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European Identity and Citizenship in Textbooks/ Educational Media

edited by

Pedro Ferreira

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Cecilia Arensmeier

Citizenship Education in Italian Textbooks. How Much Space is There for Europe and Active Citizenship?
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European Identity and Citizenship in Estonia: Analyses of Textbooks and Theoretical Developments
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European Identity and Citizenship in Textbooks/Educational Media

Keywords

Active citizenship, European citizenship education, young people, school, textbook analysis

1 Introduction

The choice of devoting a special issue to the analysis of how textbooks and educational media frame citizenship education in secondary schools in the European context may appear counter-intuitive, and not really up-to-date in 2018, considering two key features of the students that populate secondary schools nowadays, that make them different from any previous generation.

2 First: A generation of digital natives

Many in this generation of students have grown up using technologies like the Internet, computers and mobile devices, which are considered a natural part of their learning environment. Some scholars (e.g. Prensky, 2009), as well as some popular narratives, argue that due to their familiarity with technology, digital natives think and learn differently from any previous generation, supporting the idea that textbooks may be obsolete, and may have lost relevance in the educational context. However, evidence that support the idea of a real anthropological transformation of learning is still scarce (see, Thomson, 2013), and despite the apparent ubiquity of technology and its educational potential, the level of computerisation in schools still varies in EU countries (Eurydice, 2004), as well as its real use, due also to a lack of ICT training of teachers. This allows us to think that textbooks continue, even nowadays, to play a central role in classrooms, as they contribute to the transmission of knowledge and the structure of the teaching-learning processes (Schissler, 1989/90, p. 81) in particular by giving teachers implicit and explicit guidelines regarding the method, the curricula, the habitus of the profession and even the desired profile of the potential reader/student (Escolano, 2012, p. 43). As a result, textbooks continue to be

essential work instruments for teachers, for technical, symbolic and scientific reasons (Pinheiro, 2014).

3 Second: A generation of European natives

This generation of students is one of the first generations of native EU citizens. Recent Eurobarometer data (2017) revealed that a large majority of young Europeans (89%) agree that national governments should strengthen school education about rights and responsibilities as EU citizens; 83% also agree that learning about European matters - such as the functioning of the EU and its institutions, EU history or European culture - should be part of compulsory school education. Not less relevant, half of them think that the promotion of critical thinking among young people is a key challenge for the future of Europe. Critical thinking is also an essential component of citizenship education, that is part of national curricula for general education in all European countries. According to the recent Eurydice Report on Citizenship Education (2017) in the majority of the European countries both in primary and secondary education, critical thinking, acting democratically and promoting participation are as important as knowledge of institutions.

If young people demand more Europe and more citizenship education, there is reason to believe that these themes may not be as prominent in their educational experience as the educational agenda claims. And this brings us back to textbooks and their contents and legitimizing an in depth exploration of the discourses they convey on the concept of citizenship, and of the citizenship education competences they insist on.

The in depth exploration was designed according to three main directories, focusing on citizenship education competences, active citizenship promotion and European education, with these underlying questions:

- 1) To what extent are textbooks and curricula able to provide young people with opportunities to acquire the skills and the practical competencies (i.e., critical awareness, media literacy, etc.) necessary to take part in contemporary political, economic and social life?
- 2) To what extent do textbooks and curricula promote (or hinder) active engagement of young people in their social, political and educational communities, at the local, national and European level?
- 3) To what extent is Europe and/or the European Union presented as a community that offers young people the opportunity to practice citizenship, and in more general terms, which discourses on Europe and European identity are conveyed by textbooks?
- 4) To what extent are visions of "us, the Europeans" or "us, the Nationals" presented as complementary or

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opposing, and how is diversity, within Europe and within the Nation, represented (positive vs. negative, desirable vs. undesirable...)?

The special issue includes five empirical papers built around those questions. Three papers (Arensmeier; Albanesi; Piedade et. al) are based on results from the Horizon 2020 CATCH-EyoU project - standing for Constructing AcTive CitizensHip with European Youth: Policies, Practices, Challenges and Solutions - which involves scholars coming from different disciplines (Psychology, Political Science, Sociology, Media and Communications, Education) from eight European countries (Sweden, Estonia, U.K., Germany, Czech Republic, Greece, Portugal, Italy). The two remaining papers analyse school textbooks to address how they deal with European integration in Slovakia (Sulikova) and with representations of otherness, the Sami ethnic minority and colonialism in Sweden (Eriksen).

The first paper, by Cecilia Arensmeier, *Different Expectations in Civic Education: A Comparison of Upper-Secondary School Textbooks in Sweden*, provides an interesting, and somehow unexpected picture of civic education in Swedish upper-secondary school. Arensmeier starts her analysis showing the contradictions of the educational Swedish system. On the one hand policy documents claim the importance of building knowledgeable, equally capable democratic citizens, on the other hand educational reforms have progressively reduced the relevance of democratic goals and democratic citizenship education in particular in vocational tracks, where greater emphasis has been placed on employability and practical skills. Arensmeier wanted to understand if (and how) these contradictions affected social studies curricula and textbooks for different educational tracks and the implications in terms of civic expectations, and the exercise of citizenship. Her analysis is based on a sample of 10 books of social studies, and her results can be summarized sketching the portraits of two hypothetical Swedish students: one enrolled in an academic track, treated like a capable, potentially active citizen who learns on books that are designed to provide skills than enable his/her development of a comprehensive understanding of society; the other attending a vocational track, treated like a "failed citizen", who studies on books that do not really prepare and equip him/her with analytical skills. These findings raise a critical question concerning the role of civic education as a tool to reinforce inequality.

The second paper, *Citizenship Education In Italian Textbooks: How Much Space Is There For Europe And Active Citizenship?*, by Cinzia Albanesi, looks at the Italian context and investigates how school curricula and textbooks incorporate national and European recommendations on European and citizenship education. Analysing the best selling History, Citizenship and Constitution and English Second Language (ESL) textbooks adopted in Italian secondary schools, Albanesi found that the recommendations, which focus on equipping learners with the knowledge, understanding

and skills that can support their action, are far from being incorporated especially since "the textbooks seemed to invite young people to deepen their factual knowledge, to discuss it, but not to make questions, to criticize, to reveal and engage with societal issues and challenges". The author further explored how the issue of active citizenship, with a particular European focus, was present in the textbooks by looking at presentations and representations of sense of belonging to the EU, democratic citizenship and practices of participation. The resulting picture is nuanced, interesting and troublesome. Sense of belonging to the EU receives very little attention in the analysed textbooks appearing mostly conveyed in images and seldom critically discussed. Democratic (and European) citizenship was present even if mainly approached in a descriptive and informative manner and pointing to formal opportunities to participate (and mostly at the national level). Especially troublesome is the finding that the discourses of youth active citizenship, besides being generally absent, present it "as something detached from young people's reality", detached from their contexts, such as the school or the community, and present time limiting the possibility of preparing young people to critically engage with issues affecting their lives, whether local, national or European.

The paper by Filipe Piedade, Norberto Ribeiro, Manuel Loff, Tiago Neves & Isabel Menezes, *Learning about the European Union in times of crisis: Portuguese textbooks' normative visions of European citizenship*, examined European and Citizenship education in a sample of History and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks used in Portuguese secondary schools. The authors wanted to understand which kind of EU related content was offered in the textbooks under inspection and to see if disciplinary specificities regarding EU related content emerged. They were also particularly interested in understanding to what extent textbooks were able to engage students in critical thinking, given the relevance of this competence in the democratic citizenship education framework. Even if their analysis is based on a restricted sample of textbooks, Piedade *et al.* results are provoking and resonate well with the recent Eurobarometer data (2017), showing that contrastive and controversial contents and activities that might contribute to a critical reflection and discussion on EU and on EU citizenship are to a large extent missing in the inspected textbooks. Moreover they show that there are upstanding differences between educational tracks in Portuguese schools: the EU and EU related issues deserve more quantity and quality of space in History textbooks (that is a mandatory subject only in Language and Humanities courses), compared to EFL, which is mandatory in all academic tracks and where discourses on the EU are almost absent. The authors, even if cautiously, cannot avoid to question the generalized resistance by textbook authors regarding the inclusion of pedagogical contents that transcend the national level of identity, identifying this as one of the major shortcomings in the Portuguese educational agenda.



In the fourth paper, *A vehicle for post-national transformation or an instrument for interstate cooperation? European integration in Slovakia's secondary education textbooks*, Jana Sulikova explores how European integration is represented in lower secondary History, Geography and Civics textbooks. Assuming that education can be an instrument to promote more positive attitudes towards European integration, which existing research and recent events have shown to be fragile, Sulikova considers that the European dimension of education can serve this purpose by including in the curricula themes related to "representations of Europe, European identity and integration, and inclusion of universal values, combined with openness towards cultural diversity within Europe". Her analysis of textbooks uses two conceptualizations of the integration process, supra-nationalism and intergovernmentalism, the former representing the goal of post-national transformation of Europe, and the latter viewing integration as an instrument for interstate cooperation. The findings show that the European integration is presented in a positive light, compatible with the interests of Slovakia; however, there is a tendency for an economic instrumentalism, as economic interests are presented as the main foundation for integration, together with an ethnocentric narrative. However, textbooks are relatively vague in discussing the implications of the integration process and the future of the EU.

The fifth paper, *Teaching about the Other in primary level social studies: The Sami in Norwegian textbooks*, engages in an analysis of the role of textbook discourses in constructing the national imaginary and representing otherness. The example of indigenous peoples in Norway is the point of departure for this paper, where Kristin Gregers Eriksen focus on social studies textbooks for primary school and uses critical discourse analysis. Her analysis of narratives and images presented in the textbooks reveal how "the Sami are essentialized and actively constructed as the Other", while at the same time textbooks affirm the Nordic exceptionalism, i.e., "the idea of Norway as a peace-building, inherently good and humble country that is innocent of imperialism and colonialism". This does not foster the recognition of the role of assimilationist policies that historically denied the rights of Sami and other minorities, as well as the confrontation of racism and the myth of an homogeneous national culture. The paper discusses these findings by calling our attention to the relevance of oppression and colonialism across Europe, and to how recognizing this is preliminary for a significant anti-oppressive education.

A final contribution to this issue is made by Kaarel Haav in the guise of a country report entitled *European Identity and Citizenship in Estonia: Analyses of Textbooks and Theoretical Developments* where Haav sets himself to the task of reviewing and evaluating the main civics school textbooks and syllabuses in Estonia.

Together, the papers in this special issue contribute to a better understanding of the role of educational policies and curricula in promoting (or not) young EU citizens'

engagement, participation and active citizenship. They contribute to update the existing literature on citizenship education, and to fill the gap regarding the presence of EU matters, not limited to EU institutions, but including EU belonging and identity in national curricula and in textbooks of different disciplines. They also show clearly that despite European recommendations and policy initiatives adopted by EU member states, many differences remain across EU countries and across curricula (i.e. vocational vs. academic tracks) concerning both the contents and the ways in which citizenship education is proposed. These differences may contribute to exacerbate existing inequalities, instead of challenging them.

Furthermore, they have significant educational policy implications by pointing to reflections that could help the next generations of teachers and educators (and publishers) to improve how (European) citizenship education is delivered, enabling the development of more competent, critical and aware generations of young Europeans.

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Cecilia Arensmeier

Different Expectations in Civic Education: A Comparison of Upper-Secondary School Textbooks in Sweden

- The article examines social studies textbooks for different tracks in upper-secondary school in Sweden.
- Limited attention is devoted to democratic values and civic engagement, apart from voting.
- Academic-track textbooks are often more challenging in terms of conceptual understanding and analytical training.

Purpose: The aim of the article is to examine civic education in Sweden with regard to equality, by comparing curricula and textbooks for social studies in different tracks in upper-secondary school.

Method: The study is based on qualitative text analysis, with quantitative features. The analysis maps themes covered, the extent and depth of thematic coverage, and amount of emphasis on conceptual understanding and analytical training.

Findings: The results point to some similarities between the tracks; limited attention is given to democratic values and civic engagement, apart from voting. Clear differences are found in amount of information and complexity. The most basic textbooks target the vocational track, while (some of) the textbooks for the academic track have an elaborated focus on complex conceptual understanding and analytical training.

Practical implications: The findings indicate different expectations in civic education. Vocational students receive more limited opportunities to develop civic abilities, which might negatively affect the exercise of citizenship and increase political inequality.

Keywords:

Civic education, political equality, social studies, textbooks, conceptual understanding

1 Introduction

The democratic ideal rests on a belief in everyone's intrinsic equality and ability to make informed decisions (Dahl, 1989). The second claim can be seen as the Achilles heel of democracy. Theorists from Plato to Schumpeter (Schumpeter, 2000 [1943]) have recurrently warned of the risks of putting power in the hands of the unenlightened, and similar worries are being raised after the electoral success of populist parties in Europe and the USA. Education has thus always been a key issue for democracy.

Most democracies have tasked their schools with providing some kind of civic education (Côté, Sundström, & Sannerstedt, 2013; Sundström & Fernández, 2013), though the forms differ. Some countries have a whole-school approach, making civic education the responsibility of all teachers and subjects. Others assign the responsibility to subjects like history and social studies. Another solution is to give specific courses in civics, or to work with these issues as extra-curricular activities (Schulz et al. 2017; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito 2010; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). There is also variety at the level of individual schools. In some contexts, elements of civic education are present from the start, while others primarily introduce it at the secondary level.

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What civic education means is not self-evident either. One conceptualization differentiates between civic value-orientations, knowledge and abilities (Arensmeier, 2015). Schools can be assigned to work with all three dimensions, or emphasis can be put on one or the other. The most contested aspect generally concerns value-orientations and the role of the state (Sundström & Fernández, 2013). This aspect is not examined in this article, however. Instead I focus on civic knowledge and abilities.

The kind of civic education students are offered might influence their capacity to exercise their citizenship. More developed education and teaching in this respect can pave the way for greater competence and activity, and vice versa. This could be an enhancing factor in the general pattern found in many studies between level of education and political participation (Campbell, 2009; Persson, 2013; Schlozman, Verba, & Brady, 1999; Verba & Nie, 1972).

The aim of this article is to examine civic education in Sweden with regard to equality, by comparing social studies curricula and textbooks for different tracks in upper-secondary school. Three research questions (RQ) are posed:

1. What similarities and differences in content, extent and depth exist in social studies curricula and textbooks for different educational tracks?
2. What similarities and differences regarding conceptual understanding and analytical training are visible?
3. What do the differences imply in terms of civic expectations, and what consequences can this have for political equality and the exercise of citizenship?

The backbone of the article is the textbook analysis, which compares five textbooks for each track. The content is categorized by themes, number of pages devoted to topics, and level of information (RQ1). Level of attention given to conceptual understanding and analytical training is also determined (RQ2). More specific methodological considerations are presented and discussed below.

Political equality is understood as equal opportunities to act as a citizen, a goal that, when “taken in its fullest sense ... is extraordinarily demanding” (Dahl, 1989, p. 115). All existing democracies obviously fall short of this ideal, but it is important to stress that an emphasis on *opportunity* requires more than equal political rights. The analyses of curricula and textbooks will provide a basis for discussing political equality in terms of civic expectations regarding different student groups (RQ3). Informative and complex text coverage together with a focus on conceptual understanding and analytical training will be understood as implying high expectations about students’ present and future civic capacity, while basic coverage and little attention to concepts and analytical skills will be interpreted as indicating limited expectations.

2 Conceptualizations of civic education outcomes

Civic education has rather wide boundaries, and “no internationally adaptable education-theoretically founded and empirically proven proficiency model for civic and citizenship education is available” (Zurstrassen, 2011, p. 7). This paper examines civic education in terms of content knowledge and cognitive ability. Previous conceptualizations of these dimensions are presented in this chapter, before being translated into an analytical framework in section 4.3.

2.1 Content knowledge

One way to pinpoint civic knowledge content is to differentiate between *polity*, *policy* and *politics*. In this conceptualization, *polity* refers to constitutional and institutional regulations, *policy* to political ideas and content areas, and *politics* to political processes and actions (Wall, 2011).

Another conceptualization is found in the largest survey in the field of civic education, the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study, (ICCS). This theoretical framework (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito & Agrusti, 2015) has four content domains: *Civic society and systems* concerns formal and informal societal organization, with the key dimensions citizens, state institutions and civil institutions (schools, media, corporations, religious institutions, various groups, organizations); *Civic principles* concern ethical foundations like equity, freedom, sense of community and rule of law; *Civic participation* emphasizes people’s actions to exert influence at different levels of community – their decision-making, engagement and participation; *Civic identities* gives attention to people’s roles in society and how they perceive them (self-image, connectedness).

A related framework is used in a comparative textbook study in an EU-funded research programme (Constructing AcTive CitizensHip with European YOUth, Catch EyoU, www.catcheyou.eu). Merging some aspects, four main content themes can be derived from this framework: *Political institutions*, with emphasis on the EU (including historical perspectives); *Active citizenship*, with special attention to youth participation; *Sense of belonging* to different political levels, and relating to other people (intercultural awareness); and *Political issues* of particular interest to youth (e.g. bullying, unemployment, drugs).

Based on these conceptualizations an analytical framework is elaborated, focusing on *civic ideals* and *institutions, involvement* and *political content issues*. These labels will be further specified in the analytical framework section.

2.2 Cognitive abilities

Another aspect of civic education concerns cognition. ICCS differentiates between *knowing*, i.e. being able to recall, define, describe or exemplify, and *reasoning and applying*, which covers abilities like interpreting, relating, integrating and evaluating (Schulz et al., 2015). In an article about political science education it is argued that when *conceptual understanding* and *analysis* are brought to the fore, “civic education is nothing more than understanding” (Mauro, 2008). A study of students’ difficulties with ICCS-items (Arensmeier, 2015) also gives special attention to substantive and more complex conceptual understanding, and to the analytical ability needed to identify issues of a principle nature.

Conceptual change in social science learning has been described as acquiring “new ways of thinking and understanding”, and it is shown that teaching strategies like simulations and group activities may contribute to more sophisticated conceptual perceptions (Ramirez & Ramirez, 2017). Obtaining conceptual understanding also requires, however, an introduction to abstract and scientifically oriented language, typically found in written texts (Beck, McKeown, & Kucan, 2013). Further studies indicate that both text-processing activities (McCulley & Osman, 2015) and explicit teaching of concepts and problem-solving (Twyman, McCleery, & Tindal, 2006) can enhance learning. Training also familiarizes students with argumentation, identifying and reasoning about values (e.g. Marttunen, Laurinen, Litosseliti, & Lund, 2005), and strengthens their ability to see things from different perspectives and to relate events to each other (e.g. Twyman et al., 2006). Civic education has further been argued to be a suitable place for practising persuasive and argumentative writing, where articulation of ideas, analytical skills, use of concepts, structure and systemization, are vital aspects (Brett, 2014).

To sum up, two main cognitive dimensions in attaining new ways of thinking in civic education are identified: the interrelated aspects *conceptual understanding* and *analytical ability*. The extent to which this is provided by the textbooks will be examined.

3 Civic education in the Swedish context

Sweden is an interesting case for studying civic education and equality. After decades of progressive educational policy with a strong emphasis on democracy and education as equalizing tools, the most recent reforms have caused increased differentiation. Maintaining equivalence, not least in the field of civic education, remains a prominent ambition, however.

3.1 A whole-school approach to civic education – with special responsibility for social studies

The Swedish schools have been assigned a democratic role since the breakthrough of democracy a century ago. The emphasis varies over time (Englund, 1986; Lundahl & Olson, 2013), but a whole-school approach to civic education has generally been applied. With some adaptation to age groups, the wordings in national curricula are similar from preschool to upper-secondary school. Civic education, or “the democratic mission” as it is often called in Swedish (Hakvoort & Olsson, 2014), first of all includes fundamental values, like inculcating “respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which Swedish society is based” and encouraging “respect for the intrinsic value of each person” (Swedish National Agency for Education/SNAE, 2011a, 2011b, 2013). A second component addresses abilities and behaviours, like understanding and empathizing with “the circumstances and values of others” (SNAE, 2011b), taking “personal responsibility” (SNAE, 2011a) and participating “actively in societal life” (SNAE, 2013).

Thirdly, civic knowledge content and cognitive abilities are more specifically accounted for in the curricula for civics (compulsory school) and social studies (upper-secondary school). Students are, for example, expected to learn about political systems, rights, ideologies, social relations, economics and globalization, and to develop skills like argumentation, inference making, and critical examination of sources. Civics and social studies are often viewed as having the primary responsibility for all three aspects of the “democratic mission”.

After nine years of compulsory school, most Swedish youth start upper-secondary school (*gymnasium*). Swedish upper-secondary school is divided into two educational tracks: academic and vocational. Each main track contains several programmes (e.g. science programme, vehicle and transport programme). The foundation subjects Swedish, English, maths, physical education, history, religion, social studies, and science studies (or specific science subjects) are included in all programmes. All subjects are divided into courses, and the number of subject courses differs between tracks and programmes. Foundation subjects in the vocational track are generally given at a basic level. Vocational students for example are required to take a 50-credit course in social studies, while the academic track includes at least 100 credits (the social science programme requires up to 200 more credits). Similarly, a 100-credit English course is mandatory for all students, while the academic track also includes advanced English courses of 100 or 200 credits.¹

Taken together, the signals are mixed. The whole-school approach to civic education and social studies as a foundation subject in upper-secondary school, highlight the goal of equality and the significance of the democratic mission. The more limited mandatory course for vocational students, on the other hand, indicates more limited civic demands and expectations.

3.2 Reducing, maintaining and increasing difference

Over time, the Swedish educational system has been reformed, with equality as an overarching goal (Ball & Larsson, 1989; Imsen, Blossing, & Moos, 2017). A unified nine-year compulsory school system was implemented in the 1960s, and the various types of secondary education were successively incorporated into the gymnasium system. In 1994, the curriculum for vocational education was extended to improve students’ eligibility for admittance to higher education. Social studies was also made mandatory, in order to reduce the civic gap. The reform did not, however, turn out successfully in this respect; differences between the tracks in levels of political participation, political knowledge and political attentiveness prevailed, pointing to the importance of pre-adult socialization (Persson & Oscarsson, 2010). Limited socializing effects of social studies have also been shown elsewhere (Broman, 2009).

In recent decades a stronger differentiation has been re-introduced in the Swedish school system. A 2011 upper-secondary curriculum reform returned to a sharper distinction between tracks (Alexandersson, 2011; Nylund, 2013). Eligibility for higher education was made optional for the vocational track, reducing mandatory course requirements. A clear example is social studies. A 50-credit course is now mandatory for vocational students, compared to the 100-credit course that was compulsory for both tracks during 1994-2010, and which remains so on the academic track.

Democracy and equality issues played a limited role in the political debate about the 2011 reform (Adman, 2015). The new curriculum downplays democratic goals in the vocational track, placing greater emphasis on employability (Nylund, 2013). Practical skills and programme-specific vocational subjects are given priority over academic skills and subjects like languages, aesthetics and social studies (Nylund, 2010).

The increased differentiation of the school system has also been reinforced by earlier reforms, in particular the introduction of publicly funded independent schools, some of which are run for profit, and voucher-like free school choice in the 1990s. The between-school variation of grades in lower-secondary school has increased (Östh, Andersson, & Malmberg, 2013), and segregation between schools in terms of migration background and educational achievement has been reinforced (Yang Hansen & Gustafsson, 2016).

International research further underlines that general socio-economic factors are significant for school achievement, also in the field of civic education. Students from more advantaged homes and with well-educated parents perform significantly better on standardized tests (Schulz

et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, 2002; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). This pattern is persistent in Sweden (Skolverket, 2001, 2003, 2010a, 2010b, 2017), where educational track also seems to be an important divider (Ekman, 2007). Research further points to differences between the tracks in political efficacy (Sohl & Arensmeier, 2015) and political participation (Persson, 2012). It is important to underline that track cleavages also mirror differences in socio-economic background; study choices often preserve existing socio-economic gaps (Persson & Oscarsson, 2010).

That teaching may differ between educational contexts is also indicated in Swedish research. One study shows how students enrolled in a social science programme are treated as capable, potentially active citizens. They are exposed to nuanced and problematized pictures of democracy, and engage in analysis and discussion. Students in a so-called introductory programme (aiming to qualify for a regular – predominantly vocational – programme) are, in contrast, almost perceived as “failed citizens”. Facts about the political system and the importance of obeying the law and voting dominate the teaching (Gustafsson, 2016). Teachers can, however, also have different expectations about the citizenship potential of students within the same educational context (Carlsson, 2006).

3.3 Differentiation and equivalence

Thus, in the last decades there has been a development towards a more differentiated Swedish school system. The former equalizing ambitions in civic education – that in practice seemed hard to fulfil – are one area that has been toned down, for example by reducing the social studies course-load in the vocational track. Equivalence, however, is still emphasized in policy documents, and an overarching goal is the creation of knowledgeable, equally capable democratic citizens. The curriculum for upper-secondary school prescribes the following, for example:

[E]ducation in each school form should be equivalent, irrespective of where in the country it is provided. [...]

It is not in itself sufficient that education imparts knowledge of fundamental democratic values. It must also be carried out using democratic working methods and develop the students’ ability and willingness to take personal responsibility and participate actively in societal life. [...]

It is the responsibility of the school that all individual students: [...] satisfy the preconditions for taking part in democratic decision-making processes in societal and working life. [...]

The goals of the school are that all students individually: [...] can consciously determine their views based on knowledge of human rights and fundamental democratic values, as well as personal experiences. (SNAE, 2013)

This somewhat ambivalent picture of civic education in Swedish upper-secondary school provides an important foundation for the curricula and textbook analysis.

4 Method, material and analytical strategy

This section presents methodological considerations, the empirical material and an analytical framework for the textbook analysis.

4.1 Text analysis

The study uses content analysis, a research technique for making inferences from texts. I predominantly use qualitative text analysis, which is characterized by close reading of a relatively small amount of text, re-articulation into new analytical narratives, and awareness that the researcher’s social and cultural understandings influence interpretation (Krippendorff, 2004). The analysis of social studies curricula is restricted to descriptions, with emphasis on similarities and differences between the tracks. The textbooks are subject to a more elaborate analysis, with content categorized in terms of themes covered, level of information/complexity, and degree of conceptual and analytical emphasis (see section 4.3).

The approach has some quantitative features as well. Quantifications in qualitative research can reveal internal generalizability, diversity and patterns, and provide additional input for interpretations, without of course abandoning the interpretative foundations or implying preciseness in measurements (Maxwell, 2010). A simple page count is done to get an overall picture of the coverage of different themes in the textbooks, and this depends on qualitative categorization. The ordinal scale used to describe level of complexity, and of conceptual and analytical emphasis (basic, moderate, in-depth), is also qualitatively determined.

4.2 Selection of textbooks

The analysis includes the curricula for the mandatory courses in social studies in the vocational and academic tracks respectively, and five textbooks in social studies for each track. Even though schools today work with many teaching methods and materials, textbooks still play an important role (SNAE 2006; Ivarsson 2017). The book selection is based on purposive sampling, derived from the research questions and intended to grasp variation (Bryman, 2012).

In total, six Swedish publishers offer 34 books in social studies for upper-secondary schools. 27 are part of a book series. These series typically contain one book for the mandatory social studies course in the vocational track (1a1), one for the mandatory academic-track course (1b), and sometimes additional books for in-depth courses (2, 3). Some books are only available for one of the mandatory courses, and there are also additional books for specialized courses in international relations and international economics.²

Ten textbooks were chosen. Apart from including five vocational- and five academic-track books, the books were selected on the basis of popularity, to achieve a



spread between publishers, and whether they were part of a book series. Popularity was estimated by searching for social studies books on two of the largest online bookstores in Sweden, sorting the results by popularity or sales figures.³ Five of the selected books appear on both top-ten lists, four on one of the lists, and one book is currently sold out. One of the books for the academic track covers both the mandatory social studies course (1b) and additional courses (2, 3). (See Table 1 for an overview.) Full reference details are found at the end of the article. All textbooks include exercises and assignments, and most offer some supplementary interactive online material. The analysis is restricted to the printed material, however. As evident from the table, the academic-track textbooks appear more updated. This might be another indication of a greater relative importance of social studies on the academic track.

Table 1: Selection of books

Vocational track books (V)	Publisher	Academic track books (A)	Publisher
V1: Compass to social studies, 50	Gleerups (2016)*	A1: Compass to social studies, 100	Gleerups (2016)**
V2: Social studies 1a1	Liber (2012)**	A2: Social studies 1b	Liber (2013)**
V3: Midpoint social studies 1, 50 cr	Studentlitteratur (2011)*	A3: Social studies 1: a sustainable society	Studentlitt. (2016)**
V4: It matters: social studies, 50 cr	Gleerups (2011)***	A4: Social studies 1b	NA förlag (2016)**
V5: Social studies 1a	Interskol förlag (2011)*	A5: Forum social studies 123	Sanoma (2013)**

* On one top-ten list

** On both top-ten lists

*** Sold out/out of stock

4.3 Analytical framework

The analytical framework was developed with reference to previous conceptualizations (section 2). Five main content dimensions and two cognitive aspects are distinguished. The textbook content is further portrayed in terms of extent (relative page count), and complexity, using a three-point assessment scale. The same scale is also used to determine the level of conceptual understanding and analytical training present in the books.

4.3.1 Civic knowledge: five content themes, page count and three levels of complexity

Initially, a fourfold framework for civic content was developed, covering ideals, institutions, engagement, and political issues:

- Ideals: ideas, values and principles fundamental to democratic and free societies, criticism of the democratic ideal, essential values, outlooks and worldviews of different forms of governance, political ideologies and parties.
- Institutions: key democratic and political institutions in multi-level governance systems, including party

organizations, the judiciary and the media, international law and institutions like the EU and UN.

- Involvement: community, cultural and identity issues, citizens' political engagement in a broad sense (ranging from voting to ethical consumption and political discussion).
- Issues: vital political and civic content matters, like economics, labour market, welfare, crime, migration, international relations, security and sustainable development. Comprises facts, theoretical perspectives and ideological positions on specific topics.

As is often the case in qualitative analysis, an interplay between theory and empirical material was needed (Bryman, 2012). The coding immediately revealed the need for an additional fifth category: awareness of knowledge about society and social science research. The framework therefore also includes a fifth category:

- Insights about knowledge: informative sections on knowledge and social science research.

The boundaries between the categories are not razor sharp, but the coding has generally worked out well. It is, of course, important to mention that the thematic division does not imply a belief that civic education content can or should be divided into four or five equally extensive topic areas. The different content themes only illustrate that there are different aspects to consider. A simple page count (including text, pictures, illustrations, figures, exercises, assignments etc.) gives a quantitative measurement of the relative attention given to different themes.

The textbooks have also been evaluated in terms how informative/complex the text is. A three-point scale is used to determine the informational/complexity level of the content. This is inspired by an investigation of university textbooks in international studies (Smith, Kille, Scholl, & Grove, 2003), which in turn relies on a study of American government textbooks. The categories basic, moderate, and in-depth are used to describe coverage of different topics. Basic coverage means "limited reference to, and little information about the topic". Moderate coverage is when a topic is covered in a section of a chapter or through several references across chapters that together provide a "solid introduction" or "overview" of the subject. In-depth coverage is when the topic is "carefully and fully examined" in an entire chapter or a substantial part of a chapter (Smith et al., 2003, p. 422).

A somewhat modified version of this scale is used in the coding of the textbook content. Apart from adapting the level to what can be considered in-depth etc. for the upper-secondary school, numbers are used for the classification:

- Level 1, Basic coverage: limited information, no or sparse elements of complexity and problematizing.
- Level 2, Moderate coverage: informative overview, some elements of complexity and problematizing.
- Level 3, In-depth coverage: rather extensive information, and in particular recurrent elements of complexity and problematizing.

Since content themes are spread throughout the books, chapters are an inappropriate level of analysis. The books are treated as a whole, and each section that deals with a theme (sometimes entire chapters, sometimes parts of chapters) is given a level classification. A weighted, dominating, level is then determined for each theme and book. The total level of information is considered, which means that books that might for instance include some level 2 sections within a theme – but then exclude other aspects altogether – are characterized as level 1. See appendix for coding examples.

4.3.2 Civic ability: two cognitive dimensions and three levels of attention

When it comes to civic abilities and cognition, the textbooks will be scrutinized with regard to:

- Conceptual emphasis: the way concepts are given attention; substantive conceptual knowledge (short definitions) or more complex conceptual understanding.
- Analytical training: the extent to which tasks require conceptual understanding, identification of principles, use of theories, models or different perspectives; are directed at solving social problems; or involve practising advanced argumentation.

The entire text, pictures, illustrations, figures, exercises and assignments will be examined, with a special emphasis on exercises and assignments. The level of the conceptual emphasis and analytical training will also be evaluated on the three-point scale:

- Level 1, Basic: mainly substantial definitions of concepts/no or limited analytical training.
- Level 2, Moderate: elements of complex conceptual understanding/analytical training.
- Level 3, In-depth: complex conceptual understanding/analytical training recurrent features.

4.3.3 Overview of analytical framework and coding

Altogether, the analysis thus has two main focus areas, civic content knowledge (five themes) and civic abilities (two dimensions). Relative attention to content themes is measured by a page count, and level of information and complexity is determined on a three-point scale. The same scale is used to indicate the amount of emphasis given to conceptual understanding and analytical training (See Table 2 for a summary).

