ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

Learning to Disagree: Sensitive and Controversial History in Dutch International Secondary Schools in 2019

Lexi Oudman
466309
Lexioudman@gmail.com
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Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Maria Grever
Second Reader: Dr. Robbert-Jan Adriaansen
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

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Preface and Acknowledgements

Education is a lifelong journey and achieving this degree is one step on that adventure. Here's to all of my former students who encouraged and challenged me to push myself on that journey.

There are a number of people that deserve thanks and recognition for their help in making this thesis possible. Most notably, my supervisor, Professor Dr. Maria Grever, I appreciate the advice, constructive criticism and encouragement in this process. Dr. Robbert-Jan Adriaansen who provided structure and facilitated feedback in the research workshop class History, Memory and National Identity. Steven Stegers, director of EUROCLIO, who was instrumental in sparking my interest in this topic and pushing me to think deeper about how this could be applicable and helpful for history teachers. Steven and EUROCLIO provided valuable opportunities to present my ideas to the *Learning to Disagree* team and discuss at the research meeting on polarisation and education in Brussels. In addition, Dr. Bjorn Wansink provided valuable direction at the beginning of this process. Finally, thank you to the six teachers who agreed to be vulnerable, reflective and honest about their classrooms. I could not have completed this research without your help.

The last year has not been an easy one. Thank you to Gerald for putting up with me and encouraging me when I felt defeated. Thank you to my parents for instilling this lifelong desire to learn and achieve more. Finally, thank you to a mentor and friend, Dr. Paul Fessler, who is always available to give encouragement or a kick depending on the situation.

All translations from Dutch to English are my own.

Abbreviations and Translations

Approaches to Learning	ATL
Creativity, Activity, Service	CAS
Dutch International Secondary Schools Network	DISS
Diploma Programme within IB	DP
Dutch Bilingual Education *Tweetalig Onderwijs*	TTO
Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics *Het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*	CBS
Dutch Secondary General Education *Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs*	HAVO
European Union	EU
European History Teachers Association	EUROCLIO
Foundation for International Education	Foundation
General Certificate of Secondary Education	GCSE
Higher Level Programme	HL
International Baccalaureate Programme	IB
International General Certificate of Secondary Education	IGCSE
Internationally Oriented Education *Internationaal Georiënteerd Onderwijs*	IGO
Internationally Oriented Secondary Education *Internationaal Georiënteerd Voorbereidend Onderwijs*	IGVO
Middle Years Programme	MYP
National Institute for Assessment	CITO
Primary Years Programme	PYP
Standard Level Programme	SL
Theory of Knowledge	TOK
Pre-University Education *Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*	VWO

Chapter 1: Introduction

"This is so stupid. What do you mean Columbus was a bad guy? How come I learned he was a national hero my whole life?" Hank proclaimed in frustration as he threw his book down and glared at me.[1] In 2014, as a second-year teacher, I did not anticipate Hank's outburst during a Christopher Columbus primary source document reading. I did not recognise that challenging students preconceived notions would elicit such a response because I did not see debunking Columbus as controversial. My experience reflects a broader trend of what history educators encounter while making curriculum decisions. In the polarized 2019 world, challenges to historical interpretations go to further extremes although most history is considered to some extent controversial to academics. Academics debate interpretation or how events should be construed within the historical field.[2] However, when these debates escape academia and move into the broader societal and cultural sphere, it impacts a variety of people, especially classrooms. In classrooms, disputes can erupt over known or unknown controversial or sensitive history often leading to emotional responses from students and teachers.

A particular interesting sphere to explore are international school history classrooms that have students from a variety of viewpoints learning together. International school teachers have varied backgrounds and experiences in a plethora of locations. This setting has little prior research and allows for new understandings in how to negotiate sensitive and controversial history in multinational classrooms. Teachers are the focal point due to their pre-planning role on history instruction. The interviewing process reveals the teacher's perceptions. As a final component, observations of two exemplar teachers allows for an analysis of classroom pedagogical practices in an ethnographic study.

1.1 Research Question and Sub-Questions

The world of teachers and students in international schools is a less studied educational research topic with most research being sponsored by the international education programmes.[3] These students are usually abroad with their parents who work for

[1] All student and educator names are fictitious.
[2] Robert Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2001), 99.
[3] Alderik Visser, "International Education in a National Context: Introducing the International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme in Dutch Public Schools," *Journal of Research in International Education* 9, no. 2 (2010): 142.

transnational, or governmental organizations that rarely speak the host countries' language. Therefore, they attend private or semi-private English-language schools.[4] These students frequently move and are often not in one place for long. International schools have different curricular frameworks that transcend national expectations and emerge into an international realm that follow the International Baccalaureate (IB) programme. Due to the unique setting for international students and teachers, it allows for questions that have been investigated within national contexts to be asked in an international context, such as what topics are sensitive and how are they sensitive. Allowing for questions on how teachers perceive and deal with these situations. Therefore, the research question is: ***how do international secondary school teachers deal with sensitive or controversial history in the Netherlands in 2019?***

To answer the research question, I will employ three sub-questions. The first sub-question is: *what is the Dutch context for secondary international history education?* This sub-question gives the broader contextualization of international education within the Netherlands. Providing a structural overview of international educational programme history courses as well as a brief analysis of syllabi.

The second sub-question is: *how do secondary international history educators define history as sensitive or controversial within the Netherlands in 2019?* This question allows for an analysis of teacher perception of topics that are considered sensitive or controversial based upon the interviews. This aligns with prior research on Dutch schools as well as provides new insights.

The third sub-question is*: how does sensitive or controversial history appear in secondary history classrooms?* The final sub-question reflects on the observations from the classroom appearance of sensitive or controversial history. Furthermore, it allows for comparison on how international school teachers negotiate with sensitive or controversial history in their classrooms.

1.2 Theoretical Concepts and Analytic Scheme

There are a variety of concepts that have been used in prior research on sensitive and controversial history such as traumatic, taboo, and difficult.[5] Traumatic and taboo are loaded

[4] In this research, all schools use English as the primary language and are semi-private. The international school structure will be further explained in the first empirical chapter.
[5] Ronald W. Evans, Patricia G. Avery, and Patricia Velde Pederson, "Taboo Topics: Cultural Restraint on Teaching Social Issues," *The Social Studies* 90, no. 5 (September 1, 1999): 218–24,

terms that align with specific topical areas such as genocide. That limiting effect is detrimental in this research. Difficult history has the opposite connotation, of an all-encompassing concept. There appears to be no singularly accepted definitions, rather each author uses their own conceptual formations. Although, there are relevant elements from these conceptual understandings, the preferred concepts for this thesis are controversial and sensitive.[6] These concepts will be employed, due to the fact, that the clearest discourse centres on these terms. Furthermore, an analytic scheme is used to help understand the present overlapping layers of interpretation when investigating these topics.

The first main concept is controversial history. Controversial history relates to societal disagreements on how to interpret the past that spill into the classroom. History that becomes controversial reflects deeply embedded social and cultural values within a classroom.[7] Tsafrir Goldberg and Geerte Savenije define controversial history as "topics structured around a question with more than one answer and begging decision between the optional answers."[8] They promote that students need controversy to engage with historical events and advocate for an alternative approach, of using controversial history as a pedagogical tool.[9] Students should be able to use historical skills for critical analysis rather than simply state pre-processed textbook history. Goldberg and Savenije state that how teachers discuss controversial history is equally important for student understanding. There may be a public debate about controversial events but if a teacher does not teach it in that manner students may not perceive it as controversial.[10] Moreover, students may later have difficulties dealing with the issue emotionally because they may not have learned how to negotiate with controversy.[11] The reverse can also be true with events that are non-controversial in the public sphere but become controversial within diverse classrooms.[12]

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doi:10.1080/00377999909602419; Sara Levy and Maia Sheppard, "Difficult Knowledge and Holocaust in History Education," in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, ed. Scott Metzger and Lauren McArthur-Harris (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 365–87; Maia Sheppard, "Difficult Histories in an Urban Classroom" (Unpublished Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2010); Sharon Macdonald, "Is 'Difficult Heritage' Still 'Difficult'?: Why Public Acknowledgment of Past Perpetration May No Longer Be So Unsettling to Collective Identities," *Museum International* 67, no. 1–4 (2015): 6–22, doi:10.1111/muse.12078. All authors use specific term or concept and it works in their specific realms and offers insights for this research.

[6] The other concepts will be used when specific authors refer to them.

[7] Sheppard, "Difficult Histories in an Urban Classroom," 22; Evans, Avery, and Pederson, "Taboo Topics," 221.

[8] Tsafrir Goldberg and Geerte M. Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, ed. Scott Metzger and Lauren McArthur-Harris (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 504.

[9] Ibid., 503. Unfortunately, I was not able to observe teachers that use this technique. Two teachers described using it, however, I could not gain access to their classrooms.

[10] Ibid., 504.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., 515.

The second main concept is sensitive history. Sensitive history comprises of the delicate and intimate, internal experiences that affect individuals based upon extended or immediate family or community experiences. Peter Seixas, in his study on multicultural education, describes situations relating to identity or immediate family experiences as "sensitive subjects," where some students avoided engaging in familial narratives.[13] Robert Stradling advocates that controversial issues are naturally tied with sensitivity.

> Controversial issues which are socially divisive or divide nations are usually sensitive: they upset or disturb people's sensitivities; they call on people's loyalties; they arouse people's prejudices. Not all sensitive issues are also controversial in the sense of reflecting contemporary social and political divisions in society or between nations. They are sensitive because they relate to particularly painful, tragic, humiliating, or divisive times in a country's past, and there is a fear or concern that reference to them in history lessons might renew old wounds and divisions and bring back too many painful memories.[14]

Therefore, for Stradling, national events that are divisive, shameful or painful become problematic in history classes. His definition reflects the overlapping nature of sensitive and controversial history. Andrew Wrenn notes that certain topics can become sensitive or controversial for specific people in specific contexts. [15] For example, Maria Grever discusses the role of teaching World War II and the Holocaust in the Netherlands with multiple levels of sensitivity. The first level is the national perception that a Dutch majority took part in the resistance. Grever reports an increased momentum towards providing a more nuanced narrative that includes the perpetrators, by-standers, victims and the resistance.[16] Including sharing the stories of sexual violence, horrors of the battlefield, fear and concentration camps.[17] These stories directly impact individual and collective memories that may affect students differently when their familial narrative may become disputed. The second level of sensitivity comes from student groups within the Netherlands, particularly students from Islamic backgrounds, some who trivialize the Holocaust, and may not react as expected.[18] This Dutch example, represents how history is sensitive for particular people in particular contexts.

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[13] Peter Seixas, "Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting," *Curriculum Inquiry* 23, no. 3 (1993): 309, 315., doi:10.2307/1179994.
[14] Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, 100.
[15] Andrew Wrenn, *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History 3-19* (London: The Historical Association, 2007), 3, 100. On page 100 he notes, "one person's acceptance might be another's controversy and that sensitivity was relative."
[16] Maria Grever, "Teaching the War: Reflections on Popular Uses of Difficult Heritage," in *Teaching and Learning Difficult Histories in International Contexts: A Critical Sociocultural Approach*, ed. Terrie Epstein and Carla L. Peck, First edition., Routledge Research in International and Comparative Education (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 32, http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4941465.
[17] Ibid., 33.
[18] Ibid., 32.

Both controversial and sensitive history evoke emotional responses for the involved actors. Maia Sheppard defines "difficult history" conceptually by focussing upon the intersection of "suffering, violence, and oppression."[19] Stating that students must engage and identify with the historical actors represented and respond emotionally or morally.[20] This brings forth an important element for both controversial and sensitive history that there requires an emotive response. These can range from ambivalence, apathy, anger, sadness or outrage.[21] The emotive responses are essential for identifying sensitive and controversial history. The non-verbal cues of students are important in classroom observations. This allows exposure for the silences, frustration or perhaps even boredom, which cue a different type of emotional response.

In this research, the conceptual understandings of sensitive and controversial history align with Stradling, Grever, Wrenn, Seixas, Goldberg and Savenije. The concept controversial history reflects the present societal and classroom conflicts. These histories reflect potentially lengthier discussed issues and show different rational interpretations. Both concepts provide subtle differences, with many overlapping elements. The concept sensitive, refers to sensitive history for individuals that have painful, or tragic connections in their past that affects their negotiations with history. For example, a student that had family members die in a genocide or a teacher that has experienced racism. How these individuals understand and interact with history such as the Rwandan Genocide, World War II or South African Apartheid will be significantly different for individuals who learn and teach without personal connections. For sensitive history, the topics will not necessarily reflect common societal controversies. Although, the connection to common societal controversies is still possible and most often appears in divided societies.

An analytical scheme will be utilized to apply controversial and sensitive history to education. *Figure 1.1* describes the elements present from the view of a teacher and is divided between controllable and uncontrollable factors. The inner triangle shows the overlapping nature of sensitive and controversial history and combines with the third element, emotions. There are different actors present that interpret history differently. Each individual examines from their current sociocultural context and uses language to construct their own meaning of past events.

[19] Sheppard, "Difficult Histories in an Urban Classroom," 23.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 24.

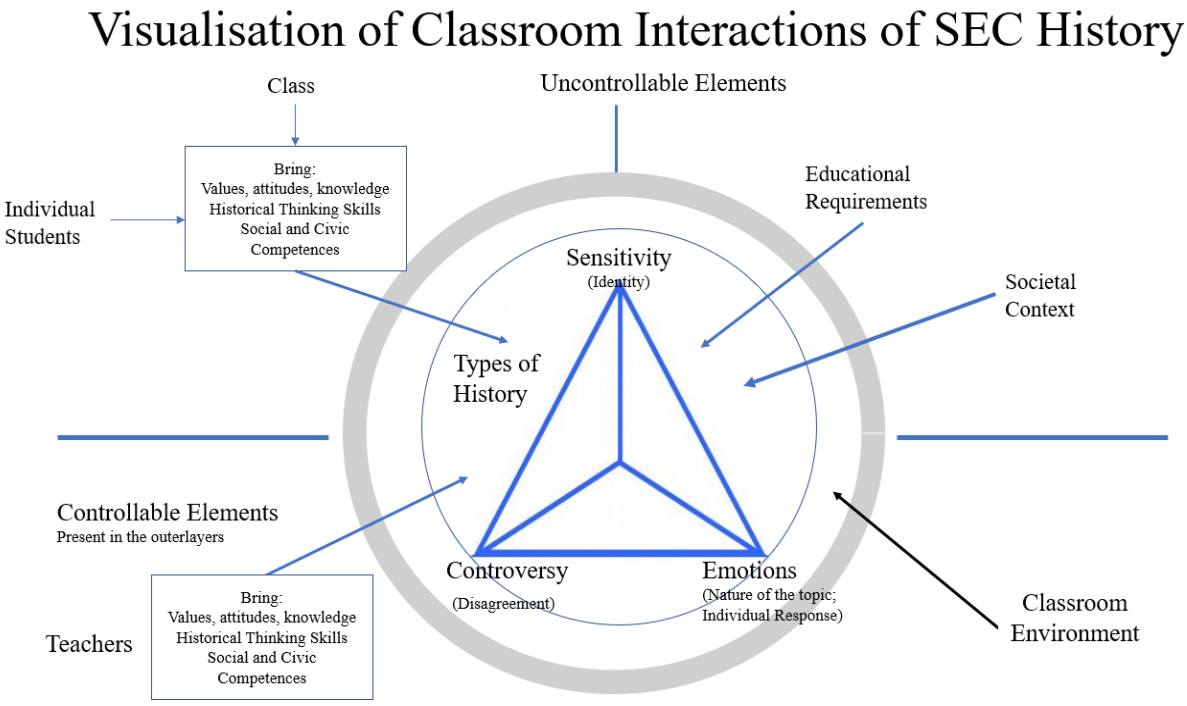

Figure 1.1 *Analytic Scheme: A Visualisation of Classroom Interactions of Sensitive, Emotional and Controversial History* Source: Own development © Lexi Oudman 2019.

The three major actors include the historical actors, the teachers and the students. The historical actors are the past events and people embedded with their own meanings. Events or historical actors may have been controversial or sensitive in the past but may no longer be so.[22] Events should be seen as a reconstruction or remediation through the available sources that survived from a particular period. What is important to remember, in David Lowenthal's terms, "the past is a foreign country."[23] Which means that individuals cannot go back and know everything that occurred. The historical materials have been constructed for particular purposes by particular individuals, such as historians. That information individuals utilize to make meaning about the past formulates different interpretations.

The second actors are the teachers. Teachers should be seen as "gatekeepers" or mediators because of their role in defining topics, constructing assessments and help frame historical understanding.[24] If teachers present topics in a closed-narrative manner, students are more likely to interpret history in that manner. Teachers may interpret events as sensitive or

[22] This could be argued for some particular events such as The Dutch Revolt. It was controversial in its time but no longer is. See Bjorn Wansink's research for further study.
[23] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2.
[24] Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, N.J. : Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 247; Stephan Klein, "Preparing to Teach a Slavery Past: History Teachers and Educators as Navigators of Historical Distance," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 45, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 75–109, doi:10.1080/00933104.2016.1213677.

controversial but their students may not, due to their identity or background. Teachers' behaviours are represented by attitudes, self-awareness, reflectiveness and construction of a safe classroom environment. A "open-classroom environment" encourages democratic discussion with established rules created with students that allows for controversial or sensitive topics to be explored.[25] These elements are some of the few areas that are in a teacher's control. Additional areas in a teacher's control include methods and possibly content.

The third major actors are the students and how they interpret the materials and teaching. It is important to recognise that students' can be influenced by external factors such as media, family and cultural background.[26] Additionally, students can respond differently based upon the classroom makeup with present peers. Student responses and behaviours are outside teachers' control. Due to time constraints, students will not be assessed in this thesis. Both the teachers and students are considered a separate layer for analysis due to their own socio-cultural views.

The second half of the analytical scheme involves external influences, which include the societal context, school culture and educational requirements. These external influences may encourage or discourage a particular response toward a historical event. The societal context will be ever evolving, especially as globalisation continues. This factor is relevant in international schools due to the diverse makeup of the student population. The societal context may cause unpredictable responses from students.

The analytical scheme describes the various elements present in sensitive and controversial history and the elements examined in classroom observations. However, it gives comparable categories of teacher behaviours. Alison Kitson and Alan McCully provide an ideal-type framework that describes teacher behaviours in the United Kingdom based upon comprehensive research (see *Figure 1.2*).[27] They describe three behaviours exhibited by teachers in their research: "avoiders, risk-takers, and containers." The "avoider" teaches history as a continuum events and move away from potential controversial topics. The "container" teaches controversial topics but does not engage in the root of issues. The "risk-taker" uses and teaches controversial issues because they hope to confront current issues.

[25] Maarten Van Alstein, "Dealing with Controversy and Polarisation in the Classroom: Some Reflections on Theory and Pedagogical Practice" (Exchange Meeting on Controversy and Polarisation in the European Context, Brussels: Flemish Peace Institute, 2019), 2.
[26] Seixas, "Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting," 301, 321.
[27] Alison Kitson and Alan McCully, "'You Hear about It for Real in School.' Avoiding, Containing and Risk-Taking in the History Classroom," *Teaching History*, no. 120 (2005): 32–37.

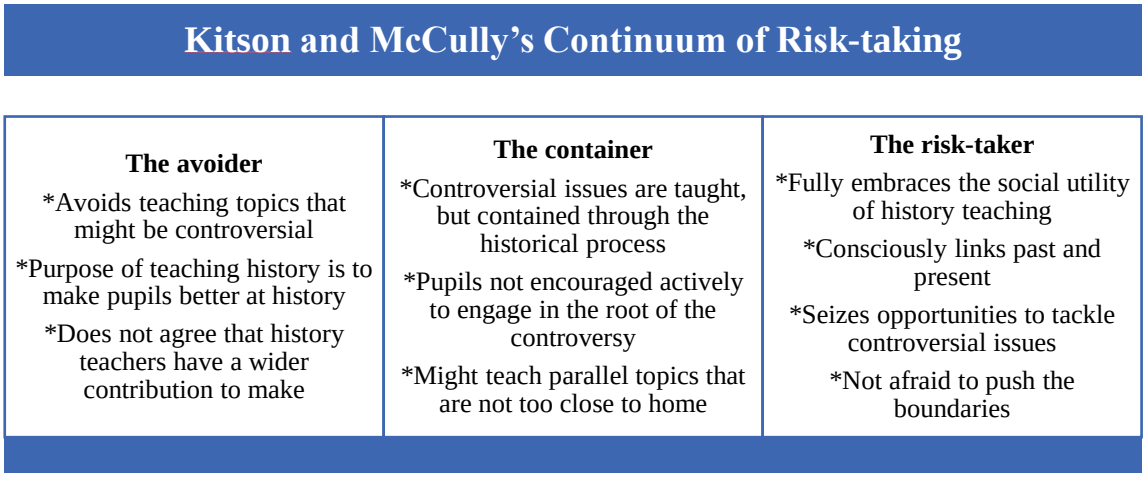

Figure 1.2 *Alison Kitson and Alan McCully's Continuum of Risk-Taking.*
Source: *Alison Kitson and Alan McCully, "'You Hear about It for Real in School.' Avoiding, Containing and Risk-Taking in the History Classroom,"* Teaching History, *no. 120 (2005): 35.*

These categories are useful, up to a point, recognising that teachers do not and will not fall directly in these categories. Teaching practice is evolving and concerns much reflection and these teachers may further adapt their practice. The behaviours and attitudes reflected here are a snapshot in time. By using Kitson and McCully's framework it helps to align this work with established research and how these categories align with the interviewed and observed teachers, in this research, will be expanded upon in the final conclusions.

1.3 Literature Report on History Education Research

Literature on history education as well as sensitive and controversial history developed after the cultural turn of the 1970s.[28] Two distinct approaches emerged with various methods and pedagogies, although it is important to note that there are overlaps between the approaches. The first approach is the European approach that emphasizes the role of historical consciousness and multiperspectivity that aligns with a postmodern methodology.[29] Within this approach, there are various perspectives including historians, educators, psychologists and sociologists.[30] The second approach is the use of history education for collective memory

[28]For a more complete historical background of development of the trends of history and educational history see: Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters, eds., "The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945: An Introduction," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History after 1945* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 1–15, doi:10.1057/978-1-349-95306-6_14; Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut, "Introduction," in *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of History Teaching*, vol. 5, International Review of History Education (Charlotte, N.C: Information Age Publishing, 2009).
[29] Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, 13; Peter Seixas, "Who Needs a Canon?," in *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 21.
[30] Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (NYU Press, 2000), 6.

to create cohesion within a community and is often seen in American schools.[31] Anna Clark and Grever aptly summarize the discussion,

> Debates over the subject also hinge on competing values of school history. Is the purpose of a historical education to promote social cohesion and national values – or does the disciplines promise of fostering critical engagement with the past and the skills of historical thinking offer more social value?[32]

There is ongoing discussion on what is the purpose for history education and often political leaders push for a usable past. This is usually rejected by the individual educators and historians that design and develop the frameworks or curricula. The second approach is fascinating and widely discussed in history education research, it is not as relevant here and will not be further expanded upon.

The final segment focusses on the blossoming amount of literature on sensitive and controversial history in the last twenty years. This section is separated between general literature produced by the Council of Europe and the Historical Association, sensitive and controversial history in fragmented societies and specific sensitive or controversial historical topics for the Dutch context.

1.3.1 The European Approach

Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut introduce an overview of history education. They outline the developments of history teaching that present uncritical views of the past as a part of nation building.[33] "Politically inspired history curricula of whatever nature, have invariably been based on a closed-narrative which drew a clear line from past to present and onward to the future."[34] In the 1960s and 1970s, after a rejection of nationalist histories, history education began to change. Seixas' notes that key changes occurred for educational theory and practice.[35] These shifts resulted in distinct new manners of history didactics such as the development of historical consciousness and cognition.[36] History teachers began to shift away from teaching closed, chronological narratives and encouraged historical thinking skills, which is seen across Europe.

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[31] Peter Seixas, "History in Schools," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, ed. Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 275–76, doi:10.1057/978-1-349-95306-6_14; Seixas, "Who Needs a Canon?," 20.
[32] Anna Clark and Maria Grever, "Historical Consciousness: Conceptualizations and Educational Applications," in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, ed. Scott Metzger and Lauren McArthur-Harris (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 189.
[33] Symcox and Wilschut, "Introduction," 1.
[34] Ibid., 2.
[35] Seixas, "History in Schools," 273, 277.
[36] Symcox and Wilschut, "Introduction," 3.

