Learning to Feel European: A curriculum study on European identity
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Learning to Feel European

A curriculum study on European identity

Master Thesis

International Relations: Global Order in Historical Perspective

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1. Introduction

A majority of citizens in the European Union consider themselves to feel 'European' in one way or another. According to decades of Eurobarometer surveys, the percentages answering accordingly have slowly increased: 55% on average in the 1990s, 57% in the 2000s, and 60% in the 2010s. Taking only the second half of the 2010s, the number rises to 63% ('Analysis of 40 Years'; 'Trend Lines Feeling'). This even includes a small percentage of people who declare they only feel 'European', dismissing any sense of nationality. With the United Kingdom most often at the bottom of the score list, it can be expected that the Brexit has lifted the overall feeling of Europeanness within EU borders. What adds interest to all this, is the observation that the feeling of being European is strongest among those with higher education ('Analysis of 40 Years' 17).

The emerging idea of having complementary, international forms of identity and citizenship requires the increase of international understanding among citizens over time. Here, education does indeed play a key role. Many studies have been written about identity formation and citizenship development through history, geography and civic education in particular (Aboyage and Dlamini 2021; Akkari and Maleq 2020; Hein and Selden 2000; Korostelina 2008; Peters et al 2008; Zajda 2009). The state-sponsored history school of thought argues that the rise of nation-states in the nineteenth century involved primary and secondary education becoming national affairs. That explains why the state apparatus possesses many instruments to steer the construction of historical narratives in education and public memory, such as state museums, memorials and official apologies (Bevernage and Wouters 2018). However, the twentieth century saw the rise of international institutions – or nations uniting – seeking to combat harmful nationalist, chauvinist and hostile thinking in education worldwide. Fostering understanding among nations has been the primary aim of international organisations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the Council of Europe. Following the state-sponsored history line of reasoning, if national identities were socially constructed through shared historical narratives being retold in the classroom, the same could be true for international forms of identity.

Therefore, this thesis aims to investigate how a growing sense of European identity, as measured by Eurobarometer, corresponds with a changing presentation of Europe over time in state-sponsored education. In line with the Eurobarometer surveys, the analysis takes the concepts of identity and sociological citizenship as a starting point for measurement. As described by Faas and Sautereau, these concepts refer to the formation of 'personal goals, ideals, values,

role models and the desired role to fit in society' (2022:7). Although the surveys are used as a starting point, there is no pursuit to find direct causalities between the polls and educational reforms. The results rather indicate a socio-political trend in which state-sponsored education is considered to play a significant role. The study attempts to provide insight into how state-sponsored education relates to European identity formation. In short, this thesis questions *how the Council of Europe and UNESCO changed the way Europe is presented in state-sponsored education and what this would mean for European identity formation.*

The political dimension of state-sponsored education has remained an underexplored subject in the field of International Relations. Many have emphasised the importance of education on geopolitics, such as the educational inequality gap in the EU (Schlicht et al 2010) or the 'textbook wars' in history education between Russia and Ukraine (Korostelina 2010). Yet, not much attention has been paid to the post-1945 rise of international educational institutions and its recommendations. Furthermore, Rosenmund argued that curricular change should been understood as a political measure to 're-shape relationships between individuals and institutions of the nation-state through the selection and organization of school knowledge' (2007:177). Therefore, the national curriculum has been chosen to examine state-sponsored education, because it can best be compared with the international dimension of recommendations. The chosen method of comparison offers further insight into the impact of educational internationalism over time in relation to a feeling of Europeanness.

This thesis is divided by the following chapters. Firstly, the literature review provides an overview of scholarly debates. Secondly, the theoretical framework contextualises how curriculum studies are grounded in the major IR-theories. Thirdly, the analytical methods and data collection are described in the research methodology. The results on European representation are then divided into the international dimension of 'ideological curricula' (international recommendations) and the national dimension of 'formal curricula'. For the latter, curricula have been analysed from France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. This case selection has been made due to the long history with European integration. Belgium and Germany are left out, due to structural differences resulting from their federally decentralised education systems. These findings are then compared and followed up by the concluding section.

2. Literature review

The curriculum research on European identity and citizenship is not extensive, but definitely expanding since the early 2000s. The subject can be divided into two historiographic backgrounds: national curriculum research and international institutional research. Taken together, this section serves to contextualise the findings of the research.

Curriculum research

Using curricula for international comparative research started in the 1990s. Back then, Meyer, Kamens and Benavot studied primary and secondary curricula across countries during the twentieth century (1996). They saw two processes happening simultaneously: a tightening grip of nations on education, but also the global diffusion and therefore convergence of the curricula content-wise.

There were two schools of thought on this matter. Institutionalists, such as McEneaney and Meyer (2000), argue that these national curricula have been shaped by global forces, transmitting a view of society as rational construct. Yet, structuralists, such as Cummings and Schriewer, emphasise the distinctive nationalist processes of evolving education systems (2000, 2003). International patterns would then result from different national education systems interacting with each other.

A poststructuralist approach was added by Rosenmund to explain curricular change in 2007. He adopted Michel Foucault's idea of discourse to explain what changing rationale was used to legitimise the state-based curricular-making and reform. Instead of a case study, he analysed the 2001 series of UNESCO's International Conference on Education, consisting of national reports on educational changes during the 1990s. His discourse analysis added to the debate that values over time reflected a more cosmopolitan view of the individual (2007:175).

More and more researchers are examining educational content to seek how identity and citizenship are reflected. For example, Faas and Sautereau examined how national identity discourses are promoted in the French and Irish curricula, compared to other – local, European, global – identities (2022). The increasing attention can be explained by globalisation and the reactionary process of reinventing nationhood around the world (Bevernage and Wouters 2018).

Regarding European identity and citizenship, debates turn more normative. While some argue that the 'Europeanisation' of education transcends nationalist education (Schissler and Soysal 2005), others see the same negative features – exclusion of the 'other' – arise (Hansen 1998; Philippou et al 2009). Moreover, there was one special issue of the *Journal of Curriculum*

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Studies on the evolving concept of European citizenship in Cyprus (Philippou 2009), Estonia and Slovakia (Michaels and Stevick 2009), Germany and Spain (Engel and Ortloff 2009), Ireland (Keating 2009), the United Kingdom (Marshall 2009).

This study differs by case selection, but also by incorporating the international dimension. Instead of normative discussions, this study dives into the underexplored history of changing European identity representation in curricula. It is important to include the international domain to fully understand the interactive process behind curricular change. While states have the ultimate say on curriculum construction, international organisations have proposed many recommendations over the years. Not only is a certain impact plausible, it has also been monitored sporadically (e.g. the UNESCO Yearbooks 1948-1970). Additionally, the empirical research is linked to the Eurobarometer surveys, raising understanding of the link between the feeling of Europeanness and the internationally stimulated feeling of Europeanness in education.

International institutional research

Several studies have attempted to fit internationalist forces on curriculum change into a comprehensive framework. Yet, UNESCO (global) and the Council of Europe (regional) each have their own historiographical record.

Starting with UNESCO, the traditional institutionalist debate deals with the question whether its projects can be determined failures or successes according to its own goals. Many UNESCO studies were critical about its idealist mandate 'striving for peace' through education and the incommensurability issues with evaluating its programs (Sathyamurthy 1967; Jones 1999). Yet, its East-West Major Project (1957-1966) got renewed attention as an unprecedented event in both scope and global representation, emphasising the many positive effects of removing psychological and political obstacles to mutual understanding (Wong 2006). Nevertheless, it was debated whether it could be declared a success according to its own goals due to the failure to define 'East' and 'West' (Wong 2008; Maurel 2010).

In the context of rapid globalisation, UNESCO was rediscovered by analysing its possibilities and limits of global governance and multilateral educational cooperation (Mundy 1999, 2007; Pavone 2008). The collection *UNESCO Without Borders* offered renewed studies of UNESCO's early education campaigns, textbook revision programmes, local and global discourses, and its role of mediation in the Cold War (Kulnazarova and Ydesen 2017). As something that has not been done so far in UNESCO studies, it was considered interesting to look at

how the organisation dealt with and affected regionalism. This study adheres to the closing call 'to further investigate issues of peace, peace-building, and international understanding and co-operation' (2017:276), by diving into the topic of European integration.

Significantly less scholarly attention has been paid to the education campaigns of the Council of Europe. Similarly, a few oversight works evaluating its conferences and programs have been made (Bruley and Dance 1960; Low-Beer 1997; Stobart 1971, 1992, 1999; Wimberley 2003). Education campaigns were often part of other educational studies, such as international textbook revision studies (Foster 2011; Pingel 2010; Psaltis et al 2017). Nonetheless, there are notable exceptions that examined the Council promoting 'a sense of European identity' (Sheils 1996:101) or the role of adult education in its pan-European policy formation (Hake 2022).

Rarely have scholars tried to incorporate both the national and international dimension into one encompassing theoretical framework. But Nygren did so by studying the relationship between the national curriculum of Sweden and international recommendations of UNESCO and the Council of Europe. This study builds on his differentiation of the first two of his four types of curricula: nationally prepared or 'formal curricula', international recommendations or 'ideological curricula', student results or 'experiential curricula', and the teacher experience or 'perceived curricula' (Nygren 2011). By incorporating them all in his case study, he made the same assumption that ideological curricula have a certain impact on new generations that is a worthy subject of study. Still, the degree of impact on the classroom would be an interesting topic for further research.

3. Theoretical framework

Education as a subject of study might not seem a clear fit in traditional IR thinking. That is why this theoretical framework shows how this type of study is grounded in IR theory. It also argues why it matters to research education for International Relations.
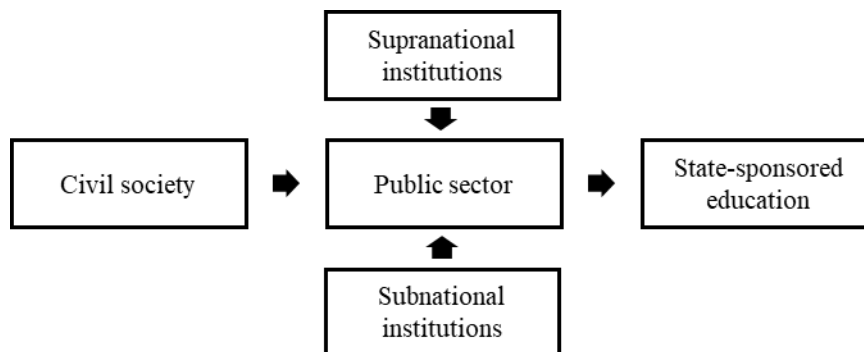
Graphic 1. State-sponsored education framework

First of all, education can be understood as a state-sponsored product or political instrument to select and organise school knowledge (Rosenmund 2007). However, every country has a unique education system. This complex political process can be understood through the simplified state-sponsored education framework in graphic 1 (own design). The graph illustrates how the public sector produces state-sponsored education, such as national curricula, and interacts with supranational institutions (upwards; *supra* meaning 'above' as opposed to *inter* or 'between'), civil society (sideways) and subnational organisations (downwards), assuming the state behaviour of a democratic state with a non-federal, centralised education system (Bevernage and Wouters 2018:5). Yet, what it excludes are the effects of interaction or tensions between nationalism and internationalism, which form the roots of many IR debates (Amrith and Sluga 2008:272).

