

EDUCATION FOR INCLUSION, AWARENESS AND TOLERANCE: KEY THEMES FOR RELEVANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE

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The Educational Role of School History

In 2008 the Dutch Expertise Centre for Public Education wrote on its website ‘Schools have an important role in the transfer of the general values of the rule of law, the democracy and citizenship. Preferably carried out in the existing subjects History and Civics Education’ This sentence brings us right in the heart of the matter as it decides that the history we teach in schools is connected to the upbringing of young people and therefore should not deny its task to address universal values, humanistic dispositions and democratic competencies. I know that for many historians this statement is an uncomfortable truth, as they are afraid of instrumentalisation of the past or even worse for misuse of the past for ideological reasons. Unfortunately history and history education in Europe and beyond offer plenty examples how justified this fear is¹. However history educators know that they are part of the educational system and that education has to be relevant for young people. In school young people do not study the past to find out what exactly happened, school subject has to start with the basic question about its purpose. History in the school curriculum shares in Europe a vast range of meaningful aims and objectives. The EUROCLIO inquiries of 2003, 2006 and 2009 show that the primary aims for the learning and teaching of history in Europe are everywhere more or less the same: education for democracy and citizenship, making pupil understand the world they live in, enhancing critical thinking skills but also developing a sense of national belonging to the nation state².

Responsible Professional Force

Recognizing that history is a powerful mobilizing force in societies, EUROCLIO, the European Association of History Educators Associations, the organisation I lead, promotes the sound use of history education towards

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building and deepening of democratic societies and therefore tries to *connect across boundaries of countries, ethnicities and religions*. Its members explore together ways to implement these universal values, humanistic dispositions and democratic competencies, in order to give meaning to education for good citizenship and reconciliation. Since its foundation in 1993 EUROCLIO has placed balanced history at the centre of education of responsible national and global citizens, of fostering international understanding, respect and cooperation. The overall aim of EUROCLIO is to promote and support the development of history education so that it strengthens peace, stability, democracy and critical thinking. EUROCLIO strives to shift the history and civics education in Europe towards inclusion of multiple perspectives, innovation, critical thinking.

EUROCLIO affirms that the past does not stop at borders and that history education has a great impact on how people look at the world around them. In the view of EUROCLIO there is a special responsibility for the teaching and learning of history, as history is the most politicised branch in education. School History therefore demands responsible all-rounded professionals and therefore EUROCLIO has been bringing together historians and history educators from Europe together to discuss and practice an all-inclusive study of the past.

EUROCLIO views history as the most structured channel for developing historical awareness of societies, thus contributing to their advancement in a constructive manner. It propagates an approach to history education that reinforces democratic values, competences and dispositions. The subject enhances mutual respect, tolerance and anti-extremist education. It poses questions that initiate debate. To put these ideas into practice, EUROCLIO has since 1993, organized across Europe more than 30 international conferences, hundreds of local seminars and workshops and carried out many long-term projects.

Innovative Methodology

The policy of EUROCLIO complies with the many national and international debates about the purpose of modern history education. The traditional function of school history is regularly questioned since it so often functioned as weapon in struggles within and between nations and states. The Cypriot History education expert Dr Chara Makriyianni, asked in 2007 during the International Conference *Human Rights Education: Lessons from History* in Bled, Slovenia, the Europe wide audience some important questions about the purpose of the school subject³. Should history teaching ask students

to comply to an account or to question accounts, to obediently recount the 'official' interpretation or to construct their own interpretations through disciplined argument and debate or to conform to a particular perspective or to come to grips with multi-perspectivity? Should school History teach students how to sympathize or to empathize? History education specialists and history educators in Europe and beyond, will tend more generally to comply with the second options in the sentences, however this does not mean that the majority also practice these attitudes. However politicians and media in most European countries have great difficulties to accept this critical responsibility of school history.

Dr Chara Makriyianni also looked into the tasks of the subject: should school history give knowledge about the past, make students understand what historical thinking means, develop students understanding of roles, responsibilities, rights, opportunities and duties of individuals and groups in past and present societies, enhance students democratic attitudes and skills and promote engagement, action and involvement in society or increase acceptance among students for diversity in society she asked. In this case than within modern history education all requirements should be fulfilled.