The practical coding was conducted using coloured Post-it notes and a digital coding sheet to register page count and level classifications. Overall comments and characteristics of each book were also included, along with pictures of some typical text pages and exercises. All coding was performed by the author, with elements of reliability checking.⁴ The page count is rather straightforward (using whole pages as units). The classification of content requires interpretation but, as mentioned, this has generally caused little hesitation. Determining levels of complexity and emphasis on conceptual understanding and analytical training leaves the most room for interpretation. These aspects have therefore

been considered carefully, looking through each book several times to determine overall levels.

Table 2: Analytical framework

	Dimension	Classification
Civic content knowledge	<i>Ideals</i> : ideas, values, principles, worldviews, outlooks, ideologies etc. in democratic societies	Relative amount of attention (page coverage) Level of information and complexity 1. Basic 2. Moderate 3. In-depth
	<i>Institutions</i> : key democratic and political institutions, incl. the judiciary, media, international institutions	
	<i>Involvement</i> : community, identity, citizens' political engagement in a broad sense	
	<i>Issues</i> : vital political content matters (economics, welfare etc.); facts, theoretical perspectives, ideological positions on specific topics	
	<i>Insights about knowledge</i> : knowledge and social science research	
Civic ability	<i>Conceptual understanding</i> : short substantial definitions to more complex attention	Level of attention 1. Basic 2. Moderate 3. In-depth
	<i>Analytical training</i> : e.g. conceptual understanding, use of theories, identifying and reasoning about values, perspective-taking, problem-solving, argumentation	

5 Results

After examining the curricula for the social studies courses, I will present the analysis of the textbooks by first illustrating the civic knowledge content and then focusing on conceptual understanding and analytical training.

5.1 Comparison of curricula

As mentioned above, the 2011 reform included a reduction of social studies in the vocational track. In terms of credits, the course is now half as extensive as the corresponding academic-track course. As shown, however, the overarching curriculum goals for the upper-secondary school system as a whole are the same.

All subject curricula in upper-secondary school follow the same structure: the character of the subject is described, an aim is defined, and overarching objectives are formulated. The course curricula for the different subjects then specify the core content and also list general knowledge requirements for different grades.

Social studies is an interdisciplinary subject, with roots in political science, sociology, economics, and additional disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. The subject aim emphasizes things like knowledge about people's living conditions and understanding of various social and political issues. It further highlights active participation, critical and scientific ability, and a capacity to search for, assess, and process information. Five overall learning objectives are formulated for social studies (here somewhat shortened). The students are to be given opportunities to develop:

- Knowledge about democracy and human rights, including the functioning of different societies from local to global levels.
- Knowledge about how historical, ideological, political, economic, social and environmental conditions influence society.
- The ability to analyse social issues using concepts, theories, models and methods from the social sciences.
- The ability to search for, critically examine, and interpret information.
- The ability to express knowledge in various ways. (Skolverket/SNAE, nd)

Different social studies courses are subsumed within this general agenda. Vocational-track courses are the mandatory social studies 1a1 (50 credits), and the optional 1a2 (50 credits). For the academic track, social studies 1b (100 credits) is mandatory, while some programmes also include social studies 2 and 3 (100

credits each), and courses in international economics and international relations.

Course curricula for the two mandatory courses 1a1 and 1b are compared. The core content is largely identical, both in substance and wording. Additional themes and especially abilities are, however, emphasized in the 1b-course for the academic track. Even if there are also topics that are exclusive to the academic track, the comparison shows that the main divide lies in abilities. Students in the academic track are trained in critical investigation with the help of abstract concepts and theories, use of social science methods and analytical writing. For vocational students, basic oral and written presentations are sufficient, and the only analytical ability mentioned is critical assessment of information, especially in terms of credibility of sources. Table 3 provides an overview.

Table 3: Comparison of mandatory courses

COURSE CURRICULUM	CONTENT		ABILITIES	
	<i>Both courses</i>	<i>Exclusive</i>	<i>Both courses</i>	<i>Exclusive</i>
SOCIAL STUDIES 1A1, (50 CR) VOC. TRACK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • democracy, political systems (incl. the EU) • distribution of power, citizens' opportunities to influence 	X		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • critical processing of information, reliability of sources
SOCIAL STUDIES 1B, (100 CR) AC. TRACK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • media content, news assessment • human rights • international law in conflicts, humanitarian protection • the labour market • identity, social relationships, inclusion and exclusion • personal finances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political ideologies • national and international economy • role of mass media and ICT 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • oral and written presentations (e.g. debates, letters to newspapers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • use of social science concepts, theories, models • investigation into social issues and conditions, using social science methods and criticism of sources • report-writing

The courses social studies 2 and 3 (academic track programme with social science profile) do not add new content, but provide increased depth in some areas and further accentuate analytical ability. Course 2 emphasizes economics, historical perspectives on political development, actors and structures, analysis and methods. The last aspect is also emphasized in course 3, which devotes particular attention to globalization.

Using the terminology of the analytical framework, the course curricula for the two mandatory social studies courses direct attention to four of the content dimensions: ideals, institutions, involvement, and political issues. Some themes, however, are more clearly emphasized in the academic track. Political ideologies, economics and the role of media are given more attention. The fifth content domain, insights about knowledge, is present in the academic track as a precondition for training some abilities. The pronounced analytical mission of the academic-track course further signals more attention to complex conceptual understanding, and to developing capacities like identifying and reasoning about social values and principles, perspective-taking, and problem-solving. The course for vocational

students is, in contrast, directed towards basic factual and conceptual knowledge, and rudimentary argumentational and information-processing skills.

When it comes to civic knowledge and ability, the state can therefore be said to place different expectations on different categories of students. Those in the vocational track are not expected to be introduced to certain themes, or to be trained in analysing social and political issues. Whether actual teaching reflects course curricula is, of course, an empirical question that this article does not take on. Instead I examine a central form of teaching material, textbooks, to determine the extent to which they mirror the civic education prescribed in national policy documents.

5.2 Extent and depth of content

Figure 1 illustrates how much attention (page distribution) the books give to the five content themes. Again, it must be underlined that the content categories are not expected to take up equal space, and there is no obvious best distribution between them. Different social and political *issues* take up a substantial part of all books, with economics being the most extensive topic.



Institutions is another large theme, with a great deal of space generally being devoted to political institutions. Relatively speaking, little attention is given *ideals* and involvement. Earlier studies (Arensmeier, 2010; Bronäs, 2000) have indicated limited focus on this value dimension in Swedish civic education, and judged by the textbook content, this persists.

The *involvement* theme is dominated in most books by identity and culture. In several books (V2, V3, V5, A2, A4) involvement taking the form of civic and political engagement is restricted to suffrage and voting in the representative political system. Other books declare ambitions to devote much space to influence, and to considering young people’s everyday life, though without fully living up to this (V4, A3). Some books, however, contain a few assignments that broaden the perspective on civic

engagement and influence (e.g. V3, A4). Three books devote relatively more attention to civic engagement. A1 and V1, for example, include an interview that illustrates different ways of being political, and the most extensive book (A5) has a chapter titled “personal engagement” that covers different forms of civic involvement.

Sections or chapters concerning *insights* about knowledge are included in all but one book (V4). Some academic-track books describe research methods, with the most space being given in the most comprehensive books. These chapters are characterized by abstract descriptions quite isolated from content and practical exercises. Almost all books stress evaluating the reliability of sources. This is the only aspect of insights about knowledge in most vocational-track textbooks.

Figure 1: Content themes (number of pages within book)

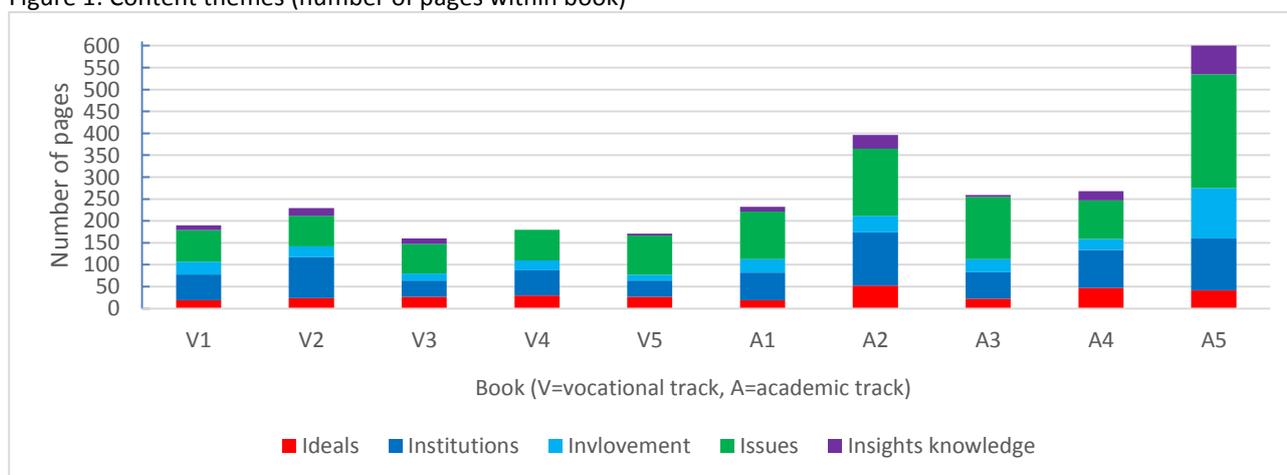


Table 4 displays relative measures of attention to content themes. This reinforces the picture of issues and institutions as dominating. Table 4 also contains assessed level of information and complexity per content theme and book. It is evident that the (generally shorter) vocational-track books are more basic. This holds in particular for books written solely for vocational-track students (V3-V5). Books from book series (V1/A1, V2/A2) resemble each other in a way that makes the vocational-track version a bit more informative and complex than other books for that track, and books for the academic

track slightly more basic than books written exclusively for the academic track.

The more extensive books for the academic track have room for more substance. However the texts only occasionally reach beyond level 2. They are partly more informative, with more facts and general descriptions, but rather few sections are characterized by additional complexity, problematizing or more advanced abstractions through concepts, theories or models.

Table 4: Relative attention given to themes (% of pages) and level of text (colour)

BOOK (NUMBER OF PAGES)	Vocational track					Academic track				
	V1 (190)	V2 (229)	V3 (160)	V4 (180)	V5 (171)	A1 (232)	A2 (396)	A3 (259)	A4 (268)	A5 (600)
Ideals	10	10*	17	16	16	8	13	8	18	7
Institutions	31	41	23	31	22	27	31	24	32	20*
Involvement	15	11	10	13	8	13	10	12	9	19
Issues	38	31*	42	40	52*	47	38*	55	33	43*
Insights knowledge	6	7	8	0	2	5	8	1	8	11

GREEN: 1. Basic level

BLUE: 2. Moderate level

(RED: 3. In-depth level)

* partly higher level

5.3 Conceptual understanding and analytical training

Concepts are given attention in all books. Brief, rather shallow or abstract definitions of many concepts dominate most books. The level of attention is somewhat dependent on the general level of the text. As shown in

Table 5, the difference between the tracks is not very prominent. There is, however, a tendency for academic-track books to have a higher level.

Most books highlight key concepts, in italics or in bold type, and some combine this with short substantial

definitions in the margin. Exercises with a conceptual focus are also rather common. These typically ask for substantial definitions. This risks isolating the concepts, replacing understanding with vocabulary knowledge. The most basic level is found in books exclusively written for the vocational track (V3-V5). The generally more

informative texts in the academic-track books contributes to a more complex conceptual treatment. No book, however, is considered to be at level 3. Complex conceptual explanations occur occasionally, but are not a general feature of any book.

Table 5: Level of conceptual understanding and analytical training (colour)

BOOK	Vocational track					Academic track					
	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	
Civic ABILITY	Conceptual understanding	2	1*	1	1	1	2	1*	1*	2	2
	Analytical ability	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3

GREEN: 1. Basic level BLUE: 2. Moderate level RED: 3. In-depth level * partly higher level

Table 5 also assesses the level of analytical training. The difference between the tracks is somewhat more apparent here. All books for the vocational track are on the basic level, and two of the books on the academic track give in-depth attention to analysis. The books from book series (V/A1, V/A2), however, are generally all on the basic level.

Because their texts are rather lean, and mainly factual and descriptive in character, the most basic books provide limited possibilities for analytical training. The students are given few analytical instruments like nuances, complexity, theories, models, explicit perspectives etc., and the exercises typically either focus on facts or encourage discussion of personal opinions. Students are not offered tools to develop their opinions further. There are examples of books (V/A1, V/A2) whose content could partly pave the way for more analytical tasks, but this is only taken advantage of sporadically.

Three of the books for the academic track, on the other hand, contain more advanced analytical tasks. For instance, students are instructed to compare, sort, and adopt diverse perspectives, or to seek further information. Two books are considered to reach level 3 in this respect. Book A4 uses facts, perspectives and sometimes models from the text for analysis, or to inspire the collection of additional facts or arguments. Students are sometimes also encouraged to send their analyses to politicians. Book A5 often asks the student to make use of concepts, models, theories or conditions described in the text, or to adopt different perspectives in order to grasp issues. When students are encouraged to discuss, these books often associate this with analytical reasoning.

Tables 6 and 7 provide some illustrative examples of conceptual emphasis and analytical training at different proficiency levels.

Table 6: Examples of conceptual emphasis

CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING	EXAMPLES
1. Basic level Short substantial definitions (often in margins, separated from main text)	Political ideology can be likened to a collection of thoughts on how a country should be governed. (V4) NGO, Non-Governmental Organization, because it is independent from the state, non-profit and based on voluntary initiatives. (A3)
2. Moderate level Substantial conceptual explanations, to some extent further contextualized (in main text)	There are different kinds of governments. A majority government is formed by one or several parties that together hold more than half of the seats in parliament. A minority government is not supported by [...] A coalition government [...]. (V1/A1)
3. In-depth level General focus on complex conceptual understanding, concepts thoroughly embedded in extensive main text (predominantly occurs when text content also on level 3.)	Why does inflation occur? There are several reasons why prices rise. [...] This is called <i>demand inflation</i> . But inflation can also be caused by [...] This type of price increase is called <i>cost inflation</i> [...]. (Excerpt from four-page section dealing with inflation, A5)



Table 7: Examples of exercises and assignments for analytical training

BOOK	Politics	Welfare issues	Media
1. Basic level No/limited use of concepts, perspectives etc. from the text. Only opinions requested. (V4)	Would you rather vote for persons only, and not for political parties?	Which would you choose – more policemen, more teachers or more nurses?	How do you get news about what goes on in the world? What are you careful not to write on Facebook?
1. Basic – 2. Moderate level Some use of concepts, perspectives etc. from the text. Still much emphasis on opinions. (V/A2)	Why do you think that you have to be a member of a political party to be elected? Is this good? Why/why not? (Level 1)	What do you think? Is it reasonable that the tax payers in rich municipalities contribute to helping people in poor municipalities? Why/why not? (Level 1)	Which of the theories do you think best describes opinion-making? Which of the media ideologies do you think best mirrors your opinions? (Level 2)
3. In-depth level Extensive use of concepts, perspectives etc. from the text. Expression of opinions associated with analysis. (A5)	Discuss advantages and disadvantages with party-based and person-based elections. You are not satisfied with the political situation and want to start a new political party. What do you do? Find out the rules and regulations.	What is the difference between: a) general welfare policy, and b) institutional and marginal welfare policy? What does welfare mean? Discuss different meanings of the concept, and different ways to measure welfare. What should a measurement include?	In what ways could Internet and social media be more democratic than the traditional media? Does the media report objectively?

6 Concluding discussion: different expectations in civic education

This final section summarizes the empirical findings and discusses civic education and equality.

6.1 Expectations in curricula and textbooks

The course curricula in social studies for different upper-secondary tracks, place less ambitious civic expectations on vocational-track students, than on academic-track students. The largest differences concern training of analytical skills.

Although not clear-cut, these differences are also present in textbooks. The pattern is somewhat blurred by books from series. Vocational editions seem slightly “levelled up” in civic content, compared to books solely targeting vocational students. At the same time, conceptual understanding and analytical training appear somewhat “levelled down” in academic editions, compared to books directed solely to the academic track. The overall picture, however, is one of a higher level of both content and cognitive training in academic-track books.

Social/political *issues* and *institutions* are the content themes receiving the most attention. *Ideals* and *involvement* are given less space. Two topics vital for citizenship attract remarkably little attention: (1) fundamental democratic values (*ideals*) – where it can be asked whether the acceptance of values like equality is considered already secure; and (2) civic engagement (*involvement*) – where it is apparent that students are predominantly seen as voters. Both these aspects have been characteristic of Swedish textbooks for a long time (Bronäs 2000). Some books for both tracks, however, present a wider understanding of civic engagement, including students. The fifth content theme, *insights* about knowledge, is given no or only limited attention in vocational-track books (being restricted to assessing reliability of sources). In academic-track books, the theme appears rather abstract and isolated from practical exercise.

The *informative/complexity level* of the textual content generally signals lower expectations of reading and comprehension ability for vocational students, and stays at the basic level 1. The demands, however, are not especially high for academic-track students either. Their books are more informative, but only rarely go beyond level 2 (moderate).

Since the content is on level 1 or 2, it is not surprising that *conceptual understanding* is restricted to the same level. Short substantial definitions resembling vocabulary items dominate many books. Others are better at integrating conceptual understanding into the main text, thereby encouraging more complex understanding. Assignments can also benefit conceptual understanding, and the books with the most advanced analytical exercises sometimes incorporate complex conceptual understanding here. No book, however, reaches level 3 (in-depth) for conceptual understanding.

The largest overall difference concerns *analytical training*. All vocational textbooks are at a level 1, while some academic-track books provide rather advanced analytical training (level 3), making use of theoretical perspectives, comparisons, additional information etc. Vocational-track books and the two academic versions from series, are instead dominated by tasks where students are either to seek factual answers in the text or express their own opinions.

In summary, both curricula and textbooks can be said to express rather disparate expectations about students’ civic learning. Vocational students are not expected to do much more than learn a few new facts and words, vote, and express (pre-existing) opinions. Students in the academic track are also expected to learn these things, but are also offered analytical training, which can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of society, greater ability to structure information and arguments, and a better capacity to develop and act on nuanced, well thought-through opinions.

6.2 Reinforcing political inequality?

It is of course important to stress that curricula and textbooks do not determine what goes on in the classroom. Teachers are free to plan their teaching, and many different kinds of study materials exist. Empirical studies of students' views on democracy (Arensmeier, 2010) and tolerance (Arensmeier 2017) do, however, provide an additional indication of inequality in civic ability. Young people often talk about similar things, but students in the academic track are distinguished by greater confidence in discussing, larger vocabulary, more use of abstract concepts, and higher level of problematizing. That (some) teachers find it easier to engage academic-track students and that vocational students often need more support are also suggested in research (Ivarsson, 2017; cf. Gustafsson, 2016).

Reference must also be made to the socio-economic patterns in educational choice in Sweden, and the fact that upper-secondary school seems to uphold pre-existing socio-economic divides when it comes to political participation (Persson & Oscarsson, 2010). One could also ask, however, whether civic education also *reinforces* political inequality. Social studies textbooks for the academic track are overall a bit more informative and demanding in terms of conceptual understanding, and some are substantially more advanced in terms of analytical training. Many of the exercises, predominantly in the books for the vocational track, focus on students' personal opinions ("What do you think?").

An open classroom climate, debate and deliberation (Englund, 2006) are often highlighted as beneficial to civic education, and there is also empirical support for this (Andersson, 2012; Torney-Purta, 2002). It is also necessary, however, to address progression in learning. The concept of critical thinking, defined as the capacity to analyse, assess and improve lines of reasoning, can serve to illustrate this (Paul, 2005). If assignments are confined to expressing prevailing opinions, without employing tools of thought – such as identifying or using conflicting perspectives, abstract concepts, new factual circumstances etc. – then a student's thinking will not progress. New input can of course emerge in discussions among students, but to rely solely on peers or individual teachers to provide this seems like a vulnerable strategy. Empirical evidence suggests that strategically planned learning activities that challenge existing beliefs are beneficial for developing more sophisticated conceptual understanding (Ramirez & Ramirez, 2017). It is also relevant to underline the importance of written text, where more abstract language is typically found (Beck, McKeown, & Kucan, 2013).

There are thus several downsides to an overly strong emphasis on "what-do-you-think" type exercises, stripped of analytical features. Focusing on opinions might hinder rather than promote further analysis. It does not encourage students to distance themselves from their initial thoughts, to scrutinize, reconsider or develop their opinions – to think about their thinking. A continuous demand on young people to express their opinions might also be experienced as an uncalled-for exposure of

unconsidered or private thoughts. *Not* revealing your view, or saying that you do not (yet) know, must also be endorsed.

Apart from learning, an increased emphasis on analysis might also strengthen political self-efficacy. Civic education aiming for political equality must pave the way for *all* students to expand their knowledge and thinking. It is unclear why students in vocational programmes are assumed to have such limited analytical interest or capacity. While admittedly it can be challenging to teach in environments characterized by low motivation, ability or self-esteem, such (assumed) limitations can be addressed by starting at a reasonable level, rather than avoiding the matter altogether and thereby allowing some students to lose even more ground. But if the state, in its policy documents, refrains from expecting vocational students to develop certain civic abilities, why would textbook authors or teachers attempt to do this?

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Analysed textbooks

V1: Eliasson, M. & Nolervik, G. (2016). *Kompass till samhällskunskap, 50p* [Compass to social studies, 50 cr]. Malmö: Gleerups.

V2: West, D. (2011). *Samhällskunskap 1a1* [Social studies 1a1]. Stockholm: Liber.

V3: Nilzon, M., Roslund, M. & Öberg, I. (2011). *Mittpunkt samhällskunskap 1, 50p* [Midpoint social studies 1, 50 cr]. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

V4: Harstad, F., Heaver, S. & Öberg, J. (2011). *Spela roll: samhällskunskap 50p* [It matters: social studies, 50 cr]. Malmö: Gleerups.

V5: Lundberg, F., Olsson, L. & Arvidsson, K. (2011). *Samhällskunskap 1a1* [Social studies 1a1]. Malmö: Interskol förlag.

A1: Eliasson, M. & Nolervik, G. (2016). *Kompass till samhällskunskap, 100p* [Compass to social studies, 100 cr]. Malmö: Gleerups.

A2: West, D. (2011). *Samhällskunskap 1b* [Social studies 1b]. Stockholm: Liber.

A3: Göthberg, P., Hultman, G., Söderberg, I., Wollinger, J. & Yngvesson, Y. (2016), *Samhällskunskap 1 : ett hållbart samhälle* [Social studies 1: a sustainable society]. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

A4: Eriksson, J., Thornström, P. & Kesselfors, J. (2016). *Samhällskunskap 1b* [Social studies 1b]. Malmö: NA förlag.

A5: Brolin, K. & Nohagen, L. (2013). *Forum samhällskunskap 123* [Social studies 123]. Stockholm: Sanoma utbildning.

Endnotes:

¹ All programmes in upper-secondary school amount to 2500 credits. Foundation subjects take up 600 credits on the vocational track and 1100-1250 on the academic track. The credits for a course are supposed to reflect the "workload".

² Four publishers (Gleerups, Liber, Sanoma, Studentlitteratur) offer one to four books series each, and a few independent books. Two publishers (Interskol, NA förlag) have only one or two books for social studies.

³ The search was made in February 2017 on www.adlibris.com and www.bokus.com.

⁴ The article is an offshoot of a textbook analysis conducted within work package 6 (WP6, "Representation of the EU and youth active EU citizenship in educational contexts") in the EU-funded research program "Constructing Active Citizenship with European Youth" – Catch EyoU. Four of the books analysed in this article were included in a comparative study within WP6. In that study, two books were coded by the author and another researcher, with good inter-rater agreement. Worth noting, however, is that the focus of that analysis differed to some extent from the research interests of this article.

Appendix

Examples of content and level of information/complexity (translated excerpts)

THEME	BASIC LEVEL (1)	MODERATE LEVEL (2) OR IN-DEPTH-LEVEL (3)
IDEALS	<p><i>Democracy – what is it?</i></p> <p>Democracy is a fuzzy concept. It is used in a number of contexts and means different things for different people: student democracy, corporate democracy, social democracy and so on. A short explanation of the concept of democracy might look like this:</p> <p>The word: The word democracy is originally Greek and means rule of the people.</p> <p>The power: Democracy is a way of making decisions. In a democracy, the decisions must be in line with what most people, the majority, think are right.</p> <p>The human: Democracy is also a way of looking at oneself and at other people. A fundamental democratic idea is that all people have the same value. Most people, the majority are not allowed to treat the others, the minority, in whatever way they want.</p> <p>(Book V4, p.19 – level 1)</p>	<p><i>The hallmarks of Democracy</i></p> <p>Democracy means “rule of the people”. As late as the 18th century, the word democracy was still used as an invective. At that time, it was totally unthinkable to let “uneducated people” make crucial decisions about laws, taxes, war and peace. Most commentators thought that rule of the people would lead to chaos, irrational decisions and selfishness.</p> <p>Today, we know that democracy is fully possible. Both society and the methods of democracy have, however, developed quite a lot since the 18th century. Today we demand the following of a democratic society:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The people rule [...] 2. The majority principle [...] 3. Political pluralism [...] 4. Political freedoms and rights [...] 5. Respect for human rights [...] 6. Rule of law and division of power [...] 7. A well-functioning public administration [...] <p>[Each bullet point contains about as much text as the introductory paragraph]</p> <p>(Book A4, p.99ff. – democracy chapter mainly at level 2, occasionally level 3)</p>
INSTITUTIONS	<p><i>The role of the media</i></p> <p>We initially stated that the media mediates information. That is a simplified picture. If we look more closely at what comes to us through newspapers, TV, radio or Internet, the picture is much more varied.</p> <p>Sometimes it is descriptions of news events, for example parliamentary elections. How did it go? Which parties got smaller, which got bigger? Here it is pure information.</p> <p>But before the election, newspapers discuss different political issues, why each one is an issue, what it contains, who has said what and so on. Sometimes, these kinds of comments are intended to state a view – that is, to form a particular opinion. [...]</p> <p>Another example of the different roles of the media is when TV programmes investigate the actions of politicians or corporations [...]</p> <p>Finally we also know that the media play an important role as entertainment. [...]</p> <p>(Book V5, P.138 – level 1)</p>	<p><i>The mass media</i></p> <p>Mass communication takes place through the mass media. These are for example newspapers, TV, films, posters, Internet, e-mails, letters and flyers. Mass media play a significant role in current society. They keep us updated about what is going on in the local community and the world. They enlighten us about where to find the cheapest products, and help us deliver messages to many people at the same time.</p> <p>But the media also has a <i>democratic mission</i> by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Auditing the rulers. The mass media is often labelled <i>the fourth estate</i> [...] • Generating and encouraging debate. Different opinions and views should be heard in the mass media. [...] • Informing [...] • Commenting [...] • Facts [...] • Opinions [...] • Fiction [...] • Entertainment [...] • Sports [...] • Advertising [...] <p>(Book A5, p. 516f. – media chapters generally level 2)</p>
INVOLVEMENT	<p><i>How can you exert influence?</i></p> <p>Let us start by sorting out all the possibilities you have to influence government policy. As you have seen, a new government is elected every four years. The political parties play an important role here. The person who serves as prime minister is appointed by the elected members of parliament. Members of parliament are elected on behalf of their parties. The voters decide how many members each party shall get in the parliament. You can influence this. The first thing you can do is to vote for the party that best fits your opinion. Then you can also influence who will lead the government and what policies they will pursue.</p> <p>(Book V3, p. 111 – level 1)</p>	<p><i>How can you make your voice heard?</i></p> <p>All societies are based on cooperation. Far back in time we took turns guarding the fire or the city wall. Today, we cooperate in most contexts, from "tifo" in the sports arena to protecting the environment. A free country also gives us numerous opportunities to influence our own future and the future of society.</p> <p>In a democracy, every person’s vote is counted equally. Rich and poor, famous and infamous, old and young – every vote counts the same on election day. Most votes wins.</p> <p>Every vote is important. Sometimes, an entire election can be determined by a small number of votes. When George W. Bush was first elected president [...]</p> <p>Sweden has had universal suffrage for both women and men since 1921 [...].</p> <p>Nobody <i>has to</i> vote in a Swedish election. It is voluntary. [...]</p> <p>(Book A3, p. 64f. – level 2)</p>



ISSUES	<p>Agenda 21 work</p> <p>Sustainable development is a concept you often encounter in the environmental debate. It simply means that we need to find a way to live that is sustainable in the long run, that we must consider future generations and not over-exploit and destroy our environment. Put simply, to achieve sustainable development we need to save more and waste less.</p> <p>Sustainable development was discussed at a big UN conference about environment and development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. [...]</p> <p>An important part of Agenda 21 is the <i>Polluter Pays Principle</i>, that is, that the polluters have to pay the costs. [...] All Swedish municipalities have a local Agenda 21 office and a programme for the local environmental work.</p> <p>(V4, p. 160 – level 1)</p>	<p>The limits of growth</p> <p>As long as the population grows, it is important that the economy grows. [...] But doesn't growth have limits?</p> <p>Today, several environmental problems are visible, suggesting that there are ecological limits to the economic progress. The view on growth has become increasingly split.</p> <p>Some are of the opinion that unrestrained economic growth in rich countries is the biggest threat to Earth. According to this view, the current "use and throw away culture" is not sustainable in the long run. Moreover, environmental concern is low in poor countries seeking economic development. Taken together, this puts Earth's resources under too great pressure. This is why <i>sustainable development</i> is increasingly talked about today, meaning that economic development needs to be sustainable in the long-term.</p> <p>Others claim that economic growth increases welfare and that it thereby boosts democratic development. They think that war and unrest originate from lack of resources. Societies characterized by growth can more easily establish peaceful relations [...] The market economy can, together with laws and economic sanctions, master environmental problems [...]</p> <p>(A5, p. 214f. – level 3)</p>
INSIGHTS ON KNOWLEDGE	<p>Working with societal issues</p> <p>When inquiring into societal issues you work with information from different sources. Since some of the information you find can be biased and false, it is important to learn how to critically review the information. [...]</p> <p>A source is written, oral or digital information, which has something to say. [...] An important starting point is to adopt a critical approach to the information found in different sources.</p> <p>Primary and secondary sources [...]</p> <p>Source-critical method</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Examine if the source is authentic [...] 2. Who is behind the source? [...] 3. What's the purpose of the information in the source? [...] 4. Is the source up-to-date? [...] 5. Is the content biased? [...] 6. Who is the target group for the source? [...] 7. Compare the sources you find [...] <p>(Book V5, p. 145f. – this section qualifies as level 2, but since this is the only content in the book that concerns insights about knowledge, the book is categorized as being on level 1 on this theme)</p>	<p>Principles for source criticism</p> <p>That an investigation is called scientific is of course no guarantee for this actually being the case. [...]</p> <p>There is therefore good reason to take a sceptical position – in particular in relation to anything that can be suspected of being disguised propaganda or marketing. [...]</p> <p>Another type of material to watch out for is so-called pseudoscience. This refers to perceptions and opinions couched in scientific language to give the impression that conclusions were reached by scientific means. To conclude, it is always reasonable to be critical of sources and to make independent evaluations of credibility. In this review process, four source-critical principles, or "rules of thumb", are common starting points.</p> <p>Authenticity [...]</p> <p>Time [...] simultaneity [...]</p> <p>Dependence [...] primary source [...] secondary source</p> <p>Tendency [...] biased [...]</p> <p>(Book V2, p. 22ff.; A2, p. 25ff.)</p>

GREEN: 1. Basic level

BLUE: 2. Moderate level

RED: 3. In-depth level

Cinzia Albanesi

Citizenship Education in Italian Textbooks. How Much Space is There for Europe and Active Citizenship?

- European recommendations on citizenship education are far from being incorporated in textbooks.
- Active citizenship is marginally addressed and it is separate from European education in textbooks.
- Textbooks adopt a descriptive/informative approach to the EU issues.
- Textbooks do not encourage young people to develop a full ownership and better knowledge of the EU reality.

Purpose: In this article we investigated how the Italian school curricula incorporated European and national recommendations concerning European and Citizenship education, analysing how much and which kind of space is devoted to Europe and active citizenship in Italian high school textbooks.

Design/methodology/approach: We selected a sample of bestseller textbooks of different disciplines (History and English as a Second Language) for secondary (lyceum and technical) school students (18 years old), including books explicitly designed for citizenship education, and analysed them using a mixed methods approach (quantitative analysis, and thematic content analysis).

Findings: We argue that the current European recommendations on citizenship education are far from being incorporated in the architecture and the contents of textbooks used in Italian secondary schools. We identified some shortcomings which should be addressed to increase the capacity of textbooks to form young European citizen.

Practical implications: The opportunities that the EU offers to young people to practice active citizenship and supporting the acquisition of critical and reflective skills beyond formal knowledge deserve more attention.

