Citizenship Education Facing Nationalism and Populism in Europe

Strategies - Competencies - Practices

Sofia, Bulgaria, November 6-8, 2008

www.bpb.de/nece
New forms of nationalist and populist movements have emerged in Europe. A protest phenomenon just a few years ago, individual parties have now established themselves in the multi-party system. What began as a fringe campaign has become a challenge for politics and political systems in many EU nations. Some popular prejudices seem to have become distressingly illiberal and even racist. Recent opinion polls found that 46% of Spaniards, 36% of Poles and 25% of Germans had negative views of Jews; and 52% of Spaniards, 50% of Germans, 46% of Poles and 38% of French people had negative views of Muslims. Media often serve as a platform for anti-immigrant and xenophobic feelings of voters.

**A Pan-European Trend**

In Eastern and Southeastern Europe economic insecurity and disparities, along with corruption and a general ideological disorientation, have led to a “post-accession syndrome”. “Culture”, “identity” and “national history” are seen by many citizens as their only remaining resources – loaded with mixed feelings of pride, humiliation and self-assertion. At the same time the failed referendums on Maastricht and Lisbon show that populist and nationalist slogans continue to make their impact on the political landscape in core European countries. Is Europe marching backwards – as Umberto Eco suggested some time ago?

The 4th European conference of the NECE-Network (Networking European Citizenship Education; [www.bpb.de/nece](http://www.bpb.de/nece)) wants to encourage fresh thinking on these new and complicated issues. Citizenship educators from all over Europe will meet in Sofia to exchange best practices and to discuss adequate solutions. We invite you to join our efforts to seek for new concepts and practical solutions in dealing with the “mysteries of nationalism, with all their shameless games with shadows and mirrors, and their enormous creative power”. (Neal Ascherson)

Christoph Müller-Hofstede, M.A., Federal Agency for Civic Education
Ulla Kux, Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future
Sigrid Steininger, The Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts and Culture/Department for Citizenship Education
Dr. Rudolf Bartsch, Goethe Institute Bulgaria
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Thursday, November 6, 2008
3:00 -
5:00 p.m. „Seeking traces” A guided walk through Sofia. Conference guests visit specific historically and politically relevant venues and sites.
Meeting point: Hilton Hotel, 1 Bulgaria Blvd., Sofia

From
5:00 p.m. Registration at the Conference Location
6:00 p.m. Reception in the Hilton Lobby

7:30 p.m. Welcome Address
Georgi Pirinski, President of the Bulgarian Parliament (Sofia)

Opening Address
Thomas Krüger, President of the Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bonn)

Conference moderator: Dita Asiedu, journalist (Prague)

8:00 p.m. Keynote Speech
“National Populism versus Democracy?
Challenges for Citizenship Education in the enlarged EU”
Claus Leggewie, Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (Essen)

Discussion with
Selma Muhic-Dizdarevic, Charles University (Prague)
Julian Popov, Bulgarian School of Politics (Sofia)
Daliborka Ulijarevic, Centre for Civic Education (Podgorica)
Friday, November 7, 2008

9:30 a.m. Introduction to the Workshops

10:00 a.m. Coffee Break / Poster Session

10:30 a.m. Parallel Workshops

- Workshop I: Media and Communication: New Ways of Responding to Media Populism. (Room: Aleko I & II)
- Workshop II: Cultural Memory and History: How can National and European History be Reconciled? (Room: Moussala I)
- Workshop III: Minority Issues: Are Roma, Immigrants and Muslims Europe’s New Scapegoats? (Room: Moussala II)
- Workshop IV: Curriculum Development and Schoolbooks: Searching for New Contents and Methods. (Room: Rozhen)

1:00 p.m. Lunch

2:30 p.m. Continuation of the Workshops

4:30 p.m. Coffee Break / Poster Session

5:00 - 6:30 p.m. “East-West Concepts of Nationalism in the Light of EU Integration”

Stefan Auer, La Trobe University (Melbourne)
Marek Cichocki, European Centre Natolin (Warsaw)
Fabrice Larat, National School of Administration (Strasbourg)

Moderation: Vessela Tcherneva, Centre for Liberal Strategies (Sofia)

7:00 p.m. Bus Transfer to the “Military Club”

Saturday, November 8, 2008

10:00 a.m. World Café: Presentation of and discussion on recommendations and proposals from the workshop session (Room: Moussala I & II)

Introduced and moderated by Helle Becker, expert and project manager in citizenship education (Essen)

11:30 a.m. Concluding Statements and Discussion

Imagine Europe in the 21st Century

Giuliano Amato, Former Prime Minister of Italy, Chairman of the International Balkan Commission (Rome)

Nikolay Mladenov, Member of the European Parliament (Sofia)

1:00 p.m. Conclusions and Farewell

1:15 p.m. Lunch
Parallel Workshop Sessions, Friday, November 7, 2008

10:30 a.m. – 1:00 p.m. / 2:30 – 4:30 p.m.

Short inputs and presentations are intended to spark the debate among all participants. The workshops are asked to conclude their sessions with three central recommendations and proposals for theory and practice of citizenship education in Europe.

Workshop I: Media and Communication: New Ways of Responding to Media Populism.

Yildiz Akdogan, Member of the Folketing for the Social Democratic Party (Copenhagen)
Anja Besand, Ludwigsburg University of Education (Ludwigsburg)
Hajo Boomgaarden, Department of Communication Science of the University of Amsterdam (Amsterdam)

Introduction and Moderation: Christian Mihr, n-ost (Berlin)

The workshop will reflect on the role played by the media (including the Internet) in the propagation of populist slogans and proposals in a variety of national contexts. Additionally, the workshop will discuss the reactions of civil society and the public sphere to populist (nationalist, xenophobic) campaigns in the media. The central questions in the workshop are:

1. What competencies, formats and models of citizenship education are necessary to address the phenomenon of ‘media populism’?
2. What shapes does media publicity take in Western and in Eastern Europe? What are the similarities? What are the differences?
3. How can we create a European platform that would function as a starting point for establishing a European public sphere? What should it look like?

