

Exploring 'Europe' in Dutch Social Studies high school textbooks: quantity and associations

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Abstract

Non-material factors, such as a person's ideas and values concerning Europe, are very influential with respect to the way persons perceive Europe (Vollaard, n.d., p. 2). These associations with Europe are formed by a person's upbringing, but also through education. Several studies have researched the relationship between a person's level of education and his or her support for Europe. These researchers show that generally the higher educated Dutch people are the more positive they are about Europe (Dekker et al., 2007, p. 19; Dekker and Ridder, 2012, p. 56; Hakhverdian et al., 2013, p. 531; Op de Woerd, 2014, section para. 13, own translation; Dekker and Den Ridder, 2014, p. 25)? Could the reason for this be that the way Europe is represented at lower education levels is different from the representation of Europe at higher education levels? The main research aim of this thesis is to find out if lower educated obtain different information than higher education concerning Europe in Social studies' textbooks used at VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO in Dutch secondary education. It is also possible that the amount of information students receive about Europe differs from one education level to the next. As such, a possible explanation of the relationship between a person's level of education and his or her support for Europe may be the way Europe is framed in different social studies textbooks

This thesis uses content analysis to explore and describe how Europe is represented in social studies textbooks in the Netherlands. Firstly, this work analyses how much information about Europe can be found in Dutch social studies textbooks by counting the number of pages. The results show that the lowest amount of information about Europe is found at VMBO-bk where, on average, 9.33 pages per book refer to Europe. The highest amount is found in VWO social studies text books with an average of 56.76 pages per book referring to Europe. Secondly, this thesis examines the positive and negative associations with Europe occurring in these textbooks. The outcomes are that at VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt no specific positive associations prevails, whereas at HAVO and VWO, the focus lies on European economic and trade benefits. At VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt no negative notion prevails, whereas at HAVO and VWO, the negative association 'loss of sovereignty' took prevalence over the other negative associations. Thirdly, the thesis analyses how the Netherlands is portrayed in the 12 textbooks, because the views of the nation itself and its relation to Europe also influences the way Europe is perceived (Harmsen, 2008, p. 318). There are

many different associations with the Netherlands in these books: from international trade perspective, to a heaven for freedom, to a welfare state. Moreover, the fit between the associations with Europe and with the Netherlands have been explored. It was discovered that at both education levels a clear fit could not be found.

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Preface

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Master of Political Science at Leiden University.

Last year, I graduated cum laude and obtained my Bachelor in European Studies. The next challenge I faced was the Master of Political Science in Leiden. This was a challenge in many ways: interesting and exciting courses, new professors I would meet and new fellow students. I can say that this year at Leiden University has been a unique experience for which I am forever grateful. The year has brought me new knowledge, fresh insights and fruitful debates.

The writing of this thesis has been an intensive process. Yet, the interesting subject of this thesis – the relative quantity and associations with Europe and the Netherlands in social studies textbooks in Dutch secondary education – has made the long days researching, analysing and writing worth it.

I am grateful to all those people that have supported me and stood by me in many ways. This thesis has been written under the supervision of Dr. Hans Vollaard working at the Institute of Political Science at Leiden University. I would like to thank him for providing proper guidance and useful feedback during the process of writing this thesis. It has been very much appreciated. I would also like to thank the second reader Dr. Francesco Ragazzi for providing me with feedback.

Furthermore, I would like to thank my family for their never-ending support. I would like to say a special thank you to my beloved parents who have supported and motivated me, not only during my educational career, but during every step in my life. Thank you for your hard work, the chances you have given me and for being there for me, always. I dedicate my master thesis to you.

Thank you!

10 June 2013

Renate van Leeuwen

1. Introduction

'Close the borders for Poles

Since 2007 Dutch employers are allowed to employ Poles without having to request a working permit for them. Not everyone in the Netherlands is happy about that. Many people say: close the borders for now. We have enough problems in the Netherlands' (Groen and Hagers, 2010, p. 146, own translation).

'The Netherlands has less ability to decide on its own. Most countries in the EU would like to have a very strict drugs policy. It might be that therefore the Netherlands have to stop with allowing coffee shops' (Schuijt et al., 2011, p. 62, own translation).

'Because of the open borders a lot of people from European member states with high unemployment rates, such as Poland and Bulgaria, are coming to the Netherlands in order to work. They often work for a very low pay-check which causes Dutch people to lose their jobs' (Schuijt et al., 2011, p. 62, own translation).

These short text passages are derived from the data of this research, namely social studies textbooks used in Dutch secondary education. In these passages diverse views and different associations with Europe, the European Union and European integration are put forward. As the reader might have noticed the associations above are negative. This does not mean that the texts in the books are solely negative. On the contrary, many books often provide a balanced view by discussing advantages and disadvantages of Europe. However, negative associations with Europe such as those above also occur.

By reading the above text passages it is likely that one would have different associations with Europe: the association of Poles causing labor displacement in the Netherlands, the association that the EU is a threat to Dutch sovereignty and its uniqueness with regards to largely allowing soft drugs and the association that people from member states with high unemployment rates migrate to the Netherlands and cause labour repression with respect to Dutch employees. As such, the above examples perhaps illustrate the possibility of textbooks in

shaping, in this case negative, associations with Europe, the European Union and European integration.

1.1 Problem statement

Several studies explored the relationship between a person's education level and a person's support for Europe. The researchers show that generally the higher educated Dutch people are the more positive they are about Europe (Dekker et al., 2007, p. 19; Dekker and Ridder, 2012, p. 56; Hakhverdian et al., 2013, p. 531; Op de Woerd, 2014, section para. 13, own translation). What causes this difference in support? Could it be that the associations with Europe at the lower education level VMBO is different from the associations with Europe at the higher education levels - HAVO and VWO? Another possibility is that an increase in the amount of information about Europe can be noted when the education level is higher. This thesis does not research a causal relationship between level of education and support for Europe. Rather this thesis is a descriptive and explorative analysis aimed at researching the quantity of information about Europe and the different associations with Europe within social studies textbooks used in Dutch secondary education at the levels VMBO, HAVO and VWO.

1.2 Relevance

1.2.1 Research goals

The analysis of the text books and the associations that are being put forward in those about Europe and the Netherlands will support this thesis' main objective to contribute to the debate about Europe and citizen's support, particularly the differences between higher-and lower educated, by offering an descriptive and explorative study aimed at researching the relative amount of information about Europe and the different associations of Europe and the Netherlands within social studies textbooks used in Dutch secondary education at the levels VMBO, HAVO and VWO. The objective is also to find out whether associations with Europe are more negative in social studies textbooks for lower education levels in comparison with social studies textbooks for higher education levels. Another research goal is to explore whether a fit exists between the associations of the Netherlands and the associations with Europe in social studies textbooks.

1.2.2 Academic and societal relevance

Research seems to validate the view that education level and support for Europe are intertwined. The Europese Verkenningen (2007) shows that education level and party choices are important variables to indicate a person's attitude towards Europe. The study also put forward that a profound difference between Dutch higher educated persons and lower educated persons is found with regards to their attitude to Europe. Compared to lower educated, +37% of the higher educated are more positive towards Europe and see themselves more 'involved' with Europe (+27%) (Dekker et al., 2007, p.19). Along similar lines, a recent study by Hakhverdian et al. (2013) found that low-educated persons are the most Eurosceptic while high-education persons are the least Eurosceptic (Hakhverdian et al., 2013, p. 531). Hakhverdian et al. (2013) researched the relationship between education level and euroscepticism in 12 European member states in the time period of 1973 until 2010. The data gathered in this study suggests that the largest increase in euroscepticism exists among the lowest educated persons across the time frame 1973 – 2010 (Hakhverdian et al., 2013, p. 531). André Krouwel is a respected professor at the faculty of Political Sciences at the VU Amsterdam and director of the voting assistance device 'KiesKompas'. Krouwels' findings lend support to the claim that lower educated generally are more Eurosceptic and he notes a 'strong overrepresentation of lower educated in the support of populist anti-immigration parties which are many times more Eurosceptic than voters from other parties' (Op de Woerd, 2014, section para. 13, own translation). The data gathered from Krouwels' KiesKompas suggests that this is especially the case in France, the United Kingdom, Sweden and the Netherlands. On these grounds, we can argue that many studies confirm the finding that generally the higher educated Dutch people are, the higher their support for Europe and European integration is.

The key question, however, is what causes this difference in support? A possible explanation could be that lower educated persons enjoy fewer benefits of Europe and globalisation which could cause a decrease in support for Europe in comparison with higher educated persons who gain more of Europe, for example economically (Creusen et al., 2010, p. 10). The difference between lower educated and higher educated persons with regards to associations with Europe could also be due to a more immaterial approach of Europe and European integration. However, much of the academic debate focused around the

prevailing European integration approaches: intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism. For both approaches, the focus often lies on material interests (Wallace et al., 2010, pp. 17 – 21). However, in the last decades more scholarly attention focuses upon immaterial interests. Could these be determinative for the way persons think about and perceive Europe and European integration? Each person's discourses and values are formed on an early age by parents, but also by education (Provenzo et al., 2010, p. 42). In this present thesis, the issue under scrutiny is the latter. It might be that a possible explanation for the differences in support for Europe between higher-and lower educated persons is not, or not merely, due to who profits most economically, but due to the associations with Europe existent in social studies textbooks.

Previous research into the associations with Europe in textbooks has been done by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in the light of a project of the European Council about the history of Europe. In this work the main author, Falk Pingel, analyses a sample of textbooks from 13 European countries. These textbooks have been qualitatively analysed on the basis of 'a uniform pattern'; a pattern based on several questions aimed at identifying how the history of Europe is represented in history textbooks (Pingel, 2000, p. 12). Yet, to my knowledge, no research has yet been done to explore which associations with Europe and European integration exist in Dutch high school social studies textbooks. Wexler argues that through textbook's formats, ideologies, messages and opinions 'can be accepted as factual, thereby acquiring the status of truth' (cited in Provenzo et al., 2010). It seems the associations with Europe being put forward in social studies textbooks can have a profound impact on the formation of young people's ideas, perceptions and discourses with respect to Europe. Therefore, research into this area might contribute to filling this research gap and finding out which associations with Europe exist in Dutch social studies textbooks.

Besides differences in associations with Europe between education levels, this thesis will also examine differences in the relative amount of pages referring to Europe in social studies textbooks used in Dutch secondary education. It might be that social studies textbooks for lower education levels contain relatively less pages referring to Europe than higher education levels. It could be claimed that the relative quantity of information is part of a possible explanation for the

differences in support for Europe between education levels. Hence, besides researching which associations exist in social studies textbooks used for VMBO, HAVO and VWO in Dutch secondary education, this thesis also aims to explore how much information about Europe is being discussed. These answers might provide insights into why lower educated persons are more negative towards Europe and less involved.

This research is also societally relevant, because many civilians are receiving political discourses about Europe via, for example, the different media outlets. An example could be a politician stating that Turkey belongs to Europe whereas a civilian might have learned that Turkey belongs to the Middle East. Another example could be a national parliament member arguing, in front of the camera, that leaving the Eurozone is disastrous for economic prosperity whereas a Dutch civilian might have the belief that with the national currency the Gulden everything was cheaper and better. It is important to note that the issue is not whether these associations with Europe are true or false; what matters is that the discourses people have, influences the way they perceive Europe (Vollaard, n.d., p. 2). Furthermore, it also could be the case that elite discourses and mass discourse do not resonate. Therefore, it is also of societal importance to discover which associations of Europe exist in social studies textbooks so that political elite discourses 'match' those of the masses.

1.3 Research questions

This thesis seeks to answer the following main research questions:

Do the lower educated obtain different information than the higher educated concerning Europe in social studies textbooks used for VMBO, HAVO and VWO in Dutch secondary education?

The following sub-questions and the, from the sub-questions, derived hypotheses have been formulated:

1. *Is the relative quantity of information referring to Europe smaller at the lower education levels VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt in comparison to the higher education levels HAVO and VWO in social studies textbooks?*

H1: The lower educated obtain relatively less information about Europe in social studies textbooks than the higher educated.

2. *Which positive and negative associations with Europe are made in VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO social studies textbooks in Dutch secondary education?*

H2: The social studies textbooks for the lower education levels contain relatively more negative associations with Europe than the higher educated levels.

3. *Is the fit between the associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe worse for the lower education levels in comparison to the higher education levels?*

H3: The associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe do not fit

1.4 Structure

Chapter 2 discusses the theory underlying this thesis i.e. the theoretical framework. The approach of social constructivism is discussed because this approach stresses the importance of immaterial aspects. Europe is not merely about competing economic and material interests, but instead about battles between non-material interests such as discourses, i.e. between the battles between the different meanings persons' hold of Europe. In order to clarify this, the section also names several examples, such as several historic discourses that have existed about Europe. Another example is the different communicative discourses of Europe and European integration that were existent during certain time periods in France. Both examples not only illustrate the battles between the different meanings persons' hold of Europe but also that these meanings differ

from country to country. The second section of this chapter links the previous theory to the associations with Europe that are shaped by parents and education. Textbooks have significant power in shaping ideas, opinions and ideologies. To explain the latter the concept of framing is explained and discussed. This section ends with the research and sub questions.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology that is used to answer the research questions and hypothesis formulated in Chapter 2. Justifications are given for the choice of content-analysis as a methodology as well as the justification for the choice for social studies textbooks opposed to other subjects. This section also includes a thorough explanation about the Dutch education system and the organization of the analysed textbooks. Moreover, the research questions are explained and the expectations are listed in paragraph 5. Paragraph 6 provides the reader with the lists of associations with Europe and the Netherlands. These lists are discussed to explain from where the associations are derived from and what the guidelines were for counting (coding manuals). Lastly, the coding process is discussed as well as concluding remarks with regards to the research limits.

Chapter 4 shows the results. It includes tables and figures to clarify and illustrate the outcomes of the research. The results are also discussed. The section starts with the results with regards to the relative amount of information about Europe discussed in the social studies textbooks for VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO. This is followed by the positive associations with Europe found in the books. The third section discusses the negative associations with Europe. And last, the associations with the Netherlands. All results are discussed with references to the tables, graphs and relevant appendices.

Chapter 5 is the section in which the results are discussed in more detail. This section summarises and discusses the main findings by discussing, amongst others, the relation they hold to the previously discussed theory (Chapter 2). Moreover, this section also debates the implications the findings holds as well as suggesting future research options.

Chapter 6 is the list of references of this thesis.

Chapter 7 includes the filled in analysis forms for all social studies textbooks that have been analysed.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will seek to establish the theoretical framework of this thesis. The approach of social constructivism and the, from this approach derived focus upon immaterial interests, will be discussed with respect to Europe. Furthermore, this section discusses how the concept of Europe differs from one person to another. This chapter will point to the influence several factors have on a persons' associations with Europe, such as education. Textbooks are considered to have power in forming young persons' ideas and opinions, also about Europe.

2.2 Theoretical framework

In recent decades, there has been an increasing amount of literature in European Union Studies focusing on the approach of social constructivism (Risse, 2009, p. 144). The central aspect in the social constructivist approach is the social construction of reality which refers to the construction of daily practices by human agents (Risse, 2009, p. 145). It appears that social reality does not just come about; rather, it is constructed. Risse argues that constructivism is based on a 'social ontology' which claims that 'human agents do not exist independently from their social environment and its collectively shared systems of meanings' (Risse, 2009, p. 145). Hence, culture strongly influences a person. This is known under the connotation 'mutual constitutiveness' which means that social environment constitutes our human identities. It is a two-way street: human agents also influence the social environments by 'creating, changing and reproducing cultures through human's daily practices' (Risse, 2009, pp. 145 – 146).

In the context of the European Union, and European integration in particular, the social constructivist approach stresses that 'the interest of actors cannot be treated as exogenously given or inferred from a given material structure' (Risse, 2009, p. 146). Instead, political culture, discourse and social construction of identities and interests matter. The European institutions are seen as social structures that impact human agents, not only persons, but also firms, interest groups and national governments. Hence, Risse puts forward the claim that the

EU has a profound effect on discursive and behavioural practices of human actors (2009, p. 148; Pollack, 2010, p. 24).

Discourse differs from one person to another and the term is defined as persons possessing 'certain preconceptions from which other articulations are set out to reconstruct' (Diez, 1999, p. 8). As Diez points out, discourses provide the basis for interaction and preconceptions result from these discourses. As such, we reason on the basis of discourses we have. In order to understand social behavior it is important to take discursive practices seriously because through these practices agents 'make sense of the world and attribute meaning to their activities' (Risse, 2009, p. 149). Diez points out that discursive approaches start from the supposition that the ways which make it possible to conceptualize Europe are decided in the interaction of language (2001, p. 6). Hence, it appears the battles are not between competing economic, material interests, on which much of the debate has revolved around, but instead between non-material interests, such as discourses, i.e. between the different interpretations and associations with Europe.

Public opinion is found to be 'structured, reflecting underlying values and beliefs. and collectively rational' (Devine, 2008, p. 436). As was previously discussed, social constructivism claims that persons do not exist independently from their social environment. Instead, their environment influences the associations they have with, for example, Europe (Risse, 2009, p. 145). It can be argued that public opinion is, like the concept of, for example, Europe, a social construction. It is constructed through a variety of aspects, such as media and politicians. Lubbers and Scheepers (2010) argue that the indicators used in trend research into associations with Europe, especially euroscepticism, 'refer to the evaluation of the Union in economic terms' (p. 788). This evaluation of Europe is linked to the instrumental approach, in other words, evaluating Europe in terms of costs and benefits (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2005, p. 224). This approach focuses upon material interests. However, other dimensions, such as political and cultural dimensions, have become more relevant since the ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2010, p. 788).

Europe can be evaluated on a country-level, but also on the individual level. For example, the Netherlands is a net contributor while other European countries might profit strongly (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2007, p. 648). Hence, differences exist in the extent to which countries profit from Europe. This also applies to the

individual level: 'people experience different costs and benefits from membership and are therefore expected to differ in their attitudes toward the EU' (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2007, p. 647). These differences are also illustrated in Dutch public opinion research carried out by the Sociaal Planbureau (2014). They claim that winners of Europeanisation and globalization are those that profit from open borders and who value multiculturalism whereas the so-called losers experience disadvantages from open borders and migration because it leads to an increase in competition on the labour market and an impoverishment of public utilities (Dekker and Den Ridder, 2014, p. 15, own translation). As such, it is possible to argue that differences also exist in the type of associations persons have with Europe and European integration.

What is Europe? What is the European Union? In this thesis, Europe is often used synonymously with the European Union. If this is the case, it means that the European Union has been successful in occupying 'the social space of what it means to be European' (Risse, 2009, p. 154). Additionally, Risse argues that one cannot be a true European without being a member of the European Union. The concept might be filled with different content for any particular group (Risse, 2009, p. 153).

To illustrate Risse's claim, Diez points out that it is widely acknowledged that the main discourse existent in Great Britain about Europe is one of Euroscepticism (2001, p. 7). He argues this has less to do with the different attitudes of citizens towards Europe, but more with the discourse of Europe, i.e. the association with Europe. He exemplifies this and states that in the 1960s the European Economic Community (EEC) was referred to as the 'Common Market' by the British whereas Germans referred to it as 'the Community' (1999, pp. 3 – 4). Neither of these conceptions is necessarily correct or false, nor is this of importance, because the conceptions are both readings of what constitutes the European system (Diez, 1999, p. 4). The British association with Europe seems to be 'economic output' while the focus in Germany was on the view of the EEC as a collaboration, a community of states (Diez, 1999, p. 8).

Another example is put forward by Schmidt (2007) who sets out the different communicative discourses of Europe and European integration during certain time periods in France. The discourse under president de Gaulle emphasized the benefits of French leadership in Europe. Subsequently, the general association

with Europe persons might have had Europe as advantageous. President Mitterrand, the so-called Mitterrandist discourse, encouraged economic integration by associating Europe with a 'shield against globalisation' (Schmidt, 2007, p. 992). This association with Europe continued under Chirac's presidency according to Schmidt. However, in Schmidt's analysis he also identifies a friction with regards to the elite discourses put forward by politicians. Neither discourse is persuasive because the French public is 'convinced that France no longer leads Europe and that Europe no longer protects [France] against globalisation' (2007, p. 992). As Schmidt labels it, France is 'trapped by their ideas' and is not able to develop a new association with Europe that finds support with the majority of the French public (2007, p. 1007). Together, these examples outline that the concept of Europe is socially constructed by human agents. It seems in the previous example of France the concept of Europe is constructed by (political) elites through, for example, interviews or party manifestos. A way to find out how social reality is constructed is by studying language for the social world is expressed through language (Given, 2008). Subsequently, it is possible to find out which associations individuals have with, for example, Europe.

