Raising European Citizens?

European Narratives, European Schools and Students' Identification with Europe

Judith Rohde-Liebenau | St Antony's College | University of Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology | Trinity Term 2017

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Abstract

Fostering identification with Europe among citizens could legitimise European integration. Whether such an identity exists, however, remains an on-going debate among scholars. This research returns to the foundations of how a European identity is constructed, transmitted and transformed. It explores narratives of European identity in a carefully chosen context – European Schools for children of EU officials – where identification with Europe should mirror official EU visions. A qualitative content analysis explores narrations of 101 students collected during interviews and focus groups across three schools, and analyses documents and interviews with EU officials, school directors and teachers. This analysis reveals a *descriptive puzzle*: official EU and European School propositions of (multi-) national narratives differ markedly from teachers' and students' conceptions of cosmopolitan and transnational identities. The EU constructs an out-group of its own nationalist past and non-EU citizens. On the other hand, students construct an explicitly European in-group, but differentiate themselves from more national and less mobile lifestyles. This disparity, in turn, reveals a *causal puzzle* about how differences in narratives emerge. I use process tracing to elucidate the relationship between European schooling and students' identification with Europe. The results show a distorted transmission where broader EU goals are elaborated and transformed by teachers and further fuelled by interactions amongst students with similarly mobile and multilingual backgrounds. I develop a dual mechanism to understand how the varieties of identification with Europe develop: the concept of "*doing Europe*" explains how students nourish a transnational social network; "*telling Europe*", on the other hand, considers students' exposure to European symbols and stories in school and both national and anti-nationalist narratives provided by teachers and peers. Together, this leads to a transformed but ultimately *European* in-group understanding. Overall, this project underlines the complexity of identity construction, given that top-down transmission gets altered even in this favourable case. Specifically, it informs future research on European identity by detailing peculiar narratives and offering a causal approach to how these narratives emerge.

Keywords

European identity • European Schools • identity transmission • in/out-group • narratives



Declaration of Authorship

With this, I certify that the present thesis, submitted for the degree of DPhil in Sociology at the University of Oxford is solely my own work.

Judith Rohde-Liebenau

3 August 2017

This thesis is 81,429 words in length.

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> *Educated side by side, untroubled from infancy by divisive prejudices [...], they will become in mind Europeans, schooled and ready to complete and consolidate the work of their fathers [...], to bring into being a united and thriving Europe*
>
> Jean Monnet, cited in EU 2013a

> *When we teach European integration, I notice that students do not really have an idea what it means to be a European. [...] I let the students [define it] essentially by us learning together as Europeans. It is more of a form of interaction with each other. More in the sense of tolerance and respect for each other and an acceptance of different traditions and languages.*
>
> Teacher, European School Munich

> *Europe [...] feels like a nation in itself [...], all the countries are connected. They all [...] have interrelations [...]. Even though they are separate countries, it feels like it's all connected. [...]. People who like travelling and like making connections and stuff around Europe, I would say are more European.*
>
> Student, European School Culham

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Unless specifically stated, all figures and tables are the author's own calculations and analyses.

Acronyms

CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (here: NVivo)
DG	Directorate General
EB	European Baccalaureate
EC	European Commission
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EPO	European Patent Office
Erasmus	European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students
ESC	European School Culham
ESL	European School Luxemburg I
ESM	European School Munich
EU	European Union
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
JET	European Nuclear Fusion Project (Joint European Torus)
L1	Language 1, first (taught) language of European School students
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
SEA	Single European Act
SWALS	Student(s) without a language section

1. Introduction

1.1 Puzzle and Research Question

During recent economic and political crises within the European Union (EU) and at its external borders, nationalist and anti-European tendencies have received increasing attention. The EU has seen itself confronted with a British referendum for "Brexit" from the EU, discussions of a Greek Eurozone "Grexit", a war at the Eastern borders in Ukraine as well as a refugee crisis that has moved from its Southern borders straight to the centre of political agendas. These are very diverse issues, though all of them invoke some degree of identity-loaded debates. Adding to this complexity, independence movements such as in Scotland and Catalonia transcend a previously assumed antagonism of "(pro-) Europeans versus nationalists" and show that there is no natural trend towards or away from European integration. Instead of advancing a proverbial ever-closer union, Europhiles in general and EU policy-makers and administrators in particular nowadays must defend the very preservation of a "European project". Faced with these manifold obstacles, the EU self-diagnosed a need for restored confidence in its project:

> *"The political debate about the future of the European project has to be conducted now, and it has to take place all across Europe. Crucially, it needs to engage Europe´s citizens" (Future of Europe Group 2012: 1).*

Shaping the European project and ensuring its compatibility with existing national or subnational feelings of belonging could be one approach to counter anti-European tendencies. To that effect, a sense of belonging together of Europe's citizens – be it narrated as common ideological beliefs, culture, history or an ethnic common destiny – could consolidate the advancement of European integration in times of uncertainty. However, it remains unclear what *being European* could mean today and in the future, let alone whether such a group would extend beyond the young and privileged.

> *"For [today's youth] Europe is a daily reality. Not the constraint of being in the same boat. No, the richness of being able to freely share, travel and exchange. To share and shape a continent, experiences, a future" (Herman van Rompuy, Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech, EC 2012).*

Despite EU citizenship, Erasmus programmes or labour mobility and an according interchange of Europeans in the last decades, it is questionable whether a Europhile generation has already developed and is a "daily reality". It is also unclear if and how processes of promoting Europeanness or becoming European have worked out.

This DPhil thesis addresses the issue of a European identity by exploring its construction and transmission. Since the beginning of European integration, the EU could forge a European identity "from above". Simultaneously, "European Schools" were established from the 1950s to provide education to children of EU officials. The currently fourteen[1] "scholae Europaeae" are largely EC-funded and have harmonised curricula across the EU. As EU-driven institutions, these schools could mediate EU visions of European identity: their explicit goal is to raise "responsible young citizens of Europe" (OSG 2014a), who know "that they belong together" as expressed in the schools' mission statement:

> *"Without ceasing to look to their own lands with love and pride, they will become in mind Europeans" (EU 2013a).*

Thus, teachers in European Schools could ensure the formation of an EU-envisaged European identity among their students, while the students, growing up in this setting, also make up their own mind about available identities.

Following the theoretical and empirical literature, as part of which scholars have been trying to identify who *the Europeans* are, identification with Europe of European School students seems likely. They constitute a specific group of young and socioeconomically advantaged intra-European free movers, of whom it could be expected that they engage in the future of the European project, but only few scholars have touched upon this group. Using this "most-likely case" (Gerring 2012), theoretical and empirical findings on the specific group advance the theoretical understanding of European identity and inform future studies in broader spheres of the mass public. In line with constructivist literature, the project understands a personal "European identity" as a self-definition with attached feelings and meanings. The identity may refer to the EU or other conceptions of Europe – and as the project strives to understand

[1] Thirteen, following the closure of the European School Culham in August 2017.

patterns of identification with Europe, the chosen definition leaves room for *the Europeans'* diverse narratives of "us" (the in-group") and "them" (the out-group).

This DPhil project thus poses the following research question:

> ***How do narratives of European identity get transformed as they are transmitted from the EU to European Schools and then via teachers on to students?***

To tackle this question, the project studies European identity narratives (a *descriptive puzzle*) and their transmission chain (a *causal puzzle*) with process tracing. If the transmission chain functions as envisioned by the EU, narratives of European identity expressed in policy documents and by policy-makers should be reflected in the perspectives of school directors, teachers and individual European School students.

Hence, to gain a deeper understanding of "European identity" within and across vertical levels, the project first analyses European identity in-group and out-group narratives. Through qualitative content analysis, a vast and unique set of collected data is structured and explored. For the vertical levels EU, European Schools system and teachers, interviews with EU officials, European School directors and teachers as well as EU and European School documents are analysed. Most importantly, at the level of European School students, the project analyses in-depth individual and focus-group interviews from a sample of 101 students across three European Schools.

The project finds that within the specific case of European Schools, students develop their own narratives of European identity. Hence, *the main argument of this research is that while European School students are raised to be European citizens, European identity narratives get altered on their way to students, where they diverge from EU visions.* While the students' in-group construction is fairly aligned with the EU's vision of being "united in diversity" (though in a transnational rather than a multinational sense), their out-group is a nationalist "other", demarcating themselves from people living a more national life and to some extent from their parents' nationalities. This newly identified diversion from EU-envisaged narratives regard-

ing in-groups and out-groups is disconfirming evidence within the most-likely case of the European Schools system.

To uncover the (evidently transformed) transmission chain of European identity narratives and thus to answer the research question, the project then traces the relation between European schooling and students' peculiar identification with Europe, unboxing the mechanisms at work. The project inductively theorises the relevance of two specific causal sub-mechanics of identification with Europe: "doing Europe" and "telling Europe". Both are systematic in nature and contribute to research within an extended scope of European identity construction and transmission.

The thesis is structured as follows: chapter 2 provides a conceptual framework, reviewing the theoretical and empirical literature relevant for understanding "European identity". Chapter 3 discusses the methodological approach, focusing on process tracing and qualitative content analysis. The empirical section consists of (descriptive) analyses of in-group narratives (chapter 4) and out-group narratives (chapter 5) across levels and on that basis, an inference of a causal mechanism (chapter 6). The conclusion (chapter 7) provides a synthesis of the empirical results, theoretical implications and practical obstacles for research endeavours regarding (European) identity construction and transmission as well as avenues for future research. The uncovered path of European identity transmission is seen an important inductive cornerstone to understand processes of identification with Europe more systematically, hence beyond the peculiarities of the proposed case.

1.2 Outline of the Conceptual Framework

The project has its grounding in a discussion of relevant theories for identification with Europe, focusing on social, national and European identity. Based on the broader literature, a narrower, operational framework is developed to understand and build theories from the specific European identity constructions in European Schools. This introductory part gives an overview of the literature, highlighting open questions and familiarising the reader with the conceptual framework.

Social Identity

To understand constructions of European identity, *social identity theories* matter. These deal with the position of individuals in their social world (Greenfeld 1992). In social psychology, this position is linked to an "in-group" identity based on a "we-feeling". This entails a cognitively imagined collective, a common present, past and future with attached emotions as well as an evaluation enhancing the in-group's cohesion by favourable demarcations from "the other" or "out-groups" (cf. Turner 1982, Tajfel 1982, Durkheim 1912, Barth 1969, Hall 2000). Crucial moments of identity building emerge when in-groups and out-groups become (re-) settled. European School students for instance come together in their schools. Here, they must make sense of a (possibly European) in-group, which could contradict (national) belongings they have previously been rooted in.

Social identities – and thus also a potential European identity – entail in-grouping and out-grouping devices, as suggested by theory. However, these devices work with demarcations from "the other", which some scholars criticise from a normative point of view. Nonetheless, such demarcations from people outside of Europe's (or the EU's) geographical (or political) borders seem likely and have indeed been studied before (Meinhof 2003, 2004, Schlenker 2013). For European identity, both in-group and out-group thus need to be considered.

National Identity

While there are various categories of large social groups (e.g. race, gender, ethnicity, religion, cf. Kohli 2002, Heath, Martin and Elgenius 2007), national identity theories provide particularly important insights when trying to grasp a "European identity". Contemporary scholar-

ship emphasises constructivist viewpoints (Anderson 2006, Delanty 2005a, Bruter 2005, Crespy 2015, Aron 1964). National identities are understood as socially constructed and mediated through institutions like army and school. People are exposed to them in everyday life: nations are "vivid, […] well established, and still widely believed" (Smith 1992: 62, cf. Hobsbawm 2007, Gellner 2006, Breuilly 2006, Billig 1995). Quantitative studies suggest that today, most people in Europe have salient national identities, while a slim majority has "at times" a European identity (EC 2010a, cf. Arts and Halman 2007, Caporaso and Kim 2009, Fligstein 2008, Polyakova and Sandholtz 2012).

For European identity, this project adopts an equally constructivist perspective. However, "Europe-building" does not necessarily take a similar path to that of nation building. National identities are a prominent constant in people's lives, have a clear referent object ("the nation") and are reproduced by individuals and institutions. The referent object of a European identity is harder to define. It could explicitly refer to the EU or also to a specific vision of Europe (Cram 2009, Risse 2001, Nicolaïdis 2012), e.g. evoking a multinational, transnational or cosmopolitan narrative of "European identity". Lacking a common referent object (what is Europe, who is European?), individuals or social groups may construct their own narratives of a European identity. These are therefore important to disentangle, if one wants to understand how they come about.

European Identity

While the EU expressed the intention to create a categorical identity including all Europeans, such an identity does not appear to be salient among individuals (Delanty 2005a). Individuals, rather than *having* a European identity, could mean different things when they claim to "feel" European (Bruter 2003, Antonsich 2012). Theories of nested identities suggest that identification with Europe depends on an individual's nationality (Brewer 2003, Cram 2009, Díez Medrano 2003, Risse 2001). European and national identities might even weaken each other (Strath 2002). Studies have also shown that identification with Europe is interlinked with the respective nationality and socioeconomic location: male, young, educated and mobile people living in urban areas are more likely to identify with Europe (cf. Deflem and Pam-

pel 1996, Risse 2001, Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez 2001, Sigalas 2009, Bruter 2004, Pichler 2008, Duchesne and Frognier 1998, Lutz, Kritzinger and Skirbekk 2006).

European identity theories see a European identity as unsettled at the in-group level. It cannot be defined in a single phrase without ignoring the multiple *individual* realities of this feeling of belonging (Duchesne 2006, Marcussen et al. 1999). Research on European identity thus needs to ask who identifies with Europe and what in-group and out-group narratives of this identity for individuals are and – where engaging in a mechanistic view – how such narratives interact (i.e. clash or reinforce) when individuals or institutions come together.

Students' Identification Processes

Narratives of European identity are constructed by the EU and are *prima facie* directly transmitted via the entity European Schools. Teachers are the main agent mediating narratives to students, who develop individual identity patterns. Accordingly, to trace processes of identification with Europe, the vertical levels of analysis are the EU, European Schools, teachers and students. Primarily, theories dealing with individual identification are taken into consideration: on the one hand, students are rather passively socialised into a European in-group in school and European stories are an explicit part their education (cf. Durkheim 1961, Piaget 1977, Sapiro 2004, Recchi 2012, Barrett 1996, 2007). On the other hand, students actively experience Europe in school, leading to cognitive mobilisation (Inglehart 1970) for a European imagined community and to banal (unconscious) Europeanism (Cram 2009, 2010), reinforced by daily reminders like a European flag (cf. Bruter 2005, Fligstein 2008, Billig 1995, Delgado-Moreira 1997, Cram and Patrikios 2015, Elgenius 2011a).

Apart from the conceptual focus on (European) identity, previous empirical studies on European Schools inform the research project by showing where new data needs to be collected and analysed. Such studies focus on the EU policy of a "European dimension in education". Theiler (1999) concludes that this policy was barely implemented until the mid-1990s because of resistance from national governments. From a normative standpoint, Hansen (1998: 19-20) criticises the policy as a tool to disseminate "uncritical and historically dubious" narratives to legitimise the EU. Swan's (1996) educationalist, practice-oriented analysis of the

European Schools, commissioned by their Board of Governors, advocates an EU-wide convergence of national school curricula in times of globalisation, following the example of European Schools. Savvides' (2006, 2009, 2012) study in comparative education explores the specific educational system and touches questions of socialisation and identities. Focused on education, she concludes that a European dimension is present in European Schools and that students do indeed have a European identity.

Moving away from this focus on the educational system and curricula, this DPhil project tackles a range of open questions: this includes the role of extracurricular activities or the perspectives of students and teachers on transnational biographies and networks. Most importantly, while previous studies have dealt with the existence of a European dimension in education, it remains to be studied how a European identity is narrated and transformed on the different levels that frame (EU, European Schools system) and fill (teachers, students) the schools' reality.

Hence, previous studies lack an investigation of narratives at different levels and processes of transmission. Accordingly, this thesis seeks to contribute to the empirical literature from a political sociology perspective. It also contributes to the theoretical literature on European identity by addressing a research question that goes beyond the investigation of a European dimension in education. The study opens the black box that links European schooling and students' identification with Europe, revealing a surprisingly complex interaction and yet theorising a causal mechanism with simple and systematic components that can inform wider debates around European identity development.

1.3 Empirical Strategy

The research question and theoretical puzzles introduced above imply three delineated sub-questions. The aim is to first (descriptively) disentangle in-group and out-group narratives within and across levels to gain an in-depth understanding of their (transformed) transmission, including a concrete understanding of specific (intermediary) identity outcomes. Second, on that basis, the project theorises forces of a causal path leading to students' identification with Europe.

- ***What are in-group narratives of European identity and the envisaged top-down transmission at the levels EU, European School, teachers and students?***
- ***What are out-group narratives of European identity evolving and being transmitted at these levels?***
- ***How does European schooling lead to students' identification with Europe?***

To answer these sub-questions, data collection followed the identified vertical levels. For the level of the EU and of the EU-driven European Schools, analytical evidence was retrieved from EU documents, European School statements, five interviews conducted with EC officials and two interviews with (secondary) school directors.

As of 2016-17, European Schools cater for about 27,000 students and are to a large extent EC-financed. About 5% of students are nationals of non-EU countries, while many students are German, Belgian, French, British or Italian nationals. Many students have more than one mother tongue and nationality (Schola Europaea 2016b, 2015b). Among European Schools, three nested cases *within* the overarching case were selected to illuminate a large variation of the population "European Schools" and accordingly embedded populations of "European School students". Following Gerring (2007: 5, 2008: 647), it is assumed that diverse European identity narratives and identification processes can thereby be exemplified. The selected cases are the European Schools Luxemburg I (ESL), Culham in Great Britain (ESC) and Munich in Germany (ESM). Here, narrations of (European) identity in European Schools were collected in interviews with fifteen teachers.

For the level of European School students, students' perspectives regarding identification with Europe were retrieved in individual and eight focus-group interviews with 101 young people (14-19 years). European School students represent a socioeconomically privileged group at the centre of centrifugal forces of identification with Europe (OECD 2012, Fligstein 2008). The socioeconomic background and school type of students is thus treated as fixed.

For the eventual analysis, process tracing with various triangulations was carried out. Evidence for process tracing stems from structuring collected data from interviews and documents on the different vertical levels through qualitative content analysis. This is about understanding which "words" and "meanings" are the most influential on components of the process to be traced. (Miles and Huberman 1994: 5-9, Crespy 2015: 106). In-depth interviews with students allowed an investigation of individual narratives of European identity and of causal forces in individual identification with Europe. Deep dives concerned the students' senses of belonging and perspectives on their transnational biography and schooling. The empirical analysis of focus groups helped to analyse interactions of students and their debates about different identities.

In sum, following a within-case research strategy, the focus on European Schools and their students is a conscious selection, which increased internal validity: the veracity of a hitherto under-theorised process and causal relation were understood. The peculiar and limited case enabled the researcher to achieve intensive descriptions to trace European identity narratives, including the direction of their transmission (Collier 2011, Panke 2012, Checkel 2008). While the hypothesised causal process is a straightforward top-down transmission chain of EU-envisaged European identity narratives, the main argument is that the *de facto* transmission is significantly altered on the way to students. Constituting the first analytical cornerstone of process tracing, a careful description was carried out by analysing in-group and out-group narratives, thereby answering the first two empirical sub-questions raised above. The second analytical step provided reasons for the transformation of the transmission chain by tracing a causal mechanism that opens the black box of students' identification with Europe, thereby answering the final empirical sub-question.

1.4 Thesis Outline

While the empirical part is focused more on *specific* findings of the research project and inductive theory development, **chapter 2** discusses a wider spectrum of relevant theories. Social identity theories emphasise in-group and out-group constructions. A constructivist standpoint is borrowed from contemporary nationalism theories. European identity differs from nationalism with regards to the referent object, out-group constructions and the in-group identity, which is less widespread among individuals. For the specific case of European Schools and students, vertical levels of analysis (EU; European Schools; teachers; students) are differentiated. Along these levels, conceptualisations of top-down and bottom-up identity transmission and development are discussed. For the level of students, their (rather passive) socialisation and education and (more active) banal Europeanism and cognitive mobilisation are discussed.

Chapter 3 provides a methodology for the empirical work within the above theoretical frame of reference. This is based on a unique dataset collected through individual and focus-group interviews with 101 European School students in three European Schools as well as through interviews with EU officials, school directors and teachers and through document analysis. With qualitative content analysis, a consistent method of data collection and analysis feeds into process tracing. Process tracing allows dissecting in-group and out-group narratives of European identity regarding their directional forces and their transformations on different levels.

In **chapter 4**, in-group narratives of a European identity are studied across vertical levels, asking what the in-group narratives are and how their top-down transmission chain is envisaged. For this purpose, the project looks at what institutions and individuals on the different levels think *being European* means. The analysis of interviews and documents reveals that EU-envisaged narratives get lost in translation: the EU's European dimension in education has little specification and is filled by teachers according to their own interpretation and values. The European Schools system is envisaged as multilingual and multicultural, while mixing students with different backgrounds pushes a transnational narrative. The EU includes

only nationals of EU member states in their multinational narrative, whereas the students' cosmopolitan narrative is more inclusive. Students alter the EU's motto "united in diversity" towards a (transnational) narrative of individuals who do not fit into national categories and are therefore united. National narratives have been observed in the students' descriptions of themselves and others, with students experiencing fusions, fragmentations or altering saliences of identities. While students adopt cosmopolitan values incorporated in their teachers' narratives, they move away from multinational narratives expressed by the EU, the European Schools system and (partly) their teachers. Overall, the EU's envisaged top-down identity promotion gets altered even within the most-likely case of European Schools.

Chapter 5 answers the second empirical sub-question, i.e. what the out-group narratives of European identity on different levels are, hence, studying what individuals and institutions think *not being European* means. The study shows that cosmopolitan narratives persist across levels. These are linked to the out-group of a nationalist, war-torn past at the EU level and to the out-group of intolerant, narrow-minded people at the student level. While a multinational narrative is expressed at the EU and European School level, this narrative is less pronounced among teachers and least among students. By partly widening their teachers' antinationalist narrative to an out-group of national and less mobile people, students contradict the EU's vision: their out-group narrative excludes people *within* Europe and the EU. Overall, out-group narratives get altered as they are (implicitly) transmitted to students. They diverge from established national-identity narratives in constructions of "the other" as the individual's own, more national past.

Chapter 6 traces a mechanism that opens the black box of students' identification with Europe, answering the third empirical sub-question. The European Schools' national-equivalent, yet European education, teachers' values, multilingual and multinational classes and interactions with diverse peers all influence students as components of the causal mechanism. Most importantly, two components play a crucial role in understanding the process of identification with Europe. On the one hand, in their European School setting, students develop a transnational social network, often referring to physical mobility and multilingualism for de-

marcations from out-groups. On the other hand, the school and teachers expose students to European symbols and stories, while teachers and peers expose them to multiple, diverging national and anti-nationalist narratives. Due to interacting causal forces of "doing Europe" (a transnational social network) and "telling Europe" (the exposure to European and multiple national narratives), the overall mechanism takes place: European School students identify with an in-group of Europeans and feel particularly close to people who are similarly multilingual and mobile. The chapter shows that even within the most-likely case of European School students, one must appreciate the complexity of European identity constructions and individual identity development. However, the two mechanistic components theorised in the chapter are novel contributions to the literature on European identity, and do help with a parsimonious understanding of the process at work.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis. Revisiting the research question and main argument, the core findings are summarised. The research used the most-likely case of European School students to reveal the complexity of European identity constructions and individual identity development. Second, implications of the findings are discussed. While European narratives diverge from debates over national identity, appreciating that both "doing Europe" (a transnational social network) and "telling Europe" (the exposure to European and multiple national narratives) play a role in students' identification with Europe can inform theory building and empirical studies. Third, the chapter gives concluding remarks regarding how European citizens are raised. Having shown that young Europeans are not only passively raised but reflect on their upbringing and identity development, future studies can be modelled on this project. As the EU-envisaged identity promotion does not work even in the most-likely case, the project also helps to scrutinise EU practices. Similarly, findings regarding the European Schools system can be applied to other forms of schooling.

Most importantly, the conclusion emphasises the contribution of this thesis regarding a deeper understanding of (European) identity. The study has found that the EU's narratives get lost in translation, that individual biographies matter for patterns of identification with nations and Europe and that the sub-mechanics "telling Europe" and "doing Europe" can in-

form future research by way of testing the traced causal mechanism. Therefore, the research project enhances the theoretical understanding of and informs future empirical studies on European identity. As this project shows that identity constructions are surprisingly diverse and the EU-envisaged transmission chain gets altered, the findings can be linked back to the crises of the EU postulated at the beginning of this introductory chapter: they highlight the necessity of coherent narratives and accordingly tailored tools for *telling* and *doing* them among European citizens. This is crucial for the EU to build a stable identity foundation of its larger project.

2. Conceptions around European Identity Transmission and Individual Identification with Europe

The following chapter introduces theoretical strands relevant for the research project. First (sections 2.1 and 2.2), conceptions of (collective) identity are discussed, focusing on social identity and national identity constructions. Adopting a constructivist standpoint for the research project, a European identity differs from national identity insofar as the referent object, out-group constructions and an in-group identity are contested. Furthermore (section 2.3), the relationship of European and other identities is considered.

The subsequent sections (2.4 and 2.5) focus on the specific case of European Schools and their students. The transmission of a European identity by the EU and by European Schools and its mediation by teachers are conceptualised. Finally, for the level of students, the students' (rather passive) socialisation and education and their (more active) banal Europeanism and cognitive mobilisation are discussed. The discussion of the theoretical and empirical literature in this chapter provides an overview of approaches to identification processes and thus operational components to pay attention to in (otherwise inductive) process tracing.

2.1 (Collective) Identity – A Concept Tied to the Nation

For Kohli (2000: 114), the term *identity* has "haunted the sociological imagination because [it is] so exceedingly vague or even vacuous", while also capturing "important dimensions" of human life. In its psychological sense, identity (from Latin "idem", i.e. "the same") is an individual self-definition (Greenfeld 1992: 20). Erikson (1968) was among the first to use the term *identity* systematically, focusing on the personal identity of an individual. However, identity also defines the position of individuals in their social world (Greenfeld 1992: 20). Accordingly, sociologists adopted the concept and examined the social identity of a person.

Social identities derive from social association: they always turn to both the individual and the group the individual identifies with (Schlenker 2013: 29). *Collective* identities are those social identities that address large and important social groups, referring for instance to race, gender, ethnicity, religion (Kohli 2002: 114). While such collective identities describe the tie between several individuals and a group, they also entail an internal definition (the in-group, "us") and an external boundary against outsiders (the out-group, "them") (Mayer and Palmowski 2004). This (social) in-group identity organises group experiences and influences an individual's self-consciousness and thus the personal identity (Erikson 1968: 298-300).

Dealing with social groupings and individual self-consciousness, Turner (1982) and Tajfel (1982) developed Social Identity Theory to theorise why individuals identify with certain groups, focusing on cognitive, affective as well as evaluative factors.

First, individuals must know they belong to a group – despite its dynamic character, the identity must provide consistency and continuity to individuals. Second, individuals strive for positive social identities and must thus perceive their in-group positively, attaching emotional significance and value to the membership (Tajfel 1982: 2). Third, favourable comparisons with out-groups are necessary for social identity constructions. Real or imagined differences to "the other" are emphasised. If, however, the social identity is perceived as being unsatisfactory, an individual may leave the respective in-group or attempts to make it more positively

distinct. In turn, when members see their identity as threatened, this membership becomes salient for the individual.

Traditional social identities of industrial societies are described as class identity, political identity, religious identity and national identity (Heath, Martin and Elgenius 2007). Based on Durkheim (1912), the foundation of a traditional identity is often seen in a moral community and it is born in moments of "collective effervescence" (Swedberg 1994). Durkheim analysed the role of religion in social life and claims that the belief in sacred things unites a moral community and thus creates a system of solidarity. Durkheim's moral community and according solidarity constructions[2] can also be applied to other social identities:

> *"Men who feel themselves united, partially by bonds of blood, but still more by a community of interest and tradition, assemble and become conscious of their moral unity [...] there is only one way for them to affirm their collective existence: this is to affirm that they are like the animals of this species" (Durkheim 1912, 2012: 387).*

This feeling of unity and of belonging to the same "species" (the same moral community) is the main criterion for a collective identity – be it a traditional or a new one, for instance the collective identity of a social movement (Eder 2009: 429). While traditional identities are an important part of this research project, different scholars argue that such identities are in decline in today's post-industrial societies. According to Beck (2008), an institutionalised individualisation is taking place, in which individuals should actively construct their own identity, while the importance of national frames is decreased. That is, the balance between the individual and social components of identity shifts.

Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005) on the other hand argue that globalisation goes hand in hand with an emphasis of the local, while national frames of reference play only a limited role in people's cultural imaginaries. While this local frame of reference is new, it simply cuts down traditional forms of identity into smaller entities. Based on an analysis of traditional identities in Great Britain, Heath, Martin and Elgenius (2007) claim that while Beck's individualisation thesis holds some truth (for instance regarding the individualisation within the family), one must distinguish the existence of an identity from the social significance of it –

[2] Smith (1989: 348-9) later used the concept of solidarity, arguing that in order to create and preserve solidarity of its members, nations just like pre-existing "ethnies" need myths, memories and symbols to.

these need to be analysed separately for traditional identities. Thus, traditional identities may matter more for individuals than Beck claims.

Despite a dominant constructivist approach to collective identity in social sciences today, "groupist" tendencies (criticised in Brubaker 2003: 554) can still be observed in everyday talk, policy analysis and scientific work: in an essentialist way (i.e. treating identity as a fixed entity), ethnic, national or racial conflicts are linked to a stable group being, for example the struggle of "an ethnic group", "a nation" or "a race" (Brubaker 2004: 554). This is associated with Bourdieu's criticism that one tends to think about the social world in a "substantialist manner" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 228).

Not only the essentialist, but also the constructivist manner to address "identity" is criticised by Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 1). They argue that the constructivist standpoint has softened the term "identity". It can "mean too much […], too little […], or nothing at all" and is therefore an ambiguous analytical category (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 1). On the one hand, they argue that scholars should go beyond identity to gain conceptual clarity. On the other hand, individuals may not possess one specific identity, but choose identifications, i.e. they identify *with* a group (cf. subsection 2.2.3, Eder 2009, Antonsich 2012).

Seeing groups as "real, substantial things-in-the-world" thus ignores how individuals feel about their identities in today's complex world (Brubaker 2003: 554). While any concept in the social sciences is to some extent contentious, for research on "collective identity", it is crucial to gain theoretical clarity to communicate scientific research on it. Identity is a demanding concept, yet it is an important constant in social life and for individuals, it is a psychological necessity (Greenfeld 1992). Thus, the concept should not be banished from social sciences, even though it cannot be finally resolved (Kaina 2013, Tilly 2002, Duchesne and Frognier 1998).

Overall, as Hall (2000: 147) puts it, "the notion that identity has to do with people that look the same, feel the same, call themselves the same, is nonsense". Likewise, for each individual, the own personhood includes different elements and even contradictions. Identity does not

imply "a single 'self', but different selves, alive with complexities and deeply felt, subtly nuanced, often contradictory emotions" (Kondo 1990: 257). This statement refers (in a more psychological sense) to the identity of an individual, but can also be applied to the identity of a collective. To have a collective "self", *in-grouping* is key to obtain a group identity and to overlook internal differences. This concerns the feeling of individual members of the collective to belong to the same, unique in-group with specific codes, while it also entails a demarcation of the collective from "the other" (an out-group).

2.1.1 In-Group Identity

On the collective level, in-group identities exist when there is a "we-feeling" that constructs, transforms and dismantles collectivities (Kimmerling and Moore 1997: 26, cf. Caporaso and Kim 2009, Schlenker 2013, Kaina 2013). The in-group identity is dynamic and constantly reproduced (Hammack 2008: 223). A prerequisite for its existence is the collective self-reflection and self-reference, allowing the group to feel unique. Components of the in-group identity, i.e. common symbols and narratives, serve as codes for the social order (Hammack 2008, Kimmerling and Moore 1997).

The in-group's collective identity thus becomes visible in social practices and stems from jointly defined boundaries, rules, memories and interests (Taylor and Whittier 1992: 105, cf. Hammack 2008). These symbolic structures have a time dimension because they address (a) the present and the past (the "collective narrative"), (b) the collective's future and its means and goals (the collective "scheme of life"), and, if applicable, (c) the relationship to a geographic space (a "homeland") (Schlenker 2013: 29, Erikson 1968: 299).

Collective identities rely on real or imagined similarities among group members (Schlenker 2013: 29). Knowledge about similarities shapes how individuals and groups see themselves. The in-group's internal differences are ignored and its sovereignty and legitimacy is emphasised. At the same time, a seemingly natural division of the world in "us" and "them" takes place. Following Fredrik Barth (1969), "othering" is a key characteristic of collective identities – boundaries are constructed by accentuating perceived differences.

Simultaneously, favourable comparisons with "the other" help to construct a positive self-image. The out-group constitutes a mirror for the in-group: the sense of togetherness *within* a group relies on the dissociation from others because this helps to ignore differences within the own collective (Turner 1982, Brewer 2003) – or, as put in a provocative quotation ascribed to Deutsch, a nation is "a group of people united by a mistaken view about the past and a hatred of their neighbours" (cited in Walt 2014). To give an empirical example from the realm of national identity, in his ethnographic study, Glaeser (2000) looks at East and West German police forces in the 1990s. He argues that East and West Germans "continue to live divided in unity" (Glaeser 2000: xiiii), as contemporary interactions are shaped by how they viewed each other in the past: westerners assume the need for a "one-sided assimilation", while easterners "reject the extremes of sudden change" (Glaeser: 328-9).

An example of "othering" that takes place in nationalism *research* is the differentiation between civic and ethnic nations (Ignatieff 1993, Smith 1989) – a dichotomy dominant for a long time and still in use today. The in-group's patriotism represents a civic nation that is political, rational and modern. The out-group's nationalism, constructed to be the opposite of "our" patriotism, stands for an ethnic and cultural nation that is emotional and illiberal (Ignatieff 1993). This ideal-typical differentiation employs a (seemingly scientific) distinction as an identity marker, demarcating "our patriotism" from "their nationalism" (Billig 1995: 55, cf. Zubrzycki 2001, Brubaker 1992).

To sum up, collective identities are social arrangements based on constructed in-group/out-group dynamics (Duchesne 2006) that answer the questions "Who are you? Who are we? Who are they?" (Tilly 2002: 5-6). These answers take the form of continually debated stories, which are bargained on the collective level and internalised on the individual level. How identity construction and reproduction takes place from a theoretical perspective is outlined in the following section. It focuses on today's most prominently debated form of collective identity – that is, national identity. This is a reference point for any other large-scale identity discussion, such as for the "European project".

2.1.2 National Identity Construction

National identities are seen today as a key form of collective identities. Nation-states have been the dominant form of social and political organisation for the last centuries – and national identities are both constitutive for and constructed by them (Schlenker 2013: 29). Already in 1882, Renan (1990: 19) described the existence of nations as a "daily plebiscite", i.e. a mere choice of people to identify with the nation (or not). Similarly, Seton-Watson (1977: 5) argues that "a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one". Renan emphasises a sense of belonging together: "the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things" (Renan 1990: 11).

So how does this sense of belonging to a nation come into existence? Today, most scholars agree that "nationalism makes nations as much as nations make nationalism" (Reicher and Hopkins 2001: 37) – or as Gellner (2006: 47) puts it: "Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men [...] are a myth". This modernist view disagrees with the "primordialist" standpoint that sees nations as ancient phenomena (arguing that "nations make nationalism"). It also contradicts an intermediate view, for instance represented by Smith's (1995) ethno-symbolism, which argues that nations are modern and not natural, but have roots (i.e. "navels") in pre-modern cultures, i.e. older "ethnies". The modernist view instead ascribes national identity construction to a nationalist movement: "nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them and often obliterates pre-existing cultures" (Gellner 2006: 47).

Although criticising Gellner's "ferocity" of describing nationalist inventions as fabricated or false, Anderson (2006: 6) takes up a similar standpoint. He argues that a nation is an "imagined political community", which does not exist outside the minds of people who believe to constitute it. The nation is imagined (a) as inherently limited with finite national borders, (b) as a sovereign (modern) state different from monarchical absolutism and (c) as a community that stands for comradeship and fraternity. The imagination, i.e. construction, of the nation

was made possible by developments in political philosophy and publishing during Enlightenment. Print capitalism, i.e. the printing in vernacular to sell more books, led to the mobilisation of a larger reading public, to the use of vernaculars as administrative languages and ultimately to changes in consciousness. This implies that a national identity can be described as the sum of individual imaginations, without which a nation cannot exist.

For Hobsbawm (1983), the "invention of tradition" is central to national identity construction. He argues that many seemingly ancestral national traditions are invented to serve specific social purposes. Accordingly, there are different types of invented traditions: they (a) symbolise social cohesion, (b) legitimise power relationships and (c) achieve socialisation by teaching values and behaviours (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, cf. section 2.4). By feeling connected to the past, a historical continuity is constructed for new political institutions associated to collectivities of people. To envisage the nation, i.e. an otherwise imaginary community, visible national symbols and collective practices are used (e.g. the flag and other images) to represent things in common as well as boundaries of the nation (Hobsbawm 1983, Elgenius 2011a). Nevertheless, referencing Hegel (2013: 16), Hobsbawm (2007: 192) ends his book with the claim that the end of the era of nationalism is approaching: the owl of Minerva flies out at dusk and "it is now circling round nations and nationalism".

Following Hobsbawm, an important aspect of national identity construction and particularly of reproduction is the collective memory. The individual is the holder of the memory, but the collective memory (just as the individual memory) is a social product: the collective decides what should be remembered – and what forgotten (cf. Renan 1990, Billig 1995, Anderson 2006, Kansteiner 2002, Nicolaïdis, Sèbe and Maas 2015). In the case of remembering, the collective self and collective others are (re-) created. A sense of group continuity is provided for the national in-group by means of "mnemonic devices", that is, commemorative rituals, symbols and routines (Karolewski 2010: 29-30). Forgetting is another "crucial element in the creation of nations", allowing to celebrate the antiquity of the nation and forgetting its historical recency (Renan 1990: 11, Billig 1995).

By emphasising certain stories and symbols and leaving out others, commemorative routines and collective symbols establish both what should be remembered and what forgotten. For instance, Elgenius (2011a, 2011b) argues that national day celebrations are powerful tools of on-going nation building, as these provide a unifying myth for today's nation as well as ceremonial narratives. Hence, by emphasising certain stories, a collective (national) amnesia with regards to the omitted stories takes place (Billig 1995, Elgenius 2011a). This relates usually to the past, though it may also relate to the present: there are forgotten reminders of the nation like national flags and other symbols (Elgenius 2011a). These are forgotten because they operate "mindlessly" and "countlessly", hardly receiving any attention in people's daily lives[3] (Billig 1995: 38, Anderson 2006).

For Renan (1990), intellectuals, particularly historians, play an important role in processes of remembering and forgetting. Billig (1995: 38) adds to this that social scientists also play an important role in the process of forgetting, since these tend to fail to remember the present reproduction of the nation: "our nationalism" is forgotten and disappears "into the natural environment of 'societies'". Overall, as widely researched in the case of national identities, the construction of an in-group identity is also linked to identity politics. Both internal cohesion and "othering" are purposes of identity politics. Actors of identity politics can manipulate in-group symbols and mobilise for example cultural cleavages to demarcate the in-group from out-groups. Here again, political actors and intellectuals play an active role (Calhoun 1997: 15, Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 34). In their narrations, they emphasise the in-group's sovereignty and legitimacy, while internal differences of this distinctive solidarity group are played down.

2.1.3 Discussion

While national identities and ideologies are omnipresent, "identity" still lacks a universally applicable definition, let alone a workable operationalization. From a general perspective,

[3] Cf. section 2.4 on banal nationalism and Europeanism.

"collective identity" can be defined as a sense of belonging together of a self-defined in-group of individuals.

- On the in-group level, "identity" is constantly reproduced and objectified in symbolic representations, thus making the identity seemingly stable. In this sense, a national identity is a series of stories, symbols and values attributed to the referent object "nation" that is experienced and bargained by individuals.
- On the individual level, people have a conception of themselves within a collective. In the case of national identities, this means that individuals are confronted with representations of the nation in their everyday life, leading to the knowledge of being a member of this positively perceived nation. For individuals, nations are "vivid, accessible, well established, long popularized, and still widely believed" (Smith 1992: 62). People "are united by the nationalist ideology into a potent vision of human identity and community" (Smith 1992: 60-1), thereby reconnecting the individual with the in-group level.

Thus, for national identities, the in-group level of analysis is grasped easily and researchers can focus on the individual level of analysis, i.e. the anchorage of in-group identities in individuals. However, while national identities possess a clear in-group level, this is not the case for the theoretical key concept of this project, a European identity – mainly due to a lack of a coherent referent object. The next section thus deals with conceptualisations of a collective European identity.

2.2 Collective European Identity

In the European context, a clear definition of the in-group's referent object of identity is lacking: today, a simultaneous process of both individual identity building (a sense of feeling together among individuals) and community building (the construction of an in-group) is taking place. As mentioned in the introduction, for policy makers, the development of a "we-feeling" has been – and still is – a challenging element of European integration (Caporaso and Kim 2009: 24).

To gain clarity, a constructivist approach helps in sociological analysis: the "we-feeling" of Europeans, i.e. a European identity, can be grasped by analysing choices and feelings of individuals concerning the unsettled and contested in-group. The main question is, whether individuals feel a sense of belonging to Europe and how they perceive a European in-group and according out-groups.

2.2.1 In-Group of Europeans

To comprehend a European in-group, it is crucial to define "Europe", i.e. the referent object of an individual's European identity. However, Europe is rarely described as a homogenous entity. Rather, it is a diverse and complex place portrayed in cultural, political, historical, geographic, ideological or religious ways (Caporaso and Kim 2009: 20, Swedberg 1994: 381). From a cultural and geographic perspective, Europe is a continent, extending from the Atlantic to the Urals. Nevertheless, even geographically, it is disputed whether Europe really forms one continent on its own (Bruter 2005, Delanty 2005a). Historically and culturally, Europe has shifted from the centre of the world to its geographic periphery (Kohli 2002). From a political and economic perspective, Europe is a political institution, shorthand for the EU (Drace-Francis 2013: xv). However, the EU does not comprise all European countries and "no continent is designed by nature, geology or climate to be a political unity" (Aron 1976: 9, Rumford 2009: 4).

From a national perspective, the development of a European identity is questioned due to the lack of common *European* cultural or ethnic characteristics and boundaries. In this sense, de-

spite on-going European integration, the EU lacks core characteristics of both civic and ethnic nations, that is, "a named human population sharing a historical territory, common memories and myths of origin, a mass, standardised public culture, a common economy and territorial mobility, and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith 1992: 60). It arguably lacks a "pre-history", providing "emotional sustenance and historical depth" (Smith 1992: 62). In line with this and analysing the prospects of a possible future "European nation", Aron (1964: 66) argued that "old nations still live in the hearts of men, and love of the European nation is not yet born". While this statement was made at the beginnings of EU integration, 50 years later, a "European nation" is still not born and the EU does not hold sovereign power (Delanty 2005a).

From a multinational perspective, there is more to the EU than the described conceptual shortcomings (e.g. of historical or geographical nature): European states have launched an innovative experiment and today's EU differs fundamentally from its beginnings as an economic partnership, developed by its members since the late 1950s. Nowadays, the EU can be understood as a European polity under construction, entailing a mixture of multinational and supranational characteristics. With on-going European integration, the European polity constitutes not only a new framework of governance at multiple levels, but also an object of identification for a new European citizenry (Kohli 2002: 113-4).

Multinational and supranational elements play a role when it comes to political, EU-envisaged definitions of the in-group. Nevertheless, cultural as well as institutional boundaries of "Europe" are contested and they do not necessarily overlap. It could be argued that today, being "European" means to identify with the EU. In line with the cognitive dimension of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1982, Turner 1982), studies show that if the EU is seen as a tangible, "real" entity, individual identification is more likely (Delanty 2005a). However, the two concepts "EU" and "Europe" cannot be fully equated and an international institution does not necessarily create a sense of community and belonging (Checkel 2005, Delanty 2005a).

Another approach (in sharp contrast to the national perspective) is the cosmopolitan model of defining Europe and its borders. Cosmopolitanism aims at creating a global moral commu-

nity of humanity that is committed to universal values and aspirations (Biebuyck and Rumford 2012: 12, Schlenker 2013: 30). Hence, it is a vastly normative conception of (European) identity, which sees the referent object in these shared civic values rather than in a territorial or political entity. Nevertheless, a cosmopolitan demarcation of Europe is inherently connected to the question of a European collective identity – this is because cosmopolitanism is partly depicted as a truly European value and core of an accordingly *European* identity. This is in line with one of the founding goals of European integration, the will to overcome national egoisms (Habermas and Derrida 2003).

Thus, for the case of the EU, the cosmopolitan model represents a post-national perspective of a desired new composition of national stories into shared (post-national) ones (Eder 2009: 439). For post-national scholars, the nation-state is in crisis, since the "isomorphism between territory, sovereignty and identity", characteristic of the modern nation-state, ceased to exist (Antonsich 2008: 508, cf. Martiniello 1995, Soysal 1996). European unity should thus be enhanced to represent a stable democracy based on civic and political values. From this post-national point of view, nations provide objects of demarcation for a "EUropean identity" (a spelling proposed by Antonsich (2012) to highlight the conceptual overlapping): instead of external enemies, Europe has an *internal* enemy in its nationalist past and potentially in an equally nationalist present. Considering this history, the EU could stand for the first post-national democracy with shared cosmopolitan values and a European demos, participating in a deliberative democracy (Eder 2009, Habermas 2006, Antonsich 2012).

Contestations over the meaning of Europe often centre on the question where Europe ends (Biebuyck and Rumford 2012: 14). Answers to this also depend on the geographic position of the respective observer and were fuelled by recent EU enlargements. Concepts like "Central Europe" ("Mitteleuropa") or a "Core of Europe" are attempts to distinguish an assumed focal point of European governance and identity from a geographic or cultural periphery (Keating 2010: 64, Habermas and Derrida 2003). Delanty (2005a: 16) argues that the cosmopolitan idea of Europe entails "the paradox of having to appeal to notions of commonality while denying the existence of an underlying 'We' as a community of fate". Despite its cosmopolitan

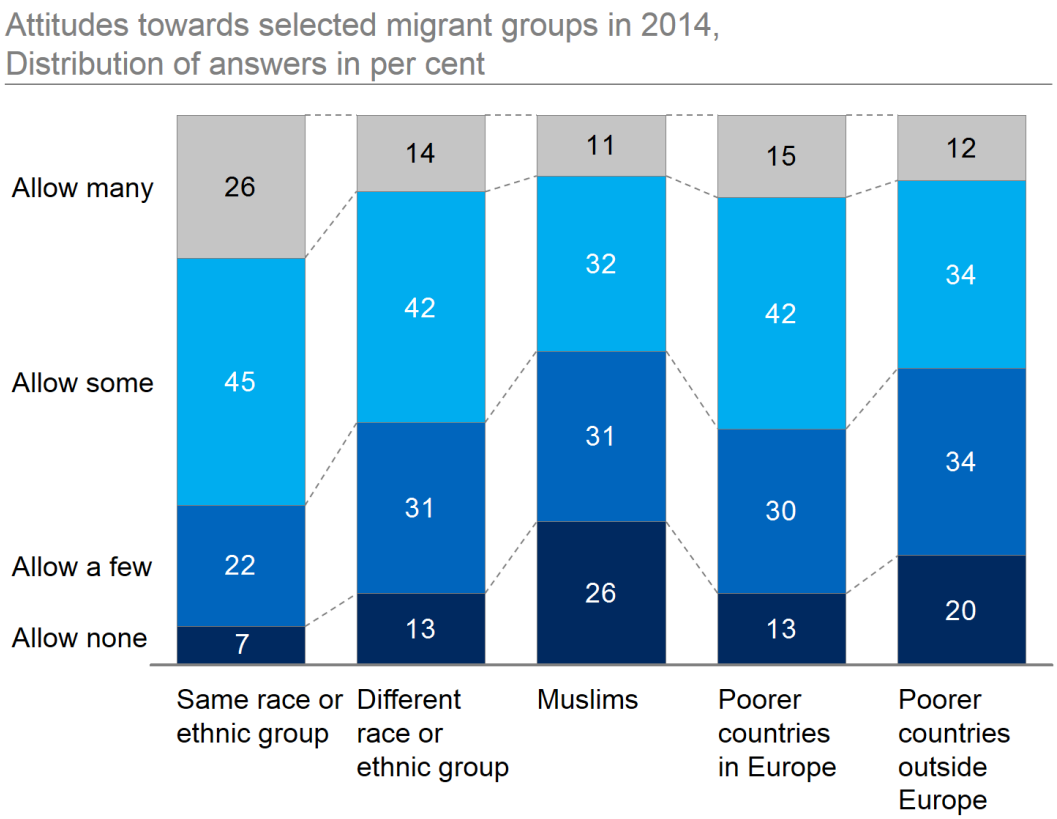
image and its fuzzy cultural boundaries, Europe guards its borders against undesired migrants.

For instance, Schlenker (2013: 36, 48-9) assesses in a quantitative study that Western non-European migrants are evaluated more positively than other non-Europeans. He notes tensions between partisans of "fortress Europe" and Muslim minorities as "the other". He finds that these partisans however do not constitute the majority of (otherwise rather cosmopolitan) Europeans, as the latter tend to accept all different kinds of immigrants.

Other researchers also noted that the in-group of Europeans does not fundamentally demarcate itself against a coherent "other", for example along borders or against intra-EU migrants (Fuchs et al. 1993, Delanty 2005a). However, there are still out-groups ("them"), from which Europe ("us") is distinguished: these non-European others can be "the East", "the Orient" or "America" (Eder 2009: 436) – but also, particularly with the refugee and Schengen crisis, non-European migrants within or at the borders of the EU (Börzel and Risse 2017[4]). The European Social Survey (2016: 6, Figure 1 below) confirms these tendencies with 2014 (i.e. pre-refugee crisis) data[5]. Attitudes towards the same race or ethnic group are more than twice as favourable as those towards e.g. Muslims. Also comparing poorer countries in and outside Europe, the answers diverge.

[4] They also argue that the "Brexit" vote was a result of prevalent identity politics around "fortress Europe".
[5] Round 7, for all participating countries and full ESS respondents' sample (including design and population weights, excl. Denmark and refused responses). Figure shows selected attitude items.

Figure 1: European Social Survey Results



In her ethnographic study of narratives in external border communities of the EU, Meinhof (2003, 2004) concludes that a European identity entails an out-group of non-Europeans at these very borders. For in-grouping however, "Europe" remains a rather empty category (Armbruster, Rollo and Meinhof 2003: 885, 898-9). In the tradition of Social Identity Theory, Fuchs et al. (1993: 238) remark that apart from the cognitive distinction of "us" and "them", an evaluative demarcation also takes place: others are not only different, but also considered inferior to the European in-group. However, just like self-images are constantly shifting, "the other" is not a static entity, but an element in a continuous process (Strath 2002: 399).

To sum up, a European identity has existed for a long time in the form of a "shared high culture among the university-educated, usually European men, who spoke and read in three national languages" (Berezin 2003: 16). A European identity itself is not inseparable from the institutional entity "EU". Furthermore, although Europe might well be presented as post-

national due to the advancement of integration, national views still largely shape how individuals see themselves in Europe and in a European in-group.

Criticism of conceptions of a European in-group is often associated with the "othering" as part of it. It is perceived as an unnecessary, Eurocentric demarcation from all non-European others leading to the construction of an "Empire Europe" or "fortress Europe" (Eder 2009, Pinxten et al. 2007). Both (multi-) national and cosmopolitan perspectives should be considered to grasp what people mean by feeling *European*: given the many possible definitions of "Europe" and "European", for the in-group, the self-recognition of individuals as *being European* is important (Delanty 2005a: 12). Thus, individual patterns of identification need to be taken seriously instead of sticking to the collective level of social identity. Europe cannot be grasped by singular definitions, since these ignore the multiple realities of Europe and European integration and thereby neglect the diversity of practices and understandings of Europe.

2.2.2 European Identity Constructions

As highlighted in the introduction of this project, a European identity of citizens is often seen as necessary for the continuance and particularly the legitimacy of a European project, which cannot rely only on economic and political integration but also needs "cohesion" of its citizens (Strath 2002). Accordingly, an imagined community of Europeans should be the goal of European identity construction: Europeans need to know they belong to one in-group even though they do not know each other personally. Just like any other collective identity, a European identity is based on in-group and out-group dynamics, i.e. on self-images of "us" and images of "them". The identity is constructed and constantly reproduced in social and political processes. While the last subsection has highlighted how different conceptions of Europe and the EU can be the basis of a still unsettled in-group, this subsection deals with the construction of a European identity from above and from below. This research thus acknowledges that the construction of a European identity can be a top-down project (a conscious construction of usually political entities "from above"), but it can also emerge as meaningful to individuals "from below" (Checkel and Katzenstein 2009).

With respect to the construction of a European imagined community, bottom-up processes of identity construction are crucial: by experiencing a European in-group, identification with an imagined European community can take place (Eder 2009: 433). Furthermore, Hobsbawm's invention of tradition also plays an important role, since European symbols and practices influence people's knowledge about Europe and thus a possible European identity. In a top-down manner, policy-makers (and institutions in general) can influence knowledge and images of Europe.

A European collective memory is an important element in European identity construction: constructions of the past, the present and the future create an identity in which the in-group can see itself and be seen by out-groups as "being 'identical' over time" (Eder 2009: 428). While one could argue that this should imply a primordialist notion of collective identity (Brubaker and Cooper 2000), the collective memory could also be linked to specific, shared narratives.

Anchoring European identity construction in the national identity literature provides useful insights – particularly since European identity does not develop in a vacuum and the concept of national identity is already well established. This does not mean that "Europe-building" necessarily takes a similar path to that of nation building or that it results in "Euro-nationalism" (Nicolaïdis 2012: 270).

Narratives of high emotional value (Eder 2009: 433, 438) are linked to the outlined perspectives on definitions of a European in-group. First, in the case of a European identity, the collective is often linked to the cosmopolitan (and post-national) conceptualisation of having overcome the nationalist, militant past and being united in a moral community of (humanist, enlightened) values. Second, a multinational narrative of high emotional value is the progress of the European (economic and political) project. Third and finally, a transnational narrative plays an important role: Eder (2009) refers here to the European project as an experiment of cultural traditions, which are "united in diversity". Generally, a transnational perspective emphasises increasing cross-border interactions of individuals, institutions and societies, which

are spatially bound to Europe, but not necessarily defined through their nationality (Mau, Mewes and Zimmermann 2008, Albrow 1998, Keane 1998).

These basic stories about Europe are not necessarily compatible and they imply different boundaries of a European in-group. Nevertheless, they all construct a positive in-group and thus serve social cohesion by promoting the European citizens' sense of belonging to an imagined European community. Hence, the three outlined conceptualisations (cosmopolitan, multinational and transnational narratives) as well as national conceptualisations of in-groups inform the empirical analysis and serve as operational grid for subsequent theory building.

2.2.3 Discussion

While national identity is usually seen as being constructed generations ago and now reproduced along existing symbols and meanings, European identity is *visibly* in the making today. Since applying the concept of "collective identities" to Europe and speaking of "the European identity" is a difficult endeavour, this research project tackles three main concerns.

- ***Theoretical concern – out-grouping***: A collective identity relies on "othering", but the out-group for Europeans is not comprehensively definable, as the boundaries of a European collective mirror the position (e.g. geographic location) within the in-group. From a *multinational* perspective, non-European or non-EU nation-states could form an out-group, but such boundaries between in-group and out-group remain fluid, e.g. due to EU enlargements. From a *national* perspective, the existence of a European identity detached from (clearly bounded) nation-states is questionable, while a *transnational* perspective emphasises interactions and mobility of individuals that transcend national borders. From a *cosmopolitan* perspective, it is undesirable to construct Europeanness based on national understandings: the European in-group should be kept open and inclusive. These theoretical perspectives hence inform the empirical research project. Acknowledging that out-groups may matter for individuals (despite normative concerns), the operational approaches allow distinguishing and making sense of expressed out-group (and in-group) constructions.

