



ECONOMIC CRISES IN HISTORY TEACHING



**Thematic report by the Observatory on
History Teaching in Europe
2025**



**OBSERVATORY
ON HISTORY TEACHING
IN EUROPE**



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Visual concept, cover design, and layout: The Visual Agency, part of BIP Group

Photos: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.,

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Henricus - Edition Deutsche Klassik GmbH, Örebro läns museum, Deutsche Fotothek, Finnish Heritage Agency, Muzeul Maramureşului - SIGHETU MARMAŢIEI, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin, American Defense Audiovisual Agency, Zofia Nalepińska-Bojczuk, The Irish American Heritage Museum, Tartu Kunstimuuseum SA, Rijksmuseum, Örebro County Museum, White House Photographic Office, The British Library, William Gropper, International Monetary Fund, Wellcome Collection, Slovene Ethnographic Museum. On the cover: Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California - Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540. Queue au charbon : [photographie de presse] / [Agence Rol] par Agence Rol. Agence photographique - 1916 - Bibliothèque nationale de France. Riis, Jacob A.: »Nomaden der Straße«, Straßenjungen im Schlafquartier.

Council of Europe Publishing
F-67075 Strasbourg Cedex
<http://book.coe.int>

ISBN 978-92-871-9585-2

© Council of Europe, October 2025
Printed by Litogì srl

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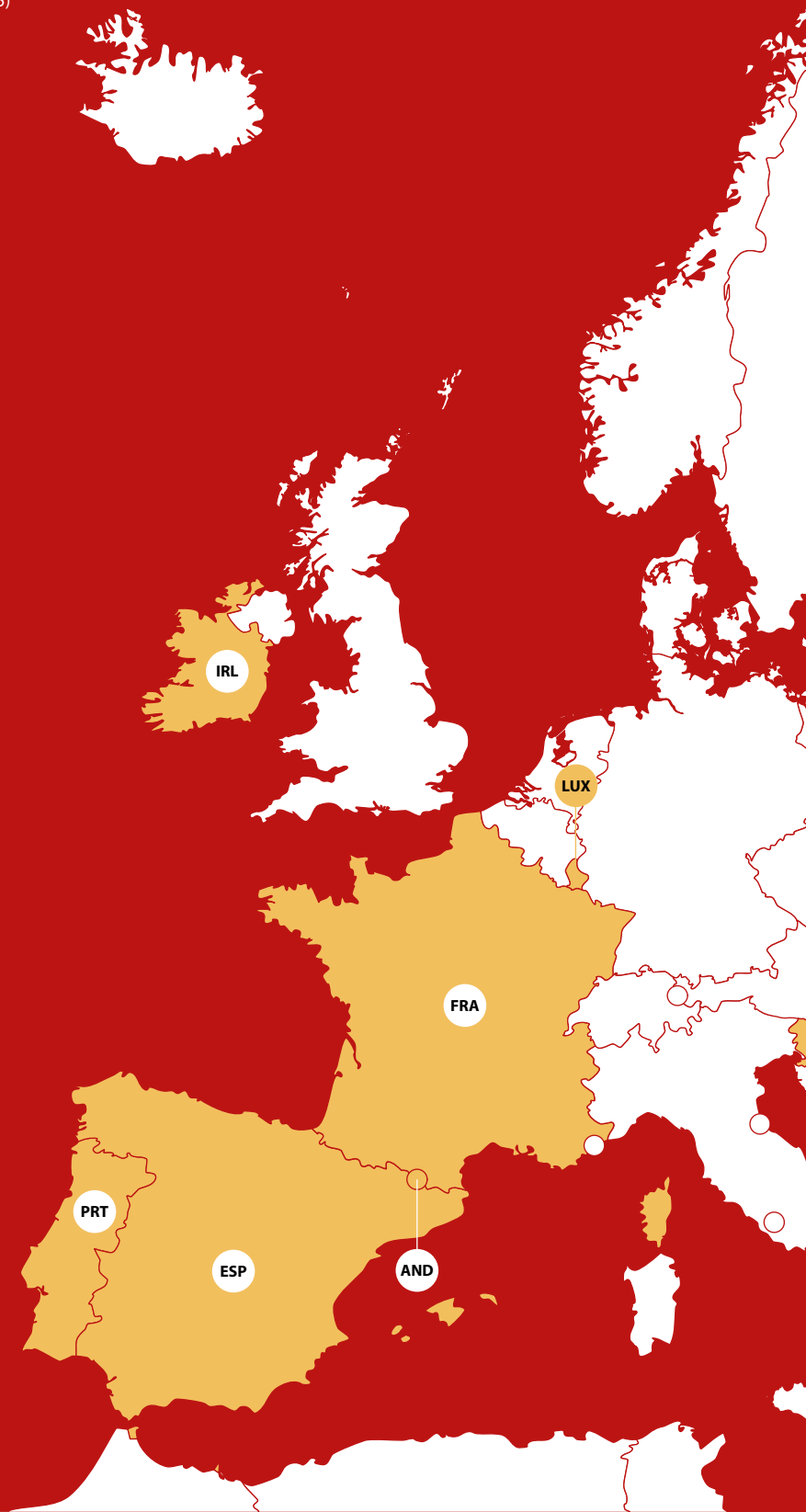
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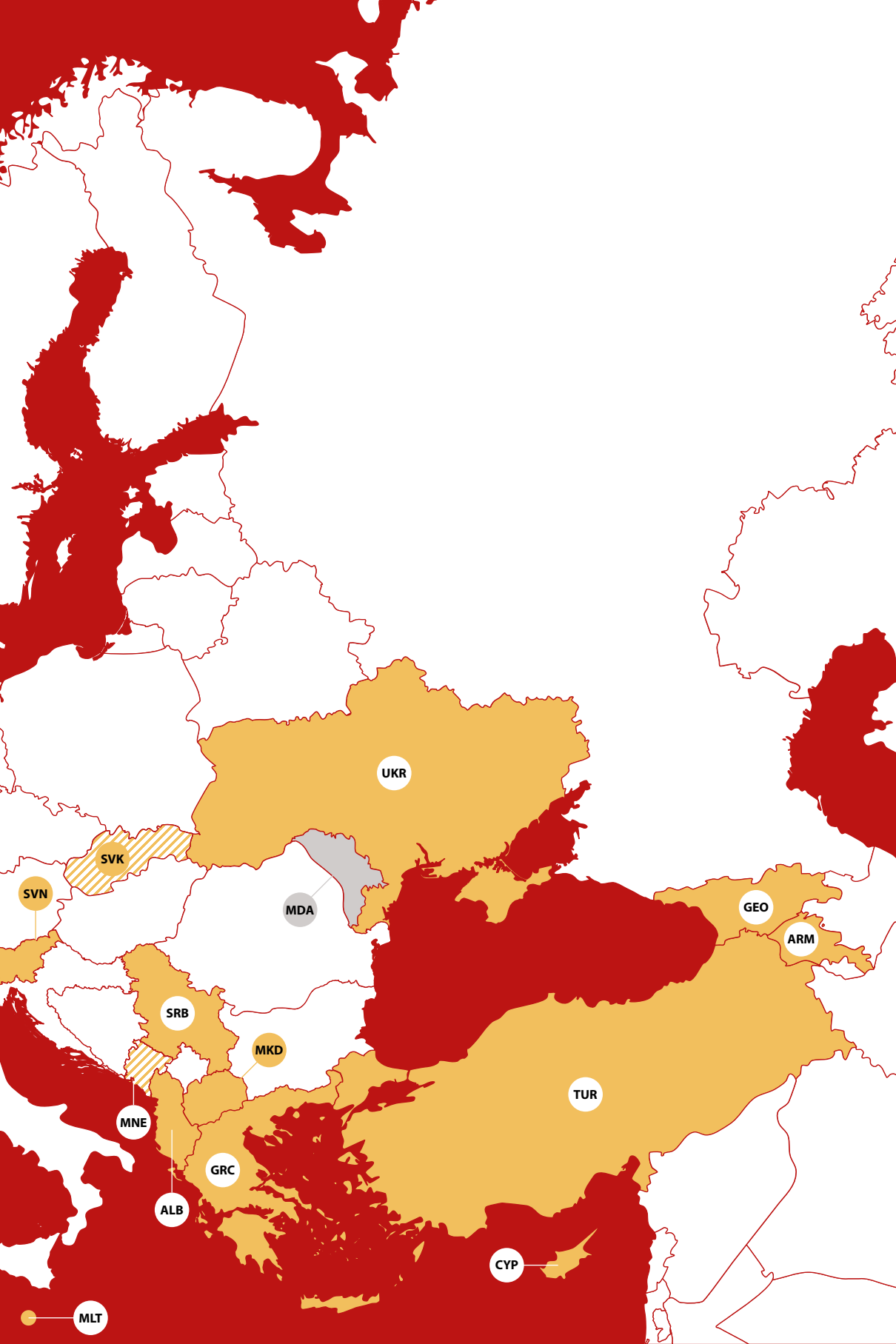
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- OHTE member state covered by the report
- ◐ OHTE member state not covered by the report (joined in 2025)
- OHTE observer state





Migratory Mexican field worker's home on the edge of a frozen pea field.
Imperial Valley, California



Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION

Economic crises have significantly shaped lives around the world since the turn of the century. The speculation and sovereign debt crises of 2007 and 2008, the experiences of the Covid-19 pandemic and the economic consequences of Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine have challenged the lives of many families, and particularly those of young people. Crises in public finances and national currencies as well as rising inflation have caused continuous or recurring economic instability in numerous European countries, which has been closely linked to rising social inequalities, xenophobia and the questioning of democratic values. In light of the rise of the political far right, economic crises represent a fundamental challenge for democratic governments.

Considering the omnipresence of economic crises and the grave impact they have on the lives of young people, the second thematic report of the Observatory on History Teaching in Europe (OHTe) investigates the extent to

which learners are being prepared, and the ways they are being prepared, to understand and live through such crises through history education in the public schooling systems of the OHTe's 17 member states. The report examines the teaching of economic crises in lower and upper secondary education within the framework of history education, which is understood to be a process of historical learning in which knowledge about the past is presented in relation to the present and the future. The methods of appropriation in the learning process provide a frame of reference for reflection and action that expand the pupils' immediate experiences of the real world.

The Observatory on History Teaching in Europe

The OHTe is an Enlarged Partial Agreement of the Council of Europe, comprising 19 member states and one observer state.¹ It was established in November 2020 on the initiative of the French Government as one of the priorities of its presidency of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. The OHTe's mission is to promote quality history education in order to enhance democratic culture in its member states. It carries out this mission through its reporting activities and through a co-operation platform that engages various stakeholders in the field of history education. This platform is currently implemented through the Transnational History Education and Co-operation Laboratory (HISTOLAB), a joint project between the Council of Europe (Education Department) and the European Union (European Commission Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture).²

Dålig ekonomi: 20 oktober 1967 by Örebro Kuriren - Örebro County Museum, Sweden - Public Domain.



1. Albania, Andorra, Armenia, Cyprus, France, Georgia, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Portugal, Republic of Moldova (Observer), Serbia, Slovenia, Slovak Republic, Spain, Türkiye and Ukraine. At the time of research and writing, Montenegro and the Slovak Republic were observer states and were therefore not covered by the research for the present report. They have since joined the OHTe as full members in 2025 – see map pages 6-7.

2. Learn more at <https://histolab.coe.int> (HISTOLAB n.d.).



To achieve its objective of providing a clear picture of the state of history teaching in its member states, based on reliable data and evidence on how history is taught, the OHTE produces general and thematic reports. The general reports provide a snapshot of how history is taught from a myriad of angles. Over time, the general reports aim to create a longitudinal overview of the state of history teaching in Europe and how it has evolved. The thematic reports, of which this one on economic crises in history teaching is the second, are focused on exploring specific subjects and issues in depth.

The OHTE is composed of the Governing Board, the Scientific Advisory Council (SAC) and the Secretariat. The Governing Board consists of one representative from each member state. It defines and adopts medium-term and annual programmes, selects the topics for the thematic reports and monitors their implementation and the management of OHTE's resources. The Governing Board may also support the data

collection for the thematic report by providing official documents or by encouraging teachers to participate in the research. However, the board has no influence over the final content of the report, which shields the OHTE's work from undue political influence.

The SAC is a collective of well-respected experts in the field of history education.³ The SAC ensures the scientific quality of the OHTE's work. It is consulted on the OHTE's programme and assists the Governing Board by delivering opinions on matters concerning the OHTE's activities. The OHTE's Secretariat is headed by an Executive Director, and under the responsibility of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, it ensures the smooth daily running of the OHTE and provides organisational support to the work of the statutory bodies. To produce the reports, the OHTE convenes expert groups that operate under the supervision of the SAC. This thematic report is co-produced by the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media – Georg Eckert Institute (GEI), a long-standing partner

3. Learn more at: www.coe.int/en/web/observatory-history-teaching/scientific-advisory-council (OHTE n.d.b).

of the Council of Europe in the field of history education, and its international network of researchers (Fuchs, Henne and Sammler 2022). The GEI, as a reference library for the Council of Europe, collects history textbooks produced by the member states of the Council of Europe and makes them available for use.⁴

The overall aim of this thematic report is to provide empirical evidence on the ways in which economic crises are taught in history classes across 17 OHTE member states. The OHTE is not a monitoring body and explicitly refrains from judging the ways in which economic crises are taught in the member states. Instead, through the presentation of empirical findings, the OHTE intends to inspire a dialogue within and among stakeholders in the member states. This dialogue should foster an appreciation for democratic responses to economic crises, which respect the human rights and different perspectives of all members of our societies, in line with the values of the Council of Europe.

Why are economic crises a relevant topic for history teaching?

Economic conditions shape societies in many ways. They can affect the willingness of different societies to communicate and exchange information and they are used to measure prosperity and the equality of social relationships. The susceptibility of economic conditions to crisis and their ability to trigger change “in various domains, including: politics and political structures, the distribution of wealth and privilege, rights granted to subjects or citizens, the organisation of private and family life, and the arts and popular culture” mean such situations have come to the

attention of key European political institutions (OHTE n.d.a).

Economic crises can affect individual areas (such as agriculture or finance) or the overall economy of a state; their effects can be felt regionally or internationally. Economic crises that affect many countries at the same time are described as global economic crises. Examples of economic crises are overproduction and underconsumption crises, currency crises, banking crises resulting from speculation and sovereign debt crises.

The potential of economic crises to significantly shape the lives of people around the world has been evident since the turn of the century. Therefore, it is vital to encourage students to gain a complex and nuanced understanding of economic crises in order to provide them with the necessary tools to fully understand the social, political and economic context they live in, and how the economic situation and their living conditions could be improved. History classes have enormous potential in this regard.

Teaching about economic crises in a historical perspective

“exposes students to a vast array of facts and events, giving them concrete knowledge about economies. This will allow them to better understand how things evolved and came to be ... Learning about the diversity of economic patterns and forms of organisation throughout history helps students get a better feeling for the wide variety of future possibilities that exist. As such, teaching economic history (and economic crises as a crucial element) will help students to better grasp current phenomena and come to realise that economies are ever-changing.” (Muijnck and Tielemann 2021: 84).

4. Learn more at <https://www.gei.de/en/> (Leibniz Institute for Educational Media n.d.).

Understanding economic crises from a historical perspective can provide important points of reference enabling students to better respond to present and future experiences of crises. More specifically, as recent studies in the field of history education have shown, studying economic crises in history classes provides an opportunity for students to better understand the different causes of economic crises and, if the teaching includes the search for solutions to the crisis and social engagement in the face of the consequences, students can learn about tolerance of ambiguity and self-efficacy (Apostolidou and Solé 2017).



Reisefotos. Straßenbild mit schlafendem Bettler by Grasser, Franz (Herstellung) (Fotograf) - Deutsche Fotothek, Germany - Public Domain.

When studying the different reactions in the face of crisis by entrepreneurs, working men and women, politicians and civil society stakeholders, students can understand what influences decision making, factors such as political beliefs and interests, as well as economic concepts and ideas that gained influence at a particular point in time (*laissez-faire* liberalism, the social market economy or the planned economy, for example). Studying responses to crises also allows students to evaluate the results of the actions taken, including effects on the overall economic situation and the impacts on different sectors and strata of society.

Exploring such questions can help learners understand that an economic crisis is much more than an isolated economic phenomenon and instead often affects all aspects of societal life (Tanner 2014). It can also sharpen learners' awareness of the different consequences and experiences that economic crises have had on different strata of society – for instance, according to wealth, profession, gender or national identity – and how those consequences are also heavily dependent on the prevailing political system and the historical period. This enables students to develop empathy for those that lived in the past and to boost their historical thinking skills by detecting similarities and differences in the lives of people affected by economic crises in the past and today. This constitutes an important step in preparing

learners to tackle the historical inaccuracies, oversimplifications and manipulations that are ubiquitous in today's online world. In addition, critically studying the political developments and responses to economic crises in history helps students understand that there are different ways in which economic crises can be tackled. This in turn enables them to critically evaluate the choices made by contemporary policy makers in response to economic crises. Therefore, studying economic crises in history classes has great potential to foster learners' understanding of the variety of economic crises that have occurred throughout history, their various causes and the complex political and social dynamics they have triggered. It informs them of both the dangers and the opportunities for positive change that different responses to economic crises have brought about that may, while appreciating the differences in historical contexts, provide orientation for navigating the challenges learners may be confronted with in the present.

For all these reasons, studying economic crises is particularly suited to helping students identify values and develop attitudes, skills and knowledge as well as critical understanding, as formulated in the Council of Europe's (2018a) Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture (RFCDC) and adapted

specifically to history education in the principles and guidelines for quality history education in the 21st century (Council of Europe 2018b). The development of an understanding of values such as human dignity, fairness or equality in the field of economics and the economy, the advancement of attitudes such as curiosity and openness to others, respect, tolerance of ambiguity or self-efficacy, as well as of skills such as empathy, co-operation and conflict resolution, and an in-depth critical understanding of economic connectivity are important aspects of the RFCDC. Using the treatment of economic crises in history as an example, the present report explores how the principles of the RFCDC and of the Council of Europe's recommendations on history education are applied in history education in the OHTE member states.⁵ This thematic report on economic crises in history teaching thereby makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of the significance of learning about economic crises for democratic societies, as overcoming and learning from crises may subsequently lead to the development of new

institutional settings. Thus, it seems particularly important to strengthen students' ability to confront economic challenges by supporting a systematic understanding of economic processes and providing information from numerous perspectives on their historical contexts. Teaching about economic crises can offer students the knowledge and skills to resist one-sided and simplistic attributions of blame for economic crises to minorities and stigmatised groups through scapegoating. Cultural openness (curiosity) and a greater inclusion of the knowledge and experience of broad sections of the population in history lessons, as stipulated in, among other key documents, the principles and guidelines for quality history education in the 21st century by the Council of Europe, form a sound basis for such learning.

To examine this, the report pays particular attention to the changing self-understanding of history education and the rising importance of competence-based learning. Since the 1970s, history teaching has developed from defining



Matti Kivekäs / Otava / Press Photo Archive JOKA / Finnish Heritage Agency

5. For an overview, see OHTE n.d.a.

itself as being geared towards imparting academic knowledge to a teaching and learning practice focusing on the process of historical learning. History teaching and learning focusing on the acquisition of competences has become more prominent, certainly since the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) studies introduced by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) made output-oriented learning and its measurement a clear priority in relation to input-oriented learning.

This report examines the inclusion of historical economic crises in history teaching with respect to a wide range of factors, ranging from historical periods and geographical scope to various perspectives and approaches included in teaching. This analysis constitutes an interesting and evidence-based contribution to debates on the frequent criticism from economists and economic historians that economic history topics are not allocated sufficient space or emphasis in school history lessons (Holub 2021). Part of the analysis focuses on the consequences of economic crises for social development, taking the solutions developed and implemented at the time in specific historical cases into account. In addition, the report examines the competences that the curricula, textbooks and teachers seek to develop in students when teaching about economic crises in history classes, and the methods they use in doing so.

History education research distinguishes between the following competences: knowledge competence, methodological competence, orientation competence, judgment competence and action competence. In light of the multifaceted and sometimes controversial discussions about competences in history education among the member states of the OHTE (Leyrat 2021), three competences – knowledge competence, methodological competence and orientation competence – were selected for the report's focus. The required knowledge and critical



Hugo Sundström / Hufvudstadsbladet / Press Photo Archive JOKA / Finnish Heritage Agency

understanding of the world is compatible with the competence requirements formulated in the RFCDC and the Council of Europe principles and guidelines for quality history education in the 21st century, both of which require a deeper understanding of economic contexts and their link to politics, law, human rights, cultures and religions. Methodological competence refers to students acquiring the ability to analyse and interpret a range of source material, such as texts, images, audiovisual content and representational documents, as well as academic texts, developing the analytical and critical thinking skills defined in the RFCDC and the guidelines for quality history education in the 21st century. Orientation competence enables pupils to develop values and attitudes that allow them to orientate themselves in space and time. Through historical education, pupils acquire the competence to orientate themselves in the present and to develop their own ideas about the future. The development of orientation competences is closely linked to the development of values, norms and skills as defined in the principles and guidelines for quality history education in the 21st century. These include openness to cultural otherness and to other beliefs, world views and practice, empathy, civic-mindedness, self-efficacy or tolerance of ambiguity.

The report does not study judgment competences because they have proved controversial. It does not treat action competence as a separate competence but develops elements of action competence from the orientation competences. When analysing orientation competence, the report explores whether curricula and textbooks facilitate students to develop skills and abilities that enable them to apply historical reflection to current and future actions.

Defining economic crises

The word “crisis” originates from the Greek for “decision” in the legal, theological and medical fields in society: “The term challenged hard alternatives: right or wrong, salvation or damnation, life or death” (Koselleck 1982: 617). Since the early modern period, it has been applied to numerous other areas of society, including the field of economics, and the processual nature and the reproducibility of crises have also come more into focus (Koselleck *ibid.*: 627).

This report does not focus on the totality of the concepts of crisis developed by social theory, but on economic crises in their links with political, social and cultural developments. In doing so, the report builds on the work of philosophers such as Paul Ricoeur, who pointed out that economic crises should not be studied as an economic phenomenon alone but in a wider social context (Ricoeur 1988). The report derives its definition of economic crises from economics, economic history and sociolinguistic research on key notions and concepts of this phenomenon. The concept of economic crises in this report refers particularly to those definitions from the field of economic history that have understood economic crises as turning points in economic development (Borchardt 1993, Plumpe 2012). The report shares an understanding of crisis as a crossroads for societal development and emphasises the

importance of crises for the social discussion about forecasts and the active search for solutions in crisis situations.

The investigation of economic crises is not limited to the field of economics. As the causes and consequences of these crises are intertwined with social, political and even environmental issues, it is appropriate to consider definitions from multiple areas of study within the social sciences. Consequently, the definition of economic crises in this report is related to definitions of crisis from other areas of the social sciences.

This report uses the term economic crises in the plural, in line with sociolinguistic research on economic crises. As Daniele Besomi points out:

“in a world where crises are seen as disconnected accidents temporarily and unsystematically disturbing an otherwise serenely fluid state of affairs, the phenomenon can either be ignored ... or discussed under the heading “crisis” in the singular ... When the recurring character of crises was recognised, in view of their periodical returning and thanks to a conceptual switch, making it possible to understand their role in the working of the economic system, the use of the word in the singular was no longer appropriate for the account of the phenomenon.” (Besomi 2012: 111).

The definition of crises in the plural not only highlights the periodic recurrence of economic crises throughout history but also encourages a plurality of perspective when contemplating their origins, progression, consequences and solutions. Research into economic history has frequently highlighted the often “emotionally loaded” language used to describe economic crises, such as the Great Famine in Ireland (1845-52), the Depression of 1873 in Europe, the consequences of the Wall Street Crash of 1929 or the bursting of speculation bubbles such as in 2007 (Tanner 2014; Holub 2021).



Summary of key findings

1 Economic crises are included in the national history curricula of all member states. In 16 out of 17 member states, teaching about economic crises is a compulsory element of history lessons. The topic is included in textbooks and in practice by teachers in all member states. More than four out of five survey respondents indicated that they consider teaching about economic crises to be important or extremely important.

2 The most widely taught economic crisis is the Great Depression, and economic crises are most frequently taught in the context of 19th and 20th-century history. Nevertheless,

economic crises are taught in a broader temporal perspective, including ancient and early modern history, the Middle Ages to a lesser extent and, rarely, prehistory.

3 A national history perspective is combined with European and world history elements in the curricula and textbooks of all member states. However, a general Western centrism can be identified in the treatment of economic crises as a topic. Economic crises outside Europe and North America and the effects of global economic crises on African, Asian or Latin American societies are rarely present. Local history perspectives feature to a lesser extent than national and European history perspectives.

4 Political, economic and social history perspectives on economic crises are frequently included in history teaching in all member states. Although social history approaches feature less often than political and economic history approaches in curricula and textbooks, teachers' responses show that, in practice, they most frequently apply a social history perspective when teaching about economic crises. Connections to the history of ideas are commonplace in teaching about economic crises, while cultural history perspectives feature to a much lesser extent.

5 Macro-historical perspectives on economic crises feature predominantly in the curricula and textbooks of the 17 member states. Micro-historical perspectives, such as histories of everyday life, local history perspectives or approaches focusing on the role of individuals are less frequently represented; among these, the role of individuals is the most frequently used example of micro perspectives. By contrast, teachers indicate that histories of everyday life are the most widely adopted perspective in their practical history teaching.

6 Societies' diversity is partially represented in history teaching in the member states in relation to the topic of economic crises. While the experiences and roles of people of different social status or occupation are frequently included in curricula and textbooks, there is generally far less diversity in terms of gender and sexual orientation; ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic or national background; age; and ability.

7 Curricula and textbooks covering economic crises are generally designed to encourage students' development of analytical and critical thinking skills. This corresponds with the preferences indicated by teachers in the survey, where classroom discussions and the analysis of historical sources emerge as the most widely used methods. Autonomous learning competences like project-based learning are present in curricula and textbooks to a much lesser extent. There are differences in the gradient of difficulty of tasks included in textbooks across countries.

8 Almost one third of teachers indicated in the survey that they were satisfied or extremely satisfied with the ways in which their curricula and educational materials treat economic crises; one quarter expressed that they were not satisfied or not at all satisfied. Some of the reasons for dissatisfaction cited by teachers include curriculum overload, exam pressures, a perceived overemphasis on political history, difficulties in finding suitable educational materials and superficial coverage of the topic in available resources.

9 Nearly half of the surveyed teachers have the impression that their students are interested or extremely interested in learning about economic crises in history. Fewer than two out of 10 respondents have the impression that their students are not interested or not interested at all in studying the topic.

10 In 14 of the 17 member states, economic crises are not taught using an interdisciplinary approach. This contrasts with the survey results, which indicate that teachers generally have a preference for such an approach.

Chapter 2.

METHODOLOGY

In order to analyse the ways in which the member states teach about economic crises in history classes, this report adopts a comprehensive methodology, combining curriculum and textbook analysis with an explorative study of teachers' experiences and employing both quantitative and qualitative methods. This is a direct reaction to the finding of the first OHTE (2024) general report, which revealed that history teaching in practice can significantly differ from the stipulations set forth in the curricula. Thus, to create a comprehensive snapshot of how economic crises are taught in history lessons in the OHTE member states, this report first analyses the regulatory dimension via the national curricula, and complements the respective findings with a textbook analysis, which remain on average the most widely used learning materials in the OHTE member states (ibid.). These two components are complemented by an explorative study of teachers' experiences, which gives a voice to practitioners and allows for the representation of educators' opinions on teaching about economic crises. All three elements follow a similar overarching analytical logic, which ensures that the findings of each component are related to one another. The methods of sampling and analysis are presented in detail below. To enable such an in-depth exploration of the topic, the scope of this research is limited to the secondary level, ISCED-2 (lower secondary level) and ISCED-3 (upper secondary level).

Organisation of the research process

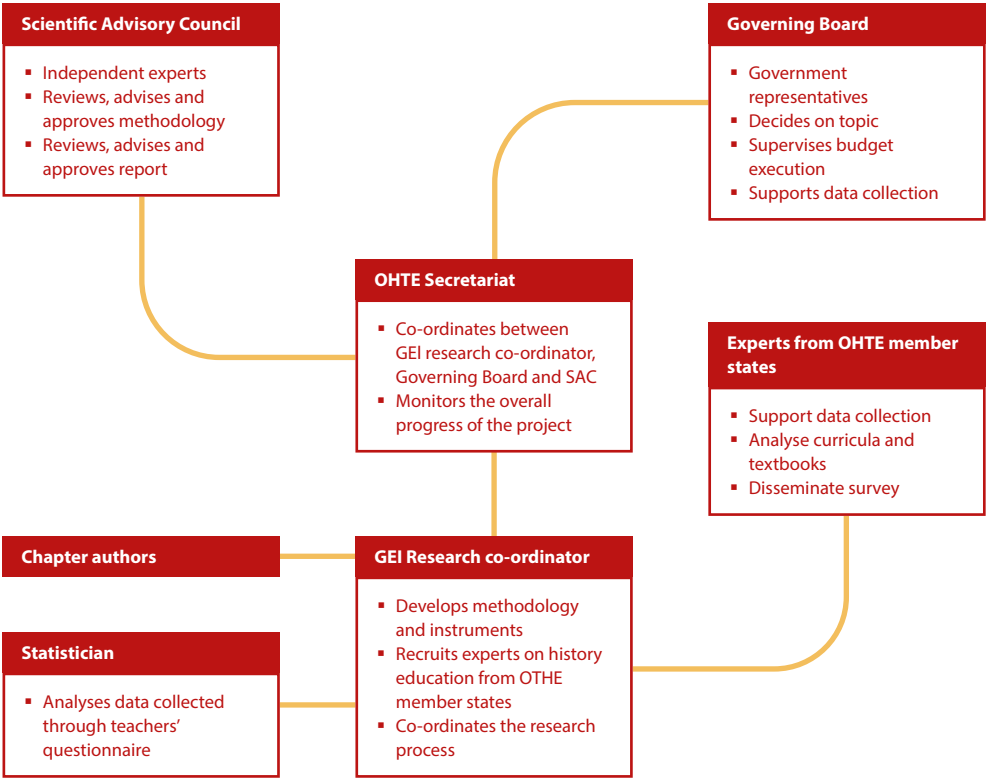
After the topic was selected by the Governing Board, the methodology and the research instruments of the report were developed by the GEI and confirmed by the SAC. The Secretariat served as a liaison between the OHTE statutory bodies and the GEI and monitored the overall progress of the project.

The research and drafting process itself involved multiple roles. The GEI research co-ordinator recruited the research team, liaised between the OHTE and the research team and ensured the overall quality and timeliness of the delivery of the report. Experts on history education from the OHTE member states played a significant role in the research, as they were tasked with translating and adapting research instruments, where needed, to their local languages and contexts; with supporting the collection of relevant curricula and textbooks in their country; and with conducting the respective analyses. Upon request of an expert, the GEI research co-ordinator asked the OHTE to confirm that the curriculum identified by an expert was in force. Based on the submissions from the experts, the chapter authors, mostly staff members of the GEI, drafted the comparative analyses for the curriculum and textbook chapters. These were cross-checked by the experts. With regard to the explorative study about teachers' experiences, the experts supported the dissemination of the questionnaire in their country. The Secretariat and the GEI supported this process via their communication channels. The responses to the quantitative questions of the study were analysed by a statistician with the results submitted to the chapter author, who also conducted the qualitative analysis of open-ended questions. The GEI research co-ordinator harmonised the draft and submitted it to the Secretariat, which further edited the draft and co-ordinated the review process between the SAC and the GEI. Following the implementation of feedback, the SAC and the Governing Board approved the final version of the report.

Research instruments

As stated above, the thematic report comprises three elements – the curricula analysis, the textbook analysis and the explorative study of teachers' experiences. For the curriculum and textbook analysis, a research grid was developed for each area, with both following

Figure 2.1 Organisation of the research process



the same analytical rationale in order to safeguard the compatibility of the findings and an interrelation of the conclusions of both parts. The grids examine both curricula and textbooks in terms of historical content and perspectives, as well as didactic approaches and competence orientation. The exploratory study makes use of a questionnaire directed at history teachers. This instrument asked the same questions addressed in the curriculum and textbook analyses, but additionally inquired into other practical aspects of teaching, such as percentage of time allocated to teaching about topics, opinions on and experiences with teaching

about economic crises, as well as students' perceived interest in learning about this topic. The development of each analytical grid and the questionnaire for teachers was guided by insights from state-of-the-art historical research on economic crises and by key Council of Europe recommendations on history education.⁶

The analysis is structured according to the following logic and steps.

1. As a first step, the analysis looks at whether learning about economic crises in history is compulsory for all students,

6. For a detailed summary of Council of Europe recommendations on history, see the OHTE general report on the state of history teaching in Europe, Vol 1: Comparative analysis (OHTE 2024), pp. 8-11.

compulsory for students attending specific school types or only as part of an elective course. Furthermore, the report examines the extent to which teachers can determine whether to teach about economic crises in their history classes. These insights gained on the basis of the curriculum analysis are contrasted by the findings of the teachers' questionnaire that asks what share of the total history teaching time is in fact allocated to the topic of economic crises.

2. In the second step, all research instruments seek to establish the temporal and geographical combinations that appear when teaching about economic crises. With regard to temporal scope, economic history research has warned against an overly narrow focus on the crises of the 20th century, which carries the risk of overusing the crisis of 1929 as a model for economic crises in general. At the same time, research in history didactics has shown that a broader temporal perspective makes it easier for students to develop knowledge, methods and orientation competences by establishing a distance to current economic crises (Borchardt 1985; Apostolidou 2017; Apostolidou and Solé 2017). Therefore, the report analyses which historical periods covered in curricula and textbooks include economic crises.⁷ In view of the interconnections and dependencies economic crises create on a worldwide scale, economic history research has argued in favour of a global history perspective. To this end, the report employs a broad spatial perspective looking beyond national history to attempt to grasp these worldwide connections, although it does not examine global interdependencies and power imbalances in depth. Furthermore, inspired by the Committee of Ministers' (2001) Recommendation Rec(2001)15 on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe, the report pays close attention to the geographical scope covered in curricula and textbooks.

Besides exploring whether public schooling systems teach economic crises that affected their "own" country, another Council of Europe member state or other countries that are not members of the Council of Europe, all research instruments inquire whether a local history, a national history, a supranational, regional or European history, or a world history perspective is applied to the teaching of economic crises. The teachers' questionnaire furthermore asks respondents to indicate the specific economic crises they have taught about. Besides a predefined list based on preliminary findings of the curricula and textbook analysis, teachers had the option to indicate other crises that are not listed.

3. Besides the temporal and spatial context, the instruments ask about the approaches used in curricula and textbooks and by teachers when teaching about economic crises in history. The instruments investigate whether insights gained from economic, social, political, military, cultural or intellectual history inform the treatment of economic crises. This is especially relevant for developing an understanding of whether learners have the opportunity to understand economic crises in their broader societal contexts rather than as isolated phenomena. The report also explores the extent to which students are confronted with different or contradictory historical explanations of the causes and consequences of different economic crises, which is a necessary precondition for grasping the enormous complexity of learning about the past. Teaching about interconnections between economic crises, developments relevant to democracy and peace are of special interest, given that the Council of Europe (Committee of Ministers 2001) underlines the important role of history education in promoting peace, human rights, democracy and tolerance. Integrating

7. The historical periods are defined as prehistory (before the existence of written sources); ancient history (until c. end of the 5th century CE); the Middle Ages (c. 6th to 15th century); early modern history (c. 16th to 18th century); modern history (c. 19th century to 1945); contemporary history (1945 to present).

the image of the other in history teaching (Committee of Ministers 2011). Highlighting the effects of economic crises on everyday life provides a strong connection point to the lived experiences of learners, which may not only foster their interest and engagement with the subject matter but also can support their ability to better understand and navigate contemporary economic crises, and to participate as informed citizens in the decision-making processes related to solving economic crises. Moreover, applying a micro perspective to teaching about economic crises may often be helpful in illustrating phenomena within a specific and limited context and thereby making abstract concepts more accessible to learners.

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government officials, unemployed, etc.). On the other hand, this refers to the differences in experience in light of gender; linguistic, cultural, religious or national backgrounds; age; and disability. This report pays specific attention to antisemitism, antigypsyism and other forms of minority scapegoating, which responds to the Committee of Ministers' recommendation CM/Rec(2020)2 on inclusion of the history of Roma and/or Travellers⁸ in school curricula and teaching materials (Committee of Ministers 2020), the Committee of Ministers' recommendation CM/Rec(2022)5 on passing on remembrance of the Holocaust and preventing crimes against humanity (Committee of Ministers 2022) and the first OHTE thematic report on pandemics and natural disasters in history teaching (OHTE 2023).