One specific example of this comes from the British context. This is relevant because one of the studied schools uses University of Cambridge's International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE). According to Terry Haydn and Robert Phillips, the British education system has experienced increased political control since the 1960s and in the 1990s. History education became a political battleground due to perceived nature of influence on how individuals understand society. [37] The history curricula received an overhaul at the turn of the twentieth century. The conservative government expected the curricula revamp would return to a greater focus on British canon. However, the historian and educational experts provided a curricula that ensured students "understand the present, rather than celebrating and transmitting the past."[38] The experts decided that students should learn historical skills necessary to navigate in the globalising world such as cause and causation, chronology, continuity and change along with interpretation and significance.[39] Although, there are still distinctly British unit plans as seen by examining the classroom textbooks used by IGCSE school.

One benefit of an approach that encourages a variety of perspectives, is the inclusion of cross-disciplinary research. Psychologist, James Wertsch focusses on collective memory in *Voices of Collective Remembering*.[40] This source is particularly important regarding the textual mediations and narratives present in textbooks. He asserts that collective memory differs from history due to people's memories being influenced by textual mediations.[41] His examples mainly emerge from Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia as well as the US, however, that should not limit his findings because his conceptual groundings can be applied in other contexts. He argues that education exists as a segment of the state's psychological power to assert and push accepted narratives as shown by the Soviet Union and America.[42] Wertsch demonstrates that individual memories do not produce identical narratives, however, when textual mediations occur, a single collective memory emerges driven by the state's need for a

[37] Terry Haydn, "History Teaching in the United Kingdom," in *Facing - Mapping - Bridging Diversity: Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education. Part 2*, ed. Elisabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg, History Education International (Schwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau-Verl, 2011), 327; Robert Phillips, "Government Policies, the State and the Teaching of History," in *Issues in History Teaching*, ed. James Arthur and Robert Phillips (London ; New York: Routledge, 2000), 11.
[38] Haydn, "History Teaching in the United Kingdom," 324; Phillips, "Government Policies, the State and the Teaching of History," 14.
[39] Haydn, "History Teaching in the United Kingdom," 333.
[40] James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[41] Ibid., 41.
[42] Ibid., 71.

"usable past."[43] He asserts the state's need for this narrative to construct, in Benedict Anderson's terms, an "imagined community" to bind citizens together.[44] The mediations of the past show how collective memory can be dynamic according to particular settings.[45]

Seixas' 2018 article, "History in Schools," builds upon how collective memory is used in education.[46] The History/Memory Matrix, *Figure 1.3*, is a manner to think about how disciplinary history and the larger sociocultural sphere interact. "Above the line" classrooms focus on academic disciplinary skills of interpreting and understanding primary sources. In this zone, there are limited attempts to connect historical topics with the present and may result in disengaged students. [47] "History below the line" could be considered historical cannons that focus on singular narratives in the past used for a present purpose including building mythic national narratives.[48] Seixas proposes that teachers search for a middle path to engage students and society in a properly contextualized conversation that bridges history and memory.[49]

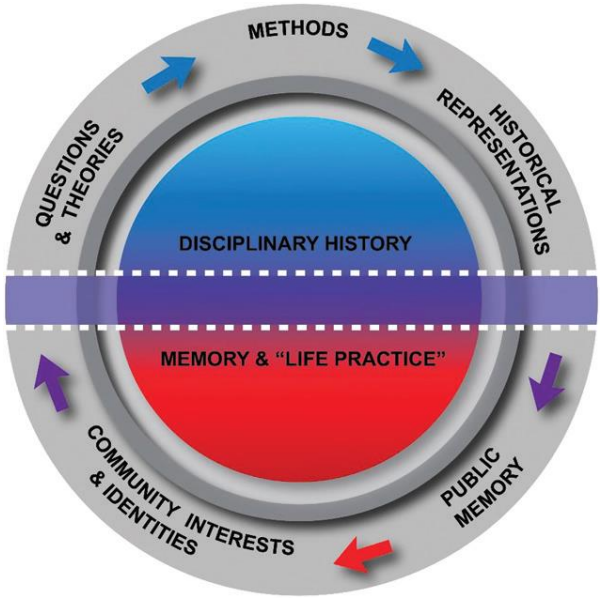

Figure 1.3: *Seixas' History Memory Matrix*
Source: Peter Seixas, "History in Schools," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, ed. Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018): 275.

[43] Ibid., 70.
[44] Ibid., 69.
[45] By recognising psychological approaches this leads to questions of how do these narratives emerge within transnational settings. There is no single state that is attempting to influence or to bind students together within transnational settings. Using this text leads to more questions than answers, such as what narratives are being employed, what is the purpose of international education, and what forms of collective remembering are being brought forth in the classrooms.
[46] Seixas, "History in Schools," 275.
[47] Ibid., 276.
[48] Ibid. According to Seixas these are generally politically motivated. He uses examples from the US and USSR.
[49] Ibid.,278.

He admits his theory is an ideal type, nonetheless, it offers a thought-provoking opportunity of how teachers can use the bridge between history and memory to scrutinize "the memorial cultures of the students in their classes and where community memories, perhaps even divided memories are held up and subjected to and enlarged by critical historical scrutiny feeding back into public memory."[50]

Additional benefits of this approach are the encouraged pedagogies. Seixas and Tom Morton wrote *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts* as a textbook supplement to enhance teaching practices. They argue that classrooms are often textbook driven which results in history education becoming a meaningless, short lived, "charge on memory."[51] Instead, they encourage teachers to use their six concepts for improved historical thinking. Though all six are relevant for teachers, the most important for this thesis is the concept of historical perspectives. Historical perspectives is helpful for students to understand how to use evidence to understand the past critically, by showing there are multiple perspectives students should gain a richer historical understanding.[52] Students should recognise that history is not one unchallenged narrative. This concept is relevant for application for my observations and how teachers handle sensitive and controversial topics.

Bjorn Wansink and co-authors use the concept of multiperspectivity and examine the connections to temporality. This concept is similar to Seixas and Morton's historical perspective taking. They highlight that history is subject to interpretation with multiple narratives and that teachers struggle to teach in this manner.[53] In this study, they interpret how teachers in Dutch classrooms teach "hot and cold history" through three predetermined events and observations; the Dutch Revolt, Dutch Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, and the Holocaust. [54] "Hot history" is history that provokes moral responses with certain identification factors whereas "cold history" are events that are no longer considered controversial such as the Dutch Revolt. Wansink determined that "hot" historical events, such as the Holocaust, caused teachers to hesitate. Teachers questioned, in this context, if multiperspectivity was appropriate an appropriate teaching strategy.[55]

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[50] Seixas, "History in Schools," 276.
[51] Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts,* (Toronto Ontario: Nelson Education, 2013), v.
[52] Ibid., 147.
[53] Bjorn Wansink et al., "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End? An Analysis of the Uses of Temporality," *Theory & Research in Social Education,* (June 27, 2018): 2, doi:10.1080/00933104.2018.1480439.
[54] These are useful metaphors that will be explained in further detail in the methods chapter.
[55] Wansink et al., "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End?," 7.

Goldberg and Savenije advocate for historical interpretation in their 2018 article as already introduced.[56] Their approach to controversial history includes an element of rationality with an ability to discuss both sides of an issue logically.[57] The authors provide an outline of already existing resources for teacher use and add potential topics that could be taught in that manner. They add potential drawbacks to each method showing awareness to the difficulties that teachers may encounter. A final note is that they advocate for contextual awareness. Teachers must realise who their audience is and recognise in a globalizing world that new controversies may emerge.[58] Students are no longer solely affected by schools and their communities but that the entire globe is at their fingertips in terms of the internet.[59]

There have been challenges against using historical interpretation or multiperspectivity, by claiming that teaching student's interpretational history will cause students to become confused or disillusioned with history. Opponents argue that history classes will dissolve in to relativity and all meaning will be lost.[60] There are also charges that by affectively engaging students, may cause a collapse of students understanding of time and result in presentism in students' historical understandings.[61] Seixas, Goldberg and Savenije, and Stradling assert that the benefits outweigh the risks of presentism.[62] They assert that more damage can be done by not engaging students with these discussions especially when a topic is sensitive and related to specific student identities.

1.3.2 Sensitive and Controversial History

Relevant literature regarding sensitive and controversial history in education can be divided into three areas. The first is general literature and advice for educators. The second area is how sensitive and controversial history is taught in divided societies. The third area includes a sample of Dutch topical sensitive and controversial history.

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[56] Goldberg and Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," 503.
[57] Ibid., 504.
[58] Ibid., 511, 513.
[59] There are words of caution in using Goldberg and Savenije's approach. Ethical questions emerge if sensitive and controversial history should have a utilitarian approach. The authors appear to recognise this issue and assert that under no circumstance should controversial history be discussed in a non-rational approach, specifically with an example of Holocaust denial. However, there were no examples given of less-extreme controversial topics. They assume that students and teachers will recognise rational and non-rational arguments.
[60] Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! Die Kinder! Or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in Schools?," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (NYU Press, 2000), 25.
[61] Goldberg and Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," 506.
[62] Seixas, "Schweigen! Die Kinder! Or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in Schools?," 21; Goldberg and Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," 509; Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, 100.

Robert Stradling's 2001 book concentrates on teaching modern history and the challenges European teachers face and is an expansion of his 1984 framework in *Teaching Controversial and Sensitive History*.[63] His main conceptual foundation is that students need enquiry-based learning to develop historical consciousness, by stating that pre-packaged historical knowledge is not helpful for students.[64] Stradling acknowledges the challenges facing teachers while teaching controversial issues such as resistance from parents, students, communities, and politicians. Additional restraints include lack of time, quality content or content knowledge.[65] Stradling asserts that "school history is public property. It is perceived to have political and social purposes as well as educational objectives."[66] The movement of school history into the public realm has resulted in greater significance for historical contextualization. Therefore, he suggests that it is "inescapable" for history classrooms to teach about controversial and sensitive topics.[67] Furthermore, he claims that most topics taught in history classes could be considered controversial depending on who is involved and how it is interpreted.[68] One strength of this book are the specific pedagogical tools that Stradling offers for teacher's use with specific concrete examples. These include distancing, compensating, empathy and exploratory strategies.[69] The other strength is his chapter on multiperspectivity.

Andrew Wrenn, in 2007, wrote the handbook for the Historical Association on teaching sensitive and controversial history.[70] Wrenn encourages emotional engagement, especially when there are identity issues at stake. Emotional engagement allows for students to recognise relevance and encourages deeper knowledge.[71] He notes that there could be damage done to minority students that only learn about their own history as "passive victims" such as within studies on Trans-Atlantic Slavery and the Holocaust.[72] Wrenn wants to avoid "token" subjects such as "black history month" rather encourage a system-wide curriculum change where teachers embrace sensitive and controversial history integrated into the mainstream curriculum. This process needs to be a concerted effort from pre-school to high school to

[63] Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*.
[64] Ibid., 13.
[65] Ibid., 16.
[66] Ibid., 30.
[67] Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, 99.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid., 102–6.
[70] Wrenn, *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History 3-19*. This handbook was created based upon interactions and multiple meetings of British educators, although, it could have been more succinct for easier reading.
[71] Ibid., 8.
[72] Ibid., 30.

reach all students with proper support of teachers.[73] Wrenn asserts that time, geography and awareness are important factors for understanding controversial and sensitive history. Students may interpret historical events differently than expected. This is especially true when perceived or actual wrongs were committed against a community group.[74] Therefore, it is essential for teachers to know the backgrounds of their students. Both Stradling and Wrenn provide insights into why teachers use specific methodologies and are foundational on prior research into how educators approach and define controversial and sensitive history.

Another branch of study shows the rise of inquiry into how history is taught in fragmented or divided societies such as Keith Barton and Alan McCully on Northern Ireland and Katrin Kello on Baltic nations. The second branch off focusses on individual topical events examples include topics on the Trans- Atlantic Slave Trade, World War II and the Holocaust.

The purpose of studying controversial history in fragmented societies is to have building blocks to heal societal divisions. Barton and McCully approach education as a place to teach alternative perspectives and find a way for students to move beyond religious and identity divisions.[75] They recognise that education is only one of the influencing factors that students have on their lives including family, internet and social situations.[76] Kello approaches the topic of education differently. In the Baltics, there has not been centuries of religious wars like in Northern Ireland, rather, there are new disputes about how to negotiate with the past, regarding the last seventy years and Soviet-Russia rule.[77] A Russian minority remains within these nations and influence history classes. Her investigation involved interviewing large numbers of teachers and showing them contrary newspaper clippings to understand how these conflicting interpretations impact students, teachers and society.[78]

The edited volume, *Sensitive Pasts: Questioning Heritage in Education*, focusses on heritage and education. The introduction explores the appeal of heritage in education as well as their conceptions of historical distance, multiperspectivity and the links to sensitive

[73] Wrenn, *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History, 3-19,* 41.
[74] Ibid., 4.
[75] Keith C. Barton and Alan W. McCully, "History, Identity, and the School Curriculum in Northern Ireland: An Empirical Study of Secondary Students' Ideas and Perspectives," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 86, doi:10.1080/0022027032000266070.
[76] Ibid., 90.
[77] Katrin Kello, "Sensitive and Controversial Issues in the Classroom: Teaching History in a Divided Society," *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 22, no. 1 (2016): 35, doi:10.1080/13540602.2015.1023027.
[78] Ibid., 40.

history.[79] The editors advocate that teachers perceive, in the present Dutch context, historical events such as World War II and Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade as sensitive. Additional authors have written on sensitive and controversial history in the Dutch context. Stephan Klein advocates for using an analytical framework based on the concept of historical distance that educators negotiate when teaching the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. He determines that the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is a sensitive topic within the Netherlands-based upon semi-structured interviews with educators. His primary claim is that changes in contemporary society impact how historical topics are taught.[80] Klein promotes for teacher agency in how controversial issues are taught because there are no singular methods because of diverse learner populations.[81]

World War II is the second major topic for the Dutch context. The Holocaust and World War II have been found to be sensitive by Wansink, Grever, as well as Sara Levy and Sheppard.[82] Levy and Sheppard write in their 2018 article about how the Holocaust is one of the widest taught sensitive topics. Arguing from the frame of the Holocaust, they advocate for a moral element to defining sensitive history. They take an approach that trauma and Holocaust horrors are unknowable.[83] However, they encourage teachers to continue to teach sensitive histories to make elements of the Holocaust knowable for students. Such as using individual stories rather than speaking about the abstract deaths of millions.[84] Levy and Sheppard caution against using the Holocaust as the main reference point for sensitive histories. They claim that when students have experienced genocide, war, or other traumas and only see sensitive history through the lens of the Holocaust, these students can become lost.[85] The role of emotional or affective engagement is vital when teaching about extreme traumas for students and teachers.

Authors have written about various educational developments in Europe. These extend into different topical areas that effect how sensitive and controversial history is taught.

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[79] Carla van Boxtel, Maria Grever, and Stephan Klein, "Introduction: The Appeal of Heritage in Education," in *Sensitive Pasts: Questioning Heritage in Education*, First edition., Making Sense of History ; Volume 27 (New York: Berghahn, 2016), 7.
[80] Klein, "Preparing to Teach a Slavery Past," 76.
[81] Ibid., 77.
[82] Wansink et al., "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End?"; Grever, "Teaching the War: Reflections on Popular Uses of Difficult Heritage." See the page 6 for analysis of this.
[83] Levy and Sheppard, "Difficult Knowledge and Holocaust in History Education," 366. The authors use the term difficult history, I choose to employ my preferred term of sensitive history for ease of reading, however that is not the concept they prefer to use. They explain how their concept comes from Deborah Britzmann's concept of difficult knowledge.
[84] Ibid., 382.
[85] Ibid., 380.

Important pedagogical approaches have emerged including using historical perspective taking, the rise of historical consciousness, and role of history as interpretations. Within the Dutch context Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, World War II and the Holocaust have already been found to be controversial or sensitive historical topics.

1.4 Innovative Aspects

This research follows Stradling and Wrenn's established patterns. These authors have a positive manner in addressing the pitfalls that educators come up against. I adhere to the educational approach that history teaching is important for life-skills and democratic development. Disconnected facts and figures will be forgotten and serve little purpose, especially, with the accessibility of electronic devices that can regurgitate knowledge for individuals. It is more important for students to learn how to interpret, investigate and identify narratives in history.

This research relies on analysis of teacher interviews and classroom observation. This allows for a bottom-up understanding into teacher construction of sensitive and controversial history in international education settings. International schools as well as the IB have had little or hard to access independent research.[86] Furthermore, sensitive and controversial history has not been investigated in international schools. This research adds to both missing layers. The role of international education has roots in the aftermath of World War II. This is relevant for delving into the educational framework and pedagogies for international education. The framework it emerges from is specifically Western European and claims to be universally applicable. This is relevant for studying international education outside of Western contexts and for students from the non-Western world. There may be a greater chance of non-Western students have different perspectives of sensitive and controversial history.

This research is inspired by EUROCLIO's *Learning to Disagree* project.[87] The project is providing methods and lesson plans for teachers when interacting with sensitive and controversial history. One of the key issues that they have encountered is identifying when and for whom events become controversial or sensitive. The analytical scheme is a manner to help EUROCLIO writers identify the factors present when developing educational resources. Although this research focusses on international schools, it offers broader insight. Numerous

[86] Visser, "International Education in a National Context," 143.
[87] EUROCLIO is a non-governmental organisation for history educators serving teachers globally with free resources.

historians and educators have called for more research into sensitive and controversial history especially for transnational research.[88] As shown by the third segment of the literature report, most research into sensitive and controversial history is topically or nationally oriented and does not represent transnational settings. Additionally, I attended a research conference at the Flemish Peace Institute. Eight individuals from different organisations came together to discuss the role of controversy and polarisation in education, asserting that more research needs to occur at a transnational level.

[88] Wansink et al., "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End?," 19; Levy and Sheppard, "Difficult Knowledge and Holocaust in History Education," 383; Goldberg and Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," 518.

Chapter 2: Methodologies and Sources

Provided the extensive methodologies and unique sources I have chosen to separate them from the introductory chapter to preserve the fourth and fifth chapters narrative coherence. This chapter justifies the mixed methods for source selection and provides how the sources are analysed in this qualitative study. It summarizes the primary sources, provides an overview of who the individuals are and the selection process for the teachers and schools. This is a unique combination and adds to the innovativeness of this thesis.

2.1 Research Methods and Sampling Descriptions

This research seeks to discover the perceptions and choices that teachers make in their classrooms aligning with a qualitative research process. The authors of *Designing and Conducting Research in Education* state that qualitative design is the most utilized method within educational research. The three most popular methods of qualitative data collection are interviews, observation and reviewing existing data. This research triangulates all three.[1]

2.1.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interviews took place in the teacher's classrooms and lasted from 45-75 minutes.[2] This allowed for teacher comfort and reduced a travel barrier for individuals to participate.[3] Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed.

The first part of the semi-structured interviews gives insights into educational practices, school demographics and subjects.[4] Teachers provide a brief overview of teaching experiences and current school setting which established a working comfort level between the researcher and the teacher.[5] The researcher asked about pedagogies to gather a broader understanding of the philosophical underpinnings that may inadvertently shape classrooms.[6]

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[1] Clifford J Drew, Michael L Hardman, and John L Hosp, "Introduction to Qualitative Research and Mixed-Methods Designs," in *Designing and Conducting Research in Education* (Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE, 2014), 8, http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/designing-and-conducting-research-in-education/SAGE.xml.
[2] Fleur's interview took place at her home and then finished at school.
[3] Drew, Hardman, and Hosp, "Introduction to Qualitative Research and Mixed-Methods Designs," 12.
[4] See Appendix B for overview of interview questions.
[5] Drew, Hardman, and Hosp, "Introduction to Qualitative Research and Mixed-Methods Designs," 12.
[6] For example, one school uses *Modern World History* for their ninth-grade students. This book was created for the British General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and has distinct British content by looking at the table of contents. Teachers have the ability to choose their topics and may not incorporate the British chapters but it is important to recognize that this book was created to align with British standards.

About halfway through the interview, teachers gave their views on controversial and sensitive history topics. To ensure clarity on sensitive and controversial history, the metaphor of "hot" and "cold" was used to avoid disruptive jargon with the researcher explaining each concept.[7] "Hot" historical events are events that have a controversial or sensitive nature within the classroom. "Cold" historical events are events that do not arouse tensions, emotions or opposing views in the classroom.[8] Their responses allow for insights if there are collective social or cultural memories within international schools that affect teaching decisions.[9] The third part of the semi-structured interview included a card-sorting task that will be further developed later in this chapter.

The benefits of using semi-structured interviews allows for open-ended discussions into teachers' perceptions. A study of history education research showed that semi-structured interviews and classroom observations are the most utilized approaches by history education researchers, because it allows for teachers to define what is difficult in their classrooms and allows for a bottom-up approach.[10] This aligns well with the greater student diversity in international classrooms, allowing for different sensitive and controversial histories to be exposed.

2.1.2 Interview and School Sampling

I selected the schools and teachers to provide the best quality data that aligned with the research questions. The four Dutch international secondary schools represented are members of the Dutch International Secondary School (DISS) network which is a network of fourteen secondary schools as seen in *Table 2.1*.[11] These schools are semi private and must adhere to the national Dutch educational framework with classroom hours but not content standards.[12] This conscious decision allows for a more alike comparison of entities and excludes fully privatized international schools. The school sizes vary from 250 to 1,000 students

[7] Drew, Hardman, and Hosp, "Introduction to Qualitative Research and Mixed-Methods Designs," 13.
[8] These terms are adopted from Wansink et al., "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End?"
[9] Prior to conducting the first interview, I practiced the research process with a teacher, not in this research, to ensure proper wording of questions and to ease nerves.
[10] Terrie Epstein and Cinthia Salinas, "Research Methodologies in History Education," in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, ed. Scott Metzger and Lauren McArthur-Harris (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 65.
[11] Dutch International Schools, "Dutch International Schools Annual Report 2017" (Amsterdam: Dutch International Schools, April 1, 2018), accessed 12/12/2018, 5, http://www.dutchinternationalschools.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Dutch-International-Schools-Annual-Report-2017.pdf.
[12] Ibid. For the 2019-2020 school year two new schools will open. The two new schools which are not assessed in this thesis reflect the growing learner populations in international secondary schools.

representing only the secondary department.[13] All schools have existed for five or more years and are well-established in their communities. Two schools are located in large urban, international business centres. The other two schools are located in suburbs or medium sized Dutch cities. The suburban schools are within commuting distance to medium or large Dutch cities. The Netherlands is a small country and most locations are easily accessible by train.

Prior to participating in the semi-structured interviews, the teachers were informed of how their data would be used, stored and that the research had approval by the Erasmus School of History, Culture, and Communication Ethics Board. Each participant signed an informed consent form that allowed for an audio-recording and transcription. I processed each interview within a week of the interview and returned the transcript digitally to participants. Participants were offered the opportunity to amend any statements that they believed needed clarification. Following this process, the transcripts were then de-identified for privacy reasons. All teachers and schools were given pseudonyms and city references removed.

Teacher Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Years Teaching Experience	Nationality	Grade Level Taught	School Location	Area Expertise	School name
Annika	Female	34	12	Greek	Foundation	Urban	Ancient Greece	School A
Brenda	Female	67	14+	American	IGCSE/DP	Urban	World History	School A
Carlijn	Female	29	4	Dutch	MYP/DP	Suburb	Colonial History	School B
Daan	Male	42	13	Dutch	MYP/DP	Urban	Cultural History & American Studies	School C
Eric[14]	Male	27	6	Canadian	IGCSE/DP	Urban	Social Studies & Geography	School A
Fleur	Female	47	22+	Dutch	MYP/DP	Suburb	History & Geography	School D

Table 2.1: *Teacher and Schools Data*. Source: *Own Interviews*. Both Brenda and Fleur have additional years' experience outside of international education signified with a + sign.

