



TEACHING EUROPE TO ENHANCE EU COHESION

Final Research Report, May 2017

Abstract

This final research report aims to present the findings on how European integration is taught in secondary school education across Europe, generated by the surveys conducted as part of the 'Teaching Europe to enhance EU cohesion' in a cohesive way, and offers cautionary preliminary conclusions that can be drawn from the data.

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1. About the Project

[“Teaching ‘Europe’ to enhance EU cohesion”](#) is a unique project as the European Association of History Educators (EUROCLIO) in partnership with the Universitat Pompeu Fabra of Barcelona. It brings together educators from all 28 EU member states to research how European integration is taught in secondary school education across Europe. This project is the first attempt at researching what textbooks in Social Sciences across Europe have in common concerning EU-related content. A recent study of the Pew Research Center released in June 2016 shortly before the United Kingdom’s vote on the referendum of the so-called ‘Brexit’, suggests that Euroscepticism is on the rise. Views on the European Union polarise among the respondents of this survey, as solely 51 percent have a favourable opinion about the EU. In fact, the survey shows that the European Union has been losing popularity in both 2015 and 2016, with a very stark disparity from country to country however. The survey equally suggests that the younger generation is considerably more pro-EU as the generations above 35 years of age (Stokes 2016, 2-4). In 2016, the European Parliament accentuated its wish for a tangible European dimension in education, in order to “help citizens better understand – and reconnect them with – the EU” (European Parliament 2016, 6). While this report of the European Parliament already asserts that EU citizens have lost the connection with the Union in previous years or decades, this project aims to initiate a process of filling the research gap on how European integration is taught in the EU member states. For this purpose, the project will collect information on the way the European Union is presented in textbooks at the final years of compulsory education across the different educational systems within the EU.

The team members being active educators in the respective 28 member states, most of these team members have been nominated by EUROCLIO member associations in their respective countries. As a first step, the team identified which two school books in history education and in another social science subject are most widely used in teaching about the European Union in the respective member state. Once the four mostly used books have been identified, the team members have been researching these books on their content on European integration. The research has primarily been conducted in 2015 and 2016. In order to guarantee a common format of the research, a survey consisting of a total of 83 questions has been developed by Fernando Guirao, Jean Monnet Professor of history at Pompeu Fabra University Barcelona. This survey covers various aspects of how European integration is being taught in secondary school. Among others, survey sections consists of enquiries about how the EU is covered in the textbooks, how the origins of European integration are described, how the enlargement is taught, which EU institutions and policies are given primary attention, which

historical figures are being highlighted, how the EU is presented in relation to the respective member state, and how the European Union is portrayed in general. At the current stage of this report, only the research on history textbooks can be regarded as complete, which is why this report will primarily be based on conclusions and recommendations drawn from the dataset of this particular school subject. Conclusions drawn from the incomplete survey on the other social science subject (which is mostly geography) are not included in this final research report, and should, in general, be treated with the necessary caution and indicated accordingly.

The history of European integration and how it is being taught is an issue of pressing topicality, as anniversaries of core milestones such as the 60 years of the signature of the Treaty of Rome (March 25, 1957) establishing the European Economic Community including the common market with its four freedoms (European External Service, 2017), or the 70 years of the Congress of Europe in The Hague (May 1948) which eventually resulted in the foundation of the Council of Europe in 1949 (CVCE, 2017), are on the agenda for 2017 and 2018. With elections coming up in France and Germany in April and September 2017 respectively, it is likely that the European Union will be a heatedly discussed topic this year, as both the *Front National* and the *Alternative für Deutschland* would wish to let the voters decide on a possible exit from the EU (Chrisafis 2016). This project aims among others to establish the common features and fundamental differences in the teaching of European integration throughout the European Union at the end of compulsory education. While on the one hand this is hoped to render the European and national institutions aware of the quality of the common core and where the major differences lie in teaching European integration, this project equally seeks to initiate a process of reflection on the role that education on European integration plays in the lack of internal cohesion within the EU. Through the extensive dissemination of the research results with specific proposals to improve and expand the shared base, the partners hope to nourish the great European debate on how to articulate identification with the European project for a shared future. On a long-term perspective, this project ultimately hopes to contribute to improving the way teaching and learning about the European Union is taking place and introduce more and better knowledge on European integration in order to fully utilize the enormous potential for development and collective and individual transformation that this entails.

The following persons have been contributing to the research survey created by **Fernando Guirao**. **Barbara Helm-Arthaber** has been conducting the research on Austrian history textbooks. **Anaïs Maes** has been studying Belgian history textbooks. From Bulgaria, **Bistra Stoimenova** has been contributing. **Melina Foris** did the research on Cypriot history textbooks, **Eva Zajícová** studied Czech textbooks, and **Daniel Bernsen** analysed German

textbooks. Danish history textbooks have been analysed by **Jess Skjødt Pedersen**. From Estonia, **Madis Somelar** contributed to the research. **Kati Hynönen** from Finland and **Jacqueline Houlgatte** from France studied their respective history textbooks. **Constantinos Therianos** studied Greek textbooks, **Dea Marić** and **Igor Jovanović** analysed Croatian history textbooks, whereas **Ildikó Hegedűs Lutter Andrásné** researched Hungarian textbooks. **Derval Ryan** from Ireland, **Paolo Sterlicchi** from Italy, and **Louis Horrillo** from Spain equally contributed to this survey. **Sonata Džiavečkaitė** studied Lithuanian textbooks. From Luxembourg, **Guido Lessing** contributed to the research as well as **Ansis Nudiens** from Latvia, and **Alexander Cutajar** from Malta. **Hellen Janssen** from the Netherlands, and **Andrzej Górniak** from Poland equally studied the history textbooks in the respective member states. As for Portugal, the research has been done by **Miguel Barros**. From Romania, **Mihai Manea** contributed to this project. **Jeanette Wiberg** from Sweden, and **Mateja Zupančič** from Slovenia have been analysing history textbooks as well as **László Angyal** from Slovakia and **Katharine Burn** from the United Kingdom. From EUROCLIO, this project has been managed by **Steven Stegers**, and **Judith Geerling**. The generated data by this research has been processed, clustered, and visualised by **Henrik Hartmann**, **Juliette Montlahuc**, and **Aleksei Rogozin**, equally from EUROCLIO. The coordinating partner is **Fernando Guirao** of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra Barcelona. This project has been funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union, however the European Commission support for the production of this publication does not constitute an endorsement of the contents which reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.



Figure 1: The project team members at the first meeting in Barcelona, September 2015.

2. Research Method

2.1. On the methods used for the survey

This project analysed how 'Europe' and the European Union is taught in the EU 28 member States. The term 'Europe' in reality is used to denote a European dimension which often goes beyond the European Union *stricto sensu*. It therefore follows that the European dimension in education has two main strands. First, there is the inclusion of a European dimension in all the relevant subjects. Second, there is specific teaching on the European Union, its historical origins and process of formation, its political economic foundations, its values, its institutions, how these work and their impact on everyday life of European citizens. 'Europe' and the EU are presented differently in the public education systems in each country in the European Union. In the case of Catalonia, for example, the European Union is studied in subjects such as 'Geography', 'Education in citizenship', 'History', 'Social Sciences', 'Sciences for the contemporary world' and 'Contemporary History'. It is not possible, mainly for budgetary reasons, to cover this variety of subjects in all the education systems of the European Union, and as such we have decided to limit our survey to two subjects only, one of which must be History, which is the subject that is common to them all. The extent of the fieldwork is such that we must establish some limitations. The first is the age range, the second is the number of education systems to be covered, and the third is the intensity of the analysis for each case study. For the first, we have decided to limit this project, at least initially, to the final two years of compulsory education in 2015/16, which is equivalent to an age range between 14 and 18 years old.

History, though, must be accompanied by a second subject, the one in which EU-related information is most predominant. History as a subject is ideal for a project that is based on the idea of knowledge and cohesion: the presentation of the phenomenon of integration in dialectic with national identity is the best indicator of the extent of 'community of knowledge' that affects all young Europeans between 14 and 18 years of age. How history and geography are explained has always been the subject of extensive analysis and debate. Nevertheless, how 'Europe' should be explained -- despite the European Union being 'our own history and territory' -- has been the focus of little discussion.

All the collaborators must be history teachers in secondary education who are currently working. The role played by these collaborators is absolutely essential. There is no other way to compile information that is presented in 24 official languages and at least 30 different

languages. Without this compilation, it is impossible to establish a comparative vision, and having a broad representation is what confers value on the comparative perspective.

The role of our local partners was to compile the history and other main Social Sciences subject textbooks used in the final two years of compulsory secondary school teaching in their education system as used during the coming academic year (2015-16) and the four immediately preceding it (since the 2010-11 academic year). The proposed five years should allow us to see if and how the current crisis -- which has led to a major rethinking of the traditional narrative on the subject -- is reflected in textbooks. Local partners will be asked, first of all, to identify, apart from History, the other main Social Science subject dealing with EU-related topics to be analysed. Then, they should identify, for both subjects, the main textbooks, the most widely used manuals used in their respective national/regional system during the last five years. It is crucial that the textbooks selected for analysis represent the school material used by at least 70% of the school population in any given nation or region, year and grade.

The manual or textbook is a resource for the teacher and is the main source of information, research and consultation for students -- in addition to other teaching material provided by educators or found by the student on the Internet such as Wikipedia. Manuals are therefore crucially important in the transmission of knowledge, including knowledge of European integration. However, complete neutrality in the transmission of knowledge is impossible. As well as pure facts, the teaching process transfers values, attitudes and perspectives. This is particularly important in the field covered by this project, for several reasons:

- 1) Those who study the subject using these manuals are people at an age at which their mental categories are in the process of being formed. While their critical thinking is acute, they are not yet sufficiently intellectually mature to have a firm perspective of different aspects of reality, and of European integration.

- 2) From previous studies, we know that manuals and textbooks are published some time after specialized research. School educators are not normally experts (and cannot be) in all the subjects covered in the manual, and as such they will in many cases be passing on information that has already been prepared that they will be unable to check in detail.

- 3) This type of book will in turn provide support for teachers who are unable to be experts in the entire subject that they have to work with. Many of them will have a profound knowledge of European integration; in other cases, it will be a subject that is more distant from their primary interests.

