UNIVERSITY OF TARTU

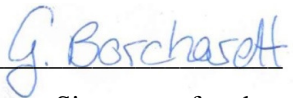## Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies

MA Thesis

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Representations of the European Union in German and UK secondary school textbooks – a comparative analysis

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I have written this master's thesis independently. All viewpoints of other authors, literary sources and data from elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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Signature of author

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Abstract

The current thesis observes secondary school textbooks from the UK and Germany from a comparative perspective and evaluates how the European Union is represented in them. For doing so, a methodology of qualitative content analysis along with a socio-semiotic analysis of the visual materials is conducted. The UK and Germany have been chosen as countries for the analysis since they take very different approaches towards EU integration, Germany strongly supporting EU integration, and the UK being apprehensive towards enhanced integration. Along with their significant political influence in EU decision-making Germany can be seen as a driver and the UK as a critic of EU integration. Based on the theoretically supported assumption that textbooks have a political dimension and are subject to political control and influence, it aims to understand if and how the narratives, presented in the textbooks, reflect government positions towards the EU in both countries.

The analysis reveals a quite low standing of EU teaching, especially in the UK textbooks. These mainly emphasize the institutional structure and economic aspects of the union. Furthermore, the risk of losing too much sovereignty is regularly mentioned which goes along with the British approach of "cooperating" with the European states rather than "integrating". The UK's relationship with the EU, which is represented, can be described as ambiguous. German textbooks, on the other hand, mainly emphasize institutional aspects and the Monetary Union. The EU is usually represented as an unfinished process with an undefined end, e.g. the enlargement discussion takes an important position in the German textbooks. This goes along with the German government's active engagement in integration processes. Furthermore, the EU is presented as something incontestable. The solution for problems is generally seen in ever further political integration. Altogether, the discourse by political élites and governments is quite strongly present in the observed textbooks. However, perspectives of other political actors may also be presented.

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List of Abbreviations

AQA	Assessment and Qualifications Alliance
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ESM	European Stability Mechanism
EU	European Union
GEI-DZS	Georg-Eckert-Institut – Datenbank der Zugelassenen Schulbücher (Database of approved textbooks, run by the Georg Eckert Institute)
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
MEP	Member of European Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OCR	Oxford, Cambridge and RSA Examinations
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
WTO	World Trade Organisation

1. Introduction

In school, young people often encounter issues that are important in society for the first time. Especially with the further emergence of multicultural societies and increasing international and global integration, it becomes increasingly important for school curricula, and hence textbooks as well, to pay attention to phenomena that influence society beyond the borders of nation states and to raise awareness about how much interdependence exists in today's world.

Education about the European Union (EU) has been on the agenda of EU institutions as well as member states for the past several decades. The EU institutions already started to observe the European dimension in schools in the 1980s. In 1988, the Council adopted a resolution in order to strengthen the European dimension in schools with a set of measures to be implemented between 1988 and 1992 (Council of Ministers 1988: 1). With further integration, the EU has been and is playing an increasingly important role, also influencing the personal lives of its citizens. In order to enable young people to become an active part of society, EU member states, therefore, should have a high interest in ensuring that their school students learn what the EU does and how it influences their personal environment. Public opinion also strongly supports the inclusion of EU-related topics in schools. In 2004, 85% of the citizens in the EU supported the teaching about how EU institutions work in school. The support in Germany was even at 89%, in the UK the support was less but with 77% still quite high (European Commission 2004: 65).

The current study seeks to contribute to a better understanding of EU-related teaching within the Union, by examining textbooks used in secondary schools in two of the member states, the United Kingdom (UK) and Germany. The UK and Germany are both important countries in the EU. As countries, belonging to the "big four" of the EU, they are highly present in EU decision-making. However, they have very different opinions about what the EU should look like and should be responsible of. This has become apparent in the political discourses and decisions that took place in both states. The UK, on the one hand, is often seen as having a critical outlook about the EU structure and institutions, which has been demonstrated by decisions to opt-out of significant EU integration steps such as the Euro zone and the Schengen area. Looking at political discourse, "'Europe' continues to be identified with the Continent and

perceived as the, albeit friendly, 'other' in contrast to Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism" (Marcussen 1999: 626). Also, political discourse supports the idea that parts of the English nation state identity are threatened by European integration and transfer of sovereignty is usually objected because of lacking democratic accountability. Generally, political discourse and élites usually favor a Europe of "independent nations" instead of further European integration (Marcussen 1999: 626). With the UK's upcoming referendum whether or not to stay in the EU, the issue about what the EU does and should do becomes even more relevant. Especially young people that have recently graduated may be influenced in their vote by the perceptions about the EU that they have learned during their secondary school time. Germany, on the other hand, has been very committed to the European project including progressive political integration from the beginning. As Marcussen et al. (1999:622) point out "[s]ince the 1950s, a fundamental consensus has emerged among political élites, and has been generally shared by public opinion, that European integration is in Germany's vital interest." Until today, the EU has become highly important in German public opinion as well as government policy. The German Foreign Ministry identifies Europe as one of the foundations of German foreign policy (Auswärtiges Amt 2013). *Eurobarometer* polls found out that 81% of Germans feel like a European citizen (European Commission 2015: 17). Furthermore, 54% of the German population evaluated its country's membership in the EU as "a good thing" in 2011 (European Commission 2011). Therefore, if we look at the UK and Germany from the perspective of European integration, the countries seem to represent two extreme positions. Germany, on the one hand, is very 'integrationist' and, also considering its strong influence on European decision-making, can be evaluated as a motor of European integration. The UK, on the other hand, is apprehensive about advancing the political integration and rather favors exceptions and opt-outs as their approach towards EU integration.

Having looked at the UK's and Germany's overall attitudes towards the EU and European integration, the aim of this thesis is to analyze whether civics textbooks in these two countries also represent the prevailing political trends towards the EU institutions and integration – representing the EU very critically in the UK and very optimistic in Germany. As previous research about the content of textbooks has shown, textbooks usually do not only convey facts. They also may follow political trends

(Pingel 2010: 8). As will be described in the following chapter, Gerd Stein (1977) has defined textbooks as having an informative, political and didactic dimension. Although they cannot be evaluated as being directly influenced by political decision-makers, they can be indirect reflections of political tendencies. Therefore, it will be analyzed if and how the two approaches towards EU integration in the UK and Germany are represented in the textbooks of both countries.

Due to these observations, the research questions, which should be answered through this analysis, are as follows:

What are the prevailing narratives about the EU in secondary school textbooks in the UK and Germany?
How much do the narratives in the textbooks reflect political discourse and decisions that have been made in the UK and Germany?

In order to respond to the research questions, the theoretical part of the thesis will first elaborate on the political dimension of textbooks, especially civics textbooks, and relate them to political discourse and political influence on the societal sub-system "school". Afterward, the study will be placed in the context. On the one hand, political attitudes and decisions that have been taken in both countries will be described. On the other hand, existing studies about EU teaching will be presented that the current study seeks to adjoin. Then, the methodology of qualitative content analysis of the written texts and socio-semiotic analysis of the visuals will be introduced, which form the methodological basis of the analysis. In the fourth chapter, the sample will be chosen, considering the control mechanisms and the textbook market in both countries. The following analysis, which forms the core of the study, begins with a description of the categories that could be identified. Then, the results of the analysis for both countries will be described. In the following comparison, the results will also be related to political discourse and decisions in the UK and Germany, highlighting the political dimension of the observed textbooks. The conclusions include a summary of the main findings as well as shortcomings of the study and ideas for further research.

2. The politics of textbooks: theoretical considerations on the role of textbooks for citizenship education and identity politics

In order to understand and evaluate the specificity and relevance of textbook research, the special nature of textbooks and their relationship to politics needs to be observed more closely. Textbooks are not simple depictions of facts. The narratives that are represented in them can create identity and, thus, can serve political interests. In the light of war and conflict in the first half of the twentieth century textbooks – especially history and civics textbooks – have been recognized to be able support war and conflict by several international organizations, among them the League of Nations, the UNESCO and the Council of Europe. First steps of textbook revision and research were taken by the League of Nations after the end of the First World War. The League of Nations started to search for ways to avoid xenophobia and stereotypes in textbooks. During the inter-war period several initiatives were started for implementing more critical views on war and history in school textbooks. A landmark in this process was the *Declaration Regarding the Teaching of History (Revision of School-Textbooks)*, which was signed by 26 states in 1937. However, it soon turned out that the principles were primarily implemented in nations that had already co-existed peacefully for a long time. With the beginning of the Second World War, all the attempts of the inter-war period proved to have failed. However, after 1945 the UNESCO continued the previous attempts of the League of Nations and in 1949 a *Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding* (UNESCO 1949) was published. A number of multilateral and bilateral projects were implemented. In the following decades, the UNESCO continued and intensified its efforts in this area – also issuing a number of Resolutions, e.g. the *Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* in 1974 (UNESCO 1974). These recommendations also widened the perspective of textbook research. Not only was content considered, but also the context of the classroom – attitudes and skills – were included in textbook analysis (Pingel 2010: 9-15).

All this political attention that textbooks have received in the past century can be explained by the special nature of textbooks. Several constraints, especially political

ones, appear in the development process of the textbooks. As Apple et al. (1991: 1-2) argue, textbooks

> are not simply "delivery systems" of "facts". They are at once the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power.

Recent textbook theory defines the textbook in three layers, always also including a political respectively societal dimension. Firstly, the textbook is a factor of societal processes. Secondly, it is a learning aid and means of the learning process in schools. The third aspect of a textbook is defined as being an element in a multimedia learning environment (Wiater 2003: 12). The societal functions that have to be fulfilled by a textbook, are the following: standardizing the learning content according to the state constitution, ensuring the conformity of the learning process in schools with the higher educational goals, securing a basic knowledge according to the curriculum, ensuring equality of opportunity in the education system, supporting the education policy goals and differentiating what is included in the culture of a society (Wiater 2003: 14). All these functions of textbooks connect textbooks to politics – the state constitution, the educational policy goals as well as the curriculum which is usually set by the state. In order to ensure the fulfillment of these functions, school textbooks often have to comply with certain standards, set and controlled by state institutions or organizations that have been authorized by the state. Although the classroom is increasingly influenced also by other media, e.g. the internet, videos, and audio material, the written book still plays an important role. Despite the available additional material for the classroom, the textbook can still give an insight how the topics from the curriculum are included in the overall and didactic presentation (Pingel 1995: VIII).

The influence of politics on textbooks has been widely discussed among academics since the 1970s. Especially in the early 1970s the textbook was criticized for being an object of direct party-political influence. The so-called *textbook reprimand*[1]

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[1] The German „Schulbuchschelte" is defined by Gerd Stein (1979: 3-4) as follows: „different groups of society, interested in schools, try to articulate their special wishes in front of educational politicians, and especially Ministries of Education by expressing well-aimed content-related textbook criticism and demands for corresponding textbook revision and try to ensure that their respective interests will be represented in the content of the course material in schools." (Quote translated by author)

criticized not only the content of the textbooks, used in schools, but also the circumstances of creation and approval of the textbooks, thus, the influence of certain interest groups – especially political and economic actors (publishers) – on the textbooks.

Consequent political control of the content of school textbooks has been and is conducted only in authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. An example for this is delivered by Gerd Stein (1974: 17-18). The author points out the example of textbooks in the 3rd Reich in Germany. Textbooks in Germany during that period were means of political leadership and were an instrument of formation of political objectives in the schools. This political propaganda within the educational system was used to secure the political system and the world views of the state.

Although this direct influence of political leaders on the content of textbooks cannot be observed in democratic societies, the idea that textbooks have a political dimension has become an important part of academic discussion since the 1970s and 1980s. An important contributor to this research was Gerd Stein who published his book *"Schulbuchwissen, Politik und Pädagogik"* in 1977, which is still quite frequently quoted in more recent studies. As mentioned earlier, Stein (1977) defines three dimensions of textbooks: the textbook as a *Politicum, Paedagogicum and Informatorium*, meaning that textbooks have a political, pedagogic and informative dimension. Although he underlines frequently that the main objectives of textbooks are to convey information in a pedagogic environment, he works out that textbooks are always subject to political control. The dimensions of the political nature of textbooks can be found in several aspects. Firstly, the school as a sub-system of society is subject to state supervision. The political interest of the state is not only directed at the general learning objectives, but also at the pedagogic aids (e.g. textbooks) which are designed to ensure the implementation of these objectives (Stein 1974: 45-46). School supervision can be executed through different means. However, two means have special influence on the textbooks that are used in schools and their content. Firstly, the state often regulates the content of what is taught in schools by determining national (or regional) curricula. In there, it is regulated what the students should learn. As Wiater (2003: 14) points out the textbooks have the aim of securing a basic knowledge as regulated in the

respective curriculum. Therefore, the content of textbooks strongly relies on the content of the curriculum. Furthermore,

> The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize a people. (Apple 1993: 222)

Since the curricula are usually designed by the Ministries of Education, the state can define this "legitimate knowledge" and, thus, exert influence on the content of textbooks through the design of and changes in curricula. Thus, it can be summarized that textbooks are seen as bearers of the "legitimate knowledge" of a society that has been laid out in the curriculum. As Gonzales et al. (2004: 302) argue "This is particularly important in civics and government classes, where students learn the 'rules of the game' in their society and ways in which they can (or cannot) effect change." The importance of textbooks as sources of legitimate knowledge by a society has also been underlined by Apple and Christian-Smith (1991: 4) who state that textbooks as part of the curriculum participate in the organized knowledge system of a society. Therefore, they are part of creating what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful and also have an identity-creating function.

Another way of exerting influence on the content of textbooks can be observed in the state approval, which is compulsory for textbooks in many states. As Stein (1974: 33) argues

> Although [the state] has refrained from producing and selling educational material in state-controlled publishing houses or firms […], its (political) interest in the learning aids that are used in public schools, is obvious. This interest especially finds expression in the legal provisions about the textbook approval by the Ministries of Education in different federal states.[2]

Wiater (2003: 13) also agrees with this idea and states "The textbook is, therefore, an indirect means of influence of the school system by the state. Because of the approval procedure its political function is unmistakable"[3].

