusion and the dominance of the national element in people's points-of-reference is framed as an obstacle for European integration throughout the discourse of this period. This relation between Council and state level stands in contrast to the more optimistic conceptualization within (especially early) New Europe discourse, which held that an implied ideological binding power would overcome such differences. It was no longer enough for the Council to merely talk about cooperation within a European framework, but integrational efforts had to be supplemented by more concise frameworks of action – validating the discursive focus on methodologies.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.2.1 Multiperspectivity & academic history

Council policy refers to intense public debate on the content and methods of history education.<sup>21</sup> From 1991 onward the CoE funded and organized a multitude of conferences on the topic, bringing together many involved with the history curriculum. At first these mainly served to crowdsource a discourse on the European context and the possibilities therein, but over time the issue of current historical

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<sup>17</sup> Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Gasper and Apthorpe, “Introduction,” 6.

<sup>19</sup> Pingel, “History as a Project of the Future,” 165; Pabian, “Europeanisation of Higher Education Governance in the Post-Communist Context,” 259–63.

<sup>20</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Strasbourg: Second Summit of Heads of State and Government” (Council of Europe Publishing, 1997), 2.

<sup>21</sup> Council of Europe, 2.



perspectives and curriculums as truncated into East and West and along National lines became increasingly emphasized. A recurring conclusion of symposia was that the Cold War had divided the continent not only geographically, but also mentally – underlining not only the after-effects of this divide in socio-political conceptions but also the persistence of these imaginations in “simplified” schoolbook narratives.<sup>22</sup> Reimagining history textbooks was an activity which the Council had practiced since its founding without ever finding much lasting success.<sup>23</sup> The reasons given by the Council for the failure of attempts to introduce a European canon in history textbooks is generally in line with academic work. Those reasons being first, a saturated curriculum with too much to focus on and schools not dedicating enough time to history classes – especially when European elements are considered in addition to the already in place national narrative; second the absence of institutional support to drive these changes through; and ultimately, endeavors suffered from the lack of methodological uniformity.<sup>24</sup> Even when presented with tangible points of shared European history, the interpretation and contextualization of said points differed drastically per region, leadership agenda, and even classroom.<sup>25</sup> After the 90s, the Council would once again come to portray textbook development as an inevitable tool. Especially as a means of reform in formerly communist territories. “In some countries, such as the Russian Federation, *it was necessary* to develop new history curricula and textbooks which would reflect the complexity of cultures, ethnic groups and religions to be found within their borders.”<sup>26</sup> But before that happened the dominant framing held that rewriting history textbooks had been too broad an approach, and reconceptualizing the form of proper use of history education was in order.<sup>27</sup>

Today history textbooks are changing. Earlier books were predominantly authoritative narrative. Now there is a movement towards reducing the amount of narrative and increasing work based on a selection of historical source material.<sup>28</sup>

The above quotation from Ann Low-Beer’s 1997 publication sets the tone. Direct competition with other ‘memory practices’ had proven ineffective. The barriers of entry proved too high for a Europe-centered mnemonic approach to counter nationally controlled conventional historical narratives. This

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<sup>22</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 18.

<sup>23</sup> Keating et al., “Citizenship Education Curricula,” 148–49.

<sup>24</sup> Pingel, “History as a Project of the Future,” 157.

<sup>25</sup> Keating, et al., 152–53.

<sup>26</sup> Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, 12.

<sup>27</sup> Low-Beer, 8.

<sup>28</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 8.

strategy was further impeded by the Council's need to retain its reputation as a 'neutral' actor within educational politics.<sup>29</sup> To get away from political interests the Council of Europe started to break down history practices into three types: Academic history, school history and popular history.

The Council definition of academic history corresponds with what Seixas' definition of disciplinary history practice; meant to continuously question, reinterpret, and work methodologically on historical narratives.<sup>30</sup> After 1997 the Council starts framing academic objectives as the main purpose of history: "The purpose of history is not primarily to generate emotion but to analyse and assess the evidence and then come to conclusions about what it can tell us about past events."<sup>31</sup> This is in line with Seixas' description of the disciplinary history curriculum; where the programme-maker tends to downplay the intended 'present use' of history education – shaping students' identities.<sup>32</sup> In the case of the Council this entailed shifting attention away from its aim of fostering a European identity.

This change in attitude shows in the Council description of school history. This type of history serves as the main battleground of educational politics. The main reason for Council involvement in history education is that it wishes school history to reflect the institutions values.<sup>33</sup> In this period however, the Council refers little to its own intent to build a community, instead framing its interest in school history as increased use of academic practices: "School history is expected to do two things, especially with older pupils. It should teach proper academic skills and method, and produce pupils who can be thoughtful and critical. But secondly, it is asked to be constructive, to authenticate and deepen national consciousness through historical education."<sup>34</sup> This quote illustrates the absence of Council's own interest in the community building function of school history in its policy discourse. Memory practices are instead described as exclusively used to foster *national* consciousnesses. The Council further describes that school history is the main arena where political agendas compete because it forms an official history of sorts. An important frame-of-reference for citizens because it is in line with what the curriculum authorities wish to convey, whilst still "broadly acceptable by public opinion".<sup>35</sup>

'Acceptable to the public opinion' should not be confused with the third type of history; popular history. In the policy discourse of the Council, popular history relies on "events moved beyond

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<sup>29</sup> Keating, *Education for Citizenship in Europe*, 10.

<sup>30</sup> Seixas, "History in Schools," 276.

<sup>31</sup> Low-Beer, 30. Quoting from the report of a Council of Europe symposium held in Trondheim, Norway.

<sup>32</sup> Seixas, 276.

<sup>33</sup> Keating, *Education for Citizenship in Europe*, 146–47.

<sup>34</sup> Low-Beer, 41.

<sup>35</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 38.

the historic.” That is, loosely drawn from historic realities but in essence only a dramatic interpretation. This can take shape in ceremonies or romanticized stories which are supposed to conjure up myth, beliefs and emotions in their current (national) setting. Analysis found a strong theme linking popular history firmly to national history and national identity.<sup>36</sup> Contrastingly, popular history is explicitly framed to be distinct from academic history, and in ideal cases school history.<sup>37</sup> The Council hinges its argument that the common and national conceptions of history are connected on the presence of (nationalist) symbology and symbolic practices in popular history practice.<sup>38</sup> Wearing a faux Viking outfit in the spirit of Swedish patriotism for example. All in-text illustrations of popular history similarly framed to serve “triumphant nationalism”, and are subsequently debunked by the Council as misleading, falsifying, and romanticizing history.<sup>39</sup> The Council so distances itself from national narratives and inserts itself, academic history and multiperspectivity contrasting to “life practices” of history.<sup>40</sup>

The framing of dramatic interpretations of history as anachronistic to academic practice can be justified using academic literature, but the framing surrounding the Council’s ‘ideal’ school history not so much. Many authors have described the use of symbolic imagery in the history curriculum not as optional, but as inherent. Especially in traditional approaches to school history, nation-building elements such as a foundation myth, a common ancestor or the significance of the national colors occupy a central role in the curriculum.<sup>41</sup> Davies, Evans and Reid for example note that in the 18th and 19th centuries popular conception of history was supposed to mirror the (national) narratives conveyed in citizenship education. School history was then specifically geared towards consolidating the state, historical reality notwithstanding.<sup>42</sup> But these practices are not exclusive to centuries past. Seixas and Grever both point at the formulation of a historic canon in the Netherlands and elsewhere in 2005 as a deliberate move instrumentalizing the history curriculum for consolidation and guidance

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<sup>36</sup> Low-Beer, 29, 37–38; Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 102; Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, 43.

<sup>37</sup> Low-Beer, 29, 70; Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 16.

<sup>38</sup> Low-Beer, 2-30; Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 16; Davies, Evans, and Reid, “Globalising Citizenship Education?,” 78–79.

<sup>39</sup> Low-Beer, 30.

<sup>40</sup> Seixas, “History in Schools,” 274.

<sup>41</sup> Joke Van Der Leeuw-Roord, “Working With History : National Identity as a Focal Point in European History Education.,” *History Education Research Journal* 1, no. 1 (December 1, 2000): 2–4.; Stefan Berger, “The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe,” in *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, ed. Stefan Berger (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2007), 30–31.; Stefan Berger, “On the Role of Myths and History in the Construction of National Identity in Modern Europe,” *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (July 1, 2009): 490–97; Christopher MacMahon, *Creating National Symbology* (Camarillo (CA), USA: California State University Publishing, 2015), 1–11.

<sup>42</sup> Davies, Evans, and Reid, “Globalising Citizenship Education?,” 68.

of (re-)imagined national identity. Bringing forwards ‘national’ chronology and symbology into the public consciousness. In doing so this canon coopts eras in which historical reality does not reflect the current socio-political Netherlands, and any sense of nationalist spirit had not been conceived of.<sup>43</sup>

By adopting the school-, academic- popular history framework in its policy discourse the Council attempts to distance itself from the community forming function of school history, instead relegating memory practices as done solely by national agencies and framing their own interest as in exclusively academic practice. The distinction between these three types of history is not so clear-cut in academic debate. Both school and popular history are (traditionally) steeped in symbolism, and all three types are colored by national perspectives. Even academic history carries many biases towards nation-centered practice – a much debated topic in scholarly circles as it affects the reliability of older academic work.<sup>44</sup>

The Council separating historical myth from its history curriculum and emphasizing the role of academic practice marks a shift in discourse on the use of history. Previously the Council emphasized the use of history towards a united Europe as the main objective in its policy. Now the organizations objective banks on multiperspectivity to introduce academic elements into school history. Proper use is framed as non-biased practice. However, multiperspectivity can still push the integrational agenda forward by fostering more understanding within Europe and by countering existing practices of pro-national narratives presented by state actors. Multiperspectivity would facilitate this by presenting students with many different viewpoints in addition to the national perspective, including those of outsiders and minorities. The academic skills obtained through multiperspectivity, serve to make student aware of biased practice. Multiperspectivity so becomes associated with the removal of bias and ideological manipulation in history.

To account for the increase in workload multiperspectivity presents history not chronologically, but along certain themes and topics that hold value in the eyes of the Council.<sup>45</sup> Thus tracking the development of current European issues, cross-national linkages, and ‘key’ historical questions from multiple angles.<sup>46</sup> Stradling identifies these key questions as to do with quality of peoples’ lives; having big consequences; and being anomalous. The latter referring to black swan events, deviating from the standard pattern and impacting the development of history in a major way. These would include

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<sup>43</sup> Seixas, “Who Needs a Canon?,” in *Beyond the Canon*, 19; Grever, “Plurality, Narrative and the Historical Canon,” in *Beyond the Canon*, 31–34.