I contacted twenty teachers, from ten schools, to participate. My plan was to interview two teachers from three different schools for a total of six teachers. However, this proved difficult, due to the spring semester being a busy time period with student exams. Six of the twenty teachers responded positively to the research invitation. Teachers were nominated as being experienced educators well-grounded in their subject areas. All selected teachers have

[13] Many of them are affiliated with primary schools but primary student numbers are not included in the calculations.
[14] I have known Eric for over ten years. It is possible that he may be more open due to comfort level with me.

achieved or are in the process of achieving their master's degree, with four or more years of teaching experience. This ensures observations will not have classroom management issues or lack of experience that impede discussions.[15] There is sufficient literature regarding why teachers avoid engaging with controversial or sensitive topics.[16] Wansink and co-authors state that teachers struggle to work with history as interpretation, most notably, when the historical subject connects with teacher identity.[17] By selecting experienced teachers I hope to mitigate that risk of avoidance.

The six teachers are humanities teachers of students from grades six through twelve. Teachers are experienced in teaching history, geography, theory of knowledge and individuals and societies.[18] There are strong cross-curricular elements throughout IB humanities courses, therefore there are no issues with the teacher selection. Four of the six respondents are female.[19] The teachers are in varying stages of their careers some at the start, some in the middle and one near the end. Three of the six teachers are Dutch. That number of Dutch teachers in an international setting was surprising, however, their teaching and life-experiences provide international backgrounds of widely travelled individuals. By having teachers from a variety of locations, ages and backgrounds allows for a greater variety of knowledge by the respondents.[20]

2.1.3 Card-Sorting Task

In the final part of the semi-structured interviews, teachers completed a card-sorting activity that provides comparable quantitative data.[21] *Figure 2.2* is an example of the activity. This methodology has been used by other education researchers in different subject areas such as

[15] Bjorn Wansink, Sanne Akkerman, and Theo Wubbels, "Topic Variability and Criteria in Interpretational History Teaching," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 49, no. 5 (September 3, 2017): 5, doi:10.1080/00220272.2016.1238107.
[16] See Robert Stradling, "The Teaching of Controversial Issues: An Evaluation.," *Educational Review* 36, no. 2 (1984): 121; Barbara Christophe and Maren Tribukait, "Preliminary Needs Assessment for the Project Learning to Disagree" (Germany: Georg Eckert Institut, December 2018).
[17] Wansink et al., "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End?," 2.
[18] A broader explanation of Individuals and Societies is in chapter 3. Integrated humanities into a single course which allows for broader comparisons between say history and geography courses.
[19] This is an overrepresentation of females from schools that have online staff directories. Online there were equal numbers.
[20] Drew, Hardman, and Hosp, "Introduction to Qualitative Research and Mixed-Methods Designs," 11.
[21] Patricia Meis Friedrichsen and Thomas M. Dana, "Using a Card-Sorting Task to Elicit and Clarify Science-Teaching Orientations," *Journal of Science Teacher Education* 14, no. 4 (2003): 292, http://www.academia.edu/10825075/Using_a_Card-Sorting_Task_to_Elicit_and_Clarify_Science-Teaching_Orientations.

Wansink, Patricia Friedrichsen and Thomas Dana. [22] Prior to starting, the researcher will explain the metaphor of "hot" and "cold" history. Teachers will complete the task two times. The first-time, teachers will write down five to seven events they teach on pink papers. Teachers will then place their self-selected events on a continuum of one to five. One is considered "cold" history, and a five is considered "hot" history. When the teacher places each event on the continuum, the researcher will ask for an explanation of their answer, including for which actor an event is considered sensitive or controversial. The task will be repeated with yellow cards that include pre-prepared events from the researcher. The DP syllabus provided the selected events.[23] The data from the card-sorting task, coupled with an analysis of the interviews, will inform on the selection of observed lessons.

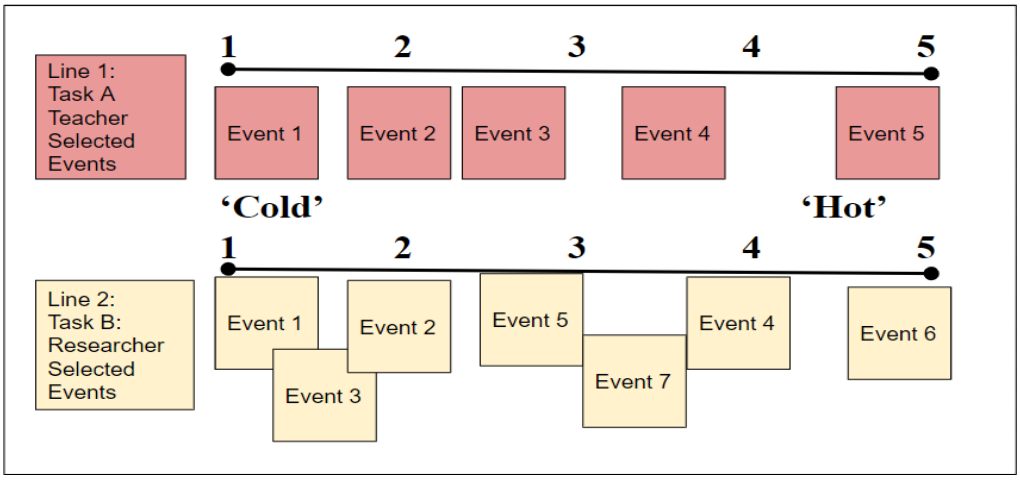

Figure 2.2 *Researcher Created Example of Card-Sorting Task*. Source: *Own Development.*

Participant responses were analysed and compared to other participants' responses using discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is evaluating the language used and recognising that language is not neutral.[24] There are power relationships that occur in each interaction. Thus, analysing the language used by teachers and students in classroom observations while discussing controversial and sensitive history provides insights to both groups' perceptions. The researcher searched for repeated, similar and different terms in interviews and classrooms while discussing events such as how teachers described emotions and how they dealt with them in their classrooms. The analytical scheme proposed will be utilized to organise the different layers of controversial and sensitive history and how the interaction of the different elements impact teachers' construction and teaching sensitive and controversial history.

[22] Bjorn Wansink, Sanne Akkerman, and Theo Wubbels, "Topic Variability and Criteria in Interpretational History Teaching," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 49, no. 5 (2017): 640–62.
[23] See Appendix C for overview of selected events.
[24] Sara Mills, "Introduction," in *Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1997), 20–21.

2.1.4 Card-Sorting Task Events

Eight events were selected for the card-sorting task from various time periods outlined in the DP curriculum.[25] The curriculum allows for broad event selection; therefore, I selected a variety, hoping teachers would have experience with some events. These events were cross-checked with the preliminary needs' assessment accessed through my internship at EUROCLIO. The preliminary needs assessment is being used by the Georg Eckart Institute for the ongoing *Learning to Disagree Project,* a pan-European project that is looking at how dialogue and debate can be fostered while interacting with controversial and sensitive history. This project focusses on national schools and provides responses from over 100 teachers on controversial or sensitive history.[26] My choices align with those events.

Some events were selected based upon ongoing debates or things already found to be sensitive in Dutch society such as colonialism or World War II. Other events were selected due to prior research that found the events to be sensitive or controversial in other contexts, since students may be present from those backgrounds. This would include Israeli-Palestinian conflict, civil rights movements or authoritarian rulers. The events are as follows: the crusades, Spanish conquests in the Americas, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, colonialism, World War II, authoritarian rulers, women's suffrage movement, and the civil rights movement in America. These events will be narrowed for investigation on how teachers deal with them according to the interview responses and the card-sorting task

2.1.5 Observations and Sampling

The final segment of primary sources for this thesis, consisted of classroom visits and teacher observations as a part of an ethnographic research. I was a non-participant observer, meaning that the students and teacher in the classroom acknowledged my presence but was excluded from their learning process.[27] It allowed for students and teachers to be in their environment and provided observations of behaviours. While observing, I filled in a field notes guide adapted from "Introduction to Qualitative Research and Mixed-Methods Designs" to provide detailed descriptions aligned with times, groups, materials, emergence of sensitive or controversial history, activities and notes.[28]

[25] See Chapter 3 for a detailed explanation of the DP curricula.
[26] Christophe and Tribukait, "Preliminary Needs Assessment for the Project Learning to Disagree."
[27] Drew, Hardman, and Hosp, "Introduction to Qualitative Research and Mixed-Methods Designs," 17.
[28] Ibid., 20. See Appendix D for complete form.

Due to time limitations, subjects taught in February through April 2019 restricted the potential available classroom observation timeframe. As anticipated, some of the teacher reported "hottest" historical events or pedagogies were not observed such as the strategy of using controversy as a pedagogical tool. The observations were subject to both school and teacher approval and were not filmed because of privacy issues and based on field notes. The events selected for observation are based upon teacher recommendations of different approaches and historical events that teachers self-reported as sensitive or controversial.

The observations followed purposive selections from the card-sorting tasks and interviews. Four teachers were selected for observations because of their self-reported pedagogies for teaching sensitive and controversial history. Teachers were selected from varying stages in their careers and genders, however, there is an overrepresentation of female teachers. I selected classrooms where teachers reported issues coming up related to student identity and racism reported by Brenda, Eric and Carlijn; issues related with war and violence as reported by Brenda and Daan; and how teacher identity shapes the classroom which became evident throughout the interviews**.** Simultaneously, I wanted to observe different pedagogies such as multiperspectivity, using controversy as a pedagogical tool, memory walks, as well as teacher or student led approaches. So, a balance was struck in selecting classroom observations. Memory walks, an innovative approach where students accompany teachers to sites of memory and monuments were used by both Brenda and Fleur. Unfortunately, both memory walks had already occurred and I could not observe them. However, this method of dealing with local history and trauma can reach students in a different manner and the interviews provided detailed enough information. Likewise, I could not gain access to Daan's classroom due to school restrictions, therefore two classroom observations occurred.

2.2 Limitations and Ethics

This research is limited by its qualitative nature and may be difficult to replicate. Another disadvantage with semi-structured interviews is that there may be a reluctance from teachers to express their real thoughts for fear of repercussions, which is why the educators are deidentified. The card-sorting task may be unnatural since teachers usually explain their understanding differently. Moreover, the subject matter may cause problems with open discussion. Finally, school policies limited the amount of observations that could occur.

Chapter 3: Tiptoeing through the Tulips: International History Education in a Dutch Context

"Tip-toe through the tulips with me…"[1]

The 1929 song, *Tip-Toe Through the Tulips,* represents an appropriate metaphor for international education in the Dutch context and how teachers and students tend to "tip-toe," or have an air of caution around controversial or sensitive history. The second half of the metaphor, the tulip, indicates a connection with the Dutch and trade. The Dutch are known for their multicultural and diverse culture.

This chapter seeks to answer the first sub-question: *what is the Dutch context for secondary international history education in 2019?* This is answered, first, by exploring the chronology of international education aligned with the two different international education formats. Second, by delving into the educational infrastructure within the Netherlands and the alignment of international education. Finally, by exploring history as a subject within the established Dutch international education context.

3.1 A Chronology of IGCSE and IB International Education.

There are two major international education programmes that cater to the international community: the IGCSE and the International Baccalaureate (IB).[2] These programmes developed into exclusively international programmes in the mid-twentieth century. They use similar methodologies and pedagogies while relying on somewhat different philosophies. International education aims to prepare students for internationally recognised examinations. International schools are not constrained by singular cultural or country context nor does it adhere to singular truths or particular religious frameworks. It provides a plurality of viewpoints by integrating various languages and cultures to enhance tolerance. Outlined here and in *Figure 3.1* are the major chronological developments, followed by brief explanations of IGCSE and IB's philosophies of education with their target learner groups.

[1] Joe Burk and Al Dublin, *Tip-Toe Through the Tulips with Me,* (New York: M Whitmark & Sons, 1929).
[2] There are other international schools that adhere to national education frameworks for example there is the American School of the Hague or the Japanese School of Amsterdam. There is a chance that a school has international in its name but does not adhere to international philosophies.

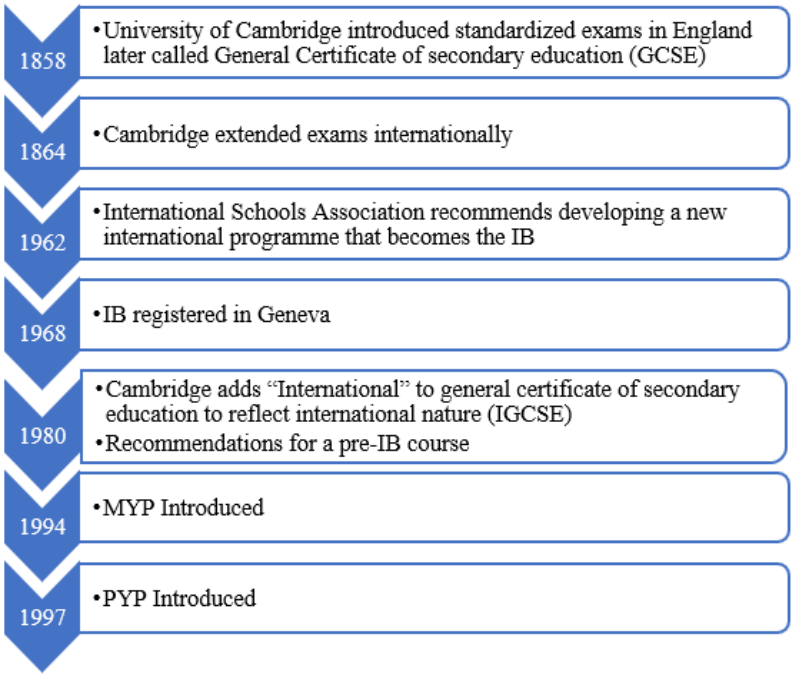

Figure 3.1 *Timeline of Two Largest International Education Programmes* Sources: *Own development adapted from: Cambridge Assessment, "Our History,"* Cambridge Assessment: International Education, *2018, accessed 31/1/2019, https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/about-us/our-history/; Darko Krstevski and International Baccalaureate Organization, "The History of the IB," 2017, 13,accessed 3/12/2019, https://www.ibo.org/globalassets/digital-tookit/presentations/1711-presentation-history-of-the-ib-en.pdf.*

The University of Cambridge's IGCSE is the first international education programme.[3] In the mid-1800s, Cambridge had difficulties with non-standardized exams in England. Therefore, Cambridge constructed an education programme that inspected schools and standardized examinations.[4] This expanded to international examinations in 1864 and today has thousands of schools that follow its curricula with around a million secondary learners.[5] The General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) was first developed for the British educational system and later adapted for an international audience resulting in British universities accepting them as equivalent to British examinations.[6] In the 1980s, the GCSE added the "international" component to make the curriculum appear less British resulting in

[3] One of the schools uses the IGCSE and Foundation Years framework instead of the MYP which is why this is included. However, their capstone is with the IB DP. This will be further expanded upon later in this chapter.
[4] Cambridge Assessment, "Our History," *Cambridge Assessment: International Education*, 2018, https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/about-us/our-history/.
[5] Cambridge International Examinations, "Cambridge IGCSE" (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge IGCSE, 2017), accessed 31/1/2019 5, https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/images/84521-cambridge-igcse-brochure.pdf.
[6] Michael O'Sullivan, "An International Education from Cambridge: What Lies at the Heart of Our Approach?" (Cambridge Assessment, 2018), accessed 31/1/2019, 10, https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/Images/417448-overview-brochure.pdf.

the name change for international schools to IGCSE. However, some school leaders expressed concern with the IGCSE's missing definition of international philosophy.[7]

The IGCSE programme promotes the pursuit of academically rigorous education by encouraging "deep subject knowledge, conceptual understandings, and higher order thinking skills."[8] This framework encourages academic disciplinary skills within different content areas by focussing on critical thinking skills, enquiry, researching, problem solving, collaborating and presenting. [9] It introduces students to different disciplinary conceptual understandings and explains how different concepts can be used in cross-disciplinary ways.[10] Thereby encouraging students to develop and apply skills in broader contexts that aligns with the new global reality. The programme is tailored for the international community while fostering local cultural inclusion. [11]

The Cambridge approaches teaching and learning by adhering to an educational constructivist approach that theorises, "understanding cannot be transmitted from one person to another, it is always constructed in learners' minds."[12]Therefore, teachers are utilized to create a "learning spiral" of appropriate progression from one learning stage to the next that promotes deep learning based on strong foundations.[13] Teachers are considered one of the most powerful influences in the learning process as teachers create a fruitful environment for learning by actively engaging students. "The learner's existing mental models must be challenged and extended… to help the leaner to become independent."[14] As a result of active engagement, students can construct knowledge, based upon evidence, to become independent thinkers. Cambridge prioritizes learning through the English language medium and ensures that students and teachers recognise the benefits and limitations of learning in a singular language.

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[7] Malcolm Nicolson and Lister Hannah, *History of the Middle Years Programme* (Cardiff United Kingdom: International Baccalaureate Organization, 2010), 16, https://balimyp.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/history-of-the-myp.pdf.
[8] O'Sullivan, "An International Education from Cambridge: What Lies at the Heart of Our Approach?," 2.
[9] Cambridge International Examinations, "Cambridge IGCSE," 5; Tristian Stobie, "Implementing the Curriculum with Cambridge: A Guide for School Leaders" (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Assessment International Education, 2018), accessed 19/3/2019, 21, https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/Images/134557-implementing-the-curriculum-with-cambridge.pdf.
[10] Stobie, "Implementing the Curriculum with Cambridge: A Guide for School Leaders," 45.
[11] Cambridge International Examinations, "Cambridge IGCSE," 5.
[12] Stobie, "Implementing the Curriculum with Cambridge: A Guide for School Leaders," 39.
[13] Ibid., 10.
[14] Ibid., 12–13.

The second programme, is the International Baccalaureate (IB). IB education focusses upon a school system-wide shift from content to concepts. The IB founders desired to create education that moved beyond heavily content focussed nationalist curriculums, which they viewed as instrumental in the manifestations of both World Wars.[15] Monique Seefried, former head of the Board of Governors, describes that from the founding to the present the IB is "committed to making the world a better place; to peace, to equality, to emphasizing people's identity as human beings before their identity as members of particular groups," as an inclusive form of collective identity.[16] The programme's root is to ensure that students recognise and move beyond their own perspectives to engage with different cultures.[17]

The IB aligns with an educational constructivist interpretation for how students learn, similar to IGCSE. The IB promotes constructivism as, "a theory of cognition… that asserts that knowledge is not passively learned but actively built and refers to approaches that recognise that importance of engaging and challenging existing mental models in learners in order to improve understanding and performance."[18] Therefore, teachers are expected to guide students to create knowledge through student-centred approaches, while focussing on key concepts such as international-mindedness within approaches to learning (ATL).

International-mindedness is the first aim for the IB. International-mindedness allows for students to recognise the similarities between cultures that are connected through world citizenship.[19] Encouraged through prescribing language acquisition, collaboration and ensuring meaningful community service.[20] At each level, Primary Years (PYP), Middle Years (MYP) and Diploma Programme (DP) students interact with the local and global community through self-designed projects.[21] The service projects promote student dispositions,

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[15] Monique Seefried, "The IB: Educating Hearts and Minds to Meet the Challenges of Today's World" (Geneva, Switzerland, 2008), accessed 12/3/2019, https://www.ibo.org/contentassets/7adb995cb97e43ed8216a173aa4bcffe/educating-hearts-and-minds-en.pdf; Nicholas Tate, "International Education in a Post-Enlightenment World," *Educational Review* 65, no. 3 (August 1, 2013): 258, doi:10.1080/00131911.2013.785938; Susan E. Saxton and Ian Hill, "The International Baccalaureate (IB) Programme: An International Gateway to Higher Education and Beyond," *Higher Learning Research Communications* 4, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 43, doi:10.18870/hlrc.v4i3.123.

[16] International Baccalaureate Organization, "What Is an IB Education?" (Geneva, 2017), accessed 11/3/2019, 1, https://www.ibo.org/globalassets/what-is-an-ib-education-2017-en.pdf; Tate, "International Education in a Post-Enlightenment World," 258.

[17] There is a large amount of IB-speak or jargon associated with the IB framework, please see the abbreviations page for a comprehensive list.

[18] Saxton and Hill, "The International Baccalaureate (IB) Programme," 45.

[19] International Baccalaureate Organization, "What Is an IB Education?," 2.

[20] Ibid.

[21] International Baccalaureate Organization, "Diploma Programme Curriculum," *International Baccalaureate*, 2019, http://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/curriculum/; International Baccalaureate Organization, "Middle Years Programme," *International Baccalaureate*, 2019, accessed 11/3/2019, http://www.ibo.org/programmes/middle-years-programme/. See *Figure 2.3* for a more in-depth explanation on the different year programmes and how this framework fits within Dutch education system.

knowledge and skills. The programme strives for balance that addresses students' social-emotional and physical well-being.[22] Conveying that the learning process should address more than cognitive knowledge and skills.

The ATL focusses on students' skills in research, thinking, collaboration and communication using conceptually based teaching methods to provide cross-curricular connections for students in all content areas. [23] These are systematically assessed through varied criterion-based rubrics, graded both internally and externally aligned with both social and academic competences for students.[24] Teachers are encouraged to help students develop individual skills such as how to ask good questions, set goals and manage time.[25] The objective is to move students away from a content heavy to a concept-based curriculum where students are actively engaged in driving the learning experience. How these classrooms develop relies on the identities of both students and teachers with continuing change due to globalisation.

Both programmes developed as a response to mankind's growing mobility. For the IGCSE, the first international examinations took place in Trinidad in 1864 for British citizens desiring entrance to British schools in England.[26] Britain's empire had a large impact on where British citizens were located and only continued to grow throughout the twentieth century. This middle class with growing mobility greatly expanded in the mid-twentieth century and had high expectations for education. In the late twentieth century, international education grew in industrializing countries and became integrated into both national and private education systems.[27] In 2013, exclusively international schools were around 20% of all authorized IB schools.[28] According to Richard Bates, the expansion of both IB and IGCSE into national schools results in international education, especially in developing nations, as a means for access to the global labour market.[29] In 2016, there was an estimated 1.2 million IB

[22] International Baccalaureate Organization, "What Is an IB Education?," 3.
[23] Ibid., 7.
[24] There are internal assessments and external assessments by certified IB assessors. This ensures a high standard that is maintained throughout all IB schools.
[25] International Baccalaureate Organization, "What Is an IB Education?," 7.
[26] O'Sullivan, "An International Education from Cambridge: What Lies at the Heart of Our Approach?," 6.
[27] Tate, "International Education in a Post-Enlightenment World," 260.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Richard Bates, "Is Global Citizenship Possible, and Can International Schools Provide It?," *Journal of Research in International Education* 11, no. 3 (2012): 263. This may cause a drain on upcoming talent in developing nations as they leave their home country to pursue education in more developed higher education infrastructures in Europe and North America.

students worldwide.[30] Despite their slightly different philosophies, the IB and IGCSE are intended as international education for international learner communities and can be implemented in their own frameworks or integrated in a national framework.

3.2 Educational Infrastructure within the Netherlands

Private international schools have been present in the Netherlands since 1863, with the majority of the schools developing in the 1950s and 1960s.[31] A more recent development is the International Oriented Education (*IGO*), in 1983, as a department affiliated with Dutch public schools.[32] The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science initiated a pilot programme in Oegstgeest, Hilversum and Eindhoven to offer secondary international education. In the next thirty years, programmes began in both primary and middle years. *Figure 3.2* provides a timeline of the developments of international education in the Netherlands.