Looking at the sample of this study, Germany and the UK, one can see that both states have supervisory mechanisms for schools and textbooks in place that correspond to the above described means of political influence on textbooks in democratic states.

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[2] Quote translated by author.
[3] Quote translated by author.

Both states have implemented curricula, which are designed by the Ministries of Education. In the UK, there is a national curriculum which is valid for England, Wales and Northern Ireland, designed by the national Ministry of Education. In Germany, the *Länder* (federal states) are responsible of the educational policy, which means that each of the *Länder* has its curriculum which is designed by the regional Ministry of Education. For the approval of textbooks, the second means of exerting influence on the content of textbooks, the situation is different in both countries. The majority of the German *Länder* (12 out of 16) controls textbooks by approving them through the Ministries of Education. The remaining four *Länder* uses lists of "recommended textbooks" which it provides to the schools in order to support them in choosing the textbooks. In the UK, there is no direct state approval for textbooks. However, at the end of the Key Stage 4, which is relevant in this study, the students pass a state-approved exam. Since the textbooks are usually tailor-made for these state-approved examinations, the state can exert influence on the content of the textbooks by approving the content of the examinations.

3. Placing the study in the context

The study aims to connect EU-related teaching and the political discourse and decisions in Germany and the UK. Therefore, the political context about political discourse and decisions in both countries as well as the previous research about EU-related teaching need to be observed in order to understand the context, in which the study is conducted.

3.1. Germany and the United Kingdom in the European Union

As it has been shown in the previous chapter, textbooks are subject to political supervision and influence in both of the observed states. Therefore, it can be expected that the general positions that are taken by both states and reflected in political discourse concerning EU integration will be reflected in the textbooks. In order to evaluate the reflections of domestic political decisions and tendencies, major political events, developments and discourse in relation to the EU, which have occurred in both states, need to be discussed.

Germany's political élite has long been committed to European integration. This already started with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in the 1950s that is known as one of the founding fathers of the EU. Even after the German reunification and the regained sovereignty, this commitment to European integration did not change. As Marcussen et al. (1999: 624) point out "[t]he majority of the German political élite continued to share [the] belief that only deeper political and economic union can anchor Germany firmly in the West and strengthen European institutions to ensure peace in the years ahead".

Also until today, in German foreign policy, European integration is defined as a fundamental part of German foreign policy (Auswärtiges Amt 2015). Therefore, the German EU Policy has been pro-European and pro-integration during the whole time of observation. There were several government changes in 2005, 2009, and 2013. While in the early 2000s the Social Democrats were the strongest party, also providing the Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, since 2005, the Christian Democrats have been providing the Chancellor Angela Merkel. However, there has not been a major shift in the EU policy of the government. In the process of Eastern enlargement, Germany had played a major role. The Schröder government was actively supporting the Eastern enlargement in the later stage of the accession negotiations in the early 2000s (Hilz 2009). Also, the government actively demanded the official recognition of Turkey as an EU candidate country (Jopp et al. 2002). Germany also strongly supported the introduction of a single

European currency. As Marcussen et al. (1999: 624) argue this "was perfectly in line with long-standing attitudes toward integration and the country's Europeanized nation state identity". Additionally, the German government played an important role in the development of the first European Security Strategy of 2003 and the further development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) was promoted by this government. The Merkel government continued this pro-European approach as well. After the failure of the Constitution in 2005, the German government actively promoted the idea of an EU reform treaty at the concluding celebration of the German EU Presidency in 2007. This proposal led to the Lisbon Treaty in the end (Hilz 2009). In the Euro zone crisis the German government has been perceived as a leading nation, also in the arrangements that have deepened the integration in this policy area like the Sixpack and the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) (Wendler 2014: 581). In her government statement in 2013, Merkel again underlined the importance of European integration for the German government saying that the European unification was and remained one of the most important tasks of the new legislation period (Merkel 2013). All of these engagements and statements by German governments underline the priorities and the pro-integration approach that all German governments have taken towards the EU. They all have promoted further integration steps, both in horizontal as well as vertical integration.

As opposed to Germany, the UK only entered the European Community in 1973. The UK also has traditionally been opposed to too much integration. Political discourse defines Europe rather as Britain's "Other", creating a nation state identity, which underlines the separation from the European continent. British political élite uses the term of "Europe of nation states", underlining the importance of keeping distinct nation state sovereignty and identity (Marcussen et al. 1999: 625). Examples for this skeptical and apprehensive approach are the opting out of the Monetary Union as well as the non-participation in the Schengen area by the UK. Both of these areas are very central to the German European policy. In its policy towards the European Union the UK government has stated peace and economic prosperity as the main objectives for the EU (Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Office 2013: 1). Furthermore, it stresses the need for reform in the EU. All these aspects go along with the referendum about the stay of the UK in the EU, which is currently being prepared.

Looking at the different government constellations since the early 2000s, the first government was a New Labour Government with the Prime Minister Tony Blair. Tony Blair was not only known as a charismatic leader, but also brought the process "adapting to Europe" into focus of government policy. By doing so, he wanted to change the UK's relationships with its European partners (Bulmer et al. 2005: 1). However, although the New Labour Government under Blair put high salience on the pro-European outlook in the early years of government, the importance of the issue in the government agenda declined during Blair's term. Oppermann (2008) sees the reason for that in the British public euro-skepticism and electoral interests by the government. The percentage of people that name the membership in the EU "a good thing" has traditionally been significantly lower than the EU average. For example in 2011 the share of people seeing the EU membership as a good thing was only 26%, while the EU average was 47% (European Commission 2011). In 2001, the 25 'steps to a better Britain' manifesto stated that the British government wanted to lead economic reform in Europe. The EU was touched in a positive manner in this document and in this respect differed significantly from the Conservatives' manifesto of that year. The manifesto also defined the aim of developing European defense policy in those cases that the NATO did not want to take action. However, international developments like the Iraq war in 2003 led to a division between the UK and other leading nations in the EU like Germany and France. The debate about the Constitutional Treaty was also led in the UK. In order to prevent the Constitution from being a deciding factor in the general elections of 2005, Blair promised to hold a referendum about the Constitution before ratifying it. In his 2005 speech to the European Parliament, Blair called for reform in EU social and economic policies and demanded to bring Europe closer to the people (Bulmer 2008: 7-10). Altogether, it can be concluded that the Blair government pursued pro-European policies to a certain degree. However, the initiatives of the government were hindered by domestic political sentiments that were more skeptical about the EU. In the 2010 elections, these anti-European sentiments also played an important role in the election campaigns and were among the deciding factors. In the elections, which were won by the Conservative Party, a number of more euro-skeptic Conservative candidates were elected to parliament (BBC 2015). With the new government, a more critical approach towards the EU was pursued. Finally, in 2013, Prime Minister David

Cameron promised to re-negotiate the UK's relationship with the EU and then hold a referendum about whether to stay in the EU or exit it (Cameron 2013). Therefore, it can be said that the UK's EU policies during the time of observation depended on the respective government party – the Labour or the Conservative Party. The Labour Party pursued a pro-European policy. However, it was hindered in its EU policy by domestic anti-European sentiments. The Conservative Party, on the other hand, has rather taken a very critical approach and even threatened to leave the EU in case of the lack of reform. Altogether, both governments much less promoted further political integration than the German governments. Even Blair's pro-European policy in the early 2000s put focus on social and economic reform rather than political integration.

3.2. Teaching about the European Union: a review of existing studies in the field

A high quality of European Union education in schools can enable active citizenship of young people. The European Union recognizes this as well. Therefore, already in 1988, the Council of Ministers (in this case represented by all national ministers of education) adopted a resolution that aimed to strengthen the European dimension in schools with a set of measures to be implemented between 1988 and 1992. These included the incorporation of the European dimension in educational systems, curricula as well as teaching materials. Furthermore, the resolution stipulated that Europe should be included in teacher training and exchange among students and staff from different countries should be fostered (Council of Ministers 1988). However, due to a lack of competences by the EU in educational policies, progress in this area depends on the individual member states. They can decide to what extent and in which form the EU is included in the education.

During this process of implementation of a European dimension in schools, textbooks can play a major role. As it has been pointed out earlier, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991:4) have worked out that textbooks create major reference points of truthfulness in a society and as such have an identity-creating function. Especially "[c]ivics textbooks […] are deliberately written with the future in mind: they aim to construct responsible individuals in their anticipated collectives" (Schissler et al. 2005: 14). Therefore, civics textbooks and specifically the chapters about the EU in them can play a major role in creating a feeling of Europeanness, a European identity. By doing

so, it can create future support of or opposition to EU integration by presenting the EU as something beneficial and positive or something critical.

Looking at the textbook research about Europe and the European Union, one can find a few studies, analyzing this topic. However, there are only very few comparative studies on European Union education. In 1995, a comparative study of this subject was carried out that included textbooks from Germany, Italy, Spain, France and UK (Pingel 1995). Sorted along individual country case studies, this study gives quite a good insight into the education about the European Union in the respective countries at that time. Thus, Fritzsche (1995: 83) found out in his analysis of the German case which covered textbooks from the early 1990s that topics relating to the (then) European Community made up 5-10% of the pages of textbooks for political education. Education about the EU was mainly presented as teaching about European institutions. Concerning problems of the EU, the main focus was put on economic issues. However, the German textbooks of that time kept a German centric view on Europe. There was a lack of perspectives of other European states, which Fritzsche evaluates as opposing the formation of a European identity (Fritzsche 1995: 89-93). Another chapter by Kolinsky (1995) analyzed British textbooks from the late 1980s. There was no political or civic education curriculum in the UK at that time; however, EU-related topics were included in history curricula and textbooks. The results show that during the period of the study the focus of British history textbooks was put outside of Europe, mainly covering topics about the British history in the Commonwealth and the U.S. Europe was presented in the light of the Cold War and not recognized as playing an important role in the world. In the textbooks that formed the basis for the case study the chapters about Europe were the weakest and described as "a mixture of superficial depictions, shortened to a minimum on the one hand and evaluation about the usefulness of Europe or the limits of a European community from the perspective of Great Britain" (Kolinsky 1995: 250). Since the conduction of the study of 1995, the European Union has made major steps towards further integration and it has also faced significant problems that had not been foreseen in the early 1990s, e.g. several enlargement rounds, the developments in the Monetary Union and the Euro zone crisis. Furthermore, there have been significant changes in the curriculum structure especially at UK schools since 1995. While the European Union was taught in history classes in the UK during the 1990s, today we find

EU teaching under the newly introduced subject of *Citizenship Studies* on the secondary school level. Due to this long period that has passed since this particular study appeared, the results may no longer be representative for today's state of textbook treatment of EU-related issue in Germany and the UK.

Another study has been conducted by Inari Sakki (2010). The study included the analysis of curricula, history and civics textbooks from five European member states, also including the UK and Germany. As it is underlined in her study, in UK education, the EU is introduced along with other international organizations such as the UN and the Commonwealth. The study found out that British textbooks represent the EU in an ambivalent manner – presenting it as a threat but also as beneficial in roughly equal parts. German textbooks, on the other hand, present the EU as unifying and influential. However, this study is based on social representation theory and does not relate the results to textbooks as a *politicum* which is one of the aims of this study.

Currently, a study about EU integration in textbooks is being conducted by the *Georg-Eckert-Institut* in Germany. However, this study only considers German textbooks, which means that it lacks the comparative analysis of the earlier study. Furthermore, a study by Arnaud Brennetot (2011) looks at Europe in textbooks in a great number of countries worldwide. However, the European Union is only one of many perceptions of Europe that are taken into consideration in this study. Therefore, it does not put specific focus on the education about the European Union. Other studies which were conducted for example for the European Commission (v. Geyr et al. 2007) put their focus on curricula rather than the textbooks. It finds out that the EU takes a relatively little position in the curricula of the German *Länder*. However, it underlines efforts that are made in order to increase the European dimension in schools. This thesis aims to adjoin all the described studies and look at EU-related issues in current civics textbooks from the UK and Germany. Since young people often get acquainted with the EU for the first time in school and previous textbook research has demonstrated the significant impact of textbooks on student's learning, it is worthwhile to compare the textbooks from different EU member states in order to evaluate how specific representations of the EU are supported in them.

Based on these observations of textbook research and political developments in the UK and Germany the following expectations have been drawn:

1. *Since textbooks are subject to influence by the state through curriculum prescriptions and textbook approvals, it is expected to find the described EU-related tendencies of the governments and political discourse to a certain degree reflected in the textbooks.*

2. *Since Germany is much more engaged in EU integration it is expected to find a stronger focus on European Union affairs in the German textbooks than in the UK textbooks.*

3. *It is expected that German textbooks promote positive and supportive attitudes towards the EU. Since Germany has been an active supporter of EU enlargement and future integration processes, it is expected to find this reflected in the textbooks.*

4. *British textbooks are expected to present EU integration in a more critical light, putting more focus on economic aspects of the Union.*

5. *Due to the major steps of integration that have been taken in the years of observation, it is expected that the education about the European Union will increase and, thus, there will be more space dedicated to European Union topics in both countries.*

4. Methodology

There are several different methodological approaches in textbook research. Depending on the interest of the researcher, it can be conducted from a pedagogical, political or historic perspective. Besides the traditional content-analytical approach to textbook analysis, there are an increasing number of approaches analyzing also visuals. A field, which should not be underestimated, is the analysis of the use, perception and impact of the textbooks in order to evaluate the importance of the medium analyzed. However, this field of textbook analysis is often left out due to practical reasons and methodological vagaries and therefore, remains relatively underdeveloped (Matthes et al. 2014: 16). Although the importance of this approach is understood by the author of this thesis, the evaluation from an impact-centric perspective would be beyond the scope of this study since "[t]he use and impact of a textbook are depending on the teacher, class and student and have to be observed in a class specific context" (Doll et al. 2012: 26). Therefore, the focus of the study rather lies on the political dimension of the textbooks and how they reflect political discourse and decisions that have been made. In order to respond to this research problem, a content-analytical research method has been chosen that also includes visuals.