Furthermore, Harmsen (2008) argues that the view of the nation within the wide (European) world is also influencing persons' associations with Europe. If someone, for example, associates the Netherlands with international trade it is important for the acceptance of Europe and European integration that the idea of Europe fits with the idea of what the nation entails. Harmsen calls this 'place' and 'fit'. He argues that the 'legitimation of the European project itself correspondingly comes to be seen as significantly dependent on the ability of national elites to find articulations of the European project which are congruent with the image and values of the nation itself' (2008, p. 318). The key word here is congruent: if the view of the nation in the wider (European) world clashes with the association with Europe and European integration, it is likely this will form the basis of oppositional, Eurosceptic movements (Harmsen, 2008, p. 318). The place the nation takes in relation to Europe and the integration process also influences the national discourses about Europe and European integration (Harmsen, 2008, p. 319).

The formation of persons' ideas, images and values starts with the upbringing of a child by its parents who shape children's associations with Europe. Is Europe

beneficial because it opens up many markets? Or is it disastrous because of the freedom of movement? Does Turkey belong to the Middle East or to Europe? These associations with Europe and European integration can play a major role in the support citizens will give to Europe (Vollaard, n.d., p. 2).

Education is also an influential factor in shaping young person's ideas, images and values. Which meaning of Europe is conveyed through education? Does the emphasis lie on economic benefits? Or does it lie on the 'negative casting' of 'some external Other' such as Turkey or the Islam (Waever, 2009, p. 175)? As such, framing is an important concept. Robert Entman (associate professor of journalism, political science and communication studies) argues that the concept of framing 'offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text' (1993, p. 51). The analysis of frames highlights the way in which influence is being exerted over 'a human consciousness' by the transfer of information from a specific location, in this case the social studies textbook, to the consciousness of students (1993, p. 51 – 52). Entman argues framing involves both selection and salience and he provides the following definition (1993, p. 52):

'To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.'

In his article, Entman discusses four dimensions of framing. Firstly, frames define problems, i.e. determine the activities of an agent, the costs and benefits of these activities which are often measured in terms of common cultural values. Secondly, frames diagnose causes which refer to identifying 'the forces creating the problem' which is followed by the third dimension, namely making moral judgments. Frames evaluate agents and their effects which are followed by the suggestions of remedies. This last dimension 'offers and justifies treatments for the problems and predicts their likely effects' (Entman, 1993, p. 52). It is important to note that although frames have a common effect on large shares of the audience frames do not have a universal effect on all persons (Entman, 1993, p. 54). Moreover, 'exclusion of interpretations by frames', i.e. *exclusion* of alternative interpretations than the one portrayed in, is as important to outcomes as *inclusion* of certain interpretations (Entman, 1993, p. 54).

Provenzo et al. argue that textbooks play an important role with regards to its effect on young people and later discourses on issues such as Europe (2010, p. 42). In a report on US history textbooks the Council on Interracial Books for Children suggested that a textbook (cited in Provenzo et al., 2010):

'even if it is despised, boring, or not read in full, or later forgotten in almost every detail – stamps in an indelible imprint on the minds of students. The imprint is the imprint of 'truth' (...) [t]he stamp is the stamp of authority'.

An and Suh note that history and social studies textbooks serve as the principal source for young students to gain knowledge about the 'history of their own country as well as other parts of the world' (An and Suh, 2013, p. 58). This aids students in the construction of their identities and consequently, it shapes their ideas, associations and values. Wexler argues that through textbook's formats, ideologies, messages and opinions 'can be accepted as factual, thereby acquiring the status of truth' (cited in Provenzo et al., 2010). It could be argued that text books have the potential to be highly influential also with regards to the information, in this case, social studies textbooks hold about Europe.

2.3 Conclusion

Non-material factors, such as a person's association with Europe, are very influential with respect to the way persons perceive Europe (Vollaard, n.d., p. 2). These associations with Europe are formed by a person's upbringing, but also through education. Hence, to gain understanding in the differences in support for Europe with regards to different education levels, this thesis aims to find out whether lower educated obtain different information about Europe than higher educated in social studies textbooks used for VMBO, HAVO and VWO in Dutch secondary education. Two aspects will be analysed: firstly, the relative quantity of information referring to Europe is analysed. Secondly, the associations with Europe existent in the different social studies textbooks will be analysed. Another aspect of this thesis is the exploration of the fit between the associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the methodology of this thesis. The second paragraph will seek to justify the choice for content-analysis as a methodology and civilization textbooks as data. The third and fourth section will discuss the Dutch education system and the organization of the textbooks in detail. Fifth, the research questions and expectations are further explained. Paragraph 6 provides the reader with explanations about the associations with Europe and the Netherlands. Lastly, the coding process is discussed as well as concluding remarks with regards to the research limits.

3.2 Justifications

Research method

To answer the previously stated research questions, this thesis uses content analysis as a methodological basis. This thesis is explorative in nature and does not research a causal relationship. This method has been chosen over others, because content analysis serves the most adequate and valid method to measure what this thesis intends to measure. By using content analysis I can measure the relative number of pages that refers to Europe as well as measuring which associations with Europe exist in textbooks. As Weber (1990) states content analysis, in contrast with other research techniques such as interview, 'yields unobtrusive measures' in which neither sender nor receiver of the messages is aware of the analysis. As such, Weber argues that there is little danger that 'the act of measurement itself will act as a force for change that confounds the data' (p. 10).

Social studies textbooks

The subjects of analysis are social studies textbooks used in Dutch secondary education for the education levels VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO. The choice for social studies textbooks as data for the analysis is based on two reasons. Firstly, it is based upon the reason that the Dutch high school subject social studies extensively treats Europe as a part of the curriculum in comparison with other subjects. Secondly, the choice for social studies is justified because

this subject is a compulsory subject and needs to be followed by all Dutch students at all education levels in the second phase of high school (in Dutch: bovenbouw). This contrasts with other courses, such as geography or history, where not all students take the subjects. In this case, comparison would be difficult. This is not the case for the compulsory subject social studies (Examenblad, n.d., p. 1). Nevertheless, I realize that other subjects' curricula, such as history or geography, also contain relevant information about Europe. Ideally, I would have included these subjects in the analysis. Due to time constraints a choice needed to be made. As such, while aware of the limits of merely analyzing social studies textbooks, social studies is the most appropriate choice for this research for the previous mentioned reasons. The education requirements set out by the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science for the subject social studies at HAVO about Europe, for example, consists of the requirements for a student to (1) explain the structure of the European Union, (2) identify and explain which consequences the European Union has for the political and social right of the European citizen as well as (3) identifying and explaining which consequences European integration has for Dutch culture and identity (Examenprogramma maatschappijleer HAVO, n.d., pp. 1 – 3). This one example illustrates how Europe is part of social studies' curriculum; however, it is important to realize that the central issue of this thesis is not what the Dutch government wants students to know, but which imprints the social studies textbooks leave in the minds of students about their understanding of Europe.

3.3 Dutch education system: primary and secondary education

In the Netherlands, education is compulsory for children aged 5 until 16 years. If youngsters are older than 16, they are partly compulsory for another two years. In these years it is possible to work four days and go to school once a week. The Dutch education system can be divided into several phases. This thesis discusses two phases: primary and secondary education.

3.3.1 Primary education

The first phase is primary education and is intended for children from 4 to 12 years old. Primary education lasts eight years. The first year is not mandatory. Completion of a year is based upon the results a student has. Based upon

students' results, preference of the school, and preference of the child and his or her parents, the student will pass through to a specific form of education in the second phase called secondary education (Bedrijfsleven and Beroepsonderwijs, n.d., pp. 2- 3).

3.3.2 Secondary education

Three levels of secondary education exist in the Netherlands: VMBO, HAVO and VWO. VMBO lasts 4 years, HAVO 5 years and VWO 6 years. Each level starts with the 'onderbouw', i.e. the lower classes of secondary school. This takes approximately two (VMBO) or three years (HAVO AND VWO). For each level students follow a general curriculum (Bedrijfsleven and Beroepsonderwijs, n.d., pp. 2- 3).

VMBO

VMBO is secondary vocational education. After the general lower classes of VMBO, students choose a learning pathway. VMBO has four pathways (Rijksoverheid, n.d., section para. 1 – 5; Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2013, p. 5; Bedrijfsleven and Beroepsonderwijs, n.d., pp. 2- 3):

1. The 'theoretische leerweg' (theoretical programme): prepares students for middle and vocational training. After completion of this programme it is possible to transfer to HAVO;
2. The 'gemengde leerweg' (combined programme): this programme combines both theory and practice. It is aimed at preparing students for middle management and professional training. After completion of this programme it is possible to transfer to HAVO;
3. The 'kaderberoepsgerichte leerweg' or 'VMBO-kgt' (the middle-management vocational programme): this programme prepares students for middle management and professional training;
4. The 'basisberoepsgerichte leerweg' or 'VMBO-bk' (the basic vocational programme): this programme is aimed at preparing students for basic training.

Choosing one of these four pathways refers to choosing a way of learning. Each pathway prepares students for the next phase called 'middelbaar

beroepsonderwijs' or 'MBO' (secondary vocational education). For each of the four pathways separate curricula are made. Within each pathway students have to choose a particular sector in upper-VMBO (year 3 and 4). VMBO has four sectors: engineering and technology, care and welfare, business, and agriculture. The joint section for each of the four programmes consists of subjects, such as Dutch, English and social studies. Subjects per sector are different for each sector. For each of the four levels there is also room to choose some subjects freely.

The books that will be analysed in this thesis are social studies books for VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt. Image 1 shows the organization of upper-VMBO (year 3 and 4) and it also shows that social studies is part of the joint curriculum for all VMBO-types (Van Bijsterveldt-Vliegenthart, 2009). This thesis focuses upon the textbooks for the subject social studies which is compulsory for all students at VMBO. The books that will be analysed are shown in table 1.

HAVO

HAVO is the senior general secondary education and lasts five years. Lower-HAVO consists of years 1, 2 and 3. These years consists of general subjects that all students follow. After year 3 each student chooses a so-called profile for the remaining three years. There are four profiles: cultuur en maatschappij (culture and society), economie en maatschappij (economy and society), natuur en gezondheid (nature and health), and natuur en techniek (nature and technique).

Image 2 shows the organization of upper-HAVO (year 3, 4 and 5) and it also shows that social studies is part of the joint curriculum for all HAVO students (Ib-groep, 2013, p. 1). The books that will be analysed are shown in table 1.

VWO

VWO is pre-university education and lasts six years. Two types can be distinguished: athenaeum and gymnasium. The difference between the two types is that athenaeum does not teach Greek and/or Latin whereas gymnasium does. Lower-VWO consists of the years 1, 2 and 3. These years consists of general subjects that all students follow (see image 2). After year 3 each student chooses a so-called profile for the remaining four years. These profiles are the same as HAVO (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2013, p. 6).

Image 1. Organisation of years 3 and 4 (VMBO)

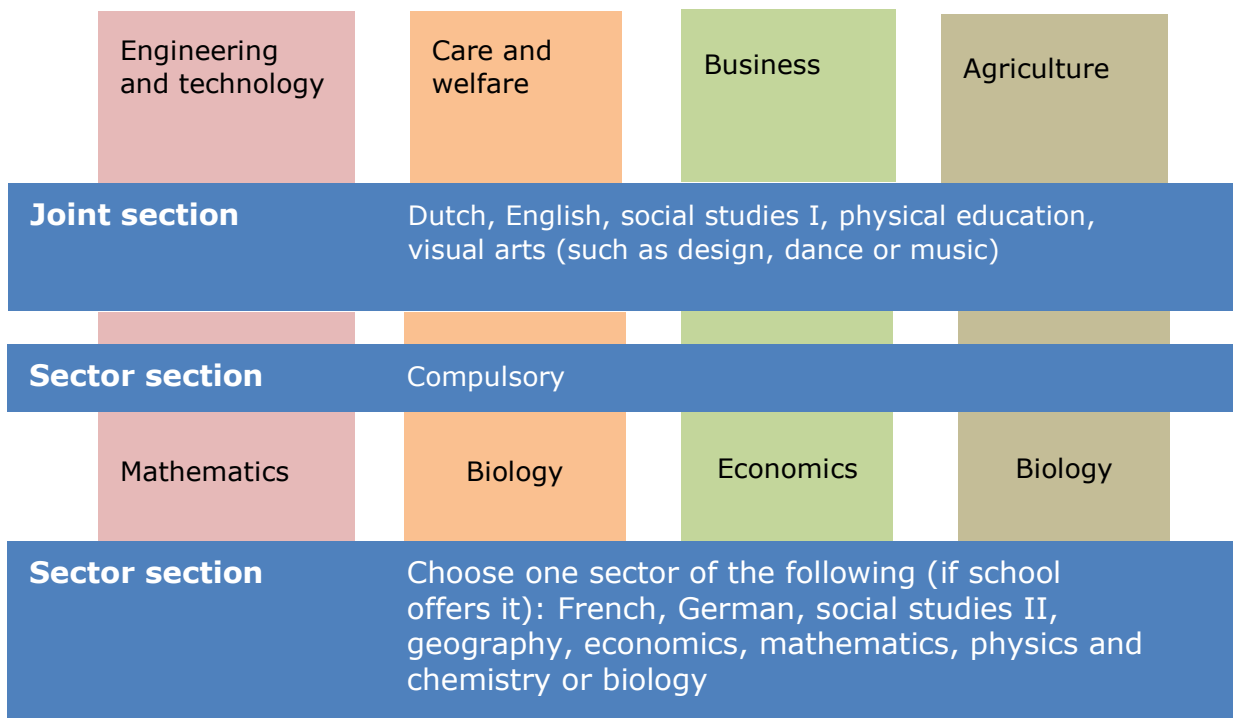


Image 3 shows the organization of upper-VWO (year 3, 4, 5 and 6) and it also shows that social studies is part of the joint curriculum for all VWO students (Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs, 2013, p. 1). The books that will be analysed are shown in table 1.

Image 2. Organisation of years 3, 4 and 5 (HAVO)

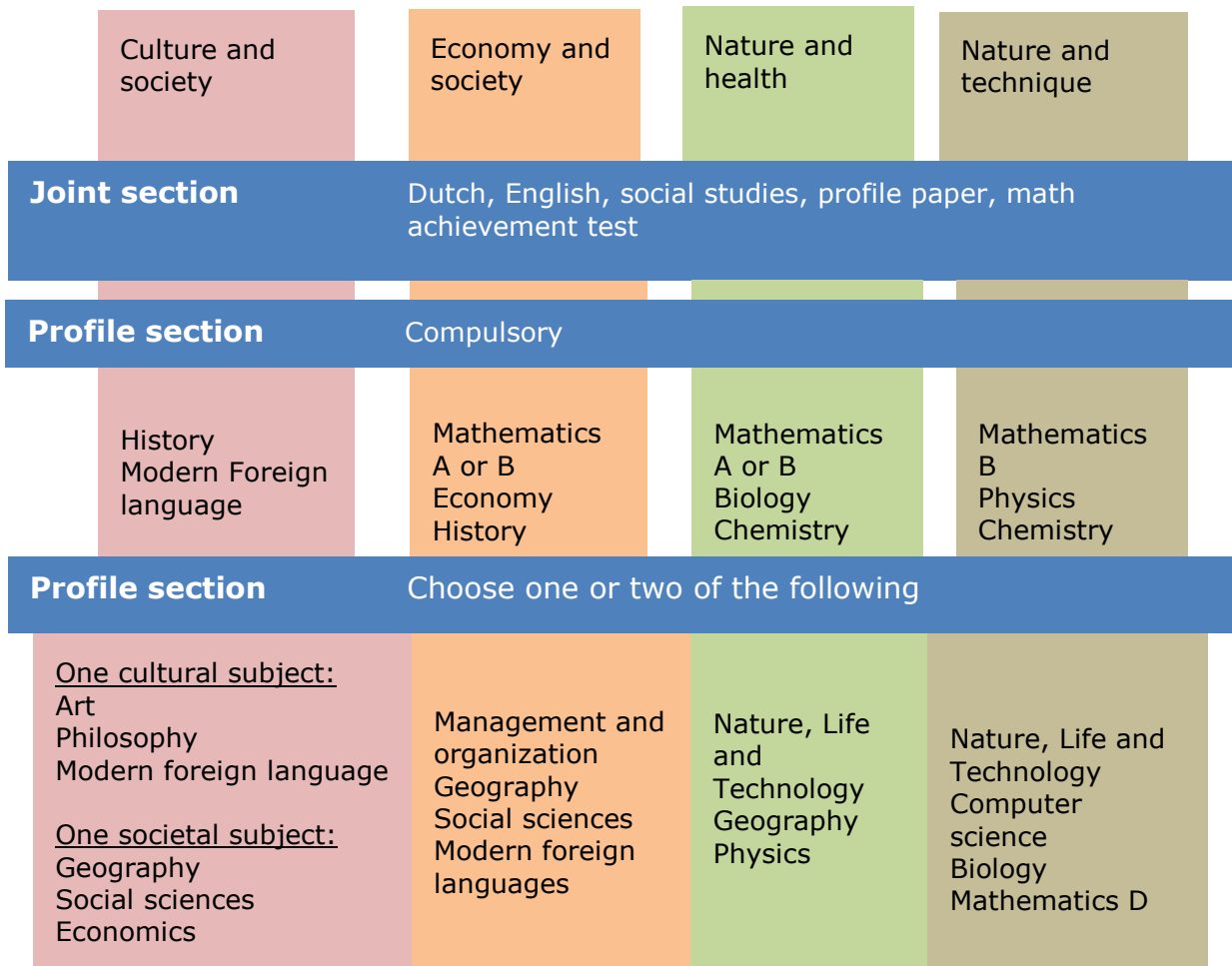
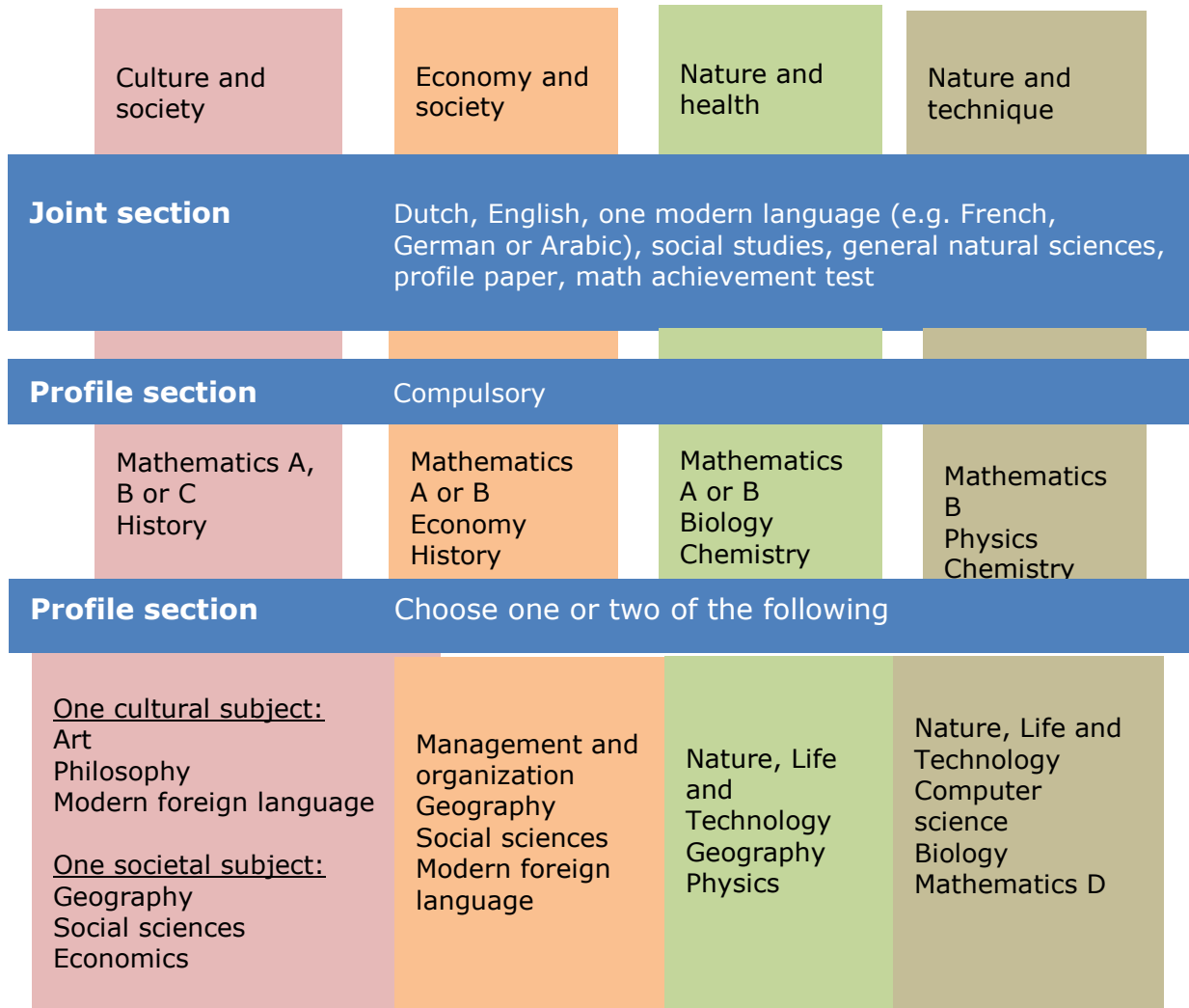


Image 3. Organisation of years 3, 4, 5 and 6 (VWO)



3.4 Data

Every school is allowed to use different textbooks as long as the students retain the information that is needed to meet the education requirements set out by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. During the selection process of the textbooks the aim has been to include a range of often used methods developed by different publishers. The books that will be analysed can be found in table 1.