5. The instruments link these aspects to findings from subject-specific didactics research and research on history curricula and textbooks. The grids feature questions on the didactic approaches and sources included in curricula, textbooks and history teaching in practice. The questions are based on the findings of competence-oriented research in history didactics and therefore examine the competences included in curricula, textbooks and practical classroom teaching, as well as the level of difficulty of tasks and exercises set for students. For example, the grids look at the knowledge about economic crises stipulated by curricula (where applicable) and imparted by textbooks, methodological competences and instances where students are encouraged to link historical knowledge with current challenges and future developments (orientation competence) and to search actively for solutions to economic crises (Ercikan and Seixas 2015).

6. The most recent research into interdisciplinary teaching has raised the question of whether, from a subject-specific and didactic point of view, complex topics could be taught in a more comprehensive way, using an interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary perspective (COMPOUNDS 2023). While the research instruments abstain from endorsing or warning against the integration of interdisciplinary teaching methods, they incorporate these ideas by asking whether curricula, textbooks and teachers use interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary approaches across different school subjects.

Data collection

Curricula

Curriculum documents were identified on the basis of submissions by the member states' Governing Board representatives and of research carried out by experts. All curriculum documents selected were reviewed by the experts. In case of doubts regarding which curriculum versions were currently in force, the relevant documents were verified upon request of the expert by the competent authority of the member state. This process was co-ordinated by the OHTE Secretariat.

For all countries, the curricula analysed in the present report were in force for the school year 2023/24. The full list of curricula is available in **Appendix 1**. In some countries, the curriculum documents have since been updated or revised.⁹

8. The term "Roma and Travellers" is used at the Council of Europe to encompass the wide diversity of the groups covered by the work of the Council of Europe in this field: on the one hand a) Roma, Sinti/Manush, Calé, Kaale, Romanichals, Boyash/Rudari; b) Balkan Egyptians (Egyptians and Ashkali); c) Eastern groups (Dom, Lom and Abdal); and, on the other hand, groups such as Travellers, Yenish and the populations designated under the administrative term "Gens du voyage", as well as persons who identify themselves as Gypsies. The present is an explanatory footnote, not a definition of Roma and/or Travellers.

9. For example, in Cyprus, the curricula for all educational levels were revised as of the school year 2024/25; therefore, the curriculum documents for the school year 2023/24 are no longer in use.

Textbooks

The textbook sample contains 350 textbooks from 16 of the 17 OHTE member states. In contrast to the curriculum analysis and the explorative study of teachers' experiences, Andorra is not studied in the textbook analysis as the Andorran Ministry of Education does not produce textbooks for Andorran public schools and there are no private publishers producing textbooks for the Andorran public education system.

Three textbooks per year/grade and country were selected for the analysis, according to the following two criteria.

1. In countries in which the ministry of education issues an official textbook list, one book was selected from each of the three publishers whose textbooks have been authorised most frequently. This is the case for Albania, Armenia, Georgia, North Macedonia, Portugal, Türkiye and Ukraine. For Türkiye, two private textbook publishers recommended by the government are analysed in addition to the state publisher. The official lists prescribe one book per grade in Greece and two in Cyprus;¹⁰ for both countries, the textbooks by Greek publishing house Diophantus, which are used in both Cyprus and Greece, are analysed. In Luxembourg, the official textbook list prescribes two German-language and two French-language textbooks.¹¹ For Malta, only teaching materials issued by the ministry of education are analysed.

2. If there is no official textbook list, one book per year/grade was selected from each of the three market-leading publishing houses. This is the case for France, Ireland,¹² Serbia, Slovenia and Spain.

Explorative study of teachers' experiences

The questionnaire was disseminated to teachers relying on the network and communication channels of the OHTE, the GEI, European and national history teachers' associations and the ministries of education of the OHTE member states. A total of 800 history teachers participated in the study; their distribution by country is detailed in **Table 5.1 (Chapter 5)**. A minimum of 30 completed questionnaires was submitted from each country, except for Andorra, Luxembourg and Malta, which have the lowest populations of history teachers among the OHTE member states.

Analytical methods

Curriculum and textbook analysis

No deductive preselection of individual economic crises was conducted for the curriculum and textbook analyses. For the curriculum analysis, an automated keyword search based on 13 terms (see **Appendix 2**), including "crisis" and "crises", and synonyms or words related to economic crises was conducted to identify a wide range of economic crises in the national school curricula. Terms were translated into the languages of the member states by the experts and adapted to the local context where necessary. Each text excerpt was examined in the context of the module and historical context in which it is contained. For the textbook analysis, all textbooks were read in their entirety.

Experts from the network of the OHTE and the GEI were assigned to conduct the analysis for their respective countries. The experts filled in

10. One of the prescribed textbooks in Cyprus, covering world and European history, is the same as the one used in Greece. The second, focused on local history, is edited and printed in Cyprus by the Pedagogical Institute.

11. Textbooks published by the French publishing house Hatier are used in both France and Luxembourg.

12. The decision on which particular resources are used is a decision for individual schools. There are no requirements placed on a school by the Department of Education to use any specific textbooks. However, the department does provide advice and support through the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) and the department's teacher support services. It also issues guidelines for teachers and provides support materials to help and guide their work with students.

the analytical grids and submitted them to the GEI research co-ordinator. The research was conducted applying the hermeneutic method of text analysis to: a) author-written texts; b) text and image sources; and c) exercises and tasks.

The completed analytical grids provided the basis for the comparative analyses of the curricula and textbooks. The harmonised design of the grids for every member state facilitated a transnational comparative analysis based on the same indicators.

Explorative study of teachers' experiences

The analysis was carried out in four phases. In the first phase, the database was cleaned, and the data were organised for subsequent analysis. The answers were checked for validity. Redundant answers were homogenised according to their statements and shortened to one category each.

In the second phase, a descriptive analysis of the responses to each question of the questionnaire was conducted, as well as an analysis of the measures of central tendency and dispersion.

In the third phase, groups of dichotomous variables were compared using the correspondence analysis method (CA) (Greenacre 2017). As a multivariate statistical technique, CA is particularly useful for analysing the responses to the teachers' questionnaire and contingency tables which summarise frequencies of observations into different categories. It allows for a visualisation of relationships by representing them in a two-dimensional space, making it possible to observe the extent of proximity and similarity between them. In this way, a first approximation of the patterns and structures underlying the data could be made.

In this phase, the aim of the analysis was to identify linear trends in the correlation of nominal and ordinal data. The extended Cochran Armitage test (Agresti 2019) was used to explore the dependencies and associations between ordinal variables (individual responses) and their respective nominal reference values (countries). In this way, it was possible to assess how the probabilities of certain answer options of individuals performed in relation to the nominal trend.

In the fourth phase, the representativeness of the data and the reliability of the measured values were analysed using the Cronbach's alpha method. The reliability of items Q5, Q8_2, Q8_4, Q9, Q10, Q11, Q12 and Q13 was analysed. Acceptable alpha reliability indices were obtained in all cases above or close to 0.7, except for Q9. Values close to 1 indicate high internal consistency. The scale's items are essentially measuring the same thing, and the scale is reliable. Values between 0.7 and 0.9 are generally considered acceptable in many disciplines and suggest good reliability, with values below 0.7 indicating low internal consistency. The scale's items may not be measuring the same construct, or the scale might need revision.¹³ The software R version 4.3.1 (R Core Team 2023), SPSS 29.0.1.0 and Excel version 16.92 were used for this.

Finally, the results of the statistics were embedded in the overall context of the report and interpreted with regard to their significance for its key questions. Here, one of the limitations of the exploratory survey is that a sample of voluntary responses – rather than random sampling – was used. Therefore, it is possible that the participants' responses do not exhaustively represent all history teachers, even while indicating a broad diversity of views across the member states.

13. Q5: $\alpha = .78$; Q8_2: $\alpha = .71$; Q8_4: $\alpha = .79$; Q9: $\alpha = .48$; Q10: $\alpha = .69$; Q11: $\alpha = .68$; Q12: $\alpha = .76$; Q13: $\alpha = .8$.



Chapter 3.

CURRICULUM ANALYSIS

Curricula are an essential pillar for the organisation of history education in the member states. Depending on the country, they define the content, knowledge and/or competences to be acquired by students and therefore establish a foundation for the creation of a shared repository of knowledge among the population. This is an especially important function in the contemporary world, in which the consumption of information primarily takes place online and is highly individualised, with information frequently not fact-checked and potentially misleading. Against this backdrop, analysing the curricula of the member states to develop an understanding about the way economic crises in history are taught is a necessary step.

At the same time, it can only be a first step. As the first OHTe general report (2024) showed, history curricula often leave flexibility to the teachers to conduct their teaching in accordance with their preferences and professional judgment, albeit to a varying extent. This is also manifested in the following analysis, where curricula frequently only mention the topic of economic crises or make rather brief specifications regarding the teaching of the topic, leaving it to educators and educational materials to substantiate it in more detail.¹⁴ Therefore, this analysis is often only able to identify opportunities where a

curriculum enables the teaching of economic crises or encourages the adoption of certain perspectives where these opportunities are present. At the same time, economic crises are frequently not specifically named as such but are framed in terms of “economic decline” or described as processes that disrupt economic life; teaching these phenomena as economic crises is therefore once again left to the discretion of practitioners. Consequently, the curriculum analysis must be seen as only the first step in creating a comprehensive picture of teaching about economic crises, with its results complemented by the findings of the textbook analysis (**Chapter 4**) and of the exploratory teachers’ questionnaire (**Chapter 5**).

This chapter is structured in line with the analytical grid described in **Chapter 2**. It begins by discussing whether learning about economic crises in history lessons is compulsory for all students, compulsory for all students attending a specific school type or only as part of an elective course, based on the status of history as a school subject. This is followed by an assessment of the temporal and geographical scope covered by curricula, as well as disciplinary approaches and perspectives adopted. Finally, the chapter presents an analysis of competences, methods and cross-curricular links included in curricula in relation to economic crises.

Economic crises in history curricula – Compulsory or elective?

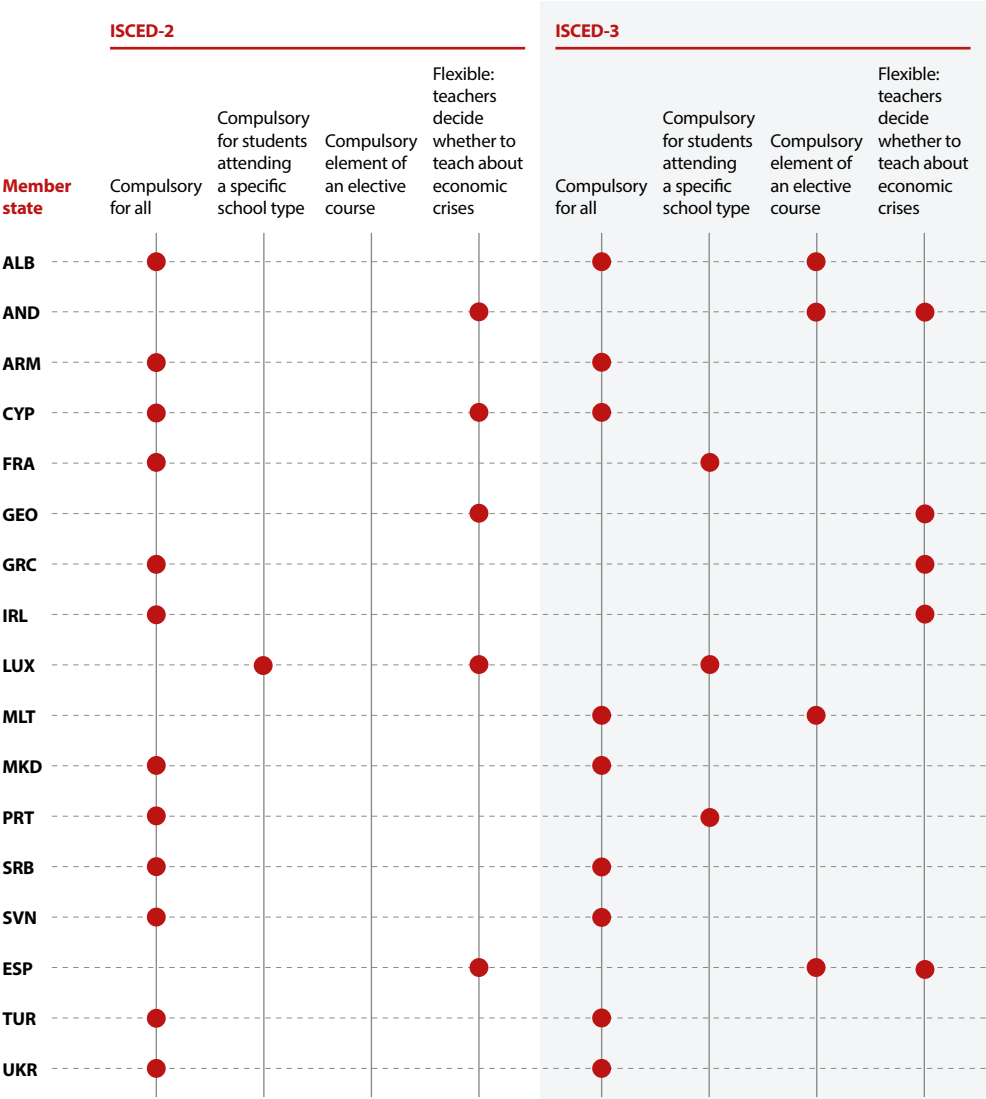
Economic crises are present in the national history curricula of all OHTe member states; however, the ways and extent to which economic crises form part of compulsory history teaching vary greatly.

Kollwitz, Käthe: Deutschlands Kinder hungern - City Museum Berlin, Germany - Public Domain.



¹⁴. Learn more about the member states’ curricula in the OHTe general report on the state of history teaching in Europe (OHTe 2024).

Table 3.1 Status of teaching about economic crises across the OHTE member states



Teaching about economic crises in history is compulsory for all students¹⁵ at both lower (ISCED-2) and upper secondary (ISCED-3) level in eight of the 17 member states.¹⁶ While in France, Ireland and Portugal teaching about

economic crises is mandatory for all students at ISCED-2, this is no longer the case moving into the ISCED-3. In France, learning about economic crises remains mandatory only for students of the general lyceum. In Portugal, only

15. This refers to all students attending the school types taken into consideration in this report (see Chapter 2). This applies throughout the analysis. For more information on the organisation of history teaching in general, please consult the first OHTE general report on the state of history teaching in Europe (OHTE 2024).

16. Albania, Armenia, Cyprus, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, Türkiye and Ukraine.

students of the socio-economic, linguistic and humanities subject specialisations are required to learn about economic crises in history. For ISCED-3 in Ireland, history is an elective subject, for which the curriculum provides options for teaching about economic crises. At the same time, a great deal of autonomy is given to teachers to determine which modules are taught, and therefore the inclusion of economic crises is left to the history teacher's discretion. As economic crises or hardships are proposed in the context of several modules, the curricula nonetheless provide ample opportunities to cover such topics.¹⁷

In Luxembourg, learning about economic crises is compulsory only for students of the general and classical profile at ISCED-2, and of the general, classical and social sciences profile (GSO) at ISCED-3.

In Andorra, Georgia and Spain, economic crises are not explicitly included in the curriculum at ISCED-2; however, the flexibility of the curricula and the frequent references to an economic perspective provide opportunities for their inclusion. In the case of ISCED-2 education in Andorra, the compulsory human and social science course prescribes work on the blocks "wealth distribution and social inequalities", "relationships, conflict and social change" and "social organisation", in which teaching about economic crises is possible. Teaching about economic crises even appears to be encouraged, with the units "crisis mechanisms", "the economic crises of the 20th century" and the "crises caused by globalisation" explicitly proposed in the curriculum.¹⁸ At ISCED-3, students who choose history are required to

work on economic crises in the 20th and 21st centuries.¹⁹

Much like in Andorra, at ISCED-2 level, the Spanish curriculum provides opportunities for teachers to include economic crises in their teaching while refraining from specifying this as a requirement. For instance, in the context of the compulsory "Geography and history" course, the curriculum stipulates teaching about "the human transformation of the territory and the unequal distribution of resources and work", the "evolution of economic systems, demographic cycles, ways of life and models of social organisation" and the "fight for labour and social rights: the welfare state".²⁰ At ISCED-3, the compulsory "History of Spain" course indicates that students should analyse "the economic evolution of Spain, its rhythms and growth cycles", "the idea of modernisation, assessing its effects in relation to social inequality [and] territorial imbalances".²¹ It is only in the elective course "History of the contemporary world" at ISCED-3 that "cycles and crises of contemporary economic systems" are referenced, thereby explicitly framing the teaching of economic crises as a requirement.²² However, it is vital to note that the national curriculum prescribes 60% of the compulsory content for the Autonomous Communities that do not have a co-official language and 50% in those that do. The regional curricula may also specify some of these economic crises.

While for ISCED-2 in Greece, teaching about economic crises is explicitly prescribed, teaching about the decline of the Mycenaean civilisation is the only occasion that could allow for a potential inclusion of an economic crisis

17. E.g., as part of the modules "Europe from Renaissance to Reformation" (IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum (2003, p. 26); "Religion and power: politics in the later 16th century" (ibid., p. 27); "The eclipse of Old Europe, 1609-1660" (ibid., p. 28); "Ireland and the Union 1815-1870" (ibid., p. 34); "The pursuit of sovereignty and the impact of Partition" (ibid., p. 36); "Democracy and dictatorship 1920-1945" (ibid., p. 44) and others.

18. AND/Decree 308/2022, pp. 28, 39, 42-43.

19. AND/Decree History 20-3-2019, pp. 11, 13.

20. ESP/Real Decree 217/2022, p. 119.

21. ESP/Real Decree 243/2022, pp. 182-184.

22. Ibid., p. 200.



perspective for ISCED-3. Again, this is left to the discretion of the teacher (see **Table 3.2** below).

In the Georgian history curriculum, the topics are kept especially open. At ISCED-2, this is exemplified by the coverage of the late Middle Ages/early modern period. Here, the curriculum stipulates that students “compare the essential characteristics (worldview, means of identity, ‘cultural other’, interests and concerns, rules of conduct, values and traditions, social strata, forms of farming) with modern societies or with societies of another historical era”.²³ While this does not change significantly for ISCED-3, the curriculum specifically suggests covering certain topics related to economic crises, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union or the challenges that globalisation poses for Georgia.²⁴ Again, this choice remains with the teacher.

In Malta, economic crises are taught solely at ISCED-3, both in the context of the compulsory “Environmental studies” and the elective “History” course.

In addition to direct references to economic crises, the curricula of several member states, such as Armenia, France, Ireland or North Macedonia, address crises or economic issues in more general terms. The ISCED-2 history curriculum in France, for instance, refers to the Cold War and decolonisation and the crises that occurred in these contexts without explicitly referring to economic crises.²⁵ As a result, the flexibility of the curriculum offers additional opportunities for teaching about economic crises even while leaving the final choice to the teachers or schools.

23. GEO/Lower secondary history curriculum (n.d.), p. 86.

24. GEO/Upper secondary history curriculum (n.d.), pp. 96-97.

25. FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum (2020), p. 85.

Temporal scope

Broadly, economic crises are included in the context of all historical periods. However, differences can again be observed across the member states.

Economic crises are most frequently included in the context of modern and contemporary history from the 19th century onwards. Except for Georgia and Spain, which flexibly set out general themes allowing for the teaching of economic crises, all OHTE member states mention specific economic crises in their

Table 3.2 Inclusion of economic crises in different historical periods as defined in the curricula (selection)²⁶

● No ● Possible ● Yes

Member state	Prehistory	Ancient history	Middle Ages	Early modern history	Modern history	Contemporary history
ALB	●	●	●	●	●	●
AND	●	●	●	●	●	●
ARM	●	●	●	●	●	●
CYP	●	●	●	●	●	●
FRA	●	●	●	●	●	●
GEO	●	●	●	●	●	●
GRC	●	●	●	●	●	●
IRL	●	●	●	●	●	●
LUX	●	●	●	●	●	●
MLT	●	●	●	●	●	●
MKD	●	●	●	●	●	●
PRT	●	●	●	●	●	●
SRB	●	●	●	●	●	●
SVN	●	●	●	●	●	●
ESP	●	●	●	●	●	●
TUR	●	●	●	●	●	●
UKR	●	●	●	●	●	●

NOTE: POSSIBLE: The curriculum does not specifically mention the teaching of economic crises but allows the possibility of including an economic perspective in the teaching of more general historical crises. See more detailed explanations below and in Appendix 3.

26. The historical periods are defined as prehistory (before the existence of written sources); ancient history (until c. end of the 5th century ce); the Middle Ages (c. 6th to 15th century); early modern history (c. 16th to 18th century); modern history (c. 19th century to 1945); contemporary history (1945 to present).

history curricula in both the modern (c. 1800-1945) and contemporary (1945-present) periods. Of all crises taught in the context of modern and contemporary history, the Great Depression starting in 1929 is most widespread among the member states and is explicitly included in all curricula with the exceptions of Georgia, Slovenia and Spain.²⁷ This is followed by the crisis of socialist economies, mentioned in the curricula of 11 out of the 17 member states.²⁸ Besides these, a wide array of other crises are mentioned, such as the socio-economic disruptions connected to the Industrial Revolution or the consequences of lack of industrialisation,²⁹ the public debt crisis of the Ottoman Empire

in the late 19th and early 20th centuries,³⁰ the socio-economic crisis of Tsarist Russia,³¹ hardship connected to decolonisation,³² the 1970s recession in western Europe and the United States³³ or the more recent global financial and Eurozone sovereign debt crisis of 2008-2009.³⁴

With regard to the early modern period, ten out of the 17 member states include the teaching of economic crises.³⁵ Here, the crisis most often referred to is the socio-economic hardship experienced by the population of France prior to the French Revolution, which is included in the curricula of eight member states.³⁶ Other crises include inflation in 16th-century

27. In Slovenia, discussing the reasons for the rise of totalitarianism in the 1930s may also provide the opportunity to teach about the Great Depression without specifically naming it (SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, pp. 37-38). In the Spanish curriculum, no specific economic crises are identified. However, the themes included in the curriculum allow for an inclusion of the Great Depression at the discretion of the teacher. For the inclusion of the Great Depression in the remaining member states, see ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 15; AND/Decree History 20-3-2019, pp. 13-15; ARM/History Curriculum, Grades 9 and 12 (2024), Grade 9, Theme 2; CYP/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3, pp. 95-97; FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general profile), Grade 3 (*terminale générale*), pp. 5-6; GRC/Teaching Guidelines for the History Courses Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, pp. 39-40; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 36, 44; LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 5 (general profile, 5G), p. 2; MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, pp. 26-27; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 11, pp. 8-9; MKD/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3, pp. 10, 36; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE11B, 2022, p. 9; SRB/Educational Gazette 11/2013, 28 June 2013, p. 61; TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, pp. 21-22; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 136.

28. Albania, Armenia, Georgia, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia and Ukraine: ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 9, p. 49; ARM/World History Curriculum, Grades 9 and 12 (2024), Grade 9, Theme 4; GEO/Upper Secondary History Curriculum, p. 96; GRC/History curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 44; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 45; LUX/History curriculum, Grade 2 (classical profile, 2C), p. 2; MLT/SEC 18 History curriculum, pp. 16-17; MKD/History Curriculum Gymnasium, Grade 3, pp. 25, 27, 39; SRB/Educational Gazette 11/2019, 15 August 2019, p. 118; SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, pp. 40-41; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 179.

29. In Albania, Andorra, France, Ireland, Malta, Slovenia and Türkiye: ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 7, p. 64; AND/Decree 27-03-2019, p. 11; FRA/4th Cycle History Curriculum, p. 84; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 31; MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 22, 23; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 35-40; SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, p. 33; TUR/Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 36.

30. In North Macedonia and Türkiye: MKD/History Curriculum, Grade 8 (formerly Grade 7), p. 5; TUR/Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 36.

31. In Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg and Ukraine: GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 37; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 43; LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 3 (general profile, social studies orientation, 3GSO), pp. 2-3; UKR/History curriculum, p. 76.

32. In Cyprus, Greece and Ireland. In France, an economic perspective on decolonisation is not explicitly prescribed, though this is also the case for political perspectives. Thus, teaching content from an economic perspective appears possible. CYP/History Curriculum, Lyceum, Grade 3, General Level, p. 44; GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 44; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 46; FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum (2020), p. 85.

33. In France, Ireland, Luxembourg and Türkiye: FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 86; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 45, 47; LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 1 (classical profile, 1C), pp. 2-3; TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, p. 25.

34. Andorra, France and Ukraine: AND/Decree 27-03-2019, pp. 17-18; FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general profile), Grade 3 (*terminale générale*), p. 9; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 136.

35. Albania, Cyprus, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal, Slovenia, Türkiye and Ukraine.

36. Albania, Cyprus, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Slovenia and Ukraine: ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 10, p. 40; CYP/Gymnasium History Curriculum, Grade 3, p. 24; FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general profile), Grade 2 (*première générale*), p. 6; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum (2003), p. 31; LUX/Lower Secondary History Curriculum, General Profile, Grade 6 (6G), pp. 2-3; MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, p. 12; SVN/Lower Secondary History Curriculum, p. 34; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 100.

Europe,³⁷ the decline of old industries in early 17th-century Europe,³⁸ economic crises in Malta in the second half of the 18th century,³⁹ the crises of the Portuguese colonial empire starting from the mid-16th century⁴⁰ and the economic decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the late 17th century onwards.⁴¹

With regard to the Middle Ages, the teaching of economic crises is explicitly required in the curricula in Armenia, North Macedonia and Portugal. The Portuguese curriculum refers to economic decline in Europe during the 6th and 9th centuries as well as the socio-economic crisis in 14th-century Portugal.⁴² In Armenia, the curriculum includes the economic challenges faced by medieval Armenia in the context of broader efforts to preserve an Armenian identity.⁴³ In North Macedonia, the curriculum outlines the socio-economic decline of the Byzantine Empire.⁴⁴ In Albania, Cyprus and Greece, the teaching of socio-economic crises of the Byzantine Empire is not specifically included, but the curricula refer to the crises of the Byzantine Empire starting from the 11th century. The Greek curriculum specifically mentions the consequences of territorial losses of the Byzantine Empire to the Seljuks as well as the consequences of trade privileges granted to Venetian traders. Such consequences include less tax revenue from the lost territories, lower competitiveness of Greek corn compared to Venetian corn, as well as famine (see Harvey

2008, Chrysostomides 2023).⁴⁵ Consequently, the inclusion of an economic perspective on the crises in the Byzantine Empire is also possible in Albanian, Cypriot and Greek history education.

Regarding ancient history, only the curricula in Armenia and Portugal make explicit reference to economic decline in the context of the socio-economic decline of the Artaxiad kingdom and the Roman Empire respectively.⁴⁶ The curricula in Albania, Armenia, Cyprus, Greece, Luxembourg, North Macedonia, Slovenia and Ukraine refer to the crises of the late Roman Empire without specifying the perspectives to be included in the teaching. As economic crises play an important role in this decline (see, for example, Ando 2012; Jones 1964; Rathbone 2009), their inclusion in this context nonetheless appears possible.

Economic crises or decline in prehistory is only mentioned explicitly in the Armenian curriculum, which references the socio-economic decline of early state formations in the Armenian highlands between the 3rd and 1st millennia BCE.⁴⁷ The Cypriot and Greek curricula refer to the decline of the Mycenaean world without specifying the perspectives to be included in the teaching of the subject.⁴⁸ Given the economic dimension of this decline, which involved a reduction in trade in the eastern Mediterranean (Tartaron 2013), the inclusion of such a perspective appears possible.

37. Ireland and Türkiye: IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 26; TUR/Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 33.

38. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 26.

39. MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, pp. 18-19; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 9, pp. 37, 39-40.

40. PRT/DGE-MEC-AE8 (2022), p. 8.

41. UKR/History Curriculum, p. 74.

42. PRT/DGE-MEC-AE7 (2022): p. 9; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE7 (2022), pp. 12-13.

43. ARM/Armenian History Curriculum, Grades 8 and 10, Grade 10, Theme 1.

44. MKD/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 2 (2005), p. 8.

45. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 12, pp. 36-37; CYP/Gymnasium History Curriculum, Grade 2, p. 18; GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 18.

46. ARM/Armenian History Curriculum, Grades 7 and 10, Grade 10, Theme 3; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE7, 2022, p. 9.

47. ARM/Armenian History Curriculum, Grades 7 and 10, Grade 10, Theme 1.

48. CYP/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 1, p. 18; GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 12.

Geographical scope

All member states include economic crises in their own respective countries in their curricula. These inclusions entail both the effects of larger regional or global crises on the member state, such as in the context of the Great Depression or the crisis of socialism, and specific crises relevant to the national

level. The “raisin crisis” in 19th-century Greece,⁴⁹ the Great Famine in 19th-century Ireland,⁵⁰ the economic crisis during the Siege of Malta (1798-1800)⁵¹ and the debt crisis of the Ottoman Empire⁵² are examples of such perspectives. The Spanish curriculum outlines several themes that are closely linked to Spain’s economic development, thus permitting the consideration of economic crises.⁵³

A further closely related theme is a national history perspective in all OHE member states. Economic crises are often presented as part of national histories, as demonstrated by the following examples. In the Andorran curriculum, the Industrial Revolution is presented in connection with the “ruin” of the economy of Andorra.⁵⁴ In Armenia, the curriculum of the course “Armenian history” presents economic challenges and hardship as an integral part of the country’s history. This is for instance illustrated in the learning objective “Develop skills to research the ... [inter alia, annotation by the author] economic ... challenges the Armenia identity has faced and the struggle to preserve the national identity” in the context of medieval Armenian history.⁵⁵ In Ukraine, the Holodomor famine in the early 1930s that was the intentional result of the Soviet authorities’ campaign to break the resistance of Ukrainian farmers against collectivisation, coinciding with other repressions aimed at curtailing Ukrainian cultural autonomy and distinctiveness (HREC n.d.; Mattingly 2023), is referred to in the curriculum as a genocide against the Ukrainian nation.⁵⁶ In Ireland, the Great Famine frequently appears across the history curricula and constitutes an important



“Głód na Ukrainie - Ratuj Ukrainę” - nadruk z pocztówki zaprojektowany przez Zofię Nalepińską-Bojczuk, odnoszący się do Holodomoru

49. GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 33.

50. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 34, 37.

51. MLT/SEC13 Environmental Studies, pp. 35-36.

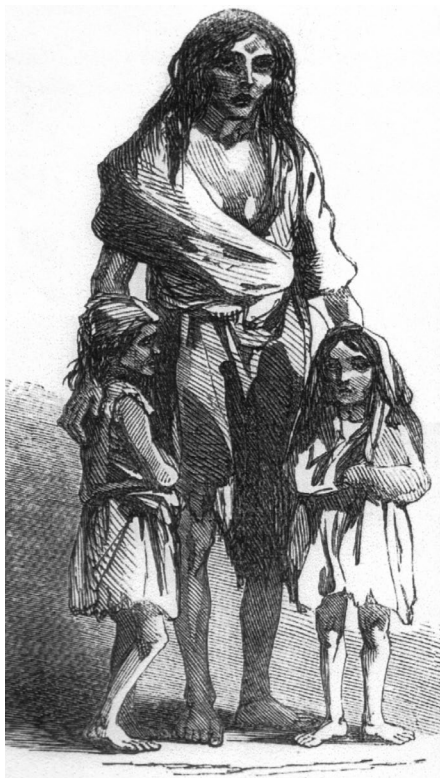
52. TUR/Republic of Türkiye, History of the Revolution and Kemalism Course Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 14; Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 36.

53. ESP/Real Decree 243/2022.

54. AND/Decree History 20-03-2019, p. 11.

55. ARM/Armenian History Curriculum Grades 8 and 11, Grade 11, Theme 1.

56. UKR/History Curriculum, p. 74.



element of Irish national history.⁵⁷ For France, the socio-economic crisis of the 18th century leading up to the French Revolution is an important example in the teaching of national history,⁵⁸ while in Portugal's curriculum, the crises of the Portuguese colonial empire that unfolded from the mid-16th century onwards

and the economic crises in the late 19th and early 20th centuries also play an important role in teaching national history.⁵⁹

In many cases, national and (supranational) regional history perspectives are intertwined, which is also reflected in history teaching about economic crises. This is especially the case for countries that were formerly in a joint state with other countries or part of an empire. Examples of this are the inclusion in the curriculum of the public debt crisis of the Ottoman Empire (North Macedonia and Türkiye),⁶⁰ the economic situation of interwar Yugoslavia (North Macedonia and Serbia),⁶¹ the dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia (North Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia)⁶² and the economic crisis in the Soviet Union in the 1980s (Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine).⁶³ The Ukrainian curriculum furthermore refers to famine crises in other parts of the Soviet Union such as in Kazakhstan or in the Volga region in the 1920s.⁶⁴

Given the transnational dimension that many major economic crises have had, the inclusion of a European and world history dimension with regard to economic crises can be observed in the history curricula of all member states. While the Great Depression is the most widespread example, others are the effects of the 1973 oil crisis on the western European and US economies,⁶⁵ the disruptive effects of industrialisation on traditional economies and

57. IRL/Junior Cycle History Curriculum, p. 17; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 34, 37.

58. E.g., FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general and technical profile), Grade 1 (*seconde générale et technologique*), p. 7; FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general profile), Grade 2 (*première générale*), p. 10.

59. PRT/DGE-MEC-AE8 (2022), p. 8; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE10B (2022), p. 13.

60. MKD/History Curricula, Grade 8 (formerly Grade 7), p. 5; TUR/Republic of Türkiye - History of the Revolution and Kemalism/Turkish Republic Revolution and Kemalism History Course Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 14; Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 36.

61. MKD/History Curriculum, Grade 9 (formerly Grade 8), p. 5; SRB/Educational Gazette 4/2020 2 June 2020, pp. 532-535.

62. MKD/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 4, p. 10; SRB/Educational Gazette 11/2019, 15 August 2019, p. 118; SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, pp. 40-41.

63. ARM/World History Curricula Grades 9 and 12 (2024), Grade 9, Theme 4; GEO/Upper secondary history curriculum (n.d.), p. 96; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 179.

64. UKR/History Curriculum, p. 160.

65. In France, Ireland, Luxembourg and Türkiye: FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 86; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 45, 47; LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 1 (classical profile, 1C), pp. 2-3; TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, p. 25.

the consequences of a lack of industrialisation⁶⁶ and the crises of socialist economies of the 1980s (which is included also in the curricula of countries that have no experience of state socialism).⁶⁷ Besides these, the Irish curriculum also refers to the decline of the old industries in 17th-century Europe and to poverty in European empires in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.⁶⁸ The curricula in Andorra, France, Spain and Ukraine also provide space for teaching recent economic crises in the European Union.⁶⁹

World history perspectives beyond the Great Depression and the 1973 oil crisis are found in the context of colonialism and decolonisation. In Ireland and Türkiye, inflation in 16th century Europe as a result of the increased influx of precious metals from the “New World” is featured in both curricula.⁷⁰ The Portuguese curriculum includes crises of the Portuguese Empire from the mid-16th century and increasing competition from other colonial powers,⁷¹ while the Spanish curriculum includes the “colonialism, imperialism and new economic and cultural subordinations”.⁷² Decolonisation and its economic aspects are mentioned in the curricula in Cyprus,

France, Greece, Ireland and Portugal. For example, the French curriculum refers to rapid decolonisation after the Second World War, with the teacher asked to demonstrate paths to independence and the circumstances surrounding these struggles based on examples chosen by the teacher.⁷³ The Greek curriculum refers to “underdevelopment”⁷⁴ while the Irish curriculum refers to aid and famines in postcolonial Africa.⁷⁵ In Cyprus, the curriculum makes an explicit connection between the Great Depression and decolonisation. While in other member states’ curricula the Great Depression is usually taught in a Western-centric manner, focusing on the US and Europe, the Cypriot curriculum presents the negative effects of the Great Depression on the colonies as drivers of decolonisation after the Second World War.⁷⁶ The history curriculum in Portugal explicitly includes a global dimension when discussing the end of socialism in Europe by making reference to the persistence of the global North-South divide after the end of the Cold War.⁷⁷

Besides the treatment of the aforementioned crises from a general European (supranational), regional or world history perspective, many

66. In Andorra, France, Ireland, Malta, Slovenia and Türkiye: AND/Decree 27-03-2019, p. 11; FRA/4th Cycle History Curriculum, p. 84; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 31; MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 22-23; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 35-40; SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, p. 33; TUR/Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 36.