For doing so, a mixed methodology of content analysis was used that combines both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. With this approach, the advice, which is given by the UNESCO, was followed. Quantitative methods in this respect mean *frequency and space analysis.* This can include the evaluation of how often a specific term is used or how much space is devoted to the topic of the European Union in the textbooks (Pingel 2010: 67). This was the first step of the analysis and showed to what extent the emphasis is put on EU education in Social Studies and Citizenship Studies in the respective countries. During this step of analysis the number of pages of the EU chapters in each of the respective textbooks as well as the number of mentions of the EU in other parts of the books was noted. However, this was a rather quantitative step and could not elaborate on *how* the EU is described. In order to evaluate the interpretation of the topic, the method of qualitative content analysis was chosen, as suggested by Mayring (2010). However, textbooks do not only contain textual information, they also include a number of visual materials, including photos, tables and graphs as well as drawings like caricatures. This aspect of textbooks has often been

ignored in research (Pöggeler 2003: 35). In order to build up a complete picture of how a topic is presented in a textbook, the visual material cannot be ignored. Visual elements are crucial in the design of modern textbooks. A great number of them are used. Therefore, it might negatively impact the results of the research if these elements were not taken into consideration. Stoletzki (2013: 2) therefore suggests a methodology, containing several steps, when conducting a textbook analysis. This approach is followed in this research. Therefore, as a final step, the analysis will contain a socio-semiotic analysis of the visual elements (as suggested by Kress/van Leeuwen 1996). These two major parts of the methodology and how they were adjusted to the current research problem need to be described more closely before entering into the presentation of the results.

3.1. Methodology of qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is a method which combines the advantages of both qualitative and quantitative methods. It is based on the quantitative form of content analysis which has been developed in communication sciences and takes advantages of the strength of this method, namely its systematic approach. Another aspect taken from the quantitative content analysis is the construction and use of a system of categories, which is central for the analysis (Mayring 2010: 29). However, it tries to eliminate the criticized aspects of the quantitative approach. Quantitative content analysis, while being widely used due to its strength, has been criticized for being too limited to language, superficial and not addressing the problem of meaning (Rühl 1976: 377, cited in Mayring 2010: 27). By using qualitative content analysis this superficiality and ignorance of meanings should be overcome.

The techniques of qualitative content analysis are defined as follows: the interpreter has to name the part of the communicative process that their conclusions of the material analysis are based on. The analysis has to follow a systematic and rule-guided approach, i.e. the rules of the text analysis need to be defined before the beginning of the analysis. Furthermore, a categorization system is the central instrument of analysis that can be worked out inductively, i.e. during the process of analysis. The three major steps of the analysis are summarizing, explication and structuring. Summarizing describes the process of reducing the material in a way that the important content is maintained. Explication means taking additional material (either from the text

or from other sources) into consideration in order to explain certain aspects in the text. The process of structuring has the aim of filtering out certain aspects from the material according to formal, content or typification criteria. Finally, the analysis is theory-driven. This means that theoretical arguments have to be taken into consideration, especially in the explication of the research problem. The current state of research is systematically included in the analysis and theoretical arguments have priority over systematic arguments. Mayring underlines that the inclusion of quantitative steps in the analysis can be very fruitful and that those steps are meant to be included. However, it is not prescribed for a qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2010: 50-53).

In order to conduct a qualitative content analysis, Mayring suggests a certain model, which will be described more closely since the conducted qualitative content analysis in this study is based on this model. At the beginning of the analysis, the material to be analyzed needs to be defined. As Mayring (2010: 54) points out, "the corpus should only be widened or changed during the analysis in case of specific justifiable necessities"[4]. Then, the research question of the analysis needs to be defined and it needs to be clarified in which direction the analysis should be directed. Next, the analysis units need to be defined, namely the coding unit (the smallest unit to be considered), the context unit (the biggest unit that can go under one category) and the evaluation unit (which parts of the text are assessed after each other). The categories, which form the category system, are defined by considering both the theory as well as the empirical material. During the analysis, these categories can be revised and tested against the previous material (Mayring 2010: 54-61).

In case of this thesis, the coding unit was defined as one sentence. As the context unit, one paragraph was chosen. This resulted in the coding of 205 units in the British and 339 units in the German textbooks. The categories determined both through theoretical considerations as well as inductively on the basis of the empirical material. Therefore, the categories were formed by summarizing and reducing the material in several steps. By doing so, a category system was developed through three steps of reduction. While there were still 82 categories after the first reduction step, the category system was summarized into eight categories in the third step of reduction. Afterward, the textbooks were again investigated in order to ensure that the reduced categories

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[4] Quote translated by author.

were still representing the empirical material. The eight categories that were defined after this process are the following: EU as an Economic Union, History and peace in Europe, EU policies, EU internally, Monetary Union, EU as a creator and defender of citizenship, identity and values, EU as an unfinished process, and Pluses and minuses of the EU. Units that contained aspects of more than one category were coded several times, for each category once. The categories will be defined more closely in the chapter "Identifying the Categories". The complete category system that was formed in these three steps of the analysis is shown in the appendix (see table 1), which depicts the significant reduction of categories during the process of analysis. Furthermore, every unit of the analysis was coded concerning the attitude towards the defined category respectively the EU. This could be positive, neutral or negative (+, ~, -). Units that contained both positive and negative aspects were coded twice, once as positive and once as negative. During the process, it was also aimed to bring out certain typical observations in the texts that reoccurred in several of the texts and textbooks.

After the identification of the categories, another round of quantitative considerations followed again. As Mayring suggests, it is viable for the qualitative content analysis to combine the method with quantitative considerations in the end, e.g. the frequency of the developed categories (Mayring 2010: 50-53). Thanks to the coding of the attitude, observations about the attitudes within the certain categories could be drawn. After having analyzed the results of each country, striking aspects were compared and similarities and differences were identified.

3.2. Methodology of socio-semiotic analysis of visual elements

As pointed out earlier, modern textbooks contain a large number of visual materials. Most of the pictures, used in textbooks, are information pictures. Their aims are to create and sustain attention, to explain and to convey messages, to describe and present (Pettersson 2010: 44). Therefore, important information would be ignored if these pictures were not taken into consideration in the analysis. However, the model of qualitative content analysis, which is described above, seems more suitable for receiving information from written text material. Visual materials are more complex and the message is often less clear, i.e. there is more room for interpretation. Therefore, the systematic approach in the qualitative content analysis is not used for the visual

materials. Instead, Stoletzki (2011: 8) suggests using a socio-semiotic approach as indicated by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) in order to analyze visual materials during a textbook analysis. This method can be used in order to bring out hidden meanings of pictures (Jewitt et al. 2001: 151).

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 32) argue:

Visual communication is always coded. It seems transparent only because we know the code already, at least implicitly – but without knowing what it is we know, without having the means for talking about what it is we do when we read an image.

They suggest different aspects of a picture which can be analyzed in order to evaluate the message behind a picture.

The first aspect is the structure of a picture, its transactional parts (dynamic vs. static picture), its analytical parts and its classificatory parts (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 50). Another aspect is the relationship with the viewer, i.e. social distance, represented in the picture, the contact between the participants in the image and the viewer ("demand" vs. "offer) by the pose of the participants in the image. The perspective of the picture can show something about the relationship between the viewer and the image (e.g. looking up vs. looking down on something). Also, the modality needs to be taken into consideration, i.e. how close to reality something is portrayed. As Carey Jewitt and Rumiko Oama (2001: 151) argue, this modality can either be naturalistic (in photos) or scientific (scientific depictions).

Another important aspect is *framing,* which "indicates that elements of a composition can either be given separate identities, or represented as belonging together. In other words, framing 'connects' or 'disconnects' elements" (Jewitt et al. 2001: 149). This can be done through frame lines, empty space or any other form of connection or disconnection between the elements. *Salience* also needs to be observed, which describes how certain elements are emphasized through size, contrast, placement, perspective or sharpness since this may put specific attention on one element in the visual material.

In case of this thesis, visual materials in the textbooks of both countries were identified. The British textbooks contained 39 visual materials altogether. In the German textbooks 67 visuals were identified. During the analysis, first the title and caption, the page where the visual material was found as well as the kind of material

(e.g. drawing, photo, caricature, graph, or scientific image) were noted in a table. Then, the material was analyzed concerning its structure, its relationship with the viewer, the modality, the framing and salience. Based on these aspects, the message of the picture was interpreted and the picture was classified into one or several of the categories which had also been worked out in the analysis of the text passages. By doing so, a connection between the visual materials and the text was established.

4. Choice of the sample

The data, which was collected and used, consists of secondary school textbooks in the UK and Germany. In the UK, the European Union is included in the National Curriculum of Key Stage 4 (Age 14-16). It is taught in the framework of Citizenship studies since 2002 according to the National Curriculum. Although the EU was taught before, spread over different other subjects as geography and history, this was the first time that a subject was implemented that encompassed education about politics, government and economy. In its comprehensive approach it is thus comparable to the German subjects *Wirtschaft/Politik* or *Sozialkunde*, in which the European Union is taught in Germany. Due to these empirical circumstances, the present analysis will consider textbooks from the period after 2002. The end of the period analysis has been defined as 2013, when the latest considered textbook has been published. The EU is included in different levels in secondary school. However, in the UK the topic is usually mainly discussed in Key Stage 4 (age 14-16). German curricula mainly introduce the topic during the 9th or 10th grade (age 14-16), depending on the *Länder*-specific education policy. Although this may not be the only stages when the EU is discussed in school, due to the limited length of this study, only textbooks from Key Stage 4 in the UK and *Sekundarstufe I* (grades 9-10) in Germany will be considered since this is the period when the EU is discussed both in the UK and Germany. Since it is important for the comparison to have a similar type of audience for the textbooks, this choice seems justified. Both groups of students have a similar age and it can be expected that the students have little previous knowledge since it is the first time that the EU is discussed in depth according to the curricula.

In order to choose relevant material from both the UK and Germany different approaches need to be taken, considering the different procedures of textbook approval, textbook markets, and choice of the textbooks by the schools. In the UK textbooks are traditionally not directly approved by the state. However, there are 'endorsed textbooks', which are endorsed by organizations that offer the state-approved examinations, e.g. the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) at the end of Key Stage 4 (Oates 2014: 10-11). The biggest of these so-called *examination boards*, that offer the GCSE for Citizenship Studies, are the Assessment and Qualifications Alliance (AQA), the Oxford, Cambridge and RSA Examinations (OCR) and Edexcel.

The endorsed textbooks are usually tailor-made for the examinations. These examination boards used to have or still have publishing partners, which also used to have exclusive rights to publish books which were approved by AQA, OCR or Edexcel. As *The Telegraph* reported in December 2011:

> The endorsements are hugely valuable to the publishers, because teachers feel pressurised to buy the expensive textbooks to ensure they get the best grades. The textbooks are often written by the chief examiners, who then set the exams. (Watt et al. 2011)

Therefore, it can be assumed that those publishers' textbooks were most widely used in the respective period. For AQA, the publishing partner was Nelson Thornes. Although the agreement ended in 2011 and afterward they started cooperation with various publishers, the textbooks under observation fall into this period. Edexcel is owned by Pearson and, therefore, has been cooperating with this publishing house. By now, also Collins textbooks are Edexcel approved. OCR in 2011 still had an "official publisher partnership" (Watt et al. 2011) with Heinemann, which is also owned by Pearson. However, this partnership has been changed to Hodder Education for the subject of Citizenship Studies (OCR n.d.).

Furthermore, there are only a few publishers that dominate the market (Grindel et al. 2007: 14). These are Hodder Education, Nelson Thornes (since 2013 Oxford University Press), Pearson and Collins (Uphoff 2015). In order to choose relevant textbooks that are widely used in the UK, textbooks will be chosen that are approved by an examination board and published by one of the dominating publishing houses.

Another aspect that needed to be considered, when choosing the relevant textbooks, is that a significant number of textbooks are published in different volumes for each topic (Grindel et al. 2007: 14). Due to the limited length of this thesis, it is not possible to include all of these volumes in the analysis. Furthermore, this would make a comparison to German textbooks difficult, since there are only few volumes in Germany which are dedicated exclusively to one topic. Therefore, only those textbooks will be observed that cover the whole course of Citizenship Studies in preparation for the GCSE examination at the end of Key Stage 4.

Based on this the following textbooks were selected for analysis because they are approved by one of the big examination boards and they represent all big publishers in the UK textbook market:

- Campbell, J., Patrick S., (2003) *GCSE Citizenship Studies for AQA*, Harlow: Heinemann, endorsed by AQA (Heinemann is an imprint of Pearson Education Ltd.)
- Jerome, L. (ed.), (2002) *Citizenship for you,* Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes
- Wales, J., (2009) *Citizenship Today – Student's Book,* 3rd ed., London: Collins, endorsed by Edexcel
- Campbell, J., Patrick, S. (2009), *AQA Citizenship Studies,* Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes, endorsed by AQA
- Thorpe, T., Nakhimoff, J. (2009) *OCR Citizenship Studies*, London: Hodder Education, endorsed by OCR

The first textbooks unsurprisingly were published in 2002 and 2003 when the new course had been introduced to the curriculum. Editions were then renewed or new textbooks were published. Therefore, textbooks of the year 2009 – the latest versions that are available today – are also considered. Because of the empirical circumstances that the latest textbooks have been published in 2009, it needs to be considered that after that, several events have occurred, e.g. the Euro zone crisis has emerged and the general elections have been held in the UK which has brought the Conservative Party back to power. An influence of these events on the EU teaching cannot be analyzed due to the lack of empirical material of this period of time. This can only be subject to another study as soon as new textbooks have been published.