Table 1. Dutch social studies textbooks used for analysis (N = 12)

Education level	Book
VMBO-kgt	Groen, S., & Hagers, M. (2010). <i>Blikopener Maatschappijleer voor vmbo bovenbouw. Leeropdrachtenboek VMBO kgt-editie.</i> 's-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg
VWO	Janssen, H., & Van Otterdijk, R., & Pertijs, I., & Simons, P., & Van Tartwijk, H., & Zuiderwijk, A. (2013). <i>Dilemma Maatschappijleer voor de Bovenbouw. VWO Handboek.</i> 's-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg
HAVO	Janssen, H., & Van Otterdijk, R., & Pertijs, I., & Van Tartwijk, H., & Zuiderwijk, A. (2013). <i>Dilemma Maatschappijleer voor de Bovenbouw. HAVO Handboek.</i> 's-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg
VMBO-bk	Nassau, J. (2010). <i>Blikopener Maatschappijleer voor vmbo bovenbouw. Handboek VMBO bk-editie.</i> 's-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg
HAVO	Schuijt, B., & Adriaans, E., & Middelkoop, J., & Rijpkema, T., & Schuurman, T. (2012). <i>Lesboek HAVO. Thema's Maatschappijleer.</i> Wormerveer: Uitgeverij Essener
VMBO-kgt	Schuijt, B., & Rijpkema, T., & Schuurman, T., & Middelkoop, J., & Meijer, M. (2011). <i>Thema's Maatschappijleer 1 voor VMBO. Lesboek kgt.</i> Wormerveer: Uitgeverij Essener
VMBO-bk	Schuijt, B., & Rijpkema, T., & Schuurman, T., & Middelkoop, J., & Meijer, M. (2011). <i>BK Thema's Maatschappijleer 1 voor VMBO. Les/werkboek.</i> Wormerveer: Uitgeverij Essener
VWO	Schuijt, B., & Schuyt, K., & Hagers, M., & Linthorst, M., & Rijpkema, T., & Schuurman, T. (2012). <i>Lesboek VWO. Thema's Maatschappijleer.</i> Wormerveer: Uitgeverij Essener
HAVO	Simons, P., & van Zanten, B. (2007). <i>Impuls. Maatschappijleer Tweede Fase HAVO Informatieboek.</i> Groningen/Houten: Wolters-Noordhoff
VWO	Simons, P., & van Zanten, B. (2008). <i>Impuls. Tweede Fase VWO Informatieboek Maatschappijleer.</i> Groningen/Houten: Wolters-Noordhoff
VMBO-bk	Van der Pols, J., & Simons, P. (2010). <i>Maatschappijleer 1 VMBO Bovenbouw Basis Leerwerkboek. Impuls.</i> Groningen/Houten: Noordhoff Uitgevers
VMBO-kgt	Van der Pols, J., & Simons, P. (2010). <i>Maatschappijleer 1 VMBO Bovenbouw KGT Informatieboek. Impuls.</i> Groningen/Houten: Noordhoff Uitgevers

3.4.1 Organisation textbooks

This section will briefly describe the organisation of each textbook. One of the reasons why this is relevant is that some books combine textbook and workbook which leads to a higher amount of total number of pages. Consequently, this has

implications for the exact percentage of pages that refer to Europe in contrast with the total amount of pages. For some of the VMBO books and for all HAVO and VWO books, the workbooks are separate books and consequently not part of the analysis. Therefore, the following section will consist of brief general descriptions of the analysed books in terms of content and organization per education level, respectively VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO. The general descriptions are based upon the textbooks' table of contents and, if applicable, the content overviews of each chapter.

VMBO-bk

Malmberg's 'Blikopener' is organized around six major themes, including differences in sex, belonging to (different) groups, societal morals and rules, rule of law, sports and integration. A separate paragraph exists within the theme 'Integration in the Netherlands' and this paragraph is called *Close the borders for Poles*.

Noordhoff Uitgevers' 'Impuls' is both a textbook and a workbook adding to the book's total number of pages. The book is structured by means of seven themes, namely an introductory chapter explaining what social studies is, different upbringings and backgrounds, inequality, power, multicultural society, mass media and last, crime and justice.

The last VMBO-bk textbook is Esseners' 'Thema's voor Maatschappijleer 1 voor VMBO BK-niveau'. It combines both textbook and workbook. The book is organized around eight topics, namely explanation of the course social studies, youngsters, politics, multicultural society, media, Work, Crime, and Relationships.

VMBO-kgt

Malmberg's 'Blikopener' is organized around the exact same six major themes as VMBO-bk's Blikopener, namely differences in sex, belonging to (different) groups, societal morals and norms, rule of law, sports and integration. However, the content of the different themes differs occasionally. A distinct paragraph consisting out of two pages is referring to Europe, called *Fort Europe*. Textbook and workbook are combined into one textbook.

Noordhoff Uitgever's Impuls for VMBO-kgt is comprised of the same chapters as Impuls for VMBO-bk, namely an introductory chapter explaining what social

studies is, different upbringings and backgrounds, inequality, power, multicultural society, mass media and last, crime and justice. In terms of distinct content, some differences exist between the two education levels.

The textbook 'Thema's voor Maatschappijleer 1 VMBO KGT-niveau' published by Essener is organised around the same themes as the book for VMBO-bk, namely explanation of the course social studies, youngsters, politics, multicultural society, media, Work, Crime, and Relationships. As a part of the theme 'Work', the Dutch welfare system is discussed in a separate paragraph.

HAVO

Malmberg's Dilemma for HAVO is organized around four major themes: parliamentary democracy, the welfare system, rule of law and last, the multiform society. Hence, an entire chapter is dedicated to the Dutch welfare system and discusses aspects such as defining the welfare system, the future of the Dutch system and the ranking of the system with regards to other countries. A separate paragraph of the chapter Parliamentary democracy is dedicated to Europe and is called *More or less Europe*.

'Impuls Tweede Fase HAVO' consists of four major themes, including rule of law, parliamentary democracy, the welfare system and the multiform society. A separate sub-paragraph is referring to Europe and is called *Towards a United States of Europe?* Furthermore, an entire chapter focuses upon the Dutch welfare system: its history, the debate about the welfare system's crisis et cetera.

Essener's 'Thema's Maatschappijleer voor havo' focuses upon five separate topics, namely an introductory chapter that explains what the subject social studies is, rule of law, parliamentary democracy, the multiform society, and the welfare system. Within the chapter on parliamentary democracy, a paragraph about International politics is included which, amongst others, consists of a case called *The Netherlands or the United States of Europe?* A separate chapter devotes itself to the Dutch welfare system.

As such, each HAVO textbook revolves around the same four themes. Based on the table of contents and the content overviews of each chapter, several separate paragraphs that refer to Europe can be noted.

VWO

For Malmberg's 'Dilemma' the same themes are identified in comparison with the HAVO textbook, namely parliamentary democracy, the welfare system, rule of law and last, the multiform society. Another similarity with Dilemma HAVO is the paragraph *More or Less Europe* which is also present in Dilemma VWO.

The organization of 'Impuls' for VWO is the same as for 'Impuls' HAVO, namely the division into four themes: rule of law, parliamentary democracy, the welfare system and the multiform society. A separate sub-paragraph is referring to Europe and is called *Towards a United States of Europe?*

Last, is Essener's 'Thema's Maatschappijleer voor vwo' which is also organised around the same themes as the HAVO version: an introductory chapter that explains what the subject social studies is, rule of law, parliamentary democracy, the multiform society, and the welfare system. Similar to the HAVO version of 'Thema's Maatschappijleer' is the sub-paragraph about a case called *The Netherlands or the United States of Europe?*

From these analyses, it becomes clear that, in general, the textbooks for VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt are organized around the same themes. Differences can be noted with regards to specific content, i.e. sentences or paragraphs. This is also the case for HAVO and VWO textbooks in which the focus is also upon similar themes. Subsequently, it could be claimed a division in terms of themes exists between the lower-and the higher education levels. Furthermore, at HAVO and VWO several chapters dedicate itself to the discussion of the Dutch welfare system. Moreover, HAVO and VWO textbooks' organization includes separate paragraphs that purely focus upon Europe. For some VMBO-bk or VMBO-kgt textbooks this is also the case; however, in general Europe is mentioned only marginally throughout the books and not separately.

3.5. Research questions and expectations

3.5.1. Research questions

This thesis seeks to answer the following main research question:

Do the lower educated obtain different information than the higher educated concerning Europe in social studies textbooks used for VMBO, HAVO and VWO in Dutch secondary education?

By answering three sub-questions the main research question will be answered.

Quantity

The first sub-question focuses upon the quantity of information.

Is the relative quantity of information referring to Europe smaller at the lower education levels VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt in comparison to the higher education levels HAVO and VWO?

For this question, I will look at the amount of pages that refer to Europe and European integration. The answer to this question will give insight into the relative amount of information referring to Europe that students receive via social studies textbooks and, more importantly, whether lower education obtain relatively less information about Europe than the higher educated.

Associations

The second sub question centers on the different associations with Europa that are made throughout the social studies textbooks.

Which positive and negative associations with Europe are made in VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO social studies textbooks in Dutch secondary education?

To answer the second sub-question, a list of positive and negative associations of Europe will be used based on, amongst others, the literature by Díez Medrano and Stienstra and Jansen, as well as own interpretations of what associations with Europe exist (Díez Medrano, 2003, pp. 110 – 114; Stienstra and Jansen, 2009, p. 4). Both positive and negative associations referring to Europe are part of the analysis, because excluding one would lead to a one-sided, and thus distorted, image.

Fit

The third sub-question looks at the associations made in the textbooks about the Netherlands.

Is the fit between the associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe worse for the lower education levels in comparison to the higher education levels?

To answer the third sub-question, the textbooks will also be analysed on the basis of a list of associations with the Netherlands. These associations will be explained later in this chapter. The fit between the associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe – positive and negative – will be compared and contrasted to see if the types of associations match. If, for instance, the association with the Netherlands is an international trade-oriented country and the positive association with Europe is economic/trade benefits, there is a fit between the associations. Instead, if the association with Europe is as a cooperation to solve trans boundary issues, there is no fit between the association with the Netherlands.

3.5.2. Expectations

With regards to quantity, associations and fit discussed above I have the following expectations concerning lower – and higher education levels. The expectations are based upon previous research pointing out the differences in support between lower- and higher educated persons with the latter being more positive about Europe (Dekker et al., 2007, p. 19; Dekker and Ridder, 2012, p. 56).

First, with respect to the quantity, I expect the lower educated to obtain relatively less information about Europe in social studies textbooks than higher educated. Secondly, and with regards to the associations, I expect the social studies textbooks for the lower education levels – VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt- to contain relatively more negative associations referring to Europe than the higher education levels – HAVO and VWO. Last, and with respect to the fit between the associations referring to the Netherlands and the associations referring to Europe, I expect the former and the latter to fit better at the higher education levels.

3.6 Associations with Europe

The books will be analysed on the basis of the following list of associations with Europe. The lists have been divided into two categories: positive and negative. The choice for these associations is based on personal associations with Europe and other authors' research (Díez Medrano, 2003, pp. 110 – 114; Dekker et al., 2009, pp. 15 – 30). Díez Medrano has researched attitudes to European integration in Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom. One of the aspects he analyses are the positive and negative descriptive or evaluative comments about European integration made in op-ed articles from 1946 until 1997. Díez Medrano listed these comments which I used as a basis and inspiration for the lists of associations with Europe and European integration used in this thesis. Furthermore, an elaborate public opinion study has been used to formulate the lists of positive and negative associations. For example, Dekker et al. (2009) explored the Dutch public opinion about the EU. The researchers explored the trends of opinion by undertaking a narrative project in which they allow persons to talk about Europe and to express their opinions. The authors examine each story in order to find patterns which provide insights into the dynamics of the Dutch trends of opinion about Europe (Dekker et al., 2009, p. 9). In addition, Dekker et al. (2009, pp. 27 – 30) explored and compared persons' associations with Europe between different European member states.

The following three sub paragraphs will discuss the lists of positive and negative associations with Europe and the associations with the Netherlands in detail. Per association an explanation is given to explain where the associations are derived from. To ensure coding consistency, a coding manual was developed and used (Weber, 1990). The coding manual is developed separately for each list of associations with Europe or the Netherlands (see tables 1, 2 and 3). In these tables the associations are listed and for each association a detailed explanation is included ('Guidelines') which explain what is meant with each association and what the rules are to count the data as part of that particular associations. Furthermore, an example from the data is drawn per association.

3.6.1 Positive associations with Europe and European integration

The following sub paragraph will discuss the list of positive associations with Europe and European integration.

1. The European Union as a peace facilitator and protector

This association with Europe focuses upon the original aim of the European Union: the establishment and maintenance of durable peace amongst the European member states. This association with Europe has been based upon the research by Dekker et al. who identified this as an occurring association with Europe amongst the respondents (2009, p. 30). Furthermore, Díez Medrano's study labelled 'lessons of WWII' as a positive comment of European integration in the articles he analysed (2003, p. 114).

2. Europe provides economic/trade benefits

This association is inspired by Díez Medrano's list of positive and negative descriptive or evaluative comments about European integration made in op-ed articles from 1946 until 1997. He found the following comments: common market, remove barriers, free movement and competition. The Euro is also positively associated with Europe by Europeans and is also part of this association as well as economic prosperity (Dekker et al., 2009, p. 15 - 30)

3. Stronger international position with respect to other powers such as US, China and Russia

This association has been formulated on the basis of the study carried out by Dekker et al. (2009, pp. 15 - 30) who found that one of the recurring positive themes in the story analyses were the advantages of Europe serving as a block towards other economic powers.

4. Consumer benefits

Europe provides benefits for individual member states and for companies, but a personal association with Europe also includes the provision of benefits for individual consumers.

5. Cooperation to solve trans boundary issues (e.g. environment or crime)

Dekker et al. identified the environment as one of the positive themes about Europe (2009, p. 15). I have included the environment in a broader, overarching association with Europe, namely Europe as cooperation to solve trans boundary issues.

6. Possibilities to receive funding for societal important projects

Negative associations with Europe might include the costs of EU membership; however, this association shows the possible financial merits of EU membership namely the availability of funds for a range of projects individuals and companies could receive.

7. Easy to go on academic exchange within Europe

The social studies textbooks analysed in this thesis are aimed at young students. I assume that it is likely this association with Europe, the ease of studying in other European countries, would be present in textbooks aimed at students.

8. Pooling of powers enhancing security

This association has been formulated on the basis of the study by Dekker et al. (2009) who found that one of the recurring positive themes in the story analyses was (the sense of) security (p. 15).

9. Constant strengthening of Europe: Münchausen-theme (i.e. by investing in poorer countries and regions in Europe, the whole of Europe becomes stronger)

This association has been formulated on the basis of the study by Dekker et al. (2009) who found that one of the recurring positive themes in the story analyses the Münchausen-analogy (p. 15). Furthermore, Díez-Medrano's (2003, p. 114) lists of positive and negative descriptive or evaluative comments also pointed at this association since one of the comments was named 'Structural or Regional Funds' which are intended to 'narrow the development disparities among regions and member states' (Europa, n.d., section para 1). As such, the Structural or Regional Funds are the means by which the Münchausen-theme can be realized.

Table 1. Coding manual positive associations with Europe (continues on p. 36)

Code	Guidelines for coding	Data example
1. Peace facilitator and protector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European history: original aim of EU is peace - EU as facilitator of peace - EU as protector of peace - Peace as reason for cooperation 	<p><i>'Dankzij Europa is er sinds 1945 geen oorlog geweest tussen de EU-landen.'</i></p> <p><i>'Due to Europe there has been no war since 1945 between EU countries'</i> (Schuijt et al., 2011, p. 63, own translation).</p>
2. Economic/trade benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Europe as cooperation for prosperity - EU-measures which are beneficial for trade and economy, such as removal trade barriers, larger market - Euro; facilitates trade - Europe as beneficial for export - Europe beneficial for companies 	<p><i>'De economische samenwerking binnen Europa en de gezamenlijke munt bieden Nederland economisch grote voordelen.'</i></p> <p><i>'Economic cooperation within Europe and the shared single currency offers the Netherlands great economic benefits'</i> (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 40, own translation).</p>
3. Stronger international position with regards to China, US and Russia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EU as mechanism to compete with other non-EU countries - EU as mechanism to compete with other non-EU companies - EU as block formation 	<p><i>'Nederland en Europa moeten de concurrentie aangaan met andere economische grootmachten, zoals de VS, India, China en Japan.'</i></p> <p><i>'The Netherlands and Europe have to compete with other great economic powers, such as the US, India, China and Japan'</i> (Simons and Van Zanten, 2007, p. 90, own translation).</p>
4. Benefits for consumers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EU as protection for consumers (e.g. food safety, quality) - Europe providing benefits in terms of competition (i.e. fewer costs) 	<p><i>'De consument wordt beschermd [door de EU] beschermd door veiligheidseisen voor voedingswaren.'</i></p> <p><i>'Consumers are protected [by the EU] by safety requirements for food'</i> (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 39, own translation).</p>

<p>5. Cooperation for trans boundary issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Certain issues (environment, crime, terrorism) do not stop at borders and Europe is needed for that - Europe: effective and/or needed to solve trans boundary issues 	<p><i>'Aan de andere kant zijn oorlog, voedsel-en energietekorten, milieuproblemen, criminaliteit en financiële crises problemen die niet bij grenzen ophouden. Een aanpak op alleen nationaal niveau volstaat niet en samenwerking met andere landen is daarom noodzakelijk.'</i></p> <p><i>'On the other hand, war, food-and energy shortages, environmental problems, crime and financial crises are problems that do not stop at borders. An approach at the national level is not sufficient and therefore cooperation with other countries is necessary'</i> (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 38, own translation).</p>
<p>6. Possibilities to receive funding</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Funding of projects that are important for society - Costs and benefits of Europe 	<p>Has not occurred</p>
<p>7. Academic exchange within Europe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Possibilities to study in other European countries - Easy to study within EU - Study within EU without problems 	<p><i>'Dankzij Europese wetgeving kun je in elk ander EU-land studeren, stage lopen, wonen en werken.'</i></p> <p><i>'Thanks to European legislation you can study in any other EU country, do an internship, live and work there'</i> (Schuijt et al., 2012, p. 104, own translation).</p>
<p>8. Pooling of powers to enhance security</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European history: striving for security - Europe as an area of stability (with regards to security) 	<p><i>'Een samenwerkingsverband tussen Europese landen, waaronder Nederland, moest leiden tot een stijging van de welvaart, maar vooral tot vrede en veiligheid'</i></p> <p><i>'A partnership between European countries, including the Netherlands, was to lead to an increase in prosperity but above all to peace and security'</i> (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 38, own translation).</p>
<p>9. Strengthening of Europe: Münchhausen-theme</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Europe as an investor in poor(er) European regions - Structural funds: developing Europe 	<p><i>'Een deel van de Europese begroting gaat naar arme regio's in het zuiden en oosten, waar men met het geld bijvoorbeeld bedrijventerreinen en snelwegen kan aanleggen.'</i></p> <p><i>'A part of the European budget goes to poor regions in the South and the East where one can build, for example, industrial parks and highways with the money'</i> (Simons and Van Zanten, 2008, p. 100, own translation).</p>

3.6.2 Negative associations with Europe and European integration

The following sub paragraph will discuss the list of negative associations with Europe and European integration.

1. Democratic deficit

This association directly follows from Díez Medrano's list of positive and negative descriptive or evaluative comments about European integration made in op-ed articles from 1946 until 1997 (2003, p. 114).