4) This entire situation means that the hermeneutical process of passing on the prejudices inherent in all mediation (with bias understood in the neutral sense of reception theory and ultimately of Gadamer's hermeneutics) takes place particularly clearly.

5) Prejudices do not so much refer to data itself as to assessments, and are primarily expressed in the selection of the data (it is impossible to present European integration in its entirety) and in the perspective from which they are presented. No aseptic data are passed on in the learning process, but instead a specific, selected and connoted presentation of the data. We can therefore assume that the way European integration is presented in the manuals must be of great importance (obviously less important than the teacher, but significant nonetheless) in shaping the attitude of students towards the European Union.

The teachers cooperating with this project will collect the information using a questionnaire. The questionnaire, in Excel spreadsheet format, is the document that identifies the collaborating teacher and his/her basic competences, the textbooks used in the preparation of the report and enables the collection of the relevant information in a systematic manner. The total 83 questions are divided in thematic sections, in order to have a full image of what the textbooks cover on European integration:

- Coverage of the European Union
- The origins of the European Union and European integration
- Enlargement of the European Union
- EU institutions and policies
- Historical figures
- The European Union in relation to your and other countries
- How the European Union is portrayed

2.2. On the methods used in analysing the data for this report

The following methodological approaches have been taken into consideration in the analysis of the contents of the texts and in the final report:

- *Content analysis*: quantitative methods (such as the presence or absence of the various fields of European integration) and qualitative methods (semantic fields and connotative aspects [images, ratings])
- *Imagology*: imagology, as understood in some schools in Comparative Literature, has developed tools to analyse the stereotypes that appear in a text referring to an “otherness”. The European Union is unusual due to simultaneously being part of

an “identity” (the European Union is part of the political, economic, social and cultural environment), but it is also not the primary environment in which individuals have been socialized, meaning that it also an “otherness”. As a result, as well as the data, there may be stereotypes requiring specific treatment.

- *Reception theory*: stereotypes can create, strengthen or weaken existing prejudices in the receiver -- in this case, students of 14 to 18 years of age. The hermeneutic perspective enables an analysis of the interaction between the text and the receiver, including existing prejudices.
- *Discourse analysis*: discourse analysis can reveal textual strategies and its effects on communication, the use of rhetorical devices and argumentation chains.

Once the EUROCLIO team received the questionnaires completed by the educators including scans of visuals used in the textbooks, the data has been analysed by EUROCLIO as followed:

- *Visuals*: The visuals have been divided into three categories: maps, pictures, cartoons. For each category, the visuals have been counted, and whenever possible, categorised into broader themes. The thus generated data has been processed into subsequent pie charts.
- *Content analysis*: Specific questions which lend themselves for a content analysis have been selected for a more detailed analysis. Word clouds have been made from the educators’ answers, which also required occasionally streamlining the answers. Quantitative questions have been analysed by means of tables.

2.3. Limitations

As part of the research, the contributing team members have been asked to scan the visuals used in the identified textbooks with regard to EU-related content. These scanned visuals, being pictures, cartoons, and maps, have been counted, sorted, and analysed by the EUROCLIO team. It has to be noted that the set of scanned visuals is not complete, as the visuals of the textbooks in ten member states have not been made available for this report. These missing member states are the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, the Republic of Ireland, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The analysis presented in sections 3.1 to 3.3 is thus solely based on visual data of two-third of the EU member states, and conclusions drawn beyond this population should be treated with the necessary caution.

3. Presentation of findings

3.1 Pictures

As part of the research, the contributing team members have been asked to scan the visuals used in the identified textbooks with regard to EU-related content. These scanned visuals, being pictures, cartoons, and maps, have been counted, sorted, and analysed by the EUROCLIO team. It has to be noted that the set of scanned visuals is not complete, as the visuals of the textbooks in ten member states have not been made available for this report. These missing member states are the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, the Republic of Ireland, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The analysis presented in this section is thus solely based on visual data of two-third of the EU member states, and conclusions drawn beyond this population should be treated with the necessary caution.

Pictures make the largest group of visuals, with a distribution of 60 percent of all visuals. Maps are the second biggest group with 27 percent and cartoons, which have been treated separately from pictures, come to thirteen percent. In the subsequent section, these types of visuals will be treated in the above established order of importance.

Within the group of pictures, four key categories have been established to sort the pictures. As shown in the Figure 2, symbols have been used most often in history textbooks, followed by history, politicians, and recent EU-related pictures.

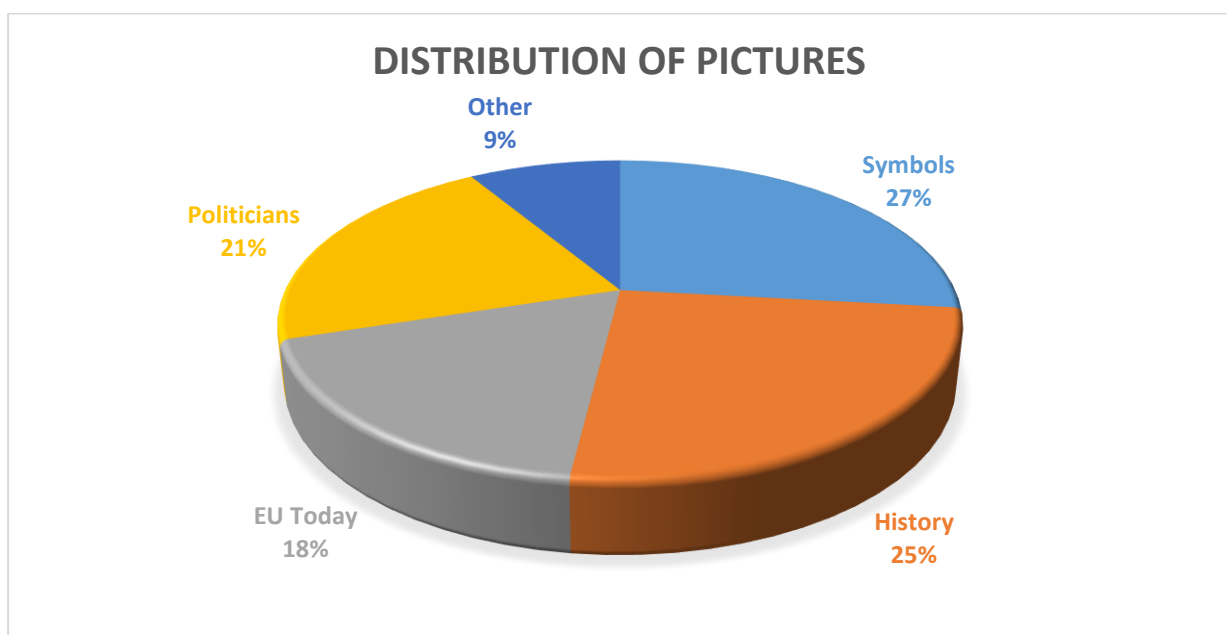


Figure 2: Distribution of pictures

From this initial processing of the provided visual data, several conclusions can be drawn. The heavy focus on symbols, history, and key politicians contributing to the emergence and evolution of European integration in post-war Europe suggest that the textbooks are not necessarily portraying the European Union as a topical institution which affects everyday lives of its citizens, and thus the students which use this history textbook. Students thus might receive the image of a distant and detached institution which might well have been important back in the days of post-war reconstruction and reconciliation but which has since then become more and more obsolete as comparatively little attention is given to contemporary issues that the European Union is facing. As this initial processing does not allow a detailed analysis of the categories used to sort the pictures, the EUROCLIO team equally categorised the pictures of each specific sub-group.

As a symbol of the European Union, the figure below indicates that the Euro is the most popularly used picture in history textbooks. While theoretically one could argue that the Euro should be counted to the group of contemporary EU-related pictures due to the still not entirely overcome Eurozone crisis, the nature of these pictures support the inclusion of the Euro in the category of symbols. In fact, the vast majority of these pictures are simple photographs of the actual currency, being either the Euro coins or the Euro bills, or both. In the view of the EUROCLIO team, these pictures are symbolic and do not allow a counting of this sub-category to the group of recent EU-related pictures, as no direct conclusions can be drawn with regard to the topic of the Eurozone crisis from mere pictures of the physical Euro currency. Second in line are pictures of the EU flag, followed by images of the European Parliament building in Strasbourg and the building in Brussels. Even though the initial conclusion from the overall distribution of pictures suggested a generally distant and detached portrayal of the European Union to its students, focussing on this specific sub-category allows qualifying this conclusion. Both the Euro currency and the European Parliament are connecting citizens with the idea of a united Europe. The common currency effectively affected everyday citizens' lives by rendering the exchange of currencies obsolete, thus facilitating tremendously intra-European business and tourism. As for the European Parliament, directly elected since 1979 as to enhance the representation of EC/EU citizens within the institutional build-up of the Union. Contrary to the European Commission and the Council of the European Union, EU citizens are able to directly elect their representatives and the European Parliament reflects to a much greater extent the political landscape of the continent as the other EU institutions. National political parties of similar orientation in fact formed groups within the European Parliament to facilitate coordination among for example liberal, conservative, or socialist parliamentarians. It has to be noted though that despite the European Parliament given the EU citizens a much more direct voice than the Commission or the Council, voter turnout is generally considerably

lower than for elections of national parliaments or president. At the last elections to the European Parliament in 2014, average voter turnout throughout the EU has been 42.5 percent. To compare, voter turnout for national elections in that same year has been 68 percent on an EU-wide average (EUROSTAT, 2017). Among the three institutions, the European Parliament arguably has had least of the power, as the general priorities of the Union are set by the Council, and all new legislative proposals have to come from the Commission. The Parliament together with the Council can only adopt these proposed laws (European Union, 2017a).