<sup>44</sup> Edward Herbert Dance, *History the Betrayer: A Study in Bias*, 1964. 162.

<sup>45</sup> Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*; Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*.

<sup>46</sup> Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 38–40.

trigger-events and countertrends to significant historical processes. Examples of anomalies presented in policy documents fit neatly in the Council's humanist playbook such as the collapse of democracies in the 1920s and -30s, and 20th century decolonization.<sup>47</sup> Regardless of Council framing as purely academic there are thus elements promoting the European agenda present in multiperspectivity. The Council hopes that by comparing different perspectives surrounding these themes students would develop a sense of other European cultures and hopefully even a shared European consciousness.<sup>48</sup> It is so implied in policy discourse that pupils by thinking critically and assessing multiple perspectives would arrive at the values of the Council. Values and sense of community communicated in this way are framed as inherently different than from those imbued through memory practices as they would be obtained through academic reasoning rather than deliberately forced on students by curriculum makers.<sup>49</sup> The Council would so undermine the vested (national) interests in the field of educational politics without having to rely on propagating practices itself.

Although admittedly ambitious, the Council would ideally restructure the whole curriculum centering around these themes and practices, but towards the end of the period policy finds that adoption of elements of multiperspectivity where possible is a more obtainable goal.<sup>50</sup> The policy discourse on multiperspectivity promises much and the effectiveness and form of the method are not academically substantiated in policy publications of this period. Understandably many national governments were not as convinced.

### 3.2.2 Misuse & National bias

Where before this period, Europe-centered textbooks and methods directly applying memory practices to foster harmony in European were still considered appropriate use of history, this is no longer the case in the policy discourse surrounding multiperspectivity. Instead, the history curriculum should be set to avoid memory practice altogether through the inclusion of academic practice. Students would come to embody Council values through an organic process of critical thought and discard stereotypes and negative attitudes as they encounter the perspectives of 'the other' in Europe. State agencies are portrayed as potential perpetrators of misusing history educations, relying on memory practice to consolidate national identities. 'Nationalism' is framed to be the dominant motivation force for misuse practices in history education and thus the main barrier to Council

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<sup>47</sup> Stradling, 41–42.

<sup>48</sup> Council of Europe, "Declaration of Strasbourg," 2.

<sup>49</sup> Pingel, "History as a Project of the Future," 169.

<sup>50</sup> Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 23, 30, 87; Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, 59–60.

objectives. Throughout the period descriptions of nationalism range from a potentially problematic but inevitable aspect of history education, to unapologetically dangerous and unwanted. In any case the presence of nationalism justifies and institutionalizes entrenched memory practices in history education.<sup>51</sup>

Counter to the hopes conveyed in the New Europe discourse the National element has proven to be a growing threat to Council intentions, and policy discourse in this period contains the theme of the national elements becoming more prominent in history education (once again).<sup>52</sup> This national element is referred to explicitly as the national interest, or more implicitly as “those on the official level” and “those responsible for developing syllabuses and ministry guidelines.” The main reason named by the Council as to why national governments tend to drift to misuse practices is the presence *National Bias* in the political agenda.<sup>53</sup> Low-Beer notes that within all practice of history “the most familiar kind of bias is bias due to national prejudice or ignorance,” and that “because it is usually unconscious, such bias easily crosses the thin line between history and propaganda.”<sup>54</sup> Council discourse holds that national bias, whether-or-not applied deliberately, distorts the image of a national system and culture as better than that of others. This is not held as merely a possibility but as inherent to its nature. Stradling interpretes the link between national bias and misuse of history education as follows:

Typically there is a tendency to present the nation’s history as if it were a seamless continuity linking the present to a long-distant past. Any historical discontinuities are presented as aberrations. The uniqueness of the nation is emphasised rather than the heritage which it shares with others. Homogeneity (of people, culture, language and heritage) is emphasised and cultural and ethnic diversity is overlooked. There also tends to be a strong focus on conflicts – both those which highlight glorious victories and those which justify continued fear.<sup>55</sup>

History founded in historical bias is framed in direct opposition to multiperspectival practices. Whilst both promote a continuity, the one on the national level the other on a European scope,

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<sup>51</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 28; Council of Europe, “Declaration of Strasbourg”; Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 11.

<sup>52</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 28.

<sup>53</sup> Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 11.

<sup>54</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 13.

<sup>55</sup> Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 140.

multiperspectivity would not be taught as a continuous narrative but as interdependent trends with emphasis on discontinuities. Rather than proving European exceptionalism, shared European heritage and experience would be valued through the cultural diversity and different perspectives within.<sup>56</sup>

By linking multiperspectivity solely to academic practice the Council comes to an operationalization of misuse as – history used to distort the image of a social system through national bias. This ‘distorted history’ so becomes not only opposed to the Council perspective, but also to truth-seeking academic practice. This plays into scholarly findings, such as Seixas’ observation that in most of the 20th century nation building has called for overtly partisan mythologizing to the detriment of academic practice and skill attainment in the classroom.<sup>57</sup> The policy discourse of the Council references the *misleading* and *propagandistic* nature of presenting broad historical movements in a national perspective. Because of national bias history practiced by national institutions inherently carries propagandistic implications, whilst the Council practice – even those practices intended to foster a European community – are free of such. This leaves the CoE on moral high ground and in a position of nonpartisanship. Cajani identifies similar trends in Council discourse of using terminology of *propaganda* and defending against accusations of political manipulation going back to its founding.<sup>58</sup> He offers par exemple a Council text by founding Council member Edward Harbert Dance:

Our purpose is not to use history as propaganda for European unity, but to try to eliminate the traditional mistakes and prejudices and to establish the facts. It is especially necessary to avoid any interpretation of historical development which might be used in the particular interest of one state, or which might disturb the friendly relations between peoples. It would be desirable not to introduce into the past contemporary national antagonisms. On the contrary, one should emphasise that conflicts between states or between sovereigns did not necessarily involve the peoples themselves.<sup>59</sup>

The Council framing of propaganda differentiates between contentious versus harmonious and national versus apolitical practices, and assigns the latter of both to its own approach. By framing Council practice of history as driven by academic interest as opposed to national bias the arguably

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 25, 28; Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, 11; Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 77

<sup>57</sup> Seixas, “History in Schools,” 275–76.

<sup>58</sup> Cajani, “History Teaching for the Unification of Europe,” 291.

<sup>59</sup> Édouard Bruley and Edward Herbert Dance, *A History of Europe?* (Leyden: A.W. Sythoff, 1960), 76.

political act of instrumentalizing history education towards fostering a European community becomes depoliticized.

### 3.2.3 Teacher relations

The framework of academic practices in the Council's methodology of multiperspectivity defends against long standing accusations of propaganda which would undermine Council legitimacy. This argument further strengthened by the Council aligning itself with another actor in the educational politics of the history curriculum: The educator. In its previous policy discourse the Council cultivated and promoted an image of independence. However, Council participation in history education always closely involved other actors. One such group are the teachers of history. In the first period this panned out mostly through symposiums and meetings. These served initially take stock of possibilities and challenges of the history curriculum within the new European context. Many attendees of Brugge symposium in 1991, the Leeuwarden symposium in 1993 and several other discussions that proved pivotal in the initial establishment of Council discourse were history educators. Council language surrounding teachers and misuse of history in the first half of the 1990s was limited to warning educators for the dangers of 'political manipulation'.<sup>60</sup> But from the mid-90s onward the CoE enlisted educators more actively its policy. This relation evolved into a framing of natural alliance and even uniformity between Council and educator interest.<sup>61</sup>

Trends in discourse shifted from questioning and outlining the (potential) role of teachers within the field to strong declarations of educator support for the Council. These are statements such as, "the importance of national history has been repeatedly affirmed by teachers in Council of Europe meetings. Yet teachers are clearly aware that *'the step from national to nationalistic history teaching can be a very short one.'* Their own historical training means that they see how easily classroom history can become a form of political indoctrination.,"<sup>62</sup> and "History teachers across the sectarian divides have worked together, and with their Department of Education, to develop pioneering techniques and approaches in the classroom."<sup>63</sup> Both statements are cited as conclusions from previous CoE symposia and mark a conformity between educator and Council thought and action. Educators are also given much credit for the conception of multiperspectivity as a teaching method. Concepts opposing this framing, such as the ongoing teaching of nationalist imperatives in the classroom are explained away

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<sup>60</sup> Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 59–61.

<sup>61</sup> Watts, "History in Europe," 178.

<sup>62</sup> Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 28.

<sup>63</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 36.



as *challenges faced by history educators* rather than in accordance with free teacher agency. These challenges, which generally fall into the categories of either political involvement via official syllabuses (and state guidelines) or pedagogic traditions are framed as going against what the teacher wants. As such educators are much like the Council pitted against political mingling on the national level as this would confine teacher autonomy. An example as per Stradling's 2001 text: "At present, most history teachers in Europe will feel that the scope for wide-scale change in this direction [*Ed: multiperspectivity*] is severely constrained by some combination of the following factors."<sup>64</sup> These factors being the same as those faced by the Council. Central are a curriculum dominated by national and local education authorities, and divergence of approaches per country. If the Council is aware of any exemptions to this natural alignment between teachers and itself, these are not mentioned in policy documents nor in the delineation of obstacles in fostering Council-educator relations. The Council frames 'what the teachers want' largely as more academic elements in the history curriculum, in line with its own push towards multiperspectivity. The prevailing message is that "history teachers do not have the duty to deliver uncritically official versions of national myths and propaganda."<sup>65</sup> Whilst educators might support the idea transmitting national history to future generations this is not their main intention nor function.<sup>66</sup>

### 3.2.4 Multiperspectivity on the History / Memory matrix

Under the *New Europe* discourse the Council hoped that common concern to come together as Europe would prove enough of a motivation to instate shared narratives in the history curriculum. States would play their part in building a European community together within the context of a Council network. However, state authorities representing national interests sat firmly entrenched in curriculum development and were not about to budge. The Council therefore changed course and came to differentiate its own approach from traditional "life practices" of history.<sup>67</sup> The Council appropriated the concept of academic history for its cause. By framing multiperspectivity as an academic endeavor and assuming the plight of the history educator the Council was able to counter national narratives in a less direct manner. Policy framed multiperspectivity as chiefly an endeavor for academic practice in school history, with community building results being a side effect more so than

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<sup>64</sup> Stradling, 28.