2. Loss of national identity and deteriorating of social cohesion

The formulation of this association was inspired by Díez Medrano's list of positive and negative descriptive or evaluative comments about European integration made in op-ed articles from 1946 until 1997 (2003, p. 119). He listed 'sovereignty and identity' as a negative comment occurring in the op-ed articles. In contrast to Díez-Medrano, I have separated these two associations. Dekker et al. also labelled the loss of cultural identity as a negative association with the EU (2009, p. 30).

3. Loss of sovereignty and EU control

This formulation of this association was inspired by Díez Medrano's list of positive and negative descriptive or evaluative comments about European integration made in op-ed articles from 1946 until 1997 (2003, p. 119). He listed 'sovereignty and identity' as a negative comment occurring in the op-ed articles.

4. Loss of national cultural traditions

Dekker et al. (2009, p. 15) discovered, via the narrative analysis, that the loss of culture was a recurring association with Europe. This negative association is taken from this study; however, due to the concept 'culture' being so broad, the association has been specified and confines itself to the loss of cultural traditions.

5. Bureaucratic & expensive

Dekker et al. (2009, p. 15) and Díez Medrano (2003, p. 114) identified bureaucracy as a negative association with Europe and European integration. In the study by Díez Medrano, however, it is not called 'bureaucracy' but

'governance'. The association 'expensive' has been added to include the information that would associate Europe with costs.

6. Loss of the distinct Dutch uniqueness (in terms of policy-making such as policy on soft drugs, prostitution, euthanasia but also welfare system or education)

This association directly comes from Dekker et al. (2009, p. 15) who identified this association as a recurrent theme in their narrative project. This association assumes that the unique Dutch approach to certain policies is put under pressure by Europe.

7. Power battle: smaller countries overshadowed by larger countries

This association is based upon a personal evaluation of Europe where, for example, large countries, such as France and Germany, often are the driving forces behind integration of policy areas (Vasagar, 2013, section para. 12).

8. The invisibility of economic benefits (such as euro or production goes to cheaper European countries)

Dekker et al. (2009, p. 15) argue that the persons' they interviewed would have negative associations with Europe in terms of the invisibility of economic benefits. As such, this association is based upon their findings.

9. Labour market repression by European immigrants that are considered cheaper, such as Romanians, Bulgarians and Poles

This theme has not been labelled as such in the study by Dekker et al. (2009); however, it has occurred regularly in the stories of those who were part of the narrative project. In the stories the focus lay on 'Poles flooding the labour market'; yet, in my thesis the focus lays on European immigrants that are considered cheaper (Dekker et al., 2009, p. 15, own translation).

Table 2. Coding manual negative associations with Europe (continues on p. 40)

Code	Guidelines	Data example
1. Democratic deficit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Europe lacks democracy - EU's democratic deficit - Weak powers of European Parliament in terms of representation - EU striving for democratization - Stances of political parties on democratic deficit 	<p><i>'Volgens Dijkhof is de democratie in Europa 'altijd het zwakkere punt' geweest.'</i></p> <p><i>'According to Dijkhof democracy has always been 'the weaker point' in Europe' (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 44, own translation).</i></p>
2. Loss of identity and deteriorating of social cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Europe's supranationalism leads to loss of (Dutch) identity - Wish to hold on to national identity (by individuals, political parties) - Europe as a cause for loss of identity 	<p><i>'Beide partijen zijn ook conservatief als het om de uitbreiding van de bevoegdheden van 'Europa' gaat. Ze willen vasthouden aan de nationale, Nederlandse identiteit.'</i></p> <p><i>'Both [political] parties are also conservative when it comes to the expansion of powers of Europe. They want to hold on to the national, Dutch identity' (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 25, own translation).</i></p>
3. Loss of sovereignty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Europe's supranationalism/supranational powers - Emphasis on Europe as a decision-maker - Loss of autonomy - Loss of control - Curtailment of the Netherlands or member states in general by Europe 	<p><i>'De democratische besluitvorming in Nederland wordt daarnaast sterk beïnvloed door factoren waar we nauwelijks iets over te zeggen hebben, zoals ontwikkelingen elders in de wereld en beslissingen van andere landen en van internationale organisaties als de EU.'</i></p> <p><i>'The democratic decision-making in the Netherlands is also strongly influenced by factors we have hardly anything to say about such as developments elsewhere in the world and decisions of other countries and international organisations such as the EU' (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 37, own translation).</i></p>
4. Loss of national cultural traditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European critique on Dutch traditions (e.g. Sinterklaas) - The wish to replace national traditions with European traditions (i.e. European shared culture) 	Has not occurred
5. Bureaucratic and expensive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Costs of European membership - The Netherlands paying too much (net payer vs. receiver) 	<i>'De kosten van het EU-lidmaatschap lopen op door de crisis in enkele zuidelijke EU-landen als Griekenland en Spanje.'</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Too many rules and regulations - Decision-making is more difficult - Economic crisis costs 	'The costs for EU-membership increase because of the crisis in some of the southern EU-countries such as Greece and Spain' (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 40, own translation).
6. Loss of the distinct Dutch uniqueness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Europe as a (possible) threat to Dutch policies (e.g. soft drugs policy, prostitution policy, welfare state) - Opposition of European member states to Dutch policies 	<p><i>'In Nederland mag je een jointje roken. In andere landen is dat streng verboden. Als de Europese Unie één drugswet maakt, moeten misschien alle coffeeshops dicht.'</i></p> <p><i>'You are allowed to smoke weed in the Netherlands. In other countries this is strictly prohibited. If the European Union makes one drugs-law, all coffee shops might have to close'</i> (Schuijt et al., 2011, p. 82, own translation).</p>
7. Power battle: smaller member states overshadowed by larger member states	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The power of large member states and their elites/companies (e.g. France or Germany) - Large member states vs. smaller member states 	<p><i>'Het is bij internationale samenwerking een geven en nemen waarbij grote landen eerder het laatste dan het eerste zullen doen.'</i></p> <p><i>'International cooperation means give and take whereby large countries will probably do the latter sooner than the former'</i> (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 39, own translation).</p>
8. The invisibility of economic benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Money goes to poor(er) countries though rich(er) member states pay as well - Production goes to Eastern-European countries (cheap) - Emphasis on costs for bailing out member states such as Greece 	Has not occurred
9. Labour market repression by Eastern-European immigrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Europe as a facilitator for immigration from poor member states to rich(er) countries - (Eastern)-European immigrants relocating to the Netherlands or other Western countries for work - Eastern-Europeans replacing Dutch employees (lower wages) - Threat of free movement of persons with regards to labour market repression 	<p><i>'Zij [Polen, Bulgaren en Roemenen] doen veel seizoenswerk in de tuinbouw, werk waarvoor weinig Nederlanders meer te porren zijn. Ze zijn ook actief in sectoren als de bouw en het transport. Bedrijven werken graag met deze Europeanen omdat ze voor lagere lonen willen werken dan Nederlanders.'</i></p> <p><i>'They [Poles, Bulgarians and Romanians] do a lot of seasonal jobs in horticulture, work that little Dutch people want to do anymore. They are also active in sectors such as construction and transport. Companies like to work with these Europeans because they want to work for lower wages than the Dutch'</i> (Schuijt et al., 2012, p. 159, own translation).</p>

3.6.3 Associations with regards to the Netherlands

The following sub paragraph will discuss the list of associations with the Netherlands. It is based upon studies carried out by the Dutch Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (SCP) which quarterly researches the Dutch public opinion about several aspects, such as strong points of the Netherlands (Dekker and Den Ridder, 2014; Den Ridder et al., 2011). It seems the trends in public opinion about the Netherlands are quite stable in recent years (Dekker and Den Ridder, 2014, p. 14). Table 3 shows the coding manual with guidelines for coding of the following associations:

1. International trade oriented

This association with the Netherlands is based upon the association the respondents in the study carried out by Den Ridder et al. (2011, pp. 19 - 20) have. The researchers found that respondents associate the Netherlands positively with business spirit and entrepreneurship. The study by Vollaard (n.d., pp. 5 - 8) served as inspiration to formulate this association with the Netherlands. In this article the author mentions the 'Gouden Eeuw' (the Golden Age, own translation) which serves as collective pride as well as the importance of trade for the Netherlands.

2. Freedom

This association with the Netherlands is based upon studies carried out by the Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (SCP). They have asked respondents which positive and negative associations they have with the Netherlands. The researchers found that strong points about the Netherlands are, amongst others, the freedom in which one can live in the Netherlands as well as the freedom of expression (Dekker and Den Ridder, 2014, p. 14; Den Ridder et al., 2011, p. 18).

3. Tolerance

This association has been derived from Den Ridder et al. (2011) who found that one of the strong points with regards to Dutch society is the level of tolerance (Dekker and Den Ridder, 2014, p. 14; Den Ridder et al., 2011, pp. 19 - 20).

4. Peace

The researchers found that the freedom in which one can live in the Netherlands is an association the respondents have with the Netherlands (Den Ridder et al., 2011, p. 18). Therefore, the association 'peace' has been formulated and is part of the analysis.

5. Welfare system

The respondents in the studies by the Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau are proud of the social services that are provided by the Dutch state. Another aspect, that relates to the Dutch welfare system and of which the respondents were proud, are the good and accessible health care services (Dekker and Den Ridder, 2014, p. 14; Den Ridder et al., 2011, p. 18).

6. Small country

This association is based upon a personal association with the Netherlands: 'small country, big deeds'. Therefore, this association has been formulated to see whether the Netherlands is referred to as a small country.

3.7 Coding process and research limits

Each textbook was analysed on the basis of the existence of the above-explained associations with Europe or the Netherlands in the texts. The coding manuals serve as guidelines for the coding process to ensure consistency. Each time part of the text met the guidelines in the coding manuals it was counted and coded as part of the matching association with either Europe and European integration or the Netherlands. The score was tallied and the page numbers and brief description were written down (appendix 1). It is important to note that references made to Europe that did not make a substantive addition to (enhancement of a student's) knowledge on Europe and European integration, were not included. To exemplify this, a page on which the words 'European football championship' were included and which did not make a substantive addition to the knowledge about Europe, European integration, the Netherlands or any of the associations, has not been included. After the extensive reading process of all books and the manual process of counting and tallying, the information on the analysis forms was transferred to the SPSS code book.

Let me, at the end of the Methodology chapter and as concluding remarks discuss the research limits. The first research limit refers to the limited N (number of textbooks) in this analysis. The choice for the analysed textbooks has been justified in paragraph 3.2. Briefly, the choice is based upon two reasons. Firstly, social studies extensively treats Europe as part of the curriculum in comparison with other subjects. Secondly, social studies is a compulsory subject and needs to be followed by all Dutch students at each education level in the higher classes of high school. This is in contrast to other subjects in which Europe might be discussed, such as history and geography. Though the choice has been justified, it still remains that including additional subjects would have painted an *even more* complete picture. This was much desired, but not possible due to time constraints.

The second research limit refers to the research's reproducibility and reliability. In content analysis, problems with reliability arise from the 'ambiguity of word meanings, category definitions, or other coding rules' (Weber, 1990, p. 15). Reproducibility or replicability refers to the degree to which 'a process can be replicated by different analysts working under varying conditions, at different locations, or using different but functionally equivalent measuring instruments' (Weber, 1990, p. 215). Though differences could still come to light in the application and interpretation of the lists of associations by different persons, I have undertaken several measures to enhance the replicability and reliability of this research. Firstly, to enhance both replicability and reliability of this research, I have established coding manuals for each of the lists of associations with Europe and the Netherlands and included these in the research. The second measure to enhance replicability is that appendix 1 includes all used analysis forms with detailed information so that the research can be more easily reproduced.

Table 3. Coding manual association with the Netherlands

Code	Content description	Data example
International trade oriented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of export for the Netherlands - Dutch history: export, trade 	<p>'We moeten het dus hebben van onze export'</p> <p>'We are dependent on our export' (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 40, own translation).</p>
Freedom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of freedom rights (e.g. freedom of speech/opinion/expression, freedom of religion) - Freedom as an important Dutch value - Freedom as a part of Dutch society - Dutch history: freedom is important 	<p><i>De vijf meest genoemde kernbegrippen of idealen van het Nederlanderschap bleken: vrijheid, gelijkheid, welvaart, respect, democratie.'</i></p> <p>'The five most frequently mentioned concepts or ideals of Dutch citizenship proved to be: liberty, equality, prosperity, respect, democracy' (Janssen et al, 2013, p. 21, own translation).</p>
Tolerance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tolerance as an important Dutch value - Tolerance as a part of Dutch society or as a goal to strive for - Dutch history: tolerant nation 	<p>'Twee derde van de Nederlanders vindt 'tolerantie' een belangrijke waarde (...)'</p> <p>'Two thirds of Dutch population regards 'tolerance' as an important value (...)'</p>
Peace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - War-free country - Dutch aim to promote peace (e.g. in Afghanistan) 	Has not occurred
Welfare state/system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Netherlands is a welfare system or a welfare state - People are taken care of by the state (e.g. labour, illness) - Explanation of the Dutch welfare system - Importance of the welfare system for the Netherlands - Reference to the welfare system and the Netherlands which clearly shows the association (e.g. explanation of the Dutch welfare system, development of the welfare state) - If it is called 'our' welfare state/system or the Dutch welfare state/system 	<p>'Dat de verzorgingsstaat belangrijk is voor onze samenleving blijkt uit het feit dat in 1983 sociale grondrechten waren toegevoegd aan de Nederlandse Grondwet.'</p> <p>'That the welfare state is important for our society is evident from the fact that social rights were added to the Dutch Constitution in 1983' (Janssen et al., 2013, p. 106, own translation).</p>
Small country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If the Netherland is called small 	<p>'Ook Nederland is een klein en welvarend land.'</p> <p>'The Netherlands is also a small and prosperous country' (Groen and Hagers, 2010, p. 96, own translation).</p>

4. Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the obtained results of the content-analysis. The first results that will be presented and described are the findings related to the quantity of information about Europe. To show the relative amount of pages about Europe, the overall number of pages about Europe in relation to the total amount of pages of each social studies textbook is presented and discussed. The second paragraph focuses upon the results and findings with regards to the positive associations with Europe and European integration in the social studies textbooks. The same will be done in the fourth paragraph of this chapter, but with regards to the negative associations with Europe and European integration. In the fourth paragraph, the associations with the Netherlands will be presented. Lastly, this chapter will be concluded before moving on to the discussion.

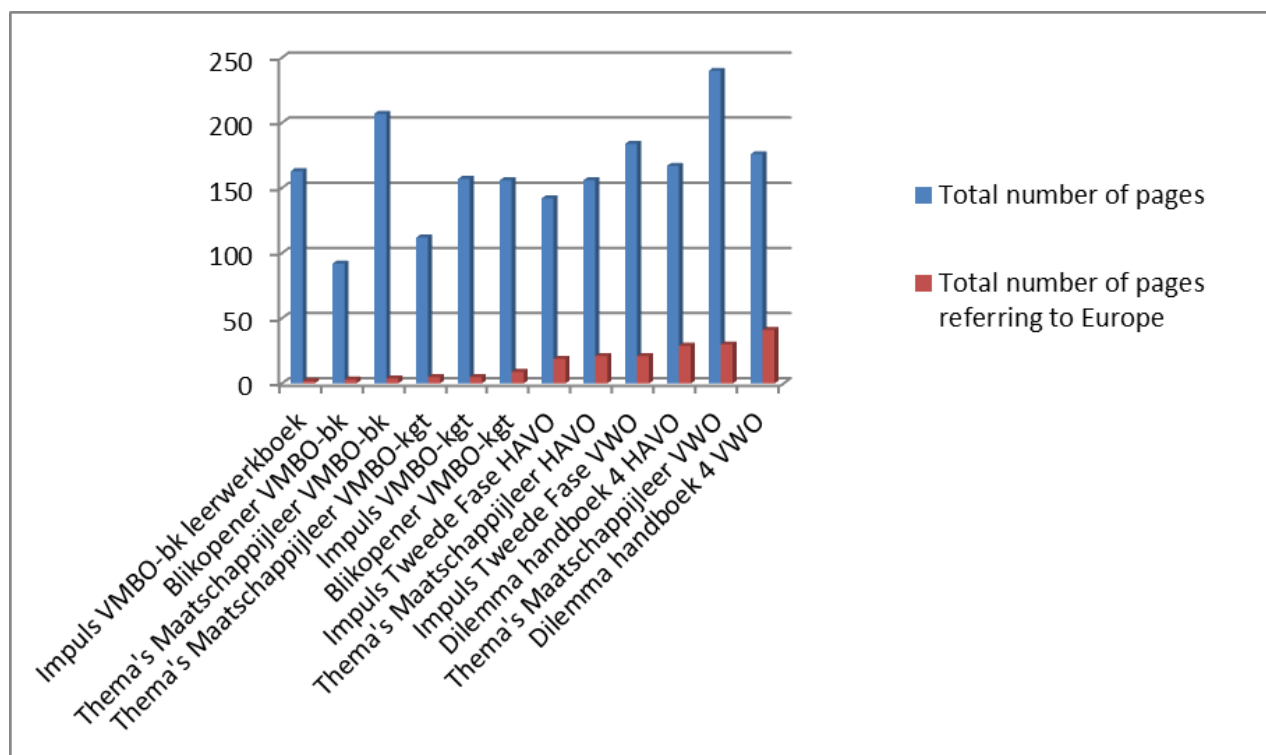
4.2 Relative quantity of pages about Europe

The total number of pages that refer to Europe and European integration is 189 pages. The minimum amount of pages referring to Europe in one of the 12 textbooks is 2 pages, whereas the maximum amount of pages mentioning to Europe is 41 pages. The mean is 15.75 pages referring to Europe per textbook.

In order to show the relative amount, it is important to see the number of pages referring to Europe in perspective to the total number of pages of each social studies textbook. Figure 1 shows this relation. As shown in Figure 1, the relative amount of pages referring to Europe compared with the total amount of pages is quite diverse. In the case of three textbooks, notably Blikopener VMBO-kgt, Thema's Maatschappijleer VMBO-bk and Impuls VMBO-bk, the textbooks and workbooks were combined into one. As a consequence, the total number of pages is higher. With regards to the other social studies books, the workbooks are separate books and consequently not part of the analysis. The textbooks are all recent textbooks and used in the upper classes of each education level. Figure 1 shows that, especially at VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt, the relative amount of pages referring to Europe is low. For HAVO and VWO social studies textbooks these numbers lie higher.

Similarly to Figure 1, table 4 displays the relation between the total number of pages of each textbook and the pages about Europe as well, but here the percentages are added. As such, the numbers can be seen in perspective to each other and a comparison can be made.

Figure 1. Relation total number of pages and pages about Europe



As can be seen from table 4, in the Dilemma textbook VWO 23.30% of the total amount of pages refer to Europe and European integration. This is the highest result. Impuls VMBO-bk leerwerkboek resulted in the count of 2 pages mentioning Europe. The total number of pages is 163 pages and consequently, the relative amount of pages referring to Europe is 1.23%. The table, furthermore, illustrates the data per level of education: 3.16% of the total number of pages of the social studies books for lower educated (VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt) refers to Europe and European integration. In the case of the social studies textbooks aimed at higher educated (HAVO + VWO) the percentage is 15.12%.

The research question and hypothesis related to these results are:

Is the relative quantity of information referring to Europe smaller at the lower education levels VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt in comparison to the higher education levels HAVO and VWO in social studies textbooks?

H1: The lower educated obtain relatively less information about Europe in social studies textbooks than the higher educated.

From the data in table 4, it is apparent that social studies books for higher education levels contain more references to Europe and European integration than social studies books for lower education levels. The average number of pages referring to Europe at VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt is 9.33 pages, whereas, this average lies more as six times as high at the higher education levels – HAVO and VWO – with a mean of 56.67 pages referring to Europe and European integration. These results provide confirmatory evidence that lower educated obtain relatively less information about Europe in social studies textbooks than the higher educated. Therefore, hypothesis 1 is confirmed.