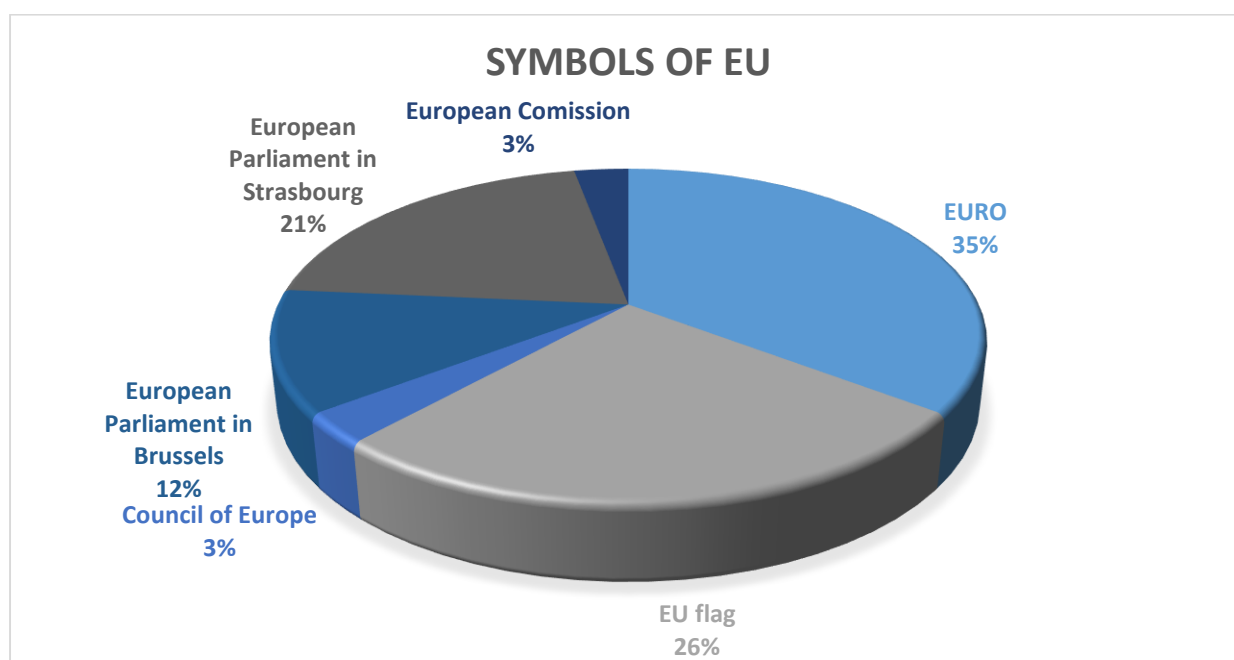


Figure 3: Distribution of symbolic pictures

Analysing the images relating to the history of European integration, we found that one third of the pictures in this sub-category refer to relations between France and Germany. Second comes the Treaty of Rome of 1957 establishing the European Economic Community of which this current year 2017 marks the 60th anniversary. Again with some distance on third are pictures relating to the Fall of the Berlin Wall of 1989 which initiated the end of the Cold War and eventually resulted in the unification of the Germany in 1990. The distribution of pictures within this second biggest group suggests that the core focus in terms of visuals are the two largest founding members of European integration in terms of population, Germany and France (European Union, 2017b). Often in the central stage of intra-European wars, reconciling these two countries has certainly been a core aim of the Schuman plan and the therefrom resulting creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, ECSC. Yet this focus of historical pictures on the relations between France and Germany necessarily results in the

grave underrepresentation of all the other member states in the process of European integration. For students from these underrepresented member states, the history textbooks might give the impression that France and Germany are the powerful states within the integrational project which have been driving the process ever since. Arguably, such a presentation of European integration does not contribute to an identification of citizens beyond the respective nation-state as the distribution of historical visuals suggests that the project is primarily an idea of France and Germany for France and Germany in which the respective nation-state is solely a junior partner.

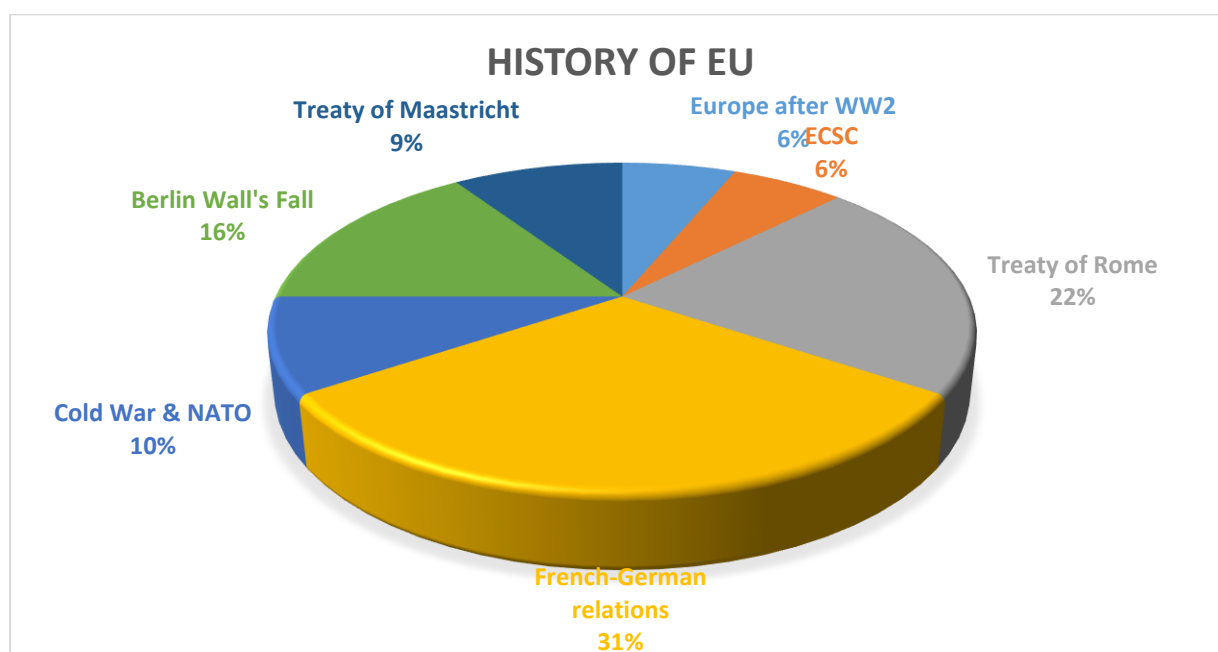


Figure 4: Distribution of historical pictures

The distribution of pictures of the third group, politicians contributing to the integrational process in the aftermath of the Second World War is in line with above identified overrepresentation of France and Germany. The mostly represented politician is Konrad Adenauer, chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1949 to 1963. Second is Robert Schuman, French Prime Minister from 1947 to 1948. On third place are both Jean Monnet, President of the High Authority of the ECSC from 1952 to 1955, and Charles de Gaulle, French President from 1959 to 1969. Netherlands and Luxembourg, which have been founding the ECSC together with Belgium, Italy, France, and Germany are not represented at all in terms of pictures of influential politicians. Again, the heavy focus on key politicians in the coming about of European integration in post-war Europe can result in an overall distant and detached reception of the European Union, as there is only a limited connection with both

citizens at the time and today. For instance, an important milestone in post-war reconciliation and the establishment of first integrational steps which heavily involved civil society representatives is not being brought to the attention of students. The Congress of Europe in The Hague of May 1948, having its 70th anniversary in 2018, reunited key politicians and civil society representatives, most notably members of trade unions or employers' associations, journalists and intellectuals. This Congress set the tone for a common European spirit and eventually resulted in the creation of the Council of Europe in 1949. Including such important moments of bottom-up decision-making could offer the teaching of European integration vital connections with the EU's civil society as it demonstrates that the idea of a European Union is not solely a top-down initiative arising from France and Germany and serving primarily these two countries.

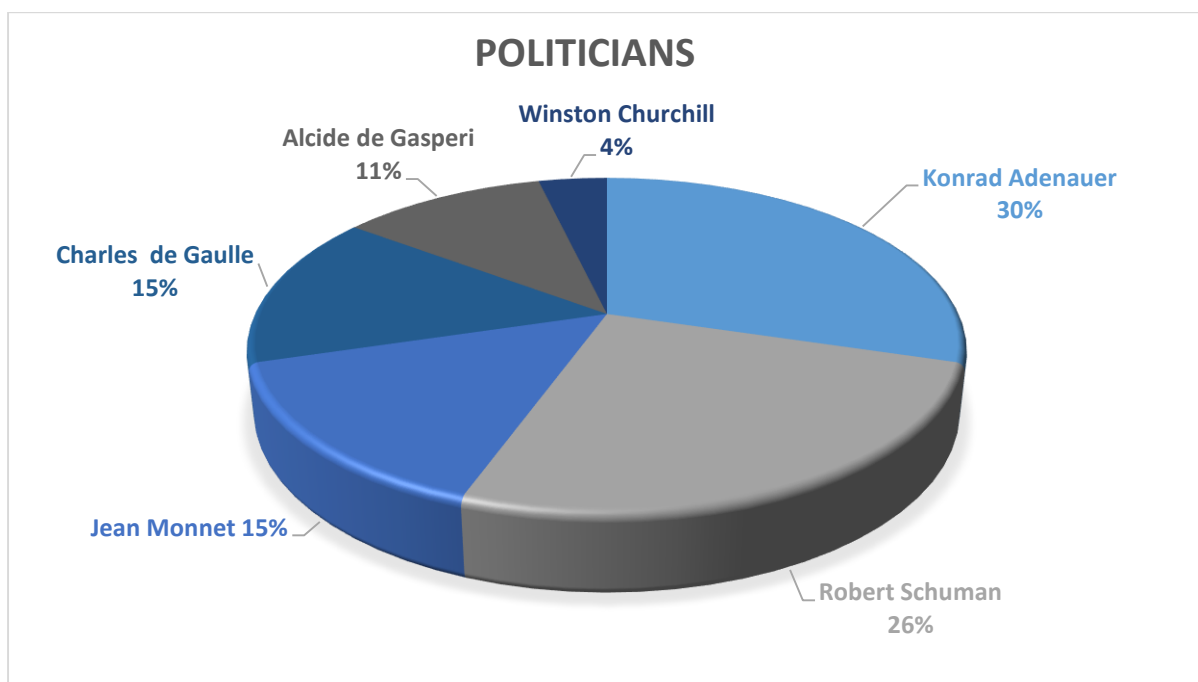


Figure 5: Distribution of pictures of politicians

With regard to pictures relating to contemporary issues, Euroscepticism stands out with almost 40 percent of these pictures dedicated to it. The common market and Schengen complete the trio of most popular contemporary issues. It goes without saying that the choice of focus offers a rather negative picture of the state of the union. Most Eurosceptic pictures in fact relate to reserved sentiments towards either entering the Union or enlarging the Union among the population of the specific member state. Societal forces which markedly favour the European Union, such as the Federalists, are usually not included in the textbooks' discussion on

societal approval or disapproval of a 'deeper or wider' European Union. Pictures relating to the common market often concern the freedom of labour and the freedom of goods, but also the principles relating to product standards established with the Cassis de Dijon ruling of the Court of Justice in February 1979 and by EU legislation (European Commission, 2017). Most notably Danish textbooks use images about these topics relating to the common market. As for pictures about Schengen, their content is as such rather positive. Most commonly, pictures feature crowds gathering at the removal of border barriers. Of these historic border removals which are shown in history textbooks, the removal of the barrier between France and West Germany is the most popular one. Once again therefore, the pictures chosen in history textbooks in the EU member states reveal a heavy focus on relations between France and Germany. They thus are prone to failing in connecting the citizens of the respective member state with the European Union and its impact on their everyday lives by, for instance, featuring visuals on the removal of the border barriers with the neighbouring states of their respective country.