Aims of the NECE Network

The overarching idea of the NECE activities is to develop European approaches to citizenship education and to promote the emergence of a European sense of citizenship. Therefore the Network is seeking:

- to increase the transparency of citizenship education by connecting the institutions and professionals in this field
- to exchange know-how and expertise
- to support the transfer of models and knowledge
- to create a forum for the transnational discussion on important fields of activity in citizenship education
- to encourage international dialogue between academics, researchers and practitioners
- to provide a networking platform for practitioners and experts

Activities of the NECE Network

Conferences
Workshops
Seminars
Database
Newsletter (starting in 2009)
Workshop II: Cultural Memory and History: How can National and European History be Reconciled?

Alicja Pacewicz, Center for Citizenship Education (Warsaw)
Levent Soysal, Kadir Has University (Istanbul)
Luise Tremel, Federal Agency for Civic Education (Berlin)
Mila Zaharieva-Schmolke, journalist (Berlin)

Introduction and Moderation: Evelina Kelbetcheva, American University in Bulgaria (Sofia)

The workshop will examine the impact of citizenship education on the European discourse of remembrance and the interpretation of history. How do different views of historical events and national feelings of victimization affect the relationships between nations and the process of European unification? By looking at education projects in different national contexts, the workshop participants will seek to identify new ways to approach issues such as national, regional and European identities in citizenship education.

The central questions in the workshop are:

• Has there been a renaissance of national history (a resuscitation of national discourse) in Europe?
• Could the different traditions of national history – with their emotional baggage and attitudes – be ‘abolished’ by a European identity?
• How can national history be understood in a new, more self-critical fashion?
• What formats, models and instruments of citizenship education could support this process?

Workshop III: Minority Issues: Are Roma, Immigrants and Muslims Europe’s New Scapegoats?

Valeriu Nicolae, European Roma Grassroots Organisations (Bucharest)
Ilona Tomova, Bulgarian Academy of Science (Sofia)

Introduction and Moderation: Selma Muhic-Dizdarevic, Charles University (Prague)

The way Europe deals with ethnic and religious minorities has both positive and negative aspects. In spite of a number of initiatives and programmes for fostering inclusion and fighting discrimination at both national and European levels, stereotyped and inferiorized images of ‘immigrants’, ‘Roma’ and ‘Muslims’ are still common in the public debate. Populist campaigns are generally based on platforms that take aim at foreigners and minorities. The aim of this workshop is to discuss theoretical and practical approaches to an innovative role of citizenship education when it comes to discussing the problems of a pluralistic society.

The central questions in the workshop are:

• Recognition and differences: how can the protection of (religious and cultural) minority rights best strike a balance with the neutrality of the state?
• Do we have to develop special citizenship education methods and approaches for minorities?
• What do we have to do to drive forward the European/transnational project of citizenship education?

Avril Keating, National Foundation for Educational Research (Cambridge)
Ulrich Pfeil, University Jean Monnet (Paris)
Corine Defrance, National Centre for Scientific Research (Paris)
Christo Todorov, University of Sofia (Sofia)

Introduction and Moderation: Manfred Wirtitsch, Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture (Vienna)

The workshop will discuss nationalist and populist developments in politics and society and the challenge they pose to curricula and textbook design.

The central questions in the workshop are:

• How is transnational citizenship education perceived in teacher training activities and events? How is it implemented in school curricula?

• What impact do textbooks have on the development of identity and the propagation and/or demystification of nationalist values and stereotypes?

• Textbooks provide an awareness of Europe and the European Union: Are there exemplary projects we can learn from?

• What deficits and what accomplishments can be seen in a transnational citizenship education textbook and curricula planning system?

Workshop V: Concepts and Practices in Southeastern Europe: How can Citizenship Education be Made More Popular?

Ivaylo Ditchev, University St. Kliment Ohridsky (Sofia)
Caroline Hornstein-Tomic, Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences (Zagreb)
Daliborka Uljarevic, Centre for Civic Education (Montenegro)

Introduction and Moderation: Rayna Gavrilova, Trust for Civil Society in Central & Eastern Europe (Sofia)

The workshop will identify and describe citizenship education in Southeastern Europe, compare country-specific approaches, and provide new impulses for a more pan-European citizenship education in the region.

The central questions in the workshop are:

• What significance do citizenship education activities have in Southeastern Europe, and what are the general conditions for citizenship education in schools and institutions for adult education?

• What are the central topics of citizenship education in Southeastern Europe? What are the conceptual commonalities and differences with a ‘traditional’ Western European understanding of the field?

• Are there best practices which could provide an example for educators and practitioners? How can the transfer of experiences best be organized?
Reflections

Promoting Democracy between Ethnicity and Nation-building in the Western Balkan Region

One of the key issues in the 21st century is the question of our ability to live with differences because the local consequences of transnational and transcultural mobility, migration, and the integration into trade, data and knowledge streams lead to both cultural homogeneity and amplified diversity. The Western Balkan region has been drawn into these global currents for quite some time. That alone is reason enough to expect that the area will retain its ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism – not as historic baggage, but as part of a post-socialist, globalised and internationally networked future.

All of the young nations in the area have yet to create a truly trans-ethnic concept of national integration. Attempts by stakeholders in civil society to create trans-ethnic structures and terminologies in the post-conflict societies in the region have largely failed. They have usually shown that approaches which are theoretical, out of touch, and implemented by external forces are irreconcilable with local realities.

The legitimacy of a state is based on its ability to ensure the social and economic integration of all its citizens, regardless of their ethnic identity. Can we positively assert that this is occurring in each of the states in this region? What about refugee and returnee access to social security systems, what about the situation of the Roma? When it comes to the legal aspects of minority protection, a lot of progress has been made. But the deciding factor is the practical application of laws. And measures aimed at protecting minorities can only be effective if the minorities themselves participate actively in the political life of a country, and when they are adequately represented in institutional structures. In this sense, participation in politics is an instrument for the protection of minorities. Investment in the education of young people is of elementary importance for the development of civil society in the region. By granting them mobility and a tangible change of perspectives, we will help establish attitudes that are both civil and marked by respect and empathy for others. In turn, these attitudes will provide a stance of citizenship against the nationalist and ethnocentric idyll of homogeneity.