For the selection of German textbooks a different approach was chosen. Since Germany is a federation and the competence of educational policy belongs to the *Länder*, there are sixteen different curricula. Textbooks that are published are not always approved for use in all *Länder*, but only in specific ones. Another specific detail about the German school system needs to be taken into account. Since there are several different kinds of secondary schools (*Gymnasium, Realschule, Hauptschule, Gesamtschule*) which all have different qualifications that the students can receive when they graduate and all have different curricula, a decision concerning the form of secondary school needs to be taken.

The European Union is taught in most *Länder* between ninth and tenth grade in social science classes, which have different names in each of the *Länder*. Since the

Hauptschule ends after nine years and the *Realschule* after ten years, only textbooks from *Gymnasium and Gesamtschule* are chosen for the study. This decision is all the more justified by the fact that in recent years most Haupt- and Realschulen in Germany have been merged into *Gemeinschaftsschulen*. Finally, textbooks that are approved by several *Länder* have been chosen, since this is a sign that the use of these textbooks is allowed in a wider area of Germany. Therefore, they are accessible to more schools when they are choosing their textbooks and it can be assumed that textbooks with an accreditation in several *Länder* have a wider reach and spread over German territory.

In order to find out, which textbooks are approved in several *Länder,* the database GEI-DZS[5] was used. This database, which is run by the Georg Eckert Institute, provides information about the school textbooks for the subjects of history, geography and social studies in all of the *Länder* of Germany. Each textbook for a specific subject can be found including the information, which *Länder* have approved it for what years of study. A search was conducted for the textbooks of social studies in the *Sekundarstufe I* (grade 9-10), since these are the grades in which the EU is introduced in all of the *Länder*.

Those textbooks were chosen that are or have been used in at least four *Länder,* representing a high rate of the overall population in Germany, which left me with a rather small sample for the German case. However, there are good reasons to consider the seemingly small sample of just three textbooks as sufficiently representative for the German case, given the specific focus of this analysis on the teaching of EU related subject matters. Thus, despite the fact that textbooks are approved by the *Länder* and social science or civics curricula do differ among them, there is actually a rather centralized, federal-level set of recommendations concerning the teaching about Europe that apply to all textbooks across the country. In 1978 the Standing Conference of the Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs, a federal body concerned with synthecizing and quality control of education matters in Germany has passed a resolution, in which it formulated guidelines on how and what to teach about Europe in schools. With regard to the EU, it recommends, for example, to pay particular attention to EU institutions, the Maastricht and Lisbon Treaties, Europe of the regions, Europe

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[5] GEI-DZS: Georg-Eckert-Institut – Datenbank der Zugelassenen Schulbücher für die Fächer Geographie, Geschichte , Sozialkunde (Politik) in den Ländern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, [Online], Available: http://www.edumeres.net/nc/informationen/literaturrecherche/gei-dzs.html [18 Oct 2015]

for citizens, and the common market (Kultusministerkonferenz 2008). In other word, EU education does not actually differ significantly in the different *Länder* of Germany. In order to verify this, I conducted a comparative review of textbooks used in other *Länder* than those in the sample and could, indeed, confirm that the sections about the EU were in fact rather similar both in content and, in some cases, even in wording. After this initial analysis and review I thus ended up with the following following textbooks forming the sample for this analysis:

- Homann, A., Kruska-Bludszat, R., Lambertz, P., Langner, F., Mond, K., (2002) Neue Anstöße für den Politik- und Sozialkundeunterricht / Teil 3, Leipzig: Ernst Klett Schulbuchverlag, approved in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Hessen, Brandenburg and Berlin

- Mattes, W., (2007) Politik erleben. Sozialkunde, Paderborn: Schöningh, approved in Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Rheinland-Pfalz, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen

- Riedel, H. (ed.), (2013) Politik & Co. Band 2 für die Jahrgangsstufen 9 und 10, Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, approved in Niedersachsen and Hamburg. Although this textbook is only approved in two Länder, the editions for Hessen, Thüringen and Nordrhein-Westfalen of this textbook contain the same chapter about the EU.

5. Textbook analysis

After having chosen the sample as well as the period of the study, the qualitative content analysis was conducted. First, the categories were identified; afterward the results for both countries were analyzed and compared with each other as well as the political tendencies in both countries.

5.1. Identifying the categories

In the analysis several categories were identified, which have been defined as follows:

EU as Economic Union: In this category, the EU is presented as an economic union. Economic considerations that have formed the basis of the EU and are central to the EU until today are introduced. In the prevailing narratives, which can be found in society, among politicians and media, this aspect of the EU is usually described as a big success. Typical topics are the common market, the four freedoms of goods, services, capital, and people, and the customs union. Economic benefits are described, which may include the cutting of taxes, free movement, decrease in prices, and the creation of jobs etc. Negative aspects may also be mentioned as for example over-regulation in the common market.

History and peace in Europe: The EU is presented in the light of its success in bringing peace to the European continent after the previous centuries and decades, in which many wars took place. This perception of the EU was strengthened by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the EU in 2012. This category also includes texts and visual materials that discuss the first steps of European integration, introduction of the so-called "founding fathers" and their ideas from the beginning of the EU in the 1950s until the time when the respective textbooks were published. Especially the depiction of the EU as a peace project is expected to be extremely positive.

EU policies: The textbooks explain EU competences on the basis of policy examples. These can be agricultural, transport or security policy. Furthermore, policies that explain and underline the EU narrative of "Social Europe" are included in this category – e.g. the cohesion policy and employment policies like employee protection. Also, the environmental policy of the EU can be discussed under this category. Another important policy area that falls under this category is the external policy of the EU, namely the CFSP and CSDP.

EU internally: The category includes information and descriptions of all structural internal institutions and regulations of the EU. These are mainly written down in the EU Treaties. The EU institutions can be described and evaluated under this category. Also the decision-making process, the adoption of EU laws and principles from the treaties, e.g. the subsidiarity principle, are included in this category. Analysis of electoral processes can also be conducted and students may also be encouraged to evaluate the level of democracy in the EU.

Monetary Union: The category "Monetary Union" discusses issues around the Monetary Union, namely the common currency Euro. While earlier textbooks may describe the design and the pro and contra arguments of the introduction of this currency, later textbooks can also include narratives about the experiences that have been made with the Monetary Union. Regulations that have been made for the Monetary Union as the stability pact can also be described under this category. Textbooks from the more recent years can also include information and evaluations about the Euro zone crisis.

EU as a creator and defender of citizenship, identity and values: One major narrative of the EU is the narrative of common European values and a European identity. In order to construct this identity, the motto of the EU "United in diversity" can be mentioned. Furthermore, the use of European symbols as the European hymn, the European flag or the European Day fall into this category. Narratives that support the EU identity construction or criticize the lack of such an identity are summarized under this category. Furthermore, the common values as they are also defined in the Lisbon Treaty can be explained under this category. Another topic that falls under this category is EU citizenship since EU citizenship may help European citizens to feel as Europeans and thus create a common identity. This is underlined by the Eurobarometer polls that regularly ask citizens of the member states if they feel like European citizens.

EU as an unfinished process: This category includes all aspects that describe the EU as an unfinished process and present the EU in the light of factors that may change the EU. Scenarios of the future of the EU can be discussed as well as EU enlargement issues. Furthermore, units that discuss the debate about the EU in the UK and the EU referendum are included in this category, since these debates can influence and change the EU in the future as well. Migration from third countries to the EU may also change

the EU, as has become especially visible in the past months. Therefore, migration discussions are also summarized under this category.

Pluses and minuses of the EU: This category includes general benefits and problems of the EU for the respective member states. This category includes rather general descriptions that do not fit into any of the other categories.

5.2. Analyzing German Textbooks

The analysis of German textbooks started with the conduction of a space analysis. It turned out that the EU takes significant space in all of the observed German textbooks. Each of the textbooks has its own chapter, specifically dedicated to the EU. These chapters make up 8.2 (2002), 7.9 (2007) and 11.3% (2013) of the total number of pages of the textbooks. Additionally, it needs to be considered that the most recent textbook also includes topics about the EU in its chapter about migration. In total four pages of that chapter inform about the migration to the EU and the EU asylum system. If these additional pages are also taken into account, the percentage of the pages about the EU in this textbook is 12.9%. Therefore, an increase in the share of pages can be observed. The number of pages and shares of the EU chapters are shown in table 2.

Table 2: Number and share of pages of textbooks and EU chapters in German textbooks

Textbook	Total pages	Pages EU Chapter	Other mentions of the EU	Share of pages about EU
Neue Anstöße für den Politik- und Sozialkundeunterricht / Teil 3 (2002)	255	21	0	8,2%
Politik erleben. Sozialkunde (2007)	341	27	1 (1 sentence)	7,9%
Politik & Co. Band 2 für die Jahrgangsstufen 9 und 10 (2013)	256	29	1 (4 pages)	11,3% (12,9% with additional mention

Another important observation is that – except for the migration chapter in the 2013 textbook, the EU is usually quite clearly separated from other topics as the number of other mentions of the EU (see table 2) shows. Other chapters do not mention the EU, even though they sometimes deal with topics that are highly important in EU politics as well (e.g. trade and economy, lobbying and media, or employment).

It is also useful to observe the titles of the EU chapters in the textbooks. The textbook *Neue Anstöße* titles the EU chapter "The future of Europe. Deepening and

enlargement of the European cooperation."[6] (Homann et al. 2002: 192). This title already shows the importance of the future development of the Union, with a specific focus on deepening and further enlargement of the EU. The textbook *Politik erleben* titles "Europe – The significance and the functioning of the European Union"[7] (Mattes et al. 2007: 290). The most recent textbook *Politik & Co.* has the chapter title "Europe – a success model?"[8] (Riedel 2013: 220). The use of words like "future", "success model" signifies a positive image, the focus on an unfinished process that the EU is located in and the future of the EU.

Looking at the different categories in the German textbooks, the results are as follows (see table 3):

Table 3: Mentions of categories in German textbooks

Category	Overall mentions	positive	neutral	negative	Overall %	positive	neutral	negative
EU as Economic Union	27	14	9	4	8.16%	51.85%	33.33%	14.81%
History and peace in Europe	20	17	3	0	6.04%	85.00%	15.00%	0.00%
EU policies	49	30	14	5	14.45%	61.22%	28.57%	10.20%
EU internally	82	33	40	9	24.77%	40.24%	48.78%	10.98%
Monetary Union	44	19	18	7	13.29%	43.18%	40.91%	15.91%
EU as a creator and defender of citizenship, identity and values	40	24	9	7	11.80%	60.00%	22.50%	17.50%
EU as an unfinished process	63	19	27	17	19.03%	30.16%	42.86%	26.98%
Pluses and minuses of the EU	6	2	0	4	1.81%	33.33%	0.00%	66.67%

As visible in the table, the main focus of the German EU education is the internal structure of the EU. 25% of the units analyzed contain information about the EU institutions and its internal structure and decision-making process. The European Parliament is the most commonly described EU institutions. 19.5% of the units that deal with EU institutions belong to the European Parliament, 17% to the European Court of Justice (ECJ), 12% to the Council of Ministers and 10% to the European Council and

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[6] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Die Zukunft Europas. Vertiefung und Erweiterung der europäischen Zusammenarbeit"

[7] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Europa – Die Bedeutung und Funktion der Europäischen Union."

[8] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Europa – ein Erfolgsmodell?"

the European Commission each. The European Parliament is evaluated positively throughout the textbooks. Positively connoted phrases are used in order to describe this institution. It is usually described as the democratic citizen representation. It is seen as crucial in the development of the EU towards "more citizen-friendliness and democracy" (Mattes et al. 2007: 307). The textbook *Politik & Co.* states

> The European Parliament represents […] the democratic will of the citizens. […] Through the direct election of the parliament the democratic legitimacy of the European law is guaranteed.[9] (Riedel 2013: 230)

Altogether, it can be said that the narrative about the European Parliament and the EU institutions in general is highly positive. The only negative aspect that is raised lies in the increase of the number of member states and due to that, the need for internal reform in order to ensure that the institutions will still be able to deal with the increasing challenges in the future (Homann et al. 2002: 210).

The importance of this structural and institutional education about the EU is also supported in the visual materials. 18 out of 68 visual materials (27%) contain or support the information that is provided in the text about institutions. There are mainly three kinds of visual materials that fall into this category: scientific images, photos, and comics/caricatures. The scientific images usually depict the EU institutions and their interaction in the decision-making process. These images all have a dynamic structure. Arrows represent the interactions among the institutions and also between the institutions and the citizens. The salience in these visuals is often put on the three institutions that have the major influence on the EU laws: the European Commission, the Council of Ministers, and the European Parliament. This salience is achieved through size of the letters, coloring or location of these institutions in the center of the image. An example of such a scientific image is shown in figure 1.

