Strengthening European
integration through the
analysis of conflict discourses

Revisiting the Past, Anticipating the Future

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Executive summary

RePAST was a project that for the past three and a half years investigated the troubled pasts of 6 EU and 2 non-EU countries and how those are negotiated in the realms of history, arts, media, and politics. What made this project unique was not just the fact that eight different countries were studied but also its use of an interdisciplinary approach. Based on the research in these last several years there were actions implemented and strategies proposed. The final and Next Steps Conference convened online on October 15, 2021 and addressed the study results while proposing ways for the continuous impacts of the project on member states and beyond, and investigating how the research conducted can be a helpful tool for future use by different stakeholders.

The four different focus areas in the RePAST project included history, arts, politics, and media. The first conference presentation of the history panel, "The nexus between Academia and the Public Sphere in Revisionists debates in Europe", focused its attention on official history and oral history, mapping out the narratives and connecting the events with a European narrative. The second presentation "Dealing with troubled pasts through Oral Histories: The feasibility of a future common European Identity" looked at journalism and journalist-led media with the objective of mapping the role of media in dealing with the past and especially within EU integration. The second area of focus was arts and culture, where the third presentation titled "What forms of engagement and possible solutions can artistic and cultural productions offer to conflicting memories and memories of conflicts?" took place. The presentation explored the troubled past discourses of high-art culture and street-art culture and selected artistic works. The third area of focus was politics, where the fourth presentation "Attitudes and EU policies towards memories of the past" took place. It explored citizens' attitudes and dynamics in public opinion through focus group discussions, comparative public opinion analysis, and evaluated the EU law and policies in relation to troubled past, crisis, and trauma (see Annex I for the detailed conference agenda). This deliverable includes a summary of the presentations and the related discussions.

1. Opening Session and Introduction (G.Terzis)

Today several European societies are still suffering from the conflicts rooted in the past and look for the means to overcome the difficult historical legacy. RePAST was a research project that addressed this issue; relying on a multi-method interdisciplinary approach, it investigated how six member states of the EU and two non-member states deal with their troubled pasts today. By analysing the discourses in history, media, politics, and arts & culture, the project explored how these conflicting discourses impact European integration and hinder attempts to increase the internal cohesion of these societies. Based on extensive research, the project implemented several actions and proposed strategies for reflecting upon these discourses to strengthen European integration. This final and Next Steps Conference was part of the latter, the proposition of strategies of the project.

More than 60 people representing a variety of stakeholders (NGOs, policy-makers, politicians, and academics) registered and attended the conference. The Next Steps Conference addressed the furtherance of the project research, bringing together the project results and findings as well as suggestions for further research.

As such, this final conference did not only publicize the project's findings but focused on the continuous impact of the project, bringing together project partners and stakeholders to address methods for paving the way for its future use. The conference results presented here are seen as a strategy document suggesting measures for the sustainability of the interested academic, policy, and practice communities.

2. Negotiating Troubled Pasts: History

2.1 The nexus between Academia and the Public Sphere in Revisionists debates in Europe

Prof. Giorgios Antoniou from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece presented the research and findings of *The nexus between Academia and the Public Sphere in Revisionists debates in Europe*. The presentation started with the immediate future. The next step for the project is to publish a book on *European Troubles Pasts: Past and present of a complex relation* by 2022 by De Gruyter in their Public History Series. Right now, the book is in the final steps of editing with 13 chapters examining the European dimensions of troubled pasts in eight different countries. The book will have an epilogue written by Andrea Peto, an expert on gender and mass violence, Professor at the Central European University.

The next step, after publishing the book, is investing in educational activities and dissemination activities. Two summer schools have been organized with the Belgian University Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) regarding Macedonian and Balkan history. Furthermore, the summer school will be repeated in spring 2022. A workshop on the topic of oral histories and archives of the holocaust and other mass violence events will be organized in Thessaloniki in collaboration with the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (EHRI). Additionally, from the Spring semester of 2022, there will be a course offered at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki on hate speech. The course will use

material from RePAST while some of the consortium members will participate in teaching Erasmus students.

Based on RePAST research and in accordance with implementing policy recommendations by RePAST, Prof. Antoniou developed (with Dr. E. Hekimoglou) a series of training seminars to be taught at the Clergy in Greece about anti-Semitism, religious hate, and the holocaust. Lastly, in 2022 there will be a historical exhibition organized about Christian-Jewish coexistence in Greece that will be co-organized by the parliament and other institutions in Greece. The exhibition will include RePAST material and findings.

Future steps in further research can expand in the directions of conceptual and policy making. RePAST research could continue to invest in the relation of history to contemporary societies. Prof. Antoniou pointed out that it is very important to try to make sense of the new civil society structure that is very vocal right now about dealing with the past at various levels outside and inside Europe.

The case study, in which the presentation focused, is addressing revisionism in current academic and public sphere debates in Europe, which are considered a complex issue due to several reasons. Firstly, the term "revisionism" is multidirectional. It is used in many different settings and could have several meanings depending on where it is used i.e. political, academic, or cultural settings. The dimension examined is called *Proper Historical Revisionism* in order to distinguish between hardcore cases of revisionism like the Holocaust denial. The speaker noted that it started in an old-fashioned definition by the academia, the public, and well-established scholars such as P.Nora, which posits that community knowledge is separate from communities of memory – although it has been proven that this is not the case anymore, leading to questions such as who has the right to make history and who has the right to shape and reserve public narratives. The new trend in revisionism by civil society is related to established historical truths and versions of the past in the public sphere by public sphere activists. It can lead to successful movements such as BlackLivesMatter but also unwanted movements such as the ones led by the alt-right parties.

The significant public debates in Europe

Greece: This went against the Left version of the 1940s during the civil war, where the revisionists changed the field and the public sphere but did not become a movement in the long run. The right adopted their point of view, but civil society was more or less divided, as well as being passive in the debate.

Spain: This went against the left; it mostly turned out to be a "Reversionism" movement, and it then went on to return to old Francoise views as to the dictatorship during the civil war. The outcomes were that the Revisionists lost academically but partially won in the public sphere until recently. In this case, society was a pivotal player.

Germany: It went against WWII historiography about Germany regarding the nature of Nazism and how the communists evolved after the second World War; revisionism eventually lost academically and in the public sphere. The anti-fascist civil society remained dominant until now.