<sup>65</sup> Low-Beer, 38.

Relating a comment made during a EuroClio meeting.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 28, 34, 36, 38; Council of Europe, "Declaration of Strasbourg," 4; Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 14, 28; Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, 3, 12–15, 21.

<sup>67</sup> Seixas, "History in Schools," 274.

the main objective. The academic skills gleaned by students through this method served to counter propagandistic and misleading (national) narratives imposed in the classroom. We can map the practice which come forward out of Council policy within this period decisively under disciplinary practice in Seixas' History / Memory matrix. Disciplinary practice serves to answer questions that can rise from "difficult memories, fractured communities and plural societies," by critical and truth-seeking, assessment of history of historical evidence.<sup>68</sup> Less attention is spend on the notion that a harmonious and undivided Europe is the ultimate and natural outcome of current historical processes which is central to the ideology of the Council. This notion is still present however. Policy discourse on multiperspectivity assures that even when guidance towards a European consciousness is not the main occupation of the Council approach to school history, any truth-seeking approach will eventually lead students to organically fall in line with Council values.

A theme in the Council justification of including minority and outside perspectives in the curriculum is that the very existence of a community presupposes cohesive elements within its story, access to which should be a right rather than a privilege.<sup>69</sup> In wanting to pursue those rights for all, the Council could not let neglect the national interest.<sup>70</sup> Whilst the general framing of state interest is antagonistic during this period Council nor educator would argue for the elimination of national elements within the history curriculum. The Council affirms the importance of national identity formation through history education on multiple occasions, especially when representing the position of educators. Policy discourse repeats that the national story is essential, should not be neglected and European elements will realistically be taught in addition rather than in favor to that of a national.<sup>71</sup> A through-line in independent literature on Council policy is that the Council was less willing to acquiesce on the prominence of the National angle in the mid-90s, but those efforts had proven unworkable when faced with the reality of educational politics around the turn of the Century.<sup>72</sup>

Problems arise however when representation of the national *element* leads is led by national *bias*. The biased national narrative would come to suppress or unduly distort the stories of other communities. In this the responsibility of the state is framed as: "Citizens have a right to learn history that has not been manipulated. The state should uphold this right and encourage an appropriate

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<sup>68</sup> Seixas, 274–75.

<sup>69</sup> Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 41.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.; Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 19, 26, 30

<sup>71</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 19–20.

<sup>72</sup> Cajani, "History Teaching for the Unification of Europe," 292; Pingel, "History as a Project of the Future," 157; Davies, Evans, and Reid, "Globalising Citizenship Education?," 74–78; Pabian, "Europeanisation of Higher Education Governance in the Post-Communist Context," 259; Keating, et al., "Citizenship Education Curricula," 145–46.

scientific approach, without religious or political bias, in all that is taught.”<sup>73</sup> In this statement the national curriculum, academic method, and ‘European perspective’ become linked.

At least that is how multiperspectivity is framed in Council discourse. An alternative interpretation of multiperspectivity reads the approach as a clever instrument to introduce a European element into a state-dominated history curriculum in order to foster European integration, which remained the overarching objective of the Council. The ideal form of multiperspectivity as set out in Council discourse contains mnemonic elements that would guide students towards a shared European consciousness. The themes and topics to be engaged under multiperspectivity center around European issues and shared humanitarian developments. The Council could not directly compete with state interest in the promotion of its agenda and thus began to define misuse of history as the exact practices the state engages in.

This raises the question whether detractors could not accuse the Council of doing much the same but on a European level as opposed to a national one? Is a focus on periods of peaceful co-existence and cooperation, although for the best of intentions, not just as much a biased, propagandistic standpoint as one based on exceptionalism and conflict? In contrast to discourse during the first period the Council now acknowledges the need for authority to steer and guide the development of history education –which indicates a shift in discourse. Where the ‘New Europe’ was pictured as a near natural process towards increased tolerance, the Council now admits that democratic systems and popular mnemonic formation when left by themselves will not readily lead to organized thought on historical processes and issues, does not necessarily increase tolerance and understanding, and even opens the possibility of misuse of history education by majority rule.<sup>74</sup> Even the educator, who is framed to be so in line with Council ideology is admittedly in need of “systematic initial and follow-up training,” not only concerning information technologies which had begun to develop rapidly around this time but also to inform them on “the nature and dangers of teaching national history,” and “the contribution of the European dimension within a school.”<sup>75</sup> Although these extenuating statements are mostly found early in the period. Later descriptions of teacher training such as found in the Teachers’ Guides (2001, 2003), do not mention the need to communicate the essential elements of Council doctrine so explicitly. These later texts also contain less of a hardline stance against national influences. More in line with discourse of the first period policy starts to once

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<sup>73</sup> Low-Beer, 41.

<sup>74</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 10; Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 40.

<sup>75</sup> Low-Beer, 77.

again direct attention to the imperative role of state initiative and funding in Council activities and acknowledges the difficult position of curriculum makers in balancing all factors and demand present in educational politics towards a constructive outcome.

### 3.3 Conclusion

Multiperspectivity is a method of instructing school history that appropriates academic practices with the main objective of promoting European solidarity. Following the methodology students are presented with different perspectives and viewpoints on 'key' themes defined by the Council, replacing the 'stagnant' national narrative with a more nuanced and inclusive historical perception based on critical thinking and source-based research.

Policy discourse surrounding multiperspectivity developed to address several features and challenges of the New Europe discourse from the early 90s. As the imbuing of academic skills and competencies is central to multiperspectivity it would not be fair to conclude it merely wears the guise of scientific history whilst in actually intended to promote European integration. However, the method is most definitely colored by the Council ideology and the policy discourse surrounding it attempts to downplay this. In discourse, it is through the notion held by the Council that increased knowledge of the 'other' will indeed lead to increased tolerance that allowed it to adopt a measure emphasizing academic practice so assuredly. Whilst it seems that academia has largely supported this notion the actual effectiveness towards building a community has remained unproven.

In the theoretical framework of the History / Memory matrix this period marks a shift from practices focused on memory formation towards disciplinary practice of history, framed and legitimized as introducing more *scientific* history into a largely *propagandistic* educational system.<sup>76</sup> The Council took a step back from the sweeping optimistic language that typified New Europe discourse. This was motivated in part by the perceived (increasing) resistance on the National level against the fast-developing European element.

After the conceptualization of multiperspectivity the Council shifts the framing of its relation to the state. History education based in nationalist narrative is rejected and differentiated from Council practice as *misleading*, *propagandistic* and *political manipulation*. At the end of this period the Council arrives at a methodology that balances the transference of historical narratives with the attainment of (academic) skills. This allows the Council to veer away from traditional performance of history education, add a European angle in addition to that of the national, and in doing so counter the

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<sup>76</sup> Seixas, "History in Schools," 275.

traditional (national) narratives present in history education. These state practices, framed as untruthful and exclusionary, become operationalized as *misuse* of history education within CoE policy discourse.

## Chapter 4: Putting Policy into Practice (2004-2009)

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Whilst policy discourse and methodology were under development throughout the 1990s and early 2000s the Council had not ceased to apply its ideas. At the start of final period, which spans the five years from 2004 until 2009, the Council of Europe and its associates had completed many curriculum projects, textbook publications, and educator trainings.<sup>1</sup> It had known its fair share of both successes and failures and began to coalesce its experience the label ‘New History’ starting with Stradling’s 2001 publication.<sup>2</sup> This work is referred to as groundbreaking throughout the third period.<sup>3</sup> Not in the least by the third Committee of Ministers who use it in the 2005 declaration of Warsaw to guide legal precedent and formulate action plan for future thinking about educational development within Europe.<sup>4</sup> The Council by finalizing policy on multiperspectivity, was now in possession of a multi-deployable yet politically neutral methodology and starts looking for ways to link its approach on history education more directly to its political agenda. On paper the Council’s modus operandi was nearing finalization and policy discourse based on practice was taking precedence. Much of the policy discourse after 2004 is concerned with the honing of practice and theory; the inclusion of use cases such as post-conflict reconciliation, legal institutionalization, and reflection on past projects.

This chapter first substantiates the claim that the Council of Europe was concerned with the implementation of its policy throughout the assessed periods and contextualizes the Council’s emphases on policy execution in an increasingly integrated Europe context after the turn of the Century. In the subsequent analysis this chapter will study the Council’s discourse on policy practice through the framework of use and misuse of history education to answer the question:

*How did CoE discourse on history education change during increased attention on implementation of policy from 2004 onwards?*

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<sup>1</sup> Keating et al., “Citizenship Education Curricula,” 149–50; Robert Stradling, “First Progression Report on the European Dimension in History Teaching” (Steering Committee for Education (CD-ED), Council of Europe Publishing, August 2003), available on : <http://www.coe.int/DGIVRestricted>; Robert Stradling, “Third Progress Report on the Project on The European Dimension in History Teaching” (Steering Committee for Education (CD-ED), Council of Europe Publishing, October 2004), Available on <http://www.coe.int/DGIVRestricted/eng>.

<sup>2</sup> Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 193.

<sup>3</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 9; Tatiana Minkina-Milko, “Introduction by Tatiana Minkina-Milko,” 7; Council of Europe, “History Teaching in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas,” 1–2.

<sup>4</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 1.

The analysis considers first how the Council has diverted and maintain consistency with its initial New Europe discourse from the first half of the 1990s, and then assesses how the role and framing of the Council methodology altered based on practical experience and application. Finally, the Council's policy discourse on practice is mapped on the History / Memory matrix and the relation between the discursive frameworks of the Council role of neutrality and pursuit of an ideological agenda are discussed.