Keywords:

European active citizenship, textbooks analysis, Italy, citizenship education

1 Introduction

The term Active Citizenship was introduced by the European Council in 2001 to describe a way of empowering citizens to have their voice heard outside and within their communities, and encompassing a sense of belonging and a stake in the society in which they live, the value of democracy, equality and understanding different cultures and different opinions (European Commission, 2001). Theoretically, the concept draws from an interdisciplinary set of literature, including education, sociology, political science, even though the use of the term derives predominantly from the field of education, including both formal and non-formal education, and research projects in the majority of cases are concerned with the social outcomes of learning (Wringe, 1992; Harber, 1992). Its underlying theory is that, through learning experiences such as formal education, civic competence learning (civic knowledge, skills, attitudes and values), people are enabled to become active citizens (Hoskins & Mascherini, 2009). The concept of active citizenship has been defined in a number of different theoretical and empirical ways (see Nelson & Kerr, 2006), but Hoskins' definition of Active Citizenship as "participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy" (Hoskins 2006) has informed European policy making and citizenship education initiatives in the

last fifteen years. Active Citizenship in Hoskins's terms includes participation in Political Life, Civil Society, Community Life and Values, encompassing a range of actions, from involvement in participatory democracy (including actions that hold governments accountable), to representative democracy (including actions such as voting), and to participation in the everyday life of the community. The definition is inclusive with respect to new forms of civic and political participation such as one-off issue politics and responsible consumption, as well as the more traditional forms of membership in political parties and non-governmental organizations. Values include pluralism, respect for human dignity and endorsement of democratic principles, which also set the ethical boundaries of active citizenship.

Also Ekman and Amna (2012) focused on the ways people participate as the key dimension of active citizenship, proposing a distinction between manifest political participation and latent forms of participation. Compared to Hoskins they included also "less active" forms of citizenship, like recycling or reading political news, that may be particularly important in developmental terms (see Barrett & Smith, 2014).

Following the previous authors, we also believe that participatory practices are a critical dimension of active citizenship, but we conceptualize it as a multidimensional construct, including psychological citizenship, the subjective sense of being a citizen (see Sindic, 2011).

Psychological citizenship includes sense of belonging and attitudes like readiness to take action, which are the result of a process building on different blocks, including knowledge and skills, and it is conditioned by contextual

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boundaries, that may provide - or not - the rights and the opportunities to participate.

Our definition is consistent with the Council of Europe's Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education, that was adopted in 2010, by all the Member States of the European Union. According to the Charter the goals of education for democratic citizenship and human rights education are equipping learners with knowledge, understanding and skills, and empowering them with the readiness to take action in society in defense and promotion of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Education for democratic citizenship focuses primarily on democratic rights and responsibilities and active participation, in relation to the civic, political, social, economic, legal and cultural spheres of society.

The joint interim report of the Council and the European Commission on the situation regarding the education and training objectives set for 2010 (European Commission, 2003) stated the importance of the European dimension in education: according to the document, school has a fundamental role to play, allowing everyone to be informed and understand the meaning of European integration. All education systems should ensure that students, by the end of their secondary education, have the knowledge and competences needed to prepare young people for their role as a future citizen in Europe. This document built on the resolution of the EC and Ministers of Education in 1988, that established, amongst others, the following goals: "to strengthen the sense of European identity in young people and illustrate them the true value of European education " and "improving knowledge of the Community and its Member States, in their historical, cultural, economic and social issues" (p. 177/5).

Gavari Starkie and Garcia Garrido (2006) found that, despite these recommendations, European education and democratic citizenship education developed separately in school curricula.

Based on these premises the aim of the paper was to analyse to what extent the textbooks used in the Italian educational system adopted the European recommendations, concerning both European education and democratic citizenship education, understanding in particular how much and which kind of space is devoted to Europe and active citizenship in high school textbooks.

Textbooks play a key role in realising the aims of national curricula and supporting effective teaching (Oates, 2014), in particular when it comes to citizenship education. The reason is clearly stated, by Schlisser (1989/90): "in addition to transmitting knowledge, textbooks also seek to anchor the political and social norms of a society. Textbooks convey a global understanding of history and of the rules of society as well as norms of living with other people" (p. 81).

We will briefly review the literature that has examined how educational policies implemented citizenship education and European education in Italy and how textbooks approached citizenship and European education in

different countries, with a specific focus on EU countries and Italy.

1.2 The approach of educational policies to citizenship education in Italy

Citizenship education in Italy (since 1958) is understood as a transversal task for all subjects. Bombardelli and Codato (2017) provided a detailed analysis of the current legislation on citizenship education, showing also that European recommendations are widely accepted and referenced. A significant milestone was represented by the educational reform in 2008, which introduced the cross-curricular topic "Citizenship and constitution". Based on this law, teachers (from primary to secondary level) must currently include learning objectives related to citizenship and the constitution in the teaching of their subjects' areas, in particular:

- Human dignity: human rights, migration, human relationships, prejudices and discrimination;
- Identity and belonging: this area includes knowledge of the Italian Constitution and of the European Institutions and documents;
- Otherness & relationships: this area includes life skills, relationship humans-environment;
- Participation: includes knowledge of international rights and of the opportunities to participate to democratic life in school.

The first article of "Citizenship and constitution" Law states that the teaching activity in civic field has to be delivered in the common subjects during teaching time; it is intended to be delivered through a cross-curricular dimension integrated into several conventional subjects (such as history, economy, law, social studies, geography, philosophy or religious education/ ethics). The assessment of students in this field, irrespective of the forms (e.g. specific projects, "traditional" teaching hours, etc.) is a responsibility of teachers of history-geography/social science subject areas, but there is no separate evaluation.

The Recent National School Law (107/2015) confirmed the importance of citizenship education affirming that schools should support students':

- Development of competencies in the field of active and democratic citizenship through the promotion of intercultural education and peace, respect for differences and dialogue between cultures, promoting students' responsibility, solidarity, care of common goods and awareness of rights and duties;
- Development of responsible behaviour inspired by knowledge and respect for legality, sustainability and environmental and cultural awareness.

European citizenship is part of Citizenship and Constitution. Based on the agreement *The European dimension in Citizenship and Constitution* (2015)¹, established between The European Commission, the European Parliament, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Government and MIUR (Ministry



of education) Europe should be treated as a necessary dimension of any kind of citizenship education.

1.3 The textbooks approach to citizenship education

Davies and Issitt (2005) analyzing how Australian, Canadian and English textbooks treat civic education, found that Canadian textbooks tend to be focused on providing information about constitutional issues, while Australian ones are more focused on working on (academic) skills that enable young people to understand society; English textbooks are more oriented to the promotion of positive social skills, like cooperation and positive attitudes when facing interpersonal/social challenges, focusing on the qualities that a good dutiful citizenship should possess. Despite these specificities, they found that all textbooks avoid proposing a radical conception of citizenship. Their results are in line with Osborne (1985) finding a limited attention to diversity, a stronger focus on national rather than on global issues, and a cognitive-informative rather than a critical-active approach. Zimenkova (2008), analyzing Russian textbooks, found that citizenship as a formal status is well examined within books, but citizenship tend to be framed also as a moral quality, that do not allow any possible opposition to the state. Faas and Ross (2012) analysed three textbooks of the curricular discipline Civic, Social and Political education (CSPE) used in Ireland, a country that in their view has ethics and values as a priority in education. Their analysis revealed that textbooks, even if the explicit priority of CSPE discipline is to make students aware of "the importance of active, participatory citizenship" do not mention the fact that citizens have a responsibility/duty to be active (p. 582). Moreover references to global or European citizenship were limited, with a focus on national Irish identity. Meyer, Bromley and Ramirez (2010) analysed 465 textbooks of social science used in secondary school from 69 countries published since 1970 to understand how they treated human rights. As they expected, relevance of human rights increased across time but they identified as typical of Western society textbooks a sort of normalization of the process of human rights acquisition, as if the acquisition of rights for some groups did not come through significant and dramatic struggles. De La Collado and Atxurra (2006), analyzing textbooks in Spanish primary curriculum, worried about the risk that, given their characteristics, textbooks have established that the democratic citizen is a passive obedient one (see also Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). They found also that contents related to active participation appeared only in books targeting the first years of primary education, and were limited to school participation, while attention to the acquisition of reflective and critical skills, that are important in principle, was residual.

1.4 The textbooks approach to Europe and citizenship education

Few studies considered the European dimension in citizenship education research: Audigier (2006), analysing

curricula in different European countries, found that a truly European perspective is missing and commented:

"This absence is not total; there are some references, especially towards the study of European institutions; but they are present in a smooth clear, neutralized way, similar to other political institutions. Most of the times, you have to look for Europe elsewhere, especially in history and geography curricula if not even in foreign languages" (p.16).

Pingel (2003) summarised the presence of Europe in school textbooks used in the nineties across different European countries, as a residual one, eventually focused only on the most important European organizations, with a limited room for the idea of sense of belonging to Europe, as something that is to still to be built (see also Soysal, 2006). More recently Brennetot (2017) analysing geography textbooks used in different countries (mostly non-European) concluded that Europe tends to be presented as a reified object, while the EU appears as a political actor that has not been yet able to complete its own project. This way of presenting Europe and European issues according to Brennetot (2017) facilitates the work of teachers, helping them to avoid controversial issues.

Bombardelli (2003) who analysed how Europe was conceptualized in Italian civic education textbooks used in the secondary junior high school, revealed that overall students are guided to build a favourable attitude towards the European integration process, with limited space for its problematic aspects. The inspected textbooks adopted a descriptive rather than critical approach, with many notions and few opportunities to discuss and reflect on the relationship between Europe and the everyday life of young people. Bombardelli (2003) concluding her analysis identified as the most important pitfalls of the Italian textbooks, the absence of a problem solving approach, not enough room devoted to Europe, and rare encouragement of young people to develop a better knowledge of their reality (including the European one) and to prepare youth to engage as responsible and aware people.

Taken together the papers examined pointed out that textbooks tend to convey normative and quite simple conceptualizations of democratic/active citizenship, where the EU and sense of belonging to Europe are overall missing, and with more emphasis on equipping students with a neutralized institutional knowledge than on increasing their reflective and critical skills.

1.5 The research questions

Do the textbooks used in 2016 in the Italian reformed secondary school, which emphasises the role of citizenship education in helping students develop social and civic competences (European Commission, 2016), incorporate the European recommendations on citizenship education? Which discourses of European active citizenship do they propose? Are we going to find results similar to those by Bombardelli in 2003 regarding European citizenship education in Italy? Our empirical



analysis on a sample of six Italian textbooks² of different disciplines used in secondary education (ISCED 3) will provide an answer to these questions. The textbook analysis has been conducted within the CATCH-EyoU project, in particular the work package *Representation of the EU and youth active EU citizenship in educational contexts*, aimed at identifying and comparing key discourses on the EU and youth active citizenship in school curricula, school textbooks and among teachers and students in six European countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Italy, Portugal, Sweden and Germany).

2 Material and methods

2.1 Sample selection and procedure

In order to answer to our questions we identified three types of textbooks to analyse: textbooks of History (whose teachers have the responsibility to prepare and evaluate citizenship competence acquisition), textbooks of English as a Second Language, for their relevance regarding the European and international dimension of citizenship (and easily allowing for cross-national

comparisons between different EU countries), and textbooks of Citizenship and constitution, introduced in recent years and explicitly designed for citizenship education.

Our final sample includes six textbooks from the last year of secondary education (ISCED 2/3), two of History (Book A, Book B), two of Citizenship and constitution (Book C, Book D) and two of English as a Second Language (ESL) (Book E, Book F) used in different educational tracks (see Table 1). Even if citizenship education is a cross curricular topic, and competences in this field can be gained through different activities across disciplines (for example, through projects offered on different topics by NGOs), Citizenship and constitution textbooks have been designed to integrate the history and geography curriculum in particular with the acquisition of competences on citizenship and constitution. They are organized like curricular related textbooks (see appendix for more details), but their use is not mandatory, unless they are adopted by history teachers (only in this case they are used in classes both by teachers and students).

Table 1 List of selected textbooks

Title	Publisher	ISBN	Author(s)	Year	Discipline	Educational track
DIALOGO CON LA STORIA E L'ATTUALITA' 3 - EDIZIONE MISTA L'eta' Contemporanea + Atlante + Espansione Web 3	Rcs Education.It (Italian Publisher)	ISBN 978-88-221-8353-8	Brancati Antonio - Pagliarani Trebi	2012	Contemporary History	Lyceum and technical school
MILLEUEMILA - UN MONDO AL PLURALE 3 - Il Novecento E Il Duemila + Guida All'esame + Espansione Web 3	Rizzoli (Italian Publisher)	ISBN 978-88-221-8352-1	Castronovo Valerio	2012	Contemporary History	Lyceum and technical school
CITTADINANZA E COSTITUZIONE*	Rizzoli (Italian Publisher)	ISBN 978-88-221-7286-0	Castronovo Valerio	2010	Citizenship & Constitution	Lyceum and technical school
CITTADINANZA E COSTITUZIONE	Zanichelli Editore (Italian Publisher)	ISBN 976-88-08-06247-S	Vincenzo Conte	2010	Citizenship & Constitution	Lyceum and technical school
PERFORMER. PERFORMER CULTURE & LITERATURE 3 LDM 3 Con DVD-ROM The Twentieth Century And The Present	Editore Zanichelli (Italian Publisher)	ISBN: 9788808117311	Spiazzi Marina - Tavella Marina - Layton Margaret	2013	ESL	Lyceum
IN BUSINESS DIGITAL EDITION	Pearson (Non Italian Publisher)	ISBN: 9788883390739	Abbentini - Richardson - Vaughan	2012	ESL	Technical school

* Sold with MILLEUEMILA

History and ESL books were chosen based on data³ from the Italian Association of Librarians in the year 2015 on most sold textbooks, while the books of Citizenship and constitution were of interest for the present research due to their specific topic/contents, but no data were available regarding their actual use in school (even if they are both edited by the two Italian textbooks publishers which have the largest market share in Italy and book C is sold with a bestseller). Our selection is not comprehensive/exhaustive, but it is a sample of the kind of textbooks that were more commonly used in Italian secondary schools in the 2015/2016 school year.

2.2 Instruments

To perform the analysis we used a semi-structured grid that was prepared according to the guidelines on textbook analysis provided by Unesco in 2010. The grid allows for quantitative (number of pages and paragraphs) and qualitative analysis of the following themes: Construction of EU, EU institutions and functioning, National sense of belonging, EU sense of belonging, Global sense of belonging, Active Citizenship, Youth active citizenship (active citizenship with explicit references to young people), Youth issues (e.g., bullying, unemployment, drugs, sex, careers, youth cultures), Living with and relating with others/ intercultural awareness (which includes explicit references to ethnicity, cultural issues, relationships between different national, ethnic

and cultural groups). The themes were identified as relevant to the topic under inspection, coherent with the definition of European Active citizenship that was proposed by the European Commission in 2001 and broad enough to be covered in different disciplines.

Sense of belonging was analysed following to the definition provided by McMillan and Chavis (1986), when illustrating “sense of community”. According to them sense of belonging refers to the feeling, belief, and expectations that one fits in the group and that one is part of a group. Portions of text that fit this definition (respectively to National, European and global community) were classified in these areas.

Youth active citizenship was analysed according to definition of youth active citizenship provided by the Council of Europe Recommendation on the Participation of Children and Young People under the Age of 18⁴ (2012). Portions of text describing young people as active players in the society, or referring to ways of participation in political life explicitly designed for/targeting young people (i.e. youth councils or youth parliaments) were classified in this category.

In applying the grid we used a thematic content analysis approach (Braun and Clarke, 2006) involving three people: at first we selected two books, that were fully read and coded independently by two researchers who discussed the respective coding and clarified their coding strategy, and its coherence with the theoretical or empirical definitions adopted for each category. In order to reach a complete agreement on the classification of each chunk of text under inspection, a third person helped the two coders in solving inconsistencies, asking coders to explain their respective choices, providing theoretical or empirical reasons in support of their choices on the analysis of the first two books. For

example one critical point in applying the grid was that there was no agreement on the classification of text describing entitlement to vote at National level: one coder was oriented to include this text in the category “active citizenship”, because vote is a form of participation, while the other did not agree, because being entitled does not mean that one votes. The third researcher proposed to use a different category, because in the grid content referred to EU citizenship entitlement was included in the category EU functioning, but there was no equivalent category concerning the national level. Based on this analysis active citizenship was split in *democratic citizenship*, including criteria to buy/access legal citizenship, rights recognized to citizens (that can be conceptualized as the formal “being” dimension of active citizenship) at national or international level, and *participatory practices/forms of participation* (that could be conceptualized as the behavioral “doing” dimension of active citizenship).

This collaborative approach helped the team to to develop a common understanding of the coding categories, make them more explicit and more grounded in theory and allowed researchers to apply the grid autonomously. For the didactic analysis and the “exploration of the pedagogy behind the text” sample pages/ paragraphs in each category were analysed collaboratively, to decide to what extent the textbook adopted an informative or a reflexive approach and the extent of complexity of the arguments used, in particular if confrontation of different perspectives was used.

3 Results

The coverage of the different topics in the textbooks is presented in table 2.

Table 2 % of pages (pag.) devoted to the topic under inspection in each book

	History (Hist)		Citizenship and Constitution (C&C)		ESL	
	Book A	Book B	Book C	Book D	Book E	Book F
Construction of EU	<1%	1.7%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%
EU institutions and functioning	1%	<1%	<1%	9%	0	<1%
National Sense of belonging	0	0	<1%	0	0	0
EU Sense of belonging	<1%	<1%	0	<1%	0	1%
Global sense of belonging	0	0	0	<1%	0	0
Active Citizenship*	10%	11%	<1%	8%	6%	1%
Democratic citizenship	2%	<1%	<1%	4%	<1%	<1%
Practices of participation	8%	11%	<1%	4%	6%	<1%
Youth citizenship	<1%	<1%	0	0	<1%	0
Youth issues	<1%	<1%	<1%	3%	5%	<1%
Living with...	1.4%	2%	21%	22%	5%	7%
% covering inspected topics	16%	18%	37%	42%	18%	11%
N pages of the book	728	835	159	191	223	447

* Active citizenship sums its 2 sub-categories Democratic –institutional citizenship + Practices of participation

Citizenship and constitution books (C&C) were those that covered the topics under inspection to a greater extent. Overall, both the books C and D devoted around 40% of the total pages to the issues of democratic citizenship, practices of participation, the EU, and living with others. Living with others was the most important section in both books; EU institutions and functioning came as second (5 to 8%), democratic citizenship as third

(from 4 to 6%) and practices of participation as fourth (with percentages ranging from 3 to 6%). Youth issues found hardly any space in the books and youth citizenship was left almost entirely uncovered.

The History textbooks (Hist) were those that devoted more space to practices of participation (ranging from 9 to 12%). Active Citizenship was treated at length from an historical perspective; it didn’t deserve much space in

ESL books, and in citizenship books, which tended to focus more on the global and institutional dimensions of citizenship, and to cultural awareness at the global, transnational level. Discourses on active citizenship and cultural awareness were almost completely disconnected from discourses concerning Europe (basically a matter of institutions and institutional functioning), and youth. As such we analysed them separately in the following paragraphs.

3.1 The EU and European sense of belonging

Overall we identified three clear disciplinary perspectives (history, citizenship and ESL), that looked at Europe from two distinctive angles: the insider angle, that was common in history and citizenship books, that emphasised respectively the EU construction, and the EU institutions' functioning. The outsider one was characteristic of ESL books, which allowed more space for "anti-EU" sentiments, and for "non belonging" discourses (e.g., GB decided to join the EU to benefit from the European wealth).

Among the Europe-related issues, the ones that received most attention were *European Institutions* and the *European construction* in a historical perspective. History books mentioned figures who contributed to the burgeoning idea of EU before it was established (e.g. Gualtiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, who prepared a Chart for a United and Free Europe in 1941 in Ventotene). They provided information about the events, plans and documents that were considered preparatory for the foundation of the EU (e.g., Marshall plan). The books on Citizenship & Constitution provided more detailed explanations of EU institutions and functioning, including full and detailed references to specific EU laws (e.g., EU law on privacy).

In ESL books European institutions were mentioned/analysed having the UK as a point of reference:

"Why did Britain join the European Community in 1973? Britain was doing less well economically than its European neighbours and, partly to share the new European wealth, the country joined the European Community in 1973." (p. 551, Book E - ESL)

Three out of 6 books included few reflections on *European sense of belonging*: Book F - ESL (p. 280) discussed the weakening of the European nation- state in the following terms:

"Since the 19th century the dominant powers in Europe have been national states: the UK, France, Germany, Italy, etc. Decisions were made independently by the government in each national capital. However, as the world became more "globalized" and European nations have declined as world powers, people are questioning the role of the traditional nation- state. Most Europeans now recognize that their nations are relatively small and weak and that they need to unite and work together, in institutions like the EU, if they are going to deal with the problems facing the world. Meanwhile, in larger European countries, there has also been pressure on the nation- state from below. Individual regions are trying to take power away

from central government and create greater regional autonomy- or even complete independence in some cases."

Textbooks mentioned only briefly the "historical" reasons for the construction of the European Union in particular the need to "establish a third force besides USA and USSR" and the priorities and principles of the actual EU such as: "*The EU aims are to establish peace, prosperity and freedom for its 495 million citizens and to create a fairer, safer world*" (Book F - ESL, p. 370); other mentioned aims were "*to allow free circulation of people and goods*" (Book C - C&C, p. 128): as such the EU seems mostly based on economic and commercial agreements.

Critical reflection on the EU was proposed in history and Citizenship & Constitution textbooks in the following vein:

"The [European] history is a story with a lot of compromises: the various agreements and treaties have greatly facilitated the economy of the country but one of the more critical is precisely that of being too tied to the bureaucracy without giving way to a European project linked to the culture and ideals, which are essential factors to arouse a feeling of belonging to the Union." (Book A - Hist, p.644-646)

"It is not easy to define clearly what the European Union is. It is something new considering international laws. It is something less than a federal state, because EU member states are totally independent, but it is also more than a community of independent/sovereign states, because across time states have progressively reduced their autonomy leaving part of their "sovereignty" to the communitarian (EU) institutions." (Book C - C&C, p.129)

Vignettes were used to convey a critical vision on the EU: a satirical vignette depicted Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor on the European throne deciding for measures on Greece in 2011, when the country was in severe economic crisis and indebted with the EU (p. 133, Book C - C&C).

Also the idea of *belonging to EU* was conveyed more with images than with words: in book F (p.369), the image of the European flag, with the twelve stars in a circle was accompanied with a caption that explained that it "*symbolizes the ideas of unity, solidarity and harmony among the people of Europe*". A similar caption appeared in book A- Hist (p. 533); in the other books the Flag was simply there, without captions. In Book B - Hist (p. 539), that included sections on "symbolic/emblematic places", there was a photo of Strasbourg, and a photo of the EU Parliament. The text stated that:

"Strasbourg was chosen as the location of the European Parliament, due to the particularities of the city (bilingual, transborders); the idea to set there not the "headquarters" but the parliament, that is elected with universal suffrage by the EU citizens, served to affirm that, after all the conflicts, tragedies and bereavements, a continent of people united by common democratic rules existed, beyond any doubts".

A recurring word in the discourses about Europe was integration: however, this was used more often to refer to the process of formal inclusion of new member states than to refer to social or cultural integration of people.

3.2 Active citizenship

There were no explicit references to the concept of European active citizenship in the textbooks analysed. Only one book (Book D - C&C) proposed an explicit definition of active citizenship. Remarkably it was not conveyed in the text, nor it was proposed as taken from an official/authored document. The definition had to be reconstructed through a completion exercise (the same exercise appears twice in the book, in slightly different forms):

“One talks about active citizenship as the capacity of citizens to organize themselves in many ways, to mobilize human resources and to act in different ways to protect the rights, employing powers and responsibilities aimed at caring and to the development of common goods.” (p. 32)

Given that there was almost no explicit discourse/reference to active citizenship in the textbooks, we looked for text that could be framed as active citizenship. History textbooks were rich of examples of *participatory practices*, as defined by Ekman and Amna (2012): acquisition of the right to vote, establishing democracy and elections, voting, establishing and supporting political parties, terrorism, revolution, pacifist movements, global movements, independent movements, students' movements, women's movements, resistance, antiapartheid, decolonization, contestation through arts and intellectual movements.

Our analysis, however, revealed that in the inspected books there was not so much room for civic – latent political participation (only Book C - C&C, p., 67, includes a box on “volunteers' solidarity reporting recent statistics on how many people are involved in volunteering). Forms of passive and active non-participation were not distinguished: disaffection (in particular towards the EU institutions) was mentioned but not really analysed in its consequences or causes. The only exception was book C - C&C (p. 130), which encouraged the EU to “take into account the feeling of many citizens that the EU is a *supra-bureaucracy*”. The book explained that:

“many of those who distrust the EU Institutions benefit from them (e.g. having access to some forms of “welfare” based on funds that the EU provided to regions facing economic and industrial crises). However the EU and the National Institutions should take into account this perception, in order to try to increase citizens' involvement in decision making processes.” (p. 130).

Youth citizenship seemed almost a neglected topic: only 2 books devoted some pages to this topic (0.7% book A - Hist and 1% book E - ESL). None of the books on Citizenship & Constitution dealt explicitly with youth citizenship. One of the ESL books had a big section on youth issues (Book E- ESL), and also one of the books on Citizenship & Constitution (Book D – C&C). Youth issues

were not a topic worth of interest in history books, while it was covered partly in the books of the other two disciplines examined. Book B- Hist devoted lots of pages to students' and juvenile movements (p. 571, 617, 618, 655-656), but after the sixties young people seemed to disappear. When the book mentioned the Arab Spring (p. 758), or any other recent historical events, both at the national and at the global level, the word “youth” was completely absent.

The most represented practices of participation were vote, protest and social movements: in History and Citizenship & Constitution textbooks there was also space for illustrating the tragic seasons of terrorism (the Years of Lead, during the 70s) and the mafia massacres in Italy. Italian anti-fascist resistance, representing an important milestone in national history and in national identity, received attention in big portions of text.

In Ekman & Amna (2012) terms, the books that we have inspected dealt a lot with manifest political participation, and to a lesser extent with latent one. This is coherent with the limited attention for the developmental/latent dimension of participation: we found no reference in any books to students' opportunities to participate (e.g. in school, to understand and to enhance their capacity to participate in schools board, councils, etc.), and very few descriptions of forms of civic engagement (i.e., involvement in volunteers' organizations), or reference to youth civic engagement, in particular in contemporary society. We found no mention of young people's actual political participation, and no reference to youth disaffection from politics. This absence was rather curious, given that in particular in history and citizenship textbooks there was a lot of space on vote, voting rights, etc. But it may be consistent with a conservative normative definition of citizenship and a resulting emphasis on voting as the “right” and just participatory behaviour.

Analysing the style adopted to deal with the contents under inspection, we observed a prevalence of descriptive/informative approaches rather than reflexive / interpretative ones, giving limited opportunities to the development of critical awareness of students.

Most paragraphs classified as *democratic citizenship*, that deal with vote and the functioning of the institutions adopted a factual style: “the institution was born in...it has these purposes....it works like that”, or “to obtain citizenship the following procedures..... are foreseen”, or “voting requires this and that....” and the Constitution grants to citizens the following rights.....”.

We found also excerpts that approached the issue of democratic citizenship using a more reflexive approach, in particular when the discourse on citizenship intersects hot controversial topics, like immigrants' rights and vote.

(Book D – C&C p. 96): “in some EU countries immigrants have the right to vote in administrative (not political election) and in other they do not have this right; not granting the right to vote limits the opportunities for migrants to elect their representatives, reducing the opportunity to express citizenship for people who live and work in a country; there are reasons for not granting



immigrants the right to vote: they should be naturalized, declaring that they will be loyal to the country; reciprocity between states should be recognized (i.e. the right to administrative vote for immigrants could be admitted only for those states that recognize the same right to Italians living there); however there are socio-political situations where opportunities for reciprocity are compromised.”

Even if the issue is controversial and different positions were presented, apparently to support some reflexivity, the positions were not attributed to any specific group (nation, country or political position): as such they seemed factual and neutral information, even if they were not.

Protests, fights to gain rights and democracy were described adopting a chronological “narrative” approach, with some explanations (what causes what; what happens afterwards) provided in order to facilitate the understanding of events:

“Many leaders within the African- American community and beyond rose, risked and sometimes lost their lives in the name of freedom and equality during the Civil Rights era, including Martin Luther King Jr, Rosa Parks, Malcom X and Andrew Goodman. After the 1960s there was a decline in protest activity but the Afro- American freedom struggle left a permanent mark on American society.” (Book E - ESL, p. 567)

The texts conveyed the idea that practices of participation, in particular manifest political ones, belong to the past, and are not happening in the outer world now. Open discussion on controversial issues, presenting different positions and inducing reflexivity when dealing with participatory practices was not common. Book B - Hist represented one exception, because in the section “interpretation” presented controversial positions providing authored sources that were introduced by a short summary. The responsibility to make comparisons, however, was demanded to the readers, who were asked explicitly to compare the illustrated positions.

4 Discussion

In this paper we wanted to understand which discourses on European youth active citizenship were conveyed by Italian textbooks, to understand how the concept of European active citizenship was framed, and finally if textbooks incorporated the European recommendations on citizenship education.

We were looking for some explicit definitions of European active citizenship, and we hardly found one going through 2583 pages. Then we looked for key dimensions of European active citizenship, with particular attention to:

- Sense of belonging to the EU (a component of the psychological dimension of active citizenship)
- Democratic citizenship (a contextual dimension that provides – or not - the rights and the opportunities to participate and has to do with formal citizenship)

- Practices of participation (a phenomenological dimension that refers to the means of and the forms of participation, and how citizenship is/can be practiced).

The analysis on these dimensions offered a puzzled picture of European active citizenship: sense of European belonging was rarely mentioned (see Pingel 2003), mainly conveyed through images, and seldom critically discussed in the texts. Basic knowledge and factual information about democratic (formal) European citizenship was present, leaving a limited room for critical understanding and for European opportunities of participation beside vote. These data are consistent with those of Bombardelli (2003) who found a preference in Italian textbooks for a descriptive/informative approach rather than a critical one on the EU. Audigier (2006) complained about the European perspective as the missing one in many curricula of European countries: the textbooks that we analysed, reveal the same absence in the Italian landscape nowadays. Overall our analysis showed a very limited attention to the psychological dimension of citizenship: sense of belonging, irrespectively of the levels of belonging considered, deserves very limited attention. Even textbooks that deal with intercultural relationships seem to ignore the role that sense of belonging and identification with a community can play for active citizenship. When adopting a national perspective books were focused on manifest political forms of participation, with limited attention to latent forms of participation, like volunteering, engaging with local community, etc.; textbooks describe at length the democratic dimension of citizenship, in particular the opportunities that are associated with formal citizenship at the national level (with an emphasis on “being” citizenship), leaving aside articulated reflections on citizenship beyond “legal borders”, citizenship as identification or citizenship as a practice. Coherently with previous analysis conducted in other educational contexts (see Davies & Issitt, 2005; Faas & Ross, 2012) active citizenship is described more in terms of “formal” rights/duties, with limited attention to the means, the spaces, the opportunities that may enlarge the ways of “doing citizenship” and increase readiness to take action, in particular of young people.

Another important point is that, despite the emphasis of the European documents (i.e. Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship), we found almost no references to youth active citizenship, which was framed as something detached from young people’s reality, as a “historical” event, associated with the discovery of the juvenile culture. Active citizenship was presented as a set of political collective actions/practices aimed at obtaining democracy, establishing or re-establishing justice, gaining or affirming rights, excluding latent and individual forms of participation, that do not take place in school, (this is really surprising, considered that we are analysing schoolbooks), nor in youth neighbourhood or local community (those contexts are totally missing in the books inspected), and that are not taking place now.



The European dimension of youth active citizenship was completely neglected. We could not find contemporary youth citizens' experiences, or references to European youth organizations, and/or to European programs aimed at the promotion of youth European active citizenship. Beside vote, European opportunities for young people to have a say at the institutional level were not mentioned at all. We found no real encouragement of young people to develop a full ownership and better knowledge of their reality, exactly like Bombardelli in 2003.

Despite the emphasis of curricula both European and national educational policies on equipping learners with knowledge, understanding and skills, and empowering them with the readiness to take action in society, the textbooks seemed to invite young people to deepen their factual knowledge, to discuss it, but not to make questions, to criticize, to reveal and engage with societal issues and challenges. The Italian textbooks seem to follow a widespread tradition in EU countries, with limited attention to active citizenship, and separate from European education (Gavari Starkie & Garcia Garrido, 2006).

We are conscious that our results are based on a very limited sample of textbooks (only six) and that we did not include disciplines that may be of particular interest of citizenship education (i.e. Geography), but our picture is somehow consistent with the literature that we have reviewed, regardless the recommendations concerning educational policies that have been proposed and received by the educational system meanwhile. Future studies should be based on a bigger sample of Italian textbooks, covering also other relevant disciplines (geography, social science).

We are well aware that textbooks are only one of the different tools of the education for democratic and active citizenship of European young people, and the way that they can be used varies across schools and teachers; we are conscious that they may be complemented with different materials and different kind of experiences, that would be important to analyse in order to have a full understanding of how school forms citizens; however textbooks still represent a significant anchor point for students' understanding of society and societal issues, and are the materials that students are supposed to know and are evaluated on. Our research shows that despite many recommendations, and increasing emphasis accorded to citizenship education in the Italian educational reforms, we did not move many steps forward since 2003, when Bombardelli found that textbooks presented Europe as a set of "acritical" notions and that they were far to prepare youth to engage as responsible and aware people at the EU level. These are two important shortcomings that should be addressed to improve citizenship education, and to benefit young people, our society and the future European project in the long term.