The task is to overcome the ethnically divided public spheres, the segmented education systems and the discourse on truth, which are hindering the ability to merge differing perspectives – in other words, to provide objectivity. The “competition between victims” is still a dominant concept that helps hide the deeds carried out by one’s own group. The one-sided presentation of history in school textbooks needs to be expanded to include multi-perspective approaches, and a few textbook projects are moving in this direction.

Caroline Hornstein Tomic, Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences (Zagreb)
Citizenship beyond Place? Negative Citizenship?

Citizenship undergoes a historic metamorphosis: mobility starts to be considered as a right and supported by a growing number of political, juridical, economic and technological developments. The basic change consists in the fact that the privilege of the locals over the newcomers tends to disappear. Thus leaving one's home for the first time in history is not necessarily accompanied by efforts, risks or lowering of status. Even if migrants still are mistreated in many places, there is a deep change in the official attitude towards them (at least within the EU or the USA) reflected in legislation and public opinion. The result of such tendency is the gradual break of the fatal link between person and home territory: citizenship within the developed part of the global world thus tends to become a sort of marketplace, where the individual person chooses between different economic opportunities, cultural affinities, quality of life, social rights etc.

Such undeniable gain on the level of individual choice is very often accompanied by an overall lowering of citizenship standards. The migrants are more docile and participate less in socio-political actions as civic responsibility has always been linked to the imaginary of territorial belonging. In our fluid world not only power operates through evasion, as Baumann had it, but also resistance: it takes the form of “voting with one’s feet”, networking, adopting translocal values and imagery. Such negative citizenship based on the choice one makes on the marketplace to take or leave the offer of the concrete locality is playing nowadays a growing role in economy, urban development, investment, tourism, and may be tomorrow – in politics.

For more visit www.ivayloditchev.cult.bg
Reflections

East-West Concepts of Nationalism in the Light of EU Integration

When debating about the virtues of nationalism in the light of EU integration, a line of demarcation seems to run through Europe between citizens of Western countries on the one hand and those from Central and Eastern European countries on the other. This particularly holds true in combination with interpretation of the past as part of national and of what could be our common European identity. Collective memories in Europe after the Eastern enlargement are split up and by far not always consensual. The dark shadows of Europe's pasts that are the memories of wars, military occupation, genocides and totalitarianism obviously represent a new kind of invisible but omnipresent wall dividing the continent. This historical curtain is made up of misunderstandings, prejudices, and competing and conflicting memories that together lead to dissension, and sometimes to mutual accusations between EU member states.

At the same time, the EU itself can be understood as the result of a process aiming at overcoming this kind of tensions. In the EC and EU Treaties, and especially in their Preambles, different narratives that link the unification of Europe with the history of the old continent can be found. Besides giving indications of the objectives and goals of the process of integration, they strive to highlight elements of continuity between the current situation and events from the past, as well as to root the new initiatives in a long and fertile tradition.

The core values of European integration expressed in the leading narratives of the history of European integration have, with time, been crystallized into a corpus of guiding principles and soft norms implicitly intended to conduct the politics of the Union. They are all related to the official interpretation of the past and build together the historically based objectives of European unification.

Yet, the content of what this acquis historique communautaire is or should be is also a subject of dissension. According to Marek Cichocki, with the accession of countries from East-Central Europe to the EU, the grand narrative of a uniquely Western Heritage of European integration must change and today's EU, and especially the old members have to take into account the experiences of the new member states. Such a criticism shall be taken very seriously, since, as Stefan Auer argues, the ongoing contest about European identity is ultimately a contest about the actual purpose of European integration.

In a multi-national entity like the EU with some supra-national competences, we can assume that the stability of the political community in the making is better served by constructing a polity-based identity which looks towards the common future than by referring to exclusive national identities that are based on competing and partly mutually opposed historical memories. Even if we believe that European people share a community of destiny, it remains to clarify how much national feeling - and which kind of it - the new community can support, without developing centrifugal forces that could lead to major conflicts within the Union.

All this raises a series of important questions which should be discussed in this panel:

- Which forms of nationalism are compatible with the guiding principles of EU integration as developed so far?
- Is there - and do we need - a sovereign and legitimate interpretative power for Europe's history? In case we need some, who shall do it, from which perspective and according to which values?
- Does the necessity for the EU member states to come to terms with their own past implies a kind of “droit de regard” on the history of the other EU member states?
Interview

Julian Popov, Bulgarian School of Politics (Sofia)

NECE: Nationalist movements in politics and media - is Europe drifting backwards? Or is this a future model?

Julian Popov:
We might be entering a post nationalistic world where we should not be surprised to see nationalism both rise and fade away. It will rise because people need to reaffirm their identity in a globalised and very crowded world. Parties and media will respond to this demand by maintaining patriotic phraseology and producing nationalistic slogans. International alliances, such as the European Union will encourage policies of cultural, ethnic and national diversity as well as decentralisation of government. There might be more schools teaching Welsh and we might see revival of forgotten national traditions. However this will all happen in the form of festive policies that will compensate the decline of national sovereignty in a very interdependent world. At the same time nationalism is fading away because nations are disappearing in the form we know them from the history textbooks. How could we talk seriously about nations when Skype has more than 300 million subscribers? How can nationalism survive in a world that could suddenly be gripped by a global financial economic crisis, which can only be addressed globally? How can you differentiate between Spanish and South African CO2? You can’t. In a world that is rapidly recognising climate change as one of its main economic, environmental, political and even security problems talking about nationalism is like talking about steam engines - they are still around, we still learn about them in school, but nobody will use one to get to work.

Nationalist enthusiasm however will reappear from time to time as an indicator of a political vacuum. When the mainstream political parties lose public confidence, nationalists quickly fill the gap. In the French presidential elections of 2002, Jean-Marie Le Pen obtained 17% in the first round and made it through to the second round. The simple reason was not the rise of nationalism but the decline of confidence of French citizens in mainstream politicians. The recent success of the two main nationalist parties in Austria could be explained better by the weakness of the two coalition government parties rather than some sudden raise of Austrian nationalism. The success of the Bulgarian Ataka is also very much a result of poor performance of the mainstream parties.