#### 4.1 Context – an integrated Europe

Whilst the Council of Europe worked at the development and implementation of its policy discourse other forces in European educational politics, state interests, political union, and public opinion were also rapidly developing. The pace of this change only increased at the turn of the Century. European political integration had come a long way since the days of Kohl and Mitterrand. Negotiations of membership extension beyond Western European countries had started in 1997, and the first wave of new entries including many territories formerly under Soviet control took place in 2004.<sup>5</sup> Potential new members had to comply to many criteria including standards of education. These were chiefly determined by the 1999 Bologna Process and its follow-ups. Until then education had been notably absent in the EU founding competencies, which allowed the Council of Europe to play a significant role in its formation. The Council had a hand in even setting the geographical scope of the Bologna Process as membership was extended to countries part of the Council's European Cultural Convention which reached beyond Union borders.<sup>6</sup> The process' application form emphasized that, given a countries good standing within the European Cultural Convention, "Countries party to the European Cultural Convention shall be eligible for membership of the European Higher Education Area provided that they at the same time declare their willingness to pursue and implement the objectives of the Bologna Process in their own systems of higher education."<sup>7</sup> This was an important development for the Council of Europe as it linked integration in the European Union, at least within education, to (partial) ratification of the Council agenda.<sup>8</sup> This produced for the first time a tangible legal framework

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<sup>5</sup> Pabian, "Europeanisation of Higher Education Governance in the Post-Communist Context," 263–68.

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Keeling, "The Bologna Process and the Lisbon Research Agenda: The European Commission's Expanding Role in Higher Education Discourse," *European Journal of Education* 41, no. 2 (2006): 204.

<sup>7</sup> Bologna Secretariat, "Applications to Join the Bologna Process" (European Higher Education Area and Bologna Process, 1999), 1.

<sup>8</sup> Pavel Zgaga, "Looking out: The Bologna Process in a Global Setting.," in *On the 'External Dimension' of the Bologna Process* (Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2006), 18; Pavel Zgaga, "The Bologna Process in a Global Setting: Twenty Years Later," *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 32, no. 4 (October 2, 2019): 452.

connecting the Council ideology to European political integration, building further on the foundation set by other agreements such as the Maastricht Treaty.<sup>9</sup> In many ways the New Europe experiment was becoming the actual European experience.

However, limitations quickly came to light too. Pavel Zgaga, likening the European Cultural Conventions initially to a 'Bible' on which the participants of the Bologna Process swore adherence to Council values, goes on to describe how from the early 2000s the Council mission begins to deflate when confronted with EU priorities of economic competitiveness. Adherence to the Cultural Conventions became a matter of rhetoric and sign of belonging to the ingroup, more so than of principle.<sup>10</sup> Pabian finds that whilst the reference point of education governance did become more supranational the process also centralized educational governance to the national level for ease of implementation. Consequently, much of the Council philosophy became caught up in discussions on political priorities.<sup>11</sup> The reality of European unification came with its associated drudgery causing many involved on all levels to reconsider the initial enthusiasm that had fueled the Council enterprise for most of the 90s. Joke van der Leeuw-Roord reflecting on the experience of the European history teacher association EuroClio wrote in 2009 that, whilst much had been achieved in the last decades, interest in Euro-centered history education reform had begun to wane. This held especially true for interest from the West towards the East, which added many challenges for the funding and execution of pan-European history programmes.<sup>12</sup>

Outside of education many observers lost interest in European integration. Exclusionary populist parties, which had been lurking in the background of many European political systems throughout the 90s now really started gaining notoriety. Their growth fueled suspicions of increased multiculturalism and political correctness.<sup>13</sup> The September eleventh attacks in 2001 reintroduced the concepts of terrorism and crusades to the present-day lexicon. These developments were interpreted within the Council as underlining the importance of studying history and the multiperspectival approach, but also the magnitude of challenges yet to be overcome.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Pépin, "The History of EU Cooperation in the Field of Education and Training," 121–24.

<sup>10</sup> Zgaga, "The Bologna Process in a Global Setting," 452, 456.

<sup>11</sup> Pabian, "Europeanisation of Higher Education Governance in the Post-Communist Context," 258, 268–73; Keeling, "The Bologna Process and the Lisbon Research Agenda," 207.

<sup>12</sup> van der Leeuw-Roord, "Yearning for Yesterday: Efforts of History Professionals in Europe at Designing Meaningful and Effective School History Curricula," 77–83.

<sup>13</sup> Hans-Georg Betz, *Exclusionary Populism in Western Europe in the 1990s and beyond: A Threat to Democracy and Civil Rights?* (Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2004), 4–5.

<sup>14</sup> Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers*, 31–33.



## 4.1 Analysis

Caught in the quickly changing world of the 21st Century the Council of Europe felt inclined once again to reflect upon the state of its own discourse. This had been the case at the beginnings of the earlier periods too, but there are differences worth mentioning. 1991 had seen a hard break in policy discourse to match a hard break in European context, whilst 1997 provided opportunity for development by introducing the notions academic history and multiperspectivity. Around the turn of the century discourse had been more forward looking – driven by the potential of multiperspectivity and start of a new millennium (which coincided with the 50th anniversary of the CoE).<sup>15</sup> Language surrounding the Council history remained similar, although the Council's origin story now referred more to the 1990s than to the 1950s. Framing devices of *long-time involvement* and *unique neutral position* in educational politics saw less use too. These were initially established to legitimize Council involvement in history education reform, but after a decade's worth of experience the Council was now well established. Moreover, whilst adherence to Council policy was still voluntary in theory the legal framework provided by the EU and other European institutions had done much to strengthen and institutionalize its office.<sup>16</sup>

### 4.2.1 Retaining the New Europe spirit

Policy documents of this period regularly reference back to earlier texts included in this research. Notably more to publications from the 90s than from before 1990. Council discourse upholds the theme of a watershed moment taking place in the 90s. Describing its own program to have “entered a new phase in the early 1990s after the fall of the European wall.”<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, the thematic framework of dramatic changes and a new status- after the Cold War remains present throughout policy discourse in this period as well. However, where these themes were partially based on a speculative change in earlier discourse, they are now framed as marking when the CoE became a truly

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<sup>15</sup> Low-Beer, *The Council of Europe and School History*, 79; Stradling, *Teaching 20th Century European History*, 193–94; Maitland Stobart, “Fifty Years of European Co-Operation on History Textbooks: The Role and Contribution of the Council of Europe,” *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 21, no. 2 (1999): 148; BERNAN ASSOC, *Parliamentary Assembly, Working Papers: 2007 Ordinary Session (Third Part) 25-29 June 2007* (Council of Europe, 2008), 263.

The 2007 working papers include comments of *Recommendation on History Teaching in 21<sup>st</sup>- Century Europe* by the Committee of Ministers (Oct. 2001), which is widely acclaimed being the first governmental recommendation from the Council concerned solely with history education.

<sup>16</sup> Yannis A. Stivachtis and Mike Habegger, “The Council of Europe: The Institutional Limits of Contemporary European International Society?,” *Journal of European Integration* 33, no. 2 (March 1, 2011): 161–62.

<sup>17</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 8.

pan-European organization.<sup>18</sup> The terminology of pan-Europeanism could be borrowed from Council discourse on law and political integration wherein the term had seen earlier use.<sup>19</sup> The image of a pan-European order is accompanied by another notion; that of a *Greater Europe*.<sup>20</sup> Reflecting the New Europe discourse of the first period Tatiana Minkina-Milko describes how, “After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the notion of Europe changed, as it marked the starting point for the creation of a so-called *Greater Europe*. At that time, it became clear that all the countries constituting Europe are different even though they share common democratic values.”<sup>21</sup> This summary was repeated near-verbatim in other documents.<sup>22</sup> Policy discourse in this period leans more on the New Europe discourse than in the second period. Not solely by using New Europe ‘adjacent’ terminology, but also through direct quotations. This call back to New Europe is explicitly reflected in policy: “Although at times ideas may have changed or been modified, the approach has stayed the same the main question has always been how the Council of Europe could face such changes and challenges and respond to them, in our case, through the prism of history teaching.”<sup>23</sup> In its New Europe policy discourse the emergence of a new context was already characterized to the unique issues that would be faced therein.<sup>24</sup> In this period with new challenges emerging still, whilst the letter of policy might have changed over time the spirit is framed as remaining the same.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Challenges of the Twenty-first Century

Council policy discourse, following the precedent set by Maitland Stobart, identified the new challenges faced in Europe as the catalyst for renewed interest in history education.<sup>26</sup> In the intervening decade some challenges had retained their relevance. Discourse on others, such finding a

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<sup>18</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 8; Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 1.

<sup>19</sup> Florence Benoît-Rohmer, Heinrich Klebes, and Council of Europe, *Council of Europe Law: Towards a Pan-European Legal Area* (Council of Europe, 2005), 9, 11; Michael R. Lucas and Anna Kreikemeyer, “Pan-European Integration and European Institutions: The New Role of the Council of Europe,” *Journal of European Integration* 16, no. 1 (September 1, 1992): 1.

<sup>20</sup> Tatiana Minkina-Milko, “Introduction by Tatiana Minkina-Milko,” 7; Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 8, 16; Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 1;

<sup>21</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 16.

<sup>22</sup> Tatiana Minkina-Milko, 7; Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 9, 18; Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue?*, 54.

<sup>23</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 15.

<sup>24</sup> Stobart, “The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe,” 2–3; Council of Europe, “Vienna Declaration,” 1; Council for Cultural Cooperation, *Against Bias and Prejudice*, 9; Gallagher, “History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers,” 22.

<sup>25</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 133.

<sup>26</sup> Stobart, 693–94.

national identity in countries escaping suppressive dominion and ‘the delimitation of republics’ had shifted. Since the conception of New Europe discourse negative consequences of the Bildungsspirit for new national identities in Europe had complicated the Council relation with countries like Yugoslavia.<sup>27</sup> In the latter half of the 90s Council policy discourse had framed governments willing to disregard disciplinary practices of history in education to suite its community building needs more antagonistically. Countering *misuse* of history education became a chief aspect of policy discourse. Specialized operationalizations and methods such as multiperspectivity were purportedly designed to tackle and prevent misuse more effectively.<sup>28</sup> Then there the overarching challenge of, “The creation of a Greater Europe without dividing lines,” which was from 2004 onward again framed as provided the main impetus of the Council’s involvement in history education<sup>29</sup> This framing device was a prominent theme in New Europe discourse but although it had remained in the background, featured less prominently in policy documents during the development of multiperspectivity. The implementation of multiperspectivity in practice underlined the importance of this overarching objective once again.<sup>30</sup>

Council policy in this period also featured several new challenges stemming from socio-political developments in 21st Century Europe.<sup>31</sup> A central theme was threat of terrorism, which leapt to the foreground of public debate after the extremist attacks of the twin towers and pentagon on September 11th. Where before this period the term *terrorism* was not present in policy at all and *extremism* saw limited use in the context of aggressive nationalism, both were now prevalent in policy discourse.<sup>32</sup> Terrorism is framed in policy as the ultimate consequence of the breakdown of dialogue between peoples. A new terrible addition to transgressions of scapegoating, intolerance and discrimination which the Council attempted to counter through use of history education. It was also adopted in a theme of the rise of such elements within society, framing Council activities on history education as more important than ever.<sup>33</sup> More in line with the increasingly nuanced framing of the European context in the second period than the positivity pervading in New Europe discourse, these

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<sup>27</sup> Tatiana Minkina-Milko, “Introduction by Tatiana Minkina-Milko,” 88, 91.