National-international tensions are also at the core of the neorealist-neoliberalist debate. A world described by realist theory is generally state-centred, based on survival and pursuing power in the structural anarchy of international order (Dunne et al 2016:53). This provides a rather static, ahistorical worldview. Lessons are never learnt, as states will forever fall into power-based wars – called the Thucydides trap. However, as long as entire state populations die, new generations have a potential to learn and progress through education. A more historical view would therefore add the possibility of progress. Education therefore exemplify that wars could be less frequent, when teaching worldwide focuses more on reconciliating mutual

understanding, replaces ethnocentric bias by multiperspectivity, and eliminates xenophobe stereotyping and adversary images (Pherali 2016:199; Pingel 2017:329).

Neoliberalism, however, includes institutional progress, through which international anarchy can be overcome by expanding the system of international law and cooperation (Dunne et al 2016:103). According to liberalist thought, supranational institutions deserve the utmost attention, because their design and efficiency have the potential to overcome the realist security dilemma. Yet, there is also a critique that IR-scholars too often lack the willingness to incorporate historical understanding in their research (Acharya 2014; Buzan and Little 2001).

As opposed to neoliberalism, this thesis does not study the design or efficiency of supranational institutions, because such a scope would be too narrow to examine the role of education in Europeanisation. Instead, discourse is considered an overlapping and more encompassing subject of study. This is in line with the more contemporary critical theories of constructivism and poststructuralism. Constructivists argue that international order does not really exist outside of a human mind and thus cannot be studied objectively. What can be studied are its ideas, constructed by language that bind people together. From this perspective, the nation-state is one of the most persisting social constructs, while the idea of global order and international law has also gradually established.

Poststructuralists often go one step further by being sceptical about the possibility of scientific claims at all, due to social reality being constructed through language-subjectivity (Lowndes et al 2018:135). They study *how* a social construct is the linguistic product of discourse, meaning a series of representations and practices that constitutes meanings, identities, social relations and ultimately political power (Dunne et al 2016:208). Although there are many critical theories since the so-called linguistic turn, constructivism and poststructuralism place most value on the making of educational prescriptions and its consequences for the formation of new social constructs (European Union) and identity formation (Europeanisation). In short, this perspective treats the education system as part of the political means to construct a discourse of truth.
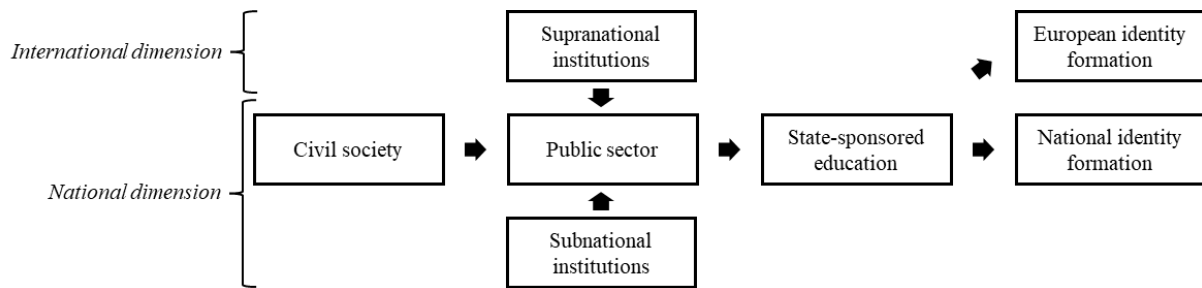
Graphic 2. Theoretical framework of Europeanisation through state-sponsored education

To demonstrate how studying education in IR could be understood, graphic 2 provides a framework that includes the nationalist-internationalist conceptualisation and the assumed Europeanisation process through education. This thesis examines specifically how supranational institutions (ideological curricula) and state-sponsored education (formal curricula) relate to European identity formation. The value of this type of research is to offer a deeper understanding of how identities are constituted by nationalist-internationalist forces (poststructuralism), what consequences there are for the success of liberalist international order building (neoliberalism), and what this would mean for future international relations (constructivism).

4. Research methodology

What

The aim of this thesis is to determine how the Council of Europe and UNECSO changed the way Europe is presented in state-sponsored education and what this would mean for the European identity formation measured by Eurobarometer. A qualitative, empirical study has been conducted, using two types of data. First, the ideological curricula, containing the recommendations from UNESCO and the Council of Europe. Second, the formal curricula of France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. This socio-historical approach reveals the fact that identities and citizenships are changing social constructions, 'neither static nor necessarily coherent' (Keating 2009:166). Therefore, it attempts to do justice to the complexity of the subject matter.

Why

> 'History education influences public discourse, reshapes loyalties to particular social groups in a society, and develops perceptions of a shared past.'
> (Korostelina 2008:26)

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Through the crises of today, the European Union is learning more and more how to act like a superpower in a multipolar world order (De Wijk 2021). Meanwhile, identity politics are up and coming in explaining recent geopolitical events. Curriculum research is therefore an interesting tool to determine how a stronger European identity has been developing. History teaching in particular plays a considerable role in shaping identities (Faas and Sautereau 2022; Schissler and Soysal 2005). Using social identity theory, Korostelina described how identity formation is impacted by historical content in schoolbooks through cognitive elements that separate and compare groups of people, and emotional elements such as amity-enmity or love-hate. Moreover, historical narratives have the potential to reinforce a sense of belonging and incite loyalty. These factors consolidate someone's social identity through history education (Korostelina 2008:26). Yet, the role of the international community is an often overlooked, but interesting part of this process.

How

To examine the formation process, a discourse analysis has been conducted on the ideological and formal curricula, after which the results were compared. Instead of legal citizenship, this study analyses the sociological variant that depends on the experience of the people, fostering integration from below. Philippou argued the usefulness of qualitative discourse analyses for revealing the meanings ascribed to national and European identity formation (2009:202). Furthermore, the method is best suited for compressing large amounts of textual data into comprehendible categories of arguments displaying the most relevant content. Hansen divided the promotion of Europeanness through education into multiple dimensions: the study of Europe in curricula, foreign language teaching, higher education cooperation and building European schools to provide for professionally mobile families (1998:10). Later, education became also a way to promote the idea of Europe as a common cultural, political and sociological entity. The concept of identity partly overlaps with the different meanings of citizenship. Those are divided by citizenship based on territoriality, citizenship based on ethnicity, and citizenship expressed by particular values (Faas and Sautereau 2022:6). Therefore, the discourse analysis is structured around three components: geographical orientation, ethno-cultural identity and normative values.

Component 1. Geographical orientation

It has been debated whether the degree of geographical representation would necessarily lead to a greater sense of sociological citizenship (Faas and Sautereau 2022:2). Nonetheless, many scholars have stressed the connection between historical knowledge and the formation of national, ethnic, religious or other identities (Korostelina 2008; Levintova 2010; Torbakov 2011; Zajda 2007). That is why, for example Nygren (2011) labelled the topics of Swedish history projects by geographical orientation by local, national, European and world history, while Faas and Sautereau (2022) counted the presence of local/national, European and international/global topics in the curricula of France and Ireland. Also, Faas (2011) analysed the geographical orientation in his curriculum research in Greece, Germany and England. In line with this research, choices were carefully made between national, European and global topics. For example, depending on the context, the French Revolution can be both part of French national history and European history. To avoid such complexities, separate categories are made if the national, European or world history overlap.

Component 2. Ethno-cultural identity

Ethnic and cultural aspects are associated with the feeling of belonging to a certain socio-political identity. Such identity formation is most often bound by language, but also by religion or traditions. Citizenship used to be defined by ethno-cultural roots, but shifted towards a legal definition that includes ethno-cultural diversity (Michaels and Stevick 2009:228). Guibernau (2007) described it as the break-up between identity as an emotional affair, and citizenship as a legal-political state. This development aided the rise of 'post-national' identities or citizenships, which go beyond the national framework (Philippou 2009:201). This would allow the diverse sense of Europeanness to gain ground, which is why the presence of an ethno-cultural or post-national view of citizenship is part of the analysis.

Component 3. Normative values

Europeanisation has also been researched by associated, changing normative values (Engel and Ortloff 2009). Scholars have recommended to look one step further and include the 'coverage and emphasis given to values attributed to Europe' (Schissler and Soysal 2005:14). Instead of content-based prescriptions, the focus then shifts to the prescribed learning objectives that equip students with the skills to make them more globally minded (Marshall 2009:262) or get them familiar with the common set of European political values (Michael and Stevick 2009:228).

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Here, the focus lies on citizenship defined by civic and abstract principles (Keating 2009:163). While the traditional Western European discourse entailed many shared normative values, Europe tended to be associated with 'Western' values of individual liberty, democratic principles, the rule of law, social justice and human rights. Efforts were made in the 1990s to embrace Eastern European perspectives, such as national autonomy, Catholicism and native language. Since 1990, the focus shifted towards a more inclusive discourse, in which the EU framed itself as a shared community, striving for peace, human dignity, humanity, individual and social responsibilities, and a spirit of tolerance (Aleknonis 2022:4-6). In short, this distinction is to be aware of the complexities of analysing the discourse of self-expressed European identity through time.

Analytical stages and chapter scheme

The following document were analysed, divided into ideological and formal curricula. In preparation, oversights were created of the digital archives of UNESCO and the Council of Europe. Relevant international recommendations were selected and outlined in the corpus. For the national curricula, official websites and the Georg Eckert Institute database (edumedia-depot.gei.de) have been consulted. To pursuit comparable standards between France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, choices were based on the school tracks resembling the highest level of socio-economic, pre-academic secondary education.

Similar discourse analyses have been conducted. Regarding ideological curricula, the first analytical stage was based on the qualitative method of inductive coding the primary aims. Secondly, results were counted and displayed as percentages of the assembled list of key terms. Due to significant differences between formal curricula over time and per country, the discourse analysis focussed on geographical orientation as the most steady component. The lists of bullet points on historical content were analysed by the qualitative method of deductive coding, using the categories 'world', 'European' and 'national', plus overlapping categories. The second analytical stage consisted of displaying proportions through percentages based on bullet points and word count, before being interpreted by context as a third analytical stage. The final chapter of the research brings the results together.

5. Ideological curricula analysis

This chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, a short overview is presented of the historical background. Secondly, the corpus contains the justification of the selected primary sources. Thirdly, the results of the discourse analysis are presented to answer how European identity came forward in the ideological curricula.