Israel: New Historians against Zionist views (benny Morris, Illan Pappe, Mahmud Yazbak) emerged. The Revisionists lost academically and lost in the public sphere. The Left narratives became irrelevant to society.

The Totalitarianism debate: It was against the monolithic cold-war views (S.Fitzpatrick) and is very important especially after 1989 as Europe had to rethink what populism meant for the whole continent because they introduced anti-communist narratives by the eastern European countries.

Ireland: It went against nationalist fables, with national myths vs modern histography and complexity. Revisionists won academically by post (modern)-revisionists and the emergence of the decolonization concept.

The presentation also included current discussions regarding Germany and the legacy of the holocaust and colonialism combined. The presented characterized this as the perfect storm because it includes the talks and discussions about the nature of Nazism and the importance of the holocaust not only as historical facts and events, but also as a good example for educational and civil society purposes. The debate includes many contemporary German and European problems such as the refugee issue and the rising of islamophobia in certain parts of European societies. The discussions mainly stem from the decolonization movement and the importance of commemorating the colonial past next to the Nazi past. Scholars such as Dirk Moses from RePAST Advisory Board suggested that the Catechism of Holocaust lessons should evolve as it has become irrelevant to society. At the same time, there is a very strong debate about what anti-Semitism is and what does it include. This became a strong political issue and an academic issue as, according to those introducing this critical thinking of current memory politics in Germany, civil society turned conservative and Islamophobic and hides behind the anti-Nazi legacy.

Another important dimension of the revisionism debate is the bottom-up revisionist movements that usually include alt-right, anti-systemic, anti-elite, chauvinist, and populist movements. Victimhood is the key concept within these movements and their views of the past, to the extent that the economic crisis in 2008 was used as an identity redefinition. Bottom-up revisionism uses a mixture of national myths with a direct assault on facts and truth as they use catch concepts. The catch concepts that people can identify with include race, gender, class, nationalism, and religion to defend an idealized version of the nonexistent past. It became a discussion about how the people place themselves in a contemporary European Union and how they defend themselves and their values against the threat of European transnational and global values, making it a mix of nostalgia and social trauma because of their new identity crisis trauma. Countries such as Croatia, Hungary, and Poland have had long and mixed debates between academia and bottom-up, political reactions as there are too many repercussions in the public sphere. However, at the same time the opposite movement exists, which is the social movement revisionism by various agents, and it mostly comes from the recent discussion about the decolonization of Europe and cultural decentralization of public space.

Research conclusions:

- There are multiple meanings and multiple levels of legitimacy
- Revisionism favors conflict not synthesis

- Public character and political dimensions are the canvas even of academic debates. Most consequences turn to be public rather than academic.
- Revisionism emerges or becomes convincing when the previous paradigm cannot supply new answers anymore or becomes restrictive on any alternate approaches.
- Once the debate starts, revisionism can never entirely fail.
- In bottom-up revisionism, the alt-right follows patterns that transcend their agenda and work transnationally.

2.2 Dealing with troubled pasts through Oral Histories: The feasibility of a future common European Identity

Prof. Dionysis Panos from the Cyprus University of Technology, Cyprus, and Stella Theocharous from the University of Haifa talked about their research titled ***Dealing with troubled pasts through Oral Histories: The feasibility of a future common European Identity***. The research included 165 in-depth interviews from eight different countries: Cyprus, Greece, Bosnia, Kosovo, Germany, Poland, Spain, and Ireland. Interviews were conducted both with people who had personal experience of main conflict events and individuals whose understanding of the conflict was shaped in a secondary or a transmitted way. The rationale of the research was to extract data from the "past", while maintaining a clear focus on the "present" and "future".

The conflicts and the periods that were investigated are:

Country	Period under investigation	Conflict
Cyprus	1974 -	Interethnic Conflict, Colonial Past
Greece	1967-1974	Authoritarian Past Dictatorship: The transition from a weak democracy to Dictatorship (1967) to Democracy (1974)
Bosnia - Herzegovina	1992-1995	Interethnic Conflict, Communism
Kosovo	1998-2001 (stretches from 1989 to 2004)	Interethnic Conflict, Communism

Germany	The Second World War lasted from 1939 to 1945. The Nazis came into power in 1933 (period of Third Reich). Germany was divided into four occupational zones in 1945 and into two states - the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR - in 1949. The Wall came down in 1989 and Germany was reunified in 1990. But then a lot of problems have arisen during the post-reunification period, which is at the centre of the investigation.	Authoritarian Past. Post-Reunification period
Spain	1936-1939 and 1939-1977	Interethnic Conflict, Authoritarian Past
Poland	1. Narrow perspective: Martial Law in Poland: December 13, 1981, to July 22, 1983	The conflict between the communist government of the Polish People's Republic and political opposition supported by many citizens
	2. Wider perspective: Period of systemic transformation in Poland: from the foundation of "Solidarity" Movement (1980), through the Martial Law (1981–1983), the Round Table Agreement (1989), the first semi-free parliamentary elections (1989) to the political, economic and social changes in 1990	The conflict between people assessing post-1989 transformation positively, and those assessing it negatively; in the background, there is a conflict regarding the assessment and memory of the whole socialist period in Poland (1945–1989)
N. Ireland	1968-1998 (the 'Troubles')	(Post)colonial, religious or bi-communal (protestant/catholic), political (republicanism /monarchy)

In the process of research and data collection, dominant discursive themes were identified and classified. The patterns that emerged from the analysis of the research materials relate to two different criteria:

1. The temporal distance from the past in which the conflict took place.
2. The nature of the conflict i.e., whether it was violent or not.

Based on the two criteria the case studies were divided into three categories:

1. (Category 1) Case studies of troubled pasts and conflicts that have been relatively recent and extremely violent in its nature (Bosnia, Kosovo, Cyprus, and Ireland)
2. (Category 2) Violent conflicts which have evolved into a distance past (Spain and Greece)
3. (Category 3) Non-violent conflicts (Germany and Poland).

This classification enabled the researchers to identify the dominant narrative patterns.

The first narrative pattern, "personal within the boundaries of the dominant", refers to the alignment of most personal narratives of individuals who personally experienced the conflict with the dominant narratives of the communities or groups to which they identify as belonging. Identity (national, community, and ideological) is founded on historical myth and was found to be so powerful that it prohibits deviations or opposition from the dominant narrative of the group.