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Endnotes

1 Accordo di Programma “La dimensione europea nell’insegnamento di Cittadinanza e Costituzione” sottoscritto il 20 gennaio 2015 a Roma dalla Rappresentanza in Italia della Commissione Europea, dal MIUR - Direzione generale per gli Ordinamenti scolastici, dalla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri - Dipartimento per le Politiche Europee, dall’Ufficio per l’Italia del Parlamento Europeo.

² Data used in this study are publicly available from AMS Acta Institutional Research Repository – University of Bologna (<http://doi.org/10.6092/unibo/amsacta/5849>).

³ The Italian Association of Librarians provided the title and the publisher details of the books in the first three positions of its selling ranking for each discipline we were interested in, but they refused to provide the selling data for each book, explaining that this was a commercial information that they were not allowed to share, without compromising publishers’ privacy.

⁴ “Participation of Children and Young People is about individuals and groups of individuals having the right, the means, the space, the opportunity and, where necessary, the support to freely express their views, to be heard and to contribute to decision making on matters affecting them...”

Filipe Piedade, Norberto Ribeiro, Manuel Loff, Tiago Neves, Isabel Menezes

Learning About the European Union in Times of Crisis: Portuguese Textbooks' Normative Visions of European Citizenship

- EU related topics are almost absent in EFL textbooks.
- History textbooks include a significant amount of information about the EU.
- Textbooks do not prioritize students' critical thinking about the EU.
- The economic crisis and Euroscepticism are increasingly addressed in History textbooks.
- European citizenship is marginally and normatively addressed in History textbooks.

Purpose: To investigate how EU related contents are represented in Portuguese upper secondary school textbooks of History and English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

Design/methodology/approach: The study performs a textbook analysis on two History textbooks and three EFL textbooks to explore if and how EU related topics are addressed. The methodological approach was mainly qualitative, based on a content analysis of the textbooks, but also includes some quantitative data (e.g., number of paragraphs) to determine the importance given to European topics in each of the selected school subjects.

Findings: EFL textbooks have a residual approach to EU topics that is mainly focused in students' mobility. History textbooks, while containing a significant amount of information about the EU, present it mainly in a non-confrontational perspective and do not prioritize the development of students' critical thinking about the EU. Our data also points to a predominance of national level citizenship related content, with European citizenship being briefly and normatively presented to the students.

Research limitations/implications: EFL is attended by almost 100% of students in the academic track of secondary education, but History is a curricular subject only available to 25-30% of the students; as such, our findings refer to a specific group.

Practical implications: Textbooks should include more information about the actual problems and challenges of the EU to foster the development of students' critical thinking about the EU.

Keywords:

European Union, European citizenship, textbooks, students

1 Introduction

The European Union has reshaped Europe's socio-political framework by introducing a transnational dimension to citizenship that was formally implemented, in

1993, by the European Union Treaty. However, the subsequent development of European citizenship has met several challenges and difficulties (Dolejsiová & López, 2009) that have also been exacerbated by the fact that, until recently, the European integration process continued to be largely developed from a neoliberal approach (Hermann, 2007). Facing increasing economic difficulties, large sectors of the populations of the member-states that were particularly affected by the economic crisis became less supportive of the EU (Braun & Tausendpfund, 2014), making it difficult to develop a collective European identity (Petithomme, 2008; Grek & Lawn, 2009). Furthermore, the creation of this collective European identity has also been defied by the emergence of other recent events like the EU's inability to give an appropriate response to the refugee influx (Carrera, Blockmans, Gros & Guild, 2015) or the Brexit (Hobolt, 2016). Even if we recognize the complexity and multidimensionality of the concept of Euroscepticism (Boomgaarden, Schuck, Elenbaas & De Vreese, 2010), we cannot dismiss the effects that these recent events have had in the spread of Eurosceptic perspectives and attitudes (Serricchio, Tsakatika & Quaglia, 2012) within the EU.

Confronted by these difficulties, EU's institutions, recognizing that education continues to be a classical

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variable in the understanding of citizenship (Emler & Frazer, 1999; Hoskins, D'hombres & Campbell, 2008; Ribeiro, Caetano & Menezes, 2016), have been stressing that “the EU should be more visible, and better integrated, in teaching materials and extracurricular activities, given its impact on the everyday life of its citizens” (European Parliament, 2016, p. 6). Furthermore, the EU’s official discourse claims that “enhancing an EU dimension in school education [...] can help to overcome Euroscepticism” (*ibidem*, p. 12), in a time in which there is “a resurgence of divisions and narrow nationalisms across the Union” (European Commission, 2013, p. 5). Under these circumstances, it becomes essential to study the role that national educational systems have been playing regarding the promotion of students’ knowledge about the EU.

Textbook research has been widely used to study the influence of formal education in the process of socialization of young people because “in textbooks, we find what a society wishes to convey to the next generation” (Soysal & Schissler, 2005, p. 7). By allowing us to look into “society’s collective ‘officialized’ memory and normative structure” (Schissler, 2009, p. 204), textbooks may be considered as both an important data source for the analysis of students’ exposure to European and international topics (Brennetot, 2011; Pingel, 2000 and 2001, Soysal & Schissler, 2005), as well as for the study of schools’ contributions to the consolidation of European citizenship and the European project itself (Banús, 2007). Although there has been, over the last decades, a diversification of pedagogical tools available to teachers and students (Moeglin, 2006), textbooks still play a significant role in the “understanding of one’s own nation and the world at large and how they are used to forge a sense of belonging” (Schissler, 2009, p. 204). Meaning that textbooks are one more influence over the identification of students and young people at large with a certain community, since they actually act as instruments of socialization that “introduce young people to a quite specific historical, cultural and socio-economic order” (Crawford, 2003, p. 6).

As such, by focusing our analysis on textbooks, we are looking into one of the most highly influential teaching materials in the formal educational process (Issitt, 2004), exploring whether EU’s educational recommendations¹ were integrated into those pedagogical tools in Portugal. Our data was collected under the scope of the research project “CATCH-EyoU - Constructing Active Citizenship with European Youth: Policies, Practices, Challenges and Solutions”, and, in this article, we focus on the representations of the EU presented in Portuguese History and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks. We will try to investigate if these textbooks are, in fact, trying to stimulate students’ critical thinking about the EU. We will also consider if the sampled textbooks are approaching European issues, such as the economic crisis and Euroscepticism, and how they are doing it. Finally, we will investigate if and how these textbooks are addressing the topic of European citizenship.

2 Methodology

In spite of the growing number of attempts to develop textbook analysis (Morgan & Henning, 2013), methodologically there is still a wide analytical discrepancy between research efforts in this field (Nicholls, 2003). Following the guidelines of the *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, we used “both quantitative and qualitative methods” (Pingel, 2010, p. 66), first, to explore if and how European topics are depicted by the textbooks and, secondly, to consider the pedagogical approach to those topics. The selection of History and EFL as subjects was based on their relevance for the development of both historical and intercultural competences. History textbooks are not only conveyers of knowledge but they are also tools “in [the] shaping [of] the collective meanings of identity” (Soysal, 1998, p. 54) that, as we have seen, are essential to the establishment and maintenance of the connection between a specific political entity and its citizens. EFL textbooks were included because, aside from facilitating students acquisition of linguistic competences that may facilitate their interactions with other European nationals, they are also seen as tools for the development of student’s multiculturalism, with some recommendations going towards the idea that “particular attention should be paid to the cultural information conveyed through foreign language textbooks” (Pingel, 2010, p. 76). This selection of disciplines should thus allow us to study both a historical as well as a cultural approach to European topics in textbooks. In this paper, our focus will be the European dimension. Based on relevant literature concerning European youth citizenship (Lister, Smith, Middleton & Cox, 2003; Ekman & Amná, 2012; Mejias, Banaji; Noula & Hirzalla, 2016) we specifically explored topics related to the creation of the EU, its institutional organization and functioning as well as the EU sense of belonging and identity.

2.1 Sample

The selection of our sample of textbooks was based on two criteria: bestselling status and innovative character. The first criteria was determined by data shared by the Portuguese Ministry of Education, following the information sent by individual public schools regarding the adopted textbooks in each discipline. This data allowed us to include in our sample some of the most used History and EFL textbooks in upper secondary education. The second criteria was based on consultation with History and EFL teachers’ who gave us some recommendations regarding particularly interesting textbooks in terms of their pedagogical approaches. This selection includes textbooks from some of the major textbook publishers in Portugal (Table 1).

Table 1: sample of textbooks²

Textbook	Subject	Grade	Editor	Year
12 Nova Construção da História (12 New Construction of History)	History A	12 th	Asa Editores II, SA	2013
Um novo Tempo da História (A New Time in History)	History A	12 th	Porto Editora, Lda	2015
iTEEN 11	EFL	11 th	Areal Editores, SA	2014
New Frontiers 2 ³	EFL	11 th	Areal Editores, SA	2013
Insight	EFL	11 th	Oxford University Press	2014

2.2 Methods

Based on existing literature (Pingel, 2010; Brennetot, 2011), a specific analytical grid was created (Ribeiro, Ferreira & Menezes, 2016) covering young people's everyday life issues, sense of belonging and active citizenship at the local, national and European levels. Preliminary versions of the grid were used by the international team of the research project "CATCH-EyoU" (including researchers from Czechia, Estonia, Germany, Italy, Sweden and Portugal) using EFL textbooks. This was the base of a collaborative and interactive process of cross-validation, as researchers discussed and reviewed each other's analysis to make the grid as clear and exhaustive as possible. After this revision process, the grid was applied to the sample of textbooks in each country. The data presented in this paper will refer only to EU related topics, as mentioned above.

The grid collected qualitative and quantitative data. As Pingel points out, "a quantitative spatial analysis (such as the space a textbook allocates to the portrayal of a country, a region or to the global dimension as a percentage of the total volume) provides important results for the content-related weighing of various spatial entities" (2010, pp. 67-68). In this case, the grid collects information regarding the number of pages, paragraphs and exercises related with the EU. The calculation of the percentage of pages dedicated to those topics in each textbook indicates the relevance given to European related issues in History and EFL textbooks.

This quantitative analysis was then complemented by a qualitative analysis. The relevant textual materials of the textbooks were submitted to a content analysis to access what the author/s of the textbooks regard as "important, what he or she feels needs to be explained and what he or she takes for granted" (Pingel, 2010, p. 71), in this case, concerning EU related topics. The content analysis followed an inductive approach that allowed us to identify the themes that were especially relevant in the textbooks. As such, the themes about exchange programs and mobility, historical perspectives and knowledge about the EU and Portugal and the EU are representative of the knowledge conveyed to students about the creation of the EU. Discussions about the economic crisis and the future of the EU emerged from contents related to the description of the EU's institutions and functioning and, finally, Euroscepticism

and other challenges for European integration and European citizenship are themes closely connected with a EU sense of belonging and identity. These themes will guide the presentation of the data, illustrated with excerpts that, in the case of History textbooks, were translated from Portuguese to English.

3 Results

3.1 Quantitative analysis

A descriptive analysis of the data presented in tables 2 and 3 clearly demonstrates that History textbooks include much more contents about European issues than EFL textbooks. In fact, it becomes obvious that those topics are virtually absent from EFL textbooks, with a residual approach to the EU's institutional structure and functioning in EFL textbook#1.

Table 2: History quantitative data

History	12 Nova Construção da História (History textbook#1)			Um novo Tempo da História (History textbook#2)		
	Nr of pages (n=447)	Nr of paragraphs	Nr of exercises	Nr of pages (n=504)	Nr of paragraphs	Nr of exercises
Construction of the EU (i.e., mainly in the historic perspective)	18	47	16	23	110	19
EU institutions and functioning	5	6	1	5	11	2
Sense of belonging or identity at EU level	4	19	6	14	40	6
Total	27	72	23	42	161	27

If we take into account the page count dedicated to EU related topics, History textbook#2 appears as the one that gives more relevance to those topics, dedicating 8,33% of its pages to European issues, while History textbook#1 dedicates 6,04% of its pages to those same topics. If we take into consideration that textbook#1 was published in 2013 while textbook#2 was published in 2015, this difference between the two textbooks may indicate a modest growth in the importance given to the European dimension in more recent Portuguese History textbooks. On the other hand, EFL textbooks vary from only 0,85% (EFL textbook#1) to a complete absence (EFL textbook#2 and #3) of contents related to the EU.

Table 3: EFL quantitative data

EFL	iTEEN 11 (EFL textbook#1)			New Frontiers 2 (Modules: 4, 5, 6) (EFL textbook#2)			Insight (Student's Book) (EFL textbook#3)		
	Nr of pages (n=352)	Nr of paragraphs	Nr of exercises	Nr of pages (n=256)	Nr of paragraphs	Nr of exercises	Nr of pages (n=114)	Nr of paragraphs	Nr of exercises
Construction of the EU (i.e., mainly in the historic perspective)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
EU institutions and functioning	3	6	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sense of belonging or identity at EU level	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	6	7	0	0	0	0	0	0

3.2 Qualitative analysis

Exchange programs and mobility

In terms of contents related to the EU, as previously mentioned, EFL textbooks have evidenced a residual approach to such topics. The only EFL textbook that mentions European topics does so by focusing on European students' exchange programs. More specifically, EFL textbook#1 mentions the Erasmus, the Comenius and the Leonardo da Vinci exchange programs. Not surprisingly the authors give a special emphasis to the Erasmus entitling it as "one of the greatest success stories of the European Union" and presenting it as one of the best tools developed by the EU for fighting "youth unemployment by focusing more on skills development" and by allowing students "to improve their knowledge of foreign languages and to develop skills such as adaptability which improved their job prospects" (EFL textbook#1, p. 132).

Historical perspectives and knowledge about the EU

History textbooks, on the other hand, present a very different scenario. The two textbooks mention several historical characters, from the "fathers of Europe", Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet, to national politicians who have proved their importance in the development of the EU, such as the Portuguese Mário Soares, the British Tony Blair and the French Jacques Delors. Usually from a historical perspective, an analysis of the textual materials about European issues included in these textbooks reveals that they generally portray the EU as an element for maintaining peace, stability and freedom in Europe, by uniting historical adversary European countries. The following statement in History textbook#1 is representative of this approach:

"As such, the 20th century begins less than auspicious, in the shadow of war, that, in the case of Europe, some see as being a long Civil War, initiated in 1914 and only ending in the 90s with the end of the Soviet domain over Eastern Europe, with the German reunification and with the consolidation of the European Union" (Vol. 1, p. 18).

The EU is also represented as a tool for European countries to maintain their international political influence. In fact, in geostrategic terms, the EU appears as instrumental for the assurance that European countries

continue to have a significant political influence over international affairs. This idea is clearly present in the following quote of History textbook#1:

"Thus, the 20th century is one of decadence for the European powers regarding their global influence (at least until the beginning of the 21st century, with the consolidation of the European Union) [...] The 21st century presents itself as an uncertainty, but it all points to the emergence of a new world order in which three major geopolitical areas, the European Union, the USA and China, fight amongst themselves to dominate the rest of the world" (Vol. 1, p. 19).

In cultural and political terms, the EU is represented as a natural guardian and promoter of Universal Human Rights, which, together with an allegedly intrinsic respect for democracy, tries to reinforce the idea of a common European cultural heritage from which the EU appears as a natural political expression. The following quote taken from History textbook#2 is illustrative of this approach to the EU and its historical and current identity:

"After almost self-destructing with two fratricide wars in the first half of the century, Europe recognized its common cultural heritage and the necessity to unite in order to find, once again, economic prosperity and, if possible, its political influence" (Vol. 2, p. 68).

Naturally, both textbooks contain a detailed historical retrospective of the development of the European project. From the first European communities, like the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC), to the most significant treaties and European meetings, such as Treaty of Rome (1958), the Merger Treaty (1965) or the European Council Meeting at Fontainebleau (1984). These contents are usually accessible and historically accurate, but their pedagogical intent is clearly oriented towards memorising the chronological sequencing of the development of the EU. This type of approach is visible in the following paragraph taken from History textbook#1:

"The stages of the European construction process are the following: in 1949 the European Council is created, with the objective of preparing for the political union; in 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community, that creates a



common market for these products in France, Germany, Italy, and Netherlands (Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg); in 1957 the Treaties of Rome are signed, they create the European Atomic Energy Community and the European Economic Community, giving place to the “official” birth of Europe. In 1965 the three Communities are merged by the Merger Treaty, paving the way to the subsequent steps towards the strengthening of the Community” (Vol. 2, pp. 50-51).

Both textbooks also mention several of the EU’s institutions, such as the European Council, the European Parliament, the European Central Bank (ECB) and the European Commission, but without an in-depth explanation of their organizational functions and internal structure. In fact, these contents are usually presented in a somewhat schematic fashion, leaving its interpretation to the teacher and additional information to be collected from other sources by the students.

Keeping in mind that we are dealing with History textbooks it is not surprising that the successive enlargements of the EU since its birth are also mentioned and described with a significant level of detail. Both textbooks, in addition to a textual explanation of these events, include maps and tables that try to provide the students with a clearer picture about the territorial developments of the EU over the years. These enlargements are usually described as challenging events for the EU’s internal cohesion, particularly because of economic inequalities between founding and joining member countries but also because they have made it even more difficult to reconcile the interests of so many different countries and to develop and implement concerted common policies that effectively address national necessities. History textbook#2 sums up this idea in the following statement: “the difficulties of a political union have been significantly increased by the successive enlargements of the Community that demand the conjugation of the interests of very different countries” (Vol. 2, p. 36).

Portugal and the EU

Naturally, Portugal’s entrance, in 1986, in the EEC receives a special emphasis. Both textbooks present some facts and discussion about the reasons that led the country to join the EEC as well as a description of some of the effects – mainly financial and economic – that resulted from this membership process. Both textbooks present Portugal’s membership as a largely positive political decision that allowed the country to economically and socially recover from the negative impacts of the Portuguese 48-year-old dictatorial period. History textbook#2 includes a short text in which the EEC is described as an institution that “allowed Portugal the opportunity of escaping its political isolation once and for all, opening, at the same time, the prospect of a future and the possibility for recovering the economy of the country” (Vol. 3, p. 33). This textbook does, however, also mention the “rigorous budget contention program imposed by the IMF, the ECB and European Union – the so called *troika*” in Portugal. The program is not

described with great detail but it is stated that in “these difficult years, the Portuguese are confronted with companies and banking institutions bankruptcies, with the growth of unemployment, [and] with the degradation of the living conditions and the growth of emigration” (Vol. 3, p. 126). Even if it does not explore the role played by the European institutions in this scenario, and it does not explicitly use the notion of an “austerity” that was imposed by the EU, this brief summary does, however, implicitly give a less positive image of the EU’s economic policies and of its impacts in the Portuguese economy.

The economic crisis and the future of the EU

The original intention of evolving the EU towards a federal union is also mentioned in both textbooks. The EU is described as an ambitious project that, while trying to reach that political goal, by increasing economic integration and prosperity of its member-states, has, however, had its ups and downs over the last decades. For both textbooks, one of the representative elements of this path is the EU’s common currency, the Euro. For History textbook#1 this step “although economic in essence” was also “political, towards integration”, stressing its symbolic importance in the transference of sovereignty from the national states to the EU, since by joining the Eurozone these “renounce to one of their main symbols of sovereignty – the currency” (Vol. 2, p. 53). On the other hand, History textbook#2, while describing the Euro as “a strong currency, capable of facing the dollar in the international markets”, in that same paragraph, implicates the Euro in the development of the European economic crisis. In a “new century [that] has not proved to be ideal to the European economy”, the EU, confronted with “Greece, Cyprus, Ireland, Portugal” financial and economic difficulties, started being “accused of a preoccupying slowness in its response to the crisis and a lack of solidarity between its members”, leading to “a future filled with uncertainties and challenges” (Vol. 3, p. 31). It is worth noting that there is a significant difference between these two textbooks when approaching these topics. History textbook#1 does not present students with didactic materials or exercises that may encourage their reflection about the Euro economic implications while History textbook#2 provides students with didactics – including the image of the cover of a *Courrier International* issue that presents a critical position about the Euro, describing it as a “Nightmare” – and some exercises that intent to promote reflection about the Euro and its positive and negative impacts on national economies and in the all European integration project.

Regarding the impact of the economic crisis in the EU, a comparative analysis of the contents in each of these History textbooks reveals a significant difference in the level of relevance given to the topic. While textbook#1 does not present the students with contents that may lead them to reflect upon this issue, textbook#2 problematizes it by approaching the European economic crisis as a historical development that tests the foundations of



the EU. In fact, textbook#2 even ventures a critical position regarding the EU, suggesting that it has not been able to respond to the crisis effectively, which, in turn, has led to an increase in the lack of solidarity between its members. This critical overview of the current conditions under which the EU has to operate, are also connected with its inability to create a coherent and unified response to some international challenges and, on the other hand, to its failure when it comes to promoting a common European identity and a significant connection between the populations of its member-states and with the EU's institutional framework. The following paragraph is a good representation of this approach:

“The recent economic crisis has created a deep gap between Northern and Southern countries, the Union did not find, until now, a strong diplomatic voice and never implemented a truly common army, normally acting within the OTAN scope. Finally, the efforts made in order to promote an identification of the citizens with Europe and its institutions have not achieved the desired outcomes. Proving this, are the elections for the European Parliament which have been showing a downfall in participation numbers” (Vol. 3, p. 37).

Euroscepticism and other challenges for European integration

On the one hand, the textual materials contained in History textbook#1 appear to follow a more linear approach to European topics, mainly focusing on economic integration and free movement within the EU. Textbook#1 presents the EU as being capable of helping all its members to achieve economic growth and prosperity, underlining the importance of both the Single European Act and the Schengen Agreement in the process of European integration by creating a common economic market within which products and people can circulate freely. In this line of thought, in spite of the acknowledgement that there are “many pitfalls in its path” (Vol. 3, p. 107) students are led to the conclusion that economic integration will, inevitably, lead to political integration, meaning that textbook#1 tends to reproduce the “fathers of Europe” original beliefs regarding the European integration project and the EU official discourses about its historical merits and future prospects. For now, however, “there isn't an equivalent political weight to Europe's economic importance” (Vol. 3, p. 37).

On the other hand, in History textbook#2 contrasting discourses about the EU are present. Textbook#2 promotes the students' exposure to arguments that, while still supporting the idea of the EU, present different visions about its future institutional structure and policy. In this sense, it is even acknowledged that “over the last 50 years, Europeans have been diverging about the future of their continent”, stressing that there are “those who only support a collaboration between sovereign states (unionists) and those who bet in the creation of some kind of United States of Europe, with a single and supranational government (federalists)” (Vol. 3, p. 34). In

fact, contrary to textbook#1, that only very briefly mentions the existence of “Eurosceptics” (Vol. 3, p. 107) within the EU, textbook#2 addresses with much more detail an alleged increase in Euroscepticism within the EU. Independently of the merits of the European project, “however, a feeling of disbelief, and even rejection – the Euroscepticism – has made it difficult to achieve the final stage of the European project which is the creation of the United States of Europe” (Vol. 3, p. 75). Following this line of thought, this textbook goes as far as presenting the students with information related to the Brexit, while still recognizing the fact that, “however, Euroscepticism and the resistance to all measures that imply sovereignty transferences are not exclusive to England. [They] exist, to some degree, in all the countries of the Community” (Vol. 3, p. 35). This information is accompanied by a paragraph that is representative of how this textbook tries to summarize the difficulties that the EU has been facing since the emergence of the economic crisis:

«The reluctant way in which many Europeans see the Union is, partly, the result of the weak popular implementation of a European sentiment. Despite the measures that have been taken to make “Europe” present in everyday lives (symbols, exchange programs and school projects, annual choosing of a European city of culture, amongst many others), it still appears as a far away and abstract reality which functioning concerns very little the common citizen» (Vol. 3, p. 36).

Furthermore, textbook#2 dedicates two pages to the rise of nationalist political forces in European countries – such as the French National Front - that allegedly endanger the strengthening of a truly “multicultural Europe” (Vol. 3, p. 94).

In spite of the economic setbacks originated by the crisis, History textbooks still convey the idea that economically the EU has achieved a good level of integration of its member-states. Simultaneously, however, the discourses included in these textbooks also uncover several of the EU's difficulties in its path to achieve political integration and to create a truly common European identity. This last impairment of the EU can be seen as being closely connected with the consolidation of an effective notion of European citizenship. Considering that this consolidation is one of the main objectives of the EU it may be surprising that both textbooks only address European citizenship in a very brief and superficial way.

European citizenship

In fact, European citizenship is almost completely absent in History textbook#1. The most significant content about it is limited to a multiple choice exercise in which the student is asked about which individuals are covered by the “rights and the privileges” granted by European citizenship. Students simply have to choose one of the following options:

- a) to anyone that lives in the space of the European Union.
- b) to anyone that lives in the European continent.
- c) to the citizens of the member-states of the European Union.
- d) to the citizens of any European country" (Vol. 3, p. 56).

The most significant piece of information contained in this exercise is actually given in a footnote in which the students are told that, amongst the rights of European citizens, are also included the right to vote and to be elected in local elections and in elections to the European Parliament. In this simplistic and normative approach to European citizenship both students' knowledge and reflection about the topic is reduced to a bare minimum.

On the other hand, History textbook#2 gives European citizenship a little more relevance. It starts by presenting the students the following very concise definition of European citizenship:

"Created by the European Union Treaty, the citizenship of the Union is cumulative with national citizenship and it is expressed by the right to vote in European and local elections in the residence zone of the citizen, regardless if it is located in his original country or not. It also establishes the right to present (collective) proposals to the European Commission, to address petitions to the European Parliament, to file complaints and to benefit from diplomatic protection, in third countries, granted by embassies and consulates of any of the member-states in case the country of origin does not have delegations in that country" (Vol. 3, p. 34).

This conceptualization is also accompanied by a transcription of the articles of the European Union Treaty that concern European citizenship. Finally, students are encouraged to reflect about the implications of European citizenship by the introduction of an exercise in which they are asked to "mention three aspects in which European citizenship tries to reinforce the sense of belonging to the Union" (Vol. 3, p. 37).

4 Discussion

First of all, our results revealed that the claim that "the European dimension is being given more prominent space in the textbooks and it is becoming visually salient" (Soysal, 1998, p. 55) must be carefully contextualized. Our analysis clearly shows that, while this statement may be true for Portuguese History textbooks, it is not confirmed by the results we have achieved in our analysis of EFL textbooks. Nevertheless, since the European institutions themselves stress the importance of making the EU "more visible in textbooks" (European Parliament, 2016, p. 13) without specifying any particular subjects, it becomes even more important to try to understand why Portuguese EFL textbooks have such a residual approach to European topics.

Since textbooks are usually pedagogical physical expressions of the curricula, we have compared our results from the three sampled EFL textbooks with the corresponding curriculum. The EFL curriculum for secondary

school grades (10th, 11th and 12th) starts by stating that "in the context of a multilingual and multicultural Europe, the access to several languages becomes increasingly valuable for European citizens" (Ministério da Educação, 2001/2003, p. 2), meaning that the importance of the European dimension is initially recognised. This importance, however, is mainly focused on the notion of mobility. In fact, while outlining the competences that are to be acquired by the students, the curriculum only directly mentions the EU in one occasion – and specifically concerning pedagogical objectives to be achieved in the 12th grade. This single mention is closely connected to the only approach to EU related topics that we have encountered in the sampled textbooks, since, according to the curriculum, the EU is supposed to be addressed through the study of its policies on mobility and migration. Altogether, the textbooks suggest that EFL is a subject that contributes very little to students' knowledge about EU related issues even if, by addressing the Erasmus program, EFL textbook#1 actually goes beyond curricular impositions for the 11th grade, while still following a neo-liberal approach that mainly stresses the EU success in the flexibilization of the European labour markets and in the implementation of educational programs that, allegedly, help to increase European citizens' employability. We should not, however, disregard the role that teachers may assume in filling in these gaps in the EFL curriculum and textbooks.

Contrary to EFL, our results suggest that, in general, History is a subject that places a significant level of importance in European topics. The results demonstrate that History textbook#1 contains more exercises suggestions that try to promote some discussion about the EU, like the one in which the students are asked to write an essay about "European integration, the beginning or the end of a process?" (Vol. 3, p. 109), while History textbook#2 addresses a wider range of EU related topics and is more diverse in the selection of historical documentation and in the presentation of textual summaries that present the students opposed arguments about the EU. In a sense, we can consider both textbooks to foster a relatively small level of reflection and critical thinking about European topics, even if textbook#1 does it more explicitly, by means of objective exercises suggestions, textbook#2 also achieves this goal by exposing the students to diverse opinions and visions about the EU. Notwithstanding these efforts, by simply presenting the students with contents about the EU in the majority of the pages dedicated to these topics, and even if keeping in mind that, since we are dealing with History textbooks, it is expectable that the approach to the EU development would be more focused on its historical landmarks and past accomplishments, one can argue that there is still the need to significantly increase the inclusion of more pedagogical materials that may stimulate students to critically discuss the EU, both in its current form as well as its possible future model.

Considering that previous studies have revealed a tendency for an oversimplification of historical contents in Portuguese basic education textbooks (Rodrigues,



Caetano, Pais, Ferreira & Menezes, 2012), our analysis of upper secondary school textbooks reveals a noticeable increase in the level of detail and depth with which historical events related to the European integration process are presented to the students. Nevertheless, it is somewhat surprising that the higher complexity of the approach to such topics has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the presentation of contrastive and even controversial textual and other didactic materials that may significantly contribute to improve the student's critical thinking about European issues.

Actually, and although History textbook#2, in particular, discusses the emergence of an increasingly widespread Euroscepticism over the last decades, in general, the continuation of the development of the European integration process is presented to the students as an unquestionably desirable future that is to be accomplished, regardless of its possible difficulties or negative effects. In this sense, our results seem to follow in line with previous international studies about EU's representations in textbooks, which already adverted to the fact that "basically, European curricula and textbooks provide an enthusiastic and normative vision of what the EU is and should be", and that "in textbooks, the EU is commonly reduced to a consensual and non-confrontational territory unanimously accepted, and as a political actor, as neutral as possible" (Brennetot, 2011, p. 36).

European citizenship is completely absent from EFL textbooks and it is only minimally addressed in History textbooks. Moreover, there is a normative approach to European citizenship that focuses on its legal rights, avoiding a possible confrontation between national and European identities. In fact, these results clearly demonstrate that "national citizenship [still] remains the central focus of curricula and textbooks" (Keating, 2009, p. 148). They also keep the allegation that "member states' schools and policies are contributing to the development of European citizenship, or at least having a positive impact on youth attitudes towards European identity" (Keating, 2014, p. 182) in check, at least for the Portuguese case. Instead, the results of this study seem to suggest that, in spite of the allegation that European citizenship is to be developed in parallel with national ones, European educational recommendations for this topic still seem to find a significant resistance by national textbook authors for the inclusion of extensive pedagogical contents that transcend the national level of identity.

It is important to mention, however, the fact that these results are especially relevant for Portuguese upper secondary school students that opt for the Languages & Humanities courses (25,7% of the totality of Portuguese upper secondary school students). These students have EFL until the end of the 11th grade and, more importantly, History A is a compulsory subject for the three years of upper secondary school. However, the results that we have achieved are less significant when it comes to Portuguese secondary students that choose Sciences & Technologies courses (55,1% of the totality of

Portuguese secondary school students)⁴, since History is not even an optional subject that they can choose (though EFL is mandatory for grades 10 and 11). This means that the conclusions that we have discussed are clearly more relevant for the first group of students but they are not so significant for the second group, who are the majority.

In any case, it would be important to explore how the information contained in these textbooks translates into the students' personal beliefs and discourses about the EU and its possible influence in their definitions of citizenship. Additionally, since the most recent History textbook appears to take the discussion about European issues further, by mentioning both the negative impact of the economic crisis in the development of the EU and the rise of a widespread Eurosceptic sentiment in many European countries, and considering that similar studies in other European countries have led to the conclusion that History textbooks are increasing the space dedicated to European topics (Elmersjö, 2011), it would also be interesting to explore more recent Portuguese History textbooks. Finally, since leaving the exposure to European issues of students in an academic track exclusively to EFL would mean that they would be residually addressing those topics in school, it would be important to complement our research with an analysis of the contents of textbooks from other subjects – whether compulsory or optional - integrated into the curricular course of Portuguese upper secondary education that are enrolled in academic tracks of studies.

Although our results reveal some serious and concerning shortcomings in both EFL and History Portuguese textbooks when it comes to stimulating the student's interest, engagement and knowledge about European issues, we must, nevertheless, keep in mind that textbook analysis only unveils a part of the whole pedagogical process that takes place in classrooms. As we have previously mentioned, we cannot dismiss the influence that teachers may have in filling the gaps that are found in textbooks. This means that, although our results should not be taken lightly by both educational policy-makers and textbook authors and publishers alike, they should also be complemented by further research on the role of the teachers in the process of educating students as European citizens.

5 Conclusions

In conclusion, both EFL curriculum and textbooks grant very little relevance to topics connected to the EU. Considering that it is expectable that Portuguese students in academic tracks are not extensively exposed to those topics in most of the disciplines that compose their upper secondary education, EFL should significantly increase the level of information provided to students about European issues. On the other hand, History textbooks actually include a significant amount of informative contents about European topics. In fact, the level of detail and complexity with which upper secondary school History textbooks present these topics proved to be significantly higher when compared to the contents of



textbooks adopted in the Portuguese basic education system. This study does, however, point to the fact that this increase should also be accompanied by the introduction of contrastive and controversial contents and suggestions of activities that might contribute to a critical reflection and discussion by the students about the topics that are addressed in class. When it comes to the recommended pedagogical approaches to European topics, it is necessary that these textbooks move forward from presenting a generally consensual and normative vision of the EU and increasingly include contents that may act as catalysts for “a critical reflection on the EU” (European Parliament, 2016, p. 6) in Portuguese schools. Likewise, textbooks should not only include more information about the channels available for young peoples’ civic and political expression and participation, both at the national and European levels, but should also include pedagogical suggestions that promote a less normative approach to these topics by sparking critical debates about them amongst the students that might be a catalyst for further political reflection and action.