5.1 Background

This section provides a brief overview of the historical context based on secondary literature. It shows the development of international education campaigns over time, in which the primary analysis will be embedded. It differs from the literature review by not taking the literature, but organisational development as a starting point.

Before UNESCO

UNESCO was founded in 1945 as a specialised UN organisation. Its mandate is often captured by the phrase: 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed' (Kulnazarova and Ydesen 2017:3). Yet, UNESCO was not the first international organisation created for this purpose. UNESCO had to ensure the continuity of its predecessor, the subsidiary body of the League of Nations since 1942 called International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC). However, the first international recommendation to drastically reduce the amount of space allocated to military affairs and war in education dates back to the first Hague Peace Conference in 1899, recognising the teaching of hatred and intolerance as international problem (UNESCO 1949:10).

What the IIIC was already doing before UNESCO mainly existed out of documentation, examination, publicity, and proposals to reform history teaching and revise textbooks internationally. In 1924, for example, the first international school was established in Geneva for children of the League's employees (Cambridge and Thompson 2004:163). Furthermore, a system of National Committees was set up to make textbook recommendations and correct factual errors in textbooks in which the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) functioned as impartial mediator. More diplomatic agreements led to the milestone 'Declaration on the Teaching of History' in 1937. The declaration included the right of National Committees to suggest solutions to their state authorities and was agreed by fifteen countries (UNESCO 1949). Yet, these achievements were overturned by the events of the Second World War.

To do better than the League of Nations

Mundy differentiated three time periods of structural changes in UNESCO's history: rise of educational multilateralism (1945-1973), contestation and crisis (1974-1984) and reform (1985-1998). In the first period, expectations were high and precedents were to be set for the global cooperation to come (Mundy 1999:28, 31). Much of the early efforts went into international meetings aimed at increasing international understanding and fostering a world community. In 1953, the Associated Schools Project was established and still exists today as a global network of 12.000 schools committed to UNESCO principles ('What you need…' n.d.). A few years later, the global 'Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values' was launched for ten years to improve East-West representations in education worldwide.

Meanwhile, the Council of Europe was founded in 1949 in Strasbourg as a regional organisation bringing together a Committee of Ministers (of Foreign Affairs) acting on behalf of the Council. Its primary aim is to bring European countries closer together through cooperation based on the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Since 1950, improving education has been one of the key concerns of the Committee (Low-Beer 1997:6). Twelve years later, the Council for Cultural Cooperation (CCC) was established by the Committee, divided into special committees on culture, heritage, academic education and general education (Hake 2022; Stobart 1992).

From global aspirations to regional effectiveness

Priorities of UNESCO shifted towards so-called 'developing countries' due to the wave of decolonisation in the 1960s. Mundy characterised the period of 1974-1984 in terms of erosion of UNESCO by mismanagement and overshadowing by the World Bank (Mundy 1999). Then, in the period of reform, UNESCO made a radical policy shift from a cooperative nation-centred approach to a problem-oriented, expert-based approach (Foster 2011). Ever since, activities on textbook and curricular improvement have been regionally or culturally oriented (Pingel 2017:18). Coinciding with the closing of the East West Major Project in 1966, the Council took over the initiative from UNESCO concerning European representation in education.

The Council kicked off with six European conferences (1953-1958), participated by teachers, professors, inspectors, textbook authors and ministerial officials, examining circa 900 history textbooks. It was also made explicit that the purpose was 'not to use history as propaganda for European unity, but to try to eliminate the traditional mistakes and prejudices and to

establish the facts' (Stobart 1971:166). After the conferences, the Council sought to promote European awareness in secondary education, while six new European Schools opened their doors within the European Economic Community. New conferences, held in Elsinor (1965), Braunschweig (1969) and Strasbourg (1971), discussed the results of inquiries on the state of history teaching in secondary education. The Louvain Conference (1972) raised the concern of eurocentrism and recommended that non-Christian religions should be more represented (Stobart 1999:154). Subsequently, the 1980s focused on world history, such as Brazil, South Africa, American history and the 1983 Lisbon Conference 'The Portuguese Discoveries in Secondary Schools in Western Europe'. Lastly, the Council sought to experiment with interdisciplinary programmes together with new ideas about teaching, such as oral history, using visual materials and the shifting importance from content-based to value-based learning (Low-Beer 1997:15; Stobart 1999:155).

Pan-European cooperation

After the Iron Curtain was lifted, membership increased from 23 to 41 countries between 1990 and 2000. In 1991, the first pan-European conference 'History Teaching in the New Europe' was held at Bruges. New cultural encounters brought forward new perspectives on European identity and increased attention to national awareness, as Central and Eastern Europe sought to rediscover their national history (Low-Beer 1997:20). Consequently, the Council of Europe prioritised three policy objectives in the 1990s: to promote human rights and pluralist democracy; to search for common responses to European challenges; to raise awareness of European identity based on 'unity through diversity' (Sheils 1996:88; Stobart 1992).

Furthermore, new projects were launched aimed at producing innovative teaching resources for schools in specific regions, particularly post-communist countries. In 1992, the organisation EuroClio was founded for reconciliation in Balkan education, but eventually developed as an independent organisation specialised in educational projects on multiperspectivity and mutual understanding. Moreover, a series of projects was launched to reinitiate the Council's core objectives on a truly pan-European scale (Stobart 1999:156). Most projects aimed at creating teaching materials based on the Council's record of international recommendations to its Member States, which are listed in the next section.

5.2 Corpus

Sources from the UNESCO and Council of Europe digital archives have been used for the analysis. The justification for the case selection is based on the following criteria: (1) the primary sources are recommendations aimed to change state-sponsored education, particularly curricula; (2) they are official and not produced by interpretating writers; (3) they are relevant to the research topic of European identity.

UNESCO archive

- UNESCO and its Programme VI: Better History Textbooks. Paris: UNESCO, 1951. MC/32/6 (call number). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000128305?posInSet=1&queryId=2ec141c4-1939-494c-9a90-11fa1c080305

This information pamphlet contains the international recommendations on history education between 1947-1950. Only the concrete list of recommendations of the final reports (pages 21-25) were considered relevant for analysis.

- The Treatment of Asia in Western Textbooks and Teaching Materials. Paris: UNESCO, 1966. ED/147. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000126232.locale=en

This report on the treatment of Asia in Western teaching materials include international recommendations addressed to Western Member States.

- Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Paris: UNESCO, 1974. Uil 376.5 Re ARCHIV (call number). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000011563.locale=en; https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/recommendation-concerning-education-international-understanding-co-operation-and-peace-and-education

This milestone document laid down the foundational principles of all UNESCO educational activities to come. The text proves to be still relevant as it is currently under revision to 'revive and update the global consensus around the role of education…' ('Revision of the 1974…' n.d.).

Council of Europe archive

- Against Bias and Prejudice: The Council of Europe's Work on History Teaching and History Textbooks. Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1995a. CC-ED/HIST(95)3. https://rm.coe.int/1680493c33

This collection work includes all international recommendations on history teaching adopted at the conferences between 1953-1995.

- Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to Member States concerning the Promotion of an Awareness of Europe in Secondary Schools. Council of Europe, 1983a. R(83)4. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016804d0e97
- Recommendation (…) on the Role of the Secondary School in Preparing Young People for Life. Council of Europe, 1983b. R(83)13. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016804bce27
- Recommendation (…) on the Training of Teachers in Education for Intercultural Understanding, Notably in a Context of Migration. Council of Europe, 1984. R(84)18. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016804eced9
- Recommendation (…) on Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in School. Council of Europe, 1985. R(85)7. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016804c2d48
- Recommendation (…) on the Development of Environmental Education in School Systems. Council of Europe, 1991. R(91)8. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016804ecaff

- Mutual Understanding and the Teaching of European History: Challenges, Problems and Approaches. Prague: Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1995b. CC-ED/HIST(95)16. https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=0900001680494437

The Prague Conference is part of the series of conferences on the New Europe (1991-1995). Only the recommendations to Ministries of Education (pages 38-39) were considered relevant for analysis.

- Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to Member States concerning Heritage Education. Council of Europe, 1998. R(98)5. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016804f1ca1

- Recommendation (…) on Secondary Education. Council of Europe, 1999. R(99)2. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016804ff52c

- Recommendation (…) on the Education of Roma/Gypsy Children in Europe. Council of Europe, 2000. R(2000)4. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016805e2e91

- Recommendation (…) on History Teaching in Twenty-First-Century Europe. Council of Europe, 2001. Rec(2001)15. https://rm.coe.int/09000016805e2c31

- Recommendation (…) on Education for Democratic Citizenship. Council of Europe, 2002. Rec(2002)12. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=09000016804f7b87#globalcontainer

- Recommendation (…) on Gender Mainstreaming in Education. Council of Europe, 2007. CM/Rec(2007)13. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016805d5287

- Recommendation (…) on the Dimension of Religions and Non-Religious Convictions within Intercultural Education. CM/Rec(2008)12. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=09000016805d20e8

- Recommendation (…) on the Education of Roma and Travellers in Europe. CM/Rec(2009).4. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016805b0a1c

- Recommendation (…) on the Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education. CM/Rec(2010)7. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=09000016805cf01f

- Recommendation (…) on Education for Global Interdependence and Solidarity. CM/Rec(2011)4. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016805aff0d

- Recommendation (…) on Intercultural Dialogue and the Image of the Other in History Teaching. Council of Europe, 2011. CM/Rec(2011)6. https://rm.coe.int/16805cc8e1

- Recommendation (…) on Ensuring Quality Education. Council of Europe, 2012. CM/Rec(2012)13. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016805c94fb

- Recommendation (…) on the Importance of Competences in the Language(s) of Schooling for Equity and Quality in Education and for Educational Success. CM/Rec(2014)5. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016805c6105
- Recommendation (…) on Promoting Landscape Awareness through Education. CM/Rec(2014)8. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016805c5138

5.3 Analysis

This part presents the results of the discourse analysis of ideological curricula, divided into geographical orientation, ethno-cultural identity and normative values. Those are contextualised in three periods: 'cosmopolitan universalism' (1945-1966), 'unity through diversity' (1967-1990) and 'the new Europe' (1991-2014). The analysis focused on the question: how is European identity presented in the ideological curricula?

Geographical orientation

First of all, providing every pupil across the world at every stage with a sense of world history was emphasised in the first period by UNESCO. Recommendations defined world history *not* as the sum total of national histories, but as one 'human' history (UNESCO 1951:25). How much world history should be added to the curricula was left to national authorities. While the East West Major Project emphasised the expansion of foremost Chinese, Indian and Islamic history (UNESCO 1966:10), this would result in a more coherent, balanced picture of 'civilisations' (UNESCO 1966:3).