- ***Theoretical concern – in-grouping:*** Since the referent object "Europe" has different meanings to different people, it is questionable whether a single (or relatively stable) European identity exists (Duchesne 2006). A European identity is linked to a simultaneous process of identity and community (i.e. in-group) building. Kaina (2013: 193) frames these two levels as an individual sense of belonging to Europe and the Europeans' sense of belonging together. Individuals make sense of a positive group they belong to, while on the in-group level, a community engages in collective activities like story-telling to define itself. Discussed multinational, cosmopolitan, national or transnational narratives frame understandings of "European identity" and are thus addressed in the empirical research project.
- ***Empirical concern – individual identification:*** from the former theoretical concerns, some empirical ones emerge as well. Rather than relying on a single European identity that people "have" (Antonsich 2012), identification with Europe is connected to a specific context, in which individuals develop a feeling of belonging. On the individual level, "identity" has a twofold meaning: when individuals claim to "feel European", they mean different things regarding the intensity of the feeling and the community they refer to (Bruter 2003). Cram (2010) distinguishes identification as a European (self-categorisation) and identification with Europe (the meaning or intensity of this categorisation). However, sticking to Bruter (2003), the concept "identification with Europe", focusing on identity as a process, can be said to address both aspects. Accordingly, to address the empirical concerns, a definition for "European identity" is developed that takes an individual's self-definition and the attached meanings and feelings into consideration (see below).

Overall, to think of identity as a *process* implies that it is necessary to study a European identity without assuming a shared object of reference. Individuals develop their own reflexive lifestyles (Beck 2008: 307) and although influenced by their environment, they have their own image of Europe and of the unsettled in-group (Duchesne 2006, Marcussen et al. 1999). Accordingly, "European identity" cannot be defined in a single phrase without ignoring the

multiple individual realities of this feeling of belonging. Rather, it is grasped by questions like: "Do I feel European?"; "What does 'being European' mean to me?"; "Does it mean something to me to be an EU citizen?" For this DPhil project, "European identity" is defined as

> ***an individual's sense of belonging to a European in-group expressed in a self-definition as a European and in feelings and meaning attached to that group.***

Regarding the operationalisation for this research project, this means that interviewees are e.g. asked to introduce themselves, to report which (e.g. territorial) entities they feel close to, to report what "home" or the label "European" of the school means to them, while direct questions prompting for answers regarding a European identity were avoided. Proposing an open and in-vivo definition of an individual's *personal* European identity, the research project does not judge the individual's self-definition and according feelings and meanings, but takes an expressed European identity for granted. At the same time, it tries to understand whether there are common patterns across individuals regarding narratives and identification processes.

2.3 The Relationship of European and Other Identities

An individual's European identity cannot be grasped without considering the role of national and other collective identities in individual identification (Strath 2002). Every individual identity entails several collective and personal identities, which possibly overlap or compete. Theorists suggest contradictory hypotheses regarding the relationship between national and European identities. For instance, Anderson's (2006) concept of imagined communities expects a negative relationship between national and European identity, since a sovereign entity "Europe" with according boundaries contradicts previously established national boundaries and sovereignties *within* Europe.

However, a universality of negative or positive relationships between two different identity layers (e.g. a national and a European identity) is questionable. Rather, the relationship depends on individual preferences and the possibility to combine identity layers (Marcussen et al. 1999, Habermas 2011: 77, Risse 2001). The following sections discuss potential relationship patterns of a European identity with national identities and with other prominent identity layers proposed in the literature.

2.3.1 European and National Identity

The relationship of a European and national identity depends on how "Europe" is narrated in national stories (cf. Delanty 2005a, Díez Medrano 2003, Deflem and Pampel 1996, Risse 2001). Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez's (2001) concept of "nested identities" sees different identity layers as compatible if they do not impinge on each other[6]. For example, the English identity and European identity can be described as conflicting. An English national identity predicts a negative relationship with identification with Europe, since continental Europe is seen as "the other" of an English identity (Marcussen et al. 1999). This also holds true for the overall British identity and similarly also for Scandinavian identities, which distinguish themselves from "the Continent" (Strath 2002: 391). In general terms, identification with Europe is

[6] Recent theoretical innovations especially from feminist and queer studies put forward the presence of an intersectionality of various aspects of identity, e.g. ethnicity and gender (cf. van Zoonen 2013)

less likely if negative ("othering") images of Europe are anchored in narratives of the imagined *national* community.

A counter-case of English identity and an example of a nested European and national identity is the Spanish identity. Jauregui and Ruiz-Jimenez (2005) argue that in the case of Spain after Franco's death, Europeanisation and an according notion of a "European Spain" helped to construct a national identity linked to modernity and democracy. In line with this, Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez (2001: 772) show that Turner (1982) and Tajfel's (1982) Social Identity Theory is supported by the data: the more positive narratives of Europe as part of the national identity (or beyond it) are, the greater the degree of identification with Europe.

This is also the case for most Central and Eastern European national identities, where a "return to Europe" has been the narrative goal after the end of the Cold War (Zubrzycki 2001): the positive narrative of being a truly European nation and having a European heritage facilitated identification with Europe. In such cases, a European identity becomes an integral part of or reinforces national identities. Hence, as Cram (2009: 115) notes, instead of undermining European integration as one might assume, national identities can provide a dynamic for further integration and provide (active or passive) consent for the European project[7].

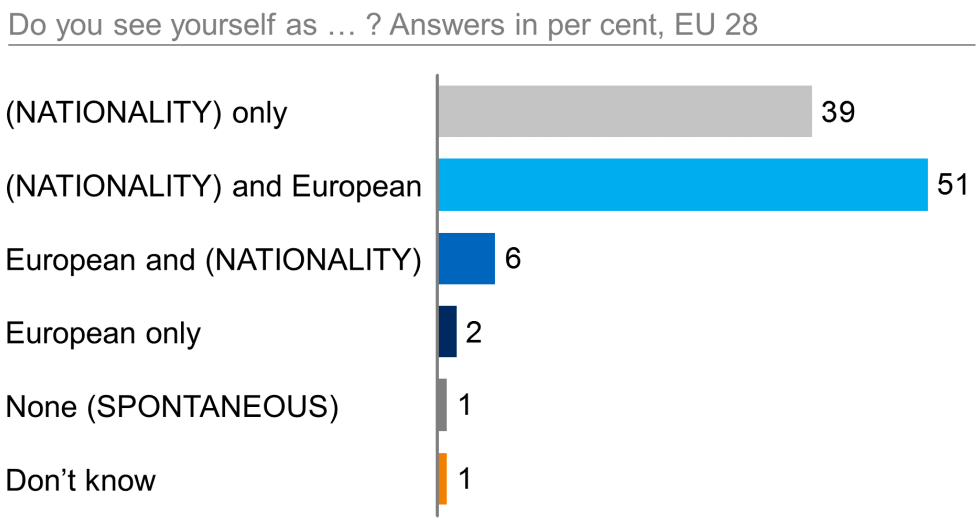
Another prominent example for a nested European identity is Germany's identity today, based on the narrative of a "European Germany". The German national identity is linked to a history of conflict and disaster – a united Europe has offered a way out of this history, especially of the two World Wars, and thus the possibility to overcome the own catastrophic nationalism (Banchoff 1999: 273-5). Accordingly, for German national identity, the own nationalist past is the "other". This allows a positive European in-group identity (Kohli 2000: 128, Marcussen et al. 1999), which however does not have to directly translate into support for EU institutions and policies. For the nested German and European identity, important narratives are hence the depiction of European integration as a normative project, the narra-

[7] Nevertheless, as recent developments have shown, the narrative of a "return to Europe" does not necessarily translate into a general support for the EU or its policies – e.g. in the case of the recent refugee crisis, the narrative basis in cultural (and Christian, e.g. in the case of Poland) values led to a partial aversion from the EU. To some degree, this might entail problems for the European project more broadly.

tive of Europe being united in diversity and the possibility to align the European with the German project (Boldt 2011).

Quantitative studies suggest that after 60 years of European integration, most Europeans have a salient national identity, identifying hardly as Europeans first or only (Figure 2 below). A salient European identity is still not widespread across Europe and it is often considered as equivalent to support for the EU (Bourne 2015). In this regard, topical political developments as described above for Central and Eastern Europe can lead to a change in support for the EU, while the latter is then being equated with a European identity. Despite its lacking salience, a slim majority of Europeans states to have "at times" a European identity (EC 2010a, cf. Arts and Halman 2007: 182, Caporaso and Kim 2009: 24, Fligstein 2008, Fligstein, Polyakova and Sandholtz 2012). Quantitative studies offer overviews of national and socioeconomic trends in European identity patterns. They often use the Eurobarometer (Figure 2 below), letting respondents e.g. report how close they feel (and expect to feel soon) to local, regional, national or European people or whether they feel they are citizens of the EU (e.g. EC 2010a, EC 2014d).

Figure 2: Eurobarometer Results Concerning Self-Definition



Source: EC 2014d (Eurobarometer 82, autumn 2014)

Overall, a European identity and national identities can compete and weaken each other or they can be nested and reinforce each other (Strath 2002). The nesting of identities depends on how Europe is narrated as part of national stories. Vice versa, particularly relevant for this research project and studied to a lesser degree in the previous literature, it also depends on how nations are narrated in European stories. Some scholars argue for an overall cumulative relationship between national and European identities at the individual level: "People who fully identify with their country will tend to identify with Europe as well, provided 'Europe' is visible enough" (Duchesne and Frognier 1998: 204, Duchesne et al 2013: 11). Inglehart (1970, cf. subsection 2.5.1) predicts a negative relationship between a European identity (building upon the capability of abstractions necessary to imagine a far-away in-group) and regional identities (not requiring this capability). On this note, perspectives on Europeanness vary not only between different nations, but also within and across nations. This is explored in the next section.

2.3.2 European, Sub-National and Global Identities

Apart from the relationship of a European and different national identities, a crucial question today is how Europeanness is enhanced or weakened by sub-national or global identities. According to Hobsbawm (1983: 191), today's history "will inevitably have to be written as the history of a world which can no longer be contained within the limits of 'nations' and 'nation-states'". On the one hand, identities below the level of the national identity are rising and on the other, globalisation led to an approximation of cultures and identities.

Marks (1999: 86) argues that identity should not be conceived as a "trade-off among loyalties at different territorial levels". Rather, with the progression of European integration, multiple identities can develop (Keating 2001: 40). For example, while a British and English national identity construct Europe as "the other" as outlined above, Scottish nationalists perceive the EU and Europe as a possibility to express their national identity and to facilitate Scottish independence in a post-sovereign environment (Cram 2009: 118). Scottish nationalists demarcate themselves from British negative views of EU/Europe (Ichijo 2011: 216). Thus, being

anti-British implies to be pro-European: the 2014 Scottish independence referendum has shown that the EU is depicted positively in independence discourses. Another "stateless nation" is Catalonia, which also uses positive narratives of Europe and the EU in its discourse: today's nation-state boundaries are seen as defunct and the Catalan regional identity is embedded in a European homeland (Cram 2009: 118-9, cf. Harvie 1994, Giordano and Roller 2002)[8].

Other identities apart from (sub-) national ones also need to be nested in an individual's identity. *Local identities* (e.g. within cities) influence how individuals see Europe and whether a European identity is compatible with an overall positive self-image. For instance, "Eurocities" (i.e. multicultural, dynamic cities in Europe) attract European free movers whose lives are less affected by national categories. These free movers (or "Eurostars", as Favell (2008) calls them) have multinational social networks and therefore possibly develop a transnational European identity.

A *cosmopolitan* or *global identity* can facilitate or impinge on a European identity, depending on its narratives of "Europeanness". Usually, a European cosmopolitan identity demarcates itself from a Eurocentric identity that accentuates a European culture and explicitly European values and thus a "Euro-nationalist" worldview (Nicolaïdis 2012). Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005: 181-2) claim that this type of a cosmopolitan identity often refers to a white "diaspora identity", which is still Eurocentric and not as inclusive as it seems to be.

Especially in the case of city and cosmopolitan identities, socioeconomic factors play an important role in forming images of "Europe" as part of the self-image. In this regard, previous research has shown that identification with Europe is a matter of socioeconomic location: self-declared Europeans are male, young and educated and live in urban areas (cf. Bruter 2004, Pichler 2008, Fligstein, Polyakova and Sandholtz 2012, Duchesne and Frognier 1998, Lutz, Kritzinger and Skirbekk 2006).

[8] To give another example, even the right-wing Italian Lega Nord for a long time used an Europeanised discourse of an alleged homeland "Padania" as a European macro region (Giordano 2001).

Furthermore, identification with Europe is influenced by mobility: by working, travelling and experiencing Europe and being in touch with other Europeans, individuals can acknowledge the things they have in common with other Europeans (Sigalas 2009: 1). These general national, socioeconomic and gender-specific patterns are also observed among young Europeans (15-30 years, EC 2007, cf. Agirdag, Huyst and van Houtte 2012). To sum up, the outlined identity layers often directly interact with each other and with identities beyond the nation-state such as a European identity, which is e.g. closely aligned to mobility practices and an individual's socioeconomic location.

2.3.3 Discussion

Delanty (2005a: 17) argues that European identity should develop from a "mosaic of national, regional and political identities – coupled with different national traditions". Just as there is no single, overarching European identity, the relationship of a European with other identity layers is not generalisable.

How individuals see "Europeanness" and a European identity depends on the available narratives about Europe and the possibility to combine a European and other identities into positive self-images. More specifically, not all narratives about Europe are available to everyone. As outlined, cosmopolitan, multinational and transnational narratives are of high emotional value, while Euro-nationalist, post-national and supranational conceptualisations can also be available (cf. Duchesne 2006, Nicolaïdis 2012, Lacroix and Nicolaïdis 2010, Eder 2009). Their availability is not only influenced by the interplay with (other) territorial identities and most importantly, national narratives about Europe – but also by collective identities like class, gender or religion and by a person's socioeconomic location.

From a community perspective, a generalised categorical identity including all Europeans is lacking, although the EU expressed the intention to forge such an identity (Delanty 2005a: 17). To some extent, the EU has created a European citizenry through the concept of "EU citizenship". This citizenship layer is based on national citizenship, but still connects the individuals to Europe-wide rights and duties (Dekker and Rijkhoff 2009: 115-6).

From an individual perspective, individuals can nest different identities, leading to fused or hyphenated identities, with individuals describing themselves e.g. as having a French-European, French-German, or Bavarian-German identity. However, identities can also be independent parts within an individual's identity. This could lead to "dual identities" (Delanty 2005b) and the individual could switch from one identity to the other depending on the context. Kondo (1990: 16) describes her own binational background as follows: "identity can imply a fusion, but for me what occurred was a fragmentation of the self". Just as the specific national background of a person, individual multinational backgrounds can strengthen or distort identification with Europe.

2.4 Top-Down Identity Transmission in the EU and European Schools System

Having discussed the concept of a (collective) European identity, the more detailed conceptual framework of the DPhil thesis deals with a top-down transmission of European identity and an individual identification with Europe. For making theory tangible and operational, vertical levels for the case of European Schools are distinguished. These vertical levels are the EU, the European Schools system, the teachers and the students. They are stable, delineated and observable layers, to which individuals or actors can be allocated, who populate and fill each layer. Invoking this understanding and relying on a methodology (chapter 3) to compare identity narratives on all layers, this allows fruitfully working in between and connecting institutional and individual accounts.

In the following, these vertical levels are discussed by outlining conceptualisations of identity transmission at the level of the EU, the European School and the teachers (section 2.4) as well as conceptualisations of individual identification with Europe at the level of students (section 2.5). By doing so, concepts for subsequent empirical analysis and theory building are operationalised. Hence, in the following, conceptual components are singled out that can both be identified in a coherent way and be used to build up a mechanistic understanding.

2.4.1 The EU's Top-Down Transmission of an Imagined Community

The promotion of collective identity is thoroughly theorised for the development of nation-states. In the modern era, centralising states promoted a sense of national identity (Breuilly 2006: xlviii). This is reflected in the famous statement of the Italian nationalist Massimo d'Azeglio: "We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians" (cited in Hobsbawm 2007: 44). States express, protect and promote the identity of the nation, that is, the identity of the nation-state as well as of "the people", i.e. the state's citizens (Billig 1995: 24). From such a top-down perspective, the promotion of identity is a project executed by the state and driven by policies, administrators and institutions.

To generate and promote a new mass collective identity that should become salient, identity politics is used especially by new political systems (Bruter 2003: 1149). Communities are

"imagined" (Anderson 2006) and traditions "invented" (Hobsbawm 1983), but there is usually not a *single* initiator that deliberately invents and constructs traditions. Rather, the invention is based on some pre-existing stories. From above, institutions and elites construct identity narratives through stories in political communication and through symbolic identity triggers (Hobsbawm 1983: 6). The goal is to "flag nationhood", or based on Aristotle, "to praise Athenians to Athenians" (cited in Billig 1995: 97). By playing "the patriotic card", politicians appeal to a certain in-group and space (Billig 1995: 99). In this context, top-down messages have an influence on both identity mediators as well as individual citizens. In the history of nation-states, promoted identity constructions served to break down the division "between the private and local spheres, in which most citizens normally lived, and the public and national one" (Hobsbawm 1983: 142).

In the case of the EU, "integration" became a buzzword to describe the transformation of European nation-states. Beyond mere "cooperation", European integration entails a comprehensive intensification of exchange in communication, trade and other economic and political networks. After several enlargements of the EU, its goal is today often framed as a deepening of the EU (cf. Hooghe and Marks 2008). In this respect, the promotion of a European identity plays an important role. European institutions tend to imitate states, as they provide the European political community with nation-style symbols like a flag, anthem, national day and currency, which function as daily signifiers of the EU or Europe (Bruter 2003: 1152). They promote it through stories that are told about Europe and put forward e.g. by identity mediators like schools or the media.

Despite the focus on the vertical level "EU" and its identity visions, Europeanisation is not exclusively EU-led. National elites and national (governmental and non-governmental) institutions are also in the position for top-down promotion of European identity (Delanty 2005b: 407) – and international institutions beyond the EU shape European identity politics (e.g. the Council of Europe, cf. Foreign Ministers of Europe 2013b). Moreover, apart from European identity promotion directed "top-down" to the society of citizens, there are also pursuits of a European identity that remain on the top level. For example, a European identity is also seen

as an important basis for safeguarding and promoting the EU's interests in a globalised world (Niethammer 2000: 94-5, cf. section 4.1).

In all, top-down transmission of identity is generally defined as a project executed by a state, its policies and its administrators. In the case of the EU, EU political actors and administrators (EU officials or "Eurocrats") as well as national actors influence identity construction and promotion. Top-down identity transmission at the EU level expresses, protects and promotes a European identity through symbols borrowed from nation-building (like a flag, anthem, currency and "Europe Day") and through positive stories that deepen the community and are put forward e.g. in cultural citizenship policies and educational policies. These outlined theoretical components serve as operational grid for the empirical analysis and hence inform the inductive process tracing.

2.4.2 Transmission of European Identity in European Schools

The evident goal of identity politics is to influence the belief systems of citizens. By modifying perceptions and knowledge of a political community, the citizens' sense of identity is affected. Gellner (2006: 48) compares this with a "garden culture" versus "wild culture": the latter arises spontaneously with no design, surveillance or nutrition. In contrast, the former, garden culture is "rich and complex", it is sustained by specialised personnel and it must be "nourished by specialised institutions of learning" to survive. A development of such a garden culture can be linked to Weber's (1976) book "Peasants into Frenchmen", describing how France underwent the change from impoverished, fragmented peasant communities into a united French "patrie" through modernisation (i.e. the transportation revolution, educational reforms and universal military service). Hence, for nourishing their garden culture, i.e. promoting an identity, states and political elites (e.g. policy-makers and bureaucrats) use identity politics and the aforementioned specialised institutions.

The school has been identified as one of the core elements of identity promotion for nation-states. Apart from the army[9] (Hobsbawm 2007), it is the most important institution of mass education. As the former German Chancellor Willy Brandt put it: "the school of the nation is – the school" (as opposed to the army, as in the German Reich) (Die Zeit 1969[10]). Through mass education, culture became standardised. Hence, "the culture in which one has been taught to communicate becomes the core of one's identity" (Gellner 2006: 60). From the 19th and 20th century, the state adopted the role of an educator and national education served to create and preserve national identity (Ramirez and Boli 1987, cf. Weber 1976).

Through national education, positive narratives can foster an identity. However, "nationalism is not confined to the florid language of blood-myths" (Billig 1995: 93). Contemporary citizenship education, aimed at loyalty and democratic engagement (Mattei and Broeks 2016), fosters national narratives and proposes shared values that transcend blood-myths. In political communication, words like "we", "us" and "this (country/nation...)" are used to highlight the sense of belonging together and are often combined with boundary markers against "them" (Billig 1995: 106-7, Bruter 2003: 1150).

There are further top-down tools apart from such political communication that influence citizens' perceptions of their political community – and this also takes place in school. For example, national celebrations and commemorations have the goal to unify and equalise the people. Thereby, they mobilise people for certain identities. Museums can function as similarly powerful national symbols. They tell specific stories of the nation's past, present and future and display according imaginations and interpretations (Elgenius 2015). Imagery, maps and

[9] Regarding an identity-mediating role, the army is often depicted as one of the "great institutions of mass education" (Hobsbawm 2007: 115). Many nations were born in war and stories of war provide heroes and the cult of fallen soldiers. Thus, war binds the nation together into a community of fate (Ashplant, Dawson and Roper 2000: 8-9, Smith 1991: 27, Walt 2014). The (usually male) citizen internalises national rules and values, for which he is ready to fight (cf. section 2.5 on socialisation). Sport functions as an identity mediator comparable to the army, since also centring on heroes who are doing battles on behalf of the nation (Hobsbawm 2007: 142-3, cf. Ismer 2011, Gebauer 2010). "Masculine arms" wave the flags of sport and defeats and victories are depicted in the news every day (Billig 1995: 119-20). Sport can also promote a European identity, leading to a mobility of Europeans. For instance, football players and supporters move across national borders. Television makes European football accessible to people in different countries, who can identify with teams across national borders (Borneman and Fowler 1997: 510-1).

[10] "Die Schule der Nation ist – die Schule", author's own translation.

symbols of political systems and states (most prominently national flags) thus function as top-down messages to the citizens (Bruter 2003: 1150, Elgenius 2011a).

In the case of the EU, Europeans can be socially and politically educated about their rights and duties and about the values of a EU citizenship (Pinxten et al. 2007: 689). Thus, for EU identity politics, education policies are one tool to construct and promote a European identity. The situation is peculiar for education in "European Schools". These schools offer an education for students of different nationalities, but also have an explicitly European framework and EU-wide curricula. This education is thus in sharp contrast with the education other children receive in national contexts (Shore 2000: 57, Savvides 2006, 2012)[11].

To sum up, educational systems can promote an in-group by providing an arena for citizenship education and identity transmission. While national schools serve the construction and reproduction of a national in-group, European Schools could serve a top-down European identity transmission as envisaged by the EU. Thus, at the European School level, the EU's identity narratives could be transmitted to a specific group of Europeans, i.e. the students in those schools, using tools like (citizenship) education and specific stories and symbols. Such aspects are hence traced as part of the empirical research.

2.4.3 Identity Mediation by European School Teachers

According to Billig (1995: 99-100), politicians do not only "play the patriotic card", but "in today's political universe, the homeland card can be dealt straight into the homeland's homes". Here, mediators of identity constructions play an important role. A straightforward example of identity mediation are mass media and culture: "the mass media brings the flags home to the citizenry" by giving prominence to national dimensions (Billig 1995: 94, 111-2). The national imagined community is (re-) produced by the knowledge that people all over the nation read the same news (Anderson 2006).

Other media and cultural symbols also function as identity mediators: symbols might be transmitted in a national literature and music culture (or today, in a digital realm). Similarly,

[11] Cf. subsection 3.1.1 for more details on the European Schools system, the case of this project.

history paintings promote a national and possibly also a European identity by depicting important historical events or symbols of the in-group. Furthermore, intellectuals and historians play an important role in identity construction (Drace-Francis 2013). They can give the history a national (or European) meaning, thereby promoting the sense of a shared past among the citizens. For a European identity, a Judeo-Christian tradition is usually seen as the basis of fundamental values that unite Europeans. In general, religious narratives can play an important role for national (or European) identity (Roth 2003).

For the mediation of cultural symbols and citizenship in general, teachers play a vital role. Nation-states constructed mass schooling systems to reach entire populations of children and thus, to construct a unified national polity. Instructed by their teachers, children learn to participate in national projects and to identify primarily with the nation, rather than with local polities (Ramirez and Boli 1987: 3-4). Thereby, teachers educate and socialise young citizens into a specific belief system. Today, citizenship education is often incorporated into national school curricula, emphasising "active citizenship" and encouraging students to make a difference in their community (Osler and Savvides 2009, Mattei and Broeks 2016). The specific orientation of civic education depends on the country-specific idea of national belonging, e.g. the republican motto "freedom, equality and brotherhood" for France.

Hence, European School teachers play a crucial role in narrative transmission. Within the institution "European School", which aims at putting forward EU-envisaged narratives of European identity, teachers act as mediators of identities based on curricula. Relying on the conceptualisations of national identity mediation, teachers could mediate the envisaged narratives and European citizenship (e.g. the active participation in an according polity beyond local or national frames). Finally, they could mediate norms and values in extracurricular activities in European Schools, which should ideally correspond to the values of the polity, i.e. the EU. Whether this empirically conforms to realities at European Schools is studied and theorised from.

2.5 Identification with Europe of European School Students

2.5.1 Students' Identification with Europe through Socialisation and Education

From a legal perspective, people are usually born into their national (or European) citizenship. However, for an individual's identification patterns, socialisation plays a crucial role. "Socialisation" can be defined as the process in which a society's culture is mediated into the identity of new members, primarily children and immigrants (Esser 2001: 371). Simmel (1908) first coined the term in "Formen der Vergesellschaftung" (forms of sociation). He claims that society exists where there is interplay of individuals and thus, where individuals socialise each other (Abels and König 2010: 16).

According to Durkheim, socialisation converts an egoistic (asocial) being into one capable of living a social and moral life (Durkheim 1961, Piaget 1977). Freud, not explicitly using the term "socialisation", claims that the child bows to the power of the society by internalising its commands (Freud 2010: 11). Similarly, Gellner compares a modern society to a modern army to describe socialisation of individuals in the national context, since both provide "a very prolonged and thorough training for all its recruits, insisting on certain shared qualifications" (Gellner 2006: 27).

Socialisation is usually split up into primary socialisation and secondary socialisation. Primary socialisation takes place in early childhood and before children enter school. It is mainly linked to the family, since children internalise attitudes and identities reflected by people around them, such as parents, siblings and close relatives: "Parents begin to teach even their toddlers the dress, songs, and food appropriate to their social group" (Sapiro 2004: 14, cf. Throssell 2010). The *nuclear* family – traditionally: mother, father, children[12] – plays the most important role, as it is "the initial social matrix within which personality is rooted and nourished" (Clausen 1966: 1).

Very early in primary socialisation, the use of language and a sense of self are developed, and are likely interrelated (Gellner 2006: 60, Clausen 1966: 5). For bilingual children (i.e. most

[12] But also, other forms of nuclear families, such as single parents, step-parents, same-sex parents or also grand-parents and other early contacts of the child.

European School students), cognitive development specialists argue that these move easily from one language to another by switching linguistic codes. This switching leads to a more flexible mental set among these children from a very early age (Hakuta, Ferdman and Diaz 1987: 296). Studies have shown that five to six-year-old children select a national and racial identity, to which they attribute significance a bit later by making inferences about people and by means of exclusionary tendencies (Slavtcheva-Petkova 2013, Sapiro 2004: 14-5).

Secondary socialisation begins later during childhood and describes adolescent and adult socialisation (Recchi 2012). This learning takes place once becoming a member of a small group within the larger society. For secondary socialisation in childhood and adolescence, school and peers are the main socialising agents. In school, both the explicit curriculum of the school (e.g. history education) and the hidden curriculum (i.e. norms and interactions of teachers and peers) are crucial (Agirdag, Huyst and van Houtte 2012, Muldoon et al. 2007). During secondary socialisation, individuals learn to be part of the wider society, they learn about history and laws, for instance by being told how to participate in democracy and civil society (Sapiro 2004: 19, cf. Throssell 2010). Here, different stories about the nation (and possibly about Europe) can be told. Growing up, children and teenagers adopt attitudes they see as fitting into their self-perceived knowledge of belonging to a social group (Recchi 2012). In this development stage, European identity patterns might emerge between the ages of six and ten, with children at the age of ten being already aware of and actively using such supranational categorisations (Barrett 1996, 2007).

Socialisation theory is partly criticised for depicting the individual to be socialised as a *passive* subject of a top-down process. While socialisation is indeed a rather passive tool of identity transmission, individuals still have their own interest and they "can live happily with multiple identifications and enjoy moving between them as the situation requires" (Smith 1992: 59[13], cf. Habermas 1973). In the case of European Schools, students' narratives of European identity and a possible identification with Europe are framed by their secondary so-

[13] This statement is somewhat surprising or even logically flawed given Smith's argument that nations have distinct, primordial origins. However, he explicitly distinguishes individual and collective identification, seeing the former as situational and the latter as persistent.

cialisation, while also being influenced by primary socialising agents. In their school, students learn about Europe and about other forms of belonging by being exposed to symbols and stories. Applying Anderson's (2006) above-mentioned concept of an "imagined community" to the case of a European identity, those who read European news and participate in political discussions and European social practices are likely to identify with a European imagined community. Socialisation of students into a European imagined community could thus take place in the European School.

As Checkel (2006: 364) puts it, "Europe seems a highly likely place for socialisation to occur". Individuals on the other vertical levels outlined above, most importantly EU officials and European School teachers, are also socialised by their national background as well as their European work environment, e.g. by colleagues from other national backgrounds or by EU-related tasks and duties (Checkel 2005, Beyers 2005, Hooghe 1999). Similarly, European School students are not only socialised into specific identity settings, but their active experiences e.g. with peers also shape how these individuals think about a possible European in-group. To sum up, through socialisation and education in their peculiar school setting, European School students could pick up European identity narratives that are transmitted by the EU and the European Schools and mediated by their teachers. In terms of operational indicators, the outlined aspects of socialisation and education are thus explored at the empirical stage of the research project.

2.5.1 Students' Banal Europeanism and Cognitive Mobilisation for Europe

As previously theorised, daily reminders of a European consciousness are crucial for European integration to deepen and to be sustainable at the level of individual citizens (cf. Delgado-Moreira 1997, Billig 1995). While narratives can be transmitted in the European Schools through socialisation and education, a student's individual identification with Europe can still be a personal achievement of bringing together different identity spheres and of constructing a unitary image of themselves (Kohli 2002: 113). In this regard, a students' cognitive mobili-

sation for Europe and a banal Europeanism play an important role (cf. Inglehart 1970, Billig 1995, Cram 2009, 2010).

It is often argued that a possible European identity lacks the deep feeling of people willing to sacrifice themselves for this abstract community (Smith 1995, Gellner 1996). Criticising this argument, Billig's (1995) concept of banal nationalism can be extended to Europe, framing a banal *Europeanism*, as used by Cram (2009, 2010). Billig (1995) argues that identity is not always heroic and passionate (described by Billig as "hot" nationalism), but it is often much subtler and unconscious (constituting a "banal" nationalism). Key to understanding banal nationalism are symbolic signifiers: "All over the world, nations display their flags, day after day. Unlike the flags on the great days, these flags are largely unwaved, unsaluted, unnoticed" (Billig 1995: 46).

Likewise, "Europeanism" might be at its strongest when it is not constantly remembered but routinised in everyday life – e.g. when EU citizens stop noticing the EU flag flying in front of public buildings. According to Cram (2010: 7-8), the concept of *banal* Europeanism describes a sub-conscious identification with Europe or the EU. Cram argues that identity entrepreneurs should ideally also provide "valued goods" for citizens, thereby promoting an "appreciated Europeanism", i.e. a conscious identification with the European project and an appreciation of the presence of the EU. She shows in her experimental approach (Cram 2009, 2010, cf. Cram and Patrikios 2015) that a European identity can be enhanced by (often subtle) EU norms, symbols and practices.

Also discussing cognitive elements of identification processes, Inglehart's (1970: 46) concept of *cognitive mobilisation* argues that identification with Europe depends on the possibilities of individuals to experience Europe in everyday life. However, this awareness of Europe and European integration is unequally distributed. Educated people have favourable orientations towards Europe due to an "internalisation of values" (Inglehart 1970: 47-8). Thus, for them, the European experience is particularly multifaceted and – along the lines of the above – at the same time banal and part of their everyday life. These individuals travel around Europe and speak several languages. Due to their mobility, they can experience Europe and to under-

stand politics and institutions on a European scale instead of fearing them (Janssen 1991: 467). Furthermore, they can develop a "network of social relations among those living in Europe"[14] (Eder 2009: 433).

Here, conceptualisations of cognitive mobilisation can be linked to findings on so-called "third culture kids" (TCK), growing up abroad and often in bilingual settings. The TCK concept was coined (and mainly used in popular science) to describe (mostly American) individuals, who have spent a significant part of their developmental years in a non-parental, third culture – for instance as children of diplomats or army employees. These children are also referred to as "global nomads" or "transculturals" (Fail, Thompson and Walker 2004: 320). They often have ambiguous feelings regarding their home and roots, with their identity being challenged every time they move to a different place.

According to cognitive mobilisation theory, a European identity is a centrifugal force that primarily allows privileged elites at the centre of this force to identify with Europe (Bruter 2005, Fligstein 2008). On normative grounds, this standpoint is criticised by Duchesne et al. (2013: 94): "losers are condemned for being closed and winners admired for being open". Nevertheless, the standpoint empirically holds according to existing studies: people who participate in European political, social and economic practices are likely to identify with an abstract imagined community of Europeans they mostly do not know personally (Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez 2001: 756, cf. Anderson 2006). In contrast, those individuals who only possess *local* economic and social horizons stick to national identities (Fligstein, Polyakova and Sandholtz 2012: 106).

To sum up, the concepts of cognitive mobilisation and banal Europeanism provide useful insights into a possible identification with Europe of European School students. While socialisation and education can be described as tools to transmit an identity to rather passive citizens,

[14] Regarding transnational European family settings, studies show that despite exchange programmes like Erasmus (cf. Sigalas 2009, Wilson 2011, Kuhn 2012), there has barely been a rise in intra-European marriages since the 1990s and that these couples are a socioeconomically and nationally heterogeneous category (cf. EUMARR 2012, Morano-Foadi 2007, Lauth Bacas 2002, Varro 1995). These studies mostly focus on the couples themselves rather than on their children.

cognitive mobilisation and banal Europeanism deal with more active citizens, who can identify with Europe by being exposed to unconscious reminders of Europe in everyday life and by experiencing Europe, e.g. through mobility. In a way, European Schools are thus very much at the centre of the above-mentioned European centrifugal forces. The two concepts "cognitive mobilisation" and "banal Europeanism" thus provide useful operational insights for the subsequent empirical analysis.

2.5.2 Summary of the Conceptual Framework

Summing up the conceptual framework, the following vertical levels have been differentiated and are hence used in the empirical analysis:

- EU: since the beginning of European integration, EU policies, bureaucrats and institutions could construct and promote a European identity "from above". Thus, the transmission of EU narratives to European School students is envisaged.
- European Schools system: having developed simultaneously with European integration, the EU-driven European Schools could transmit the EU's notions of European identity as part of their educational system.
- European School teachers: in the system of European Schools, teachers are vital top-down mediators: they teach students according to the curricula of European Schools and could transmit the EU's visions and their own ideals of (European) identity to their students.
- European School students: students are educated based on an EU-wide curriculum. Their socialisation into and experience of in-groups influence their identity construction. In the European Schools, they could pick up narratives of European identity mediated by their teachers. From an early age, they make sense of their peculiar schooling and are exposed to banal reminders of Europe. Hence, by being cognitively mobilised in their schools, students could identify with Europe.

To sum up, being able to build on the previous studies of "European identity" and largely educationalist analyses of European Schools to date, this research project focuses on European

identity transmission in EU-driven European Schools and identification with Europe among European School students. The outlined vertical levels structure the empirical analysis and comparison of narratives of European identity. A focus is laid on students' identification with Europe: European identity is in the making and individuals have their own images of Europe and of an according in-group and out-group, which are also influenced by the interplay of a European identity with national, regional and/or other identities, fuelling or possibly competing against each other. For the process of individual identification, socialisation into a European in-group (specified in narratives) as well as a banal Europeanism and cognitive mobilisation for the in-group (through daily interactions and reminders) were identified as crucial. These approaches to identification processes thus provide operational components to look out for in the empirical analysis, which otherwise focuses on inductive process tracing.

This project seeks to contribute to the empirical literature in political sociology and to the interdisciplinary theoretical debate on "European identity" by looking at a carefully chosen context of European identity transmission and construction. While an inductive approach is chosen based on process tracing, the conceptual framework guides the empirical research: being informed by the above-mentioned concepts, the discussion of the existing literature puts the empirical study in the position to trace theoretically relevant components of identity transmission and a causal mechanism of individual identification processes.

3. Methodology – Exploring Identification with Europe through Qualitative Content Analysis and Subsequent Process Tracing

To assess European identity patterns across different nation-states, there is a strand of large-N quantitative research tracking "support" for Europe. Here, socioeconomic and national differences in identification with Europe are usually constructed as a binary variable of persons identifying with Europe or not. While it appears sensible to measure legal, economic and political consequences of European integration, this does not touch upon the black box of *narratives and transmissions of European identity*, essentially the question of how such outcomes come about.

Accordingly, despite being helpful to get an overview of national and socioeconomic patterns and hence highlighting where to dig deeper, these studies should be taken with a pinch of salt. Their analytical scope, already limited in the realm of "why"-questions, should not be broadened into "how"-questions with vast endogeneity issues (Hall 2003: 387). Essentially, preceding qualitative investigation is needed to develop adequate conceptions and indicators for quantitative research. Taking the peculiar case of young people's identification patterns, these concerns regarding quantitative approaches amplify even further. In short, the qualitative approach fits the investigative requirements and scope of this research (van Evera 1997: 78).

In small-N, qualitative studies, individuals can develop their views without suggesting pre-coded answers in closed-ended questionnaires. As Billig (2013: 190) puts it, "the pure world of variables poorly describes the world of people". This means that if topics brought up in surveys are not really part of the citizens' preoccupations or their everyday conversations, a mere artefact could be produced by a quantitative study (Gaxie and Rowell 2011). Thus, for this study, a qualitative and narrative-based analysis is chosen (Gerring 2012: 433). Having presented the overall research strategy in the introduction, the following chapter outlines and discusses the purposive sampling procedure and detailed methodology for each level of analysis (that is, theoretical conception).

Following a within-case strategy (Gerring 2007, Collier 2011) focused on the case "European School" with different vertical layers, the research project adopts the method of *process tracing*. Process tracing aims at generating and/or testing theory (i.e. adopting an inductive or deductive approach) for one case or a "temporally or spatially bound instance of a specified phenomenon" (Bennett 2008: 3-4). Beach and Pedersen (2013) strongly suggest using a single case for tracing processes. For this research project, a theory-building approach is chosen, i.e. the epistemological interest is inductive (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 24, Bennett and Checkel 2015: 7). Ontologically, this builds on a fairly deterministic view of the world in which the process moves along (or is driven by) forces that work in identifiable and (within the case context) unique directions – these entities and their necessary and/or sufficient actions push the process in traceable and testable steps towards the eventual outcome (cf. Trampusch and Palier 2016, Hall 2003, Beach and Pedersen 2013). At the same time, the inductive approach can rely on the theoretical and empirical literature discussed in chapter 2. Such hybrids of inductive reasoning with some deductive elements are both acceptable and typical for process tracing (Beach and Pedersen 2013, Bennett and Checkel 2015).

The commonly hypothesised process that is here to be dispelled and reconstructed inductively is one of a straightforward top-down transmission chain of European identity narratives from the EU to European Schools and then from teachers on to students. In contrast to this, the main argument and essentially the empirical expectation (rather than a hypothesis) is that this chain is altered[15]. Hence, the "diagnostic intervening steps" of the causal process are analysed (Bennett 2010: 180, Gerring 2012). In the empirical study, rich narrations on the different vertical levels are collected to understand components of this process and to develop "hypotheses about causal mechanisms that might causally explain the case" (Bennett and Checkel 2015: 7).

As Bennett (2008: 4) notes, "all attempts to diagnose or explain individual or historical cases involve process tracing". The process-tracing method implies that *finer details* within the process of interest are taken into consideration – in this case, narratives of European identity on

[15] Inductive process tracing is obviously not about testing hypotheses, but as this research does not happen in a theory-free grounded space, expectations need to be actively spelled out.

different levels and their transmission mechanics. Process tracing is the "logically necessary" method for exploring such fine details (Checkel 2006: 366, Bennett and Checkel 2015). Mechanisms are the connecting threads that need to be disentangled to develop a causal argument, which opens the black box of European identity narratives and transmission and their expected *change* across levels (Hedström and Ylikoski 2010, Gerring 2012, Panke 2012, Elster 2007). At the same time, the research project must acknowledge that explanations resulting from process tracing are provisional (Bennett 2008: 19), but highly internally valid. The results can inform theory building and future empirical research by suggesting systematic components of a mechanism from this specific case (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 16).

The advantage of process tracing is that the research is pushed "to think hard about the connection (or lack thereof) between expected patterns and what the data say", therefore including various "mini-checks" in the research process (Checkel 2006: 366). The number of mini-checks is purposefully increased in this study with an iterative process of pursuing a qualitative content analysis, while rechecking interview guidelines and coding data iteratively. By studying finer details within a process, descriptive as well as causal inference can be strengthened, reaching a mechanism-based understanding of causation. Having collected crucial prior knowledge (Collier 2011: 824) on the concept "European identity" and its narratives and transmissions (cf. chapter 2), the two main purposes of process tracing as part of this research project are in line with Mahoney (2012: 574, 578): the goal is to *descriptively* infer the existence of a process and to establish *causal* links within this process.

For the first analytical cornerstone of process tracing, i.e. careful description, the empirical results entail rich descriptions of European identity narratives, looking at in-group and out-group narratives at the specified investigative levels of the EU, European Schools, teachers and students. In a qualitative study, the researcher's role is "to observe and reflect upon the patterned character of participants' [and for this project, documents'] portrayals" (Gilbert and Mulkay 1984: 15). Thus, chapters 4-5 provide intensive descriptions of narratives of European identity on the vertical levels, thereby "inferring the existence" (Mahoney 2012: 574)

of different European identity narratives and assessing envisaged patterns of transmission across levels.

The second analytical step of process tracing leads to the disentanglement of a causal mechanism that links "European schooling" and "students' identification with Europe" (chapter 6). Thereby, the transformation of the hypothesised top-down transmission chain is discussed and individual identification with Europe is more comprehensively understood. Different components of the mechanism are analysed and discussed in relation to whether they could represent necessary or sufficient conditions along the causal path towards students' identification with Europe (Collier 2011, Mahoney 2012). Summing up, process tracing leads to a deeper understanding of European identity development, offering an overview of narratives on different levels and revealing a surprisingly complex causal path to (a peculiar type of) identification with Europe for the most-likely case of European School students.

Qualitative content analysis is chosen for data analysis on all empirical levels (Krippendorff 2013, Mayring 2015). Having this common method of data analysis makes comparisons across levels easier and increases the reliability of results. That means it also enhances the credibility as "data input" for subsequent process tracing. For all interviews, data was confidential: interviews were anonymised and all materials securely stored. With the consent of interviewees, the interviews were recorded and transcribed – fully in the case of students, selectively[16] in the case of EU officials, school directors and teachers. Information regarding the identity of interviewees was stored separately from interview materials. While documents are directly cited, interviewees are treated anonymously in this study. The trade-off of this anonymity is that it is of course less straightforward for other researchers to replicate findings or to assess the weights carried by individual units of observation in process tracing[17]. At the same time, it allowed interviewees to talk vastly more freely, which is key for a study with a focus on personal reflections. The following sections outline and discuss sampling, data collection and data analysis for the different vertical levels in detail.

[16] These interviews were selectively minuted for the subsequent analysis.
[17] Here, single interviews (e.g. with particularly high-ranked EU officials) may indeed carry more relevance than others.

3.1 Sampling Strategy

3.1.1 Selecting Three European Schools

The research project's scope is the European Schools system (Mahoney 2012: 16). In this "most-likely case" (Gerring 2012: 418), the European Schools system would be expected to provide evidence for a clear-cut top-down transmission of the EU's European identity narratives.

The European Schools system developed in parallel with European integration. It was established as a practicable solution for expatriate EU officials, providing their children with an education that allows to return to their respective home countries and national education system. In 1953, the first "école du plan Schuman" was founded (today "Luxemburg I"). The Board of Governors was established in 1954 (EU C277E/ 112) and the system was institutionalised with the 1957 Statute and 1962 Protocol.

The Treaty of Rome in 1957 made Brussels a hub for the new institutions. Copying the Luxemburg model, a school in Brussels was founded in 1958. Schools in Euratom-related locations were opened in the 1960s (Mol, Varese, Karlsruhe, Bergen) and 1978 (Culham). Due to rising numbers of civil servants, another Brussels school opened in 1974. Since 1977, the Munich school serves employees of the European Patent Office (EPO). In 1994, a new Convention of the European Schools was adopted, taking developments of European integration into consideration (CEC 1994). With EU enlargements and growing or newly founded institutions, two more schools in Brussels and one in Luxemburg were opened and schools in Frankfurt and Alicante were founded.

Today (school year 2016-17), the fourteen[18] European Schools cater for about 27,000 students from nursery to European Baccalaureate (EB) – about 67% of them are enrolled in a Luxemburg or Brussels school (Schola Europaea 2016b). About 1,800 students each year receive the EB, having successfully completed the secondary school (Schola Europaea 2015b).

[18] Thirteen European Schools following the closure of the European School Culham in August 2017 (see below for a description of that school).

The Board of Governors is today composed of the Ministers of Education of the EU countries (usually represented by civil servants), an EC representative, an EPO[19] representative and one representative respectively of the Staff Committee and the Parents' Associations (Schola Europaea 2015a). It decides on educational, administrative and financial matters and is represented by a Secretary-General. The Office of the Secretary-General of the European Schools coordinates the schools from the EC in Brussels (Schola Europaea 2015a). A Board of Inspectors composed of national experts carries out educational supervision. The EU enlargements of 2004/2007 were followed by a perceived necessity of reforms. With the Reform of the European School System in 2009, other schools can become "Accredited European Schools" and can subsequently award the EB (EU C56/E 14). There are currently (2016-17) eleven accredited schools and three schools in the process of accreditation in twelve countries (Schola Europaea 2016c).

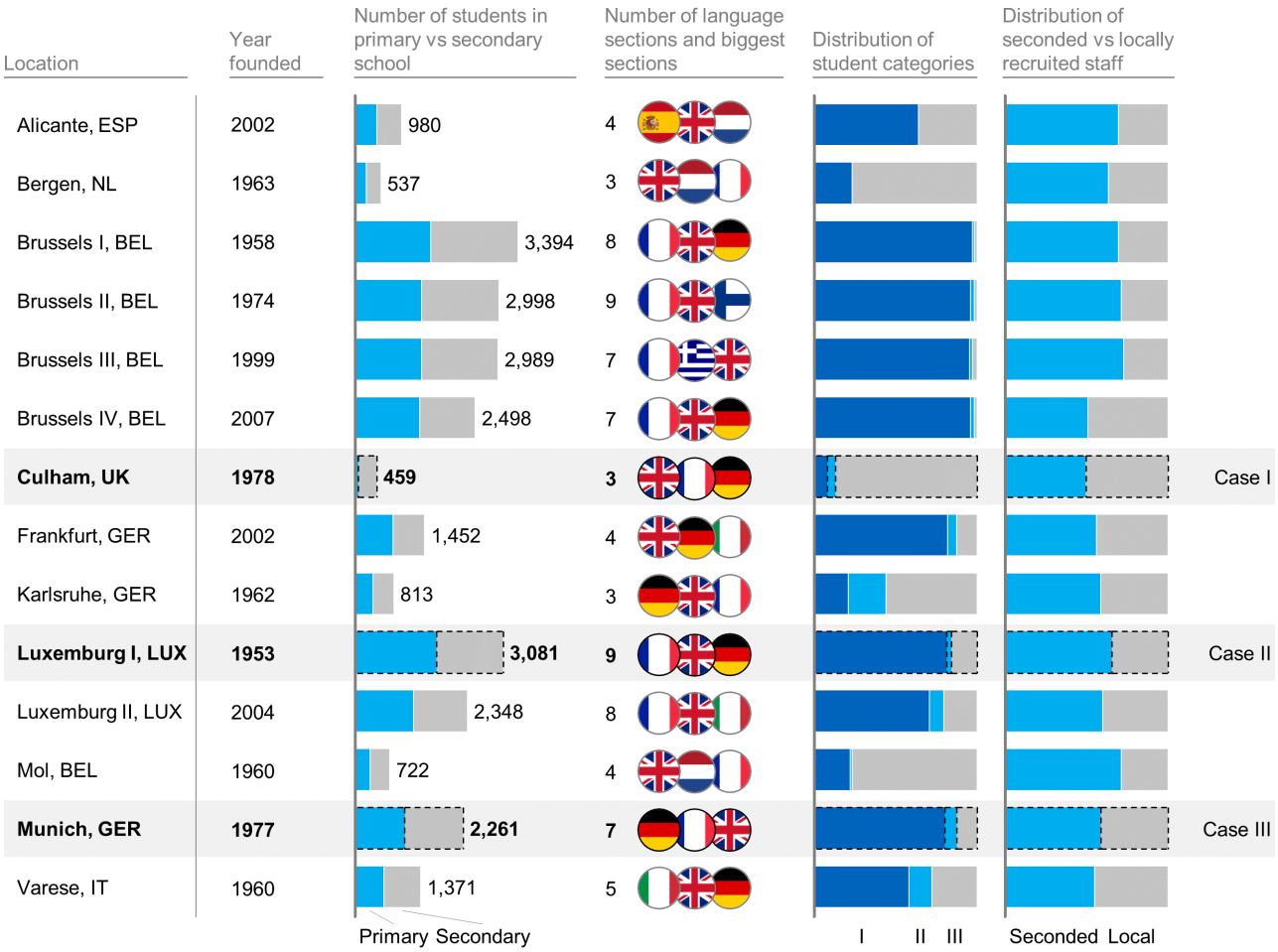
The fourteen type-1 European Schools (see overview in Figure 3 below) have the status of *public educational institutions* in all EU member states. They are jointly managed by the EC (on behalf of the EU institutions) and EU member states and to a large extent EC-financed. As of 2016, the EU has 33,000 employees (EU officials or contract staff), 66% of whom work in Brussels (EC 2016). Parents working for EU institutions are exempt from paying fees for the European Schools (Schola Europaea 2015b). The schools have an average of 80% of such "category-1" students, for whom the school was originally intended. As Figure 3 shows, numbers vary across schools and across the three schools sampled for this research.

The largest language sections in most European Schools are the English, German and French sections, with the main working languages of EU institutions as well as the languages of host countries being particularly highly represented (Schola Europaea 2015b, 2016b). As of 2016, students originate from 120 countries, but only about 5% of students are nationals of non-EU countries, while many students are German, Belgian, French or Italian nationals (each between 10 and 13% of the total student population, Schola Europaea 2016b). Many students have more than one mother tongue and nationality, calculated as shares in the European

[19] European Patent Office.

Schools statistics ("dual nationality as 0.5+0.5, triple nationality as 0.33+0.33+0.33", Schola Europaea 2016b, cf. subsection 6.1.1). This results in the odd number of 1431.25 students being counted as having "other" (non-EU member-state) nationalities in 2016, without giving further details on specific origins or students' ethnicities (Schola Europaea 2016b, see subsection 3.1.3).

Figure 3: Overview of the 14 European Schools[20]



Within the overarching case of European Schools, three nested sub-cases are selected that illuminate a preferably large variation of the population, i.e. including possible "odd cases" (Becker 1998) of the population of European Schools and the according population of stu-

[20] Student categories are differentiated as described above (category-1, -2, -3 students depending on their parents' employment). The teaching staff is either seconded (usually for a period of nine years, cf. subsection 4.1.2) or locally recruited. Sources: Schola Europaea 2015c, 2001.

dents. Following Gerring (2007: 5, 2008: 647), it is assumed that different narratives of European identity and their transmissions can be exemplified with this strategy.

Including schools in different *national* settings (and with different professional and to some extent national backgrounds of parents) means that schools could be prone to succeed in European identity promotion. This helps to make the sampling frame for process tracing more diverse[21] and allows somewhat more systematic comparisons within qualitative content analysis.

- The ***European School Luxemburg I*** (ESL) is the oldest European School, founded in 1953 (ECSC 1957). This original school was split up in 2012 because of the large number of students – the school had so far been the only school to accommodate all sections (EU 2013a). Now, the ESL and Luxemburg II are both catering for a specific range of language sections (arguably making them less multinational, as empirically explored in section 4.2). The ESL currently has about 1500 students on roll in the secondary school who are taught in nine language sections (German, English, Spanish, Finnish, French, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese and Sweden sections, Schola Europaea 2016b, EU 2013a). Parents usually work for EU institutions (European Investment Bank, European Court of Justice) or other international firms and organisations. Accordingly, the rate of category-1 students is slightly above 80% (Schola Europaea 2015b, 2016c). The ESL is located close to other EU institutions on a plateau (the "Kirchberg", used synonymously for the institutions) in the city of Luxemburg. Luxemburg stands for a multicultural and dynamic "Eurocity", i.e. one of the centres of EU politics alongside Strasbourg and Brussels. The ESL, located in a very Europhile country might be very prone to succeed in the transmission of an EU-envisaged European identity to students.
- The ***European School Culham*** (ESC) was founded in 1978 for employees of the European Nuclear Fusion Project (JET) in the UK. With this research centre moving to France, only about 9% of parents are today EU-employees and the school is very small with

[21] As process tracing assumes non-equivalent observations, diverse sampling does not necessarily correlate with better evidence or with reaching saturation more swiftly.

about 400 students on roll (Schola Europaea 2016b). So far, the ESC is the only school being phased out (in August 2017) because of the low number of EU-employed parents[22]. 88% of students in Culham are category-3 students who pay school fees (i.e. neither the EC nor another employer as in the case of category-2 pupils pays the fees, Schola Europaea 2015b, 2016c). The ESC has three language sections only, a French, English and German one. Culham is located close to Abingdon in Oxfordshire, a small and less international, non-EU city – but close to Oxford with its international university. Being based in a Eurosceptic country, the ESC might be less prone to success in European identity transmission. (This is obviously ideal-typical and not necessarily an empirical truth. Students could e.g. be Europhile to distance themselves from their Eurosceptic surroundings. Such topics are explored as part of the empirical study.)

- The ***European School Munich*** (ESM) was founded in 1977 and now caters for more than 2000 students, taught in seven language sections (German, Greek, English, Spanish, French, Italian and Dutch, EU 2013a, Schola Europaea 2016b). Most of them are children of EPO personnel (an organisation with currently 38 contracting states, thus going beyond EU member states). Because employees of the European institutions usually have guaranteed school places and because the school cannot accommodate all applicants, most students have a parent working for the EPO. Hence, like the ESL, the rate of category-1 students is above 80% (Schola Europaea 2015b, 2016c). Munich is a big and international, but non-EU city. The ESM is an in-between case shadowing the other two, being in a rather Europhile country, but also in an international city that is less focused on Europe.

The selection of three European Schools allowed hearing different stories and different perspectives, especially regarding interviews with individual students. Still, a focus on three schools (instead of sampling teachers and students e.g. from all 14 schools) meant that certain nationalities are overrepresented in the sample of students (see sampling below). They have only a limited comparability due to the variation in several aspects, but help with

[22] A successor school "Europa School UK", an Accredited European School, is already located on the site of the ESC (Schola Europaea 2016c).

achieving saturation for understanding recurrent themes and patterns in qualitative content analysis. Thereby, a range of potential causal forces could be exemplified (Gerring 2008a: 651). Content reasons aside, the choice of the three cities and European Schools was a good fit for practical concerns (e.g. language).