<sup>28</sup> Bogdan Murgenscu, “Teaching Multiperspectivity in 21st Century Europe: Challenges and Limits of Extra-Curricular Historical Education Projects,” in *European Commemoration: Locating World War I* (Stuttgart: IFA (Insitut fur Auslandbeziehungen), 2006), 171.

<sup>29</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 18.

<sup>30</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 1.

<sup>31</sup> Tatiana Minkina-Milko, 7; Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 15.

<sup>32</sup> The primary sources refer often to Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism (2005) and Recommendation 1687 (2005) on combating terrorism through culture.

<sup>33</sup> Tatiana Minkina-Milko, 15; Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 16, 53.

negative outcomes are framed as a likely outcome barring (Council) intervention.<sup>34</sup> The appropriation of terrorism in Council discourse also marks a further break with New Europe framing – namely that matters of National security are now clearly included in the Council agenda. Stobart and his contemporaries pointed out repeatedly that issues of national security were not part Council business. This aspect was absent altogether in the second period, but after 2004 a clear stance in the other direction is taken with the Council actively acknowledging the importance of initiatives ensuring the security within the European democratic area.<sup>35</sup> The Declaration of Warsaw affirming that “we are determined to ensure security for our citizens in the full respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms and our other relevant international obligations. The Council of Europe will continue to play an active role in combating terrorism which is a major threat to democratic societies and is unjustifiable under any circumstances and in any culture.”<sup>36</sup> The assertiveness of the Council position taken in policy discourse to a lesser extent applied to nationalists, isolationists and others deemed to be infringing on *human dignity*.<sup>37</sup>

The increased assertiveness against opposition marks a break from previous discourse on the role of the Council as defined by neutrality and mediation to a policy framework of practice. The role of facilitating networks and partnerships served to achieve administrative matters and conventions in (history) education setting equivalence of standards, periods of study and diplomas.<sup>38</sup> With many of those conjectural conventions realized, the Council adopted a more active role. The Heads of State meeting in 2005 resolved, “to ensure full compliance with our membership commitments within the Council of Europe. Political dialogue between member states, which are committed to promoting democratic debate and the rule of law, evaluation, sharing of best practices, assistance and monitoring - for which we renew our firm support - will be fully used for that purpose.”<sup>39</sup> Recipients of Council mediation are considered on equal footing but discussion will center around on the implementation of multiperspectivity and the *processes of change* in history education before anything else.<sup>40</sup> The Council still base its legitimacy on a high level of confidence and trust in the organization, but in this

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<sup>34</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 15; Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 2; Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue?*, 26; Gallagher, “History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A Handbook for Teachers,” 21–22.

<sup>35</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 1–2; Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 18.

<sup>36</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 2.

<sup>37</sup> Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 17.

<sup>38</sup> Stobart, “The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe,” 694.

<sup>39</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 2.

<sup>40</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 22; Council of Europe, “History Teaching in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas,” 1, 3.

period policy discourse describes these derived from transparency in cooperation more so than from claims of impartiality.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Mechanisms of practical change

Insights into the best use of history gained through practical experience is a prominent theme in the policy discourse of the third period. From 2004 onward the Council indicates to be done with the explorative aspect of its practice and indicates being ready to share its gathered experiences with all partners interested in teaching history for the promotion of mutual understanding, tolerance, and peace.<sup>42</sup> Most products of this experience, including the altered view on the Council's traditional broker-role, are framed as stemming from practice exposing new necessities and ways to boost the impact of programmes. Delineation of a timeline of Council and EU practice by Pabian support the notion of a more active era in European educational development starting around 2004. Pabian reports that during a period roughly overlapping with our second period programmes on higher education were limited to the level of policy. Contrastingly, after 2004 more involved implementation of policy did change the framework of higher education, albeit not its institutional governance.<sup>43</sup> Keating *et al.*, although they do not set their findings on as narrowly defined a timeline, similarly define a substantial distinction between the formation of curriculum policy (text-in-use) and policy-in-practice. They describe that the curriculum is 're-made' through its practice in classrooms.<sup>44</sup> Council policy reflects wanting to be more closely engaged with the process of *using* history education policy.<sup>45</sup> Because of this several new aspects of the use of history are present in Council policy after 2004. These include an emphasis on regional approaches, narrowing down on use of history education for conflict resolution and reconciliation, and a differentiation between legal and pedagogical levels of operation.

The language of Council policy after 2004 centers around the regional level. Why policy has shifted focus away from the Council relation with state actors is not addressed explicitly in discourse: "In recent years, special emphasis has been placed on the development of regional co-operation. It is interesting to note that several different regions – almost at the same time – expressed an interest in

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<sup>41</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 21–22, 61–62; Council of Europe, "Declaration of Warsaw," 1–2; Tatiana Minkina-Milko, "Introduction by Tatiana Minkina-Milko," 18; Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 23.

<sup>42</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 8, 22.

<sup>43</sup> Pabian, "Europeanisation of Higher Education Governance in the Post-Communist Context," 258.

<sup>44</sup> Keating *et al.*, "Citizenship Education Curricula," 153.

<sup>45</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 7.

regional co-operation for history education.”<sup>46</sup> Previous Council policy tended to avoid regionalist framing; in part to prevent leaning on Cold-War differentiation. The above is one of several examples in which the Council frames Europe as regionally divided and assigns agency to these regions. Whilst regional level operations were embraced in policy only after 2004 they were part of Council practice before the onset of this period. The Tbilisi Initiative and the Black Sea Initiative, taking place in the greater Georgia and Romania areas respectively, were both conceived in the second half of the 1990s and are often cited as successful cases of Council intervention.<sup>47</sup> In these accounts the Council emphasizes that the initiative for regional projects came from the members rather than from Council administration. This fits into a discursive theme coloring Europe *without dividing lines* – a phrase returning across policy in this period. The actors in conflict approached the Council asking for intervention, recognizing that history education was not used properly as it was the ‘lack of knowledge and information about their neighbors which perpetuated conflict.’<sup>48</sup>

Council policy notes that regional approaches are effective because they facilitate history education programmes designed specifically to tackle conflict and post-conflict reconciliation.<sup>49</sup> Conflict is implied to stem from clashing of (national) identities, and thus of the narrative of identities as being discordant. Council policy discourse previously established that everyone has the right to their identities, be they nation-based or otherwise. However, misuse of history education can set these identities against each other. Ignorance ‘the other’ in Europe and on controversial and complex topics “can too easily be replaced by incorrect and biased information.”<sup>50</sup> Following this line of argumentation Council policy further emphasizes the importance of adopting controversial, sensitive and tragic events into its own syllabuses because these carry a higher potential to effectively be used to cause disunity.<sup>51</sup>

Policy recommendation of adopting controversial and sensitive history in the curriculum do not solely rely on disciplinary practices. Academic assessment of multiple perspectives representing outside identities does not suffice. Incongruous influences are more deliberately countered presenting

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<sup>46</sup> Council of Europe, 8, 18; Tatiana Minkina-Milko, “Introduction by Tatiana Minkina-Milko,” 8; Council of Europe, “History Teaching in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas,” 1.

<sup>47</sup> “The Tbilisi Initiative,” History Teaching, accessed May 31, 2021, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/history-teaching/the-tbilisi-initiative>; “The Black Sea Initiative,” History Teaching, accessed May 31, 2021, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/history-teaching/the-black-sea-initiative>.

<sup>48</sup> Tatiana Minkina-Milko, 15-16; Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 1; Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 54.

<sup>49</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 22.

<sup>50</sup> Council of Europe, 20.

<sup>51</sup> Council of Europe, “History Teaching in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas,” 1–3; Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 29–30; Tatiana Minkina-Milko, “Introduction by Tatiana Minkina-Milko,” 14–15, 48; Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 9, 17–18.

harmonious themes and narratives. In the 2009 Recommendations on History teaching in Conflict and Post-Conflict areas the Assembly of Ministers, “acknowledges that, in curricula reviews, there has been recognition of the need for controversial, sensitive and tragic events to be balanced with more positive and inclusive topics that are not exclusively political in nature and which extend beyond national boundaries.” Discourse on the use of history so includes more ‘life practices’. The counter to misuse of history is again redefined in policy and multiperspectivity is framed as a tool for Council intention rather than an academic means of countering misuse practices, which is how it was presented in the last period.

After 2004 Council policy begins differentiating between legal and pedagogical levels of approach to history education practice. In broad strokes, the pedagogical level of approach in policy discourse outlines what proper use of history education should impart on student of history whilst the legal level of approach is concerned with the integration of this practices in the legal framework of Europe to counter misuse. In the practice of policy, the legal and pedagogical are intrinsically bound through the greater objectives they stand in service of.

Minkina-Milko defines pedagogical elements as revolving around new challenges such as: “the creation of a greater Europe without dividing lines, work and develop international cooperation on an equal footing, share good practice examples from different areas, analyze existing problems from different perspectives, and help prevent conflicts.”<sup>52</sup> But an objective with clear themes of this nature, “creating responsible and active citizens by developing their ability for independent and critical thinking, open-mindedness and resistance to all kinds of political and ideological manipulation,” is mentioned under designator of the legal rather than that the pedagogical approach.<sup>53</sup> The Council would have its values of mutual understanding and tolerance of differences within Europe included in legal doctrine.<sup>54</sup> An academic work by Davies, Evans and Reid come to a similar definition of the pedagogical aspects of citizenship education as “the blend of knowledge, skills and dispositions that will allow for students to become actively involved in the exploration of issues.”<sup>55</sup> They mention tolerance, explanation of- and participation in society as examples of pedagogical functions of history education, and these too would be part of a curriculum set through a legal framework.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 18.