> 'All peoples need to be encouraged to acquire a wider perspective on the world, in view of the growing interdependence of peoples in our time, and their universal desire to live together in peace.' (UNESCO 1966:3)

Secondly, the Council of Europe further elaborated on the preferred balance of scope. Firstly, it was recommended that large religious, economic and sociocultural movements are treated in a European context (CoE 1995a:18). Secondly, European history should be treated as an integral part of world history. National and global contexts would preferably be combined in one narrative, not separated by chapters (CoE 1995a:13, 16). Interestingly, the following quote

reveals the conviction that such a scope would naturally come forward when making history education more 'factual':

> 'Our purpose is not to use history as propaganda for European unity, but to try to eliminate the traditional mistakes and prejudices and to establish the facts. The Conference is convinced that, in this way, the main lines of a European view of history will emerge.' – Calw 1953 (CoE 1995a:13)

In line with these conclusions, three guiding principles addressed the balance of scope in the second period (1967-1990). Firstly, national and European perspectives should be widened to a world perspective. Secondly, instead of dividing local, national, European and global history into their own segments, the interrelatedness should come forward. Thirdly, local history should be the starting point around which the national, European and world context are concentrically layered, the so-called 'concentric syllabus-planning' (CoE 1995a:39-40).

For UNESCO, the global approach was recommended to be the starting point in all education (UNESCO 1974:2), whereas the Council also specifically recommended to develop a European historical perspective. Nevertheless, the Council's European recommendations complemented UNESCO's global aspirations well. The Council recommended that the regional perspective would be introduced through contemporary world problems with at least one in-depth study of a non-European culture (CoE 1995a:41).

> 'It became evident at the Seminar that much of the previous work produced over many years by the Council of Europe of bias and prejudice in history textbooks is not known about in the new Member States in democratic transition.' – Graz 1994 (CoE 1995a:66)

In the 1990s, new teaching materials had to include the renewed geographical perspective of Europe, for which curricula should be revised to incorporate a truly European-wide dimension (CoE 1995a:55; 1995b:39). Nonetheless, the European Charter for History Teaching (1995) ensured continuity by re-emphasising concentric syllabus planning and condemning exclusive nationalist perspectives (CoE 1995a:56). This Charter has remained the standard for history education.

Ethno-cultural identity

This component is delineated by its focus on the identity of the receiver of education. Questions kept in mind were: what were the purposes concerning citizenship development? How much room was incorporated for cultural diversity?

By all means, ideological curricula urged national authorities to present a more post-national conception of citizenship. The recommended purpose of education was progressing a world society and to achieve 'appreciation', 'respect' and 'sympathy' for all humans (UNESCO 1951:24). Asian ethnic-cultural aspects were emphasised during the East West Major Project, such as historical figures, cultures, religions and everyday life (UNESCO 1966). While all recommendations revolved around global citizenship, the following was said about European representation:

> 'There is an assumption of European primacy or superiority in the making of
> modern civilization, a view that may be partly justified in respect of material
> aspects but which needs to be explained and understood historically and not
> in terms of innate racial or national or cultural superiority.' (UNESCO
> 1966:6)

Complementary to UNESCO, the Council stated that history teaching 'should be considered a basis for the education of the citizen of Europe and of the world' (CoE 1995a:33). The first period stressed the importance of the idea of European unity and unifying events in history, such as the crusades and the common use of Latin. Special attention went to teaching the Middle Ages that would form 'a European spirit' (CoE 1995a:15). During the second period (1967-1990), the Council stressed its denunciations of 'one-sidedness' and 'narrow or chauvinistic attitudes' in education (CoE 1995a:38). It was outlined that education should serve: (1) to understand the world today; (2) to realise the problems that arise from living in societies; (3) to see history 'objectively in a European perspective' (CoE 1995a:40); (4) to gain competences and skills, as opposed to detailed 'encyclopaedism' (CoE 1995a:38).

> 'In spite of any differences of content, these programmes should encourage
> all young Europeans to: […] see themselves not only as citizens of their own

> regions and countries, but also as citizens of Europe and of the wider world.'
>
> (CoE 1983a:2)

Meanwhile, UNESCO introduced the term 'international education', defined as a concise expression of different values representing the core of education for global citizenship. These values were international understanding, cooperation, peace and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (UNESCO 1974:7). Thereafter, the Council adopted three official recommendations to encourage awareness of 'the cultural identity of Europe in its diversity' and to enhance public awareness of Europe (CoE 1983a:1). Furthermore, new terms were used such as 'multicultural society' and 'pluralistic democracy'. It was explained how there was a need to reaffirm democratic values due to recent acts of violence, terrorism, public racism and the economic recession in the West (CoE 1985:1).

> '…steps towards the development of European History textbooks could prove counter-productive - and would be educationally inappropriate - if they seek to present a uniform, common history.' – Leeuwarden 1993 (CoE 1995a:60)

The quote illustrates how the third period had abandoned the discourse of 'unity through uniformity'. History teaching in Europe had to be based on common historical and cultural heritage that is 'enriched through diversity' (CoE 2001).

As a final point, one of the most surprising findings was the rise of 'democra(cy)'. Only once this term was mentioned *before* the 1980s in the analysed Council recommendations. This increased to fifteen times in the mid-1980s and further increased from the 1990s onwards. In result, the post-national concept of 'democratic citizenship' was first included in the recommendations in 1999. It was defined as an 'active' citizen, exercising its 'rights' and 'responsibilities' by valuing 'diversity' and 'intercultural dialogue' along with other normative values (CoE 2007). In 2002, democratic citizenship was emphasised as priority that should be at the heart of every educational policy and reform.

Normative values

This component takes all objectives into account impacting the content of education, while focussing on individualist-universalist terms. Questions kept in mind were: what were the

recommended learning goals of the educational content? What was the development of the overall discourse?

All the objectives including normative values were grouped together to display the general discourse. A list of 126 categories was inductively made to present the most frequently used objectives in percentages of the total amount mentioned in a text. Phrasings of these objectives generally started with 'should' or 'it is important to', but some spoke in more demanding terms of 'must'. Verbs were used such as 'contribute', 'emphasize', 'encourage', 'ensure', 'include', 'increase', 'promote', 'stimulate', 'strengthen', 'stress' or 'take steps to'. Then, the objectives that were mentioned the most are presented in the following graphics.
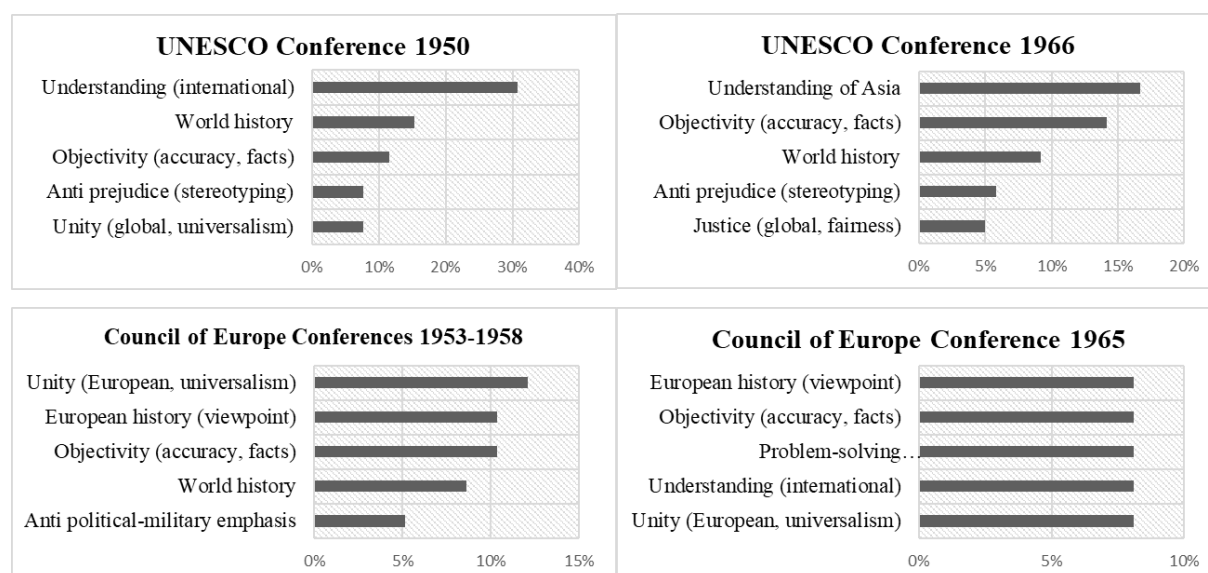

Graphics 1-4. Period 1 (1945-1966)

The graphics show that early UNESCO recommendations were largely occupied by the educational values of international understanding and the understanding of Asia. Yet, interestingly, many recommendations were focussed on reaching more 'objectivity' and less 'prejudice'. In addition, creating a sense of 'world history' was often mentioned. Similarly, the Council often mentioned that political-military history should be downgraded in favour of socio-economic history (CoE 1995a:13). At last, much mentioned aims were 'objectivity', 'accuracy' and 'factuality'. Objectivity was first defined by the following quote:

> 'In the teaching of contemporary history and the problems of recent years, it
> is necessary that we aim at maximum objectivity, presenting all relevant
> points of view.' – Elsinor 1965 (CoE 1995a:33)

As the quote illustrates, the idea of multiperspectivity started to gain ground. The timing coincides with the new debates and insights of inescapable subjectivity during the 1960s. Overall, the recommendations urged for a more European viewpoint in which unifying aspects should be emphasised.
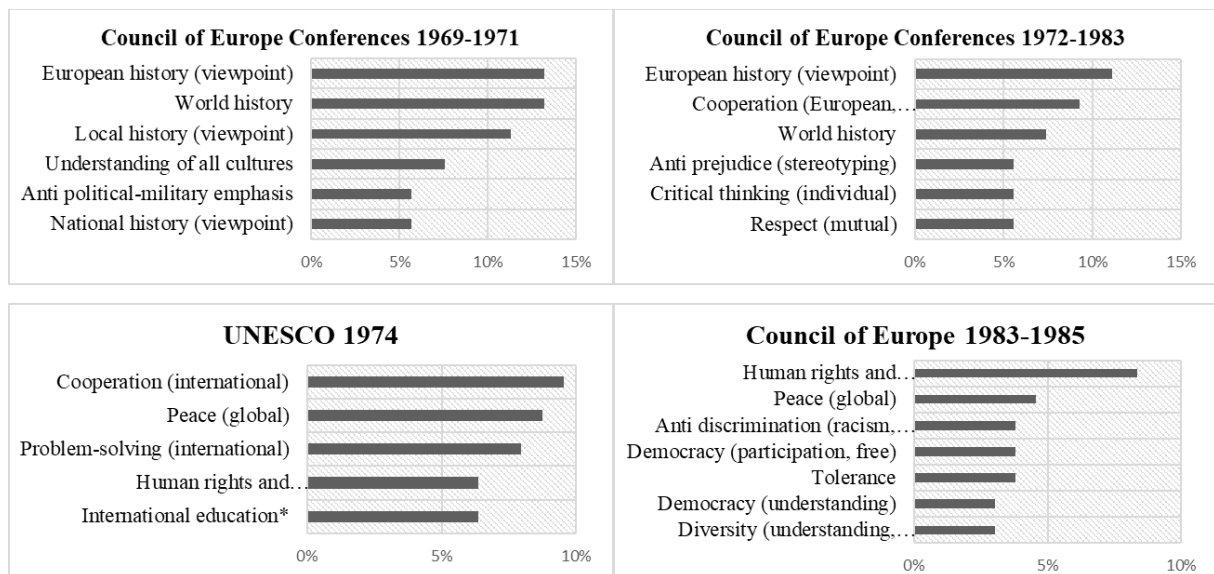
Graphics 5-8. Period 2 (1967-1990)