3.1.2 Identifying Documents and Interviewees for EU, School and Teacher Level

For the levels of the EU and European Schools, the goal of the empirical research is to trace the transmission of European identity narratives by the EU and in the EU-driven institution "European School". Accordingly, narratives of "European identity" were studied. Data consisted primarily of policies and statements dealing with European identity, this included informed interpretations by policy practitioners. Analytical evidence was retrieved from EU documents, European School statements and semi-structured interviews. Furthermore, pre-existing secondary literature was also taken into consideration to reflect on or complement the analysis, in particular, studies on European identity policies (Ross 2011, Shore 2000, Theiler 1999) and literature on European Schools (Savvides 2006, Swan 1996, van Lingen 2012).

To retrieve a sample of EU and European School documents, websites of the European Schools and the EU online full-text database "EUR-lex" (containing EU law and other public EU documents) were searched based on various combinations of keywords matching the research interest (e.g. "European identity", "identity", "European citizenship", "European School(s)" and further refined phrases). All documents resulting from this search have been skimmed through for content on European identity and European citizenship. By scanning for keywords, a smaller and thus manageable number of public documents was retrieved as a comprehensive sample of information on the subject (Rapley 2007). Overall, about 55 EU and European School documents have been included in this study and have been cited in the empirical results section, where providing particularly interesting insights into European identity narratives and their transmission and construction. This document analysis is triangulated

with interview outcomes: for the EU, European School and teacher level, 23 interviews have been conducted in total.

First, five interviews with EU officials (spokespersons, directors, communication advisors) were carried out. All interviewees were based in Brussels, the centre of power of EU politics and integration alongside Strasbourg and Luxemburg: in these three cities parliament, court and executive council and thus most EU elites are based (Borneman and Fowler 1997: 497). The main sampling criterion was that potential interviewees are experts with procedural or interpretative knowledge of EU decision-making and administration in their specific (research-related) field. The variation of working areas of interviewees sought to increase the range of reasoning and interpretations and thus potential explanatory factors (King, Keohane and Verba 1994: 208). More specifically, the sample comprehends administrators who deal or have dealt with policies on European citizenship, European identity, education and particularly the European Schools.

The interviews with EU officials were aimed at capturing individual perspectives on EU narratives and policies. The specific sample of interviewed EU officials does not result in a representative or *full* picture of the EU's position. Concrete actions of the EU, established narratives of European identity and cultural and educational policies for their transmission, were hence narrated from the EU's internal perspective. While the individual narrations cannot be generalised, they still helped to clarify the "role, agency and rationale" of policy actors and thereby offered a rounder picture of policy cycles (Keating 2008). Thus, the interviews helped clarifying which drivers (i.e. entities and activities of theoretical and empirical interest) should be investigated with particular attention on the levels of European Schools, teachers and students. This was therefore an important exercise to allow narrower, in-depth process tracing, adding views on core processes to be theorised.

Second, school directors were contacted in their function as gatekeepers of their European School. Initially, school directors and secondary school directors were contacted to inform them about the research project and (once they had agreed to participate with their school) to arrange details of fieldwork. Later in the process of fieldwork (i.e. when the researcher was

already present at the school) two interviews with school directors (in two of the three sampled schools) were conducted, one interview with a European School director and one interview with a European School's secondary school director. While both directors[23] had previously been teachers, they were now focused on their positions as heads and thus managers of their (secondary) school and did not teach classes.

Third, the contact with school directors and their administrators in the three schools facilitated contact with teachers. For the level of teachers, the level of analysis is (European identity) teaching in European Schools. Usually, when looking for volunteers in their classes for focus group discussions and individual interviews, teachers volunteered to be interviewed as well and/or they or the school directors helped getting in touch with more teachers willing to participate, essentially following a non-random chain referral with the advantage of eased access[24]. Overall, fifteen teachers were interviewed (four in Munich, five in Culham and six in Luxemburg). They often taught social sciences or languages, though e.g. teachers of natural sciences and religious education are also included in the sample.

3.1.3 Sampling 101 European School Students

The general objects of study were narratives of European identity expressed on different levels, in particular among European School students, as well as their transmission mechanics within and across levels. Even though process tracing relies on substantive knowledge of individual cases for analytical leverage rather than representativeness (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 129, 156, Gerring 2007: 12), this research attempted to achieve a representative sample (i.e. with substantial variance; King, Keohane and Verba 1994: 129, Collier and Mahoney 1996: 72-3) within the overarching case to allow more systematic conclusions within this given scope.

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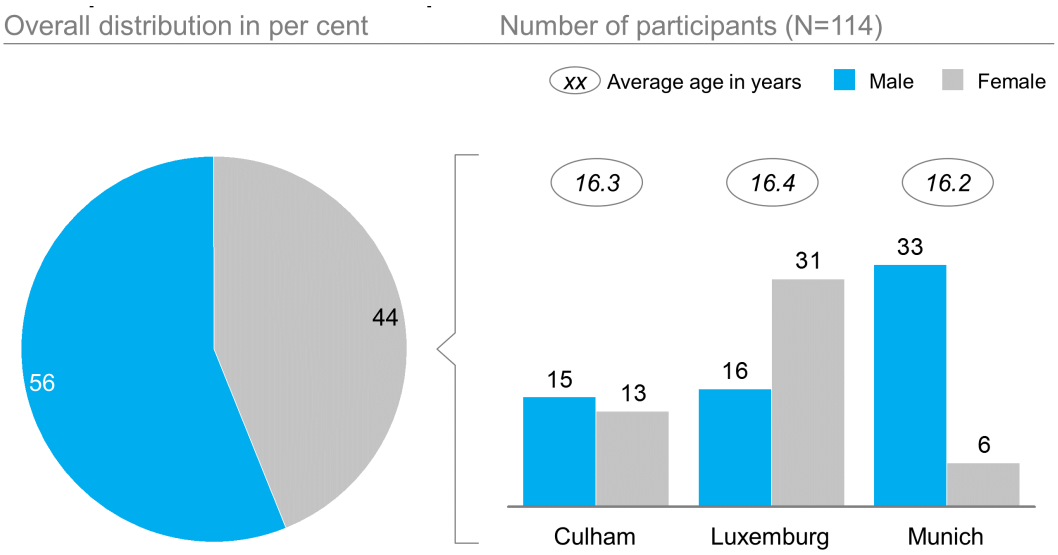
[23] To ensure anonymity, statements of the two school directors are not labelled according to their school as is the case for European School teachers.

[24] The risks associated with this were limited, as the sampling frame (of being indeed a European School teacher) was objectively controllable. There remains a potential skewedness in the data, since e.g. particularly Eurosceptic or Europhile teachers could refer to each other (or young teacher to equally young ones, social science teachers avoiding natural sciences etc.). During the interview process, this was very consciously handled and empirically, it did not seem to be an issue: opinions, also along cross-referrals were often surprising (either more diverse or similar than expected) with strong and substantive insights for process tracing, but saturating along broad lines.

As mentioned, students in European Schools are a socioeconomically privileged group at the centre of a centrifugal force of identification with Europe (OECD 2012, Fligstein 2008). Hence, their socioeconomic background and their school type "European School" are treated as a fixed dimension. The students were sampled as follows (see also Figure 4 below):

- Students in three different European Schools: Students in the three schools and thus with different nationalities of residence are considered in a within-case design (see above). There are some (very few) students who attended other European Schools before, which gave the researcher also some longitudinal insights per observation to deal with.
- Multinational vs. mononational: Students of mononational and multinational (mostly bi-national) European parents were considered within each school, taking the influence of different national identities (plus narratives and languages) on identities into account. "European" parents are defined as couples with partners from EU member states. To include all students who wished to participate while also increasing theoretical saturation, 1-2 students per school (5 in total) have been included in the sample despite having only one European parent. By employing a process tracing approach of highly conscious and qualitative data treatment, this is not a drawback but rather helps to differentiate analytical dimensions such as "Europeanness" and "cosmopolitanism".
- Parental vs. non-parental country of residence: Students living in a parental or third (non-parental) country were accounted for, looking at the influence of a non-parental nationality (and thus just like for multinational students yet another identity layer). The same logic as described above applies: Since data treatment was qualitative in nature, this sample variation is only helpful because the concerned individuals are known by the researcher who can weight different observations differently.

Figure 4: Descriptive Statistics of the Sample[25]



As mentioned above, sampling from three specific schools implies that certain nationalities of students and their parents are overrepresented, first and foremost those nationalities of the school's host country and biggest language sections. For example, comparatively few students with one or both parents from Central and Eastern European countries have been interviewed. Furthermore, the students' ethnicities are not accounted for in official school statistics. The general role of ethnic diversity is touched upon in the analysis (cf. section 4.3), but the sampling strategy does not account for ethnicity because of ethical concerns in research with children as particularly vulnerable individuals and because of the very sensitive topic ("identity") for this age group. Since only very few students have non-EU nationalities (about 5% across all 14 schools, see subsection 3.1.1), it would be easy to ascribe descriptions of students' backgrounds and their statements to specific students, rendering anonymity difficult. Similarly, where the exact description of a student's nationality/-ies would render it possible to identify the interviewee, such characteristics were avoided in the analysis[26].

[25] N=114 because the 13 interviewees that participated in both focus group and individual interview have been accounted for separately.

[26] For the same ethical concerns, the ethnic background of each student and their or their parents' nationalities could not be included in the overview of all (otherwise anonymised) interviewees provided in the appendix.

While the small number of students from Central and Eastern European countries and from non-European countries would certainly be a limitation for an analysis of region-specific perspectives (e.g. Western vs. Eastern European, intra-European vs. non-European), these small numbers were not problematic for process tracing. In process tracing, the focus in not laid on equally weighted data set observations and representative sampling (as in quantitative studies) but rather on causal process observations, which may be weighted differently (Collier, Brady and Seawright 2010, cf. Gerring 2008a, Mahoney 2000). This implies that the perspectives of such students were still included wherever representing concrete causal insights, thereby increasing theoretical saturation. Thus, rather than a bias or lack of data, this is about identifying those narrations that matter most for the specific research questions.

In the three European Schools, two to three focus groups (with 7-14 participants each) were conducted respectively. Furthermore, students were recruited (following short announcements after focus groups by the researcher or announcements by teachers in class periods) for in-depth interviews (11 in Munich, 14 in Culham, 11 in Luxemburg). Overall, this resulted in a joint sample of 101 students (31 ESM, 25 ESC and 45 ESL students). Some students (8 ESM, 3 ESC and 2 ESL) participated in both focus groups and individual interviews. For process tracing, this is again rather a strength than a source of concern: the in-depth interviews, commonly following up on the focus groups, were an opportunity to gain substantive insights and move towards more specific causal process observations and deeper leverage for the mechanism.

As qualitative research best practice shows, the overall sampling size is reasonable to tackle potential internal consistency problems and to check for acceptable reliability, while allowing informational representativeness due to the purposeful selection (Cottrell and McKenzie 2011: 135, cf. Krueger and Casey 2000). Indicative quantitative checks, offering a slightly different perspective on the qualitative results within the constraints of the dataset, were also included (Silverman 2010: 286). Furthermore, validity of interview items was strengthened with increasing the number of relevant information points (Gerring 2012: 88-90). While statistical tests allow assessing validity and consistency of strict interview items in large-N stud-

ies, for this research project, a higher sampling size helped first and foremost to ensure both theoretical and empirical saturation. Through causal process observations, a deeper understanding of European identity could be reached.

An age span was selected that allowed looking at students in the process of teenage identity formation, but who can reflect on their identity development in childhood.[27] For older teenagers, it can be easier to narrate their "consciousness of childhood" (Anderson 2006: 208), while also distancing themselves from it due to puberty. As interviews have shown, they also already have taken some tentative decisions regarding their (possibly equally transnational) future, for instance in which country to go to university. More precisely, interviews with students aged 15-19 years (in year 5, 6 or 7 of the schools, year 7 being the Baccalaureate year) were conducted. While the age of interviewees is generally taken into consideration, a formal contrast of younger vs. older students is not made due to the relatively small age span.

The entire sample was recruited from European Schools and there was otherwise a pragmatic distribution along the selection criteria, mostly based on who volunteered to participate. This is of course a selection bias, which however is somewhat unavoidable given the socio-psychological research aspects that place strong constraints on incentivising participation by other means. The expected partial misconstruction of the sample regarding representativeness was therefore tackled by employing a leverage-focused approach in the first place, i.e. process tracing as described above. According selection bias is also transparently mapped[28].

[27] Children's and adolescents' identity development was an important scope condition: according to the literature on cognitive development and socialisation, the selected age span means that individuals are looked at among whom supranational identity categories have developed and can be actively used (cf. subsection 2.5.1).

[28] Cf. Figures 3, 6 and 8 (descriptive statistics, number of nationalities, mobility experiences).

3.2 Data Collection

3.2.1 Document Analysis and Elite Interviews

To grasp the formal goals and practices of European identity construction and transmission in European Schools, the European Schools' statutes, protocols and brochures were studied. Since the specific school curricula for different subjects are the same for all European Schools and their content and the school system have already been researched (cf. Savvides 2006, Haus 2009, Hetterschijt 2012), this project only marginally touches on these (obviously, according secondary sources are taken into consideration[29]).

Interviews with EU officials, European School directors and teachers lasted about 30-60 (sometimes up to 80) minutes and were conducted in English and German. Despite being based on an interview guideline to facilitate structured comparability, the interview situation was handled flexibly with spontaneous adjustments of questions, their formulations and their order (Gläser and Laudel 2010: 150). Thereby, a natural conversation and transitions to other questions were facilitated, accounting for the specific (partly very high ranking) position of each interviewee.

Formal coding of elite-interview transcripts was not carried out. Instead, the study relied on the analysis of all quotes that were deemed as relevant for the research question and empirical sub-questions (Gläser and Laudel 2010). This strategy was chosen due to the explorative nature and limited number of interviews and is thus in line with the strategy of taking selective notes during interviews, while keeping the interviewee engaged in a flexible, free-floating conversation.

EU Officials

Due to the nature of the interviewees (individuals working for the EU who are experts on the policy topics of interest), interviews are a mix of elite and expert interviews (Littig 2008, cf. Shore 2000). First-hand information and insights into thoughts and opinions of the EU offi-

[29] The focus of those analyses is mainly on educationalist and descriptive matters, they are thus an important precondition for the analyses carried out here, which move beyond this by digging into the causal processes at work.

cials (beyond official policy statements) were sought and explicitly asked for in interviews. Interview questions addressed notions of Europe and Europeanness. First and foremost, policies regarding citizens' "Europeanisation" (Shore 2000) were addressed, i.e. the construction of a European identity and the incorporation of specific narratives. During interviews, deep-dives along the pre-framed questions were flexibly executed depending on the course of the conversation. Each interview concluded with asking for further sources the interviewee would like to recommend to the researcher. Regarding current EU viewpoints, the interviewer (otherwise dependent on documents and secondary sources) retrieved information and got access to further written material and contacts due to the network of civil servants.

Beyond their rather "technocratic" perspective on EU issues, the EU officials were often also parents of students in one of the European Schools in Brussels. The accounts on European Schools are not simply biased by, but they indeed stand for personal experiences of the (Brussels) European Schools. Thus, these subjective narrations are also included in the analysis. They add another interesting layer because students' perspectives can be triangulated[30]. Furthermore, diverging national (and some regional) perspectives were also added to the picture. Because the number of participants selected *ex ante* was small and because they were scattered across different EC Directorates-General, telephone interviews were a viable communication method with a pre-defined set of baseline questions being sent to the respective interviewee beforehand.

European School Directors and Teachers

Two interviews with European School directors (one school director, one secondary school director) and fifteen interviews with teachers have been carried out. The investigation helps to understand how they assess European School education and to what extent they aim at transmitting which specific narratives of European identity. Teachers and school directors were also explicitly asked about measures European Schools and they individually take to construct a European identity and about their view on their students' identities.

[30] Some insights into the Brussels European Schools, otherwise not included in the case design, were thereby gained.

The interviewees are considered to be experts of their respective school and its educational pillars, i.e. of curricular and extracurricular activities and objectives. However, for teachers, the interviewees' own take on "European identity" and the individual educational aims (i.e. what values children ought to learn and what they should learn about Europe and a European in-group) were also considered. Interviews were semi-structured with some open questions regarding individual feelings and objectives.

An important goal of interviews was a triangulation of the EU level. The objectives of the school staff were analysed in comparison and in contrast to those of the EU with regards to (European) identity and (European) education and to their own role in European identity transmission. Another goal is the reflection of students' perspectives, i.e. to investigate whether students and teachers have similar perspectives on European narratives and on the schools' influence on students' identities. As the interplay between and differences across levels are of prime interest, these were reflected on in interview questions.

3.2.2 In-Depth Interviews and Focus Groups with European School Students

For the focus groups and interviews with students, peculiarities of research with young people had to be considered. First, interviewees needed to grasp the nature of the study, without the given information influencing subsequently voiced opinions or expressed identities. This is in line with the literature that emphasises the problem of asking suggestive questions in interviews with young people: having researched children's suggestibility to interpretations by means of follow-up interviews, Lyon (1999: 8) notes that children's free narration and open-ended "wh-questions" should be favoured. Furthermore, what counts as appropriate questions is age-dependent. The influence of standard biases (see below) also had to be accounted for.

The research topic was very broadly explained to interviewees beforehand as a conversation dealing with European Schools and views on the different national backgrounds of individuals present in school. Most students seemed to be eager to talk about their biographies and

their (commonly) various identities, as this topic is very much present in their daily lives[31]. This implied that volunteers for interviews were mostly enthusiastic about sharing their thoughts, arguably a selection bias. Nevertheless, the interviews showed that some students were also more critical of the European Schools or a European identity. This was also the case in focus groups, during which the teacher (who usually taught those students) was sometimes sitting in the back of the room. While a social desirability bias had to be considered, the students' narrations did not seem to be particularly influenced by this – probably to some extent because similar debates are known to students from their schooling as well as e.g. from their parents' home countries, where they reported to be asked about their senses of belonging. Generally, having particularly self-aware students willing to share their views obviously eased unbundling specificities and causal process observations.

Second, practical concerns were considered. Long, narrative interviews are difficult to carry out with young people due to their smaller attention span, resulting in comparably shorter interviews vis-à-vis interviews with teachers. On average, individual interviews with students lasted about 15-30 minutes and focus groups lasted 25-45 minutes. Since teenagers were interviewed[32], information leaflets and consent forms were distributed to students and their parents, who could also choose to opt out of the research. Interviewees could give informed consent and their privacy was protected. Accordingly, pseudonyms for the students' names are used (Danby, Ewing and Thorpe 2011: 75).

Third and finally, when conducting interviews with young people, researchers need to take ethical concerns and a related positional bias into account. For the interview process, disparities of power had to be considered. While conducting interviews in these schools, the researcher communicated with the involved individuals in one of their main languages (either a mother tongue or one of the languages they are taught in at school). This implied a language they are comfortable with, which is crucial for in-depth qualitative content analysis. Being

[31] That is not to say that the topic is necessarily linked to a "hot" or contested identity in any way. Rather, it was something they could easily relate to and talk about, since being regularly being asked about these issues by other individuals, e.g. in their parents' home countries or by students from other (non-European) schools.

[32] But not young children, which would call for even more precautions.

aware of interviewees' vulnerability, interviews took place in school (i.e. on the individual's own turf) to make sure that children felt comfortable in the interview situation and that they knew they could opt out at any point (Scott 2000: 92).

The interview topics were not considered harmful. They dealt with personal identities, but did not touch very sensitive topics[33] and covered a topic the interviewees were usually already aware of, as they are being confronted with different national identities in their daily environment. Thus, the teenagers could be dealt with as both procedural and thematic "experts" of such identity settings in the interviews. This significantly decreased a potential positional bias, as they could feel confident about topics. Students were e.g. asked to explain the school structure, the language sections etc. to the researcher who had come to the school as a "less knowledgeable outsider". Additionally, students were also experts regarding interpretations of specific procedures and practices in school. That way, interpretations of adults on behalf of these young people could be avoided (Danby, Ewing and Thorpe 2011: 74) or (e.g. in triangulations with teacher interviews) be compared at eye level with the students' own perspectives.

Focus Groups

Focus groups have been executed to access the young people's views and their negotiations about national and other form of belongings as well as their reflection on what they learn about Europe and how they exercise their potential Europeanness, especially in school. The focus group setting allowed a safe peer environment with groups who knew each other from class, leading to a discussion among equals in a safe setting and thereby creating synergies of answers (Morgan 1996: 139). Accordingly, discussions among peers in focus groups are providing rich accounts of identity constructions (Greene and Hogan 2005: 5).

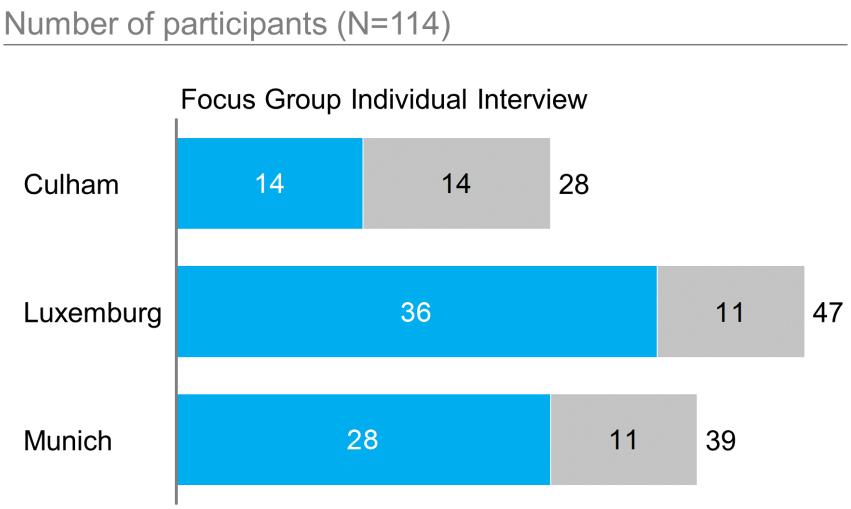
The interpersonal interaction produced in the group of peers was observed and analysed (Morgan 1996): how do young people react to individuals with other national backgrounds than their own? Do they take defensive or offensive positions and do they challenge each other's positions (e.g. in a discourse on (not) having a national identity or when describing fel-

[33] For instance, sexual identities were not touched upon in any interview.

low students in national terms)? Furthermore, it was assessed whether participants emphasise a common, possibly European identity.

While focus groups can lead participants to search consensus in discussions, referring to common experiences and identities, such a consensus should not be taken for granted. Rather, contrasting perspectives and general group dynamics were considered (Barbour 2007). One might argue that some of the causal processes of identification could indeed be seen at work in this setup, thus providing an alternative source of evidence for process tracing. Overall, the focus groups brought about some of the advantages of participant observations (which would have been much more time-consuming) by considering interpersonal interactions and developing discourses within a group. The evidence collected this way was therefore a source of triangulation (see Figure 5 below for a distribution by method of data gathering). It also highlighted concrete areas for deep-dives in individual interviews.

Figure 5: Distribution and Method of Data Gathering



Individual In-Depth Interviews

Individual in-depth interviews started with open-ended questions to avoid prompting students to talk about a European identity. A defined set of topics in an otherwise flexible (context-dependent and constantly refined) interview guideline was used. Later in each interview, narrower leading questions and probes were used to ensure retrieving answers covering the

key concepts and overarching codes. Interviewing followed an agile technique by incrementally enhancing the interview strategy.

Questions were refined in the interviewing process and interviews in each of the three schools were conducted until reaching a level of theoretical saturation, i.e. a broad range of responses in an unbiased sample[34] (Rapley 2014, Mason 2010). Interviews were conducted until the researcher kept hearing the same things, i.e. answers showed redundancy (Cottrell and McKenzie 2011: 135) and in that sense, lacked both substantiveness for process tracing and additional codes for content analysis (see below). As the target of the interviews was not mapping descriptive frequencies of observations but rather to have rich content, this was an adequate point for stopping the collection of interviewees' perspectives.

To sum up, refining the interview guideline and process was of paramount importance to increase validity, reliability and saturation. A triangulation of focus groups and individual interviews as well as the generally large number of in-depth interviews allowed a focus on students' narrations and an understanding of their identification processes that has not been reached by previous studies[35].

[34] The size of the sample vastly exceeds common qualitative studies, which often focus on 15-30 interviews without triangulation (Kvale 2007: 44). Thus, obviously within the constraints of the overall school setup, the sample provided strong input for process tracing and content analysis with a focus on causal process observations, while almost moving towards a sample size suitable for quantitative dataset observations (cf. Collier, Brady and Seawright 2010).

[35] For example, Savvides' (2009) aforementioned study on European Schools in the realm of comparative education focused on the teacher level (40 interviews). Focus groups with students (20 groups with about six participants each in three schools) were carried out to triangulate the teachers' accounts, while individual interviews accounted for eight interviews in two schools.

3.3 Data Analysis

3.3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

For the document and elite interview analysis, reduced data (transcribed interview chunks as well as parts of documents that contained key words and concepts) were interpreted with a loose qualitative content analysis (cf. Flick 2014, Krippendorff 2013, Mayring 2015). For both documents and interviews, an iterative process of data analysis was employed, with several analytical loops, i.e. the researcher went back to the transcripts and documents several times during the research process.

Focus groups and individual interviews with students were fully transcribed and then coded in their respective original language – German for Munich, English for Culham and both English and German for Luxemburg. Due to time constraints, only those chunks of interview transcripts were translated into English that are directly quoted in the thesis[36]. Overall, the transcripts facilitated greater transparency. They allowed the researcher to go back to the content of the interviews instead of having to decide in the beginning what quotes are important for the project (Silverman 2010: 240).

For qualitative content analysis (Krippendorff 2013, Mayring 2015), interviews were coded with a codebook. Just as the interview guidelines were revised during the interviewing process, the codebook has constantly been re-checked with the empirical data and accordingly improved. In a deductive approach, codes were developed based on the literature, i.e. they were derived from (pre-known, theoretical) concept attributes (Gerring 2008b). In a more inductive manner, new ideas and concepts detected in the transcripts were categorised as well. Accordingly, a theory-driven as well as data-driven approach to coding has been employed in an iterative process (Gibbs 2007: 45-6). The goal of the qualitative coding (carried out with NVivo, a "CAQDAS" software for qualitative data analysis) was to retrieve theoreti-

[36] Students' original statements in German are provided in endnotes. Generally, language or grammar mistakes were not deliberately changed (although e.g. sometimes wrong prepositions in German changed into correct prepositions in English when translated). Reading is improved by not quoting 'ehms' or breaks in speech. Teachers have also been interviewed in both German and English. Due to the selective transcriptions and the smaller number of interviews (making it e.g. harder to anonymise interviewees), the thesis provides their statements only in English regardless of the original language. EU officials have only been interviewed in English.

cally and analytically relevant information (Gibbs 2007: 41). Furthermore, descriptive information was coded, i.e. demographical and biographical attributes.

The same analytical categories were used for qualitative content analysis of focus group transcripts. However, the empirical analysis of focus groups also went beyond the content analysis, taking individual interactions into consideration, e.g. reactions to contrasting perspectives or a search for a consensus in the group discussion. Additionally, data and methodological triangulation was sought trough diverse questions (but equivalent codes) vis-à-vis individual interviews: for focus groups, similar questions to those asked in surveys that measure European identity have been asked. For instance, students were asked to rank what is very close to them and what is less close, having categories like "world", "Europe", "country" etc. The goal was obviously not to replicate survey questions[37] in the qualitative focus-group interviews, which would methodologically not be sound, but to introduce a cross-check by having typical coding items being filled with diverse sources of data.

3.3.2 Process-Oriented Coding Categories for Student Interviews and Focus Groups

The following details the coding categories for the transcribed interviews and focus groups. The first set of coding categories are concerned with senses of belonging: what senses of belonging are expressed by students (European, national, regional, local, cosmopolitan)? For identification with a European in-group of the teenager, the perspectives of interviewees are coded, i.e. the "voices the respondents use" (Silverman 2010: 226-7) to describe narratives of European identity. Thereby, the constructivist approach to identity (identity is not fixed and each individual exhibits different aspects of it, depending on which identity is salient in a specific situation) is accommodated in the analysis. Coding patterns of identification with Europe allows delineating different narratives of such an identity and according approaches by individuals. Furthermore, it is coded *how* this sense of belonging is described – as a single salient identity or fragmentation (e.g. feeling "half" European or national); as a switching of salient senses of belonging or a fusion, i.e. a combination of salient identities.

[37] However, the results could still be related to more general, quantitative Eurobarometer results and inform future quantitative studies.

The second set of coding categories are concerned with different aspects of grouping, both by interviewees as well as reported out-grouping by people in their surroundings. First, students often mention the existence of a European in-group (e.g. being based on a similar mentality of Europeans) and it is analysed whether students describe this in-group with respect to values, to politics and economy, to geography or to a history and culture. Second, students construct out-groups of "non-Europeans" and these constructions are again analysed based on coding categories: Do students mention such an out-group and again, is this out-group linked to values, politics, geography, culture? Third, students sometimes construct in-groups and out-groups with respect to nations and this is also coded in interviews. Finally, statements regarding how students feel they are perceived by other people (i.e. do students feel in-grouped or out-grouped) are also coded within the overall set of codes on "grouping".

The third set of more analytical codes (i.e. more abstract views on mechanistic components) deal with the pre-identified conceptual framework, which are combined with more inductive analytical codes that came up in interviews (Flick 2014). For the analysis, two sets of codes are here distinguished – on the one hand, codes addressing causal forces of socialisation and education, of an expressed interest in Europe; and of the exposure to national and European stories and, on the other hand, codes addressing causal forces of multilingualism and students' perspectives on it and on transnational mobility in different contexts, either virtually or physically. Essentially, these forms of codes pick up the above descriptive components and connect them axially, elaborating on relations between categories (Flick 2014: 293). Besides providing patterned evidence for content analysis, this is a direct input for process tracing in the form of "causal process observations" (Collier, Brady and Seawright 2010, Beach and Pedersen 2013: 73, Mahoney 2010).

Finally, interviews are coded for other information of biographical and demographical nature (age, gender, parents' jobs). In-vivo codes, that is, previously unknown codes derived directly from the data, were applied if interview chunks were deemed as important for the research project, but could not be coded with existing categories. The results permitted inference re-

garding the school and family context (prevailing cultural or linguistic patterns) and the peer environment (e.g. the national background of peers).

Coding with CAQDAS allowed a rigorous approach to the data and improved the validity and reliability of the data analysis (King, Keohane and Verba 1994: 26). However, using CAQDAS can also make the data analysis less creative. Here, it was important to re-read transcripts and develop codes in an iterative process to ensure their groundedness in the data. This also concerned the connectedness with theoretical pre-considerations and according conceptual attributes by a combination of an inductive and a deductive approach. The focus on analytic codes allowed a rigorous interpretation of the data instead of simply re-stating an interviewee's "view of the world" (Gibbs 2007: 46, cf. Krippendorff 2013). As outlined, the loose comparison of results from different schools led to an improved (though not overall generalisable) view on identification with Europe in European Schools by facilitating a deeper understanding of relevant components (Ragin 2014: 69, Miles and Huberman 1994: 41).

Overall, the conducted interviews gave students the opportunity to express and discuss their views on Europe, their identification patterns and their life stories. The role of the researcher was to collect and analyse such rich narrations to reflect on common patterns. The interviews helped to assess individual reflections of identity development in childhood and the possible prevalence of a European consciousness. While using one analytical method (qualitative content analysis), a triangulation was reached by using data from individual interviews and focus groups, accounting e.g. for possible patterns of social desirability within interviews (cf. Lyon 1999). Triangulation[38] strengthened the disentanglement of *causal* forces as a basis of process tracing and increased the validity of *descriptive* results regarding rich narrations of European identity notions (King, Keohane and Verba 1994). The theoretical pre-considerations and the interest in a possible top-down transmission chain of European identity narratives guided the research on the student level. Together with inductive codes, a nuanced and exhaustive picture of the analysed data could be drawn (Flick 2008).

[38] Process-tracing accounts are stronger, the more independent the accounts are.

3.3.3 Process Tracing and Qualitative Content Analysis – Challenges and Outlook

Like any other research strategy, the strategy and methodology chosen for this project comes with advantages, but also caveats. First, collinearity and multidirectionality cannot be fully ruled out. However, the chosen strategy tackles these issues. Due to the high conceptual complexity of identification with Europe, a quantitative approach would oversimplify narratives and identification processes. By collecting narrations and tracing the transmission of narratives, the project reaches a comprehensive understanding of "European identity" in the setting of European Schools and its transformation across levels. Re-checking the interview transcripts in the coding process and the strategy of iterative coding strengthens the reliability of the research. Rather than focusing on explaining variance, the qualitative content analysis was aimed at tracing processes of identity transmission and a causal mechanism of students' identification with Europe as well as "the recurrences, the plausible whys" (Miles and Huberman 1994: 69, cf. Panke 2012, Checkel 2008, Collier 2011).

Second, the chosen research strategy is not the optimum way to prove influence of an independent variable "European School". For such an alternative design, national or "non-European" international schools could serve as control groups. This could lead to more variance on both sides of an equation, i.e. dependent ("European identity") and independent variables (most prominently, "European schooling"). However, it implies a comparison of inherently different populations, from which participants are sampled. Even if one argues that this is not the case, variation on both dependent and independent variables (socioeconomic background, non-European nationalities, parents' choice of school's system etc.) would render it difficult to trace causal mechanisms. This means that while a why-question could be tackled to some degree, a how-question would certainly remain unanswered.

Yet another alternative design could include comparable individuals schooled elsewhere (e.g. siblings of whom one is in a European School and one in another school). This could help to single out the school influence. However, the parents' reasons for sending the child to the respective school would then be an important variable and a likely source of bias due to pur-

poseful selection into a specific population. In general, the focus would be laid on families rather than on schools. By focussing on European Schools, variation remains largely controllable on both sides of the equation, which therefore nicely scopes a realm of inference with strong leverage and internal validity for process tracing. Most importantly, rather than aiming at measuring strengths of variables, the research is focused on mechanisms and components of these. Triangulation (of different levels; of focus groups vs. individual interviews in three schools; of individual stories on the student level) helped to trace narratives of "European identity" and to understand processes of individual identification with Europe from different angles, further strengthening the validity of the research (see below).

Third, the three European Schools have a somewhat limited comparability because they vary in different aspects, mostly related to their specific location (e.g. the national setting, the urban setting, parental backgrounds). However, while this is certainly a caveat, a within-case strategy with three schools as part of the case "European Schools system" allowed having a broader range of rich descriptions of European identity narratives and their transmission, thereby making the inference more reliable. While all three schools were part of the same most-likely case, a balanced mix of respondents was achieved through the purposive sampling strategy. This is also reflected in the empirical outcome that in all three schools, there were students who did and who did not report a sense of belonging to Europe. Having three school cases thus increased the theoretical saturation and the likelihood that different stories and different perspectives are heard before assessing recurrent patterns *across* schools and across different levels. By including quotations from interviewees in the empirical analysis, the groundedness of the results in the collected and interpreted data is clarified, increasing internal validity.

Finally, theory-building process tracing has the ambition to inform theory beyond the specific case (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 16). Thus, equifinality and generalisability of research need to be considered. Regarding equifinality, a process-tracing study should consider alternative paths to the outcome (Checkel 2006: 370). The project tackles this caveat by contextualising the traced components and discussing alternative causal factors. Purposefully, the project

does not discuss mechanisms leading towards a different causal outcome (a different "Y") for methodological, empirical and theoretical reasons.

Methodologically, departing from correlational evidence or expectations, inductive process tracing establishes a path between an X (here: European schooling) and Y (here: students' identification with Europe) with high internal validity and specificity. In this process, the Y is defined clearly as a result of the developed overarching minimally sufficient causal mechanism that is traced as an explanation. Empirically, the research at European Schools establishes a clear-cut scope condition regarding potential outcomes (cf. the discussion of alternative research including different schools above). Therefore, mechanics established towards different outcomes would suffer from bias. In line with this, theoretically, the focus on the specific Y is in line with the aim of inductive process tracing, that is, theory building.

By tracing a mechanism through which X influences Y, the inference that X is a cause of Y is supported (Hedström and Ylikoski 2010). The focus on a most-likely case is thus helpful for the theoretical ambition beyond the single case, since theory-building process tracing seeks to generalise (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 19, 51). Regarding generalisations within the project, to make sure that statements in interviews are not over-generalised, adequate references to frequencies have been made in the empirical chapters. The non-random sampling strategy means that it is not possible to use proportions of respondents to generalise to a wider population. Rather, the group of interviewees and their statements are included to demonstrate recurring, interesting and varied responses within the case (Gibbs 2007: 100).

Due to the careful qualitative content analysis, the employed process tracing method leads to a deeper understanding of European identity and its transmission. While general truths about how European citizens are raised cannot be given, the project develops a causal mechanism that can inform future research, as it is systematic (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 16) and provides causal components that are testable in other contexts (cf. Elster 2007, Hedström and Ylikoski 2010).

Summing up, for this research project, process tracing was carried out in a within-case, cross-level strategy. The methodology consisted of a qualitative content analysis, with a focus on a rigorous and triangulated process-tracing analysis of interviews and focus groups with students. The analysis of European narratives of individuals and institutions in the European School setting was deemed fruitful, since these schools share the same curriculum across Europe and they constitute a most-likely case of European identity transmission. Accordingly, the researcher expected to come across individual identification with Europe. This is a selection bias, which implies that compared to other populations, the impact on a dependent variable could be overestimated, since the project assumedly looks at "overly European" individuals (Goertz and Mahoney 2006: 178). However, the goal of the empirical study was *not* to explain variance in a dependent variable "identification with Europe" in a (quasi-experimental) causal-inference design.

Rather, to answer the "how"-question of this research project, European identity notions are *intensively described* (Collier 2011) and *mechanisms disentangled* (Panke 2012) by means of qualitative content analysis and subsequent process tracing. Methodologically, this crucially aligned the deterministic ontology of mechanistic thinking with an inductive epistemological interest around the contested issue of "identity". Specific compositions and components of the mechanism and its surroundings were first described to then theorise how these components connect to form a causal direction – the combination of qualitative content analysis and process tracing was powerful in that regard. Thereby, it could be traced how narratives are transmitted and transformed on the different levels. Through process tracing, a causal mechanism with several sub-mechanics could be inferred that opens the black box of the relation between European schooling and students' identification with Europe.

4. In-Group Narratives

The discussed conceptualisations around European identity (chapter 2) have made clear that the in-group of this identity (and thus, its referent object) as well as the individuals' identification with Europe remain contested in the scholarly literature and unsettled in practice. Multinational, cosmopolitan, national or transnational approaches to "European identity" have been outlined. A definition of a personal European identity has been developed that acknowledges individual meanings and feelings regarding this self-definition. To answer the research question how narratives of European identity get transformed as they are transmitted from the EU-driven European Schools to students, an in-depth understanding of European narratives concerning both the in-group and the out-group and on different levels is key.

The disentanglement of such narratives is carried out through qualitative content analysis, i.e. a structured way of identifying particularly recurrent and strong accounts. This provides perspectives on what Europe and a European identity mean to institutions and individuals and more specifically, which narratives of in-groups (chapter 4) and out-groups (chapter 5) are transmitted and constructed. Having thereby identified a first set of potential mechanistic components as well as active entities, both of which are crucial in process tracing, the empirical analysis proceeds with inferring a causal mechanism (chapter 6). This mechanism unpacks the causal relation between European Schooling and students' identification with Europe.

As theoretically discussed, narrative constructions answer the questions "Who are we? Who are they?" (Tilly 2002: 5-6) and individuals strive for positive narratives of their "imagined community" (Anderson 2006). The analysis in this chapter aims at assessing the in-group narratives of European identity at different (vertical) levels and their EU-envisaged transmission. Findings at each vertical level are visualised in tables at the end of the respective sections and then brought together in an overall table in the final discussion.

As this chapter shows, at the EU and European School level (section 4.1), the in-group is narrated as nation-states being united in (multinational) diversity and European School students

are supposed to receive multilingual and multinational schooling. At the level of teachers (section 4.2) and students (section 4.3) however, the in-group is defined not only in a multinational, but also strongly in a transnational and cosmopolitan sense. Students emphasise European values and that every individual is equally and inherently diverse. Finally, the analysis of in-group narratives is rounded up (section 4.4) with a comparison of recurrent as well as surprising narratives within and across respective levels and a discussion of these narratives in comparison to the established narratives of nationalism. The main findings from the chapter – that is, surprisingly diverse narratives across levels and a divergence of students' narratives from the EU vision – inform the (subsequent, causally oriented) process tracing of European identity transmission.

4.1 In-Group Narratives in the EU and European Schools System

4.1.1 EU Documents and by EU Officials

This subsection deals with in-group narratives emerging from EU documents and according statements by EU officials. As mentioned in the theoretical discussion, positive narratives of an in-group can foster identification. Hence, the "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm 1983) through symbols and stories can be a means of the EU to transmit a European identity (cf. Eder 2009). First, the narrative of (nations being) "stronger together" is analysed. This multinational as well as national narrative is linked to specific values that are made explicit in documents and interviews. Second, the EU addresses an equally multinational narrative of national cultures being "united in diversity". Third and finally, a transnational narrative is proposed insofar, as the in-group narrative is closely linked to citizenship policies. The EU's aim is to promote the interchange of citizens through mobility and education, while policy documents remain vague regarding the exact approach to identity transmission.

To start with, a narrative of European nations being stronger together is observed at the EU level. This vision was already present in the very first EU document on European identity, the Declaration on European Identity (European Communities 1973). According to this narrative, a coordination of various member states is vital until today because of a national self-interest. The multinational narrative of being stronger together is directed towards nation-states and thus remains on the top level (rather than being directed "top-down" to the people). A European identity helps to safeguard and promote interests of EU member states in a globalised world (Niethammer 2000: 94-5). As part of the narrative of "being stronger together", the EU and EU officials put forward symbols of the union that emerged after a history of wars (cf. section 5.1 on out-group). The EU imitates states, providing the European political community with nation-style symbols like the European flag, anthem ("Ode to Joy"), passport and currency, which, according to nationalism literature, function as top-down messages to citizens (Bruter 2003, Elgenius 2011a).

Second, another multinational narrative alluded to already in the Declaration on European Identity (European Communities 1973) is the narrative of EU member states and their citizens being "united in diversity". A European identity has initially been seen as a by-product of economic integration and is still supposed to be strengthened by practical benefits. Furthermore, and alluding to the perceived necessity of reaching consent among citizens, cultural and educational policies are today, again in a top-down attempt, aimed at "forming a European awareness" among culturally diverse citizens (Maastricht 1992: Art. 138a). As one interviewed EU official argued, the EU educational aim is to build a European identity but also to maintain "that diversity, which makes Europe special" (EUO1). Developed in a contest by schools and young citizens, the objective of this official EU motto is to give a more profound meaning to the EU and Europe. Forging a "common destiny", Europeans live in a "special area of human hope" (European Communities 2005: Preamble). Regarding this narrative, one interviewee explained this as follows:

> *"the diversity, including the national and cultural diversity of Europe, is an asset that we want to preserve, not erase" (EUO3).*

Several interviewed EU officials viewed such a European identity as inclusive. According to their multinational perspective, European and national identities (as well as other territorial identities) can well be present at the same time:

> *"you can be from Brussels, French-speaking Belgium and be European. And […] promoting one of those identities certainly doesn't exclude the other" (EUO4).*

The Maastricht Treaty gave a legal basis for cultural actions within and by the EU according to an equally multinational narrative. Attempting to strengthen the support of citizens, cultural actions are aimed at deepening "the solidarity between their [the member states'] peoples while respecting their history, their culture and their traditions" (Maastricht 1992: Preamble). Viviane Reding, in her role as Commissioner for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship, linked a European identity to stories of a collective memory and common future:

> *"The European identity is the identity of its citizens. [...] [It is] based on a collective memory of a historical and cultural past but also on a shared vision for a common future. Through culture we can express and strengthen this feeling of a shared destiny." (EU C372E/ 248).*

Appealing to a European in-group of citizens and referring to a common destiny, Reding plays "the patriotic card" as described by Billig (1995: 99), while explicitly alluding to the collective memory (Strath 2002). In nationalism theories, identity constructions are serving to break down the division "between the private and local spheres, in which most citizens normally lived, and the public and national one" (Hobsbawm 1983: 142). Similarly, a European identity is here seen as the identity of its citizens and the word "we" is used, highlighting a sense of belonging together (Bruter 2003: 1150). A "cultural past" and shared "culture" is alluded to, however, this concept remains vague.

While past and current crises of the European project were partly deplored by the EU officials interviewed, one interviewee argued that the EU has "done a lot to make people feel part of the project that is their project" (EUO3). At the same time, this bureaucrat sees the EU's ownership of the European project as "perhaps the precondition for the promotion of European identity" (EUO3). This underlines the tension between a bottom-up vision of citizens' European identity and a top-down vision of European identity promotion, which coexist in policies and in narrations of EU officials.

> *"[European identity] is not shaped from above. It can be nourished by the institutions, but you don't just decree a European identity. It emerges because it reflects a commonality of values. That's the way identities are created" (EUO3).*

As part of the outlined multinational and nation-style narratives, the EU and EU officials – just like the official quoted above – put forward stories about values that unite European nations (and their citizens), advocating a "soul for Europe" (EC 2014c). This is in line with nationalism theory, which argues that "a nation is a soul" (Renan 1990). Somewhat alluding to this shared "soul", interviewed EU officials claimed that the EU is based on "certain values" (EUO4) and that having a European identity can be defined as "sharing its [the EU's] values" (EUO3). As expressed in the Treaty of Lisbon (2007: Preamble), the EU is based on "the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe" – thus, culture and values closely interact. This alludes to Judeo-Christian traditions and Enlightenment (Roth 2003, Anderson 2006). Referring to a more recent set of values, one interviewee describes "the essence of be-

ing European" according to a notion of democratic (and possibly cosmopolitan) values (Biebuyck and Rumford 2012, Eder 2009):

> *"It is to become a critical, independent citizen that can exercise freedom for real. And that's the essence of democracy and what Europe stands for" (EUO5).*

This definition is charged with values that can again very well be attributed to European Enlightenment, but takes up an inclusive notion.

Third and finally, adopting a more transnational narrative of a European in-group, the citizens' shared experiences and practices of EU citizenship are a tool to transmit a European identity. EU policy documents and interviewees often use the concepts of European identity and EU citizenship (as well as Europe and EU) interchangeably. Furthermore, EU policies mention a wish for progressing integration of European "peoples":

> *"remaining proud of their own national identities and history, the peoples of Europe are determined to transcend their former divisions and, united ever more closely, to forge a common destiny" (European Communities 2005: Preamble).*

The EU vision of an ever-closer union, associated with a wish to create a federal vision of Europe and thus the "United States of Europe", remains contested. Sticking to a (multi-) national narrative and moving away from the vision of being united ever more closely, the EU emphasises that national identities, as well as national citizenship, are to be safeguarded (Treaty of Lisbon 2007: Art. 3a).

With regards to narrations of *their own identity*, most EU officials interviewed claimed that they first feel a sense of belonging to their nationality and only then to Europe. While seeing these two identities as complementary, they were eager to emphasise that distinct order. This aligns with the official multinational narrative of safeguarding national identities and promoting a European identity as an additional layer. As part of promoting narratives of EU citizenship, EU officials are "at the heart of a machine to produce EU meaning" (Ross 2011: 26-7). This concerns both their own identity as well as the promotion of citizenship and identity among citizens. Among EU officials, the Europeanised work setting influences their view of Europe and they feel they work for a greater cause. All interviewees expressed pro-European attitudes: some depicted this as their motivator to work for the EU, but it can also be ascribed

to their transnational, European day-to-day work and interactions (Hooghe and Marks 2001: 150, cf. Mair 2004, Shore 2000).

With regards to how *citizens' European identity* is or should be promoted, interviewees recurrently referred to contemporary crises of the European project. Several mentioned to nationalist or anti-EU tendencies in Europe, arguing that European integration might have advanced too fast compared to the necessary preconditions for the EU's future function and success. Interviewees defended perceived flaws in the EU's promotion of citizenship and identity. In this respect, they claimed that values are a cornerstone of European identity, but that the identity should be broadened to a wider public and "to something that is more a common experience and a common culture" (EUO4):

> *"the idea of building a more widespread sense of European identity and citizenship [...], it has to be practical it shouldn't be some kind of abstract or just for a small group of specialists it needs to something really practical that people can relate to and you have to pick on. You can't just invent that. It has to be something that are either young people learning in school or that they pick up through their life experience and I think whereas in the past on the life experience site an awful lot of people were excluded from the possibilities seeing the wider world or the wider Europe in this case that that has changed and that's something that changed for the better" (EUO1).*

> *"this 'united in diversity' [...] is always trotted by European politicians, but it is a concept that is sometimes difficult for people to understand" (EUO1).*

Interviewees argued that citizens have "false expectations about what the EU should or could do and for which it hasn't the means [or] competencies" (EUO4). Similarly, one EU official blamed national media for scapegoating the EU:

> *"when everything goes well, it's thanks to the national government and when everything doesn't go well, well, that's the EU in Brussels" (EUO1).*

In contrast, another interviewee criticised the EU's way of promoting EU citizenship:

> *"There is a little bit of an inbuilt elitism in the way the EU traditionally has been looking at citizenship" (EUO5).*

According to this interviewee, the EU also has somewhat patronising tendencies, since taking up a proactive role in shaping discourses and focusing on a top-down promotion rather than leaving it to European citizens to define and shape *their* citizenship.[39] Diverging opinions of

[39] This aligns with the opinion of several interviewed teachers and students that European School are a "bubble" and thus arguably another elite project.

interviewed EU officials can largely be explained by their previous socialisation into their specific nationality (and possibly a previous state career) as well as the respective field of work, e.g. the specific DG and the individual's rank (Hooghe and Marks 2001: 149, Beyers 2005, Hooghe 1999). Hence, while the EU bureaucrats interviewed are generally pro-European, they still root themselves in national narrations (referring to their own national background to explain their attitudes) and partly diverge to a slight extent from EU narrations, pointing to flaws in the (historical design of the) European project.

> *"it is good that the European Union is focusing not on, you know, some kind of airy fairy ideals which might have been attractive in the 1950s, but is seeing what is really relevant in the present day" (EUO1).*

As this interviewee argued, the historical focus on "airy fairy details" has shifted. This mirrors the prevalent perspective of EU officials on European identity transmission: the focus on EU citizenship and citizens' identity came in late during European integration – but across the board, interviewed EU officials welcomed this shift in narrative transmission.

This is in line with a general trend: European integration in education has advanced in the last decades, in particular in higher education (Bologna Treaty 1998) and vocational training (Copenhagen Process 2001). To prevent a "citizenship deficit" among the younger generation, it was deemed necessary to "intensify efforts to develop European citizenship and a European identity" (EC 2001a: 59). Despite subsidiarity in education, the EU publishes guidelines to incorporate education for a European identity into national school curricula. EU citizenship education has also been discussed in interviews with EU officials, with one official e.g. having argued that it

> *"has to be something that Ministries of Education acknowledge […] and are interested in. So that is something that is part of the curricula of member states. Because if this is an imposition from Brussels or if this is something that comes from EU institutions, it will simply not have an impact." (EUO5).*

Studying the EU policy of a "European dimension in education", Theiler (1999) concludes that this policy was barely implemented until the mid-1990s because of resisting national governments. Hansen (1998) takes up a normative standpoint, criticising the policy as a tool to disseminate "uncritical and historically dubious" narratives to legitimise the supranational

community (Hansen 1998: 19-20). Through identity transmission in education, the EU aims at fostering ties between the European polity and citizens (Keating 2009: 136).

To sum up the findings of this section, while EU narratives have developed over time, the focus on citizens' identity in narrations can be interpreted as a *reaction* of the EU to questions about the future of the European project in times of crises. Furthermore, while a European identity is envisioned to develop among citizens, it remains a *top-down* vision for the EU. The concepts "Europe" and "EU" are used interchangeably in documents and bureaucrats' narrations. This is likely the case because from their point of view, the notions are indeed interchangeable, since these individuals are fully embedded in the nexus of the EU, regarding both work and life more generally. It can also be linked to political desirability and coherent goal setting, with a European identity and the European project being intertwined[40].

Regarding the specific narratives at the EU level, the findings of this subsection are the following (Table 1 below). First, national and multinational narratives persist in documents and among EU officials. A European identity is envisaged as a multinational identity of nation-states and their citizens who have historically been at war with each other, but are now "united in diversity" and "stronger together". Second, EU officials allude to universal, humanist and democratic values, for which the EU stands. Finally, a transnational narrative is found in specific mobility and educational policies. Those policies are linked to utilitarian (i.e. usually economic) benefits on the part of EU citizens and the European in-group is usually incorporated rather implicitly. An explicit ideal of the coming together of a European in-group is found in educational policies[41].

[40] As will be shown in the next chapters, this mixing up of definition spaces is not exclusive to the EU level, but is made more explicit by interviewed students and in particular by teachers.

[41] Policies on educational mobility, with relevant documents being discussed in the next section.

Table 1: In-Group Narratives at EU Level

	National	Multinational	Transnational	Cosmopolitan
EU	Strong • National self-interests to have European identity ("stronger together") • European identity as additional layer to national in-group	Strong • Several nation-states being "stronger together" and "united in diversity"	Medium • Transnational experiences (interchange of citizens) through mobility/ educational policies	Weak • EU officials allude to universal, democratic values

The analysis of policy documents has thus shown that a *strong* national and multinational narrative of European identity is particularly present across Treaties: the qualitative content analysis has shown that these narratives are recurrent in their preambles (i.e. more political documents), but less so in specific, more "administrative" EU policies. Policies somewhat incorporating a citizenship-focused narrative of European identity are those focusing on transnational mobility and education. However, just as argued by some of the interviewees, how a European identity should be promoted remains vague in EU policy making. There is little specification in documents and in narrations of EU officials of what "being European" should mean for individual citizens, but the intention of forging multinational narratives of Europe while safeguarding national identities is clear.

4.1.2 European Schools System

The following subsection analyses the in-group narratives expressed in the European Schools system, i.e. through European School documents, EU officials and school directors. First, the history of the European Schools as a convenient solution for the joint schooling of children from several nation-states is analysed, which gives weight to a nation-style narrative of a European in-group. Second, the subsection shows that the European Schools system advances a multinational narrative of multicultural and multilingual schooling, through which a European identity should be transmitted. Third, a transnational narrative is offered by the fact that students from different backgrounds are schooled together to explicitly overcome prejudices.

Finally, the role ascribed to students' cultural and linguistic identities in school is analysed, through which, again, national narratives are transmitted.

To start with, nation-style as well as multinational narratives can be found in the way the European Schools system developed. As mentioned, European Schools developed in parallel with European integration. They were established as a practicable solution for expatriate EU officials, providing children with an education that allows them to return to their respective home countries. The schools' establishment can thus be linked to a multinational narrative: instead of having several national schools, a supranational and intergovernmental schooling is provided by European institutions[42]. In line with this, having the status of public educational institutions in all member states, the schools are jointly managed by the EC (on behalf of the EU institutions) and by the EU member states (Schola Europaea 2015a).

Although the establishment of European Schools resulted from economic considerations, narratives of a European in-group were put forward ever since the schools were founded:

> *"Educated side by side, untroubled from infancy by divisive prejudices, acquainted with all that is great and good in the different cultures, it will be borne in upon them as they mature that they belong together. Without ceasing to look to their own lands with love and pride, they will become in mind Europeans, schooled and ready to complete and consolidate the work of their fathers before them, to bring into being a united and thriving Europe" (cited in EU 2013a).*

Until today, this statement, ascribed to Jean Monnet, is "sealed, in parchment, into the foundation stones of all the schools" (Schola Europaea 2015a). The statement highlights the vision of education in European Schools, with students' childhood seen as a window of opportunity to raise young Europeans who, according to the statement's implicit notion of socialisation, have not (yet) come in touch with "divisive prejudices". This might happen once they go to a national school.