The question is in how far these approaches are really implemented in school history. The EUROCLIO Questionnaire 2006 asked the respondents to reflect on the importance of particular concepts and competencies for their curriculum. Develop chronological awareness and able to place events in chronological order came out as the two most important followed by develop understanding of change and continuity and ability to analyze, evaluate and use historical sources in their historical context. However to be able to recall historical knowledge accurately was considered still slightly more important than to distinguish facts from opinions and to assess historical significance and to handle conflicting interpretations. The least importance was given to awareness of the present day historiographical debates

Values and Dispositions

The College for Education South Florida, catches the work of history educators very well when it writes that 'all professions are characterized by the common attributes of shared knowledge, skills, and dispositions'⁴. Teaching is a craft because it reflects both science and art practiced in pursuit of excellence.'... The statement reflects as well the task for the profession, the teacher as well as the student when it writes that 'the basic premise of the Social Science (Education) program is that the student is responsible for demonstrating the knowledge, skills, and disposition'.

This statement points at an important but tricky aspect of social studies and history education as these subjects do not only have to transfer knowledge and skills but also have to transmit certain values and to develop special dispositions among their students, which are beneficial for society⁵. The subjects social studies and history have as no other subjects a direct relation with politics, ideology and the needs of present day societies. The concerns which regularly determine debates about new history curricula are issues such as *globalisation, devolution, the decreasing sense of national identity, the growing role of the international Islam and the lack of integration of minority communities*.

In the last years these subjects were in Europe related with a many fold of societal objectives. In the Former communist countries *Education for Democracy* came high on the agenda⁶. Many countries in Western Europe, with large migration, such as France, Great Britain and the Netherlands the subjects had suddenly to understand their role in *Community Cohesion, Appreciation of Diversity and Building Tolerance*.⁷ In the post conflict areas such as Bosnia, Georgia and Macedonia *Reconciliation and Appreciation of Diversity* are placed high on the agenda. In almost all European countries addressing equality, human rights, gender and sustainable development and environment have entered the school curricula, and have also, like in Turkey, given special tasks for the social studies and history curricula. However it might be questioned if these concerns of European politicians are also educators concerns and how comfortable history educators are with these demands, or even better how often they are consulted if they are willing and able to transmit such values and to develop these particular dispositions⁸. The EUROCLIO questionnaire in 2009 revealed that the influence of history teachers in Europe on these decisions is rather small⁹. And the question if the present competence of educators and the quality of existing teaching materials are appropriate to achieve these goals is hardly posed let alone answered.

The EUROCLIO method concludes that history and history teaching are confronted with a manifold of human values, attitudes and dispositions. Talking with young generations about the past therefore means addressing positive issues like democracy, tolerance, respect for human rights, mutual understanding, solidarity, freedom, courage, equal opportunities, responsibility but also love and friendship. However it can also not avoid reflecting on negative concepts such as stereotyping, prejudice, bias, xenophobia, racism, violence. The organisation worked with partner organisations in several national and regional projects to develop supportive teaching strategies and materials to address these issues.¹⁰ In history there is a wide variety of events, processes and phenomena, which address citizenship and *Civil Responsibility* and the organisation recognises a vital role for history educators to develop

among young people this sense of civil responsibility and a passion for active involvement in society¹¹.

Exclusive History

Teaching European history appears to be very exclusive. Within the national history, the perspective of the national majority group is dominant in history education. Martin notices in his article *European history and French old habits* that for France 'it would be absolutely impossible to imagine a curriculum, which would be dedicated to the teaching of the history of Brittany or the Basque country'¹². At the same time he says, 'there is no place for Jews in Europe before the genocide during World War II. But even women or gender history do not play a role; French history education is national French political history'. Some countries, like Britain are still very much struggling with the task to develop a curriculum where the historical world is bigger as well as smaller than the nation state. Jones points out in her contribution *Sharing the bed with an elephant: teaching history in Wales* that this task is quite a pressing challenge for Britain, where the history, culture and language of England has for centuries dominated the other countries of the British Isles¹³. However the EUROCLIO Conference in 2004 in Cardiff showed that the history curriculum in Wales itself had great difficulty to liaise itself to a bigger issue, the other Britain let alone Europe hardly existed.¹⁴ The school history is still focusing on many important men representing the majority culture, very few women and no minority communities¹⁵.