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Endnotes

¹ Since there hasn't been a consensual agreement that would lead to a common European educational framework, educational policies continue to be the responsibility of individual member-states of the EU. The European institutions limit their action to general directives that may be voluntarily adopted by their member-states within a system of subsidiarity.

² The data analysed in this paper is made available for open access in compliance with H2020 Program regulation and following the guidelines stipulated by the Data Management Plan adopted by the CATCH-EyoU research project. Dataset available at: [//zenodo.org/record/1240958#.WuwY35fOUVG](https://zenodo.org/record/1240958#.WuwY35fOUVG).

³ This textbook is specifically used in vocational tracks.

⁴ The percentages for upper secondary school students enlisted in Languages and Humanities and Sciences and Technologies fields of studies that are presented here are relative to the school year of 2014-2015 and were retrieved from the following official source: [//infoescolas.mec.pt/Secundario/#.WYs67FGQzIU](http://infoescolas.mec.pt/Secundario/#.WYs67FGQzIU) (last accessed in 09/08/2017).

Jana Šulíková

A Vehicle for Post-National Transformation or an Instrument for Interstate Cooperation? European Integration in Slovakia's Secondary Education Textbooks

- A presentation of European integration in Slovakia's lower secondary textbooks for History, Geography and Civics.
- A discussion of meaningful and problematic aspects of European integration conceptualisation.
- An exploration of why the deepening of European integration needs to be considered and discussed in textbooks.

Purpose: In light of the public resistance towards the deepening of European integration (EI) and the role that education is anticipated to have in supporting the process, this paper examines the conceptualisation of EI in lower secondary textbooks for History, Geography and Civics. Specifically, the paper asks whether EI is conceived of as a vehicle for the post-national transformation of Europe or as an instrument for interstate cooperation.

Design: Drawing on the insights of EI theories and content analysis, the paper adopts a qualitative approach. Applying this approach, the textbooks currently used in Slovakia's lower secondary schools are analysed as a case study.

Findings: The findings are inconclusive with regard to the research question. Indeed, while the sources are positive about EI, the findings suggest some problematic aspects in terms of how the textbooks analysed conceive the nature of the integration process.

Research implications: The approach taken in this paper could be replicated on a larger scale in other countries.

Practical implications: Curricula and textbook designers ought to consider how to include a critical discussion on the deepening of EI in secondary education.

Keywords:

European integration, History, Geography and Civics textbooks, Slovakia

1 Introduction

This paper takes, as a starting point, public dissatisfaction with the deepening of European integration (EI) - the progressive pooling of nation-state sovereignty - and the anticipation that a European dimension in education would enhance support for the EI process. Therefore, drawing on EI theories and content analysis, I explore how the nature of EI is conceptualised in the textbooks for History, Geography and Civics that are currently used in Slovakia's lower secondary schools. Specifically, I ask whether EI is conceived as a vehicle for the post-national transformation of Europe or as an instrument for interstate cooperation used by the member states of the European Union (EU).

Many academics and political commentators have highlighted the link between the UK's decision to leave the EU and the precarious public support for the deepening of EI (e.g. Bowman, 2017; Curtis, 2017; Goodwin & Heath, 2016; Luyendijk, 2016; Virdee & McGeever, 2017). However, signs of fragmenting public support for EI's deepening were recognised within academic and political circles well in advance of the fairly tight Brexit vote (Leave: 51.9%; Remain: 48.1%) in June 2016.

Researchers have identified two developments in particular that have set in motion the politicisation of EI and public dissatisfaction with its deepening: the Maastricht Treaty (signed in 1992), also known as the Treaty on

European Union, and the enlargements in 2004 and 2007 that extended the borders of the EU into Central and Eastern Europe (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009; Eichenberg & Dalton, 2007).

The provisions and implications of the Maastricht Treaty have been wide-ranging. The adoption of the common currency (the euro, in public circulation since 2002) within a number of member states (19 out of the 28) and the cooperation in security, justice and home affairs resulted in the pooling of national control over policy domains that were formerly primary concerns of sovereign national governments. The Maastricht Treaty further introduced European citizenship - a legal status allowing all member state nationals to settle and work within the EU (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009; Eichenberg & Dalton, 2007; Serricchio, Tsakatika & Quaglia, 2013).

Public resistance towards an ever-increasing pooling of nation-state sovereignty has gained increasing attention in the academic discussion since the Maastricht Treaty. Even if it has been of varying strength across the EU and dependent on cross-sectional variables (e.g. education, age, and the historical context of a specific country), national affiliation has been acknowledged in the literature as a significant political factor that can impede the deepening of EI (Carrey, 2002; Deflem & Pamel, 1996; Fox & Vermeersch, 2010; Goodwin & Heath, 2016; Serricchio et al., 2013). Immigration and the reduction in nation-state sovereignty, underpinned by the notion of a distinct UK national identity, clearly resonated in the pro-Brexit campaign (Bowman, 2017; Curtis, 2017; Virdee & McGeever, 2017).

Political and academic efforts to address the declining public support for the deepening of EI have equally

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intensified from the early 1990s. These also brought into focus the role that education can play in enhancing support for EI. Hence, the implementation of the European dimension in education – advocated for decades by the Council of Europe and the European Commission – re-emerged as a research topic within academia (Pépin, 2006; Ryba, 1992, 2000; Shore, 2000; Sultana, 1995).

The concept of the European dimension in education has never been precisely defined. Consequently, and also due to political constraints, its implementation remains inconsistent within the EU (Ryba, 1992, 2000; Philippou, 2005; Savvides & Faas, 2016). Nevertheless, drawing on suggestions from academic studies, researchers and EU decision makers identified the school subjects of History, Geography and Civics, and the arts and foreign languages, as suitable for the practical application of the European dimension in formal schooling (Janne, 1973; Hansen, 1998; McCann & Finn, 2006; Philippou, 2005; Savvides, 2008). As a cross-curricular approach, the European dimension in education therefore seeks to promote an understanding of, and support for, the integration process by stressing common values and notions of a shared cultural and historical heritage in Europe (Hansen, 1998; Pépin, 2006; Ryba, 1992, 2000; Shore, 2000).

Despite the continuing challenges, the discussion on the European dimension in education has provided valuable insights in terms of its thematic suggestions: representations of Europe, European identity and integration, and inclusion of universal values, combined with openness towards cultural diversity within Europe (Challand, 2009; Faas, 2011; Janne, 1973; Ryba, 1992; Sakki, 2016). Researchers have also examined teacher training and student attitudes towards Europe and how teachers and students perceive European identity (Convery & Kerr, 2005; Ross, 2015; Savvides & Faas, 2015).

Evidence suggests that the most recent challenges facing the EU will continue to stimulate educational research (Fernández & Blanco, 2016; Hartmann, Montlahuc, Rogozin & Stegers, 2017; Jeliaskova & Zimenkova, 2017). Therefore, I would like to extend the discussion on the European dimension in education by drawing attention to how the nature of EI is conceived in secondary education.

In the following sections, I outline the research design adopted, present textbook analysis results and then critically discuss these results. Subsequently, I conclude by highlighting the wider implications of my findings for textbook design and further research.¹

2 Research design

2.1 Theoretical framework

EI theories constitute a 'booming field' (Diez, 2009, p. 1) in the area of European Integration Studies. There seems to be a clear link between, on the one hand, the complexity of the EI process, the EU structure and its operation, and, on the other, the varied theoretical explanations. Nevertheless, in discussing the issues of what integration is, why it occurs and how it proceeds, EI

theories help to explain and enable us to comprehend the process.. Therefore, I consider their insights – summarised here as supranationalism and intergovernmentalism – suitable for guiding my analysis.

2.1.1 Supranationalism

Drawing on the interrelated insights of the multifaceted EI theories (federalism, functionalism, transactionalism, neofunctionalism, governance approaches, policy network analysis), supranationalism is conceived in this paper as a vehicle for the transformation of the nation-state structure within Europe (Bache, George & Bulmer, 2011; Wiener & Diez, 2009). To explain, supranationalism departs from the history of the idea of EI and highlights the logic and implications of the integration process.

The actual process of EI was launched in the early 1950s by a pragmatic approach focusing on economic cooperation in a limited area (steel and coal production). Nevertheless, ideas of Europe as an entity anchored in shared cultural heritage and peace maintenance (also incorporating a global dimension and inter-religious reconciliation) constituted recurring themes in intellectual debates throughout the centuries. They also influenced political thoughts and actions in the immediate post-war situation in Europe (Burgess, 2000; de Rougemont, 1966).

Driven by the inherent dynamics known within European Studies as the spill-over effect (Haas, 1958/1968), supranationalism regards economic integration as a precursor to political unification due to the intertwined relationship between the processes. As an 'actor-centred' approach (Marks, Hooghe & Blank, 1996, p. 348), supranationalism focuses primarily on the role that institutionalised and multiple political actors play in the integration process. The role of the general public, on the other hand, had received limited attention in the literature up to the early 1990s. The public, so the supranational premise, was expected to embrace EI almost automatically following its positive outcomes (Haas, 1958/1968; Hooghe & Marks, 2009; Niemann & Schmitter, 2009).

Nevertheless, supranationalism emphasises the ability of institutionalised political actors to learn, and thus to recognise, that domestic frameworks are insufficient for the delivery of their objectives (e.g. welfare provision). Consequently, national actors, by establishing networks and institutions beyond national borders, widen their action space. On the basis of their interactions, national actors eventually transform into supranational agents (e.g. the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Court of Justice) with their own agendas. In operating fairly independently of governmental control, they continue to drive the integration process.

Further, supranational actors interact with additional interest groups, such as industry specialists, subnational (regional) bodies, non-governmental organisations or academics. As a result of these complex interactions, the exclusive political control exercised by nation-states diminishes. In turn, a post-national governance structure

(the EU) emerges and eventually paves the way for a new political formation such as the European Federation (Cohn-Bendit & Verhofstadt, 2012; Hass, 1958/1968; Wiener & Diez, 2009).

2.1.2 Intergovernmentalism

In academia, intergovernmentalism is typically understood as a theory of EI that departs from the intellectual legacy of realism developed within the discipline of International Relations. As such, it emphasises the primary role of national governments in the integration process (Bache et al., 2011; Hoffmann, 1966; Moravcsik & Schimmelfenning, 2009).

In this paper, intergovernmentalism, incorporating also the insights of liberal intergovernmentalism, refers to a coherent and concise conceptualisation of EI. Historically, it is anchored in the understanding of Europe as a geographical area comprising distinct nations and sovereign nation-states. Intergovernmentalism dismisses the influence of the ideal of peace maintenance and links the origins of EI with the second half of the twentieth century. Accordingly, integration was launched by national governments as an economic project aiming to enhance the allegiance of citizens after this was compromised in the interwar and war periods (Milward, 2000; Moravcsik, 1998).

Akin to supranationalism, intergovernmentalism considers nation-states as rational actors. In recognising the limits of their power and interdependence, nation-states initiate integration. As Moravcsik (1998, p. 18) argues, integration occurs due to ‘the economic interests of powerful domestic constituents, the relative power of each state in the international system, and the role of international institutions’. Contrary to supranationalism, intergovernmentalism sees the establishment and operation of the EU as the outcomes of intergovernmental bargains. Therefore, it does not regard the EU structure as a precursor to an eventual political union. Instead, according to intergovernmentalism, the role of supranational institutions is limited to safeguarding the outcomes of interstate negotiations. It sees the EU essentially as an association of European states or a platform of interstate cooperation (Bache et al., 2011; Moravcsik & Schimmelfenning, 2009). As for its future, intergovernmentalism maintains that integration merely reinforces the political power of nation-states in Europe (Milward, 2000; Moravcsik, 2012).

2.1.3 Coding guide

I do not assume that the conceptualisation of EI in Slovakia’s textbooks is informed by a particular theory of European integration. Nevertheless, if textbooks are expected to encourage public support for a continuous EI, it is crucial to understand what concept of its nature they promote. Therefore, drawing on the above discussion on supranationalism and intergovernmentalism, Table 1 succinctly presents the key arguments that distinguish both approaches. These key arguments also constitute coding categories that will guide my analysis

of Slovakia’s lower secondary textbooks in the subjects of History, Geography and Civics.

Table 1: Coding guide

Conceptual indicators	
Supranationalism	Intergovernmentalism
<p>Europe Entity defined by shared cultural heritage</p>	<p>Europe Geographical area of distinct nations and sovereign nation-states</p>
<p>Rationale for EI Peace maintenance; political transformation of Europe</p>	<p>Rationale for EI Economic and political weakness of national governments after WWII; economic cooperation; restoration of nation-state power</p>
<p>Key political actors Supranational, national, sub-national, non-governmental bodies, professional associations</p>	<p>Key political actors National governments</p>
<p>Sovereignty of nation-states Dismantlement</p>	<p>Sovereignty of nation-states Preservation</p>
<p>The EU Institutional architecture of post-national governance in Europe</p>	<p>The EU Association of European states and platform for interstate cooperation in Europe</p>
<p>Future of EI European Federation</p>	<p>Future of EI Status quo: maintenance of nation-states</p>
Conceptualisation of EI	
Vehicle for post-national transformation of Europe	Instrument for interstate cooperation in Europe

Hence, in analysing the textbooks, I will focus on six questions:

- What is the concept of Europe that the textbooks promote and how do they do it? Is Europe conceptualised as a cultural entity or as a geographical area of distinct nations and sovereign nation states?
- How do the textbooks explain why European states should become integrated?
- Who are the political actors that the textbooks identify as the key drivers of EI?
- How do the textbooks discuss the impact of EI on the sovereignty of nation-states?
- How do the textbooks describe the EU?
- How do the textbooks discuss the future of EI?

Drawing on the answers to these questions, I will then consider the issue of whether EI is conceived in the textbooks along the lines of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism as a vehicle for the post-national



transformation of Europe, or as an instrument for inter-state cooperation.

2.2 Methods

2.2.1 Slovakia as a case study

I adopted a qualitative case study approach limited to Slovakia and lower secondary education to ensure meaningful engagement with the defined research question. However, there are also further reasons, which shaped my research choice. In addition to the similarities with other new member states from the region of Central and Eastern Europe (political and economic transformation after 1989), Slovakia constitutes an interesting case study for its contextual particularities.

Slovakia joined the EU in 2004, shortly after the 'Velvet Divorce' of Czechoslovakia (1993).² Hence, the relationship between integrationist developments in Europe that led to the pooling of nation-state powers and the building of a sovereign nation-state is particularly striking. How are these seemingly contradictory processes conceptualised and reconciled in Slovakia's lower secondary education?

Added to that, there is the backdrop of political and public attitudes in Slovakia towards EI. Despite having been excluded from membership negotiations for non-compliance with the political pre-accession criteria in the period of 1993–1998, Slovakia eventually joined the EU in 2004. In spite of the wide political endorsement of Slovakia's membership of the EU, political views have become more diverse since 2004 (Haughton & Bilčík, 2012).

Moreover, the rise of right-wing populism across Europe, galvanised by the economic and financial crisis after 2008 and the ongoing migration challenges, has shaped the political developments in Slovakia (Ding & Hlavac, 2017; Trauner, 2016; Virdee & McGeever, 2017). The anti-migrant and anti-EU views vehemently promoted by populist leaders such as Marie Le Pen in France, Nigel Farage in the UK, Geert Wilders in the Netherlands and Norbert Hofer in Austria also appeal to the Slovak electorate. Supported by almost 23% of first-time voters (aged 18–21) in the last general election (March 2016), the neo-Nazi People's Party – Our Slovakia, which calls for Slovakia's exit from the EU, secured 14 parliamentary seats (8% of 150) (Geist, 2016; Vasilko, 2016).²

Yet, evidence indicates that the public support for EU membership (73.9%) remains fairly strong in Slovakia (Pravda, 2017). However, the relationship between the Slovak citizens and the EU is, in fact, rather complex. Regardless of fairly high levels of endorsement for EU membership, Slovakia has three times (2004, 2009 and 2014) recorded the lowest participation of voters in elections to the European Parliament (2014: 13.05%) with young voters (aged 18–24) largely choosing to abstain from the ballots (2014: 5.60% of voter turnout) (European Parliament, 2014).

2.2.2 Selection of textbooks and method of their analysis

Textbooks' quality, the extent of their use in formal schooling and their impact on students' views continue to stir up academic debate in Slovakia and beyond. Nonetheless, as in many other countries, textbooks remain an integral component of pre-university instruction in Slovakia (e.g. Faas & Ross, 2012; Kováčová, 2016; Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010).

European integration constitutes a cross-curricular theme in Slovakia and, within lower secondary education, is addressed most extensively in History, Geography and Civics. Therefore, I selected textbooks from these subjects for my analysis. My choice was also shaped by Slovakia's textbook production policy and the country's educational system.

Textbook design and production is controlled centrally by the Ministry of Education (MoE). Theoretically, schools in Slovakia are able to choose textbooks, but, in practice, multiple and complete sets of textbooks (covering all grades of lower secondary education) were not available when this paper was completed (winter 2017/2018). Moreover, following the latest curricular reform in 2008 (which has since then been innovated), textbooks published before this date were not distributed to students (MoE, 2017). Lower secondary education in Slovakia is completed within elementary schools (grades 5–9, students aged 11–15) or the eight-year gymnasias (grades 1–4, students aged 12–15). Nevertheless, both types of school use the same set of textbooks for the three subjects considered here.

Table 2 shows the latest editions of the textbooks that I analysed, with consideration given to the school grade in which the topic of EI is addressed. Table 2 also provides an overview of all the themes that the selected textbooks cover.

Aided by the conceptual indicators, as summarised in the coding guide, I identified units for analysis within all the selected textbooks and assigned them applicable codes. I extracted the analytical units from the main, explanatory sections of the textbooks' chapters and from their supplementary parts, which comprised excerpts from primary sources, assignments for students and descriptions of photographic materials.

In analysing the extracted textual units, I applied content analysis, which Krippendorp (2004, p. 18) defines as 'a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use'. Hence, in analysing the selected text units, I examined their messages by seeking for clues that could be aligned to the paradigms of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. In doing so, I established conceptual patterns and identified some additional themes that defied their straightforward categorisation into the predefined concepts of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism.



Table 2: Textbooks analysed

Textbook	Year of publication	Content overview
Civics 5 ³	2009	My family and my school
Civics 6/1	2009	Family and its function, local community, region, country, the EU
Civics 7/2	2017	Role of an individual in a society, social relationships in a community
Civics 8/3	2012	State and law, human rights and liberties
Civics 9/4	2012	Value of education, choice of professional qualifications, introduction to economy and economics, financial proficiency
Geography 8/3 ⁴	2011	Europe (includes general aspects of physical and human geography, as well as a specific focus on European states)
Geography 9/4	2015	Slovakia
History 5	2009	Introduction to historiography
History 6/1	2009	Prehistory, antiquity, the early Middle Ages
History 7/2	2011	The Middle Ages and the beginnings of modern history (Enlightenment)
History 8/3	2011	Modern history (French Revolution), the outbreak of WWI
History 9/4	2015	The 20 th century, contemporary history (entry of Slovakia into the EU in 2004 and its adoption of the euro in 2009)

N.B. The first number following the textbook title refers to the grade in which the textbook is used in elementary schools and the second number refers to the appropriate grade in gymnasia.

Therefore, in reporting the findings, I follow the coding guide and proceed thematically. I also highlight the additional themes that emerged from my analysis before critically evaluating the findings in light of my research question.

3 Findings

3.1 Europe

The understanding of Europe within the textbooks analysed here is marked by overlaps between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism and the shifting prevalence of their respective conceptual indicators (Table 3).

Table 3: Europe: Conceptual indicators

	Supranationalism	Intergovernmentalism
History textbooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christianity and its social, cultural and political role, particularly throughout the early Middle Ages • Hereditary socio-political structure within Europe • Cultural and intellectual movements (Renaissance, Humanism, Enlightenment) • Scientific progress • Art movements • Devastating impact of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) within Europe • Devastating impact of other military conflicts within Europe (e.g. WWI, WWII) • Establishment of authoritarian political systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of distinct nations and nation states, their histories and cultures within and beyond Europe • Nation-states as a result of natural human desires and existential needs
Geography textbooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legacy of Greek and Roman history • Christianity • Renaissance, Humanism, Industrial Revolution • Development of democratic political system • Urbanisation and architecture in Europe • Contemporary challenges: climate change, ageing population, regional economic differences, illegal migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of nation-states worldwide and within Europe • Emphasis on distinct national cultures of Europe
Civics textbooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Similarities in educational systems within Europe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personalised narrative: experiences narrated by a student, Jakub Slovák • Emphasis on distinct national cultures worldwide and within Europe • European identity as an addition to national identity

History textbooks in particular provide clues that suggest how Europe is conceptualised. While supranational and intergovernmental lines run through all volumes, the textbooks for grades 5, 6/1 and 7/2 maintain a fairly balanced presentation of Europe. Hence, all three volumes depict Europe almost simultaneously as a cultural and geopolitical entity as well as a geographical space full of distinct nations and nation-states.

In fostering European unity and identity, History textbooks highlight positive and negative experiences and

phenomena of the past. Concurrently, such narratives historically anchor a collective distinction between Europeans and non-Europeans. Christianity, in particular, receives a status of great significance as a commonly shared identity trait of Europeans.

Regardless of the description of the polytheistic Greek culture as one of the 'fundamental pillars of European civilisation' (History 6/1, p. 25), the History textbooks studied portray Christianity as the key cohesive force

that has proved to be of almost existential necessity for Europe, particularly throughout the Middle Ages.

“The rules of family life changed gradually. However, in countries which adopted Christianity, all families were always very similar. [...] A Christian, European family also follows its rules until today. One of the major rules was the sanctity of matrimony. [...] An equally important rule was also child care. [...] Christianity prohibited a man from marrying more than one wife. [...] In Muslim countries, a man can marry more women.” (History 5, p. 44)

“The Christian Church had held on to traditions from late Antiquity. In this manner, it succeeded in maintaining many institutions which were necessary for the safeguarding of a more or less secure life for ordinary people. During centuries, when across the whole of Europe tribes, new nations and kingdoms were constantly fighting each other, it was very important.” (History, 6/1, p. 77)

History textbooks further refer to the hereditary socio-political structure of the Middle Ages and its gradual transformation in the course of modernisation (since the 15th century) as a shared European phenomenon (History 6/1; History 7/2). Furthermore, the Renaissance and Humanism (14th–16th centuries), described as the foundation of European modern society, are highlighted alongside the Enlightenment (mid-17th–18th centuries) and scientific progress (History 7/2). The History textbook for grade 9/4 stresses modern art movements from the early 20th century, such as Dadaism and Surrealism, as pan-European experiences.

Yet, History textbooks do not omit deplorable incidents of history to exhibit European identity. This also applies to Christianity. As such, the History textbook for grade 7/2 presents the intra-Christian violence between Protestantism and Catholicism from the early decades of the 16th century as a historical experience shared across Europe. In doing so, it describes the interfaith backlash as the ‘first pan-European conflict of the Modern Era’ (History 7/2, p. 69), which impoverished parts of Europe considerably. Equally, while the same textbook commends the geographical discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries as European achievements, it critically judges the violent colonisation of the formerly unknown world by Europeans.

The final volume of the History textbook for grade 9/4 assigns later developments a pan-European significance. It highlights, in this context, WWI and the devastating socio-political consequences that occurred in the interwar period (1918–1939), including the establishment of authoritarian political systems. The textbook then describes Europe at the outbreak of WWII as ‘the victim of dictators’ (History 9/4, p. 66).

Contrary to the History textbooks, the Geography textbook for grade 8/3 focuses only on favourable historical events to highlight European unity. Although the textbook acknowledges the difficulty in defining Europe in a geographical sense, the concept of Europe as a distinctive civilisation that can be aligned with supranationalism clearly appears. The legacy of Greek and

Roman history, Christianity, Humanism, the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution, together with the development of democracy, are all interpreted in the textbook as a shared European heritage (Geography 8/3, 2011). In addition to historical periods, the textbook further portrays the urbanisation and architecture of Europe as a signifier of European identity and a variable for intercontinental comparison.

“The rich history of the whole continent is reflected in the contemporary shape of European cities. The historical centres of cities with antique churches, burghers’ houses, maintained parks and gardens are frequently a great attraction for tourists and enchant people with their beauty. [...] This pattern of the historical centres of cities is especially typical for Europe. On other continents, this is present only sporadically.” (Geography 8/3, p. 26).

The Civics textbooks provide limited conceptual indicators that can be aligned with the supranational concept of Europe as an entity anchored in shared cultural heritage. Indeed, while the textbook for grade 5 highlights educational system similarities across Europe, the textbook for grade 6/1 presents European unity as an outcome to be achieved in the future. An intergovernmental projection of Europe as a geographical area of distinct nations and sovereign nation-states is, on the other hand, clearly visible in Civics. Evidence is immediately provided in the personalised narrative adopted within the Civics textbooks for grades 5, 6/1 and 7/2. This takes the form of the experiences of a student called Jakub Slovák. The understanding of Europe as a continent of authentic nations and nation-states is further reinforced in Civics through an ethnocentric narrative. Ethnocentrism also shapes the chapter that explicitly discusses European identity.

Reflecting ‘Unity in diversity’ – a concept developed at the EU level in the context of identity policies (Shore, 2000) – the relevant paragraphs conceive European identity as a refined addition to national identities. The textbook for grade 6/1 articulates very clearly that on no account does belonging to Europe create a uniform culture or replace the authentic national identities and cultures that have to be cherished.

“Belonging to a unified Europe does not mean an artificial creation of a kind of unified culture. Each nation, nationality will maintain its own national identity and will enrich it through a new, ‘supranational’ – European identity. [...] People have to be proud of their own nation, in the particularities that are unique to them.” (Civics 6/1, p. 30)

The Civics textbook for grade 7/2 also promotes an intergovernmental perspective on Europe and stresses its national diversity. Discussing the structure of human society, the textbook describes nations as one of its fundamental components alongside races [sic] and ethnic groups. While stressing the equality of rights of all nations, the textbook defines nations as communities of common origin, with a shared language, history, culture and territory.

An ethnocentric narrative also shapes the History and Geography textbooks, and thus Europe comes across as a geographical space full of distinct nations and nation-states. European nations, including the Slovak nation, are conceived of in all of the volumes analysed here as authentic and historically continuous forms of collective belonging. The History and Geography textbooks stress nations' unique features, such as language, history and traditions. Moreover, in a similar vein to the role that Christianity had for Europeans, the History textbook for grade 6/1 associates the establishment of nation-states with existential needs and natural human desires. The text justifies the creation and existence of nation states by arguing that 'Everyone wants a fatherland' (History 6/1, p. 73).

A strengthened national narrative is particularly visible in History textbooks for the later grades (8/3 and 9/4). Focusing on the historical developments after the French Revolution (1789), the textbook for grade 8/3 pays considerable attention to the development of national movements, including Slovak, and the gradual foundation of nation states in Europe during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Equally, the final History textbook (9/4) narrates the history of European states and nations.

While stressing common features of Europeans, the Geography textbook for grade 8/3 highlights the linguistic variety within Europe as the major element of the latter's national distinctiveness. It then further reinforces the conceptualisation of Europe as a geographical area of distinct nation states by presenting their distinct features (geography, climate, economic structure, demographics, and historical and cultural characteristics) to students in separate chapters. By focusing entirely on Slovakia, the final volume of Geography (for grade 9/4) further strengthens the intergovernmental perspective on Europe.

3.2 Rationale for EI

Compared to the presentation of Europe, the discussion of the rationale for EI in the textbooks analysed is less marked by conceptual overlaps between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism (Table 4).

In discussing the rationale, the History textbook for grade 9/4 sets the origins of EI into the geopolitical context after WWII: the growing influence of the Soviet Union in Central and Southeast Europe, the engagement of the US on the continent through the Marshall Plan (in operation 1948–1952) and the subsequent establishment of international organisations, the European Organisation for Economic Co-operation (1948) and the Council of Europe (1949), as well as the economic weakness of European states. Hence, in implicitly suggesting the weakness of European states and the role that international organisations played in launching integration, the description comes fairly close to the argument of intergovernmentalism.

Table 4: Rationale for EI: Conceptual indicators

	Supranationalism	Intergovernmentalism
History textbooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Devastating experiences of WW • Peace maintenance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing influence of the Soviet Union in Central and Eastern Europe after WWII • Economic and political engagement of the US in Europe after WWII • Establishment of OEEC and Council of Europe • Economic and political weakness of nation states in Europe after WWII
Geography textbooks		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade and economic cooperation
Civics textbooks		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rising economic competitiveness on a global scale • Advantages of EU membership

The History textbook for grade 9/4 also reinforces the intergovernmental conceptualisation of EI through the assignment sections found at the end of each chapter. Approaching EI through the instrumental calculation of intergovernmentalism, one of these assignments prompts students to evaluate the benefits and drawbacks of Slovakia's EU accession. Consequently, the textbook encourages students to see the rationale for EI in the advantages that can be gained for their country.

Yet, the textbook also contains indicators that can be associated with the supranational conceptualisation of EI. Contrary to intergovernmentalism, the text seems to attribute economic considerations a mere supplementary function in the beginnings of integration. Instead, the textbook highlights the devastating experiences of WWII and peace maintenance as primary factors that shaped the inception of EI. The relevant paragraph also refers to Jean Monnet (1888–1979) as the author of the EI project.

"Experiences from the devastating Second World War led a number of politicians to the idea of the integration of Europe as the guarantee of peace maintenance. It also seemed that the economic integration of states was a precondition for economic growth. One among these politicians was also the French economist and diplomat Jean Monnet, who elaborated an unusual plan. [...] Monnet's plan became a reality, when in 1951 representatives of six European countries signed an agreement on the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community." (History, 9/4, p. 120)

The textbook further underlines peace maintenance as the primary rationale for EI through selected excerpts from primary sources. This is evidenced, for example, in a brief citation from the US official George Ball (1909–1994). Ball's statement identifies German reparation obligations following WWI as the key influence contributing to the rise of Nazi power. It then describes the Marshall Plan as a tool that should prevent comparable



developments by enhancing the political and economic consolidation of Europe.

Patterns of intergovernmentalism can also be found in the Geography textbook for grade 8/3. Associating the reasons for EI with trade and economic cooperation, the intergovernmental perspective seems to overshadow the presentation of the process.

“We talk of European Union first from the 1990s. The first associations which aimed at the simplification of trade and closer cooperation in economics had an entirely different name, for example, the European Coal and Steel Community and European Economic Community.” (Geography 8/3, p. 35).

In the Civics textbook for grade 6/1, the chapter addressing the launch of EI starts with a size comparison between Europe, the US and Russia. Although the text briefly mentions the situation in Europe after 1945, it does not elaborate further on the consequences of WWII for EI. So, the following sentences seem to reflect intergovernmentalism by linking the rationale of EI with interstate cooperation in the economic domain. Specifically, the text directly refers to increased competitiveness on a global scale and outlines it as the main reason for EI.

“Jakub has a world map in his room. While comparing the size of territory between Europe, USA or Russia, he thought: “It is hardly surprising that Europe is unifying”. However, this does not seem to be that easy. He began to explore the idea of European unification and how this unification is proceeding. [...] If Europe wishes to prevail in economic competition against other states of the world, it must integrate.” (Civics 6/1, p. 28).

Akin to the History textbook for grade 9/4 in leaning, to some extent, towards intergovernmentalism, one assignment in the Civics textbook for grade 6/1 prompts students to identify the advantages of Slovakia’s membership in the EU. Nevertheless, students are not asked to consider its disadvantages.

3.3 Key political actors

A small degree of conceptual overlaps between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism seems to define the presentation of key political actors of EI in the textbooks analysed (Table 5).

Table 5: Key political actors of EI: Conceptual indicators

	Supranationalism	Intergovernmentalism
History textbooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representative of expert (business) groups: Jean Monnet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National governments
Geography textbooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • European Parliament • European Commission 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National governments • Council of the European Union
Civics textbooks		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National governments

Clues depicting nation-states as the dominant drivers of EI appear within all the textbooks. Hence, such a conceptualisation can be aligned with the paradigm of intergovernmentalism. The History textbook for grade 9/4 also presents Slovakia’s accession to the EU in 2004 and the adoption of the common currency in 2009 as an outcome that resulted primarily from the activities of the Slovak Government.

“The federative Czecho-Slovakia declared its accession to Euro-Atlantic structures, hence into the integrating Europe and NATO, as the objectives of its politics. The orientation was also adopted by the Slovak Republic. [...] Due to problems with the functioning of democracy, Slovakia [...] was not invited to negotiate accession to the European Union. Change eventually occurred in 1998, when following general election, a new government led by Mikuláš Dzurinda was formed [...]. Negotiations were successful and on May 1, 2004 Slovakia became [an EU] member [...]. In 2009, Slovakia joined the European Monetary Union and the adopted Euro.” (History 9/4, p. 124)

In explicitly defining integration along inter-governmental lines, the textbook seems to imply once again the dominant role of nation-states in the process: ‘Integration – the coming together of diverse states in interest groupings within various areas and to different extents’ (History 9/4, p. 93). Yet, by identifying the French businessman Jean Monnet (1888–1979) as a key figure in the launch of EI, the textbook adopts a somewhat supranational position. Namely, it suggests that the views of representatives of professional or expert groups can be very influential in the integration process (History 9/4).