It is interesting to notice which educational aims have disappeared from the top five, most notably objectivity and unity. As expected, the UNESCO recommendation of 1974 focussed on key principles, such as international cooperation, peace and human rights, which were also included in the definition of international education (*). Similarly, the Council also strongly reaffirmed the teaching of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Democracy and its normative values (e.g. multiculturalism, pluralism) became key terms to express educational objectives (CoE 1983a:2; 1983b:1).
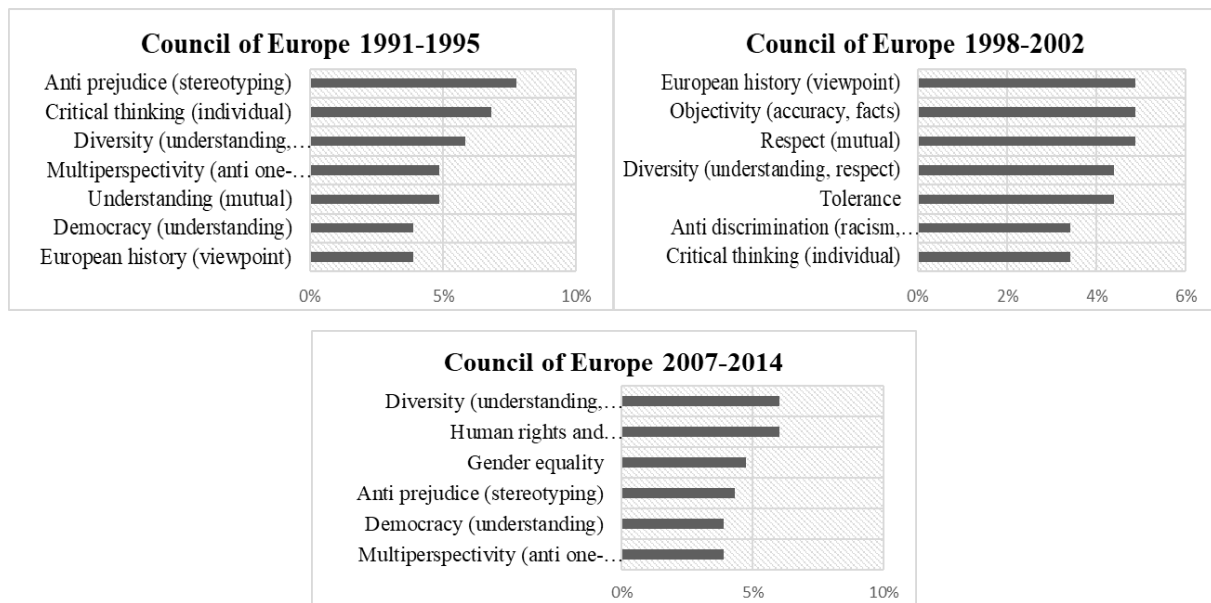
Graphics 9-11. Period 3 (1991-2014)

Apart from one recommendation speaking surprisingly in terms of objectivity again in 2001, the new objectives were not striking. Those were environmental education (1991), Roma history (2000, 2009), Holocaust remembrance (2001), gender equality (2007), 'quality education' that focuses on competences and individual progress (2007) and landscape awareness (2014). More importantly, a general reflection was made in 1994 on the meaning behind the recommendations of certain normative values from supranational institutions:

> 'Although there is a risk that the Council of Europe may be accused of social engineering, even though for the best of reasons, we must not be deterred from our effort to see that history teaching reflects the positive values in which liberal democratic societies believe. […] Indeed, we have to be able to devise recommendations in such an open and balanced way that we cannot be accused of favouring any political party or faction or any mere theoretical fad or fashion. That is our challenge.' – Sofia 1994 (CoE 1995a:64)

In conclusion, the intended purpose of the international dimension of education policy is to be impartial in ideology and everything else. However, this analysis was not normative, but aimed to better understand how the international community has recommended to represent Europe in state-sponsored education. While every period had different conclusions, the table below gives an indication of the overall change of discourse. If the trend must be interpreted in one sentence,

it would be a growing intolerance of intolerance. To end with a sidenote, one has to keep in mind that UNESCO as a global organisation was included only until 1974. However, this is also based on the amount of international recommendations that were actually relevant specifically to reforms of European education.

Key terms	
1950s-1970s	**1990s-2010s**
- Global justice - Global peace - Global/European unity - International understanding - Objectivity - Prejudice (anti) - World history	- Critical thinking - Democracy - Diversity - Human Rights - Multiperspectivity - Mutual respect - Tolerance

Table 1. Discourse trend results

6. Formal curricula analysis

This chapter follows the same structure as the ideological curricula analysis. Results from the discourse analysis on the national curricula of France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands are presented to answer how European identity came forward in the formal curricula.

6.1 Background

This section provides a brief overview of the historical context to understand the development and differences between the selected cases, based on secondary literature.

> 'Most European elements in these [French] curricula are due to their proximity and interactions with France rather than a real desire to embrace a European dimension in history and the creation of a feeling of belonging...' (Faas and Sautereau 2022:5)

France

Mandatory state-sponsored education was introduced as part of the secularisation laws of the Third Republic (1871-1940) that had restored democracy in France. A national policy to raise citizens supporting the republican cause of *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité* still persists today by means of a common national curriculum (Osler and Starkey 2001:289-290). Faas and Sautereau destribed how policies in the 1990s were based on assimilation with one national conception of citizenship instead of post-national conceptions (Faas and Sautereau 2022:4-5). In result, the *Socle Commun de Connaissances et Compétence* (SCCC) was implemented in 2005 as a list of demands based on the key competences of the European Parliament. It was revised in 2015, adding 'culture' at the end of the title (B.O. 2015).

Secondary education – *Enseignement secondaire*		
Collège (11-14) Junior-secondary education	Cycle 4 – *cycle des approfondissements*	5e. *Cinquième* 4e. *Quatrième* 3e. *Troisième*
Lycée (15-18) Senior-secondary education	Cycle 5 – *cycle de détermination*	2e. *Seconde* 1e. *Première*
	Cycle 6 – *cycle terminal*	*Terminale*

Table 2. French education system

Italy

Systematic state-sponsored education was introduced in 1911, establishing the secondary *ginnasi* and *licei*. After the Second World War, Italian education underwent a largescale effort to remove the fascist influences in its curricula (UNESCO 1949:46-47). A specialised Educational Council developed new curricula in 1952, called *programmi* and *istruzione*, that resembled a more 'democratic character and spirit' ('Programmi' 1952). Since then, only minor changes were introduced, resulting in the current system (see table 3).

Secondary education – *Educazione secondaria*		
Cycle 2 – *Secondo ciclo*	*Scuola secondaria di secondo grado* (14-19)	*Scuola media superiore* 1. *Liceo*, two 2-year periods, final year. 2. *Istituto tecnico*, two 2-year periods, final year. 3. *Istituto professionale*, 2-year period, 3 years.

Table 3. Italian education system

Luxembourg

One school dominated the early development of Luxembourg's secondary education: the *Athénée de Luxembourg*, founded in 1603. Yet, the current education system (see table 4) arose after the separation from Belgium in 1839. In the 1960s, discussions began about the traditional educational structure and nationalist-Catholic narrative (Lenz and Rohstock 2012). Thereafter, new reforms ended separated boys' and girls' *lycées* and standardised general education with a 'modern' and 'classical' track including Latin (Schreiber 2014:140-142). State-sponsored education became the norm in 1982, when private schools too received state subsidies in return for curricular supervision (Lenz and Rohstock 2011:70).

Secondary education – *Enseignement secondaire*
1. *Enseignement international* (12-18; *Septième-Première*)
2. *Enseignement secondaire classique* (12-18; *Septième-Première*)
3. *Enseigneemnt secondaire general*, 3 years of junior-secondary education, followed by two 4-year tracks - *régime classique* (general) and *régime technician* (technical studies) and two 3-year tracks - *régime professionelle* (technical-vocational) and *voie de preparation* (vocational).

Table 4. Luxembourg's education system

The Netherlands

State-sponsored education started with state examinations in 1845 and the first curricula in 1868 for so-called Latin schools (CTE 2016:12, 35). After 1945, there were many specialised and general citizens' schools. Yet, the Mammut Law on Secondary Education, going into effect in 1968, replaced the previous system by horizontal educational levels (see table 5; CTE 2016:66). However, Dutch formal curricula had barely existed anymore. In 1993, curricula were reintroduced for junior-secondary education, called Core Objectives (*Kerndoelen*). A national

historical Canon was added in 2007 for primary and junior-secondary education, and, in 2009, a newly introduced Syllabus merged exam programs together with the Core Objectives (Staatsblad 2010:4).

Secondary education – *Middelbaar onderwijs*
1. *Vmbo*, 'preparatory secondary vocational education' (12-16)
2. *Havo*, 'higher general secondary education' (12-17)
3. *Vwo,* 'preparatory academic education' (12-18) including the optional track *gymnasium* with Greek and Latin.

Table 5. Dutch education system

6.2 Corpus

Multiple digital archives were consulted to collect the curricula between 1945-2020. For more recent curricula, national archives and websites of the Ministries of Education were consulted. For the curricula of France, Italy and Luxembourg, the database of the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI) has been consulted. For the Dutch semi-official curricula, the archive of official publications at 'overheid.nl' has been consulted for legal documents, most notably the magazine *Staatsblad*. Lastly, the website 'histoforum.net' provided the Dutch history of state examination topics.

France

i. *Nouveaux Horaires et Programmes de l'Enseignement du Second Degré* (second edition). Librairie Vuibert, 1947. GEI 1355.

ii. Histoire et Géographie : Instructions et Programmes. Institut Pédagogique National (IPN), 1961. GEI 28958.

iii. Histoire et Géographie : Horaires, Programmes, Instructions. Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques (INRDP), 1971. GEI 28965.

iv. Collèges: Programmes et Instructions. CNDP, 1985. GEI 1986/1707.

v. Histoire, Géographie, Instruction Civique: Classes de Seconde, Première et Terminale. CNDP, 1989. GEI 2004/402.

vi. Histoire-Géographie Éducation Civique. CNDP, 2008. GEI 2012/1169.

vii. 'Programmes d'Histoire et de Géographie en Classe de Seconde Générale et Technologique', *Bulletin Officiel spécial* 4 (29-4-2010).

viii. 'Enseignement Spécifique d'Histoire-Géographie des Séries Économique et Sociale et Littéraire - Classe Terminale', *Bulletin Officiel spécial* 8 (13-10-2011).

ix. Histoire-Géographie: 1^{re} Séries. CNDP-CRDP, 2012. GEI 2012/2355.

x. 'Socle Commun de Connaissance, de Compétences et de Culture', *Bulletin Officiel* 17 (23-4-2015).