Table 4. Relation total number of pages and total number of pages about Europe in percentages

Method	Total number of pages	Total number of pages referring to Europe	Percentage
Impuls VMBO-bk leerwerkboek	163	2	1.23%
Blikopener VMBO-bk	92	3	3.26%
Thema's Maatschappijleer VMBO-bk	207	4	1.93%
Thema's Maatschappijleer VMBO-kgt	112	5	4.46%
Impuls VMBO-kgt	157	5	3.18%
Blikopener VMBO-kgt leerwerkboek	156	9	5.77%
Total low education levels (VMBO-bk + VMBO-kgt)	887	28	3.16%
Mean 'low' (VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt)			9.33 pages refer to Europe
Impuls Tweede Fase HAVO	142	19	13.38%
Thema's Maatschappijleer HAVO	156	21	13.46%
Impuls Tweede Fase VWO	184	21	11.41%
Dilemma handboek 4 HAVO	167	29	17.26%
Thema's Maatschappijleer VWO	240	30	12.50%
Dilemma handboek 4 VWO	176	41	23.30%
Total high education levels (HAVO +VWO)	1065	161	15,12%
Mean 'high' (HAVO and VWO)			56.67 pages refer to Europe

4.3 Associations with Europe

4.3.1 Positive associations with Europe

During the phase of analysis, the pages that contained information about Europe have also been analysed by means of a list of positive associations. Examples from the social studies textbooks in which the positive associations occurred can be found in table 1. The positive associations are the following:

1. The European Union as a peace facilitator and protector
2. Europe provides economic/trade benefits
3. Stronger international position with respect to other powers such as US, China and Russia
4. Consumer benefits
5. Cooperation to solve trans boundary issues (e.g. environment or crime)
6. Possibilities to receive funding for societal important projects
7. Easy to go on academic exchange within Europe
8. Pooling of powers enhancing security
9. Constant strengthening of Europe: Münchhausen-theme (i.e. by investing in poorer countries and regions in Europe, the whole of Europe becomes stronger)

Figure 2 illustrates the sum of distribution of above associations with Europe within the social studies textbooks. It is apparent from this figure that the most occurred positive association with Europe is the association that Europe provides economic-and trade benefits. In total, this association occurs 47 times. The positive association which has not been found is the association with Europe as a provider of possibilities for funding. Other positive associations with Europe and European integration that have occurred are:

- The European Union as a peace facilitator and protector: occurred twelve times and has an average of occurring once per book.
- Stronger international position with respect to other powers such as US, China and Russia: occurred four times and has an average of occurring 0.333 times per book.

- Consumer benefits: occurred ten times and has an average of occurring 0.833 times per book.
- Cooperation to solve trans boundary issues (e.g. environment or crime): occurred fifteen times and has an average of occurring 1.25 times per book.
- Easy to go on academic exchange within Europe: occurred eleven times and has an average of occurring 0.9167 times per book.
- Pooling of powers enhancing security: occurred five times and has an average of occurring 0.4167 times per book.
- Constant strengthening of Europe: Münchhausen-theme (i.e. by investing in poorer countries and regions in Europe, the whole of Europe becomes stronger): occurred twice and has an average of occurring 0.1667 times per book.

Figure 2. Sum of distribution per positive association with Europe

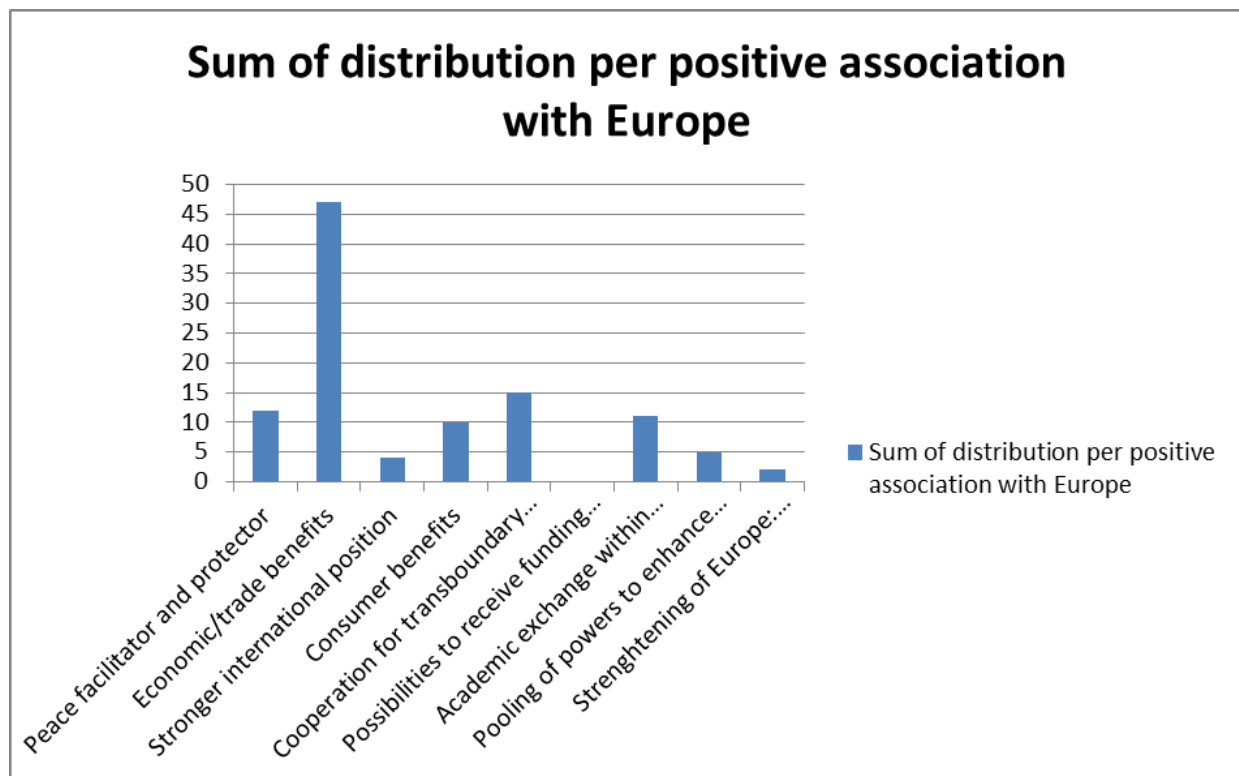
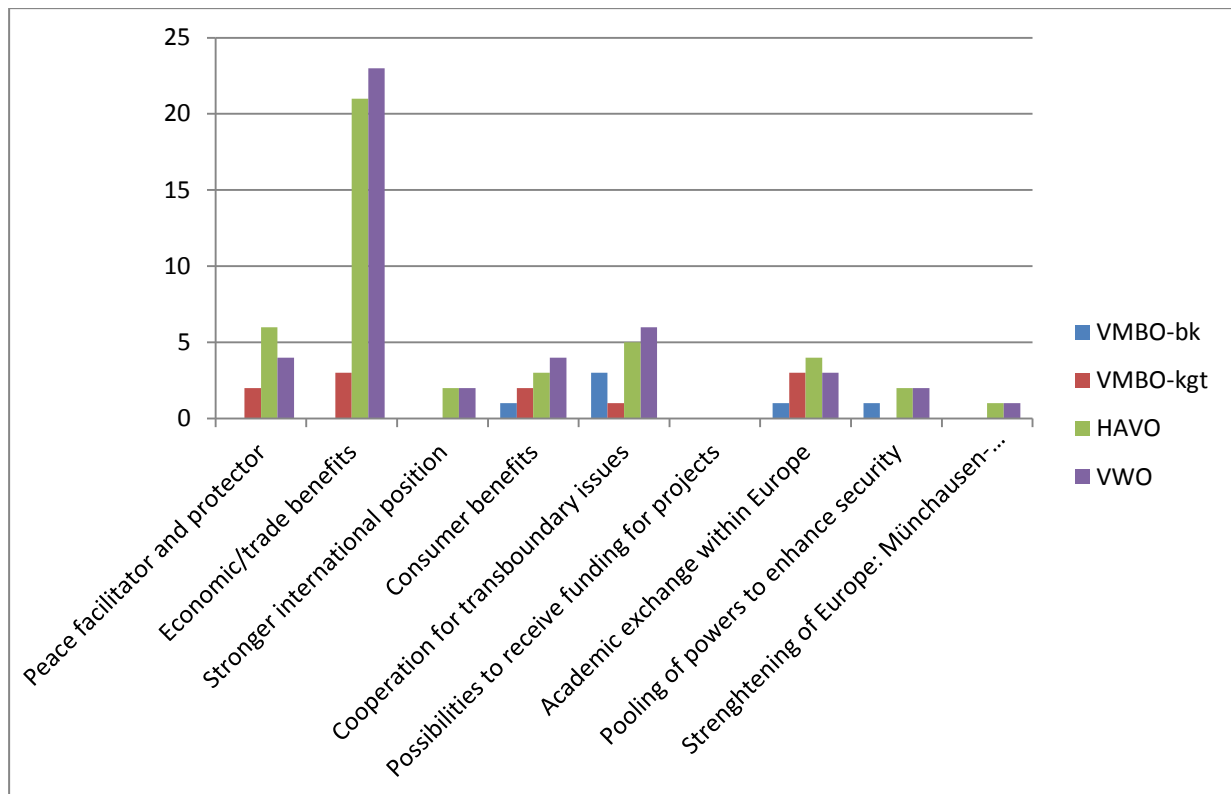


Figure 3. Sum of distribution per positive association with Europe – comparison education levels VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO



In the above Figure 3, we see the total distribution of positive associations per education level. Are there any differences between levels? At VMBO-bk four positive associations with Europe have occurred: consumer benefits, cooperation for trans boundary issues, academic exchange within Europe and pooling of powers to enhance security. The most occurred association is the association of Europe as a cooperative mechanism for solving trans boundary issues. At VMBO-kgt two associations have been found four times: economic/trade benefits and academic exchange within Europe. As can be noted from figure 3, the association with Europe in HAVO and VWO social studies textbooks strongly focuses upon economics. The most occurring association is the association with Europe as providing economic/trade benefits to the Netherlands. It has occurred 21 times at HAVO and 23 times at VWO. This is in sharp contrast with VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt where these associations did not occur often or not at all. At VMBO-bk this association has not occurred; at VMBO-kgt it occurs, on average, once per textbook; at HAVO 7 times per textbook and at VWO 7.6667 per textbook.

As such, we can note contrasts between VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt on the one hand and HAVO and VWO on the other hand. Not only the amount of pages referring to information provision about Europe, the European Union or European integration is higher on HAVO and VWO (see table 3), the positive associations are also differing. The focus on HAVO and VWO clearly and strongly lies on economic and trade benefits whereas there is not a specific focus on any of the associations at VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt.

4.3.2 Negative associations with Europe

During the phase of analysis the pages that contained information about Europe has also been analysed by means of pre-determined lists of associations. Examples from the social studies textbooks in which the negative associations occurred can be found in the coding manual on p. 39. The negative associations were the following:

1. Democratic deficit
2. Loss of national identity and deteriorating of social cohesion
3. Loss of sovereignty and EU control
4. Loss of national cultural traditions
5. Bureaucratic & expensive
6. Loss of the distinct Dutch uniqueness (in terms of policy-making such as policy on soft drugs, prostitution, euthanasia but also welfare system or education)
7. Power battle: smaller countries overshadowed by larger countries
8. The invisibility of economic benefits (such as euro or production goes to cheaper European countries)
9. Labour market repression by European immigrants that are considered cheaper, such as Romanians, Bulgarians and Poles

Figure 4 illustrates the sum of distribution of above associations with Europe within the social studies textbooks. It is apparent from this figure that the most occurred negative association with Europe is loss of sovereignty for the Netherlands or member states in general. In total, this association has been found 45 times. Associations that have not occurred in any of the social studies

textbooks are loss of national cultural traditions and invisibility of economic benefits. Other negative associations with Europe and European integration that have occurred are:

- Democratic deficit: occurred sixteen times and on average occurs 1.333 times per textbook.
- Loss of national identity and deteriorating of social cohesion: occurred twice and on average occurs 0.1667 times per textbook.
- Bureaucratic & expensive: occurred eleven times and on average occurs 0.9167 times per textbook.
- Loss of the distinct Dutch uniqueness (in terms of policy-making such as policy on soft drugs and prostitution): occurred three times and on average occurs 0.2500 times per textbook.
- Power battle: occurred six times and on average occurs 0.5 times per textbook.
- Labour market repression by European immigrants that are considered cheaper, such as Romanians, Bulgarians and Poles: occurred thirteen times and on average occurs 1.0833 times per textbook.

Figure 4. Sum of distribution per negative association with Europe

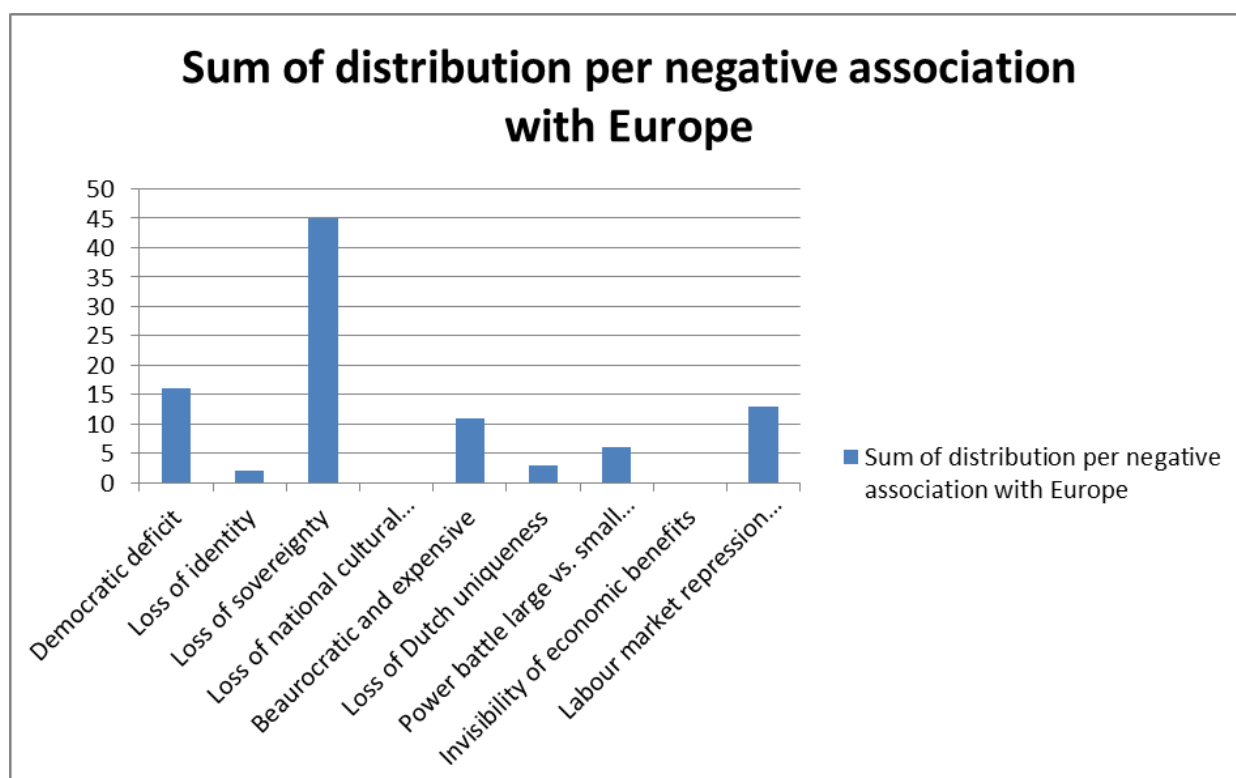
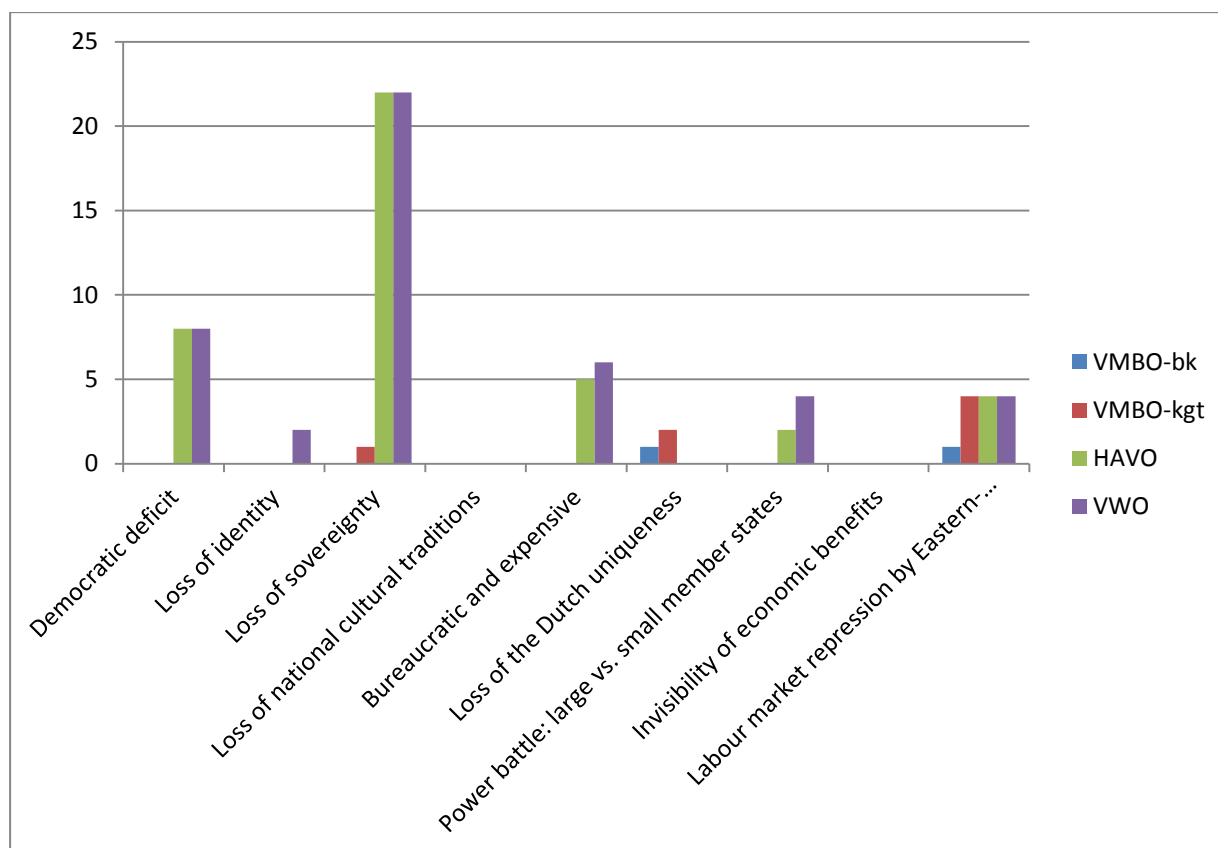


Figure 5. Sum of distribution per negative association with Europe – comparison education levels VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO



But how are these negative associations distributed amongst the separate education levels? The figure of this distribution can be found above (Figure 5).

At VMBO-bk, two negative associations have occurred once: loss of Dutch uniqueness and labour market repression by Eastern-European immigrants. At VMBO-kgt the most occurred associations with Europe is labour market repression by Eastern European immigrants with a total occurrence of four times in the data. As can be seen in Figure 5, the most occurred notion for HAVO and VWO is loss of sovereignty. At both education levels this association with Europe occurs 22 times with an average occurrence of 7.333 per textbook.

Strong similarities can be noted between HAVO and VWO. The focus on certain negative associations, for example 'loss of sovereignty', is very similar. The notion of labour market repression has occurred at all levels. The differences between the two types of VMBO were minor. For VMBO-kgt more associations were found in the text books, but there were fewer differences with VMBO-bk than with HAVO or VWO.

Table 5. Distribution of positive associations with Europe per high-or low education level

Positive association	Low education levels (VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt)	High education levels (HAVO, VWO)
Peace facilitator and protector	2	10
Economic/trade benefits	3	44
Stronger international position	0	4
Consumer benefits	3	7
Cooperation for trans boundary issues	4	11
Possibilities to receive funding	0	0
Academic exchange within Europe	4	7
Pooling of powers to enhance security	1	4
Strengthening of Europe: Münchhausen	0	2
Total number of positive associations with Europe	17	89

Table 6. Distribution of negative associations with Europe per high-or low education level

Negative association	Low education levels (VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt)	High education levels (HAVO, VWO)
Democratic deficit	0	16
Loss of identity	0	2
Loss of sovereignty	1	44
Loss of national cultural traditions	0	0
Bureaucratic and expensive	0	11
Loss of Dutch uniqueness	3	0
Power battle: large vs. small member states	0	6
Invisibility of economic benefits	0	0
Labour market repression by Eastern European immigrants	5	8
Total number of negative associations with Europe	9	87

The research question and hypothesis related to these results are:

Which positive and negative associations with Europe are made in VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO social studies textbooks in Dutch secondary education?

H2: The social studies textbooks for the lower education levels contain relatively more negative associations with Europe than the higher educated levels.

From the data in table 5 and 6 it becomes apparent that the relative quantity of positive and negative associations is highest in social studies textbooks for higher education levels. At these levels, HAVO and VWO, the total number of positive associations with Europe is 89 and the total number of negative associations with Europe is 87. Thus, slightly more positive associations were found at these levels. At the low education levels, VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt, the number of positive associations with Europe is 19 and the number of negative associations is with Europe is 9. Hence, more than two times as much positive associations with Europe were found than negative associations with Europe. As such, hypothesis 2 is rejected.