Similarly, the Geography textbook for grade 8/3 conceives EI as a process initiated in the 1950s by six European states. Contrary to the History textbook (9/4), the Geography textbook mentions Robert Schuman (1886–1963) as the author of the integration project. At the same time, it describes European institutions as key political actors while outlining the institutional structure and operation of the EU. In line with intergovernmentalism, the text stresses the dominant position of nation-states by referring to the role that the Council of the European Union has in decision making. Simultaneously, by referring to the responsibilities of the European Parliament and European Commission, the same paragraph reveals supranational tendencies by presenting both institutions as actors in their own right, each having specific tasks to fulfil independently while participating in the supranational governance of the EU.

“The Council of the European Union takes the most important decisions. It is constituted of heads of states and governments of member states. [...] The European Parliament discusses and issues laws and law regulations which should be applicable in all member states. This is not always easy. [...] The European Commission acts as the government of the European Union. Its members are minister-commissioners.” (Geography 8/3, p. 36).



The Civics textbook for grade 6/1 also associates the origins of integration with the initiative of national politicians. While discussing the origins of EI, the text underlines, in particular, the role of French and German political representatives. The textbook also briefly mentions the Council of the European Union, the European Parliament and the European Commission. In doing so, the text leans towards intergovernmentalism by describing them as institutions that represent the national and common interests of member states.

3.4 Sovereignty of nation-states

The impact that EI has on the sovereignty of nation-states is not addressed substantially in the textbooks analysed here. Nevertheless, some supranational patterns seem to appear in the History textbook for grade 9/4. One sentence describing the EU implies the pooling of nation-state control within a number of policy areas: 'The European Union strives contemporarily for a deepening of economic integration and also for common foreign and defence policy, and the reinforcement of integration in the area of justice and internal security' (History, 9/4, p. 120).

Implicit and explicit presentations of diminishing nation-state sovereignty appear in the Geography textbooks. The textbook for grade 8/3 displays a supranational tendency while describing the institutional structure and operation of the EU, which was discussed in the previous section (section 3.3: Key political actors). While the relevant paragraph highlights the dominant role that the Council of the European Union has in decision making, by outlining the specific responsibilities of the European Parliament and the European Commission, the same paragraph suggests the diminishing power of nation states and thus supranational leanings.

An additional and very brief demonstration of supranationalism occurs in the final Geography volume (9/4). While discussing Slovakia's accession to the EU, the relevant sentence highlights the reduction of national sovereignty as its consequence: 'Following the public referendum in 2004, however, [Slovakia] lost part of its sovereignty and entered the European Union' (Geography 9/4, p. 16).

The Civics textbook for grade 6/1 suggests a degree of supranationalism by acknowledging that EI will impact the political organisation of Europe: 'Through an abolition of borders between states, much will change in the economy and also in people's lives' (Civics 6/1, p. 28).

3.5 The EU

The presentation of the EU in all textbooks seems to be dominated by intergovernmentalism. The History textbook for grade 5 reveals patterns that can be aligned to intergovernmentalism, as it describes the EU as an interstate association: 'European Union- an association of multiple European states; Slovakia became a member of the Union on May 1, 2004' (History 5, p. 10). References to the EU also appear once more in the final volume (that for grade 9/4). On this occasion, however, the textbook does not provide any straightforward clues about the conceptualisation of the EU. The relevant sentence merely acknowledges its creation in 1992: 'Through the signing of a treaty in Maastricht in 1992, European Union (EU) was eventually established' (History 9/4, p. 120).

The Geography textbook for grade 8/3, as already highlighted in two previous sections (3.3 and 3.4), displays supranational leanings while describing the EU's governance. At the same time, reflecting a degree of intergovernmentalism, the chapter dedicated to the topic of EI concludes by presenting the EU as a platform for economic and political cooperation between its member states.

The Civics textbook for grade 6/1 provides a similar definition and describes the EU as an interstate association comprising 27 current members (as at the publication date of the textbook).

3.6 The future of EI

The textbooks analysed do not address explicitly the future of EI. Indeed, all tend to present it implicitly as an ongoing and open-ended process. They provide relevant suggestions by referring to the EU as a growing association of nation-states. Consequently, such presentations can be tentatively associated with intergovernmentalism and its perspective on the future of EI.

Nevertheless, the History textbook for grade 9/4, the final volume, briefly suggests a supranational perspective on the future of EI. It indicates that EI could be seen as a vehicle of the post-national transformation of Europe, in that it outlines the engagement of Jean Monnet (1888-1979) and his understanding of the ultimate outcome of the process: '[Jean Monnet] saw the establishment of United States of Europe as the ultimate objective [of EI]' (History 9/4, p.120).

3.7 Additional conceptual patterns

The textbooks analysed also revealed conceptual patterns that do not fit neatly into the conceptual categories of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism (Table 6).



Table 6: Additional conceptual patterns

	Rationale for EI	Drivers of EI	Further themes related to EI
History Textbooks		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slovak public (modest significance) 	
Geography Textbooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemporary challenges: climate change, ageing population, regional economic differences, illegal migration 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excessive debts (Greece and Portugal) • Budget discipline • Regional economic discrepancies within Europe • Reform of pension system • Common agricultural policy
Civics Textbooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solidarity • Enhanced quality of life • Advantages of EU citizenship • Guaranteed rights for all, irrespective of cultural or religious background 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional economic discrepancies within Europe • Advantages of common currency • Advantages of EU citizenship • Humanitarian policies of the EU • The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000) • Consumer rights in the EU • Symbols of common currency

Similarly to the concepts of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism, the History textbook for grade 9/4 pays moderate attention to the role that the public has played in the integration process. However, one assignment encourages students to discuss the attitudes of the Slovak public towards EI on the basis of the pre-accession referendum in 2003. Contrary to the assumptions of supranationalism in particular, however, the low participation of Slovakia’s electorate (52.15%) does not suggest a high degree of public appreciation of the advantages of EI. Yet, the assignment implicitly demonstrates the role, although modest, that the Slovak public takes in driving EI.

The Geography textbook for grade 8/3, while introducing Europe as a topic to students, tends to widen the conceptual frame of EI by including the contemporary socio-economic, political and environmental challenges facing the continent. In doing so, the textbook refers to regional economic differences, alongside the ageing population and illegal immigration. The text further stresses extreme climate change and natural disasters (e.g. floods) occurring across the whole of Europe.

The textbook keeps the contemporary focus in the chapter specifically dedicated to EI and presents it as an ongoing but complex process. It illustrates this by highlighting the issues of budget discipline and excessive debts within countries such as Greece and Portugal and evaluates these as a threat to the common currency. It then further refers to regional discrepancies within the EU alongside the reform of pension systems and agricultural policy.

In a similar vein to the Geography textbooks, the Civics textbooks emphasise current EU policies and the advantages of integration. While discussing the administrative structure of Slovakia, the Civics textbook for grade 6/1 also focuses on the country’s regional differences. In this context, the relevant chapter highlights European regional policy. In evaluating it positively, the text portrays the EU as a community that stands in solidarity with all of its members.

“Jakub was thinking about why he has come across the word regions so frequently in papers and in television recently. Why are funds from the European Union directed towards regions? Perhaps because when people living within a larger territory come together, help and support each other, they are more likely to improve the situation.” (Civics 6/1, p. 22)

In addition to the principle of solidarity, this Civics textbook draws attention to the values of respect and tolerance for multiculturalism within the contemporary EU. Referring to a campaign title of the Council of Europe from 1995, “All different, All equal”, the textbook aligns both principles to the concept of active citizenship and suggests that learning constitutes its integral component, which enhances the acceptance and appreciation of multiculturalism.

“All people living in European Union have the same rights. All forms of discrimination are prohibited. What does it mean in practise? In class 6.A, there is Laila, a student from Afghanistan. She is Muslim. Her family has a different religion, different culture and traditions. Kids in the class did not accept her initially. But this was out of ignorance. Once they understood her “difference”, learned about the country of her father, they accepted her. Following the principle “All different, All equal”, nobody in the school discriminates against her. In class 6.A, we all act as “active citizens”. (Civics 6/1, p. 30).

When discussing the benefits of EI, the Civics textbook for grade 6/1 underlines the personal gains of integration and European citizenship. In illustrating this, the textbook emphasises the freedom of choice that all EU citizens have in terms of selecting a preferred place for studying, working and living. The textbook further stresses the equality of rights and duties that are coupled with EU citizenship and the advantages of the common currency for businesses and the general public.

The textbook for grade 7/2 highlights once again the values-based dimension of contemporary EU policies. This is reflected in two assignment sections in which the textbook draws attention to the role of the Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian



Aid Operations, known under its abbreviation ECHO, and to the European Year of Volunteering (2011).

Further themes related to EI also emerge within later Civics volumes (those for 8/3 and 9/4). In a chapter focusing on 'Fundamental documents of human rights', the textbook for grade 8/3 highlights The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000), in addition to the Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on Human Rights (adopted by UNO and the Council of Europe in 1950 respectively). As the textbook suggests, the member states of the EU agreed to comply with the protection of human rights and freedoms. In a similar vein, the final volume for Civics (that for grade 9/4) also accentuates the European dimension in education. In doing so, the textbook provides students with information on the common currency, including its symbols and their meanings. In addition, the textbook also refers to the topic of consumer rights in the EU.

3.8 Discussion

There are three broad but notable findings that emerge from the textbook analysis. One is an accentuated European dimension with regard to education and a specific focus on the process of EI. The positive presentation of EI is equally striking. In spite of the relatively short history of Slovakia as a nation-state, textbooks do not conceive of EI as a contradiction to the national identity of Slovaks and sovereignty of Slovakia. On the contrary, textbook authors embrace it and portray the integration process as perfectly compatible with Slovakia's national interests, and advantageous for its citizens.

Nevertheless, the textbooks remain inconclusive in terms of the supranational versus intergovernmental conceptualisation of EI. Thus, the findings suggest that EI is neither a vehicle of the post-national transformation of Europe nor a tool deployed by EU member states in enhancing their cooperation in specific policy domains.

The textbooks highlight multiple positive and also challenging historical and contemporary developments to signify European identity and unity. A rather exclusive account of European identity, somewhat overemphasising Christianity, is given in the History textbooks. In contrast, by stressing the values of tolerance and respect for the contemporary cultural and religious diversity of Europe, the Civics textbooks provide an inclusive concept of European identity.

Parallel to the supranational, an intergovernmental line runs throughout all three subjects. Although the History textbook for grade 9/4 links the rationale for EI with national reconciliation and peace maintenance, in Geography and Civics the emphasis is on economic considerations. It would seem the evident limits of economic instrumentalism – as demonstrated most recently by Brexit (though this of course did not occur before the time of the textbooks' publication), and also by the euro crisis and the Maastricht Treaty – were not considered by the textbook authors. Therefore, presenting economic interests to students as the main rationale for EI seems a fairly precarious choice.

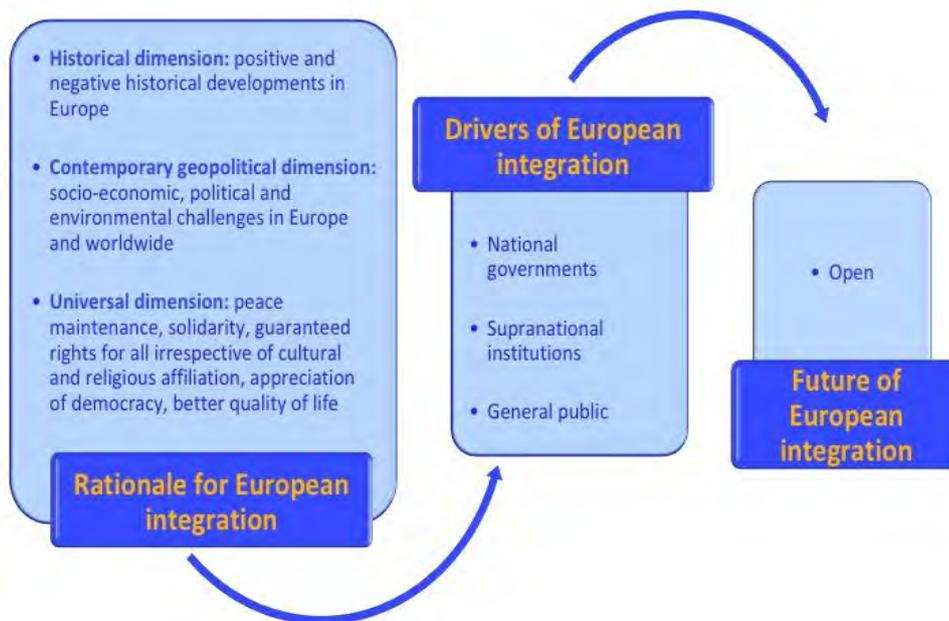
All the textbooks are also inclined to highlight nation-states as the main drivers of integration, which are deployed by them as a tool of (mainly) economic cooperation within Europe. Moreover, underpinned by an ethnocentric narrative, the textbooks celebrate national diversity within Europe and portray nation-states as the optimal guarantors of a prosperous existence for their citizens. This suggests that the textbook authors have not considered the substantial academic criticism of national narratives (e.g. Berghan and Schissler, 1987; Connor, 1990; Özkırmıli, 2010; Šulíková, 2016, 2017; Williams, 2014) and the constraints that nationalism imposes on integration (Deflem & Pamel, 1996; Fox & Vermeersch, 2010; Hoffmann, 1966).

While appropriate for the period when integration was launched, textbooks pay minimal attention to the general public. Similarly to the theories of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism, the idea of the public as an active political actor in European affairs remains rather sketchy in the textbooks analysed. Added to that, with the exception of Geography, which introduces students to supranational governance within the EU, all the textbooks tend to present the EU as an association of European states. Consequently, and regardless of the emphasised advantages of integration for ordinary citizens, the textbooks portray EI as an elite, top-down project that is outside of citizens' control and influence.

Despite including some references, the textbooks do not adequately discuss the implications of integration for nation-state sovereignty. Equally, the textbooks are fairly vague about the future of EI. Although the History textbook for grade 9/4 refers briefly to Jean Monnet's view on the United States of Europe as the eventual outcome of integration, considerations about its future emerge across the analysed textbooks in the form of implicit suggestions. Hence, a supranational conceptualisation of EI is tentative and thus remains marginal in the analysed textbooks. At the same time, intergovernmentalism cannot be said to be the dominant conceptual influence.

As well as patterns that can be associated with supranationalism and intergovernmentalism, further conceptual elements emerged as a result of analysing the textbooks. In addition to peace maintenance in History, values-based aspects of the conceptual presentation of EI might be also gleaned in Geography and Civics. They can be associated with the principles of solidarity, respect and tolerance for cultural diversity (Civics) and also with the appreciation of democracy (Geography) and a better quality of life (all textbooks). Therefore, together with the intergovernmental and marginal supranational aspects, universal values seem to cultivate a new approach to the conceptualisation of EI in all three subjects. Despite the shortcomings highlighted above, which are also relevant for this emerging approach, I would suggest that this is best described as values-based pragmatism (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Values-based pragmatism



Advanced through this perspective, the textbook authors seem to effortlessly accept the integration process and EU. Departing from a three-dimensional rationale – historical, contemporary geopolitical and universal – they explain and justify the integration process and its outcomes to date. Stressing the role of national governments, supranational institutions, and, to some extent, the general public, the textbook authors conceive EI as an ongoing and open-ended process. And it is values-based pragmatism that appears to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the process of sovereign nation-state building and the concurrent participation of Slovakia in EI.

4 Conclusions and implications

Framing this paper is the precarious public support for the deepening of EI and the premise that the European dimension in education can foster positive attitudes towards it. Using Slovakia as a case study, I investigated whether EI is promoted in Slovakia's lower secondary textbooks for History, Geography and Civics as a vehicle for the post-national transformation of Europe, or whether, by contrast, it is approached from an instrumentalist perspective and outlined as a tool for inter-gouvernemental cooperation.

As the various EI theories suggest, integrating Europe is a highly complex process. It follows from this that presenting EI in a simplified, but still factual and engaging, manner to lower secondary students is, for textbook designers, an intricate task. Nevertheless, I would argue that EI theories enhance the comprehension of the process. Therefore, their insights and content analysis informed my examination of the selected textbooks. Moreover, while helpful in explaining how the nature of EI is presented in the analysed textbooks, the coding guide proved valuable in identifying meaningful and problematic aspects of its conceptualisation.

Consequently, the coding guide also indicates how the presentation of EI in textbooks can be further enhanced.

Overall, while evidently positive about EI, the textbooks remain inconclusive in respect of the nature of the process. However, if textbooks are to encourage support for a continuous and deepening EI, it is essential that their designers overtly outline and convincingly justify such an option.

My findings further indicate that the conceptualisation of EI in Slovakia's textbooks for various subjects would benefit from cooperation between their designers to ensure that students receive a consistent message. This applies, in particular, to the presentation of European identity, which, when taking into account the multicultural diversity in contemporary Europe, should draw on universal values to be inclusive.

The presentation of the rationale for integration would equally benefit from a coordinated approach. Although outlined to some extent, the discussion on the rationale for EI in the textbooks needs to be strengthened and made more explicit in order to be more compelling. Therefore, the discussion would benefit from being extended beyond peace maintenance and economic considerations. The presentation of the rationale for EI could be also enhanced by integrating into textbooks a critical discussion on nationalism and the options and limitations for nation-states to safeguard their citizens' expectations of a good quality of life.

Equally, textbook designers ought to include an unambiguous yet differentiated presentation of the future of EI and outline how the general public in particular can actively shape it. I would suggest that the academic field of European Integration Studies seems suitable to inform such efforts.

Considering the case study approach, this paper is not without its limitations. Nevertheless, as the politicisation of EI seems set to continue and the public support for its deepening cannot be taken for granted, the question raised in the Slovakian context has wider relevance for the European dimension in education. Therefore, by replicating the approach of this study on a larger scale, textbook designers and educationalists could learn more about the implementation of the European dimension in education across the EU and how to further advance it.

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Endnotes

¹ Multiple reasons have been discussed in the academic literature to explain the break-up of Czechoslovakia: the revival of repressed nationalist sentiments in Eastern and Central Europe after 1989; Slovak nationalism and Czech economic nationalism; the absence of a Czechoslovak identity; socio-economic and cultural differences within Czechoslovakia; and Czechoslovakia's constitutional structure and discrepancies regarding political leverage. Others have highlighted the primacy of mismanaged negotiations and undemocratic decision making among the political leadership of Czechs and Slovaks between 1990 and 1992. Without any political consultation such as a referendum, a political agreement between the winners of the last common election (June 1992) led to the establishment of two independent states in January 1993 (Innes, 2001; Rychlík, 1998).

² In the last regional election (November 2017), the People's Party was defeated and gained only two seats in regional assemblies (out of a total of 426 seats). Marian Kotleba, the leader of the party, also lost his position as the Head of the regional administration in Banská Bystrica (Agerholm, 2017).

³ Following an innovation of curricula for lower secondary schools (valid since academic year 2015/2016), the curriculum for Civics has changed. Civics is taught in grades 6–9. Hence, the original curricula for grades 5 and 6 have been innovated. As a result, the new curriculum for grade 6 comprises three themes: 'My family', 'My class and school' and 'My country'. However, as a new textbook for grade 6 is yet to be published, schools use textbooks that were originally published for grades 5 and 6 (State Pedagogic Institute, 2015). To avoid unnecessary confusion, when mentioning and citing Civics textbooks I will refer to their original grade designations.

⁴ As in the case of Civics, the curriculum for Geography changed in the academic year 2015/2016. Hence, Europe as a topic is now addressed in grade 7/2 instead of the original grade 8/3. Slovakia as a curricular theme has been moved from the original grade of 9/4 to grade 8/3 (State Pedagogic Institute, 2015). However, as new textbooks have not yet been published, Geography textbooks that were in use before 2015/2016 continue to be used in schools (MoE, 2017). To avoid unnecessary confusion, when mentioning and citing Geography textbooks I will refer to their original grade designations.

Kristin Gregers Eriksen

Teaching About the Other in Primary Level Social Studies: The Sami in Norwegian Textbooks

- The article discusses the role of textbook discourses in constructing national imaginary.
- Textbooks for primary school are analyzed by applying critical discourse analysis.
- The empirical example is portrayal of the indigenous Sami people in Norway.
- Discourses on history and national days entail an active othering of the Sami.
- The textbooks provide limited opportunities for education that promotes social change.

Purpose: The aim of this article is to discuss to what extent and in what ways the Sami people are included in national imaginary in textbooks. The article sheds critical light on important aspects of democracy, inclusion and multiculturalism in education through the example of indigenous peoples in Norway. The article also explores what opportunities textbooks provide for promoting anti-oppressive education and pedagogical subjectification.

Method: Social studies textbooks for primary school are analyzed based on critical discourse analysis (CDA) and elements from multi-modal analysis. The analysis focuses on the use of vocabulary and pronouns signaling inclusion and exclusion. Specific attention is paid to the hidden curriculum.

Findings: The Sami are essentialized and actively constructed as the Other through the structure and content of narratives. This corresponds to the strategy described in anti-oppressive education as education for the Other. Externalization of the Sami from the story of the Norwegian national day and in particular, treatment of the discriminatory Norwegianization politics, reinforce the image of Norwegian exceptionalism.

Practical implications: Potential for education that promotes social change and subjectification through disrupting hegemonic discourses are located. Extended knowledge on this implicates further research on the workings of discourse in educational practice.

Keywords:

Textbooks, Sami, Nordic exceptionalism, anti-oppressive education, subjectification

1 Introduction

The aim of this article is to discuss to what extent and in which ways the indigenous Sami population are included in construction of the greater “we” in social studies¹ textbooks for primary schools in Norway. The Sami are the only indigenous people of northwestern Europe, and the ancestral homeland of Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie² covers parts of northern Norway, Sweden, Finland and northwestern Russia. After a brutal history of experiencing state-driven discrimination, the Sami population achieved formal recognition and rights as indigenous group in Norway. Educational policy declares that Sami culture and history is part of the common national heritage that should permeate education in all subjects for all pupils (The Norwegian Directory for Education and Training [UDIR], 2017). Paraphrasing Røthing and Svendsen (2011) on the construction of national and ethnic borders, I focus on how the imagined national community (Andersson, 1983) is informed by images of

the Sami. I investigate how textbooks construct “Saminess” as well as the role such conceptualization holds for understandings of the Norwegian nation-state. The analysis is grounded in insights from postcolonial theory and specifically the idea of *Nordic exceptionalism* (Eidsvik, 2016; Keskinen, Tuori, Irni, & Mulinari, 2009; Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 2016). However, the goal is not solely to shed light on the well-acknowledged and contested relationship between education and nationalism but also to explore what opportunities textbook discourses provide for democratic and inclusive education. These questions are approached by applying strands of critical pedagogy, such as *anti-oppressive pedagogy* (Kumashiro, 2002) and the concept of *subjectification* put forward by Gert Biesta (2005, 2009, 2014). According to Biesta, democratic education depends upon the possibility of each individual to “come into presence” as unique subject. This idea presupposes recognition of plurality and difference as the norm, which challenges the inherent methodological nationalism of social studies. The significance of these theoretical frameworks lies especially in their potential for locating agency and enabling social change.

Norway has ratified the International Labour Organization [ILO] convention 169 (ILO, 1989), and the state is declared to be “founded upon the territory of two peoples, the Norwegian and the Sami” (White paper 55, 2000–2001). Norwegian minority politics is inspired by the hierarchic structure put forward by Kymlicka (1995), and the Sami hold extensive formal rights as a

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collective. As category, Sami encompass several different groups with distinct self-identities, languages and traditions, acknowledged as a community by their common recognition as indigenous. As the Norwegian state abstains from registering information on the ethnicity of its residents, there are no approved number of the amount of the population identifying as Sami. The official approach to this topic is mainly geographical, and ten Norwegian municipalities with approximately 55.000 inhabitants are defined as "Sami management areas".³ However, due to urbanization, the majority of pupils with Sami affiliations probably live and go to school outside the Sami management areas (Gjerpe, 2017). The juridical status of the Sami posits a contradictory rhetoric for curriculum policy documents. While they promote integration of minority groups within a common "Norwegianness" with monocultural connotations, they also aim at providing culturally significant recognition to the Sami (Education Act, 1998; UDIR, 2017). Fundamental questions in this context include, what role do minorities have in images of the nation, and who can identify as subject and citizen in educational narratives? The research question guiding this article is hereunder

- To what extent and in which ways are the Sami included in construction of the greater "we" in social studies textbooks for primary schools?

This is further operationalized through the following sub-questions:

- How is the Sami conceptualized through text and images?
- How does the Sami inform production of Norwegian national imaginary?

Choosing textbook discourses as an empirical indicator, some pivotal remarks must be made. This article does not imply that textbooks determine teaching. Schools deal with representations rather than actual social realities, and large discrepancies between these levels might exist (Røthing & Svendsen, 2011). However, research implies that teachers depend more upon textbooks than on ideals of professionalism suggest (Børhaug, 2014). In many cases, textbooks hold a stronger sense of authority than other books and can be said to represent important expressions of national identity (Lorentzen, 2005; Røthing, 2015). The core of the idea of imagined community is that it is conceived in language rather than blood (Andersson, 1983) and thus can be approached through looking at discourses. The educational system is among the most pervasive institutions discursively reproducing hegemonic structures of society and ideas of national identity (Van Dijk, 1998).

2 Theoretical framework: Postcolonialism, subjectification and anti-oppressive pedagogy

The postcolonial perspective focuses on mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, marginalization and relationships between constructions of nation, ethnicity, gender and race. Norwegian nationalism is commonly presented in educational discourse as a positive and liberating force,

thoroughly depicted through symbolic events, such as the enactment of the constitution in 1814 and resistance to the Nazi occupation (Røthing, 2015). The country's national self-image is characterized by the idea of Norway as a peacebuilding, inherently good and humble country that is innocent of imperialism and colonialism (Eidsvik, 2016; Gullestad, 2006). This image epitomizes the manifestations of Nordic exceptionalism, a particular form of nation branding described by Loftsdóttir and Jensen (2016) as expressing two central ideas:

"It can express the idea about the Nordic countries' peripheral status in relation to the broader European colonialism and to the more contemporary processes of globalization. Or it can represent the idea that Nordic self-perception is rooted intrinsically different from the rest of Europe." (p. 2)

This is highly relevant for the case of national imaginary and the Sami in the Norwegian context. The Norwegian self-image as a do-gooder actively overlooks the blatant racism in policies that has been directed at the Sami and other minorities, as well as undermining of race and ethnicity as relevant social categories today. From the early 19th century, the Sami population was subject to assimilationist politics known as *Norwegianification* as they were regarded as a threat to a homogeneous national culture (Niemi, 2017). The Sami gradually lost influence in areas where they had been living for decades. Children were taken from their homes and placed in schools where Sami languages were prohibited, and laws that undermined traditional Sami ways of living were passed. During the 1970s and 1980s, the political climate shifted, and the official Norwegianization politics was discontinued. This change was highly influenced by strong ethno-political mobilization within Sami societies. Although commonly regarded a success story in comparison with indigenous peoples on a global scale, an extensive study of current living conditions indicated that one third of Norwegian Sami still experience discrimination related to ethnic identity, including structural and indirect discrimination (Midtbøen & Lidén, 2015). Today, there is not as much talk about revitalizing Sami culture as about processes of decolonization (Vars, 2017). Thus, the postcolonial perspective applied to the Norwegian context is relevant for exploring and deconstructing knowledge production in relation to more tacit power structures and majority privileges. One of the central ideas in postcolonial studies going back to Edward Said (1994) has been theorizing the construction of the Other, intertwined with Western nationalism and modernity. In the Nordic countries, race biology and epigenetics flourished during the early 20th century. Majority images of the Sami informed construction of an racialized Other of an "Aryan" normative standard still traceable today.

While analyzing textbooks and school policy through postcolonial lenses might serve as important windows for understanding the reproduction of social order, approaching this idea in education entails critique and

transformation of structural oppression (Freire, 1995; Giroux, 1997). Kumashiro (2002) creates a typology of four approaches to an anti-oppressive pedagogy. The two most common are teaching *for* and *about* the Other, spurred by intentions to improve the experiences of Othered students, as well as provide knowledge about minorities for majority students. However, both approaches fail to focus on relations and power structures, and implicitly position the Other as the essential “problem.” Oppression is not only about marginalization of the Other but also privileging of the normal. In this context, Kumashiro argues that in order to enable social change, pupils must understand that what society defines as normal is a social construct, and unlearn what is taken as given. This can happen through what he describes as education that is *critical* of privileging and othering, and education that changes students and society: “Changing oppression requires disruptive knowledge, not simply more knowledge” (Kumashiro, 2002, p. 42). This necessary condition of uncertainty and disruption for enabling learning is paralleled in Biesta’s idea of education as an arena for democratic subjectivity. Biesta (2005) argues that in order for the pupil to come into presence as a unique being, the teacher must conduct what he describes as *transcendental violence*:

“Coming into presence is, therefore, not necessarily a pleasant and easy process since it is about challenging students, confronting them with otherness and difference and asking them difficult questions. This suggests that, in a sense, there is a violent dimension to education.” (p. 63)

This process enables *subjectification*, which Biesta (2009) describes as one of three different but interrelated functions of education. First, education has a central role in *socialization*, passing on current social and cultural values. The role of the Norwegian educational system in constructing and managing national imagery and cultural unity can be understood in this perspective. The second function of education is *qualification*, through advancing students’ competences and knowledge for functioning in society and in the labor market. For Biesta, subjectification is the most important part in light of democracy and social change, and he argues that other functions are prioritized in the current neo-liberal educational policy. Subjectification is the way pupils can experience democracy through being subjects, allowing the students to express themselves but also experience resistance. Subjectification as the process by which people come to experience themselves as subjects is also thematized in postcolonial literature through the focus on power and resistance in self-definition and the experience of marginalization (Fanon, 1967; Phoneix, 2009).

3 Background and previous research: The Sami in curriculum and textbooks

Contrary to the central role of education in the policies of Norwegianification, educational policy has over the last decades been central to the efforts by the Norwegian

government towards bettering the situation for Sami language, culture and society. However, Gjerpe (2017) raises the pertinent question of whether the visibility of Sami culture and rights in current curriculum documents represent a symbolic commitment without real influence on educational practice. In a study of upper secondary schools, Lile (2011) found that pupils learn little about Sami history and culture and that the quality of teaching is low. A current study of textbooks for secondary school showed that Sami history is highly visible in many social studies textbooks in lower and upper secondary school. Some authors tentatively attempt to relate Norwegianization to experiences with being Sami or other minorities today (Midtbøen, Oruapabou & Røthing, 2017). However, when the books thematize the fight against racism, the suggested “cure” is knowledge. Racism becomes an individualized phenomenon, related to extreme attitudes. Thus, racism and discrimination become a marginal and less relevant aspect of society today. Arguably, racism as a social category is still relevant through current processes of racialization (Røthing, 2015). Textbook authors strive to present texts with which Sami pupils can identify, and the Sami are commonly presented in an essentialized way with a strong presence of stereotypical images (Askeland, 2016; Kolpus, 2015; Mortensen-Buan, 2016). This depiction appears as close to the category of anti-oppressive pedagogy that Kumashiro (2002) describes as education about the Other, exposed to the risk of reconstructing borders of “us” and “them” through presenting dominant narratives, while having intentions of being inclusive and emancipatory. This reflects an assumption in the Norwegian educational policy that knowledge through partial content integration alone will promote respect (Lybæk & Osler, 2014).

4 Methods and empirical material

4.1 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA; Fairclough, 2010; Van Dijk, 1993) is a common and helpful tool in postcolonial exploration to locate how unequal power relations and stereotypical images are constructed and reconstructed through discourse. Education might privilege certain groups and marginalize others, and thus legitimize the social order. This manifests as ideologies that constitute social cognition, bringing about “schematically organized complexes of representations and attitudes with regard to certain aspects of the social world” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 258). Gramsci describes this as hegemony, which is the ruling consensus in society tacitly justifying the political, social, cultural and economic order. Importantly, he argues that this ideology might influence the minds of the subjugated in such a way that they accept dominance (Gramsci, 1971). Applying the pedagogical philosophy of Biesta (2005, 2009, 2014), this also holds significance related to possibilities for learning and democratic education. A core element in my analysis is the use of vocabulary and pronouns signaling inclusion and exclusion, such as “we/us” and “them.” This has to do with locating the subject of discourse, as well as the



construction of national imagery. As Van Dijk and Atienza (2011) argue, the structure of knowledge may be controlled by the overall ideological square that contributes to the negative image of “them” while constructing a humanitarian view of the subject group. Moreover, in line with basic principles of CDA, I pay specific attention to what is not said or implicitly communicated, known as the hidden curriculum (Marshall, 1992). Table 1 presents the battery of analytical questions applied in the analysis. The list of questions is a modified version of Fairclough’s (2001) practical guide to CDA.