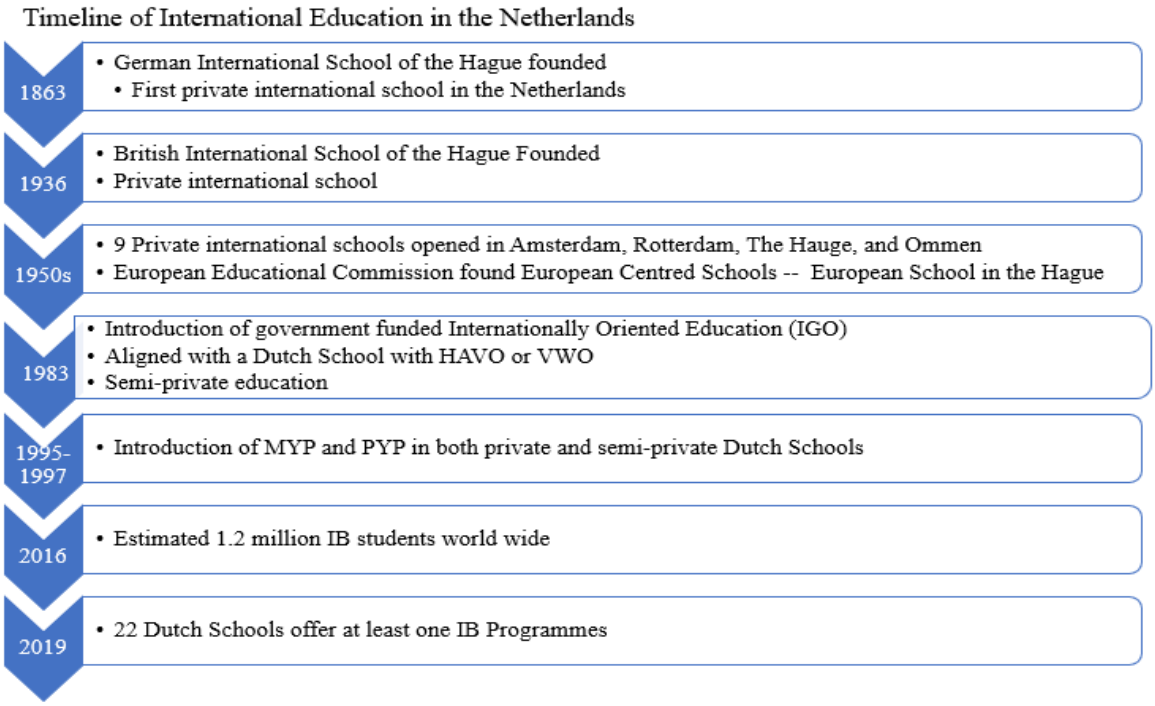

Figure 3.2 *Timeline of International Education in the Netherlands.* Sources: *Chiel Renique and Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs, "The State of International Education," Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs, April 12, 2017, accessed on 24/2/2019; Dutch International Schools, "Dutch International Schools Annual Report 2017" (Amsterdam: Dutch International Schools, April 1, 2018), Accessed on 12/12/2019, http://www.dutchinternationalschools.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Dutch-International-Schools-Annual-Report-2017.pdf.*

[30] Darko Krstevski and International Baccalaureate Organization, "The History of the IB," 2017, 12, accessed 12/3/2019, https://www.ibo.org/globalassets/digital-tookit/presentations/1711-presentation-history-of-the-ib-en.pdf.
[31] Chiel Renique and Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs, "The State of International Education," *Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs*, April 12, 2017, https://www.sio.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/SIO_Magazine-Totaal_Def_CORR1.pdf.
[32] Ibid., 19. The Dutch term is Internationaal Georiënteerd Onderwijs.

3.2.1 Organisation of Dutch Education

An exceptional Dutch educational characteristic is the constitutional right, stipulated in Article 23, for free education regardless of educational form or denomination.[33] This stems from the past religious strife between Catholics and Orthodox Protestants that plagued and divided the Netherlands. To accommodate the various types of schools, the Dutch have initiated a track system based upon student performance. The right half of *Figure 3.3* shows the Dutch educational system while the left side shows *IGO* alignment.

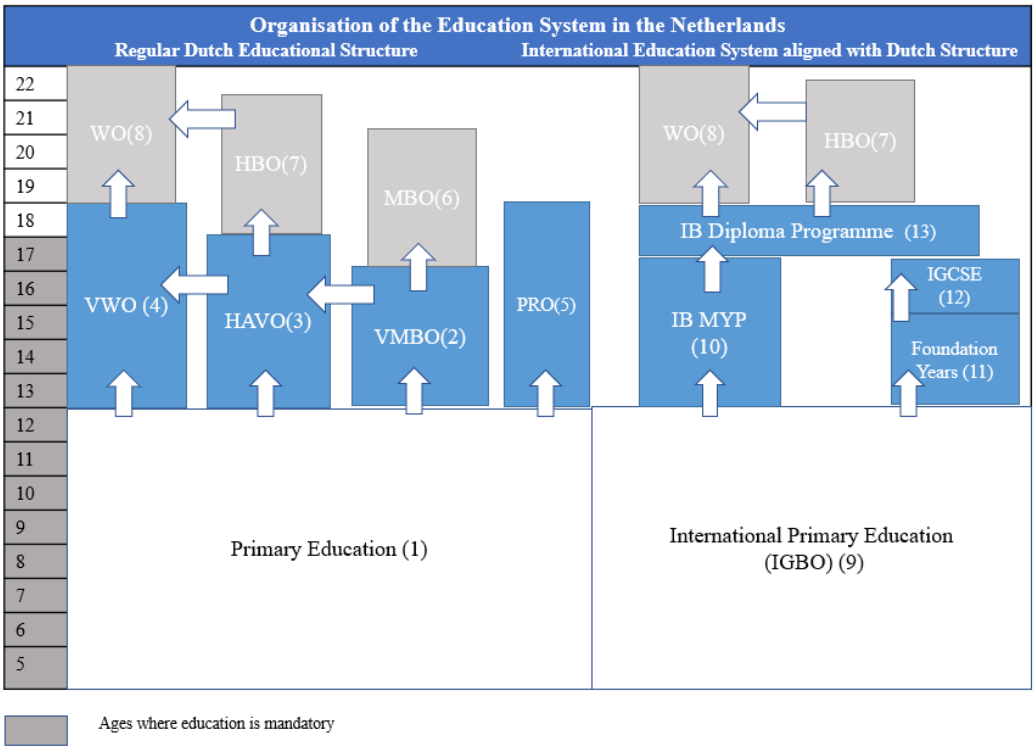

Figure 3.3 *Dutch Educational System Aligned with IGO.*

1= Primary education 2= Pre-vocational secondary education(VMBO) 3= senior general secondary education (HAVO) 4 = pre-university education (VWO) 5= practical training (PRO) 6= secondary vocational education (MBO) 7= higher professional education (HBO-bachelor) 8= university (WO- Bachelor + Master) 9 = international primary education (IGBO) 10 = IB Middle years programme 11 = Cambridge Foundation Years 12= Cambridge International General Secondary Certificate (IGCSE) 13 = IB Diploma Programme Numbers 10-13 are all included in the international secondary education stream (IGVO)

Sources: *Carla Van Boxtel and Maria Grever, "Between Dischenchantment and High Expectations: History Education in the Netherlands, 1968-2008," in* Facing - Mapping - Bridging Diversity, Part 2: Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education, *ed. Elisabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg, History Education International (Schwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau-Verlag, 2011), 93–94.* International Education data adapted from Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, "Secondary Education," onderwerp, December 16, 2014, accessed 12/3/2019, *https://www.government.nl/topics/secondary-education*.

[33] Nederlanse Grondwet, "Artikel 23: Het openbaar en bijzonder onderwijs" (1917), accessed 12/3/2019, https://www.denederlandsegrondwet.nl/id/vi5kn3s122s4/artikel_23_het_openbaar_en_bijzonder; Visser, "International Education in a National Context," 143. The article pertaining to Dutch education was initiated in 1917 and updated in 2008.

Students in the Netherlands are required to attend primary school from ages five to twelve, although, many students begin at four. In the last year of primary education, students participate in end exams from an assessment institute such as the National Institute of Assessment (CITO).[34] These exams, coupled with teacher recommendations, student and parent input, determines the student's best path. Mobility is possible within the tracks and is based upon student excellence or failure within the initial three-year general curriculum.[35] The three tracks are loosely divided between secondary vocational, secondary general education and pre-university education. In the secondary vocational tracks (*VMBO*), students learn more skilled-based work with around 60% of Dutch students following this type of education.[36] In secondary general education (*HAVO*), students are prepared for higher professional education while the pre-university (*VWO)* students are prepared for university studies.

HAVO and *VWO* students are obliged to choose one of the four tracks: science and technology; science and health; economics and society; or culture and society. [37] History courses are compulsory in the economics and society track and the culture and society track. It is estimated that around 72% of *HAVO* students and 54% of *VWO* students select history courses.[38] For *VMBO* students, only one of the four tracks has the possibility for history courses, resulting in 15% of these students studying history.[39] End examinations, set by the Dutch government -- together with the school examinations which are designed by teachers – are the capstone for both *HAVO* and *VWO* students.[40]

In the IB DP students have more options for the course tracks that they must follow. *Figure 3.4* demonstrates student options for course offerings. Students must select a minimum of one course from options 1 through 5. Students may select a course from the arts or an additional course from sections 1-4.

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[34] Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, "Secondary Education," onderwerp, December 16, 2014, https://www.government.nl/topics/secondary-education; Carla Van Boxtel and Maria Grever, "Between Disenchantment and High Expectations: History Education in the Netherlands, 1968-2008.," in *Facing - Mapping - Bridging Diversity, Part 2: Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education*, ed. Elisabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg, History Education International (Schwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau-Verlag, 2011), 94.

[35] Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, "Secondary Education."

[36] Van Boxtel and Grever, "Between Disenchantment and High Expectations: History Education in the Netherlands, 1968-2008.," 95.

[37] Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, "Secondary Education."

[38] Van Boxtel and Grever, "Between Disenchantment and High Expectations: History Education in the Netherlands, 1968-2008.," 96.

[39] Ibid., 95.

[40] Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, "Secondary Education"; Nederlanse Grondwet, Artikel 23: Het openbaar en bijzonder onderwijs.

Course Options for DP Students.

1. Language Acquisition	2. Studies in Language and Literature	3. Individuals and societies	4. Sciences	5. Mathematics	6. The Arts
English	English Literature	Geography	Biology	Math SL	Visual Arts
Dutch	English Language Literature	History	Physics	Math HL	Music
French	Dutch Language Literature	Economics	Chemistry	Mathematical Studies	Drama
Spanish	Self-Taught languages A-1	Business Management	Environmental Systems & Societies		Or an additional choice from 1-4
Chinese		Global Politics	Design and Technology		
German		World Arts and Cultures			
		Philosophy			
		Psychology			
All students are required to participate in Theory of Knowledge, Extended Essay and Creativity, Action and Service					

Students select six courses. They must take 3 courses at a higher level and three at a standard level. A minimum of one course comes from sections 1 through 5. Students may choose their sixth course from the arts or select a second subject from options 1 through 4.
This data is derived from the course offerings from the international schools present in this thesis and cross-referenced with the IB course offerings.

Figure 3.4 *Course Options for DP Students*. Sources*: Derived from the schools course offerings and International Baccalaureate Organization, "Diploma Programme Curriculum," International Baccalaureate, 2019, last accessed 17-6-2019, http://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/curriculum/.*

Thus, IB DP students have the freedom to select a variety of courses. Individuals and Societies, the track that history falls under, has the largest selection for students at the schools present in this thesis and may result in fewer students selecting a history course.

The IB is present in three separate types of schools in the Netherlands. International private schools with parents paying full tuition costs, international semi-private schools with government subsidies along with parent contribution, and *Tweetalig Onderwijs* or *TTO*, the Dutch and English bilingual education programme .[41] Dutch parents are strong supporters of having internationally minded bilingual education even if the education is not within an international school.[42] *TTO* schools are free and open to students who academically qualify. They offer IB classes aligned to *VWO* or *HAVO* and are regulated by Dutch curricula expectations.[43] *TTO* schools are more likely to focus on English language as an end goal rather than as a mode to transfer conceptual international education. Therefore, no special assessment of *TTO* classrooms are offered here.

It is unusual that a government subsidizes international education, and the Netherlands is one of the few nations with this policy.[44] All secondary international semi-private

[41] International private schools do not align with the Dutch school system and are not analysed here.
[42] Renique and Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs, "The State of International Education," 6.
[43] See the following volumes for a better understanding of the new Dutch history education; Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman, "Introduction: Old Cannons and New Histories," in *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1–16; Symcox and Wilschut, "Introduction."
[44] Jacob van der Wel, Lianne Bertling, and Piet Renooy, "International Onderwijs in Nederland," Eindrapport, Regioplan (Amsterdam: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap en Economische Zaken, October

secondary schools (*IGVO*) must be affiliated with a *HAVO* or *VWO* school organization. The international school is considered an international department within that school.[45] Teachers in Dutch international schools are Dutch government employees and affiliated school organization members. The IB and Cambridge programmes work to integrate into the Dutch system while allowing for students and schools to choose their preferred educational mode. Students who graduate from Dutch international schools complete DP exams.

3.2.2 Schools, Students and Subject Requirements

According to the Foundation for International Education (Foundation) in 2016 over 19,000 students in the Netherlands were educated in private and semi-private international schools.[46] Students from Amsterdam and The Hague account for 70% of students in both educational forms.[47] There are 14 DISS secondary schools throughout the country with 4,091 students enrolled in the 2017-2018 school year.[48] DISS provides detailed qualitative data to the Foundation in 2016, confusingly referenced as "public schools." The most relevant data is the different nationalities present, unfortunately, organised with inconsistent categories as shown in *Figure 3.4*.[49]

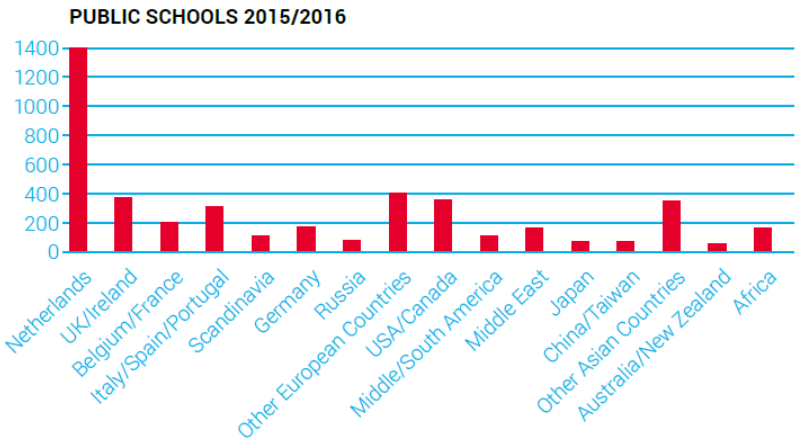

Figure 3.4 *Semi-Private International Secondary Schools.* Source: Chiel Renique and Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs, "The State of International Education," Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs, April 12, 2017, accessed 24/2/2019, 11, https://www.sio.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/SIO_Magazine-Totaal_Def_CORR1.pdf.

2016), accessed 31/1/2019, ii, https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/binaries/rijksoverheid/documenten/rapporten/2016/10/28/rapport-internationaal-onderwijs-in-nederland/rapport-internationaal-onderwijs-in-nederland.pdf. Own translation.

[45] Koninkrijksrelaties, Beleidsregel IGVO 2010, Article 4. For example, the International School of the Hague is a part of the international department of Rijnlands Lyceum.

[46] Renique and Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs, "The State of International Education," 2.

[47] Ibid., 8.

[48] Dutch International Schools, "Dutch International Schools Annual Report 2017," 5.

[49] Renique and Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs, "The State of International Education," 11.

Despite the inconsistent categories, this is the only place the data is openly accessible and why it is used in this thesis. The most surprising revelation is the 1,400 Dutch national students. The Foundation surmises that large numbers of Dutch expatriates are returning to the Netherlands, possibly due to after-effects of the 2008 recession.[50] There is significant representation from European nations, Asia and North America.

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, (CBS) 7 of the top 20 nationalities living in the Netherlands are from the Middle East and North Africa.[51] Explanations for lack of representation in international schools could fall under two different categories. One, these students could be refugees and unable to pay the extra associated costs for international education as secondary education costs around 6,500 euros per student, with government subsidy.[52] The other explanation could be that these students have dual nationality and a sufficient Dutch language mastery to attend mainstream Dutch schools. Regardless, space is a factor in *IGVO*.

In 2017, there was an 8% increase from the previous year of secondary students in DISS schools.[53] DISS attributes this rise due to the stable political atmosphere and economic growth within the Netherlands.[54] The numbers in international private and semi-private education in the Netherlands have tripled in the last ten years and there are further expectations of increased demand.[55]

Due to the desirability of IB education and limited supply, there are rules for who can attend Dutch semi-private international schools. Since the government funds all education, backstops were put in place to ensure *IGVO* did not become a competitor to *TTO*.[56] *IGO*'s

[50] Renique and Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs, "The State of International Education," 11.
[51] "Population; Sex, Age and Nationality, 1 January," Het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, August 6, 2018, accessed 28/1/2019, https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/en/dataset/03743eng/table?ts=1548692429963. This does not factor in students of Dutch nationality see Appendix A for the graph.
[52] Looking at international private schools, the costs are between 20,000-25,000 euros per student per year. The Foundation asked how many parents had financial help from employers and only 35% all respondents (19,000) from both private and semi-private schools had employer help with tuition payments.
[53] Dutch International Schools, "Dutch International Schools Annual Report 2017," 3.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid., 8. For example, in the Amsterdam region there is a capacity for 5,500 students in international education and registration data shows around 18,000 international students living there. Thus, there are an additional 12,500 students that could potentially be in the *IGO* system. Schools frequently have waiting lists or turn away students because of lack of capacity.
[56] J.J.M. van Elderen, "Manual for the Purpose of Starting an International School in the Netherlands" (Leiden: Stichting Internationaal Onderwijs in Nederland, 2011), accessed 3/3/2019, 5, https://www.sio.nl/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Manual.pdf.

goal is to help students to adjust into Dutch society and potentially into a Dutch school.[57] There are three options for enrolment.

a. Non-Dutch nationality with a parent temporarily working in the Netherlands.
b. Dutch nationality but lived abroad for a minimum of two years with a parent.
c. Dutch nationality but will move abroad in the next two years, for a minimum of two years, with written confirmation from parents' employer.[58]

This guidance ensures that international schools have capacity for expatriate students.[59]

Similar prescribed subjects apply equally for students from *HAVO*, *VWO*, and *IGVO*. Article 13 and 14 of the *Beleidsregel*, or current policy regulations, for *IGVO* stipulates classroom contact hours with content areas.[60] The IGCSE and IB rules align with government regulations and emphasize adhering to national curricular standards such as having MYP courses with 950 classroom hours and two-year IB courses with 1,650 classroom hours. [61] MYP students are required to follow history courses. All teachers in the Netherlands, national or international schools, have three options in how to teach courses. The first is as a "discrete course" that focusses on individual disciplines like geography or history.[62] The second is as a "modular course" where in one course there are segments of multiple disciplines presented separately. This course would include history, geography, economics and psychology. The third approach is as an "integrated course." This type of course looks at inquiries from multiple disciplines under one course heading and is mostly seen in science and the humanities.[63]There are additional levels for both programmes that are not relevant for this thesis and are not analysed here.[64]

International and Dutch international history classrooms have a similar basis upon skills and conceptual foundations. Dutch primary schools and the lower general high school

[57] van Elderen, "Manual for the Purpose of Starting an International School in the Netherlands,"4.
[58] Dutch International Schools, "Dutch International Schools Annual Report 2017," 4; Koninkrijksrelaties, Beleidsregel IGVO 2010, Article 8 section 1.
[59] Presently, there is not enough space, even with school expansion and introduction of new international campuses. This is especially true for the *Randstad* area, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, and The Hague, which correlates with where international businesses are (re)locating.
[60] Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, "Beleidsregel IGVO 2010" (2012), accessed 5/3/2019, Article 13 and 14, https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0027776/2012-08-01.
[61] Ibid., Article 13.1; ibid., Article 14.1.
[62] International Baccalaureate Organization, "MYP Curriculum," *International Baccalaureate*, 2019, accessed 11/3/2019, http://www.ibo.org/programmes/middle-years-programme/curriculum/. Daan utilizes this approach in his MYP class.
[63] Ibid.
[64] This includes the primary years programmes for both organizations. Cambridge has two additional levels called the O levels and their capstone programme that is equivalent to IB DP. The O levels specifically are more aligned with the GCSE and the British end qualifications.

years follow a ten-era history outline with 49 aspects of orientation knowledge that provides assistance for students to orient themselves in time within a Western European context and provides some Dutch history.[65] This outline includes historical skills, such as the distinction between continuity and change. Next, primary schools use a canon of Dutch history proclaimed by the government, consisting of fifty historical "windows". Teachers are able to orient their classrooms within the ten-eras and the “windows” but it must be emphasised that these “windows” are not compulsory. In international school history classrooms, teachers do not follow the same ten-eras but maintain a similar conceptual and skill focus. International history education emphasises students developing cross-regional connections by studying a phenomenon in different contexts such as with revolutions, wars or protests.

The purpose of international education in the Netherlands is to provide internationally minded education for international populations within different communities.[66] That happens through employing internationally minded staff. Local and international organizations accredit each school to ensure the best quality education emerges according to appropriate standards. They hope to provide international children with “education that they are prepared optimally for either the transition to English language education abroad or a possible transition to a full Dutch education.”[67] Thus the international schools are looking at both global and national possibilities for the students that differ from *TTO* and national Dutch education.

3.3 The State of History as a Subject

Much to the dismay of the interviewed teachers, history is not a prescribed subject once students finish grade eight. However, students do have the choice to select it (see *Figure 3.4*) History is referred to under a variety of names and sometimes grouped with other social sciences or humanities topics. Each grade level has a syllabus where teachers choose appropriate topics for their students. Provided here is an overview of structural topics from the MYP, IGCSE and DP syllabi.

[65] Van Boxtel and Grever, “Between Disenchantment and High Expectations: History Education in the Netherlands, 1968-2008.,” 98.
[66] Dutch International Schools, “Dutch International Schools Annual Report 2017,” 7.
[67] Ibid., 2.

3.3.1 The Foundation Years and IGCSE Syllabi

The Cambridge programme begins with the Foundation Years, continues with IGCSE and finalises with a capstone programme. All international schools in the Netherlands use the DP as the capstone programme. One school in this research uses Foundation Years and IGCSE framework.

The Foundation Years does not require history courses to be taught after age 11. On the Cambridge Assessment website there are no guidelines for history courses and states that it is a potential curricular expansion option for schools.[68] However, the Dutch government requires students to continue with history education, therefore, the school offers the subject.

The students in IGCSE select history as a course. The goal for IGCSE history is to promote key historical thinking concepts about the past such as cause and consequence, change and continuity, and similarity and difference.[69] In the examinations students should be able to identify and interpret historical data from sources, identify limitations of sources, recall relevant historical information and synthesize concepts in a logical manner.[70] Students must write their final essay in English and within the set time to receive course credit.

The IGCSE syllabus focusses on major international problems that develop in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It allows for core content choice between the development of the modern nation state from 1848 to 1914 or a study of twentieth-century international relations since 1919. The questions asked here are more skills based and align with academic historiographical debates. An example is "to what extent was the League of Nations a success?"[71] Asking students to analyse and scale those factors, which allows for multiple perspectives to emerge. The source documents that help teach this topic provide students the possibilities to assess different national perspectives that enriches student understanding.

Teachers must select one depth study in addition to the core content. Events included are the First World War, Germany from 1918 to 1945, Russia from 1905 to 1941, United States of America from 1919 to 1941, China from 1930 to 1990, South Africa from 1940 to 1994 or the Israelis and Palestinians since 1945.[72] By having a variety of locations and topics,

[68] "Cambridge Lower Secondary," *Cambridge Assessment: International Education*, 2019, accessed 19/3/2019, https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-1/.
[69] Cambridge International, "Syllabus Cambridge IGCSE History 0470" (Cambridge International Examinations, 2016), accessed 19/3/2019, 4, www.cie.org.uk/igcse.
[70] Ibid., 39.
[71] Ibid., 11. Cambridge International, "Syllabus Cambridge IGCSE History 0470," 4.
[72] Ibid., 5.

IGCSE works to assure that there are potential engaging topics for in-depth explorations of globally relevant topics. Although, the prescribed list is smaller than the IBs.

3.3.2 MYP Individuals and Societies Syllabus

The other three schools use MYP for students ages 11 to 16. One school uses discrete courses with history being a standalone subject that uses the required disciplinary concepts.[73] The other two schools use integrated individuals and societies where students learn about topics and concepts with an interdisciplinary approach.

The concepts include knowing and understanding, investigating, communicating and thinking critically.[74] Regardless if the course is integrated or discrete, teachers are required to teach about the concepts of change, global interactions, systems, time, place and space.[75] There are around one hundred supporting concepts from the disciplinary areas.[76] Important history concepts are causality, cooperation, civilization, conflict culture, identity, ideology, innovation and revolution, interdependence, perspective and significance.[77] Educators help students to construct their own knowledge by asking questions to help students process the varying levels of factual, conceptual or debatable questions. Teachers are required to assess students' ability to investigate historically. The assessment process includes students' formulations of research questions, how they conduct research, as well as students' assessment of primary and secondary sources.[78] Students must also effectively communicate their interpretations of the different concepts for their teacher or examiners. *Figure 3.5* provides how MYP emphasizes skills, concepts and cross-disciplinary understanding that allows students to construct, communicate and apply their knowledge in various settings.