This trend however should not be described as drifting backwards. It is just that when you abandon your house, squatters can move in.

NECE: How would you evaluate the developments in West and East Europe on these issues?

Julian Popov:
We should worry not so much about nationalism as about the lack of engaging political ideas and the inability of many politicians to inspire the voters and win the confidence of voters. We should also worry about the inability of the international community to act decisively and prevent conflicts. The wars in the Balkans could have been prevented or at least their tragic impact greatly reduced by a firm and swift international action. The hesitation and bureaucratic diplomacy of UN and to a large extent, the EU, can cost many lives and prolong suffering of whole nations.

The inability of Europe to create a clear position on some of the most important issues of our time is a serious cause for concern. Europe seems to be unable to reach a convincing common position on issues like energy, Russia or agriculture. On one hand people feel that more and more power is shifted towards Brussels. On the other hand they cannot hear a clear voice from there addressing their concerns. It is not surprising that people do not trust the EU when it comes to national security issues for instance. That is one of the reasons why most East European countries turned their back on the strong French and German position against the invasion of Iraq and supported the US.
Interview

NECE: How should citizenship education and civil society react to these phenomena?

Julian Popov: European enlargement did not address one major issue - education. In most new member states education standards have declined, in some countries (Bulgaria and Romania) dramatically. I believe that first of all governments and civil society should address the issue of general quality of education. That includes both high academic standards and proper access to good education for all. It sounds simple but achieving such goal is depressingly difficult.

Second, I think that citizenship education should be participative and not instructive education. Taking a class to a police station is much better approach than lecturing about public institutions.

Children and young people should be involved actively in charity work, they should simply spend time helping others. Others in their communities and others abroad. Governments and NGOs should help all educational institutions in their charity work. Governments should spend substantial amounts of money to support the small voluntary sector and the involvement of educational institutions in it, rather than introduce more instructive classes of citizenship.

There is a role for traditional learning as well. In addition to raising overall educational standards, we should make an effort to learn history. Proper history. Not history of the EU but history of Europe and the world. We should also learn history from other nations’ point of view. France should try to learn the English history of France and England should try to learn the French history of England. This approach is particularly relevant to the Balkans where each event is presented in many different and completely contradicting history lessons. We should learn about ourselves through the eyes of the others.

The roots of nationalism are usually fed by historical ignorance. Here the mass media should also play its role. That role might be painful, controversial but the media, especially the national media, has the duty to present academically sound history lessons and combat the childish ignorance of the nationalistic misinterpretations of history.

Background of the NECE Network

The circumstances surrounding citizenship education are characterized by the internationalisation of politics, finance, and culture. NECE promotes the transfer of skills and know-how across national borders. It provides a forum for an interdisciplinary approach to problems, as well as helping to identify areas of citizenship education that need further work. A wide variety of cooperating partners and target groups are integrated in the Network’s activities, as are scholars affiliated with relevant institutions. NECE is a programme that supplements and supports existing initiatives.

NECE Workshops

• School as a Democratic Space, 2005, London, Great Britain
• Citizenship Education Within the Context of European Migration and Minorities, 2005, Krzyzowa, Poland
• The Politics of Memory in European Migration Societies: Consequences for Citizenship Education, 2006, Berlin, Germany
• The Impacts of National Identities for European Integration as a Focus for Citizenship Education, 2007, Tallinn, Estonia

NECE Conferences

• Networking European Citizenship Education, 2004, Santiago de Compostela, Spain
• Rethinking Citizenship Education in European Migration Societies, Political Strategies - Social Changes - Educational Concepts, 2007, Lisbon, Portugal
A special guided city tour through Sofia, November 6, 2008 (guide: Elita Stanoeva)

"Seeking traces" by Stanoeva

The tour will trace the history of the city as a series of transitions. Since 1899, the word "transition" has become synonymous with an abject failure, the ruin of the hopes for the future to come. From the national independence (1878) onwards, the political transitions experienced by the country were marked by a strong antagonism to the past -- the anti-Qinling regime of the newly independent Bulgarian state (1934-1944), the anti-totalitarian and anti-mass action ideology of the state socialism (1944-1989), and the dismantling of communism after 1989. In the architectural context of the city, this antagonism is expressed in the rending of public space through the memorialisation of the past. This process has been, and continues to be, a setting for the emplacement of material symbols of the past, highlighting the urban policies embraced by local authorities or imposed by the central power throughout the 130 years of the Bulgarian nation-state. It will visit some "hot spots" of public debates, currently or in the past.
Biographies

Yildiz Akdogan is a Member of the Folketing for The Social Democratic Party. Yildiz Akdogan is born in Turkey. She is Socialdemokratiets candidate in Brønshøjkredsen from 2007. She was a political consultant at the Danish Chamber of Commerce in 2007. From 2004 to 2006 she worked as assistant at the Confederation of Danish Industries. Since 2004 she is chairwoman of the network Turkey in the EU and member of the management committee of and spokes woman for Democratic Muslims from 2005. She is also a freelance journalist for the Danish-Turkish newspaper, “HABER”, and now a regular columnist and member of the editorial board of TV-Bella.

Giuliano Amato was twice prime minister of Italy. He holds an M.A. in Comparative Law. Full Professor of Comparative Constitutional Law at the University of Rome, School of Political Science, from 1975 to 1997, he is Professor Emeritus of the EUI in Florence and gives yearly seminars at the Law School of the N.Y Columbia University. A Member of Parliament for 18 years, he was Under Secretary to the Prime Minister’s Office, Minister for the Treasury, Minister for Constitutional Reforms, Minister of Interior and Deputy Prime Minister. He also headed the Italian Antitrust Authority from 1994 to 1997 and was Vice-President of the Convention on the Future of Europe (2002/2003) and Chairman of the International Commission on the Balkans.

Dita Asiedu is an event manager at Marcus Evans. She studied political science and graphic communications at the City University of New York. Dita Asiedu has been working as a journalist in Prague for the last eight years. Since 2004, she has been co-producing “Insight Central Europe”, a weekly programme with contributions from public service broadcasters in the Visegrad countries and Slovenia. Half African, she is also interested in minority groups in Central Europe and has produced various features mainly on the experiences of the African and Roma communities in the region.