<sup>53</sup> Council of Europe, 17.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>55</sup> Davies, Evans, and Reid, “Globalising Citizenship Education?,” 80.

<sup>56</sup> Davies, Evans, and Reid, 79-82.



Several policy texts describe a shift to involvement in political processes as part of the legal approach of Council policy.<sup>57</sup> Initiation of the Bologna process in 1999 and the Lisbon treaty in 2007 served to encode educational practice across Europe legally. Through these developments Council of Europe policy was increasingly institutionalized in the European legal framework both in- and outside of the Union.<sup>58</sup> In policy discourse this is framed as part of a deliberate process to integrate Council practice in European politics and law. The Warsaw declaration (2009) builds on the more explorative texts of the Vienna Declaration (1993) and the Declaration of Strasbourg (1997) by adding an action list aimed at “strengthening the Council of Europe’s political mandate and enhance its contribution to common stability and security of Europe and the rule of law throughout the continent as Europe faces new challenges and threats which require concerted and effective responses,” and “building on the standard setting potential of the Council of Europe and on its contribution to the development of international law.”<sup>59</sup> This decree indicates the willingness to address the political processes directly in order to institutionalize Council practice as the official legal procedure of a pan-European movement.<sup>60</sup> In the context of history education such a legal framework exist to counter propagandistic misuse of history. The exact term Propaganda is not presented in policy discourse other than through direct reiteration of recommendations from 2001: “History teaching must not be an instrument of ideological manipulation, of *propaganda* or used for the promotion of intolerant and ultra-nationalistic, xenophobic, racist or anti-Semitic ideas.”<sup>61</sup> The same 2001 recommendations elaborate further on how the Council perceives proper- and misuse of history education, cited by Minkina-Milko in 2004 and by the 2008 White Paper summarizing Council discourse on the essential conditions for the development of a European society based on solidarity:

Historical research and history as it is taught in schools cannot in any way, with any intention, be compatible with the fundamental values and statutes of the Council of Europe if it allows or promotes misuses of history. History teaching must encompass the elimination of prejudice and stereotypes, through the highlighting in history syllabuses of positive mutual influences

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<sup>57</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 15–16; Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 37.

<sup>58</sup> Pépin, “The History of EU Cooperation in the Field of Education and Training,” 121–24; Pavel Zgaga, “Looking out: The Bologna Process in a Global Setting.,” 18; Zgaga, “The Bologna Process in a Global Setting,” 452.

<sup>59</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 1, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Benoît-Rohmer, Klebes, and Europe, *Council of Europe Law*, 11–14; Council of Europe, “History Teaching in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas,” 1; Tatiana Minkina-Milko, “Introduction by Tatiana Minkina-Milko,” 8.

<sup>61</sup> ASSOC, *Parliamentary Assembly, Working Papers*, 30; Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 30; Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 113.



between different countries, religions and schools of thought over the period of Europe's historical development as well as critical study of misuses of history, whether these stem from denials of historical facts, falsification, omission, ignorance or re-appropriation to ideological ends.<sup>62</sup>

Policy mentions explicitly that legal intervention should leave history free of political and ideological influences, and that whilst politicians are entitled to their own interpretations history education should not be used as an instrument for *political manipulation*.<sup>63</sup> The Council has through its policy language veered away from a definition of misuse based on the involvement of academic practices. Misuse does no longer stand opposed against disciplinary methodologies but is more directly defined as history taught in discordance with the central beliefs and values of the Council of Europe.<sup>64</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Complex history on the History / Memory matrix

Council discourse of history practice acknowledges that history in its full complexity and ability to promote harmony cannot be performed without upholding narratives. On the one hand “debates on such [controversial and sensitive] issues in history are going on and will still continue, as history, by its nature, is based on different interpretations. Therefore, history teaching should not try to deliver definitive answers, but to provide an understanding of the complicated historical processes.”<sup>65</sup> On the other: “The answers to questions such as “what” is taught, “how” it is taught and “when” controversial issues can be addressed rely on a process of building new skills and confidence for both teachers and students. This process needs to be reinforced by new political attitudes and policies towards history in its role of reconciling differences and developing tolerance.”<sup>66</sup> In the earlier policy discourse surrounding multiperspectivity the Council attempted to counter misuse of history by others whilst staying clear from accusations of political manipulation through the framing of its role as neutral and its methods as academic. In practice however, there is no such thing as an unbiased telling of history. Council policy discourse now outlines that those who would *misuse* history exercise such influence that

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<sup>62</sup> Charlot Cassar, “Recommendation Rec(2001)15 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on History Teaching in Twenty-First-Century Europe,” *Annotated Library on Intercultural Competence and Related Themes*, 2015; Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue?*, 30.

<sup>63</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 16.

<sup>64</sup> Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 4.

<sup>65</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 9.

<sup>66</sup> Council of Europe, “History Teaching in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas,” 20.

introducing more perspectives to assess academically does not make for an effective counter to unwanted practices.

Through the operationalization of propaganda in policy discourse the Council defines the presence of contentious, political elements as the differentiation of misuse and proper use of history education. Misuse is defined as promotion of ideological narratives in history education reaching a level of antithesis with Council values which is not countered by adopting basic elements of academic practice in the curriculum. The consolidation of a national consciousness through the history curriculum is framed as a right of the keepers of the national identity and deemed proper use. However, the promotion of a national identity to a degree where it effectively offsets Council aspirations is not.<sup>67</sup> The method of multiperspectivity, initially framed as teaching students academic competencies and not interested in imposing ideological narratives, has been reclaimed to serve European integration directly. This is more akin to the use of history as set out in the New Europe discourse of the first period. Council policy supports integration of its practice into the European legal framework to encode the pan-European doctrine of the Council and do away with 'political' malpractice of history education.

Council policy discourse on practice forms a holistic approach to history education in service of Council values; the furthering of mnemonic narratives through guided reinterpretation of the past. Holistic in so far that it is concerned with determining content as well as regulation, and with promotion of council values as well as contesting adverse ideas. This accounts for the full cycle of history represented by the History / Memory matrix: "Individuals, groups and nations have needs for orientation in time. These provide the field for historians' work: their questions, theories and methodologies. In turn, the products of historians' work, their representations of the past, feed back into the larger culture's understandings and orientations. Thus there is a dialogical relationship between the disciplinary practices of history and what gets translated from the German as 'life practice.'" Council policy on practice combines disciplinary and memory practice in European school history. Students should come to orient and identify themselves through a united picture of Europe through the cooption the scientific discipline for that cause. In this way the Council steers memory formation by setting the 'flavor' of academic critique and revision.<sup>68</sup>

Council practice in in third period can be pinpointed transitional zone that forms the bridge between mnemonic and disciplinary history on the in the History / Memory matrix so more difficult. The organization's approach relies on 'truth-seeking methods of history,' dealing with difficult memories, fractured and plural societies and critical evidence-based inquiry which define the practices

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<sup>67</sup> Council of Europe, 2.

<sup>68</sup> Seixas, "History in Schools," 274.

above the line.<sup>69</sup> Findings feed back into popular memory guided by memory practices which Seixas deems to, “create solidarity enhancing mythologies,” in this period with the policy scope of the state level swapped out for regional European contexts.<sup>70</sup>

During analysis the theme of an approach bridging history practices was coded under the label *complex history*. The teaching of history inherently involves different interpretations and narratives. Interpretations are presented as manifold and various possible narratives are considered; complex history “should not try to deliver definitive answers, but to provide an understanding of the complicated historical process”.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand Council history serves the purpose of promoting pan-European tolerance, understanding and cooperation to not be considered misuse. The Declaration of Warsaw commits to putting into practice “the [European] common values and principles which are rooted in Europe’s cultural, religious and humanistic heritage – a heritage both shared and rich in its diversity.”<sup>72</sup> The complexity of history leaves the Council in the paradoxical position of pointing out the multifacetedness of historic processes and outcomes which, whilst it helps students appreciate diversity and recognize polarizing practices, can also lead to the conclusion that a European identity is no more or less arbitrary and (self)imposed than any other minority, regional, or national identity. By imbuing into students to ability to position identities in their broader context the acceptance of a European identity becomes a choice. The Council holds that we live in a period which would benefit from a European identity. Its policy discourse reflects that history education used properly must relate to topics relevant to the time in which it is being taught, by framing cultural diversity as an asset when matched with shared believes.<sup>73</sup>

#### 4.3 Conclusion

This chapter covered the period between 2004 and 2009. Discourse on use and misuse of this period stood in service of putting Council policy to practice. Practical experience with policy implementation in turn affected Council discourse. The framework of multiperspectivity initially facilitated Council discourse of legitimacy through the cooption of academic practices school history. Practice-based discourse reclaimed the method as a more direct instrument towards European integration.

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<sup>69</sup> Seixas, 275–274.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 274.

<sup>71</sup> Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 9.

<sup>72</sup> Council of Europe, “Declaration of Warsaw,” 1.

<sup>73</sup> Council of Europe, “History Teaching in Conflict and Post-Conflict Areas,” 2; Council of Europe, *Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History*, 242–43.

The balancing act between furthering this ideological agenda and keeping up appearances of political neutrality was central to policy discourse in the previous periods. After 2004 the Council came to occupy a more assertive position within the educational politics of the history curriculum. Council legitimacy was bolstered by its involvement and achievements over the last decade and increased still as policy honed in on those places where Council practice proved most effective; classroom level implementation and (post-)conflict reconciliation with an emphasis on controversial and sensitive topics. Certain sensitive aspects of the Council experience, such as its troubled relation with state interest, were underemphasized in discourse by a shift in focus towards regional contexts.

Council policy discourse came to emphasize the institutionalization of use and misuse of history education in the legal framework that was forming around Europe. Policy accredited this to deliberate Council intention to become more involved in legal and political developments. Academic literature points also at the parallel processes of integration in Europe as facilitating initial achievements and ultimately mixed successes.<sup>74</sup> The differentiation between legal and pedagogical practices in Council policy discourse seemed initially to operationalize the Council operationalization of misuse further, but upon closer assessment represents a more interconnected approach of how intervention in history education could take place; summarized as increasing the Councils political manifest or being directly concerned with the message conveyed in the classroom. Legal mandate affects classroom practice and teaching student critical thinking skills affects the interpretation of legal mandate for classroom use. Misuse became operationalized chiefly as political interference in opposition to Council values. As Council policy suggested a more holistic and directly ideological approach to history in this period its discourse-on-practice fell in the transitional zone of the History / Memory matrix. Seixas characterizes this 'bridging' approach to school history as incorporating both disciplinary and memory practices. In its ideal form this approach incorporates the whole cycle of mnemonic formation through which student gain a historical perspective on existing identities without becoming alienated from them.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Pavel Zgaga, "Looking out: The Bologna Process in a Global Setting.," 18; Zgaga, "The Bologna Process in a Global Setting," 452; Pabian, "Europeanisation of Higher Education Governance in the Post-Communist Context," 207.