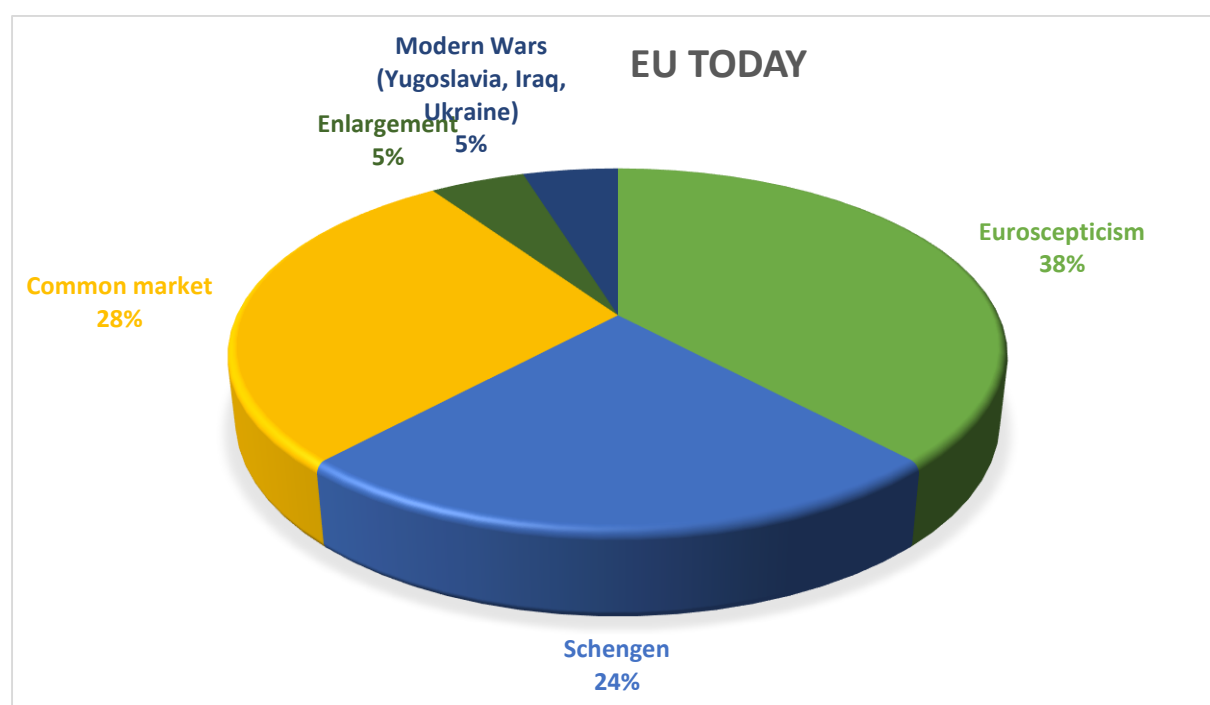


Figure 6: Distribution of recent EU-related pictures

Concluding this section on pictures it is equally noticeable that all pictures do not mention policy areas from which EU citizens have been profiting, such as citizenship or the Erasmus initiative. There is a general focus on so-called 'high-politics' throughout the choice of pictures featuring in history textbooks. As will be elaborated in the qualitative analysis, the textbooks portray European integration as an external event to the respective history of the member

state. The visual focus on high-politics is arguably contributing to this impression, as there is tangible connection being made between the European ‘high-politics’ and the lives of citizens within the member states. Especially the overrepresentation of the relations between France and Germany do not give justice to the phenomenal diversity of countries and cultures that have joined the European project since over the last seven decades.

3.2 Maps, or ‘What is Europe?’

The analysis of the maps featuring in history textbooks has undergone the same method as the analysis of the pictures. It hence has to be stated again that the dataset is incomplete, as scans from Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, the Republic of Ireland, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom are missing. Is this thus advised to be cautious about generalising the conclusions generated in this section about the choice of maps in history textbooks beyond the member states of which the data has been made available to the EUROCLIO team. As Figure 7 depicts, the enlargement European integration has undergone since its start is the single most popular topic. Second are maps on geopolitics and economics.

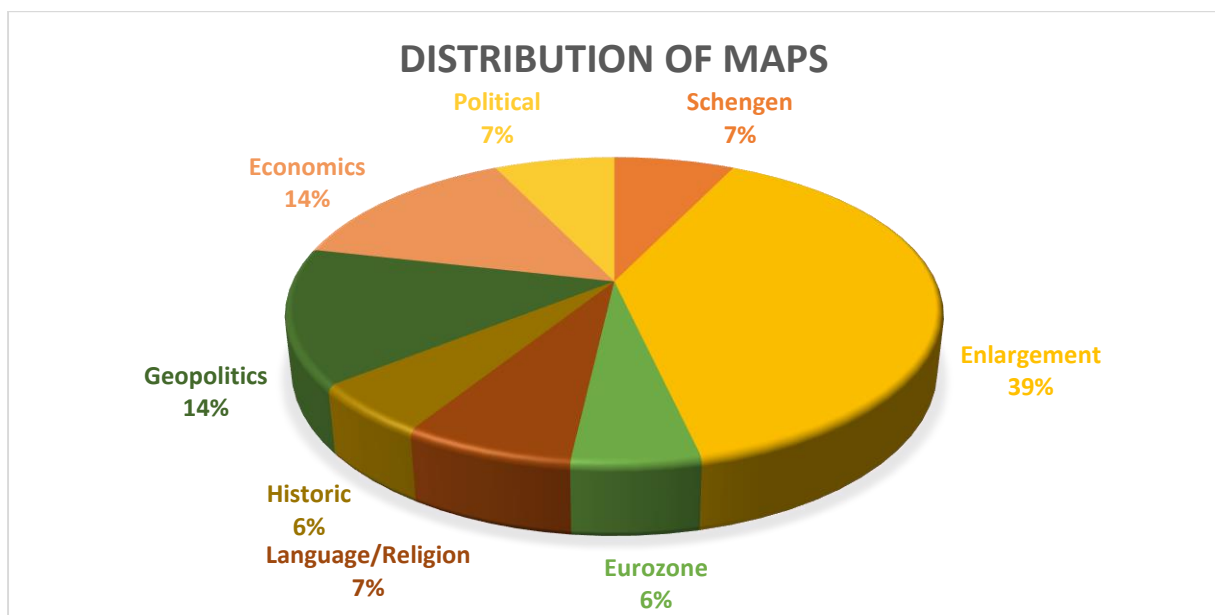


Figure 7: Distribution of maps

A key interest of the maps used in history textbooks on European integration is the analysis of what is being shown in terms of geographical space. Concretely, the EUROCLIO team compared and contrasted how maps reflect the broader societal debate of what constitutes so-called 'Europe'. This issue has been contentious for several decades, not only on societal level, but also on the national and institutional level. Contrary to the European Union for example, the Council of Europe's membership includes the Caucasus states Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, as well as Turkey, Russia, and Ukraine. The Council of Europe's conception of Europe is thus much broader than the European Union's conception, as the region of the Caucasus falls within the realm of the European Neighbourhood Policy as well as Ukraine. Russia and the European Union have regular bilateral summits and several agreements between them. As a measure in the context of the Ukrainian crisis, the European Union has launched several restrictive measures and sanctions against Russia and several programmes have been cancelled (European Council, 2017). While Russia is hence not considered as being a possible member state of the European Union but rather a bilateral and regional partner, recent events have complicated this relationship. As for a possible membership of Turkey, EU member states are internally divided. Especially France is a long-term opponent of Turkey's accession, long before the recent build-up of tensions between several EU governments and Turkey. Analysing in detail which history textbooks show which conception of Europe, the EUROCLIO team hopes to be able to reveal underlying connections between societal debates on what constitutes Europe and what is being shown as Europe in textbooks.

Three types of 'Europe' can be identified from the scanned visuals made available to the EUROCLIO team. First, some maps are rather broad in their conception of Europe, as the complete Turkish territory, all the states of the Caucasus, large parts of Russia including parts of Kazakhstan as well as parts of the Middle East, most notably Syria, Iraq and Lebanon. Figure 8 featuring in the Belgian textbook *Pionier 6* exemplifies this first type of map. Of the 22 maps focussing on enlargement, seven are of this first type. A part from the Belgian map shown in this report, also one of the textbooks of Germany, Finland, Slovenia, and Cyprus, and both textbooks of Portugal used versions of this type. The group of member states which feature a map which this first, inclusive conception of Europe is rather diverse, which suggests that there is no clear dividing line between regions within the European Union with regard to positions on what should constitute 'Europe'. As for the countries Germany, Finland, and Slovenia, the second history textbook studied in the context of this research project featured the second, more narrow type of map which is discussed in the next paragraph. If such a generalisation from two history textbooks is possible, one could argue that only Portugal clearly positions itself in favour of a widened conception of what ought to constitute 'Europe'.



Figure 8: The European Union, 2014 (Smeulders et al., 2014, p.353)

A second type of maps provide a more narrow picture of Europe, as only parts of Turkey are shown and consequently also the parts of the Middle East are excluded. Also Russia receives less space, which results in the exclusion of Kazakhstan and the Caucasus region. The following map found in the Finnish textbook *Memo 8 Historia* demonstrates this second type:



Figure 9: The European Union in 2013 (Jussi, Juhapekka & Anu, 2012, p.179)

This type of map is the mostly featured among the analysed member states, as fourteen out of the 22 maps relating to enlargement share this narrowed view of Europe. As with the group

featuring the first type of map, there can be no clear division identified. In Croatia and Slovakia, both analysed textbooks feature this type of map. Also Spain uses versions of this type twice, however one textbook also used an even more narrowed conception of Europe, this third type is discussed below. This second type of maps can also be found in one of the analysed history textbooks of Bulgaria, Germany, Finland, Italy, Luxemburg, Lithuania, Romania, and Slovenia.