In some countries like Rumania and Latvia A separate curriculum subject the history of minorities is introduced. Such approach does not really contribute to inclusive learning, as it does not reinforce the learning about each other and the history and culture of the majority group is the only school history for the majority. However such separate *history of minorities* subject in Rumania acknowledges at least diversity in the learning and teaching of history. In Latvia the new flexible curriculum likewise offers opportunities to study the history of the ethnic origins in Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Estonian, and Byelorussian speaking schools.

In England the starting point for planning a school curriculum has become the requirement that it meets the specific needs of new arrivals and that it 'establish pupils' entitlement 'irrespective of social background, culture, race, gender, differences in ability and disabilities'.¹⁶ Within the History curriculum it is required to 'provide opportunities for pupils newly arrived in England to develop a stronger sense of their own identity and their place in the world. It can help them to make sense of how the past has impacted

on the present both at a personal level and in the sense of how the place they now live has developed. History can also help new arrivals to England develop a greater understanding of culture, institutions and the history of England'. The present curriculum guidance 'shows how teachers can modify, as necessary, the national curriculum programmes of study to provide pupils with relevant and appropriately challenging work at each key stage'.¹⁷ On the website of QCA there is a variety of guidelines and activities as examples of good practice¹⁸.

The EUROCLIO method points out that School history should aim at *mutual inclusiveness*, bridging gaps, taking into account differences between sexes and ages, between ethnic, linguistic and religious identities, between rich and poor, between urban and rural communities and between diverging world-views in society¹⁹. This interpretation of inclusion goes much wider than the traditional approach as it comprises not only ethnic and religious communities but also age, gender and points of view. Several EUROCLIO projects in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Macedonia, Russia, Serbia and Ukraine have addressed these issues²⁰.

However good source material appropriate for classroom practice on minority communities is difficult to acquire and history education often falls short of high quality academic studies related to minority history. How difficult this problem of absence of sources is sometimes to solve demonstrates the following example. In the project *Fostering History and Citizenship Education in Romania* the project management asked an expert from Yat Vashem in Israel to stimulate the project participants to include Romanian/Jewish historical sources in their textbook under development. To the dismay of the audience, the expert only brought materials from Poland. Even in this well supplied Israeli resource centre, the requested resources were not always easy accessible.

And therefore, despite all good intentions, in the Ukrainian textbook *Ukraine 1901-1938, The Period seen through the Eyes of an Individual*, the history of the large Jewish population of that period in Ukraine was hardly mentioned²¹. The history of the Roma population, a people living in almost all Central and Eastern European countries, is almost absent in any history textbook or publication. An exception was the EUROCLIO Teacher Resource Book *Change and Continuity in Everyday Life in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia 1945-2000*²². Each of the participating countries had the task to present the minority communities within their countries. This was a certainly a sensitive issue, as their governments, and especially the Bulgarian one, have difficulties to acknowledge minority status for certain population groups. But with one

exception related to the Macedonian community in Bulgaria, all minority communities found their place.

Inclusive history education means that on a national level, in Europe and beyond, working with *multiperspectivity* and *multiple narratives* are indispensable. This approach is for the young people's study and understanding of the past fundamental as it offers insights in the representations of different and opposite players, addresses different reconstructions and alternative interpretations and deals with conclusions we can draw from the respective experience in the past for the present. Obviously, we may therefore derive different images of the same past²³. The keyword here becomes *Complexity*, as such accounts of the past become complex, based on multi layered narratives and interpretations. This leads of course that history education cannot avoid *Controversy* and *Sensitivity*, which should be addressed with diligence and confidence, without denial or omission of certain facts. However wide European and beyond evidence shows how difficult these topics are for politicians and historians, and even more for school history. The section history in the news on the EUROCLIO website gives evidence how on an almost daily basis societies struggle with controversial pasts. Many of these topics are related to big issues, which address fundamental moral questions such as the holocaust, crimes against humanity, genocide, discrimination, colonialism, slavery, collaboration and equality. There is not one European country, where not at least one of these issues is agonizingly impacting discussions about the past. To my opinion teaching inclusion means that it will not always be able to show a common past to all students, however it can help pupils understand the common reality of the present and at it best to prepare them for a common/shared destiny.