67. In Albania, Armenia, France, Georgia, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, North Macedonia, Portugal, Serbia, Slovenia and Ukraine: ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 9, p. 49; ARM/History Curriculum, Grades 9 and 12 (2024), Grade 9, Theme 3; FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general profile), Grade 3 (*terminale générale*), pp. 5-6; GEO/Upper secondary history curriculum (n.d.), p. 96; GRC/Teaching Guidelines History, Gymnasium Grades 1, 2, 3 (2022), p. 44; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 45; LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 2 (classical profile, 2C), p. 2; LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 1 (general profile, 1G), pp. 3-4; MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 16-17; MKD/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3 (2005), pp. 25, 27, 39; PRT/DGE-MEC- AE11B, 2022, p. 14; SRB/Educational Gazette 4/2020, 2 June 2020, pp. 532-535; SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, pp. 40-41; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 179.

68. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 28, 31.

69. AND/Decree 27-03-2019, pp. 17-18; FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general profile), Grade 3 (*terminale générale*), p. 9; ESP/Real Decree 243/2022, pp. 185, 200; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 136.

70. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 26; TUR/Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 33.

71. PRT/DGE-MEC-AE8 (2022), p. 8.

72. ESP/Real Decree 217/2022, p. 119.

73. FRA/4th Cycle History Curriculum (2020), p. 85.

74. GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 44.

75. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum (2003), p. 46.

76. CYP/Lyceum History Course, Grade 3, general level, p. 44; CYP/Lyceum History Course, Grade 3, advanced level, p. 51.

77. PRT/DGE-MEC-AE12A, 2022, p. 14.



Execution de Robespierre et de ses complices conspirateurs contre la liberté et l'égalité : vive la Convention nationale qui par son énergie et surveillance a délivré la République de ses tyrans Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE QB-370 (48)-FT 4.

member states' curricula also present economic crises or hardships that occurred in other countries, most frequently in a European context. For instance, the socio-economic conditions that led to the French Revolution are addressed in the curriculum not only in France but also in Cyprus, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta and Ukraine.⁷⁸ The socio-economic crisis in the Russian Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is included in the curricula in Greece, Ireland and Luxembourg.⁷⁹ While not explicitly mentioning hardship in the Russian Empire, the curricula in Andorra and Serbia directly reference the Russian revolutions of 1917, where the inclusion of the preceding economic crisis appears at least possible.⁸⁰

The Cypriot curriculum refers to economic crises that occurred in Greece, such as the bankruptcy of 1893 or the economic stagnation after the Second World War.⁸¹ Furthermore, the curriculum of North Macedonia mentions the economic crisis in Albania in the interwar period (1928-39)⁸² and of socialist Albania in the 1980s.⁸³ The Ukrainian curriculum includes the famines in Ireland in the 19th century and the 1959-61 famine in China.⁸⁴

While the curricula of most member states offer enough flexibility for teachers to also include local history perspectives, local or subnational regional history perspectives are specifically mentioned only in the curricula in Ireland and

78. E.g., CYP/Gymnasium History Curricula, Grade 3, p. 24; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 31; LUX/Lower Secondary History Curriculum, General Profile, Grade 6 (6G), pp. 2-3; MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, p. 12; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 100.

79. E.g., GRC/Teaching Guidelines History, Gymnasium Grades 1, 2, 3 (2022), p. 37; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum (2003), p. 43; LUX/Upper Secondary History Curriculum, General Profile, Grade 2 (2G), p. 3.

80. AND/Decree 308/2022, p. 40; SRB/Educational Gazette 4/2020, 2 June 2020, p. 527.

81. CYP/Gymnasium History Curricula, Grade 3, p. 58; CYP/Lyceum History Course, Grade 3, general level, p. 51.

82. MKD/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3 (2005), p. 13.

83. MKD/History Curriculum, Grade 9 (formerly Grade 8), p. 18.

84. UKR/History Curriculum, pp. 104, 181.

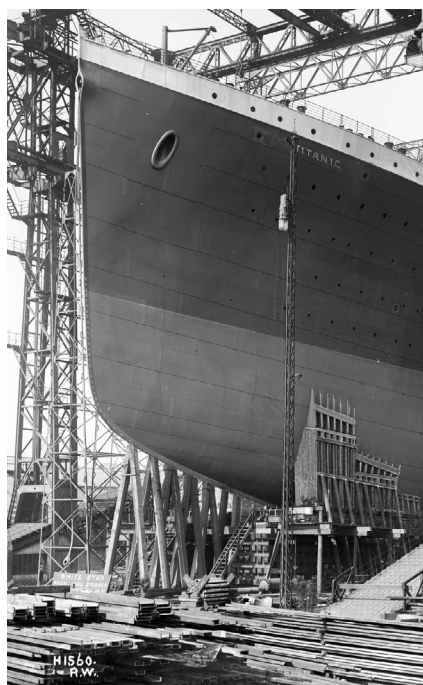
Ukraine. The Irish curriculum includes several case studies of regional developments such as the rise of industrial towns, as exemplified by a case study on the growth of the city of Manchester or industrial development in Belfast.⁸⁵ In the Ukrainian curriculum, reference is made to the famines of Crimea and the Volga region during the 1920s.⁸⁶ While not explicitly referring to economic crises, the Spanish history curriculum clearly provides scope for adopting

a local history perspective in the teaching of economic difficulties, or, at the discretion of the teacher, economic crises. The curriculum refers to “social, territorial and environmental imbalances” in the context of the evolution of the Spanish economy, therefore encouraging the inclusion of local and regional history at a subnational level.⁸⁷

Approaches and perspectives

Economic and social history

All member states include a socio-economic perspective on economic crises in their history curricula, which refer to factors such as excessive public debt,⁸⁸ stock market crashes,⁸⁹ the cyclical nature of the capitalist economy⁹⁰ or inflation.⁹¹ The consequences of changes in modes of production initiated by the Industrial Revolution, and of the lack of such changes in countries and regions with delayed industrialisation, are explicitly mentioned in the curricula in Andorra, France, Ireland, Malta, Slovenia and Türkiye. For instance, the Maltese curriculum explicitly mentions the decline of the traditional cotton industry of Malta caused by cheaper industrially produced cotton made in the USA.⁹² The Turkish history curriculum requires students to analyse the



The Titanic, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

85. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 31, 34.

86. UKR/History Curriculum, p. 160.

87. ESP/Real Decree 243/2022, p. 184.

88. E.g., for the crisis of the late Ottoman Empire: MKD/History Curriculum, Grade 7 (2004, now used in Grade 8), p. 5; TUR/Republic of Türkiye – History of the Revolution and Kemalism/Turkish Republic Revolution and Kemalism History Course Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 14; Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 36. With regard to the bankruptcy of Greece of 1893: CYP/Gymnasium History Curriculum, Grade 3, p. 58.

89. E.g., with regard to the Wall Street crash of 1929 and the Great Depression.

90. See PRT/DGE-MEC-AE10B, 2022, p. 12. While no specific crises are mentioned in Spanish curricula, the curricula prescribe teaching about economic cycles in the context of teaching about the development of a capitalist economy in Spain: ESP/Real Decree 243/2022, p. 184.

91. Especially with regard to the Great Depression and/or Germany post-First World War. For example, LUX/Upper Secondary History Curriculum, General Profile, Grade 2 (2G), p. 3; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE11B, 2022, p. 9; TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, pp. 21-22, 30; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 137. Also with regard to inflation in 16th-century Europe caused by the influx of precious metals: IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum; TUR/Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 33. “Inflation” is also a key concept to be studied in the context of the famine in the Volga region of the former USSR during the 1920s: UKR/History Curricula, p. 138.

92. MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 22-23; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 35-40.

efforts of the Ottoman Empire to industrialise in the 19th century.⁹³ Furthermore, traditional forms of agriculture are cited as a reason for economic crisis in the curricula in Greece, with monoculture and small land plots presented as instigators of the raisin crisis.⁹⁴ Shifting patterns of trade and techniques of land use are also referred to in the curriculum of Ireland.⁹⁵ Besides the aforementioned issues, history curricula in Malta emphasise price changes in global markets as an important driver of economic crises, with the decrease in global oil prices and the consequent decline in revenues from oil sales mentioned explicitly as a reason for the crisis of socialism.⁹⁶ The Greek curriculum covers the raisin crisis, an overproduction crisis caused by increased tariffs and new product regulations adopted in France to protect domestic agriculture from 1889,⁹⁷ which led to a decrease in the raisin price by 85% and to bankruptcy in 1893 (Meloni and Swinnen 2017).

In addition, the social effects of economic crises are part of the curricula of all member states. While frequently mentioned only as a general principle, some specific social aspects of economic crises are included in all history curricula to varying degrees. The curricula in Cyprus, France, Ireland and Malta refer to the rise of unemployment during economic crises. While in Malta such teaching

relates to the immediate post-war situation in 1918,⁹⁸ in Cyprus this refers to the Great Depression,⁹⁹ whereas it relates to recessions in the contemporary period after 1945 in France and Ireland.¹⁰⁰ In Türkiye, it is highlighted that teaching the recent economic crises at the national level (5 April 1994, 2001 crisis, 2008 crisis) should include the social dimensions of these crises.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the issue of famine is included explicitly in the curricula in Ireland,¹⁰² Türkiye¹⁰³ and Ukraine.¹⁰⁴ Besides unemployment and famine, migration in the context of economic crises is explicitly included in the curricula in Greece, Ireland, Malta, North Macedonia, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain and Türkiye. Economic emigration in the 19th century is explicitly mentioned in the curricula in Greece, Ireland, Malta and Slovenia. In the Maltese curriculum, emigration is discussed in the context of the declining cotton industry, which resulted not only in farmers leaving the country but also in internal migrations to coastal areas to find work and the creation of slums in Valetta and the other “three cities of Malta”.¹⁰⁵ In the case of Greece, emigration is discussed in the context of the aforementioned raisin crisis.¹⁰⁶ In the Slovenian context, emigration is treated against the backdrop of the agrarian crisis in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the second half of the 19th century, while the Irish curriculum treats 19th century emigration in the context of the Great Famine.¹⁰⁷

93. TUR/Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 36.

94. GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 33.

95. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 27.

96. MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 11, pp. 21-26.

97. GRC/Teaching Guidelines History, Gymnasium Grades 1, 2, 3 (2022), p. 33.

98. MLT/SEC13 Environmental Studies p. 30; Environmental Studies Curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 15-16, 20.

99. CYP/Lyceum History Course, Grade 3, advanced level, p. 38.

100. FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum (2020), p. 86; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 45.

101. TUR/Republic of Türkiye – History of the Revolution and Kemalism Course Curriculum, Grade 12, p. 27.

102. In the context of the famine in Ireland in the 19th century (for example IRL/Junior Cycle History Curriculum, p. 17) and in the postcolonial era (IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 46).

103. In regard to the First World War (e.g., TUR/Republic of Türkiye – History of the Revolution and Kemalism, Grade 12, p. 21) and contemporary famine (e.g., TUR/Social Studies Course Curriculum (Primary and Secondary School Grades 4, 5, 6 and 7), p. 25).

104. In regard to the Holodomor (e.g., UKR/History Curriculum, p. 74), to other famine crises in the former Soviet Union (ibid., p. 160); the famine in 19th-century Ireland (ibid., p. 104); and the famine in China (1959-61) (ibid., p. 181).

105. MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 10, p. 35-40; MTL/SEC18 History, pp. 22-23.

106. GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium Grades 1, 2, 3 (2022), p. 33.

107. SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, p. 32; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 34.



Migrations in the 20th century are mentioned in the curricula in Malta, North Macedonia, Portugal, Slovenia and Türkiye. In the case of Malta, these migrations refer to, among other things, emigration caused by the economic circumstances in Malta in the direct aftermath of the Second World War.¹⁰⁸ In the Slovenian and Turkish curricula, the massive emigrations from Yugoslavia and Türkiye respectively during the Cold War period are explicitly cited.¹⁰⁹ The Macedonian and Slovenian curricula reference rural-urban migrations after the Second World War in Yugoslavia.¹¹⁰ Although the French curriculum does not explicitly cite economic migration in the context of immigration in the contemporary

period, it appears possible that such a perspective is adopted here.¹¹¹ In line with its overall structure, centred around broad themes, the Spanish curriculum references “massive population exoduses: economic, climatic and political migrations”.¹¹² Similarly, the Irish ISCED-2 curriculum refers to the “impact of such factors as ... migration ... on the lives of ordinary people”, granting flexibility to teachers to choose historical examples to illustrate the effects of migration.¹¹³ Besides the general causes and consequences of economic migrations, Ireland’s history curriculum specifically includes remittances sent home by emigrants as a key concept in the context of the Great Famine in the 1840s.¹¹⁴

108. MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 26-28; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 11, pp. 29-30, 43.

109. SVN/Gymnasium History Curriculum, pp. 42-43; TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, pp. 25-26.

110. MKD/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3, 29; SVN/Gymnasium History Curricula, pp. 42-43.

111. FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 86

112. ESP/Real Decree 243/2022, p. 201.

113. IRL/Junior Cycle History Curriculum, p. 13.

114. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 37.



The curricula of some member states include the social consequences that certain economic crises had on specific social groups. With regard to socio-economic “ranks” or “classes”, the vastly differing economic realities for the nobility and peasants in France prior to the French Revolution is explicitly mentioned in the curricula in Luxembourg and Malta.¹¹⁵ The Maltese curriculum also describes the dramatic consequences of high bread prices during the post-First World War economic crisis in Malta for large lower-class families, of which some experienced extreme poverty.¹¹⁶ In the context of the crisis in the cotton industry, the Maltese curriculum refers to the reorientation of former farmers to become dockyard workers in harbours¹¹⁷ as well as the dismissal of half of all dockyard workers after the end of the

First World War, therefore returning to pre-war conditions.¹¹⁸ In the context of 17th-century Europe, the Irish curriculum closely links the decline of old industries with “the rise of the entrepreneur”.¹¹⁹

Political, diplomatic and military history

All OHE member states include economic crises in their history curricula from a political, diplomatic and/or military historical perspective. Here, the political developments causing – or triggered by – an economic crisis, government action to address the crises or the interconnections between economic crises and war are at the centre of such approaches.

In terms of economic crises caused by political or military developments, several examples are evident in the history curricula of member states. Interesting examples for the Middle Ages include the economic crisis of Byzantium in the 11th century, which was at least in part caused by territorial losses to the Seljuks (Harvey 2008), in the curricula in Greece and North Macedonia.¹²⁰ Other examples include the economic crisis caused by the Siege of Malta (1798-1800) in the Maltese curriculum or the raisin crisis in Greece.¹²¹ In the latter case, increased tariffs and France’s introduction of the legal definition of wine as being made from fresh grapes (as opposed to raisins, which had hitherto been imported from Greece) led to a severe economic crisis that was one of the causes of the state bankruptcy in 1893 (Meloni and Swinnen 2017). The Treaty of Versailles that ended the First World War is discussed as a reason for hyperinflation in Weimar Germany in the curricula in Luxembourg,

115. E.g., LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 6 (general profile, 6G), pp. 2-3; MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, p. 12; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 9, pp. 37, 39-40.

116. MLT/SEC13 Environmental studies, p. 30; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 15-16, 20.

117. MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 22-23; MLT/History curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 35-40.

118. MLT/SEC13 Environmental studies, p. 30; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 15-16, 20.

119. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 31.

120. GRC/Teaching Guidelines History, Gymnasium Grades 1, 2, 3 (2022): p. 18; MKD/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 2 (2005), p. 8.

121. E.g., MLT/SEC13 Environmental Studies pp. 35-36; GRC/Teaching Guidelines History, Gymnasium Grades 1, 2, 3, p. 33.

Malta and Türkiye.¹²² A more recent example is the 1973 oil crisis, which was caused by an oil embargo of certain Arabic states on countries supporting Israel during the Six Days' War (United States Department of State n.d.) in the history curricula in France, Ireland, Portugal and Türkiye.¹²³ Another recent example is the consequences of the 1974 crisis concerning Cyprus which led to the division of the island.¹²⁴ The Holodomor is an example of a famine crisis intentionally created by the Soviet authorities in the pursuit of political objectives (HREC n.d.; Mattingly 2023) and is reflected as such in the Ukrainian curriculum.¹²⁵

Economic crises are explicitly linked to the struggle for or against democracy in the curricula of all member states except Georgia and Spain. The French Revolution and the crisis of the socialist economies in the 1980s are the most frequently cited examples, where economic hardship is cited as a driver

for mobilising forces to successfully demand democracy.¹²⁶ The Great Depression, which contributed to the rise of fascism and Nazism, is the primary example of an economic crisis leading to the destruction of democracy in various European countries. This connection between the Great Depression and the weakening or abolition of democracy is explicitly cited in the curricula of 13 member states.¹²⁷ In this context, the rise of antisemitism in interwar Germany is explicitly mentioned in the curricula in France and Ireland, with the French curriculum also including the topic of antigypsyism.¹²⁸ Another example is the establishment of authoritarianism following the military coup in Portugal in 1926 and the creation of the "New State" in a context of economic crisis, as taught in the Portuguese curriculum.¹²⁹ In addition, the fall of the Tsarist regime in the Russian Empire is included in the curricula in Albania, Andorra, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Serbia and Ukraine,

122. LUX/Upper Secondary History Curriculum, Classical Profile, Grade 3 (3C), p. 4; MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, p. 27; TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, p. 30.

123. In Portugal, only reasons for the recession in the 1970s are mentioned, which suggests a connection to the 1973 oil crisis. FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curricula (general profile), Grade 3 (*terminale générale*), p. 8; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 45; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE11B, 2022, p. 11; TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, p. 25.

124. This event is referred to in the Cypriot curriculum as the "1974 coup and Turkish invasion of Cyprus" and in the Turkish curriculum as the "Cyprus peace operation". See CYP/History Curricula, Gymnasium, 3rd Grade, p. 119; TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, pp. 25-26, 32-33. The latter course is offered as a four-hour weekly course in social science high schools and as a two- or four-hour elective course in other schools.

125. UKR/History Curriculum, p. 74.

126. For the French Revolution: Cyprus (CYP/Gymnasium History Curriculum, Grade 3, p. 24), France (FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general profile), Grade 2 (*première générale*), p. 6); Ireland (IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum (2003), p. 31), Luxembourg (LUX/Lower Secondary History Curriculum, General Profile, Grade 6 (6G), pp. 2-3), Malta (MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, p.12), Ukraine (UKR/History Curriculum, p. 100). For the crises of socialist economies: Albania (ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 9, p. 49), Armenia (ARM/History Curriculum, Grades 9 and 12 (2024), Grade 9, Theme 3), Greece (GRC/Teaching Guidelines History Curriculum, Gymnasium Grades 1, 2, 3 (2022), p. 44), Ireland (IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 45); Luxembourg (LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 2 (classical profile, 2C), p. 2 and LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 1 (general profile, 1G), pp. 3-4), Malta (MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 16-17), Serbia (SRB/Educational Gazette 4/2020 2 June 2020, pp. 532-535), Slovenia (SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, pp. 40-41), Ukraine (UKR/History Curriculum, p. 179).

127. In the curriculum in Slovenia, the reasons for the rise of totalitarianism in the 1930s are included without an explicit reference to the Great Depression: see SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, pp. 37-38. See for the other examples: ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 43-44; ARM/History Curriculum, Grades 9 and 12 (2024), Grade 9, Theme 2; CYP/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3, pp. 95-97; FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 85; GRC/Teaching Guidelines for the History Courses Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, pp. 39-40; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 44; LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 2 (general profile, social sciences orientation, 2GSO), p. 3; MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, pp. 26-27; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 11, pp. 8-9; MKD/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3, pp. 10, 36; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE11B, 2022, p. 9; SRB/Educational Gazette 11/2013, 28 June 2013, p. 61; TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, p. 30; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 136.

128. FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 84; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 44.

129. PRT/DGE-MEC-AE9, 2022, p. 7.

providing an opportunity to teach about the 1917 bourgeois February Revolution and the attempts of the provisional government to introduce civil liberties, attempts that were ultimately derailed by the October Revolution and the violent establishment of Bolshevik rule (Hecker 2008). While the curriculum in Greece makes an explicit reference to the February Revolution, other countries do not make such a specific reference. The Albanian and Andorran curricula mention the “1917 Russian Revolution” more generally, while the Irish curriculum includes “war and revolutions” for the period 1870-1920.¹³⁰

Except for Georgia and Spain, the curricula in all member states make a direct connection between economic crisis and peace- and conflict-related issues. Besides the above-mentioned examples, other included phenomena are Russia’s withdrawal from the First World War after the October Revolution due to its unpopularity and a horrendous socio-economic situation (Hecker 2008),¹³¹ the outbreak of the Second World War caused by the rise of Nazism in Germany as a consequence of the economic crisis of the Weimar Republic¹³² or the post-Yugoslav wars of the 1990s for which economic crisis is widely recognised as a



Agitatsioonirong “Oktoobrirevolutsioon”. Sarjast “M. I. Kalinini elu ja tegevus”, TKM TR 5688 G 1659, Tartu Kunstimuuseum SA, <http://www.muisee/museaal/View/2115962>.

130. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 10, p. 43; AND/Decree 308/2022, p. 40; GRC/Teaching Guidelines History, Gymnasium Grades 1, 2, 3 (2022), p. 37; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 44; LUX/Upper Secondary History Curriculum, General Profile, Grade 2 (2G), p. 3; SRB/Educational Gazette 4/2020 2 June 2020, p. 527; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 132.

131. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 44; LUX/Upper Secondary History Curriculum, General Profile, Grade 2 (2G), p. 3; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 132.

132. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 43-44; CYP/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3, pp. 95-97; FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 84; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 44.

catalyst (Jović 2001).¹³³ Furthermore, a number of curricula mention women's emancipatory movements, as well as those of different cultural, ethnic, religious and/or national groups in the context of economic crises, which will be discussed in further detail below.

Political perspectives are also included in history curricula in relation to economic crises insofar as they cover government responses to economic crises. For example, the Irish curriculum refers to the 19th-century reform of the Poor Laws in the British Empire, which introduced a number of measures creating harsh living circumstances for those claiming social relief from the government (Clark and Page 2019).¹³⁴ In the context of the economic crisis induced by the Siege of Malta (1798-1800), the Maltese curriculum highlights the government's decision to stop payments of charity to the poor and pensions in order to confiscate investments of Maltese citizens, as well as the opening of primary schools.¹³⁵ The Turkish curriculum, in addition to including "changing socio-economic life in the 19th and 20th centuries" as mentioned previously, describes the debt crisis of the Ottoman state in the context of Turkish foreign policy during the Atatürk era.¹³⁶

With regard to the Great Depression, the curricula in Albania, Greece, Ireland and Serbia mention attempts to resolve or mitigate the effects of the Great Depression. While in Serbia this is not further specified, the Greek curriculum explicitly mentions Roosevelt's New Deal. The curricula in Albania and Ireland go further and

compare different ways in which democracies and fascist dictatorships dealt with the crisis. The Albanian curriculum references Roosevelt's New Deal and the welfare state in United Kingdom as examples of democratic states' approaches to the crisis, as well as the militarisation of the German economy under the Nazi dictatorship on the other side of the spectrum.¹³⁷ With regard to the crisis of West European economies in the 1970s, the French curriculum includes economic liberalisation and deregulation as government response measures.¹³⁸ The Maltese curriculum mentions the attempt to improve workers' morale and productivity by increasing leisure time and work safety in the context of *perestroika* in socialist states.¹³⁹ In relation to the contemporary period, the Maltese curriculum also describes the introduction of an income tax, compulsory education, paid sick leave and old age pensions as measures to combat socio-economic crises after independence.¹⁴⁰

Cultural history

The inclusion of cultural history perspectives when teaching about economic crises is possible in the curricula in Albania, France, Ireland, Luxembourg and Malta. The curriculum in Luxembourg references the cultural legacy of the crisis of the Roman Empire, such as the continuity of the idea of emperors and of Rome as a cultural and spiritual centre of Europe.¹⁴¹ The French curriculum stipulates teaching about the cultural implications of the French and the Industrial Revolutions.¹⁴² In Ireland, the history curriculum refers to the creation of cultural and religious identities in the context of the

133. MKD/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 4, p. 10; SRB/Educational Gazette 11/2019, 15 August 2019, p. 118; SVN/History Curricula, Gymnasium, pp. 40-41.

134. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 34.

135. MLT/SEC18 History curriculum, p. 20; MLT/History curriculum, Grade 9, pp. 41-45.

136. TUR/Republic of Türkiye- History of the Revolution and Kemalism Course Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 14.

137. ALB/History curriculum, Grade 8, p. 15; ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 10, p. 44; GRC/Teaching Guidelines History, Gymnasium Grades 1, 2, 3 (2022), p. 39; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 44.

138. FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general profile), Grade 3 (*terminale générale*), p. 8.

139. MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 16-17; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 11, pp. 21-26.

140. MLT/History curriculum, Grade 11, p. 43.

141. LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 6 (classical profile, 6C), p. 4.

142. FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 84; FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curricula (general profile), Grade 2 (*première générale*), p. 6.

economic crisis of 1815-1850 and the Great Famine.¹⁴³ Cultural aspects are also included in the Irish curriculum in the context of the Great Depression, referring to the role of propaganda under the Nazi regime and the use of mass media in Nazi Germany and Anglo-American popular culture in the interwar period.¹⁴⁴

In relation to the contemporary period post-1945, the curricula in Ireland and Luxembourg mention both the economic and cultural dimensions of decolonisation, such as conflicts between indigenous and colonial cultures.¹⁴⁵ The curricula in France and Ireland discuss the evolution of the role of women in France¹⁴⁶ or, in the Irish case, also in western Europe and the United States after the Second World War.¹⁴⁷ In both curricula, these developments are discussed in the same teaching units as the economic crisis of the 1970s. The Irish curriculum also addresses youth and popular culture in this latter period, as well as literature and social critique in both eastern and western Europe. However, whether these aspects are in practice linked with the topic of economic crises cannot be inferred from the curricula alone. With regard to the crisis of the socialist economies, the curriculum in Malta refers to the attempt to change the perception of work during *perestroika* with the goal of increasing workers' productivity. Here, liberalisations in the cultural sphere such as access to Western culture

and open borders for travel are discussed.¹⁴⁸ In the Albanian curriculum, students are asked to compare the life of an Albanian family with the lives of families in other European countries in the period 1945-90, including aspects such as clothing, furniture, music, art and education; teaching about economic hardship in these discussions appears possible.¹⁴⁹

History of ideas

The curricula in 10 member states explicitly include perspectives from the history of ideas and ideologies in relation to teaching about economic crises.¹⁵⁰ The curricula in Cyprus, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal and Ukraine include references to the concepts of fascism, Stalinism and Nazism in the context of the Great Depression.¹⁵¹ Besides totalitarian ideologies, the French curriculum also includes specifications on teaching new political ideologies as a result of major economic and structural transitions in the context and aftermath of the Industrial Revolution.¹⁵² The Albanian, Irish and Serbian curricula mention an array of other key concepts relevant to teaching about economic crises, including "liberalism", "capitalism", "laissez-faire", "nationalism", "free trade", "protectionism", "globalisation", "consumerism", "antisemitism", "imperialism" and "racism".¹⁵³ Further, the concepts of "capitalism" and "colonialism" are included in the curriculum in Malta.¹⁵⁴

143. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 34.

144. Ibid., p. 44.

145. Ibid., p. 46; LUX//History Curriculum, Grade 3 (classical profile, 3C), p. 4.

146. FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 86.

147. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 45, 47.

148. MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, pp. 16-17; History curriculum, Grade 11, pp. 21-26. In Malta, "Communism with a human face" during *perestroika* is especially present in the curricula: MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 16-17; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 11, pp. 22-23.

149. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 19.

150. Albania, Cyprus, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal, Serbia and Ukraine.

151. CYP/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3, pp. 95-97; FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curriculum (general profile), Grade 3 (*terminale générale*), pp. 5-6; GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 40; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 44; LUX/History Curriculum, Grade 3 (classical profile, 3C), p. 5; MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 26-27; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 11, pp. 29-30, 43; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE9(2022), p. 8; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE11B(2022), pp. 12, 14; UKR/History curriculum, p. 136.

152. For the Industrial Revolution: FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 84.

153. For example, ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 19; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 31, 34, 37, 43-47; SRB/Educational Gazette 4/2020, 2 June 2020, pp. 532, 535.

154. MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, pp. 16-17, 26-28; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 10, pp. 44-45; MLT/History Curriculum Grade 11, pp. 21, 44-45.

Representing societies' diversity

In line with the Council of Europe's efforts to combat discrimination and to promote the appreciation for diversity in society, this report also investigates to what extent diversity is present in the history curricula in the OHTE member states in relation to the subject of economic crises in history.¹⁵⁵

Gender

The explicit inclusion of women's history in the context of economic crises can be identified in the curricula in Albania, Cyprus, France, Ireland and Malta. In several countries, the curriculum refers to the role of women in the French Revolution.¹⁵⁶ While the Maltese curriculum explicitly refers to the women's march to Versailles, the French curriculum refers to Madame Roland, a French writer and revolutionary.¹⁵⁷ Both cases are examples of political responses to economic hardship in which women played prominent roles. The Irish curriculum describes the situation of women at work and in the family in the same teaching unit as the decline of old industries in early 17th-century Europe; the changing role of women is also addressed in a teaching unit on Europe during the Cold War, alongside the oil crisis and the structural crisis of European and US industries beginning in the 1970s.¹⁵⁸ The Albanian curriculum references a comparison between the situation of men and women in socialist Albania with those in other European countries, although this is presented as a

possible connection rather than a requirement for teachers to include.¹⁵⁹ References to LGBTI history in relation to economic crises are not included in any of the member states' history curricula.

Cultural diversity and national minorities

Different cultural, religious, linguistic, ethnic or national minorities and groups are explicitly mentioned in relation to economic crises in the history curricula in Cyprus, France, Ireland and Malta. Growing antisemitism in the context of the Great Depression is included in the curricula in France and Ireland. The French curriculum also includes the Holocaust in the same teaching unit as the Great Depression, while it cannot be established with certainty that these two processes are taught in direct relation to each other.¹⁶⁰ However, since the rise of Nazism is generally covered in many member states (see above), it is possible that such a perspective is also adopted in other countries.¹⁶¹

Besides the case of Nazism in Germany, the Irish curriculum further refers to the rise of antisemitism in France during the Great Depression and in Russia during the crisis of the Tsarist regime. Roma and Traveller history is only explicitly included in the French curriculum, where the Roma genocide is included in the same teaching unit as the Great Depression.¹⁶²

In relation to the early modern period, the Cypriot curriculum highlights the joint struggle by Christians and Muslims against the Ottoman

155. For a discussion on highlighting the specific consequences of differing social status, see the previous section on socio-economic perspectives.

156. CYP/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, 3rd Grade, p. 25; CYP/History Curriculum, Lyceum, Grade 2, General Level, p. 50; CYP/History Curriculum, Lyceum, Grade 2, Advanced Level, p. 81; FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curricula (general profile), Grade 2 (*première générale*), p. 6; MLT/SEC18 History, p. 12; MLT/History curriculum, Grade 9, pp. 21-24.

157. FRA/Lyceum History and Geography Curricula (general profile), Grade 2 (*première générale*), p. 6; MLT/SEC18 History, p. 12; MLT/History curriculum, Grade 9, pp. 21-24.

158. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 28, 42.

159. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 19.

160. FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, pp. 84-85.

161. Ibid.; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 43-44.

162. FRA/4th Cycle Curriculum, p. 85.

administration in an overall climate of worsened economic conditions after the end of Venetian rule in Cyprus.¹⁶³ The Irish curriculum cites the emancipatory effects of revolutions caused by significant socio-economic events between 1775 and 1815, such as the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of Jews.¹⁶⁴ The Irish curriculum also covers the situation of the Catholics in 19th-century Ireland under British rule as well as Catholic emancipation.¹⁶⁵

Age-sensitive perspectives

When it comes to age-sensitive teaching about economic crises, potential connections are made in the curricula in Albania, Ireland and Malta. The Maltese curriculum mentions the opening of schools in direct relation to the economic hardship caused by the Siege of Malta (1798-1800), thereby including a perspective that takes into account the specific situation of children in the context of the crisis.¹⁶⁶ The curriculum in Ireland includes a youth perspective in the form of youth and popular culture, as well as the concept of the “teenager” in the context of the economic crises of the 1970s in western Europe and the United States.¹⁶⁷ The Albanian curriculum stipulates that students compare the situation of children in socialist Albania with those in other European countries.¹⁶⁸

With regard to old age, the Maltese curriculum covers the introduction of old age pensions in the context of the economic crisis following Malta’s independence after the Second World War.¹⁶⁹

The Turkish curriculum refers to the specific situation of families in Anatolia with respect to the

famine during the First World War, providing for enough flexibility to potentially include women’s history and/or age-sensitive perspectives.¹⁷⁰

Disability-sensitive and intersectional perspectives

Perspectives that include the specific situation of persons with disabilities during economic crises or intersectional perspectives that inquire into the different experiences and situations of people based on more than one social attribute, such as ethnicity viewed together with gender, age, disability, social status, etc., are entirely absent from the history curricula in the member states in relation to the inclusion of economic crises.

Macro- and micro-historical perspectives

The history curricula of all member states prescribe the teaching of economic crises from a macro-historical perspective, taking into account the causes and consequences of economic crises on a societal level, constituting the usual perspective taken when teaching about any economic crisis. While many curricula offer teachers the general flexibility to also include micro-historical perspectives, the curricula in nine member states make an explicit reference to such an approach.¹⁷¹ This can take the form of teaching about individual local or international personalities important to the histories of various economic crises, such as Richmond Palmer in Cyprus or Asenath

163. CYP/History Curriculum, Lyceum, Grade 2, General Level, pp. 44-45.

164. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 31.

165. Ibid., p. 34.

166. MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 9, p. 42.

167. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, pp. 45, 47.

168. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 19.

169. MLT/SEC18 History, pp. 26-28; MLT/History Curriculum, Grade 11, pp. 29-30, 43.

170. TUR/Republic of Türkiye – History of the Revolution and Kemalism, Grade 12, p. 21.

171. Albania, Cyprus, France, Ireland, Malta, North Macedonia, Slovenia, Türkiye and Ukraine.

Nicholson in Ireland.¹⁷² The curricula in Albania, Ireland, North Macedonia, Slovenia, Türkiye and Ukraine make references to the consequences of economic crises on the everyday life of “ordinary people”. In the case of Albania, this refers to individuals’ dissatisfaction with socialist rule in Albania¹⁷³ or comparing family life in socialist Albania to family life in other European countries.¹⁷⁴ In the Ukrainian curriculum, micro perspectives are included in the context of the crisis of the USSR.¹⁷⁵ In Ireland, the general principle at ISCED-2 is to teach about the “impact of such factors as ... migration and famine ... on the lives of ordinary people”.¹⁷⁶ While reflection on the agency of various individuals and groups with different interests is not explicitly required or specified in the curriculum, it is however also not precluded. At ISCED-3, the Irish curriculum makes reference to several case studies to demonstrate the impact of economic crises from a micro perspective, including for instance the decline of the port of Antwerp in the 16th century.¹⁷⁷ In the curriculum in Türkiye, the impact of the famine in Anatolia during the First World War is mentioned explicitly, while the Macedonian curriculum requires students to develop an understanding of changes in the daily lives of people after the First World War.¹⁷⁸ The curriculum in Slovenia stipulates that students analyse changes in everyday life in the context of the Industrial Revolution.¹⁷⁹

Competences, methods and cross-curricular links

While a general analysis of competences, methods and cross-curricular links is beyond the scope of the thematic reports and is treated more broadly in the Ohte general reports (Ohte 2024), this report examines these elements in the direct context of the teaching of economic crises in history curricula. While the acquisition of content-based knowledge is included in all curricula, an analytical competence is also present in the curricula of 11 member states.¹⁸⁰ In these instances, the curricula require students to analyse, explain or compare phenomena related to economic crises. The curricula in Albania, Andorra, Malta, Portugal, Serbia, Spain, Türkiye and Ukraine also make explicit reference to developing learners’ competence of judgment through learning about economic crises in history. The Albanian curriculum states that students shall evaluate Roosevelt’s New Deal as a response to the Great Depression.¹⁸¹ The Portuguese curriculum seeks to develop students’ ability to “question the chronological lags of industrialisation and the relations of domination or dependence of different geographical areas”¹⁸² or to “problematis

172. CYP/History Curriculum Gymnasium, Grade 9, pp. 98-99; IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 34.

173. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 9, p. 49.

174. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 19.

175. UKR/History Curriculum, p. 199.

176. IRL/Junior Cycle History Curriculum, p. 13.

177. IRL/Leaving Certificate History Curriculum, p. 27.

178. TUR/Republic of Türkiye – History of the Revolution and Kemalism, Grade 12, p. 21; MKD/History Curriculum, Grade 9 (formerly Grade 8), p. 5.

179. SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, p. 33.

180. Albania, Andorra, Armenia, Cyprus, Malta, Portugal, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Türkiye and Ukraine. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 10, p. 44; AND/Higher Education History Curriculum, p. 14; ARM/World History Curriculum, Grades 9 and 12 (2024), Grade 9, Theme 2; CYP/History Curriculum, Lyceum, 2nd Grade, General Level, p. 50; MLT/SEC18 History Curriculum, p. 16; PRT/DGE-MEC-AE12A, 2022, p. 14; SRB/Educational Gazette 11/2019, 15 August 2019, pp. 117-119; SVN/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, p. 33; ESP/Real Decree 243/2022, p. 199; TUR/Secondary Education History Course (Grades 9, 10 and 11) Curriculum, p. 36; UKR/History Curriculum, p. 138.

181. ALB/History Curriculum, Grade 8, p. 15.

182. PRT/DGE-MEC-AE10B, 2022, p. 12.

the reasons for the economic growth of the Western world, as well as the recession of the 1970s, and their social implications”.¹⁸³ In the framework of a teaching unit dealing with the Great Depression (among other topics), the history curriculum in Ukraine expects students to be able to “express reasoned judgments about the political activities of Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, James Ramsay MacDonald, Edouard Daladier, Joseph Stalin [and] Franklin Roosevelt”.¹⁸⁴

The curricula in Greece and Spain seek to develop students’ orientation competence based on learning about economic crises in history. The Greek curriculum encourages a discussion comparing the Great Depression with contemporary economic crises.¹⁸⁵ While not mentioning economic crises per se, the Spanish curriculum stipulates that students should “adopt an active and committed role with the environment, in accordance with one’s aptitudes, aspirations, interests and values, based on the critical analysis of the economic reality, the distribution and management of work”.¹⁸⁶ Here, the curriculum provides a clear opportunity for students to develop an orientation for their attitudes and behaviour in reflecting on the economic state of the world, in which economic and multidimensional crises play a defining role. The curriculum in Türkiye furthermore encourages students to actively discuss and identify potential solutions to current famine crises, which is an example of training students to find solutions to contemporary problems, thereby

strengthening their judgment and orientation competences.¹⁸⁷

With regard to cross-curricular links, only Armenia makes a direct connection to other subjects in the specific context of economic crises in its history curriculum. Here, for instance, when referring to the collapse of the USSR, the curriculum for the course “World history” suggests making links to the study of political, economic and religious systems in the context of a social science course.¹⁸⁸ Integrated courses on economic crises in which the perspectives of different disciplines are included and combined are not explicitly mentioned in the curricula of the member states.

Only the curricula in Armenia, Cyprus and Greece include the teaching methods to be used to address economic crises in history. For the teaching unit about the Great Depression in Armenia, the curriculum specifies “map study”, “study of various historical sources”, “presentation of slides”, “debate” and “role play”.¹⁸⁹ The curriculum in Cyprus encourages classroom discussions and suggests a wide range of methods, such as reading contemporary literature about the Great Depression,¹⁹⁰ analysing historical sources proposed in the curriculum¹⁹¹ or field trips. It also makes an explicit reference to the use of digital materials in the context of teaching about economic crises in history.¹⁹² The curriculum in Greece encourages classroom discussion and the consultation of online sources, especially maps, when learning about economic crises.¹⁹³

183. PRT/DGE-MEC- AE11B, 2022, p. 11.

184. UKR/History Curriculum, p. 137.

185. GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, p. 40.

186. ESP/Real Decree 217/2022, p. 119.

187. TUR/Social Studies Course Curriculum (Primary and Secondary School Grades 4, 5, 6 and 7), p. 25.

188. ARM/World History Curriculum, Grades 9 and 12 (2024), Grade 9, Theme 4.

189. Ibid., Theme 2.

190. CYP/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grade 3, pp. 95-97.

191. Ibid., pp. 55, 95-97.

192. Ibid., pp. 24-28.

193. GRC/History Curriculum, Gymnasium, Grades 1-3, pp. 19, 40.



Concluding remarks

All OHTE member states include the topic of economic crises in their history curricula. Except for Spain, all member states also explicitly refer to specific economic crises. The Spanish curriculum instead refers to broader themes that can address economic crises but allows teachers the flexibility to choose specific crises. In eight of the 17 member states, teaching about economic crises in history is compulsory at both ISCED-2 and ISCED-3. Except for Spain, learning about economic crises is compulsory for all students at some point during their secondary education. In Spain, for ISCED-2, teachers have the discretion to integrate the topic of economic crises, whereas for ISCED-3, economic crises are explicitly mentioned only in the context of an elective history course.

The most common historical periods in which economic crises are dealt with are the modern and contemporary periods. The Great Depression, included in the curricula of 14 member states, and the crisis of socialist

economies of the 1980s, included in the curricula in 11 member states, are the most frequently cited economic crises across the OHTE member states. However, the socio-economic crises of the Roman Empire in late antiquity, of the French monarchy in the 18th century or of the Russian Empire prior to the Russian revolutions also appear frequently. In the contemporary period, the consequences of the 1973 oil crisis are often included. At the same time, several member states teach about economic crises that are very specific to their national histories, such as the Great Famine in Ireland, the raisin crisis in Greece or the sovereign debt crisis in the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century in Türkiye. This diversity of economic crises represented in the member states' curricula coincides with the diversity of geographical perspectives adopted. While a national history perspective is present in all member states' curricula, depending on the nature of the crises, there is also a transnational perspective including elements of European and/or world history, especially in the context of the Great Depression. A local history perspective is referred to in the curricula to a far lesser extent.

When it comes to the historical approaches in relation to economic crises, all member states' curricula include socio-economic as well as political, diplomatic and military perspectives on economic crises. In particular, political history is present in three main ways: first, by referring to the political and military causes of economic crises; second, by referring to the political, diplomatic or military consequences of economic crises; and third, by teaching about different approaches taken by governments to deal with economic crises. Importantly, the connection between economic crises, developments related to democracy and dictatorship, and conflict and peace are explicitly mentioned in all member states' curricula except for Georgia and Spain. Perspectives connected to the history of ideas and ideologies are also widespread in the curricula OHE member states, with 10 making an explicit connection between developing students' understanding of economic crises in relation to historical concepts, ideas and ideologies. With only four member states mentioning them, cultural history perspectives on economic crises are significantly less present. At the same time, all member states approach economic crises from a macro perspective; however, only nine member states complement those with micro perspectives, and of these, only four refer to other aspects besides historical personalities, such as the effects of economic crises on "everyday life" and "ordinary people" or on geographically limited areas such as towns.

With regard to representing societies' diversity, the curricula of six member states include women's history in relation to economic crises. LGBTI history is absent from all curricula, while six member states' curricula make references to different cultural, ethnic, linguistic, religious or national minorities and groups in relation to economic crises. Roma history is mentioned only in the French curriculum in the context of the Great Depression and the Roma genocide during the ensuing Second World War. The specific effects of economic crises on different age groups (such as children, young people and

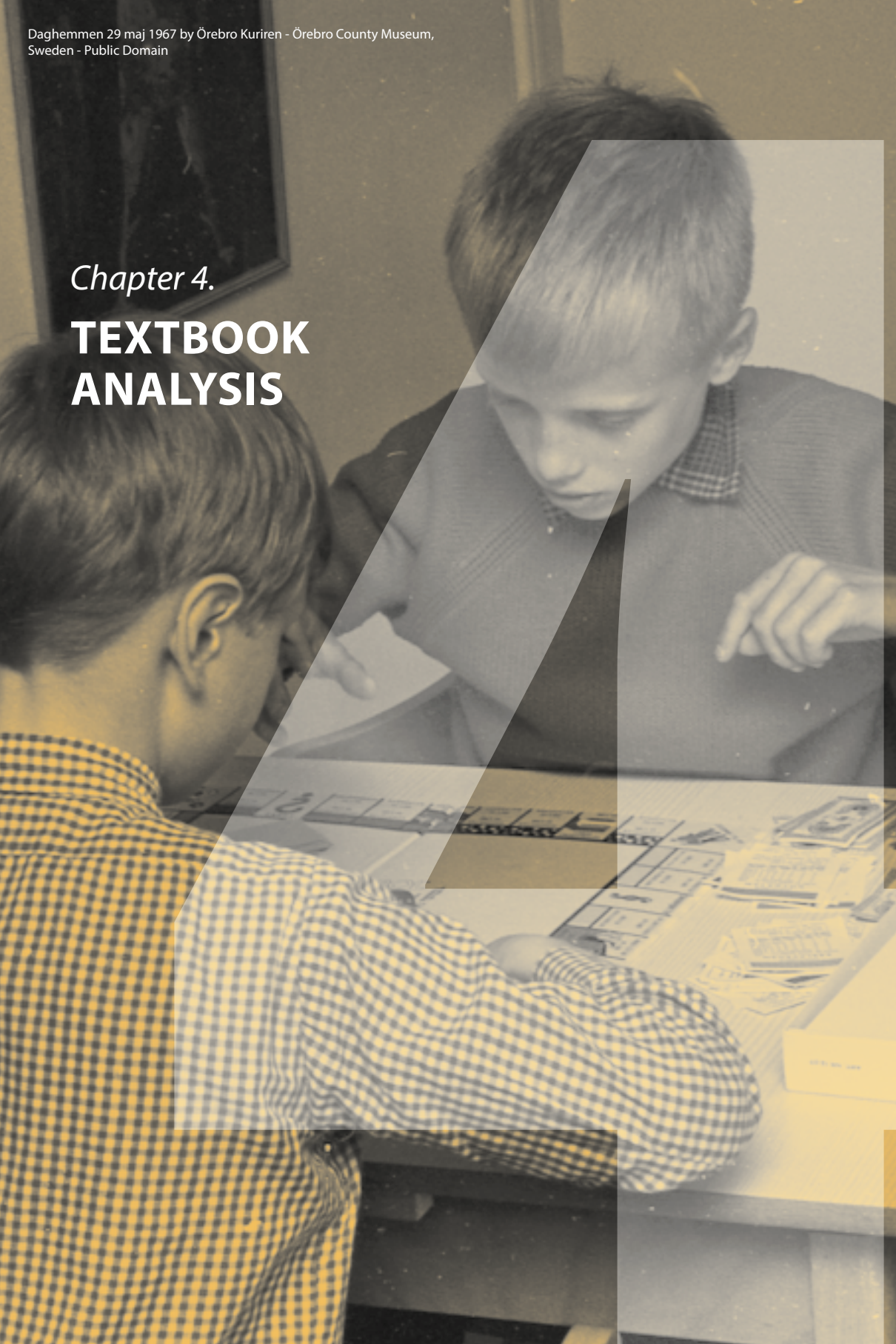
elderly people) are included in the curricula in Albania, Ireland and Malta. Effects on persons with disabilities or intersectional perspectives are absent from the curricula of the member states in relation to teaching about economic crises.

Regarding competences, methods and cross-curricular links, the curricula of 11 member states specify explicitly that teaching about economic crises should contribute to developing learners' analytical competences. The curricula of eight member states further stipulate that teaching about economic crises shall foster learners' judgment competence. The curricula in Greece, Spain and Türkiye emphasise the development of learners' orientation competences in relation to navigating economic crises in the contemporary world. Interdisciplinary connections with regard to economic crises are included only in the curriculum in Armenia, which proposes that certain aspects of the topic be discussed in the context of other subjects. Integrated teaching modules combining different subject perspectives on economic crises are not included in any of the analysed curricula. Only three member states include teaching methods related to economic crises in their history curricula, with references to active learning, field trips and digital resources.

The national history curricula of the OHE member states include a wide range of economic crises and approaches. Some aspects are significantly less present in the curricula; these include pre-modern historical periods as well as local history, micro perspectives and cultural history perspectives. The representation of societies' diversity in relation to the topic of economic crises is also limited. At the same time, the overall flexibility provided for by many curricula means that teachers may be able to include topics not explicitly listed in their official curriculum. In practice, these possibilities may be restricted by exam pressures and curriculum overload, issues frequently reported by history teachers in the OHE member states (OHE 2024).

Chapter 4.

TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS



In many countries, history teachers continue to rely on textbooks as crucial educational resources in their classrooms; indeed, the first OHTE general report found that textbooks were the most frequently used resource by teachers across the examined member states (OHTE 2024). In this context, textbook design continues to play a key role in ensuring quality history education, a notion that has been promoted by the Council of Europe in its peace education efforts over decades (Stobart 1999). The use of history textbooks in education systems can contribute to a variety of positive and negative outcomes, from fostering social cohesion to reinforcing stereotypes. They can also support learners in developing a historical consciousness or in building competences (such as analytical and critical thinking) in line with the Council of Europe's Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture. This is largely because "well designed textbooks can stimulate learners to reflect on their own circumstances as well as on the circumstances of others, and on the changing social environments that animate their lives" (Smart et al. 2020).

This chapter looks at how economic crises are addressed in history textbooks for ISCED-2 and ISCED-3 in 16 of the 17 member states of the OHTE. In these countries, history textbooks are produced either by the state, by joint state and private ventures, or exclusively by private publishing houses. This analysis does not cover Andorra as the Andorran Ministry of Education does not produce textbooks for Andorran public schools, nor are there private publishers producing textbooks specifically for the Andorran education system.

In the following pages, individual textbooks are cited in footnotes when they are quoted directly. Quotes originally in languages other than English are presented in translation. For

readability, textbook titles are generally not referenced in detail; a full list of all textbooks analysed for this report is instead included in **Appendix 4.**

Temporal scope

All member states' history textbooks examined in this part of the report demonstrate a broad temporal perspective in their coverage of economic crises.

Ukrainian textbooks first address the topic of economic crises at ISCED-2 with coverage of the Cucuteni-Trypillia culture in the 3rd millennium BCE: "In the 3rd millennium BCE, Trypillian society was in crisis. It may have been caused by deteriorating environmental conditions and a reduced harvest resulting from a lack of knowledge on how to restore soil fertility. The crisis led to the decline and death of the Trypillian culture".¹⁹⁴ Among all the countries examined, this represents the earliest historical reference to an economic crisis.

Albanian, Armenian, Cypriot, Georgian, Greek, Macedonian, Serbian, Spanish and Turkish textbooks first address economic crises at ISCED-2 using examples from the ancient world. Armenian, Cypriot, Georgian, Greek and Turkish textbooks address economic crises in the early advanced civilisations of the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions and of the Greek *polis* before they describe economic crises in the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire, which are also covered by Albanian, Armenia, Georgian, Macedonian, Slovenian and Spanish textbooks.

Luxembourgish, Portuguese and Maltese textbooks for ISCED-2 introduce the topic of economic crises through the example of crises in the late Middle Ages. They first depict

194. Shchupak I. Ya., Piskaryova I. O. and Burlaka O. V. (2020), p. 33.

economic crises in late medieval economies in combination with the crisis of agricultural production, the Black Death, social unrest and military conflicts. French and Irish textbooks first address economic crises at ISCED-2 in early modern history.

In all countries examined, the textbooks cover economic crises in the 19th and 20th centuries at both ISCED-2 and ISCED-3. In referring to the recent past, Albanian, Armenian and Ukrainian textbooks cover financial crises in the 1990s and 2000s that fundamentally shaped the economic transformation in these countries from socialist central planning to capitalist market economies. For example, an Armenian textbook explains:

"External shocks had a negative impact on the economy of the Republic of Armenia, especially those in Russia in 1998. The world financial and economic crisis that started in the USA in September 2008 and then spread all over the world had serious negative consequences for the [Republic of Armenia] economy as well. As a result of the crisis, the demand for the products produced by a significant part of [Armenian] enterprises was reduced or completely disappeared."¹⁹⁵

Armenian, French, Georgian, Irish, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian textbooks conclude their coverage of economic crises at ISCED-3 with descriptions of the international banking crisis and the sovereign debt crisis of 2008. Spanish textbooks at *Bachillerato* level frame this in direct reference to the present-day question of the identification of people with Europe, establishing a link between the European Central Bank's policy during the financial crisis of 2008 and growing Euroscepticism among the populations of the European Union member states.

Geographical scope

Textbooks from all countries examined address significant economic crises in their own national histories that had economic and social consequences for their countries. Examples include the Portuguese interregnum in the late 14th century, the crisis of the *ancien régime* in France on the eve of the revolution of 1789, the Great Famine in 1840s Ireland, the cotton cultivation crisis in Malta in the second half of the 19th century, the 1860s economic crisis in Spain, the sovereign foreign debt crisis of the late Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19th century and its repercussions for economic policy in the First Turkish Republic, the Greek sovereign debt crisis at the end of 1893, the 1919 crisis in Luxembourg, the Holodomor from 1932 to 1933 in Ukraine, the crisis of the communist economy in Albania in the 1980s and the crisis of the socialist economy in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which contributed to its dissolution and the wars of the 1990s. Slovenian textbooks focus mainly on economic crises in the second half of the 19th century, resulting in mass emigration of the mostly rural population to the USA and the economic crisis in Yugoslavia. Armenian and Georgian textbooks describe the effects of the communist planification economy and the crises that occurred in the transition process to a liberal economy after 1991.

Textbooks from Albania, Cyprus, Greece, North Macedonia, Serbia and Türkiye look beyond their national borders to explore the economic crises that affected the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. When covering economic crises in the modern era and in contemporary history, textbooks from Albania, Armenia, Cyprus, France, Georgia, Greece, Ireland, Luxemburg, Malta, North Macedonia, Portugal, Spain, Türkiye and Ukraine frequently opt for

195. Melkonyan A. et al. (2023c), p. 163.

a European and/or world history perspective. Macedonian and Ukrainian textbooks look beyond western Europe to the countries of South-East Europe. An Armenian textbook characterises the 1929 financial crisis as a global one: “The great economic crisis began in the USA in 1929, in autumn. It spread to all industrialised countries and lasted until 1933. That is why it is also called global.”¹⁹⁶

When “expanding” their view in terms of addressing economic crises beyond Europe, Albanian, Armenian, French, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks explore the countries of Latin America in addition to the USA. Turkish textbooks pay special attention to North Africa and South Asia. Cypriot, Greek and Ukrainian textbooks depict the effects of the Great Depression on the countries of South-East Asia. Greek textbooks describe the Great Depression

as a catalyst for national independence movements against Western colonialism and the development of Japan into a great power. For example, a textbook used in Cyprus and Greece states:

“The Great Depression of 1929, which affected the prices of agricultural products produced in the colonies, increased economic and social unrest in those colonies. In 1941 and 1942, under the slogan “Asia for the Asians”, the Japanese conquered large parts of Asia from the Western powers, demonstrating in practice that the colonialists were not invincible.”¹⁹⁷

Textbooks often link the European and/or global perspective with examples from their own national histories as well as the national histories of those states whose economic

“Toward Los Angeles, California.” Photograph by Dorothea Lange, March 1937. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-fsa-8b31801.



196. Stepanyan A., Nazaryan A. and Safrastian R. (2019a), p. 24.

197. Koliopoulos I. et al. (n.d.), p. 151.

crises played a leading role in setting the social course of European and world history. These include the crisis of the *ancien régime* in France prior to the French Revolution; the consequences of the Great Depression for the Weimar Republic (resulting in the Nazi Party coming to power); or the crisis of the socialist planned economy in the Soviet Union, which contributed substantially to the end of the socialist model of society in Europe. Spanish *Bachillerato* textbooks address economic crises in the first year of ISCED-3 as part of 19th and 20th-century world history before focusing on economic crises in national history in the second year.

Approaches and perspectives

All textbooks examined describe economic crises from an economic history perspective. Different types of economic crises are covered, including crises in agricultural and industrial production, labour crises, financial speculation crises and sovereign debt crises. French, Irish, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks for both ISCED-2 and ISCED-3 offer text extracts from economists' work in order to provide more in-depth information on the specific economic history of economic crises and to enable a closer examination of economic concepts.

The textbooks from all countries connect approaches from economic history with politico-historical approaches. Armenian, Georgian, Macedonian and Slovenian textbooks embed economic history in the narrative of the political history of the nation and its cultural foundations. The authors of a Slovenian textbook underline that:

"there were many differences and intolerance between the nations of Yugoslavia, which in many cases stemmed from the past. For decades, communism tried to cover up these differences with the slogan of 'brotherhood and unity' and violence. In 1980, the leader Tito, who had actually united the country, died. After his death, the system's mistakes were revealed in an economic crisis that shock the country with workers' strikes."¹⁹⁸

When it comes to social history approaches, textbooks for ISCED-2 and ISCED-3 in Cyprus, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, North Macedonia, Portugal, Spain, Türkiye and Ukraine describe the societal groups most affected by the consequences of economic crises. When addressing the Middle Ages and early modern era, textbooks focus particularly on farmers as a societal group in the context of economic crises. Industrial workers are then the focus of the descriptions of crises in the 19th and 20th centuries, alongside employees in the banking sector. Textbooks in Cyprus, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal and Spain present economic crises as creating downward social momentum, but also as events that can lead to an opening up of societies in the context of strengthening social cohesion and workers' rights. French, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks demonstrate through the example of the 1929 financial crisis that members of the middle and upper classes can also be adversely affected by economic crises.

Textbooks for ISCED-2 and ISCED-3 from Cyprus, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Türkiye and Ukraine take a cultural history perspective to encourage students to consider the emotions and mentalities of those affected by economic crises. A Cypriot upper secondary textbook, for example, introduces students to

¹⁹⁸. Razpotnik J. and Snoj D. (2013), p. 61.

the role of the Great Depression in the rise of the National Socialists through the example of an unemployed German worker:

"Crisis pushes a German worker into Hitler's Nazi Party: Thousands of factories closed their doors. Hunger was the German worker's daily companion. Moreover, there was the artificial scarcity created by the Jews, which forced the workers to run ... begging the peasants for a little food ... The government took measures against the people, so that an honest worker had to resort to stealing to find food ... All my fellow citizens, except for the Communists, longed for better days to come ... As for me, like many others, I had lost everything I had in these adverse economic conditions. And so, in the early 1930s, I joined the National Socialist Party [Hitler's Nazi party]."¹⁹⁹

Textbooks frequently provide source material designed to illustrate the cultural history of economic crises for the students. When covering the Middle Ages and the early modern era, the textbooks present paintings, pamphlets and caricatures. Placards and contemporary photographs form the basis of the source material for the cultural history perspective on modern and contemporary topics. There are also references to contemporary literature (fiction) and to documentary and feature films that address the topic of economic crises. Some sources provide very specific access to the "emotional world" and "mentality" of those affected by economic crises; for instance, one French textbook for ISCED-2 includes the lyrics to the 1978 blues song *Il ne rentre pas ce soir* by Eddy Mitchell, which tells of an unemployed man who is ashamed to break the news of his dismissal to his family: "He decides to loiter / Because he's afraid to tell / His wife and his



Les Peuple sous l'Ancien Régime par Anonym (Künstler_in) - Albertina, Austria - Public Domain.

banker / The grim truth. / Being unemployed at his age, / Is worse than a cheating husband. / He won't be coming home tonight."²⁰⁰

French, Irish, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks not only show the shock and despair of those affected by economic crises but also contrast this with the optimism and engagement of people active in the social movements of the 1930s and 1970s, which led to an increase in co-determination and social legislation. One French ISCED-3 textbook addresses this topic in greater depth by exploring the confidence in economic and social progress as one of the reactions of European society to the 1873 economic depression in Europe: "Faith in progress. Technical inventions gave rise to optimism, especially as the Long Depression ended in 1896 and the world economy returned to growth. The 20th century appeared to be one of prosperity and modernity."²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹. Ian Kershaw quoted in Louvi E. and Xifaras D. (n.d.), p. 217.

²⁰⁰. Cote S. et al. (2016), p. 205.

²⁰¹. Barcellini C. et al. (2019a), p. 199.

Textbooks often employ approaches from the history of ideas and ideologies to aid students in understanding the origins of economic crises and the measures taken to overcome them. This includes insights into the leading economic and social ideas that have been applied to economic crises since the 18th century. French, Greek, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian textbooks describe the competition between different economic theories used to explain economic crises and how to combat them. In a separate sub-chapter dealing with the crisis of economic thought in the face of the Great Depression, French ISCED-3 students are provided with a more in-depth examination of the connection between crises and economic ideas. They learn in a special dossier that the global financial crisis of 1929 was also a crisis in economic thinking (*une crise de la pensée économique*), in which political decision makers had to choose between the principles of liberal economics and the Keynesian model of state intervention – “although politicians were still very much imbued with the principles of liberalism, Keynesian ideas were gradually gaining ground” – in the 1930s.²⁰² French and Greek students learn in sections on 18th-century history about the economic theories of physiocracy as the response to the 18th-century crises in agricultural production and state finance. Furthermore, French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks for ISCED-2 convey the economic ideas of liberalism using Adam Smith’s theories as an example. The liberal view is contrasted with Karl Marx’s theories in the 19th century. One Portuguese textbook, *Vamos à História*, follows the didactic principle of using historical personalities to guide students through the chapters of the textbook. Karl Marx is chosen as the historical personality who guides students through the age of industrialisation in the chapter “Economic, social and cultural

transformations” (*Transformações econômicas, sociais e culturais*).²⁰³

Textbooks from Albania, Armenia, France, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and Ukraine cover the competing liberal and state interventionist theories of economic trade during economic crises in 20th-century history. The textbooks contrast liberal economic theory with the concept of the interventionist state, developed by the British economist John Maynard Keynes in response to the global financial crisis of 1929 and presented in his 1936 book *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. Irish textbooks also address economic theory in the exercises, with one asking, “What policies did J. M. Keynes put forward in response to social and economic problems?”²⁰⁴

Albanian, Armenian, French, Georgian, Greek, Portuguese, Spanish and Ukrainian textbooks illustrate the changes in leading economic ideas that guided economic policy in Europe and the USA after the 1973 oil crisis and the subsequent industrial structural crisis, providing examples of how these theories were implemented politically by the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the American President Ronald Reagan. French and Irish textbooks cover not only Thatcherism and Reaganomics, but also the economic ideas behind these policies, such as the ideas of the Chicago School (a significant school of economic thought that emerged in the second half of the 20th century) and its leading exponent, Milton Friedman.

Albanian, Armenian, Cypriot, French, Georgian, Greek, Irish, Luxembourgish, Maltese, Macedonian, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian textbooks explain to students that economic crises should not be viewed from one isolated economics or economic history perspective alone. They argue that economic,

202. Barcellini C. et al. (2020), p. 35.

203. Maia C. et al. (2022), pp. 154-183.

204. O'Neill G. and Twomey P. (2022), p. 258.

social, political and cultural history approaches should be viewed together and combine approaches from economic, social and political history in their portrayal of economic crises, their solutions and societal consequences. The agrarian and foreign debt crisis of the *ancien régime* is presented as a result of a larger social crisis, with textbook authors presenting the crises as an expression of political, economic and social discrimination against the Third Estate and a lack of social mobility within French society. Ukrainian textbooks take a similar perspective on the famine of the early 1930s. As described in these resources, the famine, which caused the deaths of millions of Ukrainian people, should not be viewed per se as the result of forced collectivisation but rather as the result of a politically motivated programme of starvation as part of a campaign to destroy Ukrainian identity. As the authors of one Ukrainian textbook write: “The Holodomor was a genocide of the Ukrainian peasantry, which did not ‘adjust’ to Stalin’s totalitarian system. The Holodomor was man-made and was not caused solely by the drought of 1932.”²⁰⁵

Macro- and micro-historical perspectives

Textbooks from all countries examined take a macro-historical perspective of economic crises. They present the development of major, formative ideas that were refined in conjunction with economic crises and depict economic crises as formative factors of social change. They demonstrate that such economic crises can also be a significant contributing factor to the demise of states and empires. For example, a Ukrainian textbook links the decline of the Qin dynasty in the 3rd century BCE with economic

crises: “During the reign of Qin Shi Huang, [China] suffered from famine and decline. Taxes grew rapidly and became enormous, and famine often broke out in the country.”²⁰⁶ Albanian, Cypriot, Greek, Macedonian, Serbian and Turkish textbooks illustrate similar points using examples such as the crises of the Greek *polis* and the Roman Empire in antiquity or the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, textbooks from all countries link economic crises to the decline of the colonial empires of the European powers and the crises of communist societies in the 20th century. For instance, a Greek textbook explains how:

“in the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, Byzantium was shaken by a multifaceted crisis. Plagues, bad harvests, earthquakes and invasions resulted in the abandonment or decline of cities, a decrease in population and a decline in trade and monetary circulation.”²⁰⁷

When covering the modern era and contemporary history, textbooks from all countries show how economic crises set the course for social developments that went far beyond economic development, for example describing how they contributed to the establishment of dictatorships or to the construction of democratic societies. In all textbooks examined, macro-historical approaches to studying national or world economic systems are linked with micro-historical perspectives on the lives and actions of historical protagonists. When learning about the history of economic crises in antiquity and the Middle Ages, students are primarily introduced to individual rulers as active protagonists who “fight” economic crises. When discussing the history of the modern era and contemporary history, entrepreneurs are presented alongside

205. Shchupak I. Ya. (2019), p. 95.

206. Gisem O. V. and Martyniuk O. O. (2019a), p. 192.

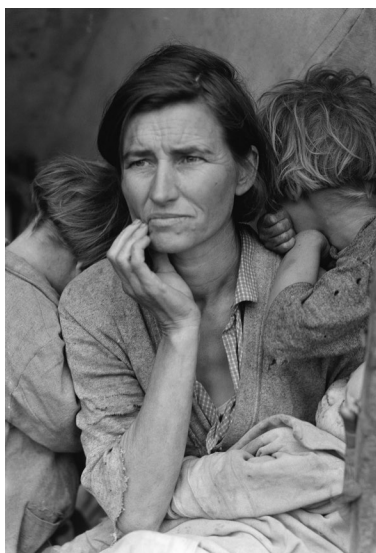
207. Dimitroukas I. and Ioannou T. (n.d.), p. 19.

politicians as central stakeholders who worked to combat economic crises.

In contrast to the decisions and attempts made by rulers and politicians to combat economic crises, other protagonists (individuals) are primarily portrayed as victims. Women and children are particularly visible as victims of economic crises and are portrayed as such, for example in the Great Famine of the 19th century in Ireland, the Great Depression in the USA or the Holodomor in Ukraine in the early 1930s. In a recurring motif, textbooks from France, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and Ukraine show the suffering of women and children during the Great Depression via the photograph of the “Migrant Mother”, Florence Owens Thompson, taken by photographer Dorothea Lange in 1936.

French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks present students with a selection of historical written and pictorial source material that primarily depicts men and women affected by economic crises in the 20th century as persons with agency. For example,

Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540. LC-DIG-pbmsca-23845 (digital file from print, post-conservation).



one Portuguese textbook includes photographs of unemployed men actively seeking work and is illustrated by a poster saying, “work is what I want and not charity”.²⁰⁸ Textbooks from these countries also show how people affected by unemployment not only organise social protests against the social consequences of economic crises but also work in a spirit of solidarity towards combating those consequences.

Representing societies’ diversity

Textbooks from all countries examined present a cross-section of social groups affected by economic crises, including women and men of different age groups in the context of economic crises.

French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Maltese, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks for both ISCED-2 and ISCED-3 describe women as workers and politicians as well as artists who were actively engaged in attempts to allay the social consequences of economic crises in the 20th century. Examples of social consequences given by the textbooks are the food scarcity during and after the First World War and during the Great Depression, as well as the structural crises in the old industrialised societies of Western Europe and the USA since the 1970s. Women are never presented among the entrepreneurs who searched for innovative solutions to overcome the consequences of economic crises; this role is presented exclusively using the example of male entrepreneurs.

However, French, Georgian, Irish, Portuguese, Spanish and Ukrainian textbooks do present women as people with agency in the fields

208. Amaral C. et al. (2022), p. 74.



By White House Photographic Office - <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/585DE702A2004855AB4970CC9426A37E.pdf>; Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=12528126>

of political decision making and social engagement in the context of 20th-century crises. They portray Margaret Thatcher as the protagonist (alongside Ronald Reagan) of an economic policy that represented a change from a Keynesian model of state intervention to a (neo)liberal philosophy. In this context, Irish textbooks depict female politicians from the Labour Party as well, and students are asked to research how they were engaged in combating the consequences of economic crises.

When exploring aspects of everyday life, women are portrayed in the textbooks as workers and as mothers who were socially and politically engaged during the First World War and during the 1929 global financial crisis. They are also presented as campaigners, working to overcome the consequences of the subsequent Great Depression and later the decline of the old industrial nations in the 1970s. French textbooks depict women as agents of lived solidarity and civic engagement in times of

crisis. Irish students are presented with a case study featuring the Jarrow March in October 1936, in which citizens marched from Jarrow (a town in the Northeast of England that had been particularly badly affected by the crises in the steel and shipbuilding industries) to London. The case study highlights the commitment of the Labour MP Ellen Wilkinson, who supported the social protest movements campaigning for action against the consequences of the economic crisis of 1929 in Great Britain.²⁰⁹

French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Macedonian, Portuguese, Spanish and Ukrainian textbooks show that not only have economic crises affected women and children particularly harshly but they have also increased the likelihood of stigmatisation and persecution of social minorities since the Middle Ages. In this context, a Macedonian textbook emphasises the economic and social discrimination of the Albanian population in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the interwar period:

209. O'Neill G. and Twomey P. (2022), pp. 249-260.

"The Serbian authorities, as revenge where there were fights between the Albanian troops and the Serbian army, burned and destroyed entire villages, and the families of the prominent leaders of the troops were interned in various places in Serbia. All of this affected Kosovo,²¹⁰ and after colonisation and continuous clashes with the Albanian forces, the population were brought to a state of great poverty."²¹¹

French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Spanish and Ukrainian textbooks offer examples of stigmatisation against and persecution of the Jewish community. They illustrate how Jews have been blamed for economic crises since the late Middle Ages and how they have been persecuted and killed in pogroms. For instance, a Spanish *Bachillerato* textbook uses the example of the agrarian crisis of the 14th century to show the interconnectedness of economic and social crises leading to an increase in violence, particularly against minorities: "the consistency of violence against minorities, especially Jews, intensified. Antisemitism was already deeply rooted but the disasters of the 14th century were often interpreted as divine punishment and they accentuated hostility towards Jews. The most serious was the pogrom of Seville in 1391".²¹² Irish textbooks for ISCED-3 illustrate this process using the example of the bankruptcy of the Panama Canal Society in 1889. They describe how the blame for the bankruptcy was attributed to Jewish bankers and their associates and how the French Government eventually had to retract accusations against wrongly convicted financiers and acquit them. The textbooks link this account with an exercise designed

to encourage students to explore how the political powers in France and Russia attempted to divert attention from the root causes of the economic crisis, with one textbook posing the question, "How did French and/or Russian leaders seek to use antisemitism as a way of distracting from internal issues and what were the consequences?".²¹³

Economic crises as a challenge to democracy and a breeding ground for dictatorship

French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Maltese, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks illustrate how economic crises have prompted the opening up of societies. They use as examples the French Revolution of 1789, which was a reaction to the agricultural and sovereign debt crises that affected the *ancien régime*, as well as reactions to the Great Depression in the form of the social policies of the French and Spanish popular front alliances and the policies of the New Deal in the USA. Using examples from 20th-century crises, the textbooks illustrate how workers reacted to economic crises by establishing trade unions.

Cypriot, French, Greek, Irish, Luxembourgish, Maltese, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish and Turkish textbooks also clearly demonstrate how the global financial crisis of 1929 and the Great Depression laid the foundations for dictatorship in Germany as well as in numerous states in Latin America. The textbooks describe how authoritarian regimes and dictatorships

210. All references to Kosovo, whether to the territory, institutions or population, in this text shall be understood in full compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 and without prejudice to the status of Kosovo.

211. Ristovski B. et al. (2014b), p. 40.

212. Fernández Ros J. M., Salcedo González J. and Ramírez Aledón G. (2023), p. 49.

213. O'Neill G. and Twomey P. (2022), p. 139.

appealed particularly to the working classes by making the subject of “national labour” a core theme of their arguments and propaganda. One French textbook depicts the takeover of power by authoritarian regimes in the 1930s with the example of a propaganda poster used by the Vargas government in 1937 in Brazil, which states, “No matter how small it may be at present, the work of each Brazilian for the good of the community will bring about renewal in the future.”²¹⁴

Textbooks from all countries show that throughout history, economic crises have been closely related to uprisings, revolutionary violence and wars. Since the Middle Ages and up until the recent past, economic crises have been linked to collective violence in the broader sense and the outbreak of war in the narrower sense when political and military reasoning has been applied in combination with the effects of economic crises. They explain that economic crises can also arise as a consequence of war. Luxembourgish, Maltese and Ukrainian textbooks describe the food scarcity and hunger that affected their nations in the immediate aftermath of the First World War. French, Irish, Luxembourgish and Spanish textbooks depict the link between war and the emergence or aggravation of sovereign debt crises and inflation in the European perspective; examples used are wars in the early modern era that led to a state debt crisis impacting the French *ancien régime*, or the First World War which caused inflation and food scarcity in Europe. In this context, French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks describe the hyperinflation in Germany following the end of the First World War.