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[9] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Das Parlament vertritt […] den demokratischen Willen der Bürger. […] Durch die direkte Wahl des Parlaments wird die demokratische Legitimierung des europäischen Rechts gewährleistet."
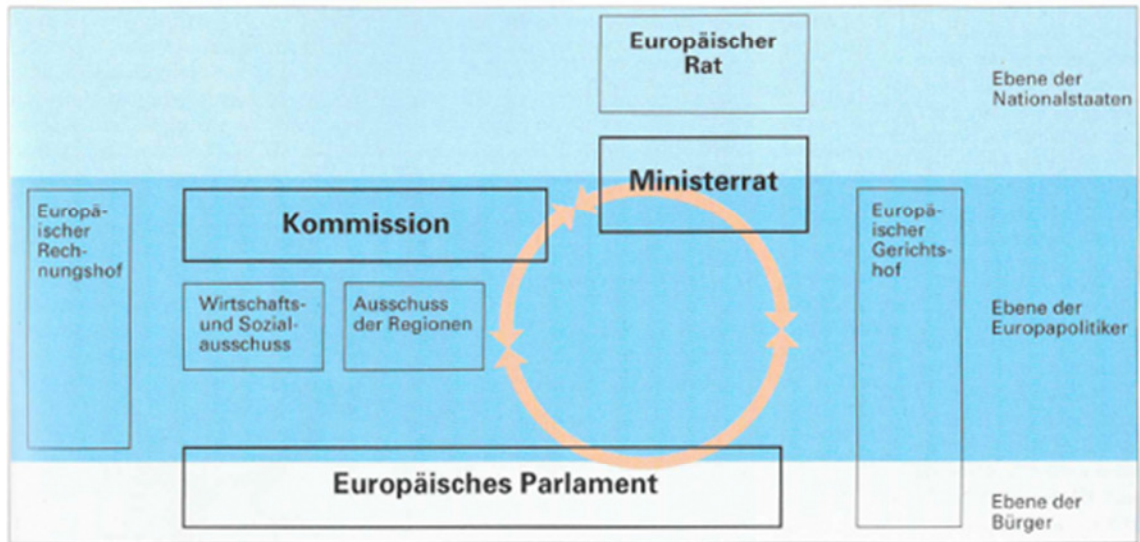
Figure 1. How does the EU function? (Homann et al. 2002: 197)

The second most mentioned category is the *EU as an unfinished process* category. The narrative about the EU as something unfinished is mainly focused around questions of EU enlargement (73% of the category's units deal with enlargement). Furthermore, scenarios about the future of the EU play an important role. EU enlargement is most often presented as changing the EU. It is seen as crucial for the development of the EU and mostly presented in a neutral or positive light. Economic advantages of enlargement are highlighted. It is underlined that "[t]he European Union becomes the biggest Single Market in the world" and can create jobs. Furthermore, the strengthening of d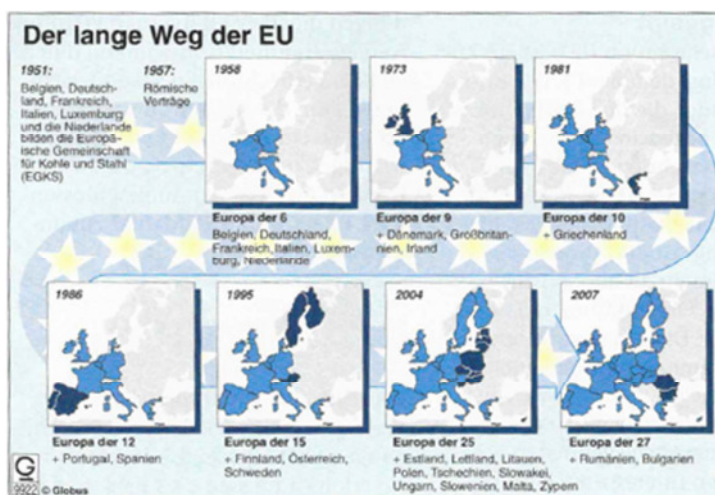emocracy and rule of law is mentioned. The important standing of this topic can be explained by the important enlargement rounds, which have happened successfully during the time of observation of this study and significantly changed the EU. Besides the enlargements, which have happened in 2004, 2007 and

Figure 2. The long journey of the EU. (Mattes et al. 2007: 300)

2013, negotiations have also been opened with a number of Balkan states as well as Turkey. Due to the German population structure, where people from Turkey make up the biggest group of people with migration background, this topic has been dealt with significantly in political discourse. On the one hand, the advantages of a Turkish EU accession are presented, which could be the strengthening of democracy in Turkey as well as the stabilization of the whole region if the mainly Muslim Turkey would support the universal values of Europe (Mattes 2007: 315). Thus, advantages are mainly seen in the spread of democracy and stability. On the other hand, the negative aspects are also presented, namely the lack of democracy and market economy that are needed to fulfill the European standards. Furthermore, the accession of Turkey is once described as threatening European identity since it is a Muslim country.

The visual material about EU enlargement supports the impression of the EU as a dynamic and constantly changing process. Visual material about EU enlargement is mainly composed of maps, showing EU member states and candidate countries. The enlargements are symbolized by different colors for the member states that joined the EU at different points of time and the candidate countries. Another picture shows different maps with the enlargement rounds, connected through an arrow (see figure 2). The arrow symbolizes the dynamics of the process and creates the impression that enlargement is an ongoing process, which has not been concluded yet.

The question about the Turkish accession is also represented in a number of visual materials. The framings of the caricatures (Riedel 2013: 239-240) support a disconnection between the figures representing Turkey and the EU. An example of this is provided by figure 3. In the caricature Turkey is disconnected from the EU through a big wall. Thus, the visual materials rather support the idea that Turkey does not fit into and should not access the EU.

Figure 3. Caricature of the Turkish EU accession. (Riedel 2013: 239)

Future scenarios about the EU are also presented in all of the textbooks. Although some of the scenarios of the earlier textbooks have already proven wrong or quite improbable, they still represent possible expectations of the respective years when the textbook was written and published. In the textbook *Neue Anstöße* of 2002, future scenarios were designed around the countries of mid and Eastern Europe, which by then were shortly before joining the EU. Social and economic development in those countries is seen as crucial for the future success of the EU and Germany is prescribed a key role in this development. It is stated

> Tangible perspectives for the economic and social development of the countries of mid, Eastern and South Eastern Europe are a priority now. The newly won freedom has to take root. […] We as Germans have a key role in this.[10] (Homann et al. 2002: 195)

In 2007 future scenarios dealt with questions of how to build the future Union after the failure of the Constitutional Treaty. In the latest textbook *Politik&Co.* future scenarios are built around further integration opportunities in a growing Union after Lisbon. Negative and positive scenarios are equal in number, ranging from the dissolution of the EU to the formation of a European federation. Students are asked to evaluate each of the scenarios according to their probability (Riedel 2013: 249). Striking about this is that all the textbooks clearly look into the future, envisioning further integration as it is also promoted by German governments.

The third most important category in German textbooks is the category about the *Monetary Union*. This reflects the importance of the Monetary Union to Germany since Germany has been one of the most important drivers in its construction. Also, Germany has been highly involved in the regulations and the possible solutions for the Euro zone crisis. While, the first two textbooks do not contain any negative aspects about the Euro, the textbook *Politik&Co.* is less positive about the topic. The mentioned negative aspects are mainly connected to the Euro zone crisis. When looking at what aspects the Euro is related to, one can see that the advantages of the Monetary Union are not only presented in terms of trade and economy. German textbooks also see the Euro as a symbol of European identity. *Politik&Co.* writes "The Euro is a symbol of the European

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[10] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Vorrangig sind jetzt greifbare Perspektiven für die wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung der Länder Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropas. Die neu erworbene Freiheit muss sich verwurzeln können. […] Uns Deutschen kommt dabei eine Schlüsselrolle zu."

integration and supports a common European identity. It is a crucial step towards a political union"[11] (Riedel 2013: 247). Problems of the Monetary Union are explained by stating that states did not fulfill the criteria.

In the framework of the category *EU Policies* the environmental and social policies are the most common examples of EU policies. Both of them are highly positively connoted. Other policy examples that are also described mainly positively are employment policy, security policy and transport policy. The external policy of the EU also receives some attention, although compared to social and employment policies, this policy area receives less attention. That can be explained because the external dimension of the EU only has a minor supranational dimension. It is mainly organized intergovernmentally and the member states still remain the main actors in foreign policy. Therefore, issues of EU foreign policy receive little attention in the textbooks. The agricultural policy is criticized quite frequently. It is said that the agricultural policy has always been very controversial. Reasons for that are also mentioned. It is said that the agricultural policy "caused lakes of milk, mountains of grain, meat and apples, cost vast sums of money because Brussels let the farmers sell their products at subsidized prices […]"[12](Homann et al. 2002: 204). This illustrative description of the disadvantages of the agricultural policy creates a rather negative idea of this policy area. However, the agricultural policy is only discussed in the first textbook *Neue Anstöße* of 2002. The other textbooks do not deal with the topic. Generally, it can be said that policy examples of different EU policies are given in all the textbooks. Except for the agricultural policy, the EU policies presented are usually discussed in a positive light which conveys the impression to the students that EU policies are beneficial for different areas of their current or future lives like employment, environment, or social policies.

Looking at the other categories, it can be seen that the *EU as a creator and defender of citizenship, identity and values* is discussed in 12%, the *EU as Economic Union* in 8%, and the *History and peace in Europe* in 6% of the analyzed units. The

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[11] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Der Euro ist ein Symbol der europäischen Integration und fördert eine gemeinsame europäische Identität. Er ist ein entscheidender Schritt hin zu einer politischen Union."
[12] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Sie verursachte Milchseen, Getreide-, Fleisch- und Apfelberge, kostete Unsummen, weil Brüssel die Bauern ihre Produkte zu subventionierten Preisen […] verkaufen ließ."

identity and value discussion receives increasing attention over time. This can be explained through the significant increase of member states during this period. With the bigger union and the bigger range of different member states and cultures, the identity discussion became increasingly important in the EU. In order to convey these common values to the young people, this topic also was more and more included in the textbooks. The motto of the Union "United in Diversity" is introduced in all of the textbooks. By doing so, students are encouraged to respect different cultures and values within the EU member states. In the textbook *Politik erleben* it is stated:

> Europe is a continent with many different traditions and languages, but also with common values like democracy, freedom and social justice. The EU defends these values. It supports the cooperation of the European peoples by strengthening the unity while protecting the diversity. (Mattes et al. 2007: 299)

The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights is also described as an agreement between the heads of states and governments on basic rights that are valid throughout the EU. References are also made to the European Convention of Human Rights of the European Council since the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights is based on this document (Homann et al. 2002: 210). The EU citizenship remains a very minor issue in the framework of this category. It is also evaluated as beneficial for the EU citizens and therefore presented in a positive light. However, citizenship is still mainly seen as national citizenship. EU citizenship only brings a few additional rights for the citizens. These additional rights are described in two of the three observed textbooks. However, since citizenship and citizens' rights can already be discussed in the national context, the description of these topics is quite short in the EU chapter.

The category *EU as Economic Union* is not prioritized in the EU chapters of the observed textbooks, although this area has been the basis of the EU in its first years after formation and the topic is central to EU politics until today. The units are, however, mainly positively connoted. This is not very surprising as Germany highly profits from the EU in terms of trade since trade with other EU countries accounted for 58% of German exports and 58.2% of imports (Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy 2015: 1). Therefore, the economic benefits are not questioned in political discourse which is also reflected in the textbooks. Additionally, the EU is introduced as being beneficial for the creation of jobs, the reduction of prices and the diversity of the range of goods on offer (Mattes et al. 2007: 301). Negative aspects are not very

commonly mentioned. The ones that are mentioned include the losses of companies that are not competitive (Mattes et al. 2007: 301) and the over-regulation of the EU on the common market (Riedel 2013: 227). Visual materials that fall into this category usually demonstrate the open borders and free movement among the EU member states. Symbols that create a connection between the different states of the EU and the different aspects of the visual materials can be found in the majority of the pictures while a disconnection is only found in one photo of a former border control building. A picture which is very clearly symbolizing the easiness of traveling and the benefits of free movement is shown in *Neue Anstöße* (Homann 2002: 212). As shown on figure 4, the free movement is shown as a dynamic process since the EU makes moving from one country to another much easier within the Union. The man in the picture is much bigger than the map of the continent, which gives a high salience to the man and conveys the impression that Europe has become very small, since traveling has become so easy for the people.
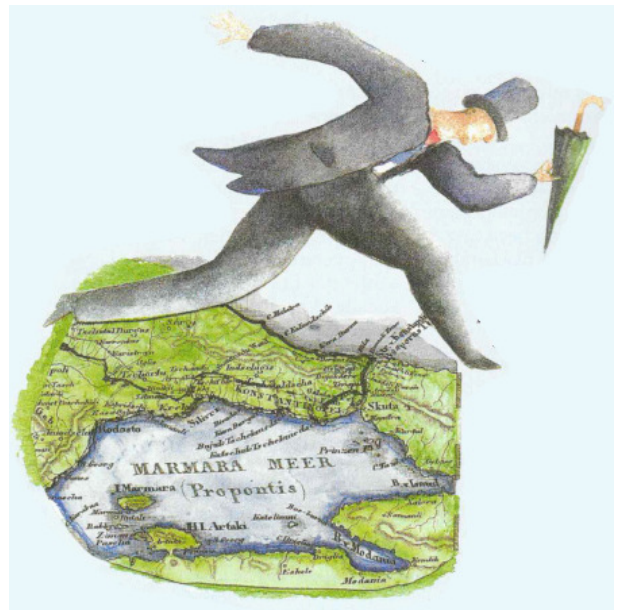

Figure 4. Which Europe should it be? (Homann et al. 2002: 212)

The last category that has been significantly discussed in the textbooks was the topic of *History and peace in Europe*. Two dimensions can be observed in this category. On the one hand, the narrative describes the EU as a successful peace project that has brought peace to the European continent after centuries of wars. The peace dimension of the EU is 100% positively described. The description of the united Europe as a peace project goes along with the official German discourse. The preamble of the German Constitution states the task of German foreign policy "to promote world peace as an equal partner in a united Europe"[13] (Deutscher Bundestag 2007: 13). This important location in the beginning of the German constitution supports the view that peace policy and the unification of Europe has been

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[13] Quote translated by author.

and is very important for the German government. Furthermore, Germany has had the opportunity to become an equal partner in Europe through the EU integration, which also is defined as a task of German foreign policy. This is also discussed in the textbooks, especially in the framework of Franco-German friendship, which is evaluated as central for the formation of the first steps that led towards the EU. *Politik erleben* states "It is of historic unique […] significance, how two former enemy states become reconciled with each other and build a close political, economic and cultural partnership in Europe"[14] (Mattes et al. 2007: 296). This friendship between the European countries is also conveyed through the visual materials. Pictures include photos of young people that the students can relate to their personal lives. One example is a photo of young French and German people who hike together. This symbolizes the reconciliation between the two countries (Mattes et al. 2007: 296). The other aspect which is discussed under this category is of rather formal nature – describing the different steps of development of the EU. This past development of the EU is usually also described, using positive terms like "economic growth", "attractive to other countries" (Mattes et al. 2007: 300). Altogether, it can be said that the category of history and peace in Europe conveys a highly positive narrative which also reflects German political discourse. The EU is portrayed as a successful peace project that brought peace to Europe after times of war that had gone ahead of that time. The EU is described as being beneficial for Germany through making it possible to the country to become an equal partner in the united Europe despite the country's history during the World Wars. The history of the EU is described as being a successful model for economic growth and attractiveness of the community for other European states.