Stefan Auer is a Senior Lecturer in history and politics at La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia, and the Deputy Director of the Innovative Universities European Union (IUEU) Centre. Prior to this, he was Lecturer (2001-2006) and Academic Director (2004-2005) of the Dublin European Institute, University College Dublin. His book “Liberal Nationalism in Central Europe” won the prize for Best Book in European Studies (2005) with the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES). He has published articles in “Critical Horizons”, “East European Politics and Societies”, “Europe-Asia Studies”, “Nationalism and Ethnic Politics”, “Osteuropa” and elsewhere.

Helle Becker is a culture and education expert who worked at international level until 1995. Since then, she has worked as a freelance writer, public relations officer, project manager and training specialist with the offices of “Expertise & Kommunikation für Bildung” in Essen. Her areas of expertise include education theory, civic and cultural education, European and international youth and education activities, anti-racism/human rights, globalisation, civil society, training in sustainable development, cultural interaction, EU policies, working with intermediation between schools and youth help programmes. Helle Becker has worked for a number of periodicals and news agencies as a columnist and reporter. She has also lectured at a variety of institutions of higher learning, and has written many articles for publication in works such as Bildung in der Europäische Union.

Anja Besand has been “Juniorprofessor”, Assistant Professor, at the Institute for Social Science, College of Education in Ludwigsburg, Germany, since October 2004. From 1998 to September 2004 she worked as a research assistant at the Department for Social Science and Cultural Studies, University of Giessen, Germany. Her areas of expertise include Theory of Education, Socialisation and Civic Education, Aesthetics and Media, Cultural studies and Politics. Currently, she is working on her postdoctoral thesis on: “The Transfer of Generations in the Process of Civic Education in the Federal Republic of Germany”.

Dita Asiedu is an event manager at Marcus Evans. She studied political science and graphic communications at the City University of New York. Dita Asiedu has been working as a journalist in Prague for the last eight years. Since 2004, she has been co-producing “Insight Central Europe”, a weekly programme with contributions from public service broadcasters in the Visegrad countries and Slovenia. Half African, she is also interested in minority groups in Central Europe and has produced various features mainly on the experiences of the African and Roma communities in the region.
Hajo Georg Boomgaard is currently Assistant Professor for Political Communication at the Department of Communication and the Amsterdam School of Communications Research (ASCoR) at the University of Amsterdam. He is also a post-doctoral researcher for NORFACE-funded project “Religion, Media, and Euroskepticism (REM)” and the Dutch National Science Foundation-funded project “Communication and Europe”. In 2007 he completed his Ph.D. on immigration news and effects on public opinion at the University of Amsterdam. He has published in international journals such as Communication Research and International Journal of Public Opinion Research.

Marek Aleksander Cichocki is Curriculum Director of the Centre of International Relations in Warsaw since 2000 and the Curriculum Director of the European Centre in Natolin since 2004 as well as Editor-in-chief of the magazine “New Europe. Natolin Review”. Since 2003 he is also publisher and Editor-in-chief of the “Teologia Polityczna”. In 1998 he was awarded a Ph.D. in human sciences in the area of philosophy from IFiS PAN. From 2000 to 2002 he lectured political sciences at the M. Wa kowicz Higher School of Journalism. Marek Cichocki is the author of many books, essays, articles and dissertations on international relations - i.a. “Poland – European Union, halfway” (2002), “Europe Kidnapped” (2004), “Power and Remembrance” (2006).


Ivaylo Ditchev is currently a Professor of cultural anthropology in the Department of History and Theory of Culture at Sofia University’s philosophy faculty. He holds a Ph.D. in philosophy and a Ph.D. in the history of ideas. In 2002, he habilitated in sociology in Sofia. He is also in charge of the Centre for the Anthropology of Places and Communications and an M.A. program in cultural anthropology at Sofia University. Ivaylo Ditchev is also an active columnist, writing for both the Bulgarian and German press. His most recent research interests are the anthropology of media, Balkan cities in transition, the impact of EU enlargement on national political cultures, and communism and its repercussions: symbols, rituals, propaganda, power.

Dessislava Gavrilova is founder-director (together with Tzvetelina Iossifova) of the Red House Centre for Culture and Debate. From 2005 onwards, Dessislava Gavrilova is also Director of the Center for Arts and Culture of the Central European University, Budapest. She established and ran the Open Society Institute - Budapest Performing Arts Network Programme (1997-2000) with the aim of stimulating independent artistic work and innovation across Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet republics. She did a research on the cultural policy of Britain at the University of Oxford, UK. She is a guest lecturer at the Cultural Studies department of Sofia University. Program host at RFI radio and also member of an expert group on cultural policy change in Sofia, Bulgaria. Her publications – in national and international daily and specialized press – are on topics ranging from current civil society and public policy issues, to cultural policies and the practices of the performing arts.
Biographies

Rayna Gavrilova is currently Executive Director at the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe. She holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Sofia St. Kliment Ohridski. She was Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy (1999-2000) at Sofia St. Kliment Ohridski. She was Fulbright fellow at Harvard University (1986-1987), research fellow at the Annenberg Institute for Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, visiting professor in Macalister College, Saint Paul, USA (1995-1996), researcher in Maison des Sciences de l’Homme in Paris (1998). In 2000 Rayna Gavrilova was appointed Deputy Minister of Culture, responsible for Regional Policy, International Cooperation and European Integration. In 2001 she became Executive Director of the Open Society Institute – Sofia. In 2005 she was named Executive Director of the Trust for Civil Society in CEE. Rayna Gavrilova is a member of the Capacity Building Committee of the European Foundation Center, of the Advisory Board of the European Cultural Foundation and of the International Committee of the Council on Foundations, USA.

Avril Keating, Dr., is Co-coordinator of the European Education Policy Network and a Senior Research Officer at the National Foundation for Educational Research, UK. Avril Keating’s recent research has focused on the impact of European integration on citizenship and the interaction of national and European policy institutions. She is currently working on a longitudinal survey of citizenship education in England, as well as projects on citizenship education assessment policies, and the impact of multi-level governance on education policy and practice in England.