As for the third type of maps, a general shift of the maps' focus to the West can be observed. While there is thus considerably larger parts of the Atlantic Ocean are being shown, certain EU member states such as Romania and Bulgaria are not depicted in their entirety. Turkey is not visible at all in this third type of map. It has been stated however that this type of map only appeared once, in the Spanish textbook *Historia 4 ESO* as part of an activity relating to the European Economic Community. The map however is indicated in an ambiguous way, since the map is titled as 'member states of the European Economic Community 1957-1986', 1986 being the year of Spanish accession to the EEC. The index provided within the map translates to 'incorporation to the European Union' which is problematic in several ways. On the one hand, the European Union as a legal entity did not exist during the time period of the title of the map, nor did the European Economic Community cease to exist in 1986. The European Union was only created with the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993, and the European Economic Community only officially lost its status as an independent legal entity in 2009, as the Treaty of Lisbon incorporated the institution into the European Union. The chosen word 'incorporation' also portrays a different meaning than the word 'accession' to the European Union, which would suggest that the initiative arose from the member state that entered the European Economic Community, rather than the other way around. It has to be noted that the same textbook does show a map of type two in a subsequent chapter, which does list all 'steps of incorporation' as well as indicates states which have requested accession to the European Union (being Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey at the time of publication).



Figure 10: Member states of the European Economic Community (1957-1986) (Grence Ruiz et al., 2008, p.261)

The analysis of the perceptions of what constitutes Europe with regard to maps on the enlargement issue show how contentious the topic is. Only three countries of the eighteen which did provide the scanned visuals have a uniform view on the issue as far as the analysed history textbooks are concerned. Germany, Finland and Slovenia are drawn between the widened and narrowed conception of Europe, whereas Belgium only shows one enlargement map, which adopts the widened conception. Five other countries, being Bulgaria, Italy, Luxemburg, Lithuania, Romania, on the other hand only feature one map which adopts the narrowed conception. It is maybe this complex distribution of viewpoints that renders the issue so contentious, as there are no evident or straightforward coalitions which could be formed to advocate some sort of settlement of the debate, as most countries appear to be internally divided.

3.3 Cartoons

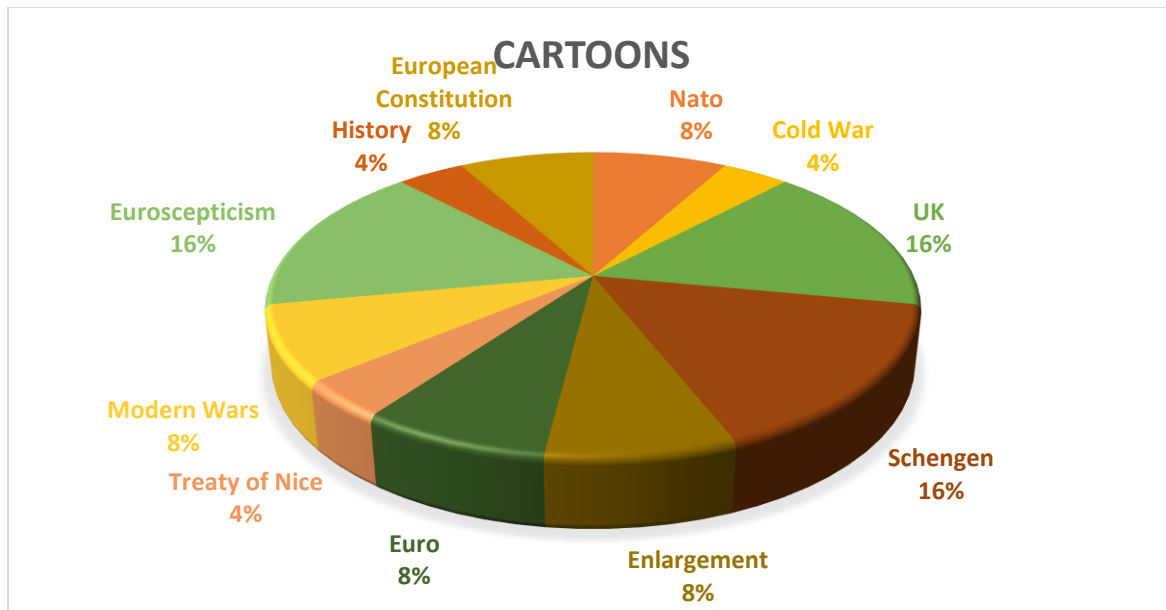


Figure 11: Distribution of cartoons

The analysis of the cartoons featuring in history textbooks has undergone the same method as the analysis of the pictures. It hence has to be stated again that the dataset is incomplete, as scans from Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, the Republic of Ireland, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom are missing. Is this thus advised to be cautious about generalising the conclusions generated in this section about the choice of cartoons in history textbooks beyond the member states of which the data has been made available to the EUROCLIO team.

As illustrated by subsequent graph, the choice of cartoons is quite diverse. Satirical representations of the United Kingdom, Schengen, and issues falling into Euroscepticism are the most popular. With regard to cartoons on the United Kingdom, these often relate to the period in which Margaret Thatcher has been British prime minister. Cartoons on Schengen often address concerns about security, especially relating to criminality in the context of lacking border controls. Eurosceptic cartoons treat a wide range of issues, from concerns about the bureaucratic state of the European Union to outright anti-EU sentiments. It can be stated that the use of cartoons varies widely among the EU member states. While especially Belgian textbooks are rich in cartoons, other countries only feature a few, whereas half of textbooks analysed in this project do not include any cartoons in the identified textbooks. Of the eighteen team members which have made the scanned visuals available to the EUROCLIO team, nine textbooks do feature at least one cartoon, whereas the other nine did

not make use of cartoons. Section 3.3.1 can provide more detailed information on the distribution of themes per EU member state.

3.3.1 List issues dealt by cartoons, sorted by country (Guido Lessing, Luxembourg)

Austrian history textbooks analysed in the context of the project feature following issues:

- The Cold War and the US support for Western Europe,
- NATO against communist threat in the 1950s,
- Flagging NATO turning into a peace corps,
- French German reconciliation (Adenauer - De Gaulle).

Belgian textbooks are exceptionally rich in cartoons relating to a wide range of topics:

- French German reconciliation (Adenauer - De Gaulle),
- Germany becoming Member of NATO,
- French refusal to British membership of the EEC,
- Maggie Thatcher and her Eurosceptical stance (1980ies),
- Greek suffering from the financial crisis,
- Schengen and the abolishment of the internal borders,
- Refusal to let Bulgaria and Romania enter the Schengen zone,
- Campaign poster of the Vlaams Belang against the EU,
- Negative outcome of the referendum in France and the Netherlands on the Constitutional Treaty (2005),
- Russian intervention in Ukraine and European dependency on Russian gas.

Germany equally has a considerable number of pictures in EU-relating parts of textbooks:

- Schuman Plan and the beginning of European integration,
- European bureaucracy confronted with the idealistic view of the EU,
- Enlargement: how far?
- Schengen (open borders) and the threat of uncontrolled crime,
- Slow enlargement of the East,
- Treaty of Nice criticized.

As for the Finish textbooks, only one cartoon has been used by the authors which relates to issues concerning the European Monetary Union. Also Italian textbooks do not extensively use cartoons, the only cartoon is about the first election to the European Parliament in 1979.

As for textbooks analysed in Lithuania, their cartoon relate considerably further than back in time as the cartoons of other member state, as the Congress of Vienna of 1815 is caricaturised. The two cartoons found in Portuguese textbooks relate to the country itself. More specifically, the cartoons show on the one hand how Portugal receives European funds, and how it spoils European funds on the other hand. The only Romanian cartoon attempts to capture how the outfit of a European youngster hints at various experiences, adventures, friends and family across Europe. As for Slovakia, the two cartoons identified in the analysed textbooks relate to the economic success of the ECSC and to the Cold War. Specifically, the second cartoon juxtaposes the US support for Western Germany with communism in East-German GDR.

3.3.2 An analysis of the data of the maps, cartoons and pictures on History textbooks (László Angyal, Slovakia)

The visuals in textbooks are pictures, maps and cartoons but the most frequently used visuals are pictures. The main topic of the pictures are symbols of the European Commission, the European Parliament in Brussels, and the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The EU today is in a very pessimistic view. The Euroscepticism is predominant now. The main topics of the present EU are the common market and the Euroscepticism. Federalists are effectively neglected. Only Slovakian and Danish textbooks deal with this topic. All the pictures and cartoons lay the emphasis on the respective member state. The most depicted countries on these pictures are the founder countries, France and Belgium. Pictures in Croatian textbooks focus only on one topic, being the country becoming a candidate for membership. The objects of the caricatures are the Euroscepticism, the United Kingdom and Schengen. Very interesting are the cartoons in Portuguese history textbooks which mainly caricaturise politicians. In most member states, we usually see that pictures and cartoons are about nation states and high politics, though references are made to people in general. The most popular politicians in the textbooks are Konrad Adenauer and Robert Schuman. The textbooks paint the sceptical future of the European Union. I think that the text books deal mainly with the German-French contacts in EU history, which is a big problem. The books deal with Central Europe mainly in the context of enlargement, especially the maps focus on visualising the enlargement process of the European Union. The topics of the maps are: geopolitics, Schengen, the enlargement, the Eurozone and language. Some textbooks however only deal with one topic. The Bulgarian, Portuguese and Spanish textbooks solely deal with the enlargement. A more general problem of this research project is that some mentioned textbooks are not actually being used in the classrooms and that not every participant did send the scanned visuals. This specific part of

the research report would thus certainly offer a more nuanced picture if the team could have accessed the visuals of all EU member states.

3.4 Qualitative Analysis

For the qualitative analysis, specific survey questions which lend themselves for a content analysis have been selected for a more detailed analysis. Word clouds have been made from the educators' answers, which also required occasionally streamlining the answers.

How is the birth of the European Communities/Union described?