Finally, general observations in the observed German textbooks can be summarized as follows:

- According to the space analysis, the space which the EU takes in the observed textbooks increases over time from 8% in 2002 to 13% in 2013.
- The most important issues, discussed in the observed textbooks are about the internal structure and institutions of the EU, the unfinished nature of the EU – especially enlargement issues, and the Monetary Union.

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[14] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Es hat eine historisch einmalige … Bedeutung, wie zwei einstmals verfeindete Völker sich aussöhnen und zu einer engen politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Partnerschaft in Europa finden konnten."

- The EU is generally presented as an unfinished project. Its end is not defined in the textbooks. Future scenarios suggest that further integration will be beneficial.

- There is a strong prevalence of positive narratives about the EU, promoting support for the European project and integration. The most positively connoted category among the categories with a significant number of units is history and peace of the EU. In there, the past development of the EU is described as having been a successful model for the European states in achieving peace, cooperation and economic prosperity.

- Concerning trends, it can be observed that issues can increase or decrease in their importance over time. The most significant increase can be observed in the category of the EU structure. The reason for this is the increasing complexity of EU structures with the increased number of member states.

5.3. Analyzing British Textbooks

The space analysis of British textbooks revealed that the share of pages about the EU in the observed textbooks was very low. The textbooks had shares between 1.6% and 5.1%. Surprisingly, the share of pages in the textbooks decreased over time. While the first Citizenship textbooks of the years 2002 and 2003 had the highest shares with 3.3% and 5.1%. However, it needs to be admitted that these percentages are created due to the increase in number of total pages of the textbooks over time, while the number of pages about the EU did not increase significantly. Other topics received increased attention, while the attention about the EU stayed the same. Although the number of pages that deal exclusively with the EU is very limited, the EU is mentioned throughout the textbooks in the framework of other topics. The number of these additional mentions throughout the books increases over time. This shows the increasing influence of the EU on other areas of the Citizenship Studies curriculum as for example employment, discrimination, and human rights so that the textbook authors deemed it necessary to relate to the EU or EU laws in order to make those other topics understandable to the students. The number of pages of the textbooks and of the EU chapters is shown in table 4.

Textbook	Total pages	Pages EU Chapter	Other mentions of the EU	Share of pages about EU
Citizenship for You (2002)	123	4	1	3.3%
GCSE Citizenship Studies for AQA (2003)	156	8	7	5.1%
Citizenship Today – Student's Book (2009)	257	4	15	1.6%
AQA Citizenship Studies (2009)	229	4	12	1.7%
OCR Citizenship Studies (2009)	192	5	7	2.6%

In the tables of contents, it becomes apparent that the EU is not introduced in a separate chapter, but is included in other chapters. *Citizenship for You* (2002) includes the EU in the chapter "Government: Law Making, Shaping and Enforcing", sub-chapter "Britain's role in the world". The EU itself does not appear in the table of contents. *GCSE Citizenship Studies for AQA* (2003) has a chapter about "National and European citizenship". However, only one of the three sub-chapters deals with the topic of the EU, the others put the national perspective into the center of attention. The 2009 textbooks do not have separate chapters either. An example is the textbook *AQA Citizenship Studies,* which mainly deals with the EU in the chapter "The UK's role in world affairs". Altogether, it is striking that the EU is usually introduced either along with national structures or along with other international organizations as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the World Trade Organisation (WTO). In this context, the EU does not stand out among these organizations. This reflects the non-prioritization of EU policies and EU integration in the overall British foreign policy. Instead, a special relationship with the United States and the former Commonwealth countries is regularly mentioned.

The categories and their share in the observed textbooks are shown in table 5.

Table 5. Mentions of categories in the UK textbooks.

Category	Overall mentions	positive	neutral	negative	Overall %	positive	neutral	negative
EU as Economic Union	35	21	9	5	17.07%	60.00%	25.71%	14.29%
History and peace in Europe	14	7	4	3	6.83%	50.00%	28.57%	21.43%
EU policies	42	18	16	8	20.49%	42.86%	38.10%	19.05%
EU internally	63	16	38	9	30.73%	25.40%	60.32%	14.29%
Monetary Union	13	3	4	6	6.34%	23.08%	30.77%	46.15%
EU as a creator and defender of citizenship, identity and values	16	10	6	0	7.80%	62.50%	37.50%	0.00%
EU as an unfinished process	13	4	6	3	6.34%	30.77%	46.15%	23.08%
Pluses and minuses of the EU	9	7	2	0	4.39%	77.78%	22.22%	0.00%

Among the observed UK textbooks, the most commonly described aspects of the EU are *EU internally* (31%), *EU Policies* (20%), and the *EU as Economic Union* (17%). The internal structure and the institutions of the EU are mainly described neutrally or positively. However, if the sub-categories of the EU structure and EU institutions are taken into consideration, one can see that the institutions are mainly described positively, while the structure of the EU is rather controversially discussed. The education about the EU institutions puts a special focus on two institutions – the European Parliament and the ECJ. The European Parliament is introduced to the students in a way that represents the importance of the Parliament to the democratic process within the EU. Furthermore, the importance of the European elections for this process is conveyed to the students. One example for that can be found in the textbook *Citizenship Today*, which states

> The European Union has a parliament, which represents all members of the European Union. We elect Members of the European Parliament to have a say in the plans that are developed for Europe." (Wales 2009: 26)

By using the "we"-form, the EU is included in the students' personal lives and not presented as something far away, which they cannot influence. The important standing of the EU institutions is not only conveyed in the texts. Additionally, 15% of the visual materials depict the institutional perspective on the EU. The importance and influence of the European Parliament is also conveyed through a scheme of the EU institutions

with the title "Where does the power lie?" (Wales 2009: 121). As shown in figure 5, the institutions are depicted as being in a dynamic interaction, which is symbolized by the arrows between the institutions. Furthermore, the European Parliament has the biggest box of all the institutions and is located in the center of the image which puts a high salience on this institution. Together with the headline "Where does the power lie?", this gives the impression to the viewer that the European Parliament plays a very important role among the EU institutions.
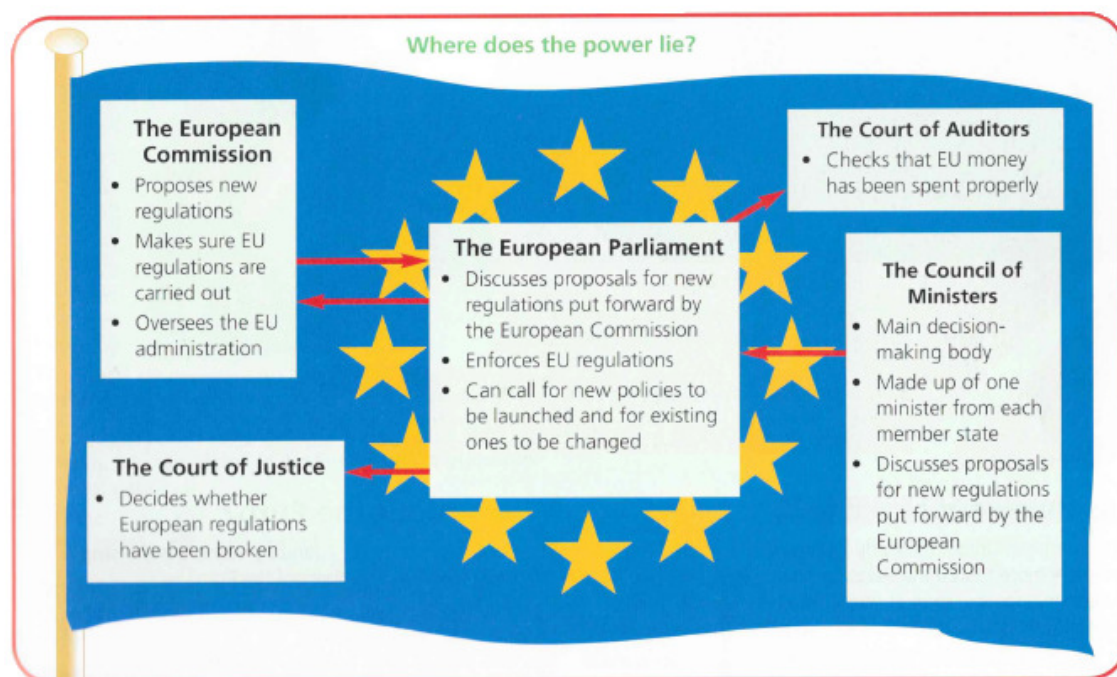
Figure 5. Where does the power lie? (Wales 2009: 121)

The textbooks also present the European Council and the Council of Ministers. Some of the textbooks include information about the Court of Auditors. However, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions are not introduced to the students in any of the textbooks. Since these are consultative institutions, the textbooks do not put any attention on these institutions, but focus on the main decision-making institutions.

As already mentioned, the structural aspect of the EU (treaties, laws etc.) is not presented as positively as the institutions. Criticism is mainly built around three major topics: the division of the payments for the EU budget among the member states, democracy of the decision-making in the EU and the lack of sovereignty of the member states. Concerning the EU budget, *AQA Citizenship Studies* states "some countries say

the pay too big a share of the EU budget" (Campbell et al. 2009: 182). Also, the earlier textbook, endorsed by AQA – *GCSE Citizenship Studies for AQA* – informs that countries like Greece, Ireland and Portugal receive more from the EU budget than they contribute, while the UK and Germany put more money in than they receive out of the budget. These two countries are presented as the 'net contributors' of the EU budget (Campbell 2009: 75). The democracy of the decision-making process is presented as rather undemocratic. Although the European Parliament is presented as making the EU more democratic, the EU is still criticized for a lack of democracy. *OCR Citizenship Studies* even titles

> This unit provides a simple outline of the basic nature of government in the European Union and asks students to consider how it could be made more democratic. (Thorpe et al. 2009: 156)

Citizenship Today also asks students to compare how democratic decision-making in the EU is compared to the UK (Wales 2009: 121). Concerning the lack of sovereignty of the member states, criticism is already mentioned in the first textbook *Citizenship for You*. It is stated that

> member states have given up some […] sovereignty […] This means that individual countries sometimes end up following rules they would not have chosen for themselves. (Jerome 2002: 82).

This impression is also supported by one of the visual materials. *OCR Citizenship Studies* places a drawing on the page, describing EU decision-making (see figure 6). The drawing shows that EU hands over regulations to the UK. The main salience is on the EU, which implies that the small UK cannot decide by itself, but has to do what the EU tells it to do. Interestingly, in none of the textbooks, the subsidiarity principle is

Figure 6. EU laws. (Thorpe et al. 2009: 157)

described which regulates that all decisions should be made on the lowest level possible and the EU is only responsible for those decisions that member states cannot regulate by themselves because this principle ensures that states keep their sovereignty in the issues that they can solve by themselves.

The knowledge about this principle, however, may be crucial for the evaluation of the level of democracy in the EU.

The *EU as Economic Union* is another important category with highly positive connotation. The advantages of the EU in terms of trade and economy are strongly underlined. The advantages are presented in terms of advantages for businesses (cutting of taxes, access to a big common market) and customers (decrease of product prices, creation of jobs). A typical example concerning business advantages is provided by *AQA Citizenship Studies* as

> being able to trade goods without tariffs, being part of a market of over 300 million people, getting financial support for industries through grants, support for projects such as new roads, bridges (Campbell et al. 2009: 182)

Since the UK had mainly economic interests when joining the EU in 1973, this aspect of the EU is especially important to the country in political discourse. Therefore, it is not surprising that the first sentence in the textbook *Citizenship Today* already introduces the EU as a trading area (Wales 2009: 120). Although this is not wrong, the EU is much more than a usual trading area. Therefore, this description as the introduction to the EU seems to present only one out of many aspects that the EU is dealing with. Although other aspects are mentioned later in the textbook, it takes a clear economic focus. Economic issues are the most commonly described topic in this textbook, followed by units about EU institutions.

EU Policies are also important in the British textbooks. Having a closer look at the sub-categories, it becomes apparent that mainly three policy areas, that the EU is dealing with, are introduced to the students – employment policies (27% of the units of the category), environmental policies (24% of the units of the category), and the EU's foreign policy (22% of the units of the category). Social and agricultural policies take minor positions. While employment and environmental policies are discussed in a mainly positive light, units about agricultural and social policies also contain critical aspects. The most negatively connoted policy area is the external policy of the EU, mainly criticized because of slow decision-making, which may not be appropriate in crisis situations (e.g. in case of the Iraq war as mentioned in *GCSE Citizenship Studies for* AQA). The EU employment policies are described as improving work and life conditions of the EU citizens, no matter if they work in their home country or in another member state (Campbell et al. 2003: 84). Also the role of the ECJ is introduced in

extending employee rights. Examples for this can be found in *OCR Citizenship Studies*[15] as well as in *Citizenship Today*[16].

Concerning environmental policies, the EU is praised for its efforts in improving the environment by

> cutting air pollution, encouraging the use of public transport, setting basic water and bathing standards on beaches, cutting down on noise in the community and the workplace, getting rid of nuclear materials and chemicals safely, creating environmentally sensitive areas to protect forests and wildlife (Campbell et al. 2003: 77).

Looking at the trend, it can be observed that the topic of environmental policies becomes more important over time. While it is only once mentioned in the early textbooks, the later textbooks of the year 2009 deal with the topic in more detail. This goes along with the advanced competences in this policy field which were granted to the EU with the Lisbon Treaty. In *Citizenship Today*, even seven units could be identified that deal with the environmental policies of the EU. In this textbook, the aim of the EU to cut greenhouse gases by 20% by 2020 is discussed. Also the British failure of taking the issue seriously so far is presented (Wales 2009: 137, 178). The topic is even mentioned in two different chapters of the textbook, one being the "Challenges facing the global community" chapter, the other one being the "Environmental change and sustainable development" chapter.