4.3.3 Associations with the Netherlands

As Harmsen argues the view of the nation itself, and in relation to Europe, also influences the way Europe is perceived (2008, p. 318). Therefore, this research also analysed the social studies textbooks with regards to the associations of the Netherlands. Dutch social studies textbooks are mainly aimed at teaching students about Dutch society. Therefore, it was expected that many associations with the Netherlands would be found. Examples from the social studies textbooks in which the associations with the Netherlands occurred can be found in table 3 on page 44. The predetermined association list of the Netherlands consists of the following associations:

1. International trade oriented
2. Freedom
3. Tolerance

4. Peace
5. Welfare system
6. Small country

Figure 6 shows the total distribution of the above listed associations in all analysed social studies textbooks. It is clear that the association of the Netherlands as a welfare system has been found the most with a total of 129 times. The association with the Netherlands that did not occur is that of peace. The remaining associations with the Netherlands that have been found are:

- International trade oriented: occurred eight times and on average occurred 0.667 times.
- Freedom: occurred sixty times and on average occurred five times.
- Tolerance: occurred nineteen times and on average occurred 1.5833 times.
- Small country: occurred five times and on average occurred 0.4167 times.

Figure 7 shows the sum of distribution of these associations for each education level. The association of the Netherlands with welfare state/system has been found the most at HAVO (in total 61 times) and VWO (in total 54 times). Yet, the most occurring association with the Netherlands in VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt books is the association with freedom: nine times in VMBO-bk social studies textbooks and fourteen times in VMBO-kgt social studies textbooks.

Table 7 shows the most occurred associations with Europe and the Netherlands with respect to the higher-and lower education levels. We see that, at both VMBO-levels, the most occurred association with the Netherlands is the enjoyment of several freedoms, such as freedom of speech and religion. The most counted association with the Netherlands at HAVO and VWO is the association with a welfare state/system.

With regards to the positive associations with Europe and European integration the most occurring associations at low-education levels are two associations, namely academic exchange within Europe and cooperation in

Figure 6. Sum of distribution per association with the Netherlands

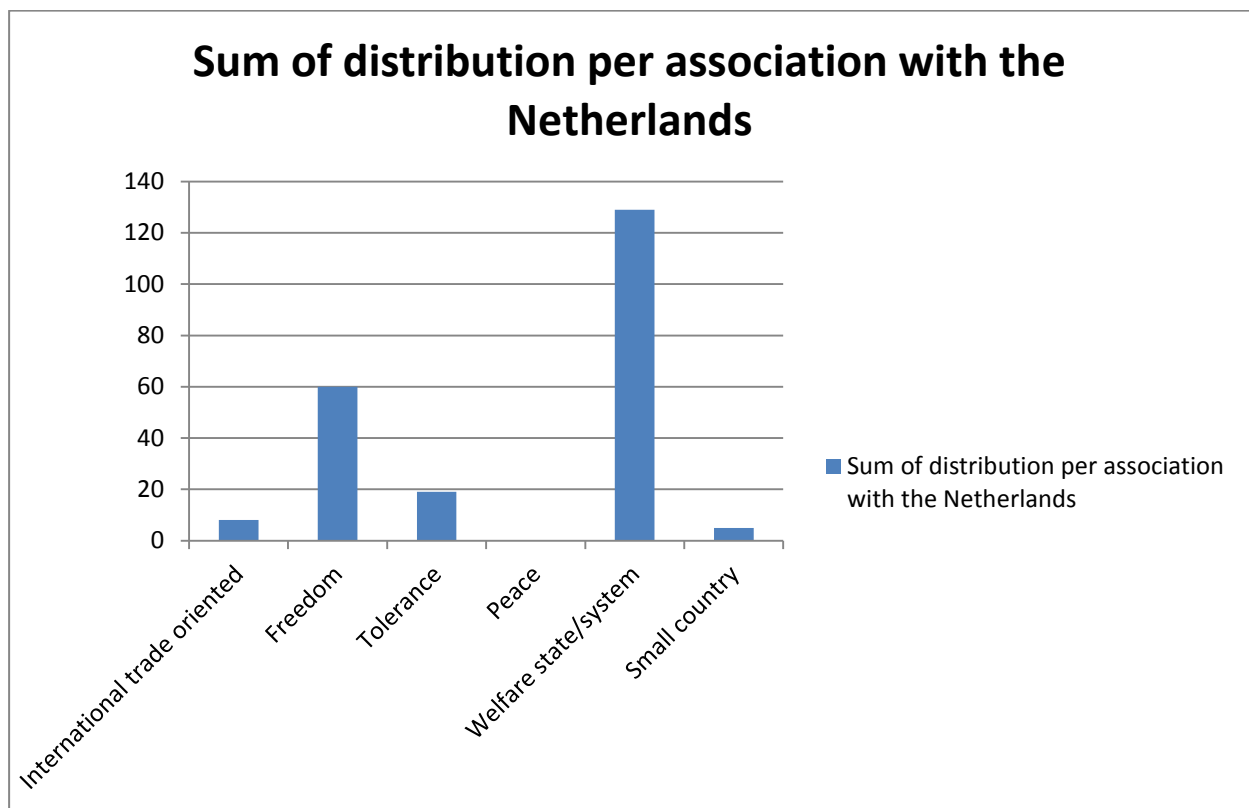


Figure 7. Sum of distribution per association with the Netherlands – comparison education levels VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO

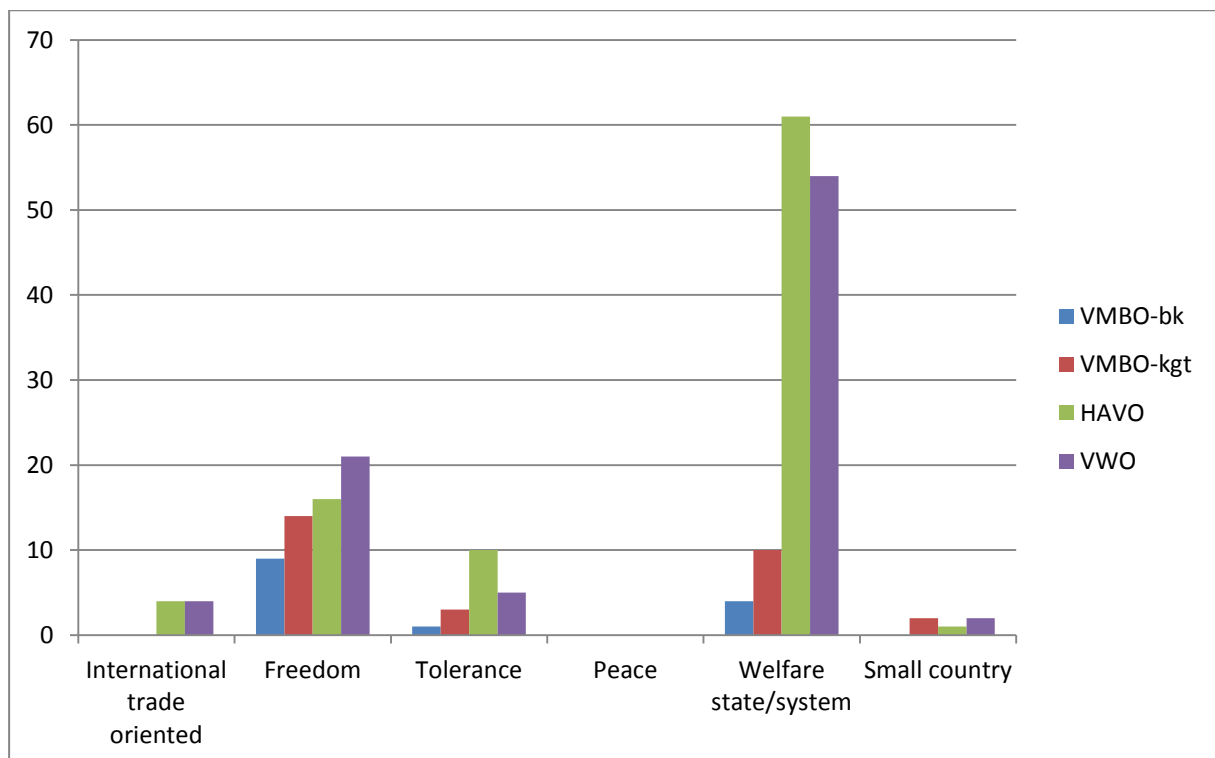


Table 7. Associations with Europe and associations with the Netherlands sorted by higher-and lower education levels.

	Low (VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt)	High (HAVO and VWO)
Most occurred positive association with Europe	Academic exchange within Europe Cooperation for trans boundary levels	Economic/trade benefits
Most occurred negative association with Europe	Labour market repression by Eastern-European immigrants	Loss of sovereignty
Most occurred association with the Netherlands	Freedom	Welfare state/system

order to solve trans boundary issues. The most occurring negative association for VMBO is labour market repression by Eastern-European immigrants. The positive association with Europe that has been found the most at the high education levels – HAVO and VWO – are economic/trade benefits. The most occurred negative association with Europe is loss of Dutch sovereignty.

The research question and hypothesis related to these results are:

- 1. Is the fit between the associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe worse for the lower education levels in comparison to the higher education levels?*

H3: The associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe do not fit

The relative ease to go on academic exchange within Europe could be seen as a type of freedom; freedom of movement. However, at the same time the association with Europe with regards to labour market repression by Eastern-European immigrants seems to indicate the negative sides of the freedom of movement. Hence, there is not a clear fit between the associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe in social studies textbooks for low education levels. As such, hypothesis 3 can be rejected.

At HAVO and VWO the focus, with respect to positive associations with Europe, lies on economic/trade benefits. At the same time, the most occurring

negative association with Europe, loss of sovereignty, has appeared as many as the positive association with Europe. The most occurred association with the Netherlands is the view of the Netherlands as a welfare state/system. The associations with Europe – either positive or negative - and with the Netherlands do not match.

5. Discussion

Research shows that, generally, the higher educated Dutch people are the more positive they think about Europe and the higher their support for the European project of integration (Dekker et al., 2007, p. 19; Dekker and Ridder, 2012, p. 56; Hakhverdian et al., 2013, p. 531; Op de Woerd, 2014, section para. 13, own translation). As previous research has pointed out +37% of the higher educated Dutch persons are more positive about Europe than lower educated persons (Dekker et al., 2007, p. 19). Several explanations have been given for this. These explanations were mostly material-focused, for example the idea that, in general, higher educated people benefit more from Europe and globalization in comparison to lower educated people (Creusen et al., 2010, p. 10). This thesis argues that a possible explanation could also be part of the social constructivist approach which focuses upon immaterial interests. The molding of ideas and opinions starts at a young age. Parents influence their children and shape their personalities. Education is another influential factor shaping persons' ideas and discourses (Provenzo et al., 2010, p. 42). This also applies to the associations with Europe, the European Union and/or European integration. It could be argued that the relative quantity of information and the type of information students receive about Europe through education could impact their associations with Europe and European integration.

5.1 Relative quantity of information about Europe

The results show that the amount of information discussed about Europe within Dutch social studies textbooks for VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO or VWO is relatively very diverse. The relative average number of pages referring to Europe at the lower education levels – VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt - is 9.33 pages. The relative average number of pages referring to Europe at the higher education levels – HAVO and VWO - is 56.67. As such, it can be concluded that the relative quantity of information referring to Europe in Dutch social studies textbooks is smaller at the lower education levels in comparison to the higher education levels and hypothesis 1 is confirmed.

This outcome could potentially have implications for the way students perceive Europe. The studies presented earlier in this thesis provide evidence

that education in general and textbooks in particular shape persons' ideas and opinions, also about Europe and European integration (Provenzo et al., 2010, p. 42). In VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt social studies textbooks the results show that the relative quantity of information referring to Europe is little. As Diez argues discourse provides the basis for interaction and preconceptions result from these discourses (Diez, 1999, p. 8). As such, it appears we reason on the basis of the discourses we have. In other words, young Dutch students will argue on the basis of the associations they have with Europe. This study shows that fewer references to Europe are made in social studies textbooks at the lower education levels in comparison with the higher education levels. If the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and/or social studies textbooks publishers would like to pursue the goal that lower educated students are more informed about Europe, they could propose to include more pages referring to Europe and European integration in social studies textbooks. However, it is important to bear in mind that this study has not researched textbooks of other subjects, such as geography or history, or textbooks in primary education. The reasons for the choice of social studies have been discussed in chapter 3. It might be that analysis of other subjects' textbooks show that lower educated receive as much, or even more information about Europe and European integration as higher educated in those textbooks. If this would be the case, it could possibly alter the overall conclusion for the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and/or social studies textbooks publishers.

5.2 Associations with Europe

Textbooks have power via the ideologies, messages and opinions they put forward – wittingly or unwittingly. This thesis has also analysed the associations about Europe that are advanced in the social studies textbooks. As the results show, the most counted association at VMBO-bk is association of Europe with a cooperation of states to solve trans boundary issues. However, there is not one association that really stands out because most associations have been counted either 0, 1 or 2 times at VMBO-bk. This also applies to VMBO-kgt. The most counted associations for this level are the associations of Europe with economic/trade benefits and as an area in which academic exchange is easy. Both associations have been counted three times. Though, again, no emphasis is

laid on one notion throughout the textbooks in contrast with the education levels HAVO and VWO. Economic/trade benefits are the most counted association at HAVO and also clearly stand out from the 'crowd' of associations with its total occurrence of 21 times. The same applies to VWO; although, with a total occurrence of 23 times. As such, at both HAVO and VWO the emphasis of the positive associations being forwarded lies on the association of Europe with being economic advantageous for the Netherlands, Dutch companies and Dutch citizens. It could be claimed that HAVO and VWO students therefore associate Europe differently, probably more positively, than VMBO students because HAVO and VWO pupils have received not only relatively more information about Europe, but also a greater number of positive associations.

The negative associations with Europe have also been analysed and counted. As the results show the most counted negative associations with Europe at VMBO-bk are loss of the distinct Dutch uniqueness in terms of policy-making (e.g. soft drugs policy) and labour market repression by Eastern-European immigrants. Both associations have been counted once. Other negative associations have not occurred. The same associations prevailed at VMBO-kgt though in a higher amount and, in addition, the association of Europe with loss of Dutch sovereignty has been found. The most counted association with Europe is the association with labour market repression with a total count of four. For the lower education levels – VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt – no particular negative association with Europe took prevalence over others. At HAVO the most appearing negative association with Europe is, by far, the association that Europe causes the Netherlands (and other European countries) to lose its sovereignty. The results show that this notion has been counted 22 times. The same association prevails at VWO with the same number of occurrence, namely 22 times.

As such, the results show that the total number of positive associations about Europe in social science textbooks aimed at lower educated persons is 17 and aimed at higher education persons is 89. With respect to the negative associations about Europe found in social studies textbooks, the total number at lower education levels is 9 and at higher education levels it is 87. Hence, the social studies textbooks for the lower education levels do not contain more negative associations with Europe than the higher educated levels. Hence, hypothesis 2 has been rejected. It is evident from the results that the relative

quantity of information about Europe for VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt is low compared to HAVO and VWO. Hence, it logically follows that the less information is presented about Europe, the less possibilities there are to find either positive or negative associations. This explains the lower number of associations – positive and negative- that is found at the VMBO-levels.

The associations of the Netherlands were also part of the content-analysis. The reason for this is that the views person hold of their native country as well as the view they hold of the relationship between their country and Europe, influences the person's opinions, discourse and ideas of Europe (Harmsen, 2008, p. 318). Dutch social studies textbooks are focused upon teaching students about the Netherlands: Dutch politics, Dutch law, Dutch society and many other societal aspects. To say it in a nutshell, students learn about the workings of Dutch society. Thus, the focus of the high school subject social studies lays on the Netherlands. From that, it logically follows that the number of associations with the Netherlands lies higher than the associations with Europe. The association of the Netherlands with welfare state/system has been found the most at HAVO (in total 61 times) and VWO (in total 54 times). Furthermore, the most occurring association with the Netherlands in VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt books is the association with freedom: nine times in VMBO-bk social studies textbooks and fourteen times in VMBO-kgt social studies textbooks.

The results show that there is not a clear fit between the associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe in social studies textbooks for higher-and lower education levels (see table 7 at page 59). At VMBO, the relative ease to go on academic exchange within Europe could be seen as a type of freedom; the freedom to move freely in the EU. However, at the same time the association with Europe with regards to labour market repression by Eastern-European immigrants seems to indicate the negative sides of the freedom of movement. Hence, there is not a clear fit between the associations with the Netherlands and the associations with Europe in social studies textbooks for low education levels.

In HAVO and VWO social studies textbooks the focus with respect to positive associations with Europe lies on economic/trade benefits. It appears this is an evaluation of the Union in material terms, i.e. a cost-benefit approach, at national-and individual level (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2005, p. 224). At the same

time, the most occurring negative association with Europe, loss of sovereignty, has appeared as many times as the positive association with Europe. The most occurred association with the Netherlands is the view of the Netherlands as a welfare state/system. In the social studies textbooks of HAVO and VWO a separate chapter was dedicated to this association. This could possibly point at the importance of the Dutch welfare system for Dutch citizens. This finds support in public opinion research which shows that one of the aspects the Dutch are proud of is the Dutch welfare system (Dekker and Den Ridder, 2014, p. 14; Den Ridder et al., 2011, p. 18). Taking into account the prevailing negative association with Europe, the loss of sovereignty, it can be concluded that there is no match at the higher education level between the associations with Europe and the associations with the Netherlands.

5.3 Implications and future research

In conclusion, the research points out some important aspects. Firstly, the results have shown that a gap exists between the relative quantity of information provision about Europe in social studies textbooks at lower education levels - VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt - in comparison with the higher education levels - HAVO and VWO. Secondly, the outcomes illustrate that occurrence of certain associations with Europe and the Netherlands in these textbooks is certainly not uncommon. But what implications do these findings have?

With regards to the relative amount of information about Europe that is being discussed in social studies textbooks, an important outcome of thesis is that differences exist between VMBO-bk and VMBO-kgt on the one hand, and HAVO and VWO on the other. If the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science aspire to eliminate these quantitative differences, they could decide to change the education requirements for social studies that textbook authors and publishers have to incorporate.

Concerning the the different associations with Europe and European integration, it is important that social studies textbook authors take into account the existing possibilities of putting forward certain associations with Europe – even when balanced views are offered.

Lastly, I would like to make a few suggestions for future research. This research could be broadened to establish a broader base to put claims on and

make generalization possible. As I have discussed in this thesis, I suggest including not only more social studies textbooks but also other subject's textbooks for all years and all levels to analyse the relative quantity and associations with Europe that are put forward. Furthermore, it might be very interesting to analyse textbooks from other European member states to find possible cross-country differences and similarities. This could lead to valuable insights into the ways other European member states put forward associations with Europe in textbooks and into the relative amount of information that is part of lower education levels' textbooks compared to textbooks for higher education levels.

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7. Appendices

7.1 Appendix 1: analysis forms

The following 12 analysis forms have been sorted per education level: VMBO-bk, VMBO-kgt, HAVO and VWO.