Evelina Kelbetcheva is an Associate Professor of History at the American University in Bulgaria. She holds a master in history from the Sofia university and a Ph.D. in History and History of Culture. Her research interests include Bulgarian intelligentsia between the wars, Bulgarian cultural identity, ethnic identity and political action in post-cold war Europe, organizations of Bulgarian anarchists, urban culture between modernization and socialist realism (trends in Bulgaria), Bulgarian culture during World War One, political immigration from Bulgaria – different stages and agendas, institutionalization and Europeanization of cultural policy: 1878 - 1944, the Balkans: cultural life and political relations, war and creativity, the spirit of denunciation – main characteristic of the humanistic intelligentsia, ornamentation of the Thracian ceramics during the early Iron Age.

Thomas Krüger is the President of the German Federal Agency for Civic Education (FACE). In 1989, he was a founding member of the Social Democratic Party in the former East Germany, and he became executive director of the SPD in Berlin (East) in 1990. After a stint as first deputy to the mayor of East Berlin, he became deputy chairman of the SPD in Berlin (East/West) from 1990 to 1992. From 1991 to 1994 he worked as the city’s Senator for Youth and Family Affairs. Thomas Krüger was also a member of the German Parliament, the Bundestag, from 1994 to 1998, a board member of the cultural forum of the SPD, and a member of Berlin’s International City Commission.

Fabrice Larat is Director of the Centre of Expertise and Research on Public Administration (CERA), École Nationale d’Administration, Strasbourg. Until August 2008 he was research fellow at the Centre for European Social Research at the University of Mannheim and project manager of CON-NEX, an EU funded network of excellence dedicated to the topic “Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-level Europe”. He is graduate of Lyon’s Institut d’Études Politiques and of the Graduate Institute of European Studies.
in Geneva. He holds a PhD in contemporary history from the Institut d Etudes Politiques of Paris.

Claus Leggewie has been the Director of the Essen Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities since August of 2007. He was a professor for political science at the University of Giessen since 1989 and the founding director of its Center for Media and Interactivity (ZMI). From 1977 to 1979 he pursued a research project in Algeria funded by the VW Foundation that looked at the social consequences of forced industrialisation. Leggewie was granted a guest researcher fellowship at the University of Paris (Nanterre), was the first academic to be given the Max Weber Chair at New York University, and was also made a Faculty Fellow at the Remarque Institute there. During the academic year of 2000/2001, Claus Leggewie received a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study in Berlin, and was made a Körber Fellow in 2006 at Vienna's Institute for Human Sciences.

Nickolay E. Mladenov is a Member of the European Parliament from the EPP-ED Group. He is a member of Internal Market and Consumer Protection Committee (IMCO) and a substitute in the Foreign Affairs Committee (AFET) / Security and Defence Subcommittee (SEDE). He is also a member of the European Parliament’s delegations to Israel and Afghanistan. Between 2001 and 2005 he was an elected Member of the Bulgarian Parliament and served as vice-chairman of the European Integration Committee and sat on the Foreign, Defence and Security Policy Committee. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention on the Future of Europe. Nickolay E. Mladenov chairs the European Institute in Sofia (www.europe.bg) - a public policy centre dedicated to supporting the integration of South East Europe into the EU through research, advocacy and technical assistance. He established the Institute, together with Ambassador Stanislav Daskalov, in 1999 and served as its first Director until 2001.

Christoph Müller-Hofstede is a consultant at the German Federal Agency for Civic Education. He studied sinology and political science in Berlin, Shanghai, Beijing and Hongkong, and has worked for the Berliner Festspiele, a cultural umbrella organisation, as academic head of the exhibit “Europe and the Emperors of China”. As head of the working group “Migration” at the Federal Agency for Civic Education from 2001-2005, Christoph Müller-Hofstede (M.A.) organised a number of conferences and expert discussion panels, including “Progressive Thinking in Contemporary Islam” (Berlin 2005). He has published on developments in China and on the question how migration and integration should be addressed in civic education.

Christian Mihr has been a senior editor of eurotopics.net in Berlin since May 2008. Before he worked as head of press and public relations department at the German Development Institute in Bonn, he worked as a journalist for various German newspapers and as a media trainer for various German, Eastern European and Latinamerican journalism schools, universities and NGO’s. His journalistic specialization is on political and media developments in Russia and Latin America, human rights, higher education politics, church developments and the relationship between journalism and political PR. Christian Mihr published has on international media politics and the information society and the relationship of PR and journalism in German politics.
Selma Muhic Dizdarevic is a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Social and Public Policy, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague. She focuses on immigration policy of the Czech Republic and issues of integration of migrants. She works as a teacher and researcher at the Department of Civil Society and the Centre for Research on Personality and Ethnicity at the Charles University Prague. Selma Muhic Dizdarevic was an assistant at the Czech Helsinki Committee on an international project called “Hybrid Information Delivery for Academics and Practitioners in the field of Forced Migration in Central and Eastern Europe”. The project aimed at developing a complex solution for delivery of information in the field of forced migration with a specific focus on the region of Central and Eastern Europe. She is involved in numerous national and EU research projects and works as consultant for various non governmental and nonprofit organizations.

Valeriu Nicolae is currently the Executive Director of the European Roma Grassroots Organisation, an international network of Roma organisations working on empowerment at the community level. From 2003 to 2005, he worked as Deputy Director of the European Roma Information Office in Brussels. Since 2006 he was a OSI fellow and a senior consultant. He was involved in anti-racism campaigns in sports working together with UEFA, FIFA and the Romanian Sports bodies. He was involved in lobbying the European Parliament and European Commission and has contributed to the Roma focused documents of the European Institutions. Valeriu Nicolae has published extensively on the topic of Roma and human rights, regularly presents papers at international conferences, and conducts training seminars on human rights and media skills. From 2005 to 2006, he worked with Diplo Foundation as coordinator for the Roma Diplomacy project which trained 25 Roma in Diplomacy. He wrote a manual on lobbying intergovernmental institutions and co-edited the Roma Diplomacy book.