Figure 12: Word cloud of the whole research population with regard to the birth of the Union

The European Coal and Steel Community is generally regarded as the starting point of the European Communities. Emphasis is placed on the founder states and the evolution in Treaties, which renders the European construct a somewhat abstract construct. Treaties are a means of public international law which officialise relations among states. The presentation of European integration as a succession of treaties leaves out the underlying societal currents which influenced the idea of Europe (i.e. federalism v intergovernmentalism). The two main reasons stated for the establishment of the European integration are the prevention of wars and economic gains. The emphasis on material interests constructs European integration as a construct of realpolitik in which nation states pursue their national interest which, after two world wars, is to regain economic power undisturbed by intra-European wars. Thus a link is generally between the Second World War and the emergence of the European project. This

time frame leaves out historicity of European integration which can be dated back to the Concert of Europe which equally attempted to prevent intra-European wars to a certain extent. The framing of European integration emerging solely after WWII renders it a recent construct which might not have happened without the horrendous experience in the Second World War. The European idea is however much older than that, as for example the end of First World War saw the rise of the Pan-European Union with a manifesto published in 1923 presenting the idea of a united European state. Arguably, the long history of a united Europe flowed into the position of so-called federalists or supranationalists which constructed European integration after WWII with more intergovernmental thinkers. Rather than a seemingly official evolution of European integration in treaties, a highly political permanent trade-off process between federalism and intergovernmentalism shaped Europe as it is today.

For this question, the EUROCLIO team separated the countries by their date of entry to European integration in order to examine more closely how the description of the birth of the European Communities differs from enlargement round to enlargement round.

The Founding states (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, and Luxembourg):



Figure 13: Word cloud of the founding states with regard to the birth of the Union

The First Enlargement Round (Ireland, UK, and Denmark), 1973:



Figure 14: Word cloud of the first enlargement with regard to the birth of the Union

The Second Enlargement Round (Greece, Spain, and Portugal), 1981-1986:



Figure 15: Word cloud of the second enlargement with regard to the birth of the Union

The Third Enlargement Round (Austria, Sweden, and Finland), 1995:



Figure 16: Word cloud of the third enlargement with regard to the birth of the Union

The Fourth Enlargement Round (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), 2004:



Figure 17: Word cloud of the fourth enlargement with regard to the birth of the Union

The Fifth Enlargement Round (Bulgaria, Romania), 2007:



Figure 18: Word cloud of the fifth enlargement with regard to the birth of the Union

The Sixth Enlargement (Croatia), 2013:

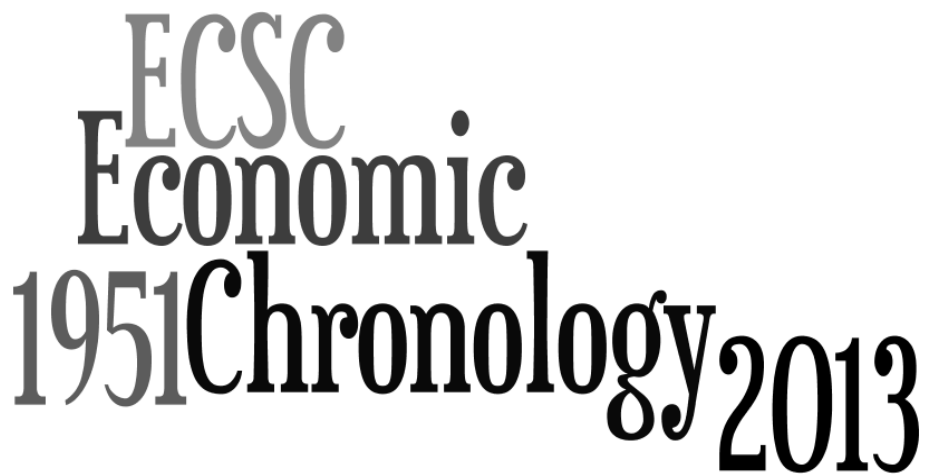


Figure 19: Word cloud of the sixth enlargement with regard to the birth of the Union

This detailed analysis reveals that the description of the birth of European integration differs rather substantially from round to round. It appears that primarily the emphasis on peace and or economic reasons described in textbooks as the main driver behind of the birth of the union tends to fluctuate from group to group. An analysis of what constitutes the reasons for these differences lies however beyond the scope of this project.

What is the main reason indicated for the origin of the European integration?



Figure 20: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to the origins of integration

Again, the main reasons indicated for the origin of the European integration are prevention of war (PEACE) and economic prosperity (PROSPERITY) which are two mutually reinforcing variables and which are only feasible under cooperation. (COOPERATION) On the same register, European integration is presented as a way to foster the European defence (DEFENSE) in case of further conflict; even though the project of the European Defence community failed in 1954 because of the French veto. European integration is thus presented as arising from material national interests rather than more ideational ideas such as a united Europe, solidarity or the defence of democracy or human rights. World War II and the involved totalitarian regimes seem to have shaped European integration less than the material destruction caused by the war.

List the main aspects treated with respect to European integration/ EU



Figure 21: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to the main aspects of integration

Again, European integration is presented as a succession of Treaties with the emphasis placed on Rome founding the EEC and Maastricht founding the EU. The other main aspect treated are the institutions of the EU, which suggests therefore that the complex bureaucracy and institutional web of the EU are emphasized over what the EU actually contributes to everyday life of its citizens (i.e. policies etc.). Among the treated institutions, the distribution seems however rather equal, with the Parliament being slightly mentioned more often than the Commission and the Council. An emphasis is thus being placed on the aspect of representational democracy within the EU which is arguably rendering the institutional web more attractive for citizens than the indirect representation through the elected national parliaments or ministers present in the Commission and the Council.

What purpose is attributed to European integration?



Figure 22: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to the purpose of integration

As highlighted by the first question (origins of European integration), Peace, Cooperation and Prosperity are the main drivers of European integration. These material purposes outweigh values such as democracy, solidarity or the welfare of citizens. Once more, this trend is the result of the centrality of the World War II in the European memory.

For this question, the EUROCLIO team again separated the countries by their date of entry to European integration in order to examine more closely how the description of the birth of the European Communities differs from enlargement round to enlargement round.

The Founding states (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, and Luxembourg):



Figure 23: Word cloud of the founding states with regard to the purpose of integration

The First Enlargement Round (Ireland, UK, and Denmark), 1973:



Figure 24: Word cloud of the first enlargement with regard to the purpose of integration

The Second Enlargement Round (Greece, Spain, and Portugal), 1981-1986:



Figure 25: Word cloud of the second enlargement with regard to the purpose of integration

The Third Enlargement Round (Austria, Sweden, and Finland), 1995:



Figure 26: Word cloud of the third enlargement with regard to the purpose of integration

The Fourth Enlargement Round (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), 2004:



Figure 27: Word cloud of the fourth enlargement with regard to the purpose of integration

The Fifth Enlargement Round (Bulgaria, Romania), 2007:



Figure 28: Word cloud of the fifth enlargement with regard to the purpose of integration

The Sixth Enlargement (Croatia), 2013:



A word cloud visualization showing the purpose of integration for the sixth enlargement (Croatia, 2013). The words are arranged in a vertical stack, with 'Political' and 'Movements' in large, bold, black serif font. 'of' is in a smaller, grey, lowercase serif font. 'Economic' is in a medium-sized, grey, uppercase serif font. 'Freedom' is in a large, bold, black serif font. The words are centered horizontally.

Figure 29: Word cloud of the sixth enlargement with regard to the purpose of integration

This detailed analysis reveals that the purpose attributed to European integration differs rather substantially from round to round. It appears that primarily the emphasis on peace and or economic reasons described in textbooks as the main purpose of the European integration tends to fluctuate from group to group. An analysis of what constitutes the reasons for these differences lies however, again beyond the scope of this project.

What is driving this process?



Figure 30: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to the drivers of integration

Contrary to the main purpose of European integration, it seems that prosperity is driving the process. This again suggests that European integration is presented as arising from material interests which renders integration only viable for nation-states as long as there is prosperity. Especially in the context of the recent Eurozone crisis, such a presentation of European integration is problematic since the main driver and uniting force, prosperity, is clearly absent. Given that national education primarily emphasise this aspect, it is of little wonder that Euroscepticism exponentially increases in times of economic crises. European integration ought to be regarded as more as a simple generator of prosperity if veritable European cohesion wants to be achieved.

Which are the main assets of European integration?



Figure 31: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to the main assets of integration

Combining the main purpose and the main drivers of European integration, national textbooks regard peace and prosperity as the main assets of European integration. Nevertheless, other assets appear: Solidarity, Trade, employment, integration, Power, Democracy. Nonetheless, “Trade” and “Employment” are once more materialist advantages that outweigh the human and idealist assets of European Integration.

Is European integration presented mainly positively or negatively? What arguments are used for transmitting this?



Figure 32: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to whether integration is positive or negative

Most of the answers are positive and highlight the benefits from integration: economic prosperity, reinforcement of Human Rights (given that it is a condition to enter in the EU), opportunities to study abroad, financial support from the EU, reinforcement of peace and prosperity, enhance community policies (agriculture, technology, environment...), freedom of traveling, enhance security and stability.

However, we can notice two exceptions: Germany and Sweden. One of the two German textbooks depicts the EU system as too much bureaucratic, with a top-down process. Besides it highlights the failure of the EU Constitution which did not find any solution yet.

One of the two Swedish textbooks denounces an unfair system of distribution of resources (some countries such as Sweden pay more than they receive) and an unfair repartition of refugees. However for both case, the other textbooks are more neutral or positive.

Which are the fundamental dates being mentioned?



Figure 33: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to the main dates of integration

In line with the above indicated presentation of European integration as a succession of treaties, the main dates mentioned in the textbooks are primarily the years in which treaties have come into force. The emphasis is again on Rome and Maastricht. The data suggests however that the 2004 enlargement round has equally been treated very often in textbooks as well as 2007 which combined the Lisbon Treaty and the enlargement to Romania and Bulgaria. The introduction of the Euro stands out as the sole event which is not directly related to the mere signing of a treaty but which directly influenced citizens' everyday life.

Which institutions are mentioned?