<sup>75</sup> Seixas, "History in Schools," 275–76.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

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European integration is a pressing and controversial topic in our society. In the surrounding debate the Council of Europe is one of the foremost advocates of a European identity provided it is grounded in shared humanistic values and democratic security. For this the Council has attempted to instrumentalize history education as a mechanism of shaping (historic) memories and establishing and consolidating community. In its pursuits the Council has to contend with other forces that would rather see history education utilized for their own agendas. Chief among those is the agent traditionally in charge of setting the history curriculum, the National interest.

This thesis inquired into how the Council represented proper use and malpractice of history education in its policy discourse between 1991 and 2009. Using Seixas' terminology of disciplinary and memory practices of history as set out in the theoretical framework of the History / Memory matrix this thesis applied ideal types of practice to map the Council approach to educational politics. This provided insights on the development of the dynamics and relations involved in setting the history curriculum.

The first chapter assessed the establishment of a new baseline of discourse after the changes in the European context post-1990. This discourse centered around the theme of the *New Europe*. The Council of Europe legitimized its involvement in history education through the establishment of its long-term interest on the subject and portraying itself as an institution pursuing a broad agenda of humanitarian yet politically bipartisan objectives. This left the organization uniquely well suited to use history education for the promotion of tolerance and understanding in Europe. Misuse of history was framed as all those practices going against the Council's aims of European integration and fostering a European identity. These aims were considered in policy discourse as the logical and natural next step in the development of Europe. East and West would overcome their historical differences and come together on equal footing. In this, history education would be utilized to promote awareness and dialogue within the European community by utilizing memory practices, a decidedly ideological objective.

Analysis identified a considerable discrepancy between Council discourse and integration practice. Whilst the Council framed itself as bipartisan, serving solely to facilitate partnerships and distribute information, the criterion of a coming together of Europe would not be established by East and West holistically coming to a new understanding and identity. Rather, Central and Eastern nations

would have to in line with the values and practices already established in the West. The Council would in its pursuits also have to contest with state interests, which in both East and West prioritized the consolidation of their national identities over the promotion of a new pan-European community. These elements shook the pillars of legitimacy on which the Council relied for its involvement in educational politics, and the Council was accused of social engineering and diverting sovereignty away from the state. Having no response in its current discourse other than the narrative of universal support and lacking the authority to force its curriculum plans through, the Council increasingly relied on framing its involvement in history education as a goal in-and-of-itself towards the end of the period.

Second, I noted how the Council found an answer to the discrepancies in its logic of its policy discourse and the proceeding challenge to its legitimacy in the methodology of *multiperspectivity*. From 1997 onwards discourse on the Council's origin story, previously used to establish legitimacy, became distilled and the *New Europe* terminology fell out of use. The optimistic language that characterized the policy of the first period made way for more nuance in the descriptions of attitudes towards history education and its use for European integration. The Council started differentiating between school-, popular-, and academic practice of history in its policy discourse; framing its involvement in educational politics now as chiefly motivated by incorporating more academic practice in school history to counter traditional nationally biased historical narratives. In doing so the Council distanced itself from accusations of political manipulation. The operationalization of misuse of history education shifted accordingly. Misuse now included all practices that would utilize history to consolidate communities and identity relying on memory practices over scientific methods. In this the Council comes to frame state interests as the main antagonist to its efforts, and memory practices as applied solely towards to promotion of Nationalism. The Council also adopts the plight of the history educator who, like the Council itself, would see more academic competencies and Euro-centric themes in the history curriculum but are stifled by the established system. Whilst European unity was still at the forefront of the Council's approach during this period, the main line of discourse focused on a methodology of disciplinary practice. Disciplinary 'truth-finding' practice would lead to an increased understanding of 'the other' in Europe by countering the presence of National bias to steer historical interpretation. A European common consciousness resulting from these practices would be accredited to students arriving to Council values by thinking critically. Implied in the descriptions of multiperspectivity in its ideal use however, sat elements that would guide towards European perceptions. These included themes and topics to be discussed in classrooms which fit into the agenda of integration and common humanitarianism.

Finally, it was considered *if* and *how* Council policy discourse adapted when put to the test by practical implementation. The Council consistently applied its policy on history education and after 2004 did so within a growing framework of legal support, established both through its own efforts as by concurrent integrational processes of the European Union and other instances. This legal framework and the successful completion of Council projects cemented the legitimacy of the Council's involvement in educational politics. Consequently, the Council became assertive where using of history education proved pressing and effective: in (post) conflict zones, on controversial and sensitive topics, and in classroom level implementation. Council policy discourse shifted from the previous period, noting that merely incorporating disciplinary practices into the history curriculum was not enough to effectively counter the discord potential cultivated by misuse. Emphasizing practical use, the Council included elements of memory practice back into its policy discourse. Policy proved more effectively implemented on a regional scope, and language surrounding the national interest softened. The framing of misuse shifted accordingly. The affirmation of established identities through school history was held as a fundamental right. Yet, the influence of National bias could not impair the pursuit towards harmony and integration in Europe. Council policy increasingly focused on encoding these definitions of history practice and malpractice in the legal language of Europe, making them part of the official European regulations on history curriculum and shifting the position of power between Council and state actor. Council practice within between 2004 and 2009 could be located on the History / Memory matrix in the transitional zone between memory practice and disciplinary history, which Seixas deems "the ideal, 'bridge,' version of history education." The Council approach aims to promote understanding of the intricacy of historic processes and cultural entanglement, and policy acknowledges that *use* of history inherently involves narrative interpretation of history. In practice proper use of history in this period builds off identities and collective memories already present among students and contextualizes these in a larger context of history and (European) opportunity.<sup>1</sup> Paradoxically, Council practice simultaneously attempts to communicate the existence of multiple interpretations and narratives in the European historical process, and emphasize the readings of that process that would steer students towards a European consciousness.

Overall, over the course of the 1990s and 2000s Council of Europe policy discourse shifted accordingly to a complex and changing European context. Its approach to history education and operationalization of use and misuse thereof was based on the perceived position of itself and of others within this

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<sup>1</sup> Seixas, 275–76.

dynamic system of educational politics. Through analysis of sources over a longer timeframe legitimacy came forward as a central theme steering the course of these developments. The continued balancing act between the legitimacy of its involvement in history education reform and the effective pursuit of its ideological agenda guided the form and attitudes of policy discourse. Sources of legitimacy developed and fell out of use influenced by factors too numerous to comprehensively recount here, but included the Council's own discourse, its relation to others and its status in the field, but also advancements in European integration outside of the scope of education. Considering how central the pursuit of legitimacy turned out to be throughout the findings of this research, it seems surprising that it was not encountered in the preparatory phases of this research. The framework of legitimacy was not included in the theory supporting the thesis, nor was it encountered in the academic discussions consulted.

Whilst formation of the history curriculum might not be a zero-sum game in which the winner takes all, there are enough discordant opinions and agendas involved that success of one actor will be to the detriment others. This success hinges at least in part on the (perceived) level of legitimacy the actor and their agenda hold within the educational politics forming the history curriculum. The central source of legitimate authority over the history education is held on by state actors. This explains the disproportionate amount of attention the national level garners within Council policy discourse. The Council, by pursuing policy on a pan-European scope, finds itself in the precarious position of holding an agenda which would divert sovereignty away from the countries that make up its membership if accomplished successfully. As an institution it occupies an exceptional position as seen in line with the central pillar of scholarship on this topic which conceptualizes the educational politics of the history curriculum as a battle mainly fought between state interest and education innovator.<sup>2</sup> Beholden to this paradigm the Council is tasked with accumulating as much legitimacy as possible, ideally emphasizing sources that would take away from state assets, through the support of said states. Over assessed period the Council accomplished this by alternatively antagonizing and making concessions to the state, by framing itself as bipartisan by, appropriating state actors within its own framework to different degrees, and by forging alliances with academic history and history educators. However, the Council does not provide much in terms of academic nor philosophical arguments for the preference of its European scope over alternatives in policy discourse. Instead, discourse accentuates cases of nationalism gone awry in the past, which overlooks the many cases where national interest led to, not Stalinist and Nazi reign, but the opposition of such. Nationalism will be a factor working against

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<sup>2</sup> Keating et al., "Citizenship Education Curricula," 146; Grever and Stuurman, *Beyond the Canon*, 1; Lässig and Korostelina, "Introduction," 1–2.



Europeanization not only on the state level, but also in the hearts and minds of citizens who center their loyalty and identity primarily to the nation. The Council of Europe should take notice that by positioning itself in policy as opposed to nationalist ideology it closes off avenues of dialogue and understanding involving itself. Through the parallel development of European integration over time the Council could increasingly lean on the European legal and political frameworks established outside of educational politics. As integration will likely become only more intensive on all fronts it will become more politicized and the Council will feel a growing propensity to align with the European camp. Through this the Council would indeed lose its position of apolitical neutrality which proves so useful in connecting peoples. Not by choosing one state or system over the other, but by supporting the politics for Europeanization over that of the systems which would make it up. Whilst European integration will be to the ultimate benefit of humanitarian values and democratic security on the continent it has proven to be an unmercifully rapid process which deeply affects the core pillars of the cultural historical identity of many people. Council discourse would do well by acknowledged it as such.

Analysis indicated many interesting and promising discursive trends and codes which fell outside the scope of this research or had be excluded from the thesis for the sake of its length and conciseness of argument. One of the elements that was not prominent enough to form an analytic theme but should be mentioned is that Council policy refers to the imperative role it member countries hold in securing support, funding and initiative for Council programs on multiple occasions throughout the assessed periods. Three of the policy documents taken into consideration also carry the seal of approval of 'Heads of State and Government' of Council members. The relation between Council of Europe and state interest is thus not so uniformly antagonistic as the findings of this thesis might imply taken outside of their context. This thesis supports the notion prompted by Bevernage and Wouters that the state perspective and possibilities of history curriculum innovation within state context are inadequately represented in the academic debate and solicit further study.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Bevernage and Wouters, *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, 1–2.