The second narrative pattern is the "Trauma and Victimhood"; individuals with personal experience of the violent conflicts (such as the case of Bosnia, Kosovo, Cyprus, and Ireland) provided highly emotionally charged descriptions. The memory of the past is considered as a heavy burden by the younger generation, due to their insufficient levels of knowledge about the past. The younger generations need to strike a balance between overcoming the controversies of the past while not dissatisfying the generations who personally experienced the conflict.

"Trauma and victimhood" are one of the most powerful narrative patterns. The constant presence of the consequences of the trauma and persistent reminders of the conflict deprives the members of society of the ability to leave the past behind. In the conflicts of the first category there were no emerging victors, only victims. In this case, each side would seek to prove that they were the victims of the other side in order to obtain certain political, societal, or economic goals. Victimhood and the "blame game" are some of the biggest obstacles to reconciliation and peaceful coexistence.

The third narrative pattern is the "ideological disputes"; it mostly applies to categories two and three. The researchers identified that the left-right dipole oversimplifies the picture. However, it is important to note the far-right dictatorships as they seem to be the focal point of the mnemonic narratives of the past for Spain and Greece, whereas for the former East Germany and Poland the focal point is the communist period.

The fourth narrative pattern concerns "distrust of media"; the vast majority of participants viewed the role of media negatively both during and after the conflict. Media is considered to be strongly related to political elites, whose interests they serve. Thus, the media cannot be a variable that promotes reconciliation but is rather confrontational. Moreover, there is a significant age difference in the preferences of social media use, as a significant number of respondents were worried about the role of social media in public life and its influence in shaping public opinion.

The fifth narrative is the "avoidance strategy"; the majority of participants prefer not to talk about the past, regardless of the type or form of troubled past they endured. The reluctance to discuss the troubled past is manifested on several levels. In education, references to the troubled pasts are either completely absent from the official curricula or placed at the end of the textbooks so that in most cases it is practically impossible for these subjects to be taught due to lack of time. At the institutional state level, there is a preference for moving forward to a "together-but-separate" model that can provide peace and stability to some extent. In contrast to this strategy, the majority of participants mentioned that the closest possible and daily contact with members of the "other" community is a precondition for peaceful coexistence in the future. This was evident in the cases of Kosovo, Ireland, and Cyprus.

The sixth narrative is the "caretakes of normality". Women during the conflict were backstage - behind the front line of the conflict - trying to maintain a somewhat normal life in the domestic

environment. The role of women was to prepare the "day after" and maintain a sense of normality of the next day. This shows that both men and women fought, each in a different way and in a different field: while men were fighting for the present, women were fighting for the future. It is important to note the issue of sexual abuse of women as a practice of revenge and humiliation of the opponent. Women carry certain characteristics that are not those of men, such that they are excluded from public life and restricted within the symbolic boundaries that define the private domain. During the analysis of the interviews, it was noted that there was no mention of sexual abuse. The participants reported information transferred from other people with regards to sexual abuse.

The seventh and last narrative dimension is the "prevalence of national identity". The idea of a common European identity seems to be a goal that is hard to achieve. Besides Germany, all the other case studies showed a reluctance to adopt such an approach. The interviews from Bosnia and Kosovo suggested an idealized perception of the European Union, with high expectations of peace and stability. With the exception of Germany, the case study countries perceive the EU as an "economic" institution dealing mostly with finance-related issues. The 2009-2019 economic crisis only deepened existing divisions and made them more visible. While "solidarity" has been a widespread expectation, in numerous ways it seems that it has not been fulfilled.

Discussion

The discussion after the presentation showed that the interviewees had a difficult time expressing their memories due to the nature of the conflicts that occurred. However, it is important to note that not all cases studied were the same; the emotional expression of the participants depended on the events and how far in the past the conflict happened. The researchers pointed out that it is important to keep in mind the ethics and the ethical aspects of research as some of the trauma presented is recent and sensitive in its nature. Nevertheless, there were no topics avoided by the participants, however the level of intensity was monitored. This was evident especially in the case study of Cyprus as the cases of mass graves were a highly sensitive topic. Female participants were worried about being stigmatized as the issue of rape and violence towards women in a conflict is a sensitive and tough topic, yet the women were nonetheless willing to talk about it to an extent.

3. Negotiating Troubled Pasts: Arts and Culture

3.1 What forms of engagement and possible solutions can artistic and cultural productions offer to conflicting memories and memories of conflicts?

Prof. Katarzyna Bojarska and Tomasz Rawski from the *View. Foundation for Visual Culture* presented their findings and next steps in their joint presentation titled ***What forms of engagement and possible solutions can artistic and cultural productions offer to conflicting memories and memories of conflicts?*** One of the objectives of the research was to explore strategies and tools employed by artists, curators, critics, and cultural managers, and to position them along with critical and common responses in their ethical, political, and social dimension that

has been of specific interest. In addition, the research concentrated on how artistic interventions into the sphere of public memory gain their momentum and become a possible trigger for crucial transformations of the individual and collective image of the past conflicts. By developing the analytical approach, the researchers investigated the historical period of the emergence of certain theories of visual culture, and the production and circulation of images in addition to their projected social and political resonance. Then, all findings are combined with the developments in political theory and memory studies, which allowed the researchers to try and conceptualize arts and culture's agency in relation to the collective memory of troubles pasts.

Prof. Bojarska noted that there has been a close and ambivalent relationship between conflict – be it historical or political – and the visual culture, long before photography was used to document historical events. Firstly, painters were the ones commissioned to depict the victors and justify their ruling: the image of the past event was not only commissioned by the victors, but it also was distributed and often manipulated by them. Some of these images were invested with specific political content as the image of the events placed in history books. This allowed the images to be recognized as iconic and transmitted as part of collective memory. The researchers said that it can be argued that certain groups of people share these images as an immediate sign of what was in the past. The speaker noted that many scholars have pointed out that in the 1990s, with the Gulf war of 1991 and then the Kosovo crisis of 1999, two parallel battles were being fought: military and war on images. In Kosovo, for example, the public demanded images of Serbian brutalities to believe and confirm the news of violence. Cases that were gathered from 1993 onwards and the visual studies perspective has allowed the researchers to frame and reframe the cases according to the time of their production, and reception as well as their resurfacing. Visual culture and aesthetics are a way of experiencing ordinary everyday life as well as the historical aspects. This shows a culture of memory as they have been shaped and reshaped by the dominant visual discourses and imaginary regimes. Additionally, it shows the impact of troubled, traumatic, and conflicting elements of the past across different national environments.