The statement also highlights different tensions within the educational vision. First, students are supposed to be educated "side by side". In line with the EU's multinational notion of European identity, rather than mixing the students or blending their identities, students should

[42] European administrators from the five concerned member states called for a new school as an alternative to several (costlier) mononational schools. With the institution being in their home country, Luxemburg's civil servants were not yet concerned.

develop an attachment to "their own lands" and learn about "the different cultures". Second, students learn that "they belong together" and "become in mind Europeans". Again, in line with the EU's vision, a European identity should develop as a further identity layer, i.e. the European identity promoted is supposed to supplement a national identity. Third, students are seen as being passively socialised in school: they are "acquainted", and it is "borne in upon them". Thus, the role of education as a powerful tool for identity transmission is emphasised. Finally, students' education is understood as serving the future of European integration, since students can "consolidate the work of their fathers". Just like the EU sees citizenship and mobility as a source of stability and European identity development, students are supposed to actively continue the "work of their fathers" for a united and thriving Europe. The statement thus alludes to values of peace and cooperation and to the EU founding fathers.

In line with this, second, a multinational narrative of European identity is clearly advanced in the European Schools: multilingual and multicultural schooling is promoted to achieve European education. According to the general rules of the European Schools, it is the responsibility of a European School's head "to imbue his/her school with a European spirit" (OSG 2014b: 7). Each School has one director and two deputy directors, one for the nursery and primary school and one for the secondary school. While some teachers are recruited locally, directors as well as teachers are usually seconded by their national governments and appointed for nine years (Schola Europaea 2015a).

In EU documents and in individual accounts of EU officials, the EU-driven[43] European Schools are understood as a prototype for the implementation of the somewhat complex and hard-to-manage policy of a "European narrative". The schools developed in parallel with and were a laboratory of European integration from their very first legal basis:

> *"it is in the cultural interest of the participating States to continue and consolidate an undertaking which is in keeping with the spirit of co-operation by which they are guided" (UN 6362/1960: 225).*

[43] I.e. largely EC-financed and nationally as well as EU-governed.

Following Sabel and Zeitlin's (2012) approach to experimentalist governance, the implementation of policies on complex matters such as narratives and identity is a difficult endeavour. Policy makers at the top tend to struggle in defining approaches that work on the ground. Thus, governance in this space must move beyond the simple transposition of law to cope with diverse jurisdictions and cultural contexts across the EU. Here, the European Schools can be understood as experimenting with multilevel governance and with approaches to promote a European identity on that ground level. This involves tasking school directors with tailoring policy to work on the ground, granting them and their teachers leeway to fill the big picture of policy makers[44] – as cited above, by imbuing the school with a "European spirit" (OSG 2014b: 7).

This ties in with narrations of EU officials who claimed that European Schools are a "laboratory" (EUO3, EUO5) or "experiment" (EUO5) – and for them, this concerns a (possibly experimentalist) identity transmission. European Schools can be a "model of inspiration" (EP 2011) and thus testing ground for national schools[45] (EP 2011):

> *"the European Schools foster a stronger sense of European identity […], therefore, the maintenance of existing European Schools or the foundation of new ones constitutes a positive step towards European integration" (EP 2011).*

> *"it is a very good experiment and indeed citizens, young children there, are very much exposed to a very European and international environment. But it is really, really not representative for European societies. The most important characteristic of European Schools is not that they are European, but that they are schools for the benefit of children of expatriates that have the same social background, that have a very similar ideological background, that have the same professional background" (EUO5).*

Here, as expressed in the latter statement, the relatively homogenous parental backgrounds in the European Schools system must be considered. According to one of the interviewed directors, a European School is a "school of like-minded people". One of the interviewed EU officials narrated it as follows:

[44] In this regard, policy-makers may choose not to define European identity transmission in detail because this could harm tailor-made approaches of the schools as experts on the ground.

[45] This goes with the overall research setup, treating the European School as a most-likely case with a potentially broader scope, which could lead to further research on European identity and schools (cf. section 7.3).

"It's quite a choice to actually impose on your children to be in Europe's laboratory, which the European Schools are. That is maybe the closest form of European integration that exists so far in terms of daily life" (EUO3).

Sending their children to a "school of like-minded people" might be a conscious decision of those parents who do not work for EU institutions. As another EU official put it:

"There are not many [European Schools] in Europe, it's certainly for some elitist people that either work in the institutions or can pay for it and that's certainly a privilege and I would love if it was extended to other people" (EUO4).

As outlined, children of EU officials do not pay school fees. For other ("category-2/-3") students, fees are paid by the employer in the case of some intergovernmental or private organisations[46] or by the families themselves[47] (Schola Europaea 2015b). While category-1 places are usually guaranteed, other children are often only admitted in case of free places or siblings attending the school[48]. Ever since the beginnings of European integration, the European Schools System has been considered as meeting "a need to educate children in their mother tongue and to develop the European dimension in *education*" (EU C56 E/14). They meet the needs of individuals who are at the centre of the centrifugal force of European integration (Fligstein 2008).

"I think the European Schools are a fantastic idea. It's just that this is not what is happening in Europe. And this cannot be translated just like that. For example, most children who go to European Schools would be exposed anyway to different languages and cultures, because this is how their parents live. The exception is to be monolingual in these schools. And the majority of children in European Schools are middle class and are completely sure of going on to university" (EUO5).

Also alluding to their arguably elitist and privileged character, European Schools should be

"an example of one of the best possible forms of schooling in Europe, based on the dissemination of European culture, values and languages" (EU C56E/14).

Just like in general EU policies, despite the founding myth expressed in Monnet's oft-cited statement and re-iterated in the schools, the general protocols, Treaties, and decisions of the Board of Governors of the European Schools remain vague regarding the specificities of

[46] For a list of organisations with which agreements have been concluded cf. Scholae Europaea 2001.

[47] As of 2016, about 9-16000 Euros for employers with financing agreements (i.e. category-2 students) and about 5-7000 Euros for category-3 students, i.e. individual families without agreements (for secondary schools and depending on the specific European School, cf. Schola Europaea 2016a).

[48] Although European Schools can be seen as a very peculiar or even elitist institution, the system is also confronted with challenges, ranging from an overcrowding of schools and questions of costs and funding to questions of governance (cf. EP 2002, CEC 2004).

which and how narratives should be transmitted. Nevertheless, a "European dimension shall be developed in the curricula" as well as in extracurricular activities (Schola Europaea 2015a, OSG 2000: 8, cf. subsection 6.1.1). Already the Statute of the European School of 1959/60, officially establishing the European Schools System, reflected on the role European Schools should play as educational institutions. Previous research has shown that positive narratives of Europe are indeed communicated in the European Schools (cf. Hansen 1998, Savvides 2006, 2012). When it comes to the curriculum's content, a European School should not only incorporate national legacies, but should reflect differences and commonalities (and thus be in line with the EU's motto "united in diversity"):

> *"the common features of the national educational traditions and the different cultures which jointly make up European civilization" (UN 6362/1960: 225).*

Third, European Schools put forward a transnational narrative. In curricular activities, a European dimension is anchored in each school subject, that is, in subjects like Geography and History or even Maths or Physics. As part of curricular activities, students are mixed across sections in specific subjects taught in the second language of students. In primary school, students are mixed in weekly "European Hours" that "bring together children from all sections" (Schola Europaea 2015a: 11, cf. subsection 6.1.1). Extracurricular activities also facilitate interaction across sections. Institutionalised activities include school trips and exchanges with other European Schools (cf. subsection 6.2.2). Beyond this, students are constantly confronted with teachers and students from different (trans-) national backgrounds.

As a final in-group narrative, national narratives are also proposed through the weight that is put on students' cultural and linguistic identities. Apart from educating towards European citizenship, the students' "cultural identity" is to be promoted in curricular and extracurricular activities. Such "nourishment" (Gellner 2006) is supposed to take place when teaching languages, national cultures and current affairs as well as when celebrating national festivals (OSG 2000). By being organised in language sections, the schools stick to a nation-centred narrative of Europe.

In the European Schools, "visible signs from different countries" (OSG 2000) are being displayed. For example, across the three studied European Schools, not only is the European flag displayed daily, but different national flags complement it on the respective EU member state's national holiday. This can be theorised as "flagged nationhood" (Billig 1995, Elgenius 2011a) and, relying on the arguably banal symbols of everyday nationalism described in the literature, a simultaneous flagging of Europe.

European School documents address (advantages of) multiculturalism and multilingualism as well as a necessity to safeguard the national identity of students. However, curricula or guidelines do not make the individuals' multinational biographies explicit. Hence, important questions remain unanswered, e.g. which national identity is to be safeguarded, the one corresponding to the language section or the two or more parental nationalities a student is confronted with. Criticising a multinational or intergovernmental tradition, one interviewed EU official criticised the language sections as a construct of earlier stages of European integration:

> *"The question I would ask myself: is it really the way forward, given the advanced level of integration of those schools in a sense, to continue having all these national sections? Do you need that?" (EUO3).*

Summing up the analysis of European narratives in the European Schools system as visualised in Table 2 below, the EU narrative of being "united in diversity" is reflected at the school level. This narrative relies on multilingual and multicultural schooling, through which the students should be united and thus become European. Furthermore, through the national-equivalent education in European Schools, strong national in-group narratives are put forward, e.g. in separate language sections.

Table 2: In-Group Narratives at European School Level

	National	Multinational	Transnational	Cosmopolitan
European Schools	Strong ▪ National-equivalent education as convenient solution to several nation-states ▪ Safeguarding student's identification with "their own lands", e.g. through visible symbols ▪ Education of students "side by side": language sections (re-) produce nation-style in-groups	Strong ▪ Multinational in-group "united in diversity" as a result of (experimentalist) multicultural and multilingual schooling	Medium ▪ Students from different backgrounds schooled together without prejudices	Weak ▪ Allusion to peaceful togetherness, which students should carry into the future

At the same time, the European Schools system somewhat incorporates a transnational narrative of a European in-group, since students from different backgrounds are schooled together with the explicit aim to overcome prejudices. Here, a cosmopolitan narrative is also alluded to, since students should carry the peaceful togetherness into the future, thereby completing the work of their fathers. Coming back to the research question, just like the EU, the European Schools system proposes narratives of a European in-group with little specificities regarding its promotion. Nevertheless, the school provides manifold opportunities to incorporate a (vague) European dimension and to come together as Europeans. How teachers and students employ their own narratives based on these opportunities and narrations is analysed in the next sections.

4.2 In-Group Narratives of European School Teachers

The following section analyses in-group narratives of European School teachers. These individuals are crucial actors for mediating and transforming institutionally provided European identity narratives – that is, they have the responsibility to transpose a somewhat vague policy on the ground, i.e. to students. This is close to what the public administration literature (e.g. Pollack 1997, Huber and Shipan 2002, Kiewiet and McCubbins 1991) would describe as the transfer of a task ("delegation") from a "principal" to an "agent", who may "drift" from the envisaged tasks because having an information advantage, thus potentially following their own agenda.

Aligning with experimentalist governance discussed above, the identity-related policy to be implemented is complex and therefore only broadly defined by the principal (here: EU policy makers). Then, school directors and teachers as agents on the ground work through specific approaches, i.e. they provide students with narratives of a European identity that may or may not be in line with what the principal envisaged. In an ideal case, the agent reports best practices back to the principal and here, into the broader field of education policies, thus levelling information asymmetries. This feedback however does not always seem to work well in the specific case. While this public administration approach is of course not the focus of this research project, the logic still holds and informs the mechanistic thinking discussed later.

Coming from national schools systems, teachers see students' varying national backgrounds as inspiring and they define the European dimension in education as a multinational one. In their teaching, both national and multinational narratives are present. They treat students as experts of their respective countries, thereby expressing a transnational and multinational narrative. Furthermore, a cosmopolitan narrative appears to be dominant among teachers. They define European values as tolerance and open-mindedness, while dismissing nationalist feelings among students.

The section starts with an analysis of multinational in-group narratives. Second, the teachers' cosmopolitan narrative and according values to be promoted among students are analysed.

The section ends with discussing teachers' opinions on the European Schools system, which leads them to shift to a transnational narrative that is influenced both by their national background as well as by their transnational experiences in school. While these personal perspectives of teachers on the institution are not the focus, they deepen the understanding of teachers' narratives by providing insights into individual motivation to act as agents for specific narratives, partly drifting from the EU's visions.

To start with, teachers define the European dimension in education according to a multinational narrative. They argue that students should learn about different European countries to get a more nuanced view of Europe and European values, since "the important thing in Europe [is] that we have this diversity and we should stick to that" (ESM1). This multinational narrative is particularly enforced by the existence of language sections in school. This structure influences teachers' perceptions of student groups (and students' perceptions of nationalities). For instance, the term "the Spanish" is used to refer to the (often binational or trinational) students in the Spanish section.

> *"[the students] are often very aware of their language section. […] They only have History and Geography together maybe and then they go back into their own sections. […] That's natural, that they get together with their friends from their language section in class, but actually it's quite cooperative" (ESM4).*

Some teachers criticised the organisation into language sections, but several interviewees also claimed that the mix of languages and the large variety of nationalities is a manifestation of "European" schooling. They argued that schools with fewer language sections, which are therefore less *multi*-national, are also less European[49]:

> *"we were the only European School to have all the EU nationalities because Brussels […] split into three, two, five schools. And that's a bit of a shame. Which makes a school a little less European of course" (ESL4).*

While combining students' various national identities in a multinational narrative, teachers also assumed that students have a European identity and feel connected to their parents' na-

[49] The same is argued by some of the students. One student described how the splitting up of the European School Luxemburg in 2012 (cf. overview of the sampled schools in section 3.1) changed the school's character: "I felt more European when Mamer, the other European School, was here, because there were Greek people, Danish people and Italian people and now there is no section of them here" (Amelie, ESL).

tionalities. This is in line with the EU's narrative that European and national identifications can and should coexist:

> *"They [students] are indeed aware of the fact that they are in a European School and they are proud of that. […] They are also proud of Europe and of their different nationalities, but they do also see themselves as Germans or Frenchmen or Belgians because of their roots and sometimes, they do accentuate that" (ESL2).*

Teachers reported that they use students' multinational backgrounds in teaching, However, calling for their expertise, some students can be pushed into roles they cannot or do not want to assume, as the following quote shows:

> *"It's enriching to basically have experts in class, but some students do indeed feel very overwhelmed when you want to depict them as experts. […] I think it's enriching […] but I cannot expect that someone from Italy who grew up here knows more about Italian history than a child from Germany and grew up here" (ESM4).*

While interviewees argued that they use the students' knowledge in class, they said that their family backgrounds are rarely discussed[50]. Knowing the students' language sections, they classify students accordingly, but more details of a student's biography only come up incidentally in class, e.g. when a student deliberately reports personal experiences. This underlines that teachers also dilute national narratives, despite the structure of language sections.

> *"Very often a student has a Belgian mother and a Spanish father, it's not something you're told at the beginning of the year. You're just told what section they're in. And it's just chance whether you happen to find that out" (ESL4).*

In line with this, focus groups conducted for this research project took place in classrooms and teachers were partly present throughout the discussion (sitting in the back of the room). Several teachers (and even students) said after focus groups that it was novel and interesting to learn more about students' backgrounds.

While the multinational narrative is particularly present in the European Schools system, teachers also persistently propose a cosmopolitan narrative of Europeanness. According to an interviewed teacher, students are "wonderfully ignorant of nationalism" (ESL4). They are aware of the diversity of their families and peers: "you notice the Europeanness mostly because [students] usually do not identify necessarily only with their own national identity"

[50] This might also be due to assumed uniformity of students' backgrounds with teachers knowing the language sections of their students but not necessarily being aware of their biographies, mixed parental backgrounds or the family situation e.g. regarding employment for the EU.

(ESM4). Most interviewed teachers reported that they want their students to overcome nationalities and think beyond such seemingly narrow frames of thought. Thereby, students arguably

> *"make no distinction between not only the other language sections, but there is no ethnic discrimination in the European School. And by the way, they all get on with each other so much better than in a national school" (ESL4).*

This perspective shared by most interviewed teachers contrasts with the observation that students accentuate nationalities as described above. It can be explained by the fact that language sections get increasingly mixed up and students become less national, an evaluation shared by interviewed students.

Teachers picked up the EU's motto "united in diversity" in interviews and framed it according to a cosmopolitan narrative – rather than in a multinational way like the EU:

> *"we do have official values that we mediate […], the European idea, the European spirit. […] I find it important to mediate tolerance, […] the comprehension that the other is different. And that's the 'unity in diversity', that's one of the mottos. I find that very, very important. […] I also try to make that clear, that it's a big opportunity to be in such a school" (ESL6).*

Seeing the possibility to attend a European School as an opportunity or gift to students, teachers claimed that they want to pass on cosmopolitan values, as this leads to "kids who are very high quality because they're very broad-minded" (ESL4, cited in section 5.2). Interviewed teachers deemed it "very important to have a European dimension" (ESL3). In interviews, they interpreted this dimension in education and a general European identity according to cosmopolitan values, such as teaching students to have a critical mind:

> *"[a European identity] is respect for democracy, for human rights, it is a multireligious space […]. It is not a monocultural space." (ESM4).*

> *"I would never say that the role of the EU in schools is to teach democratic values, you've got to teach the students to make up their own minds about it" (ESL4).*

An interviewed teacher in Culham (ESC1) questioned whether students *should* identify with Europe. He argued that a national identity is natural, while a European identity is not. At the same time, he claimed that he wants to promote cosmopolitan or antinationalist values among his students and is here in line with his colleagues who link these values to a Europe-

an ethos of the school. Several interviewed teachers claimed that they themselves have a European identity or that they want to transmit a specific European identity:

> *"when we have political discussions, you do notice the pro-European attitude. […] you don't have this anti-EU stance, of course it doesn't exist here. As a teacher, you can raise critical points and the students defend the EU and that is a nice situation because from Bavaria, I only know it the other way around […]. And for the little ones, well, they mostly have a practical European identity. When they speak three languages and they play football here in Luxemburg and they have parents from different countries, then they are of course Europeans" (ESL6).*

The analysis of interviews with teachers has shown that they perceive the EU positively, linking it to a cosmopolitan mission of peaceful togetherness, to which they feel committed:

> *"The value of the European Union […] is: it stops nations fighting each other. […] And I think that's worked. And there hasn't been a shot in anger in the European Union since the Second World War, which is a remarkable achievement. So, I am almost fanatically for the European Union" (ESL4).*

Several interviewees argued that they want to specifically promote European values, but they did not always have an accordingly clear narrative of European identity.

> *"It's of course written in our statutes and our curriculum that we must foster the European identity, but […] is it Eurovision? Or is it UEFA? Or is it the EU, or what? […] It is almost easier to say what it actually isn't." (ESM4).*

Another interviewee (ESL3) criticised that not all teachers[51] embrace the possibilities at the European School, since sticking to their familiar national curricula and books. Thus, while the interviewed teachers are enthusiastic about the curricular freedom and various stimuli at the European School, they argued that some colleagues are less committed to this form of schooling. In student interviews, this was also partly deplored. However, it can also push students to adapt to various (multi-) cultural environments and styles of teaching – and again, apparently it even leads to situations where students would demand from teachers a more proactive European stance, becoming defenders of the EU in discussions.

> *"The students have to get used to that, that there might be different expectations when they go from one class to another" (ESM4).*

Differences between teachers' perspectives across the three European Schools were surprisingly marginal. While the European School Munich had a teacher-led project across classes on

[51] Cf. subsection 3.1.2 on interviewee sampling.

"European identities" that was mentioned in interviews, education towards open-mindedness and tolerance and away from nationalist tendencies as well as the incorporation of a European dimension in schooling were deemed important by teachers in all three schools.

To understand why teachers express and aim to promote specific narratives among students and in a transnational Europeanness, partly drifting from EU visions, their national backgrounds and transnational experiences merit a closer look. The teachers (seconded by their EU-country governments or locally recruited) bring their own experiences from national schools to the European Schools system, while it can take some time to adjust:

> *"I think it's one of the most difficult things when you first come to this school because you bring with you all your national pedagogy […]. The sort of education you give the students here requires that you start to learn about how other systems work" (ESL3).*

All interviewed teachers consciously decided to apply to an international school, but some were not familiar with the European Schools before being appointed. For several interviewees however, "this European dimension pushed me to take this job" (*ESL2*). All teachers emphasised the Europeanness or internationality of the European Schools system:

> *"I'm an enthusiastic European, I really want to get in contact with other European nations and I want to work together with other nationalities, too" (ESL2).*

Interviewees expressed positive opinions about Europe in general and about working in the transnational environment of the European Schools system. Furthermore, apart from transnational experiences in school, many teachers have had international exposure before by living abroad or having a binational background or marriage. For example, one interviewee had attended an international school herself, arguing that she likes the "internationality, which I already got to know during my own education" (ESM3).

Secondly and related to the previous point, teachers are passionate about their job at the European School and expressed very positive opinions about their students. Here, teachers praised the students' transnational (and therefore stimulating) background. The mix of students with different backgrounds is understood as an asset by teachers, which students and teachers can employ in school and from which they can learn themselves – a perspective that

seems to be different from those in national schools with large proportions of migrant children (Mattei and Broeks 2016). Interviewed teachers feel stimulated by what the students bring into the classroom, e.g. stories about their diverse parental countries. Through these, "we're learning all the time. And that's a very positive part of the job" (ESL3).

At the same time, in all three European Schools and in line with perspectives of several EU officials, teachers argued that the European School system could be considered an elite schooling. The European School is more academic than other schools, although being a comprehensive school.

> *"Most of their parents […] work for the European Commission, the Parliament, or their parents work in banks. But they're basically issued from caring families who are motivated and motivate the kids. […] Basically, you got a motivated class from a privileged background" (ESL4).*

Some teachers criticised that the European School is a "ghetto" (ESM1) or (as mentioned before) more positively, they saw it, as one of the interviewed school directors, as a bubble of "like-minded people". Many teachers praised the European School system and the catalysing of a European identity in the school.

> *"Pedagogically, this is [...] the ideal case, where you first mediate an open-mindedness, where you mediate language competencies, so basically everything you want. That's why I'm enthusiastic about the European School, about the idea of it" (ESL6).*

Thirdly and finally, teachers talked about the way they are influenced by EU policies:

> *"We do of course receive regulations from the Board of Governors, that's all coming from Brussels. We are controlled and of course we can't cut that off. It's not like we're entirely autonomous. We're basically an EU institution" (ESM1).*

Especially when the school caters for one specific EU institution, this institution (e.g. the EPO in Munich) impacts the school – and the parents' influence also implies an indirect impact of the EU:

> *"There is a parents' association, which is in fact composed of parents' representatives, for whom you cannot really say whether they represent the parents or the patent office because they are indeed the same thing. […] Because the parents' association is also the superior authority that means of course that they have a very strong leverage" (ESM1).*

The leverage of EU-employed parents can imply that EU-envisaged narratives could also be fuelled top-down and "sideward" in this context, i.e. through EU officials in their role as par-

ents[52]. When asked about the relationship between school and EU, most teachers had the impression that national or EU policies influence daily life and teaching in schools in rather indirect ways, e.g. due to bigger educational or fiscal policy trends. While a direct interference is not felt with regards to curricula (e.g. ESM2), several interviewees addressed the issue of funding cuts:

> *"For no reason other than economics the European Schools had changed very fast. […] The British no longer appoint teachers to the European School. […] It's cost cutting because obviously, the British don't have to pay the salaries of the teachers any longer, so they save money on it. What a great shame that is" (ESL4).*

When asked what national schools could learn from European Schools, interviewees mostly mentioned the teaching staff, arguing that a great advantage of the European School is that teachers are native speakers of different languages (e.g. ESC6). While several teachers argued that they would like to stay longer than the usual nine years, some of them also claimed that returning teachers could help instilling a more European ethos in national schools:

> *"there's quite a few schools in Germany that have returned European School teachers and have this European dimension especially in terms of language, but I think also in terms, possibly, of learning more about the European Union and being more conscious of it" (ESL4).*

This is in line with what is envisaged by policy-makers, i.e. a possibility to disseminate European ideas in the national education systems through returning European School teachers.

To sum up, this section has analysed recurrent narratives among teachers. Coming from national schools systems, teachers emphasised the students' diverse national backgrounds in interviews. Qualitative content analysis revealed that across individuals and the three schools, teachers are enthusiastic about students' diverse backgrounds, which they try to incorporate into teaching. In their teaching and their own mind-set, they are influenced by their transnational experiences in school and beyond (e.g. having lived abroad or having a partner from a different country).

Since teachers fill the European dimension in school according to their own interpretation, it is up to them to embrace and define Europeanness in general and the European dimension in education in particular. In that sense, they are agents of the EU who partially "drift" from the

[52] Subsection 6.3.2 on alternative causal forces, amongst others the role of families.

abstract and broad official mission. They rather fill the complex narrative topic with ground-level experiences and approaches that resonate well with students as will be shown below. This is a powerful role with substantial leeway regarding how they narrate Europeanness. How this is practically working as a causal process is traced in chapter 6.

Table 3: In-Group Narratives at Level of European School Teachers

	National	**Multinational**	**Transnational**	**Cosmopolitan**
Teachers	Medium ▪ Students treated as experts of national cultures ▪ National pedagogy as part of teaching	Medium ▪ European dimension in education defined as multinational	Strong ▪ Enthusiasm about the students' and colleagues' mixed backgrounds ▪ Constructing students' transnationality as an asset and an "opportunity"	Strong ▪ Values of tolerance, open-mindedness, democracy

The narratives of a European in-group expressed by teachers are visualised in Table 3 above. Firstly, in all three schools, teachers defined the curriculum's European dimension in a multinational way. They treat students as experts of their respective countries, mediating the perspective that it is an asset and a "big opportunity" (ESL6) to know several languages and national cultures. Here, they also somewhat expressed a national narrative, since treating students as experts of national cultures and including their own national pedagogy in teaching. Secondly (and subsequently), a strong transnational narrative is also incorporated into teaching. Finally, a cosmopolitan narrative dominates among teachers. They define European values as tolerance and open-mindedness – their rejection of nationalist feelings is discussed as part of out-group narratives (section 5.2).

In a nutshell, the analysis of interviews with teachers has shown that teachers do not have the feeling that there is a clear EU-envisaged conception of Europeanness, which they are supposed to mediate. Rather, most teachers are enthusiastic about teaching European and multinational stories in school, expressing multinational, but recurrently also transnational

as well as cosmopolitan perspectives. Beyond European narratives, all teachers bring in their own national background and according styles of teaching – through the mix of these national perspectives across a range of teachers with whom a student is confronted, these can further facilitate *European* narratives in the sense of seeing transcended or mixed-up national categories.

4.3 In-Group Narratives of European School Students

The following section analyses in-group narratives expressed by the interviewed European School students. First, national narratives are analysed. In the interviews, students used national constructions to describe themselves and others. This part of the chapter thus also deals with what senses of belonging students expressed and how they expressed them. Second, the students' cosmopolitan narrative is assessed. In line with their teachers, students define Europeanness as being open-minded and tolerant and most see themselves as Europeans. Third and finally, the chapter focuses on the narrative of being "united in diversity", which students define in a transnational way: they feel united because everyone is diverse and no one fits into common national categories that should be transcended.

To start with, students regularly relied on national narratives to describe themselves and in-groups during the interviews. However, just as Matteo (ESM, below) narrated, many students described themselves not in terms of one nationality, but as having *several* nationalities or as being European. Nationalities play an important role among students in European Schools, while at the same time, most students describe themselves as European:

> *"Regarding food, I am more Italian, but for some other stuff, I am more Belgian, for other stuff German. That's why I would say I have a trinational identity"*[i] *(Matteo, ESM).*

Qualitative content analysis made apparent that attachments were mostly seen as compatible and that an attachment to Europe was even seen through the lens of national attachments or as resulting from *several* nationalities (see Figure 6 below on the students' senses of belonging). In this regard, interviews in the three schools led to different results. A European identity popped up very naturally in interviews in Munich, while many students in Munich also expressed a local (city) identity.

> *"I would say, that I feel indeed bound to one country, and that's Spain. I am not really German, but I am proud resident of Munich. And yes, for me, parents are also very important […] and friends of course. Yes. And I also feel absolutely European"*[ii] *(Javier, ESM).*

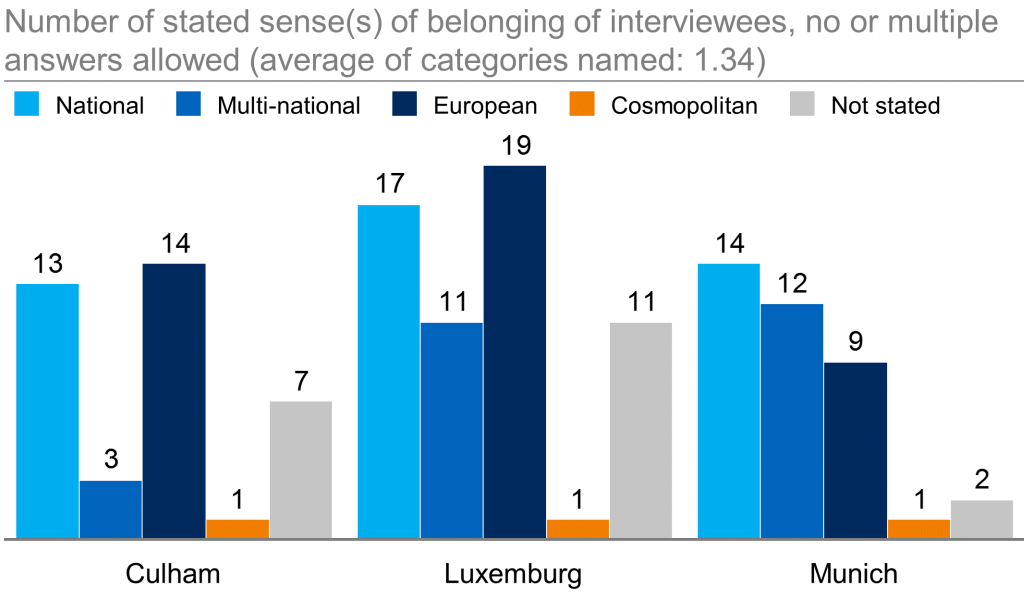
> *"For me, Munich is the city I live in, but whether it is in Germany or, I don't know, Holland or whatever, I don't really care"*[iii] *(Gabriel, ESM).*

In Culham, several students saw themselves as Europeans, but tended to link this to comparisons to a less European environment of their school.

"I just think I can relate more to people who have a similar [...] experience in life, which is the people in this school, [...] you know, we all have [...] the same kind of attitude towards what's important" (Charlotte, ESC).

In Luxemburg, students identified least with their immediate surrounding, i.e. with a Luxemburgish national identity, while many defined themselves as Europeans (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Senses of Belonging of Interviewed European School Students



Furthermore, students did not only mention a clear-cut national or European identity, but they also put numbers on their national and European belongings, arguing for instance that they are "half/half" or "x per cent" a specific nationality. Generally, students shared the viewpoint that Europeanness is about behaviour and not about specific EU-national backgrounds, which is in line with the theoretical claim that in-group narratives provide a code for the social order (Kimmerling 2001: 79, Hammack 2008: 234-5). Interestingly however, students who had a non-EU parent partly put an according number on their Europeanness. Thus, one may consider the national reference category still as one core (but often implicit) option chosen by students to define a belonging to Europe:

"I'm half German, half South African so I'm only half European" (Irene, ESC).

Similarly, one student with Middle Eastern and French parents argued that "personally, I feel only half European"[iv] (Gabriel, ESM). The same student used percentages to describe his senses of belonging in the focus group discussion:

> *"I feel one hundred per cent French and [Middle Eastern country], even though I live in Germany and I've never been [to my parent's home country] for example, and I only go to France once a year, for three days during Christmas. But I still do not feel German, well, zero. […] I am an inhabitant of Munich, I feel one hundred per cent that way, but zero per cent German"[v] (Gabriel, ESM).*

Gabriel (ESM) hence uses percentages that do not add up to 100%, but rather describe the intensity of his feeling of belonging. Another student used a description of a fragmented "50/50"-identity to argue that he does not feel European, referring to a cumulative character of different layers of belonging:

> *"I do not feel European at all, I simply feel half French, half Italian"[vi] (Nathan, ESM).*

Apart from such identity fragmentations or combinations, students also argued that their identities switch salience according to the context. This supports the argument of social identity theory (Tajfel 1982, Turner 1982) that membership in a social group becomes salient when the individual perceives this identity as threatened. For European School students, this means e.g. that a national identity is less certain for students when they find themselves in another country:

> *"I have to say, I feel very Spanish. Just because I, you say sometimes that when you live elsewhere, abroad, then you feel strongly national"[vii] (Alejandra, ESM).*

Taking multiple responses regarding students' stated sense of belonging into consideration, the chart above (Figure 6) gives an indicative quantitative overview of different categories of belonging. Statements from students in individual interviews and focus groups have been taken into consideration, with multiple categories being named by several students. As Figure 6 shows, in all schools, only one interviewee respectively mentioned a cosmopolitan identity

of being "citizen of the world" (Ethan, ESM, see below). Several students defined themselves as national and many, a majority in Luxemburg and Culham, explicitly as European[53].

Nevertheless, in line with their teachers, students expressed a cosmopolitan narrative in relation to their multinational and/or European in-groups. Many interviewees defined themselves as Europeans, with some feeling more attached to Europe than others. Across the three schools, students defined a European identity with regards to how a European should behave: Europeanness is based on values of open-mindedness and tolerance, which are at the heart of cosmopolitan narratives:

> *"I think the heart of what is European and, like, what the European School strives to get is tolerance and acceptance and assimilation and I think that that's quite consensually European" (Ilias, ESC).*

With regards to the in-group level, for the interviewed students, the existence of a European in-group is based on Europeans having "something in common" (Alia, ESC). Some students explicitly mentioned that Europeans have "the same sort of values" (Baptiste, ESC):

> *"I would call myself European because, well, in my opinion, Europe has common values in every country. And I think, when you have a European identity, then you [...] think more openly about other countries, about their opinions, also politically and culturally. And yes, that's exactly why I would call myself European"*[viii] *(Matteo, ESM).*

> *"I think Europe has also different mentalities than, say, [...] the USA. Although the society is organised quite similarly, politics, the same values [...], it's not the same mentality, not the same style of life. And this is why I think that Europe should be more connected"*[ix] *(Matteo, ESM).*

As the latter statement highlights[54], students also linked a European in-group to politics and geography. Regarding the political aspect, one student argued that being European means having "much more security" in other parts of the world, which he labels as being "abroad" (i.e. outside of Europe). This abstract conception along the lines of having security and being respected can be linked to the cosmopolitan perspective of a protective shell of democracy and human rights:

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[53] These rather pure self-definitions quantified in the table however do not say anything explicit about the meanings or feelings attached to the groups (cf. definition of European identity in subsection 2.2.3). Indeed, the analysis shows that many students actually referred to classical cosmopolitan narratives when defining "being European".

[54] While in-group and out-group narrations are often intertwined, this statement explicitly refers to the USA as the "other" to highlight that the in-group shares "mentalities" (cf. section 5.3 for out-group discussion). Thus, as the theoretical literature suggests, the in-group ignores differences within the own collective (Turner 1982, Brewer 2003).

"I feel very European, too, not only Spanish, but also very European, because I find it great to be able to be European, […] when you travel abroad or when anything happens, […] they have much more respect for you, when you're European […]. As a European, I believe, you have much more […] security"[x] *(Sergio, ESM).*

Regarding geography and culture, students argued that countries geographically belonging to Europe have the same mentality. Coming back to the literature, they thereby rely on real or imagined similarities among in-group members (Schlenker 2013: 29[55]):

"I've never been to Poland, but I guess it cannot be so different […] because it is in fact very close. Yes, it has to […] be that way because it's Europe and […] European countries are together because they have something, well, they have the same values, and that's why it should be similar in all countries"[xi] *(Nicolas, ESM).*

The cosmopolitan narrative of an in-group of Europeans sharing the same values is most pronounced for students when looking at self-descriptions as in-group membership. In line with what the EU and European School want to achieve, students argue that "Europe is not a country, but we somehow belong together"[xii] (Javier, ESM). Students claimed that everyone can be European. As this student argues, feeling European is a "self-label" (Ilias, ESC):

"you can feel European if you want to feel European. Like, it's not exclusive, but […] if you reject it it's very easily rejected and, like, be that for any reason, a lot of people who want out of the EU, a lot of people consider themselves a very, like, English, not even British, but just English. And there's a very strong English nationalism and it's theirs to label themselves as European, or as a Briton" (Ilias, ESC).

"how do I define European? […] I think having a knowledge of foreign countries is important, so, I think you can't be European if you're locked in your own country, I think. Because […] you have these really patriotic people living in Luxemburg for example, that grew up here, maybe they studied in Luxemburg, they got a job in Luxemburg and now they are 70 and they live in Luxemburg. I would like to call myself European, […] because, you know, Europe it's a lot of countries and a lot of places to go and see. […] But at the same time, of course, it's perfectly fine to still be the nationality that you are, but you have to be open to everyone around and try to integrate with other people from different countries and different societies. Like what's important to them" (Christian, ESL).

Just like Ilias and Christian, many students claimed that a lot of people within Europe would not describe themselves as European. Here, open-mindedness and collective thinking of a European in-group is demarcated from nationalist thinking of non-Europeans:

"A European is […] an open-minded person, who is interested in other countries, which is currently not the case with the nationalist uprisings. But when you don't have this nationalist thinking but a collective thinking, you are sort of even stronger"[xiii] *(Milena, ESL).*

[55] Cf. subsection 6.2.2 on the role of mobility for experiencing this similarity.

"you can feel, sort of, I guess, European to a certain extent, although you do still, I feel like people still look around their country, or even their village or just where they live and a lot of times they don't travel, then they feel like that's their home" (John, ESC).

Related to the interest in other countries, another interviewee defined a sense of belonging to Europe as a feeling of being at ease in all European countries:

"I feel European because everywhere, in all countries, I feel normal and not like being abroad or completely lost"[xiv] *(Nicolas, ESM).*

Despite the widespread cosmopolitan narrative of a European in-group, only a very slim minority of interviewees (one student in each school, cf. Figure 6 above) described themselves as "citizens of the world".

"When I say a citizen of the world, I don't mean feeling as close to one country as any other country. It rather means not feeling close to any country at all"[xv] *(Ethan, ESM).*

Interestingly, this attitude provoked partly opposing reactions in focus groups, with other students arguing that "you have to belong somewhere", criticising this person for feeling not national at all. Other students preferred to emphasise a common European identity with their peers, which they ground in a feeling of transnational diversity.

Constituting another widespread narrative among students, they rely on a transnational narrative of being "united in diversity". Using the EU's motto but adapting it to their transnational in-group, they argue to feel united because everyone is diverse and no one fits into predefined national categories.

"You know, you just think 'they're from, I don't know, Greece', but that doesn't mean anything about them, you know, everyone here is different, so everyone's gonna accept everyone else being different" (Elizabeth, ESC).

For this interviewee and others, diversity in the European School means *transnational* diversity within an individual biography. Since "everyone here is different", no one can be outgrouped because of a different national background. A student in Luxemburg expressed this in a strikingly similar way. For him, being European, apart from geographical terms, is defined as valuing diversity:

"in a social way, knowing cultures of other people, being positive about learning new languages, exploring new things, being able to accept different identities in Europe, because not everyone is the same and different is good" (Christian, ESL).

While Elizabeth (ESC, above) refers to the in-group in school, Christian (ESL, above) explicitly sees this as defining a more general European context. Hence, seeing diversity as an asset is in line with what the European Schools system and the teachers want to promote. Defining a European identity as having diversity or a "mix between everything" (Elsa, ESL) means that students can easily identify with it or at least relate to it. This is in line with their everyday life and their own transnational backgrounds:

> *"A European identity I would say, is a mix of all cultures, that's why I could also say I am a European"*[xvi] *(Ethan, ESM).*

> *"if someone's new and they don't really fit in, then they will fit in, because none of us fits in, that's the point. Whereas, I think, in other schools you can very easily fall into things where those who are the same are together. But because here no one's the same, or everyone's the same, you know it's funny how you try to look at it, it means that, when someone is different, […] then it's fine, because everyone is different" (Charlotte, ESC).*

> *"For me it's hard to associate myself with a specific country […]. But then I feel that in the European School it's more like kind of no nationality, like, it's a mix between everything. It's not really, I don't know, I find it hard to give myself a nationality" (Elsa, ESL).*

By means of altering the EU's multinational narrative of unity in diversity towards a transnational narrative, a positive in-group is constructed.

> *"what constitutes a European? But I like Europe because it's already the first step towards unification of different ethnic groups. And that dissolves the borders between different cultures. Personally, I like this because then, one thinks more in terms of a big community, a human, and not as a Greek, Spaniard, Italian, or whatever"*[xvii] *(Antonis, ESM).*

In the theoretical literature, the construction of a (national) in-group has been described as a collective act of remembering and forgetting (Billig 1995, Anderson 2006, Renan 1990). In the students' construction of a European in-group, the peaceful coming together of individuals from different national backgrounds is remembered. While the overcoming of wars has been described in the literature and by the EU or EU officials as a founding myth of European identity, student interviewees did not explicitly mention the World Wars. This probably is due to the age of students. Furthermore, it could be explained by the fact that students see the European in-group more as an in-group of individuals who opt for *being European*[56]. Here again, students adopt a transnational narrative instead of a multinational narrative, which would see the in-group as nation-states.

[56] They also do not refer to an ethnic definition, e.g. referring to "blood" or "soil".

In this regard and connecting the findings to the discussed literature, for European School students, European integration could be even more banal than for other individuals: while they do not refer to founding myths like the birth of the project from a history of wars, the European project is particularly technical for them, since usually standing for their parents' employer. Rather than alluding to the shared history of nations, European School students construct an out-group of nationalist people. This is assessed when analysing at out-group narratives on the different levels.

An act of collective forgetting (a "collective amnesia" in the sense of Billig 1995: 38, cf. Elgenius 2011a) among European School students could be seen in students overlooking the homogeneity of the in-group of European School students. Apart from economic factors, this also concerns a lack of ethnic diversity compared e.g. to schools in metropolitan areas in Europe with large shares of migrant populations from non-EU countries.

> *"it's hard to call a school a European School […]. If it's representative of Europe, I don't think that Europe is, like, a very cosmopolitan region, and obviously I know that it is. It's a massive continent and it's got all kinds of people from all kinds of different backgrounds, whereas this school it's primarily, it's, everyone I've encountered in this school is the same, it's from the same socio-economical background as myself, there's […] a massive majority of white people. So ethnically, it isn't very representative of Europe or of the world. I think in the European School in Brussels, it was a lot more representative, because […] the city was so cosmopolitan, being the capital of Europe, […] but here, like, it's mostly Brits, Germans and French, Italians and Dutch maybe as well. But, yeah, it's kinda, it's a very niche market" (Ilias, ESC).*

This biracial student criticised the "whiteness" of his school and argued that Europe in general, and the (bigger, more diverse) European School in Brussels in particular, are more "representative of Europe". Generally, despite often alluding to a cosmopolitan narrative of Europeanness, only few students talked about a lack of (ethnic) diversity in school.

To sum up the findings of this section (Table 4 below), most students interviewed did use to some extent national reference categories. Recurrently throughout the qualitative content analysis, students used national as well as multinational narratives to label themselves and others. In this regard, they often express fragmented or combined senses of belonging with alternating saliences. For instance, students argued that they are "half" or "x per cent" a certain nationality or that they feel European *and* national – or that a specific national identity is

salient in certain contexts. However, they barely used these narratives when referring to attached understandings of Europeanness, hence as in-group notions, they remain rather weak.

With regards to stated senses of belonging, differences between the three schools were observed. A European identity often popped up naturally in interviews, in particular at the ESM, while students turn away from mononational in-groups, or in the case of the ESC, from the schools' Eurosceptic surroundings. ESL students barely identified with the nationality of their place of residence.

Table 4: In-Group Narratives at Level of European School Students

	National	**Multinational**	**Transnational**	**Cosmopolitan**
Students	Weak ▪ Using national categories to describe themselves and others ▪ Switching of identity saliences	Weak ▪ In-group: attributing numbers to own mixed background (e.g. percentages or "half/half")	Strong ▪ In-group: "united in diversity" as being united because everyone is different and no one fits ▪ In-group: feeling close to similarly mobile and multilingual people	Strong ▪ Europeanness as being open-minded, tolerant, democratic ▪ Everyone can be European if living according values

Second, across the board, Europeanness for students is about *how* one should behave. Expressing a strong cosmopolitan narrative, *being European* to them means being tolerant, open-minded and eager to experience other cultures and languages, rather than fulfilling formal criteria like EU citizenship. In this sense, students express a more inclusive in-group narrative than the EU, arguing that everyone can be European if they want to. Finally, the structured analysis has revealed that a transnational narrative of a European in-group is particularly widespread among students. The EU's motto of being "united in diversity" is altered from the EU's multinational understanding and interpreted in a transnational way: students feel united with their peers and other people who categorise themselves as Europeans because they are all diverse and often do not fully fit into pre-defined national categories.

4.4 Discussion of In-Group Narratives across Levels

This empirical chapter has analysed narratives of a European in-group on the vertical levels EU, European Schools, teachers and students and their envisaged transmission. The following findings stood out in the qualitative content analysis (Table 5 below)[57]:

- On the EU level, a *multinational narrative* of a European identity links nation-states (and their national citizens) together, which have historically been at war with each other, but are now "stronger together" and "united in diversity".
- The European Schools system is based on a multinational narrative with schooling being envisioned as multilingual and multicultural. National in-group narratives are reflected in language sections, while a transnational narrative is expressed by mixing students from different backgrounds to overcome prejudices.
- Teachers come from national school systems and feel stimulated by their transnational experiences with colleagues and students. They define the curriculum's European dimension in a multinational way, but also put forward a transnational narrative by treating students as experts of their respective individual background. When it comes to European values, a cosmopolitan narrative of Europeanness as open-mindedness and tolerance prevails in their narrations.
- At the student level, national narratives have been observed in students' descriptions of themselves and others, with students experiencing fusions, fragmentations or alternating saliences of identities. In line with their teachers, Europeanness for students is linked to a cosmopolitan narrative of being tolerant and eager to experience other cultures and languages. A transnational narrative is also widespread among students. They feel "united in diversity" with their peers and other Europeans because they are all diverse and as they do not fully fit into pre-defined national categories, they transcend them.

Table 5 (below) amalgamates the previous tables, describing the findings of the sections along identified in-group narratives at each level and allowing to compare their persistence

[57] The following points are descriptive in nature, however, some more causal patterns are already alluded to, given that accounts were sometimes linked in qualitative content analysis.

across and narrative strength at individual levels. The qualitative content analysis allowed a coherent identification of core components, which are labelled “strong”/medium/weak” in the table, depending on their recurrence while coding, i.e. across individuals and/or documents as well as across the three school cases.

Conclusions from these labels are only tentative and different in-group narratives are often intertwined – both with each other as well as with according out-group narratives (chapter 5). Nevertheless, collected core components inform process tracing by highlighting important accounts, which can subsequently be analysed in their causal leverage: through theory-building process tracing (chapter 6), components can be linked, building on the substantiveness of pre-identified accounts (and entities) rather than only on general themes or codes. Thus, narratives analysed in this chapter are wheels, in a first step analysed without a transmission chain or axle, but being part of an overall causal mechanism.

Table 5: Overview of In-Group Narratives at Different Vertical Levels

	National	Multinational	Transnational	Cosmopolitan
EU	Strong ▪ National self-interests to have European identity ("stronger together") ▪ European identity as additional layer to national in-group	Strong ▪ Several nation-states being "stronger together" and "united in diversity"	Medium ▪ Transnational experiences (interchange of citizens) through mobility/ educational policies	Weak ▪ EU officials allude to universal, democratic values
European Schools	Strong ▪ National-equivalent education as convenient solution to several nation-states ▪ Safeguarding student's identification with "their own lands", e.g. through visible symbols ▪ Education of students "side by side": language sections (re-) produce nation-style in-groups	Strong ▪ Multinational in-group "united in diversity" as a result of (experimentalist) multicultural and multilingual schooling	Medium ▪ Students from different backgrounds schooled together without prejudices	Weak ▪ Allusion to peaceful togetherness, which students should carry into the future
Teachers	Medium ▪ Students treated as experts of national cultures ▪ National pedagogy as part of teaching	Medium ▪ European dimension in education defined as multinational	Strong ▪ Enthusiasm about the students' and colleagues' mixed backgrounds ▪ Constructing students' transnationality as an asset and an "opportunity"	Strong ▪ Values of tolerance, open-mindedness, democracy
Students	Weak ▪ Using national categories to describe themselves and others ▪ Switching of identity saliences	Weak ▪ In-group: attributing numbers to own mixed background (e.g. percentages or "half/half")	Strong ▪ In-group: "united in diversity" as being united because everyone is different and no one fits ▪ In-group: feeling close to similarly mobile and multilingual people	Strong ▪ Europeanness as being open-minded, tolerant, democratic ▪ Everyone can be European if living according values

Studying in-group narratives, it became apparent that despite an EU-envisaged transmission, narratives get "lost in translation" on their way to students.

First, the students' cosmopolitan narrative (a recurrent theme) allows a more inclusive in-group notion than that of the EU, which includes only nationals of EU member states. Second, the EU's (multinational) motto of being "united in diversity" gets altered by students towards a (transnational) narrative of individuals who do not fit into national categories and are therefore united. Third, students adopt their teachers' narration of Europeanness according to cosmopolitan values. These transformations of narratives can be linked to the fact that in EU policies and European School mission statements, the intention to promote a European dimension is made explicit, but there is little specification of what that includes. Transformation starts with the teachers "drifting" away from unspecific policy goals and altering them to fit the realities on the ground (in their classes and interactions with students) as well as their own values and interpretations. Coming back to the research question, the structured analysis of rich narrations, supported through tools of qualitative content analysis, has shown that in their transmission, narratives move away from the EU's strong multinational narrative towards transnational and cosmopolitan ones.

Such findings link back to the established narratives discussed in the theory section, comparing narrations of a European in-group to those of national in-groups. Different from nationalism debates, narratives of a European in-group that recurred in qualitative content analysis were usually not linked to a "homeland", which is at the heart of nationalism (Smith 1992, Schlenker 2013, Aron 1976[58]). Similarly, while nationalism puts forward passionate and heroic stories (McNamara 2011: 6), the EU's multinational narrative can be characterised as particularly banal: it stands for a political authority that is per definition technocratic and bloodless. However, a similarity to nationalism was found in identity-promoting stories and symbols of the EU. Symbols entail the flag or the currency, while stories are expressed in EU documents and by political actions and campaigns, for instance the celebration of "Europe Day" or a "European Year of Citizens" (EC 2013a).

[58] Cf. subsection 6.2.2 for a discussion of the students' notions of "home".

Adopting the standpoint that the individual is the holder of the collective memory (which is however not stable, cf. Strath 2002), acts of remembering and forgetting as described in the literature could be observed among interviewed individuals, for instance when EU officials and teachers referred to the history of wars or nationalism. Coming back to the definition of European identity as developed from the discussed (constructivist) literature[59], most interviewed students expressed a European identity. They narrated and bargained according values and meanings in individual interviews and focus groups.

In all, this chapter tackled in-group narratives of European identity at the different vertical levels and their transmission chain. For this purpose, it has looked at what institutions and individuals think *being European* means. European Schools are a laboratory of European integration, with a European dimension to be achieved in multinational and multilingual schooling. The qualitative content analysis of interviews and documents has revealed that the EU-envisaged in-group narratives get lost in translation, even within the most-likely case of European Schools and their students. Students adopt their teachers' inclusive cosmopolitan in-group narrative, while moving away from the EU-envisaged (and arguably less inclusive) multinational narrative. They alter the EU's motto of being "united in diversity" towards an interpretation around transnational and diverse individuals. To ease subsequent tracing of the transformative process of European identity transmission, the empirical study proceeds with an analysis of out-group narratives at the vertical levels.

[59] I.e. a person's European identity defined as an individual's sense of belonging to a European in-group expressed in a self-definition as a European and in feelings and meaning attached to that group.

5. Out-Group Narratives

Having analysed in-group narratives at the vertical levels, the empirical project now repeats the same type of analysis, elaborating what the *out-group* narratives of European identity are that evolve at the same levels. Following the theoretical literature, "othering" is a key feature of collective identities and counterpart for in-grouping, through which a positive self-image is constructed: through demarcation from out-groups, differences within the in-group are ignored and a sense of togetherness strengthened (Barth 1969, Turner 1982, Tajfel 1982, Brewer 2003). Hence, this provides descriptive perspectives on what "being not European" or "a non-European" means on the levels EU, European School, teachers and students.

As outlined in chapter 4, disentangling according rich narrations through qualitative content analysis (that is, in a structured way and already identifying particularly strong accounts) is an important step towards process tracing. It fuels a deeper understanding of the transmission and construction of European identity narratives by identifying a set of potential mechanistic components and active entities that frame the process from European schooling to students' identification with Europe. While at the EU and European School level (section 5.1), the out-group is narrated as non-EU countries and the own war-torn past, teachers (section 5.2) and students (section 5.3) express an antinationalist narrative. Furthermore, students partly widen this out-group to, more generally, people living a more national, immobile life.

The chapter finally (5.4) discusses recurrent as well as contradictory narratives, conflating them in a comprehensive table (Table 9) to allow comparisons within and across levels. Overall, students partly contradict EU-envisaged narratives, excluding people *within* Europe and the EU. Out-group narratives of European identity diverge from established national-identity narratives and get altered while being transmitted to students.

5.1 Out-Group Narratives in the EU and European Schools System

The following section analyses out-group narratives at the EU level and European School level, focusing on those narrations relevant for European identity transmission in the European Schools system. EU documents and EU officials allude to an out-group of non-EU countries, vis-à-vis (or even against) which the EU needs to be united. This constitutes a multinational out-group narrative. Furthermore, EU documents as well as European School documents express a narrative of "the other", which is the own nationalist, war-torn past of Europe. This narrative can be described as a more cosmopolitan one of moving towards a new set of values linked to peaceful togetherness.

First, EU documents construct an out-group of non-EU countries, which the EU should face in a united way. This multinational narrative remains on the EU level and is not directed towards the people. European integration is a *national* interest of the various EU member states, and a European identity is perceived as necessary for external relations. This political cohesion matters for being perceived as a joint actor to "play a decisive role in the international arena" (Economic and Social Committee 1975). In the literature, "othering" is described as a tool of identity politics to increase internal cohesion (Turner 1982, Tajfel 1982, Calhoun 1997). In this case however, European identity is focused on the out-group without explicitly linking it to (social) coherence of citizens. The goal is first and foremost to "assert its [the EU's] identity on the international scene" (Maastricht 1992: Art B). The "other" of European identity in the shape of non-EU countries is more pronounced in times of globalisation, as this EU official argues, since these times show the EU member states that

> *"no country is an island really, […] we all do actually need each other and need to work with each other" (EU01).*

Apart from seeing "the other" in non-EU countries, an out-group of non-EU citizens is constructed in policy documents around a European identity. Interestingly, EU policy documents and interviewed EU officials often use the concepts of European identity and EU citizenship (as well as Europe and EU) interchangeably. The concept of EU citizenship can be conceptualised as being exclusive, since precluding citizens of non-EU states. This "othering" as part of

EU documents happens (probably to some degree implicitly) in line with out-group narratives of modern nation-states, since demarcating a defined "people" from "the other". Only those who hold an according citizenship are part of the in-group.

Second, whereas the multinational narrative described above was barely found in the analysis of the school level, a cosmopolitan narrative is present at both the EU and European School level. EU documents as well as European School documents express this cosmopolitan narrative of Europe when constructing an out-group of the own war-torn past. Policy documents bring up the narrative of overcoming wars. Only partly in line with the discussed theoretical literature, this narrative provides a "mnemonic device" (Karolewski 2010) and thus a feeling of being connected to the past (Billig 1995, Elgenius 2011a). However, this happens less in the sense of group continuity than in the sense of a clear cut from nationalist history. With the acquisition of its own identity, the Community can "make a continuing and concrete contribution to world peace" (Economic and Social Committee 1975). The contrary past – that is, the shared history of wars – is alluded to when constructing the imagined community of nationally diverse European nations and citizens in this narrative.