Such approaches also cover the more recent contemporary period. A Georgian textbook states that:

“Since 1985, the price of oil in the world market has fallen sharply. The [Soviet] government was forced to increase the prices of products, which caused discontent among the population. Back in 1979, when the Soviet Union entered Afghanistan ... the economic crisis worsened.”²¹⁵

In one Serbian textbook, students learn about the relationship between military conflict and hyperinflation using the example of the wars of the 1990s:

“The breakup of the Yugoslav community and the common Yugoslav market, the beginning of armed conflicts and the sanctions imposed by the UN [United Nations] on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992 resulted in a significant drop in the social product and the outbreak of hyperinflation in 1993, which set a world record in the post-Second World War period. Wages and pensions were reduced to 5, 10, 20 marks per month,²¹⁶ and production practically halted in the autumn and winter of 1993/1994. In early 1994, Professor Dragoslav Avramović – a former World Bank expert, Serbian economist and governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia – managed to stop the rampant hyperinflation with a team of experts and a programme of monetary reconstruction. He made the dinar convertible, pegging it to the German mark at a one-to-one ratio.”²¹⁷

214. Bourgeat S., Bras C. and Colon D. (2020), p. 29.

215. Surguladze M. et al. (2021), p. 115.

216. While wages were paid in dinars, recipients usually converted them into Deutsche Marks on the black market due to hyperinflation.

217. Pavlović M. (2023), p. 302.



Cross-curricular links

Textbooks from three of the 16 countries examined explicitly offer examples of interdisciplinary approaches. French, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks link the representation of economic crises in textbooks to civics education, entrepreneurship education or geography. French and Spanish textbooks do so in the context of history and geography being taught as a compound subject in both countries. French textbooks for ISCED-2 use this combination to demonstrate useful connections between the two school subjects. For example, one textbook covers the creation of urban industrial agglomerations in the 19th century while geography lessons focus on the topic of "Cities in the globalisation process" (*les villes dans la mondialisation*) and the crisis of mono-industrial urban areas.²¹⁸ Spanish textbooks for the *Bachillerato* systematically link the historical knowledge taught about economic

crises to the Sustainable Development Goals defined within the framework of the United Nations' 2030 Agenda.

A Portuguese textbook for ISCED-3 systematically connects history citizenship education in a separate sub-chapter at the end of each chapter under the heading "From the past to the present – Citizenship education" (*Do passado ao presente – Educação para a cidadania*). The textbook requires students to study an extract from French historian Fernand Braudel's 1979 monograph *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme* and to then consider past crises for which successful solutions have been found, current crises and possible future crises. "From the past to the present – Citizenship education", explicitly links crises to entrepreneurship, presenting the latter as a means of:

"finding an opportunity, having a good idea and taking the risk of putting it into practice by adding value – on various scales and dimensions. Whether it is because markets have changed dramatically and thrown many into unemployment, or because many new areas have emerged to which solutions are lacking, sharpening the courage and boldness of many, there is no doubt that entrepreneurship is on the agenda."²¹⁹

Methods

Textbooks can use different methods to aid students to acquire knowledge and competences. These range from traditional author-written texts to a complex combination of author-written texts and pictorial source material including statistics and diagrams, designed to enable students to (re)construct narratives of economic crises. They may also include questions, learning activities and

²¹⁸. Rocher N., Marques P. and Hazard-Tourillon A. M. (eds) (2023), pp. 220-221.

²¹⁹. Amaral C. et al. (2021), p. 115.

exercises designed to consolidate and expand on learned content.

All textbooks examined contain author-written texts describing economic crises. Albanian, French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish and Turkish textbooks describe economic crises using written sources from the periods in question. These are combined with statistics and graphs compiled from the work of both contemporary historical stakeholders and present-day economic historians.

Cypriot, French, Greek, Irish, Luxembourgish, Maltese, Macedonian, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian textbooks provide students with historical images in their coverage of economic crises. They also use paintings and pamphlets to illustrate the period from the Middle Ages to the early modern era as well as posters and photographs for the history of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Pictorial material illustrates for the students the panic felt by those affected by crises and the social deprivation and despair. Visual content is less frequently used to help understand the origins or progression of crises or to portray human behaviour as an active driver of the crises themselves. However, French, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Serbian and Spanish textbooks include contemporary photographs of panicked people attempting to withdraw their entire savings in cash from their bank accounts. French, Slovenian and Spanish textbooks not only provide students with historical images in the form of paintings, drawings, caricatures and photographs, but also encourage students to watch specific feature films as a way to broaden their knowledge of economic crises and their “solutions”. Spanish textbooks for ISCED-3 recommend Polish director Andrzej Wajda’s 1975 feature film *Ziemia obiecana*

(*The promised land*) for a cultural history perspective on the crises of 19th-century industrial society. French textbooks suggest Jean Renoir’s 1936 film *La vie est à nous* (*Life belongs to us*) and John Ford’s 1940 film *The Grapes of Wrath*, based on John Steinbeck’s 1939 novel of the same name. Introducing a stock market crash as the beginning of the Great Depression, a Slovenian textbook invites students to “explore how stock market life works and what a stockbroker’s job is” by watching Martin Scorsese’s 2013 film *The Wolf of Wall Street* and “[drawing] parallels between working on the stock exchange and the film”.²²⁰ French, Irish, Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish textbooks ask students to expand their knowledge of economic crises by using various internet sources, offering students a wide range of links and QR codes to digital resources.

Historical solutions to economic crises

French, Georgian, Irish, Maltese, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish and Ukrainian textbooks present possible solutions for combating economic crises. Irish ISCED-3 students are asked in a task in one textbook whether contemporary personal testimonies from the Great Depression “propose a solution to the problem” of overcoming a structural industrial crisis and its social consequences. They ask the students further to “Give reasons for your answer”.²²¹ French, Georgian, Irish, Maltese, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish and Ukrainian textbooks show that these solutions had either been conceived by economists and entrepreneurs or developed within the framework of state economic policies. French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Maltese, Portuguese, Spanish and Ukrainian textbooks also cover

220. Režek M. et al. (2021), p. 26.

221. Lucey D. (2018b), p. 250.

liberal solutions to combat the crisis in agricultural production in the 18th century and for the reorganisation of industrial enterprises during the crisis of liberal capitalism at the end of the 19th century. French, Portuguese, Spanish and Ukrainian textbooks describe solutions for 19th-century industrialised societies that were developed by contemporary economic players themselves. The authors of one French textbook portray the industrialist Edouard Michelin (who developed a replaceable rubber tyre with an inner tube for bicycles and later adapted this for cars) of the Michelin tyre company as a “key figure”, serving as an example of innovation by French industrial entrepreneurs to economic crises at the end of the 19th century, following the Industrial Revolution.²²² A Maltese textbook describes how Maltese farmers reacted to the decline of cotton cultivation in the 19th century by “cultivating the potato crop instead, which was becoming very much sought [after] by the British Services and the Maltese”.²²³

In most cases where solutions or reactions to economic crises are presented, textbooks describe measures introduced by the state to combat the crisis, generally involving either a liberalisation of the economy or stronger state intervention in the economy. Albanian, Serbian and Slovenian students first learn about solutions to economic crises through the example of the Gracchi brothers’ attempts to reform land ownership and distribution of land to overcome the agrarian crisis in the Roman Republic. For instance, an Albanian textbook states:

“In the 2nd century BCE, Roman society was engulfed in a deep crisis, forcing peasants to sell their land, resulting in their impoverishment and ruin. Meanwhile, large estates grew significantly, as the wealthy

class concentrated vast land holdings, which it bought from the peasants ... To address this difficult economic and political situation, the Gracchi brothers (Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, tribunes of the people) attempted to implement the agrarian reform. Tiberius proposed that the conquered territories belonging to the state be divided into small plots and given to the poor peasants.”²²⁴

Portuguese textbooks cover political (state) solutions to combat economic crises as far back as the Middle Ages. For instance, one textbook describes how, in response to a crisis in agricultural production, the Portuguese kings Alfonso IV and Fernando enacted restrictive labour laws in 1349 and 1375 that reformed agricultural work and required landowners to cultivate any untilled or uncultivated land in order to expand the available arable land:

“Alfonso IV and Ferdinand drew up laws that forced peasants to return to work in the fields: Alfonso IV published the Labour Laws and, years later, Ferdinand promulgated the Sesmarias Law. The aim of these laws was to set wages, stimulate cereal production by obliging all landowners to cultivate their land, encourage peasants to stay on the land and prohibit begging.”²²⁵

Textbooks in France, Greece, Luxembourg and Slovenia describe the suggestions put forward by the Physiocrats, a school of French political economists, to overcome the crisis in agricultural production in the 18th century. These suggestions advocated improvements in agricultural productivity and the liberalisation of the grain trade. As one Slovenian textbook puts it:

222. Anceau É. et al. (2019), p. 146.

223. HISTORIA (2023), p. 4.

224. Dërguti M., Treska T. and Egro D. (2016), p. 15.

225. Pedrosa A., Travassos A. and Magano T. (2021), p. 212.

"Mercantilism and physiocracy gradually weakened the medieval economic structures – represented by trade guilds or, in German countries, the Hanseatic League – associations of towns. This freed peasants from dependence on landowners, who held onto their privileges well into the new era, although the duration varied by European country."²²⁶

French textbooks describe measures that were introduced by the French Government after the February Revolution of 1848, designed to strengthen workers' rights and overcome the crisis in industrial production in the first half of the 19th century. They also cover state intervention in the organisation of industrial production through the example

of the declaration of the right to work and the establishment of national workshops (*ateliers nationaux*) following the February Revolution of 1848, which later became central elements in combating the consequences of the global financial crisis of 1929. Armenian, Cypriot, French, Greek, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Serbian and Spanish textbooks present US President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal as an instrument of state intervention for overcoming the Great Depression. French, Portuguese, Serbian and Spanish textbooks highlight that the global economic crisis created fertile ground for authoritarian and totalitarian political movements. However, they also emphasise that they could be successfully contained through (economic) policy decisions that strengthened social cohesion and encouraged civil society involvement.



Taken from Department of the Interior site. The federal government commissioned a series of public murals from the artists it employed. William Gropper's "Construction of a Dam" (1939), is characteristic of much of the art of the 1930s, with workers seen in heroic poses, laboring in unison to complete a great public project.

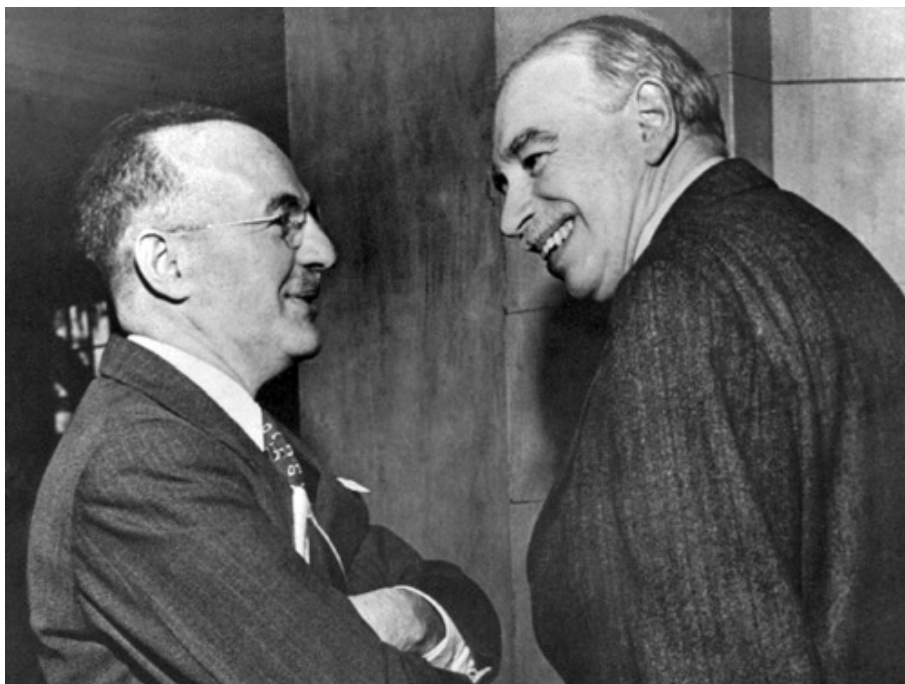
226. Brodnik V. et al. (2020), p. 220.

In the context of the structural crisis of old industrialised societies in western Europe and the USA following the oil crisis of 1973, a Georgian textbook argues that the liberal economic policies of the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the American President Ronald Reagan successfully addressed the crises of their old industrialised societies: “The crisis [of 1979] was overcome by the economic reforms carried out by ... Margaret Thatcher and ... Ronald Reagan”.²²⁷ An Albanian textbook contrasts economic liberalism as a means of overcoming economic crises with the strengthening of state control of the economy in Albania in the 1980s: “The Albanian Party of Labour (PPSH) did not undertake any measures, as in other countries of the Eastern Bloc, to liberalise the economy. On the contrary, it strengthened state control over the economy”.²²⁸ French textbooks include information on state measures, such

as the *Revenu minimum d'insertion* (guaranteed minimum income), which was introduced in 1988 in France as a reaction to the structural crises in old industrial states that emerged after the oil crisis of 1973.

French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese and Turkish textbooks put forward the idea that solutions to economic crises in the modern and contemporary periods have been found at the international level by regulating foreign debts and exchange rates between national currencies as well as by balancing state budgets. Turkish students learn about the treaty by which the government was successful in negotiating the sovereign debts of the Ottoman Empire: “The issue of Ottoman debts was resolved with an agreement signed in Paris on 13 June 1828, after the Lausanne Conference”.²²⁹ In other countries, students learn about the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944, which not

Par International Monetary Fund — International Monetary Fund: <http://www.imf.org/external/np/adm/pictures/images/hwmkm.jpg>, Domaine public, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=700934>



227. Surguladze M. et al. (2021), p. 156.

228. Filo L., Nita E. and Bozha M. (2018), pp. 118-119.

229. Ülkü M., Mutlu Ö. and Çetinkaya F. (n.d.), p. 193.

only introduced a fixed exchange rate system based on the dollar as the reserve currency, but also created institutions in the form of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which were designed to prevent a repeat of the global economic crisis of 1929 through a combined system of loans and development aid. For instance, pupils in France and Luxembourg learn in one French-language textbook about the speech by the American secretary of the treasury, Henry Morgenthau Jr., in the United States House of Representatives in March 1945, during which he stated, “The Bretton Woods program fostered peace by liberating small countries ... They would no longer be forced to address a single powerful country for monetary support or capital for their development.”²³⁰

Textbooks from Albania, Greece, Luxemburg, Portugal, Spain, Türkiye and Ukraine emphasise the importance of being able to react to and negotiate the concrete needs of individual countries in close collaboration between national and international stakeholders. The authors of a German-language textbook for Luxembourg invite pupils to discuss in a role play the pros and cons of the regulation of sovereign debts by international organisations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO). They are invited to confront the argument that “The WTO demands that the countries concerned submit unconditionally to its rules in order to obtain new loans or debt relief. However, no consideration is given to the respective cultures or religions. Everything is lumped together under one western standard for all” with the counter question, “Do I understand you correctly? Where global co-operation makes sense ... are you suddenly calling for the responsibility of the individual state again?”²³¹ One Turkish textbook helps

students learn about different proposals put forward by national central banks such as the US Federal Reserve and international organisations such as the IMF for solving financial crises; for example, one task involves “[discussing] the differences between IMF policies in the USA and in developing countries.”²³²

Spanish textbooks take a critical view on the role of the German Government and European Central Bank in the foreign debt crisis of 2008; this includes the impact of their policies on economic and social cohesion in Europe and the identification of the populations with Europe. One textbook explains the issue as follows:

“To face the crisis and following the guidelines of Germany and the European Central Bank, the EU’s economic policy was based on austerity in spending, public investment and control of the deficit. A controversial policy, which has fuelled internal dissension within the [European] Union, and highlighted the differences between the richest countries in the north and the most impoverished in the south. The economic crisis has increased the perception of weakness in the European identity, citizen disaffection and Euroscepticism.”²³³

In presenting solutions for economic crises, many textbooks describe the cultural environment (the culture of public debate) in which societies have searched for solutions and the way suggested solutions have been discussed in the public sphere. French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks demonstrate that economic crises have been successfully overcome when solutions have been sought through wider public debate. For instance, French,

230. Hoop G. d’et al. (2020), p. 129.

231. Kayser S. et al. (2009), p. 206.

232. Alemdar E. and Keleş S. (2021), p. 76.

233. Prats J. et al. (2022), p. 382.

Luxembourgish and Spanish textbooks describe the public debate that took place in the French *cahiers de doléances* movement of 1789 to overcome the crisis of the *ancien régime*. One French-language textbook quotes the *cahiers de doléances* from the Chapelle-Craonnaise, which demanded “that no tax can be established without the consent of the assembled Estates-General”.²³⁴ French, Irish and Spanish textbooks also highlight the connection between the sense of crisis and public debate in Mikhail Gorbachev’s efforts for reform in the Soviet Union in the 1980s, describing Gorbachev’s attempts to combine the liberalisation of the economy (*perestroika*) with an intellectual and cultural opening of Soviet society (*glasnost*). Textbooks describe how the population was called upon to put forward ideas for the reform of the economy; for instance, an Irish ISCED-2 textbook states:

“*Glasnost* (meaning “openness”) was Gorbachev’s policy to open up discussions in Soviet society ... Censorship was relaxed and people were encouraged to suggest new ideas to fix the economy. *Perestroika* (meaning “restructuring”) was Gorbachev’s policy to reform and open up the Soviet economy by allowing some private ownership of business and land.”²³⁵

Degree of difficulty of set tasks and exercises

Since the 1970s, history teaching has developed from a practice geared towards imparting academic knowledge to one focusing on the process of historical learning and the acquisition of competences. In order to more precisely determine how students acquire different competences and to more accurately

measure learning outcomes, history education specialists have developed a system of (ideally incrementally more complex) degrees of difficulty for setting tasks. In defining the gradient of difficulty in the tasks of the textbooks, the present report is inspired by Bloom’s taxonomy (Bloom 1969; Anderson, Krathwohl and Bloom 2001), a concept on which a number of history education studies in the OHTE member states have also been designed (Gómez et al. 2020). The different degrees are determined by specific prompt verbs (operators). The textbooks from all countries examined contain tasks with degrees of difficulty that can be gauged on a scale of from one to three by their use of operators. Operators used in level I exercises, which explore the reproduction and summary of the acquired knowledge, include, for example, describing or summarising. Level II operators include analysing, explaining or comparing, and require students to analyse in detail an author-written text or other text as well as pictorial sources and graphs. The operators used for level III exercises, such as evaluating, commenting, discussing, imagining or inventing, require students to assess or evaluate statements made in author-written texts and source materials, and encourage them to undertake independent work on the topic by writing an essay or designing a worksheet, for example.

Albanian, Armenian, Georgian, Macedonian and Ukrainian textbooks require students mainly to reproduce the knowledge they acquire about economic crises, corresponding to a level I degree of difficulty. One exception to this among Ukrainian textbooks is the “World History” textbook, which requires students to organise a discussion about the solutions that have been found in the past for economic crises and which could be applied in future to Ukrainian economic policy. One Albanian textbook requires students to conduct their

234. Amichaud J. et al. (2019a), p. 15.

235. O’Neill G. and Jenkinson E. (2022), p. 370.

own survey and to “ask citizens who have lived under communism: How did you experience the crisis of the communist regime after the cessation of foreign aid in 1978? Formulate conclusions with the data collected and discuss them in class”.²³⁶

French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Serbian and Spanish textbooks regularly set exercises that have a degree of difficulty of III. They invite students to organise a debate or require them to write an original text about economic crises, based on historical sources and diagrams. They also encourage the students to carry out their own research project and to produce work such as essays or diagrams. Students in Luxembourg are given the task of writing a letter of protest to the French king based on sources “from the perspective of a peasant, day labourer or craftsman”,²³⁷ describing the tax burden and famine on the eve of the 1789 revolution. Textbook authors in Ireland and Portugal invite students to “write like a historian”²³⁸ and “[be] a top historian” (*Ser Historiador Top*).²³⁹ Students are required to

enquire, for example, about the “challenges that faced Irish Famine emigrants when they arrived in the United States”, or to reflect on whether the explanations and solutions offered by economic liberalism of the 19th century are still valid, using the example of the current crisis of industrial production in Europe. One Portuguese textbook tasks students with writing an essay on the crises of capitalism using information provided in documents: “On the basis of the information in document (14) write a text on the subject of ‘The crises of capitalism’”.²⁴⁰

Competences

All textbooks examined use texts and tasks to convey academic knowledge about economic crises. Albanian, Armenian, Georgian, Maltese, Macedonian and Ukrainian textbooks primarily convey knowledge to be learned through author-written texts.

French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish textbooks offer a combination of authored texts and diverse source material such as historical written sources and images, statistics and diagrams through which students can (re)construct the origins, progression and perception of economic crises. They also invite students to explore the subject in greater depth by providing definitions of key concepts of economic crises and extracts from the work of economists. One Portuguese textbook connects this dissemination of knowledge with students’ everyday lives by discussing the invention of the commercially successful game Monopoly in the context of the 1929 global financial crisis, thereby addressing the topic of speculative



Daghemmen 29 maj 1967 by Örebro Kuriren - Örebro County Museum, Sweden - Public Domain.

236. Nathanaili P. et al. (2022), p. 174.

237. Kayser S. et al. (2008), p. 168.

238. Browne J. and O’Connor C. (2023), pp. 414-415.

239. Maia C. et al. (2022), p. 161.

240. Andrade A. et al. (2022), p. 183.

financial investment.²⁴¹ The variety of source materials used and the combinations in which they appear in French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks support the acquisition of historical methodological competences in the areas of analysing historical texts, images and statistics. The combination of contemporary written sources, statistics, maps and diagrams is specifically designed to help students develop the skills needed to reconstruct historical narratives on economic crises using the materials provided.

Albanian, French, Georgian, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian textbooks link the past and the present in their descriptions of economic crises to allow students to acquire orientation competences. For example, a Serbian textbook invites students to “think” about comparisons between the Great Depression and the world financial crisis of 2007: “Instructions with graphs, plus topic for thinking ... discuss with the teacher and note the similarities and differences between the Great Depression and the World Economic Crisis (Great Recession), which swept the world at the end of the first decade of the 21st century and whose consequences are felt to this day.”²⁴² Spanish textbooks ask students to compare the measures taken by European governments in 1929 during the global financial crisis with those taken by European governments during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Albanian, French, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian textbooks present students with exercises that require them to apply their knowledge of economic crises in the past to discussions of current economic developments and policies. French, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks provide separate sections in which students are asked

to make connections between the past and the present, and to imagine and evaluate the crises of the past in the light of present-day challenges. Examples of titles of such sections are “Thinking in the present” (*Pensamos en presente*)²⁴³ or “From past to present” (*D’hier à aujourd’hui*); in the latter, students are asked to use the experiences of the energy revolutions of the 19th and 20th centuries to help understand present-day energy and climate crises.²⁴⁴

Concluding remarks

In all member states examined, the analysed textbooks include different types of economic crises; these include crises in agricultural production/famine, crises in industrial production and crises of industrial labour, speculation/financial and bank crises, and sovereign debt crises. The material to be learned and the exercises in French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish textbooks contain definitions of key economic terms and concepts of economic crises – such as inflation, deflation, speculative bubble or recession – that are deemed important for gaining an understanding of economic crises.

Textbooks in all member states offer a broad temporal perspective in their coverage of economic crises. None of the history textbooks examined limit their coverage to the economic crises of the 20th century. Instead, many cover the ancient world (Albania, Armenia, Cyprus, Georgia, Greece, North Macedonia, Türkiye and Ukraine), the Middle Ages (Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain) or the history of the early modern era (France, Ireland and Malta) before addressing economic crises of the 19th and

241. Amaral C., Alves B. and Tadeu T. (2015).

242. Todosijević A. and Todosijević S. P. (2021), p. 26.

243. Gatell Arimont C. et al. (2022c), p. 111.

244. Rocher N., Marques P. and Hazard-Tourillon A. M. (eds) (2023), pp. 92-93.

20th centuries. Textbooks in all member states also address significant economic crises in their own national histories. European and/or world history perspectives are frequently linked with examples from their own national histories and the national histories of those countries whose economic crises played a significant role in setting the social course of European and world history.

All textbooks describe economic crises by using concepts from economic history and connect these with politico-historical approaches. Armenian, Georgian and Macedonian textbooks favour an approach that embeds economic crises in a politico-historical context. Social history approaches in textbooks from Albania, Cyprus, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, North Macedonia, Portugal, Serbia, Spain, Türkiye and Ukraine describe the societal groups most affected by the consequences of economic crises. Textbooks from Cyprus, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Türkiye and Ukraine take a cultural history perspective to help students consider the emotions and mentalities of those affected by economic crises; this includes the development of empathy for victims of such crises or for those who were wrongly blamed or held responsible for crises. Moreover, textbooks frequently use approaches from the history of ideas and ideologies to help students understand the origins of and solutions to economic crises, including insights into the leading economic and social ideas that have been applied to the study of economic crises since the 18th century. The textbooks from countries that favour a more traditional politico-historical approach primarily present the actions of individual political leaders. Textbooks from France, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain are oriented more towards social and cultural history approaches and therefore dedicate more space to the experiences and actions of

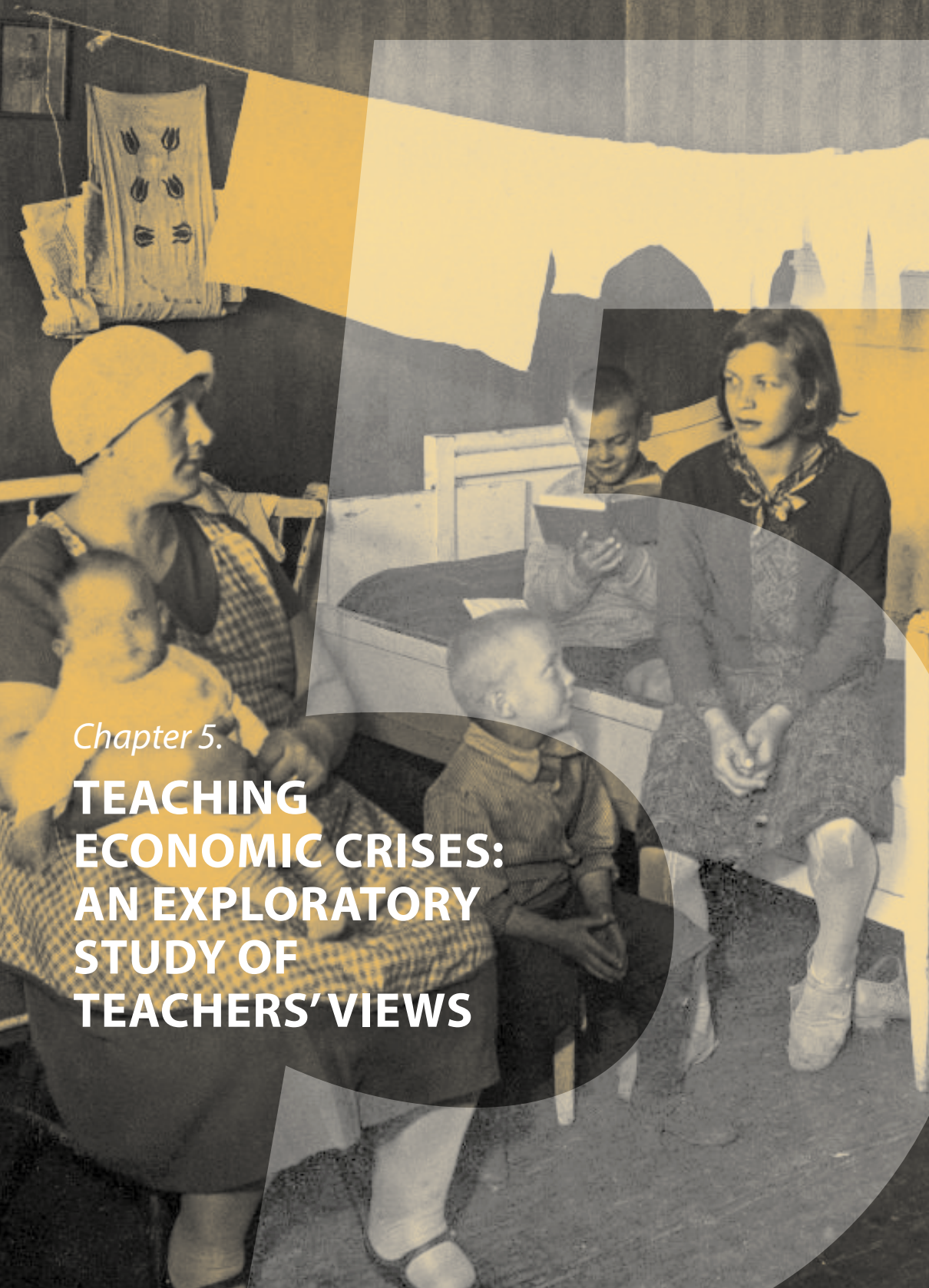
“ordinary people”. Regional and local history perspectives are reinforced in some textbooks, which encourage students to explore or develop case studies.

In terms of methods, all the textbooks examined contain author-written texts describing economic crises, with some also including written sources from the periods in question, statistics and graphs, or images. French, Slovenian and Spanish textbooks include film suggestions, while French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish textbooks include digital resources such as links and QR codes.

All textbooks examined offer a learning design that fosters analytical skills. The degree of difficulty of the exercises and tasks, measured using specific prompt verbs (operators), ranges from levels I to III. With regard to the development of competences, the textbooks combine different approaches for helping students acquire knowledge about economic crises. These range from traditional author-written texts to a complex combination of textual and visual materials, statistics and diagrams, which may also involve inviting students to conduct their own research in exercises and tasks. The didactic design of textbooks in France, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain offers students opportunities to develop historical-methodological competences through combinations of contemporary written sources, statistics, maps and diagrams, which provide a basis for exercises done by students. In terms of the acquisition of orientation competences, Albanian, French, Georgian, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian textbooks link the past to the present in exercises and tasks on economic crises.

Chapter 5.

TEACHING ECONOMIC CRISES: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF TEACHERS' VIEWS



This chapter presents the results from the teachers' questionnaire.²⁴⁵ It provides an insight into the extent to which economic crises are taught about across 17 OHTE member states, the specific topics covered and the approaches taken. The teachers' questionnaire encompasses both quantitative and qualitative questions.

A total of 800 history teachers participated in the study, with the distribution by country shown in **Table 5.1**. At least 30 completed questionnaires were submitted by the majority

of the OHTE member states, except for Malta (22 responses), Luxembourg (20 responses) and Andorra (19 responses), the three countries with the lowest populations among the 17 member states.

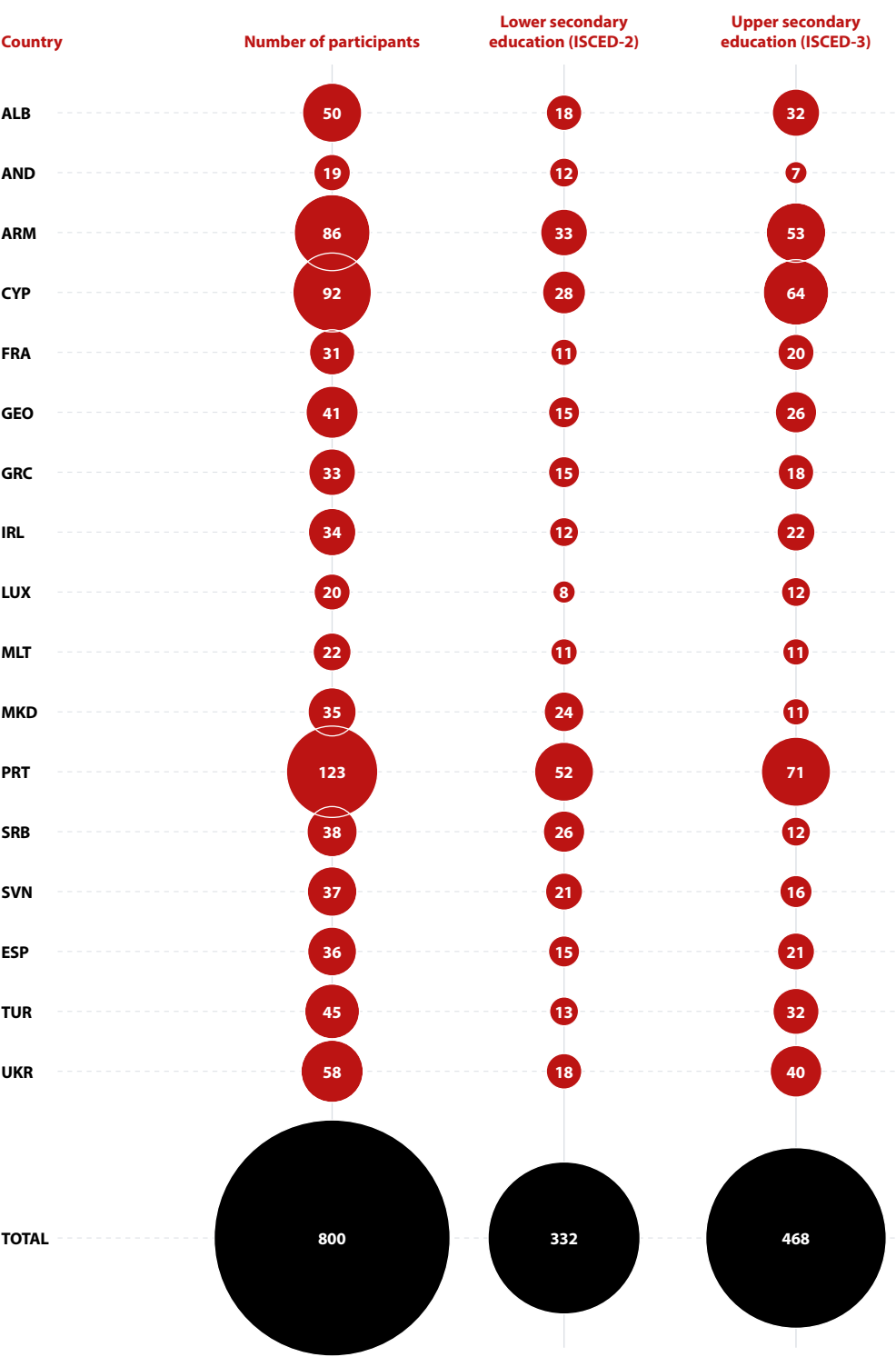
Of the 800 participants, 332 (41.5%) teach in lower secondary education (ISCED-2) and 468 (58.5%) in upper secondary education (ISCED-3). The vast majority, 705 participants (88.1%), teach history as a separate subject, while only 95 (11.9%) teach it as part of a multidisciplinary subject.



Skolstrejken 21 oktober 1966. by Örebro Kuriren - Örebro County Museum, Sweden - Public Domain.

245. Survey responses in this chapter shall be referenced in the following format: **ID number of response (country, level)**. For the level, LS shall refer to lower secondary and US to upper secondary.

Table 5.1 Distribution of participants by country and educational level



Allocation of time

In order to determine the amount of time allocated to teaching economic crises, the teachers were asked to indicate in how many lessons during the 2022/23 academic year they had referred to economic crises; stated as a proportion of their total time spent teaching history during that year. Nearly a quarter of the teachers stated that they had either done so in none (2.8%) or only 1-5% (20%) of their lessons, another quarter (25.1%) indicated they had referred to the topic in 5-10% of their lessons and a further approximate quarter (27.5%) indicated this had been the case in 10-25% of their lessons, while 18% of the teachers stated the topic had arisen in 25-50% of their lessons, and only 6.6% had referred to economic crises in more than 50% of their lessons.

There were also significant variations across the 17 OHTE members states. In North Macedonia for instance, 71.3% of the teachers stated that they referred to economic crises

in 10% or less of their lessons, with only 2.9% of teachers reporting that they did so in more than 50% of their lessons. By contrast, 10.6% of the teachers from Andorra indicated a frequency of 10% or less, while 31.6% of the same group indicated a frequency of more than 50%.

Topic specifications

In order to learn more about the prevalence of specific topics, the participants were asked which historical economic crises they taught about. Twelve options were provided, from which the teachers could select as many as were applicable, with the additional option to indicate other events, as shown in **Table 5.2**. The mean number of options selected was 4.21(SD = 2.44), the median was 4 and the mode was 3. While 11 participants did not select any of the crises given, the 789 participants who selected at least one option made a total of 3 366 choices.