Tomasz Rawski introduced the social and political context in a complimentary presentation *Conflicts, Inequalities, and Collective Action after 2015*. The global financial crisis of 2008 shook the economies of many seemingly stable countries. For example, Greece had dramatic consequences driving thousands of people into unemployment, poverty, and fundamental insecurity. This happened in front of the international public opinion. The social divisions, economic inequalities, and political antagonisms are getting deeper, while the liberal democratic vision of the social order that seemed to dominate the world in the last 30 years after the fall of the Soviet Union fell into a further crisis. The right-wing nationalist backlash started gaining strength and this is known to the world, yet in the last few years the world has been experiencing something new: the extraordinary acceleration of all these processes on a global scale. The speaker noted that the reason for this acceleration is that what dominated the public opinions after 2008 have been pushed into the background by the world conflict. The current understanding of world conflict defines the way we think about social reality.

The issue of inequalities and their consequences is evident in the last few years. An example is the refugee crisis in 2015 and now in recent months and weeks at the Polish Belarusian border as the

right-wing Polish government is denying refugees entry and humanitarian aid. Tens of thousands of people were fleeing war, famine, and persecution facing difficulties in Europe as many countries responded by closing their borders to protect themselves. On the other hand, tens of thousands of women and men are taking to the streets and protesting the authoritarian political systems and the decision the systems make that heavily and directly impact key spheres of people's lives. This happened in Warsaw, Poland in the fall of 2020 where hundreds of thousands of people protested the tightening of the anti-abortion laws by the right-wing Polish government. From this example, the consequence of conflicts and inequalities can be seen between the conservative men in power and the majority of the Polish people which can have an impact on freedom in addition to their health and well-being.

Another example where conflict resurfaces is shown is the massive month-long street protests in Belarus during the summer of 2020 against the authoritarian regime of Alexander Lukashenko. The protests lasted for several months, however this has not yet led to the fall of the authoritarian regime. In addition, the protests in the United States of summer 2020 under the banner of BlackLivesMatter protests erupted in the wake of the murder of the black US citizen George Floyd by several police officers. The protests and the murder exposed the institutional racism of the American police forces and how this racism is intermingled with social class issues. The large-scale events with hundreds of thousands of people have only occurred in the last two or three years at most, which shows the collective action we are witnessing in the last few years. This is due to the fact that today we live in a world that has collective problems and collective attempts to understand these problems and actions to face those collective problems. Arts and visual arts especially seem to be one of the most natural ways of understanding the world around us, as they lie at the very core of the most important social processes. Prof. Bojarska showed several examples of how artists respond to these current conflicts but also how their responses relate to the past ones and allow for framing them. She pointed out the necessity of closely and comparatively studying artistic and cultural responses to troubles pasts as well as to the turbulent present.

The next step for this research project will be a series of artistic interventions and critical commentaries within the *Why pictures series* (under a working title *Why images of troubles past?*) as well as two public events organized with colleagues working on similar projects in Riga, Latvia and in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The aim is to communicate outcomes of respective projects and approaches as well as find possibilities for collaboration in the future.

4. Negotiating Troubled Pasts: Politics

4.1 Attitudes and EU policies towards memories of the past

Prof. James Sweeney from Lancaster University, UH, Marta Parades from Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Spain, and Ricardo Dacosta from Universidad Autonóma de Madrid, Spain, presented their findings and next steps in the presentation titled **Attitudes and EU policies towards memories of the past**. James Sweeney started by introducing the EU in order to know and see what they do.

The central idea is the European Union cannot act beyond the "competencies" that have been conferred upon it by the Member States in the treaties that established the EU. This means that if the Member States have an idea about what the European Union should do, if it is not compatible with the EU competencies that have been already set, then the EU cannot act.

Moreover, it is important to remember that the European Parliament is not the sole or even the main legislative body within the European Union: the main three legislative institutions create an institutional triangle, where it is carefully designed for each to be in opposition to the other. For example, the EU Commission has the ideas but in order to get those ideas into law, they need to get past the Council of the EU, which is comprised of national politicians. From having its first direct elections in 1979 the European Parliament has grown in legitimacy and influence, and usually now also needs to give its consent for the adoption of legislative acts. Prof. Sweeney also noted that "resolutions" of the European Parliament are not legislative acts, and do not represent the formal opinion of the European Union.

Based on the project research there are three policy areas where the EU has been working on "troubled past". The first is EU policy on citizenship and what is termed "remembrance". The idea is that if we can forge a European past, it will create a European identity and better connect the EU to its citizens. The second policy area is the Common Foreign and Security Policy including the peacekeeping missions and in the case of the RePAST project, the focus here is on Bosnia and Kosovo. The last policy area is development, conditionality and enlargement that has an impact on several EU states. The research outcome shows that hundreds of millions of euros have been spent and dedicated to these policy areas, addressing the troubled pasts. However, the issue is that the EU's role has been heavily underestimated, and many respondents to the RePAST D5.2 survey seem to think that the EU has ignored the troubled past.

The presentation by Marta Parades and Ricardo Dacosta focused on attitudes and EU policies towards memories of the past. Marta Parades presented the results of the survey about the troubled past and EU integration that was carried out in 9 countries using the same questionnaire. She focused on three aspects: attitudes (and specifically polarization), populism and radical right populist parties, and gender. Polarization is an issue that is currently receiving a large amount of attention and the studies available distinguish between ideological and affective polarization whereas in this research the study is about polarization based on conflicts from the past.

Based on the results, the researchers confirmed this polarization by showing that people feel angry when they think about the conflict in every country analysed (Greece, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Spain, Poland, Ireland, Cyprus, and Northern Ireland) in percentages above 15%, except in the case of Germany or Kosovo, which are lower. In the case of Cyprus, more than 40% of the people feel anger towards the conflict, being the feeling with the highest percentage in this country.

They also have studied how radical right populist parties refer to recent traumatic past to mobilize voters. Political parties can sometimes have a reinvented vision of the past that is of great importance to their electoral success. Analysing the cases of AfD in Germany, PiS in Poland, and Vox in Spain, they showed that the past matters vis-à-vis voting for these radical right populist parties and these effects are independent of other factors associated with populist voting.