Students are required to demonstrate accurate content knowledge but the MYP does not stipulate in their openly available resources what exactly the content knowledge should be, only the concepts.

[73] IB Middle Years Programme, "International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme Subject Brief: Individuals and Societies" (International Baccalaureate Organization, 2014), accessed 24/11/2018, 24, https://www.ibo.org/globalassets/digital-tookit/brochures/myp-brief_individuals-societies_2015.pdf.
[74] Ibid., 6.
[75] Ibid., 17.
[76] Ibid., 19–20.
[77] Ibid., 19.
[78] Ibid., 26.

A: Knowing and understanding

At the end of year 5, students should be able to:

i. use a wide range of terminology in context

ii. demonstrate knowledge and understanding of subject-specific content and concepts through developed descriptions, explanations and examples

Achievement level	Level descriptor
0	The student does not reach a standard identified by any of the descriptors below.
1–2	The student: i. uses **limited** relevant terminology ii. demonstrates **basic** knowledge and understanding of content and concepts with **minimal** descriptions and/or examples.
3–4	The student: i. uses **some** terminology **accurately** and **appropriately** ii. demonstrates **adequate** knowledge and understanding of content and concepts through **satisfactory** descriptions, explanations and examples.
5–6	The student: i. uses a range of terminology accurately and appropriately ii. demonstrates **substantial** knowledge and understanding of content and concepts through **accurate** descriptions, explanations and examples.
7–8	The student: i. **consistently** uses **a wide range** of terminology effectively ii. demonstrates **detailed** knowledge and understanding of content and concepts through **thorough**, **accurate** descriptions, explanations and examples.

Figure 3.5 *Individuals and Societies objectives and criteria alignment* Source: *IB Middle Years Programme, "International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme Subject Brief: Individuals and Societies" (International Baccalaureate Organization, 2014),accessed 11/24/2018, https://www.ibo.org/globalassets/digital-tookit/brochures/myp-brief_individuals-societies_2015.pdf.*

3.3.3 DP Syllabus

Individuals and Societies is required for students wanting to take DP history. The DP history syllabus referenced here began examinations in 2017 and is what the students are currently using. Teachers have the agency to choose what topics to teach the students to find local relevance. *Figure 3.6* outlines the potential prescribed and world history topics. Students must select standard level (SL) and may select the more in-depth Higher Level (HL).[79] Teachers

[79] IB Diploma Programme, *History Guide: First Examinations 2017* (Cardiff United Kingdom: International Baccalaureate Organization, 2016), 13. More students enrol for SL which results in more teachers available for interviewing, so in this research I do not investigate the HL. HL topics are not shown here.

have two years to teach one prescribed topic, two case studies and two world history topics with IB suggesting teachers use correlating topics.

Prescribed Topics:	Military leaders: 1173-1227 Genghis Khan and Richard I
	Conquest and Impact: 1482- 1551 Spanish Inquisition and Conquest of Mexico and Peru
	Move to Global War: 1930- 1940 Japanese Expansion and German and Italian Expansion
	Rights and Protest:1948- 1965 American Civil Rights Movement and South African Apartheid
	Conflict and Intervention: 1989-2002 Rowanda and Kosovo
World History Topics:	Society and Econmy: 750-1400
	Causes and Effects of Medieval Wars 750-1500
	Dynasties and Rulers 750-1500
	Societies in Transition 1400- 1700
	Early Modern States 1450-1789
	Causes and Effects of Early Modern Wars 1500-1750
	Origins, development and impact of industrialization 1750-2005
	Independence movements 1800- 2000
	Evolution and development of democratic states 1848-2000
	Authoritarian states 20th Century
	Causes and effects of 20th century wars
	Cold War: Superpower tension and rivalries in 20th Century

Figure 3.6 *Adapted IB DP Syllabus Topics.* Source: IB Diploma Programme, *History Guide: First Examinations 2017* (Cardiff United Kingdom: International Baccalaureate Organization, 2016).

For example, when teaching "rights and protest" a class would learn about the American Civil Rights Movement and Apartheid in South Africa. Then students would gain a more global perspective and insight into how similar movements occurred in different places. Students complete their study by conducting historical research on a topic that relates to rights, protest and independence movements.[80]

The DP history syllabus is based, in part, upon Seixas and Morton's *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Skills* utilising the concepts of change, continuity, perspectives, significance, causation and consequence.[81] The IB commits to teaching students that history is an interpretative discipline that allows for "opportunity for engagement with multiple perspectives and a plurality of opinions."[82] This happens through a multi-perspective approach that allows for comparative interpretations that builds students' academic historian skills. Although the IGCSE does not state that it follows Seixas' and Morton's historical thinking methods, although, it appears to align itself with these best practices. For example, one grading standard for a student to obtain an "A" is that students' can "distinguish clearly

[80] IB Diploma Programme, *History Guide: First Examinations 2017*, 84.
[81] Ibid., 98; Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts*,.
[82] IB Diploma Programme, *History Guide: First Examinations 2017*, 6.

between cause and consequence, chance and continuity, and similarity and difference, by selectively deploying accurate and relevant historical evidence."[83] Resulting in alignment with *The Big Six.*

In the Netherlands, students are required to attend history classes until fourteen and may select a track including history in later years. International schools align with the Dutch prescribed subject offerings to maintain subsidies. However, they are not held to the same content standards, although, both international schools and Dutch national schools focus on historical skills and conceptual knowledge. Both IGCSE and IB developed as a response to the growing global communities and a desire to increase internationalisation and standardize educational exams. Both international programmes are focussed on multicultural, inclusive curriculums to foster global communal acceptance.

This setting is unique in comparison to other national schools in the Netherlands when looking at controversial and sensitive history. These schools are created to be inclusive and multicultural. In the next chapter, I will look at if these teachers tiptoe around sensitive or controversial history.

[83] Cambridge International Examinations, *Syllabus Cambridge IGCSE History 0470*, 39.

Chapter 4: "Hell yeah, that's controversial!" Dutch international school teachers' perspectives of sensitive and controversial history.

Daan proclaimed in his interview, "Hell Yeah, that's controversial!"[1] For Daan and five other international school humanities teachers, controversy and sensitivity emerge around various topics in their international school classrooms located in the Netherlands. The main question for this chapter is *how do secondary international history educators define history as sensitive or controversial within the Netherlands in 2019?*

Based upon interviews with six international school humanities teachers, this chapter explores how these teachers define sensitive or controversial history, including what topics are sensitive or controversial. This is shown through teacher rankings of open and closed tasks and explanations from the semi-structured interviews are analysed to discover what events align with controversial history and sensitive history. This chapter concludes with emerging patterns of sensitive and controversial history in Dutch international schools.

4.1 Card-Sorting Task Results

The card-sorting task provides a concrete way to understand teachers' perceptions of sensitive and controversial history.[2] In line with the curriculum, teachers are considered the gatekeepers for the events that students learn and the manner that they teach. Likewise, in the card-sorting task the teachers were placed in a gatekeeper role. They gave a 1 to 5 ranking based on their perceptions of controversiality or sensitivity. I used the metaphor of "hot" and "cold" history, as outlined by prior researchers, for easier understanding of sensitive or controversial history for the teachers.[3] Teachers have significant impact within the classroom and their identities matter for how classroom events unfold.[4] Relevant for answering this question is the fact that half the teachers stated there were no events that they would define as a 5 or "hot."[5] These teachers claimed there are no topics that they hesitate to teach or find as extremely

[1] Daan, Daan Interview, interview by Lexi Oudman, February 28, 2019.
[2] Wansink, Akkerman, and Wubbels, "Topic Variability and Criteria in Interpretational History Teaching," September 3, 2017, 659; Friedrichsen and Dana, "Using a Card-Sorting Task to Elicit and Clarify Science-Teaching Orientations."
[3] Bjorn Wansink, "Between Fact and Interpretation : Teachers' Beliefs and Practices in Interpretational History Teaching" (Dissertation, Utrecht University, 2017), http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/354868.
[4] Wansink, Akkerman, and Wubbels, "Topic Variability and Criteria in Interpretational History Teaching," September 3, 2017, 645.
[5] Annika, Eric and Fleur gave events a five ranking although for two of the teachers they stated it was for students not themselves that the events were hot.

controversial for themselves. Rather than asking teachers if there were topics they avoided, I used the term hesitate because it allows for teachers to think of situations where they may have been uncomfortable. Although, there were moments when teacher identity and perception emerged when defining the event as controversial or sensitive. This seems to be incongruous with the rankings and will be explored further in sections 4.2 and 4.3. Therefore, the ranking tasks provides a glimpse of comparable data, with the interview data providing deeper insight.

4.1.1 Open-Ranking Task

The open-ranking task allowed for the interviewed teachers to select current topics in their humanities courses, providing bottom-up discovery of events. *Table 4.1* provides an overview of selected events and teacher rankings. In the open ranking task, teachers identified twenty-six events with only three events selected by multiple teachers. This may be attributed to the IB syllabi variance of topics since concepts are encouraged over specified content.[6] Seventeen topics occurred in the twentieth-century where nine topics were from other centuries.[7]

The events mirror teacher speciality areas. For example, Annika, trained in ancient history, selected Athens and Sparta, whereas, Daan trained in American Studies, chose the Cold War and Eric trained in social sciences chose broader humanities or geographical events.[8] When I asked the interviewed teachers to write down events or topics, teachers usually responded with units over specific event. For example, Carlijn selected "big history" and Eric choose imperialism.[9] Both of those topics are quite broad and could include any number of events. Thus, teacher explanations were more fruitful, for instance when Eric discussed that he teaches the scramble for Africa while teaching about imperialism.[10] It gave a more specific frame of reference for his constructions. The interview explanations provide explorations of who, what and why events were considered controversial or sensitive.

Surprisingly, only three topics, World War I, Mussolini and the Cold War were selected by multiple interviewed teachers. That results in less comparable data from the open-

[6] IB Diploma Programme, *History Guide: First Examinations 2017*, 3.
[7] I placed events in the respective era according to teacher description, Fleur, Daan and Eric spoke about teaching about imperialism in the East Indies as well as with the scramble for Africa. I recognise that imperialism could also be aligned with the twentieth, however the majority of teachers did not refer to the topic this way.
[8] Annika, Annika Interview, interview by Lexi Oudman, February 21, 2019, 1; Daan, Daan Interview, 1; Eric, Eric Interview, interview by Lexi Oudman, March 27, 2019, 1.
[9] Carlijn, Carlijn Interview, interview by Lexi Oudman, March 4, 2019, 10; Eric, Eric Interview, 8.
[10] Eric, Eric Interview, 8.

ranking task. However, the data is relevant because it aligns with prior research that states that sensitivity and controversiality depends on the individuals interacting with the historical events and the present socio-cultural framework.[11] The compared events show the divergence of teachers' perceptions. For example, World War I had five rankings, where three teachers stated World War I was non-controversial due to the temporal distance separating students and the event.[12] While Annika marked World War I as a 5 based her interpretation that the event is recent.[13] Teachers noted that specific student populations in the classroom impact perceptions of sensitivity and controversiality. For example, two teachers specified that Mussolini might become a "hotter" topic for one or two students if they were from Italy and had negative family or community experiences, resulting in sensitivity.[14] Showing that teachers are aware of potential student interpretation issues.

The Cold War resulted in divergent responses between two teachers. Daan gave the event a four based upon two factors. The first one is if both American and Russian students are present in the classroom. Although, he did not experience this as negative controversy, rather, he welcomed the variety of viewpoints and discussions that emerged.[15] In Daan's opinion the second controversy is the arms race and how many students are unaware of the policies and effects resulting in student outrage.[16] Whereas Brenda, gave all of her ranking events a one, including the Cold War, because for her, nothing is controversial. However, she did state that perhaps if she had an extremely pro-American, or pro-Russian student there would be the opportunity for the Cold War to become controversial or sensitive.[17]

Looking at the broader overview of the selected events. The events that received a 3.5 to a 5 rating were events that occurred in the last one hundred years. This aligns with prior research that has found more recent events or events that spill into the present, such as the teacher selected events of tribalism in politics or the issue with the arms race in the Cold War

[11] Kello, "Sensitive and Controversial Issues in the Classroom," 36–38; Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, 16.
[12] Fleur, Fleur Interview, interview by Lexi Oudman, April 9, 2019, 10; Daan, Daan Interview, 7; Brenda, Brenda Interview, interview by Lexi Oudman, March 13, 2019, 6.
[13] Annika, Annika Interview, 7.
[14] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 10; Brenda, Brenda Interview, 6.
[15] Daan, Daan Interview, 7–8.
[16] Ibid., 8.
[17] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 6.

tend to be more controversial. [18] Current events are more difficult for teachers to deal with because of uncertainty. [19]

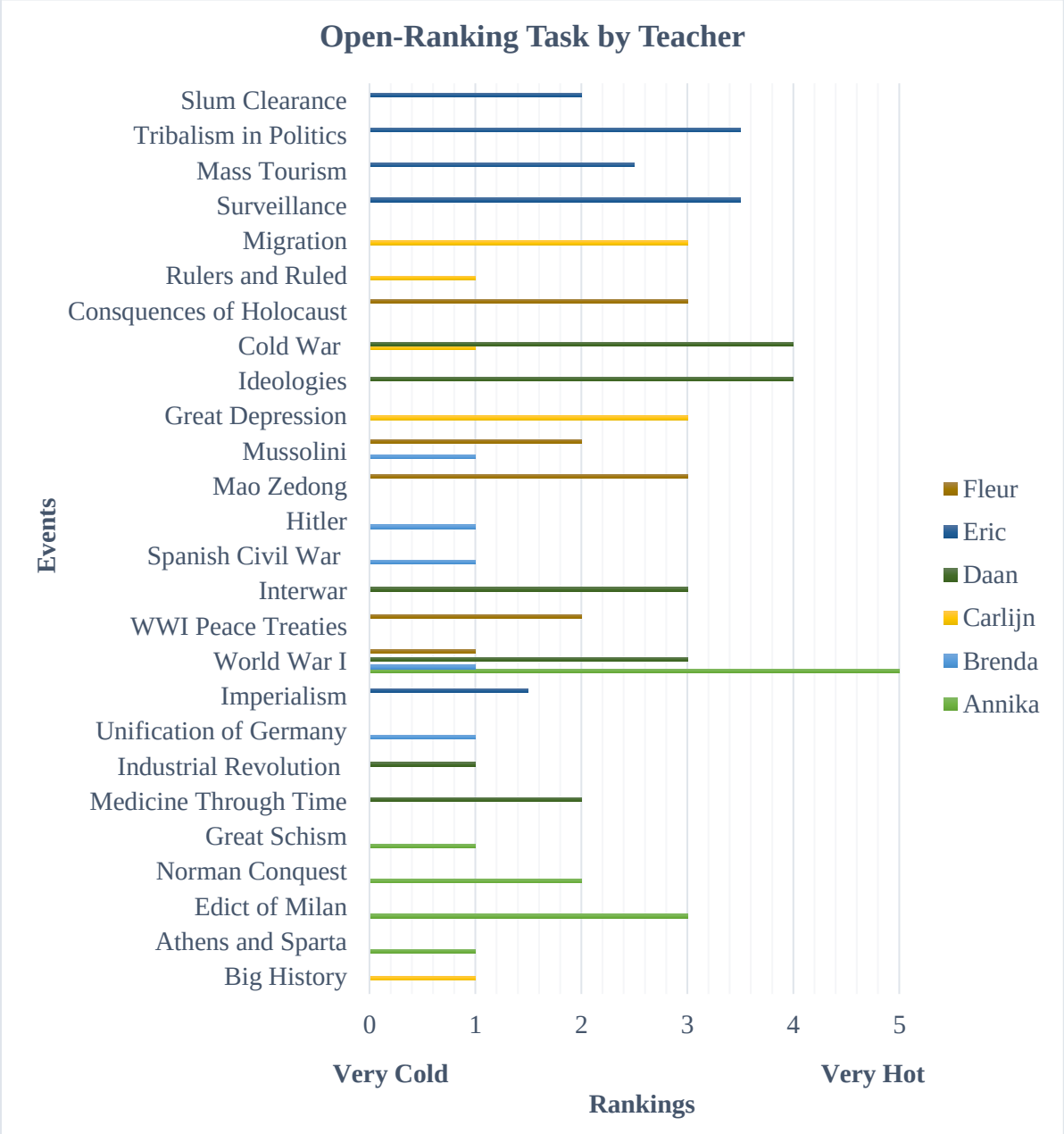

Table 4.1 *Teacher's Open-Rankings* Source: *Own Interviews*.

The topics in the open-ranking task offers a wide variety of events that are taught in humanities classrooms in international schools in the Netherlands. This data shows that not all

[18] Robert Stradling, Michael Noctor, and Bridget Baines, *Teaching Controversial Issues*, Teaching Matters (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), 3; Mario Carretero, "The Teaching of Recent and Violent Conflicts as Challenges for History Education," in *History Education and Conflict Transformation: Social Psychological Theories, History Teaching and Reconciliation*, ed. Charis Psaltis, Mario Carretero, and Sabina Čehajić-Clancy (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 353, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-54681-0_14; Kello, "Sensitive and Controversial Issues in the Classroom," 41.
[19] Stradling, Noctor, and Baines, *Teaching Controversial Issues*, 2–4.

events are controversial or sensitive in the classroom. The events that becomes sensitive or controversial are contingent upon the classroom actors.

4.1.2 Closed-Ranking Task

Table 4.2 shows the results for controversiality or sensitivity in the closed-ranking task. The events, based upon the current IB syllabus, are aligned with prior researched topics that could be controversial.[20] Although, not all interviewed teachers currently teach all the events.[21]

Teacher / Topic	Crusades	Spanish Conquest in America	Colonialism	Women's Suffrage	Authoritarian Rulers	World War II	Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	Civil Rights in US
Annika	1	2	4	2	5	5	1	3
Brenda	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Carlijn	1	3	3	1	2	2	3	3
Daan	3	2	4	2	3	3	4	3
Eric	NA	NA	2.5	1	3	2	5	2
Fleur	1	1	3	1	3	2	5	2
Average	1.167	1.5	2.917	1.333	2.833	2.5	3.167	2.333

Table 4.2 *Closed-Ranking Task with Average*. Source: *Own calculations from interviews.*

The closed-ranking task provides insight into events that have previously been found to be sensitive or controversial. Similar to the open-ranking task, a wide variance between teacher rankings appears, especially regarding "hot" topics. The data highlights that teachers tend to agree that the more distant the event, the less likely for an event to become controversial or sensitive. The Crusades ranking displays that phenomena with four of the five teachers giving it a one. Although, there are exceptions, such as colonialism and Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade that depend on the perception and socio-cultural contexts.

Teachers responded that women's suffrage is a non-issue in their classrooms. Fleur mentioned that most students were "feminists."[22] Likewise, teacher ranking of the Civil Rights Movement and the Spanish Conquest in the America show a "cool" to a slight "warm" trend. These events are less Eurocentric and may show that regional proximity, along with more current events from the last 50 to 100 years, are major factors in determining sensitive or controversial history events.

[20] Christophe and Tribukait, "Preliminary Needs Assessment for the Project Learning to Disagree."
[21] Not applicable (NA) was placed instead of a ranking since Eric does not teach two topics.
[22] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 10.

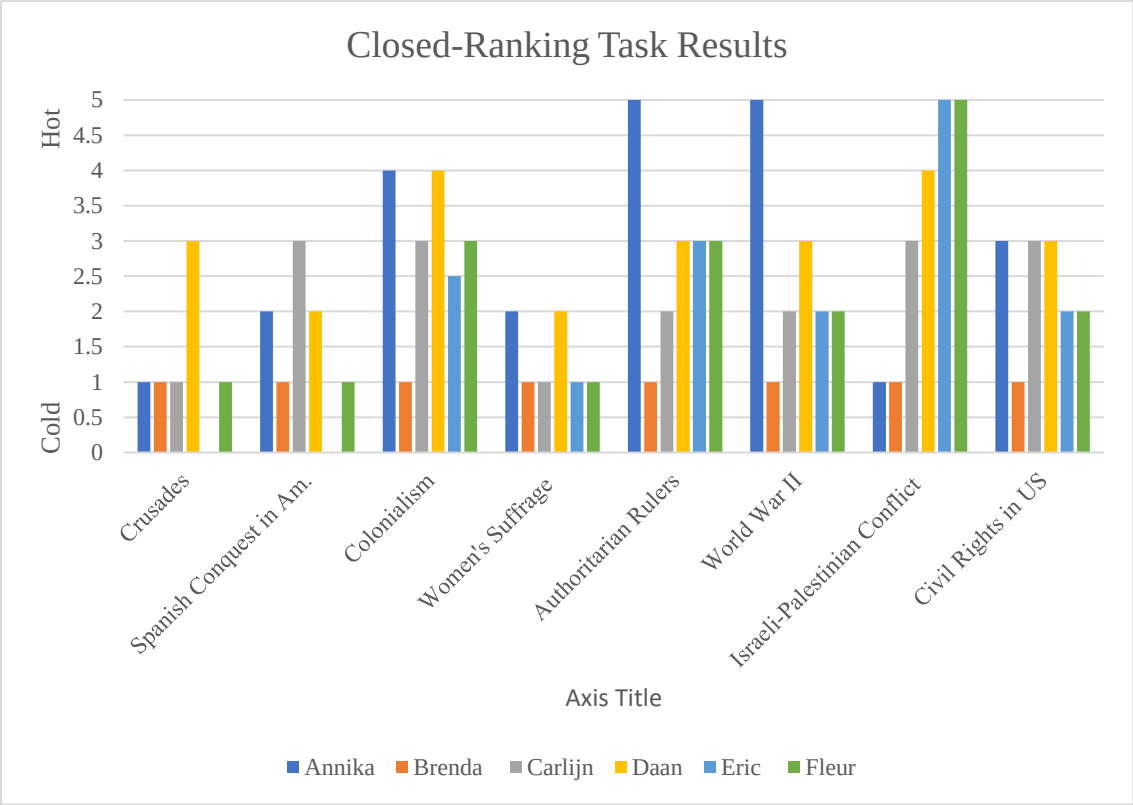

Figure 4.3 *Teacher Closed-Ranking Results.* Source: *Own Interviews*.

More regional topics with high averages are World War II and Authoritarian rulers. These events are both broad and subject to teacher interpretation. For example, Fleur mentioned Mao Zedong could be controversial if Chinese students are present in the classroom and not accustomed to learning about Mao from different perspectives.[23] Where Annika mentioned that when they speak about authoritarian rulers in Ancient Rome, students make connections to the present with President Trump, which is why she gave a five ranking.[24] World War II has been found to be controversial in the Dutch school context by previous researchers and the ranking task loosely confirms this with the interview responses providing deeper insights.[25]

The event with the highest average is the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. This event is not regional, however, the teachers who gave the highest three rankings had specific references to experiences in their classrooms when it became sensitive or controversial. Two teachers mentioned that they would hesitate, avoid or present the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a

[23] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 9.
[24] Annika, Annika Interview, 7–8.
[25] Wansink et al., "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End?"; Grever, "Teaching the War: Reflections on Popular Uses of Difficult Heritage."

different manner if they had certain students in their classroom.[26] Again, this aligns with prior research of increasing migration and diversity bringing in new or different controversies.[27]

The closed-ranking task provides an overview of teacher perceptions of controversial or sensitive history. The teacher interview responses and justifications tend to be more significant and provide more insight than the ranking tasks. Some seem contradictory, when comparing the ranking data to teacher examples as shown in 4.2.