Alicja T. Pacewicz is currently co-director of the Centre for Citizenship Education in Warsaw, responsible for programs and educational resources. She worked as a researcher in the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and as a teacher trainer in the Centre for the Development of Educational Skills. Her main interests: citizenship education, teaching methods, school reform and teacher education. She is the editor and author of numerous publications on civic education and innovative instruction methods, including: School with Class; Citizenship Education for Middles Schools; How to Assess Students in Civic Education?: Traces of the Past; Students against Corruption; Economics? No Problem.

Ulrich Pfeil is a professor of German studies at the Université Jean Monnet de Saint-Étienne. He studied education, French and history at the University of Hamburg, and took his doctorate from the Faculty of Historical Studies in the Department of Late Medieval and Early Modern History. A DAAD lecturer at the Institut d’Allemand d’Asnières at the University of Paris III (Sorbonne Nouvelle) from 1996-2002, Ulrich Pfeil qualified as a professor at the University of Lille. Since 2002, he has worked as a guest researcher at the German Historical Institute in Paris, and has also assumed responsibilities at the French-German Undergraduate campus of Sciences Po Paris in Nancy. His research in topics are early modern and contemporary history.

Georgi Pirinski is Chairman of the 40th National Assembly of Bulgaria. He was part of the Delegations of the National Assembly to the Parliamentary Assemblies of OSCE, the Council of Europe and the Western European Union. He was Expert at the Ministry of Foreign Trade, International Organizations Division, and served as Advisor at the Council of Ministers from 1976 to 1980. From 1980 to 1989 Georgi Pirinski was Deputy Minister and First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade. From November 1989 to February 1990 and August to December 1990 he served as Deputy Prime Minister. From 1995 to 1996 Georgi Pirinski was Bulgaria’s Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Biographies

Alek Popov is a prose writer and playwright. He is one of the most widely read and translated contemporary Bulgarian writers. Eight collections of Alek Popov’s short stories have been published in Bulgarian to date. He has books with short stories in German, Turkish, Polish, and Serbian too. His first novel “Mission: London” based on colourful impressions as Cultural Attaché at the Bulgarian Embassy in the United Kingdom appeared in 2001 and has several editions so far. The novel will be filmed in 2008. His collection of essays, The Radical Thinker’s Companion was published by Bulgarian News Agency in 2005 and recently appeared in Serbian. His latest novel “The Black Box” was published in 2007 and won the Elias Canetti Prize. Alek Popov has won several literary awards.

Julian Popov is the Chairman of Bulgarian School of Politics institution training politicians and civil society leaders from Bulgaria and South East Europe. In 1990, he became the founding Executive Director of the New Bulgarian University. He is also the founder and served briefly as Director of the NBU School of Management, established jointly with the Business School of the Open University (UK). Julian Popov has worked as a consultant on numerous projects on institutional development and public relations. He is the author of two books and has also published numerous articles on international affairs, and politics. He is a member of the Foreign Press Association in London. He is Chairman of the Board of the Elizabeth Kostova Foundation for Creative Writing. He started the first Bulgarian blog for political comments and took part in several election campaigns in UK and Bulgaria.

Levent Soysal is Professor at the Kadir Has University, Istanbul, Department of Radio, Television, and Cinema. Before joining Department of RTC at Kadir Has as founding Chair, he held positions as Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Berlin Programme for Advanced German and European Studies, Free University-Berlin (2001 to 2003) and as Assistant Professor at the European College of Liberal Arts in Berlin (2002 to 2003). Levent Soysal’s topics of research and teaching interest include City; Globalization and the Metropolis; Transnationalism, Youth, and Migration; Spectacle and Performance; and Theories of Culture, Representation, and Media. His current research, titled “WorldCity Berlin and the Spectacles of Identity: Public Events, Immigrants, and the Politics of Performance”, concerns the changing meaning and constitution of public events and the performance of identity.


Christo Todorov heads the Departments of Philosophy and Sociology at the New Bulgarian University in Sofia, and has also worked as a lecturer and lector for philosophy and aesthetics at the National Gymnasium for Ancient Languages and Cultures in Sofia. Christo Todorov also worked as a lecturer in philosophy at the Paisij-Hilandarski University in Plovdiv, and in 1996 he assumed a post as Deputy Director at the St. Kliment-Ohridski University’s “Germanicum” Institute for German Humanities and Social Sciences. In 2001-2002, he was a visiting professor at the Faculty of Cultural Sciences at the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder) before returning to a professorship at the New Bulgarian University in 2003.
Ilona Tomova works in the Institute of Sociology at the Bulgarian Academy of Science since 1997. From 2004 to 2007 she was a Deputy Director of the Institute. She is a member of the National Council on Cooperation in Ethnic and Demographic Issues to the Council of Ministers and the Council on Demographic Issues to the President of Republic of Bulgaria. Ilona Tomova studied ethnic relations and ethnic conflicts since 1989. She was the Chief Expert on Ethnic and Religious Issues to the President of Republic of Bulgaria Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev (September 1990-J anuary 1997).

Luise Tremel is currently working at the German Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb), where she is in charge of historical education projects addressing significant years in recent German and European history – 1949 and 1989. She took her undergraduate education at Harvard University, studying History and Literature of Modern Europe. She holds a graduate degree in European History from University College London. Focusing on the years 1949 and 1989 and their upcoming 60- and 20-year anniversaries, she is trying to figure out, for herself and for her agency, how, in an anniversary-crazed media environment, looking at recent history can be made fruitful for citizenship education.

Daliborka UJiarevic is the President of the Association of Political Scientists in Montenegro, Managing Board of Centre for Development of NGOs and Executive Board of J EF Montenegro. She is also a member of the Executive Board of NGO Coalition “Through Cooperation to the Aim” and Coordinator of Task Force working on structure of financing NGOs from public funds. She is engaged as an expert in various UNDP, EURECNA, OSCE, UNIFEM and Sida programmes. From 2001 until 2005 she was working as Political and Media Adviser in the Council of Europe Office in Montenegro.