The more negatively presented policy area of agricultural policy is only discussed in the *AQA Citizenship Studies* textbook. It is on the one hand presented positively as "having a guaranteed price for farming produce", but on the other hand criticized for having created huge surpluses of food (Campbell et al. 2009: 182). The social policies of the EU are presented, however, limited to the cohesion policy. Other social dimensions of the EU policies are not presented.

Concerning *History and peace in Europe*, this aspect of the EU is mainly presented positively (50% positive units, 21% negative units). Strong wording is used in order to describe the situation in Europe before the foundation of the EU, especially the

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[15] "Recent cases include […] the rights of workers in Britain over the age of 65 to carry on working." (Thorpe et al. 2009: 157)

[16] "The court ruled that she should be entitled to [flexible working hours]. The change means carers are allowed to make a discrimination complaint, if their colleagues are allowed to work flexibly but they are not." (Wales 2009: 147)

situation after World War II. An example for this strong wording can be found in *OCR Citizenship Studies*:

> Never again. The Second World War […] cost the lives of millions of people and caused huge destruction […] In order to prevent the same thing from happening again […] it was important for European states to work much more closely together (Thorpe et al. 2009: 17).

This strong wording underlines the necessity of cooperation in order to prevent such situation in Europe again. Generally, it can be said that the main focus of this category is on the peace mission of the EU as well as on Britain's entry. The British entry is presented ambiguously, giving priority to the economic benefits while also presenting the problems with the French government prior to the entry (Jerome 2002: 83). Furthermore, it is stated that

> Britain did not become a member of the European Union […] until 1973. […] Up until then there seemed to be several powerful reasons to prevent Britain from joining […]. (Jerome 2002: 83)

The *EU as an unfinished process* category is mainly focused on the British debate about the EU. More than half of the units that fall into this category deal with this topic. Most of those units introduce the debate if the UK should stay part of the EU and include information that not all of the British citizens were happy that the UK joined the EU. One example for such a formulation can be found in *Citizenship for You*:

> Of course not everyone was 'happy' when Britain joined the EU […] Not much has changed since then – there are still groups that would prefer Britain not to be a full member of the EU. (Jerome 2002: 84)

Furthermore, students are asked to form their own opinion in several textbooks if the UK should stay part of the EU. Surprisingly, the EU enlargement discussion takes a very minor position throughout the observed textbooks. Only one of the observed textbooks (*GCSE Citizenship Studies*) includes the topic. The other textbooks do not discuss enlargement at all. Having in mind the various enlargement rounds that happened during the period of observation, this is surprising. The one textbook, dealing with the enlargement topic, only describes the criteria that a country needs to fulfill in order to become a member of the EU (Campbell 2003: 67). A discussion of the pros and cons or the different enlargement rounds is not led in any of the textbooks, although the UK has been supporting the EU enlargement of 2004 and was one of the few countries, granting full access to the labor market for new member states' citizens, which was also

beneficial to the country's labor market (Blanchflower et al. 2008: 1). The focus rather lies on the current member states than on the possible future member states. This impression is also supported by the visual materials in the textbooks, namely the maps of the EU that are depicted. Although four maps of the EU are provided in the textbooks, only one of these marks the candidate countries (Wales 2009: 120). The three other maps (Wales 2009: 182; Jerome 2002: 82; Campbell 2003: 75) do not mark the candidate countries and depict only the current member states. Since possible future enlargements are not shown in those maps, the structure of those maps is static. Therefore, the EU appears as a static structure, not as an open and unfinished project that can be enlarged through the accession of other European states.

The *Monetary Union* category is the most critically discussed category. Positive aspects of the common currency are limited to the reduction of transaction costs for private people and businesses and the possibility of the creation of new jobs. The authors of *Citizenship Today* state for example "[t]he main concern is that it reduces a country's control over its own economy" (Wales 2009: 122). Similarly, other textbooks present criticism of the Euro in the context of more European control of the country's finances (e.g. Campbell et al. 2003: 74). Thus, positive aspects mentioned refer again to mainly economic advantages, negative aspects to the loss of sovereignty. These observations reflect the government attitudes of favoring economic aspects of cooperation rather than political integration concerning the EU. Generally, it can be said that the category *Monetary Union* in British textbooks is limited to discussions about the common currency Euro. The institutional and regulatory framework which has been built around the Monetary Union as the European Central Bank, the stability pact and the convergence criteria are not discussed. Photos are used in order to present the common currency. Furthermore, the visual materials pick out the Euro-Pound debate in UK. In those pictures, the perspective of the Euro opponents is depicted, which becomes already visible in the titles of the pictures, which are "Why do some people want to save the pound?" and "Eight days to save a pounding" (Jerome 2002: 85).

The *EU as creator and defender of citizenship, identity and values* discussion is also carried out in the majority of the observed UK textbooks. This category is among the most positively described categories with 62.5% of the units, conveying positive messages. The positive aspects mentioned are usually dealing with the EU Charter of

Fundamental Rights. One typical description of this charter can be found in *AQA Citizenship Studies* that states

> The European Union decided it was necessary to strengthen the protection of fundamental rights. […] The European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights sets out in a single text […] the whole range of civil, political, economic and social rights of European citizens and all persons resident in the EU. (Campbell et al. 2009: 120)

The efforts of the EU to protect the rights of its citizens and other residents are underlined in this and other similar paragraphs throughout the textbooks. Also, the protection of human rights in general, political pluralism and democracy is noted as positive. The aspect of the European identity, however, is not made subject of discussion in any of the textbooks. Only in the textbook *Citizenship Today* students are asked to discuss if they agree with the statement 'I am a European'. This remains the only reference to a European identity. The EU Citizenship is also introduced to the students. The main aspects about EU citizenship are the rights that the EU citizenship grants to the citizens. The EU is additionally presented as helping its citizens (Campbell et al. 2003: 77).

Altogether the following conclusions about the analysis of the UK textbooks can be made:

- Space-wise the EU takes a very minor position among all the topics that are presented in the UK Citizenship Studies textbooks that have been analyzed. The share of pages is between 1.6% and 5.1%.

- The most commonly discussed categories were the *EU internally*, *EU Policies*, and *Economic Union*. Therefore, it can be said that the institutional and economic dimensions of the EU receive the most attention in the observed textbooks.

- Among the categories that have the most positive connotations, one can find the *EU as a creator and defender of citizenship, identity and values* (62,5% positive units) and questions about the *EU as Economic Union* (60% positive units).

- Altogether, it can be said that most of the categories convey mainly positive narratives about the EU. The only category that presents mainly negative aspects is the *Monetary Union* category. This goes along with the UK's skepticism towards the common currency in public opinion as well as government action.

- Criticism of the EU is often connected with the loss of national sovereignty in several categories (e.g. *Monetary Union* and *EU internally*)

5.4. Comparing the results

After these quite descriptive and quantitative steps of analysis of the textbooks in both countries, there is a need to go deeper into the texts in order to understand striking differences among the textbooks of both countries. Therefore, the more qualitative results will be presented in the following. The analysis hereby focuses on the representations of the countries' relationships with the EU, the discussion of the Monetary Union, the description of sovereignty in a European context, the discussion about European values and a common identity, and the depiction of the envisioned future of the EU.

Generally, a more nation state-centric view can be observed in British textbooks, which becomes apparent by looking at the tables of contents of the textbooks (e.g. "Britain's role in the world") while German textbooks stress further EU integration (e.g. "The future of Europe. Deepening and enlargement of the European cooperation"). This reflects the UK government's positions that underlines the importance of national competences and takes more skeptical views towards further EU integration, rather stressing the term "cooperation" than "integration" (European Union 2002) and favoring intergovernmental decision-making when possible.

The countries' relationships with the EU

Both countries present the country's relationship with the EU in the textbooks. This issue is spread over different categories, namely *History and peace in Europe, EU internally* and *EU as an unfinished process*. The definition of this relationship appears to be very different in the UK and Germany. The UK presents an ambiguous relationship from its very beginning in 1961 when the UK applied for membership for the first time which was prevented by France. *Citizenship for You* informs the students that five out of the then six members of the European Community were "delighted" to accept the application while France had objections.

> In 1961, the British Conservative government applied to join the EU. Five out of the six countries were delighted to accept. […] However, General de Gaulle said that Britain was too closely tied to America and was not […] European enough to join the EU. Britain could do little about this. […] In 1971 Britain applied again. By this time de Gaulle was no longer the President of France, and the British application was accepted. (Jerome 2002: 83)

The current relationship is mainly directed towards the British debate about the EU and British membership. This debate is present in almost all of the observed textbooks. Students are asked to discuss if they think that Britain should stay part of the EU (Campbell et al. 2003: 77) or why it has always been "such a divisive issue for British people and politicians" (Jerome 2002: 85). In the explanatory part of the text, it is stated that

> Of course not everyone was 'happy' when Britain joined the EU. […] Not much has changed since then – there are still groups that would prefer Britain not to be a full member of the EU. (Jerome 2002: 84)

The debate about the EU in the UK has been centered on different topics. Among the main arguments, presented by the EU opponents, is the UK's role as a net contributor to the EU, meaning that the UK pays more into the EU budget than it gets out. This is also thematized in some of the textbooks. Campbell et al. (2003: 75) describe

> Some countries such as Greece, Ireland and Portugal receive more from the EU than they contribute. The UK and Germany put more money in than they take out. They are known as 'net contributors' to the EU budget.

AQA Citizenship Studies rather presents this issue as a general issue, not only a British problem, stating "some countries say they pay too big a share of the EU budget" (Campbell et al. 2009: 182). The general presentation in the UK textbooks can be described as a difficult relationship between the UK and the EU in the past as well as the present time. This difficult relationship can be observed in EU-related political decisions, which have been taken by the UK. Interestingly, the UK already has special conditions about how much they pay into the EU budget. This had been negotiated by Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s. However, this is not discussed in the textbooks.

Contrary to that, the descriptions of the German relationship to the EU in the early years are defined as a chance for the newly founded Federal Republic of Germany. The cooperation and unification of Europe is described as a chance for Germany to become an equal partner on the continent again.

> The Federal Republic of Germany has become an equal partner in Europe again through its membership in the European Communities […].[17] (Mattes et al. 2007: 310)

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[17] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland ist durch ihre Mitgliedschaft in den Europäischen Gemeinschaften […] wieder gleichberechtigter Partner in Europa geworden."

In the framework of the European Union and its predecessors, Germany had the opportunity to work on reconciliation especially with France, which has become one of the country's most important partners in the community. *Politik erleben* even dedicates two pages separately for the relationship between Germany and France with the heading "The example of Germany and France: From hostility to friendship" (Mattes et al. 2007: 296). This friendship is seen as central for the unification of Europe. The former foreign minister of France is quoted saying "The unification of the European nations requires that the differences that have existed between France and Germany are obliterated" (Mattes et al. 2007: 296).

This function that is prescribed to the European Communities which has also been present in political discourse since the very beginning of the Adenauer era presents the EU as something incontestable. It implies that without EU membership, Germany would not have been able to become an equal partner in Europe again. Therefore, it is Germany's responsibility to stand up for a united Europe as it is also prescribed in the German constitution.

Discussion of the Monetary Union

In the framework of the category *Monetary Union*, also different kinds of argumentation can be observed. The UK textbooks have been highly critical towards the single currency from the beginning of the period of observation. Arguments range from loss of control over the domestic economy up to worries about the loss of British identity without the pound. One typical example of such criticism is delivered by *GCSE Citizenship Studies for AQA:*

> Those people against the single currency say that the economy of different countries will not be able to grow at different rates. […] They also think that Britain will be less British without the pound and worry that more decisions about Britain's finances will be made by Europe. (Campbell et al. 2003: 74).

Although the possible benefits from the single currency are also mentioned, like making it easier to trade in Europe and, therefore creating more jobs, the benefits are presented as being of purely economic nature and beneficial mainly for businesses, while the critical aspects have a wider range. Critics are of economic nature (economy of different countries will not be able to grow at different rates), political nature (loss of sovereignty in financial policies), and defined as an identity issue with the pound as an object that symbolizes "Britishness". This identity issue that favors "Britishness" over

"Europeanness" (as symbolized by the Euro) and is presented in the textbooks reflects political discourse in the UK which stresses the "distinctiveness" of the nations. As it had been mentioned earlier, Europe is defined as Britain's "Other" in political discourse (Marcussen et al. 1999: 626). Therefore, the strong objections towards the Euro are not only presented in the light of economic and political interests of the country, but also as giving up some of the "Britishness". With these political and identical arguments, the critics weigh much heavier than the purely economic benefits that are prescribed to the single currency.

German textbooks were highly positive about the Monetary Union and the single currency in the textbooks of 2002 and 2007, not mentioning any criticism. The positive arguments ranged from benefits for private people (no currency exchange), economic benefits for businesses, and the increase of European importance in the world through the increase of importance of the Euro compared to the former currencies to the Euro's symbolic character for creating a European identity. Interestingly, this identity-creating function on the European level is connoted positively in German textbooks and seen as a step towards the future aim of a political union.

> The Euro is a symbol of the European integration and supports a common European identity. It is an important step towards a political union.[18] (Riedel 2013: 247)

These differences in the evaluation of the Euro as a European symbol show quite clearly the different government approaches of the UK and Germany towards the EU and further integration. German governments see their task in creating a common European identity in order to foster support for the European integration and a political union, which is a long-term aim of German EU policy. British governments prefer to foster "Britishness" by underlining the "distinctiveness" of the nations.

Critical aspects about the Monetary Union in German textbooks also appear after the start of the Euro zone crisis. However, this criticism mainly deals with the problem that the Monetary Union states have not fulfilled their criteria, laid out in the stability pact, which had been designed to ensure stability within the economies of the Euro zone. The German textbook, which observed this issue, explains that violations of this agreement stayed without punishment for the violating states (Riedel 2013: 245-246).

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[18] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Der Euro ist ein Symbol der europäischen Integration und fördert eine gemeinsame europäische Identität. Er ist ein entscheidender Schritt hin zu einer politischen Union."