Italy

i. Programmi per i Vari Gradi e Tipi di Scuola. Vallecchi Editore, 1952. GEI 16669.

ii. Programmi: Ginnasio Superiore, Liceo Classico, Liceo Scientifico. Milan: G. Pirola, 1963. GEI 16667.

iii. Piani di Studio della Scuola Secondaria Superiore e Programmi dei Primi due Anni. Florence: Le Monnier, 1991. GEI 1994/1763.

iv. Programmi Ministeriali di Italiano, Storia, Civica, Geografia, Materie Letterarie, Latino e Greco. San Prospero: Centro Prorammazione, 2000. GEI 2001/1638.

v. Decreto Legislativo 7 ottobre 2010, n. 211.

vi. Indicazioni Nazionali per il Curricolo della Scuola dell'Infanzia e del Primo Ciclo d'Istruzione. Minstry of Scientific Research and Education, September 2012.

Luxembourg

i. Enseignement Secondaire : Horaires et Programmes 1963-1964. Impremerie Centrale, 1963. GEI 2010[?]/2734.

ii. Enseignement Secondaire : Horaires et Programmes 1995-1996. Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Formation professionnelle, 1995. GEI 1996/1506.

iii. Enseignement Secondaire : Histoire Programme 7-1. MEN, 2010-2011. https://portal.education.lu/programmes/

The Netherlands

i. Besluit van 26 September 1951 tot vaststelling van een reglement en een programma voor de eindexamens der openbare […] bijzondere handelsdagscholen met driejarige en met vierjarige cursus, No. 435. Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1951.

ii. Besluit van 28 Mei 1954 tot vaststelling van een nieuw algemeen leerplan voor de openbare hogere burgerscholen A en B, 244. Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1954.

iii. Besluit kerndoelen en adviesurentabel basisvorming 1993-1998, 208. Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1993.

iv. Besluit kerndoelen onderbouw VO, nr. WJZ/2006/4655 (3805). Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (OCW), 2006.

v. De Canon van Nederland: Rapport van de Commissie Ontwikkeling Nederlandse Canon Deel A-C. Ministerie van OCW, 2006-7. www.entoen.nu

vi. Syllabus Geschiedenis Havo/Vwo 2009 (definitieve versie). Centrale Examencommissie Vaststelling Opgaven vwo, havo, vmbo (CEVO), 2008.

vii. Geschiedenis VWO: Syllabus Centraal Examen 2015. College voor Examens, 2013. http://www.examenblad.nl

6.3 Analysis

France

The French curricula since 1945 are rather extensive and have remained relatively standard over time. Secondary curricula of four periods have been analysed based on national revisions and reforms, namely 1947, 1971, 1985-87 and 2008-2011.
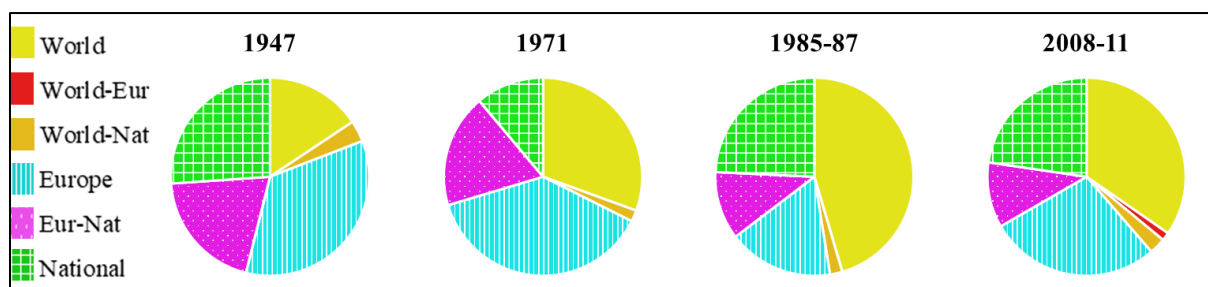
Figure 1. Geographical scope in French secondary history curricula 1947-2011

The figure above displays the analytical results on geographical scope based on bullet points. In 1947, national history was well represented, while Europe was focussed on England, Italy and Russia. Global representation was dominated by the West, particularly American history. Room for improvement was mentioned in 1954: 'our programs, formerly centred primarily on France, and incidentally on Europe, embrace today, to a certain extent at least, the History of all peoples' (IPN 1961:7). By 1971, global history indeed increased, with more attention going to the US and Asia. Furthermore, in the 1980s, 'new' history was adopted from the twentieth century, which was split into national and general history. At last, the dichotomy was replaced

by a more balanced trichotomy of national, European and world history. Most notable were the efforts made to include more African history.

The tables below provide further clarification for the pie charts. The numbers displayed are based on the amount of bullet points for historical content, and therefore *not* on the curricular texts as a whole.

	1947	1971	1985-87	2008-11
6	**Antiquity**	**Antiquity**	**Antiquity**	**From the Ancient Worlds to the Early Middle Ages**
	- Egypt-Hebrews-Assyrians (3) - Crete-Phoenicia (1) - Greeks (2) - Romans (4)	- Egypt-Hebrews (2) - Crete-Phoenicia (1) - Greeks (6) - Romans (6)	- Egypt-Levant (2) - Greeks (1) - China-India (1) - Romans (2), Christianity (1)	- Egypt-Mesopotamia-Judaism (2) - China-India (2) - Greeks (2), Romans (2), Christianity (1), Byzantines (1),
5	**The Middle Ages**	**The Middle Ages**	**The Middle Ages and the Birth of the Modern World**	**From the Middle Ages to Modern Times**
	- Focus on Western Europe (7) - Byzantines-Islam (1)	- Focus on Western Europe (8) - Byzantines (1), Islam (2)	- European history - Byzantines (1), Islam (2)	- Focus on Western Europe (5) - Islam (1), Africa (2)
4	**Modern Times**	**The Renaissance and Modern Times**	**From the 17th to the 19th Century**	**From the Enlightenment to the Industrial Age**
	- Focus on French monarchy (6) - UK, American Revolution (2)	- European (11), national (5) - American Revolution (1)	- French-European history	- Focus on French society - 'Europe in the world'
3	**The Contemporary Period (1789-now)**	**The Contemporary Period (1789-now)**	**The World in the 20th Century**	**The World Since 1914**
	- France (3), Europe (3), world (2) - French Revolution (4)	- Europe (5), world (4) - French Revolution (3)	- France (3), Europe (3), world (9)	- France (4), Europe (3), world (6)
2	**The 17th and 18th Centuries (1610-1789)**	**From 1789 to 1848**	**From 1789 to 1880**	**Europeans in World History**
	- National history (6) - European countries (6)	- French Revolution (7) - Focus on France-Europe (8) - Latin America, UK, US (3)	- French Revolution - Focus on Europe, colonialism	- Europe: Greek democracy, Romans, Renaissance, French Revolution, 'Europe in the world'
1	**Start of the Contemporary Period (1789-1848)**	**Start of the Contemporary Period (1848-1914)**	**From 1880 to 1945**	**Questions for Understanding the Twentieth Century**
	- French Revolution (12) - UK, US	- France (4), Europe (4), world (4) - East Asia (1)	- France-German relations - General events	- France (3), Europe (2), world (4)
T	**The Contemporary Period (1848-1939)**	**The Contemporary World (1914-now)**	**The Contemporary Period (1945-now)**	**Historical Perspectives on the World Today**
	- Focus on Europe (12) - National (6), world (7)	- World in East-West terms - Arab world (2), East Asia (2)	- 'France in the world' (8) - World (14)	- Multi-layered: specific cases, e.g. French heritage, European integration, UN

Table 6. French history curricula in secondary education 1947-2011

Table 6 shows how the second class changed from a reiteration of contemporary history to portraying 'Europe' as an agent in world history. French curricula largely followed the discourse trend that came forward from the ideological curricula. Critical thinking and forming judgment were among the first mentioned aims (IPN 1961) and awareness of 'diversity' arose in the 1980s (CNDP 1985:239). The Common Base of Knowledge, Competences and Culture presented skills and competences that represented the 'carrier of common culture' of the French national identity (B.O. 2015:3). Besides principles of freedom, rule of law and secularism, some

words were devoted to represent the world in human terms. Overall, the notion of European citizenship progressed, the more Europe's political integration became adopted in history education.
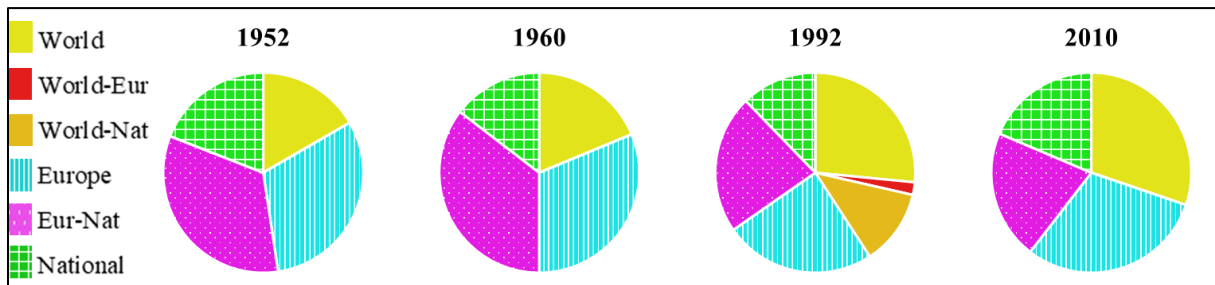
Italy

Figure 2. Geographical scope in Italian secondary history curricula 1952-2010

The figure above displays the same analytical results for Italy. There is few mentioning of non-European history in the 1952 curricula, but much attention for Roman antiquity, here labelled as European-national ('Programmi' 1952:87-88). The period after 1920 was added to the history curriculum of 1960, resulting in a much greater share of world events due to the world wars and globalisation ('Programmi' 1963:7, 13-14). Then, the history curriculum remained unchanged until 1992, increasing the global dimension, especially by an 'Italy in the world'-perspective. Furthermore, the third year is almost exclusively dedicated to the becoming of Europe ('Piani' 1991:142-156; 'Programmi' 2000:66-70).