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## Appendix A: Primary Sources & Periodization

**Table A.1:** Primary Sources, and unique codes per source

#	ARTICLE INFORMATION	CODES FINAL ROUND (TOTAL CODES)
<b>PERIOD 1 (1991-1996)</b>		
1	Maitland Stobart. 1992. "The Council of Europe and Education in the New Europe." <i>International Review of Education</i> 28, no. 6.	53 (74)
2	Council of Europe First Summit. 1992. <i>Vienna Declaration</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	39 (56)
3	Council for Cultural Co-operation. 1995. <i>Against Bias and Prejudice: The Council of Europe's work on history teaching and history textbooks</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	122 (167)
4	Council for Cultural Co-operation. 1996. <i>Mutual understanding and the teaching of European history: challenges, problems and approaches</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	6 (11)
5	Carmel Gallagher. 1996. <i>History Teaching and the Promotion of Democratic Values and Tolerance: A handbook for teachers</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	89 (144)
<b>PERIOD 2 (1997-2003)</b>		
6	Ann Low-Beer. 1997. <i>The Council of Europe and School History</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	98 (106)
7	Council of Europe Second Summit. 1995. <i>Declaration of Strasbourg</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	7 (19)
8	Robert Stradling. 2001. <i>Teaching 20th-Century European History / Enseigner l'histoire de l'Europe du 20th siècle</i> . Council of Europe Publishing.	74 (79)
9	Robert Stradling. 2003. <i>Multiperspectivity in History Teaching A guide for teachers</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	41 (49)
<b>PERIOD 3 (2004-2009)</b>		
10	Council of Europe (undisclosed editors). 2004. <i>Multiperspectivity in Teaching and Learning History</i> . Nicosia: Council of Europe Publishing.	41 (48)
11	Council of Europe Third Summit. 2005. <i>Warsaw Declaration</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	14 (19)
12	Council of Europe (undisclosed editors). 2006. <i>History Education in Europe: Ten years cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Council of Europe</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	10 (13)



13	Council of Europe Ministers of Foreign Affairs. 2008. <i>White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue: Living together as equals in dignity</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.	0 (10)
14	Parliamentary Assembly. 2009. <i>Recommendation 1880: History Teaching in Conflict and Post-conflict Areas</i> . Strasbourg: Council of Europe Committee on Culture, Science and Education.	20 (26)

**Table A.2:** Source Summary & Audience

#	ARTICLE SUMMARY	AUDIENCE
<b>PERIOD 1 (1991-1996)</b>		
1	Communication in academic article on stance and intent of the Council of Europe, Council for Cultural Co-operation over-arching policy objectives for the 1990s.	Scholars of educational politics
2	First ever summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe meeting in Vienna on October 9, 1993. Declarations and reflections on 'Reform of the control mechanism of the European Convention on Human Rights' and 'National Minorities.' Including final declaration and action plan.	Politically aligned
3	Reports and recommendations on history teaching and history textbooks adopted at Council of Europe conferences and symposia 1952-1995.	Interested Public CC-ED/HIST (95) 3
	pp. 5-12 Introduction on the Council of Europe and history teaching.	
	pp. 52-58 Symposium on "History Teaching in the New Europe" (Brugge, 1991).	
	pp. 59-61 Symposium on "The Teaching of History since 1815 with Special Reference to Changing Borders" (Leeuwarden, 1993).	
	pp. 62-63 Symposium on "History Teaching and European Awareness" (Delphi, 1994).	
	pp. 64-65 Symposium on "History, democratic values and tolerance in Europe: The experience of countries in democratic transition" (Sofia, 1994).	
	p. 67 Seminar on "History Teaching and Confidence Building: The case of Central and Eastern Europe" (Smolensk, 1995).	
4	Report of symposium on "Mutual understanding and the teaching of European History: Challenges, problems and approaches" (Prague, 1995).	Interested Public CC-ED/HIST (95) 16

5	Philosophical debate about the nature and potential of history teaching and summation of Council of Europe's findings on methodologies of the subject of classroom practice.	History educators
<b>PERIOD 2 (1997-2003)</b>		
6	Summation of Council past activity and discourse on history curriculum making, including parameters of school history and out of classroom practice.	Interested public with emphasis on history educators CC-ED/HIST (98)) 47
7	The Heads of State and Government of the 40 member States of the Council of Europe, meeting in Strasbourg on 10 and 11 October 1997 for the Second Summit, adopted, on 11 October 1997, the Final Declaration and Action Plan as appended to the present document.	Politically aligned
8	Part of Council for Cultural Co-operation project "learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century." Guide for Classroom use.	History educators
9	Teacher guide as part of Council of Europe coordination of the Working Group on History and History Teaching in South East Europe within the framework of the Stability Pact. Inspired in part by seminars "The beginnings of World War II in South East Europe" (Bled, 2001) and "The challenges facing history teachers in the 21st Century in a regional context" (Budapest, 2001).	History educators
<b>PERIOD 3 (2004-2009)</b>		
10	Presentations from seminars and workshop materials made by experts in history teaching from Cyprus, Spain and the United Kingdom several activities organised by the Council of Europe in co-operation with the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research and the Cyprus Turkish Secondary Education Teachers' Union. pp. 7-9 Gabriele Mazza. Preface on the Council of Europe and history teaching. pp. 15-22 Tatiana Milko. Presentation on "Teaching history without dividing lines: An overview of the Council of Europe's work in History Teaching."	Interested Public DGIV/EDU/HIST (2005)03
11	Third and final summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe meeting in Warsaw on May 16 and 17, 2005. Declarations and reflections on Statute of the Council of Europe: democracy, human rights, the rule of law.	Politically aligned
12	This publication analyses the experience and results achieved over ten years of co-operation between the Council of Europe and the Russian Federation in history teaching in schools. pp. 7-9 Gabriella Mazza. Preface on the Council of Europe and the Russian Federation.	Interested public with emphasis on Scholars of educational politics

	pp. 13-20	Tatiana Minkina-Milko. Introduction by Tatiana Minkina-Milko, programme manager, history education division, Council of Europe.	
13		Argument in the name of the governments of the 47 member states of the Council of Europe that any common future and European identity depend on the ability to safeguard and develop human rights, as enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights, democracy and the rule of law and to promote mutual understanding.	Interested public with emphasis on internal use
14		Parliamentary Assembly recommendation following up on Recommendation 1283 (1996) on history and the learning of history in Europe. Report on assembly debate of the Committee on Culture, Science and Education. Text adopted by the Assembly on 26 June 2009 (26th Sitting).	Internal use

## Appendix B: Coding System

**Table B.1:** MAXQDA Project Information

<b>Document groups</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>PDF documents</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Image documents</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Codes</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>Coded segments</b>	<b>1033</b>
<b>Paraphrased documents</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Focus group contributions</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Code sets</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Memos</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>Document memos</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>In-document memos</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Code memos</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Document variables</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Code variables</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Internal links</b>	<b>3</b>

**Table B.2:** Coding System<sup>1</sup>

<b>CODE SYSTEM</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>
<b>CODE LABEL</b>	1033
Period 3 Round 1 – Premise & Inference	95
Period 2 Round 1 – Premise & Inference	220
Period 1 Round 1 – Premise & Inference	113
Objective	22
Alternative - the danger	20
Objective - Direct (Student Skills)	8
Objective - Ideological (CoE)	16
Method	54
Textbooks	4

<sup>1</sup> This overview is limited to second degree sub-codes. Codes center around the topic of use and misuse of history education in Europe.

Thematic	4
Approaches in the Field	16
Other	4
CoE - Humanist	5
Policy -> Practice	23
Legitimization	18
Themes in Formulation (wording)	29
'Nationalism'	12
'History Edu' definition	7
Upon 'invitation' 'request' 'recommendation'	2
"Urge" "Invite" "call upon"	2
Of geographical divide	8
of Culture and Education	2
Metaphors	1
Blank Slate ('New')	10
"Dramatic" change	7
Framing 1 (inclusive)	4
Actors	15
Limitations/Constraints/Challenges	13
Sources of Legitimacy	11
Types of History	14
Baseline of Normalcy & 'Natural' State	23
Scope (range/means of ...)	43
'Key'	4
'Propaganda'	3
Framing 2 (exclusive)	7
Lack of Methodology	1
Executive Power/Legitimacy	2
Actors within the System	13
National Security	3
Economic Considerations	0
East v. West	13
Stories and Narratives	25
Antagonist	25
European Context Origin Story	15
CoE Origin Story	5

## Appendix C: Abstract & Key terms

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### Abstract

This thesis examines the development of Council of Europe policy discourse on history education from 1991 until 2009. Themes in policy language, framing and operationalization of ‘use’ and ‘misuse’ of history education are investigated over three periods and the Council approach is located using the History / Memory matrix as conceived by Peter Seixas. The Council wants to mobilize history education for peace, prosperity and cooperation within Europe. The language of policy through which it attempts to achieve this shifts over time, driven by a complex and changing European dynamic through which Council and context influence each other. Through thematic policy discourse analysis the periods are identified to center around (1991 - 1996) New Europe discourse, characterized by frameworks of positivity and memory practices; (1997 - 2003) Multiperspectivity, the formulation of a methodology, cooption of academic history and educators, disciplinary practice and an increasingly antagonistic relation with state interests; (2004-2009) Complex history, emphasizing practice and policy implementation towards a bridging approach incorporating both academic and ‘life’ practice. Overall, it is determined that the Council of Europe must balance retaining its legitimacy as a neutral actor within education politics with the effective pursuit of its ideological agenda. It does so by framing of its role, objectives, and relations according to the educational politics of the history curriculum. Over time the Council comes to rely more on parallel processes of European integration and its discourse becomes institutionalized in the political and legal language of Europe. The findings of this thesis expose latent elements of Council of Europe policy discourse and raise questions about the connotations of propaganda, the dominant academic framework positioning education innovator against state interest, and the limitations of forces currently forming European integration.

### Keywords

*Council of Europe, history education, curriculum, European history, European integration, history misuse, post-Cold War, multiperspectivity, state authority, complex history, policy discourse analysis, educational politics, Seixas, history / memory matrix, academic history, New History, complex history*