As one EU official described it, a European identity "should not be defined against the rest of the world" (EUO4). This contradicts multinational "othering" of non-EU countries described above. At the same time, it allows a more inclusive notion of European identity. Hence, the own history as "the other" supports internal cohesion of the in-group. This in-group has a collective scheme of life (Schlenker 2013) and this scheme of life is also alluded to in European School documents. As quoted before, through their European education, the young Europeans educated in this system should "consolidate the work of their fathers" and "bring into being a united and thriving Europe" (EU 2013a). Hence, they can contribute to a peaceful present and future, which is constructed in opposition to the war-torn past.

Finally, EU officials and European School documents also refer to out-groups that are narrated *within* the European Schools system. While aiming at multinational and multilingual schooling, national narratives play a role in school. As one interviewed EU official claimed, due to their multinational schooling, students

"will never see someone with a different nationality as a stranger that is dangerous because of his or her nationality. It's just impossible for them" (EUO4).

At the same time however, European School documents argue that students should be schooled "side by side" (EU 2013a) in language sections. Somewhat contradicting the statement above, they are schooled in parallel rather than fully mixed up, thereby reproducing nationality-laden groups. This implies that students can build an in-group of peers from their own section and out-groups of other language sections. It also aligns with some in-group narrations of students and teachers, who e.g. described how they tend to stick together with individuals who speak the same language. Simultaneously, and supporting the EU official's statement above instead, students and teachers also argue that students move away from such nationality-style groups with increasing age. These diverging claims are further reflected when analysing students' own narrations of out-groups (and when tracing underlying mechanistic components).

To sum up, the section found the following out-group narratives to stand out at in qualitative content analysis (Table 6 below). First, a multinational narrative is constructed at the EU level and recurrently expressed by documents and interviewed individuals. This persistent narrative sees "the other" in non-EU countries, against which EU member-states should stand united – particularly in times of globalisation. Second, at the EU level, the strong multinational narrative of EU citizenship is interrelated with a recurrent national narrative found in the analysis: the in-group is demarcated from an out-group of non-EU citizens.

Table 6: Out-Group Narratives at Levels of EU and European Schools System

	National	Multinational	Transnational/ Antinationalist	Cosmopolitan/ Antinationalist
EU	Strong ▪ Excluding citizens of non-EU states from in-group of EU citizens	Strong ▪ Non-EU countries should be faced united by EU countries	Weak ▪ Not to regress to history of wars as Europeans' collective scheme of life	Medium War-torn past of European nations as "the other"
European Schools	Strong ▪ Nationality-style out-groups through education of students "side by side"	Strong ▪ Several language sections as nationality-style groups *in parallel*	Weak ▪ Mixed European schooling to prevent regression to nationalist times	Weak ▪ Aiming to prevent regression to nationalist times

Third, both at the EU and European School level, a cosmopolitan out-group narrative is expressed: "the other" is the own war-torn past, while a peaceful common present and future is possible due to European integration. As a peculiar case, European Schools and their students, who are envisioned to fulfil this "European project", can also prevent nationalist times in the future. In line with this, at the EU and European School level, a transnational narrative has been found, which is more implicit: just as the collective scheme of life of all Europeans is to be together instead of regressing to war, the mixing of young Europeans in school aims at preventing exactly such a regression.

Finally, at the level of the European Schools system, smaller out-groups are also constructed within schools according to a national narrative. It remains to be studied whether this national narrative is also further transmitted top-down by teachers as agents on the ground.

5.2 Out-Group Narratives of European School Teachers

This section analyses out-group narratives expressed by European School teachers and what they want to teach their students. On the one hand, interviewed teachers in three European Schools express an antinationalist narrative of a European identity. On the other hand, teachers reproduce national groups when interacting with students, which is in line with the EU's multinational narrative. However, for teachers, this active contrasting of national groups aims at promoting cosmopolitan values among students instead of fostering national structures.

To start with, teachers accentuated an antinationalist out-group narrative of Europe. This was surprisingly pronounced (given *ex ante* expectations of transmitted narratives[60]) and consistent across schools. Most teachers share the passion to promote a European identity and all interviewed teachers claimed that they want their students to move beyond national frames of thought. Some teachers even argued that they mock students who emphasise their nationality, since "in the modern times, I really can't take nationalism seriously" (ESM4). Students observed this as well:

> *"I said before, the individual form groups have different cultures, which they live out, but that doesn't lead to conflicts. Maybe in the kindergarten or the first or second [year of] Primary, when people still feel very much tied to their culture. But then it is made plain to them by the teachers that that's not right. Apart from that, I think, it works well"*[xviii] *(Philipp, ESL).*

Similarly, an interviewed teacher linked the display of national symbols to a (undesirable) feeling of superiority vis-à-vis other national groups:

> *"When the little ones bring up things like 'the Greek are so-and-so and the French are so-and-so', I do not want to hear that at all. […] Wherever you're from, you shouldn't feel superior or inferior to others. […] Sometimes when there's football, they all come in with their flags. […] That's not my cup of tea, I have to say" (ESM3).*

Interestingly, this is not necessarily contradicting the approach of the schools system on this topic: as outlined before (section 4.1), the display of national symbols is officially encouraged in the European Schools system, with national flags flying next to the European flag on the respective national holiday. The statement above can be linked back to the literature on national symbols and banal nationalism (Billig 1995, Cram 2010 Elgenius 2011a). Billig (1995: 46)

[60] Based on the study of EU documents and interviews with EU officials, which do not explicitly deal with nationalism as "the other".

argues that these flags are unsaluted and unnoticed in everyday life. In line with this, although flagging takes place only one day per year[61], neither teachers nor students argue that the flying of national flags in front of the European School rouses in them a feeling of belonging to a nation[62]. Rather, the statement above criticises the display of national symbols by students in line with conceptions like Billig's (1995) "hot nationalism".

Generally, for interviewed teachers, antinationalism is intertwined with the cosmopolitan values they want to pass on to their students:

> *"Perhaps some parents notice that their children don't have a sense of national allegiance. But I think [mostly], that's a healthy thing. […] Because they're not narrow, they're not insular. So the school produces kids who are very high quality, because they're very broad-minded" (ESL4).*

Strikingly, this teacher mentions the "quality" of students (already quoted in section 4.2) and argues that the school "produces" young citizens with a higher quality than those who have a narrow, national sense of belonging. The teacher *explicitly* narrates an out-group of national and therefore "narrow and insular" people. Several students also express the same out-group narrative[63], which here certainly has an elitist notion to it by referring explicitly to quality. While some teachers argued that they themselves have a national identity and that this identity comes natural, other teachers argued that they do not feel a belonging to "random" nationalities.

For teachers, the antinationalist narrative they want to pass on is connected to students' biographies – which, according to teachers, should make it natural to them to move beyond nationalities. Strikingly, in their interaction with students and with each other (e.g. in the staff room), interviewees also tend to reproduce national in-groups and out-groups. However, while interviewees argue that they prefer to sit with colleagues from the same national background as the shared language makes it easier to relax during the break, they feel that this is different for students, who speak several languages and who should be mixed up in classrooms. Thus, while partly emphasising national boundaries (e.g. by treating students as coun-

[61] For this case, Billig (1995: 46) argues indeed that "the flags on the great days" are noticeable and saluted, unlike the flags displayed "day after day".
[62] Cf. causal forces discussed in subsection 6.1.1.
[63] As analysed below, section 5.3.

try experts) and thus embracing an EU-envisaged multinational narrative, the teachers' emphasis on the students' various backgrounds and on multinational schooling aims at promoting cosmopolitan values among students. The abstraction from nationalism is then equated with a "European feeling" (ESL2) as the following quote highlights:

> *"In my job, it is important to me to provide students with this European feeling. […] At some point, you do not think about that anymore […], sometimes I do not know anymore which nationality they have and in fact, it's not even important" (ESL2).*

Especially in Luxemburg, teachers stressed that students can be "culturally uprooted" (ESL4), which most of them however do not perceive as problematic:

> *"they are so many nationalities living and working together [in this school] and if you come in from the outside you think 'it must be a bit difficult'. It's not at all. Because they've been growing up with it and it's completely natural to them" (ESL4).*

As already quoted (section 4.2), but fitting perfectly here as well, one teacher emphasised that "students are wonderfully ignorant of nationalism" (ESL4) and proceeded:

> *"they haven't grown up in their home countries. […] so there is this rootless mentality, which is a good thing […] because they're not blindly jingoistic" (ESL4).*

Hence, a recurrent theme across individual interviews was the praise of students' exposure to various nationalities. Because of passing on an antinationalist narrative and according to teachers as a logical consequence of the students' biographies, teachers want to educate students who are open-minded and tolerant.

Out-group narratives expressed by European School teachers are summarised and visualised in Table 7 below. The analysis has revealed a prevailing antinationalist narrative among teachers. In their antinationalist narrations, teachers referred to cosmopolitan values that also played an important role for their in-group constructions. Furthermore, teachers' antinationalist narratives have a strong transnational component: interviewees emphasised the mix of students that should make them antinationalist, while a renunciation of the students' national pride was a recurrent theme across interviewees.

Table 7: Out-Group Narratives at Level of European School Teachers

	National	Multinational	Transnational/ Antinationalist	Cosmopolitan/ Antinationalist
Teachers	Weak ▪ Sitting with colleagues from the own country during breaks	Weak ▪ Education in language sections, but exposing students to various national perspectives	Strong ▪ Emphasis of *diverging* national perspectives ▪ Dismissing students' national pride	Strong ▪ Narrow-minded or jingoistic people (in contrast, students are broad-minded, tolerant, "high quality") ▪ "European feeling" as an evolutionary step above national feelings

Despite pronounced antinationalist narratives, teachers also incorporate multinational (and to some extent, national) narrations into their teaching. Rather than teaching students "side by side" as envisaged in the European Schools system, the teachers' multinational perspective means that they want to mix up students and expose them to various national perspectives. At the same time, they themselves partly prefer to mingle with colleagues from the same national background, which somewhat hints at a persistence of a national out-group narrative, which they however otherwise try to actively renounce.

In a nutshell, interviews showed that a recurrent and prevailing aim of individual teachers is to make students antinationalist - sometimes this happens (and is stated) rather implicitly, at many instances and across interviewees, it is covered explicitly though. Nonetheless, this is to some extent in line with the EU's out-group narrative, since different national viewpoints are still reproduced by teachers. In line with expectations from the theoretical literature, they want to increase students' cohesion and strengthen a "European feeling" by passing on this antinationalist narrative and cosmopolitan values like open-mindedness and tolerance.

5.3 Out-Group Narratives of European School Students

The following section analyses out-group narratives expressed by European School students in individual interviews and focus groups.

First, students express a strong cosmopolitan and antinationalist out-group narrative of a European identity, referring to "non-European" behaviour and attitudes such as racism or intolerance – qualitative content analysis shows this to be coherent across schools and individual students. Second and related to the previous point, interviewees emphasised that they themselves were more nationalist when younger, describing an evolution as part of their schooling. As a further antinationalist narration, students partly broaden this narrative to a general out-group of national, less mobile people within Europe. Third, students demarcate themselves from "others" in their everyday lives, which they see e.g. in the less European surroundings of their respective schools. While all these narratives showed up in qualitative content analysis across schools, this category was particularly pronounced in some settings. Fourth and finally, interviewed students express (multi-) national out-group narratives, referring to the structure of language sections and to geographic categories.

With relation to out-group constructions, first and foremost, an antinationalist narrative prevails among students. In their narrations of "the other", interviewees distinguished *European* from *non-European* values and behaviour. They describe non-Europeans, very consistently and in clear terms, as people who think in nationalist terms and who are narrow-minded, racist or intolerant. The out-group is thus constructed according to cosmopolitan values:

> *"Non-European is someone who says that he is only from one country and that only his country is important to him and that he doesn't care about what happens in other countries or Europe"*[xix] *(Javier, ESL).*

> *"when you're only interested in your country […], you see your own country as the best and the other European countries as subordinate. Or […] you don't have any interest in Europe"*[xx] *(Milena, ESL).*

As an interviewed teacher argued, students pick up the antinationalist narrative during childhood and adolescence, leading to a general, political stance of renouncing nationalist tendencies:

> *"when [students] encounter that narrow nationalism like many of the far-right British and French political parties, they are genuinely shocked how damaging such values are. And that's by virtue of the fact that […] they're educated at the School, they make no distinction between not only the other language sections, but there is no ethnic discrimination in the European School" (ESL4).*

Supporting the teacher's argument, students claimed that adopting a European identity requires moving away from national categories of thinking. This can be linked back to the literature arguing that collective identities answer the question of "who are we?" and "who are they?" in continually debated stories (Tilly 2002: 5-6): to have a European identity, your "structure of thinking" (Maria, ESL) should make you think "broader than the borders of your country [, as opposed to which] non-European [...] is someone who is racist and who only thinks for his own country"[xxi] (Maria, ESL). Or, as another student put it:

> *"when you have a European identity, you move […] away from national or nationalist prejudices […]. You think more openly about other countries, about their opinions, also politically and culturally […], that's exactly why I would call myself a European"*[xxii] *(Matteo, ESM).*

A recurrent observation in interviews was that students reflected quite explicitly on their identity development and according out-group constructions. They emphasised that they felt they were more national when first coming to the school. While they (and their teachers as well as EU officials) link this explicitly to their experiences in school, it is also in line with the literature on children's national and supranational identity development: children continuously adopt attitudes, which they see as fitting into their self-perceived knowledge of belonging to a social group (Recchi 2012), with European or other supranational identity patterns actively being used around the age of ten (Barrett 1996, 2007).

Arguing to have advanced from national towards European frames of thought while being at the European School, students' narrations also reflect the literature on cosmopolitanism and post-nationalism. According to that normative approach, Europe has an out-group in its nationalist past and for the EU as a post-national democracy, nations can provide objects of demarcation (Antonsich 2012, Eder 2009, Habermas 2006). As mentioned before, at the EU level and teacher level, an out-group of the own nationalist past that is not suitable for "modern times" (ESL6, cf. above) was observed. Interviewed students picked up the according narrative in their perspectives on national identities, which they see as a lower evolutionary step

than a European identity. This was a recurrent pattern across interviews as evidenced by qualitative content analysis and according coding. It is highlighted in Matteo's (ESM) above-cited statement that a European identity means "you move […] away from national or nationalist prejudices", which are a "past-generation thing" (Michael, ESL, cf. subsection 6.2.2), or, as Michael (ESL) and Gabriel (ESM) also put it:

> *"I think, considering yourself Luxemburgish or someone from any country is a bit of a thing of the past, because you can travel a lot, live in different places and mixed marriages are much more common" (Michael, ESL).*

> *"When someone is saying, I'm 100 per cent French, you think, ok, well, that's not, yeah, not a very interesting exchange"*[xxiii] *(Gabriel, ESM)*

Students draw a boundary between "us", living a transnational life, and "them", living a national life. Students abstract from their own transnational experiences – they travel a lot, they live in different places, their parents have mixed marriages – to a general, positively perceived evolution in this direction. They construct an out-group of not only nationalist attitudes, but of a more national and less mobile lifestyle in general. This out-group narrative is certainly striking and somewhat elitist – however, in line with theoretical discussions (cf. Turner 1982, Tajfel 1982, Calhoun 1997), it is a way to strengthen the in-group's cohesion through othering and making the in-group clearly tangible in an otherwise vague setup. Here, some students also discussed differences between the EU and Europe: While the EU is partly seen as having more unity (because being a deliberate union), an antinational narrative of Europe transcends political or geographical dimensions. In principle, everyone can be European – however, a lot of people who are living in Europe are not.

> *"In Paris you do find Europe, but not in other parts [of France]. For example, in France, well, there is this right-wing party and so on. […] And I don't get that, well, normally, one would vote for Europe or for the common good and not only for the own country"*[xxiv] *(Camille, ESM).*

> *"I still feel pretty European, especially when I grew in France, I really see that there is not, there isn't really, there is people who mix but it's not as important as here. I mean, this, so, yeah. I think it's pretty European" (Amelie, ESL).*

With their antinational out-group narrative, students dissent from the EU's multinational in-group narrative, according to which every citizen of an EU member state is automatically a European (citizen). Following the EU's narrative, European citizens can be as nationalist as

they wish if they are also "united in diversity", i.e. accept to some extent a common European in-group as an additional identity layer. In line with their teachers, students contradict this narrative: according to them "unity in diversity" is achieved by having *transnational* diversity in your daily life; those who do not have this diversity are less European. As one student expressed it, *not European* is

> *"someone who classifies himself only in a national identity, and who wants the national identity to stay completely that way, someone who sees the mix of cultures as something negative"*[xxv] *(Matteo, ESM).*

Another prevalent narration of students, also related to an antinationalist narrative, clarifies the students' perspectives on out-groups experienced on a day-to-day basis. Despite being used to a transnational lifestyle at least in their schooling and often also in their families, students are aware that their school is different from other schools and from the national environment it is located in. Here, further out-group narratives are expressed. Students in all three schools and especially in the "Eurocapital" Luxemburg described the European School as a "bubble" (e.g. Ilias, ESC, Christian, ESL, Ethan, ESM). Students in Culham remarked that the school is different from Eurosceptic surroundings, with one student calling the school is "kind of like an embassy" (Charlotte, ESC) for Europe and with the EU flag and blue painting symbolising that "we're, like, special" (Paul, ESC). Several students in Munich argued that it is easier for them to identify with the international city than with the region of Bavaria or with Germany in general.

This everyday construction of "the other" is also linked to students' own experiences of feeling out-grouped of national groups. As one student expressed it, "I'd call Europe my home because I am always called foreigner"[xxvi] (Matteo, ESM).

> *"It's alright, but you do somehow feel like an outsider in France, too. Because well, they all live differently from us, here. And [in] Germany is the same. It's actually funny because when you go to France, you're labelled the German and when you go to Germany, you're labelled the French, although I'm actually both"*[xxvii] *(Maria, ESL).*

> *"I think, it's sort of like, when you come back to Greece from another country, then you're not perceived to be on a par. […] One thinks, 'well, yeah, they live in Germany and they have better chances, they're not like us and they speak German and also have a bit more money' […] I think that's a bit bad. But that doesn't mean that everyone is like that. Maybe some of them. […] Well, I think that's the bad thing about living somewhere in another country. Because*

you're perceived as a German in your home country, but in Germany, you're perceived as Greek"[xxviii] *(Sofia, ESM).*

"I feel British, but I don't feel that, like, other people recognise me as British, for example, on the bus the other day someone […] who works with my sister was asking me where I was from, so, like, to see if I was my sister's brother and I said I was from Britain, I was British and she said, yeah but where are you actually from, where are you originally from, I was like, ehm… So, like, I think a lot of people have like an idea of being British as being Caucasian, sitting around drinking tea and all these things, but I think I don't fit into that, that view of being typically British" (Ilias, ESC).

Various students across the three schools said that they experience being out-grouped by people outside of the school. For instance, in parental countries, people "say, 'oh well, the foreigner'. And I don't like that either because I am Spanish, too"[xxix] (Alejandra, ESM). This may make them feel more European because they do not fully belong to one national group, either by choice or by ascriptions of other people:

"I'm not particularly attached to any country, I recognise that when I go to Italy that that's where I was born, my family is there, so I just say 'Hi, I'm Italian, that's my country', but then when I go to different countries […], I like it there as well, so, yeah. Overall, I would call myself a European" (Rosie, ESL).

"And I feel like, well, a foreigner in every country I'm in. So, I feel a bit more, well, European"[xxx] *(Camille, ESM).*

"I guess the difference is, I grew up, I am Spanish by nationality and by upbringing I have been brought up by Spanish parents, obviously with Spanish traditions and all that, but by culture I've been, I've grown up more in a… Like, you can't really tell the difference, unless you've seen me with Spanish people, but the way I was, like, the environment in which I grew up in, which is Australia compared to other native Spanish people is quite different" (Eva, ESC).

Thus, in line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1982, Turner 1982), the construction of an out-group of mono-nationals helps to construct a meaningful and positive image of their own in-group of multinationals:

"many people just don't understand it […]. They just want to put you into one nationality, or: 'are you more Italian or more Belgian?' To me, this question doesn't make any sense. 'Or are you more German or what are you?' and so on. Many people think that's normal because they are used to having only one nationality each […]. But maybe this is why with some people, I would simply say I am a European"[xxxi] *(Matteo, ESM).*

Another, final out-group construction of students relates to multinational as well as national narratives expressed by students. The students interviewed expressed national out-group narratives when talking about language sections in school, into which students are pooled (cf.

subsection 6.1.1). Teachers also use language sections in their teaching, e.g. by treating students as country experts:

> *"There are teachers, […] who always comes along stating 'our Frenchman', 'our [Middle Eastern], Gabriel' or so"*[xxxii] *(Gabriel, ESM).*

Students pick up this narrative fuelled by the school and by teachers. From the beginning of primary school, they spend most time with their peers from the same section and "for those who have their language section, the closest friends are made up by these language groups" (ESM3). However, since sections are mixed with increasing age, the interviewed students also argued that they have friends from different sections and that they are now less national. In line with the mentioned antinationalist narrative, they even distinguish their form groups from nationalities in a broader sense, e.g. arguing:

> *"Compared to people in France, you do see a clear difference between them and me. And that's the same for the others in school. The English are not really English, but English from a European School. And that's a big difference to English people coming from England. And you do see that"*[xxxiii] *(Ethan, ESM).*

As outlined, regarding what is "European" and "not European", students emphasised a difference in values (referring to openness, tolerance versus racism, intolerance) according to a cosmopolitan narrative. As a follow-up question however, students were asked in individual interviews whether they feel closer to Europeans. Here, some students referred to geographical categories and put forward a multinational out-group narrative of a European identity. Interviewees argued for instance that being outside of Europe makes them feel more European, since "I think Europe has also different mentalities than, say […] the USA" (Matteo, ESM, quoted in section 4.3).

In another section of the interview, some students described themselves as only half-European because having only one parent from a European country. Even more strikingly, interviewed students with mononational parents living in their parents' home country partly apologised for this. For instance, they argued that they were the only students who are "100% English" (Charlotte, ESC), although this was the case for several students interviewed (cf. subsection 6.1.1). These self-categorisations show that students do not entirely stick to their own expressed narrative of distinguishing a European in-group from non-Europeans

(solely) based on values and behaviour. Instead, they emphasise a multinational narrative of European identity, arguing that a belonging to a non-EU country makes an individual non-European. While this seems contradictory, it can be linked to the widening of the out-group narrative to a nationalist "other": one should have transnational experiences and know different European cultures and languages to be European. In all, students thus express a transnational narrative, according to which people who are only *(mono-) national* in terms of their biography and lifestyle are perceived less European.

The findings summarised in Table 8 below stood out in qualitative content analysis of out-group narratives. First, in line with the EU's narrative, students partly mentioned non-EU or non-European countries when describing the out-group of a European identity. Second, national out-groups play a role across language sections in school, but are diminished with increasing age and intermingling of students. Finally, just as among their teachers, antinationalist narratives, both in a transnational and a cosmopolitan sense, are very strong among students and highly consistent across schools. Students describe "non-Europeans" as racist, intolerant or nationalist people. Here, their antinationalist narrative is also linked to inclusive transnational notions of Europeanness, since individuals can belong to the in-group if they share such cosmopolitan attitudes.

Table 8: Out-Group Narratives at Level of European School Students

	National	Multinational	Transnational/ Antinationalist	Cosmopolitan/ Anti-nationalist
Students	Weak ▪ Sticking to the own (nationality-laden) language section when younger	Weak ▪ Realising the shared mentality of Europe when being in non-EU countries (e.g. in the US)	Strong ▪ National surroundings of school (and national thinking) are "thing of the past" ▪ Nationalist behaviour as "the other", excluding (more national, less mobile) people *within* Europe ▪ Feeling out-grouped from national group (not feeling to *fully* belong/ being a "foreigner")	Strong ▪ Out-group of racist or intolerant people ▪ The own, more nationally oriented childhood as "the other"

Students partly construct "the other" as their own previous, more nationalist mind-set when they were younger. At the same time however, students partly widen the cosmopolitan, anti-nationalist out-group narrative to an antinational narrative and thus also more generally, to people who live a more national life than them. This narrative, contradicting the EU's official, multinational narrative, helps to construct a positive narrative of students' rather negative experiences of being out-grouped, e.g. in their parents' home countries where many have the feeling to never fully belong. This accordingly present out-group narrative of the students is also less inclusive since excluding all those who do not have a transnational lifestyle and who are not at the centre of the "centrifugal force" (Fligstein 2008) of identification with Europe.

5.4 Discussion of Out-Group Narratives across Levels

This empirical chapter has analysed out-group narratives of European identity at the levels of the EU, European Schools system, teachers and students. It was studied what individuals and institutions think or officially propose as *being not European*. The following findings stood out in qualitative content analysis as recurrent themes, with the previous tables being conflated in Table 9 below:

- At the EU level, a multinational narrative persists: the out-group is seen in non-EU countries and citizens of non-EU countries are excluded from EU citizenship.
- Both at the EU level and the European School level, a cosmopolitan out-group narrative is expressed: "the other" is the own war-torn past, while a peaceful present and future is possible due to European integration in general and European Schools in particular.
- At the European School level, national narratives are constructed by pooling students into language sections. These are nationality-laden groups, since the linguistic background of students tends to be equated with their nationality, therefore oversimplifying their identity with a national category.
- At the levels of teachers and students, a cosmopolitan out-group narrative persists: "the other" are intolerant, racist or nationalist and teachers aim at promoting antinationalist attitudes among their students.
- Students widen this out-group to a general antinational narrative, seeing "the other" in people who have a more national and less mobile lifestyle. Given that out-group narratives mirror the position within the in-group (Greenfeld 1992), this is in line with their perception that they often feel out-grouped of national belongings because of their multilingual and multinational background.
- At the level of students, a multinational out-group narrative is also expressed when constructing an out-group of non-EU or non-European countries. While individuals can be part of the in-group if sticking to cosmopolitan values, other *countries* are still described as "the other", which can promote in-group cohesion, e.g. by individuals feeling more European when travelling outside of Europe.

Table 9: Overview of Out-Group Narratives at Different Vertical Levels

	National	Multinational	Transnational/ Antinationalist	Cosmopolitan/ Antinationalist
EU	Strong ▪ Excluding citizens of non-EU states from in-group of EU citizens	Strong ▪ Non-EU countries should be faced united by EU countries	Weak ▪ Not to regress to history of wars as Europeans' collective scheme of life	Medium ▪ War-torn past of European nations as "the other"
European Schools	Strong ▪ Nationality-style out-groups through education of students "side by side"	Strong ▪ Several language sections as nationality-style groups *in parallel*	Weak ▪ Mixed European schooling to prevent regression to nationalist times	Weak ▪ Aiming to prevent regression to nationalist times
Teachers	Weak ▪ Sitting with colleagues from the own country during breaks	Weak ▪ Education in language sections, but exposing students to various national perspectives	Strong ▪ Emphasis of *diverging* national perspectives ▪ Dismissing students' national pride	Strong ▪ Narrow-minded or jingoistic people (in contrast, students are broad-minded, tolerant, "high quality") ▪ "European feeling" as an evolutionary step above national feelings
Students	Weak ▪ Sticking to the own (nationality-laden) language section when younger	Weak ▪ Realising the shared mentality of Europe when being in non-EU countries (e.g. in the US)	Strong ▪ National surroundings of school (and national thinking) are "thing of the past" ▪ Nationalist behaviour as "the other", excluding (more national, less mobile) people *within* Europe ▪ Feeling outgrouped from national group (not feeling to *fully* belong/ being a "foreigner")	Strong ▪ Out-group of racist or intolerant people ▪ The own, more nationally oriented childhood as "the other"

Comparing out-group narratives at the different levels in Table 9 above, the following conclusions could be drawn from qualitative content analysis – just as for the in-group narratives, these conclusions and the labelling of the narrative presence as strong/medium/weak are

tentative and serve to inform subsequent process tracing by highlighting important components to explore further.

First, a cosmopolitan narrative is present across all vertical levels and particularly pronounced at the teachers' and students' level. At the top level of the EU, it is linked to the out-group of the nationalist, war-torn past. At the ground level of individual students, the out-group according to a cosmopolitan narrative is instead defined as intolerant, narrow-minded people. Second, while a multinational narrative is strongly present at the EU and European School level, this narrative is less pronounced among teachers and students. Third, students are aligned to their teachers' antinationalist narrative, which has been found recurrently across interviews. By partly widening this antinationalist narrative to a general out-group of national and less mobile people, students contradict the EU's vision. The EU allows people to be nationalist or national if they are also European (with non-Europeans being fairly exclusively defined as non-EU member state citizens). For students (and to some extent, teachers) however, this is not the case: one cannot be European if one is nationalist and several students argue that transnational practices make individuals more European. Despite the inclusive notion of students, according to which everyone can in theory be European if sticking to cosmopolitan values, this out-group construction is more exclusive, since it excludes people *within* Europe and the EU.

As discussed in the theoretical part and mentioned in the previous sections, images of "the other" (just as self-images) are not static, but constantly shifting (Strath 2002). In line with this, students argued that they were more national when younger and their identity evolved to being more European. Hence, the outlined empirical results can be discussed in relation to national identity debates in the literature. In acts of remembering and forgetting (cf. Renan 1990, Billig 1995, Elgenius 2011a), nationalism usually aims at constructing continuity from the past to today's nation-state. The EU's out-group narrative is constructed differently: by seeing "the other" in the own war-torn history, an explicit demarcation from the past that ought to be remembered by the collective takes place. Continuity is established with the idea of a peaceful Europe and an according common destiny.

Despite this diversion from national identity debates, the narration is still in line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1982, Turner 1982, Brewer 2003): just as the students see their own, more national individual past as a lower evolutionary step, which they had to take to become more European, the EU's out-group narrative allows a positive self-image of Europeans and increases the cohesion of the in-group. Furthermore, the narrative is in line with post-national constructions (Antonsich 2008, Eder 2009, Habermas 2006), which see nations as objects of demarcation for Europe: instead of external enemies, Europe has an *internal* enemy in its nationalist past (and present).

Students' out-grouping of more national and less mobile people can be linked to the literature criticising cosmopolitanism as elitist (Duchesne et al. 2013) as well as to the observation that European identity is a centrifugal force (Fligstein 2008, Bruter 2005). Privileged people, who identify with an imagined European community "see their fate as shared with people from around Europe" (Fligstein 2008: 124) and are cognitively mobilised (Inglehart 1970) for an in-group of Europeans. This standpoint is criticised by Duchesne et al. (2013: 94) for perceiving nationalist thinking as inferior to being cosmopolitan, with the "winners", privileged Europeans, being "admired for being open". These Europeans most likely also belong to the same socioeconomic group due to the unequal distribution of cognitive mobilisation. For instance, Kuhn (2012) argues that the Erasmus programmes largely benefit already mobile young Europeans – the same can be argued for European School students, who furthermore often have parents working for an institutionalised Europe, the EU.

Coming back to the role of out-grouping discussed in the literature on social, national and European identities, "the other" constitutes a mirror for the in-group, allowing favourable comparisons and ignoring differences within the collective (Barth 1969, Turner 1982, Tajfel 1982, Brewer 2003). Hence, in-group and out-group narratives for European identity can only be considered jointly. While Armbruster, Rollo and Meinhof (2003) find in their qualitative study that "Europe" remains rather empty in its in-group narrative, this empirical project has found that at the EU level, a European in-group is relatively tangible, since being defined as EU member states and their citizens. For individual students, the in-group is constructed in

an inclusive way and linked to specific behaviour and attitudes. Regarding the out-group narrative, the students' notion of "othering" people within Europe or the EU is (to a somewhat surprising degree) exclusive.

In a nutshell, this chapter has looked at out-group narratives and their envisaged transmission across levels, studying what *not being European* means to the EU, European Schools, their teachers and students. The project found that even at the EU level, out-group narratives diverge from established national-identity narratives, in particular, in constructions of "the other" as the own, more national past. Most importantly, the qualitative content analysis has clarified that just like narratives of the in-group, the EU's out-group narratives get altered on their way to students.

While the EU seeks to transmit a European identity to European School students, students' widening of the out-group to more national people is certainly an unintended outcome. It shows again that narratives get altered even in this most-likely case of European identity transmission and construction. Students are influenced by their schooling and their teachers and make sense of their surroundings and upbringing, being to some extent alienated from their parents' national identities.

Overall, through qualitative content analysis, the project has gained a deeper descriptive and structural understanding of in-group and out-group narratives of European identity across and within different levels, identifying narrative constructions and their altered transmission. Treating these as components that inform causal inference and keeping the entities at different vertical levels in mind, the empirical project proceeds with tracing the process from European schooling to students' identification with a European in-group.

6. European Identity Transmission – Causal Mechanism

Having focused on the *descriptive puzzle* of this project, the two previous chapters analysed the construction of in-group and out-group narratives of a European identity and their envisaged transmission on different levels. Having found a peculiar type of identification with Europe among European School students that diverts from the EU's visions, the analysis now turns to the *causal puzzle*, asking how European schooling leads to students' peculiar identification with Europe.

Through "causal forces" in the sense of transmitting components and interactions (Beach 2016: 465, cf. Mahoney 2012), a mechanism is unpacked that links the cause "European Schooling" with the outcome "student's identification with an in-group of Europeans". This is a layered application of process tracing, identifying the (descriptive) components, actors and key actions, but also understanding a peculiar (and surprising) outcome, before now tracing a process leading towards this effect.

The chapter further delineates and relates *activities*, *entities* as well as *testable implications* that together form the causal forces behind distinct steps of the theorised mechanism (Gerring 2010: 1518, Beach 2016). Through this inductive, *theory-building* process tracing, the black box of European identity transmission and development among European School students can be opened and provide a basis for systematic concept building. Theory building however also has a deductive element to it, as "observable evidence does not speak for itself" (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 61). Thus, inspiration is sought from the discussed theoretical and empirical work.

For inductive process tracing, this chapter constructs (potential) "tests" for various components of the mechanism. These in turn propose how the implications that are observable in this specific case could be traced systematically, that is, also in future research and other contexts (Beach and Pedersen 2013). With double decisive tests (a component is both necessary and sufficient) being empirically rare, either hoop tests (a component is necessary, but not sufficient) or smoking-gun tests (a component is sufficient, but not necessary) are preferred.

Passing hoop tests affirms the relevance of the hypothesis, but does not ("sufficiently") confirm it. Failing to jump the hoop though, would eliminate a hypothetical component – hoop tests are thus a tool to dismiss rival hypotheses (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 10-5). In smoking-gun tests, the component is sufficient, but not necessary for affirming causal inference (van Evera 1997: 31-2). In analyses, hoop tests can thus be supported by "smoking-gun" style evidence. Weaker supporting evidence is sought through straw-in-the-wind tests (components are neither necessary nor sufficient), which can slightly strengthen or weaken hypotheses (Bennett 2015). Jointly, a series of hoop tests combined with (attempted) smoking-gun tests gives evidence for the overall causal mechanism with sections being tailored towards developing propositions for testable implications of these tests. They are indicated at the end of each section.

Hence, the causal mechanism is parsimonious and focused on two sub-mechanisms, which are outlined in Table 10 below. This rather straightforward model implies that the overall theorised path keeps systematic properties for future research (Beach and Pedersen 2013). The (interacting) sub-mechanisms help to grasp how the different activities, entities and testable implications collude. On the one hand, "telling Europe" brings together components that describe the transmission of narratives and of multilingualism. On the other hand, "doing Europe" subsumes components that are linked to a transnational social network and to multinational, European mobility. Thus, "telling Europe" and "doing Europe" offer a structure for this empirical chapter (section 6.1 on telling, 6.2 on doing Europe). In both sections, a series of "hoop tests" is proposed. The final section 6.3 discusses the theorised causal mechanism in its entirety and discusses caveats and alternative mechanisms this study does either not touch upon or does not find evidence for.

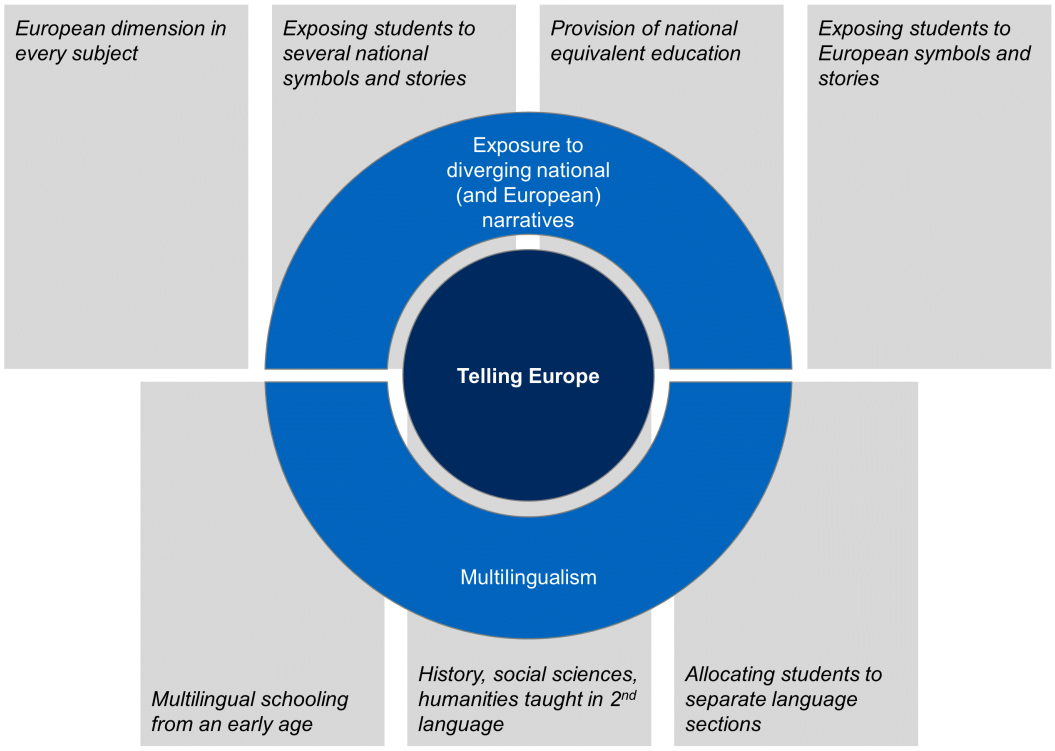
Table 10: Inducing a Mechanism for Student's Identification with Europe

ACTIVITIES	TESTABLE IMPLICATIONS [+ ENTITY]	SUB-MECH-ANISM
School: Putting students into separate language sections	▪ Being confronted with national teaching style [students] ▪ Making friends and forming in-group within section [students] ▪ Having transnational peers within section [students] ▪ Simplifying students' backgrounds [students, teachers, school]	TELLING EUROPE
School, Teachers: Exposing students to several national symbols/stories	▪ Flagging on national holidays [school] ▪ Presenting countries on cultural occasions [students, teachers] ▪ Learning traditions on Europe Day, in European Hours [students]	
School and Teachers: Exposing students to European symbols/stories	▪ Room names reminiscing EU founding fathers [school] ▪ Celebrating Europe Day [students, teachers, school] ▪ European flag outside of buildings [school] ▪ Learning European anthem and EU history [students, teachers] ▪ Flag as banal symbol vs. hot signifier of in-group [students]	
School: European dimension in every subject	▪ Actively thinking about what is European about subject [teachers] ▪ Learning about different perspectives in every subject [students] ▪ Adopting a pro-EU and pro-European attitude [students, teachers]	
School and Teachers: Social sciences/ humanities in 2nd language	▪ Mediating European curriculum without common textbooks [teachers] ▪ Using students as country experts in class [teachers] ▪ Incorporating different national narratives in class [teachers]	
School: Providing national-equivalent education	▪ Adapting to school despite fluctuation [teachers, students] ▪ Teaching culture and history in language classes [teachers] ▪ Teaching by native speakers [teachers] ▪ Possibility to go on to university in other country [students]	
School: Multilingual schooling from an early age	▪ Seeing "living" languages as necessity [teachers, students, school] ▪ Switching and mixing languages [students] ▪ Teaching not on "native-speaker" level [teachers]	
School and Teachers: Mixing students across language sections	▪ Being confronted with several national teaching styles [students] ▪ Noticing similarities/differences between students from different sections [students, teachers] ▪ Making friends and forming an in-group across sections [students] ▪ Treating students as country experts [students, teachers]	DOING EUROPE
School and Teachers: School trips abroad	▪ Noticing similarities/differences in school trips abroad [students] ▪ Using multilingualism/intercultural experiences abroad [students] ▪ Learning about the EU [students] ▪ Spending time at other European School in host family [students]	
Teachers: Treating students as country experts	▪ Seeing mixed backgrounds as asset [students, teachers, school] ▪ Enthusiasm for transnational experiences [students, teachers]	

6.1 "Telling Europe": Disentangling a Sub-Mechanism

This section traces activities and observable implications that jointly induce the sub-mechanism "telling Europe". "Telling Europe" describes comparatively "passive" components in the causal chain when considered from the level of students: they are "told" about Europe as part of their European schooling. Hence (Figure 7 below), the sub-mechanism subsumes activities, implications and causal forces of students' exposure to diverging national and European narratives (with school and teachers being the key entities) and their multilingualism.

Figure 7: Components of Telling Europe



Subsection 6.1.1 discusses the transmission of diverging national narratives as well as European narratives. First, the structure of language sections and teaching of "soft sciences" in students' second language are theorised as activities with clearly observable and thus testable implications. Second, implications of an exposure to European and varying national symbols and stories in school are presented. Finally, the European dimension in school subjects and the aim of having an education equivalent to a national one are assessed. Subsection 6.1.2

analyses the schools' and students' multilingualism. Here, the focus is laid on multilingual schooling from an early age, discussing the role of students' language skills, their switching and mixing of languages and the teachers' assessment of students' skills. Overall, through a rigorous discussion of different components, each manifestation can be assessed in its respective conditionality or strength of support for the overall causal path. The sections are tailored towards developing propositions for testable implications (at the end of each subsection), whereas the final subsection (6.1.3) considers the interaction of various aspects in defining the path.

6.1.1 European and Diverging National Narratives in School

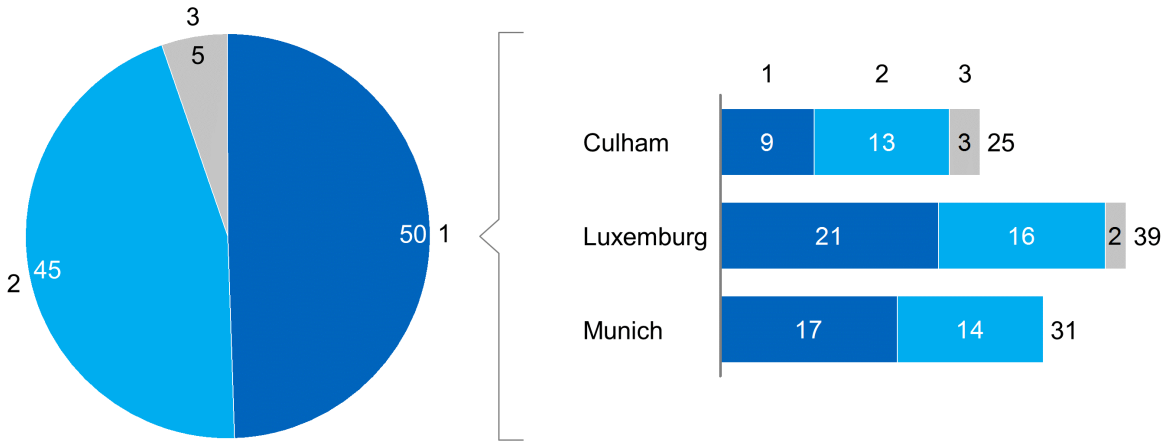
The following subsection focuses on activities of the entities "school" and "teachers" regarding narrative transmission. The exposure to European stories as well as diverging national stories in school on a daily basis strengthens students' sense of belonging to a European in-group. The structure of language sections and the call for national-equivalent education somewhat suppresses that in-group. However, the awareness of transnationality *within* each section compounds the need to make sense of the different narratives at hand. Thus, a European in-group is catalysed by the constant opportunity structure to learn about different national backgrounds of fellow students and teachers as well as by the dedication of and requirements on teachers to implement a European dimension in education.

6.1.1.1 Language Sections as Nationality-Laden Groups

The first activity of the entities "European School" and "teachers" is the structuring of schooling in language sections. As for the entities, individual teachers in the European Schools system are included, while the entity "European School" is understood as the institution in the sense of stable structures of the European Schools system established in mission statements and guiding principles of the Board of Governors and represented by school directors who give their school "a European spirit" (OSG 2014b: 7, cf. subsection 4.1.2).

While most students are nationals of EU countries, many also have the legal status of being citizens of more than one EU country. Among interviewees, about half of the respondents stated having more than one parental nationality (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Parental Nationalities



Official figures of the European Schools system acknowledge such dual and triple nationalities – and it has found a way of including this in official statistics of the student population by dividing students' national belongings:

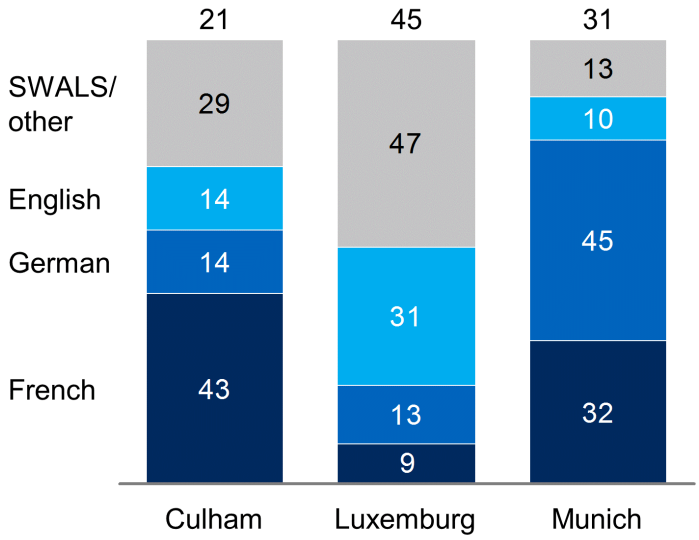
> *"the figures [...] are not 'round numbers'. A large number of pupils enrolled in the European Schools have more than one nationality. Pupils with dual nationality or more are calculated as shares: dual nationality as 0.5+0.5, triple nationality as 0.33+0.33+0.33" (Schola Europaea 2016b).*

Interestingly, these shares are only ascribed to parents' backgrounds, thereby "telling" and hence reproducing the parents' nationalities. At the same time, the country of residence (if it is not a parental country) is potentially overlooked and underestimated in the statistics and in the student's schooling, which relies on only one specific language section for each student.

As mentioned, students are pooled into language sections according to their mother tongues and/or national background. Figure 9 shows the number of students per language section among interviewees. Some families – be they binational or mononational – do not choose a mother tongue as Language 1 in school and the L1 is labelled "first language" rather than

"mother tongue"[64]. There are also students without a language section (abbreviated "SWALS"), usually if there are too few students of the same linguistic background to open a section. Those students attend more classes in their L2 or L3 from an early age.

Figure 9: Interviewed Students per Language Section[65]



Like Tajfel's (1969) minimal group experiments in Social Identity Theory, students are assigned to a section, which they pick up as an in-group, while out-grouping the other form groups of the same grade. This in-grouping happens in non-European schools as well. In the European School however, the other form groups, "them", are labelled in national terms, e.g. as "the French", "the Italians", thereby increasing coherence of the own in-group (Tajfel 1969, Billig 2013: 183, Billig 2002). A testable implication of language sections is that these function as reminders of national in-groups. Thereby, they oversimplify the bi-/ trinationality of students.

At the same time, as a parallel testable implication of this, students experience from a young age that, even within their monolingual section, most peers have a mixed background and "there is no one who is like one hundred per cent one nationality" (Marina, ESL). The stu-

[64] Often, English is chosen as L1, which means that more teachers who are English native speakers are needed. This has created political conflicts between member states, which second (and usually pay) teachers and deplore unequal burdens (EC 2013c: 10).
[65] SWALS = students without language section.

dents imagine a community of peers who have varying, often multinational backgrounds. Strikingly, as mentioned, although many interviewed students (about 50%) in the schools had a mononational background, interviewees seemed to underestimate their share.

> *"Everyone is so mixed here. There's only people who are bilingual or even trilingual and come from several different countries. Some people don't even know really where they come from" (Gustav, ESL).*

This highlights the tendency of students to interpret their peer group in a transnational, European way. Students with a mononational background praised their fellow students' multinational background and felt that they benefitted from it:

> *"I realised that there is no one who is like one hundred per cent one nationality like I am […]. Most people are like, 'oh, I'm half French, half German' or 'I'm half from Spain, half from Greece'. […] I really like that because, well, that really means European identity. So, if you are something one hundred per cent, […] well, you learn to be international, […] there is like no nationality, rather like, 'I am just Europe'"[xxxiv] (Marina, ESL).*

As this statement shows, transnationality within language sections strengthens students' awareness of their own and their peers' transnationality. The testable implication of this has been framed by Marina (ESL) in the statement above as learning "to be international", "just Europe". In other words, the implication is a strengthening of a European in-group and a demarcation from mononational people:

> *"I don't feel English, but I think with the European School I'm not the only one, I can tell. So, if I would've moved here and went to an English school, it would've felt really different, but because we're in the European School I could see that there's many other people in exactly the same situation as me" (Alia, ESC)*

> *"Even in the English section most of them are not even English, so it's very European, I would say, and you get a lot of multinational backgrounds. […] I don't know anyone in this school who is fully English, so it's very European" (Thomas, ESC).*

> *"I think that all of these, well, all of these different nationalities bring about that we feel more European at this school. Because if we were at a German grammar school, it wouldn't be like that at all"[xxxv] (Valentin, ESM).*

To sum up, students are pooled into and schooled in nationality-laden language sections, in which peers however still come from varying (multi-) national backgrounds. The following quote exemplifies how students make sense of this apparent conflict with progressing age:

> *"the other form group, the French, […] the English section, […] quickly turns to 'well, this is how Englishmen are'. […] I think it gets better and more open with time"[xxxvi] (Ethan, ESM).*

For the overall causal mechanism to work out, it is a necessary condition that students form a European in-group *beyond* national demarcations. Linking the testable implications back to the research question, this causal force is a first hoop test for the specified sub-mechanism and it has indeed been observed in the empirical analysis.

A competing proposition to assess causal leverage (cf. Bennett 2010, Mahoney 2016) could be the formation of persistent national or international in-groups. While nationality-laden form groups somewhat suppress an overarching in-group, transnational in-groups still develop at a smaller scale within each section. Interviews gave evidence for the presence of an explicitly European in-group: "you learn to be international" (Marina, ESL) and this internationality is framed as being European because it is indeed the very first and tangible referent concept of internationality at hand.

6.1.1.2 Exposure to National Stories and the Role of National-Equivalent Education

European Schools were established for children of EU officials to ensure an education equivalent to that in their home country, while planting a European spirit in them. This spirit has been stipulated in the mission statement of all European Schools:

> *"Without ceasing to look to their own lands with love and pride, they will become in mind Europeans" (cited in EU 2013a).*

The national-equivalent education of the European Schools system allows students to return to their national schooling if parents move back to their home country. While most interviewed students have spent most of their school years at a European School, there is still some fluctuation. Students move back to their parents' countries or to another country. The national-equivalent education is ensured by common EU-wide curricula, by national inspectors visiting the European Schools and first and foremost by teaching in language sections by (near-) native speakers. These teachers bring in their respective national teachers' training:

> *"In Polish L1 […] we don't do only Polish and reading literature and books, but also incorporate history, because that's just very important for Poles"*[xxxvii] *(Dorota, ESM).*

The nationally seconded teachers are usually sent to the European School for a period of nine years. During their time at the European School, they tend to remain connected to their national schools system. Hence, as part of the sub-mechanism "telling Europe", teachers expose

students to several different national symbols and stories in the European School. For young students, this can be a new socialising experience, since they have so far mostly been confronted with their parents' variety of national narratives at home.

As mentioned in the descriptive analysis, teachers often define the European curriculum as a multinational one. To incorporate different national perspectives into their teaching, many teachers use the students in their classroom as country experts, thereby strengthening the exposure to diverging narratives. For instance, teachers ask students to talk about the history of the country of their parent(s). In the classroom and on special occasions, students present their country to fellow students and teachers.

Furthermore, during celebrations of Europe Day on 9 May or occasions such as European Hours (see below), students learn about national customs e.g. through the presentation of national food or dance. As mentioned earlier, on each national holiday of a member state, the respective flag flies next to the European flag outside the school building:

> *"Or else, that we have basically every day a flag that's hanging outside because there is always some national holiday, or else, that Europe Day is celebrated every year, stuff like that. I believe this has indeed an influence that you feel European at some point"*[xxxviii] *(Dominik, ESM).*

Interestingly, as this statement also exemplifies, across interviewed students, exposure to national symbols does not really mobilise students for a national identity, although this could be expected based on the discussed literature (cf. Billig 1995, Bruter 2003, Elgenius 2011a). Rather, an encompassing European narrative is forged by regularly presenting respective national symbols together, somewhat merging them into a mix of nationalities beyond the specific flag being flown. Thus, through such everyday reminders of the EU and the member states, the European School fuels a multinational narrative among students.

> *"the school organises really a lot of events for foreigners, just like yesterday, that he [the external speaker, a Basque author] talked about the Basque country […], you don't experience that in other schools and this sort of strengthens a bit the European feeling"*[xxxix] *(Valentin, ESM).*

As analysed in the descriptive chapters, despite aiming at an education equivalent to the national one, many students do not identify with *one* nationality[66]. Several students explicitly argued – somewhat contradicting the goals of seconding national teachers to incorporate national pedagogy – that this is due to the teaching in school. In this context, a student with parents from a Western and an Eastern European country growing up in Luxemburg pointed to the role of teachers as well as fellow students:

> *"When you come to the school, you're essentially like […] a national student, as if you would go to a national school in Germany. But because we are in a European School, you grow up with it. […] I think at the beginning, it's really through these lessons. You are raised towards it by the teachers. And by having the second language for example or geography and history in the second language, you do get to know other people, too, and you get in touch with them"*[xl] *(Philipp, ESL).*

Furthermore, as students' narrations have shown, because of the national-equivalent education and the "telling" of several (possibly diverging) national stories, students get to know the history and culture of various EU countries on a cognitive dimension (Inglehart 1970):

> *"Without the European Union the school couldn't exist and then it would be like, maybe we wouldn't have this capability of different languages and of this openness for other cultures. This could well be the case. Because my German relatives, they know almost nothing about other countries. What is the national holiday of Portugal, ok, I don't know the exact date, but I know it, when the flag is here"*[xli] *(Clara, ESL).*

As this student argues, her knowledge of other countries is a direct result of her EU-facilitated schooling. The everyday exposure to national narratives is fuelled by the European Schools' aim to offer a national-equivalent education. Due to the mix of sections, the education is never mononational. Students get to know diverging national narratives and symbols from their first day in the European School.

> *"Probably, if anything, the school has a little bit more [influence on which country you feel close to] because you are in school the whole day and also in the evening, you are with your friends and not with your family, at least in our age"*[xlii] *(Ethan, ESM).*

> *"In this school, we have a strong bond, because each of us is in his section, but then we have second language and economy and so on together, […] so we have a huge exchange between us and we know what happens in the different countries. And I believe this makes us very open and, well, Europe is what brings us together, so to say"*[xliii] *(Maria, ESL).*

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[66] Valentin's (ESM) concept of "foreigner" is interesting as well: he refers to visitors from various European countries, while also alluding to the fact that people in the school can be "foreigners" of the local culture (here: Munich, Bavaria or Germany). Cf. subsection 6.2.2 for a discussion of notions of "home" among students.