Gender

A specific element of inclusion in history is the focus on diversity in role of women and men. Women are absent in the regular curricula and textbooks. The EUROCLIO Questionnaires of 2003, 2004 and 2005 had questions related to gender in school history. And the results showed that gender is still an underdeveloped aspect. The concept gender came out in 2003 as the least growing approach of school history since 1989²⁴. In 2004 and 2005 the inquiry showed the women and gender history was assessed as the least important topic for teaching with a European dimension < 7%²⁵. Just to compare democracy and human rights had scores of more than 25%²⁶. In the Netherlands the newly introduced canon of Dutch history and culture, mentioned explicitly 4 women against 16 men²⁷. And even the newly, jointly published experimental French/German school textbook on the History of

Europe and the World since, which has been designed for common use in upper secondary education in both countries, has not been able to avoid this lack of gender outlook on the past²⁸. Only two women feature in the biographies of important persons since 1945: Angela Merkel and Margaret Thatcher. The French authors were not able to come forward with one female compatriot outstanding enough to be especially mentioned in this part of the book. EUROCLIO targets on better representation of women. The change of spotlight from hardcore political and military history to a more multi-dimensional approach facilitates the inclusion of alternative narratives. The Ukrainian textbook *Ukraine 1901-1938, The Period seen through the Eyes of an Individual* included to the publishers surprise so many examples of gender perspectives that he immediately concluded that the book was written by female authors. A conclusion that proved to be totally false, as all authors were in fact men- due to not having a balanced author team- an oversight when the group was formed²⁹.

New Turkish Curricula

The new Turkish social studies curriculum has also complied to the described approaches for transmitting values and developing responsible dispositions, as it writes for instance in unit: *I am Learning Social Sciences*, objective 5 that students defend that solutions that envisaged to deal with a problem should be based on the rights, responsibilities and liberties and in Objective 6 that students will be aware that Social studies contribute to be an active citizen of the Turkish Republic. In the unit: *Power, Administration and the Society* the objective 3 says that students would argue that people have right to live, protection of body, freedom of religion and freedom of thinking in democratic societies. And finally in the unit *Global Connections*, objective 4 states that based on historical documents, students analyse the development process of human rights and 5 that students should interpret the cases illustrating the position of women in the Turkish history in relation to development of women rights. In the same unit it is required that students should be developed to have responsibility in protecting and developing cultural heritage and that students gain understanding of the importance of cooperation between countries concerning natural hazards and environmental problems.

The general aims of history as subject also reflect the moral obligations of the subject. Aim 12 asks to make students aware of the importance of the basic values such as Peace, Tolerance, Mutual Understanding, Democracy and Human rights and make them be sensitive to protect and develop those

values. And 14 even gives the task to make students gain the values of hard working, scientific thinking, art loving and aesthetic by doing historical research on concrete or non-concrete heritage of culture and civilizations. The basic approach of history curriculum requests as point 7 the development of students in terms of spiritual, ethical, social and cultural aspects, in 8 to educate students as individuals who knows their rights and use them at the same time who knows their responsibilities and in 9 to make students be sensitive against social problems.

In the last year of history education the special aims of modern world and Turkish history subject require teachers to take care that students will be 'able to analyse the complexities and multiple dimension of political, social, cultural and economic events in a global world and to improve the students 'skills, which are necessary to meet the developing and changing needs of the 21st century and to have vision to make healthy comments/develop ideas about the future' and for Modern Turkish and World History in the unit : Globalising World, objective 10 states that students should learn to 'understand the problems that emerge as a result of developments in the world and the need for finding solutions to those problems'.

However stating all these requirements in a curriculum is only the beginning, the implementation process is a much more demanding process. In most European countries the effects of curriculum changes for the financial and human resources are grossly underestimated. As a result reform implementation programmes have generally not achieved the expected results, and a lot of blame was put on teachers not willing to change³⁰.