Caroline Hornstein Tomic is currently researching at the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences in Zagreb, dealing with ethnicity, minority and identity politics, changing gender and power relations in transformation societies of the wider SOE region, and the European enlargement process. Between 1995 and 2000, she was involved in academic research, teaching and publishing, as well as in the NGO-sector and in cultural politics. After a research year at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge/Ma, Caroline Hornstein Tomic in 2001 gained her doctoral degree in sociology with a theoretical work on anthropological discourses and actors Carolina Hornstein Tomic joined in 2000 the foreign service of the German Konrad Adenauer Foundation and headed the Foundation’s country office in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 2001 until 2005. After years of applied work in the policy world on the ground, she has, since 2006 with residence in Zagreb / Croatia, again resumed her academic as well as consultancy work.

Manfred Wirtitsch is head of the Department of Citizenship Education, Environmental Education and Consumer Education in the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts and Culture since 2001. One of the major fields of the Department is the implementation of citizenship education in the Austrian School system as a compulsory subject and as an education principle. From 1988 to 2000 Manfred Wirtitsch worked in the Federal Ministry of Science and Research, Department for Social Sciences (Deputy Head since 1996), focussing on contemporary history, cultural studies, and comprehensive security. After his study of History and Mass Communication he started in the Austrian States Archive as a scientific editor of the Minutes of the Austrian Government of the First Republic, where he worked from 1986 to 1988.
The Federal Agency for Civic Education centres on promoting awareness for democracy and participation in politics. It takes up topical and historical subjects by issuing publications, by organising seminars, events, study trips, exhibitions and competitions, by providing extension training for journalists and by offering films and on-line products. The broad range of educational activities provided by the bpb is designed to motivate people and enable them to give critical thought to political and social issues and play an active part in political life. Considering Germany’s experience with various forms of dictatorial rule down through its history, the Federal Republic of Germany bears a unique responsibility for firmly anchoring values such as democracy, pluralism and tolerance in people’s minds.

www.bpb.de

The Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future is an expression of the responsibility of the state, industry and society to continue to confront National Socialist injustice and to work for understanding between peoples. The Foundation supports international projects in the following areas: Critical examination of history; Working for democracy and human rights; Humanitarian commitment to the victims of National Socialism.

www.stiftung-evz.de

The Goethe Institute is the Federal Republic of Germany’s cultural institution operational worldwide. It promotes the study of German abroad and encourage international cultural exchange, and also fosters knowledge about Germany by providing information on its culture, society and politics. With the network of Goethe Institutes, Goethe Centres, cultural societies, reading rooms and exam and language learning centres the Institute has played a central role in the cultural and educational policies of Germany for over 50 years.

www.goethe.de/ins/bg/sof/deindex.htm

The Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts and Culture is responsible for most of the matters in education on the first, the second and the third level (non-university), in adult education and lifelong learning, as well as in the arts and culture Austrian wide. The Department for Citizenship Education, placed in the ministry, supports measures to promote the implementation of Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC). It provides a range of services such as publications, lectures, networking, and nabonwde projects and offers information on current political, social and economic issues as well as topics of contemporary history.

www.bmukk.gv.at/

The Centre for Liberal Strategies is an independent, non-profit public policy institute. The CLS team combines a strong academic background with various forms of direct involvement in the political process, civil society, and governmental institutions. The guiding rationale of CLS is that in the present context, a think tank is the most appropriate instrument to promote open public debate; influence the decision-making process; and serve as a tool for resolving social crises. CLS has chosen to approach its involvement in the prime areas of its interest (EU integration, Balkan-US relations, and state weakness) relying on rigorous background analysis and knowledge formation of academic quality. For this reason it has consistently tried to maintain a strong capacity to study social processes in the region, specifically to accumulate knowledge about political and economic developments.

www.cls-sofia.org

Sharpening an awareness of the vast potential that resides within the youth and culture of Europe has been the leitmotiv of the Allianz Cultural Foundation since it was established in 2000. With this in mind it supports artistic and educational projects that breathe the spirit of European integration. Together with young people from all over Europe the foundation develops interdisciplinary projects which continuously promote mutual understanding and perspectives.

www.allianz-kulturstiftung.de/en/index.html
Established in 1994, the Center for Citizenship Education (CCE) is a non-governmental educational foundation. CCE promotes civic knowledge, practical skills and attitudes that are necessary in the building of a democratic state founded on the rule of law and civil society. CCE also operates a non-profit teacher-training institute registered with the Ministry of Education. (Poland)

www.ceo.org.pl/english

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) is founded in 2002 leaded by vision of Montenegro as an open democratic society of active and responsible citizens. In that direction, the Centre is focused on education for democracy, human rights and European integrations aiming to strengthen civic society based on multiethnic and multicultural values, with high level of participation of citizens in decision-making processes; enhancement of education in the field of democracy, civic society, human rights and European integrations; participation in creation and development of civic, multiethnic and multicultural society in Montenegro; education of citizens for active participation and contribution to the development of open democratic society and research, analysis and public advocating of the solutions leading to the development of civic society.

www.cgo-cce.org

eurotopics is the multi-lingual online range of offers from the Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung/bpb) on European topics. eurotopics informs about political, cultural and societal debates from 28 countries (the EU and Switzerland). The daily press review allows Europe-wide access to debates and opinions, which media have so far carried out at a national level. The magazine, which is issued weekly, introduces topics and presents background information on important European questions. In this way, eurotopics promotes transeuropean discussions and the development of new networks for media, cultural and political exchanges.

www.eurotopics.net

The Network for Reporting on Eastern Europe n-ost brings together media initiatives and journalists from around twenty European countries. The focus of n-ost is on detailed reporting from and about Eastern Europe. Members of n-ost are committed to promoting media freedom and they work to combat restrictions on journalists’ work. The network organises training programmes for journalists, international media conferences, research trips and international media projects. n-ost offers an article subscription and radio service, which provides radio stations and newspapers in Germany, Austria and Switzerland with information about Eastern Europe.

www.n-ost.de
Who’s Who in Citizenship Education in Europe?

- encourages networking among a variety of professionals
- improves transfer of know-how in Europe
- creates the framework for a European public
- disseminates information and facts

www.bpb.de/nece