Just like Maria (ESL), other students also believed that the mix between people from different countries is natural at the European School – and Maria argued explicitly that the exposure to different national perspectives "makes us very open" and European as such. According to the following quote of one of their teachers, this perspective is a direct result of their schooling:

> *"apart from the trivial sporting events, national identity doesn't really come into anything. I would say it is much more important in the relationship of the parents to their child than of the school to the child. But because of the syllabus [...] they have a global education, which they wouldn't get if they were in their own home country. And they think very little about it. [...] They're really not very conscious about it" (ESL4).*

Like their students, teachers perceive multinational education in the school very positively, while potentially moving away from their task to provide "only" national-equivalent education, for which they have been seconded.

> *"The mixture is of course not a synthetic or total one here, but there are language sections that also have their own teaching traditions, [...] there is also the European dimension, which allows you bringing in European aspects into your subjects [...]. Then there is the atmosphere, the colleagues from different countries, that's of course also the case for students, that is on the one hand a huge challenge and on the other hand a very, very fascinating activity every day and extremely enriching" (ESM2).*

> *"they're educated with students of other nationalities and they [...] realise that the personal relationships should not be dictated by language, colour, race etcetera. And they just learn this for themselves" (ESL4).*

In a nutshell, teachers expose students to different stories and most importantly, they are just as enthusiastic as their students to build up multinational or even transnational, instead of merely national contacts. Thereby, they sustain and fuel similar attitudes among their students. Another observable implication is that the exposure to diverging national narratives weakens students' association with one specific nation and its narratives: even if it is not (only) a direct result of teaching, the fact that the European School offers a "mix between everything" (Elsa, ESL, as quoted before) means that students can construct a positive narrative of their lacking national sense of belonging. Therefore, the empirical study hints at this being a part of a chain of hoop tests if the overall causal mechanism really is in place:

> *"we know it's important because [...] in school, like we know that if there wasn't [a] European Union we wouldn't be here, we would be in our country and, I don't know, I feel, maybe closer to Europeans, I guess, because they, I think they are more open-minded to other culture and people, so, that's why" (Amelie, ESL).*

As Amelie's (ESL) statement shows, if students construct a positive narrative of their lacking sense of belonging and if this narrative is further connected with an explicitly European narrative (cf. next section), these components are a joint hoop test, in the sense of jointly necessary factors for the overall causal mechanism. Overall, the implication of the national-equivalent, yet multinational education is that teachers push students to think beyond national narratives. Rather than providing a national-style education in language sections, teachers and students embrace wider narratives. These may consist of a combination of different national narratives and/or an adoption of a (European) transnational or cosmopolitan narrative. The next subsection hence discusses the role of explicitly *European* frames of reference.

6.1.1.3 European Dimension in Education and Exposure to Stories and Symbols

A "European dimension in education" has been put forward as overarching EU policy – but through general school statements or curricula, an according educational approach to it is not detailed. However, a document developed for "quality assurance and development" in the European Schools explicitly addresses such underlying aims. Through specified criteria, every European School should evaluate "what they do" (OSG 2000: 2). The very first criterion mentions the

> *"establishment of a European context, in order to foster mutual understanding and respect for diversity in a multicultural setting" (OSG 2000: 5).*

Several indicators characterise the envisioned "European context": a European dimension in curricula, high-standard European language courses, the students' in-depth knowledge of European and EU issues, cooperation of teachers across sections in all subjects and cooperation with other European as well as national schools[67]. The aim is to raise European citizens who have a "highlighted awareness of European reality" (OSG 2014a: 113). Students should become aware of their common identity and of their own and others' national backgrounds. Hence, proclaimed indicators of a "European context" relating to the role of European symbols and stories are next assessed regarding actual implementation as well as regarding im-

[67] The formation of "friendships across language sections" among the students is also made explicit as an indicator, cf. subsection 6.2.1.

plications for identity transmission and development: first, a curricular European dimension, second, students' knowledge of European and EU issues, third, cooperation across sections. Finally, as an additional activity that ties in with cross-sectional activities, the role of European symbols is discussed.

First, regarding the European dimension in curricula, a mix of national perspectives in a multilingual schooling is envisaged:

> *"children should be learning about both, you know, they should be learning about their own national history, but through learning about their national history, they should be learning about how they integrate with the countries around them" (EUO1).*

Teachers incorporate European stories into their teaching according to their own interpretation and commented on their role in interviews.

> *"It is of course partly dictated what we have to teach, but I think that they do not get only German or only English [History teaching], but a mix of the two with other relevant examples and a European conception of history in History" (ESM4).*

> *"In the curriculum, [the European dimension] is formally fixed, but without really being drafted out […]. The system comes to life through sovereign teaching staff, personalities who are able […] to carry out voluntary, creative harmonisation with colleagues. Yes, there's an extensive leeway. […] Formally, there is the 'European dimension', but each language section has its own practice and again, it depends on the individual colleague. But generally, it makes you much more aware of the system and more open-minded and curious about aspects of European integration" (ESM2).*

Facilitating national storytelling, teachers cannot rely on European textbooks, as specific textbooks for the European Schools system do not exist. Instead, they use national textbooks from EU member states:

> *"There are no European textbooks. We have the German textbooks for History accredited in Bavaria. We use those. And a further problem is that I'm of course not competent in all details of all European countries. […] Which European history should one tell? All European stories that exist […] are an attempt to depict national stories side by side and one after the other and then to somehow bring them together to show the commonalities. […] It's just that history is still a subject that serves national identity formation. […] There is barely a European historiography (ESM1).*

An implication of the use of national textbooks is that national narratives are reiterated and thus promoted among students, as explained by the EU official (EUO1) above[68]. However, in

[68] This is in line with the perspective of an interviewed EU official, who argued that the UK is less attached to the EU because of lacking teaching of EU history: "one of the reasons that my own country has a bit of a semi-detached relationship with the European Union is that [...] the history of the European Union is simply not being taught and you know it is rather important" (EUO1).

addition, it also creates more leeway for teachers regarding the interpretation of a European dimension and a "European historiography" (ESM1). In this regard, various teachers across the three schools argued that as a European School teacher, one is "directed by [the] audience even more than by the syllabus" (ESL4), which remains underspecified. Again, a crucial implication of this attitude of teachers is that students are enabled to also see their own mixed background as an asset that they can use in curricular activities and to shape their own school context. Furthermore, as teachers do not want to focus only on hard facts of European history and integration, they move beyond a mere cognitive dimension (Inglehart 1970) and into more affective notions (Tajfel 1982, Turner 1982) of a European identity.

> *"In grade five [two years before EB], I use the example of German unification as a kind of metaphor for European unification. I think in the nineteenth century, it wasn't clear to everyone what a German is. Maybe you only find that out once it has emerged as a state. It doesn't necessarily have to be a state. I think I know I'm European, but a Greek person doesn't have to feel the same way when he says he's European" (ESM4).*

> *"when I solve an equation, it doesn't have a nationality. […] An equation, which is correct, is correct worldwide. That transcends Europe, too. It is also a nice thing about natural sciences that we are totally independent from randomly drawn borders, randomly assigned identities" (ESL2).*

Through exposing students to European historical and political stories, in particular case studies of European integration, teachers want to ensure that students adopt a pro-European attitude. Hence, they fill the curricular European dimension by telling stories to students both in functional terms (emphasising benefits of European integration) and in emotional terms (overcoming antagonisms and narrower identities).

Second, regarding the indicator of students' knowledge of EU and European issues, students argued that their education is indeed oriented towards this knowledge.

> *"[Europe] plays a role in our teaching and in how we are taught to see the world in that everything is so centred on Europe, like, geography and history and everything. The only thing, or, like, at least for the first few years, the only thing you learn about is Europe and, like, European history. […] So, I guess, like, our worldview is pretty much centred on Europe because of our education and also because we know people from all the different countries, basically. So we have, like, something to relate to with the countries in Europe" (Kjell, ESL).*

As Kjell (ESL) argued, focussing on Europe in subjects like History and Geography deepens "technical" knowledge, while interaction with people from "all the different countries" further

fuels knowledge through real-world, first-hand stories. However, whether an in-depth knowledge of European and EU issues is indeed sufficiently achieved has been contested in teacher and student interviews. Some interviewees argued that European School students should learn more about Europe, the EU and different European countries.

> *"I think in this school there is a lack of education about the European Union, despite being a European School. […] It's up to individual teachers to bring students closer to the European Union. […] I'm really in favour of the European Union, I think it's a brilliant thing, but I think in this school the thing is, if you don't want to learn anything about the European Union it's possible, so then you kind of go through this school career without really coming close to the European Union. That's one thing, I think European studies or a lesson about the European Union in a European school should be compulsory" (Christian, ESL).*

> *"One of my jobs […] is to teach the students about the European Union. […] that's the reason they're in Luxemburg in the first place, their parents work for the Communities or for the Parliament, but they just take the school for granted. They don't realise how special the school is, which is perhaps not a good thing. So, you have to obviously teach them not only the history, but the philosophy of being in the European Union. […] And they don't learn that unfortunately. Because we do history chronologically. […] They don't really start learning about the reason they're here until the last year at the school" (ESL4).*

Both the teacher and the student emphasised EU knowledge, rather than possibly wider European issues. However, the teacher also argued that students should learn "how special the school is", calling for students' appreciation for their peculiar schooling. Interestingly, most student interviewees contradicted this evaluation, making their awareness of their peculiar schooling strikingly explicit[69]. They felt that their education increases their awareness of European integration, thus supporting this indicator of a "European context" in school, which is put into practice from primary school. Statements from all three schools showcase this:

> *"since primary school, we've learned a lot about the European Union and all the member states and we've played a lot and did games with countries, jigsaws, and there were a lot of project days, and you are still young, like third, fourth [grade], you learn to live with it, you don't understand that that's what they teach us, we find it's normal, it's European, it's not just German or Greek, it's the way it is. […] but now I'm 16, now I know, that they did that on purpose back then"*[xliv] *(Alexandra, ESM).*

> *"the European School education is based around Europe, so like in history what is done is European history. […] And as a young child, as a primary school student in Brussels I learned, like, the capitals of every EU country and the geography of Europe. So, I think I know a fair bit about Europe" (Ilias, ESC).*

> *"you also learn more about the European Union by learning about the negative things that are happening. So, for example, my economics teacher, […] he shows us how Europe is cur-*

[69] One student (Paul, ESC) even used the same wording as the teacher above, arguing that the school is "special" and that the European flag is a symbol of that.

rently falling apart, in his opinion due to several reasons. That makes you interested in, ok, how can a problem like this go in the right direction, how can it be solved or is there a solution at all?" (Christian, ESL).

Particularly the last statement again refers to the role of teachers. Aiming at mediating the "philosophy of being in the European Union" (ESL4, above) and moving beyond "randomly drawn borders" (ESL2, above), teachers want to teach stories of a coming together of European nations and of European unity. Tailoring curricular activities to the audience, the promotion of an in-depth knowledge of European issues among students fuels the students' closeness to European values and history.

Third, with regards to the indicator of cooperation across sections, teachers and students alike emphasised the contact with other Europeans, through which mutual learning can take place.

"I'm not sure how fruitful it is to identify what it means to me. Instead, I let the students [do it], essentially by us learning together as Europeans. It is more a form of interaction with each other, I think. More in the sense of tolerance and respect for each other and an acceptance of different traditions" (ESM4).

For interactions across sections and across individuals, the role of extracurricular activities such as festivities and "European Hours" stood out as relevant activities. As mentioned, each year, Europe Day is celebrated in the schools. This is an opportunity to display national as well as European symbols.

"With the festivities, we do also always celebrate Europe. When there are festivities, we stand up together and sing the European Anthem, for example at the graduation. Then there are EU logos all over the place and then you know, well, you belong to Europe, there is this European identity" (ESL2).

European Hours on the other hand constitute another way of cooperation across sections and are also a less "academic" part of the students' education: usually, primary school students are mixed across sections once a week for these classes (van Lingen 2012: 70). Here, they learn about customs of specific countries or, among others, sing, dance or do handicrafts together.

"I know in Primary, when we were, sort of aged from 10 to 13, those last years, we had an hour a week which we called European Hours, which is where we would do a bit more stuff about Europe, learn about different countries. But, yeah, except for that I don't think we ever did much about Europe" (Rosie, ESL).

> *"Ever since we were younger […] we sing some songs about Europe and it's just that you're with a lot of people, who come from different countries in Europe. This contributes to the fact that you know all the cultures very well, that you know a lot of people, who are totally different from you"*[xlv] *(Javier, ESM).*

In European Hours and other forms of cooperation across sections, teachers can swiftly promote European stories. The school and teachers promote values like open-mindedness and tolerance, which are not necessarily explicitly framed as European. However, the schools create a joint space of experiencing Europe and celebrating Europe for students of diverse backgrounds. In combination with students' curricular activities and their knowledge about European issues, the "European context" in school is positively framed. Explicit reminders like singing the anthem make this European frame omnipresent.

Finally, outlined activities across sections are closely related to a (possibly more implicit) display of European symbols. In line with the literature, the EU flag and other "EU logos" (ESL2, above) can be seen as banal signifiers of the EU, advocating a European identity and functioning as identity triggers (EU 2015, Bruter 2003: 1152, Hobsbawm 1983: 6, Laffan 2004, Billig 1995, Elgenius 2011a). Today, throughout the EU, people hear the European anthem or pay with the Euro, which has the explicit goal to symbolise a European commonality and identity (EC 2013b). According to Cram (2010: 2, 16, cf. Patrikios et al. 2011), low-level and banal references to EU actors, institutions and law function as daily reminders of the EU ("unwaved flags", cf. Billig 1995). Therefore, they normalise the EU as a legitimate political authority.

Along this logic, in European Schools, rooms are named after EU founding fathers, for instance "salle Schuman" or "Monnet room". The EU flag is flown daily outside of school buildings. Students discussed their feelings towards flags in focus groups and came to different conclusions, e.g. arguing it is "literally a piece of cloth" (Eva, ESC) or that they do indeed feel a connection to certain flags. Being asked what they would think if someone were to burn the EU flag in their presence, the following statement nicely exemplifies the role as a symbol of personal attachment deepened through European schooling:

"Before going to this school I wouldn't really care if someone burned the flag of the EU, but after going to this school I do feel like it's a bit, I don't know, I just would be uncomfortable with that, I don't know why exactly, but I just wouldn't be comfortable" (John, ESC).

Somewhat in line with this, Baptiste (ESC, below) claimed that he has an attachment to the EU flag. Interestingly, he argued that this flag symbolises something different than a national flag, namely a coming together, using a value-charged description referring to interactions:

"I think the Europe flag is a good thing, the European flag, but I think it symbolizes something very different to a country, so I think it symbolises that coming together of nations rather than just, like, 'this is like a supremely good flag that I think about all of the time'" (Baptiste, ESC).

When discussing European flags in focus groups, differences between the three European Schools became apparent, with students being surprisingly explicit regarding the perceived power of such symbols. In Luxemburg and Munich, the EU flag seems to be indeed a rather banal symbol for students, whereas for some students in Culham, the flag is a "hot" signifier of the school's in-group and a symbol to exhibit vis-à-vis outsiders.

"I think it's sort of a symbol of our school, We're like, special. We're like, you know, unique, and our flag, the European Union flag sort of represents our school, without that it wouldn't really have a sort of meaning, it would just be a normal school. Like, all the windows and doors and stuff, all painted blue" (Paul, ESC).

Following the above-mentioned literature, students' daily exposure to European symbols should mean that these identity triggers are particularly banal. However, as exemplified by Paul's (ESC) perspective, the analysis has shown that among Culham students, narrations on European symbols and stories were connected to the current political situation, with interviews having been conducted about six months before the "Brexit" referendum. While the European flag is partly trivial to students, for them, it generally stands for a European narrative of nations coming together. Hence, even banal symbols and everyday stories of Europe fuel European narratives. A sense of belonging to a European in-group is catalysed.

Summing up, the teachers' passion to promote European stories and students' normalisation of European stories and symbols are particularly strong components when working together with a sense of distance from national in-groups. Through curricular and non-curricular activities, students frame antinationalist and cosmopolitan narratives proposed by teachers as inherently European.

"I think it's great to be a European, I am also European. […] Probably also because I was shaped that way here in school with this whole Europe Day and we also had to learn the anthem once and so on […]. [Being] European, well, it's really due to this school"[xlvi] *(Lukas, ESM).*

Thus, students' exposure to European symbols and stories through the school and by teachers is interpreted as one component of joint hoop tests, fuelling the imagination of a European in-group among students. This component of the causal mechanism is not necessary on its own, but in interplay with other components, eminently the exposure to diverging national stories and symbols.

6.1.2 Multilingualism among Teachers and Students

This subsection deals with multilingual schooling as an activity within the sub-mechanism "telling Europe". Teaching in several languages is an important element of the European School and more generally, it reduces interaction barriers in school and beyond. For the European Schools system and its teachers, the aim is to mediate "living languages". In that sense, diverse language skills are understood to strengthen the feeling of being able to adapt to different national settings in Europe. This is perceived as a possibility to broaden the own horizon. Multilingualism in school has strong interaction effects with the students' tendency to switch and mix languages, since students use the mixing of their available languages as an identity marker, which catalyses their identification with Europe. According causal forces and their interaction effects are hence detailed.

6.1.2.1 Teaching in Several Languages

The European Schools system lays a curricular emphasis on language learning. While all children have the right to be schooled in their European mother tongue, children are also educated in foreign languages from an early age. Subjects are taught by (near-) native speakers (OSG 2008). At the same time, interviewed European School directors emphasised that the European School "is not a school for languages". Instead, according to them, the goal is to have "context and language integrated learning". Language learning is supposed to happen naturally as a logical consequence of multilingual subject teaching. It can thus be interpreted as a

vehicle for wider implications of transcending nationalities within the students' education more broadly:

> *"I think it really is a remainder of past centuries to receive a purely national education on the country's history and to receive it in a very limited, monocultural way. So, to receive language education from a very early age is extremely important" (EUO5).*

For teachers, an important aspect of teaching and daily life in the European Schools is the mixing of students with different linguistic backgrounds. This topic showed up prominently across interviews. According to the schools' mission statements, the interaction of students "enhance[s] the acquisition of other languages and the realisation that using them is not only vital but natural" (OSG 2008: 11). Various teachers argued that it is the students' multiculturalism that makes them particularly European, as no student "leaves this school without intercultural experience" (ESM2). This multiculturalism is most directly experienced by transcending linguistic borders, since across Europe, linguistic and national borders often collude (i.e. many countries have "their own" languages). As the following statement shows, in classes that are mixed across sections, students often group themselves according to their language and thus to some extent, their nationality – however, this grouping is deliberately broken up by the teacher, mainly for pragmatic reasons:

> *"I always mix my classes up. So, when they arrive […] they tend to group themselves, so all the Dutch will sit over there, all the Italians will sit over there. […] I say 'right, […] next lesson, I'll be placing you.' I always do this […] I say 'excuse me, this is the European School. I do not want you in language groups'. Of course, the real reason is you divide and rule. So, the class is easier to manage" (ESL4).*

Regarding teaching in another language, students are taught human sciences (social sciences, religion, ethics) in their second school language ("L2", usually English, French or German) from grade three of the secondary school, i.e. when they are around fourteen years old. In arts, sports and music classes, students are often mixed up when they are much younger. Teaching in another language is thus a way to break up the language sections and the nationality-style mini-peer groups within classes mentioned above (ESL4). Since the number of sections differs across European Schools, breaking up language sections can mean that two or three sections are mixed – or that many more sections and according small peer groups get

mixed up for classes. Obviously, this usually leads to an even more diverse peer setting for students, as commented on by Valentin (ESM):

> *"In my [previous] school in Brussels, […] well, in history and all the foreign languages, there were all sections, even more than here, there was Polish, Hungarian, everything, everyone was mixed there, completely. […] You had friends from every different sections [sic!]"*[xlvii] *(Valentin, ESM).*

Teachers reported some practical challenges resulting from teaching in several languages. Especially in writing, students do not necessarily have a very good command of their "first language" (or even their mother tongue) or their L2/L3:

> *"Obviously, you have to lower your expectations of linguistic competence if you're teaching a class, which isn't your own nationality. So, in history, geography, economics, sociology you can't expect, especially in third year, fourth year, the same language level. So that's just a technical thing" (ESL4).*

> *"in particular the students who grow up bilingually, they are often a bit more reserved in the German language. You do notice often that they search for words or that they just use a foreign-language term. Often that's not a disadvantage. I see that as an enrichment" (ESL2).*

As the latter statement exemplifies, interviewed teachers depicted multinationality as a positive property. Many praised students' language skills and claimed that this influences their own mind-set as well. Possible downsides are understated and the advantages accentuated to emphasise that the command of multiple languages is more important than the perfection of one. According to teachers, the mixing of languages and of students from different language section strengthens with age.

> *"In class it doesn't matter who is from where, that's not fussed about. […] And I have the impression that they also mingle more with each other [when they are older]. Because then for example, they've also learned English. […] That makes it easier to also talk to other people to whom they maybe didn't talk before" (ESM3).*

Teachers appreciate this change in behaviour, as they aim at confronting students with different national stories and languages in the classroom (cf. section 5.2). Several teachers also claimed that they envy students for their multinational and multilingual upbringing, which fuels a better understanding of cultures (ESC3, ESC6). They feel personally enriched by these experiences.

A set of implications of teaching several languages could be empirically traced and relate to "telling Europe". First, a straightforward implication of teaching in other languages is the fa-

cilitation of deliberate mixing and accordingly encouraged interaction of students across sections. Evidence for this implication was found in the interviews, since students argued that they have friends in different sections and that these friendships are intensified through the mixing of sections:

> *"I have quite a lot of close friends which are in the Italian section and, but I as well have other close friends in different sections, because when we learn languages, so French, for example, they bring all the sections together. So, quite a few close friends in the German section, French section" (Rosie, ESL).*

Second, teaching in several languages facilitates an exposure to varying national narratives – again because classes consist of teachers and students from different backgrounds. The following statement shows students praising this exposure, but also regarding it as natural:

> *"French teachers are French, Spanish teachers are Spanish […]. I'm the only person in my year […] who's English […] and whose parents don't speak anything but English. […] you've got people and teachers who have been raised in a completely different way and have a completely different standard of normal […]. But with my friends who go here, it's normal, […] being bilingual or trilingual is so normal that no one really talks about it" (Charlotte, ESC).*

Finally, through teaching in several languages, language as an interaction barrier is weakened. In line with the school's mission statements, it is thus both "vital" and "natural" (OSG 2008, cf. above) for students to use various languages daily. For the overall causal mechanism to be present, the outlined interaction of students across language sections is a necessary condition and thus one hoop test for the overall mechanism. As implications of teaching in several languages of course transcend "telling Europe", a detailed analysis at the students' transnational social networks that also links back to linguistic competences is conducted as part of the sub-mechanism "doing Europe" below (subsection 6.2.1). By facilitating the interaction of students, school and teachers push an overarching European in-group in school.

6.1.2.2 Students' Multilingualism beyond Teaching

In individual interviews and focus groups, students discussed their multilingualism as well as the role of mother tongue(s) from a broader perspective than just teaching, but still focused on what is "told" in school. For European School students, a multilingual environment is a natural setting because in school, "you can be in one room and hear all these different languages coming" (Alia, ESC). Interviewed students often do not have one clear mother tongue

and most of them grow up speaking several languages every day[70]. The empirical analysis has shown that students feel their language skills can both weaken and strengthen potential national identities.

> *"I speak German with my mother, […] my father, he speaks Romanian and I answer a bit in French and a bit in Romanian. And then in school, I have spoken English and French, and with my brother French and […] before, with the nanny French. Well, that's why I somehow cannot identity with one country"*[xlviii] *(Valentin, ESM).*

> *"I speak only Spanish at home and I'm sure that has also helped me to feel so Spanish. […] if we had talked German at home, then I would […] feel more German"*[xlix] *(Javier, ESM).*

For Valentin (ESM), a student with binational parents who has lived in Brussels for many years, it has always been normal to speak different languages with different people and thus, to adjust situationally to interactions. The feeling that he "cannot identify with one country" therefore directly links to the lack of a clear mother tongue or framed in more positive terms, the capability to engage with people in various languages. Javier (ESM) on the other hand, who has mononational parents, argued that the language brought him closer to the according nationality. Several students used references to their language skills to explain why they feel closer or less close to a specific country, since "I speak only little Portuguese and that's why I simply feel more connected to [other parent's country]"[l] (Julian, ESM). Individual language skills thus substitute a territorial reference in students' self-definitions.

As mentioned before, students often feel out-grouped of their parents' home countries, e.g. because people think (and "tell" them) they have an accent. In school however, their peers have a similar background and they form an in-group of multilingual people, for which the salience of a clear-cut mother tongue decreases within their specific context[71]. In Culham, English is the lingua franca spoken by most students – and in Munich, German takes up a similar role:

> *"mostly you've more of a mix, like, it doesn't really affect us, like, as long as you have some form of communicating, like, normally you have three languages to choose from, you proba-*

[70] In this regard, students' multilingualism is again analysed as "telling Europe" (a telling of stories in different languages), while it is of course intertwined with sub-mechanics of "doing Europe", in particular the students' transnational social network (cf. subsections 6.1.3 and 6.2.1).

[71] As discussed above, it does matter for teaching – but for interactions with each other, students reported a feeling of interaction among equals, regardless of the specific language used in conversations.

bly have one in common with them, which is normally English, […] it doesn't matter where they're from" (Eva, ESC).

"German is normal. You use German very often, in all subjects, almost all. Then, with friends, you also use German very often and therefore […], when I can speak another language, I try to speak it because that way, I can foster that language"[li] *(Sergio, ESM).*

Due to their daily habit to communicate in several languages, students feel they can be at ease in different linguistic settings, which aligns to possibilities of adapting to different surroundings more generally. Several students claim that even if one does not speak the language, the cultural differences are not very big in Europe and therefore they would see easily fit for themselves in various settings.

"when I speak the language of the country, I feel indeed more comfortable because I can also communicate with others. But when I am for example in Poland or so, then I do not speak the language, but, as I said, it's not different. It's just that you do not speak the language, but everyone actually thinks roughly the same and there is not a big difference to other countries in Europe"[lii] *(Pablo, ESM).*

Students argue that most importantly, their language skills make them adaptable to other countries because learning yet another language is a transferable skill for unlocking other cultural contexts, achieved through their upbringing.

"the thing about several languages is, again, that you open up, mind-wise, you become much more open, when you learn a new language. And when I spoke more French, then maybe that has, my language skills maybe influenced me, that I felt somehow closer to Belgium or France. But now, not anymore"[liii] *(Ethan, ESM).*

In the school setting, teachers recognise students' multiculturalism and e.g. argued (ESC3) that they attempt to strengthen the students' ability to navigate different cultures. Similarly, as Christian (ESL) claimed, languages are "a brilliant example of [the] European Union":

"if you're in a, let's say, like a national school, you really feel, let's say, isolated within that language. But here you speak sometimes three, four languages, every lesson, because your friend next to you is English, and the teacher is German and then your homework is in French […]. I think, languages, you know, they're borders of the world so I think, learning more languages is definitely, like, the main advantage" (Christian, ESL).

"Language, it does open the door to a culture, we can understand them more, you can understand people, what they're saying, but you can, it's definitely a door to the culture, to really understand it, assimilate and so" (Catherine, ESC).

These exemplary statements and the broader qualitative content analysis have shown that students see multilingualism as facilitating an understanding of other cultures, of which they are "told" in the respective language. This stops one from being isolated in a national culture

– something seen as a bad thing by interviewed students, as shown in the analysis of out-group narratives. Therefore, considering "in-group cohesion" as discussed in the literature (cf. Turner 1982, Tajfel 1982, Barth 1969, Hall 2000), overcoming isolation through multilingualism is likely a particularly strong cohesion trigger for students.

In sum, making testable implications of multilingualism beyond teaching explicit, the empirical analysis shows that students' multilingualism catalyses individual identification patterns. First, some students argued that their language skills fuel a feeling of closeness to specific countries, while others reported a feeling of distance due to their manifold language skills (and lacking competence in specific ones). Differences between students with and without a clear-cut mother tongue could be observed: the implication of more than *one* mother tongue is that a sense of belonging to *one* specific nationality may be weakened. While there were some hints ("straw in the wind") towards this component being a necessary condition, it could not be established as a necessary (or sufficient) condition for the overall mechanism. While some strengthening effect seems likely, quite a few students provided strong accounts of attachment to both a nationality, but also to Europe.

Second, despite different numbers of languages a student speaks at home, all students are educated in a multilingual school. The fluency in more than one language strengthens a student's sense of belonging to a wider in-group of similar multilinguals. This became visible in various interviews in the three schools and was also a shared sentiment across all focus groups:

> *"Living in an environment with so many different people from different languages, speaking different languages, and coming from different places increases that [sense of belonging to Europe]" (Marta, ESL).*
>
> *"I definitely feel very close to Europe in general. Even if […] I haven't been to every country but just hearing, if you hear a language, a familiar language […], I always feel like I know that, I know that's my familiar place, Europe" (Laetitia, ESC).*

Thus, several students connect their own multilingualism to feeling European. Laetitia (ESC) argued that Europe is a "familiar place" because one can hear "a familiar language". On that note, a third and final implication of students' multilingualism is that their language skills strengthen a feeling of being adaptable to different national settings in Europe. Hence, "tell-

ing" in different languages reduces potentially mitigating factors of access to a different culture, which less multilingual individuals may experience. Instead of this being a necessary condition in the causal chain, this relates rather to defining a European in-group. It is interrelated with the tendency to switch and mix languages as a more directly observable activity at the level of students.

6.1.2.3 Mixing and Switching of Languages

As outlined, students are adaptable to different linguistic surroundings and interviewees argued that they naturally strengthen linguistic capabilities in school, where people around them are similarly multilingual. As an interviewee described:

> *"German and English is my language. That's why it's very hard to stay in one language. Especially in German, I won't remember a word and then I'll have to say it in German or in English and then people are kinda like, 'what?'. [...] I do that with our friends, 'cause some of them did German in L3, so they do understand some words. [...] I think, especially for our school, it's just languages all over the place and then, you know, I can swear in French, but I don't speak French and all my friends know at least 10 German swear words. So, you know, you don't learn the language but you learn how to swear" (Irene, ESC).*

Hence, students actively switch languages from one classroom to another or even within a single conversation with their peers or teachers. Teachers perceive students' multilingualism and their ability to switch languages as an advantage for their personal development and for the school's learning environment.

> *"That's always astonishing to me how quickly students switch languages. They speak French to each other, [...] when they talk to me, they switch to German in the middle of the sentence and with other students [...] they speak English instead. [...] they are absolutely used to it" (ESM1).*

> *"they don't even think about which language they're speaking. And they switch in the middle of a sentence. No problem at all. And they're just not conscious of it. And us teachers are very jealous of the linguistic abilities of the students" (ESL4).*

The switching and mixing of languages is not only fuelled by the multilingual schooling, but the students' "mixed families" make them "absolutely used to it" (ESM1). Particularly in the European School however, a positive notion of multilingualism is further enhanced, as this student argued:

> *"what I love about this school, the tolerance [...], you could speak about ten languages and no one would really care and in some places, in some schools, people would think you're a nerd, but here it's like 'oh, you can speak all those languages, oh, that must really help you in school', like, 'you're so lucky'" (Irene, ESC).*

According to sociolinguistic research, language mixing is a common feature of speakers with multilingual (e.g. migratory) backgrounds (Hinnenkamp 2010: 106). "Speaking mixed" is one of the options students have in their language alternations and it can be a conscious selection to speak mixed or to switch from one language to another. This has also been argued by students in all three European Schools:

> *"There are expressions that exist in France but not at all in the European School. And then the languages get mixed up, for example, we use the German word for 'to glide' [rutschen]. And then in the French section, we say 'rutscher'"*[iv] *(Ethan, ESM).*

> *"English is the language that brings people together in this school. But occasionally I speak French with my best friend […], when we're on a crowded bus so that no one understands us" (Elizabeth, ESC).*

As these statements show, the mixing and switching of languages becomes an expression of an in-group for students, which, as developed above, is for them naturally European (i.e. Europe being accessible as a multilingual environment). This is reflected in the literature: language switching and mixing allows individuals to express a "We-code", i.e. a common identity (Hinnenkamp 2010: 136-7). By expressing this peculiar "We-code" in the European school – this becomes apparent in the second statement above – an exclusion of an out-group simultaneously takes place. Speaking French on the bus is a means to demarcate themselves from other passengers, who speak only English.

In all, multilingualism in European Schools is a means for the school, teachers and students to "tell Europe" in school[72]. Students are often already multilingual due to their families. The deep and wide learning of languages both at home and in school has strong interaction effects with students' tendency (and ability) to switch and mix languages.

> *"most children who go to European Schools would be exposed anyway to different languages and cultures, because this is how their parents live. The exception is to be monolingual in these schools" (EUO5).*

> *"I was just lucky to grow up this way, that I learn languages"*[iv] *(Gabriel, ESM).*

> *"I think, [people in this school are European] because they all speak more languages. I think that kind of makes them more European. More than […], if they only spoke one. Like, the oth-*

[72] Again, one may also argue that for students, this is also "doing Europe", since it fuels their transnational social network, which students "do" and as part of which they "tell" each other that their language skills are inherently European (cf. subsections 6.1.3 and 6.2.1).

er language sections, they speak, like, both languages pretty well, so I think that makes them more European" (Anne, ESC).

Just as their teachers and the European School in general, students perceive language skills as vital for a feeling of belonging to a European in-group and a notion of "normality". Switching and mixing languages thus fuels an in-group of similarly multilingual Europeans, who can understand the students' "We-code" – and who can also reproduce it (i.e. in a sense, they also not only "tell" but also "do" the We-code, see above). In this in-group, direct transnational experiences of cultures and societies are embedded. To sum up, as part of multilingualism, mixing and switching languages is a straw-in-the-wind-test for the overall mechanism, since being a strong identity marker for students' in-group across sections. This means, it facilitates the next step of the causal process by catalysing the students' imagination of an in-group of multilingual Europeans, but is – in itself – not a necessary process component.

6.1.3 Discussion of "Telling Europe"

Bringing the above together, this subsection summarises the findings regarding "telling Europe". First, it sums up the analysis of students' exposure to European and national narratives as well as of students' multilingualism. Second, it highlights the implications of activities of "telling Europe", proposing a range of necessary mechanism components (described as potential hoop tests) as well as supporting forces (straw-in-the-wind tests) within the overarching path towards "students' identification with Europe". Finally, it links those findings back to the overall research question. From the specific outcome "identification with Europe", which was evident in the qualitative content analysis, the process followed a logic of backwards induction and built a path from "European schooling" towards this outcome. This is internally highly valid, but also shows systematic properties, with "telling Europe" *per se* being a useful heuristic.

Subsection 6.1.1 has dealt with the students' exposure to diverging national and European narratives. For identification with Europe, the structure of language sections and the school's national-equivalent education could intuitively be hindering causal factors, since leading to nationality-laden in-groups. However, the analysis shows that students' mixed backgrounds

strengthen a sense of belonging to a transnational in-group. The European Schools' explicit "European dimension", in particular the facilitation of in-depth knowledge of European and EU issues and the display of European symbols, add a positive European frame to schooling, of which students are explicitly and implicitly reminded.

Students and teachers construct a European narrative, defined as opening a range of cultural setups through linguistic means. This is expedited by the fact that all students feel "different" from national frames of belonging. The awareness of the transnationality *within* sections then compounds the need to make sense of different narratives, fulfilling the social drive for minimal in-grouping as discussed e.g. by Tajfel (1969). Furthermore, learning about different backgrounds of peers and teachers catalyses the students' transnational in-group: they offer (i.e. "tell" about) a European in-group as a way for students to combine different national narratives. Similarly, potential feelings to never fully belong to one nationality are positively reframed and thus played down.

Teachers actively channel students into an in-group (of multilingual Europeans) defined through the very criteria of exclusion from specific nationalities, i.e. competence in various languages, switching and mixing and lack of perfection in a single language. This is, amongst others, what subsection 6.1.2 traced. Here, the subsection covered activities of the school and teachers regarding multilingual schooling and found that the imagination of in-groups and out-groups becomes powerful through teaching "living" languages and promoting them across subjects. Speaking several languages from an early age strengthens the students' communication and interactions with multinational peers across language sections. Students learn from this environment and from individual teachers who tell according stories that multilingualism is a necessity to thrive in their surroundings and to also positively broadening their horizon beyond school.

This has cross-supportive effects with multilingual subject teaching: being taught by teachers and with peers from different countries, students are exposed to further national narratives. Their language skills strengthen their feeling of being able to adapt to different national settings in Europe. What is more, a nationality is considered something individuals should move

on from, with nations being frames of reference mainly for out-grouping. Teachers additionally emphasise this feeling by incorporating learning on national cultures and histories into their teaching through various accounts of individuals (on the content side) and diverging teaching styles (e.g. didactics they bring from national pedagogy). In that sense, students' multilingual schooling is rather about "telling" than about practices of "doing Europe".

Furthermore, students use language mixing and switching as an identity marker. On the one hand, "living" languages help to maintain links to the parents' and other national cultures – and are also in line with the official vision of the EU regarding narratives to be transmitted. On the other hand, as a shared habit of students, the switching and mixing of languages catalyses their identification with a European in-group. Switching and mixing as a joint "We-code" becomes a self-enforcing check and reassurance of mutual belonging. Similarly, their own multilingualism fuels a demarcation from monolingual people, to whom they feel less close.

Inductive process tracing has highlighted the interplay of activities of "telling Europe" as well as components of this "telling" for the overall causal mechanism, primarily its close links to practices of "doing Europe". Providing a novel conception of European identity transmission and development, "telling Europe" can be theorised along systematic properties. The simple core components are multilingualism and the exposure to diverse national and explicitly European narratives – and more specifically, in the case traced here, the following:

- At the *European School level*, facilitated through the school's structure of language sections, the telling of multiple nations and exposure to stories of transnational Europeans takes place and is a hoop test for next steps of the causal path. Although the school aims at maintaining students' attachment to their own country, the continual exposure to diverging national stories weakens the cognitive association with specific nations, making room for an affective turn towards a wider in-group. Regarding teaching in several languages, an important implication of "telling Europe" is the deliberate mixing of students across sections, with teachers "telling" the value of and opportunities arising from it. This in turn is a necessary condition for the specific transnational social network of students developed in school (cf. subsection 6.2.1).

- *Teachers* fill the European dimension in education individually and want students to abstract from (mono-) national belongings. Teachers' passion to promote European stories is supported by European symbols in school. Teachers thus fuel a European in-group by providing European stories and telling a fruitful mix of national as well as antinationalist narratives. Somewhat surprisingly, the analysis has shown that many students are more conscious of their particular upbringing and European schooling than teachers seem to assume. This again supports the descriptive findings and shows the strength of the shifted meaning of Europeanness. Firstly, teachers drift away from EU-envisaged policy goals and secondly, students react more strongly to their "telling" than teachers may observe in their respective, separate classroom.
- At the *student level*, telling multiple and diverging national narratives in school catalyses a positive narrative of their own transnationalism. A somewhat problematic aspect of transnationality (primarily the feeling of not belonging to national in-groups) is thereby transformed into a coherent and positive in-group narrative. Analysed implications of "telling" diverging national as well as European narratives are thus that students adopt a pro-European attitude and that they imagine an in-group of multinational, European peers.
- For *students*, language skills are a key identity marker of transnationality, with students with more than one mother tongue often feeling less close to one specific nationality. Many students connect their own multilingualism with a sense of belonging to a European in-group, since a European frame is the primary frame of reference that is provided ("told") by their teachers and that can strengthen the cohesion with peers. Students mix and switch languages as an identity marker, fuelling their in-group of multilingual peers through this "We-code". Essentially, they delineate themselves even further from single nationalities and nourish a positive perception of not being perfect in one specific (mononational) context, but adaptable to broader ones, which they indeed experience daily[73]. Hence, seeing diverse language skills as crucial (as aimed for by their school and

[73] This links into "doing Europe" or experiential accounts.

teachers), students push an in-group of multilingual Europeans. Students' multilingualism acts as "straw-in-the-wind" component in the causal chain, i.e. for the imagination of a European in-group. It is not sufficient, since some students also reported a feeling of closeness e.g. to several countries of which they know the languages, but not to an overall European in-group. It is still a supporting force, likely accelerating the wheelwork and being helpful for certain narratives to stick and gain momentum among individuals, in "doing Europe" as well.

Summing up, the overall research question asked how narratives of a European identity get transmitted and transformed on their way to European School students. The inductively traced findings regarding "telling Europe" suggest that *exposure to diverging narratives* and students' *multilingualism* indeed disclose components of the overall causal mechanism. The European Schools' objective is to raise Europeans, who also stick to national belongings. This is to be achieved by an education that is equivalent to a national one, but also entails a European dimension in a multicultural and multilingual schooling. Teachers interpret and bring this European dimension to life. Going beyond formal requirements of cooperation across sections, all interviewed teachers argue that they include and "tell" European perspectives in their teaching. Teachers and students are enthusiastic about transnational experiences and continually re-tell this narrative.

Furthermore, interviewed teachers claimed to make a difference in students' identity development by strengthening specific values. They felt that they accompany students during their development from *more national* younger students to *more European* older students. Confirming this, students argued that both their schooling in general and their teachers in particular have an influence in this regard.

As the analysis of "telling Europe" has shown, both the exposure to diverging national and European narratives as well as the multilingualism in school entail causal forces for a student's identification with Europe. Linking the findings on "telling Europe" to the overall research question, it can be concluded from the inductive process tracing that the way the European School and individual teachers "tell Europe" has a strengthening impact on the im-

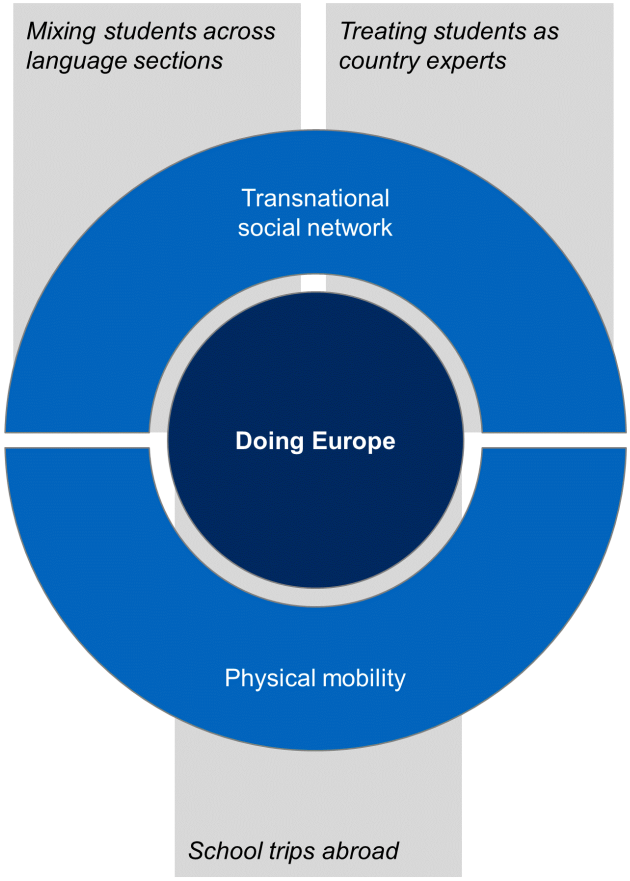
agination of a transnational and multilingual in-group of Europeans among students. Not least the multilingual interactions within the student body support this by further charging it with content of what is being "told".

Thus, the more passive sub-mechanism "telling Europe" is strongly intertwined with causal forces of "doing Europe" among students when moving towards the specific outcome of students' identification with Europe, which is different from what was originally envisaged for them by the EU and European Schools system. Hence, in the following section, causal forces of "doing Europe" are inductively traced before discussing the overall causal mechanism.

6.2 "Doing Europe": Disentangling a Sub-Mechanism

This section traces observable implications of activities along an induced sub-mechanism framed as "doing Europe". This mechanism describes a rather "active" causal force when considered from the point of view of students – that is, students "do Europe" as part of their European schooling. More precisely, as depicted in Figure 10 below, their transnational social network and physical mobility in school (and beyond) are subsumed under "doing Europe".

Figure 10: Components of Doing Europe



Tracing of observable implications of specific activities within this sub-mechanism happens along two steps. Subsection 6.2.1 analyses the transnational social network of students. The school creates classes of students with mixed backgrounds and teachers explicitly incorporate students' country expertise and encourage mutual learning and interactions, which facilitates the development of a transnational social network among students. Subsection 6.2.2 discusses the students' physical mobility. Through their shared mobility experiences within

and beyond the school context, the students' transnational social network is strengthened and mobility becomes a defining feature of their in-group, with students both explicitly defining and emphasising this as European. Propositions for testable implications are indicated at the end of each subsection. Finally, subsection 6.2.3 summarises traced causal forces as part of "doing Europe" and assesses how its components (activities, implications, entities) come together within the overall mechanism.

6.2.1 Transnational Social Network in School

This subsection analyses the students' transnational social network as part of the overall causal mechanism. First, the development of a transnational social network in school is determined by the European Schools system and by individual teachers. Second, the chapter traces the students' perspectives and activities with regards to transnational friendships. Finally, it assesses teachers' and students' activity of treating students or behaving as experts of their parents' countries. By constructing diverse backgrounds as an asset, teachers and students catalyse the students' feeling of benefiting from the own transnational network instead of perceiving potential feelings of rootlessness as a weakness.

To start with, the European Schools system aims at educating students from different national backgrounds "side by side", so that these young Europeans learn "that they belong together" (EU 2013a). As mentioned, according to the school statutes, language sections are mixed in specific subjects with increasing age of students. For students, exposure to different teaching styles (as discussed above), is a way of "doing Europe" in school. They go from one classroom to another and must adapt to a new setting, which is framed by the national background (and national pedagogy) of respective teachers. In interviews, students remarked that teachers differ depending on their background.

> *"I mainly have Swedish and British teachers. And with the Swedish teachers you're a lot more laid back. I mean, that's just the culture thing, because in Sweden and Finland you call teachers by their first name, for instance, whereas in Britain it's a lot more, not necessarily strict but you never really call a teacher by their first name, you always say their last name. […] I have not had French myself, but I've heard that, from my friends, that some of the French teachers are very strict" (Gustav, ESL).*

> *"[teachers] are very, very different in the way, their teaching method is very different. The tests are very different, the level I'd even say is different from section to section. The way they teach things is also different, so. And the energy in the class is also different, in how you do things" (Catherine, ESC).*

For interviewed teachers, differences between the European School and their respective national school are apparent. Rather than having one, shared perspective on the atmosphere within European Schools, teachers' perspectives were coloured by their backgrounds. For instance, a Danish teacher said enjoyed the "higher discipline" of students at the European School (ESC3), while a British teacher was glad about the "more relaxed" and "interactive" atmosphere between teachers and students (ESC1).

As common ground, students and teachers were enthusiastic regarding student diversity.

> *"We [the teachers] were all born and raised and educated in our home countries. So, we are not as European as our students are" (ESL4).*

As this statement shows, teachers argue that their students are more European than they themselves due to the students' transnational upbringing. This is an interesting construction of contrast vis-à-vis a mononational upbringing and provides students with a narrative of being special and valued. On a similar note, for this student in Munich, the fact that teachers grew up in national settings explains differences between them – but he also referred to the character-building element that a national background fosters:

> *"the teachers were not born here. And they also came here later, when the character, sort of, isn't changeable anymore because it is formed already. And then you see clearly, for example, teachers who come from Britain tend to be more relaxed. And maybe they get along better with students. And then, like, German teachers are a bit stricter"*[lvi] *(Vitan, ESM).*

In interviews, students and teachers also commented on the students' setting of growing up in the environment of the European School. Again, this provides an interesting perspective because students increasingly depart from an earlier developmental stage (a national one), which is considered and (implicitly) narrated as inferior. Teachers, though still having a national background, have moved towards more transnationality (not least through their position at the European School) and praise it as the special gift to or "big opportunity" (ESL6) for students and treasure of the European School. For students, increasing Europeanness and transnationality equally appears to be a coherent next (evolutionary) step:

"There is a time when especially the younger students want to develop a national identity to define themselves a bit. […] But that stops when they've gone through the turbulences of puberty. Then they do a lot of things together. […] The school brings [students] together and it is thrilling to realise that in the end, our students are quite cosmopolitan without needing our encouragement" (ESM4).

Teachers explicitly commented on the fact that students grow up to be "cosmopolitan" (ESM4) or "European" (ESL4) in the European School, since the school brings them together and pushes them to increasingly interact as soon as the joint context of being at the school is established. It can be concluded that the active mixing of students (as outlined before) is pushed by the school and teachers. As a crucial force of "doing Europe" (or making students "do" it), it facilitates the formation of friendships, ties and peer groups across sections. This becomes a cornerstone for broader, more abstract in-groups.

Next, framing components of the process, students' own perspectives on their transnational social network are key: they are the experts regarding individual activities within and perspectives on their network. Interviewed students (just as teachers) possess very positive attitudes regarding the diversity of their peers. For instance, one student directly connected the diversity of peers to European inclusiveness, which she defines as coming from different countries and therefore from Europe. As an axial coding item, the feeling to originate from several countries as driving an inclusive, abstract in-group appeared several further times in the analysis:

"There is people from, well, there are many sections, people from different countries, and what really connects us then is having this European includity [sic!], that we all come from Europe"[lvii] *(Marina, ESL).*

Students' and teachers' perspectives have shown that for them, growing up in a European School setting leads to a transnational social network, in which students "do Europe" on a daily basis. This is linked to certain conceptions of inclusiveness, but also to broader in-group narratives along specific values (cf. section 4.3). To give an example of according in-vivo narrations, many students commented on everyday interactions with transnational peers:

"I can relate more to people who have a similar experience in life, which is the people in this school, […] people from other European Schools. We all have the same kind of feeling towards each other and the same kind of attitude towards what's important, because that's what […] we've been told, whereas people in English schools, […] some of the things they think are so weird. And also, like in Europe, everyone kisses everyone on the cheek all the time […] just

kissing people on the cheek is part of my life. But with English people, I met a girl and I went to her house the first time and I kissed her parents on the cheek and they looked at me like I was so weird. […] I kissed the girl on the cheek when I said goodbye and she was like 'Are you a lesbian?' It was so much of a big deal, whereas for me it is just what I do for everyone, even people I've just met, I don't know. I think it's so weird, how everything is a lot closer, so I, with people, European […]. It's so weird to me, English people" (Charlotte, ESC).

As this exemplifies, students reported that they do not see big differences between their transnational peers in school, while reporting strong differences vis-à-vis school externals. However, several interviewees also narrated differences between their friends' families, which they experience once they visit their peers at home:

"my friend group, […] we're kinda all over the place, […] I don't think it makes any difference if you're French or English, but […] when you meet their families, some of their families are a very French family and I think we just get to know how they really are. So, it's not so much of a surprise when you go to the country and you see how they are and you kinda say, oh it's just French or it's just German" (Irene, ESC).

Some students argued that their best friends come from their own sections: with them, they have been schooled together since primary school. Prevailingly however, interviewees in all three schools argued that they have friends with diverse backgrounds and from different sections and it seems that closer friendships are mainly driven by simply having spent more time together in school:

"You don't really see it so much like these splits and political conflicts in countries, you don't really see that so much in here. Like, you know the English and the French get along and the German and the English, you know, everyone's getting along with everyone, so there's not so much like a cultural spread" (Charlotte, ESC).

In sum, the above-described interactions with equally transnational peers allow the conclusion that these fuel an in-group of students across sections in the sense of a causal process. As described before, students construct a positive narrative of transnationality (as opposed to less appealing mononationality). When coding these narrations as part of qualitative content analysis, e.g. at the stage of higher-level selective coding procedures (exploring commonalities in narrations, Flick 2014), a framing of this transnationality as explicitly European was widespread.

"we are all very much shaped by that European environment, because here everyone comes from everywhere in Europe. Well, I mean, there are some that come from outside of Europe, but most people come, well, from European territories. And this has shaped us all very much for sure, in one way or another"[lviii] *(Ethan, ESM).*

"here, we have a European culture, more than a German or French culture. But […] not every child can know so many nationalities at the same time […]. It's more difficult to have a European culture, when one is, well, French and only got to know French. Well, then there […] should be more European Schools, if you really want to make a European culture"[lix] *(Camille, ESM).*

As this second quote exemplifies, for students, their transnational social network – which to a vast extent, though not fully, equals their schools – stands for a European culture. Through the mixing of students and active experience of a European culture, the school and teachers push the formation of transnational friendships within and across sections:

"a good friend of mine is half-Dutch, half-English. Most of my friends are either half-English, half-German or just fully German. Then I have half-Italian, half-Egyptian […]. There is one fully British, the only one. Then half-Italian, half-Scottish. Fully English but French-speaking parents, fully French, yeah. It's a variety" (Eva, ESC).

This perceived "variety" also goes beyond geographic borders of Europe, since in all three European Schools, students from non-EU or non-European countries are schooled. Interviewees referred to those students, sometimes linking into more baseline definitions of what Europeanness means (e.g. openness, inclusiveness):

"This school is really good at recomforting [sic!] people. […] I think this school overall is good as a European School, because it has many different sections interacting with each other and all that, but it also accepts people very well from outside of Europe or the EU in general. So, I think, yes, it is very good as a European School. […] 'Cause everyone is welcome, more or less" (Carlos, ESL).

Students usually also have a transnational social network outside school, since most of them have relatives and friends in other countries, i.e. their parents' home countries and/or countries they have lived in. In these contexts, students often feel alienated from national contexts, which strengthens their sense of belonging to a transnational in-group. This is further analysed below, when assessing physical mobility of students.

A final activity included in "doing" a transnational social network is the treatment of students as country experts, by both peers and teachers and both in terms of factual knowledge and softer cultural sensitivities[74].

[74] This activity has elements of "telling Europe" to it as well: students learn about other nation-states, cultures and languages through the respective "experts" of national cultures in their social network. Hence, the treatment of students as country experts has itself also been traced as an observable implication (e.g. when teaching in the second language).

> *"This living together here in the European School, that we really come together a bit and maybe learn something about others if we want to, this really helps us and brings about a new train of thought. And not this really strictly national [thinking], 'I'm a German, I'm, whatever, my nationality'"*[lx] *(Dorota, ESM).*

In school, "you can hear […] a lot of opinions about any kind of topic"[lxi] (Sergio, ESM). Since the own and other students' mixed backgrounds are understood as an asset, students can be enthusiastic about them and seem to actively take on their role of experts, e.g. when volunteering to present aspects of a parental country's history in class.

> *"the fact that […] the European School has that many nationalities everywhere, I don't feel particularly attached to any country" (Rosie, ESL).*

Thereby, the European School as well as individual teachers and students fuel a positive narrative of transnationality, but also one where upholding nationalities is rather seen as a mere supporting element of this.

Turning to observable implications of the activities within a "transnational social network", the following conclusions can be drawn.

First, as analysed before, the mixing of students pushes students to develop an in-group across sections. Varying (national) teaching styles as well as noted similarities and differences between students catalyse enthusiasm of students about their diverse social network. In a chain of hoop tests, this enthusiasm about diverse social contacts (strengthened by school and teachers) is theorised as a necessary condition for students to develop a positive narrative of this network.

Second, for students, their network in the European School stands for a European culture, e.g. exemplified by Camille's (ESM) stance that there "should be more European Schools, if you really want to make a European culture"[lxii]. Constructing the transnational social network as *inherently European* is in turn a hoop test for a sense of belonging to a European in-group. The sense of belonging to similarly transnational people became apparent in Charlotte's (ESC) narration of the habit "in Europe" to greet people with kisses on the cheeks, from which she concluded that "I can relate more to people who have a similar experience in life […]. Everything is a lot closer, so I, with people, [with] European[s]" (Charlotte, ESC).

Third, while the school mixes students across language sections, teachers and fellow students often treat them as experts of their parents' countries. This has strong interaction effects with students' enthusiasm: by constructing the own and others' diverse backgrounds as an asset, but not confining it to one specific nationality, teachers fuel a positive self-image of the in-group of nationally diverse students[75].