Figure 34: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to the main EU institutions

The focus of history education seems to be the Council of Ministers (also Council of the European Union) which is part of the bicameral legislature and represents the executive governments of EU member states. In this count of the word equally flows the European Council being the institution comprising the heads of state of the member countries and which is in charge of defining overarching priorities for the European Union. We see that the Council of Europe is only rarely mentioned in textbooks. The second legislative is mentioned more often than the executive (the Commission) which suggest that overall the textbooks seem to deal more extensively with representational democracy than with the indirect representational democracy that the Commission represents (the Council appoints the Commissioners which then have to be approved by the Parliament). Other important institutions primarily since the Eurozone crisis (the ECB) is however only marginally treated by textbooks. It can be noted therefore that overall the textbooks emphasise the democratic aspects of the European Union since they generally leave out appointed institutions such as the ECB or the European Court of Justice.

Which common policies are mentioned?



Figure 35: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to the common EU policies

The main common policies mentioned in textbooks are the common market (in line with the emphasis on prosperity), the Common agricultural policy (a highly controversial policy in terms of its costs, environmental and humanitarian impact), the common foreign and security policy (which has been more of a failure than an outright success), the Euro (in a crisis now) and Schengen (in severe criticism since the refugee crisis primarily due to the internal redistribution of immigrants and external frontier measures such as Frontex). Overall therefore, the presented common policies present a rather negative image, positive policies such as EU citizenship or the free movement of labour receive relatively little attention. These two policies however directly affect the Union's citizens. Erasmus would also be a highly positive element which receives little attention as well as the European Court for Human Rights.

Which specific historical characters are mentioned as relevant for the origin of the European integration?



Figure 36: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to the main historical figures of integration

In line with the focus on the ECSC and Franco-German relations as the main driver of the European integration process, the names most mentioned are Schuman, Adenauer and Monnet. The respective heads of states of the other four founding states of the ESCS receive comparatively very little attention, which does not give an inclusive impression of the early developments of European cooperation. Equally in line with the textbooks focus on institutions, solely politicians (i.e. heads of states) are being mentioned in the textbooks which neglects the role of civil society in the building of a broad basis of support for a united Europe (i.e The Congress of Europe of The Hague 1948).

Is the EU seen as external event or part of national history?



Figure 37: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to whether the EU is part of national history

Reflecting the above mentioned focus on institutions, treaties, and high politicians, European integration is generally perceived as a largely external event in EU member states' textbooks rather than a part of national history. Among others, our new project on The Hague Congress 1948 attempts to reflect the important role civil society played in the early stages of European integration, which is hoped to render the perception of European integration more a national event than an external top-down process.

Which challenges for today's and tomorrow's EU are referred to?



Figure 38: Word cloud of the whole population with regard to main challenges of the EU

Probably reflecting the view that European integration as an external event decoupled from national history, many textbooks do not identify possible future challenges for the Union which might obviously affect their nation-state as well. Among the noted challenges, globalization, differences in economic and cultural ways primarily and migration are regarded as core challenges. Given the context of the Eurozone crisis which rendered acute the disparity in macroeconomic performances among EU member states, the identification of differences as core challenges are not surprising. Since the global financial crisis had a direct impact on the emergence of the Eurozone crisis, the frequency of globalization as core challenges might equally be explained. While the origin of migration is not directly referred to, this challenge could arise from migration related to the EU internal free movement of labour or from humanitarian commitments of the European continent which results in immigration from Africa or Middle East for example. Issues relating to the legitimacy of the European Union do receive relatively little attention despite the fact that this field arguably has the most influence on EU cohesion and positive societal sentiment about the EU. It can equally be noted that the issue of a potential enlargement to Turkey is seen as a major challenge in some textbooks.

3.5 Quantitative

For the quantitative analysis, specific survey questions which lend themselves for a quantitative analysis have been selected for a more detailed analysis. Quantitative questions have been analysed by means of tables.

Is European integration presented as a process?

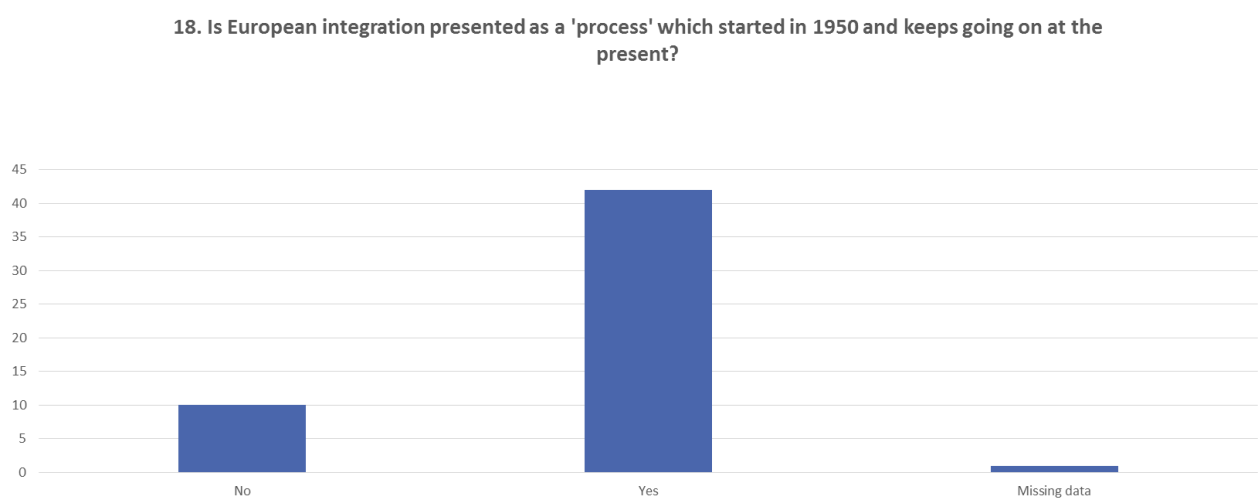


Figure 39: Distribution of results on the 'beginning' of integration

Detailed results:

No: 1x Austria, 2x Cyprus, Spain, 1x Lithuania, 1x Latvia, 1x Malta, 1x Sweden, 2x England.

Here, most of the textbooks present the European integration as a process which started in 1950. This statistical data is related to our qualitative findings: as European integration is described as a succession of Treaties, it is also depicted as a process in which the main drivers are these Treaties.

In the academic debate about European integration, the "Neo-functionalism" theory also outlines European integration as a result of "spill-over" effects (Xu, Shen, 2014), following the dynamic of a process.

On the other hand, textbooks which disagree with this process-trend come from EU members that enter in the EU more lately: UK (1973), Spain (1986), Sweden (1995) and Austria, Cyprus,

Lithuania, Latvia, Malta (2004). This temporal difference may explain that the most recent EU members don't share the same representation of European integration.

Is there a connection to the pre-WWII period?

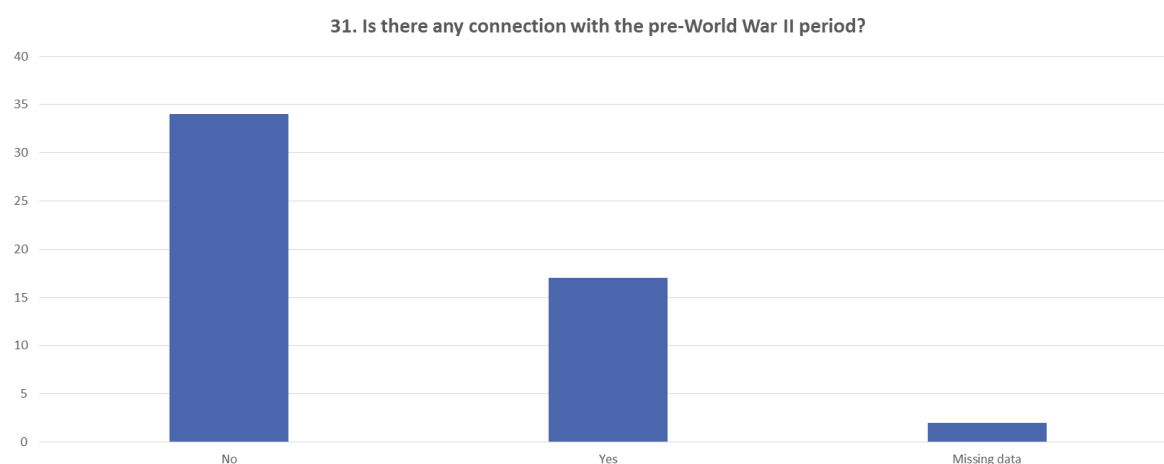


Figure 40: Distribution of results on the link of integration to the pre-World War II period

Detailed results:

Yes: 1x Austria, 2x Germany, 1x Denmark, 2x Finland, 1x France, Greece, 1x Hungary, 2x Italy, 2x the Netherlands, 2x Poland, 2x Romania.

As said in our qualitative analysis, most of the textbooks relate the origins of Europe to the consequences of the World War II. Therefore they don't trace back earlier even though the European idea is much older. That is why here most of the textbooks don't draw any connection with the pre-World War II period.

However an important minority (17) points a connection between European integration with the pre-World War II period. This minority includes the Founding Fathers (Germany, France, Italy, and the Netherlands) which were involved in the European project before World War II, but also other European countries. (Austria, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Romania.)

Is European fascism connected to European integration?

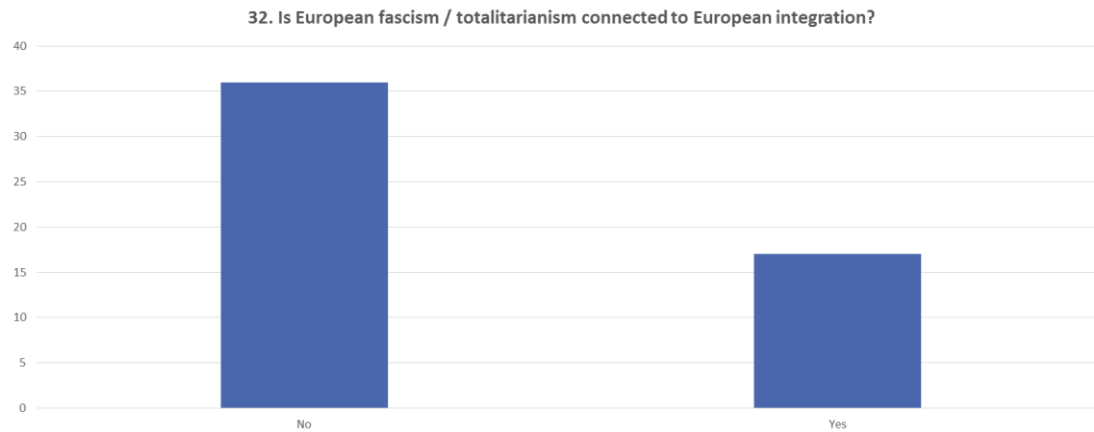


Figure 41: Distribution of results on the link of integration to fascism and totalitarianism

Detailed results:

Yes: 1x Czech Republic, 2x Germany, 1x Denmark, 1x France, 2x Ireland, 2x Italy, 1x Luxembourg, 2x the Netherlands, 2x Poland, 1x Portugal, 1x Romania, 1x Slovakia.