4.2 Teacher Definitions of Controversial History and Examples

The teachers' explanations provide more detail for their explanations of controversial history with examples from their secondary classrooms. Controversial history is centred around debates or discussions that are difficult to resolve due to more than one potential answer.[28] Most teachers did not provide their own definition, rather gave examples of classroom controversies. The teachers revealed that controversy in their classroom's centres around two main themes: academic controversies and controversies related to trauma.[29]

4.2.1 Academic Controversies

Controversy tends to develop in the classroom due to lack of knowledge or centred around academic controversies. Robert Stradling states that academic controversies emerge regularly throughout academia and are a part of the nature of academic history.[30] Likewise, teachers can create settings that use controversy to garner student engagement.[31] The interviews reveal that younger students tend to struggle more with how to respond to controversies and require training on how to think critically.[32]

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[26] Eric, Eric Interview, 6; Fleur, Fleur Interview, 6.
[27] Geerte M. Savenije and Tsafrir Goldberg, "Silences in a Climate of Voicing: Teachers' Perceptions of Societal and Self-Silencing Regarding Sensitive Historical Issues," *Pedagogy, Culture & Society* 27, no. 1 (January 14, 2019): 42; Geerte M. Savenije, Nicola Brauch, and Wolfgang Wagner, "Sensitivities in History Teaching across Europe and Israel," *Pedagogy, Culture & Society* 27, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 2, doi:10.1080/14681366.2019.1566163.
[28] Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, 100; Goldberg and Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," 504.
[29] Current events that are connected to identity could also be considered sensitive because this falls into the overlapping nature of sensitive and controversial history.
[30] Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, 99.
[31] Goldberg and Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," 503.
[32] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 4,6; Daan, Daan Interview, 6,8.

Brenda believes that controversy emerges most often with students in grades eight through ten.[33] In her experience, DP level student controversies centre around academic interpretations rather than emotional outbursts. Most likely due to more advanced social, cognitive and academic skills for engaging in multiple perspectives and justification of beliefs based on sources. In Brenda's DP course, students have engaged in academic historical debates over the causes of World War I. The enquiry, based on their textbook, queries if Germany should be held accountable for World War I's start.[34] She presents multiple perspectives and asks students to formulate questions encouraging student investigation of the sources. Students interpret the sources based on evidence rather than their prior knowledge from home or society, this aligns with best practices.[35] A female Dutch student journaled about how she held the perception that Germany was evil and at fault for both World Wars. However, at the end of this unit this student reported that the narrative was not so simple and that perhaps it was a combined fault of multiple nations. The student concluded with how studying history "made her more apt to look at both sides of a narrative rather than the social or cultural representations."[36] Brenda's engagement with academic controversies helped this student to move beyond her own socially constructed narrative that centred around the causes of World War I.

Daan experienced academic controversy connected to identity while studying the Cold War.[37] With both American and Russian sides interpreting history differently from their frames of reference but are not incorrect. Eric made a similar comment on his students and how he asked for their perceptions on China. Half of the class believed that China has more geopolitical influence while the other half believed America has more geopolitical influence.[38] The nature of the international classrooms results in fewer perspectives being held by a majority of students.

Controversy can be purposefully used by teachers in their classroom to engage students with frequently dismissed events.[39] This could align with using academic controversies or structuring role plays or debates for students through counterfactual history, as a potentially helpful revision activity. Examples of this include, having students research and represent a historical character making key historical decisions, for instance whether or

[33] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 6.
[34] Ben Walsh, ed., *Modern World History*, GCSE, 2. ed., reprinted, History in Focus (London: Murray, 2002).
[35] Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts*, 10.
[36] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 2.
[37] Daan, Daan Interview, 7–8. See 4.1.1 for the complete explanation.
[38] Eric, Eric Interview, 6.
[39] Goldberg and Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," 503.

not to drop the Atomic bomb or what type of government France should develop at the beginning of the French Revolution.[40] Daan and Eric both mentioned techniques to provoke controversy students to engage with topics students normally dismiss as uninteresting.[41]

Fleur and Carlijn use academic controversies in a different manner. They use academic language for students to create distance from a topic. Both teachers constructed a classroom environment at the beginning of the school year to provide boundaries for students.[42] Therefore, students learn how to construct their own arguments based upon already established definitions. Fleur stated, when things are particularly disputed, she asks students to return to the parameters of the definitions to remove emotion from especially painful topics.[43]

4.2.2 Controversies Aligned with Trauma

In the ranking task, World War II was not highly ranked for controversiality with no interviewed teacher giving above a three. However, when teachers provided examples of controversial issues in their classrooms, five of the six gave examples that linked controversiality directly to World War II or its outcomes. Perhaps, this misalignment is a result of the ranking task being too broad and a particular event from World War II should have been selected. However, the interviews show that historical subjects tend to become controversial when connected to traumatic or disturbing imagery surrounding war, occupation or colonialism.

Daan defines controversy as "not being safe."[44] Meaning that he would have to explain to members of the school or greater community why he was teaching about a particular topic. He asserts that controversiality usually emerges around the horrors of war. Daan claims that eleven-year-old students should not be taught about the Holocaust. Rather, students should and need to be taught about such a horrific event when they are cognitively able to deal with it when they are sixteen or seventeen. "On average, kids do not need or want to be confronted

[40] Goldberg and Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," 509. Goldberg and Savenije provide an overview of different techniques that are present. They are not necessarily advocating a particular approach, however, the overview is useful to see potential options present. In my own classroom, I used debates on Galileo and the French Revolution as well as conducted a French saloon where students represented major thinkers of the Enlightenment.
[41] Daan, Daan Interview, 6; Eric, Eric Interview, 7.
[42] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 7–8; Carlijn, Carlijn Interview, 7–8.
[43] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 7.
[44] Daan, Daan Interview, 5.

with that part of the adult world yet."[45] He acknowledges that it is slippery terrain in history education and for him, becoming a parent had a large influence on his perception of what students can handle. Although, he acknowledges that some students are able to handle more than others.

Additional controversy that emerges from the topic of World War II comes from students' interpretation of historical events. For example, a German student in Brenda's class inquired, while studying the Holocaust, where the photographs of the concentration and extermination camps came from.[46] This ninth-grade student struggled to understand that regular soldiers were sometimes also amateur photographers who wanted to create lasting images of their wartime work. Brenda further explains common responses from DP students on learning about Adolf Hitler.

> But what ends up almost scaring the older students is that the Germans supported Hitler. They think that everyone was anti-Nazi. That is a source of controversy for these older kids… They assume because he was so horrible that everyone hated him... then they find out that it was not that way.[47]

According to Brenda, the DP students, much like the younger German student, believed in a less complex narrative or the narrative that has been heroized in media depictions. Rather than the reality, that there were individuals that collaborated, individuals who simply tried to survive or the minority that actively resisted.[48] Too often students uncritically align their interpretations with the popular media or textbook narratives.[49]

Students also approach the World War II past from their family or communal collective narrative.[50] This provides another example of the overlapping nature of controversial and sensitive history. A male Dutch student wanted to write his extended essay on his grandmother's interpretation that anti-Semitism arrived in the Netherlands with the Nazi-German occupation.[51] Brenda allowed him to explore this topic in the hopes that he would discover a more complex narrative. For this student, it was a shock when he discovered the lesser known narrative and recognised the missing stories in his societal and familial frame. In this instance, the IB framework provides ways for students to learn and discuss individual topics that they might not be able to explore in national schools.

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[45] Daan, Daan Interview, 5.
[46] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 5.
[47] Ibid., 4.
[48] Grever, "Teaching the War: Reflections on Popular Uses of Difficult Heritage," 32.
[49] Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, 70–72.
[50] Ibid., 42.
[51] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 5.

A second controversial event connected to the traumatic past, as defined by the closed-ranking task, is colonialism. This event aligns with previous studies on public Dutch classrooms and is one of the few issues all the interviewed teachers included in their curricula.[52] Colonialism, imperialism and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade have gained more Dutch societal publicity in the last ten years. Part of this debate becomes sensitive, especially with the culture wars around the children's holiday of *Sinterklaas* and his helper *Zwarte Piet*.[53]

IB teachers are not required to teach on Dutch history. However, teachers responded that they found teaching Dutch history relevant in order to provide more context for students in current events in Dutch society to increase greater societal awareness.[54] All interviewed teachers mentioned teaching about Dutch history with topics related to the Golden Age or Dutch imperialism.[55] In addition, four of the six teachers reported teaching about Dutch experience in World War II.

Brenda emphasised how colonialism and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade has become a more discussed topic within the Netherlands.[56] She moved to the Netherlands in 2010 and recalled asking a fellow Dutch history teacher about the Dutch Trans-Atlantic Slave trade. This teacher was unaware that the Dutch participated in the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade. Brenda noted that a few years later the Maritime Museum in Amsterdam opened a large exhibition on the Dutch slave trade around the same time and further fuelled the debate in Dutch society on less visible parts of Dutch past.

Additionally, Daan mentioned that he used the clip of the former Dutch Prime Minister Balkenende from 2006.[57] The Prime Minister said that the Dutch should be proud of the Dutch East India Company and strive to return to former Dutch economic glory. Daan was appalled at the implications from Balkenende because he connected it to the horrors of

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[52] Wansink et al., "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End?"; Klein, "Preparing to Teach a Slavery Past"; Geerte M. Savenije, Carla van Boxtel, and Maria Grever, "Learning About Sensitive History: 'Heritage' of Slavery as a Resource," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 42, no. 4 (October 2, 2014): 516–47, doi:10.1080/00933104.2014.966877; Boxtel, Grever, and Klein, "Introduction: The Appeal of Heritage in Education."

[53] John Helsloot, "Zwarte Piet and Cultural Aphasia in the Netherlands," *Quotidian. Dutch Journal for the Study of Everyday Life* 3, no. 1 (February 2012): 1–20, http://www.quotidian.nl/www.quotidian.nl/vol03/nr01/a01.html. This provides an overview of the societal debate on Zwarte Piet that appears each December with protests and counter protestors about the meaning and representation of this event.

[54] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 4–5; Eric, Eric Interview, 7; Carlijn, Carlijn Interview, 6; Daan, Daan Interview, 5.

[55] Fleur also makes connections to the Dutch interwar period.

[56] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 4.

[57] Daan, Daan Interview, 9; Peter Groenendijk, "Balkenende gelooft nog steeds in VOC-mentaliteit," *AD.nl*, October 30, 2016, accessed 19/4/2019, https://www.ad.nl/rotterdam/balkenende-gelooft-nog-steeds-in-voc-mentaliteit~a76d00a3/.

colonialism.[58] He used the clip to start a lesson on colonialism and ask the students to dissect what the Prime Minister said and if there was something wrong with it. In this instance, Daan focussed on the moral connections to imperialism. He wanted to ensure students understand what they say matters.

A second topic aligned with colonialism and imperialism is the scramble for Africa. Daan argues that the nature of "the scramble for Africa was probably one of the most horrible events that ever took place in recent history."[59] The controversiality of the event extends to the present with ongoing modern imperialism. Daan acknowledged that most students do not find the event controversial, rather, they are impacted by the encountered horrors while learning the topic. Fleur noted that colonialism becomes a more sensitive topic when students from colonized nations are in her class because those students have direct experiences with the lingering or ongoing effects from colonialism.[60] This again shows the overlapping notions of controversial and sensitive history. Eric stated that the event was horrible but for his students the event is non-controversial.[61] Rather, his students are able to recognise and acknowledge the problems of colonisation. Therefore, the horrors of the event show the controversy, especially, when there are students that have first-hand experience with the results of colonialism.

Controversy stems from different interpretations of the past. The teachers represented here found that events connected to trauma, colonialism or academic interpretation provide the most controversies in their classrooms. Yet, in trauma and colonialism there were instances of sensitivity that spilled into these disputes.

4.3 Teacher Definitions of Sensitive History and Examples

Sensitive history depends on student and teacher identity contingent on the current socio-cultural setting.[62] Stradling provides an eloquent definition, "controversial issues which are socially decisive or divide nations are usually sensitive: they upset or disturb people's sensitivities; they call on people's loyalties; they arouse people's prejudices."[63] Based upon this definition and searching for teachers' representations of student and teacher identity, I

[58] Daan, Daan Interview, 8–9.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 10.
[61] Eric, Eric Interview, 7.
[62] Wrenn, *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History 3-19*, 3.
[63] Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, 100.

found two categories for sensitive history: religion and matters connected with race. When these two elements interact and combine with conflict it results in the "hottest" topic in this case, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Teachers did not necessarily define the events they were describing as sensitive, rather I analysed for whom the event was controversial and if there were identity elements present.[64]

4.3.1 Teacher and Student Identity

Teacher and student identity provide frameworks to understanding sensitive and controversial history.[65] For some teachers' expression of identity occurs through pedagogical approaches such as in Carlijn's experience with culturally responsive teaching practices. Her experience teaching IB in a predominantly African-American under-privileged intercity school in Seattle contributed to her culturally sensitive teaching practices. In addition, her partner is a person of colour which has further opened her eyes to white privilege. Her identity and experiences shape how she approaches her classroom.[66] She intentionally selects events that represent minority events in history to ensure that more perspectives are heard while not overstating their role in history. She expressed concern how, as a white woman, she could teach students about troubling historical events related to race and civil rights.

Fleur desired her whole life to become a teacher and education helped her improve her life.[67] She spent half of her international teaching career in the Asia and Latin America, because of that she recognises that many students do not identify with their present location. That, in turn, informs her teaching approach to "root" students to their current location. Fleur teaches Dutch history and brings the students into the community to dissipate the cultural borders and find a connection in the one thing they all have in common at the same time, their school. Her experiences and who she is as a person and as a teacher impact her classroom choices.

Student identity is more difficult to assess as it is based upon teacher perceptions. Important to note, prior research has shown that students are more likely to align their historical knowledge with familial narratives if school history does not align or engage students' prior knowledge.[68] Fleur described that when topics popped up that were connected

[64] Again, these notions are overlapping with controversial history so similar elements are present.
[65] Kello, "Sensitive and Controversial Issues in the Classroom," 36–37.
[66] Carlijn, Carlijn Interview, 1.
[67] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 3.
[68] Seixas, "Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting," 320.

to student identity, especially with deeply seeded differences or closely held beliefs, is when issues became sensitive.[69] She described three scenarios as potentially sensitive. The first that Argentinian students were less likely to find the Spanish Conquest as sensitive. Rather, students saw the positives from the Spanish arrival, such as having a common language and religion. Instead, Argentinian students would be more sensitive to the ongoing conflict over the Falkland Islands.[70] Likewise, she described the civil rights movement as not very sensitive or controversial, however, when she uses the concept of white privilege, it becomes sensitive. This aligns with similar comments made by Annika when discussing how Greek students might respond to the renaming of Macedonia.[71]

In Brenda's experience, younger students have more difficulty with creating distance from their current cognitive understanding of historical consciousness.[72] This results in sensitivity that aligns with student identity. One experience she had with younger students and sensitivity developed when studying the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Students became frustrated that the enslaved people did not revolt and could not understand why they allowed themselves to be captured. Students refused to immerse themselves in the thinking of the time and became stuck in analysing the past from their current view.[73]

Unexpectedly, teachers reported, outside of the large Dutch expatriate community within their schools, it was difficult to narrow down major groups in their schools. Daan mentioned that his class was capped at twenty-two students and it was possible that there would be 18 different nationalities in the classroom which makes the classroom environment even richer.[74] The teachers struggled to identify majority student groups present. As a result of the extreme diversity, it will be more difficult for teachers to predict when sensitive history may emerge for students. The ultra-diverse international school classrooms should expect continued controversy and sensitivity topical migrations.[75]

These examples show that teacher and student identity matter for understanding the interactions within the classroom. Each student and teacher will interpret differently what is occurring. There are instances where family narratives or the socio-cultural context could potentially override the school narratives if students do not align their historical understanding with the present school narratives.

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[69] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 5.
[70] Ibid., 10.
[71] Annika, Annika Interview, 5.
[72] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 4,6.
[73] Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts,* 6.
[74] Daan, Daan Interview, 4.
[75] Goldberg and Savenije, "Teaching Controversial Historical Issues," 515.

4.3.2 Religion

Religion is connected to innate beliefs and may cause students to have difficulties formatting responses. Michael Hand and Ralph Levinson, in their study on debate and discussion in science classrooms, found that religious students often fall back on a reflex of "well that's what my religion tells me to do."[76] This tendency closes off further inquiry. Students and teachers may not want to discuss deeply seeded beliefs that directly connect to identity. Religion emerged in two different ways in the interviews around Islam and the Crusades and with the Catholic church abuse scandal.[77]

Using Savenije and Goldberg's research on the silences in history education helps to further investigate religion and sensitivity. They found that Islam and migration are two of the most controversial issues for European teachers and students. Most European national curriculums refer to Islam in connection to conflict with Christianity in the Crusades, with the World Wars or in the context of terrorism in the late twentieth century.[78] This develops a frame of reference for students to equate Islam within a context of conflict. In this research, the Crusades were selected as an event that could potentially be problematic for students from Christian, Islamic or Jewish roots. Most teachers gave the Crusades a low ranking on the controversiality continuum. What developed is that sensitivity, along with controversiality, emerged with the connections that individuals made in the present.

Fleur noted in her twenty-two teaching years that the Crusades became sensitive once. A male student from Turkey was struggling, therefore, she called a parent meeting. The student's father responded that the student was not engaged because the Crusades "did not turn out well for *us*[sic]."[79] A prime example of sensitivity based upon identity. Fleur also noted that experiences of sensitive issues at her school were generally expressed through tears or angry parent letters.

Daan supplied that hearing about the emerging Catholic abuse scandal in Australia outraged him.[80] In his MYP units, he teaches about the Reformation and roles of the church which allows for discussions on religion. He works to ensure that students think about what and why they believe. Daan finds part of his role as an educator is to have students explore

[76] Michael Hand and Ralph Levinson, "Discussing Controversial Issues in the Classroom," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 44, no. 6 (January 1, 2012): 628, doi:10.1111/j.1469-5812.2010.00732.x.
[77] The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is another religious sensitive or controversial event that emerged however, it is more in the context of racism, discrimination and anti-Semitism and will be discussed in the next section.
[78] Savenije and Goldberg, "Silences in a Climate of Voicing: Teachers' Perceptions of Societal and Self-Silencing Regarding Sensitive Historical Issues," 55.
[79] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 11.
[80] Daan, Daan Interview, 6.

their beliefs that are instilled in them. This is not necessarily reflected in all teachers but most saw it as a part of their duties to provide alternative perspectives.

Fleur experienced in an integrated humanities lesson on population, for the first time in her career, a rousing debate on abortion.[81] Fleur stated in the past, abortion was a rather dull topic because everyone agreed on the problems of back alley abortions. This year was different, students responded with Christian moral examples of how they perceive abortion as murder and that life starts at conception. This shocked Fleur. However, she used it as an opportunity to teach "secular state" to her students and how religious morals are not a part of the state. This refers back to her approach of using academic language to set the boundaries in the classroom to base claims upon.

4.3.3 Race and Discrimination

Discussions centring around discrimination and racism occurred in various ways in different school settings. In one school, Carlijn engaged students with lessons on how to understand institutionalised racism. At another school, Eric and Brenda, acknowledge that their school has problems of anti-Semitism.[82]

Carlijn taught a lesson on the *Green Book* to her MYP students.[83] The *Green Book* is a book that an African-American wrote to provide advice for other people of colour on how to travel through the American South during mid-twentieth century during the time of extreme segregation.[84] When living in Seattle, she experienced that students were more open and willing to talk about the problems associated with race. Carlijn's goal was to use a source to inspire students to confront institutionalized racism. Her MYP students missed that goal. The responses did not show the expected development of thinking how there was a move to more collective problem solving. Rather, the students focused on individual manners of engagement. Carlijn attributed that the students may not have been at an appropriate cognitive level. Also, she had these students on seventh period on a Friday afternoon which could have been an uncontrollable factor.

Carlijn did a similar lesson plan with grade twelve students on resistance and an African-American farmer cooperation in the American South. That assignment showed how

[81] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 8.
[82] Eric, Eric Interview, 4–6; Brenda, Brenda Interview, 6.
[83] Carlijn, Carlijn Interview, 7.
[84] Jim Crow Laws were based upon the 1896 Supreme Court Case of Plessey vs. Ferguson that allowed for "separate but equal" facilities for African-American's and encouraged extreme segregation. It was dangerous for most African-Americans to travel.

students' thinking progressed from singular methods of resistance to collective engagement, civil disobedience and provided a clear summative assessment. Carlijn acknowledges that an additional factor to her confrontations on race and discrimination is that it often comes from her as the teacher. She recognises that sometimes it needs to be initiated from the students in order for it to have more meaningful impact.[85] Similarly, Fleur mentioned that she is searching for new ways to teach about white privilege to her students.[86] Students generally do not respond emotionally with her civil rights movement until she provides activities for them to recognise how students may receive benefits based upon skin colour.

A second grouping of sensitivity appears when students hold a stereotypical or racist view of another group.[87] Problems emerge when students refuse to adjust or negotiate with their ignorance. Daan highlights that he discusses with students when they have problematic views but he works to ensure that he does not come off as having a singular "truth."[88]

Eric and Brenda both acknowledge that there are issues of stereotypes and inappropriate responses in their school most often heard in the hallways. Eric recognised stereotypical views that students held and challenged those views by introducing students to lesser known information.[89] Brenda noted that she is ethnically half-Jewish and students generally do not make comments directly to her.[90] Examples include students making inappropriate jokes, laughing at the word "Jew" or being unwilling to recognise that food or culture came from Jewish roots.[91] Eric noticed this in his first year at School A and decided to implement a unit on the Jewish Diaspora as a way to stimulate students to think differently and make connections to their lives and recognise there are not that great of differences between people. However, he does note that while focussing on the history or the culture of the topic he does not provide the most balanced perspective on the negative parts of Jewish history, due to the amount of pessimism that students already have towards Israel. When sorting the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the closed task, he stated,

> Israeli-Palestinian Conflict I try to stay away from that… there is so much going on geopolitically, economically, historically – there is no right answer and so there are too many facts to give. So, at the end of the day, what is the point because I am not going to convince a student with my amount of knowledge, experience and expertise. This is such an emotional issue that they will never change their mind from me. This is why I do not engage, plus it would piss off a lot of people, more than any other topic.[92]

[85] Carlijn, Carlijn Interview, 7.
[86] Fleur, Fleur Interview.
[87] Stradling, *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, 100.
[88] Daan, Daan Interview, 6.
[89] Eric, Eric Interview, 4.
[90] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 6.
[91] Eric, Eric Interview, 4.
[92] Eric, Eric Interview, 6.

Therefore, Eric noticed the issues surrounding the discourse with Jews and chose to engage students in lesser charged topics, still associated with students' prejudices, to provide students an opportunity to engage respectfully. In his course, Eric chooses to not directly engage with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict while Fleur does.

School D has a boarding facility on their campus with students arriving from different places. The school's philosophy is to use education to build relationships to foster the peace process to create change. Students from conflict ridden societies are intentionally placed together in the hopes that they will be able to move beyond their differences. Fleur noted that she has had Israeli and Palestinian students as well as Armenian and Turkish students. For her, when tackling the both the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Armenian Genocide she found that she adjusts how she teaches depending on present students.[93] If she has only a Palestinian student, she is more likely to focus on the historical roots of the current conflict with the Sykes-Picot agreement. Or if she has no students from either country, her class will examine the current day issues and have them work towards finding peace.

Fleur establishes the academic boundaries as a space for her and her students to discuss.[94] She uses this to minimize student outrage or pain. For example, the Armenian Genocide is an event that becomes both controversial and sensitive. When Fleur begins the class, she teaches the students that she uses "genocide" based upon the United Nations' definition. She also tells students that the course is based upon her interpretation of history and the sources she has engaged with. That allows for students, from either side, to be able to express themselves but removes the emotional elements and allows for more rational discussions to occur.

4.4 Another Way to Deal with Trauma: Memory and Monument Walks

A separate way that two teachers reported that they dealt with emotions was to introduce students to sensitive history within the local communities centred around World War II traumas. The teachers used memory and monument walks as an opportunity to show how communities memorialize to help students assess and apply these examples to their lives. These examples reflect the bridge of Seixas' History/Memory Matrix.[95] It allows for identity

[93] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 11.
[94] Ibid., 6.
[95] Seixas, "History in Schools," 275.

or potential more heritage related history to be addressed in the classroom that may engage students while using disciplinary historian skills and thinking processes.