VMBO-bk

Title: Blikopener

Education level: VMBO-bk

Total number of pages: 92

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 86	Part of the chapter called Fort Europe which discusses Europe
2	P. 87	Part of the chapter called Fort Europe which discusses Europe
3	p. 88	Discusses stereotypes + image about European stereotypes with regards to member states

Occurred positive associations with Europe		
Pos 5	- Enhancing environment together. Enhancing terrorism together.	p. 86

Negative associations with Europe– not occurring

Associations with the Netherlands		
NL2	- The Netherlands is a free country, you can say what you want. Freedom also means: respecting the freedoms of others (p. 54)	p. 54
NL3	- You are not being watched that much. You are much at liberty to live the way you want.	p. 43
NL5	- The government takes care of social security (2)	p. 53

Title: Thema's Maatschappijleer

Education level: VMBO-bk

Total number of pages: 207 (textbook + workbook)

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 82	NL is part of EU because of solution for trans boundary issues, explanation about EU, advantages and disadvantages
2	P. 83	List of several EU agreements presented in statements
3	p. 86	Countries that have the Euro, loans for Cyprus, Dutch borders closed for Croatia
4	p. 98	EU citizens are the only citizens allowed to work in other EU member states

Occurred positive associations with Europe		
Pos 4	- foreign goods are cheaper	p. 82
Pos 5	- Some problems the Netherlands can't solve alone → such as environmental issues	p. 82
Pos 7	- you can live work or study in every other EU country	p. 82
Pos 8	- EU countries regulate many aspects together such as security	p. 82

Occurred negative associations with Europe		
Neg 6	- In the Netherlands you can smoke a bit of weed. In other countries this is strictly illegal. If the EU makes one drug policy, then we might have to close all coffee shops	p. 82
Neg 9	- Because of the open borders people from countries with high unemployment rates come to work here. Because they are often cheap workers, the Dutch become unemployment quicker	p. 82

Associations with the Netherlands		
NL2	- Fortunately, we live in a free country. In the Netherlands we have a lot of freedom and rights (p. 64), in our country freedom of religion has existed for a long time; the right to belief what you want (p. 112)	p. 64 (2), 112
NL5	- explanation about what the Dutch government does (e.g. provides income when being unemployed or ill), in the Netherlands the government takes care of most welfare. This is called a welfare system.	p. 158 (2)

Title: Impuls

Education level: VMBO-bk

Total number of pages: 163 (textbook + workbook)

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 72	A protest song by pupils about, amongst others, the high amount of school hours per year and even the whole of Europe can do with fewer hours. As such, politics finds them dumber (...)
2	P. 105	People are allowed to come to the Netherlands if they are from the EU

Positive associations with Europe – not occurring

Negative associations with Europe – not occurring

Associations with the Netherlands		
NL2	+++ - Dutch people have the same values and norms, such as freedom of opinion (p. 31), The Dutch also find freedom of opinion very important (p. 37), freedom of opinion and freedom of liberty (p. 67), we have freedom of opinion in the Netherlands, right? (p. 130)	p. 31, 37, 67 (2), 130

VMBO-kgt

Title: Blikopener

Education level: VMBO-kgt

Total number of pages: 156

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 13	EU policy on women's' rights
2	P. 73	About Dutch soft drug policy and becoming the coffee shop of Europe, many countries against legalization/our policy
3	p. 128	About European migration
4	p. 145	About EU regulations, such as freedom of movement
5	p. 146	Chapter is called Close the border for Poles. It is about free movement of persons, Poles, unemployment.
6	p. 147	Chapter is called Close the border for Poles. It is about free movement of persons, Poles, unemployment.
7	p. 148	Chapter is called Close the border for Poles. It is about free movement of persons, Poles, unemployment, migration.
8	p. 149	Chapter is called Close the border for Poles. It is about free movement of persons, Poles, unemployment.
9	p. 150	Discusses stereotypes + image about European stereotypes with regards to member states

Positive associations with Europe – not occurring

Occurred negative associations with Europe		
Neg 6	- About Dutch soft drugs policy and legalization, but many foreign countries opposing this	p. 73
Neg 9	- Many poles work in the Netherlands. Companies are happy with the employees from Poland. However, many people are not happy with the influx of Polish workers (p. 146), The poles are willing to work for less money than the Dutch (p. 147), In constructions Poles are hired but without paying taxes. Individuals also hire Poles so they can reconstruct their houses and do not have to pay a lot for it (p. 148)	p. 146, 147, 148

Associations with the Netherlands

NL2	- In the Netherlands everyone is free to publish what they want	p. 82
NL3	- One third of the teachers sees a tolerant teacher as an ideal for Dutch education (p. 80), the common thought about the Netherlands is that it is such a tolerant country (p. 152)	p. 80, 152

NL5	- the paragraph is called Welfare System and the chapter discusses it (p. 27 + 28)	p. 27 (2), 28
NL6	= The Netherlands is also a small and prosperous country (p. 96), The Netherlands is too small and crowded (p. 120)	p. 96, 120

Title: Thema's Maatschappijleer

Education level: VMBO-kgt

Total number of pages: 157

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 62	A part of the chapter discusses the EU, advantages and disadvantages
2	P. 63	Discussion of advantages of Europe
3	p. 73	Regulations with regards to migration to the Netherlands – from member states or outside EU
4	p. 82	Brief description of history Europe with regards to the fact that everyone was Christian.
5	p. 99	Information about European regulation with regards to spam

Occurred positive associations with Europe		
Pos 1	- Because of cooperation between European member states the chance of war within the EU has become smaller (p. 62), Because of the EU there has not been a war between EU countries since 1945 (p. 63)	p. 62, 63
Pos 2	- You can pay with the Euro and no border controls, trade benefits for companies such as Heineken and Philips (p. 62), the euro came which is beneficial for price comparisons (p. 63)	p. 62 (2), 63
Pos 4	- Foreign goods have become cheaper for us (p. 62), because of Europe you continue to pay less for a call or an airplane ticket (p. 63)	p. 62, 63
Pos 5	- these organisations have been founded because countries could not solve many problems individually, such as air pollution, child labour, poverty and war	p. 62
Pos 7	- You can study in every other European country (p. 62), because of Europe you can go to every other EU member state to study, live or work (p. 63), are you from another European member state then, most of the times, you can live, study or work in the Netherlands without problems (p. 73)	p. 62, 63, 73

Occurred negative associations with Europe		
Neg 3	- The Netherlands decides less and less by itself	p. 62
Neg 6	- In the Netherlands you can smoke a bit of weed. In other countries this is strictly illegal. If the EU makes one drug policy, then we might have to close all coffee shops	p. 62
Neg 9	- because of the open borders many people from European member states with high unemployment rates, such as Poland and Bulgaria, come to the Netherlands to work. Often they work for less money than the Dutch which is why Dutch people	p. 62

	become unemployed.	
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Associations with the Netherlands		
NL2	+++ - Freedom is very important to us, such as freedom of opinion and freedom of religion. We want people to have the ability to do what they want (p. 26), freedoms in our constitution: freedom of opinion, freedom of press (p. 52), freedom of opinion (p. 53), freedom of religion + explanation (p. 82), freedom of opinion (p. 83), press freedom (p. 103)	p. 26 (3), 52 (2), 53, 82, 83, 103
NL 3	- tolerance with regards to freedom of religion	p. 82
NL5	+++ - chapter on welfare system (p. 116, 117, 118)	p. 116 (2), 117 (2), 118

Title: Impuls

Education level: VMBO-kgt

Total number of pages: 112

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 42	Briefly about European Middle Ages with regards to class divisions
2	P. 51	A protest song by pupils about, amongst others, the high amount of school hours per year and even the whole of Europe can do with fewer hours. As such, politics finds them dumber (...)
3	p. 73	Only people from the EU and high educated people who come to EU to work, shall be admitted
4	p. 74	Briefly about European history and colonists
5	p. 90	European advertisements and products in third world countries

Positive associations with Europe – not occurring

Negative associations with Europe – not occurring

Associations with the Netherlands

NL 2	IIII – We have freedom of expression in the Netherlands (p. 11), freedom of expression is important for the Dutch (p. 24), we have freedom of religion in the Netherlands (p. 76), we have freedom of expression in the Netherlands, right? (p. 92)	p. 11, 24, 76, 92
NL 5	– opinions about welfare system differ in how far the government's support should go and when you can say to poor people: it is your own fault (p. 41), history of welfare system (p. 42)	p. 41, 42

HAVO

Title: Dilemma

Education level: HAVO

Total number of pages: 240

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 19	'Brussels' meaning the EU: more and more is decided there
2	P. 22	Briefly about European history
3	p. 23	About progressives who want to strengthen the EU even though it is at the cost of Dutch autonomy
4	p. 25	About CDA, CU and SGP (three Dutch Christian political parties) and their stance regarding Europe
5	p. 37	About Europe influencing Dutch decision-making
6	p. 38	Part of the chapter about Europe : more or less Europe ?
7	p. 39	Part of the chapter about Europe : more or less Europe ?
8	p. 40	Part of the chapter about Europe : more or less Europe ?
9	p. 41	Part of the chapter about Europe : more or less Europe ?
10	p. 42	Part of the chapter about Europe : more or less Europe ?
11	p. 43	Part of the chapter about Europe : more or less Europe ?
12	p. 44	Part of the chapter about Europe : more or less Europe ?
13	p. 49	About the low turnout at the European elections and its effect on representation
14	p. 59	Briefly about European history
15	p. 66	About European Court of Human Rights
16	p. 74	About differences with regards to sanctions and penalties
17	p. 85	About European Charter of Human Rights
18	p. 86	About European Charter of Human Rights
19	p. 88	About European Court of Justice, a lot is being decided in EU and the question whether we still need three layers of government
20	p. 118	About differences in regulations within Europe regarding parental leave
21	p. 129	European regulations limit national governments' abilities to make policy, about financial crisis
22	p. 130	About European regulations, economics and sovereignty
23	p. 135	About Europe, the Netherlands and migration
24	p. 147	About Poland (accession, migration to the Netherlands)
25	p. 154	About Poland (accession, migration to the Netherlands, statistics about Dutch are not happy with the arrival of Poles)
26	p. 158	European countries facing problems with regards to asylum seekers
27	p. 159	Dutch asylum policy and European regulations
28	p. 160	Dutch asylum policy and European regulations
29	p. 162	European Charter of Human Rights

Occurred positive associations with Europe		
Pos 1	- EU's aim was peace and safety + war does not	p. 38 (2), 40

	stop at borders (p. 38), because of the split between East and West in Europe, war was close again which was enough reason to cooperate (p. 40)	
Pos 2	+++ +++- - increase in prosperity (p. 38), border controls disappeared, euro (p. 39), euro benefits, better international position for Dutch companies, Europe beneficial for export, trade benefits, borders disappeared, trade barriers disappeared (40), larger area of distribution for companies (p. 41), EU brought prosperity, more trade, larger markets/dynamics (p. 43)	p. 38, 39 (2), 40 (6), 41, 43 (3)
Pos 3	- If countries would produce at a larger scale, then they could compete with companies from the US and Asia	p. 41
Pos 4	- you can compare product prices from different Euro-countries, calling has become cheaper (p. 39), as consumers we have received more protection (p. 40)	p. 39 (2), 40
Pos 5	- War, food -and energy shortages, environment problems, crime and financial crisis don't stop at borders, individual solutions do not help and therefore cooperation is needed (p. 38), less EU would mean the question continue to exist how trans boundary problems have to be solved (44)	p. 38 (2), 44
Pos 7	- If you want to study abroad, it has become a lot easier	p. 39
Pos 8	- a cooperation mechanism between European countries was meant to enhance prosperity, but mostly peace and security (38), enlargement with Central-and Eastern European countries was not just a moral obligation, but also a matter of self interest in terms of security and stability (43)	p. 38, 43

Occurred negative associations with Europe

Neg 1	+++ - the lack of democracy in Europe, Democracy in Europe has always been the weak point, enhance the democratic quality of the EU, it is called a democratic deficit, the European Parliament is according to some still not a fully representative institution, some only accept the EU if it becomes more democratic, some thin	p. 44
Neg 3	+++ ++++ ++++ - Do we, because in Brussels more and more is being decided, still need three government layers (19), even though it is at the cost of Dutch autonomy (23), decision-making in the Netherlands is strongly influenced by factors we have barely anything to say about anymore, such as EU (37), More Europe means less the Netherlands, Do the member states, such as the Netherlands, still have something to say about the solving of their own societal problems?, Aren't national parliaments	p. 19, 23, 37, 38 (5), 39 (3), 40 (2), 44, 129, 130

	being left out, what is left of democracy on national level, in other words where is the sovereignty of the member states, the member states have given up a part of their sovereignty (38), how far do you have to go in giving up your sovereignty, does one want to hold on to Dutch sovereignty or do you choose for a United States of Europe, one federal state in which member states lose their independence?, if EU has the power to force member states to take care of their economic problems, then the EU can also make our (emphasis) country force to do so (39), What is certain is that there is a power shift from the national Dutch government to the supranational EU, as a country we have got less freedom to move (p. 40), against the transfer of even more decision-making powers to the EU (44), limit the leeway of national governments to make their own policies (129), the Netherlands can still make decisions, but have to that within the strict European framework (130)	
Neg 5	- membership costs money as well, about the Netherlands being a net payer, the costs of EU-memberships increase because of the crisis in some of the southern EU countries (40), enlargement has hindered decision-making (43)	p. 40 (3), 43
Neg 9	- The employment seeker from Europe is only welcome, for example, if he does not form a threat to our jobs (135), for Poles, Bulgarians and Spaniards the main reason to come to the Netherlands are jobs (162)	p. 135, 162

Associations with the Netherlands

NL 1	- we depend on our export, We export 500 billion euro, 400 billion euro consisting of goods and 100 billion euro consisting of services. Almost 75% of this goes to Europe. The Netherlands as trade country	p. 40 (3)
NL 2	+++ our society is based on freedom, equality (...), freedom and equality are values we often name as important, the most occurring ideals of Dutch persons is: freedom, equality, prosperity, respect and democracy, the most named value is freedom (p. 21), freedom of opinion, freedom of religion (p. 65), independence and freedom are values many people find important (126), Many Dutch people find individual freedom important, individual freedom and development is very important in the Netherlands (135)	p. 21 (4), 65 (2), 126, 135 (2)

NL 3	<p>+++ - The Dutch viewpoints with regards to homosexuality, abortion and euthanasia have become more tolerant (135), we have become so tolerant (137), the chapter is called 'How tolerant are we?', two thirds of the Dutch people think tolerance is an important value (154), SIRE-campaign about tolerance (155), everyone should make the Netherlands a pleasant a tolerant country (157)</p>	p. 135, 137, 154 (2), 155, 157
NL 65	<p>+++ +++ +++ +++ +++ - Chapter is called welfare system (94) statement that the Netherlands is a welfare system and what it should do (96), care is taken care of and paid for by the government (97), explaining welfare system and solidarity (102), influence of Keynes on Dutch welfare system, welfare system grew from 1940s to 1980s, functions of Dutch welfare system (105), the different functions of Dutch welfare system, examples from Dutch society, importance of welfare system for the Dutch, future of the Dutch welfare system (106), welfare policy is important policy in our system of social welfare (107), De Swaans theory is explained and is the basis of Dutch welfare system (114), our welfare system has a function to connect people with each other (116), is our welfare system the best? (119), The Netherlands as a unique welfare system (120), individualization, independence and freedom as a consequence of our welfare system (126), challenges to our welfare system such as European integration and globalization (p. 130)</p>	p. 94, 96 (2), 97, 102 (3), 105 (3), 106 (8), 107, 114, 116, 119, 120, 126 (2), 130

Title: Thema's Maatschappijleer

Education level: HAVO

Total number of pages: 184

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 32	European Court of Human Rights
2	P. 33	European charter of Human Rights
3	p.34	Explanation of the European charter of Human Rights
4	p. 63	Are we dependent on other European countries (with regards to decision-making)?
5	p. 71	About conservatives → don't want the Netherlands to transfer a lot of power to the EU
6	p. 76	Table of political parties and examples of their stances – also about Europe for some of the parties
7	p. 79	About D66 → wants more cooperation within the EU
8	p. 80	European parliament
9	p. 85	About PVV and that it does not want to subject to the dictate by Brussels
10	p. 99	About low turnout at European parliament elections
11	p. 100	Cooperation usually means that a country's sovereignty is being scaled down. The most far-reaching international cooperative mechanism of the Netherlands is the EU.
12	p. 101	About European history, euro, European institutions
13	p. 102	About europeanisation, sovereignty, EU's democratic deficit
14	p. 104	Separate paragraph called 'The Netherlands or the United States of Europe', advantages, disadvantages
15	p. 105	Member states' sovereignty European member states
16	p. 131	About European history (timeline)
17	p. 132	Annually hundreds of thousands people from non-European countries try to get in one of the EU-countries, admission EU employees, Eastern-European countries
18	p. 140	Europeanisation, academic exchange
19	p. 141	Low turnout EP elections, European integration
20	p. 143	EU regulations, such as the Treaty of Maastricht
21	p. 173	The EU is slowly turning into a Common European employment market (examples), repression of Dutch employees but also opportunities for companies

Occurred positive associations with Europe		
Pos 1	- the goal [of the EU] was to reinforce the European economy and to reach durable peace (101), the quote at the top of the page indicating the wish for peace (104)	p. 101, 104
Pos 2	+++ - cooperation to reinforce European economy, price stability (101), euro (104), EU is needed for export and international economic competition (105), due to common European employment market companies have more possibilities to invest or expand in other areas (173)	p. 101 (2), 104, 105 (2), 173

Pos 4	- you pay less for calling, you can fly cheaper and safer within the EU	p. 104 (2)
Pos 7	- you can study in other countries, do internships, live or work there (104), Dutch youth could go study or work abroad the same way international students and employment seekers from the EU could come to the Netherlands (140), for people from the EU there is not a special admission procedure. They can work or study in the Netherlands (143)	p. 104, 140, 143

Occurred negative associations with Europe

Neg 1	- The European Parliament should get more to say. By expanding the legislative powers of the European Parliament, the EU would become more democratic	p. 102
Neg 3	+++ - About PVV and that it does not want to subject to the dictate by Brussels (85), cooperation usually means that a country's sovereignty, so the right to decide which rules will be imposed, is being curtailed. The most far-reaching international cooperative mechanism of the Netherlands is the EU (100), for many civilians the europeanisation and the gradual loss of sovereignty is a step too far (102), what do you think: should the Netherlands stay sovereign and decide on its own or should we strive for a United States of Europe (104), many opponents say that the Netherlands loses its independence in the EU (105), there is a trend that more political power is being transferred from the Hague to Brussels (141)	p. 85, 100, 102, 104, 105, 141
Neg 5	- next to an economic union I think we should also have to cooperate more politically. That way you are able to be alert. Currently, you have to wait for permission of all national parliaments in case of important decisions. That is ineffective and does not work (104)	p. 104
Neg 7	- In Europe Germany and France decide the direction, we are not really included	p. 105
Neg 9	- as a disadvantage it says, amongst others, annually thousands of Poles, Romanians and Bulgarians come to the Netherlands to work (104), the arrival of labour migrants could lead to repression of Dutch employees (173)	p. 104, 173

Associations with the Netherlands

NL 1	- the trade mentality from the 17 th century. Because of trade the Dutch developed an open attitude with regards to religion and descent	p. 112
NL 2	- freedom of religion, freedom of	p. 34 (2)

	opinion/expression	
NL 3	- The Dutch are also known for their tolerance, the tolerant attitude of the Dutch has largely stayed	p. 112 (2)
NL 5	- brief explanation about welfare system (10), chapter about the Welfare system: brief explanation on this page (149), chapter about the Welfare system: explanation of the Dutch welfare system (150), The Netherlands is a welfare state (153), the building of the Dutch welfare state (156), how the Netherlands has become a welfare state (158), Dutch welfare state was finished in the '60s + explanation social security (162), Russell Shorto's very positive opinion on the Dutch welfare system (e.g. childcare benefits (163), the importance of the Dutch welfare system that investments are made by the Ministry of Economic affairs into, for example, high tech and water management so that employment stays high which in turn, means, social contributions are paid (173) the pressure the Dutch welfare system is under, image that includes the text: End of welfare state, end of civilization (174), the problems of the Dutch welfare system and the government's reactions to this (175), the welfare system especially provides protection against risks concerning labour (176)	p. 10, 149 , 150 (3), 153, 156, 158, 162, 163, 164, 173, 174 (2), 175, 176

Title: Impuls

Education level: HAVO

Total number of pages: 142

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 7	Explanation that EU is one of the Dutch governments
2	P. 14	Briefly about European history
3	p. 30	Brief section about the Netherlands and the EU: cooperation for trans boundary issues, European Court of Justice
4	p. 31	European regulations and rights have a lot of influence on the actual rule of law in the Netherlands.
5	p. 41	Europe is part of Dutch politics and also of the CDJA
6	p. 44	Briefly about European history
7	p. 47	Example is given for referenda namely the European constitution
8	p. 54	About the referendum for the European constitution and that the outcome was very different from what politicians had expected
9	p. 56	What has the Netherlands got left to say in Europe?
10	p. 60	Page is part of a paragraph about the EU called 'Towards a United States of Europe?' – about, amongst others, the foundation of the EU, EU structure
11	p. 51	Page is part of a paragraph about the EU called 'Towards a United States of Europe?' – about, amongst others, EU structure, decision-making, intergovernmentalism fs. Federalism, visions of political parties
12	p. 71	Because of European regulations the jobs students have cannot interfere with students' performances at school
13	p. 89	The influence the EU has on Dutch broadcasting
14	p. 92	Different European welfare systems and the economic relations between the Netherlands, the EU and the Third World.
15	p. 117	About Denmark and the Muhammad cartoon, EU backing Denmark up and the importance of freedom of speech for the EU
16	p. 120	Opinion of EU about Spain's policy on border control
17	p. 121	Europe imposes Western values via the media, multinationals and foreign politics, such as prosperity, career-making, luxury, consuming, individual freedom, making money
18	p. 131	EU's possibility to pressure the Netherlands with regards to a more tolerant policy on drugs
19	p. 136	EU could interfere with societal problems