	1952	1960	1992	2010
1	**The Orient and ancient Greece**	**The East and Greece**	**Ancient and early medieval history (class 1-2)**	**Ancient civilisations and the early Middle Ages**
	- Mediterranean peoples (1) - Greeks (2)	- Mediterranean peoples (1) - Greeks (5) - Persian Wars (1)	- Greeks (2), Romans (9) - Islam (1) - Medieval Europe (3)	- Near Eastern civilisations (1) - Judaism (1) - Greeks (1), Romans (2) - Christianity (1), Islam (1) - Medieval Europe (4)
2	**Rome from its origins to 476 AD**	**Rome and Roman civilisation**	**Contemporary history (class 1-2)**	
	- Romans (5) - Christianity (1)	- Romans (8) - Christianity (1)	- 'Italy in the world' (5) - National (2), world (6)	
3	**The Middle Ages up to 1300**	**From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance**	**Until 1650**	**The formation of Europe in a global dimension (1000-1900)**
	- Focus on Western Europe (7) - National (2) - Islam (1)	- Focus on Western Europe (8) - National (3) - Islam (1)	- Only European history (6), 'Europe in the world'	- Focus on Europe (9) - National (4), world (4)
4	**The last two centuries of the Middle Ages and the Modern Age**	**The Modern Age (1550-1815)**	**1650-1900**	
	- National (6), Europe (6), world (2)	- Focus on Europe (7) - American Revolution (1)	- Focus on Europe (3) - The West (2)	
5	**The Contemporary Age (1789-1920)**	**The Contemporary Age (1815-now)**	**The 20th century**	**The Contemporary Age (1914-now)**
	- Italy (2), Europe (4), world (2)	- Italy (2), Europe (2), world (3) - Mentioning European integration	- Focus on the world - Mentioning European integration	- Italy (3), Europe (4), world (4) - Special attention to UN, Asia, decolonisation, EU integration

Table 7. Italian history curricula in secondary education 1952-2010

Ethno-cultural identity was particularly visible in the objectives of 1952. Those focussed on Roman and Christian history, Catholicism and Italian unification ('Programmi' 1952:64). The educational reforms of 1992 were based on European qualifications set out by the EEC ('Piani' 1991:VII). This was the breaking point after which whole years were dedicated to a 'Europe in the world'-perspective (see table 7). Particularly, the inclusion of a truly European narrative in the 1990s was directly linked to the growing awareness of the importance to competence-based learning. This and the multi-layered, concentric presentation from national-European-global are illustrated by the following quote:

> 'It should be emphasised that it is precisely historical research and critical reasoning on the essential facts relating to Italian and European history that provide a basis for articulate and reasoned reflection on the diversity of human groups that have populated the planet, starting with the unity of humankind.' ('Indicazioni' 2012:41; translated from Italian)[1]

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[1] '*È opportuno sottolineare come proprio la ricerca storica e il ragionamento critico sui fatti essenziali relativi alla storia italiana ed europea offrano una base per riflettere in modo articolato ed argomentato sulle diversità dei gruppi umani che hanno popolato il pianeta, a partire dall'unità del genere umano*.'

Luxembourg

As a small country between France and Germany, the preliminary expectation was to find a domination of Western European history linked to national history. Instead, the 1963 curricula were strictly divided between national and general history (see table 8). General history was divided into world and European history with the usual European domination in medieval times. Yet, the amount of text is quite different per bullet point. Long lists of events appear to be focussing on the royal monarchy, which seems to be the red line running through the story.

	1963	1995	2010-2011
7	**Antiquity and the early Middle Ages**	**Prehistory and Antiquity**	**Antiquity until Julius Caesar**
	- General: Egypt-Near East (1), Greeks (1), Romans (1), Islam (1), Medieval Europe (2) - National: until 1000	- General: from prehistory to Hellenism - National: Luxembourg until the Middle Ages	- Egypt, Mesopotamia, Crete - Ancient Greece - Roman Republic - Luxembourg in the Stone Age
6	**The Middle Ages and the Modern Age until 1789**	**The early Middle Ages**	**Roman Empire until the Crusades**
	- General: Western Europe - National: 1000-1789	- General: from the founding of Rome to the end of the Carolingian Empire - National: Luxembourg in the Middle Ages	- Western Europe - National history, visiting castles and monasteries
5	**Contemporary history (1789-1960)**	**The late Middle Ages**	**The late Middle Ages**
	- National (4), Europe (5), world (4)	- General: from the dissection of the Frankish Empire to the age of discovery - National: Luxembourg in the Middle Ages and modern times	- European history, discovery of America - National history, visiting castles, monasteries and Luxembourg City
4	**History of the East, Greece and Rome**	**From the Middle Ages to the 18th century**	**Modern Age**
	- Repetition of Class 7	- General: from the Reformation to the United States of America - National: Luxembourg, Ancien Régime - Priorities: national (4)	- Only European history - Special attention to England
3	**General history 406-1610, national history until Charles V**	**The period 1789-1870**	**19th century**
	- Repetition of Class 6 (406-1610)	- General: from the French Revolution to German unity - National: Luxembourg 1789-1870 - Priorities: national (4)	- Focus on Europe (5) - World (2) - National (no bullet points)
2	**General history 1610-1815, national history until 1815**	**The period 1870-1945**	**20th century**
	- Repetition of Class 6-5 (1610-1815)	- General: from German unity to the Second World War - National: Luxembourg 1870-1945 - Priorities: national (4)	- Focus on world (3) - Special attention to Russian Revolutions - Visiting a concentration camp
1	**General history 1815-1939, national history to the present day**	**The period 1945-now**	**Understanding the world of today**
	- Repetition of Class 5 (1815-now)	- General: world (45), Europe (15) including European integration (4)	- Colonisation and Decolonisation, the Middle East, Europe since 1945 - Europe (26), 'Europe in the world' (5), world (16), mentioning of EU integration

Table 8. Luxembourg's history curricula in secondary education 1963-2011

The structural dichotomy between general and national history was still present in the curricula of 1995 and partly in 2010-2011. It means that a relatively large portion of history education was supposed to go to national history education. In result, Luxembourg curricula stimulated learning histories on different scales (national-European), which could have normalised the conception of having multiple identities. As expected, the recent curricula are primarily focussed on competences and skills. Most notable is the final year, aiming to add historical understanding of the world today, specifically the Middle East, the post-colonial world and 'Europe since 1945'. In short, Luxembourg's curricula evolved from a sharp national-general dichotomy towards the increasing presentation of a European narrative that finishes with the formation of the European Union.
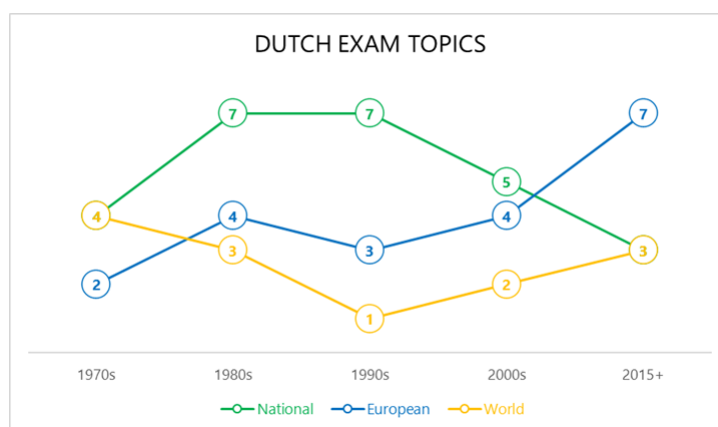
The Netherlands

Since the modest curriculum in 1954 for citizens' schools, there were no formal Dutch curricula besides for final examinations. The few existing prescriptions for specialised schools were very short, such as: 'The candidate must possess some knowledge of the history of the Netherlands and the main foreign states after 1815' (Staatsblad 1951:11).

	1954	1993	2009
1	**History before 1500**	**(Junior-secondary education, Core Objectives 1-3)**	**(Junior-secondary education, Core Objectives 1-3)**
	General and national history	- National (15) focussing points: socioeconomic development (1588-now), emancipation, state structure (10), religions	- Focussing points: democracy, respect for sexuality and diversity, human rights, global interdependence & cooperation, social
2	**1500-1648**		equality, European cooperation and the EU
	General and national history	- Europe (11) focussing points: Middle Ages, Industrial Revolution, WWII,	- 10 Era's and 49 Characteristic Aspects: national (3), Europe (28), world (18)
3	**1648-1815**	emancipation, democratisation, national-EU governance, Western multicultural society	- Historical Canon of the Netherlands: national (41), national-Europe (6), national-world (3)
	General and national history	- World (17) focussing points: Cold War, Arab World & Middle East, UN, human rights, colonialism-decolonisation	
4	**1815-now**	**(Senior-secondary education 4-6)**	**(Senior-secondary education, focussing on the 'Syllabus' for final exams 4-6)**
	Including economic and cultural history of the Netherlands and the principal European states since 1648	- Repetition of the Core Objectives 1-3	- 10 Era's and 49 Characteristic Aspects: national (3), Europe (28), world (18) - National democratic development of rule of law, parties and thinkers (1795-now)
5	**Review and extension of the 19th and 20th centuries**		- Focussing points of the final exam: - National (3), Europe (7), world (3)
	Including economic and cultural history since 1648		- Netherlands (1515-1648) - Enlightenment (1650-1848)
6	-		- Germany (1871-1945) - Cold War (1945-1991)

Table 9. Dutch history curricula in secondary education 1954-2009

This rapidly changed in the 1990s, when curricula were reintroduced as Core Objectives or *Kerndoelen*, including a formal historical periodisation (Ten Era's) with 49 characteristic

aspects divided among the periods. Those represented general education with a European focus. In addition, the national historical Canon was included in the Core Objectives of 2006, serving as a guiding principle to illustrate the national history of the Ten Era's. Lastly, the Syllabus partly focussed on competences, the development of Dutch democracy and exam topics. The latter became fixed in 2015, where before one out of two exam topics was renewed annually. This resulted in a rise of attention paid to European history at the expense of national history throughout the years, as illustrated below.

Graphic 12. Dutch history topics of secondary final exams 1973-2015

> 'The pupil learns to understand the meaning of European cooperation and the
> European Union for themself, the Netherlands, and the world.' (Staatsblad
> 2006; translated from Dutch)[2]

In the recent curricula, respect for diversity, democracy, sexuality and human rights came on top as key values. In addition, the significance of international cooperation was stressed by the quote above. The Canon also underwent revision in 2020, incorporating more women, immigration and slave trade in national history. Such normative values or post-national conceptions of citizenship were not mentioned in the 1950s. History curricula used to focus on national-colonial history and the national histories of other European states. Yet, skills and competences were introduced along with new curricula. Despite the difficulty of comparing state-sponsored

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[2] '*De leerling leert de betekenis van Europese samenwerking en de Europese Unie te begrijpen voor zichzelf, Nederland en de wereld.*'

regulations over time, the Netherlands eventually embraced a dimension of European citizenship into their secondary education.