Table 1. Analytical questions applied in CDA

Analytical questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What classification schemes are applied? • How are the pronouns “we” and “you” used in the text? • How is agency allocated? • Does the text presume particular subject positions? If so, which? • What knowledges do the texts take for granted? • Are there ideologically significant meaning relations between words (synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy)? • Which topical connections are made, and which logics do they follow? • How do the texts conceptualize the Sami? • Is there a hidden curriculum through the representation and structure of the content?

As the textbooks are made for the initial stages of primary school, the pages generally have more pictures and illustrations than texts. Working with multimodal texts, it is imperative to pay attention also to the visual grammatics. As the research questions focus on conceptualization, the categories of narrative and conceptual representations in Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006) was useful for shedding light on these. They distinguish between narrative and conceptual representations. While the first category represent action, events and transitory processes, the latter is recognized by symbolism related to reification and classification of what something or someone essentially *is*. Another characteristic of pedagogical expository texts are repetition (Van Dijk & Atienza, 2011), and this is interesting for looking at visual as well as textual grammatics. Repetition is connected with the construction of hegemonic visions of society, and socialization into established discourses. In this regard, Andersen (2003) argues that the “official” narrative about the Sami perceptible within popular media and education, creates a ranking of Saminess where the stereotypical Northern Sami is presented as the orthodox Sami. This strengthens the othering of the Sami by obscuring internal diversity within the category, as well as further marginalizing other Sami groups such as the Southern and Lule Sami.

As CDA has a normative agenda in deliberately addressing social wrongs, it is criticized for choosing texts that fit with the analysis and being too ambitious about the potential for creating social change (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This criticism is important to keep in mind when

aspiring to inform education and didactics in a constructive manner. In this regard, the idea of positive discourse analysis within the postcolonial tradition appears inspirational (Askeland, 2016). Inspired by this, I also look for potential didactical opportunities informed by the idea of anti-oppressive and democratic education in discourses providing disruption (Biesta, 2014; Kumashiro, 2002). In applying CDA, acknowledging the role of the researcher in constructing and representing knowledge and meaning is vital. Seeing the research as apolitical or atheoretical is neither possible nor desirable within such an approach. Importantly, the existence of power and privilege often appear invisible especially to those who possess it. Being positioned as a majoritarian subject of the educational discourse as a majority Norwegian, middle-class woman, I might be subjected to what is termed the “double blind” (Comeau, 2015) in Whiteness studies. While making the analysis, I might simultaneously perform the idea of superior rationality and be compliant in constructing the Other. If I abstain, I risk permitting re-production of a possible discriminatory status quo. However, here I stand with Kumashiro (2002) in claiming that in the case of anti-oppressive education, acknowledging and altering the understandings and position of the privileged are as vital as locating the oppressed.

4.2 Empirical material: Social studies textbooks

The initial material for this analysis consisted of eight textbooks in total, and the selection includes the two main series used for social studies level 1-4 in Norway. Each series of textbooks have four separate volumes, one for each level. There is also a third alternative that holds significant market shares, but a choice was made to focus on the two series that has been updated after the curriculum was revised in 2013: *Mylder 1-4* (Haugen, Hægeland, Reiten, Sandberg, & Steinset, 2013) and *Nye Gaia 1-4* (Holm et al., 2015). Social studies is especially interesting in studying inclusion of the Sami. Firstly, it is the subject that is to provide the most extensive knowledge of Sami history and culture. Social studies also holds a special responsibility for fostering democracy in the Norwegian school (UDIR 2013a). Besides a clear absence of research on the lower levels of social studies in the Nordic context, there are also analytical benefits in looking at the primary level. I here draw upon insights by Fanon (1967) and his psychoanalytical approach to postcolonialism and subjectivity. He highlights the tacit unconscious training instilled in the minds of Othered children through the effects of images in cultural representations. Fanon argues that when young children are exposed to stereotypical images and repeated narratives of their affinity group, the children experience a psychopathology where images might become part of their personality. This is not to imply that power and dominance are deterministically imposed on children through textbooks, and a broader analysis of socio-cognitive processes of resistance is needed for a fully-fledged analysis (Van Dijk, 1993). The scope of this article, however, is to focus on the discursive strategies



in textbooks that take part in legitimating dominance, and that might exert power on self-image and subjectivity.

As one of the topics raised in previous analysis of the Sami in Norwegian textbooks has been an absence of the Sami (Olsen, 2017), I initially made an overview of chapters in which the Sami was explicitly mentioned by text or featured by pictures. Not surprisingly, they corresponded almost completely to the learning outcomes explicitly mentioning the Sami. After level four, pupils

should be able to “describe central characteristics of Sami culture and way of life up to the Christianization of the Sami people” and “converse about and explain why 17th of May and 6th of February are celebrated⁴” (UDIR, 2013a). For the second learning outcome, it was necessary to include all chapters dealing with early history as one of the series had a separate chapter on Sami history, while the other had included the Sami sporadically throughout the general historical topics.

Table 2. Overview of textbooks, content and learning outcomes

Textbooks	Content (chapter headlines) Chapters included in the final analysis indicated in bold	Learning outcomes after level 4 (UDIR, 2013a)
<i>Mylder 1</i> <i>Mylder 2</i> <i>Mylder 3</i> <i>Mylder 4</i> (Haugen, Hægeland, Reiten, Sandberg, & Steinset, 2013)	1: “New at school”, “Walking to school”, “Here I am”, “Families”, “We live here” 2: “Making decisions”, “The Stone Age” , “Fjords and mountains”, “National days” , “Heaven and seas” 3: “The Bronze Age” , “Boys and girls”, “Run and buy”, “Countries far north” 4: “Living together”, “Online”, “From stone to iron” , “Where do you live”, “Time and the world”, “Sameness and difference”	*Describe the central characteristics of Sami culture and way of life up to the Christianization of the Sami people *Converse about and explain why the 17th of May and the 6th of February are celebrated, and tell others about national days in other countries
<i>Nye Gaia 1</i> <i>Nye Gaia 2</i> <i>Nye Gaia 3</i> <i>Nye Gaia 4</i> (Holm et al., 2015)	1: “The school”, “Family”, “Norwegian landscapes” 2: “Families then and now”, “National days” , “Maps”, “Continents” 3: “Children have the right to co-decision”, “The Stone age” , “Home”, “The Nordic”, “Sami history” , “Boys and girls” 4: “Bronze Age & Iron Age” , “Money”, “Our World”, “Take care of yourself and others”, “Historical traces”	

5 Findings and discussion

5.1 Education about the Other: What is a Sami?

This approach of teaching about the Other straddles the thin line in multicultural education between attempts to normalize differences and stimulating Othering through the production of stereotypes. The main challenge is that knowledge is always partial. Pupils acquire this partial knowledge inside and outside school, and are influenced by multiple discourses that invisibly structure knowledge. Therefore, non-Sami pupils might have clichéd images of the Sami (if any) when they start school. An interesting question is how the textbooks relate to the question of conceptualization: “What is a Sami?” One of the first chapters in *Mylder 1* is titled “Where we live”, presenting different landscapes and geographical areas in Norway. Two pages are dedicated to Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie. This appears as an attempt at culturally sensitive education or teaching for the Other with the intentions of providing identification for Sami children through the text, by including the Sami. The choice is also probably influenced by the focus on absence of the Sami in current curriculum debate. However, although Norway as a whole is presented first, and readers are invited to interact with the information in maps and pictures by identifying their own home place, the Sami are consequently portrayed as “them.” This implicitly leaves out the possibility of a Sami reader, through formulations such as “The Samis call their area Sápmi” (Haugen et al., 2013, p. 46). The pupil is asked to draw her home and then make a cross on the map of Norway, answering the question “Where do you live?” Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie is not made visible in the

map, but featured on separate pages. The pages about Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie are covered with pictures of reindeer herding and people wearing the folk costume *kofte*. Pupils are then invited to color the *kofte*. Although this illustrate important aspects of Sami culture, there is also a hidden curriculum in the communication of a stereotypical set of common identity markers for what appears as the “authentic” Sami lifestyle. Stordahl (1987) describes how semantic density related to the Sami is made up by associations with reindeer and *kofte*, serving as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion in the category. This reindeer-herding and *kofte*-wearing Sami tend to be presented as the Sami *per se*. Importantly, this also reinforces the conceptual hegemony of the Northern Sami. Although no longer commonly an everyday outfit, the *kofte* is a symbolic marker of geographical and social affinity for many Sami through different designs, colors and woven bands. The *kofte*s portrayed throughout the textbook are exclusively Northern Sami. The use of the term Sápmi/Sábme/Saepmie is only done in Northern Sami language (Sápmi), although Lule- and Southern Sami are also official Sami languages in Norway. In this way, the chapter exemplifies teaching about the Other in presenting a stereotypical and reductive narrative. On the one hand, this serves to place the Other outside the norm (Kumashiro, 2002). Furthermore, it fails to recognize the Sami as a heterogeneous category. As education for the Other, the chapter might offer recognition for some but holds limited opportunities for identification possibly far from the everyday life experiences for many Sami pupils.

Another avenue of the hidden curriculum is the selection and structure of topics in the curriculum and textbooks. Within postcolonial perspectives on education, this idea is exemplified through the ethnocentrism that characterizes much history teaching in the West (Kumashiro, 2002). When studying the competence goals after fourth grade, such externalization of indigenous history is evident. While knowledge of early Norwegian history is covered by several learning outcomes related to historical periodization, such as the Stone Age and the Iron Age, knowledge about early Sami history overall is featured in a separate learning outcome. Through this construction, the Sami are excluded from the image of a common history of the geographical Norway. As the learning outcome states that pupils should be able to “describe central characteristics of Sami culture and way of life up to the Christianization of the Sami people” (UDIR, 2013a), the Sami are positioned as passive objects for the processes of the majoritarian society rather than as actors of historical processes.

The textbook series handles these learning outcomes somewhat differently. *Nye Gaia* presents early Sami history in a separate chapter. This chapter states that “the Samis have been living in Norway for thousands of years” (Holm et al., 2015, p. 68). This presupposes the Norwegian state as a given, and obscures the fact that the Norwegian national state was placed on the ancestral homeland of the Sami, rather than the opposite. The reader is left with the impression that the Sami arrived in Norway at some point in time. The vision of time and place is blurred, leaving the impression that Sami culture existed a long time ago in an unspecified place. Such construction the Other as diffuse, mythical or primordial is a characteristic aspect of Orientalism (Said, 1994). On the contrary, the chapter on early Norwegian history is contextualized within the structures of “official” historical periodization, referring to the end of the Ice Age about 12000 years ago and presenting different theories on the first settlers. The text states, “The Stone Age in Norway lasted more than 8000 years. About 4000 years ago, the Norwegians started producing weapon made of metal. That was the end of the Stone Age” (Holm et al., 2015, p. 22). Here, history is presented as dynamic and progressive, in contrast to the more static image of early Sami culture. The chapter on Sami history is introduced by stating: “The Sami have lived in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia for thousands of years. Today, the Sami in Norway live not only in the north, but throughout the whole country” (Holm et al., 2015, p. 68). There are no specific periodization provided in the chapter, and the history is depicted by temporal descriptions such as “before and now” and “old Sami culture”. It is also interesting that although the chapter is titled “Sami history”, it includes several paragraphs presenting “Sami culture” in a temporally indefinite manner. This is exemplified by the modern picture of a woman with folk costume integrated several places within the narrative on “old Sami culture”. In this, it is not really clear what is “old” and what is contemporary.

In *Mylder 2*, early Norwegian history is featured in an integrated chapter on the Stone Age. The people in the narratives are predominantly described as “the first human beings in our country,” avoiding the potential anachronism of applying modern concepts of ethnicity and nationality to pre-modern contexts. It might also lead to children’s curiosity about who these first human beings in the country might have been, and enabling identification for all. Thus, while *Nye Gaia* focuses on teaching about the Other through increasing knowledge about Sami history in particular, *Mylder 2* aspires to teach about the Other through opening up narratives that include different identifications in the common history. The examples shed light on the importance of not only the content but also the structure of curriculums. Historical narratives might give the impression of the story being told as objective and impartial, not recognizing history as constructive and interpretative (Paxton, 1999).

5.2 Norwegian exceptionalism and the Other

A more explicit presentation of the Sami people as a group is done through descriptions of national holidays. Both book series have chapters depicting the history and celebration of national days in Norway and other countries. Comparing the portrayals of the Norwegian national day with the Sami peoples’ day sheds interesting light on the construction of national imagery. In *Nye Gaia 2*, the two days are presented as follows:

May 17: May 17 is the Norwegian national day. We celebrate that we got our own constitution. That means that we got our own laws and a parliament. For a long time, Denmark decided over Norway. But in 1814, people in Norway wanted their own constitution. That gave us the right to decide more in our own country [...] Henrik Wergeland was a well-known author. He worked for making May 17 a day of celebration. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson was one of our greatest poets. He wrote the lyrics for our national anthem. (Holm et al., 2015, pp. 30–31)

February 6: On February 6, the Samis celebrate Sami peoples’ day. That is the Sami national day. The day is in memory of the first time Samis from Norway and Sweden gathered to talk about important issues. [...] Samis in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia celebrate the Sami people’s day on February 6. The day might be celebrated with singing and dancing, and activities for the children. Many meet to eat good food together. (Holm et al., 2015, pp. 32–33)

While the Norwegian national day is described in relation to specific historical events and formal affairs, the presentation of the Sami peoples’ day primarily focusses on celebration. Pictures exclusively show people wearing kofte and engaging in festive meals. Although “important issues” are mentioned, they are not specified, and the time and place of the first common Sami meeting (Trondheim, 1917) is not given as with enactment of the Norwegian constitution. The overall epistemic strategy of the knowledge about Sami culture here is that of a typology of a category of people, where



knowledge is represented as attributes of the groups presented as descriptions, taking shape as definitions or examples (cf. Van Dijk & Atienza, 2011). The “words to learn” accompanying the respective texts accentuate this discourse. They give the Norwegian national day a more “official” outlook than the Sami peoples’ day. It is also closely related to what Banks (1993) describes as “heroes and holidays,” the well-intended focus on highlighting cultural differences through a focus on holidays and celebration, which often reproduces the stereotypical discourses of the dominant culture. Multicultural education in the shape of teaching about the Other might thus unintentionally take on this form of essentializing. Highlighting ethnic identities in the curriculum might paradoxically contribute to a renewed orientalism in spite of good pedagogical intentions.

Table 3. “Words to learn” in *Nye Gaia 1*, “National holidays”

Words to learn May 17	Words to learn February 6	Words to learn July 14 (the French national day)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National day • Celebrate • Free country • Constitution • Parliament • Author • Poet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sami • The Sami peoples day • Important issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Date • Protest • Inhabitant • Fireworks

The presentation of the national days and the history of the constitution can be understood on basis of the idea of Norwegian exceptionalism. In the text in *Nye Gaia 2*, Norway is portrayed as a victim rather than a perpetrator of colonialism. The fact that Norway was subject to Danish rule in the period 1537–1814 is pointed out when May 17 is described, while the Norwegianification process is not mentioned when the Sami peoples’ day is presented. One could discuss whether children in second grade should become familiar with the dark histories of discrimination and oppression of minorities. However, oppression and resistance are included in the portrayal of May 17, as well as in the paragraph on the French national day later in the same chapter, stating that in 1789, the French “protested against an unfair king who decided almost everything” (Holm et al., 2015, p. 35). The history of the Sami peoples’ day is directly connected to resistance against discrimination. In light of the learning outcome covering the ability to explain *why* February 6 is celebrated, it is therefore indispensable to mention the Sami fight for recognition. In this context, the complete exclusion of Norwegianification might serve as a hidden curriculum and an active component in reconstructing the discourse of Norway as a humble and intrinsically good nation. By leaving out the Sami opposition, the text not only misses an important aspect of historical events, but also overlooks a valuable pedagogical opportunity for illustrating the significance of protesting injustice. Additionally, the Sami meeting in 1917 was organized by the Southern Sami woman Else Laula Renberg in a time where women were not fully

recognized as political actors, which is a powerful narrative in teaching for democracy.

5.3 Disruptive narratives? Education that is critical of privileging and Othering

As Kumashiro (2002) argues, fighting oppression through education requires not only education about or for the other but also knowledge about oppression in itself, described as education that is critical of privileging and Othering. In this perspective, it is interesting that *Mylder 2* thematizes oppression of the Sami through explicitly mentioning aspects of Norwegianification:

“The countries where Sápmi is situated, tried to make the Sami people forget their own culture. About a hundred years ago, Samis from all over Sápmi gathered for a big meeting. They discussed what they should do in order to be treated just. The big meeting was held at February 6, 1917. That is why February 6 is the Sami national day.” (Haugen et al., 2013, p. 148)

The text is followed by a drawing of children in school, stating that “Sami children were not allowed to speak Sami in school” and asking the reader: “How do you think it feels not to be able to speak your own language?” As Norwegianification processes have not been commonly discussed in the public sphere, including them in the textbook might be described as a break with the traditional role of textbooks as consistent with presupposed knowledge from public discourse (Van Dijk & Atienza, 2011). Thus, it is likely that the presentation of pupils not being able to speak their own language in Norwegian schools represents something radically new for many readers and provides information that stimulates critical disruption or works in the sense of a transcendental violence. This opens up opportunities for challenging the hegemonic discourse and providing a more pluralistic context for teaching.

However, the possibility for disruption also depends upon influencing the ways majority students see themselves, not only the Other (Kumashiro, 2002). Although learning about the Other through stories of oppression is valuable, the ability to act upon injustices relies on input that makes pupils able to reflect on their own positionality (Banks, 1993). The narrative in *Mylder 2* focuses on empathy through asking the question “How would you feel?” This question might stimulate identification with the Other but does not necessarily alter how the majority pupil sees herself. Thus, teaching about oppression does not automatically force a separation from the sense of self for majority pupils. Interestingly, the presentation of Sami oppression is done passively without any clear perpetrator, as the Norwegian state as actor is not explicitly mentioned. The summary of the chapter states, “The Samis were not always respected in the countries in which they lived” (Holm et al., 2013, p. 155). Similar to *Nye Gaia 2*, *Mylder 2* describes the history of the enactment of the Norwegian constitution through the resistance of Norwegians to Danish rule. The point is made that “Norway was not always free” (Holm et al., 2013, p. 155) and that the people mobilized



against this injustice. Norwegians are presented as agents, standing up against the illegitimate force. The mode of structuring the content and narratives here fuels the discourse of Norwegian exceptionalism. The hegemonic discourse here resides in the negative information about the in-group that is not stated.

Learning through disruption is risky, because if we allow pupils to truly react in their own unique ways to the curriculum, we cannot instrumentally predict the outcomes. Critical teaching, in this perspective, should aim for effect rather than a specific understanding in order to entail subjectification. Learning in this perspective is connected to transcendence, offering something completely new or radical. This quite often involves encountering inconvenient truths, or knowledge that we were not aware of or did not want to be aware of, fostering transcendental violence that might lead to change (Biesta, 2005). For enabling subjectification, pupils must meet diverging narratives and resistance toward their own worldviews. In this sense, the examples of Norwegianification politics could offer opportunities for pupils to react. Didactical opportunities might also be found in making use of the hegemonic discourses to challenge pupils' preconceptions. The historical materialism apparent in the idea of hegemony might be overcome by arguing that the discourses can be investigated in order to challenge them (Gramsci, 1971). Where *Mylder 2* has a picture of the all-male assembly deciding on the Constitution in 1814, it asks the reader, "Why were there no women?" (Holm et al., 2015, p. 31). Here, there is an obvious opportunity to include discussion on "Why were there no Sami?" in light of the coming presentation of Norwegianification. The narratives could also simply be opened, inviting exploration of the overall question of why some were left out, and what that means. Education might not only facilitate reproduction of dominant ideologies but also propagate counter-ideologies (Van Dijk, 1998).

6 Summing up: The aims of education

In this article, I have discussed the role of discourses on the Sami in social studies textbooks in constructing the Norwegian national imagery, and the implications for multicultural education. Within the typology of anti-oppressive education posed by Kumashiro (2002), the implicit pedagogy on cultural diversity in the textbooks is mainly placed in the category teaching about, and to a certain extent for, the Other. This corresponds to the qualification function of education, providing pupils with knowledge, skills and understanding that in this case amount to a general cultural literacy (Biesta, 2009). Arguably important for functioning in society, an overt focus on qualification might imply the instrumentalist undertaking of producing certain citizens with pre-defined, measurable skills. This criticism applies well to the common idea of multicultural and anti-oppressive education as pure knowledge integration, reflected in the analysis. Furthermore, the sections on national days in the textbooks reinforce the national imagery of Norwegian exceptionalism, stimulating the educational

function of socialization as inserting newcomers in the existing cultural and political order. Although socialization should not be disqualified as simple indoctrination, it might cause the continuation of not only desirable but also undesirable parts of the national tradition and discourse. As Biesta (2009) argues, "even if socialization is not the explicit aim of educational programmes and practices, it will still function in this way as, for example, has been shown by research on the hidden curriculum" (p. 40). In the previous analysis, it was quite clear that the image of Norwegian exceptionalism is further enforced by the role of the Sami as the Other. This hegemonic construction of the Sami as Other exerts power on the self-understanding of the majority Norwegians and the Sami, pointing to the role of education in subjectification. Subjectification is, in one sense, the opposite of socialization, as it is related to providing agency for the individual to seek independence from the current societal order. In terms of anti-oppressive education, this amounts to education that challenges injustice and might lead to social change. Suggestions for such disruptive education were located in the text that mentioned Norwegianification.

A danger of focusing on structural oppression is the implicit idea that it has the same effect on all people (Kumashiro, 2002) and thus might reinforce the positionality of the Sami as oppressed. Although the school in one perspective might be regarded as a site for epistemic violence for Sami pupils through the construction of themselves as inferior, the consequences for subjectification are not given. Responses to colonialism can be understood as identity-building projects and as a critical self-examination of processes of internalization (Heith, 2016). While Fanon (1967) argued that the colonized only gain recognition by seeing themselves through the images constructed by colonizers, newer postcolonial writings also focus on the dynamics of identity constructions of the subjugated through counter-action and resistance (Phoenix, 2009). The Sami political uprising in Norway led to reinforcement of Sami culture, identity and pride. On the other hand, Mathisen (2001) argues that the relationship between the Sami minority and the ethnic Norwegian majority is by no means equal, and that majority culture still is hegemonic to the extent that it influences the strategies of the minority. In the educational context, the hegemonic discourses work in performing translations between individual experiences and strategies and collective frames of representations. However, a strong focus on socialization into these ideas might paradoxically lead to subjectification through resistance. Thus, a complete analysis of the discourses' role for subjectification would include a wider contextual study and a look to "subjective definitions of the relevant properties of communicative situations that influence text and talk" (Wodak, 2009, p. 14). However, the different perspectives imply we must leave the desire for final knowledge, exposing ourselves to "the wonderful risk of education" (Biesta, 2014).

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Endnotes

¹ The subject social studies is a mandatory part of the core curriculum in Norway and is a compilation of history, geography and various disciplines of social sciences.

² Corresponds to the name in the different Sami languages; Northern-/Lule-/Southern Sami.

³ The Sami management areas includes the following municipalities: Karasjok, Kautokeino, Nesseby, Porsanger, Tana, Kåfjord, Lavangen, Tysfjord, Snåsa and Røyrvik. Not all of them have a Sami majority.

⁴ May 17 is the official Norwegian national day, and February 6 is the official Sami peoples’ day.

Kaarel Haav

European Identity and Citizenship in Estonia: Analyses of Textbooks and Theoretical Developments

- Estonian civic education system (syllabuses, textbooks and teacher education) has been controversial.
- It has heralded democratic ideals, but failed to use for them adequate tools. It has described main political institutions but neglected concepts facilitating the formation of active citizens.
- Author has designed a conceptual system for democracy education and used it in his research and in his teaching of social sciences to students of some universities in Tallinn and Tartu, Estonia, in fifteen years.
- This framework would contribute to the education of democratic citizens and the formation of European identities in Estonia and other European countries.

Purpose: This article aims at elaboration of a relevant framework for European identity and citizenship. On this basis, comparative studies like ICSS, Estonian curricula, civic syllabuses and textbooks will be critically reviewed.

Methods: The framework relies on former studies on democracy and education. The work also draws on normative materials for European citizenship, comparative empirical and critical studies. The conceptual system relies on the literature on basic sociological and semiotic concepts. This framework is used for analyses of the Estonian civic education system.

Findings: The most general concepts like individual, society, culture, social actors and structures are defined as mutually inclusive. This has enabled to address complex and controversial social issues and achieve the aims of European identity and active citizenship.

The Estonian curricula, civic syllabuses and textbooks herald democratic ideals, but fail to provide for them relevant concepts. They focus on empirical and normative descriptions of main political institutions. The books hardly describe how could active citizens evaluate and influence these institutions. Their content avoids complex and controversial issues like hierarchical power relations and social inequality and fails to describe both the hierarchical public administration and the system for public participation in Estonia. All this rather hinders students' political literacy, critical thinking and active participation.

Keywords:

Social scientific conceptual system, active and critical citizenship, normative and critical civic education, curriculum development

1 Introduction

In the last decades, there have been published many critical investigations on civic education and textbooks in many countries (Hedtke, Proeschel & Szukala, 2018). Joseph L. De Vitis (2011) and Matthew Knoester (2012) have published proceedings on critical civic education. Typically, the social scientific level of civics textbooks has been low. Many social scholars have criticized the content of traditional social studies textbooks. These standard texts merely describe the main political institutions and don't reveal the social problems in these institutions. The books don't rely on social scientific system of concepts and avoid controversies and hard social issues, including critical evaluation of current social and political institutions (Fuchs & Zielonka, 2006; Hedtke et al., 2007, p. 9; Ross, 2001).

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They promote blind patriotism, obedience to laws and authorities (Davies, 2003, p. 161, Dekker, 1994; Ichilov, 1998, pp. 269-270; Knoester, 2012; Knoester & Parkison, 2015). There has been reliance on the functionalist social theory and tendency to rationalize or even justify political and economic authorities (Biesta, 2007, 2009 & 2011). As the authors have avoided complex social problems and conflicts, then they have rather hampered than promoted social change (Dekker, 1994, p. 26). Education based on information delivery, symbolic control and hierarchical relations reproduces or even deepens the existing social structures and inequalities (Wilde, 2004, p. 8). Many governments and educators have realized the need to revise the existing curriculum (Naval, 2002, p. 124).

In England, the Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy identified several significant problems to be addressed in citizenship education already twenty years ago (Crick, 1998). The English and French civic education systems have been compared (Kiwani & Kiwani, 2005). In general, the English system still avoids criticality and its framework is not clear (Peterson & Davies, 2016, pp. 383-385). Some authors like Gert Biesta and Mark Priestly (2013) promote the political and critical approach to European



citizenship. In the nineties, German civics experts pointed to a limited progress in the promotion of political literacy, basic values and social skills (Händle et al., 1999). Now, there is a new curriculum for social studies that focuses on small number of main political problems and training of four main competences for that (e. g., Reinhardt, 2015; Mattes, 2016).

2 Education for democratic citizenship

Council of Europe has launched programs for education of democratic citizenship (EDC) since 1997. They have outlined objectives, key issues, activities and methods. Later, CE published a Charter (CE, 2010) and a progress report (CE, 2017). Now, they are dealing with a Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture¹. Francois Audigier (1999) has outlined the basic concepts and core competences in more detail. Still, the basic concepts are not defined. The proposal distinguishes between three main competences: cognitive (or knowledge), ethical (including values) and social (or capacity for communication and action). CE has also published many materials for that and some of them for teachers (Huddleston, 2007). The EDC stresses the need for active participation. It is vital, at least, in lower levels of political and social activities. It also recommends critical assessment of public authorities. Active citizens should react, if politicians and civil servants make mistakes or even misuse their power. Still, the EDC doesn't rely on critical studies on democracy education. The EDC has been criticized for a lack of theoretical framework (Naval, Print & Veldhuis, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2006; Veugelers, 2011). It outlines main dimensions, but not any system of concepts (Locker, Crick & Annette, 2003). The concepts should reflect complex relations between people and society, people and culture, citizens and the state (Haav, 2008 & 2010). The concepts should be integrated and complement each other.

Concepcion Naval, Murray Print and Ruud Veldhuis reviewed the EDC progress in 2002 and stressed the need for a better theoretical framework (2002, p. 124). Between 2001 and 2004, policies for EDC were studied in all Europe (Bírzéa et al., 2004). Ton Olgers has criticized the EDC policy, as it relies too much on the rational actor theory (Olgers, 2001). Olgers also addressed values education. Values cannot be transferred, but they can be clarified. Rolf Gollob and Peter Krapf published a manual for secondary school teachers in 2008. They introduced some important political concepts like power and authority, rules and laws, government and politics. It seems that they do not link the concepts to social theoretical framework, to social actors, and their relations.

The Council of Europe Charter (2010) outlines a broad policy framework for education for democratic citizenship and human rights education (EDC and HRE). The civic education should provide students and all citizens with necessary knowledge, understandings, skills and attitudes for active participation in all spheres of society (civic, political, social, economic, legal and cultural ones).

It should enable citizens to protect their rights, democracy and the rule of law. The Charter doesn't specify the necessary knowledge, concepts and theories.

The CE Report (2017) on EDC-HRE recognizes inconsistencies between policies and their implementation in most countries. They recommend countries to consider EDC-HRE priority areas of education, youth and children policy and back it up with sufficient resources. The civic problems should occupy a solid position in the curricula (CE, 2017, p. 7). The Report recommends further specify some topics and definitions and then conduct quality EDC-HRE studies and provide more in-depth analyses of the situation in the future (CE, 2017, p. 54). It means that the charter needs to be further developed.

The EDC does not address complex and controversial problems in democracy. Representative democracy contains many controversies. It combines democratic decision making in elections and hierarchical power execution after that. In elections, there are controversies between its ideology and practices. The ideology relies on rational actor theory. In election campaigns, politicians use more some other models and theories like those of consumer behaviour. Between elections, the elected politicians use the hierarchical model for execution of their power. All citizens are equal only on the day of elections. In the periods between elections, they are unequal. The EDC does not address these controversies. It regards democracy education as a set of good practices and activities. It does not say which theories and concepts are necessary for a description of these practices and activities. Democracy education should explain representative democracy as a controversial problem. Roberto Michels has pointed to the iron law of oligarchy in democratic organizations, in a German political party already a hundred years ago (1911). Authoritarian leaders can make mistakes and misuse their power. These disadvantages can be avoided or diminished by use of participative democracy. Active citizens, experts and interest groups should have the right to receive information and make proposals about important political actions. They need relevant concepts for understanding of complex problems of democracy. Some of them have been provided in the new institutional theory by Paul DiMaggio, Walter Powell, Brian Rowan, Richard Scott, Philip Selznick etc. (Perrow, 1986).

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies (ICCS, 1999, 2009 and 2016) have followed the ideas of the EDC. They have outlined their theoretical model as an octagon and placed the individual student at the centre. The model describes how different factors influence on student (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p.21; Schulz et al., 2008, p. 12). This is not a conceptual system. They have defined the ideal goals for civic education, but they didn't elaborate the necessary concepts and theories for these goals.

"In democratic societies citizenship education supports students in becoming active, informed and responsible

citizens, who are willing and able to take responsibility for themselves and for their communities at the local, regional, national and international level. In order to achieve these objectives, citizenship education needs to help students develop knowledge, skills, attitudes and values in four broad competence areas: critical thinking, social interaction and communication, democratic participation“ (EC/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 9).

In various countries, there are different frameworks, curricula and textbooks. The ICCS analysed mainly their normative parts (ideal goals). They were interested in the topics addressed in civic education in various countries. They collected data about students' knowledge (about society, democratic principles, and participation), argumentation skills, attitudes and actual participation activities. In 2009, they collected data about social and political institutions, democratic principles, civic participation and identities (Eurydice, 2012; Kerr et al., 2010; Toots, 2011). In 2016, half of the questions were the same as in 2009. The test included 88 questions, 78 multiple choice and 9 with open answers. They investigate trivial knowledge like what is good and what is bad for democracy (Toots, 2017, p. 42). They focused on abstract arguments on broad topics which are distant from students and their opportunities to make a difference (Toots, 2017, pp. 31-32). They just classify students (A, B, C and D levels) on the basis of these abstract generalization skills. These questions provide interesting and necessary information, but this does not suffice for the main goals of civic education. The ICCS have not investigated how students understand controversial problems of representative democracy. They didn't prescribe *what the content* of citizenship education ought to be and *which competences* it should pursue (EC/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 24). In short, they didn't measure the level of democratic knowledge, critical thinking and democratic actions of students. The EDC and ICCS have ideal and ambitious intentions, but their conceptual system remains non-theoretical, incomplete and ambiguous. The ICCS enable to justify the dominant educational policies. For example, the Estonian team was focused on a comparison of the international results (factual knowledge). They took the studies like a competition between countries similarly to Olympic Games and Eurovision song contests. The average knowledge of Estonian students (546 points) is on the top! It is next to the Nordic countries (564-586 points) and equal to Russian students (545 points, Toots, 2017, pp. 28-30). The team is not interested in students' realist opportunities in actual democratic processes in Estonia.