Occurred positive associations with Europe		
Pos 1	- European countries had to work together even more to reach peace and prosperity	p. 60
Pos 2	- European countries had to work together even	p. 60

	more to reach peace and prosperity	
Pos 3	- Europe has to compete with other economic powers such as US, India, China and Japan (90)	p. 90
Pos 5	- cooperation with regards to environmental population, rule of law, agriculture and fisheries policy, crime and terrorism (30), cooperation was needed for foreign policy, crime fighting and environmental protection (60)	p. 30, 60
Pos 9	- a part of the European budget goes to poor regions in the South and the East where they use the money for, for example, the development of business areas or high ways	p. 90

Occurred negative associations with Europe

Neg 1	- the decision-making in Europe should become more democratic	p. 61
Neg 3	- There are also doubts, because we are not master of our own domain	p. 60
Neg 7	- according to left parties the political and economic elite of large states and multinationals have too much influence on the policies.	p. 61

Associations with the Netherlands

NL 2	+++ --The Netherlands is a constitutional state where civilians have freedom rights (9), about freedom in the Netherlands and living in freedom (11), everyone enjoys freedom of speech (64), in the Dutch dominant culture values such as equality, freedom, lenience and respect are central (102), freedom of speech (104)	p. 9, 11, 64, 102, 104
NL 3	- who had ever thought that in the tolerant Netherlands (...) (101), there was a tolerant attitude with regards to other-minded persons (104)	p. 101, 104
NL 5	+++ +++ +++ + - the Netherlands is a welfare system + brief introduction (69), the following pages are part of the chapter about the Welfare system: what does the Dutch welfare system look like? (70), what does the Dutch welfare system look like?, the rights and duties of the Dutch welfare system (72), history of the Dutch welfare system (74), history of the Dutch welfare system (75), the Dutch welfare system (...), as an intermediate solution the Netherlands has a welfare system (76), our welfare system faces a difficult dilemma: leave them or interfere? (79), mentions that even though the Netherlands has a welfare system poverty still exists (80),	p. 69, 70, 72 (2), 74, 75, 76 (2), 79, 80, 81, 85, 90, 91 (2), 92, 96, 131, 133

	mentions an opinion of an employer which states that the extensive welfare system with many rules for labour circumstances have made Dutch employees demanding, sick and lazy (85), comparison between the Dutch welfare state and others (90), Dutch welfare system is not a model for exportation, the Dutch welfare system is unique in the world (91), summary about what was discussed about the Dutch welfare system (92) one of the challenges of the Dutch welfare system is being discussed namely the aging of the population (96), importance of the Dutch welfare system with regards to drugs (131), importance of the welfare system with regards to relations (133)	
NL 6	- on the other side, as a small country we cannot go without the big Europe	p. 60

VWO

Title: Dilemma

Education level: VWO

Total number of pages: 176

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 7	About the effect of the referendum about the European Constitution
2	P. 19	Do we, because in Brussels more and more is being decided, still need three government layers?
3	p. 21	The Netherlands is part of a spirited and strong Europe (as a competition contribution)
4	p. 23	About progressives who want to strengthen the EU even though it is at the cost of Dutch autonomy
5	p. 24	SP is conservative with regards to the transferring of national powers to Europe (compared to the PvdA)
6	p. 25	About CDA, CU and SGP (three Dutch Christian political parties) and their stance regarding Europe
7	p. 37	About Europe influencing Dutch decision-making
8	p. 38	Part of chapter: Do we want more or less Europe?
9	p. 39	Part of chapter: Do we want more or less Europe?
10	p. 40	Part of chapter: Do we want more or less Europe?
11	p. 41	Part of chapter: Do we want more or less Europe?
12	p. 42	Part of chapter: Do we want more or less Europe?
13	p. 43	Part of chapter: Do we want more or less Europe?
14	p. 44	Part of chapter: Do we want more or less Europe?
15	p. 50	About the low turnout at the European elections and its effect on representation
16	p. 58	Briefly about European history
17	p. 59	Briefly about European history
18	p. 67	About the European Charter of Human Rights
19	p. 68	About the European Charter of Human Rights
20	p. 77	About the European Charter of Human Rights
21	p. 83	About the European Charter of Human Rights, about European jails
22	p. 84	About the European Charter of Human Rights
23	p. 85	About the European Charter of Human Rights
24	p. 89	About the European Court of Human Rights
25	p. 118	Regulations about migration and integration
26	p. 129	The amount of jobs in the European underclass is increasing
27	p. 130	European regulations, the future of the welfare state being part of the European Union, limits to national policy-making
28	p. 139	Due to the European Union and international companies and their interference with the Netherlands, our sovereignty becomes smaller
29	p. 156	Information about PVV and other European political parties

		which are, amongst other, against European integration
30	p. 159	European Court of Justice and its critique on the Netherlands with regards to immigration policy
31	p. 162	About migration numbers of the Netherlands, other European countries, EU and US
32	p. 163	EU legislation with regards to labour migration
33	p. 164	EU legislation with regards to labour migration
34	p. 166	Migration –and integration policies with regards to the Netherlands, EU and US
35	p. 167	Migration –and integration policies with regards to the Netherlands and other European countries
36	p. 168	Comparison between the position of European and American minority groups
37	p. 169	Answer to the question in which part of Europe Turkish people are best integrated
38	p. 170	Integration in comparison with the rest of Europe
39	p. 138	Different identities: world citizen, European, Dutch, Christian etc.
40	p. 155	Different group cultures: Dutch, lesbian, European etc.
41	p. 160	European and international migration flows + numbers

Occurred positive associations with Europe		
Pos 1	- after the second World War with millions of victims and destroyed cities and villages the call for 'never war again' was very strong'.	p. 40
Pos 2	+++ +++- After the second World War European countries strived for safety, stability and prosperity (38), euro, the EU also offers us economic advantages (39), Europe and Euro offer the Netherlands great benefits, the economic cooperation within Europe and the shared currency offer the Netherlands great economic benefits, export, according to the Centraal Planbureau the Netherlands as a trade nation has benefitted greatly from the disappeared border controls and trade barriers, Our national income increased, there were many economic motives to work together, large West-European companies wanted a larger market for their products which came in the form of one European market (40), common market which enables free movement of persons and goods which in turn solves valuta problems (41), the EU has caused prosperity, more stability + economic dynamics (43)	p. 38, 39 (2), 40 (7), 41, 43 (2)
Pos 3	- if they [West-European companies] could produce on a European scale, they would be able to compete with companies from the US and Asia	p. 40
Pos 4	- - - the consumer is protected by safety measures with regards to food, quality standards for swim water, the costs of using smartphone have been limited, as consumer we have received more	p. 39 (4)

	protection	
Pos 5	- war, food and energy shortages, environmental problems, crime and financial crises are problems that do not stop at borders and therefore cooperation is necessary (39), the question how we can solve the trans boundary problems that exist today as well as those in the future, is an urgent but difficult question to answer (44)	p. 39, 44
Pos 7	- within the EU you can travel, work and study freely	p. 39
Pos 8	- After the Second World War European countries strived for security (38), it has brought more prosperity, especially in former communist countries in Eastern Europe. There is more unification, more stability (43)	p. 38, 43

Occurred negative associations with Europe		
Neg 1	+++ - In Europe a lot of criticism is directed at democracy in Europe, according to some more Europe will mean less democracy, the lack of democracy, democracy in Europe has 'always been the weaker point', democratic deficit	p. 44 (5)
Neg 2	- they [conservative parties] want to hold on to the national, Dutch identity (25), it poses the question if you can say that the Netherlands has even lost its identity and before this question several aspects causing this are mentioned, such as the European Union (139)	p. 25, 139
Neg 3	++++ - does the Netherlands actually need three government layers now more and more is decided in 'Brussels'? (19), progressives are often pro-European integration, even if it is at the cost of Dutch autonomy (23), the Netherlands is being influenced by factors we barely control (one example is the EU) (37), the Netherlands has lost its sovereignty with regards to who can live here and who can't; the member states, the Netherlands included, don't have anything to say about the approach to tackle their own societal problems, national parliaments are being put offside (39), gave up a piece of national sovereignty to a supranational organization (41), European legislation limit the scope for national governments' ability to make policies (130), The EU, but also international companies, interfered more and more with the Netherlands which made our sovereignty smaller (139)	p. 19, 23, 37, 38 (3), 39 (3), 41, 130, 139
Neg 5	-- the cost of EU membership are increasing with the crisis in southern EU countries such as Greece and Spain. To save the Euro, the Netherlands have to contribute billions of euros	p. 40 (2), 43 (2)

	(40), decision-making with an increasing number of member states have become more difficult, decision-making has become more difficult (43)	
Neg 7	- With international cooperation it is give and take; bigger countries will be more prone to do the latter than the former, large countries, such as Germany, simply have more power than smaller countries,	p. 39 (2)
Neg 9	- but what do we do about failed asylum seekers or Poles and Bulgarians who want to live and work here in times of high unemployment rates?	p. 163

Associations with the Netherlands

NL 1	- we are dependent on our export, according to the Centraal Planbureau the Netherlands, as trade country, profited from the removal of internal borders and trade barriers	p. 40 (2)
NL 2	- freedom is one of the most often called values, the most often named terms or ideals of being Dutch are: freedom, ... (21), individual freedom and tolerance is important (137), The Netherlands is a 'free' society (140), freedom of education (152), in a free country, freedom of religion, freedom of opinion, freedom of association, freedom of education (153)	p. 21 (2), 137, 140, 152, 153 (5)
NL 3	- Dutch people like to see themselves as tolerant persons (136), individual freedom and tolerance is important (137)	p. 136, 137
NL 5	- does the Dutch welfare state score well? (94), the Netherlands is a welfare state (96), This law [kinderwet] is seen as the beginning of Dutch social legislature and as such, the beginning of the welfare state (102), Dutch welfare state, our welfare state, functions of our welfare state, importance of the welfare system for our society, the welfare state is not finished developing (107), social cohesion function of the Dutch welfare state, redistribution of money and Dutch welfare state (116), does the Dutch welfare state score well? (119), the Dutch welfare state is hard to classify in the typology of Esping-Andersen, Dutch hybrid welfare system (121), what is the score of our welfare state? (125), more than hundred years ago the development of the welfare state/system began, increasing life expectancy is also a consequence of the	p. 94, 96, 102, 107 (5), 116 (2), 119, 121 (2), 125, 126 (2), 128, 129 (2), 130 (2)

	welfare state in which less people live in poverty, hygiene and healthcare has improved, people learnt to pay attention to their health and in which heavy and dangerous work has disappeared (126), the welfare state gives people freedom and independence (128), individualization provides extra pressure on the social cohesion function of the welfare state, challenge of the welfare state (129), globalization puts the welfare state under pressure, in the 21 st century the future of the welfare state is bedded in the EU (130)	
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Title: Thema's Maatschappijleer

Education level: VWO

Total number of pages: 240

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 30	Explanation about the European Charter of Human Rights
2	P. 37	European Charter of Human Rights and European Court of Human Rights
3	p. 67	European Charter of Human Rights, EU and rule of law
4	p. 75	EU measures and powers against terrorism, trans boundary problems
5	p. 81	How dependent are we on other European countries?
6	p. 91	Conservatives → no more European integration
7	p. 95	Europe with regards to populism
8	p. 98	Stances of some of the Dutch political parties with regards to European Integration
9	p. 99	Stances of some of the Dutch political parties with regards to European Integration
10	p. 101	Stances of some of the Dutch political parties
11	p. 103	There are also European Parliament elections
12	p. 106	About PVV and that it does not want to subject to the dictate by Brussels
13	p. 119	International factors, such as EU, influences Dutch decision-making
14	p. 124	Page is part of a paragraph solely about the EU
15	p. 125	Page is part of a paragraph solely about the EU
16	p. 126	Page is part of a paragraph solely about the EU
17	p. 127	Page is part of a paragraph solely about the EU
18	p. 128	Page is part of a paragraph solely about the EU
19	p. 130	It is called : 'the Netherlands or the United States of Europe' and discusses, amongst others, European integration, sovereignty et cetera.
20	p. 131	It is called : 'the Netherlands or the United States of Europe' and entails people's opinions on Europe
21	p. 134	About the European constitution
22	p. 144	Briefly about West-European history
23	p. 159	Discusses groups of labour migrants coming to Europe or relocating within Europe
24	p. 160	Discusses groups of labour migrants from poor countries outside of Europe
25	p. 161	Time line European migrants
26	p. 165	Differences between South-European and non-western cultures and North-and West European countries concerning emancipation
27	p. 179	Turnout EP elections is very low, within Europe there are no strong political ties
28	p. 187	European Charter of Human Rights, Treaty of Maastricht, migrants

29	p. 193	Competition between member states
30	p. 227	One European labour market due to globalisation, freedom of movement, labour migrants, repression Dutch employees,

Occurred positive associations with Europe		
Pos 1	- after the second world war many in Europe felt that cooperation could prevent the outburst of another war (125), the quote at the top of the page indicating the wish for peace (130)	p. 125, 130
Pos 2	+++ - economic cooperation, abolition of duties, cooperation caused economic growth and prosperity, free trade market with unrestricted import and export of goods, strong economic mobility and expansion of Europe because of the euro	p. 125 (4), 130, 131 (2), 227
Pos 5	- more powers for national organisations and member states to work together across borders (with regards to terrorism)(75), the fight against crime and terrorism taking place across borders (126)	p. 75, 126
Pos 7	- as a Dutch person you can go to every EU country to study and work (125), you can study, do an internship, live and work in every EU country (130)	p. 125, 130

Occurred negative associations with Europe		
Neg 1	- the already weak democratic structure of the European institutions (125), democratic deficit (127)	p. 125, 127
Neg 3	+++ - about conservatives: they believe, for example, that the Netherlands should not cede any more political power to the European Union (91), About PVV and that it does not want to subject to the dictate by Brussels (106), transfer their powers to the EU, In 2007 with the treaty of Lisbon it became clear that there are limits to the willingness of countries to transfer national power and say to Europe (126), the membership of the European Union forces the Netherlands to give up more and more power to Europe, loss of autonomy, how can we keep our autonomy without losing influence within the EU (125), now the member states seem less willing to give up their national sovereignty to Europe (127), should the Netherlands stay sovereign and decide on its own or should we strive for the United States of Europe (130)	p. 91, 106, 126 (2), 125 (3), 127, 130
Neg 5	- next to an economic union I think we should also have to cooperate more politically. That way you are able to be alert. Currently, you have to wait for permission of all national parliaments in case of important decisions. That is ineffective and does not work	p. 131

Neg 7	- In Europe Germany and France decide the direction, we are not really included	p. 131
Neg 9	- as a disadvantage it says, amongst others, annually thousands of Poles, Romanians and Bulgarians come to the Netherlands to work (130), people from new, less prosperous member states of the EU, such as Poles, Bulgarians and Romanians do work that Dutch people do not want to do anymore. They are also active in construction and transport. Companies like to work with these Europeans because they work for lower wages than the Dutch people (159), the arrival of labour migrants could lead to repression of Dutch employees (227)	p. 130, 159, 227

Associations with the Netherlands

NL 2	+++ - without realizing it constantly, you live in freedom in the Netherlands and you can, within certain limits, say and do what you want (27), freedom (32), about the Netherlands being a democracy and values such as freedom and equality being important to a democracy (86), you are free there [in the Netherlands] as an individual (163), in Dutch upbringings children get a lot of freedom (167), freedom of opinion (189)	p. 27, 32, 86, 163, 167, 189
NL 3	- they were attracted by the tolerant and free atmosphere in the Netherlands	p. 158
NL 5	+++—+++— - chapter about the welfare system: brief explanation on this page (197), chapter about the Welfare system: explanation of the Dutch welfare system (198), every Dutch person finds it obvious that the Netherlands is a welfare state, functions of the Dutch welfare state (199), the Netherlands is a welfare state (200), Dutch welfare state (203), development of the Dutch welfare state, time line of the Dutch welfare state (206), The Netherlands has changed into a real welfare state, the development of the [dutch] welfare system (210), the three pillars of our welfare state (216), the welfare state protects us from all kinds of risks, crisis of the welfare state (228), the welfare system mostly provides protection against risks related to work (231)	p. 197, 198, 199 (2), 200, 203, 206 (2), 210 (2), 216, 228 (2), 231
NL 6	- the collective proud feeling that a small country as the Netherlands relatively has been the basis of many multinationals, has largely disappeared because of that	p. 178

Title: Impuls

Education level: VWO

Total number of pages: 156

Number of pages referring to Europe		
1	p. 7	Explanation that EU is one of the Dutch governments
2	P. 14	Briefly about European history
3	p. 15	Briefly about European history
4	p. 17	Since the 19 th century the general belief in Europe is that the ideal society is the one based on rule of law
5	p. 33	About European courts, demands accession, discussion about the accession of Turkey
6	p. 34	Influence of EU, trans boundary problems
7	p. 35	European regulations and rights have a lot of influence on the actual rule of law in the Netherlands.
8	p. 49	Briefly about European history
9	p. 60	European referendum
10	p. 65	Page is part of a paragraph about the EU called 'Towards a United States of Europe?' – about, amongst others, the foundation of the EU, EU structure
11	p. 66	Page is part of a paragraph about the EU called 'Towards a United States of Europe?' – about, amongst others, EU structure and decision-making
12	p. 67	Page is part of a paragraph about the EU called 'Towards a United States of Europe?' – about, amongst others, decision-making and the organization of the EU
13	p. 98	The influence the EU has on Dutch broadcasting
14	p. 100	Europe, competition, block formation, regulations, Different kinds of welfare states in Europe
15	p. 102	Different kinds of welfare states in Europe
16	p. 129	Migration by Eastern-European men and women and an opinion of a Dutch Member of Parliament
17	p. 134	Opinion of EU about Spain's policy on border control
18	p. 135	Europe imposes Western values via the media, multinationals and foreign politics, such as prosperity, career-making, luxury, consuming, individual freedom, making money
19	p. 145	EU's possibility to pressure the Netherlands with regards to a more tolerant policy on drugs
20	p. 147	EU's guidelines for advertising
21	p. 150	EU could interfere with societal problems

Occurred positive associations with Europe		
Pos 1	- European countries had to work together even more to reach peace and prosperity	p. 65
Pos 2	- European countries had to work together even more to reach peace and prosperity, cooperate more for the free movement of persons, money, services and goods	p. 65 (2)

Pos 3	- Europe has to compete with other economic powers such as US, India, China and Japan	p. 100
Pos 5	- jointly fighting crime (34), work together more closely with regards to foreign policy, crime fighting and environment preservation (65)	p. 34, 65
Pos 9	- a part of the European budget goes to poor regions in the South and the East where they use the money for, for example, the development of business areas or high ways	p. 100

Occurred negative associations with Europe

Neg 1	- the decision-making in Europe should become more democratic	p. 67
Neg 3	- There are also doubts, because we are not master of our own domain	p. 65
Neg 7	- according to left parties the political and economic elite of large states and multinationals have too much influence on the policies.	p. 67

Associations with the Netherlands

NL 1	- a lot of people came to the Netherlands: central in Europe, many port cities with rich trading and a tolerant attitude with respect to dissenters	p. 114
NL 2	+++ - The Netherlands is a constitutional state where civilians have freedom rights (9), about freedom in the Netherlands and living in freedom (11), everyone enjoys freedom of speech (45), freedom of expression (46), I can say what I want because we live in a free country (Freedom of speech) (70)	p. 9, 11, 45, 46, 70
NL 3	- tolerance as part of the Dutch parliamentary democracy (45), there was a tolerant attitude with regards to other-minded persons (114)	p. 45, 114
NL 5	+++ - the Netherlands is a welfare system + brief introduction (75), the following pages are part of the chapter about the Welfare system: what does the Dutch welfare system look like? (76), what does the Dutch welfare system look like?, the rights and duties of the Dutch welfare system (77), part of the chapter on the welfare state/system: explanation and examples social welfare system (78), the welfare state in the Netherlands (80), the crisis of the [Dutch] welfare state is still current, the welfare state in the Netherlands has been expanded and retrenched (82), the Dutch welfare state, as an intermediate solution the	p. 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82 (2), 83 (2), 101 (2), 102, 106, 129 (2), 143, 145, 147 (2)

	Netherlands has a welfare system (83), Dutch welfare system is not a model for exportation, the Dutch welfare system is unique in the world (101), summary about what was discussed about the Dutch welfare system (102), the Dutch welfare state (106), problems the Dutch welfare state faces, such as keeping the Dutch welfare state affordable (129),),), importance of the Dutch welfare system with regards to violence (143), importance of the Dutch welfare system with regards to drugs (145),), importance of the Dutch welfare system with regards to advertisement (147),	
NL 6	- on the other side, as a small country we cannot go without the big Europe	p. 65