Gender is a crucial dimension that can lead to different attitudes and different perceptions of the past. The results collected show that women's sources of knowledge are family conversations and schools as opposed to men's own experience or traditional media in knowing about the conflict. The results are consistent throughout all eight countries investigated. The only difference is schools in Poland that present no gender differences and in Northern Ireland, where males use school as a source of information. In addition, the results presented that the feelings of sadness and fear are greater in women in comparison to anger, pride, and patriotism in men. In the case of Greece, men feel more sadness than women, whereas Germany and Poland do not present gender differences in those feelings.

Based on the results of the research and interviews with policymakers, stakeholders, and journalists there are several policy recommendations that are mainly aimed at Spain but can be applied to other European states. The policy recommendations are aimed towards four areas of focus: history, media, politics, arts, and culture.

1. History:

- One urgent task, where conflict occured a long time ago, especially in Spain and Greece, is to record and preserve the testimonies of the people who have lived through the conflicts. In the case of Spain, it's the civil war, the dictatorship, and the transition to democracy.

- It is also important to incorporate the gender perspective when recording the testimonies and the analysis of the conflict, as evidence shows a gap in knowledge of the roles and perception of women in the conflicts.

- Geography and other demographics such as urban/rural regions according to the level of repression, minorities, and the LGBTQ+ need specific funding designated to those aspects so that they are further investigated.

- The public administration could also hold specific training regarding a focus on human rights when addressing the troubled past to school teachers and history teachers in particular.

- Popular culture materials such as novels, films, and documentaries can be used for educational purposes in schools to learn about past conflicts.

2. Media:

- The administration should facilitate access to data and information for media outlets to work with reliable sources and official sources.

- The public sector should promote the dissemination of existing academic production of those topics.

- Informational campaigns about human rights should be deployed.

- Give visibility to issues that might create empathy rather than division of society.

- The public administration could work with journalists and provide training.

3. Politics

- It is important, at least in Spain, to link initiatives related to the memory of the past with the fulfilment of international recommendations especially with international law and recommendations of international institutions such as the United Nations, European Parliament, and the Council of Europe.

- Focus on individual victims and individual suffering to generate empathy rather than on leaders and powerful people.

- Political debates focused on human rights and attention to victims.

- Visibility to initiatives supported by different political parties.

4. Arts and Conflict:

- Promote cultural production on those topics such as TV series, films, theatre, and novels, through specific funding.

- Forum or workshops for cultural producers.

- Creation of museums dedicated to a balanced view of conflicts of the past.

- Historical monuments should be re-signified and become educational sources where it applies.

The next step for this research is the continuation of this project in the University of Madrid, where researchers received funding by the Ministry of the Presidency for a project on "intergenerational transmission of democratic memory in Las Merindades (province of Burgos, Spain)". The project consists of high school students learning about the Spanish civil war, the dictatorship, and the transition to democracy from their grandparents' first-hand experience. The students are taught to interview their grandparents personally and to record their interviews. The project includes:

- Compilation of testimonies through interviews

- Qualitative (interviews) and quantitative (panel survey) analysis

- Tour map on memory places of the region

- A website of the project and the region

- Audio-visual and text material produced by students to disseminate the democratic memory.

Regarding polarization, the future step is a research project (under the acronym *POLMEMO*) for deepening the study on polarization on the troubled past in Spain that is funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation. The research project will have three levels of analysis that include the political elites, civil society, and memorialistic and anti-memoralistic associations'

activists. In addition to conducting a national survey as well as other specific surveys and qualitative data analysis will be carried out during the project.

5. Negotiating Troubled Pasts: Media

5.1 Key lessons and findings from a multi-country and multi-case study approach to media and past conflict

Prof. Eugenia Siapera from University College Dublin, Ireland, introduced the presentation *Key lessons and findings from a multi-country and multi-case study approach to media and past conflict*. The key objectives of the media and troubled past research were to map out the role of journalistic and citizen-led media in dealing with the past and trace the implications for EU integration. In addition, the research sought to examine how journalistic and citizen-led media environments give rise to mediated discourses of troubled pasts, as well as how the publics receive or interpret the media discourses. The research involved eight countries and eight conflicts (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Germany, Greece, Kosovo, Ireland, Poland, and Spain). The outcomes of the research are three: an in-depth understanding of how journalists approach the issue of troubled pasts; a mapping of mediated discourses of conflict across significant points in time along with a typology of conflict discourses in the social media and the media; an understanding of the ways in which publics are positioned towards these mediated discourses of past conflict.

The main research questions are:

- RQ1: What kind of production processes are important for the media memory of past conflict?
- RQ2: What are the narratives of conflict at different chronological moments across the eight case studies?
- RQ3: What are the main memories of past conflict among publics and to what extent do they converge or diverge with those in the media?
- RQ4: What are the narratives of past conflict encountered in the digital media in the eight case studies? Which voices do they represent?

The theoretical approach to the research project is based on *The Circuit of Culture Model* by Hall and DuGay. This model proposes that the processes of media production, representation, reception, and identity are cyclical, feeding into each other. The research design relied on mixed methods: in-depth interviews with 70 journalists who were involved in covering the conflict or troubled pasts; discourse analysis of 800 news articles across different periods of time; 60 focus group discussions with members of the public; a quantitative social media data analysis, with data collected from Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube across all case studies.

Key findings in terms of production:

- Process shaped by political polarization and sectarianism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Greece, Kosovo, and Ireland/Northern Ireland.

- Possibility of consensus in Germany and Spain but which may reveal a deeply embedded mnemonic hegemony.

- Emergence of new, or the revival of old polarizations, some associated with far right and ultra-conservative ideas such as in Poland.

- Two main narratives were found to underpin journalistic understandings: a move on narrative, eager to forget, and a truth and justice narrative. Both were occasionally used instrumentally for political gain.

- Overall: contradictions between journalistic aspirations and identities and reality compromise journalistic autonomy and its ability to advance debates on past conflict.

Key findings in terms of representations:

- Polarization and simplified binary oppositions
    - Them and Us
    - Left and Right
- Sharply defined opposing ethnic or other identities
- Victims and Perpetrators
- Critical and counter-hegemonic discourses seep into official and mainstream representation in a limited way.
- These include a focus on social and economic impacts on conflict, investigation, truth, and justice narratives in relation to some past conflict events. In some cases, approaches to truth and justice may also be weaponized and used instrumentally for short-term political gain.
- Overall: media representations have become entrenched, rigid, and very resistant to contestation, reconfiguration, and dialogue. They represent in almost all cases the mnemonic hegemony.