There are conceptual problems in many countries. Geert Ten Dam and Monique Volman reviewed 74 theoretical or empirical studies on social competence (2007). They distinguished between three dimensions (intrapersonal, interpersonal and societal) and outlined many elements in these dimensions. These "elements" are actually broad topics. E. g., on social level there is knowledge of society, social structures, processes and influences. These "elements" are neither defined nor related to some conceptual systems (Ten Dam & Volman,

2007, p. 290). They did not find any instruments which were suitable for measuring social competence on the societal level (Ten Dam & Volman, 2007, p. 293). Of course, it is hard to measure something too broad and ambiguous like „knowledge of society“. This ambiguity enables arbitrary definition and interpretation of basic concepts. This favours those who have got the authority to define the right knowledge.

3 New concepts for democracy education

The democratic countries aim at a mutually beneficial development of individuals, communities and society. Citizenship education should provide people with relevant knowledge, attitudes and skills in four broad competence areas (EC/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 9). So far, the knowledge has been mostly descriptive; it was not based on a system of concepts. It hasn't sufficed for approaching complex and controversial relations between individuals and society, citizens and the state. To do so, it was vital to define the main concepts of individuals, society and culture as mutually related and complex, too. I have elaborated such a system of social scientific concepts for citizenship education since 2003. It relies on dichotomous concepts of individuals and society, and social actors and structures in sociology and those of individuals and culture in semiotics. It means that these most general concepts are mutually inclusive.

Sociology focuses on social interrelations between people. It defines *individual person* as a sum of his or her social relations and activities in social structure. *Society* has been treated as a sum of all human social relations, both vertical and horizontal. There is no society without people. Any social organization can be defined in a similar way as a collection of relations and interactions between its members. Social organizations are not physical bodies. We can observe but people's actions. These concepts of individuals and society are defined as mutually inclusive. Individuals are at the same time independent wholes and parts of society. Society as a system of actions is social process; it is not a real thing. (In a similar way, biology considers all organisms as processes.) Society is also controversial; it combines equality and inequality, equal (horizontal) and unequal (vertical) relations between people.

People are real objects and we can observe them. But the concept of individual person is not a real thing. It is a language sign that refers to some real persons. We should realize the difference in order to understand the essence of human beings. They differ from other animals by use of speech and language signs. Individuals acquire particular sign systems and signs, and use them. The signs mediate all actions and relations between people and their environment. The use of signs enables unlimited growth of human mind. Semiotics focuses on study on signs and their role in human development. They define human beings as users of signs and sign systems. They consider language (speech) signs and sign systems as most general definition of *culture*. People are at the same time parts of culture (users of signs) and independent wholes, actors of culture, creators of new

signs. The signs connect human minds and their environment. Words as signs enable to represent also invisible and abstract things. They enable to represent also something non-existent that is not true, that is lie.

The person - society dichotomy concerns all social relations; it does not distinguish qualitative differences between them. The relations between people may be equal and democratic or unequal and hierarchical. These inequalities may be temporary and occasional. In social organizations, they are permanent and systematic. There emerges the need for a new social dichotomy. Hierarchical organizational structures are the basis for the classification of main types of social actors. In market economy, there are producers and consumers. On the market place, there are sellers and buyers. In principle, these two groups of social actors are equal. Business organizations have hierarchical social structures that discriminate between owners, managers and employees. Owners have got property rights and they can use the whole (social) organizational structure and control all other actors. Managers have administrative rights and they can use them only in their units to control employees subordinated to them. Employees have neither property nor administrative rights. They must work under the supervision of their bosses. Thus, the number of the main social actors is small. The concepts of *social actors and structures* (Haav, 2008 & 2010) are close to another sociological dichotomy of agency-structure (Giddens, 1979 & 2009; Layder, 1994 & 2006; Hatch, 2018). The latter is in use in critical education studies, too (Apple, 2004 & 2010). The dichotomy of actors-structures is used in the typology of social class. There are similar social structures and social actors (rule-makers, administrators and executors) in other sectors like politics and education. The dichotomous concepts of social actors and structures enable to go behind the formal organizational structures and reveal how they create differences and inequalities between organizational members. This idea is in concert with new economic and organizational sociology that considers all social and political institutions as part of relations between people, between main social actors (e. g., Stan Deetz, 1995; Mark Granovetter, 1985; Richard Swedberg, 2007, et al.). There is a principal difference between the new organizational sociology and the classical management theories. The latter considers organizational structures and power relations as merely technical issues and ignores the opportunities for social inequality and injustice.

In the democratic states and organizations, there are two main models of decision making: *democratic* and *authoritarian*. There are democratic elections and hierarchical power execution. In the last decades, the hierarchical model has been complemented with *participative democracy* and *partnerships*. The last new idea is Open Governance Partnership (OGP). The authorities ask citizens, experts, interest groups and NGOs to take part in political processes. If active citizens make proposals and the authorities accept all good proposals and put them into effect, then this means a real *civic society*.

The main social concepts are complex; they are actually systems of concepts. After the initial definitions, the concepts will be differentiated and complemented with other aspects. Persons take part in many social systems: family, work organization, political, economic, cultural, health, religious and other organizations and institutions. Everybody has different roles in these social systems. Some of these roles rely on power and ability to control other people. These aspects are studied by a number of sciences: psychology, cultural anthropology, ethics, philosophy, politics, economics etc. The initial concepts will be complemented with additional definitions. A narrower concept of individual person is that of social identity. It refers to the most significant relations of persons. Human development is also enrichment of man's conceptual system. The initial definition is in the centre of this conceptual system. The school textbooks should provide students with these first and initial definitions.

System of relative concepts. The dichotomy of social actors and structures enables to reveal the inequality of the main actors. This inequality is the basis for introduction of next concepts that are evaluative and relative. The concepts are the following: *social effectiveness and social justice, social value orientations, political ideologies and scientific paradigms*. Is the inequality effective and just? Should the power differences be increased or diminished? What are more important, individual freedom and well-being or social solidarity and well-being? Can these problems be approached and solved in a unitary or a pluralist framework? Different social actors like employers and employees do not have similar economic interests, social values and political orientations. They cannot be addressed by a unitary scientific paradigm. There is a need for pluralist paradigm which enables mutual discussion, negotiation and solution. There are the same or similar concepts in many sociology textbooks (Giddens, 2009, etc.), but they neither rely on the social actor-structure dichotomy, nor make up a system. The textbooks review many studies in main sociological fields, but these various fields don't use unified system of concepts.

The classical management theories represent the interests of managers and ignore those of employees. They describe formal organizations and their formal structures in a seemingly neutral empirical way. They ignore the role of hierarchical power relations in introduction of social inequality. They present these public and business organizations as ideal bureaucracies. They don't interpret concepts of social effectiveness and justice as relativist. They do this in a one-sided way, from the owners' point of view, and take this as the only option, as the reality itself, as the final truth. They ignore the interests of other stakeholders and ignore the pluralist model. The semiotic concept of human knowledge could enable to reveal this incorrectness. After semiotics, the relevance of knowledge to reality should be proven. The mainstream Estonian civic textbooks reject the concepts of social actors and structures and use mainly ideas of classical management theories.



The mainstream civic textbooks also ignore the semiotic concept of knowledge as signs referring to some real things. After semiotics, the relevance of knowledge to reality should be proven. The absolutist concept ignores the symbolic essence of human knowledge. It doesn't discriminate between knowledge and reality. The verbal and symbolic knowledge is taken as the reality itself. If owners consider their organization as harmonious one, then this is taken as the reality. If Constitution declares that this country is a democracy, then this is taken as the reality itself.

Traditional individualist civic education disseminates the idea that active citizens should discuss, express their opinions and promote their proposals to all political problems. This idea is utopian because nobody can do all this. The new framework offers realist opportunities for public participation. Active individuals should become organized into professional and other groups. They should not react on all political initiatives. They should focus on actions that concern their interests. This idea is the basis for participative democracy. This idea is realistic because it does not require active reactions from all members of some interest groups. It requires activity from the active representatives of these groups. In this way, all active citizens can become organized and have a real say in actual political processes. This is the road to a real civic society. Citizens as members of organized power groups can be active on all levels, not only on local and national, but on the European levels, too. This framework introduces to students and all other citizens realist concepts and ways for active participation and development of their national, European and global identities.

This small system of main sociological concepts is necessary for description and analysis of all main political, economic and social institutions. It enables all students and citizens to understand their realist positions and opportunities in political and social systems. It is more relevant than traditional civic textbooks. First, in the former, the number of main concepts is limited, but still sufficient for understanding one's realist opportunities in society. In the latter, there is almost unlimited number of concepts and terms. In the new system, there are only three main concepts of actors (person, citizen and social actor), four concepts of structures (society, state, community and organizations) and three main models of decision making (authoritarian, democratic and partnership). Next, there are six relativist concepts: social equality, effectiveness, justice, social orientations, political orientations and scientific paradigms.

Why is this system necessary at all? Traditional civic education, including EDC, focuses on social and political institutions and provides about them general knowledge. This knowledge is mostly normative, empirical and technical; there are neither problems nor controversies. It pretends to be absolute truth and absolutist knowledge. Semiotics denies the concept of absolutist knowledge and considers human knowledge as relativist, as system of signs that have some socially negotiated meanings. These meanings might be valid or invalid. They

might reflect realities more or less correctly. The relevance of the verbal knowledge to some realities should be proven by some arguments. The traditional civic textbooks ignore the fact that different social actors, the powerful and the powerless, have different social positions, opportunities, interests, values, political orientations and scientific paradigms. This favours some actors and discriminates others. It follows that all public organizations should be described from different positions.

This system of main sociological concepts is also an educational system. It is the theoretical basis of students' social and political development. In the basic school, they should become aware that such a system exists. In the higher secondary school, they should obtain deeper knowledge and practice using these concepts for description of their own experiences and analysis of actual political events. This system is the basis for political literacy. It is necessary and sufficient for active and critical citizens.

4 Syllabuses for civic studies in Estonia

I am going to use the system of concepts for analysing the implicit ideas behind the Estonian syllabuses and textbooks. Are they relevant for their declared goals, do they support formation of European identities and active citizens? First, I should remind the role of the Soviet totalitarian heritage in Estonian society and especially, in social sciences and civic education. Estonia was occupied by the Nazis Germany three years and by the totalitarian Soviet Empire about 48 years. In comparison, the Nazis ideology dominated in Germany only 12 years. In former Soviet Union and Russia, the totalitarian communism prevailed almost 70 years, up to 1991. The basic principles of totalitarian ideology are still visible and influential in Estonia. While Estonia became independent again, it abandoned from the communist ideology, but not from its authoritarian values, ideas and power structures. They were almost automatically replaced by authoritarian capitalist ideology and power structures. The authoritarian communism argued after Marx that all capitalists exploit all workers. Now, the totalitarian idea has been turned around: no entrepreneur never neither discriminates nor exploits any employee. One should notice that the new opposite idea is also totalitarian.

There are simplified understandings of democracy and democratic elections. The first free elections in 1992 have been considered as a restoration of full democracy at once. Second, the national Government has been evaluated as a model of democratic governance. They had the right to decide what the best was for people. Thus, there was no need for participatory democracy. Third, in the totalitarian Soviet Union, social scholars had to justify the ideology and policy of the ruling elite. It was dangerous to criticize them, even if they made mistakes or misused their power. Now, most of the scholars criticize the Communist authorities, but not the new ones, even if the latter are wrong and ineffective. Many civil society organizations (CSOs) have similar attitudes. Many of them apply for governmental support; they



don't criticize authorities and are ready to justify their activities.

We will demonstrate that this is reflected in all social studies textbooks, although they don't stress it. The books don't describe the hierarchical structures, social conflicts and controversies in private and public organizations at all. They don't use such concepts like power, subordination, domination and resistance. As a result, such problems like social inequality and injustice and misuse of power seem to be impossible. In practice, this is commonplace. Estonian media reveals cases of misuse of power and corruption every week, but the mainstream civic textbooks neglect the problems. The dichotomous concepts of social actors and structures could reveal this, but they are ignored and rejected in Estonian schools and education system.

It is vital to comment the education law, curricula and syllabuses before analysis of main textbooks. The main goal of laws is to regulate relations between different legal subjects, physical and legal entities. The Estonian education law focuses on relations between legal persons in the education system (institutions, schools, universities etc.), not on relations between different persons, groups and institutions in education (Riigikogu, 1992, § 1). This favours legal persons and enables to discriminate some individual persons. The law defines education as a collection of knowledge that is described in curriculum. This knowledge (curriculum), alas, must create favourable conditions for development of persons, family, nation and national economy, politics, culture and nature protection (Riigikogu, § 2). But the knowledge in curriculum is inadequate for both personal and social development. To be adequate for development of persons in society, it should provide students with relevant concepts and theories. This is the realist aim. The Law has replaced it by a utopian idea of favourable conditions. Knowledge is necessary, but insufficient condition for human development. The system of necessary conditions should contain besides intellectual (knowledge) also social, material and political conditions. The law introduces unequal treatment of individual and institutional or organizational actors. In hierarchical organizations, different members have unequal rights, they are different social actors. These different social actors (students, their parents, teachers, school heads and authorities) have unequal opportunities for regulation of their relations, for using legal, material and political resources for development of themselves and for contribution of national progress. It follows that the law is not quite adequate for its main goal.

According to political theories and models of curriculum, main educational partners should have equal opportunities for participation in all main steps in this process: definition of goals, learning materials and methods etc. (Pilli, 2009; Pinar et al., 2008, pp. 243 etc.; Rutiku et al., 2009, p. 20). Next, main goals should determine selection and design of subject syllabuses, learning materials and methods. Analyses of former curricula (NC, 1996 & 2002) have revealed deep gaps

between their normative and descriptive parts, general goals and description of subjects (Haav, 2012, pp. 60-62). All main reviewers, including OECD (2001) and Finnish Ministry of Education (FNBE, 2003) have drawn this conclusion. The paper will analyse, did the situation change in case of civics and citizenship education in the last ten years.

The last curriculum for gymnasium (adopted in 2010 and 2011, last amendments in 2014) consists of a general part, 15 mandatory subject syllabuses in 7 subject fields, eight extracurricular topics (including civic initiative and entrepreneurship) and 48 elective courses. The general part describes main goals and priorities, seven human and eleven social values and eight European key competencies² (including social and citizenship related). The main goal is the same as in many democratic countries: intellectual, physical, moral, social and emotional development of students. The civic knowledge, skills and activity are one of the five priorities, one of the eight extracurricular topics and one of the eight key competences. Still, the social competence includes the ability to understand global problems, but not the complex and controversial social issues (NC, 2011a, § 4). The extracurricular topic on civic initiative should be dealt with in all school subjects in order to provide students with "knowledge and skills for political and economical decision-making process on the local and national level" (NC, 2011a, Appendix 14).

All these civic and social issues are scrutinized in the syllabuses for social sciences (history, civics and personal studies). They are outlined in 46 pages in Appendix 5 (NC, 2011b³). There are six courses on history, two on civics and one on personal and health (human) studies (each course contains 35 hours). The two civic courses concern four main areas: society at large, politics and the state, economics and globalization on seven pages. The administrators of curricula have selected subjects, theories and concepts that are not most relevant and sufficient for achievement of the above goals, values and competences. This paper analyses normative part of the social subject field (pp. 1-7) and focuses on social and civic competences and the first civic course (pp. 24-29). In this normative part, there are eight very broad and abstract general outcomes. They are not formulated according to the Guidelines for learning outcomes. There is no hierarchical order. Becoming an independent personality and active citizen should be the main outcomes but they are only few out of many. Here are some other examples. "Students understand social changes in history and modernity. They respect democracy, human rights, laws, civic rights and duties and take responsibility. They know cultures of different nations and accept the differences." These formulations don't address only one indicator and they aren't measurable (Biggs and Tang, 2008, pp. 65 etc.; Pilli, 2009).

The civic course on society and governance is outlined on five pages (NC, 2011b, pp. 24-29). (In comparison, in Finnish curriculum 2003, the same course on politics and society outlines the same content on one page only. There are but four learning outcomes, and five main



topics. – FNBE 2003, pp. 188-189). The Estonian syllabus outlines its objectives and outcomes many times, first, for both main courses, and then for its four thematic areas. There are eight outcomes for the thematic area of society and seven for governance. Besides the objectives and content, there is also part 2.3.2, “course description” on three pages (NC, 2011b, pp. 25-27). This part is actually normative and it prescribes what the education (it means teachers) should do. It is expressed in declarative way in order to create an impression of the reality itself. The real description of the course on society and governance is in its content that takes one page only (NC, 2011b, pp. 28-29).

The syllabus declares nine broad learning objectives for the two civic courses, one of them is that students “define themselves as citizens of Estonia, Europe and the world, acknowledge their obligations and responsibilities as citizens; support the sustainable development of society, culture and natural environment through their behaviour and thoughtfully plan their future”(NC, 2011b, p. 24). This phrase could mean that citizens might have opportunities to take part in democratic processes. These nine general objectives are repeated many times as fifteen learning outcomes for society and politics (ibidem, pp. 27-29). One of them is that students “identify the principal features, structure, areas and organization of contemporary society, understand the mechanisms of politics and know how to relate to the development of society”. The other argues that students „describe the features of contemporary society; understand its structure and functioning principles, areas of social life and the relations between them and relate themselves to the development of society” (ibidem, p. 28). These declared outcomes are very broad. They refer to a broad variety of external institutions. One objective reminds that students should understand their links to these institutions. This is one of the few student-centred goals. The percentage of such student-centred goals is very small. The syllabus mentions a number of social mechanisms and structures without any reference to the role of citizens (and students) at these institutions. The designers of the civic syllabus have once again violated the rules of formulation of learning objectives and outcomes. Each formulation should address only one indicator and it should be measurable.

The civic syllabuses have been eclectic from the beginning (NC, 1996). Its authors did not follow the curriculum theory. They compiled knowledge from many social sciences. They addressed mainly social, political, economic and legal systems. The syllabus for gymnasium defined four objectives and six learning outcomes. It did not aim at formation of active citizens. All these aims, outcomes and description of all thematic areas were outlined on two pages only. In the last syllabus for the higher secondary level (NC, 2011a); the structures of the two main civic courses are not logical. The first part about society contains a number of different types of society. There are also such concepts like public and business sectors, civil society (NGOs), industrial and post-industrial society. Next, it also contains the part “social

relations and institutions”. There are concepts like national structures and social stratification. There are social problems like social mobility, economic and social inequality, poverty, and social justice (NC, 2011b, p. 28). It also refers to social institutions like family, market, state and media, although they are outlined in the next parts of the syllabus. There is nothing about education, schools and students in syllabuses (and most textbooks). (There is something about them in textbooks for basic schools, in grades six and nine). These topics are necessary for students’ socialization and formation of their social competence, but the authors have replaced them with such topics like copyright law and consumer protection.

The course on governance and civic involvement is most extensive. It consists of seven chapters, but it is out of balance. This political course is focused on concepts like state, democratic and totalitarian regimes, political institutions, legislation, legal system, civil service, local authorities, human rights, ideologies, elections, political parties and NGOs. The concepts of national and local political institutions are neither linked to citizens’ participation in politics nor to their civic initiatives. The authors ignore their own promises given in the normative part: „All main areas of social life (economy, politics and law) are analysed with regard to society as an integrated whole and the position and roles of the individual” (ibidem, p. 25). Again, the descriptive part ignores the normative part. The text compilers promise to focus on „considering the inclusion of citizens in the exercising of public authority and ways of influencing the activities of public authority”(NC, 2011b, p. 26), but they didn’t include these ideas into the course content (ibidem, p. 29). One of seven chapters is headed as “Parties and civil societies”. It concerns interest groups, civil society and inclusion. There is no reference to participation of interest groups and civil society organizations in political processes. The concepts of participative democracy and open governance partnership (OGP) enable citizens to take part in political processes, but they are missing from the syllabus. There is no reference to participation in schools, local and national levels, although one of the aims is communication with local and national authorities. Again, it means that the authors of this syllabus are willing to channel the citizens’ activity from public and political spheres into private and personal spheres. The same tendency is identifiable in some textbooks published within this period (1997-2014).

It is not occasional that the concepts of public participation have been removed from the civic syllabus into the extracurricular topic on the civic initiative. It means that teachers of all subjects “should understand the role of an individual's in the political and economic system, know the opportunities and have the skills to influence the society and participate in the decision-making process” in both political and business systems on local and national levels (NC, 2011a, Appendix 14). Educators of civic teachers, compilers of civic syllabuses and textbooks have avoided these problems and put the civic initiative on shoulders of ordinary teachers.



The syllabus also concerns European political institutions, but not identities, values and citizenship. There is no reference to authoritarian model of power execution and hierarchical relations in the public organizations. This creates an illusion that the governance is also democratic. If so, there is no need for public participation. If the syllabus and textbooks confess that public governance and administration are hierarchical and authoritarian, then the need for public control and participation might become obvious. The authoritarian administrators could make mistakes and even misuse their power.

The introductory normative part of social studies syllabuses (NC, 2011b, p. 25) refers also to concepts of power, subordination, domination and resistance, but they are not represented in the content description. The content refers to some complex and controversial social phenomena (social equality and justice, poverty, democracy, authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, extreme ideologies) and relevant concepts. The role of these references is very small, there are but some phrases on seven pages. It is easy to lose these fine phrases about complex problems and active citizens.

This means that the European citizenship and social competence is exposed in the general part of curriculum; there is something also in general part of social studies, but almost nothing in the content of the main civic courses. Thus, the descriptive part of the syllabus, its structure and selection of concepts is not quite relevant to its normative part and to the extracurricular topic of civic initiative. This is not favourable for formation of active citizens. The phrase of active citizen is expressed four or five times in the syllabus. Still, it doesn't outline any classification of different types of citizens: passive and active, responsible and critical. The syllabus outlines a complex of methods for assessment of subject knowledge, but nothing for measurement of activity levels. It does not address the students' attitudes and knowledge for participation either on national, or on local and school levels (NC, 2011b, p. 7). It is not quite relevant to the main task of civic education: formation of active citizens and European identities.

The syllabus does not rely on a system of sociological and social scientific concepts. It is rather a loosely linked collection of a number of empirical topics and narrow technical terms. Estonian civic education system has promoted lengthy and ambiguous texts and ignored conceptual systems for students' progress in many decades. The system resists to changes and pretends to be perfect. They are going to reformulate social studies syllabuses by using some lists of topics (like those by Ten Dam & Volman, 2007, p. 290). It is very likely that these reformulations will be heralded as a curriculum innovation.

4 Mainstream textbooks

I will review and assess the relevance of textbooks to the civic syllabus, active citizenship and European identities. Do the Estonian textbooks provide students with a system of complex and integrated concepts or do they

disseminate normative descriptions? Do they promote realist ideas for active participation in educational, public and business organizations, in local and national political institutions or do they disseminate abstract and utopian ideas? Are the civic concepts relevant for acquiring of practical competences and skills?

I have discussed the problems with many undergraduate students while I taught some social science courses at some universities in Tallinn and Tartu in 2000-2015. Did the school graduates understand political and sociological problems of democracy? I have also discussed the problems with representatives of different interest groups in social networks and at public forums. All this has happened in period of almost twenty years.

Civic studies were part of National Curriculum also in years 1920-1940 in Estonia (Haav, 2011). Some authors published textbooks for both basic schools and gymnasia (Toomas Adamson & Jüri Parijõgi, 1934 and Richard Kleis & Richard Räägo, 1938). In the Soviet period, the syllabuses and textbooks were compiled by leading scholars in Moscow. The books expressed Marxist ideology, plans for Soviet society and economy and ideological and moral requirements to youth (Shachnazarov, G. H. et al., 1963). They disseminated blind patriotism and obedience to authorities.

Since 1991, many new textbooks on citizenship education have been published in Estonia for both basic and secondary schools (Möldre and Toots, 1997, Möldre & Toots, 1999, Olenko & Toots, 2005 & Toots, 2014). The books from 1997, 1999 and 2005 have been formerly criticized in other publications (Kalmus, 2002 & 2003; Ruutsoo, 2000; Haav, 2008, 2010 & 2011; Räs, 2008). They have followed the eclectic civic syllabuses and formally described the main political institutions. Formation of active and democratic citizens has not been their main aim. The materials have avoided complex and controversial social issues. Concepts of social structure and social inequality have been reduced to differences between individuals (Möldre & Toots, 1999, pp. 31-33; Toots, 2014, pp. 105-106). In large organizations, there are large power differences between main social actors like employers, managers and employees. This enables social inequality and injustice. These authors and their writings neglect these opportunities. They describe the governmental institutions as rational ones and ignore the role of hierarchical power relations and struggles in them (Möldre & Toots 1999, p. 69 etc.; Olenko & Toots, 2005, p. 21, 44-46). Democratic systems combine democratic elections and hierarchical decision making after the elections. In practice, the authoritarian relations have been complemented with participative democracy in both public and business organizations in most European countries. In Estonia, this is typical for public organizations, but not for business companies. The mainstream management textbooks ignore the participative decision making not only in business sector, but in public sector, too. This ignorance can be conceptually explained. If the governance already is democratic, then there is no need for participative democracy. There are also some political reasons. Some interest groups oppose to the public



participation. Now, the main Estonian civic textbooks contribute to this ignorance. They don't describe the real systems for public participation neither on national, nor on local and school levels. In some textbooks the concept of participatory democracy (Möldre & Toots, 1997, p. 152) was replaced by that of (unpolitical) civil participation (Toots, 2014, p. 49). In many European countries, students' democratic experiences at school have been used in civic education (Print et al., 2002; Malafaia, Menezes et al., 2016). Estonian students have actually quite extensive rights and opportunities for self-governance and participation in school governance via school council (Eurydice, 2005; Toots et al., 2006; Toots 2011; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). The Estonian textbooks don't refer to using of these experiences in democracy education.

In the last years, there have been published some new textbooks by some other scholars and civics teachers. They follow civic syllabuses, but some of them express also some critical ideas. I will review these books. Do they touch complex and controversial issues? Do they treat participatory democracy at school, local and national levels? One of them is a textbook from 2009 which dedicates four pages (Raudla, 2009, pp. 58-65) to formal description of main topics like parliament and government (again, without any references to public participation). According to the ideology of functionalist harmony, all politicians do their best for public interests. It doesn't challenge the ideology, but it quotes some journalists who have done so. The textbook introduces concepts of party oligarchy (Raudla, 2009, pp. 51-52) and group interests (ibidem, p. 26). Still, these phrases are not used for conceptual goals. The book doesn't argue that active citizens should react on the cases of misuse of public power. Only a quarter of citizens feel that they are enough competent and could influence on national policies (Raudla, 2009, p. 85). Still, more than 50 per cent are familiar with main channels of political influence: direct contact to some politicians or public authorities, via some interest groups or media, via public appeal etc. (ibidem, p.88). These percentages refer to opportunities for participative democracy, but there is no such concept at all. Still, in chapter on civic society, there is a sentence of principal importance. "Civic organizations take part in elaboration of draft laws and policies, and they also express their opinions about governmental policies" (ibidem, p. 87). Since 1990s, there are systems of participative democracy in Estonia on all levels, but the civics textbooks don't introduce them to Estonian youth. The ideas of participative democracy should be central in civics textbooks, but they are elaborated neither in this textbook nor in its workbook. The latter (Siilaberg, Somelar and Ugur, 2010) doesn't present any exercises for political actions. At least, it could have been useful in chapter on civic society. This workbook presents useful critical facts about political life in Estonia. It compares elections with competition between public relations agencies (Siilaberg, Somelar and Ugur, 2010, p. 45). They refer to the limited opportunities that people and NGOs have for participation in political activities. About 90 % of

people believe that they cannot influence the Parliament and Government. About two thirds believe the same about local authorities (Siilaberg, Somelar and Ugur, 2010, p. 24). These data have only informative function in these books. In civics workbooks, the ideas and exercises about participant democracy should be central. They could and should be used for practicing civic actions and formation of active attitudes. In Estonia, they have but peripheral role. In the chapter on civic society, there are but some references to participation portals⁴.

A new textbook from 2014 (Saarts & Roosmaa, 2014) provides a more correct treatment of concepts of democracy and participation. It, too, refers to the web-based national system of public participation. It affirms that participant democracy complements the representative one. People can discuss draft laws and policies and make their own proposals (Saarts & Roosmaa, 2014, p. 153). The book neither isolates nor contrasts political and voluntary activities. They describe how interest groups can take part in and influence on political processes. The same authors have also published an electronic textbook⁵. The e-book doesn't have any references to public participation on local and national levels. Concepts like participative democracy are not present.

These last textbooks introduce some critical ideas and facts that are useful for political literacy and motivation. They facilitate students' independent and critical thinking, social and political skills. All this is useful, but not sufficient for emergence of active European citizenship. Unfortunately, they don't make up any conceptual system. Estonian curricula and civic syllabuses don't expose their actual theoretical foundations. They are eclectic collections of normative ideals and formal descriptions of social and political institutions. They are not linked to any system of social theoretical concepts. There has been no willingness to use the new system of concepts based on pluralist paradigm, new institutional theory and dichotomist concepts like man and society, social actors and structures.

The implicit ideological paradigm (not theoretical framework) behind these syllabuses and mainstream textbooks is that of functionalist harmony. According to this, all authorities do their best for achieving their official goals. They neither do mistakes, nor misuse their power. The authors ignore some critical social theories like the pluralist one and the new institutional theory⁶ that is represented by Paul DiMaggio, Amitai Etzioni, Hans-Dieter Meyer, Charles Perrow, Walter Powell, Brian Rowan, Richard Scott, Philip Selznick et al. (Perrow, 1986). According to them, people and groups have different interests and some of them can put their selfish interests first. It means that active citizens should critically observe performance of public organizations, their administrators and civil servants. The European concept of democratic citizenship recommends this, too. All active citizens should be critical and if they notice something wrong, then they should make these cases public. Estonian civics' textbooks should also recommend this, but so far, they have been reluctant to do so.

5 Some conclusions

The main Estonian civic textbooks do not provide students with a relevant system of concepts for addressing complex problems. This paper tries to overcome this proposing, to this regard, a system of concepts. It relies on sociological dichotomies of person and society, and semiotic dichotomies of person and culture. The dichotomy of social actors and structures is the methodological basis for understanding of social problems in hierarchical political institutions (like parliament and government) and business and public organizations. This dichotomy is the basis for introduction of a system of relative concepts like social effectiveness and social justice, social value orientations, political ideologies and scientific paradigms. This is necessary for understanding of one's positions and opportunities on organizational, local and national levels. They enable to describe and analyse complex and controversial social and political phenomena like hierarchical power relations, social inequality and injustice. They provoke critical thinking and active attitudes to educational, social and political systems. All this corresponds to the aims of the EDC, national curriculum and civic syllabuses. Unfortunately, the Estonian civic education system has ignored these concepts so far.

The paper started the analysis of Estonian textbooks from that of National Curricula and civic syllabuses. These normative documents have been and have remained controversial. They have exposed humanist goals and high expectations in general normative parts. The goals have not been complemented with a relevant conceptual system. The last curriculum (NC, 2011a) mentions social and political literacy, knowledge about society and public participation, skills and motivation to take part in political processes and influence on social development. The civic syllabus mentions the EDC goals in normative part, but it doesn't focus on them. The content of syllabus and main textbooks fail to provide necessary concepts and theories for their achievement. The textbooks follow the content of the syllabus, but they don't focus on the main goals of EDC. They provide students with more or less extensive descriptions of normative tasks of main institutions. They fail to outline any system of concepts that would be necessary and sufficient for critical analyses of these institutions.

The paper has referred to some main shortcomings and controversies of the civic syllabuses and main textbooks. They don't point to the differences between political ideas and practices. The democratic elections rely on the rational actor theory. In election campaigns, many politicians take advantage of models and theories of consumer behaviour. The syllabuses and textbooks should reflect this contradiction, but they don't do this. They focus on the first model and avoid the second one. The models of democratic state and organizations combine controversial models of decision making: democratic elections and authoritarian power executions. The syllabus and main textbooks don't mention the power hierarchies. In practice, the hierarchical system has been complemented with participative democracy, but the syllabus and main textbooks practically

ignore this. The Government has created a web-based system for public participation. This participation of active citizens, interest groups and NGOs links people and the State. The syllabus and textbooks should acknowledge students with these channels and opportunities for information, discussion and proposals. Such participation system exists also in schools and universities. The school textbooks should describe them, but they don't do so. Only in books for basic schools (grade six), there are small informative texts about schools. The textbooks for secondary schools ignore the topic. All textbooks should describe also some positive cases of student participation on school and local levels. These cases would enable use of active learning methods like critical analyses and discussions.

The governance part of the civic syllabus and textbooks centres on formal description of main political institutions. They don't mention power relations and struggles in these formal structures. There is also no reference to participation of active citizens, interest groups and NGOs. This enables isolate people from power execution. The syllabus and textbooks treat civil sector in isolation from the public sector. The political concept of civic society is replaced by an unpolitical civil society. There are references to NGOs, but not to the political opportunities of NGOs and interest groups to discuss political issues. This doesn't facilitate students' political literacy. They don't realize their opportunities to take part in political processes and have a real effect on national development.

In sum, the civic education system doesn't facilitate promotion of European identities and democratic citizenship. The curriculum theorists and textbook authors have limited opportunities for that in Estonia. Authors must conform to the rigid syllabuses. Usually, they have followed the content of their subject. They should also pay attention to the general parts of curriculum and social studies' syllabuses, but they have largely ignored this. They have written much neither about development of social competences and skills nor clarification of democratic European values and attitudes.

As such, it would be important that the whole civic education system, including curriculum administrators, curriculum developers, textbook authors and teachers themselves, discuss social scientific curriculum theory and its implication for civic education.

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Endnotes

- ¹ www.coe.int
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