Historical Significance

In the last years Historical Significance has become a key issue for school history. Peter Seixas wrote already in 1994 in *Students' Understanding of Historical Significance* that "[a] historical phenomenon becomes significant if and only if members of a contemporary community can draw relationships between it and other historical phenomena and ultimately to themselves" The crucial question he then poses is "Which phenomena do students see as significant?"³¹. Unfortunately there is too little academic research is carried out to have wide insight in the answers to this question. Seixas has himself carried out a very small study, based on fourteen tenth grade students attending a middle class school in Canada. Von Borries in Germany has looked into these questions for Europe and about Europe and also the Dutch Maria Grever carried out research among Dutch national and migrant students about their historical interest. Their results give evidence of various issues. Seixas

research revealed that students choose topics where large number of people that were affected by each and the long-term effects of these events today. Von Borries outcomes showed a particular interest of young people for modern/contemporary history³². This conclusion was also confirmed by Grever. However she also concluded that..³³ The volume 125 of *Teaching History* gives a variety of explanations and suggestions on historical significance as does the QCA Explanatory note³⁴.

New Curriculum Thinking

The above mentioned manifold new requirements for innovative school history education and the issue of significance, have impacted curriculum thinking. The Council of Europe project *Teaching about European Twentieth Century History*, commissioned Dr Robert Stradling to publish a handbook about this topic.³⁵ For this publication he used experience he had acquired in his work as senior consultant for history for the Council of Europe and impute from the expertise networks of the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO. One of the issues which was at length discussed, was how to translate new curriculum requirements in a more engaging curriculum model. Bearing in mind the students preference for modern history, this example presenting the traditional programme of study on the history of the Twentieth Century, as it is taught in many European countries against an alternative list of themes³⁶.

Traditional Themes 20th Century history	Innovative Themes 20th Century history
Origins of the First World War	Technological and scientific developments
World War I	Social change in the lives of ordinary people
Russian Revolution	Changing roles of women in society
The re-structuring of Europe in 1918	The emergence of mass culture and youth culture
The rise of Totalitarianism: Communism, Nationalism Socialism and Fascism	The distinctive cultural and artistic movements
Economic Depression	Industrialisation and the emergence of post-industrial societies
The collapse of International Peace	Urbanisation
World War II: the People's War	Transport and communications
Re-structuring Europe in 1945	Population movements
The Cold War era: NATO and the Warsaw Pact	The changing situation of national and other minorities in Europe

De-colonisation	Conflict and cooperation
Post-1945 political and economic co-operation	Nationalist movements
The European Community	Totalitarianism and Liberal Democracy
Glasnost and Perestroika	Human Rights
The break-up of the Soviet Union	
The emerging independent democracies of central and eastern Europe	

In the new list of themes, developed in 2008 there is, as you can see, space for all traditional topics; however these topics are placed in a broader perspective, addressing new curriculum thinking. However this list also shows how fast curriculum/textbook choices become (out) dated³⁷. In 2009 themes such as environmentalism and energy dependency, the rise in global communication, globalisation and the ascend of Islam self-awareness should be inserted.

In 2009 not only the traditional choice of topics is outdated but also the dominant focus on textbooks. There is a clear request the creation of flexible and interactive multimedia tools respecting diversity and addressing history in a multi-perspective manner. In order to achieve such an idea on a European level EUROCLIO has mid 2009 acquired the 3 year project *Exploring European History and Heritage. Helping Educators in Secondary Schools to Teach about European History and Heritage from Multiple Perspectives*. In this project it will develop, test and implement an online tool to learn about European history and heritage, tailor made for use in secondary education. The tool will consist of a freely accessible data-base with educational material that is searchable by theme, period and location and is presented in teaching units for one lesson. The material will be designed in such a way, that it is complementary to the history, heritage and geography education curricula and motivates a new generation to learn about Europe. Unique about the tool will be the option to make inter and intra state comparisons and see European history and heritage from multiple perspectives. The themes for the units are 'Turning Points in European History', 'Colonialism', 'Industry and mentality', 'Migration', 'Globalization', and 'Daily Life'.

This new pan-European challenge is targeting exactly the sort of themes which allow furthering the work on history Education for Inclusion and diversity. The new Turkish social studies and history curricula offer plenty

of opportunities to actively implement this new comparative tool. The educational materials, based on innovative methodology which are foreseen in the new EUROCLIO project *A Key to Europe, Innovative Methodology in Turkish School History* will also hopefully find their way to this new way of addressing the European past. I hope that Turkish history educators are seeking this opportunity as a next step into the European integration.