Also, the Monetary Union as such is never fundamentally criticized. The solution for the crisis is rather seen in further integration since "[a] common monetary policy only functions along with a common economic policy"[19] (Riedel 2013: 247). In order to underline the importance of the continuation of the Monetary Union, the textbook uses strong wording for the scenario of a break-down of the Euro zone, describing it as a "catastrophe" for Germany (Riedel 2013: 246). Thus, the only possible solution according to the textbook is the further development of the Monetary Union and further integration in this policy area, a vision that is also shared and reflected in German government action for the further development of the Monetary Union, which has been described earlier. Although the presentation of the Euro zone in British textbooks cannot be verified at this point due to a lack of empirical material, taking into consideration the rather critical and anti-Euro approach that the observed British textbooks have taken, the presentation of the Euro zone is not expected to change much in later editions. The Euro zone crisis would most likely rather be mentioned to demonstrate that such a critical attitude is even more justified.

Description of sovereignty in a European context

The idea of sovereignty is portrayed in the textbooks quite differently as well. The British observed textbooks describe the transfer of national competences to the EU as giving up something. *Citizenship for You* states "member states have given up some […] sovereignty […] This means that individual countries sometimes end up following rules they would not have chosen for themselves." (Jerome 2002: 82). A newspaper article, which is provided as a source in the same textbook even goes further and evaluates the loss of sovereignty through participation in the EU as worse than wars and conflict. "Wars and international conflict had at least left us with our basic national sovereignty and independence but that had now gone" (Jerome 2002: 84). Contrary to that, a German textbook offers a different definition of sovereignty. It is suggested that "In our time, sovereignty means the participation in the community of states. The European Union has created a convincing model for that"[20] (Homann et al. 2002: 195). Furthermore, it is underlined that competences are only transferred in cases of a

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[19] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: „Eine gemeinsame Währungspolitik funktioniert nur mit einer gemeinsamen Wirtschaftspolitik"

[20] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: "Souveränität bedeutet in unserer Zeit Mitwirkung in der Gemeinschaft von Staaten. Die Europäische Union hat dafür ein überzeugendes Modell geschaffen."

common interest (Mattes et al. 2007: 299). Through the introduction of the subsidiarity principle in all of the textbooks, the view that decisions are taken at the lowest level possible is supported. These descriptions also reflect the governments' tendencies towards transferring sovereignty to the EU. In 2002, Blair stressed in his speech which he gave on the European Convention that he envisions a Europe of sovereign nations with their own distinctive identity, that cooperate with each other for mutual good (European Union 2002). Cameron even stresses "significant risks if we allow our sovereignty to be eroded by ever closer union" (The Spectator 2015). To British governments, it is central to preserve their national sovereignty. German governments actively call for transferring national sovereignty to the EU when it is promoting further integration in different areas, as it has happened for example in case of the Eastern enlargement.

Discussion about European values and a common identity

Looking at the content of the identity and values discussion in the textbooks of both countries, there are also differences to be encountered. In the UK textbooks identity and value issues that are discussed mainly focus on human rights, a rather universal right, which is not unique to the EU. Deeper discussions about a European identity are included. Only one textbook includes an exercise which asks the students to discuss the statement "I am a European" (Wales 2009: 122). As Blair stressed in 2002, the EU member states should preserve their distinctive identity (European Union 2002). Therefore, the lack of narratives about a common European identity also reflects the idea of distinctive identities of the member states which has been underlined by Blair. Public opinion also directs towards a rather distinctive British identity rather than the feeling of "Europeanness". Only 56% of the questioned UK citizens stated that they feel like an EU citizen in the Eurobarometer (European Commission 2015: 17). The situation, observed in German textbooks, is different. The question of a common European identity is discussed in all of the analyzed textbooks. The common cultural grounds of the European states are described. One typical example for that is provided by the textbook *Politik erleben*

As a common culture of the Europeans we understand, that there is [...] accordance in important intellectual, artistic and religious attitudes that have been developed in the past"[21] (Mattes et al. 2007: 294).

The common culture has been stressed by German governments, for example in the case of the Eastern enlargement. Chancellor Gerhard Schröder stressed in his government statement in 2004 that the people and states of Eastern Europe had long been part of the European culture and only came back to the European community of states (Schröder 2004). Also Angela Merkel stressed the common roots of European culture at the end of the German EU Presidency in 2007 (Council of Europe 2007: 19).

Envisioned future of the EU

Another very significant difference is the representation of the category *EU as an unfinished process* and the vision of the future of the EU in the textbooks. In German textbooks, the enlargement discussion, and also the discussion about possible future candidates and enlargements takes a significant share of the observed units. Generally, the narrative describes the EU as an unfinished project without a defined end. It is stated that every European country that fulfills the criteria, set out by the EU in its treaties, can become a member of the EU. This goes along with the role that German governments have been taken in advancing EU integration (e.g. Eastern enlargement, Monetary Union, Lisbon Treaty). EU integration is generally presented as an ongoing process with the long-term aim of a "political union" (Riedel 2013: 247).

On the other hand, in the British textbooks, the EU has been presented as rather static, both in the texts as well as the visual materials. The majority of maps of the EU do not contain any information about current candidate countries, not making a topic of possible future enlargements of the Union. Also, further integration is not discussed. There are no scenarios for future integration in the EU as in German textbooks which reflect the skeptical view of British governments towards advanced integration which has been described earlier. It is surprising that EU enlargement is not discussed in the textbooks since the enlargement rounds which have occurred during the period of analysis have significantly influenced British society. The UK has seen a significant influx of migrants from the new member states after the Eastern enlargements. Therefore, it was expected to find information about the past and possible future

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[21] Quote translated by author. Original quote in German: "Unter einer gemeinsamen Kultur der Europäer verstehen wir, dass es [...] eine Übereinstimmung in wichtigen geistigen, künstlerischen und religiösen Grundhaltungen gibt, die in der Vergangenheit entwickelt wurden."

enlargements in the textbooks. However, this could not be observed very clearly. Only one textbook asks the students to discuss the consequences of possible future enlargement stating "What do you think would happen if the poorer countries of Europe were allowed to join the EU?" (Campbell et al. 2003: 67). This low standing of enlargement discussions, which have been crucial for the development of the EU during the period of observation, supports the idea of the EU as something static and shows that EU teaching in the UK is not directed towards the future of the EU. This is opposite to the representation in German textbooks, which underline the dynamics of EU integration and clearly look into the future of the EU, while British textbooks rather explain the current status of the Union. This goes along with the German role of a driver towards further integration in the EU, and the UK's role as very apprehensive actor, rather preventing than promoting further integration.

Altogether, it can be said that the criticism towards the EU, mentioned in British textbooks, in the mentioned aspects is much more fundamental than in German textbooks. While German textbooks offer further integration as a solution to problems (as in case of the Monetary Union) and envision a political union for the future of the EU, British textbooks see the solution to problems of the EU in the preservation of sovereignty of the nation states in the respective policy areas and of the national distinctiveness, the so-called "Britishness". Political integration is, thus, seen as a threat to both, British identity as well as sovereignty.

6. Conclusions

Through the analysis of civics textbooks in the UK and Germany concerning their representation of the EU, significant results have been worked out, which in general confirm the expectations that have been drawn in the beginning. The study's aim of showing if and how the government positions towards the EU in the UK and Germany are reflected in the textbooks has been achieved and reflections of important tendencies in political discourse in both countries have been worked out. Thus, the political dimension and political influence of civics textbooks and especially their EU chapters has become evident.

As this study has shown, textbooks in Germany and the UK reflect political tendencies as represented in political discourse and public opinion towards the EU to a great extent. The political significance that EU policy takes in the government policies of both countries is similar to the position that the EU takes in the observed textbooks, receiving significantly less attention in British textbooks compared to the German ones. Both countries do not put a very strong focus on EU teaching; however, in the UK the EU takes a very low standing among the topics of the Citizenship Studies compared to Germany. Although the overall positive aspects still prevail in both countries, British textbooks criticize certain aspects of EU integration, especially the structure of decision-making, the democracy in the EU, and the common currency Euro. British textbooks mainly deal with institutional and economic aspects of the EU; a political union, as it is envisioned in German textbooks, is not discussed. Thus, the expectations, formulated in the beginning, have been proven during the analysis. However, there were also some surprising findings, which became apparent in the course of the study.

On the one hand, political discourse often criticizes the transfer of sovereignty to the EU, stressing the importance of a Europe of "independent nations" and favoring intergovernmental decision-making when possible. This is also reflected in the textbooks that evaluate the EU as a threat to British sovereignty. However, the problem of the loss of sovereignty is not apparent in all of the observed texts. The description of the European Parliament is highly positive. It is described as enhancing democracy in the EU and being the connection between the citizens and the EU. Since the European Parliament is a supranational institution that is involved in decision-making where

nation state sovereignty has been transferred, this positive description contradicts the main discourse on state sovereignty, which has been observed. Furthermore, the external policy has been criticized for not being effective and working out too slowly (e.g. in the case study of the Iraq war). However, the slow decision-making process is a result of the intergovernmental decision-making and the lack of willingness by the member states to give up their sovereignty in this policy area. Thus, a more efficient decision-making could probably only be reached in case of transfer of sovereignty in this policy area to supranational institutions. These two examples show the ambiguity of the relationship of the UK and the EU that is represented in the textbooks. The low standing of EU teaching and the ambivalent relationship of the UK towards the EU, which became visible in the textbook analysis, might contribute, along with other factors, to anti-EU attitudes among the younger generation, since textbooks may be evaluated as reflections and influences on public opinions of a high proportion of the "new generation". This might also influence some students in their decision during the upcoming EU referendum.

In Germany, the EU is presented as something incontestable as such. Where criticism is mentioned, the solution to those problems is seen in further integration (e.g. in case of the Monetary Union). This strong support for the European project reflects German discourse by political élites that, even when criticizing certain aspects of the EU, never question the core of European integration. Thus, the topics are presented mainly in the light of governments' opinions and actions. However, sometimes the narratives reflect public opinion rather than government policies. This becomes visible in the case of the enlargement discussions. Actions that had been taken by German governments to support and enable EU enlargements showed a high support for the Eastern enlargement. However, public opinion about enlargements was not as positive, as has been found out by a *Eurobarometer* poll. In 2005, shortly after the Eastern enlargement, only 33% of the German people supported further enlargement of the EU (European Commission 2005: 27). With this number, Germany even fell far behind the UK with 48% support. In 2007, 24% evaluated the Eastern enlargement as negative with slightly more (29%) evaluating it as positive (European Commission 2007: 151). So the public opinion about enlargement was more split than German government action. The textbooks presented both positive and negative aspects of the enlargements

and, thus, reflected the public opinion rather than the extremely positive government position.

Therefore, it can be concluded that textbooks reflect the overall government opinions towards the EU. However, if public opinion differs significantly from the actions that governments take, as in the example of the Blair government who faced domestic opposition towards his pro-European course and in case of the enlargement discussion in Germany, textbooks may represent narratives that differ from the government's position and rather reflect domestic public debate that may be led by other policy actors than the government. The presentation of different points of views in such situations shows that democratic governments do not directly influence on the content of textbooks, but have a rather indirect influence through the definition of "legitimate knowledge" in the curricula and the textbook or state exam approvals by ministries. In democratic regimes, governments are not the only actors that influence the EU-related content of textbooks, although they are most influential because of their competences in controlling textbooks and formulating curricula. Thus, positions that differ from the government opinions can also become part of the "legitimate knowledge", which is presented in the textbooks. This has been worked out in the theoretical chapter and it is supported by the empirical results of this study.

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Appendix

Categories after 3rd reduction	Categories after 2nd reduction	Categories after 1st reduction
EU as Economic Union	Trade and economy	Economy
		Trade
		EU standardization
		Common market
		Trade and economy
		Consumer protection
		Competition policy
		taxes
	Free movement	Free movement
History and peace in Europe	History of Europe	History of Europe
		Legend of Europa
	EU as a peace project	EU as a peace project
EU policies	EU competences	EU competences
	Employment	Employment
		Employee protection
	Social Europe	Social Europe
		Cohesion policy
	Agricultural policy	Agricultural policy
	Security policy	Internal security policy
	Transport policy	Transport policy
	Environment	Animal protection
		Environment
		Kyoto Protocol
		Climate change
	EU externally	EU in the world
		Humanitarian aid
		globalisation
EU internally	EU institutions	EU institutions
		European Central Bank

Categories after 3rd reduction	Categories after 2nd reduction	Categories after 1st reduction
		European Council
		Court of Justice
		European Parliament
		European Commission
		Council of Ministers
		Court of Auditors
		Committee of Regions
		Economic and Social Committee
	EU structure	EU decision-making
		EU laws
		Subsidiarity principle
		European Citizens' Initiative
		Lisbon Treaty
		EU Constitution
		Germany in the EU
		EU structure
		democracy in the EU
		EU as federation
		sovereignty
		EU budget
		Fraud
		Pressure groups
		EU treaties
		Three pillars of the EU
Monetary Union	Euro	Euro
		Euro zone crisis
		Convergence criteria of Euro
		Monetary Union
		Stability pact
EU as a creator and defender of citizenship, identity and values	Identity and values	European symbols
		European identity

Categories after 3rd reduction	Categories after 2nd reduction	Categories after 1st reduction
		Values of the Union
		Diversity in Europe
		European Day
		Idea of Europe
		European hymn
		European flag
		Identity and values
		Human rights
		European integration
		Solidarity in Europe
		Discrimination
	EU citizenship	EU citizenship
EU as an unfinished process	EU enlargement	EU enlargement
		Turkey in EU
		EU criteria
		Borders of EU
	Future of EU	Future of EU
	Migration	Migration
		Immigration
	Debate about EU	Debate about EU
		UK in the EU
		EU referendum
Pluses and Minuses of the EU	Benefits and drawbacks of the EU	Benefits of the EU
		Problems of the EU
		Drawbacks of the EU

Table 1. Category system.