Key findings in terms of reception:

- Complex identities, personal connections and experiences, gender differences, family and generational dynamics all created filters through which to understand, mediated memories and the conflict.
- Counter-hegemonic readings were present, alongside distrust of the media and state institutions, disillusionment with politicians, and different views on victims and blaming.
- The emergence of socio-economic factors is significant for understanding the conflict. For some, economic survival and future prosperity were crucial factors in interpreting the media representations and the conflict itself.
- Social media: a polyphony, or in some cases cacophony, of voices, a variety of narratives, and different modes of storytelling. In this context, social media represent an ambiguous pluralization of mediated memories, containing a range of contested counter memories.

- Overall: the process of reception is to some degree autonomous from representation, as past conflict is filtered through personal/familial experiences, present conditions, and prospects, but inevitably anchored in the current mnemonic hegemony.

The findings further revealed considerable support for European integration. However, this was moderated by discourses that viewed the European Union as a strong geopolitical actor that can help protect and support members and advance their interests. Additionally, there were two critical lines identified: a left critique based on austerity measures and external border controls; and a right-wing critique outlining potential losses to national sovereignty if the EU becomes a European super-state.

Key lessons

- Media independence and journalistic autonomy emerge as crucial factors for the development of a democratic and pluralistic approaches to media memories of past conflict as opposed to the hegemonic approach that we found in our research.
- Future research may build upon the centrality of this finding and work closely with journalists and communities in developing a democratic approach to the mediation of conflict memories.
- On a critical note, to be able to compare and make sense of the findings across a multi-country and multi-case research, abstraction had to be quite high; this entailed a loss of nuance and depth.
- Future research may build upon our abstract findings, zooming in and focusing on nuances that can potentially explain the observed differences.

5.2 Assessing the Gap Between Private and Public Memory: The Perception and Interpretation of Conflicting Mnemonic Narratives - A comparative study from Germany and Poland

Prof. Anke Fiedler from Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in München, Germany, presented research on ***Assessing the Gap Between Private and Public Memory: The Perception and Interpretation of Conflicting Mnemonic Narratives - A comparative study from Germany and Poland***. She started by stating that there are memory gaps in every society i.e. that public memory can never represent nor reproduce the diverse private memories in their totality. This case study specifically focuses on the memory gaps in Poland and East Germany with a view to the communist past.

Research Questions:

RQ1: How is communism remembered in the everyday discourse of Poland and East Germany (private remembering)?

RQ2: How does everyday memory differ from hegemonic memory (public remembering)?

The theoretical aspect of the research distinguishes between everyday memory and hegemonic public memory presupposing that there are multiple memories in a society that coexist and, in this case, the communist past is remembered in various ways. With reference to Molden (2015), the researcher noted that there is always a memory paradigm (hegemonic memory). The hegemonic memory discourse of both countries portrays the communist past under the banner of dictatorship and totalitarianism, albeit to varying degrees. Both countries need this anti-communist demarcation for political reasons. Opposed to hegemonic memory is everyday memory. It is the memory of ordinary people which is more diverse including fragments of hegemonic memory but also counter-memories. A sociological framework is applied to describe everyday discourse having three specific features that are: knowledge forms, relevant structures, and context of justification or legitimation. The researchers conducted focus groups and in-depth interviews to describe everyday memory and the independent variable was changed as often as possible to identify different discourse communities.

The results observed a congruence of memory narratives as the knowledge about the communist era is strongly similar in both countries, Germany and Poland. In both countries negative things were remembered, for example, the difficult economic situation and the lack of daily necessities. On the other hand, the interviewees remembered positive things such as a sense of community and security. However, when these positive memories were retrieved, the effects of hegemonic remembering became apparent as respondents had to justify themselves for why it was positive, e.g., emphasizing that they are aware it happened during a dictatorship. Moreover, there are parallels regarding the relevance structure as the eyewitnesses of the past are done with talking about the topic even though the interviews did show how even with all the time it still affects them today as the past is part of their habitus. In Poland, hegemonic anti-communist commemoration is interpreted as an instrument of the political elite that uses the past for its own political ends. This underlies the gap between private and hegemonic memory is the assumption of the production of classes that is winners and losers of the system changed after 1989. In Germany, hegemonic memory is perceived as a continuation of the earlier inner-German conflict from which the west emerged victorious.

Key Lessons:

- There is no convergence between private and public memory in the two countries. However, the two countries differ in terms of the legitimacy of this memory gap. In Poland, the legitimacy is evaluated from the perspective of an elite periphery structure. In East Germany, the gap is interpreted from the perspective of quasi-ethnic lines.

- The hegemonic memory paradigm can exacerbate tendencies of societal (re)production of group-scientific identities.

6. Policy Practice

6.1 RePAST meets new technologies: The digital tours by Clio Muse Tours

Christina Ntaltagianni, the Clio Muse Tours Head of Content, introduced her presentation *RePAST meets new technologies: The digital tours by Clio Muse Tours*. The RePAST project aims at investigating how European societies deal with their troubled pasts today. In this context, eight digital tours were created for different destinations i.e. Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Poland, Kosovo, Bosnia, Spain, and Germany. These cases cover the most substantial sources of conflict in Europe's history, namely WWII and its legacies, the Holocaust, National Socialism, communist past, authoritarian pasts, and interethnic conflicts. Creating a RePAST tour has been the most challenging part of the whole project. The criteria for the selection of the themes were to bring to the spotlight the less prominent historical events that shaped the above-mentioned countries' past, as well as avoid narrating overlapping stories and facts of neighboring countries' history. The speaker also noted the emphasis on schoolchildren being able to do the tours, which meant that the way of writing should be comprehensive and clear in order to engage younger audiences. Last but not least, a limitation was the lack of or insufficient bibliographic and archival sources for countries such as Kosovo, Bosnia and Cyprus. The developed research methodology was highlighted. All limitations and goals were addressed while numerous written oral history resources, journals, articles, legal documents, and books from university libraries and archives were evaluated and used accordingly. The digital tours managed to present brief stories with information on the historical roots and causes, the time span, and the outcome of the conflicts. They also emphasize who were the major protagonists, and where, and what kind of ethnic, political, social, or gender cleavages they represented. By including oral history testimonies, the personal perspectives were highlighted regarding national specificities and added a more anthropocentric approach to the tours. The eight digital tours also include educational quizzes and an interactive map. The tours were initially written in English and translated to the languages of each country, and are the following:

1. Greece: Jewish Heritage: past and present in Greek and English
2. Spain: Women: before and after the civil war in Spanish and English
3. Poland: The Memory of the Warsaw ghetto in Polish and English
4. Kosovo: Contested and competing memory spaces in Kosovo in Serbian, Albanian, and English
5. Ireland- The rising and the war for independence in Irish and English
6. Germany: Daily life in divided Berlin in German and English
7. Bosnia- Sarajevo: Humanity during the Siege in Bosnian, Serbian, and English
8. Cyprus: Nicosia: the world's last divided capital in Greek and English.