Workers in their work clothes during the industrial revolution in Sweden, in 1894.
Unknown author

Table 5.2 Historical economic crises taught by teachers in the school year 2022/23

Historical economic crisis	Responses		Percentage of respondents (n = 789)	Distribution by academic level			
	No.	%		Lower secondary education (ISCED-2)		Upper secondary education (ISCED-3)	
Economic crisis of the late Roman Republic	299	8.9%	 37.9%	154	 47.4%	145	 31.3%
Economic crisis of the late Middle Ages	317	9.4%	 40.2%	153	 47.1%	164	 35.3%
Decline of old industries as a result of the Industrial Revolution	391	11.6%	 49.6%	161	 49.5%	230	 49.6%
Speculation crises in the 17th and 18th centuries	172	5.1%	 21.8%	75	 23.1%	97	 20.9%
Panic of 1873 and the “Long Depression” in the 1870s	138	4.1%	 17.5%	52	 16%	86	 18.5%
Great Depression (1929)	551	16.4%	 69.8%	224	 68.9%	327	 70.5%
Economic consequences of collectivisation in socialist states	352	10.5%	 44.6%	129	 39.7%	223	 48.1%
Oil crisis (1973)	244	7.2%	 30.9%	80	 24.6%	164	 35.3%
Industrial labour crisis in western Europe (1970s)	146	4.3%	 18.5%	52	 16%	94	 20.3%
Crisis of the socialist economies (1980s)	308	9.2%	 39%	107	 32.9%	201	 43.3%
Global financial crisis (2007)	250	7.4%	 31.7%	81	 24.9%	169	 36.4%
Eurozone debt crisis (2009)	131	3.9%	 16.6%	39	 12%	92	 19.8%
Other	67	2%	 8.5%	20	 6.2%	47	 10.1%
Total	3 366	100%		n = 325		n = 464	

According to the results, the Great Depression of 1929 is the most frequently covered historical event when addressing economic crises, with 551 participants (69.8%) selecting this option. The teachers who reported discussing the Great Depression most often came from Ireland (94.1%), followed closely by those from Luxembourg (90%), Serbia (89.5%), Slovenia (88.9%), Spain (88.9%) and Türkiye (88.9%). In contrast, teachers from Malta (33.3%), Cyprus (44.8%) and Armenia (48.8%) discussed this topic least.

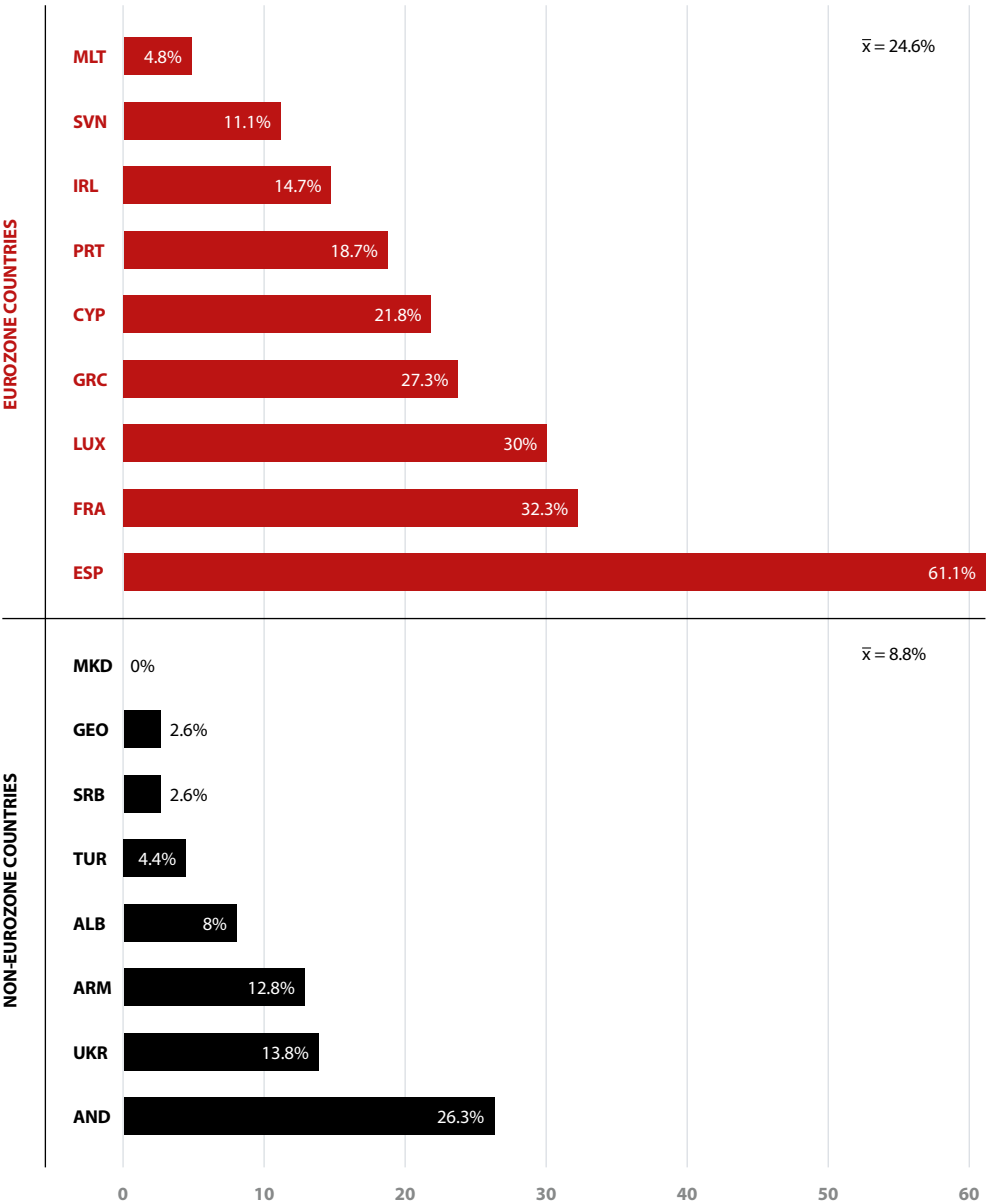
The second-most frequently selected event was the decline of old industries following the Industrial Revolution, which was selected by 391 participants (49.6%).

At the other end of the scale, the least frequently referenced crises were the Eurozone debt crisis of 2009 with 131 selections (16.6%) and the Panic of 1873 and the “Long Depression” of the 1870s, which was only selected by 138 respondents (17.5%). However, Spain constitutes an exception to

this trend across the 17 OHTE member states: in contrast to the overall average, a sizeable 61.1% of teachers stated they had referenced the Eurozone debt crisis starting in 2009 and a

relatively large proportion of teachers (38.9%) selected the Panic of 1873 and the “Long Depression” of the 1870s as a topic they had covered.

Figure 5.1 Percentage of teachers from Eurozone and non-Eurozone countries who taught about the Eurozone debt crisis of 2009 in the school year 2022/23



When comparing the selections for the Eurozone debt crisis, it can be observed that this option was selected more frequently by participants from Eurozone countries (Cyprus, France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain) with an average of 24.6%, than by participants from non-Eurozone countries (Albania, Andorra, Armenia, Georgia, North Macedonia, Serbia, Türkiye, Ukraine) with an average of 8.8% (see **Figure 5.1**). These numbers indicate that this option was selected more frequently in countries that were directly affected by the crisis.

In addition, a tetrachoric correlation calculation was carried out to explore relationships between the teaching of different economic crises. The highest correlations were observed between the economic crisis of the late Roman Republic and the economic crisis of the late Middle Ages ($r = .41$), the oil crisis (1973) and the industrial labour crisis in western Europe (1970s) ($r = .45$), as well as between the global financial crisis (2007) and the Eurozone debt crisis (2009) ($r = .46$). The correlations between the topics suggest that teachers who have taught one economic crisis are also likely to have taught other economic crises in a similar time period; for example, pre-modern history, 20th-century history or the recent 21st century.

Apart from the 12 options listed in the questionnaire, the participants were also given the option to name other historical cases. A total

of 67 participants named other economic crises they had taught, with a wide range of different events being mentioned. Many crises named in the free text field are related to specific national or regional contexts. For example:

- “the crisis of 1890 and Portugal’s bankruptcy of 1892”;²⁴⁶
- “the Greek financial crisis of 1893”;²⁴⁷
- “harsh economic crises in the Republic of Armenia in 1918-20”;²⁴⁸
- “the crisis in the Andorran economy 1940-45”;²⁴⁹
- “economic prosperity in 1960s Ireland followed by economic challenges of the 1970s and 1980s”;²⁵⁰
- “the crisis of Post-Soviet countries”;²⁵¹
- “crisis in Yugoslavia 1993-94”;²⁵²
- “the economic crisis of 1996-97 in Albania”;²⁵³
- “economic crisis of the 1990s in Ukraine; financial and economic crisis of 2008-09 in Ukraine”;²⁵⁴
- “2002 Turkish economic crisis and 2008 mortgage crisis”;²⁵⁵

Beyond the aforementioned crises, additional post-war crises such as hyperinflation in Germany between the First and the Second World Wars were named. Interestingly, the recent Covid-19 pandemic was the event that was named most frequently in this free text field, with six participants indicating that they have taught about it.

246. ID 14022546608 (Portugal, US).

247. ID 14022801053 (Greece, US).

248. ID 14022707980 (Armenia, US).

249. ID 14022408623 (Andorra, LS).

250. ID 14022589498 (Ireland, LS).

251. ID 14022382179 (Georgia, US).

252. ID 14022847313 (Serbia, LS).

253. ID 14022899882 (Albania, US).

254. ID 14022768208 (Ukraine, US).

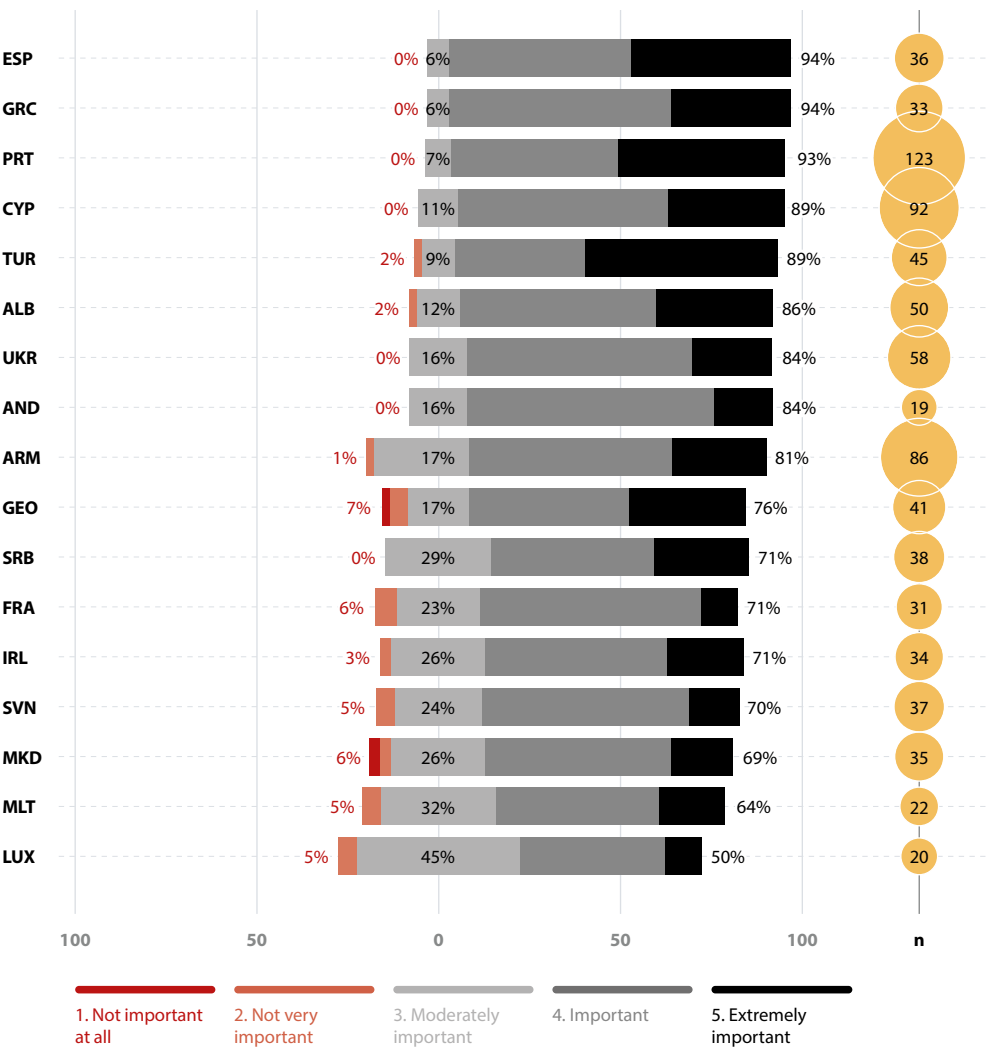
255. ID 14022960503 (Türkiye, US).

Significance of teaching economic crises in teachers' perceptions

The next section of the questionnaire examined the perceived significance of teaching economic

crises. The results indicate that a significant majority of respondents consider teaching economic crises in history to be either important (52%) or extremely important (30.1%). A smaller percentage of teachers consider it to be only moderately important (16%) and even fewer to be not important (1.6%) or not important at all (0.3%). **Figure 5.2** shows the results by country.

Figure 5.2 Teachers' views on the importance of teaching about economic crises in history



A market scene with people buying and selling bread, eggs and chickens. Chromolithograph by H. Moulin after Ferdinand Séraphin. - Wellcome Collection, United Kingdom - CC BY.



An upper secondary teacher from Portugal underscores the importance of economic crises in learning about connections between different periods and events:

"Because economics helps us to think about politics pragmatically and is at the root of significant social and political transformations. The crisis at the end of the Middle Ages in a way prepared the Renaissance. The Great Depression and its consequences were at the root of a new world conflict. The bankruptcy of the pre-industrial economic model contributed to the political awareness of a working class and the need to create social protection systems."²⁵⁶

This notion is echoed by an Irish lower secondary teacher:

"Economic necessity so often leads to major advances in technology and scientific developments such as the advances in farming made in the later Middle Ages or crisis in trade that led to sponsorship of Europeans explorations. The list is endless. Economic impacts on all levels of society are important also for students to understand."²⁵⁷

Among the countries with the highest numbers of teachers who believe teaching economic crises to be important or extremely important are Spain (94%), Greece (94%) and Portugal (93%). Türkiye is the country with the highest percentage of participants who considered its teaching to be extremely important (53.3%). At the other end of the scale, France (9.7%) and Luxembourg (10%) each had a low percentage of participants who consider it to be extremely important.

The questionnaire invited teachers to elaborate further. Almost half of the participants (353) responded to this open-ended question. Some teachers who had stated in the previous question that they considered teaching about economic crises to be important or extremely important refer to the close connection between economic crises and fundamental transformations in the economic field and in the political, social and cultural spheres. Many teachers emphasise how the disruption of economic structures in the past set the context for social disintegration and reconfiguration, the rise of political movements and regimes, geopolitical repercussions and international conflicts, but also had an impact on cultural developments and scientific innovation.

Indeed, many teachers agree that teaching economic crises offers the opportunity to challenge students to critically reflect on cause-and-effect relationships between different areas of life and at different levels in the short term and long term; for instance, a teacher from Malta states, "It also helps students understand that events happen as a result of a number of causes and consequences and not just one cause or effect."²⁵⁸ While these phenomena may include larger geopolitical shifts, they also cover "the impact on everyday life, understanding

256. ID 14023030579 (Portugal, US).

257. ID 14022674061 (Ireland, LS).

258. ID 14022563214 (Malta, LS).

that a crisis can affect our lives at any time”, as a Slovenian teacher puts it.²⁵⁹ Moreover, teachers from various countries note that historical subject matter such as economic crises should not be taught separately, but contextualised within larger socio-political and cultural developments; for example, an Irish teacher underlines, “No area of history should stand alone – political, military, economic, social and cultural history need to be taught together, as they influence and drive each other”.²⁶⁰

In some cases, the respondents substantiate their arguments for the importance of teaching economic crises through the notion of the cyclical nature of history. They do so by referencing historic recurrences, for example repeated chains of causality and/or certain similarities between past events and current circumstances. As observed by a teacher from Portugal, “It is part of learning history to understand the cyclical crises of capitalism and how they are reflected in people’s lives. To know the past is to understand the present”.²⁶¹ Another Portuguese teacher elaborates:

“Understanding an economic crisis from the past, the reasons why it happened and the solutions adopted to resolve it helps students to understand (even though the context is different) current crises, the problems they bring to people’s daily lives, how they can be resolved and how they can be avoided in the future (in the light of what history is teaching us).”²⁶²

An Albanian teacher at upper secondary level takes the idea of learning from the past for the present and future even further: “if we don’t

draw conclusions from the mistakes of the past we could repeat them. In today[’s] world[,] economic crises are happening more often, and we should prepare a generation that is aware of the consequences”.²⁶³

Indeed, solution-oriented perspectives on teaching historical crises, with an emphasis on prevention and building skills to face future crises, were found in numerous other responses. Teachers thus emphasised critical thinking and problem-solving competences in order to “prevent new disasters”,²⁶⁴ as an Armenian lower secondary teacher puts it, or to “avoid the same mistakes by the states in the future”, as another lower secondary teacher from Albania explains, calling students “citizens of the future”.²⁶⁵ A lower secondary teacher from Serbia reflects on the potential for past experiences of economic crises to be “a guide for the future”.²⁶⁶

In terms of meeting the challenges of future crises, a Ukrainian teacher at upper secondary level also endorses studying economic crises within specific national contexts:

“More attention should be paid to the process of spreading economic crises. Global crises have different impacts on the economies of countries, so it is necessary to study the impact of economic crises on the country’s economy ... The experience of previous ones teaches us how organisational values and processes change in times of uncertainty. Forecasting crisis phenomena and situations can prevent economic crises and reduce their negative consequences.”²⁶⁷

259. ID 14022667262 (Slovenia, LS).

260. ID 14023042702 (Ireland, LS).

261. ID 14022995110 (Portugal, US).

262. ID 14022867696 (Portugal, US).

263. ID 14022379097 (Albania, US).

264. ID 14022726378 (Armenia, LS).

265. ID 14022498892 (Albania, LS).

266. ID 14022774981 (Serbia, LS).

267. ID 14022768208 (Ukraine, US).

Meanwhile, a lower secondary teacher from Türkiye argues, with regard to the dimensions of international co-operation, that:

“states cannot fight economic problems alone and at the same time, the development occurring in any country affects the countries with which it has commercial relations. Therefore, students should realise the importance of countries determining common policies and acting jointly to overcome the problems they face.”²⁶⁸

Teachers from various countries further underline the multiple practical benefits of teaching historical economic crises, such as “developing financial and entrepreneurial competence”,²⁶⁹ learning “important financial literacy concepts”²⁷⁰ and, more generally, encouraging “active participation in society”.²⁷¹

Some teachers expressed concerns about the challenges associated with teaching about economic history. At the lower secondary level, these concerns are often related to the balance between the significance accorded to economic crises opposed to other dimensions. For example, a teacher in Ireland highlights: “At lower secondary level it is more important that students are given a general overview of history than indulge in too much specialisation”.²⁷² Similarly, a teacher from France underscores that “the economy and its ups and downs are one element among others and do not explain everything”.²⁷³ Some lower secondary teachers are also concerned about the complexity of the history of economic crises

for their students. For instance, a teacher from Luxembourg says that such topics are “often [too] complex for the students”,²⁷⁴ and similarly, a teacher from Ireland points out that “Students need to know about them but are too young to really understand the consequences”.²⁷⁵

At the upper secondary level, some teachers voice concerns about potentially allocating too much time to economic crises in history teaching, calling to mind the already overloaded curriculum. For example, teachers from Ireland state that the curriculum is already “too full”,²⁷⁶ with one elaborating that “We have a very big curriculum to get through so I don’t get to spend as much time on the economy”.²⁷⁷ Similarly, a teacher from Slovenia points out that “There are not enough hours available [considering] the material that needs to be processed”.²⁷⁸

Perceived interest of students in learning about economic crises

In addition to exploring the importance given to teaching economic crises, teachers were asked about the perceived interest of their students in learning about these topics. Almost half the participants believe that their students are extremely interested (4.8%) or interested (40.4%) in learning about economic crises in history. Fewer teachers consider their students to be moderately interested (39.5%), not very

268. ID 14022920248 (Türkiye, LS).

269. ID 14022809809 (Ukraine, US).

270. ID 14022858542 (Portugal, LS).

271. ID 14022376661 (Portugal, LS).

272. ID 14023043395 (Ireland, LS).

273. ID 14022895603 (France, LS).

274. ID 14022627975 (Luxembourg, LS).

275. ID 14022567099 (Ireland, LS).

276. ID 14022399682 (Ireland, US).

277. ID 14022399682 (Ireland, US).

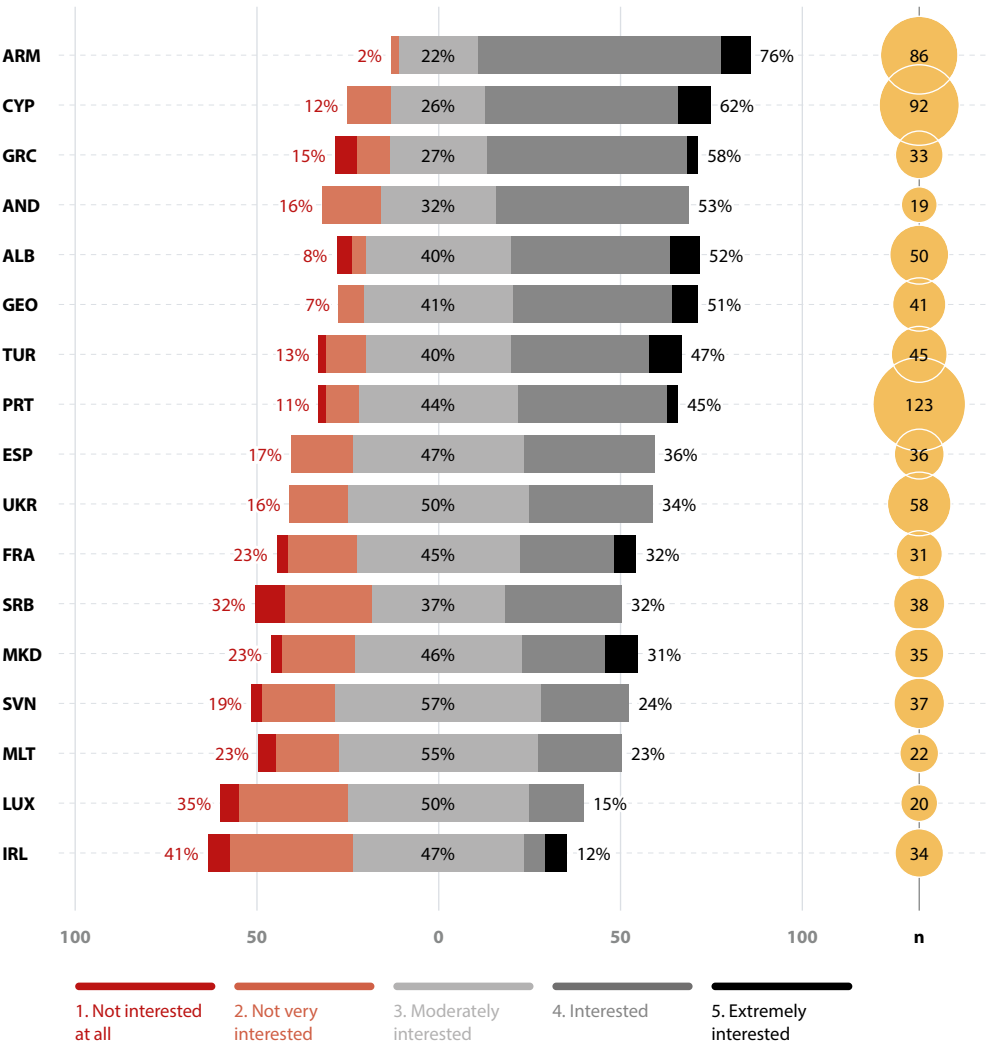
278. ID 14022627975 (Slovenia, US).

interested (13.1%) or not interested at all (2.3%). **Figure 5.3** shows the results by country.

The association between the importance given by teachers to teaching about economic crises and the perceived interest in the subject among students was analysed using Kendall's Tau-b

correlation coefficient. A significant positive correlation was observed ($r_t = .34, p < .05$). In general, this result indicates that when teachers consider the teaching of economic crises in history to be more important, they also perceive their students to be more interested in these topics.

Figure 5.3 Teachers' perceptions of students' interest in learning about economic crises in history



Cross-curricular connections

Teachers were asked about connections with other subjects when teaching economic crises. Some 88% of participants (704) stated that they make connections with other subjects, while 12% (96) indicated that they do not.

In order to specify the subjects with which teaching about economic crises was combined, nine options were provided, with participants being asked to select all that applied, as well as a free field where participants could enter other subjects. The 704 participants who selected an option made a total of 2 259 choices.

As shown in **Table 5.3**, geography was identified as the most frequently linked subject, selected by 489 participants (69.5%). The teachers who selected this option were most frequently from France (86.2%), Georgia (84.8%), Spain (84.8%), Albania (82.6%) and Andorra (81.8%). These countries include some where history and geography are always or often taught as a combined subject (“History-geography” in France and “Geography and history” in Spain) and others where history is taught within multidisciplinary courses at some levels (“Human and social sciences” in Andorra and “Georgian and world history” in Georgia).²⁷⁹ Teachers from Cyprus (44.7%) and North Macedonia (41.4%) were least likely to select geography.

Table 5.3 Subjects that teachers connect to when teaching about economic crises in history

Subjects	Responses		Percentage of respondents (n = 704)	Distribution by academic level			
	No.	%		Lower secondary education (ISCED-2)		Upper secondary education (ISCED-3)	
Civic education	425	18.8%	60.4%	180	65.9%	245	56.8%
Geography	489	21.6%	69.5%	192	70.3%	297	68.9%
Language and literature	185	8.2%	26.3%	67	24.5%	118	27.4%
Religious education	105	4.6%	14.9%	40	14.7%	65	15.1%
Philosophy	154	6.8%	21.9%	55	20.1%	99	23%
Economics	421	18.6%	59.8%	134	49.1%	287	66.6%
Mathematics	117	5.2%	16.6%	55	20.1%	62	14.4%
Science	134	5.9%	19%	49	17.9%	85	19.7%
Arts	197	8.7%	28%	72	26.4%	125	29%
Other	32	1.4%	4.5%	11	4 %	21	4.9%
Total	2 259	100%		n = 273		n = 431	

279. For an overview of history courses offered in public schools in the OHTe member states, consult the OHTe general report on the state of history teaching in Europe, Vol. 2: Country sheets (OHTe 2024).

The subjects of civic education, selected by 425 participants (60.4%), and economics, selected by 421 (59.8%), ranked second and third behind geography. They are followed by a notable distance by arts (28%), language and literature (26.3%), philosophy (21.9%), science (19%), mathematics (16.6%) and religious education (14.9%).

In the space given to participants to name other subjects, a total of 32 participants entered further subjects with which they make connections when teaching about economic crises. An analysis of the open-ended responses reveals that the most popular subject was “sociology” or “social science”, entered by 10 respondents, followed by “politics” or “political science”, which four respondents entered, and then “art history”, indicated by two respondents. Other subjects among the broad range of answers included “European studies”, “climatology” and “computer science”.

A correspondence analysis was conducted to examine associations between countries and subjects. Notably, the percentage of participants from Cyprus (65.9%) and Greece (71%) who selected language and literature was significantly higher than would be the case through random association. Interestingly, in both Cyprus and Greece, history teachers do not need to hold history degrees and may be graduates of other humanities disciplines such as languages, archaeology or philosophy.²⁸⁰

Furthermore, participants were asked whether they thought that economic crises in history should be taught in combination with other subjects, to which 90.1% replied in the affirmative. This percentage is slightly higher than the 88% of teachers who had stated in reply to the previous question that they already did so in practice. In answer to the question of the subject with which they thought the topic



Map from “Primary Geography. [With illustrations].” - The British Library, United Kingdom - Public Domain.

should be combined (multiple answers were possible), economics was the most common reply with 585 (81.1%) selecting it, despite economics only ranking third among the subject connections that are made in practice. As shown in **Table 5.4**, economics is followed by geography at 78.1% and civic education at 69.9%, which had ranked first and second respectively in the question related to current practice. These figures are comparable to, although slightly higher than, the results obtained from the previous question on subject connections that have actually been made.

Beyond the nine options listed in the questionnaire, the participants were also given space to name other subjects. A total of 29 participants listed further subjects they believed should be included. Notably, these submitted answers are fairly similar to the answers in the previous question, with nine respondents adding “sociology” or “social science”, four listing “political science” and two naming “art history” and “geopolitics”. Other examples included “European studies”, “business studies”, “medicine” and “ICT” (information and communications technology). Two respondents simply indicated “all subjects”.

280. OHTE general report on the state of history teaching in Europe, Vol. 1: Comparative analysis (OHTE 2024), p. 126.

Table 5.4 Subjects that teachers believe should be combined with history when teaching about economic crises

Subjects	Responses		Percentage of respondents (n = 721)	Distribution by academic level			
	No.	%		Lower secondary education (ISCED-2)		Upper secondary education (ISCED-3)	
Civic education	504	17.5%	69.9%	217	74.6%	287	66.7%
Geography	563	19.6%	78.1%	235	80.8%	328	76.3%
Language and literature	210	7.3%	29.1%	77	26.5%	133	30.9%
Religious education	117	4.1%	16.2%	47	16.2%	70	16.3%
Philosophy	222	7.7%	30.8%	78	26.8%	144	33.5%
Economics	585	20.4%	81.1%	225	77.3%	360	83.7%
Mathematics	203	7.1%	28.2%	92	31.6%	111	25.8%
Science	198	6.9%	27.5%	76	26.1%	122	28.4%
Arts	242	8.4%	33.6%	89	30.6%	153	35.6%
Other	29	1%	4%	10	3.4%	19	4.4%
Total	2 873	100%		n = 291		n = 430	

In terms of correlations between the results for the questions on current practice and on desired practice, the highest correlations can be observed between language and literature and the arts ($r = .66$), as well as between geography and economics ($r = .54$). Furthermore, a correspondence analysis that was conducted to examine associations between countries and subjects reveals that the percentage of participants from Cyprus (70.1%) and Greece (65.6%) who selected language and literature was significantly higher than would be expected by chance, which is similar to the observation made for the previous question.

In order to learn more about the correlation between the two questions, further correspondence analysis was performed, which demonstrated almost perfect correspondence between the responses to both questions.

Teachers’ opinions on cross-curricular teaching

Teachers were presented with an open-ended question giving them the opportunity to elaborate, to which 367 participants responded. Their answers discussed the overall benefits of a multidisciplinary approach, while emphasising the added value achieved through specific subject angles.

Many respondents stated that economic crises are complex, multidimensional historical events, conditioned by various factors and with a cross-cutting impact on societies. They therefore viewed it as crucial that the topic be taught from a rounded perspective, supplemented by aspects that are not necessarily covered in

history lessons. As a Ukrainian upper secondary teacher suggests, “The economic crisis is a phenomenon that can be broken down into its components and examined from different angles, and various sciences help to do so.”²⁸¹ Similarly, a Portuguese upper secondary teacher adds: “An economic crisis stems not only from the structural functioning of the economy, but from human action as a whole in its group context. In this sense, it has to be analysed as a whole in the multitude of disciplines or areas of study created by man.”²⁸²

In addition to this, the respondents expressed their opinions on the roles of various fields of study. Teachers who selected economics and geography, the two most frequently selected disciplines in the previous quantitative question, also refer to connections between economic crises and the distribution of economic power and resources, for example, “production, money, oil, geopolitical constellation”²⁸³ or human mobility such as “migration in geography, followed by human circulation, mass population mobility, sociological changes”²⁸⁴ and “new climate change.”²⁸⁵

Some teachers highlight possible links between teaching economic history and a diverse range of other subjects. For example, an upper secondary teacher from Türkiye who selected five subjects from the listed options and added “sociology” as a sixth, gave the following reasons:

“Philosophy in order to be able to evaluate economic crises in a cause-and-effect relationship and analyse their other effects, mathematics in order to understand their material consequences, citizenship education in order to be able to analyse

their impact on the lives of individuals, science in order to be able to establish their relationship with scientific developments and sociology in order to understand their reflection on society.”²⁸⁶

Additionally, a Turkish upper secondary teacher highlighted the direct impact of economic preconditions, especially economic crises, on various fields of study and provides examples:

“Throughout history, the countries where science and philosophy have developed are the countries with strong economies. For example, in the early ages, Venice; Genoa in the Middle Ages; Greece, Portugal, Spain in the New Age, etc. Economic problems lead to spiritual depression. People move away from religion or, on the contrary, take refuge in religion. Money is ultimately related to mathematics and mathematics is related to economy.”²⁸⁷

Some teachers point to politics/political science and social studies/sociology as valuable links to the economic crises in history teaching. For example, a lower secondary teacher from Luxembourg who added politics and sociology to the free text field believes that “Where the impact of an economic crisis is most visible is in the voting results during or immediately after such a crisis.”²⁸⁸ The arts and literature are also frequently discussed in the responses submitted by the teachers. Several teachers delineate how economic crises are reflected in visual, literary and musical expression, both in content and (changes of) style. An upper secondary teacher from Cyprus states, “The writers, the painters, the poets, the musicians express the time, the problems and the dreams of people of their

281. ID 14022388478 (Ukraine, US).

282. ID 14022582240 (Portugal, US).

283. ID 14022780176 (Armenia, US).

284. ID 14022932868 (Türkiye, US).

285. ID 14022802830 (Albania, US).

286. ID 14022905851 (Türkiye, US).

287. ID 14022907294 (Türkiye, US).

288. ID 14022552909 (Luxembourg, LS).

time”.²⁸⁹ The teachers thus highlight how looking through a cultural lens and using specific written material, for example, relevant to a specific epoch could enhance history teaching, making subject matters such as economic crises “more vivid ... through literature”, as an upper secondary teacher from North Macedonia explains.²⁹⁰ A Slovenian teacher who selected “economics, geography, sociology and political science”, further adds:

“Literature, art and media often reflect the social and economic conditions of their time. By linking these fields to economic crises, students can see how crises affect cultural creativity and public opinion. Geography helps understand how natural resources, location and physical conditions influence economic conditions and crises. For example, natural disasters or resource scarcity can trigger or worsen economic crises.”²⁹¹

Furthermore, a number of teachers describe how they perceive cross-curricular learning to demonstrate interrelationships between different spheres of life, also highlighting the human dimensions of personal experiences and choices. In the words of an upper secondary teacher from Cyprus, the economy affects “the daily life of every human being as well as their dreams, their plans for the present and the future”.²⁹² Another upper secondary teacher from Ireland states, “Teaching across multiple subjects creates a familiarity and respect for topics that are fundamental to

our lives”, while also remarking on the learning outcome: “Areas that are taught as one-offs are forgotten quicker”.²⁹³ A Ukrainian upper secondary teacher who selected six subjects in the previous question shares a similar belief: “The more connections, the better remembered”.²⁹⁴

Other teachers further refer to the multifactorial and practical learning benefits for students when dealing with economic crises in history lessons, including a “critical awareness of events, personalities and phenomena”,²⁹⁵ “skills in synthesis and analysis”,²⁹⁶ “an understanding of cause and effect”,²⁹⁷ and “the development of historical awareness and historical thinking”.²⁹⁸ Several teachers underlined the benefits for students in acquiring integrated knowledge that would also enable them to draw parallels and reflect on causes, consequences and solutions in multifaceted ways.²⁹⁹ A teacher from France argues in favour of multidisciplinary learning for developing well-informed citizens,³⁰⁰ while a teacher from Türkiye notes that this practice is important to prepare students for possible crises of the future.³⁰¹

Finally, some teachers make the observation that a multidisciplinary approach increases students’ interest, thus providing more motivation for learning history; this is noted for example by teachers from Albania,³⁰² Portugal³⁰³ and Ukraine.³⁰⁴ A Portuguese teacher at upper secondary level puts it like this: “Working on

289. ID 14022674378 (Cyprus, US).

290. ID 14022868887 (North Macedonia, US).

291. ID 14022703993 (Slovenia, US).

292. ID 14022783351 (Cyprus, US).

293. ID 14023135151 (Ireland, US).

294. ID 14022739599 (Ukraine, US).

295. ID 14022839368 (Serbia, US).

296. ID 14022843182 (Cyprus, LS).

297. ID 14022623989 (Slovenia, US).

298. ID 14022862905 (Portugal, LS).

299. ID 14023036056 (Georgia, US); ID 14023167647 (North Macedonia, LS); ID 14022703993 (Slovenia, US); ID 14022905851 (Türkiye, US).