Summing up traced implications, students argued that they can relate more easily to people who have a similar upbringing. In European Schools, these are their fellow students and friends as a highly tangible group, from which they can abstract to individuals at other European Schools and with similar backgrounds, cognitively and affectively widening it to an in-group of Europeans.

6.2.2 Multinational, European Mobility in School and Beyond

This subsection traces causal forces within students' multinational, European mobility patterns. First, it focuses on school activities, e.g. trips to EU institutions in Brussels, to different EU countries or to other European Schools as part of school exchanges. Second, it considers students' mobility beyond the school context. Finally, it discusses students' notions of "home". The subsection reveals that physical mobility in school and beyond strengthens the students' knowledge about the EU and European countries (i.e. a cognitive mobilisation for Europe (Inglehart 1970)) and an additional affective imagination of a community (Anderson 2006, Tajfel 1969). Furthermore, students feel they can easily adapt to various national settings within Europe and they feel closer to countries they visited or lived in. However, their physical mobility triggers a dual sentiment of closeness (i.e. rootedness and context within a group of similar individuals) and rootlessness (i.e. a detached space of belonging) at the same time.

[75] Inductive process tracing showed that this project ties in with research on ethnic diversity and interethnic social networks in schools (cf. discussion of (lack of) ethnic diversity in section 4.3). The stance that diversity and multilingualism are an asset for (European) schooling and an opportunity for individuals partly diverge from how large migrant proportions are viewed in national school contexts (cf. Law and Swann 2011, Mattei and Broeks 2016). Furthermore, research on students in Belgium shows that a European identity might be an alternative to a Belgian national identity for (Turkish) migrant children, as it allows to combine different identity layers and stands for a civic rather than ethnic identity (Agirdag, Phalet and van Houtte 2016). Here in particular, the transnational friendship formation of European School students and e.g. their switching and mixing of languages might be like what other students experience in national schools.

To start with, the school facilitates school trips abroad, during which students can gain first-hand experiences of aspects of the EU or European countries. These trips are usually organised by individual teachers. Teachers usually organise school trips with a focus on culture and history to other EU countries. For example, ESM students travelled to Hungary and Romania some time before the interviews were conducted and several interviewees talked about this experience. The schools also facilitate exchanges with other European Schools. Individual students can spend up to a couple of months at another European School and with a host family. Student groups also travel to other European Schools, e.g. for sports events. Finally, teachers organise trips with a political focus, e.g. to the EU institutions in Brussels or to the annual "Model European Union" meeting of European School students.

Especially for ESM students who had not travelled to Central and Eastern Europe before, the trip to Hungary and Romania was an opportunity to experience European cultures that may previously have seemed less close, e.g. because students did not know the language.

> *"I have been to Hungary three weeks ago and there, it felt really weird because it's one of the few countries where I didn't have, well, a command of the language. But I still noticed that the people somehow have the same mentality as me […] and that structurally, it is roughly, not the same, but just organised similarly to Western European countries, where I normally go"*[lxiii] *(Matteo, ESM).*

Through such school trips, students experience commonalities between various EU countries. Often having had manifold transnational experiences before, school trips further enhance their understanding of European integration.

> *"I do travel a lot with the school, the school is very good at keeping that sort of, you know, knowing other cultures and keeping us sort of, in a way, linked to different places and really helping us understand the different places and the cultures everywhere" (Laetitia, ESC).*

Qualitative content analysis has revealed that across the board, students see their physical mobility as enriching their own "culture" by means of experiencing Europe:

> *"we're part of something when we're in the EU. We get so many benefits that people don't actually think of. Things like enriching your own culture, people never take that in consideration because they only look at statistics. They're like 'oh, we paid this much money we should get something back', but it's more than that. It's also the culture" (Elizabeth, ESC).*

This student alluded to the practical benefits of the EU, which the EU wants to promote to ensure an active consent of European citizens. Several students, particularly in Culham, argued

that many people in Europe are not aware of those benefits. However, it should be noted that it is straightforward for European School students to acknowledge benefits, since they experience them in their daily life.

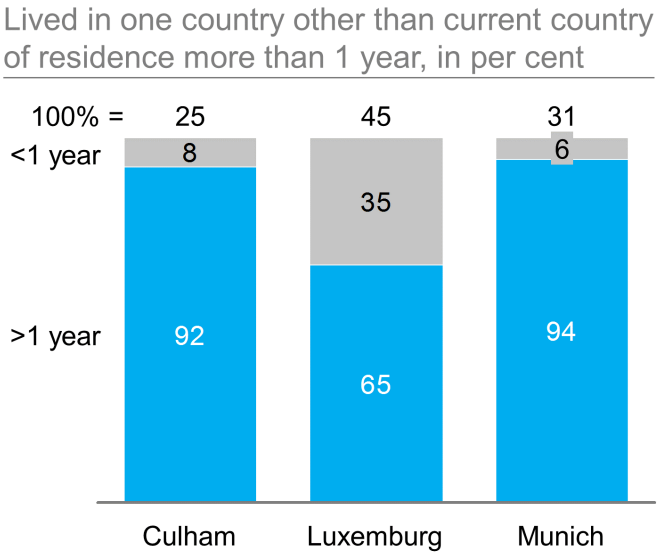
> *"I still feel like I've got some sort of European identity because, obviously having been in a lot of countries around Europe and seeing how there are obviously lots of differences in cultures, but there's […] still some big similarities between people, […], we're still similar to other people in Europe. So, that's why I feel European. […] I just feel like I can share some culture or identity. Or at least a citizenship or something" (Baptiste, ESC).*

As this statement shows, among interviewees, mobility experiences as part of students' schooling and beyond could be traced as strengthening their appreciation of European integration and their identification with Europe – here comprised in a cultural definition of Europeanness and a perception of a shared mentality (cf. section 4.3).

Regarding mobility experiences beyond school contexts, most students are very mobile and their lifestyle is thus that of European "free movers" (cf. Favell 2008, Gaspar 2009, subsection 2.3.2), who often choose to live in dynamic multicultural environments, while being less affected by national categories. As the quantitative overview in Figure 11 below shows, most students have lived in another country than their current country of residence for at least a year, with numbers being lower in Luxemburg than in Munich and Culham.[76]

[76] The lower numbers (though still constituting a majority of students) could be due to ESL parents building up careers in the international environment of the city, where they stay even despite job changes.

Figure 11: Mobility Experience of Interviewed Students



Quality and frequency of mobility experiences are clearly different from normal holidays of people outside the European School nexus, who would commonly have little or no interaction with locals in the respective country. Linking students' mobility to the literature, Díez Medrano (2010) points to today's possibilities of less privileged people to experience Europe due to cheap travel opportunities and the development of transnational friendships. However, despite new travel opportunities, those individuals are still less likely to identify with Europe since their specific style of mobility makes it difficult to develop a social network with Europeans from other national backgrounds (Eder 2009: 433).

In contrast, among European School students, an according transnational social network develops and is maintained more easily. Apart from "usual" holidays, students often travel to countries where they have lived or where family members live – and where they often speak the language fluently. In that regard, mobility experiences have strong interaction effects with language skills.

Furthermore, students' physical mobility beyond school trips, i.e. mostly with their families, facilitates future transnational experiences. Essentially, it broadens not only the scope of experiencing Europe but also the perception or imagination of possibilities offered through Eu-

rope, again extending far beyond what individuals outside the European School context may see as norm. Students understand that

> *"people can move, that they can have even different nationalities. They learn about that at school, they learn about where their friends come from, what is the history of their countries, they speak about that in the classroom." (EUO4).*

> *"I think you learn the most when you're in the country itself, when you sort of see how people are, you learn more about what the people are like from just being around them, not so much learning about them, 'cause when you have stereotypes they sort of get in the way of actually knowing who they really are" (Laetitia, ESC).*

> *"Well, I know two countries and two different point of views, on Europe and on different people and cultures, and I think I can now adapt more easily if I go to, like, Italy or Belgium or Germany or Hungary or anywhere in Europe I think I could… it's not really different than from anywhere else in Europe, I think" (Louise, ESC).*

The qualitative content analysis highlighted that an implication of students' mobility is that, while they try to focus on the benefits, they often feel alienated both from their parents' home countries or their country of residence. Quite a few more negative or at least thoughtful descriptions emerged in the stepwise coding procedures when exploring patterns across individuals.

> *"It's harder to get attached to a place if you've lived in multiple ones. I have. I don't feel particularly Luxemburgish or attached to any country. I think it's more of a past generation thing" (Michael, ESL).*

> *"when you come from a different country, you kind of want to spend the holidays with your family in the other country, and then you are in Munich only during term time, then you don't have the possibility to see something different, of Germany"*[lxiv] *(Alejandra, ESM).*

While Michael (ESL) argued that being mobile across national borders makes it harder to get attached to a country (the notion of a "past generation thing" is discussed below), Alejandra (ESM) claimed that she cannot feel German, since she does not travel within Germany. Especially in Munich, students reported a sense of belonging to the city, which they perceive as an international and welcoming place. In contrast, just as for Alejandra, several students argued that the further building-up of national attachment (to the country of residence) is mitigated by the fact that students simultaneously nourish a social network across other places.

The same patterns seem to persist in other (non-residential) national settings. This highlights the students' focus on attachments that are more tangible than a national one within the transnational social network and that are applicable to their mobility practices. In the qualita-

tive content analysis, the regional/local attachment codes emerged a lot in interview parts that discussed (bigger) cities of past, current or possible future residence or of origin (e.g. Munich, Paris, Berlin, Madrid). The lacking attachment to nations and a persistent attachment to both a more tangible group (of equally diverse and mobile people) and a local setting became particularly apparent in Luxemburg. Here, an alienation from the country of residence has been observed.

> *"For me it's hard to associate myself with a specific country because when I go to Sweden I don't always feel like, because obviously I'm not so involved if I don't go there very often, maybe once a year. And […] in Luxemburg, I don't speak Luxemburgish. I don't have, like, any Luxemburgish friends" (Elsa, ESL).*

At the same time, several students argued that they like Luxemburg and could imagine returning after university to start a career and life. However, they argued that they do not feel attached to the country itself, which could be explained by the large community of expatriates, which students are surrounded by. Luxemburg in that sense stands for the mere location of a specific, tangible context (the nexus of the school, EU institutions and an expatriate community), within which students build attachments. There was no further emotional dimension visible in interviews.

With regards to a feeling of alienation from parents' home countries, students often felt that they are not involved enough in their parents' countries, since they only visit the countries during the holidays:

> *"I am Spanish, […] I speak both Catalan and Spanish, but […] it's different. I wouldn't call me an outsider, but I wouldn't call myself like them, exactly. I mean, this sounds like I'm separating myself, like, 'oh no, I'm superior to you'. I'm not, but it's just different in the way I think or have been brought up, or, I don't know, things that I talk about with my friends aren't like topics that we discuss with my friends over there, it's a very different sort, I don't know, I would say environment, I guess. So, I wouldn't call it home, but, I don't think I'd ever call anywhere home, to be honest" (Eva, ESC).*

On the same note, experiences with other individuals (equally transnational or not) as well as personal experiences (of mobility and locality) drive students' attachment to a specific context. Coding items along a "lack of home" were quite common. Interviewed students described their notion of home as hardly attached to a specific location. Rather, they saw it defined by specific "memories and incidents, something that happened in that specific coun-

try"[lxv] (Vitan, ESM) or "what kind of connection, like, for instance family or friends you have in that country" (Irene, ESC).

> *"I think home is somewhere […], that you have some kind of emotional attachment to, that when you leave it you miss it, you get homesick or you want to go back to it for some reason, but I don't have that with any country. I guess because I've always known I'm leaving at some point […] I don't think I could ever feel at home somewhere like that, because […] different parts of me […] relate to what I've known in different places, if that makes any sense. […] I don't relate to any of the three countries […], not to the point where I don't care, I don't wanna seem that way, I do to a certain extent care […] because, I mean, I do have memories in those places" (Eva, ESC).*

Due to their mobility, students abstract from their own (multi-) national belongings because they feel they never fully belong to national groups. Nevertheless (cf. section 5.3), most interviewees also argued that they feel somewhat attached to their parents' home countries.

> *"I'm really very, very often in Italy. I feel very comfortable there, probably also because […] we are there at least once a month. We leave Friday evening, then we come back Sunday evening, and that means that I see my big family very often and I also have very, very many friends there and it's just sort of my second home, that's how I would call it"[lxvi] (Giulia, ESM).*

As one teacher in Luxemburg described it, students experience a feeling of rootlessness, of which they might be less aware in their transnational school setting. However, it may become salient later in life and make them seek a return to an in-group with similar experiences:

> *"I think it [the rootlessness] is something they only notice when they left the school. They are not conscious of it here at all. […] But they notice it when they go to university" (ESL4).*

Here, this research project can be linked to the literature on "third culture kids" (Fail, Thompson and Walker 2004). Growing up abroad and often in multilingual settings, these individuals often have ambiguous feelings regarding their home and roots, with their identity being challenged every time they move to a different place.

> *"Well, I'm used to, like, change every time, like 5 years, the place to live. So, yeah, I'm really getting now, […] I really need to change, now, I need to, like, change places, friends, people, get new people. But, because I'm used to it" (Laura, ESL).*

"Third culture kids" learn to adjust to different cultural and social settings, thereby showing "chameleon-like" qualities (Fail, Thompson and Walker 2004: 323). In line with this, European School students are very flexible and most interviewees argued that they want to move to (yet) another country upon their Baccalaureate because moving *as such* has become what defines (a part of) their identity as Europeans:

"if I did go to another country I could start a new life because England is gonna be childhood and then if I did move to that country that would be, you know, another step in my life, another chapter. I think I would visit England, […] but then I would have made a home there and I would have thought 'well, this is my new life, this is where I start being independent' so, it's a new chapter and it's moving forward, really" (Laetitia, ESC).

Similarly, Dorota (ESM) called Munich "a bit like a stopover and somehow, I want to move on"[lxvii]. When asked where she wants to move, she said that she might move to Poland where her parents come from and where she was born – "or just somewhere else. Or even further in Europe"[lxviii] (Dorota, ESM). This ambivalence towards nations or feeling of distance from national groups is often fuelled by students being or feeling out-grouped of such groups.

"I mean there's nothing wrong with being different and being a nationality and so on, but if you can then come together and thrive in your diversity that's even better. So, I definitely think that Europe is a step forward in the right direction in bringing us together" (Catherine, ESC).

According to this student, *being national* is acceptable, but coming together in Europe is the next step of evolution. National thinking is seen as "the other" as part of the own European narrative and, as stated by Michael (ESL) above, a "past generation thing". Similarly, despite narrating a lack of a specific home country, the self-description as "a European" has a positive connotation for Valentin (ESM), since it pushes a positive feeling towards various countries:

"A European for me, well, I'm nationless. That means that I cannot really identify with a country in the EU, or sort of say, that's my home country. I like it a lot, because I feel good everywhere"[lxix] (Valentin, ESM).

"Europe is still home to me, even if I don't have one country that's a home it's always, like, that place" (Laetitia, ESC).

"Europe sort of feels like a nation in itself […] all the countries are connected […]. People who sort of like travelling and sort of like making connections and stuff around Europe, I would say are more European, I guess" (Lena, ESC).

Due to their transnational social network and their multilingualism, students can use previous transnational experience to their advantage. Therefore, students' physical mobility leads to feeling at ease (or even feeling at home) in different European settings.

"For me, being European that's just not feeling foreign, in most countries, at least in Europe. […] To know how you interact, how daily life works. For instance, in France, it may be the same as here, we eat the same in the morning, for lunch, too, for dinner, too. […] Only the language is maybe a bit different. And here, you already learn many languages. Then you can interfere in almost all countries and you can feel at home really fast […], European is being able to interfere everywhere"[lxx] (Nicolas, ESM).

Just like Nicolas, many students perceive cultural differences within Europe as rather insignificant. Qualitative content analysis highlighted that a perception of being able to feel at home in another European country is widespread. However, as outlined, there are varying definitions of home, which go beyond a mere location. Regarding implications of physical mobility, the following observations stood out in the process-tracing analysis.

First, students' mobility experiences differ from holiday experiences of other Europeans in their quality and frequency. Their mobility to parental countries and/or previous countries of residence fuels students' attachments to nationalities. However, a clear majority of students have also lived in another than their current country for at least a year. This implies that most students never feel to *fully* belong to national groups and many argued that they want to move to another European country after their Baccalaureate.

Second, in their multiple mobility experiences (with school and family), interaction effects between causal forces of students' "multilingualism", "transnational social network" and "physical mobility" could be witnessed: the students' physical mobility pushes a feeling of being at ease in different European settings, as they have friends and family in other countries and can rely on their language skills. Evidence for this could be found in the interviews: mobility practices push the imagination of a European in-group, with cultural differences within Europe seen as benign.

Finally, for many students, the in-group of Europeans is made up of people who are physically mobile and have transnational social networks. As an implication of their own mobility, students regard mobility and a coming together of Europeans as desirable or almost a requirement for being part of the in-group, which is explicitly framed as European. Among interviewed students, physical mobility appears to be supporting evidence for the overall mechanism to function.

Overall, students see purely national thinking as undesirable and for themselves even as impossible. Instead, one should get to know various cultures as a mobile European. For instance, undertaking school trips, students use their previous mobility experiences and language

skills to their advantage. Generally, many students expressed the perception of being able to feel at home in different settings regardless of the national context, while also extending the concept of "home" beyond geographical properties. The feeling of being out-grouped in national contexts amplifies this perception, although students also feel closer to countries they have visited – again linking this to specific people they maintain links with instead of territorial or cultural attachments.

6.2.3 Discussion of "Doing Europe"

The following subsection discusses the findings regarding the sub-mechanism "doing Europe". First, it summarises findings from the previous two sections on students' transnational social network and physical mobility. Second, it highlights the interplay of activities of "doing Europe" and their implications, discussing necessary and sufficient parts for the overall causal mechanism. Finally, the subsection discusses the relevance of identified transmitting forces for the overall mechanism and the research question.

Subsection 6.2.1 traced causal mechanism components along students' transnational social network. The European Schools system and individual teachers mix students across sections, creating an accordingly diversified network. Exposure to diverging national teaching styles and to stories from their transnational peer group catalyses the students' enthusiasm about their transnational social network. Teachers fuel this, as they construct diverse backgrounds as an asset and treat students as experts of specific countries. Across sections and beyond school, students see an in-group in similarly transnational people. In line with their school and their teachers, many students imagine their transnational social network as an explicitly European in-group.

Subsection 6.2.2 analysed causal forces of students' physical mobility. Students undertake trips abroad as part of their schooling, which strengthen both their knowledge and affective assessment of the EU and European countries. Students feel closer to countries they have visited or lived in, but their physical mobility beyond the school context also leads to a sense of "home" that is not locally tied. Jointly driven by their transnational social network and multi-

lingualism, students feel they can easily adapt to various settings within Europe. Here, causal forces of "doing Europe" and "telling Europe" interact closely. Students perceive European countries and cultures (also those not visited) as similar.

Regarding the interplay of mechanistic components as concrete activities, teachers further push students to develop an in-group across sections with increasing age, fostering a sense of a higher "evolutionary step" by being more transnational. The causal forces of students' multilingualism, their transnational social network and their physical mobility have interaction effects. By being physically mobile and framing this as an experience of Europe, a European in-group is strengthened: physical mobility fuels a feeling of being at ease in different European settings because students have friends and family in other countries and can use their language skills. Interviewed students feel they can easily adapt to various national settings, while never fully belonging to a national group. Beyond the assessment of relevance for the overall process, the intensity of both the network and mobility vary across individual students – however, at least through their European schooling if not through their family lives, all students do have a transnational network of peers and are physically mobile.

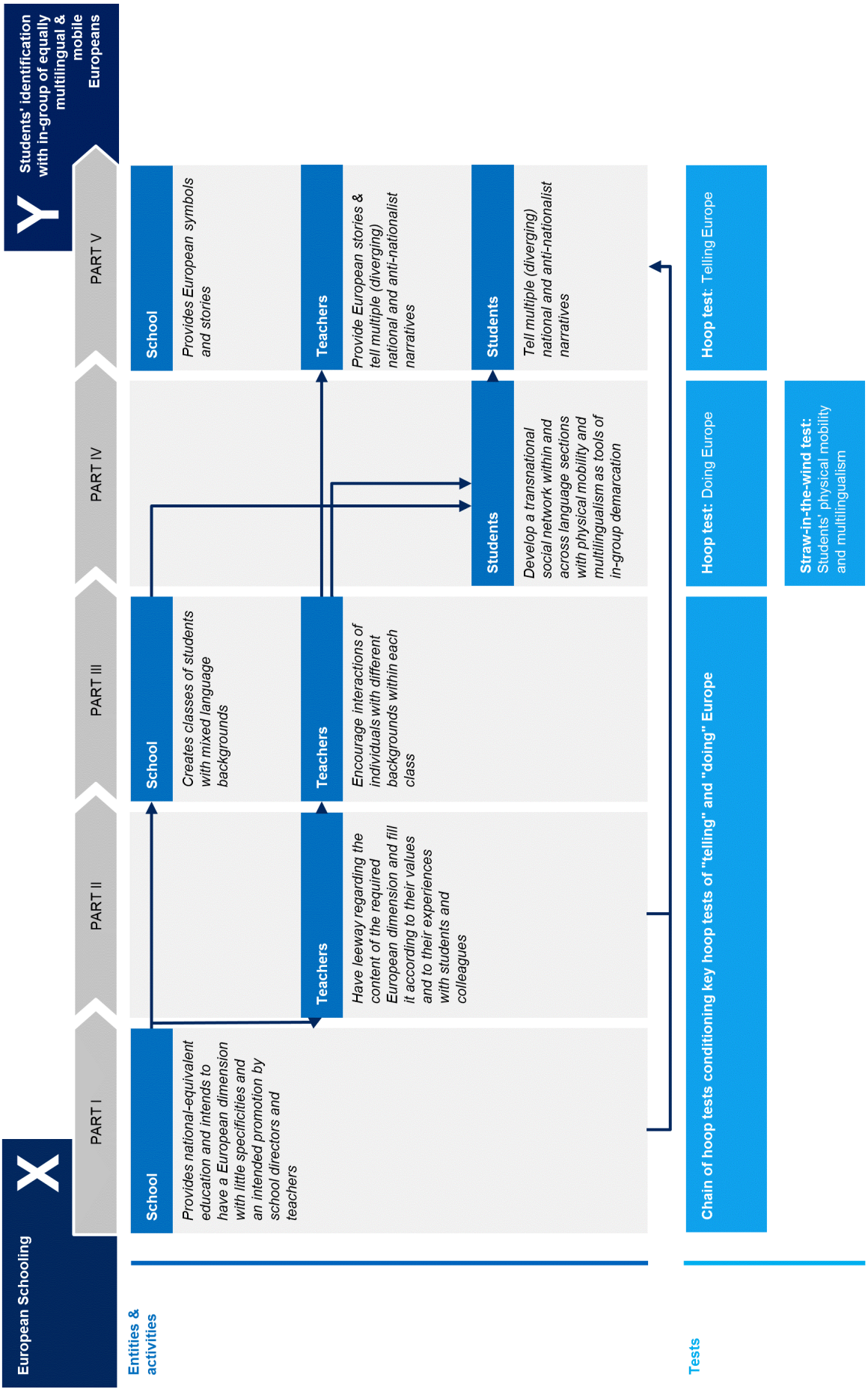
In sum, linking findings on the sub-mechanism "doing Europe" to the overall research question, the analysis has found that teachers and students are (not surprisingly) the most important entities when it comes to "doing Europe". Tracing components of "doing Europe" in an overall causal mechanism, students' transnational social network provides a hoop test: for a European School student to identify with Europe, the student must "do Europe" by having a transnational social network. Together with multilingualism, students' physical mobility constitutes a straw-in-the-wind test. That is, both provide supporting evidence, which is however not deemed necessary for the process to result in the same specific outcome of students' identification with Europe.

6.3 Discussion of the Overarching Causal Mechanism

Process tracing revealed how narratives of European identity are transformed as they are transmitted to European School students towards a specific outcome: students' identification with an in-group of (mobile and multilingual) Europeans. The transmission process was induced in sections 6.1 and 6.2 after descriptively understanding the outcome and influencing factors (chapters 4 and 5). The epistemological interest was inductive, developing *one* relatively simple theoretical path towards a delineated outcome, though with systematic conceptual properties (cf. chapter 3, Beach and Pedersen 2013: 24). Thus, it both opens the case-specific black box, but also provides evidence for developing a twofold set of necessary sub-mechanics for identification with Europe: "telling Europe" and "doing Europe".

First, the following subsection summarises the overarching causal mechanism depicted in Figure 12 below. This outlines the mechanistic components and wheelwork of testable implications, theorising five relatively simple steps feeding into the two core components of "telling" and "doing Europe". Second, it discusses possible alternative causal forces and ramifications of the specified causal mechanism. Ruling out such alternative paths is a crucial quality criterion given the deterministic ontology of process tracing (Beach and Pedersen 2013, Bennett and Checkel 2015). Finally, leverage of evidence for the specified mechanism is discussed, including potential systematic theoretical abstractions from the case.

Figure 12: Overarching Causal Mechanism



6.3.1 Summarising the Causal Mechanism

This subsection highlights "interlocking parts composed of entities engaging in activities that transfer causal forces from one part to the next" (Beach 2016: 471). The specified mechanism connects the causal relation between European schooling and students' identification with Europe. Process tracing opened the black box of European identity development and change across levels (cf. Hedström and Ylikoski 2010, Gerring 2012, Panke 2012, Elster 2007).

In **part I** of the mechanism, the entity "European School" is key. This part extends existing conceptions of nationalism as well as socialisation (e.g. Smith 1992, Anderson 2006, Durkheim 1961, Clausen 1966, Esser 2001, Gellner 2006, Sapiro 2004, Recchi 2012). The European School provides a national-equivalent education, which allows students to return to a member-state school and ensures the possibility to obtain a European Baccalaureate. Furthermore, the school has an explicitly European dimension in its educational framework. However, this dimension has little specificities in mission statements and curricular frameworks and part of each school's educational activity is that filling the European dimension is delegated to school directors and re-delegated to teachers.

This activity necessarily precedes **part II** of the mechanism: while the European School pushes directors and teachers to promote a European ethos in everyday schooling, teachers have extensive leeway regarding the content of the European dimension. This part of the mechanism is an inductive extension of literature on identity promotion and transmission (e.g. Breuilly 2006, Anderson 2006, Hobsbawm 1983, Bruter 2003, Billig 1995, Gellner 2006, Elgenius 2011a). Teachers are obliged to sustain the European dimension in each subject, thereby being mediators of an identity as discussed in the literature. However, as the study has found, they drift from the original idea of their mission (i.e. a multinational narrative, building on distinct member-state identities) by filling the European dimension according to their own (cosmopolitan, enlightened) values and according to transnational daily experiences with students and colleagues.

Part III is conditioned by the outlined activities of school (part I) and teachers (part II) and concerns the mixing of students in school. Theorising this departs from concepts of Social Identity Theory and in-grouping (e.g. Turner 1982, Tajfel 1982, Kimmerling and Moore 1997, Hammack 2008, Brewer 2003). On the one hand, the school creates classes of students with mixed backgrounds by running language sections with students who speak the same "Language 1" in school, but who have different (multi-) national family backgrounds. Furthermore, it is achieved by teaching subjects in the second language and mixing students accordingly. On the other hand, teachers are a crucial entity in this part of the mechanism. They encourage interactions of students with different backgrounds in the classroom, observable e.g. through adjusting seating orders and their treatment of students as experts of their respective countries. The mechanics outlined in part I-III of the causal mechanism are a chain of hoop tests, i.e. necessary components that condition part IV.

Part IV is the culmination and necessary step of "doing Europe". Due to activities of school and teachers, students (as subsequent entity) develop and actively maintain a transnational social network. This network exists *within* language sections through interactions with transnational classmates and *across* sections, since students nourish a more diverse peer setting they interact with when sections are mixed up. This furthermore relates to students' multilingualism and physical mobility. Multilingualism has been analysed as part of "telling Europe", but is also an activity of "doing Europe". However, the study has not provided enough evidence for "multilingualism" or "physical mobility" to be considered necessary or sufficient parts of the mechanism. Rather, the two components constitute supporting evidence pointing towards the imagination of an in-group of Europeans, which feeds back to other parts of the mechanism. This happens because students use multilingualism and mobility experiences as identity markers for in-group cohesion – here, this part of the mechanism takes on classics like Turner (1982), Tajfel (1982), Barth (1969) or Hall (2000). Through tools of in-group demarcation, students feel closer to people who are similarly multilingual and mobile (for instance their peers), which fuels the indeed necessary step of building the mentioned network.

Part V is the key hoop test of "telling Europe" in the overall mechanism and necessary to arrive at the eventual specific outcome. It is conditioned by the chain of "jumped" hoops outlined in part I-IV. For this final part of the mechanism, teachers, students and the school are active entities. The school provides European symbols and stories, e.g. by flying the European flag, naming rooms after EU founding figures and institutionalising Europe Day celebrations. This part of the mechanism extends the literature on cognitive mobilisation and banal, everyday reminders (cf. Billig 1995, Cram 2009, 2010, Elgenius 2011a, Inglehart 1970)[77]. The students tell multiple and partly diverging national narratives to their peers, e.g. when discussing the history of countries in class. They also tell anti-nationalist narratives, found as a highly recurrent coding item in interviews (cf. section 5.3). Teachers provide European symbols and stories in class as well as multiple, partly diverging national and anti-nationalist narratives. The latter are facilitated by the fact that students have teachers from varying national backgrounds, rooted in different teaching traditions.

Linking part V back to the preceding part IV, through their transnational social network, students construct a more general in-group of Europeans. This mechanistic feedback is key: while students directly experience a smaller in-group of transnational Europeans in school, the identification with a larger, European in-group beyond the school needs both "telling Europe" and "doing Europe". In line with Anderson's (2006) "imagined community", students imagine the in-group because they already *do* a transnational social network. A broader in-group as distinctively European is established (or strengthened) due to European narratives and multiple national and anti-nationalist narratives students are explicitly (e.g. symbols, teaching) and implicitly (e.g. stories of peers) *told* in school.

[77] It also partly contradicts existing literature. The school provides national symbols (e.g. by flying member-state flags on national holidays). This may be conceived as wheelwork towards *national* identification. This *opposite* hoop test could not be passed by collected evidence, as students did not mention such symbols as influencing their national attachments and some of them explicitly argued that it makes them more open-minded and/or more European. Thus, the exposure to manifold national symbols was traced as strengthening openness towards other cultures. In this regard, by being reminded of various nations (and thus seeing e.g. a flag of a parental country as only one among many) the national symbols, despite being banal, are not fully in line with Billig's (1995) banal nationalism, but tend to encourage a European perspective among students.

To sum up, the five outlined parts lead to a student's identification with Europe, for which an in-group of multilingual and mobile Europeans is imagined. As analysed, students understand "Europeanness" as based on values like open-mindedness and tolerance – and in their school, on a feeling of interacting with equally diverse individuals. These understandings fuel and lubricate the mechanistic wheelwork. The series of hoop tests (with some weaker straw-in-the-wind evidence) shows – along a series of testable implications – that activities of the entities "school", "teachers" and "students" are crucial to narrow down the path towards a specific outcome. Having traced the wheelwork of the causal mechanism, it can be theorised that both "telling Europe" and "doing Europe" matter for identification with Europe. Both constitute parsimonious concepts with systematic properties for disentangling active and passive steps of building identification with Europe.

6.3.2 Alternative Causal Forces

There are different alternative forces that could not be fully and coherently established as explaining steps along the causal relation between European schooling and students' identification with Europe. This is not to say that some (combination) of factors may not lead to a comparable outcome. However, the logic of inductive process tracing builds on developing testable implications from a specific case towards a path that minimally explains the specific outcome. Alternative paths and potential ramifications are therefore discussed to support the deterministic logic of the process (Bennett and Checkel 2015).

These alternative paths are linked to theory-based European identity conceptualisations in chapter 2. Alternative factors include the role of families (cf. socialisation theories, subsection 2.5.1), the role of countries of residence and parental countries (cf. nesting/competing identities, subsection 2.3.1), the students' demographics and perceived EU benefits (cf. cognitive mobilisation and banal Europeanism, subsection 2.5.2). As explored before, interviewed EU officials, teachers and students reflected (implicitly or explicitly) on the influence of "European schooling" on students' identification with Europe. Discussing the alternative mechanics, evaluations by interviewees are accounted for. These were both analysed along their struc-

tural patterns (axial coding in qualitative content analysis) and along substantiveness of accounts as defined by respective interviewees' exposure to specific process components[78].

To start with, students' families and in particular their parents of course influence their identities, being the primary socialising agents in children's lives before they even attend a school (e.g. Sapiro 2004, Clausen 1966, Gellner 2006):

> *"I do not come from a country or from a group of people. I come from my parents, yes, that's really true, they have raised me, they have taught me everything what I now know"*[lxxi] *(Antonis, ESM).*

As this student argued, attachment to parents is more important than larger in-groups. An alternative mechanism could consist of European School students being first and foremost influenced by their parents when it comes to identification with Europe (or other identities for that matter). Almost all parents of interviewed students are mobile and often, they live in binational partnerships. Hence, one teacher argued that the influence of schooling is bigger when students do not receive a European identity from home by having binational parents:

> *"It's probably due to the parents. Someone who has German-French parents has, I guess, an inherent European identity. But we have of course many students who don't have that from home. They definitely get that mediated here" (ESL6).*

However, the empirical study has shown that both in the case of binational and of mononational parental backgrounds, there are students who identify either only with Europe or only with nationalities.

> *"Mixed nationalities affect probably more the marriage of the parents rather than the behaviour of their son or daughter. I don't think they're very conscious of it. Linguistically, at home of course they might speak French to their father and Italian to their mother. But again, they don't even think about that" (ESL4).*

Hence, even if parents feel more national, students grow up in a school and peer environment that makes them less attached to one single nationality (and possibly more European). While one can argue that parents do play an important role for students' identification, this potential causal force was neither a sufficient nor necessary component for the specified mecha-

[78] In process-tracing terms, building around the inherent non-comparability of units of observation by exploring causal process observations instead of dataset observations.

nism. When discussing the specific outcome, with European identity narratives being defined as in the descriptive analysis, the family is not a core component of this process.

Another factor that could stand for parts of an alternative mechanism is the role of specific countries. Here, the country of residence, birth or (parental) origin could play a role, since students seem to nest their European identity in a range of other available identities, among them national or local attachments or attachments beyond geographical units (cf. Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez 2001, Strath 2002, Delanty 2005a).

Regarding the country of residence, the interviews pointed to slight differences in in-group and out-group constructions among the three schools that are located in different EU countries. This became apparent when exploring dominant narratives during the coding procedure, which was carried out for the respective schools before moving towards selective coding to develop broader propositions across schools (Flick 2014: 290). The country their school is located in influences students' (and teachers') narratives, e.g. leading to the perception of an immediate non-European out-group compared to whom students feel their schooling is "special" as in the case of Culham.

In this sense, the country of residence has been found to be somewhat relevant for country-related and local-identity narratives that are expressed, often focusing on context-fitting, tangible out-grouping, e.g. of national surroundings. It was less relevant for students' identification with Europe in terms of more in-group focused arguments, which were roughly similarly present and similarly defined in the three schools (cf. Figure 6). In short, differences and influences are interesting, but do not shift the overall mechanics.

Next, specific countries of origin might condition possibilities to combine a European identity with respective national identities. Similarly, the *number* of countries of origin of students (and parents) may influence the process towards identification with Europe. Here, the structured coding procedures have shown that irrespective of the number of nationalities a student is confronted with at home, the transnational social networks in school make them aware of a larger in-group, which is framed as "European". In particular, interviewed teachers

and students believe that with increasing age, students often feel less national whilst shifting into a more European mind-set.

> *"I don't know, whether a national identity can emerge here. […] I would say a kind of European identity emerges here. I do not know whether we convey that to students deliberately and consciously. It just emerges through this context [of the school]" (ESM1).*

Furthermore, the empirical study highlights that students' peculiar European schooling (and upbringing) makes them feel less attached to national in-groups, since they often feel out-grouped from national belongings irrespective of the specific country in focus. One EU official explicitly argued that the education in European Schools is the most important aspect for their children's European identity:

> *"It's hard to put a number on it, but I would say out of ten, [my children's] sense of European identity is probably 6 or 7 about their education, 1 or 2 about their interactions with children from other nationalities and 2 about the fact that they live abroad. All of those things play their part, but […] the education is the most important thing" (EUO1).*

To delineate the influence of nations, the role of specific countries (of origin and of residence) was purposefully brought up in interviews, with most interviewees expressing some sense of belonging to nationalities. While specific narratives about countries seem to influence students' perspectives on *national* belongings (with e.g. one student using a reference to food when referring to his attachment to Italy), implications for students' identification with *Europe* could not be established as decisive. Rather, narratives contributed to an opening towards other transnational backgrounds, e.g. in interactions across language sections.

Related to the previous points, demographic factors could be relevant for alternative causal forces, since identification with Europe is a matter of socioeconomic location (e.g. Bruter 2004, Sigalas 2009, Deflem and Pampel 1996). For this research project, a relatively homogenous socioeconomic group has been studied. This was a purposeful selection to construct a most-likely case to study a specific mechanism towards a specific outcome, from which systematic theoretical concepts can be abstracted. In that sense, socioeconomic positioning is rather context (or scope condition) than causal factor. Furthermore, while depicted in the

overview of interviewees (Figure 4), gender differences in identification patterns could not be observed in qualitative content analysis[79].

According to Cram's (2009, 2010) conceptualisation, people develop a "banal Europeanism" when the EU offers practical benefits ("valued goods"). In the case of European School students, the EU provides them with their school, financed by the European Commission. Indirectly, they also benefit through their parents usually being employed by EU institutions. As mentioned, different teachers argued in interviews that students are not fully aware of the peculiarity of their schooling.

> *"What is the European School? They [the students] are not really capable of answering because they take it all for granted. So, it is a bit of a problem" (ESL4).*

In contrast to this perception, many students expressed relatively detailed opinions about the role of their schooling and about the school being a special place, as the three empirical chapters (e.g. section 6.1) have revealed. Somewhat supporting the alternative causal force of students' practical EU benefits, students often use the concepts "EU" and "Europe" interchangeably and some explicitly argued that they live in a "bubble" (Ilias, ESC, Christian, ESL) or have a "too positive" view on Europe (Matteo, ESM). Similarly, in their role as parents, EU bureaucrats gave very positive assessments of the European School, arguing e.g. that the cultural openness and "the possibility to learn other languages and cultures is incredible" (EUO3).

However, the study has shown that even though all students have the same practical benefits in schooling, these do not coherently lead students to adopt the EU's visions of European narratives. Hence, the causal force is somewhat influential to contextualise the overall setup, yet not as decisive in tailoring the process towards the specific outcome. As the question of this research project is about how a transformation of narratives takes place, this alternative causal force does not provide direction.

[79] The students' age was discussed throughout the analysis and does indeed play a role (as expected), as with increasing age, the student's self-perceived transnationality also increases.

To sum up, possible alternative paths could certainly influence European School student's identification with Europe. The causal mechanism traced in this study is of course a minimal, ideal-typical version for a specific outcome. Since the mechanism does not necessarily work for every individual, discussed causal forces could be part of alternative tracks. For a concluding assessment of the mechanism, the following subsection discusses its strength in shaping a peculiar process of a (somewhat surprisingly) transformed narrative transmission.

6.3.3 Leverage of Evidence and Relevance of Mechanism

The strength of evidence for the mechanism results from the necessity and sufficiency of its parts or, as Hedström and Ylikoski (2010: 53) frame it, "their ability to make a relevant difference to the outcome of interest". As detailed before, the mechanism consists of five parts that are not a fully linear or temporal sequence. While each part is necessary for the process to explain the specific outcome of interest, activities of specified entities sometimes feed into earlier or later components of the mechanism.

As outlined, part I-III of the mechanism are *together* seen as necessary for the identified key hoop tests of "doing Europe" (part IV) and "telling Europe" (part V). Since being necessary conditions for subsequent process steps, certainty is prioritised over uniqueness regarding an involvement of components in the causal chain (Bennett 2015). That is, rather than looking for one unique sufficient factor (the "smoking gun"), by jumping several hoops and thereby cutting away alternative propositions, the explanatory funnel is stepwise narrowed down (or inversely, from the descriptively identified outcome, causes are backwards induced). This builds one – in sum – minimally sufficient path towards explaining the outcome.

While previous research has dealt with the role of languages and mobility for European identity (e.g. Kuhn 2012, Sigalas 2009), this study could not establish students' multilingualism and physical mobility as necessary or sufficient conditions. The evidence only serves as testable implications in the sense of a straw-in-the-wind. Thus, they do not offer leverage, but neither do they weaken the overall mechanism. Rather, as feedback loops within the mecha-

nism, multilingualism and physical mobility have been assessed as indeed contributing to the specific framing and provision of context for the students' transnational social network.

While the aim of theory-building process tracing is to have simple, generalisable theoretical claims induced from a peculiar case (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 16-19, 51), the causal mechanism needs testing in different contexts to allow proper generalisation. When assessing the relevance of the traced mechanism, the study acknowledges that "explanations derived from process tracing are always provisional" (Bennett 2008: 19). The most-likely case of this research project allowed to boil down confounding context as much as possible and contributed to the power of potential future process-tracing tests: if a hypothesised mechanistic component does not work in the most-likely case, it is not likely to work elsewhere.

Therefore, the most-likely case, demanding narrow and specific testable implications, allowed powerful tests. By tracing the mechanism, components of "telling Europe" (most importantly, the exposure to European and diverging national narratives) and "doing Europe" (most importantly, a transnational social network) have stood out. "Telling Europe" is the smallest (final) hoop the mechanism must jump, while both key components are an important contribution for future research as discussed in the conclusion.

Summing up, the traced mechanism has provided valuable insights into European identity transmission and construction in the most-likely case of European Schools. Instead of a straightforward top-down transmission chain, the study uncovered the wheelwork of "telling Europe" and "doing Europe" with feedback and interaction forces, resulting in a curious outcome of identification with Europe that, in its defining characteristics, departs from the EU's vision. That is, while European School students identify with an in-group of Europeans, they feel particularly close to similarly multilingual and mobile individuals.

7. Conclusion

This research addressed the issue of European identity construction and transmission by working with the most-likely case of European School students. As EU-driven institutions, European Schools should raise "young citizens of Europe" (OSG 2014a), who "without ceasing to look to their own lands with love and pride, […] will become in mind Europeans" (EU 2013a). Accordingly, this project asked how narratives of European identity get transformed as they are transmitted from the EU to European Schools and then via teachers on to students.

This was studied through qualitative content analysis (working on a *descriptive puzzle* of understanding narratives) and subsequent process tracing (working on a *causal puzzle* around narrative construction and transmission). Hence, on the one hand, in-group and out-group narratives on the respective levels of the EU, European Schools, teachers and students were inferred and compared. On the other hand, a causal mechanism has been inductively developed to open the black box of identification with Europe among European School students. The findings of the latter also have repercussions in wider debates around European identity development and promotion.

7.1 Main Findings of this Project

The research argues that narratives of European identity that are supposed to be transmitted top-down get transformed on their way to European School students. Having asked how they get transformed, the study looked at how a transforming mechanism plays out across levels. The study has revealed that European School students develop peculiar in-group and out-group narratives that partly contradict the EU's visions. For students' identification, the mechanism highlights the relevance of two specific sub-mechanics, "telling Europe" and "doing Europe", both of which are a substantial contribution to identity research with strong theoretical implications beyond the case they were derived from.

National, Multinational, Transnational and Cosmopolitan Narratives

To grasp European identity narratives at different levels, the project descriptively explored what individuals and institutions think *being European* or *not European* means. Instead of seeing a straightforward top-down transmission chain with similar notions on each level, one main finding of this research – already at this descriptive stage – is that in-group and out-group narratives diverge significantly across levels.

At the EU level, a multinational narrative is expressed: member states are "united in diversity" and their identities are to be safeguarded. On a similar note, according to another multinational narrative, nations are "stronger together" and distance themselves from their own war-torn past as well as from non-EU countries. The EU intends to have a European dimension in education. However, little specification has been found regarding how to fill the broader visions at lower levels of implementing education.

At the level of European Schools, a comparable multinational narrative prevails: students from different backgrounds are schooled multilingually, aiming at maintaining national identities. As a further identity layer pushed by school directors, students should become Europeans. Eventually, as core agents of the educational system, teachers fill the European dimension in subject teaching with a transnational narrative, treating students as experts of their countries, and a cosmopolitan narrative, which is coined as explicitly European, while referring to values like open-mindedness and tolerance and renouncing nationalist tendencies. Both narratives depart from the nationality-focused notions of the higher echelons.

At the level of European School students, the cosmopolitan dimension is widespread: being European means being tolerant and eager to experience other cultures and languages. The research has shown that this is not a variety of cosmopolitanism, but something students explicitly consider as a "European" behaviour or attitude. Secondly, students engage transnational narratives linked to diversity in their peer group, feeling united *because* they are all diverse. In that sense, they are a coherent group that often does not fully fit into pre-defined (national) categories. This aligns to experiences of feeling out-grouped whenever in national settings. Students therefore see an out-group in people who have more national and less mo-

bile lifestyles and in their own more national past. Overall, the EU's envisaged top-down European identity promotion clearly diverges across levels, even within the most-likely case of European Schools.

"Us" and "Them" among European School Students – Contradictions within Educational Visions and Tensions across Levels

The second main (descriptive) finding of the study is that while specific narratives of European School students differ from those of the EU, many students describe themselves as explicitly European and attach meanings to a European "us" and a non-European "them". While students' identification with Europe is widespread, the study has found contradictions in the associated constructions of in-groups and out-groups at different levels.

With regards to in-groups, students are exposed to contradicting claims in the European Schools system's mission. Students are schooled in language sections that resemble nationality-style minimal in-groups and hence enforce national identities. At the same time however, students are supposed to develop an overarching European in-group. This is anchored in a European dimension, which is filled with content by teachers. The analysis of students' narrations has shown that individuals resolve this inherent contradiction in their identification patterns. Students are used to being exposed to different nationalities and this strengthens their openness towards other cultures instead of a mere attachment to specific, single nationalities.

On the other hand, the study has shown that students express in-group narratives that are more inclusive than the EU's legalistic narrative with regards to who can or should be European. For students, Europeanness is about behaviour and attitudes, not formalities of citizenship. The students' cosmopolitan narrative allows a more inclusive "us" and in-group notion than that of the EU, which (deriving from a multinational line of thought) includes only nationals of EU member states. Students grasp the EU's (multinational) motto of being "united in diversity" as a *transnational* narrative of individuals who do *not* fit into national categories and are therefore united.

With regards to out-groups, the study has found further striking contradictions within and across vertical levels. First, many students see themselves as Europeans and are open-minded with regards to who can be part of the in-group, as outlined above. However, they often openly and consistently exclude people *within* the EU that are not in line with their narrative construction of a European in-group. More precisely, students partly widen their teachers' antinationalist "them" or out-group narrative to an out-group of less mobile and more national people. Thereby (constituting a tension across vertical levels), students contradict the EU's nationality-laden narrative of a dual identity, allowing people to be as national as they want to be if they are also European. According to interviewed students, one *cannot* be European and nationalist at the same time. This also feeds back into the in-group: several students argue that transnational practices, being between and transcending nations, make individuals more European. Again, students depart from a legalistic approach of the EU and use a normative, cosmopolitan construct.

This relates to the criticism of cosmopolitanism as an elitist mindset, which condemns less privileged people for being less open and the according observation that European identity is a centrifugal force. Here, the study has shown that European Schools benefit those young Europeans who are already mobile and multilingual. The study has made clear that in an act of collective forgetting, the homogeneity of the in-group of European School students is widely ignored. This is an interesting finding *per se* because it also extends to ethnic diversity within the group of students, which has been rarely discussed by interviewees, except by those actually self-describing as ethnically diverse, non-white or "half European" (a term used by several students, cf. section 4.3). This shows quite clearly that the value driven narrations work mostly for those at the centre of centrifugal forces.

Finally (and expanding the students' out-group of nationalists) many European School students see national thinking in general as a thing of the past. For them, nationalities should be overcome and a European identity should be achieved, which they see as the next evolutionary step. Having found fairly open and value-based in-group narratives among students, the the students' out-group constructions – seeing "them" as more national people and the own

more national past – is somewhat surprising. While contradictory at first glance (everyone can be European in theory, but people within Europe are excluded from the in-group), the constructions of "us" and "them" among students likely reflect the socioeconomically privileged "bubble" (a term used by interviewed students and teachers) students find themselves in. In particular, it mirrors the fact that students themselves feel out-grouped of more national settings and it is an interesting finding regarding a reciprocity of in-grouping and out-grouping.

Students' Identification with Europe – Mechanism along "Telling" and "Doing Europe"

To explain *how* the described European identity narratives are different across levels, the project has traced a causal process of European identity construction and transmission within the most-likely case of European School students. This leads to the third main finding of the study: a causal mechanism that opens the black box of students' identification with Europe. Students are not only influenced by the schools' national-equivalent, yet European education. Rather, the teachers' transmission of their own values, the schools' structure of multilingual and multinational classes and the students' interactions with peers from diverse backgrounds are key components of the mechanism.

While the mechanism is a somewhat complex back-and-forth between feedback and interactions, two straightforward core components play a crucial role to understand how students' identification with Europe comes about.

On the one hand, in this European School setting, students "do Europe" by developing a transnational social network with physical mobility and multilingualism as tools of in-group demarcation. On the other hand, students are "told Europe" due to exposure to European symbols and stories by the school and by their teachers and to multiple, diverging national and anti-nationalist narratives by teachers and peers. Due to combined causal forces of *doing* and *telling Europe*, the overall mechanism can take place: European School students identify with an in-group of Europeans and feel particularly close to people who are similarly multilingual and mobile.

Overall, the research shows that even within the favourable case of European School students, one must appreciate the complexity of European identity constructions and individual identity development. Focusing on a most-likely setup also allowed having a strong power of process-tracing tests, i.e. narrow predictions about things that should happen to move the mechanism towards a specific effect. By tracing the mechanism, components of "telling Europe" and "doing Europe" have both stood out as relevant, with "telling Europe" being the final hoop the mechanism must jump to trigger the outcome. The below explores why both key components are important theoretical contributions to the wider literature on European identity development.

7.2 Implications of the Findings

Through its main findings, the research has revealed how EU-envisaged European narratives are dealt with in the European Schools and how young people, growing up in this peculiar school setting, make sense of their national identity/-ies and their own and others' Europeanness. While an inductive approach was chosen for the study, the research is still rooted in previous research. Accordingly, the findings also have implications regarding theoretical and empirical conceptions of national and European identity.

How Identification with Europe Diverges from National Identity Formation

The nationalism literature (especially a constructivist perspective) has clearly informed this research due to the lack of a coherent and widely accepted European identity theory. However, the nuts and bolts of national identity (e.g. Gellner 2006, Smith 1992, Brubaker 2004, Anderson 2006, Hobsbawm 1983, Renan 1990, Billig 1995) have – evidently – not been found to be fully applicable to narratives of European identity. Thus, regarding the formation of a European identity, the following Table 11 illustrates how claims of a European identity diverge from debates over national identity.

Table 11: Contrasting National and European Identity Notions

Defining element	National identity	European identity	Comparability
Creation	Hot nationalism and passionate fight for the nation as primary and visible reference object	Banal, subtle identity referring to founding fathers focus on economic cooperation and political institution EU	Clearly distinct patterns of engaging individuals/ groups for an identity
Promotion	Invention of tradition through visible symbols and stories, backwards orientation in definitions	Visible symbols and stories, creation without clear-cut reference to traditions	Comparable attempt to use symbols and stories to build and sustain coherent narrative
Territoriality	Finite borders with homeland as historical territory	Blurred boundaries, politically defined as current EU member states	Charged notion of border as defining criterion the nation contrasts with flexible EU notion
Narrative of past	"Us" referring to heroic ancestors establishing or fighting for the nation (positive connotation)	"Them" referring to the war-torn European past (negative connotation)	Strongly diverging reference object and connotation to define past
Vision of future	Preserving the imagined political community	Preserving peace as core value among nation states	Some similarity as "peace" can be seen as defining value of a political community, too

First, nationalism puts forward passionate and heroic stories most notably in its beginnings, described by Billig (1995) as “hot nationalism” (cf. Smith 1995, Gellner 1996). In contrast, the EU’s multinational narrative is particularly banal, since the EU (today and for the explored group) stands for a technocratic and bloodless political authority (McNamara 2011, Cram 2009). While this describes first and foremost the moment of creation of the entity “nation state” and “Europe”, the difference persists in top-down efforts. Practical and utilitarian arguments shape a European coming together, whereas emotional and direct references to identity markers stand out for the nation state.

Second, and despite the above, the study of in-group narratives revealed that identity-promoting stories and symbols are actually comparable. The project has found that such stories are, for instance, put forward by EU elites and in political actions like “Europe Day” or the “European Year of Citizens”. Here, the EU borrows elements of identity construction from established nation states. However, the EU’s symbolism is less backwards oriented. Rather, it is presented as a current construct of the new co-existing entity EU (e.g. Europe day as festivity of coming together of all its member states).

Third, across levels, a link of European narratives to a "homeland" could not be established in the study. A homeland or "historical territory" with finite borders is at the core of nationalism (Smith 1992, Schlenker 2013, Aron 1976). For a European identity, documents and interviewees only referred to current EU member states or to the EU in general (and thus, blurry boundaries). While nationalist play the homeland as a "patriotic card" (Billig 1995) with clear-cut borders being an early identity marker, the EU remains rather agnostic on an emotional dimension of glorifying a geographical entity or boundaries. Rather than constituting another "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm 1983) as in the case of nationalism, the EU's territoriality is a flexible concept that follows today's political composition of the Union. One might argue though that the non-existence of internal borders through the Schengen agreement contributes to a different kind of "home". Just as experienced by European School students, this homeland is not locally tied, but contrasts the outside world as it is free of internal barriers that could hinder mobility or networks.

Finally, and in contrast to nationalism's stories about heroic ancestors, both at EU and European School level, the own war-torn past is constructed as the "other". A peaceful common present and future is now possible because nationalist conflicts have been overcome. This narrative partly conflicts with established national narratives within the EU (which the EU wants to safeguard), since ancestors are seen as "them", the out-group, rather than the starting point of "us", today's "imagined political community" (Anderson 2006). Here, a practical contradiction in the EU's European identity narratives was found.

Beyond this study, these are extremely interesting findings, as they directly tackle questions of wider compatibility of identities, such as European and national ones. For the EU, Europeans can be nationalist to a large extent, if they acknowledge the EU and give their passive (or ideally, active) consent to the European project. (This is different for interviewed European School students, who argue – almost across the board and quite strongly – that one must be antinationalist to be European.)

However, by implying a demarcation from the own ancestors, the EU's out-group narrative also implies a trade-off between a European identity and specific national identities (e.g. a

British national identity), if this demarcation contradicts national narratives. For other national identities where a demarcation from ancestors is part of the national narration (e.g. German post-World War II identity), narratives may instead strengthen each other. These initial findings and hypotheses potentially have substantial political implications regarding the future of nation states within the European project and would therefore be worth exploring in future research.

Beyond those implications the above illustrates that the nation state remains an integral component of what Europe is. At the same time, while the EU still picks up various aspects of national-style identity construction, there are substantial differences to account for.

Identity Constructions along Cognitive Mobilisation/ Banal Europeanism and Socialisation Theories

The research has found that *doing Europe* and *telling Europe* are necessary components of a causal relationship between European schooling and students' identification with Europe.

On the one hand, theories of banal nationalism/Europeanism and cognitive mobilisation (Billig 1995, Cram 2009, McNamara 2011, Inglehart 1970, Bruter 2004, Fligstein 2009) have been confirmed in components of "doing Europe". For instance, one could argue that students do not really "do their nation" as much as other people do them. Their or other peoples' national belongings are "hot" (interviewees e.g. argued that their national identity is important as they live abroad), while their European network is more banal: this can be exemplified by the statement of one student, who argued that unlike English people, who she finds "weird", "in Europe, everyone kisses everyone on the cheek all the time […] just kissing people on the cheek is part of my life"[80].