6.2 Fact Finders: A serious games for critical thinking of the past

Simon Egenfeldt-Nielsen and Sara Hajslund from Serious Game Interactive in Copenhagen presented their contribution to the RePAST project titled *Fact Finders: A serious game for critical thinking of the past*. Simon Egenfeldt-Nielsen highlighted that using games allows participants to engage and be involved while having a safe space to explore and discuss sensitive topics. The topic of RePAST and negotiating troubled past suits a game format because many participants and students might be uncomfortable sharing real-life facts while the game challenges the participants' knowledge.

Sara Hajslund mentioned that the game was created with the main purpose of giving the students the possibility to conduct critical research and to approach different sources in the game. The goal is to allow the understanding that the past is a negotiation and allow users to construct a viewpoint of the past on their own. The target group of this game is mostly students between the ages of 11 and 18 and it is mostly related to subjects such as history and social studies and secondarily religion. The game is available in eight different languages and takes around 30 minutes to complete but it is recommended to spend an hour in total to include the free activities. The current version of the game has only two scenarios; however, it is very easy to add more scenarios about other conflicts and troubled pasts.

A research article regarding the Fact Finders game was submitted at a high impact journal by Iolie Nicolaidou, who is an Assistant Professor at the Cyprus University of Technology. The findings showed that both groups' (Slovenian and Greek-Cypriot undergraduate students) perceptions for historical source evaluation and understanding multiperspectivity changed significantly after the game. Moreover, the game significantly changed perceptions about the constructedness of history and the ability to overcome their country's troubled past for only direct parties of the conflict. The study also provides empirical evidence demonstrating the potential value of serious games for affecting young people's perceptions of intractable intergroup conflicts and their desire to overcome troubled pasts.

6.3 Ideas for future research on troubled past(s): topics, approaches, and methodologies

Rok Zupančič and Faris Kočan from the University of Ljubljana presented *Ideas for future research on troubled past(s): topics, approaches, and methodologies*. The idea of the project had an ambitious belief: that the European Union could play a significant role in addressing troubled pasts in European countries. Based on the surveys, focus groups, and interviews conducted, the results show that the EU is still in many countries regarded as an actor that could have a role in addressing troubled pasts, as the EU still has its symbolic capital in some countries.

Based on the data collected, the majority of the people believe that the EU has not done a lot to overcome the divisions related to the troubled past. This could be due to the fact that the majority of the people in the countries investigated besides Bosnia and Kosovo believe that the topic of troubled past falls within the domain of internal domestic politics and any advice should come from within and not from the outside. EU and national policymakers were integrated in research activates and assisted in making the policy brief solid. Thus, one of the policy recommendations of

RePAST is to explore ways to better integrate policymakers and politicians in the research of troubled past, as it has been very difficult to integrate policymakers and politicians in the RePAST research.

Another issue was whether social sciences alone are sufficient to study the impact of the troubled past. Understanding how the human body functions when it is exposed to trauma would yield better programs and ideas for overcoming troubled pasts. Researchers do not have the latest insights on how body-mind approaches work, more specifically on how bodies are stuck in the state of trauma and how they cannot move forward towards understanding troubled pasts. Trauma cannot be overcome just by reading objective reports and policy documentation. The programs for reconciliation for overcoming troubled past should be revised in a way that would integrate the knowledge of trauma and to allow people with trauma to move forward. Due to the nature of societies and their identities, social media can be tailored to their beliefs and opinions. Future research should explore the "bubbles" societies live in that are outside of our familiarity.

Another idea for future research regarding the troubled past is including emotions at the center of research, by exploring which strategies and measures work efficiently in attempts to counteract or prevent the abuse of emotions in the narratives on troubled past, especially in this polarized world. This issue is on the rise in new member states where populist politicians often manipulate people's emotions. Countries that are considered consolidated democracies also have been struggling with similar problems.

Innovative and modern e-tools such as online games can be beneficial. The RePAST Fact Finders game showed that students at high schools and universities who participated in the testing of two e-learning tools perceive the learning tools as highly positive. However, it is important to take into consideration the sustainability and durability of e-tools and games. Not many teachers and schools were open-minded enough and trained to use such tools, which is important for future projects in this area. It is important to factor in sustainability and ensure that the tools and programs will be used after the project ends and in a way that is beneficial to societies.

Several activities aimed at bringing people of opposing sides together in order to increase understanding between the issue of "us versus them". This idea was supported by the European Union, United Nations, and several other international actors. Several recommendations are along the lines of endorsing research on events operating within this paradigm to identify what would work and what would not work, while seminars, workshops, work conferences, and other activities could be beneficial. However, it yet remains unknown which approaches and formats contribute positively and efficiently to an increased understanding.

In order to see changes on the societal level, future research should explore effective ways to involve educational institutions in research projects. This would increase the usability and the outreach of projects such as RePAST and produce sustainable research findings. Teachers usually have a strict curriculum as each lesson has a specific topic to be taught and by asking them for time away from their lessons can be difficult. The process is a lot more difficult as negotiations and agreements need to be done to convince the teachers to be in the lesson.

7. Closing Remarks and the Road Ahead

The closing remarks and the road ahead started with **Dimitra L. Milioni** from Cyprus University of Technology, and Coordinator of RePAST, sharing some of the recommendations and further information based on all presentations. Prof. Milioni acknowledged that RePAST has gathered copious data that can benefit future research. Although the research work completed by RePAST researchers has produced important insights, there is still a lot of work to be done. To this end, the data gathered will be shared with the research community, in line with the European Commission and H2020 guidelines. This will open up opportunities for other researchers to continue the idea of the project.

In addition, this project has put great effort into making the outputs (e.g., games, tours) sustainable but has also developed ideas of further research and identified sectors that are in need for future research. That said, what is especially visible is the diversity within the discourses of the past and the present across the studied countries and within the countries. They are not easily clustered when it comes to data and statistics, which shows how scattered those issues and discursive topics are, creating the need for further research in other areas as well.