In the interview and in the debrief, Brenda referenced the memory and monuments walk that she took some of her students on as a part of the Erasmus+ programme to engage students in Dutch history.[96] The intention was for students to grapple with Dutch occupation history and understand what happened to the local Jewish population.[97] This opportunity allows for students to have the space to negotiate with something that is difficult but may not be sensitive for them. It is an event that will trigger students to use historical thinking skills and historian methodologies while observing history in a nearby environment.[98] For a Serbian student, it allowed for her to analyse her own education.[99] She commented to Brenda that her education before was very black and white in Dubai and in Serbia quite nationalistic. There were few opportunities to find interpretation in history. However, at school A, she found that she learned to question and criticize to ensure that she could find a more complete historical narrative. Thus, exploring one countries' trauma and occupation allowed for her to look at Serbia's memorializing and grapple with what and why Serbia memorializes in particular ways.

Fleur does a similar activity with her MYP students.[100] She takes them into the local community and finds stumbling stones that have been placed outside of prior Jewish residences. Fleur is well-situated with the academic community who invite her to the celebrations for placing new stones and have provided her with source materials on these families. She uses this activity to further "root" students and to provide students with an identity connection to the community as well as teach about World War II's impact on the Netherlands to engage in both "below" and "above" the line in the History/Memory matrix.[101] Fleur seeks to help her students recognise the past issues that occurred within the Netherlands.

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[96] Laura Boerhout and Barry van Driel, "Memory Walk: An Interaction-Oriented Project to Interrogate Contested Histories," *Intercultural Education* 24, no. 3 (2013): 211–21, doi:10.1080/14675986.2013.799804; Brenda, Brenda Interview, 2. This article offers more information on different ways of approaching memory walks specifically in the frame of the Colonial past.

[97] She took students to different monument locations around Rotterdam, a city that was bombed out in World War II. In Rotterdam, there are lights in the sidewalk that show the boundaries of where the Nazi bombs fell and there are a variety of statues and monuments that visitors can visit. Including "The Destroyed City" by Ossip Zadkine, Mari Andriessen's "Memorial to the Fallen 1940-1945", and a walk in the City Hall courtyard to see Loekie Metz's bronze tribute to the murdered Jews of Rotterdam.

[98] Seixas, "History in Schools," 275.

[99] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 2.

[100] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 5.

[101] Seixas, "History in Schools," 275.

Like with Brenda, this provides an effective distancing method while helping students to deal with what happened in their current community.

4.5 Conclusions

The patterns that emerge show that the interviewed teachers expressed in the ranking task that little or nothing was controversial or sensitive for themselves. Rather, controversiality or sensitivity tended to emerge for students who had not fully learned how to deal with the events, the emotions or personal connections. The interviewed teachers stated that their classrooms are ultra-diverse with no majority groups, that results in more potential sensitive or controversial topics emerging.

The lack of controversiality or sensitivity on the part of teachers may have been skewed by the lack of diversity in backgrounds of the teachers. If I had been able to find a greater variety in age, locations and ethnic backgrounds some results may have been altered. All the teachers were Caucasian and five of the six teachers came from a Western European or North American background. Having more diversity may have allowed for more perspectives to appear.

The card-sorting tasks provided comparable evidence of the teachers experiences and perceptions. The open-ranking task provided a bottom-up perspective of topics present in the interviewed teacher's classrooms. The majority of these topics were considered "cold." There was little overlap in selected events. Nevertheless, the interviews provided insightful explanations for whom topics may be considered controversial or sensitive or why the topic was "cold." The closed-ranking task provided comparable evidence for international school humanities teachers perceptions of controversial and sensitive history. The events, selected from the current IB syllabi, and cross-referenced with already found sensitive or controversial history topics ensured that new understandings could be discovered in this setting. These semi-structured interviews and card-sorting tasks affirmed prior research of more recent events, within the last 50 to 100 years, are more likely to become sensitive or controversial in a classroom. Additionally, I suggest there is an element of regionalism present in a topic that students need to identify or connect with for a topic to become sensitive or controversial. Although, in both contexts there will be exceptions and "hot" events may become present in a classroom un-expectedly.

Furthermore, I analysed teacher responses to provide a categorisation of controversial and sensitive history topics. Teacher perception of controversial history aligns with prior

research with the horrors of war associated with Holocaust, World War II and colonialism based upon the semi-structured interviews. Teachers found that the nature of the events garnered controversy due to students not knowing about the terrible events that occurred. One teacher stated that a topic becomes controversial when he has to explain what happened in the classroom to those outside the class and the topic becomes "unsafe." Suggesting that students should be at a particular cognitive level to engage with potentially disturbing topics.

The topics for sensitive history were more surprising. For example, prior research shows that religious divisions are a common factor within sensitivity, however, I did not expect that a teacher would express such a reaction to the current affairs of the Catholic Church sexual abuse scandal or that abortion would be a trigger topic in a Dutch school due to the extended history of liberalism in the Netherlands. Nor did I expect to learn about the rise of anti-Semitism and stereotypical comments in one school. While, I expected sensitivity and controversiality of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

For both sensitive and controversial topics, two interviewed teachers found ways to engage students in non-traditional teaching methods with memory and monument walks. This engaged students in a memorialisation process to help students engage with present location and identify with their own histories.

Relevance matters for students. The events that are connected to student identity and their lives have the potential to become the most sensitive or controversial topics in a classroom. These tend to be current events or when things unexpectedly pop up with a tendency to involve both sensitive and controversy. This will further be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Expecting the Unexpected: the appearance of sensitive and controversial history in two secondary history classrooms

This chapter explores how sensitive and controversial history emerged in two different international eleventh grade DP history classrooms. This builds upon the Dutch context of international education and how teachers define and experience sensitive and controversial history. Therefore, the question remains: *how does sensitive or controversial history appear in secondary history classrooms?* This relates to how teachers' experience sensitive or controversial in their classrooms, however, as an outside researcher it may appear differently. I observed the intersection of different backgrounds and cultures in two schools and a total of five lessons in two international humanities classrooms.

5.1 Multiperspectivity

The two DP history classrooms use inquiry-based and multi-perspective approaches. The teachers were selected due to their noted differences from the interviews. Inquiry-based educational practice means that teachers scaffold students to a level where students can self-direct and construct the learning processes. Inquiry is an essential skill for students. Seixas and Morton assert, "the right questions should prompt them [students] to take an active stance toward engaging with the past. Inquiry questions demand more than memorizing pieces of information or looking up solutions. They involve grappling with evidence, weighing choices and making interpretations."[1]Students are learning how to ask pertinent questions and finding ways to reconcile potentially contradictory information. This provides more nuanced and complex views of history. Thus, an inquiry-based approach connects well with multiperspectivity.

Multiperspectivity, as stated in the literature review, is an approach that exposes students to a variety of perspectives to have students use historical thinking skills to draw conclusions. [2] Seixas and Morton emphasize that multiperspectivity helps students to create "evidence-based inferences about the thoughts and feelings of the characters of history."[3] Stradling notes that a multiperspective approach should expand historical analysis rather than

[1] Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts*, 9.
[2] Wansink et al., "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End?," 2; Robert Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching : A Guide for Teachers* (Council of Europe, 2003), 14.
[3] Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts*, 138.

being a "simple application of historical method."[4] Thus, students should engage with multiple perspectives and analyse how the perspectives relate and interact in what Stradling calls a "more complex but also a more complete picture."[5] That complexity will naturally cause more classroom issues and ideally result in constructing historical empathy. This teaching approach requires significant preparation and background information for students to develop historical empathy.

Multiperspectivity is a way for teachers to foster historical enquiry by providing different viewpoints for students to assess and weigh. Students are introduced to disciplinary history methods to analyse the evidence such as critically assessing and critiquing sources through reading and interpretation.[6] Using multiple-perspectives invites more complex narratives. This may cause confusion or frustration for students that are accustomed to singular answers. By investigating classrooms that use multiperspectivity, I hope to discover moments when sensitive or controversial history appears.

5.2 School A: Stereotypes and Trauma

Brenda distinctively took an academic disciplinarian approach and noted that her school has a distinct British flavour as seen by the younger years use of IGCSE and Foundation Years.[7] She is an experienced teacher that has been in IB education for twelve years but has additional years of primary and adult education.[8] She has a more teacher-centred approach with self-reported emphasis on student reading and writing. She uses a variety of perspectives for students to analyse history.

The observed lesson with sensitive and controversial history took place on a Wednesday afternoon in at the end of March 2019. This SL history course included twelve students in eleventh grade. Eight girls and four boys were present with two boys absent. There was one student present of Asian background and another student who had spent three years living in Shanghai.[9] The classroom was set up in a double U shape that encouraged discussion, with a centre focal point of the Pro-Wise and whiteboard. I sat in the back corner of the classroom, which provided a vantage point to see facial reactions and student

[4] Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching*, 19.
[5] Ibid., 21.
[6] Seixas, "History in Schools," 276.
[7] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 6.
[8] Ibid., 2.
[9]The female student of Asian descent was confirmed after the lesson to be from Japan. A male Dutch student reported in class that spent three years in Shanghai.

interactions with each other and electronic devices which all represent different types of emotional reactions. The classroom overlooked a basketball court. This classroom was recently constructed and had little on the walls.

That day, I observed two additional lessons that had no appearances of sensitive or controversial history. This shows that sensitive or controversial settings will not always emerge in classrooms and is difficult to predict. Prior to the other classes, Brenda stated that she did not anticipate controversy due to students working group projects in one class and an essay in the other.

5.2.1 Introduction to the Chinese Civil War

Brenda opened her class with posing a question, "What do you know about China?" She asked students to write their knowledge on the board to provide a formative assessment prior to her unit on the Chinese Civil War. Brenda turned to her computer and proceeded to file attendance and do other administrative tasks.

A few students looked at each other quizzically. One said, "Wait, which part of Chinese history are we talking about? There is so much!" Then, some got to their feet and headed to the board. Some preferred to stay at their seats, calling out comments or having side conversations. Students listed off accomplishments like the Great Wall of China or the Forbidden City. While others noted a history of revolutions, the "Rape of Nanking", a large population and a distinct culture.[10] A male student piped up, not loud enough for the entire class to hear through the movement. "Ha, write Oogway, from Kung Fu Panda! Besides that, Mao is the only thing I know… so are we just listing all the dictators?" He proceeded to laugh with his friend. Then, he continued with, "China is terrible. And Mao killed off so many people. Why would we want to study this or ever go there?" A female student turned to him and said, "Have you ever been to China?" The implications were clear from this student that she had enough of his rude and stereotypical remarks. He shook his head no and shrugged his shoulders and was quiet for a while. The Asian student was not in close proximity and could not hear his comments. Otherwise, this episode could have escalated from controversial, through the stereotypes he used, to possibly sensitive, if the Asian student identified with the comment and was offended.

[10] Here I use the terms students used in the class (as emphasised by the quotation marks), although I prefer to use Atrocities at Nanjing and will refer to it in that manner.

My location in the classroom allowed for me to hear the conversation between the three students that Brenda missed at her computer. She did not have the ability to address the simplistic representations and stereotypes from this student. My place as a participant-observer meant I could not do corrective action, nor did I have a relationship with the student for it to be a meaningful conversation towards change.

Unexpected moments of sensitivity or controversiality are the times that are most difficult for teachers to apprehend or envision. The less-structured moments, tend to be the time when students say insensitive or stereotypical comments. Teachers do not always hear the comments. However, it is clear that in this classroom, student self-policing occurred to correct the male students' behaviour. Brenda and Eric both noted in interviews, prior to the observations, that there is an ongoing problem of insensitivity to other cultures, stereotypes and anti-Semitism at School A. Both explained that it generally happens in the hallways or outside of the classroom.[11] Tsafrir Goldberg and Geerte Savenije found in their research that some teachers who came up against clear xenophobic reactions often did not know how to deal with it and avoided topics in the future.[12] From the interviews, both Brenda and Eric stated they directly address students when they made inappropriate remarks, however, in this case I was not able to observe Brenda's reaction.

This finding aligns with Kello's discoveries where she states "what appears as sensitive or controversial in the classroom can only be partly predicted and orchestrated by the teacher because so much depends on pupil's situated interpretations"[13] Trying to understand the boy's interpretation or intent with his comments, reaches the limits of my research. I do not know what his intent or his socio-cultural background is. Rather, I have a snapshot in time of what he said. It would be fascinating to find out if he was pushing out against the teacher discourse, attempting to gain attention, reasserting a familial narrative or was just genuinely anti-Chinese.[14] Those questions could only be answered by delving deeper with that student or embedding myself further in a long-term ethnographic study.

[11] Brenda, Brenda Interview, 6; Eric, Eric Interview, 4.
[12] Savenije and Goldberg, "Silences in a Climate of Voicing: Teachers' Perceptions of Societal and Self-Silencing Regarding Sensitive Historical Issues," 47.
[13] Kello, "Sensitive and Controversial Issues in the Classroom," 37.
[14] Seixas, "Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting," 320.

5.2.2 Trauma and the Atrocities at Nanjing

The second unexpected controversial issue also stemmed from the introduction activity. It revolved around the teacher noting that someone had written "The Rape of Nanking." Brenda asked how many students knew about "The Rape of Nanking." Only three students raised their hands, including both students who lived in Asia. Another girl had an uneasy look on her face. She asked her friend next to her who had raised her hand, "What is that? It sounds absolutely terrible." Her friend, nodded yes with a grim expression. Brenda overheard the conversation and said, "It is nothing to worry about now, but we will read about it later." She moved on to the next topic.

This brief part of the lesson shows again the less-structured moments, when students have little prior knowledge, are more likely to become controversial or sensitive. This shows the limits of my research, since I do not include student perceptions. From my vantage point, the student looked visibly upset and pale. There is a chance the student was horrified by the event in and of itself, which made it sensitive. Perhaps, there is a chance that she, or someone close to her, has encountered sexual harassment, assault or worse. The term "rape" may have transformed this topic into an identifiable sensitive topic for her.

After class, Brenda informed me that the Asian student is from Japan. Brenda said this is the first time she has had a Japanese student while teaching on the Atrocities at Nanjing and the Chinese Civil War. This topic could become sensitive for this Japanese student, if it is an unfamiliar narrative. Unfortunately, when Brenda teaches on the Atrocities at Nanjing falls outside the research period.

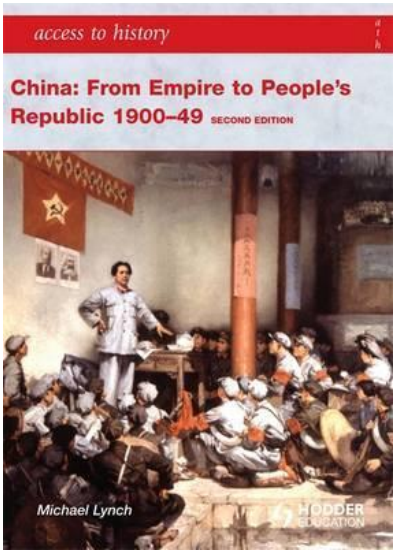

Figure 5.1 *Textbook used in Classroom A.* Source: *Michael Lynch,* China: From Empire to People's Republic ; 1900 - 49, *2. ed, Access to History (London: Hodder Education, 2010).*

In a debrief for clarification, I asked Brenda about how she teaches the Atrocities at Nanjing. Brenda states that she uses a brief video and three pages from the book, *China: From Empire to People's Republic,* by historian Michael Lynch shown in *Figure 5.1*.[15] The text utilizes multiple primary sources from Japanese military leaders, war crimes tribunal and personal accounts.[16] The numbers of deaths and rapes are presented factually for students. Additionally, Lynch includes questions on the photos and sources to stimulate critical assessment. He uses graphic, disturbing photos of a baby sitting in the ruins of Shanghai and a souvenir photo of men being buried alive in Nanjing.[17] The caption next to the child's photo states that it was most likely staged and asks students to consider why that may be so. With The souvenir photo, Lynch asks students to consider why the 1937 Japanese government would want to limit reported accounts from Nanjing in Japan. The photos are less graphic than the source accounts. For example, there is an account of a girl's three-day gang rape that includes monks that refused to participate and had their genitalia cut off and bled to death.[18] There are no questions with the source accounts and leaves students to their own imagination.

Brenda noted the atrocities are not something she could spend too much time on as she is more concerned with applying DP concepts and studying the Civil War. The Atrocities at Nanjing are part of background information that explains why Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese communist party set aside their differences to attempt to repel the Japanese in 1937. Therefore, this is a horrific and difficult event that needs careful thought and consideration but due to time constraints may not receive that due to the academic rigour of DP.

Maria Grever, in her article, "Teaching the War," discusses Aleida Assmann's two categories of victims, *sacrificium* and *victima*.[19] A *sacrificium* death is a noble death aligned with a noble cause, whereas a *victima* is categorized as a senseless or meaningless death. Following Assman's conceptual framework, Grever describes *victima* meaning as "the passive victim who lacks agency and cannot be part of heroic narratives but instead belongs to a traumatic and haunted past."[20] Applying these terms, Lynch is creating a *victima* narrative for those at Nanjing, therefore, these individuals are seen with little agency and are considered passive victims. This simplistic narrative is not enough to provide a more complete picture. My issue with Lynch's text, is that he lacks a clarifying purpose for including senseless

[15] Michael Lynch, *China: From Empire to People's Republic ; 1900 - 49*, 2. ed, Access to History (London: Hodder Education, 2010).
[16] Ibid., 108–10.
[17] Ibid., 107, 110.
[18] Lynch, *China: From Empire to People's Republic ; 1900 – 49*, 109.
[19] Grever, "Teaching the War: Reflections on Popular Uses of Difficult Heritage," 36.
[20] Ibid.

violence, rather, it appears as a pedagogy of horror. I recognise that the Atrocities of Nanjing occurred, students should learn about it and history should not be too sanitised. However, this text goes too far, especially, because of the limited amount of class time spent on this event through a short video and reading, it seems that it will only reinforce students to perceive a victimisation narrative. This could possibly also cause students to become desensitised or in Grever's terms, "some memories are so traumatic and confusing that students might turn away or trivialize them when they encounter this kind of difficult heritage."[21] There is the chance that students will trivialize this narrative if no broader understanding is developed. Students need to be taught how to engage with trauma because there will be times that they will come across it, however, the question remains of what and when is the best way to do that.[22]

In School A, Brenda worked to provide multiple perspectives on the background of the Chinese Civil War. Moments of controversy and sensitivity appeared in a less structured moment with insensitive remarks from a student. He was corrected by another student and Brenda did not hear him. A second moment of sensitivity appeared while discussing a future topic relating to the Atrocities of Nanjing. This topic was avoided until later.

5.3 School B: Multiperspectivity and Indigenous-Americans

A fourth-year teacher, Carlijn, has a different flavour to her classroom she pushes for students to be the centre of the learning process through inquiry. Her engagement with culturally responsive teaching processes gives space for minority perspectives to emerge.[23] The classroom content shows a rich variety of perspectives, integrated throughout the curriculum. This avoids the problem of "token" representations in the classroom such as if students from African-American heritage only learn about their heritage in the context of enslavement or in "black history month."[24]

I observed two lessons on the same day in early March on a Monday afternoon. The first was a ninth grade MYP 4 class of Individuals and Societies. The twenty-one students learned about "Rulers and the Ruled." The stated goals for the lesson were collaboration and critically analysing a photo. Carlijn effectively used inquiry-based learning for these students and nothing sensitive or controversial appeared in the lesson.

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[21] Grever, "Teaching the War," 43.
[22] Ibid., 37.
[23] Carlijn, Carlijn Interview, 1. Carlijn has taught herself this teaching approach.
[24] Wrenn, *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History 3-19*, 30.

The second observed lesson was a DP course. There were seven students with two absent. There were four boys and three girls. This course highlighted two concepts, continuity and change, applied in the context of Indigenous Americans and the New Deal. In prior lessons, students learned about the New Deal's impact on African-Americans and women with no Americans present. This lesson, if given in America, could have been seen as a challenge to the nationalistic, heroic narrative present in many American textbooks and may have unfolded differently if Americans were present.[25]

5.3.1 Continuity and Change

Carlijn began with two images as a part of her inquiry-based approach. The conception of continuity and change is that everything is constantly moving and slowly changing. Carlijn used a tree in different representations to provide an analogy for students. This conceptual understanding was the goal of the lesson.

Next, Carlijn introduced Indigenous-Americans. Carlijn showed the students *Figure 5.2,*, a photo of a boy in indigenous dress and western dress. As an American, it surprised me how students struggled to analyse the photo's contents. Students responded with comments on assimilation, attempts to change or forget identity and integration. One student mentioned the picture could be representative of civilized or uncivilised perspectives.

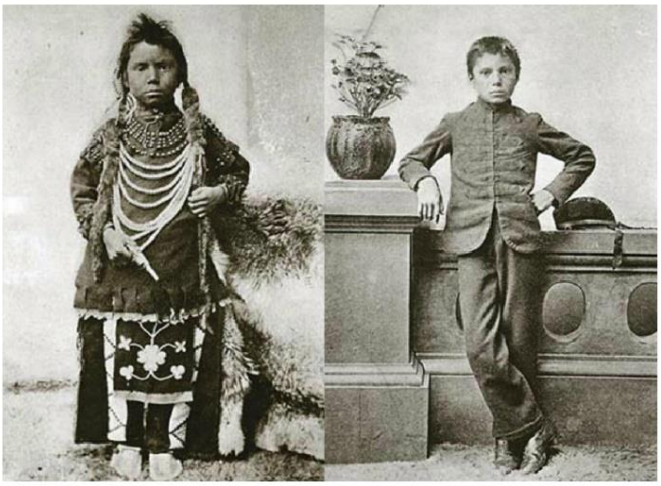

Figure 5.2 *Thomas Moore before and after admission to Regina Industrial school*. Source: Saskatchewan Archives Board, retrieved from *Nicole Strathman, "Student Snapshots: An Alternative Approach to the Visual History of American Indian Boarding Schools,"* Humanities *4, no. 4 (December 2015): 726, https://doi.org/10.3390/h4040726*.

[25] Seixas, "History in Schools," 279; Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, 70–71.

At that point, Carlijn stepped in and reminded the student to consider the perspective that he took as a European and that an Indigenous-American would consider it differently. She pressed students to look beyond their own experiences. Carlijn wrapped this segment up by asking students to again consider continuity and change, by referring that changing outward appearance does not necessarily change inward identity

5.3.2 An Indigenous Genocide?

Carlijn moved into a fifteen-minute interactive lecture and discussion to providing contextual information on Indigenous-Americans prior to students completing a primary source reading. The historical overview showed happened to Indigenous-Americans with the gradual stripping of their lands and rights as well as government attempts to return some elements of sovereignty.

The controversiality in this lesson was that Carlijn had "Racial Genocide" on the slide. Genocide as a concept is not neutral and has clear implications in use and meaning. Carlijn did not have any specific academic definitions or references listed on this slide. Another student had been completing a test in the hallway and stepped into the classroom to ask Carlijn a question. At this moment a side conversation began with students near me, a girl from African origins turned to her neighbour and stated "I wouldn't call this a genocide. There was no intent to kill. It can't be on the same level as the Holocaust or Rwanda." The student next to her, from seemingly Eastern European background, responded with, "I disagree, it is a genocide. I read about Europeans bringing diseases and it was a massive [population] downfall. They did it on purpose." The girl looked questioning back at him. Her disbelief was evident, she did not equate what happened to Indigenous-Americans as the same level as the Holocaust or the Rwandan genocide.

Carlijn, at this point, returned to the class. A third student, hearing the exchange between the other two students, asked Carlijn if there is a set number of deaths to become a genocide. Carlijn responded that there was no set number for a genocide but there must be an intent for ethnic cleansing. She connected genocide to the Rohingya people in Myanmar. Noting that the term "genocide" implies that the world should respond in a certain way and becomes a complicated geo-political situation. This example provides a clear understanding of why Levy and Sheppard express caution about students learning about genocides only in

the context of the Holocaust.[26] The student struggled to apply her knowledge in an unfamiliar context.

Unfortunately, the question was not resolved for this girl. In the debrief, Carlijn remarked that she did not hear the side-discussion and expressed regret that she did not have an opportunity to address it. Furthermore, she was frustrated for not having a definition listed on the slide for what is a genocide. She stated that she normally has a definition from an established authority, such as the United Nations. Although, even if Carlijn had heard the discussion I do not believe she would have swayed the students' opinion. Rather, she may have been able to coax out the girl's disbeliefs and allow for her to voice her perspectives. This short discussion is another instance of pop-up controversy in the less structured moments of a classroom.