Conclusion

History education in Europe and beyond is also in 2009 firmly related to educational and political agenda. The current priorities stated are related to issues of inclusion, diversity, human rights and environment and sustainable development. History education in Europe through new content choice as well as through innovative methodology clearly reflects these priorities. However Gender issues still do not have the attention it should have, neither among politicians nor among history curriculum designers, textbook authors, and teachers.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Antoon de Baets, *Responsible History* (2009) Balkan books, Oil and Fire etc
- 2 The EUROCLIO website contains the major results of the EURCOIO questionnaires since 1998 as PowerPoint presentations in graphs and maps has http://www.euroclio.eu/joomla/index.php/component/option,com_docman/Itemid,402/
- 3 Her full presentation in Bled on: http://www.euroclio.eu/joomla/index.php/component/option,com_docman/Itemid,402/
- 4 Unit: Individual and the Society: College for Education South Florida; <http://www.coedu.usf.edu/main/departments/seced/SocialS/SSEhome.html>
- 5 EUROCLIO questionnaire in 2009 lists the current priorities http://www.euroclio.eu/joomla/index.php/component/option,com_docman/Itemid,402/
- 6 Boytsov *History for Today and Tomorrow*, Georg Eckert Examples; For past EUROCLIO projects with focus on these topics http://www.euroclio.eu/joomla/index.php/component/option,com_docman/Itemid,241/vb
- 7 *The Future of Britishness*: Speech by Gordon Brown to the Fabian Society: January 14 2006. Fabian Society Press Release; Canon and National Museum for History debates in the Netherlands.
- 8 James Fitzgerald, *History in the Curriculum: Debate on Aims and Values* (1983) <http://www.jstor.org/pss/2505217>;
- 9 http://www.euroclio.eu/joomla/index.php/component/option,com_docman/Itemid,402/
- 10 vb
- 11 Weer euroclio method
- 12 Martin in *European history and French old habits () in* Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, (ed) *History for Today and Tomorrow. What does Europe mean for school history?* The second volume of the series *Shaping European History* (Germany 2001)
- 13 Jones in *Sharing the bed with an elephant: teaching history in Wales ()* Martin in *European history and French old habits () in History for Today and Tomorrow*
- 14 bulletin Wales
- 15 Jan Bank en Piet de Rooy, 'Een canon van het Nederlandse verleden. Wat iedereen móet weten van de vaderlandse geschiedenis', NRC Handelsblad, 30 oktober 2004 gave a clear example of this approach, but also the Dutch curriculum for upper secondary Education, designed in 2001, shows similar tendencies.
- 16 The QCA website gives interesting suggestions related to the concept inclusion http://www.qca.org.uk/qca_7277.aspx
- 17 http://www.qca.org.uk/qca_7341.aspx
- 18 http://www.qca.org.uk/qca_7964.aspx
- 19 vb
- 20 Euroclio In the second projects in Estonia, Latvia, Macedonia and Russia inclusion became the particular focus of these projects, just as in the newly acquired EUROCLIO project *European Dialogues, a Cultural Rainbow for the Future* with Bulgaria.
- 21 http://www.euroclio.eu/joomla/index.php/component/option,com_docman/Itemid,241/gid,173/task,cat_view/

- 22 <http://www.euroclio.eu/joomla/index.php/Publications/Teaching-Materials/>
- 23 Euroclio methodology
- 24 History Changes, (27)
- 25
- 26
- 27 <http://entoen.nu/informatie.aspx?id=10>
- 28 Histoire/Geschichte, Europa und die welt seit 1945. Leipzig (2006). See: www.histoiregeschichte.com.
- 29 1. Learning by Experience: 15 Years of EUROCLIO Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, EUROCLIO Executive Director and Clio Stronk, EUROCLIO staff member http://www.euroclio.eu/joomla/index2.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=76&Itemid=401
- 30 vb
- 31 Seixas, Peter. "Students' Understanding of Historical Significance." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 23.3 (1994): 281-304 page 285
- 32 Youth and history
- 33 Maria en Kees
- 34 Teaching History 125, December 2006/ <http://www.vanderkaap.org/histoforum/2009/historischbelang.html>
- 35 Stradling, R. (2001) *Teaching 20th-century European History*, Strasbourg
- 36 Stradling, R. ibidem (22) [http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural Co-operation/education/History Teaching/](http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural%20Co-operation/education/History%20Teaching/)
- 37 Joke en anderen in standards book