Another important aspect is the issue of hegemony and how it is thought to be unproblematic. In this project, for instance, it was found that multiple hegemonies are working at the discursive level from multiple sources. This issue was discussed by Prof. Giorgios Antoniou in his presentation about how revisionism is used by different political parties with different results. Within the media, so-called "micro-hegemonies" can be observed through journalistic processes and their outcomes. Lastly, there is a significant issue related to antagonism and agonism. Many externally funded projects work within the former level, aiming at peacebuilding and attempting to eliminate antagonism. Although peacebuilding is a goal that cannot be disputed, it is also important to think in terms of agonism when building the rationale behind similar to RePAST projects.

Basil Gounaris pointed that most reports produced by the RePAST teams suggest opening the archives, making controversial documents available, recording individual experiences of conflict, creating space for the discussion of delicate historical matters in order to challenge the dominant, exclusive approaches. In his view, this is an excellent recommendation. The same reports unanimously suggest various improvements to the history teaching process. All these, however, should be placed, he said, in a perspective to make sense. The introduction of revisionist history textbooks is bound to bring extreme reactions which are the perfect fuel for Euro-skepticism. Therefore, the RePAST reports, Gounaris added, make clear that the point should not be to justify alternative historical truths; nor should alternative approaches be classified into good and bad, successful, and disastrous, guilty, and innocent. The focus should be on the complementary way diversities have functioned in the making of the present. Gounaris argued that schoolbooks should provide broad basic knowledge and encourage critical thinking rather than indoctrination, which is not well received, and, in the long run, might produce undesirable effects.

Professor Gounaris also pointed that the RePAST reports make clear that historical education and public history are not free from political imperatives and manipulation. The role the EU is going to play in this process of coming to terms with the past is not very clear. Some argue that the

treatment of the past is not a question for the European institutions to address; they lack the necessary tools and authorization to interfere with perceptions of the past. Obviously, historical perceptions affect humanitarian or minority issues. In such cases, Gounaris said, the EU is legitimized to intervene in order to appease; but it cannot act preemptively in terms of historical education or re-education.

The speaker stressed that the EU is institutionally obliged to respect the national identity of its member states, a notion that includes not only the forms of government but also cultural exceptionalism. For Gounaris the question is if and how Europe, with utmost discretion, can assist states to distance themselves not from their past but from the ideological use of their past. This cannot be achieved unless the exchange of experiences through projects and institutional initiatives continues. Denationalizing what is perceived to be a national problem or trauma helps to share the wider European perspective and encourages co-operation. Observing the history teaching process together and assessing the curricula together promotes the culture of discussing troubles. This is the European way to discuss educational standards, Gounaris concluded, adding that a better past cannot be secured unless we target a better future, which will make the present less dependent on the past.

ANNEX 1 Conference program

Final & Next Steps Conference

Negotiating Troubled Pasts: History, Politics, Arts and the Media

15 OCTOBER 2021, 9.00AM-5PM CET | TELECONFERENCE

Several European societies are still suffering from the conflicts rooted in the past and look for the means to overcome the difficult historical legacy. RePAST was a research project that addressed this issue; relying on a multi-method interdisciplinary approach, as it investigated how six member states of the EU and two non-member states (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Kosovo, Poland, Spain) deal with their troubled pasts today. By analysing the discourses in history, media, politics and arts & culture, the project explored how these conflicting discourses impact European integration and hinder attempts to increase internal cohesion of these societies. Based on an extensive research, the project implemented several actions and proposes strategies for reflecting upon these discourses to strengthen European integration.

A range of topics will be discussed:

- What have we theoretically and practically learned regarding the troubled past(s) and the effective means for overcoming it?
- Are in a strongly differentiated European context, good practices, transferable from one context to another?
- What roles can be played by European countries – members of the EU and non-members – and the EU as an institution in the attempts to overcome troubled past(s)?

We kindly invite you to participate at our workshop by joining us here. To receive additional information you could register here. If you have any question, contact us at Georgios.Terzis@vub.be

We are looking forward to meeting you online,
The RePAST Team

AGENDA

09.00-9.15   **Opening Session and Introduction to the Conference**

Opening remarks
Georgios Terzis, Brussels School of Governance

Working through troubled pasts
Rodrigo Martin Galan, European Commission, Research Executive Agency (tbc)

9:15-10.00   **Negotiating Trouble Pasts: History**

The nexus between Academia and the Public Sphere in Revisionists debates in Europe
Giorgios Antoniou, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Dealing with troubled pasts through Oral Histories: The feasibility of a future common European Identity
Dionysis Panos, Cyprus University of Technology

*Moderated by **Vasiliki Triga**, Cyprus University of Technology*

10:00-10:45   **Negotiating Trouble Pasts: Arts**

What forms of engagement and possible solutions can artistic and cultural productions offer to conflicting memories and memories of conflicts?
Katarzyna Bojarska, Widok Foundation

*Commented and moderated by **Tomasz Rawski**, Widok Foundation and University of Warsaw*

10:45–11:00   Break

11:00–11.45   **Negotiating Trouble Pasts: Politics**

Attitudes and EU policies towards memories of the past
James Sweeney, Lancaster University, **Marta Parades**, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, and **Ricardo Dacosta**, Universidad Autonóma de Madrid

*Moderated by **Irene Martin**, Universidad Autonóma de Madrid*

11.45–12.30   **Negotiating Trouble Pasts: Media**

Key lessons and findings from a multi-country and multi-case study approach to media and past conflict.
Eugenia Siapera, University College Dublin

Assessing the Gap Between Private and Public Memory: The Perception and Interpretation of Conflicting Mnemonic Narratives - A comparative study from Germany and Poland
Anke Fiedler, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

*Moderated by **Kenneth Andresen**, University of Agder*

12:30-13:30   Lunch Break

13.30-14.30 **Policy and Practice**

RePast meets new technologies: The digital tours
Christina Ntaltagianni, Clio Muse Tours

Fact Finders: A serious games for critical thinking of the past
Simon Egenfeldt-Nielsen, and **Sara Hajlund,** Serious Games Interactive

Ideas for future research on troubled past(s): topics, approaches and methodologies
Rok Zupančič and **Faris Kočan**, University of Ljubljana

14.30-15.00 **Closing Remarks and the Road Ahead**

Dimitra Milioni, Cyprus University of Technology

Basil Gounaris, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki & Observatory on History Teaching in Europe, Council of Europe

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