300. ID 14022895603 (France, LS).

301. ID 14022960503 (Türkiye, US).

302. ID 14022378875 (Albania, US).

303. ID 14022527797 (Portugal, LS).

304. ID 14022830164 (Ukraine, US).

a topic in a transdisciplinary way increases students’ interest in the content, encourages greater involvement in learning and fosters a more critical spirit”.³⁰⁵

Teaching methods

When asked about their teaching methods, all 800 participants chose at least one of the six options listed, with a total of 2 679 selections made. The mean number of options selected here was 3.35 (SD = 1.26), the median was 3 and the mode was 3.

Table 5.5 shows that the most frequently selected option was classroom discussions, which was selected by 658 respondents

(82.3%). Most remarkably, all teachers from Ireland (100%) selected this option. A high percentage of teachers from Cyprus (96.7%) and Greece (90.9%) also selected this option, as did those from Armenia (87.2%), Albania (86%), North Macedonia (85.7%), Georgia (85.4%) and Portugal (85.4%). These figures drop to 52.6% for teachers from Andorra and 54.8% for those from France. In the overall ranking, classroom discussions are followed by lectures/presentations (74.4%) and analysing and contrasting historical sources (73.8%) with similar results. At the other end of the scale, only a few teachers selected project-based learning, such as creating exhibitions and student-led research (31.8%), and even fewer selected place-based learning, such as field trips to museums, memorial sites or cultural heritage sites (21%).

Table 5.5 Teaching methods used when addressing economic crises

Teaching methods	Responses		Percentage of cases (n = 800)	Distribution by academic level			
	No.	%		Lower secondary education (ISCED-2)		Upper secondary education (ISCED-3)	
Lectures/presentations	595	22.2%	74.4%	236	71.1%	359	76.7%
Reading informative texts	414	15.5%	51.8%	158	47.6%	256	54.7%
Classroom discussions	658	24.6%	82.3%	271	81.6%	387	82.7%
Analysing and contrasting historical sources	590	22%	73.8%	239	72%	351	75%
Project-based learning (e.g. creating exhibitions, student-led research)	254	9.5%	31.8%	89	26.8%	165	35.3%
Place-based learning (e.g. field trips to museums, memorial sites, cultural heritage sites)	168	6.3%	21%	65	19.6%	103	22%
Total	2 679	100%		n = 332		n = 468	

305. ID 14022632382 (Portugal, US).

A tetrachoric correlations calculation reveals that the overall correlations are not very high, indicating no clear relationship between the use of different methodologies. However, the association between project-based learning and place-based learning ($r = .42$) appears to be an exception. In other words, teachers who opt for one of these two teaching practices also tend to use the other.

Geographical scope

In terms of geographical dimensions, all of the 800 participants chose at least one of the six options offered, with a total of 2 776 selections made.

Table 5.6 shows that there is a strong focus on national history when teaching about economic crises, with 631 participants (78.9%) selecting

this option. Teachers from France (96.8%) and Slovenia (94.6%) in particular, focus on the national history perspective, whereas it has a notably lower significance in Andorra (47.4%).

In second and third place respectively were global history, which was selected by 609 participants (76.1%), and European history, selected by 589 (73.6%). It is worth noting that European history was selected by all teachers from Ireland (100%). In comparison, teachers from Armenia (30.2%), Türkiye (51.1%) and Georgia (58.8%) appear to attach the least importance to European history.

Lowest in the overall ranking were supranational regional history outside Europe, such as in South-East Asia, which was selected by 174 participants (21.8%), and supranational regional history in Europe, such as the Balkans and the Caucasus, selected by 301 participants (37.6%).

Table 5.6 Geographical dimensions included when teaching about economic crises in history

Geographical dimensions	Responses		Percentage of cases (n = 800)	Distribution by academic level			
	No.	%		Lower secondary education (ISCED-2)		Upper secondary education (ISCED-3)	
Local and regional history (subnational)	472	17%	59%	188	56.6%	284	60.7%
National history	631	22.7%	78.9%	258	77.7%	373	79.7%
Supranational regional history in Europe, e.g. Balkans, Caucasus	301	10.8%	37.6%	112	33.7%	189	40.4%
European history	589	21.2%	73.6%	244	73.5%	345	73.7%
Supranational regional history outside Europe, e.g. South-East Asia	174	6.3%	21.8%	61	18.4%	113	24.1%
Global history	609	21.9%	76.1%	249	75%	360	76.9%
Total	2 776	100%		n = 332		n = 468	

A tetrachoric correlation analysis revealed a strong correlation between the dimensions of supranational regional history outside Europe and supranational regional history in Europe ($r = .78$). Similarly high correlations were observed between European history and supranational regional history outside Europe ($r = .46$) and between national history and European history ($r = .44$). By contrast, global history had a low correlation with the other available options.

Teaching approaches and perspectives

In order to learn more about the approaches employed when teaching economic crises, six

options were offered from which all of the 800 participants made at least one choice, with a total of 3 259 selections being made, as shown in **Table 5.7**. The mean number of options selected in this case was 4.07, the median was 4 and the mode was 6. Of the participants, 199 selected all six approaches listed.

Teachers from across the OHTE member states give the greatest importance to social history (for example, how do economic crises relate to societal structures, social groups, etc.), with 680 participants (85%) selecting this option. Teachers from Spain were most likely to report using this approach (97.2%), but those from Serbia (94.7%), Portugal (94.3%) and Greece (93.9%) also demonstrated high incidences, whereas such approaches were least prevalent among teachers from North Macedonia (57.1%).

Table 5.7 Teaching approaches used when addressing economic crises in history

Approaches	Responses		Percentage of cases (n = 800)	Distribution by academic level			
	No.	%		Lower secondary education (ISCED-2)		Upper secondary education (ISCED-3)	
Political or diplomatic history (e.g. how do economic crises impact government action and vice versa?)	593	18.2%	74.1%	236	71.1%	357	76.3%
Military history (e.g. how do economic crises impact warfare and vice versa?)	469	14.4%	58.6%	189	56.9%	280	59.8%
Economic history (e.g. typologies of economic crises such as speculation crises, state debt crises, agrarian crises, etc. – Are economic causes and consequences described or explained?)	547	16.8%	68.4%	211	63.6%	336	71.8%
Social history (e.g. how do economic crises relate to societal structures, social groups, etc.?)	680	20.9%	85%	283	85.2%	397	84.8%
Cultural history (e.g. how do economic crises relate to values, norms, habits and practices, etc.?)	478	14.7%	59.8%	188	56.6%	290	62%
History of ideas and ideologies (e.g. how do economic crises relate to ideas and/or ideologies, etc.?)	492	15.1%	61.5%	189	56.9%	303	64.7%
Total	3 259	100%		n = 332		n = 468	

The second-most frequently selected approach is political or diplomatic history (for example, how do economic crises impact government action and vice versa?), which was selected by 593 respondents (74.1 %). The highest occurrences were in Luxembourg (95%) and Ireland (94.1%). Economic history (for example, typologies of economic crises such as speculation crises, state debt crises, agrarian crises, etc. – Are economic and causes and consequences described or explained?) was the third most popular choice with 547 replies (68.4%), where Portugal demonstrated the highest occurrence (94.3%).

The least frequently selected options were military history (for example, how do economic crises impact warfare and vice versa?), which was selected by 469 participants (58.6 %), and cultural history (for example, how do economic crises relate to values, norms, habits and practices, etc.), selected by 478 participants (59.8 %).

A tetrachoric correlation analysis revealed clear relationships between the social history

approach and the cultural history approach ($r = .5$), between social history and the history of ideas and ideologies ($r = .41$) and between history of ideas and ideologies and cultural history ($r = .41$).

In addition to approaches, teachers were asked which perspectives form part of their history teaching about economic crises. For this, 12 options were thus listed, from which all of the 800 teachers chose at least one option. A total of 3 195 selections were made with considerable variations across the different approaches and across 17 OHTE member states, as shown in **Table 5.8**.

Histories of everyday life (e.g. ordinary people and individuals) appears to be the most popular perspective when teaching economic crises, with 533 participants (66.6 %) making this selection, the highest percentage being from Ireland (88.2%), Slovenia (83.8%) and Spain (80.6%), and the lowest from Albania (44%). Nearly as popular is the history of conflict and peace with 523 (65.4 %) selections.



“Five Cent a Spot” Unauthorized Lodgings in a Bayard Street Tenement. Via Preus Museum

Table 5.8 Perspectives included by teachers when addressing economic crises in history

Perspectives	Responses		Percentage of cases (n = 800)	Distribution by academic level			
	No.	%		Lower secondary education (ISCED-2)		Upper secondary education (ISCED-3)	
Women's history	257	8%	32.1%	102	30.7%	155	33.1%
LGBTI history	27	0.8%	3.4%	11	3.3%	16	3.4%
History of cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic and/or national groups and/or minorities	443	13.9%	55.4%	172	51.8%	271	57.9%
History of Roma and Travellers	82	2.6%	10.3%	36	10.8%	46	9.8%
Children's history	113	3.5%	14.1%	49	14.8%	64	13.7%
History of those shaping economic life (e.g. actions of farmers, entrepreneurs, economists, politicians, trade unions relevant in the context of economic crisis)	442	13.8%	55.3%	164	49.4%	278	59.4%
Histories of everyday life (e.g. ordinary people and individuals)	533	16.7%	66.6%	213	64.2%	320	68.4%
History of the Holocaust	295	9.2%	36.9%	124	37.3%	171	36.5%
History of democracy	480	15%	60%	192	57.8%	288	61.5%
History of conflict and peace	523	16.4%	65.4%	212	63.9%	311	66.5%
Total	3 195	100%		n = 332		n = 468	

At the other end of the scale, the figures decrease significantly for children's history (14.1%), the history of Roma and Travellers (10.3%) and the history of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) persons (3.4%). Particularly in the case of the history of Roma and Travellers, the occurrence varies across member states ranging between 0% (Andorra) and 24.3% (Slovenia). In the case of LGBTI history, the numbers are generally low, with five countries where only one teacher selected this option (1.1% to 3%) and no teachers from five other countries making this selection (0%). By contrast, Andorra appears to be an exception, with 26% of participants choosing LGBTI history.

A tetrachoric correlation calculation was performed in order to learn more about the relationships between the different perspectives used. The findings suggest a high correlation between women's history and children's history ($r = .67$) and between women's history and LGBTI history ($r = .65$). Furthermore, there are also high correlations between LGBTI history and the history of Roma and Traveller ($r = .52$) and between the history of the Holocaust and the history of democracy ($r = .55$).

In addition, correspondence analysis was carried out in order to further explore associations between perspectives examined in this question and approaches examined

in the previous question. The results indicate similarities between a cultural history approach and a children's history perspective, between an economic history approach and a focus on the history of those shaping economic life (for example, the actions of farmers, entrepreneurs, economists, politicians and trade unions relevant in the context of an economic crisis). This is also the case for a political or diplomatic history approach and a perspective focusing on the history of democracy.

Use of educational resources other than textbooks

Teachers' use of educational resources was also analysed (excluding textbooks, which are examined in depth in **Chapter 4**). Fourteen options were offered in the questionnaire, from which all 800 participants picked at least one item. A total of 4 277 selections were made.

Of these, documentaries and educational films with 626 (78.3%) selections were the most used resources, as can be seen in **Table 5.9**. A significant share of teachers from Luxembourg (95%) selected this option, whereas teachers from France mention this resource to a much lesser extent (54.8%). Ranked second in the list of resources were audiovisual sources (such as historical photographs or historical films), which were selected by 570 participants (71.3%). This option was selected by a high percentage of teachers from Spain (94.4%) and a lower percentage of teachers from Albania (40%), Armenia (48.8%) and Georgia (51.2%).

At the bottom of the overall ranking, video games (7.4%) and artificial intelligence (AI) tools (8.6%) share a similarly low percentage. While participants from three countries (Greece, Malta and North Macedonia) reported they did not use video games at all, the share of teachers from Armenia (16.3%) and Türkiye (17.8%) is relatively

high. In the case of AI tools (such as ChatGPT and Midjourney), this option was selected only once among participants from Spain (2.8%) and Ireland (2.9%), while participants from France and North Macedonia did not select it at all (0%). By contrast, 36.8% of teachers from Andorra reported having used AI tools.

In terms of correlations between different resources, clear relationships were found between the use of AI tools and the use of video games ($r = .55$), as well as between the use of AI tools and the use of apps for smartphones and tablets with historical content ($r = .54$). Furthermore, the selection of local cultural heritage (such as traditions, architecture or industrial heritage) correlates with visiting museums and memorial sites ($r = .51$).

A correspondence analysis was carried out to explore associations between the use of the different resources and approaches examined previously. The results indicate a significant proximity between the history of ideas and ideologies and the use of resources such as documentaries and educational films, or primary documentary sources (such as historical documents or newspapers). Another association was identified between the cultural history approach and the option of visiting museums and memorial sites or exploring local cultural heritage (such as traditions, architecture or industrial heritage).

A subsequent correspondence analysis was carried out in order to learn more about the relationships between the use of different resources and historical perspectives. There are associations between perspectives such as children's history and the use of AI tools or websites with historical content that are not officially approved by the government. There are also correlations between the option on the history of democracy and the use of oral and audiovisual sources. Finally, a further association was identified between the history of Roma and Travellers and visiting museums and memorial sites.

Table 5.9 Resources used in history teaching about economic crises

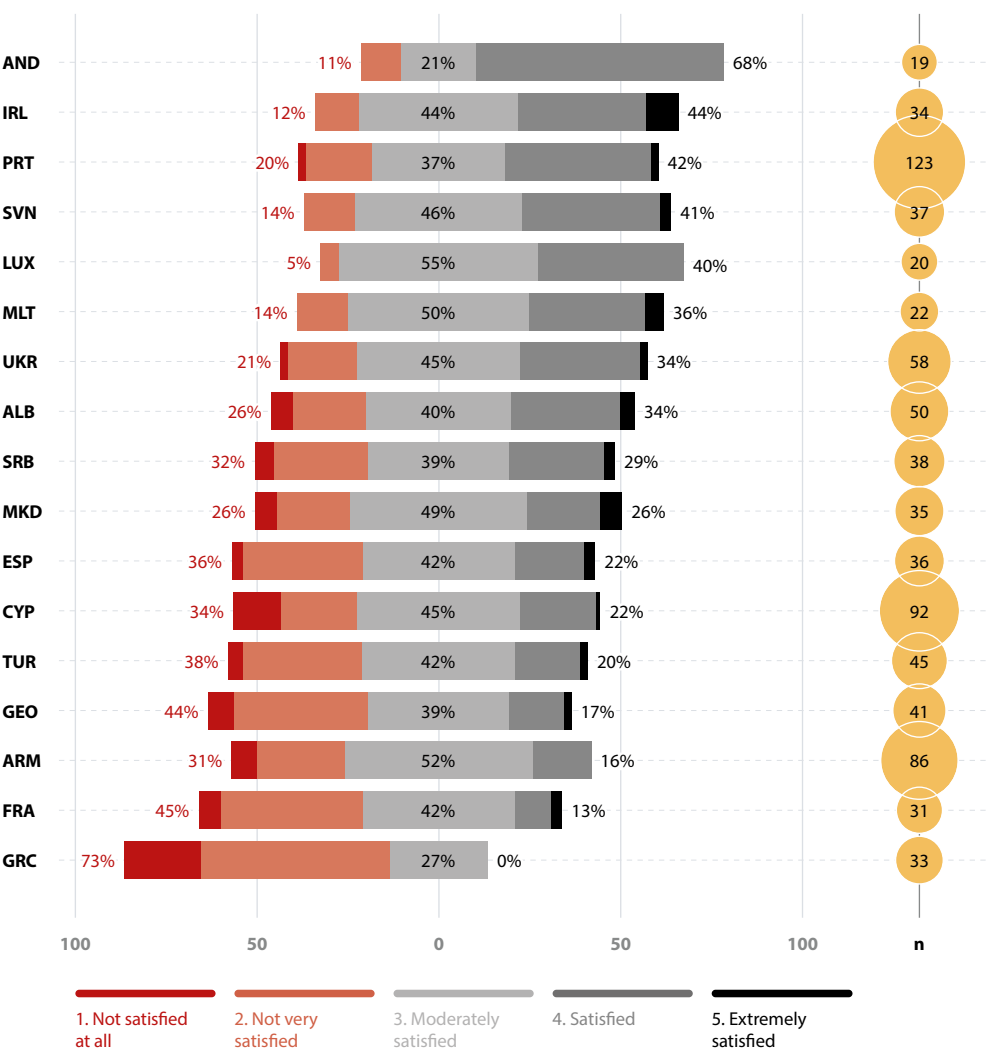
Resources	Responses		Percentage of cases (n = 800)	Distribution by academic level			
	No.	%		Lower secondary education (ISCED-2)		Upper secondary education (ISCED-3)	
Apps for smartphones and tablets with historical content	170	4%	21.3%	52	15.7%	118	25.2%
Documentaries and educational films	626	14.6%	78.3%	249	75 %	377	80.6%
Audiovisual sources (e.g. historical photographs, historical films)	570	13.3%	71.3%	244	73.5%	326	69.7%
Academic literature (e.g. scientific books and journals)	318	7.4%	39.8%	113	34%	205	43.8%
Literature (e.g. fiction novels, historical novels, graphic novels)	302	7.1%	37.8%	110	33.1%	192	41%
Local cultural heritage (e.g. traditions, architecture/industrial heritage)	275	6.4%	34.4%	106	31.9%	169	36.1%
Museums and memorial sites	256	6%	32%	105	31.6%	151	32.3%
Oral sources (e.g. interviews or testimonies of witnesses of the past)	283	6.6%	35.4%	98	29.5%	185	39.5%
Primary documentary sources (e.g. historical documents, newspapers)	477	11.2%	59.6%	185	55.7%	292	62.4%
Historical statistics and graphs	452	10.6%	56.5%	172	51.8%	280	59.8%
Video games	59	1.4%	7.4%	27	8.1%	32	6.8%
Websites with historical content officially approved by the government	255	6%	31.9%	100	30.1%	155	33.1%
Websites with historical content not officially approved by government	165	3.9%	20.6%	61	18.4%	104	22.2%
AI tools (e.g. ChatGPT, Midjourney, etc.)	69	1.6%	8.6%	27	8.1%	42	9%
Total	4 277	100%		n = 332		n = 468	

Teachers' satisfaction with the treatment of economic crises within national curricula

In the next section, the teachers were asked about their degree of satisfaction with the

ways in which national curricula and teaching materials address economic crises. With regard to the curricula, 28.8% of the participants responded that they are either not very satisfied (23.3%) or not satisfied at all (5.5%), while a similar percentage of participants was satisfied (26.6%) or extremely satisfied (2.4%). Some 42.5 % reported that they were moderately satisfied. **Figure 5.4** shows the responses distributed by country.

Figure 5.4 Percentage of teachers by country who reported being satisfied with how the national curriculum addresses economic crises in history



Following the rating, the teachers were asked to give further explanations and suggestions for improvement in a free text field. Nearly half of the participants (394) submitted a response. The replies expressed a great diversity of viewpoints and raised a broad range of issues.

First, a significant number of teachers who answered this open-ended question highlighted the fundamental problem of a shortage of teaching hours. They alluded to the already limited time allocated to history lessons per week, with some noting that further reductions had been made to these hours recently. This difficulty may be compounded by the constraints of the curriculum. As a teacher at upper secondary level from Cyprus emphasised, "Taking into account that students are taught regional, national, European and global history, it is not possible to emphasise subjects such as economic crises. The curriculum is overcrowded with other information deemed necessary to comprehend the historical line".³⁰⁶

Some respondents who teach history at upper secondary level also mention the high pressure on students in their final year. A Greek teacher at upper secondary level explains:

"The reason I'm moderately satisfied is that economic [crises] are just a (small) part of the [huge] exams book for university exams that our students have to learn by heart in order to succeed. Their stress during their last year at school does not let them appreciate the importance of this topic or the need to see it intersubjectively and make the connections to the present. They (and we) insist on what is required for the exams."³⁰⁷

When it comes to the importance given to economic history and its place within the

overall history curriculum, a number of teachers, for example from Georgia, Ireland and North Macedonia, noted the prioritisation of political history with a narrow focus on specific key events, particularly national and international conflicts, whereas social and economic history are given less attention, as are long-term social processes and cultural impacts.³⁰⁸ Some teachers pointed out that economic events sometimes appear to be confined to the margins of historical accounts and used only as background information to explain political events. An Irish teacher at lower secondary level states, "I think that on the whole there is not enough emphasis on the links between economic crisis and the wider social and cultural impacts it can have. There is a lot of emphasis on the political consequences".³⁰⁹

Generally, the lack of in-depth analysis in the treatment of economic crises was highlighted by many respondents. A teacher from Cyprus explains why they rated the national curriculum with 1 (not satisfied at all) in the above-mentioned question:

"Because the curriculum is formed based on targeted areas of specific historical periods without taking into account the continuity and/or relevance of global historical events. For example, you cannot teach the First World War without properly addressing the Industrial Revolution, economic liberalism, capitalism, militarism and the impacts of the colonisation of Third-World countries."³¹⁰

Some teachers reflect on and contextualise teaching economic crises from a specific national perspective. A Greek teacher at lower secondary level states: "Because history teaching in Greece is affected by economic crisis. That means that the curriculum hasn't been updated, and often history is taught and by teachers from other

306. ID 14022679455 (Cyprus, US).

307. ID 14022747180 (Greece, US).

308. ID 14023049650 (Georgia, US); ID 14023045637 (Ireland, LS); ID 14022868887 (North Macedonia, US).

309. ID 14022674061 (Ireland, LS).

310. ID 14022789050 (Cyprus, LS).

faculties, for example by foreign language teachers”.³¹¹ An upper secondary teacher looks at the Albanian curriculum and argues:

“I think that the school curriculum does not present the full panorama of the communist system in Albania and its consequences in various fields, as well as in the economic aspect ... The young generations born during the era of democracy who cannot imagine what happened in Albania for 50 years of the communist system, but not only in Albania, not having a clear and complete school curriculum, find it impossible to understand the mistakes of the past. A nation that does not know its past is destined to repeat it.”³¹²

In some cases, teachers felt that the personal experiences of ordinary people are not afforded sufficient attention. For instance, an upper secondary teacher from Spain says:

“Economic crises are still taught in a rather traditional way, mainly focusing on big numbers, excluding the more personal effects that these [crises] might have for real people. And this is precisely the dimension that in my opinion can help us engage and involve students. Bringing the economy closer to the reality of people, teaching about the effects that the economy has in several dimensions of society.”³¹³

A Portuguese teacher at upper secondary level echoes this notion:

“The human dimension of economic crises is secondary in the curriculum. Economics is inherently reduced to a technical

dimension, losing its spectrum of human and social science, resulting from conscious choices or those dictated by technology, formal or informal power structures, social structures and the transmission of heritage, ideology, etc. The social and human impacts of the major economic lines and choices throughout history, the way in which they break up and reconfigure family and inter-relational structures, power structures within the family, gender and age relations, racial and inter-civilisational relations are marginal and drop in the inevitable march of the teleologically described globalised market economy. History teaching should be more humanised.”³¹⁴

Furthermore, several teachers make a range of suggestions on how to enrich the teaching of economic crises. A lower secondary teacher from Portugal stressed the need for a broader contextualisation, also reflecting on, also reflecting on “economic crises as a result of environmental and climate crises”.³¹⁵ Some participants promote the inclusion of women’s history and women’s perspectives when teaching economic crises. For example, a lower secondary teacher from Malta feels that “[women’s history and the role of women in the economy] should be introduced”³¹⁶ and an upper secondary teacher from Spain says that history lessons “could emphasise [women’s perspectives more and be] less Eurocentric”.³¹⁷

A few teachers were of the opinion that nothing needs to be improved and that economic history should not be given prominence over political or social history in the national curriculum. As an upper secondary teacher from Andorra who reported being satisfied (rating 4) with the status quo explains, “Because the

311. ID 14022380163 (Greece, LS).

312. ID 14022482775 (Albania, US).

313. ID 14022414937 (Spain, US).

314. ID 14022868898 (Portugal, US).

315. ID 14022560481 (Portugal, LS).

316. ID 14022753265 (Malta, LS).

317. ID 14022763546 (Spain, US).



national history curriculum offers a transversal and multidisciplinary view of economic crises. It is broad and flexible enough to face the study of the historical processes of Andorra, Europe and the world in a global and integrative way".³¹⁸ A lower secondary teacher from Portugal draws attention to didactics instead:

"In general, the approach taken in the curriculum is good. However, it all depends on how these topics are approached in class, whether the teacher promotes discussion among the students, based on analysing and interpreting the sources, or whether, on the contrary, they just explain how this crisis occurred and what its causes/consequences were."³¹⁹

Teachers' satisfaction with the treatment of economic crises in teaching materials

With regard to teaching materials, 21.1% and 4.9% of respondents indicated that they were either not very satisfied or not satisfied at all respectively, while 29.8% were satisfied and 3% were extremely satisfied. Some 41.3% reported that they were moderately satisfied. **Figure 5.5** shows the responses distributed by country.

When comparing these results with the overall score concerning curricula, they are fairly similar, indicating that when teachers are more satisfied with the curriculum they are also more satisfied with the materials available to them. The same is true in the inverse case; that is, when the participants are less satisfied with the curriculum, they are also less satisfied with the materials.

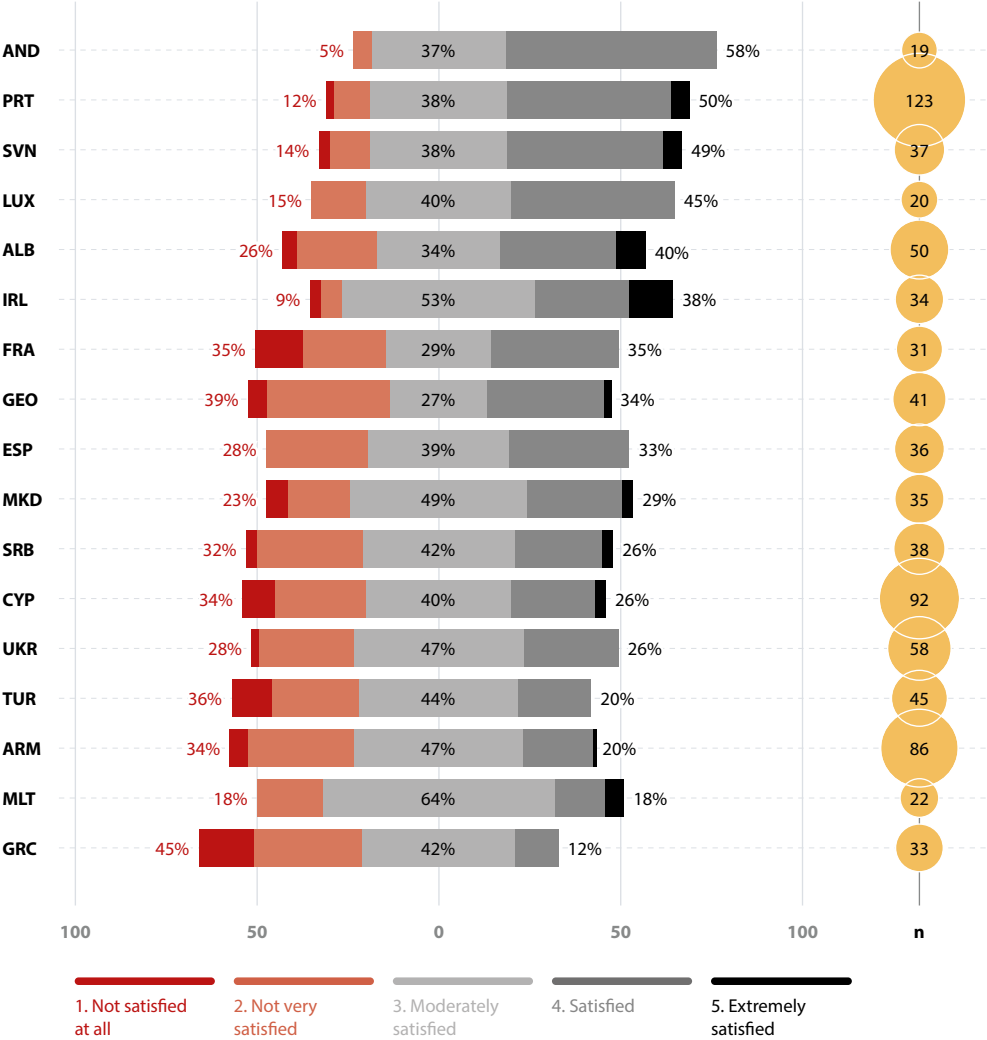
Following this rating, teachers were asked to give further explanations and suggestions for improvement on teaching materials. A total of 353 participants responded to this open-ended question, raising a range of different ideas, requirements and challenges.

First, in accordance with the statements on national curricula, a number of teachers observe a strong prioritisation of political

³¹⁸. ID 14022850009 (Andorra, US).

³¹⁹. ID 14022862905 (Portugal, LS).

Figure 5.5 Percentage of teachers by country who reported being satisfied with the way their available teaching materials address economic crises in history



history over social and economic history in the content and structure of textbooks. An upper secondary teacher from Georgia notes that:

“Economic history, much like social history, finds itself in a secondary position within the educational curriculum. The

primary focus remains on political history, often leading teachers to prioritise this area due to the abundance of materials available. Consequently, economic history tends to be utilised as supplementary support for political history within the curriculum.”³²⁰

320. ID 14022824589 (Georgia, US).

In addition, some teachers feel that economic crises are reflected only superficially, through a rather descriptive and informative approach that is deemed insufficient to capture the complexities, contexts, causes and consequences. The textbook contents fail to encourage in-depth analysis and critical understanding of economic crises, or as a lower secondary teacher from Portugal explains, “More important than knowing how to list or indicate these factors is that students think about the ‘how’, the ‘why’, so that they are able to construct more sophisticated learning and understand the society in which they live”.³²¹

Echoing the comments made in relation to national curricula, the respondents also expressed the necessity to link the discussion of economic crises with the real-life experiences of ordinary people, for example with a Spanish teacher’s suggestion of “connecting it to other aspects of social life (demography, politics, culture, everyday life). Offer a broader perspective of the economy, connecting it to other aspects of life and bringing it closer to [the] everyday reality of students, so that it becomes more meaningful to them”.³²² In this vein, a teacher from Slovenia reflects on the need to teach about economic crises from the more recent past and more specifically from the 21st century.³²³

From a practical perspective, many teachers mention the generally limited availability of teaching materials or a lack of suitability of those materials that do exist. For example, this is demonstrated by teachers from Malta, with an upper secondary teacher noting: “A teacher

does not find many sources ready-made to use in class. The situation has improved in recent years but the amount of resources is still very limited and not available in a variety of levels”.³²⁴ A teacher from Armenia noted that even when materials are available, they only partially satisfy students’ interest.³²⁵ Other teachers commented on the limited or non-existent choice of material related to specific economic crises, requiring them to carry out further research or create their own materials. As an upper secondary teacher from Spain explains, “The treatment of major crises is usually neglected in textbooks. Excessive importance is given to a few of them (the crises of [19]29 and [19]73, for example) and none to others. It would be necessary to [provide a] balance”.³²⁶ A lower secondary teacher from Malta admits: “I find lots of material (video clips, etc.) about Mediterranean/European history but the material is lacking on Maltese history. I thus develop my own teaching material with the possibility to include some limited other material related to the historical content in the syllabus”.³²⁷ In many cases, identifying and compiling materials suitable for teaching economic crises therefore depends on the teacher’s individual initiative and capacity.

Furthermore, “Placing students at the centre of their learning”,³²⁸ as an upper secondary teacher from Portugal phrases it, is given high importance in the respondents’ statements. Accordingly, some teachers point out the necessity of producing and selecting materials that are more accessible and “student-friendly”.³²⁹ In some cases, teachers express the need to simplify difficult concepts and terms and to adapt the material to the age group

321. ID 14022862905 (Portugal, LS).

322. ID 14022414937 (Spain, US).

323. ID 14022619696 (Slovenia, US).

324. ID 14022743264 (Malta, US).

325. ID 14022725895 (Armenia, LS).

326. ID 14022828024 (Spain, US).

327. ID 14022563214 (Malta, LS).

328. ID 14022591666 (Portugal, US).

329. ID 14022484384 (Albania, US); ID 14023042702 (Ireland, LS); ID 14023045637 (Ireland, LS).

in question. A participant from Portugal who teaches at lower secondary level argues:

“Technical language related to economics is often difficult and creates “antibodies” in certain age groups, which is why teaching materials should introduce these specific terms adapted to the increasing gradient of difficulty as the student progresses through school – being replaced in the early years by terms more related to everyday life, although also indicating the corresponding technical term.”³³⁰

Notably, a few participants report using materials that they or school colleagues have developed themselves and that can be further adapted to a specific history lesson. For example, a lower secondary teacher from Spain states:

“I practically prepare all my work materials, since the textbooks available in Spanish focus more on political-institutional issues and economic history is taken as an explanatory conditional element. With the new educational law things may change, but the editorial materials have not undergone significant changes, which forces teachers to search for materials, adapt them to the students and their context, etc. I miss some institutional pages as I see in other countries (museums, archives, even the BBC!) that have sections dedicated to education.”³³¹

A number of teachers raised the question of multimodal and multimedia approaches when teaching economic history. Some participants

confirmed that they have access to an abundance of materials and media to enhance their history teaching, including online resources and national archives. An upper secondary teacher from Andorra replied, “The curricular materials for studying economic crises in history offer multiple insights into the historical processes we analyse. We have historical sources of diverse nature (primary and secondary sources) and their typology is also very varied: thematic maps, graphs, statistical tables, historical photographs, specific infographics, etc.”³³² At the same time, other respondents stress the need for more educational resources and primary sources, such as charts, diagrams, historical photographs and source documents, as well as human life-stories, documentary films and short videos. Further resources deemed by the respondents to make the subject matter more interesting and appealing to students included animations, games, AI tools and online sources.

With regard to the use of multimedia resources, teachers, for example from Albania and Cyprus, identified the available school equipment as a limiting factor, saying that computers, video projectors and Internet access are not always available for every classroom, and that not every student has a mobile phone.³³³

The provision of useful materials and resources sometimes appears to be further restricted by language barriers. Some teachers from Cyprus, Georgia, Serbia and Ukraine indicated in their responses that they feel there is a limited availability of suitable materials in their native languages when it comes to teaching specific historical topics such as economic crises.³³⁴

330. ID 14022602514 (Portugal, LS).

331. ID 14022500266 (Spain, LS).

332. ID 14022850009 (Andorra, US).

333. ID 14022378843 (Albania, LS); ID 14022802830 (Albania, US); ID 14022657898 (Cyprus, LS). The Ministry of Education of Cyprus indicates that all school classrooms are equipped with computers, video projectors and internet access.

334. ID 14022802941 (Cyprus, US); ID 14022566148 (Georgia, LS); ID 14022774487 (Serbia, LS); ID 14022388478 (Ukraine, US).

Concluding remarks

The research reveals that economic crises are a significant component of history curricula across Europe. Nearly all participants incorporated economic crises into their lessons to some degree. The Great Depression of 1929 was the most frequently taught crisis, followed by the decline of old industries following the Industrial Revolution and the economic consequences of collectivisation in socialist states. These findings suggest a focus on major 20th-century economic events, as well as the economic impacts of industrialisation and political ideologies. Interestingly, countries with a socialist past, such as Albania and Ukraine, place significant emphasis on the crisis of socialist economies in the 1980s. This reflects the importance of historical context in shaping educational focus and demonstrates how national experiences influence curricula.

The exploratory study highlights variations in how extensively economic crises have been covered across different countries. More than half of the surveyed teachers covered these topics in 5-25% of their lessons, while almost a quarter dedicated more than 25% of their teaching time to economic crises. However, there are significant differences between countries; for example, 52.8% of Portuguese teachers and 41.7% of Spanish teachers covered economic crises in 25% or more of their lessons, whereas 3.2% of French teachers and

2.7% of Slovenian teachers dedicated this much time to the topic. These disparities likely reflect differences in national curricula, historical experiences and educational priorities.

Teaching about historical economic crises in the OHTE countries frequently involves a multidisciplinary approach. Geography emerges as a key subject, with exceptionally high occurrence rates in many countries. Also frequently seen are civic education, particularly in Georgia and Ukraine, and economics, particularly in Spain and Armenia. Responses by teachers show that many find the use of interdisciplinary approaches to be highly beneficial in helping students to fully grasp the impacts and implications of these complex events, along with building skills such as critical and analytical thinking or developing an awareness of how to address crises and societal challenges.