5.3.3 Multiperspectivity and Emotions

The final student activity was to read, analyse, compare and discuss sources on the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. Students used disciplinary practices to engage with the sources. One source came from an oral history project, one came from a government report, one from a newspaper and one from a speech with all presenting different perspectives. Students were required to read, analyse and fill in a chart.

The students discussed the different sources positives and negatives aspects. Students determined source reliability and applied the sources to justify their answers. While discussing, one student responded with his own feelings and opinions. Carlijn stopped him, and replied that she understood his interpretation, however, that missed the activity goal. Rather, she needed him to use the source evidence to back his claims. When asked about the role of the teacher in the interview Carlijn noted:

> [the] role of a teacher, I think is facilitating those conversations. So that they can be based not on feelings but on research… *I don't want to have a discussion based on nothing or just on how you feel or what you accidentally read on Facebook*… I think it is important to use sources because then your argument is based upon something. And at least you are aware of it. Otherwise it just becomes your opinion and what is it based upon. It is important to realise like how your opinion is influenced by whatever you have read or something like that. I think that it is important to facilitate discussions based upon evidence. Create a safe space to allow for those discussions to take place. Also be cognate of, realizing who and what you give air time to. This is a process. This is something that I know will take a while. I am trying to cull people in rather than out.[27]

[26] Levy and Sheppard, "Difficult Knowledge and Holocaust in History Education," 380–81.
[27] Carlijn, Carlijn Interview, 8.

Thus, Carlijn, follows her convictions to create spaces for tough conversations. She works to limit emotional reactions by encouraging students to use academic perspectives. To do that, she reminds students to back their claims, with evidence, allowing for difficult discussions.

Carlijn concluded the class with returning to continuity and change in the tree graphic. She asked the students reflect on interpreting those concepts within the lesson. The final twenty minutes encouraged students to use multiperspectivity and use of historical thinking skills. Carlijn highlighted a repeated notion of removing emotions or feelings from the classroom also seen in interviews with Fleur, Eric and Annika.[28] By turning the inquiry away from what individual students think or feel to what the sources say. That in turn, creates distance and provides opportunities for students. It reveals a lingering question of what role do emotions have in a history classroom?

5.4 Comparisons

Both observed lessons occurred with eleventh-grade DP history students. Each teacher used their interpretation of multiperspectivity with visual and textual analysis for students. The uses of different sources may have allowed for students to recognise more voices so there were no strong reactions to potential triggers. Such as, when Brenda discussed modern day China as a new imperial power or when Carlijn's source claiming the Indian Reorganization Act was beneficial for Indigenous-Americans.

Both teachers had unexpected controversy or sensitivity pop-up in a less-structured moment. The teachers would not have been aware of either moment if I had not been in the classroom. This may be indicative of greater amounts of sensitive or controversial subjects are present without teacher awareness in more schools. In particular, School A may need to address their issues with stereotypes and racism. Two of the three humanities teachers are aware of it and actively working to dispel these issues. However, without the younger years support it may cause significant delays within the process.

In addition, the discussions on genocide and Atrocities at Nanjing were not the main lesson focus. Therefore, neither teacher had adequate time to address them, even if they were aware of the side conversations. At times, there is available space within a lesson to explore the side paths but in other instances it is impossible to address.[29]

[28] Fleur, Fleur Interview, 7; Eric, Eric Interview, 5–6; Annika, Annika Interview, 3–4.
[29] Kello, "Sensitive and Controversial Issues in the Classroom," 42; Stradling, *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching*, 15.

The teachers worked to find ways for students to distance themselves emotionally from the events. By stating to return to the sources or suggesting the class would return to the topic later. The question remains, what should be the role of emotions in the classroom? Inadvertently, Tsafrir Goldberg addresses the role of emotions in his study. He provides a case study from Israel to provide an indication for when students need empathy or emotions to reach a narrative agreement. Goldberg's study of history education narratives, looks at the ways Israeli and Palestinian students engage in dialogue based upon exposure to different types of historical narratives.[30] He claims the importance of considering student identities as a part of an in-group or out-group and using different strategies for each group. He found engaging Jewish students in Israel with rational, disciplinary thinking allowed for bias-curbing and allowed for more complex conversations between students from Jewish and Palestinian backgrounds.[31] Arab learners who experienced an empathetic or emotional dual-narrative approach that encouraged perspective taking and non-judgmental acknowledgement of both groups narratives were better able to discuss with Jewish peers than students who had exclusive narrative history courses.[32] Thus, Palestinian participants needed their group identity affirmed emotionally before moving beyond group narrative. While Jewish students who did not engage with an empathetic or multiple perspective narrative, tended to respond in a negative emotional way and compare victimisation.[33] Goldberg suggests that positive emotions or empathy may need to be acknowledged and reaffirmed for students. In turn, teachers may need to be reassured that it is acceptable to use emotions or empathy, as long as emotions are not being used in a manipulative manner. At times, there could be potential benefits but the key is to discover when it is helpful or when it is better to use a distancing technique. The role of emotions in sensitive and controversial history continues to require further study.

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[30] Tsafrir Goldberg, "The Official, The Empathetic and The Critical: Three Approaches to History Teaching and Reconciliation in Israel," in *History Education and Conflict Transformation : Social Psychological Theories, History Teaching and Reconciliation* (Cham : Springer International Publishing : Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 277–99; Tsafrir Goldberg, "Increased Understanding or Undermining National Heritage: Single and Multiple Perspectives of a Formative Historical Conflict," in *Sensitive Pasts: Questioning Heritage in Education*, ed. Carla van Boxtel, Maria Grever, and Stephan Klein, First edition., Making Sense of History ; Volume 27 (New York: Berghahn, 2016), 240–60. Goldberg writes two articles on this topic. The 2016 article provides more student perspectives.

[31] Goldberg, "The Official, The Empathetic and The Critical," 280.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Goldberg, "Increased Understanding or Undermining National Heritage: Single and Multiple Perspectives of a Formative Historical Conflict," 249.

5.5 Conclusions

The observations allowed for a glimpse into classrooms with a total of five lessons. In two lessons, controversial and sensitive history appeared. One teacher used a more teacher-centred approach and the other used a more student-centred approach. Both teachers used a variety of historical perspectives to allow for students to interpret different historical events. The two observed teachers both provided distancing techniques.

The appearance of sensitive and controversial history appeared with topics on the Atrocities at Nanjing and Indigenous Americans. Specifically regarding the terminologies that were used in the classroom. Students took non-focal parts of the lesson and brought them to the forefront. Some of these issues were directly connected to student identity, interpretation and responses such as when a student used stereotypes and was insensitive towards other individuals.

Questions emerged from these classroom observations. First, on how teachers deal with trauma and how to interact with genocides and atrocities separate from the Holocaust. Especially, in terms of whether or not a pedagogy of horror should be used. Second, the question arises when is an appropriate time for teachers to use distancing techniques to deal with controversial or sensitive history. Finally, connected to both issues, there are lingering questions on what role should emotions have in a history classroom and how teachers deal with emotions in their classrooms.

In each classroom, unexpected controversy and sensitivity appeared, while the teachers were busy with other activities. Resulting in students being left to discern how to interact with sensitive and controversial history. Ultimately, this is the goal of history education for students to be able to engage, defend or deflect what comes at them in the world. Although, the limitations of this research appear once again with how students interpreted or interacted within these lessons.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

In my second year of teaching in South Dakota, I did not anticipate a pop-up controversy in my mostly homogenous classroom. I planned for a source reading and hoped to engage my students in an alternative perspective. That is not what happened that day and years later I still reflect on what I could have done differently. After discussing with the six teachers and observing the two classrooms, I recognise that my American experience of sensitive and controversial history is not a solely American phenomenon. I have discovered through literature and through my own research that this phenomenon is present in a Dutch setting, international school setting and throughout Europe. Furthermore, this research offers insight to an understudied population group that will continue to grow as globalisation increases.

The six teachers allow for investigation into lesser studied topical areas in a unique context within Dutch, semi-private international school humanities classrooms. The teachers reported, through interviews, their classroom perceptions and I confirmed their reports as well as discover new topics. I aimed to answer the research question: *how do international secondary school teachers deal with sensitive or controversial history in the Netherlands in 2019*?

This thesis provides an overview of international education within the Dutch context and gives insights on six international school educators' perspectives of sensitive and controversial history. This study was concluded with observations of two different DP history classrooms. Chapters four and five, reveal how teachers consciously and unconsciously deal with sensitive and controversial topics in their classrooms in the Dutch international school context as established by chapter three. These are divided into four key areas: impact of teacher and student relationships, teacher identity and adapting, the role of emotions, and pop-up controversy. Each of these four areas align within the analytical scheme from the introductory chapter.

The first revelation, is that these teachers in both the observations and interviews know their students and they know their subject areas. They apply proper educational techniques and are aware of summative and formative assessments. They teach with their own styles and personalities, which changes how events may appear in a classroom. For example, Carlijn focusses on minorities which allows for a justice approach in her classroom. Where both Eric and Daan enjoy using humour to allow for escapes in potentially uncomfortable settings. This

encourages relationship building between the teachers and students on another level. While Brenda uses academic rigour to push her students. All of these factors influence the way that sensitive and controversial topics are revealed in the classroom. Highlighting the importance of teachers and the socio-cultural and school context within the analytical scheme.

These students and teacher relationships feed back into the socio-cultural environment and a safe classroom environment. Students and teachers are more likely to be vulnerable and discuss their perceptions if they find that their views will be respected. As the literature has shown and confirmed by the observations, students need to be vested into the curriculum content. If their perceptions of history and education do not align with how and what the teacher is presenting it can result in students dismissing school history as irrelevant or unnecessary. This was seen by behaviour of some students who were checking their phones or making insensitive comments.

Student identity and student construction of sensitive and controversial history, understood through the teachers' lens, reveals intense complexity. Students exhibit attitudes and behaviours towards classmates and teachers. These are influenced by friends, family, media, school and society. This is perceived by teachers through the manner that students behave in their classrooms. Depending on the relationship and prior experiences that students and teachers have experienced may impact how students present themselves in a classroom. There is a chance that students act out against a teacher created discourse or simply enjoy arguing. That is impossible to tell unless fieldwork occurs for an extended amount of time, which was not feasible for this thesis. Student identity is an essential component to understand and future research should explore this avenue.

Teacher identity impacts the way that teacher's deal with sensitive and controversial history. Their perceptions are that topics are sensitive and controversial for students. However, in reality, topics appeared as sensitive or controversial for teachers as seen through the desire to not teach younger students about the Holocaust, the Catholic Church Abuse scandal, inclusion of minorities and interactions with Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Their identities and constructions impact the behaviour of how teachers address or deal with sensitive or controversial history.

Using Kitson and McCully's terms, as described in the theoretical framework, I apply their ideal types to categorise the interviewed teacher's behaviours to show how teachers dealt with sensitive and controversial history in their classrooms, while recognising that the behaviours exhibited by the teachers represent a singular moment in time. Most likely, teacher behaviour will change and develop throughout their careers. In the interviews, Kitson and

McCully's behaviours of "avoiding, containing and risk-taking" presented, however, five of this six teachers' behaviours could not be categorized in a singular box.[1] Updating Kitson's and McCully's framework to add another behavioural category of *adapter* would be beneficial for this research. This additional category gives more flexibility to describe teachers who select "risk-taking" or "containing" behaviour based upon student identity, socio-cultural context and the teacher's relationship to a topic. Adapting is how five of the six teachers in this research dealt with controversial or sensitive history topics.

For example, Eric stated that he would not engage with Israeli-Palestinian conflict because he thought it would cause more pessimism with students, which would seem to categorize his behaviour as an avoider. However, Eric specifically chose to teach a unit on the Jewish Diaspora to counteract anti-Semitic behaviour. This suggests Eric participated in risk-taking behaviour to challenge students preconceived notions and move students to engage with other perspectives. It would show that he falls in the category of adapter because he recognises the importance of having his students engage with alternative perspectives but chooses to do so with content and methods that students were unfamiliar with.

Fleur provides more examples of adapting when she describes her manner of dealing with, in her terms, the "Arab-Israeli conflict" and the Armenian Genocide. She described that she teaches the classes differently when she has students from any of these backgrounds present because of how charged these topics can be. However, she exhibits risk-taking behaviour and boundary pushing behaviour by using trigger terminology such as "Arab-Israeli conflict" and Armenian Genocide. She confronts students with potentially adverse topics and terminology and she provides students with ways to academically engage with controversial or sensitive topics by providing definitions from reputable organisations such as the United Nations. This allows for the students to confront and create academic distance to deal with tough topics, especially for students that may be living on the campus away from their families.

There was one teacher that avoided engaging controversial or sensitive subjects. She stated she had not experienced controversy or sensitivity in her classroom. Furthermore, she worked to be careful to avoid potentially upsetting students and having them respond emotionally. Which leads to the most significant conclusion, and present in all the examples, that teachers tend to avoid or adapt their risk-taking behaviour, when emotions are present. Emotions are a natural response to sensitive or controversial history. In my research, teachers

[1] Kitson and McCully, "'You Hear about It for Real in School.' Avoiding, Containing and Risk-Taking in the History Classroom," 35.

encouraged distancing techniques that allowed for rational interactions between both sides. There seems to be an attempt to push emotions away from disciplinary history understanding and engagement.

However, there are times that emotions and empathy should be used in the classroom and could potentially be an effective strategy. I am not encouraging a meaningless drain of empathy that causes students to be put into a stupor or a manipulation of emotions to strike up feelings for a nationalistic cause. Nor, am I encouraging a pedagogy of horror that causes students to become numb. Rather, I think there should be an adjustment that allows for emotional expression, especially around identity issues, that encourages emotions and feelings to be a part of history or humanities education.

The final conclusion is the appearance of pop-up controversies. Both observed classrooms had something unrelated to the main topic pop-up as controversial or sensitive. In observations at School A, the boy's insensitive comments and the girl's distraught with the Atrocities at Nanjing were not the core of the lesson. At School B, the girl's disagreement over the definition and application of the term "racial genocide" resulted in an uncomfortable discussion between her and the surrounding students. In both schools, the pop-up controversies and sensitivities revolved around student identity. Suggesting that the ultra-diverse classrooms have increased migration of controversial and sensitive topics due to the diverse learner populations because pop-up controversies has not been noted in the prior research on sensitive and controversial history that has been done in national schools.

This research should be considered limited to the geographic space of the Netherlands in 2019. It has been shown that sensitive and controversial historical issues change quickly according to societal factors so what has been found here may shift if there are changes in interpretations. Additionally, as time passes there will continue to be new sensitive or controversial histories emerging. A second limitation is that the research had six respondents and two classroom observations. That was partly due to lack of response from international teachers in the Netherlands and partly because there are not large groups of international teachers present. Only two classrooms could be observed due to privacy protection measures.

Future research could build upon this research by comparing other international history educators. It could allow for exploration on if Dutch trends are also present globally. A different direction could be to expand within the Netherlands by interviewing more teachers and observing more classrooms on similar topics. This could investigate how different

teachers approach the same topic. Furthermore, researchers could interview students on their perceptions of the controversial or sensitive topics to discover student perceptions.

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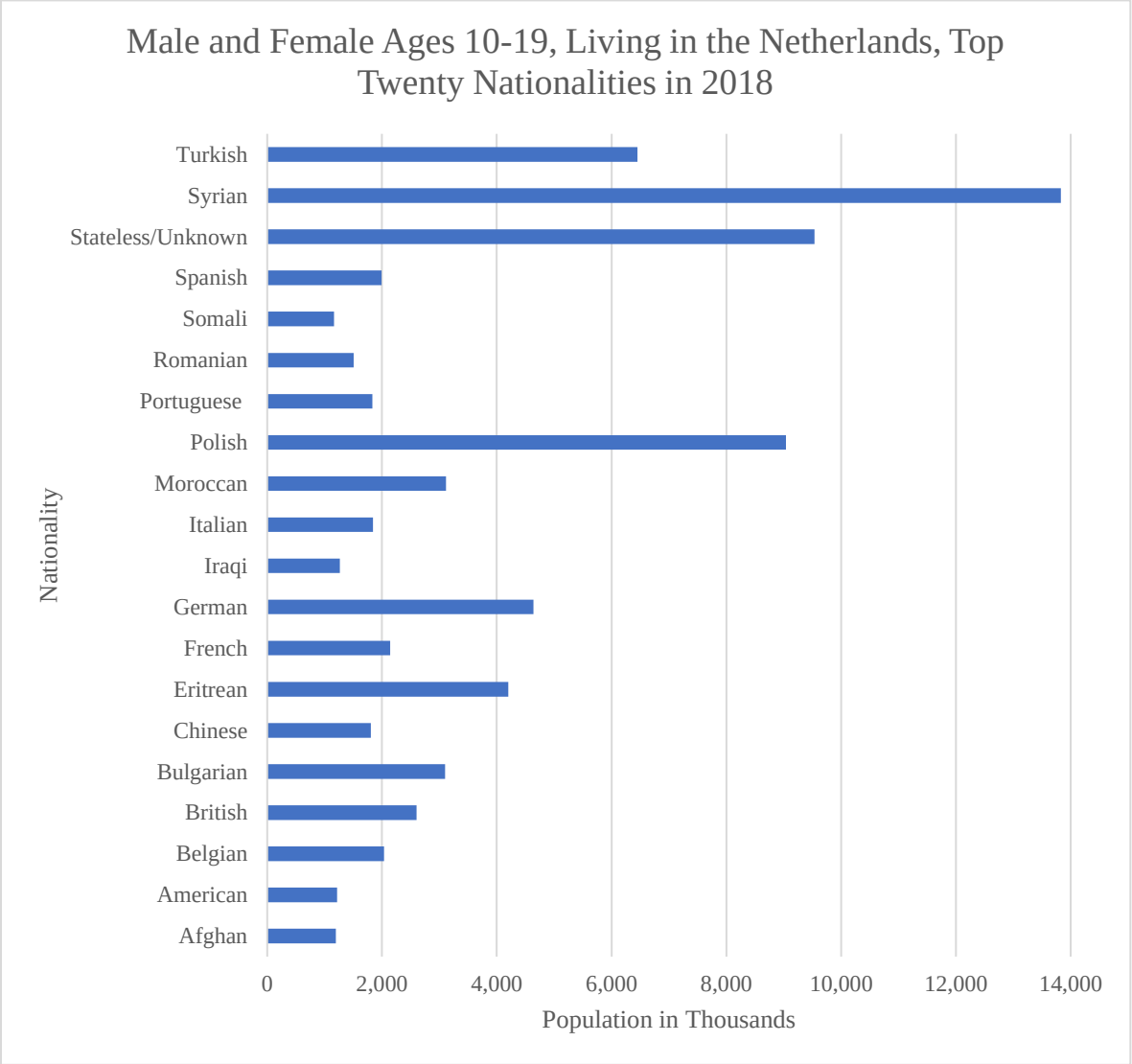
Appendices:

Appendix A: Top Twenty Nationalities for Males and Females Age 10-19



Top Twenty Nationalities for Male and Females Ages 10-19 Living in the Netherlands in 2018. Source: Derived from "Population; Sex, Age and Nationality, 1 January," *Het Centraal Bureau Voor de Statistiek*, August 6, 2018, https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/en/dataset/03743eng/table?ts=1548692429963.

This data provides an overview of students' nationalities in the Netherlands. This data allows for an overview of national backgrounds of students within the Netherlands.

Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

The interviews will occur only after interviewees have signed the Erasmus Informed Consent form. Interviewees will have the opportunity to edit transcripts and clarify answers. They will have the ability to see the draft prior to publication.

1. What is your home country?
2. When were you born?
3. Can you describe your teaching journey?
    a. How long have you taught?
    b. What historical area were you trained in?
    c. What locations?
    d. What subjects?
    e. What age groups of students?
    f. Why did you choose to teach history?
4. What social-cultural backgrounds are in your classroom?
    a. Which countries? (continents)
    b. What is the male and female balance?
    c. What religions are present?
5. How do these factors impact teaching decisions that you make?
6. Are there topics you love to teach? Hesitate teaching? Why?
7. Do you teach history about the Netherlands?
    a. If no, why not?
    b. If yes, what topics?
8. Can you describe controversial or sensitive history?
9. What topics do you find to be controversial (hot) in your classroom?
    a. Who is it controversial for? Students/You?
    b. Why?
10. In your opinion what should be the teacher's role while interacting with "hot" historical topics? (i.e. neutral, devil's advocate, give position etc.)
11. Any situations that you can describe where something was (un)expectedly controversial?

Card-Sorting:

1. Please write down 5-7 examples of events that you teach each year
2. Can you rank 1(cold) to 5 (hot) how controversial an event is?
    a. Can you explain why you choose hot or cold for an event?
    b. For whom is it controversial: student, teacher, or society?
3. Repeat Question 2 with 7 pre-created topics by the researcher
4. Textbook: Can you point out and explain any further sensitive or controversial topics that you may have not remembered?
5. What kinds of strategies or pedagogies do you use to teach these topics?
6. Can you describe any assessments or activities you have done with your students on sensitive or controversial topics?
7. In the coming 2 months do you have any topics that you consider to be sensitive or controversial that I could come and observe?

Appendix C: Topics for Card-Sorting

Events were chosen based on the IB syllabus starting with first examinations starting in 2017.[2] Due to necessary limitations only events regarding to the Standard Level (SL) rather than the Higher Level (HL) were utilized. More teachers and students are a part of the SL courses. IB Teachers have the options of teaching one of five prescribed topics and must include both case-studies.[3] Teachers choose two topics from the list of twelve for the World History topics.[4]

Prescribed Topics:	Military leaders: 1173-1227 Genghis Khan and Richard I
	Conquest and Impact: 1482- 1551 Spanish Inquisition and Conquest of Mexico and Peru
	Move to Global War: 1930- 1940 Japanese Expansion and German and Italian Expansion
	Rights and Protest:1948- 1965 American Civil Rights Movement and South African Apartheid
	Conflict and Intervention: 1989-2002 Rowanda and Kosovo
World History Topics:	Society and Econmy: 750-1400
	Causes and Effects of Medieval Wars 750-1500
	Dynasties and Rulers 750-1500
	Societies in Transition 1400- 1700
	Early Modern States 1450-1789
	Causes and Effects of Early Modern Wars 1500-1750
	Origins, development and impact of industrialization 1750-2005
	Independence movements 1800- 2000
	Evolution and development of democratic states 1848-2000
	Authoritarian states 20th Century
	Causes and effects of 20th Century wars
	Cold War: Superpower tension and rivalries in 20th Century

[2] IB Diploma Programme, *History Guide: First Examinations 2017* (Cardiff United Kingdom: International Baccalaureate Organization, 2016).
[3] Ibid., 17-22.
[4] Ibid., 24-36.

This is the initial list of topics that I selected as potentially sensitive or controversial based upon prior research on the Dutch context, prior research and the anticipated school populations in the schools. This list was narrowed down to eight topics for teachers to sort.

Time Period[5]	Topic	Time Period	
Middle Ages 750[6] -1450	Crusades Christianity Islam Anti-Semitic Violence Spanish Inquisition Rule of Catholic Church Religious Wars	20th Century	Japanese invasion of China American Civil Rights Movement Cold War Apartheid in South Africa Rwandan Genocide Crimes against Humanity and War Rape Refugee Crisis
Early Modern 1450-1750	Spanish Conquest of Mexico and Peru Destruction of Indigenous Populations Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Colonialism Reformation Religious discrimination Causes of American Civil War		Affirmative Action Israel Palestinian Conflict Immigration Saddam Hussein Stalin Franco World War II Causes of WWI
Long 19th Century 1789-1914	Scramble for Africa Women's Suffrage Movement French Revolution Charles Darwin		Holocaust Vietnam War Ethnic Cleansing in Kosovo Armenian Genocide

Appendix D: Classroom Observation Form

Group	Materials	Time		SEC?	Adopted from page 20: Sample Recording form for Field Notes. Description and Notes

Clifford J Drew, Michael L Hardman, and John L Hosp, "Introduction to Qualitative Research and Mixed-Methods Designs," in *Designing and Conducting Research in Education* (Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE, 2014), 20, http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/designing-and-conducting-research-in-education/SAGE.xml.

[5] Time periods were adopted from Wansink et al., "Topic Variability and criteria in interpretational history teaching," 8-9.

[6] No topics prior to 750 are taught within the IB curriculum thus the earliest dates are expected to be around 750.