In this question, EU members' textbooks are more divided, even though there is a majority which don't relate the 20th century totalitarianisms to European integration. However it is interesting to notice that those which confirm this relation come from European countries that had been under totalitarian/ fascist regimes: Germany, France, Italy, ex-Czechoslovakia (incorporated into the Nazi regime)... Therefore, these countries may present European integration as a solution to prevent any further totalitarian regime in Europe.

Are there many integration failures mentioned?

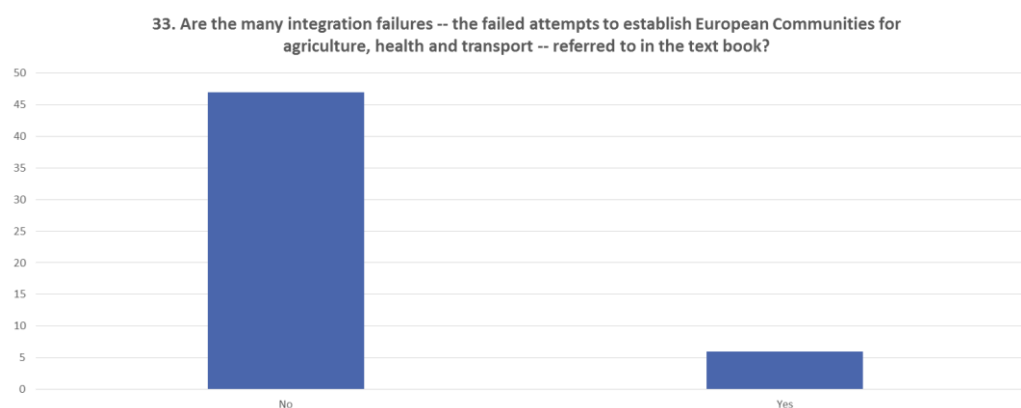


Figure 42: Distribution of results on integration failures mentioned in textbooks

Detailed results:

Yes: 1x Germany, 1x Denmark, 1x France, 1x Italy, 1x Malta, 1x Slovakia.

Most of EU members textbooks are positive about European integration and don't mention integration failures. This can be also related to our qualitative findings since we saw that many textbooks highlight the benefits from integration. (p.26)

However there are few exceptions: Germany, Denmark, France, Italy, Malta and Slovakia. Few of the exceptions can be explained quite easily: as said in the qualitative analysis, Germany is concerned about the failure of the EU Constitution in 2005 and about the challenges of enlargement, while France was one of the two countries which rejected the EU treaty.

Europe as a synonym of the EU?

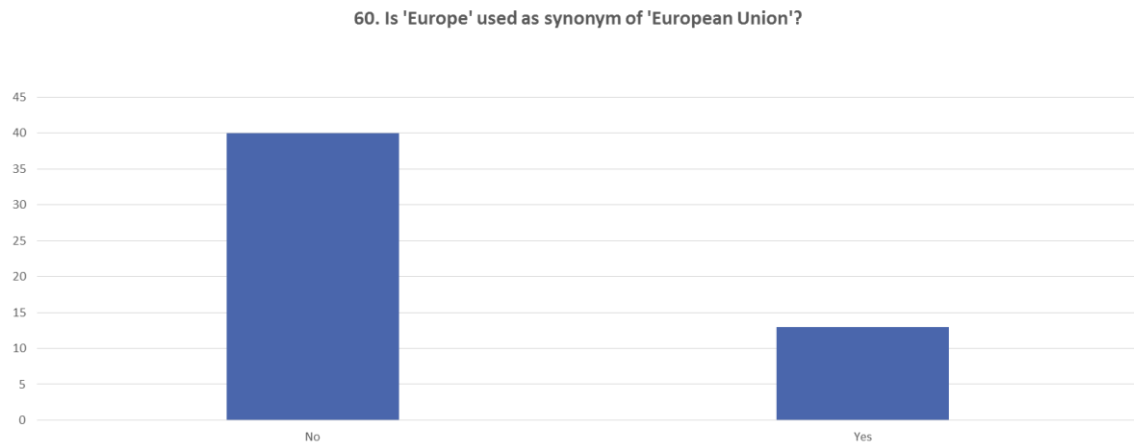


Figure 43: Distribution of results on whether Europe is a synonym of the European Union

Detailed results:

Yes: 1x Belgium, 1x Bulgaria, 1x Germany, 1x Hungary, 2x Italy, 1x Lithuania, 2x Luxembourg, 1x Latvia, 2x Slovakia, 1x England.

Most of the textbooks distinguish “European Union” from “Europe” because the first one refers to the Institutional Union while the second one is more spatial and can include a part of Russia for instance.

However, certain textbooks don’t make the difference: Belgium, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Latvia, Slovakia and England.

Europe as a synonym of 'member of European Union'?

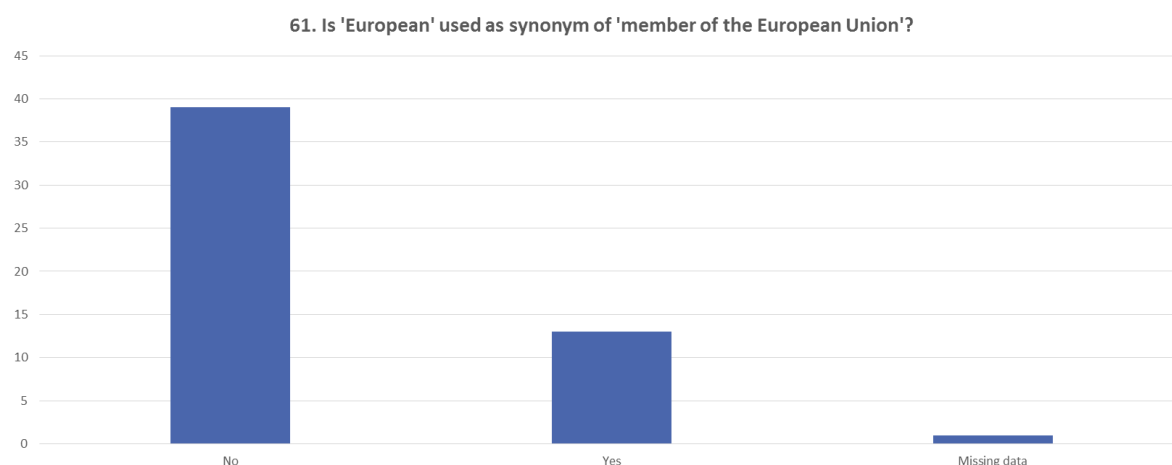


Figure 44: Distribution of results on whether Europe is a synonym of the European Union

Detailed results:

Yes: 1x Bulgaria, 2x France, Greece, 2x Italy, 1x Latvia, 1x Malta, 2x Netherlands, 1x Poland, 2x Slovakia.

Being “European” emphasizes the role of identity, ideas and culture and refers to citizens while being a “Member of the European Union” is mainly significant when speaking about countries and highlights the role of treaties and institutions.

Most of the textbooks dissociate these two expressions, except of Bulgaria, France, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Malta, Netherlands, Poland and Slovakia.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the “Teaching ‘Europe’ to enhance EU cohesion,” bringing together educators from all 28 EU member states to research how European integration is taught in secondary school education across Europe offers novel and unique data on the subject. The team of the European Association of History Educators (EUROCLIO) which processed, clustered, and visualised the data generated by this project and presented the research in this final research report would like to thank all contributors for their valuable input and collaboration.

As noted before, this research report is based on the completed survey on how European integration is taught in the subject of history in secondary school education across Europe. At the current stage of this report, only the research on history textbooks can be regarded as complete, which is why this report will primarily be based on conclusions and recommendations drawn from the dataset of this particular school subject. Conclusions drawn from the incomplete survey on the other social science subject (which is mostly geography) are not included in this final research report, and should, in general, be treated with the necessary caution and indicated accordingly.

As part of the research, the contributing team members have been asked to scan the visuals used in the identified textbooks with regard to EU-related content. These scanned visuals, being pictures, cartoons, and maps, have been counted, sorted, and analysed by the EUROCLIO team. It has to be noted that the set of scanned visuals is not complete, as the visuals of the textbooks in ten member states have not been made available for this report. These missing member states are the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, the Republic of Ireland, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The analysis presented in sections 3.1 to 3.3 is thus solely based on visual data of two-third of the EU member states, and conclusions drawn beyond this population should be treated with the necessary caution.

Despite these limitations, the data generated as part of this project offers valuable insights on how European integration is being taught across secondary school education in Europe. Three main conclusions can be drawn from the condensed research conducted by the team of EUROCLIO:

First, the European Project and European integration are presented as arising primarily from material interests of nation-states (such as prosperity or peace) rather than ideas and values (such as solidarity or European unity). Overall, integration is presented as a mainly positive achievement which is however, somewhat contradictory, regarded as an external event.

Second, textbooks tend to emphasise treaties, political figures and institutions rather than the actual connection of European integration to everyday lives of citizens (such as European citizenship or Erasmus). Students could thus get the view of an elitist project which is not as relevant for their lives as the respective nation-state is, as the European project is presented as a succession of treaties rather than a lively project arising from shared values and identity.

Third, many textbooks do highlight positive outcomes of European integration (such as the common market, peace, or cooperation), but all core identified challenges which the EU faces (migration, intra-EU differences, and 'no challenges') are questioning core values of the European idea, solidarity and shared identity.

Due to its novel character, this project, funded by the Erasmus + Programme, primarily aimed to generate new insights into the topic of how European integration is taught, and possible effects on popular pro-European or anti-European sentiments in the member-states. More research on the subject is welcomed by the project team, which hopes that the research conducted as part of the 'Teaching Europe to enhance EU cohesion' is a first step in the quest to raise awareness on the importance of history education for young people and societies as a whole.

In addition, it should be noted that the European Commission support for the production of this publication does not constitute an endorsement of the contents which reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

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