7. Cross-comparison

In this section, the results of the different empirical chapters on Europeanisation are compared with each other and the trend lines of Eurobarometer displayed in graphic 13.

There are several questions to ask and conclusions to draw when the trends of ideological and formal curricula are compared. For the early post-1945 stage, each of the four cases consist out of relatively short lists of concrete bullet points, generally outlining the content. Thereafter, the international calls for global unity and reflecting a sense of shared human history seems to be clearly in line with the increasingly widening scope of formal curricula. Yet, this manifested itself in different ways.

Firstly, every time 'new' content was added to the history curriculum, the amount of attention paid to global events increased because of recent globalisation of significant events (e.g. the Cold War, decolonisation and conflicts in the Middle East). Globalisation thus resonates with widening the geographical scope in education.

Secondly, attempts to incorporate real world history – by including the history of other 'civilisations' – resulted in less changes then expected, compared to the amount of times this was internationally recommended. In most cases, the Western narrative remained the dominant factor to widen the scope, such as colonial or US history. If other parts of the world were more represented, these were mostly ancient Mesopotamia, the founding of Islam, or modern China and Japan. Until more recent times, some more significant steps towards a world historical narrative were made by adopting, for example, ancient China and India, and precolonial Africa and Latin-America.

Thirdly, by transforming curricula from content-based to skill-based teaching materials, the increase of universal values along with attention to human rights resonated with the trend of designing global citizenship. Therefore, the post-national concept of universal, democratic citizenship seemed to be more favourable then stepping away from Western-centric education. Indeed, the quote below comes from a Dutch Syllabus and demonstrates this point by intending to stimulate critical thinking as an individual competence. Moreover, the preference fits within the change in discourse of ideological curricula from terms of global wholistic universalism to individual right-based universalism.
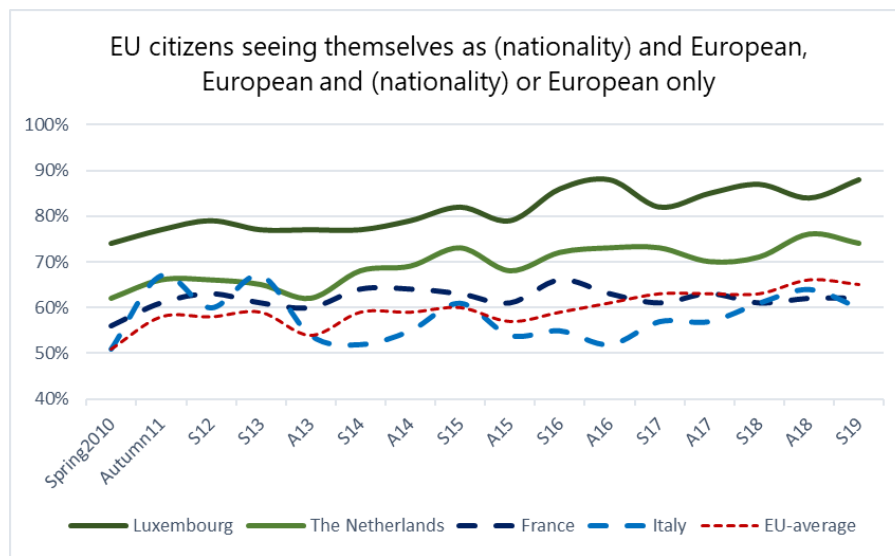
'Candidates can explain that the division into periods and epochs represents
a Western perspective on history and what its limitations and objections may
be.' ('Syllabus' 2009; translated from Dutch)[3]

Fourthly, all formal curricula, but particularly those of Luxembourg and the Netherlands, seemed to come from structural dichotomies between national and general history, but gradually moved away towards the internationally recommended multi-layered approach. This approach was explained by UNESCO and the Council of Europe as concentric writing from local, to national, to European, to world history.

How does European representation in both types of curricula align with each other? First of all, European history has always been well represented in the formal curricula due to the natural overlap with national history. But the way 'Europe' came forward out of the history curricula changed along with the political development of European integration. Ideological curricula of the Council of Europe recommended i.e. to include the recent history of European integration, renew its geographical definition in the 1990s, and pay more attention to the shared heritage that had shaped the formation of Europe as an entity of its own.

All of the four cases show how recent formal curricula have undergone some radical changes compared to its predecessors and, therefore, seemed to have adhered to the Council's recommendations substantially in post-2000 times. In France, the class *Seconde* treats the whole history of Europeans from Athenian democracy to the 'Europe in the world'-perspective in modern times. In Italy, the second *biennio* deals with the 'formation of Europe' in a global dimension from 1000 to 1900. Luxembourg included 'Europe since 1945' as one of the three central themes in the final year. Only for the Netherlands, it is harder to provide such a concrete example. Nonetheless, European integration is included in similar terms in the new curricula, which reveal the same discourse trend of the normative values in ideological curricula. Overall, a national framework – e.g. treating British, German or Russian history separately – was gradually losing out more and more to the perspective of Europe as a subject that had been 'formed' in ancient and medieval times and since then 'acted' as its own unit in world history.

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[3] '*De kandidaat kan: (…) uitleggen dat de indeling in perioden en tijdvakken een westers perspectief op de geschiedenis vertegenwoordigt en wat de beperkingen en bezwaren daarvan kunnen zijn.*'

EU citizens seeing themselves as (nationality) and European, European and (nationality) or European only

Graphic 13. Results from Eurobarometer 2010-2019

More quantitative research would be necessary to indicate how the supposed relationship with identity formation works. In other words, what do we see if we connect graphic 13 to the educational research of this thesis. Does a society feel more European and therefore reflect a more European perspective in their curricula? Or does increased attention to the European dimension in education foster the sense of European citizenship in a society? Or are they both subjected to another driving force that is responsible for putting in motion the evolution of international relations?

What the comparative method is able to establish, are the correlations and non-correlations between the national education and Eurobarometer results related to identity formation. It often showed that the Dutch-Luxembourgian curricula were more similar then the French-Italian curricula. While this might be explained by geographical size and cultural-historical reasons, it also resonates with the pairs formed in graphic 13. Depending on the magnitude of the effect of secondary education on identity formation, state-sponsored education is likely to be a major factor in passing through a society's cultural-historical background. Yet, all aspects of identity are capable to gradually change over time. This viewpoint makes the supposed role for state-sponsored education in the formation of European identity more valid.

Overall, the comparison indicates the increasing attention to a global and European dimension in history education, in which normative values pave the way for a supranational conception of citizenship and of identity. Taken together, these educational trends are compatible

with the results from graphic 13. Those developments have a certain impact on geopolitics and international relations, which will be elaborated upon in the conclusion.

8. Conclusion

This thesis added a socio-historical, empirical study to the debate about identity formation through state-sponsored education. The roles of supranational institutions and national curricula were compared through a framework of ideological and formal curricula, which revealed patterns, trends and developments concerning European representation. The cross-comparison outlined correlations between what was recommended by the Council of Europe and UNESCO and how this was reflected in the curricula of France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. This concluding section goes back to the theoretical framework (graphic 2) to discuss the findings and its indirect implications in the context of IR-theory. Analysing identities and sociological citizenship is not an exact science, hence no causalities can be ascertained. Nevertheless, there are some strong presumptions that can be argued from the data.

But first, some complications need to be made aware. For one thing, UNESCO and the Council of Europe are obviously not the only supranational institutions. The European Union, for example, fell out of the scope of this study, because it was only founded in 1992. Yet, it is most likely they also had a short-term impact. Secondly, some complications were mentioned in the preceding literature. In a similar case study on Irish curricula, Keating (2009) debated in his conclusion whether the promoted European citizenship was active enough to provide a sufficiently strong basis for binding diverse communities. Yet, to speak in terms of sufficiency, one would need to quantify a feeling of belonging. While this might be impossible, the Eurobarometer polls have actually already pointed at the existence of a Europeanisation trend.

This thesis offered certain reasons to suspect such a relationship between state-sponsored education and European identity. Firstly, this came forward from the academic literature on identity formation and citizenship development. Korostelina, for example, argued that historical content in schoolbooks impacts identity formation (2008:26). Secondly, the Eurobarometer surveys show the increasing existence of a feeling of Europeanness among EU citizens. The link with education is that these are generally the strongest among respondents with higher education ('Analysis of 40 Years' 17). Thirdly, the state-sponsored history school of thought argues that the rise of nation-states in the nineteenth century was accompanied by reinventing history through the eyes of nations. Secondary education became a national affair to raise

national citizens. In line with this reasoning, it makes sense to think that the rise of internationalism in the twentieth century could have had the same impact on history education for international forms of identity and citizenship.

Fourthly, this study has attempted to add another layer of understanding to this process by analysing the content of two types of curricula. As said at the beginning, the idea of having complementary, international forms of identity and citizenship requires the increase of international understanding among citizens over time. Meanwhile, fostering international understanding has generally been the main purpose of UNESCO. Curricular construction is a comprehensive, unfathomable process, but the outcome – the four cases of formal curricula – demonstrate the rise of a global scope in history education throughout the decades. While the European scope generally maintained, the way Europe has been treated has changed and reinvented from a geographical arena of nation-states, to an entity that has a history of its own. This could be a logical result from political integration, but one with a certain role for the recommendations from the Council of Europe as well. Quotes from the analysis exemplified how the discourse has developed similarly between the ideological and formal curricula. Furthermore, new history in which Europe as its own entity has become increasingly important to explain recent events are periodically incorporated. Therefore, this study suggests that education could be understood as a gearwheel accelerating the processes of European integration that were already in place.

The method of analysis aimed to explain curricular change by adopting a poststructuralist approach. In line with Rosenmund (2007), it demonstrated a shared discourse between ideological and formal curricula, thereby transcending the debate on the role of supranational institutions and national-systematic processes between institutionalists and structuralists. Yet, the research results could be used by neoliberalists as an argument for the success of evolving international institutionalism on impacting state-sponsored education. Poststructuralists, however, would point at the changing discourse of normative values that is similar to both ideological and formal curricula and could also be explained by a changing spirit of the age. Yet, meaning could be added from a pessimist constructivist point of view, by concluding that the first discourse – primarily based on unity for the sake of world peace – excluded any room for war, while the second discourse – emphasising democracy and diversity – implied that war could be legitimate for the sake of democratic values. However, this study did not intend to draw any normative conclusions on curricular decisions. Rather, the study came forth out of a genuine, neutral desire to understand how curricula have changed in relation to European identity.

Overall, this thesis serves as an example of the importance to add historical understanding to IR studies. More research can be done to the role of history and how teaching about history affects international relations. Theories about the rise of regionalism in global organisation could be incorporated in further research to see if the European case could also be applied to other parts of the world, such as the African Union or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Ultimately, these findings suggest that the political dimension of state-sponsored education has the potential to better understand the formation of identity and citizenship worldwide.

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