Future research could entail more in-depth investigations of the reasons for differences between countries, such as historical experiences, economic conditions or educational policies. It would also be valuable to investigate how various teaching strategies impact students' understanding of economic history and their ability to contextualise contemporary economic issues. Additionally, examining the relationship between the coverage of economic crises in history education and students' economic literacy could provide insights into the broader educational impact of these lessons.

Chapter 6.

CONCLUSIONS



This report has detailed how the topic of economic crises is integrated into history teaching across 17 OHTE member states. By analysing history curricula and textbooks for both ISCED-2 and ISCED-3 and by exploring teachers' experiences and views, it offers a nuanced understanding of the varied perspectives and approaches that shape the teaching of economic crises. It also examines the competences that curricula, textbooks and teachers seek to develop in students through teaching this topic, along with the methods used to achieve these aims.

The following section outlines the key insights gained from this study and discusses areas that could be further strengthened in line with the Council of Europe's recommendations to support member states in their history teaching, with the aim of enabling students to understand the broader impact of economic crises on today's world and recognise their role as active citizens within it.

Main findings

The first major finding of the present report is that the history curricula and textbooks of all 17 member states include the topic of economic crises, albeit to a varying degree. Except for Spain, economic crises form a component of compulsory secondary education history teaching in all member states. The Spanish curriculum instead provides a broad range of themes that allow teachers to include the topic at their discretion, making an explicit reference to economic crises only in the context of an elective course.

The frequent inclusion of economic crises in curricula and textbooks also corresponds to its widespread integration into teaching practice, as indicated by teachers in their responses to the exploratory survey. Nearly three quarters of respondents cover the topic in up to 25% of their lessons, with a quarter dedicating even more

time to it. This emphasis aligns with teachers' views on its importance, with most considering it a valuable topic for history teaching. However, only about half feel their students share this interest. In terms of the overall satisfaction of teachers with their curricula and textbooks, 29% of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied or very satisfied with the curricula, while 25.8% indicated the opposite. Teachers cite the superficial treatment of economic crises as one reason for their lack of satisfaction with the curricula, as well as general structural factors like curriculum overload or exam pressures in line with the findings of the first OHTE general report (2024). Satisfaction with textbooks is slightly higher, though some teachers highlight a lack of adequate resources and difficulties in finding suitable materials.

With regard to the temporal perspectives included in teaching about economic crises, none of the curricula examined in this study limit their coverage to the economic crises of the 20th century, except for Albania. Similarly, textbooks from all countries offer a broader temporal perspective on the subject. Nevertheless, in both curricula and textbooks, there remains a clear emphasis on crises from the 19th and 20th centuries. This focus on early modern and modern economic crises is also reflected in the responses to the teachers' questionnaire, where the Great Depression is by far the most widely taught economic crisis across the member states, with nearly 70% of respondents reporting having included it in practice.

In terms of geographical scope, the curricula and textbooks from all countries include economic crises significant to their respective national histories, while also offering perspectives on these crises from a European and/or global historical perspective. When it comes to global history approaches, the curricula and textbooks address, to some extent, the Great Depression in ways that highlight global interconnections and power inequalities, particularly when dealing with

causes and responses. For instance, in French, Irish, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks, connections are drawn between the effects of the Great Depression and colonies and decolonisation movements. Global history perspectives are also sometimes applied when dealing with other crises, including the crises of peasantry and craftsmanship production in the Roman Empire, the crises of local industries in Portugal and Spain as an effect of European colonisation in the early modern period, or the 1973 oil crisis and its consequences for western European industrial societies. However, it is noteworthy that these narratives are still told largely from a Western-centric perspective. For instance, the Great Depression and the 1973 oil crisis are usually taught in the context of their effects and related phenomena in Europe or the United States. Countries that were once part of a multinational empire, federation or other political entity often include supranational regional perspectives on economic crises, focusing on other territories of the formerly shared polity (the Ottoman Empire, Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union, for instance). In contrast, local history perspectives are less frequently presented in curricula and textbooks, although teachers surveyed emphasise the potential that such an approach offers for dealing with the topic.

The generally broader temporal and geographical scope included in the curricula and textbooks coincides with teachers' wishes to address perspectives beyond the individual nation and the history of the 20th century. According to them, such an approach exposes students to a wider range of causes of and solutions to economic crises, thereby strengthening their self-efficacy in identifying and evaluating responses to these issues.

When addressing economic crises, curricula and textbooks do not limit themselves to an economic history perspective and instead include approaches from political, military, social, cultural and intellectual history. However, political and economic history perspectives are

the most prominent, appearing in all countries examined, with social history perspectives also commonly included. In addition, connections are often made between economic crises, conflict and peace, and developments related to democracy.

In the curricula of 10 member states and in the textbooks of nine member states, the topic of economic crises also provides an opportunity to introduce students to various economic concepts and ideas. These include discussions of causes for and solutions to economic crises, as well as the development of major, formative schools of thought that emerged and evolved in conjunction with economic crises (such as liberalism, Marxism or Keynesian economics). Cultural history perspectives are far less common in comparison to the other perspectives in curricula and textbooks. Teachers indicated in their survey responses that they most frequently integrated approaches from social history, political history and economic history in their teaching practice.

Curricula and textbooks from all countries examine economic crises from a macro-historical perspective, addressing broader developments and phenomena. Additionally, the curricula of nine member states include a micro-historical perspective, focusing on the role of individual actors or communities, often highlighting the impact of economic crises on people's everyday lives. The latter example is present in the curricula of four member states. Teachers responding to the survey repeatedly cite the overly strong focus on macro-historical perspectives and political history – to the detriment of cultural history and histories of “everyday life” or “ordinary people” – as a significant reason for their dissatisfaction with curricula and resources. Interestingly, and in contrast to this, two thirds of respondents indicated that they adopt such perspectives in their history teaching, making this the most widely used approach among practitioners.

The diversity of societies is reflected to a varying extent in the curricula and textbooks of the member states. For instance, textbooks include the roles of different social strata or the actions of various groups, including entrepreneurs, workers, civil society organisations and the state, in addressing the consequences of economic crises. Measures are portrayed as having both positive and negative effects, but not as irreconcilable, supporting students in learning about tolerance for ambiguity. However, when it comes to representing the diversity of societies in terms of gender and sexual orientation; ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious or national background; age; or disability, the coverage of such perspectives in relation to economic crises is much less extensive. In the context of the topic of economic crises, women's history is included in the curricula of six member states, but references to LGBTI history are absent from both curricula and textbooks in all countries; only 3.4% of respondents to the teachers' questionnaire indicated that they incorporate LGBTI perspectives into their teaching. Six member states make reference to ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious minorities in relation to the topic. Textbooks from eight member states illustrate how economic crises have historically increased the likelihood of stigmatisation and persecution, particularly of minorities (for example, the pogroms against Jews). Roma history is mentioned only in the French curriculum and only 10.3% of teachers reported including this perspective in their teaching. The specific effects of economic crises on different age groups (such as children, young people and elderly people) are present in the curricula of four member states; however, people with disabilities or intersectional perspectives are largely absent from curricula. In contrast, some of these issues are represented in textbooks from France, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain, often through visual sources.

An interdisciplinary approach to teaching economic crises is included in the curriculum

of one member state and the textbooks of three member states. In France and Spain, history is taught as a combined subject with geography, and textbooks offer examples that link past economic crises to contemporary ones. Portuguese textbooks explicitly connect the study of economic crises to entrepreneurship education. In contrast, most respondents to the teachers' survey across all countries expressed a preference for teaching economic crises from an interdisciplinary perspective.

In the majority of the OHTE member states, curricula and textbooks are generally designed to promote the development of analytical and critical thinking skills via the topic of economic crises. Textbooks often support this by providing textual and visual sources for students to analyse. Teachers indicated in their responses to the survey that they frequently employ teaching methods that foster these skills in practice, including classroom discussions, which are the most commonly used method, and source analysis and comparison. At the same time, lectures and presentations aimed at conveying content knowledge are still the second-most frequently reported teaching method by respondents, highlighting its role in learners' formation of a historical consciousness. Methods such as place-based learning are much less present in curricula and textbooks; corresponding to this, place-based learning is the least frequently employed mode of teaching about economic crises indicated by survey respondents.

There are differences in the gradient of difficulty of tasks and exercises included in textbooks across countries. Albanian, French, Irish, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian textbooks set level III operators that contain suggestions and ideas for autonomous learning. This design aims at giving students confidence in their own capabilities and strengthening their sense of self-efficacy.

Current approaches and future perspectives

This report demonstrates that teaching about economic crises in history is widespread across the OHTE member states, generally covering a broad range of historical periods and geographical regions. A key finding is that national historical perspectives on economic crises are commonly integrated with European and, in many cases, world history elements. This aligns with the Committee of Ministers' Recommendation Rec(2001)15 on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe, which promotes teaching about the histories of other European countries as a way to foster citizens' "collective identity through knowledge of their common historical heritage in its local, regional, national, European and global dimensions". Despite this, it is important to note that comprehensive global history approaches, which go beyond Western-centric narratives to address global interconnections, power inequalities and emancipation movements, particularly from the perspectives of African, Asian or Latin American communities, remain rare in history curricula and resources. However, their inclusion is crucial for helping students to comprehend the interconnectedness of causes, effects and processes in different parts of the world and to thereby develop a more complete, global understanding of historical issues. The topic of economic crises appears to be especially suited for such an approach given their often inherently transnational and/or global dimension.

As noted earlier, local history perspectives are less prominent in teaching about economic crises. Nevertheless, including such an approach can be a valuable addition to teaching practices, enabling students to explore how global, European or national events intersect with the experiences and decisions of individuals and communities at the local level. By highlighting how larger historical developments manifest

locally, such perspectives also reveal how individual actions can affect broader societal changes.

Economic crises are frequently approached from multiple perspectives in history teaching, thereby also aligning with the aforementioned recommendation, which suggests "[studying] every dimension of European history, not just political, but also economic, social and cultural". There is, however, further scope to enhance the integration of cultural history perspectives into history teaching alongside social economic and political ones. This also involves including more micro-historical perspectives, where dealing with the experiences of "ordinary people" has the potential to expand students' understanding of the effect of economic crises on citizens' lives by making connections to their own lived realities and real-world experiences (and thereby also increasing their interest in learning history). Micro-historical approaches can also demonstrate that individuals were not passive in the face of societal challenges brought on by economic crises but active agents in responding to these issues through local and regional actions. Highlighting the agency of citizens dealing with economic crises could furthermore increase learners' awareness of their own role and responsibility in responding to present-day challenges, given that active citizenship is stated as an explicit aim of history teaching in the recommendation.

The diversity of societies is partially reflected in member states' coverage of economic crises in curricula and textbooks. While the experiences and roles of different social strata are generally present, there is potential for other dimensions to be included to a greater extent, such as gender; ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious or national minorities; age; or abilities. A crucial dimension of this is including these groups as active agents and not solely from the perspective of victims, as is already done with women's history in some countries. While connections are often made between economic crises and the rise of authoritarian regimes, the

scapegoating of minority groups as instigators of crises appears far less frequently; for example, the scapegoating of Jews is covered in curricula and textbooks in under half of the member states. Enhancing the inclusion of such topics would align with Committee of Ministers' Recommendation CM/Rec(2011)6 on intercultural dialogue and the image of the other in history teaching;³³⁵ with Recommendation CM/Rec(2020)2 on the inclusion of the history of Roma and/or Travellers in school curricula and teaching materials; and with Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)5 on passing on remembrance of the Holocaust and preventing crimes against humanity.

In terms of learning about economic crises as a means of fostering analytical and critical thinking skills among students, the curricula, textbooks and teachers' practices presented in this report align with the recognised importance of such competences, which manifest for example in the Council of Europe's Reference Framework on Competences for the Development of Democratic Culture (RFCDC) and Committee of Ministers' Recommendation (2001)15 on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe. However, there is still room for textbooks to include a greater variety of sources presenting opposing views on causes of and responses to economic crises in history. Giving students the opportunity to evaluate and reflect on different explanations is a fundamental part of multiperspective history teaching and a prerequisite for developing critical thinking and judgment competences.

The results of the present report must be considered in the context of a research design bound by several limitations.

1. First, the analysis is restricted to only the secondary level, ISCED-2 and ISCED-3. This

report does not examine curricula at primary level (ISCED-1), nor does it include the history curricula of vocational education or informal education providers. Future research might seek to expand the analytical scope to these sectors, given that they are also important for the formation of historical consciousness of a significant share of the population.

2. Second, this report only indirectly includes student perspectives via the responses given by history teachers in the explorative study. Future research might seek to include analyses of students' experiences, which would provide more nuanced insights into their interest in learning about economic crises, as well as the ways in which the topic is and could be addressed in the classroom.

3. Third, this report does not explore the production of knowledge about economic crises in academia and instead focuses on teaching and learning about them at the school level. The question of how academic knowledge and debates about economic crises are applied to the topic in school poses an interesting dimension for further research.

The present report should also be viewed in the context of the broader findings of the first OHTE general report (2024). For example, the general report shows that many educators in the member states regard curriculum overload as an obstacle to quality history education as they are prevented from covering topics in depth; moreover, teaching practices often vary from the provisions of the curriculum. Additionally, exam pressures (particularly in relation to high-stakes final assessments) strongly influence the way history is taught. In light of such issues, simply expanding the scope of history curricula and assessments by adding more content on economic crises

³³⁵ The recommendation covers "the pinpointing and critical analysis of stereotypes, cut-and-dried images, bias, old-fashioned views and interpretations that are improper or liable to breed real misunderstandings or, more generally, inappropriate images of others".

may not by itself be effective in developing students' engagement with the topic. Rather, it may prove useful to review strategies for fostering the development of skills and competences such as historical consciousness or analytical and critical thinking; this is another area that could be supported by further specific research.

Nevertheless, by examining economic crises in history teaching in the OHTE member states, the present report opens up new perspectives for historians, researchers in the field of history

education and history teachers to critically reflect on the state of history teaching. Such an analysis, when combined with a discussion of the concrete needs of teachers and students, has the potential to generate meaningful debate on how to develop learners' historical consciousness, including in relation to economic crises in all their complexity. This might help strengthen the democratic orientation of youth, especially in the face of current challenges where the effects of economic crises are instrumentalised to undermine citizens' trust in their democracies and in each other.

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APPENDIX 1.

List of analysed curricula

Albania

Ministria e Arsimit dhe Sportit, Instituti i Zhvillimit të Arsimit (n.d.), *Programi i lëndës së historisë. Shkalla e pestë. Klasa e dhjetë*; <https://edumedia-depot.gei.de/bitstream/handle/11163/5790/1677191252.pdf?sequence=1>, accessed 15 January 2025.

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content/uploads/2019/07/Histori-XII.pdf, accessed 15 January 2025.

Andorra

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Armenia

Կրթության և գիտության նախարարի (2012), Հանրակրթական Հիմնական Դպրոցի «Հայոց Պատմություն» Առարկայի Չափորոշիչ Եվ Ծրագիր (6-9-րդ դասարաններ).

Կրթության, գիտության, մշակույթի և սպորտի նախարարի (2022), Հանրակրթական Ուսումնական Հաստատություններում «Համաշխարհային Պատմություն» Առարկայի 7-րդ և 10-րդ Դասարանների.

Հայաստանի Հանրապետության Կրթության, Գիտության, Մշակույթի Եվ Սպորտի նախարար (2023), Հանրակրթական Ուսումնական Հաստատությունների 8-րդ Եվ 11-րդ Դասարանների «Հայոց Պատմություն» Առարկայի Ծրագրերը Հաստատելու Մասին.

Հայաստանի Հանրապետության Կրթության, Գիտության, մշակույթի և սպորտի նախարար

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France

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Georgia

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Greece

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Ireland

Department of Education and Science, National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (2003), *Leaving Certificate. History Syllabus (ordinary and higher level)*.

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Luxembourg

Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse (n.d.), *Enseignement secondaire. Classes internationales. Régime francophone. Histo - Histoire. Programme 3I-FR-A_3I-FR-F*.

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Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse (2023), *Enseignement secondaire classique. Classes supérieures. Histo - Histoire. Programme 4C Toutes.*

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Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse (2023), *Enseignement secondaire général. Classes inférieures. Histo - Histoire. Programme 6G.*

Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse (2023), *Enseignement secondaire classique. Classes inférieures. Histo - Histoire. Programme 7C Toutes.*

Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse (2024), *Enseignement secondaire classique. Classes supérieures. Histo - Histoire. Programme 2C Toutes.*

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Malta

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Directorate for Learning and Assessment Programmes. History Department, Curriculum Centre Annex, Floriana. *HISTORY Learning & Assessment Programme Year 8.*

Directorate for Learning and Assessment Programmes. History Department, Curriculum Centre Annex, Floriana. *HISTORY (General) Syllabus for Year 9 as part of Environmental Studies.*

Directorate for Learning and Assessment Programmes. History Department, Curriculum Centre Annex, Floriana. *HISTORY (Option) School Syllabus for Year 9.*

Directorate for Learning and Assessment Programmes. History Department Curriculum Centre Annex, Floriana. *HISTORY (General) Syllabus for Year 10 as part of Environmental Studies.*

Directorate for Learning and Assessment Programmes. History Department, Curriculum Centre Annex, Floriana. *HISTORY (Option) School Syllabus for Year 10.*

Directorate for Learning and Assessment Programmes. History Department Curriculum Centre Annex, Floriana. *HISTORY (General) Syllabus for Year 11 as part of Environmental Studies.*

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North Macedonia

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Portugal

Direção-Geral da Educação (2018), 7.º ANO | 3.º *Ciclo do Ensino Básico História*.

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Serbia

7. разред Прсветни гласник СГ Републике Србије 5/2019.

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Slovenia

Ministrstvo za Šolstvo, znanost in Šport, Zavod Republike Slovenije za šolstvo (2008), *Gimnazija Učni Načrt Obvezni Predmet (280 Ur) Zgodovina Splošna Gimnazija*.

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Spain

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Ukraine

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Міністерство освіти і науки України (2022), *Всесвітня Історія Історія України. 7-9 клас*.

Міністерство освіти і науки України (2022), *Всесвітня Історія Історія України. 10-11 клас*.

APPENDIX 2.

List of key terms

In addition to the key term “crisis”, a general set of key terms was developed to enable the identification of a wider range of economic crises in history curricula and teaching materials. This includes events and phenomena that are not directly referred to as “crises” but have the characteristics of economic crises. The keywords were selected based on definitions of economic crises included in the economic science dictionaries of member states. They cover different types of economic crises, such as monetary crises (e.g., consequences of Black Thursday 1929), sovereign debt crises (e.g., debt crisis at the end of the *ancien régime* in France;

bankruptcy of the socialist state economies in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1980s), agrarian crises (e.g., Great Famine in Ireland, 1845-1849; consequences of collectivisation in socialist countries), as well as labour crises (e.g. structural crisis of the old industries in Western Europe in the 1970s).

The key terms and their abbreviations were translated into the languages of the member states and verified by experts in history education from these countries in order to carry out tailored analyses of the respective curricula and textbooks according to the principle described here.

Search term	Includes the following terms	Type of crisis
CRIS	Crisis, crises	General term
FLATION	Inflation, deflation	Monetary crisis
BANKRUPT	Bankruptcy	Sovereign debt crisis
DEPRESSION		General term
CRASH		Monetary crisis
COLLAPS	Collapse, collapsing, collapsed	General term
FAMINE		Agrarian crisis
RECESSION		General term
DOWNTURN		General term
UNEMPLOY	Unemployment, unemployed	Labour crisis
DEBT		Sovereign debt crisis
BUBBLE		Monetary crisis
POVER	Poverty, impoverishment	General term

APPENDIX 3.

Inclusion of topics related to economic crises in national history curriculum by country

Member state	Prehistory	Ancient history	Middle Ages	Early modern history	Modern history	Contemporary history
ALB	///	(Decline of the Roman Empire)	(Decline of the Byzantine Empire)	Socio-economic causes and consequences of the French Revolution	(Causes and consequences of the Industrial Revolution) Great Depression	Crisis of socialism
AND	///	///	///	///	Consequences of the Industrial Revolution; "ruin" of the Andorran economy Great Depression	"Recent" economic crises
ARM	Socio-economic decline of early state formations in Armenian highlands (3rd-1st millennia BCE)	(Decline of Greek and Roman civilisations) ^a Socio-economic decline of the Artaxiad kingdom	Economic challenges in medieval Armenia	///	Great Depression	Contemporary economic crises in Armenia Crisis of socialism
CYP	(Decline of the Mycenaean world)	(Crisis of the Roman Empire)	(Crisis of the Byzantine Empire)	Economic consequences of transition from the <i>Frankokratia</i> to Ottoman rule in Cyprus (1571-1878) Socio-economic causes and consequences of the French Revolution	Bankruptcy of Greece, 1893 Great Depression	Economic stagnation in post-Second World War Greece Economic consequences of the "1974 coup and Turkish invasion of Cyprus" ³³⁶ Post-Second World War decolonisation as a consequence of the Great Depression

336. See CYP/History Curricula, Gymnasium, 3rd Grade, p. 119.

FRA	///	///	///	Socio-economic causes and consequences of the French Revolution	Periodic economic crises in 19th-century Europe Great Depression	(Collapse of colonial empires post-Second World War) ^b Rising unemployment and social democracy 1973 oil crisis Collapse of the USSR, 1980s Crises in European construction; debates about the euro
GEO	///	///	///	///	///	(Collapse of the USSR) ^c (Challenges of globalisation for Georgia) ^c
GRC	(Decline of the Mycenaean world) ^d	(Crisis of the Roman Empire, 3rd century) ^e	(Crises of the Byzantine Empire, 1025-1453) ^f	///	Economic and agricultural crises in 19th-century Greece Crisis of the Tsarist regime in Russia Great Depression	Collapse of living standards after the Second World War Collapse of socialism and end of the Cold War Decolonisation; problems of the "third world", such as under-development
IRL	///	///	///	Economic crises and inflation in 16th-century Europe Decline of old industry in early 17th-century Europe Poverty in the empires; French Revolution (1775-1815)	Impact of the agricultural and industrial revolutions, poverty Great Famine, 1845-52 Industrialisation and economic problems in Tsarist Russia and 1917 revolutions Great Depression	1973 oil crisis; recession and rise in unemployment in western Europe and the USA Problems of communist economies Aid and famine in postcolonial Africa

LUX	///	(Crises of the late Roman Empire) ⁹	///	(Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648) ^h Socio-economic crisis of the French monarchy and French Revolution	Economic consequences of the First World War Economic problems in Tsarist Russia and 1917 revolutions Great Depression	Economic consequences of the Second World War (1973 oil crisis) Economic problems in socialist countries in Europe
MLT	///	///	///	Economic problems in Malta in the second half of the 18th century Socio-economic causes of the French Revolution Economic crisis during the Siege of Malta, 1798-1800	Recessions in 19th-century Malta Post-First World War economic crises in Malta and Germany Great Depression	Post-Second World War economic problems in Malta Economic crisis in the USSR and other European socialist countries in the 1980s
MKD	///	(Collapse of the Roman Empire) ⁹	Socio-economic decline of the Byzantine Empire	///	Economic weakening of the Ottoman Empire and dependence on foreign capital in late 19th and 20th centuries Post-First World War economic situation Great Depression	Economic crises in socialist countries, 1980s
PRT	///	Economic regression in the Roman Empire	Economic decline in 6th- to 9th-century Europe Socio-economic crisis in 14th-century Portugal	Crises of the Portuguese colonial empire from mid-16th century onwards	Economic crisis in Portugal in the late 19th and early 20th century Great Depression	1973 oil crisis Economic consequences of the end of the Cold War for post-socialist countries and persistence of the global North-South divide

SRB	///	///	///	///	Economic crises in the 19th century Great Depression	Economic crises in socialist countries Economic crises in the post-Yugoslav space after the end of communism
SVN	///	(Crisis of the Roman Empire) ⁹	///	Socio-economic causes and consequences of the French Revolution	(Great Depression) Agrarian crisis in the 19th century	Crisis of socialism Contemporary economic crises
ESP	Flexible – themes and learning outcomes defined in the curriculum allow and encourage the treatment of economic crises through all historic periods, from prehistory to the contemporary world, without naming individual crises.					
TUR	///	///	///	Inflation in the Ottoman Empire as a result of increased trade in precious metals after geographical discoveries and colonial rule	Debt crisis in the Ottoman Empire, late 19th century and 20th century Famines during the First World War Hyperinflation in Germany after the First World War Great Depression	1973 oil crisis Economic consequences of the “Cyprus peace operation” ³³⁷ in 1974 Economic problems in Türkiye and effects of emigration
UKR	///	(Crises of the Roman Empire in the 3rd and 4th centuries) ⁹	///	Economic decline in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (late 17th century and 18th century) Socio-economic crisis of the French monarchy, late 18th century	Economic crisis in Ukraine 1900-1903 Economic crisis in Tsarist Russia Famines in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s; Holodomor Great Depression	Economic crises in socialist countries in the 1980s Financial crisis 2008

337. See TUR/Secondary Education Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Curriculum, pp. 25-26, 32-33.

ANNOTATIONS

(CRISIS): This is not explicitly mentioned as an economic crisis in the curricula, but teaching about economic crisis or hardship may be possible. See additional specifications below.

- a. Here, “the beginning, development and decline” of the Greek and Roman civilisations are mentioned alongside “political, economic, social and cultural life”. As social and economic aspects are explicitly mentioned, an economic perspective on decline, as mentioned by Jones (1964), Rathbone (2009) and Ando (2012) in the context of Rome, appears possible. However, throughout the Armenian history curriculum, teaching about “socio-economic life” is required in regard to many periods, including early modern and modern history, which allows for an inclusion of economic crises without explicitly referring to them.
 - b. An economic perspective on the dissolution of the colonial empires is not explicitly mentioned. Other perspectives are not mentioned either and therefore the approach is left to the teachers.
 - c. This is only a suggestion in the curriculum.
 - d. An economic perspective on the decline is not explicitly required, but its integration may be possible given the curriculum’s general emphasis on the economy in the context of the Mycenaean world and the decline in trade during this period (Tartaron 2013).
 - e. The crisis heavily affected the Roman economy (Ando 2012).
 - f. While the economic crisis is not specifically mentioned as such, the consequences of the territorial losses in the 11th century are mentioned. As these economic consequences were severe (Harvey 2008), it is possible that economic crises in Byzantine history are taught. Furthermore, the consequences of the Venetian trade privileges in Byzantium are explicitly mentioned; they were predominantly of an economic nature and caused economic problems for the Byzantine Empire, especially with regard to grain trade (Chrysostomides 2023).
 - g. While not explicitly prescribed, economic difficulties can be treated in this context, which appears possible given the overall worsening economic conditions in the late Roman Empire (Jones 1964; Rathbone 2009; Ando 2012).
 - h. There is the possibility to teach about the severe economic consequences of the Thirty Years’ War, such as famine (Parker 1997).
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APPENDIX 4.

List of analysed textbooks

Albania

Bendo E., Sinjari E. and Guga M. (2018), *Historia 9*, Arbëria, Tirana.

Dërguti M. and Treska T. (2016), *Histori 7: për klasën e 7-të të shkollës 9-vjeçare*, Albas, Tirana.

Dërguti M. and Treska T. (2017), *Historia 8: për klasën e 8-të të shkollës 9-vjeçare*, Albas, Tirana.

Dërguti M. et al. (2017), *Historia 11*, Albas, Tirana.

Dërguti M. et al. (2018a), *Historia 9: për klasën e nëntë të shkollës 9-vjeçare*, Albas, Tirana.

Dërguti M. et al. (2018b), *Histori 12 me zgjedhje*, Albas, Tirana.

Dërguti M., Treska T. and Egro D. (2016), *Histori 10*, Albas, Tirana.

Filo L., Nita E. and Bozha M. (2018), *Historia 9*, Ideart, Tirana.

Filo L., Nita E. and Bozha M. (2021), *Historia 12 me zgjedhje*, Ideart, Tirana.

Filo L. and Thanati M. (2016), *Historia 10*, Ideart, Tirana.

Filo L. and Thanati M. (2017), *Historia 8*, Ideart, Tirana.

Gani A., Kreçi L. and Qehaja A. (2016), *Historia 7*, Irisoft Education, Tirana.

Guga M. and Bendo E. (2022), *Historia 7*, Arbëria, Tirana.

Gurakuqi R. et al. (2016), *Histori 10: për klasën e*

10-të të arsimit të mesëm të përgjithshëm, Botime Pegi, Tirana.

Nathanaili P. and Xhemalaj F. (Shehaj) (2017), *Historia 8*, Filara, Tirana.

Nathanaili P. et al. (2022), *Historia 11*, Filara, Tirana.

Thëngjilli P. et al. (2021), *Historia 11*, Pegi, Tirana.

Vrekaj B. and Xhemalaj F. (Shehaj) (2018), *Historia 12 me zgjedhje*, Filara, Tirana.

Armenia

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Barkhudaryan V., Hakobyan A. and Harutyunyan H. (2019), Հայոց պատմություն (նորագույն շրջան) Մաս 1: Դասագիրք հանրակրթական դպրոցի 9-րդ դասարանի համար, ManMar, Yerevan.

Gevorgyan E., Ghachatryan K. and Virabyan A. (2019a), Հայոց պատմություն (Մաս 1), Zangak, Yerevan.

Gevorgyan E., Ghachatryan K. and Virabyan A. (2019b), Հայոց պատմություն 9: Մաս 2, Zangak, Yerevan.

Harutyunyan G., Glechyan V. and Safrastyan R. (2023), Համաշխարհային պատմություն 11: Հումանիտար հոսք, Zangak, Yerevan.

Harutyunyan B. H. (ed.) (2023a), Հնագույն եվ հին շրջան հիմնական դպրոցի 6-րդ դասարանի դասագիրք (մաս 1), ManMar, Yerevan.

Harutyunyan B. H. (ed.) (2023b), Հիմնական դպրոցի 6-րդ դասարանի դասագիրք (մաս 2), ManMar, Yerevan.

Hovhannisyan N., Ghukasyan A. and Aleksanyan H. (2019a), Համաշխ պատմություն (մաս 1), ManMar, Yerevan.

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Hovhannisyan S. (ed.) (2023), Մասնակցային դպրոց» կրթական հիմնադրամ, Հայոց պատմություն, Masnakcayin Dproc, Yerevan.

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Hovhannisyan N. et al. (2023b), Համաշխ պատմություն (մաս 2), ManMar, Yerevan.

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Melkonyan A., Simonyan A. and Nazaryan A. (2021a), Հայոց պատմություն (ընդհ. և բնագիտամաթ. հոսքերի համար), Zangak, Yerevan.

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Melkonyan A. et al. (2023c), Հայոց պատմություն 12: Հումանիտար հոսք, Zangak, Yerevan.

Melkonyan A. et al. (2023d), Հայոց պատմություն 12: Ընդհանուր և բնագիտական հոսքեր, Zangak, Yerevan.

Nazaryan A., Petrosyan V. and Safrastian R. (2018), Համաշխարհային պատմություն 12: ընդհանուր և բնագիտամաթեմատիկական հոսքեր, Zangak, Yerevan.

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Cyprus

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Dimitroukas I., Ioannou T. and Baroutas K. (n.d.), *Ιστορία του Μεσαιωνικού και του Νεότερου Κόσμου 565 - 1815, Β΄ Γενικού Λυκείου Γενικής Παιδείας*, Diophantus, Athens.

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France

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Alavoine C., Barthelemy N. and Deguffroy T. (2016), *Histoire, géographie, EMC 4^e*, Hachette, Paris.

Anceau É. et al. (2019), *Histoire, géographie 1^{re}*, Belin Education, Paris.

Avezou L. et al. (2019), *Histoire, géographie 2^{de}*, Belin Education, Paris.

Barcellini C. et al. (2019a), *Histoire 1^{re}*, Nathan, Paris.

Barcellini C. et al. (2019b), *Histoire 2^{de}*, Nathan, Paris.

Barcellini C. et al. (2020), *Histoire Term*, Nathan, Paris.

Barthelemy N., Boulanger R. and Deguffroy T. (2016), *Histoire, géographie, EMC 5^e*, Hachette, Paris.

Barthelemy N., Cahu É. and Deguffroy T. (2016), *Histoire, géographie, EMC 6^e*, Hachette, Paris.

Battisachi S. et al. (2016), *Histoire, géographie, enseignement moral et civique 3^e*, Belin Education, Paris.

Bourgeat S., Bras C. and Colon D. (2020), *Histoire-Géographie Tle*, Belin Education, Paris.

Bryselbout L. et al. (2022), *Histoire, géographie, enseignement moral et civique 5^e*, Belin Education, Paris.

Cahu É., Barthelemy N. and Deguffroy T. (2016), *Histoire, géographie, EMC 3^e*, Hachette, Paris.

Constant L. et al. (2016), *Histoire, géographie, enseignement moral et civique 4^e*, Belin Education, Paris.

Cornette J., Deguffroy T. and Dussert-Galinat D. (2019), *Histoire 2^{de}*, Hachette, Paris.

Cote S. et al. (2016), *Histoire, géographie, enseignement moral et civique 3^e*, Nathan, Paris.

Martin J-C., Battais L. and Birebent C. (2019), *Histoire 1^{re}*, Hachette, Paris.

Martin L. et al. (2020), *Histoire, géographie Tle*, Hachette, Paris.

Rocher, N., Marques P. and Hazard-Tourillon A. M. (eds) (2023), *Histoire, géographie, EMC 4^e*, Nathan, Paris.

Georgia

Akhmeteli N. and Lortkifanidze B. (2019a), ისტორია VII, მოსწავლის წიგნი, Diogene, Tbilisi.

Akhmeteli N. and Lortkifanidze B. (2019b), ისტორია VIII, მოსწავლის წიგნი, Diogene, Tbilisi.

Akhmeteli N. and Lortkifanidze B. (2019c), ისტორია IX, მოსწავლის წიგნი, Diogene, Tbilisi.

Akhmeteli N. and Lortkifanidze B. (2019d), ისტორია X, მოსწავლის წიგნი, პირველი ნაწილი, Diogene, Tbilisi.

Akhmeteli N. and Lortkifanidze B. (2019e), ისტორია X, მოსწავლის წიგნი, მეორე ნაწილი, Diogene, Tbilisi.

Akhmeteli N. and Lortkifanidze B. (2019f), ისტორია XI, II ნაწილი, Diogene, Tbilisi.

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Akhmeteli N. and Lortkifanidze B. (2019h), ისტორია, XI კლასი, მოსწავლის წიგნი, Diogene, Tbilisi.

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Arkania G. et al. (2023), საქართველოს ისტორია XI, Logos Press, Tbilisi.

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Surguladze M. and Arkania G. (2022), საქართველოს ისტორია X, Logos Press, Tbilisi.

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Surguladze M. et al. (2020), ისტორია-VII კლასი, Logos Press, Tbilisi.

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Ugulava G. et al. (2022c), საქართველოს ისტორია X, პირველი ნაწილი, Sulakauri, Tbilisi.

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Ugulava G. et al. (2023a), ისტორია XI, ნაწილი პირველი, Sulakauri, Tbilisi.

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Ireland

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Luxembourg

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Country-specific analyses and translations from national languages were done by a group of experts in history education with expertise in the OHTE member states: Marc Birchen, Önder Cetin, Marília Gago, Cosme J. Gómez Carrasco, Marina Kyprianou, Marina López Leal, Esilda Luku, Narek Manukyan, Jonathan Muscat, Yulia Ostropalchenko, Marija Peković, Ana Radaković, Damjan Snoj, Nana Tsikhistavi and Foteini Venieri.

The statistical analysis and graphical presentation of data were done by Jairo Rodríguez-Medina (University of Valladolid, Spain).

The scientific rigour of the report was ensured by the OHTE Scientific Advisory Council, which is composed of renowned persons in the field of history teaching and learning.

Country-specific questions that arose during the editing process were addressed by the OHTE Governing Board, which is the OHTE's decision-making body and is composed of one representative from each member state.

The Secretariat of the OHTE co-ordinated the overall production and publication of the report.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the economic consequences of the debt crises of 2007 and 2008, of the Covid-19 pandemic and of Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine have continuously challenged the livelihood of many families in Europe and around the world. Understanding economic crises from a historical perspective enables students to better respond to present and future experiences of such crises.

The mission of the Observatory on History Teaching in Europe (OHTe) is to provide a clear picture of the state of history teaching in its member states. This is done through OHTe general reports on the state of history teaching in Europe and OHTe thematic reports, which explore particular areas of interest and how they are treated in history lessons.

The second thematic report of the OHTe investigates the extent and the ways in which learners are being prepared to understand and cope with such crises through history education in the public schooling systems of OHTe's member states. It combines curriculum and textbook analysis with an explorative study of teachers' experiences and summarises its most significant conclusions into 10 key findings listed in the introductory chapter.

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