On the other hand, "cognitive mobilisation" and "banal Europeanism" have not been entirely applicable even to the most-likely case of European School students. The research has shown that beyond more active practices at the centre of those conceptions, "telling Europe", i.e. the students' exposure to European narratives as well as diverging national narratives, is another

[80] Charlotte (ESC), as cited in subsection 6.2.1.

necessary component of the causal mechanism. By telling European and multiple national stories in school, a nesting of according identities is facilitated (cf. Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez 2001, Marcussen et al. 1999, Strath 2002). Therefore, the role of socialisation through stories and symbols in European Schools has been discovered as crucial, as it allows an invention and reproduction of an imagined European community (cf. Hobsbawm 1983, Gellner 2006, Anderson 2006, Esser 2001, Simmel 1908, Sapiro 2004, Elgenius 2011a, Recchi 2012). While having a transnational social network ("doing Europe" in a rather banal way) is a necessary step, the overall causal mechanism can only take place if it also jumps this subsequent "smallest hoop" of students being told European and diverging national narratives in school.

Theory-Building Process Tracing: Mechanism along "Telling" and "Doing Europe"

Both "*doing Europe*" and "*telling Europe*" play a role for the mechanism to take place and lead towards the specific outcome descriptively uncovered. While this finding has been induced and found testable (Beach and Pedersen 2013) for the specific setting of European School students, it can inform future research on individual identification with Europe.

On the one hand, in top-down attempts to promote a European identity, "telling Europe" needs to be taken into consideration. Following Beach and Pedersen's (2013) logic of process tracing, the last component of the mechanism, "telling Europe", is particularly decisive, since it is difficult to pass and therefore a powerful test for the mechanism. If the EU wants to encourage a European identity, this finding suggests that it should give a more prominent role to education towards an extended notion of European citizenship, i.e. tell a more comprehensive story towards a European identity instead of focusing on mere practical benefits of this very citizenship.

On the other hand, the research has shown that there are various feedback loops and interactions of components in the causal mechanism (and in the two main sub-mechanics) leading to individual identification with Europe. In the case of European School students, their influence on their teachers stood out. A recurrent theme in qualitative content analysis (strong across individuals and schools) was the teachers' enthusiasm for their students' "quality" or broad-mindedness. They praised students' transnational biographies and language skills, which led

them to “tell Europe” in an idealistic and enthusiastic manner, while explicitly arguing that students influence their syllabus and stories they put forward. This, in turn, influenced students, who could grow up seeing their mixed biographies and their multilingualism as an asset (which might be less the case for migrant students in "normal" national schools). Similar feedback loops might also take place in other cases of individual identification with Europe.

In sum, by opening the black box of European School students’ identification with Europe, the research has shown that without narrative exposure in school (“telling Europe”), students could develop a social network of transnational peers (“doing Europe”), but this network would not be broadened to a larger in-group of Europeans in general, i.e. it is not sufficient to enact a mechanism of identification with a European in-group.

The finding that the EU-envisaged top-down transmission chain does not work even in the most-likely case has implications for further research, as it shows the complexity of individual identification. The causal force of both “telling Europe” and “doing Europe” could be tested in other settings, i.e. studying individual identification with Europe (and assessing top-down identity promotion) in less likely or unlikely cases (see below).

7.3 “Raising European Citizens?” – Concluding Remarks

The empirical and theoretical observations of this research project help to understand processes of European identity transmission and of individual identification with Europe. Therefore, tentative conclusions for wider cases of “raising European citizens” can be drawn from this study.

Giving Young Europeans a Voice

Throughout the project, we have seen that European School students are not just passively raised to be European citizens. They grow up in a peculiarly European school setting from an early age and make sense of their available identities in this context. Different from what some interviewed teachers have assumed, interviewed students were conscious about their upbringing and peculiar schooling. Several argued that the school made them more European and/or that they were more national and less European when they were younger. Here, the

virtue of researching young people has become visible: students reflected on their upbringing and identity development as well as on their current views on schooling, teachers and peers.

Avenues for Future Research

In line with this, for follow-up research, it might be interesting to interview younger European School students – for example in primary school (as students argued that they were more national when younger). Another focus of follow-up research could be on former students after they have left the European School, which could also lead to a more longitudinal analysis, following a set of students over time in repeated studies. At this later stage in life, they could become even more European (e.g. since feeling that they do not fit into the national setting they work or study in) or they could become more national (e.g. through a deeper immersion into a national culture, possibly through settling down in a country, while no longer being immersed into a European environment). This consistency (or change) of Europeanness, and of identities more generally, is something identity research clearly should engage with.

Regarding research design, both younger and older European School students could be interviewed with a slightly different interview guideline, e.g. bringing in further comparisons with established nationalism. For instance, students could be asked in another round of interviews or focus groups what they think about "mass events" on the EU level in the style of nations (e.g. an EU team at the Olympic Games) or whether they would rather support a national team or a European team at the World Cup.

Finally, as for the research object, a follow-up could focus on Accredited European Schools or on international schools to test the same mechanism in another setting. As mentioned, rather unfavourable cases for individual identification with Europe of young people could also be the focus of future studies, such as national schools (possibly also with multi-ethnic student populations) or non-school settings, possible also less diverse, more rural and/or less socio-economically privileged ones.

Scrutinising EU Practices

Since we have seen that the transmission of European identity does not work as envisaged by the EU even in the most-likely case, this also has implications for assessments of the "Europe-

an project" in general and EU practices regarding European identity in particular. Since narratives of European identity found in the study partly contradict the EU's intentions, these need to be scrutinised: among interviewed European School students, the more exclusive out-group construction (immobile mono-nationals as "the other") is not as open to Europeans in other settings as their in-group construction (tolerant people, regardless of national backgrounds) might suggest. While students construct a non-ethnic, non-geographic European identity, nationals that are less mobile and multilingual tend to be excluded – as one student has argued, "in Paris, you do find Europe, but not in other parts [of France]"[81].

Considering the current crises within the EU, such narratives can have negative repercussions for the European project, e.g. by fuelling the EU-critical (and elite-scapegoating) rhetoric of politicians in national arenas. Contrary to the EU's intention, the European idea takes a backseat in this debate. Hence, social inequality needs to be more actively engaged with in this context (cf. Beck 2008), just as e.g. for the case of the Erasmus programme, which arguably also benefits mainly the already privileged young Europeans (cf. Kuhn 2012).

Learning from European Schools (and their Teachers and Students)

Despite such criticisms, European Schools can be role models for other schools with regards to the schools system, in particular the setup of teacher and student interactions. First, the schools can be a source of inspiration regarding the extent to which it has integrated a European dimension into every subject. Beyond a transmission of a European identity, this dimension can also be compared to citizenship education (e.g. fostering state loyalty and encouraging democratic engagement, cf. Mattei and Broeks 2016) in other contexts. Its integration into different subjects (and e.g. also into natural sciences) could be exemplary for other schools.

Second (and connected to the first point), European School teachers can be role models: while they are nationally trained and e.g. do not receive specific training regarding the European dimension, they are usually enthusiastic regarding the European School setting and regarding mixed backgrounds of students. Seeing these mixed backgrounds and students'

[81] Camille (ESM), as cited in section 5.3.

multilingualism (despite some difficulties in mother tongues) as an asset used for mutual learning could inspire schools in border regions or schools with large migrant populations.

In this regard, the teachers' (and school directors') experiences could be fed back more efficiently to EU policy makers: in line with public administration and experimentalist governance literature, their first-hand knowledge of specific approaches to European identity transmission that work on the ground could inform broader fields of education or citizenship policies and more efficient policy, from design to implementation.

Finally, the research has shown that other schools can learn from European School students: the multicultural and multilingual education envisaged by the EU is indeed lived by students. Both teachers and students have the feeling that there is little bullying in European Schools, as students argue that they are all different and therefore the same, which makes it easy to integrate every individual student.

Gaining a Deeper Understanding of European Identity

The research has addressed the issue of a European identity and why this identity matters for the European project by looking at a peculiar case of European identity transmission and development. It has chosen an interdisciplinary path, moving beyond studies of EU integration and focussed on a qualitative exploration of a most-likely case of identification with Europe, that is, European Schools and their students. Based on previous conceptualisations of national and European identity, narratives of European identity expressed by individuals have been explored.

Through structured exploration of intensive descriptions and rich narratives on different levels, the study has shown that identification with Europe is not a straightforward top-down process from European Schools to teachers to students as envisaged by the EU. Through inductive process tracing, the study has revealed a causal mechanism that opens the black box of European School students' identification with Europe. Both "doing Europe" (i.e. most importantly, a transnational social network in school) and "telling Europe" (i.e. the exposure to European as well as diverging national narratives that allows a European framing of the stu-

dents' experiences) are necessary causal forces of a minimally sufficient path to identification with Europe.

First, while the qualitative, process-tracing strategy of this research project does not directly allow general statements regarding a larger universe of cases, the understanding of European identity is advanced with its results. Rather than finding a top-down transmission chain, the EU's official narratives get lost in translation, with individuals at different levels making sense of "European identity" themselves and expressing surprisingly diverse narratives. This key finding of the study could be applied to other contexts of identity building, for example in the case of regional integration projects (e.g. in Africa or Asia).

Second, the study has shown that the interplay of national identities and a European identity is more than a question of nesting two separate identities. The research has provided a possibility to assess the students' own perspectives on their multiple identities. In their peculiar, transnational biographies, ascriptions by others seem to be particularly important: students feel out-grouped from national forms of belonging and find a meaningful in-group in fellow Europeans.

The research has found that an out-group of a European identity can be found in the nationalist past, with interviewed students describing the move from national thinking to European thinking as an evolutionary step (thus referring to their individual past), while the EU directly references the history of wars (thus referring to a collective past). This finding of the study shows that it is worthwhile taking *individual* biographies into account when researching the development of *individual* patterns of identification.

Third, the study has shown that mechanistic thinking helps to advance understandings of identification processes. In line with postulations of analytical sociology, the explanation of this study is tailored to a concrete social phenomenon (Hedström and Swedberg 1996, Hedström and Bearman 2009, Elster 2007). By assembling a causal mechanism, a deep and fine-grained explanation of *why* we observe what we observe has been achieved. While the study itself is limited to within-case inference (Beach and Pedersen 2013), this causal mecha-

nism becomes testable and thus relevant for future research. In that sense, this research also provides a nice showcase for the usefulness of process tracing for (political) sociology.

Fourth, having opened the black box of students' identification with Europe with the inferred mechanism, particularly the role of "*telling Europe*" and "*doing Europe*" can inform future theory debates. "Doing Europe" is crucial as it describes the activities of students, most importantly their transnational social network. "Telling Europe" is necessary, as it allows students to identify with a wider European in-group, which is told through narratives in school. Without "doing Europe", a transnational in-group would not be built up by students, but without "telling Europe", students could simply stick to their direct social network without imagining a wider European in-group. The finding of the study that both "telling Europe" and "doing Europe" are decisive for individual identification with Europe needs therefore to be elaborated on in other settings.

Thus, finally, this research can inform future empirical studies on "European identity". On the one hand, this may cover studies on identity development among children and teenagers in other contexts. Since interviewees explicitly argued that their school has made them more European and since they contemplated about their identity development, the question of reversed causation could be tackled to some extent in this research. This was possible because the study explicitly considered what young people say about their identity development – process tracing in the sense of assembling a sensible and testable causal mechanism was decisive in this regard. On the other hand, apart from follow-up studies in a similar realm, future research could add other levels (e.g. addressing the specific role of policy-makers or bureaucrats in drafting policy documents on European identity promotion) or study bottom-up processes across levels in more detail (e.g. addressing the influence of teachers or parents on the European Schools system or on EU policy making).

"Telling Europe" and "Doing Europe" by the EU

Interviewee accounts have shown that "raising European citizens" is more than a top-down process with only passively involved individuals. European School students grow up to be European and make sense of their schooling and available identities. Having focused on a

most-likely case of European identity transmission, the students' narratives do not fully mirror, but partly even contradict EU visions. Amidst existential crises of the EU, this research has thus shown the complexity of European identity constructions and transmission for theoretical and practical endeavours.

On the one hand, the research has provided a deeper understanding of diverse European narratives and a mechanistic framework of individual identification processes. This can be tested in further settings and inform theory. On the other hand, and coming back to the identified turmoil of the EU, it has shown the EU's shortcoming in transmitting positive narratives to the ground. If the EU wants to stabilise the European project beyond practical benefits for citizens, it needs to catch on with formulating a clear vision of European identity. This can be fuelled through "telling" it to citizens from an early age beyond a small, favourable case and through letting them "do Europe" by experiencing a diverse European in-group.

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Appendix

i. Conducted Interviews and Interview Guidelines

Students

101 students interviewed in individual interviews and focus groups (13 students participated in both); interviews conducted in three selected European Schools; interviews subsequently anonymised, transcribed and coded with a CAQDAS software (NVivo). Age, nationalities, ethnicities, parents' jobs, past cities/ countries lived in and several further factors are not presented on an individual basis here due to privacy concerns (cf. section 3.1). While the data was indeed collected (coherently for the individual interviews and ad hoc in the focus groups), analysed in Excel, coded in NVivo, and fed into the processes being traced, the information can only be presented in aggregate form (see e.g. sections 3.1, 6.1, 6.3) – particularly given that young individuals are a vulnerable group and identity being a sensitive topic to deal with.

	PSEUDONYM	**GENDER**	**SCHOOL**
1.	Alejandra	F	ESM
2.	Alexandra	F	ESM
3.	Antonis	M	ESM
4.	Benedikt	M	ESM
5.	Camille	M	ESM
6.	Clément	M	ESM
7.	Dominik	M	ESM
8.	Dorota	F	ESM
9.	Éthan	M	ESM
10.	Felix	M	ESM
11.	Filippo	M	ESM
12.	Gabriel	M	ESM
13.	Giulia	M	ESM
14.	Hanna	F	ESM
15.	Ioannis	M	ESM
16.	Jack	M	ESM
17.	Javier	M	ESM
18.	Julian	M	ESM
19.	Julien	M	ESM
20.	Lucas	M	ESM
21.	Lukas	M	ESM

22.	Matteo	M	ESM
23.	Nathan	M	ESM
24.	Nicolas	M	ESM
25.	Pablo	M	ESM
26.	Sara	F	ESM
27.	Sergio	M	ESM
28.	Sofia	F	ESM
29.	Thomas	M	ESM
30.	Valentin	M	ESM
31.	Vitan	M	ESM
32.	Abbey	F	ESC
33.	Alexandre	M	ESC
34.	Alia	F	ESC
35.	Anne	F	ESC
36.	Baptiste	M	ESC
37.	Catherine	F	ESC
38.	Charlotte	F	ESC
39.	Elizabeth	F	ESC
40.	Eva	F	ESC
41.	Francois	M	ESC
42.	Ilias	M	ESC
43.	Irene	F	ESC
44.	Jacob	M	ESC
45.	Jean	M	ESC
46.	John	M	ESC
47.	Laetitia	F	ESC
48.	Lena	F	ESC
49.	Louise	F	ESC
50.	Martin	M	ESC
51.	Monica	F	ESC
52.	Paul	M	ESC
53.	Peter	M	ESC
54.	Thomas	M	ESC
55.	Tim	M	ESC
56.	William	M	ESC
57.	Aija	F	ESL
58.	Alice	F	ESL
59.	Amelie	F	ESL
60.	Antanas	M	ESL
61.	Bruno	M	ESL
62.	Camille	F	ESL

63.	Carlos	M	ESL
64.	Christian	M	ESL
65.	Clara	F	ESL
66.	Daniel	M	ESL
67.	Ella	F	ESL
68.	Elsa	F	ESL
69.	Emilia	F	ESL
70.	Fabrizio	M	ESL
71.	Felipe	M	ESL
72.	Francesca	F	ESL
73.	Gita	F	ESL
74.	Giulia	F	ESL
75.	Gustav	M	ESL
76.	Jakub	M	ESL
77.	Jan	M	ESL
78.	Kjell	M	ESL
79.	Laura	F	ESL
80.	Lena	F	ESL
81.	Lotte	F	ESL
82.	Luba	F	ESL
83.	Lucia	F	ESL
84.	Magda	F	ESL
85.	Maria	F	ESL
86.	Marina	F	ESL
87.	Marta	F	ESL
88.	Matilda	F	ESL
89.	Michael	M	ESL
90.	Miguel	M	ESL
91.	Milan	M	ESL
92.	Milena	F	ESL
93.	Philipp	M	ESL
94.	Phoebe	F	ESL
95.	Rosie	F	ESL
96.	Salome	F	ESL
97.	Sanne	F	ESL
98.	Selma	F	ESL
99.	Susanna	F	ESL
100.	Valentina	F	ESL
101.	Viktor	M	ESL

Interview Guideline – Individual Interviews

Intro
Introducing the Research Project, Anonymity, Recording, Consent
Opening Question:
You are attending a school with students from different countries and your parents come from x/y... How would you describe yourself?
(Follow-up) And how would you describe yourself regarding your nationality/ies?
(Follow-Up: Why do you think you are X/Y? Some people would describe themselves as X/Y, what do you think about that?)

Main Part
Topic "Knowledge about Europe":
How would you rate your knowledge about Europe?
What do you think who gave you that knowledge?/ Where does it come from?
(Follow-up) Do your parents tell you about Europe or is this something you learn in school or elsewhere?
How does this knowledge influence you? What role does this knowledge play for you?
Topic "Explicitly European Narrative"
What role does Europe play in your school/ in class? How important is Europe in school?
(follow-up) For you, is there something like a European history/culture/music...
and is this taught in school?
Is Europe equivalent to the EU for you?
Your school is funded partly by the EU – does that play a role in school?
How does this influence you?
Topic "Diverging National Narratives":
How would you describe the cultures/nationalities of your parents/friends/ your school?
Where do your friends come from? Where does your best friend come from?
Does it make a difference where your classmates or teachers come from?
Do you sometimes see differences between the cultures of your parents/friends/ in school? (Follow-up: Are nationalities of teachers and classmates noticeable in school?)
Some people argue that Europe can unite different cultures – what do you think about that?
Topic "Language Skills":
What languages do you speak? Which language do you consider your mother tongues?
Which language do you speak with whom? Which language do you speak most?
To what extent do your language skills influence your view on different countries/cultures?
(Follow-Up) Do you feel closer to countries whose language you speak?
Is it relevant for you to speak more than one language well?

Topic "Virtual/Physical Mobility":
How often do you travel during holidays? Have you lived in another country?
Which countries? (The parents'? Always the same...?)
When you are in country X, is that holidays for you? Or something else? (Follow-up: Is that "home"?)
Do you have friends and family abroad with whom you are in touch regularly? (Meet? Internet? Phone?)
(Follow-up) Could you see yourself studying abroad/ living somewhere else?

Final Part
Final questions:
What is "home" for you?
Do you feel you belong to region X/nation X?
Do you feel European? Why (not)?
What is European – what is not European?
Do you feel closer to people from Europe than to non-Europeans?

Is there something we have not discussed/ something you would like to add/clarify?

Follow-up Questions:
Can you give me an example/ elaborate on this?
Has it always been like that or has it changed? (When, why?)
How did that influence you?
Who has influenced it? (Why?)
What role does your family play? (e.g. do your parents tell you a lot about their work; about Europe?)
What role do your friends play?

Flexible Interview Guideline – Focus Groups

Introduction, Anonymity, Recording, Consent

Presentation Round

On the board: Please put in order...

- Friends
- Parents
- Siblings
- [Culham]
- [Oxfordshire]
- [England]
- [Great Britain]
- Europe
- Country X
- ?! (something else that is missing)

What is most important to you? What is least important?

Burning flags:
What would you think if you see someone burning a national European flag?
How would that make you feel?
(Follow-Up: Would you be angry? What would be worse – or is it the same?, Is there another symbol you could think of that would provoke the same/another feeling?)

Do you feel [English] or [British]? Why (not)?

What is Europe for you? Who is European? (Follow-up: Who is not?, Is there a difference between the EU and Europe?)

Teachers and School Directors

ESM1, ESM2, ESM3, ESM4, ESL1, ESL2, ESL3, ESL4, ESL5, ESL6, ESL7, ESC1, ESC2, ESC3, ESC4, ESC5, ESC6 – seventeen anonymised interviews with European School staff, including fifteen teachers as well as one school director and one secondary school director, interviews conducted in person in the three schools, partly transcribed.

Interview Guideline – Interviews with Teachers

Intro (introduction to research, anonymity, recording)

Could you maybe first introduce yourself and could you also tell me what role the "European" label of the school plays in your job?

How does it differ from a normal/ state school?

To what extent does the EU or EC influence the daily life at your school?

What role do countries/ nationalities play in school?

- in class?
- Contact between sections?
- Do you see differences between students of different sections?

What role does Europe play in school?

- To what extent is History/ Geography/ Language teaching explicitly European?
- In your classes?
- Outside of classes? (Extracurricular activities)

To what extent is a European identity and are national identities taught and therefore mediated in school?

- Do you see a clear conception of a European identity?

What are the most important values you want to pass on to your students?

Are the students at your school "Europeans"? Do you think they feel that way?
- What role does the school play in this regard – and what role do friends & family play?
- What role do you play?
- Is the formal teaching more important – or the school life beyond teaching?

How do you see the future of European Schools?

Your individual perspectives:
Do you see yourself as European? What does that mean for your job and your private life?

EU Officials

EUO1, EUO2, EUO3, EUO4, EUO5, EUO6 – six anonymised interviews with EU officials based in Brussels in different Directorates General and across seniority levels; interviews conducted via telephone, partly transcribed.

Interview Guideline – Interviews with EU Official

Intro (introduction to research, anonymous, recording)

It would be great if you could present yourself and tell me something about your contact points with a "European identity" in any respect as part of your job.

From my research so far, I have the expression that the EU tries to emphasise that national identities will not be harmed in any way by integration. But still, a sense of belonging of Europeans is sought.
- How is this compatible?
- What is your opinion on how the EU deals or has dealt with a European identity
- What do you think does European identity and citizenship mean for the EU?

To what extent (and how) should the EU promote/mediate a European identity?
- How is this incorporated into EU policies and goals?
- What are the driving forces?
- Has this changed?
- Does the EU succeed in promoting a European identity?

How should the EU address young people when it comes to citizenship and identity?

Do you think there is or should be a European education?

Do you know about the European Schools? Do you interact with them (private/as part of your job)? What is your opinion?

Finally, I would be interested in your personal perspective regarding a European identity? Do you feel European? What are your ambitions (while working for the EU/ in your private life) in this respect?

Is there anything you would like to add to our discussion?
Or any info/ persons you would like to point me to?

ii. Consent Forms

Students

Information and Consent Form

Interview as Part of a Doctoral Study on Views on Nations and Europe in European Schools

Interviewer: Judith Rohde-Liebenau, MA, MA
Doctoral student, Department of Sociology, University of Oxford
Contact: judith.rohde-liebenau@sociology.ox.ac.uk, +49 163 63 567 94

What is the researcher trying to find out?

The interview is a part of a doctoral study at the University of Oxford. The researcher conducts interviews with students at different European Schools to find out how students deal with the different nationalities in their respective school.

Consent Form

The interview will be digitally (audio) recorded and transcribed afterwards. The interview (and if applicable, documents the interviewee makes available) will be part of a study at the University of Oxford under the supervision of Prof Stephen Fisher (Department of Sociology).

> I have read the participant information sheet – and in case of further questions, I have received satisfactory answers to them.
>
> I understand that the interview will last about 20-30 minutes and that I can choose the most convenient time and location for the interview. The participation in this study is completely voluntary: I can withdraw from this study at any time without penalty. I can choose to skip any question that I would prefer not to answer.
>
> I understand that all information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. The interviews will be taped but no identifiers will be placed on the tapes or the transcripts that would uniquely identify me, such as my name. If I wish, I can use a freely chosen pseudonym already during the interview.

The consent form will be kept sealed and separate from other data. After the completion of the doctoral research project, all personal data will be deleted.

Participant name: .....
Participant signature: .....

Date: .....

Researcher name and signature:.....

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.
If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please speak to the relevant researcher (see details above) or her supervisor (Prof Stephen Fisher, stephen.fisher@trinity.ox.ac.uk), who will do their best to answer your query. The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how she intends to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford (Chair, Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee; ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD). The chair will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner.

Parents

Information for Parents

Researcher: Judith Rohde-Liebenau, MA, MA
Doctoral Candidate, University of Oxford, Department of Sociology
Contact: judith.rohde-liebenau@sociology.ox.ac.uk, +49 163 63 567 94

What is the researcher trying to find out?

The interview is a part of a doctoral study at the University of Oxford. The researcher conducts interviews with children attending different European Schools to find out more about the students' views on different nationalities and on Europe.

What happens if my child participates?

The researcher will conduct an interview with your child. The interview will be conducted in English or German. The interview will last approximately 30 minutes. Your child can choose the most convenient time and place for the interview.

The interview will be (audio) recorded and afterwards transcribed. The participation in this study is completely voluntary, your child can withdraw from this study at any time. Your child can choose to skip any question that he or she would prefer not to answer.

What happens with the results of the interviews?

All information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. The interviews will be taped but no identifiers (such as names) will be placed on the tapes or the transcripts that would uniquely identify your child's name. Instead, a numerical code will be given to the transcript and if parts of interviews are cited in the study, assigned first names other than the children's real names will be used.

The consent form will be kept sealed and separate from the other, anonymised data, which will be securely stored on a protected computer. After the completion of the doctoral research project (April 2018 at the very latest), all personal data will be deleted.

What should I do next?

> If you agree that your child is interviewed in the context of this study, then there is nothing you need to do.
> If you would ***not*** like your child to be involved in the study, please contact the researcher and/or the teachers of your child.

If you would like to discuss this study in more detail before taking a decision or if you have any further questions please contact the researcher (see details above).

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.
If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please speak to the relevant researcher (see details above) or her supervisor (Prof Stephen Fisher, stephen.fisher@trinity.ox.ac.uk), who will do their best to answer your query. The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how she intends to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford (Chair, Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee; ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD). The chair will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner.

iii. Letters to European Schools and EU Officials

European Schools

Research Project and Possible Cooperation with the European School [Culham]

Judith Rohde-Liebenau
MA (University College London), MA (Humboldt University Berlin)
DPhil Student (Doctoral Candidate), Department of Sociology, University of Oxford
Contact: judith.rohde-liebenau@sociology.ox.ac.uk, +49 163 63 567 94
Supervisor: Prof Stephen Fisher (stephen.fisher@trinity.ox.ac.uk)

Research Context

As a doctoral student at the University of Oxford, I am interested in a European identity in a transnational context. I am particularly interested in the development of identities of students in European Schools. Here, I

would like to understand the influence of the EU and the school on these students. The focus of my research project is laid on the study of students with different national backgrounds in European Schools.

Research Aims

I am interested in how students at the European School in [country] deal with their different nationalities. The perspective of the students is thus crucial: What views on nationalities shape the identities of the students? Do they see themselves as "English", "British", "European"...? What influences on their identities do they see themselves? What role to the school – and to family and friends?

To answer these questions, I would like to conduct about ten individual interviews as well as 2-3 group discussions at the European School [Culham]. To reflect on the interview results, I would also be glad to conduct a couple of interviews with teachers.

Research Stages

Preparation:

- Visit to the European School e.g. in early June: presentation of the research in classes or meetings of teachers/parents; recruiting volunteers for interviews
- If desired: discussion of the interview guidelines with the director/ with teachers.

Research:

1. Interviews and group discussions with students in the Secondary School (about 14 to 18 years old)
    - Individual interviews: about ten semi-structured interviews (duration: 20-30 minutes)
    - Group discussions: 2-3 discussions with about six students (duration: 45 minutes)
2. Interviews with a small number of teachers to reflect on the students' statements.

Research Results

The research at the European School [Culham] is an important element of the doctoral thesis at the University of Oxford, which will feed into scientific publications. I would also be glad to discuss the research results with the school (in particular how it compares with the other European Schools).

All information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. The interviews will be taped but no identification (such as names) will be placed on the tapes or the transcripts that would uniquely identify an interviewee's name. Instead, a numerical code will be given to each transcript and if parts of interviews are cited in the study, assigned first names will be used.

The consent form will be kept sealed and separate from other, anonymised data, which will be securely stored on a protected computer. After the completion of the doctoral research project (2018 at the very latest), all personal data will be deleted.

EU Officials

Interview enquiry: PhD research (Oxford) - European Schools/ European identity

Dear Mr/Ms

As a doctoral researcher at the University of Oxford, I am working on the development of a European identity in transnational settings. More specifically, I am interested in children's development of a European identity and in the influence EU policies have in individual identity development.

As [description of the person's position], it would be great to hear your personal and the EC's take on European education and the promotion of European citizenship among young Europeans e.g. through educational exchange and other forms of transnational interaction. Thus, I was wondering whether it would be possible to schedule a short phone interview with you on these and related topics.

If that would be possible, I would send you a few guiding questions beforehand. Otherwise, it would be great if you could tell me who might be the right person to contact for such an interview.

Thanks a lot for your help and kind regards

As outlined before, as a PhD candidate at the University of Oxford, I am researching how children in **European Schools** ("scholae Europaeae") develop a **European identity**. In a first step, I am looking into an institutional layer before researching individual identity patterns. Thus, supported by the interview, I want to find out whether and **how European citizenship** (and/or a "European identity") **is promoted by the EU**. Being at an early stage of my research, the interview is rather exploratory and I am particularly interested in your/your colleague's personal stance regarding EU policy practice (beyond official statements).

I would like to schedule a **phone call of about 30 minutes** (possibly up to an hour, depending on the availability).

The following three categories would frame the conversation and the questions can give you a hint as to what I would roughly want to tackle:

Citizenship and identity

- What do you think does European citizenship mean for the EU?
- To what extent do you think is "European citizenship" incorporated into EU goals and policies? Has this changed in the past? What are the driving forces?
- What is your opinion on the EU's stance towards a European identity? How should the EU mediate a European identity?

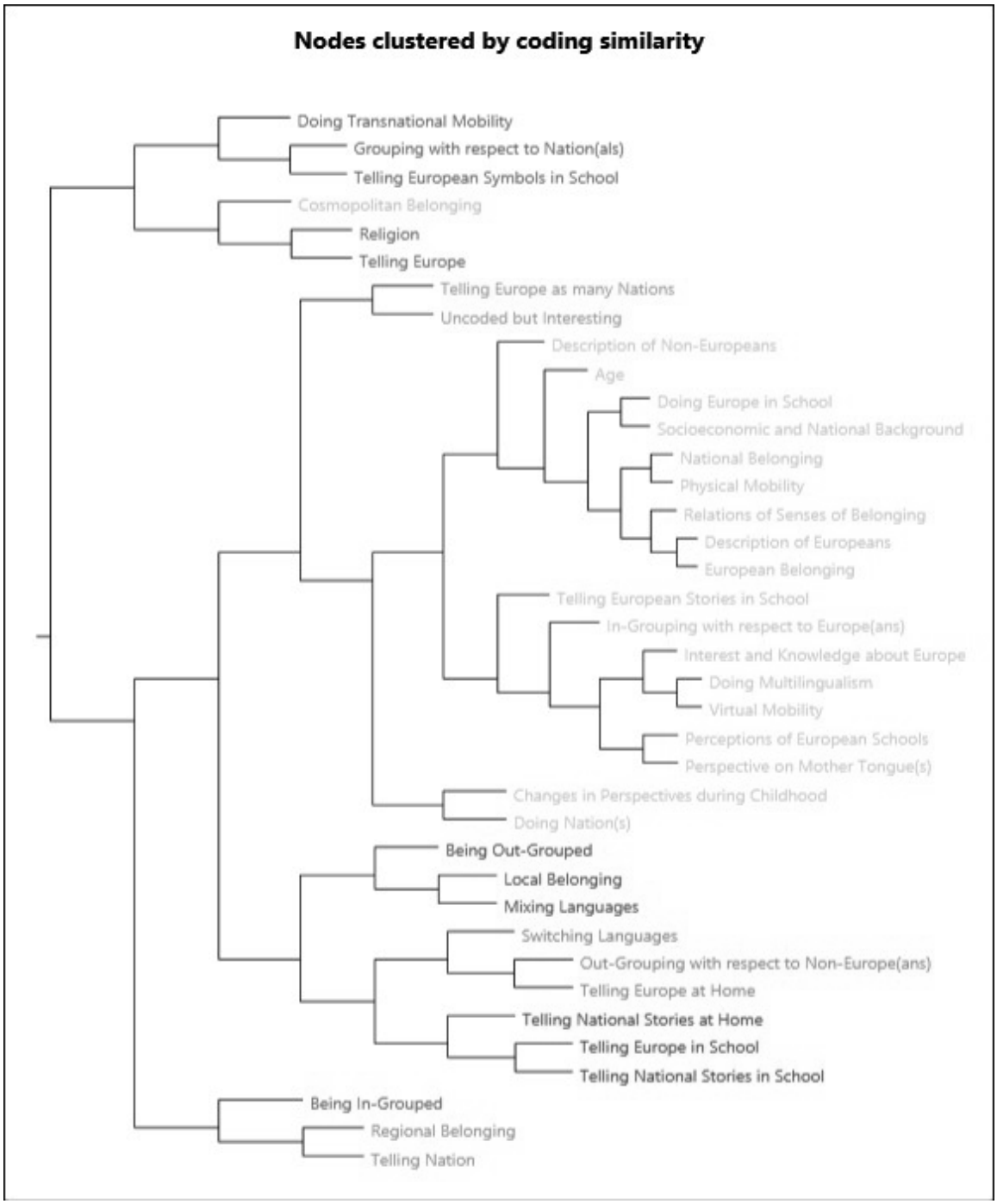
Education

- How should the EU address active European citizenship of young people?
- Do you think a truly "European education" exists? Should it exist?
- Do you know about the "European Schools" – what is your take on these schools and did you ever interact with them?

Personal

- What is your take on a "European identity" and what are your ambitions while working for the EU in this respect?
- Do you think the EU succeeds in promoting a European identity?

iv. Node Clusters by Coding Similarity



v. Endnotes – Student Citations in German Language

[i] [Beim] Essen, dann bin ich vielleicht mehr Italiener, wenn es für paar andere Sachen bin ich eher Belgier, für andere paar Sachen Deutscher. Deshalb würde ich sagen, ich habe eine trinationale Identität.

[ii] Ich würd sagen, dass ich mich sehr wohl zu einem Land gebunden fühle, und zwar zu Spanien. Ich bin jetzt nicht deutsch, aber ich bin stolzer Münchener. Und, ja, und für mich sind die Eltern auch ganz wichtig, natürlich die Freunde. Ja. Und europäisch fühl ich mich auch absolut.

[iii] Für mich ist halt München die Stadt, wo ich lebe, aber ob's jetzt in Deutschland ist oder in, keine Ahnung, in Holland oder so, für mich wär' das egal.

[iv] ich fühl mich persönlich nur zur Hälfte Europäer.

[v] ich fühl mich zu hundert Prozent französisch und [nahöstl. Land], auch wenn ich in Deutschland lebe und auch noch nie im [Land des Elternteils] war zum Beispiel, und in Frankreich halt nur einmal im Jahr gehe, für drei Tage zu Weihnachten, und, trotzdem fühle ich mich gar nicht deutsch, also, null. […] Münchener bin ich schon, also ich fühl mich zu hundert Prozent Münchener, aber null Prozent deutsch.

[vi] ich fühl mich gar nicht Europäer, ich fühl mich einfach nur halb Franzose, halb Italiener.

[vii] ich muss sagen, ich fühl mich sehr spanisch. Einfach, weil ich, man sagt manchmal, dass wenn man woanders lebt, also außerhalb, dass man sich sehr stark dann national fühlt.

[viii] ich würde mich als Europäer bezeichnen wegen, also, meiner Meinung nach hat Europa […] in jedem Land gemeinsame Werte. Und ich glaube, wenn man eine europäische Identität hat, dann [denkt man] offener über auch andere Länder, über ihre Meinungen, auch politisch oder kulturell. Und ja, genau deswegen würde ich mich als Europäer bezeichnen.

[ix] ich finde Europa hat auch verschiedene Mentalitäten als, zum Beispiel […] die USA, obwohl die Gesellschaft da ungefähr gleich organisiert ist, Politik, gleiche Werte und so weiter. Aber das ist nicht dasselbe, das ist nicht die gleiche Mentalität, nicht dieselbe Art von Leben. Und deshalb finde ich halt, dass Europa verbundener gehört

[x] ich fühl mich auch sehr europäisch, nicht nur spanisch, sondern auch sehr europäisch, weil ich finde es sehr toll, wenn man Europäer sein kann, […] wenn man jetzt ins Ausland reist oder dir irgendetwas passiert, da haben die viel mehr Respekt […] mit dir, wenn du Europäer bist. […] Als Europäer, glaub ich, hat man […] viel mehr Sicherheit.

[xi] in Polen war ich noch nie, aber ich mein, das kann doch nicht so anders sein […], weil, das ist eigentlich ganz nah dran. Das muss […] einfach so gehen, das ist Europa und […] europäische Länder sind zusammen, weil sie irgendetwas, weil sie dieselben Werte haben und deswegen sollte es ähnlich in allen Ländern sein.

[xii] Europa ist ja kein Land, aber wir gehören schon irgendwie zusammen.

[xiii] Ein Europäer ist also […] ein offener Mensch, der sich für andere Länder interessiert, was zurzeit nicht so der Fall ist mit den nationalistischen Aufständen. Aber wenn es nicht so ein nationalistisches Denken ist, sondern eher ein gemeinsames Denken, dann ist man noch stärker sozusagen.

[xiv] Ich fühle mich Europäer, weil ich überall, in allen Ländern auch, normal mich fühle und nicht im Ausland oder irgendwo komplett verloren fühle.

[xv] Wenn ich Weltbürger meine, meine ich nicht, jedem Land genauso viel wie das andere Land, sich genauso nah fühlen. Aber sich eher an keinem Land nah fühlen.

[xvi] eine europäische Identität würde ich so zeichnen, dass es eine Mischung von den Kulturen ist, deshalb könnte ich mich auch als Europäer bezeichnen.

[xvii] was macht denn einen Europäer aus? Aber ich find' Europa ganz gut, weil das ist ja schon der erste Schritt zur Vereinigung verschiedener ethnischer Gruppen. Und das löst die Grenzen zwischen verschiedenen Kulturen halt auf. Find ich persönlich gut, weil man dann mehr als eine große Gemeinschaft, als Mensch denkt, und nicht als Grieche, Spanier, Italiener, oder was auch immer.

[xviii] Ich habe ja schon gesagt, die einzelnen Klassen haben zwar die verschiedenen Kulturen und leben die auch aus, aber das führt jetzt nicht unbedingt zu Konflikten. Vielleicht im Kindergarten oder in der ersten oder zweiten Prima, wenn die Leute sich noch wirklich sehr an ihre Kultur gebunden fühlen. Aber dann wird denen das da schon von den Lehrern klargemacht, dass das nicht geht. Aber ansonsten glaube ich, das funktioniert schon.

[xix] Nicht-Europäer ist jemand, der sagen würde, dass er wirklich nur aus ein Land ist und wirklich nur aus diesen Land ist und den es wirklich nur sein Land wichtig und es ist ihn egal was es in den anderen Ländern oder Europa passiert.

[xx] Nicht europäisch, wenn man sich nur für sein Land interessiert, […] sein Land als das beste Land sieht und die anderen europäischen Länder eher als unterstufig. Oder dass man […] kein Interesse an Europa hat.

[xxi] Nicht europäisch, also wenn jetzt von der Gedankensteuerung würde ich halt jetzt sagen, dass es jemand ist, der rassistisch ist und nur für sein eigenes Land denkt, nur für sein eigenes Interesse, was halt nicht weiter als die Grenzen seines Landes denkt.

[xxii] wenn man eine europäische Identität hat, dann kommt man […] weg von den nationalen oder nationalistischen Vorurteilen […]. Man denkt offener über auch andere Länder, über ihre Meinungen, auch politisch oder kulturell, genau deswegen würde ich mich als Europäer bezeichnen.

[xxiii] wenn jemand sagt, ich bin hundert Prozent Franzose, denkt man sich, ok, ja, das ist kein, ja, kein sehr interessanter, äh, Wechsel [Austausch].

[xxiv] In Paris ist, findet man schon Europa, aber nicht in andere Bereiche und so. Zum Beispiel in Frankreich gibt es, also, diese rechte Partei und so.

[xxv] jemand, der sich einfach nur in eine nationale Identität einteilt und halt auch danach strebt, dass diese nationale Identität auch komplett so bleibt und halt diese Mischung aus den Kulturen als etwas Negatives empfindet.

[xxvi] Ich würde meine Heimat als Europa bezeichnen, da ich immer als Ausländer bezeichnet werde.

[xxvii] Also es ist ganz ok, aber man fühlt sich irgendwie auch in Frankreich als Außenseiter sozusagen, weil die leben ja alle anders als wir hier. Und Deutschland ist das Gleiche. Es ist eigentlich witzig, weil wenn man nach Frankreich geht, dann wird man so als die Deutsche bezeichnet und wenn man nach Deutschland geht als die Französin, obwohl ich beides bin eigentlich.

[xxviii] ich finde, das ist ein bisschen so, dass man, wenn man von einem anderen Land wieder in Griechenland zurückkommt, dann wird man nicht als gleich angesehen. […] da denkt man schon, ‚ja, also, sie leben in Deutschland und sie haben schon bessere Chancen, die sind nicht wie wir und die sprechen auch Deutsch und die haben auch n bisschen mehr Geld' […]. Was ich ein bisschen schlimm finde eigentlich. Aber das heißt ja nicht, dass alle Menschen so sind. Ein paar vielleicht, […] Also, ich finde, das ist das Schlechte, wenn man irgendwo in einem anderen Land lebt. Weil da wird man auf der Heimat als Deutsche angesehen, aber in Deutschland als griechisch.

[xxix] Sagen sie, 'ach ja, die Ausländerin'. Und das mag ich manchmal nicht, weil dann, weil ich bin auch Spanierin.

[xxx] Und ich fühle mich eigentlich, also Ausländer in jedem Land, wo ich bin. Also fühle ich mich ein bisschen mehr, also, europäisch.

[xxxi] viele Leute verstehen das einfach […] nicht. Die wollen dich immer in eine Nationalität einteilen oder halt ‚bist du mehr Italiener oder mehr Belgier?' Diese Frage hat für mich überhaupt keinen Sinn. ‚Oder mehr Deutscher oder was bist du jetzt' und so weiter. Viele Leute denken auch so und das ist auch ganz normal, weil die meisten Leute sind daran gewöhnt, dass jeder nur eine Nationalität hat […]. Aber ja dadurch kommt vielleicht auch, mich schlicht als Europäer zu bezeichnen bei manchen Leuten.

[xxxii] Es gibt Lehrer, die […] immer wieder drückt der so Sprüche, ja, der, 'unser Franzose', 'unser [nahöstl. Nationalität], der Gabriel' oder so.

[xxxiii] verglichen zu Leuten in Frankreich, da sieht man ganz klar einen Unterschied zwischen denen und mir. Und das ist bei den anderen in der Schule auch so. Also, die Engländer sind nicht wirklich Engländer, aber Engländer aus der Europäischen Schule. Und das ist n großer Unterschied zur, zu Engländern, die aus England kommen. Und das sieht man schon.

[xxxiv] ich hab gemerkt, […] es gibt keine, der so hundert Prozent eine Nationalität ist, wie ich […]. Die meisten sind so, ‚oh ich bin halb Franzose, halb Deutscher' oder ‚ich bin so halb aus Spanien, halb aus Griechenland'. […] Das finde ich echt gut, denn also das heißt wirklich europäische Identität. Also wenn du da hundert Prozent was bist, […] also man lernt so, also international zu sein, […] es gibt so keine Nationalität, eher so, ich bin einfach so Europa.

[xxxv] ich denk schon, dass diese ganze, also diese ganzen verschiedenen Nationalitäten dazu führen, dass wir uns mehr Europäer fühlen an dieser Schule. Weil wären wir jetzt auf nem deutschen Gymnasium, dann wär das gar nicht so.

[xxxvi] die Parallelklasse, die französische, […] die englische Abteilung, […] wird für sie halt sehr schnell [zu], ‚ja, so sind halt die Engländer'. […] ich glaub', das wird mit der Zeit immer besser und offener.

[xxxvii] In Polnisch L1 […] tun wir nicht nur Polnisch und dann Literatur und Bücher lesen, sondern auch Geschichte da mit einbeziehen, weil das halt oft für die Polen sehr wichtig ist.

[xxxviii] Oder auch dass wir halt jetzt, eigentlich so gut wie jeden Tag eine Flagge draußen hängen haben, weil immer irgendein Nationalfeiertag ist oder halt, dass jedes Jahr der Europatag gefeiert wird, solche Sachen. Ich glaub', dass hat schon nen Einfluss, dass man sich an irgendner Stelle als Europäer fühlt.

[xxxix] die Schule organisiert sehr viele Events […] für Ausländer, so wie gestern, dass der über's Baskenland erzählt hat […], das erfährt man halt nicht in anderen Schulen und das stärkt dann schon so n bisschen so das europäische Gefühl.

[xl] wenn man in die Schule kommt, dann ist man ja so im Prinzip […] wie ein nationaler Schüler, wie man in Deutschland auf eine nationale Schule gehen würde. Aber eben dadurch, dass wir in einer europäischen Schule sind, wächst man halt damit auf. […] Ich glaub am Anfang ist es halt wirklich durch diesen Unterricht. Dass man sozusagen wirklich von den Lehrern dazu erzogen wird. Und dadurch, dass man ja auch, zum Beispiel zweite Sprache oder jetzt Geographie und Geschichte in der zweiten Sprache hat, lernt man ja auch andere Leute kennen und kommt mit denen in Kontakt.

[xli] Ohne die Europäische Union könnte diese Schule gar nicht da sein und dann […] wär's auch so, dass wir vielleicht dieses Vermögen von verschiedenen Sprachen und von dieser Offenheit gegenüber andere Kulturen nicht hätten. Das könnte schon gut sein. Weil meine deutschen Verwandten, die wissen fast gar nichts über andere Länder. Wann der Nationaltag Portugals ist, ok, ich weiß es auch nicht genau das Datum, aber ich weiß es, wenn hier die Flagge ist.

[xlii] Wahrscheinlich, wenn, [hat] die Schule vielleicht schon ein bisschen mehr [Einfluss darauf, welchem Land man sich nahe fühlt], weil man halt fast den ganzen Tag in der Schule ist und auch abends (äh) eher mit seinen Freunden ist und nicht […] mit seiner Familie, also, in unserem Alter.

[xliii] in der Schule haben wir einen großen Zusammenhalt, dadurch, dass wir jeder in seiner Sektion ist, und dann aber auch zweite Sprache und Wirtschaft und so zusammen […] haben, gibt es also einen großen Austausch zwischen uns und wir wissen dann halt was in den verschiedenen Ländern passiert. Und ich glaub dadurch sind wir halt sehr offen und Europa ist eigentlich was uns zusammen bringt sozusagen.

[xliv] wir haben seit der Grundschule richtig viel über die Europäische Union und so gelernt und alle Mitgliedsländer und richtig viel gespielt und dann auch also Spiele mit den Ländern, so Puzzles gemacht, und es gab viele Projekte an Tagen, und man ist dann halt noch klein, so Dritte, Vierte, und man lernt damit zu leben, man versteht nicht, dass sie uns das da beibringen, wir finden das ist normal, das ist europäisch, das ist nicht nur deutsch oder griechisch, das ist so halt. […] aber jetzt bin ich schon 16, jetzt weiß ich, dass die das extra so gemacht haben damals.

[xlv] Seitdem wir klein sind […] singen wir irgendwelche Lieder über Europa und du bist einfach mit ganz vielen Leuten, die aus verschiedenen Ländern aus Europa kommen. Das trägt dazu bei, dass du die ganzen Kulturen sehr gut kennst, dass du, dass du vielen Leute kennst, die vollkommen verschieden sind als du.

[xlvi] Also, ich find's toll, Europäer zu sein, ich bin auch europäisch. […] Wahrscheinlich auch, weil ich hier so geprägt wurde auf der Schule mit diesem ganzen Europatag und die Hymne mussten wir auch mal auswendig können und so weiter […]. Europäisch [sein], also, es liegt schon sehr an dieser Schule.

[xlvii] In meiner [vorherigen] Schule in Brüssel, […] also in Geschichte und den ganzen Fremdsprachen, da waren alle Sektionen, da gab's noch viel mehr als hier, da gab's noch viel mehr als hier, da gab's Polnisch, Ungarisch, alles, da waren alle vermischt, komplett. […] du hattest Freunde von jeden verschiedenen Sektionen.

[xlviii] ich spreche mit meiner Mutter Deutsch […] mein Vater, der spricht mit mir Rumänisch und ich antworte dann so'n bisschen in Französisch und n bisschen Rumänisch. Und in der Schule hab ich dann Englisch gesprochen und Französisch, und mit meinem kleinen Bruder Französisch, mit den, mit dem Kindermädchen früher Französisch. Also, deswegen kann ich mich nicht irgendwie zu einem Land identifizieren.

[xlix] ich spreche zu Hause nur Spanisch und ich bin mir sicher, das hat mir auch geholfen, dass ich mich so spanisch fühle. […] hätten wir zum Beispiel Deutsch geredet zu Hause, dann […] würde mich deutscher fühlen.

[l] ich spreche nur wenig Portugiesisch und da fühle ich mich einfach mehr verbunden mit [Land des anderen Elternteils].

[li] Deutsch ist halt normal. Deutsch benutzt man jetzt sehr oft, in allen Unterrichtsfächern, in fast allen. Dann bei den Freunden benutzt man auch sehr oft Deutsch und deswegen […], wenn ich eine andere Sprache sprechen kann, dann versuch ich die halt zu sprechen, weil dann kann man auch diese Sprache mehr fördern.

[lii] wenn ich jetzt die Sprache spreche vom Land, fühle ich mich schon wohler, weil ich mich halt auch verständigen kann mit anderen. Aber wenn ich also zum Beispiel jetzt in Polen oder so bin, dann spreche ich die Sprache nicht, aber ist halt wie gesagt nicht anders. Das ist halt einfach nur, dass man die Sprache nicht spricht, aber alle denken eigentlich ungefähr gleich und das ist jetzt nicht so ein großer Unterschied zu anderen Ländern in Europa.

[liii] dass mit mehreren Sprachen, wieder, ist, man öffnet sich n bisschen vom Geist her, man wird schon viel offener, wenn man eine neue Sprache lernt. Und als ich noch vielleicht viel mehr Französisch gesprochen hab, da hat mich vielleicht, meine Sprachkenntnisse haben mich vielleicht schon beeinflusst, dass ich mich irgendwie Belgien oder Frankreich näher fühle. Aber jetzt, jetzt nicht mehr.

[liv] es gibt so Ausdrücke, die man in Frankreich sagt und in der Europäischen Schule wirklich nicht. Und dann mischen sich die Sprachen, also, wir nehmen zum Beispiel, also, typisch ist das Wort 'rutschen'. Und in der französischen Abteilung macht man daraus 'rutscher'.

[lv] ich hatte halt das Glück so aufzuwachsen, dass ich halt so Sprachen lerne.

[lvi] die Lehrer sind nicht hier geboren. Und die sind auch später hierhergekommen, wo der Charakter sich sozusagen nicht mehr verändern lässt, weil der schon gebildet ist. Und da sieht man doch ganz klar, zum Beispiel, das ist so, Lehrer, die aus Großbritannien kommen, neigen eher dazu, entspannter zu sein. Und verstehen sich auch besser vielleicht mit den Schülern. Und dann, so, deutsche Lehrer sind dann n bisschen strenger.

[lvii] Ja, auf jeden Fall, auf jeden Fall, denn ja, also das, das ist das einzige, es gibt so Leute aus, ähm, also es gibt sehr viele Abteilungen, Leuten aus mit aus verschiedenen Ländern, aber das was uns eigentlich, äh, dann verbindet, ist, dass wir diese europäische Inkludität [sic!] haben, sozusagen, dass wir alle aus Europa kommen.

[lviii] wir sind alle sehr viel vom europäischen Umfeld geprägt, weil [...] alle Leute überall aus Europa kommen. Also, ich mein, es gibt ein paar, die außerhalb aus Europa kommen, aber die meisten kommen halt aus, von europäischen Gebieten. Und das hat uns bestimmt alle sehr geprägt in der einen oder anderen Richtung.

[lix] hier haben wir so eine europäische Kultur, mehr als eine deutsche oder eine französische Kultur. Aber […] nicht jedes Kind kann so viele Nationalitäten auf einmal kennen […]. Das wird schwieriger, eine europäische Kultur zu haben, wenn man einfach, also, Franzose ist und nur Franzosen kennengelernt hat. Also, dann […] müsste mehr Europäische Schulen geben, also, wenn man wirklich eine europäische Kultur machen will.

[lx] dieses zusammen hier Leben in der Europäischen Schule, dass wir halt wirklich so n bisschen zusammenkommen und über andere auch vielleicht was lernen, wenn wir wollen, dass das uns auch wirklich hilft und einen neuen Gedankengang bringt. Und nicht dieses wirklich so strikt Nationale, ‚ich bin Deutscher, ich bin, keine Ahnung, meine Nationalität'.

[lxi] dass man […] über irgendwelche Themen sehr viele Meinungen hören kann.

[lxii] müsste mehr Europäische Schulen geben, also, wenn man wirklich eine europäische Kultur machen will.

[lxiii] ich war vor drei Wochen in Ungarn und da hat es sich richtig komisch angefühlt, weil es eines der wenigen Länder ist, wo ich die Sprache nicht, also, beherrscht habe. Aber trotzdem habe ich gemerkt, dass die Leute irgendwie dieselbe Mentalität haben als ich […] und dass es halt strukturell ungefähr, nicht gleich, aber halt ähnlich organisiert ist wie in westeuropäischen Ländern, wo ich normalerweise immer hingehe.

[lxiv] wenn man aber von einem anderen Land kommt, will man die Ferien sozusagen bei seiner Familie im anderen Land verbringen, und dann während der Schulzeit nur in München ist, dann hat man ja keine Möglichkeit sozusagen, was anderes zu sehen, also von Deutschland.

[lxv] Erinnerungen und Ereignisse, was in dem spezifischen Land passiert ist.

[lxvi] Ich bin wirklich sehr, sehr oft in Italien. Also, ich fühl mich da sehr wohl, wahrscheinlich auch deswegen […] wir sind mindestens einmal im Monat da. Also, wir fahren Freitagabend, dann kommen wir Sonntagabend zurück und das heißt, ich sehe da meine große Familie sehr oft und ich hab' auch ganz, ganz viele Freunde da und es ist halt so ein zweites Zuhause, würde ich es benennen.

[lxvii] so n bisschen so n Zwischenstopp und ich möchte irgendwie noch weiter.

[lxviii] oder eben woanders hin. Oder noch weiter in Europa.

[lxix] Europäer für mich ist, also, ich bin ein Nationenloser. Das heißt, ich kann mich zu keinem Land der EU wirklich identifizieren, sagen, das ist mein Heimatland. Ich find's halt super, weil ich mich überall wohl fühle.

[lxx] für mir, europäisch sein ist, einfach in den meisten Ländern, in Europa zumindest, sich nicht als Ausländer fühlen. […] wissen, wie man umgeht, wie das […] Alltagsleben geht. Zum Beispiel in Frankreich ist vielleicht dasselbe wie hier, morgens essen wir vielleicht das Gleiche, mittags auch, abends auch. […] Ist nur die Sprache die vielleicht ein bisschen anders ist. Und hier, da lernt man schon viele Sprachen. Dann kann man sich damit in fast alle Länder ein bisschen einmischen und sich ganz schnell zuhause fühlen […], europäisch ist halt, sich überall einmischen können.

[lxxi] Ich komme ja nicht aus einem Land oder aus einer […] Gruppe von Menschen, ich komm ja von meinen Eltern, die, ja, ist ja echt so, die haben mich aufgezogen, die haben mir alles beigebracht, was ich jetzt kann.