

THE ATLAS OF EUROPEAN VALUES PROJECT: MAPPING THE VALUES OF EUROPEANS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

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Abstract

The European Values Study (EVS) is a large-scale, cross-national and longitudinal survey research programme on basic human values, initiated in the late 1970s. A product of this research is the Atlas of European Values (AoEV), published by the University of Tilburg in the Netherlands. This publication offers maps and background information about the opinions of the population in 46 European countries. The question was whether these materials have a potential for (geography) education. In a Comenius Project named European Values Education experts from different universities combined their experience in order to answer this question. They developed different map-tools and framework, background information, assignments, strategies, lesson plans and videos on how to deal with the maps and questions of the AoEV in an educational setting. All materials have been trialled in different countries and are available in 7 languages (English, Turkish, Dutch, German, French, Spanish and Slovak). They got a positive response from lecturers, teachers and students and can be used for courses about Europe, culture, citizenship and value-related issues and also meet the high standards of learning. They are available for free on the website www.atlasofeuropeanvalues.eu.

This article summarises the basic findings of the European Values Study with respect to the theoretical frame. It discusses the geographical and educational contexts in which the developed materials and tools of the Atlas of European Values website can be used.

Keywords: Europe, Values, Atlas, Education, Maps.

1. FROM THE EUROPEAN VALUES STUDY TO THE ATLAS OF EUROPEAN VALUES

At the end of the seventies social scientists from the universities of Leuven and Tilburg became aware that societies in Western European countries were changing very quickly. Therefore they started the European Values Study to answer questions such as:

- Do Europeans share common values?
- Are values changing in Europe and, if so, in which directions?
- What are the implications of European unity?
- Do Christian values continue to permeate European life and culture?
- Is a coherent system with alternative meaning replacing that of Christianity?

The first survey was carried out in 10 European countries in 1981. In 1990 and 1999/2000 new surveys were held in an increasing number of countries to explore how attitudes and values were changing. From 2008 to 2010, the fourth wave of the European Values Study took place and 46 European Countries took part: from Norway to Italy and from Iceland to Georgia – Europe in the broadest sense. To guarantee high quality fieldwork in every country one institute or university was responsible for the data collection. All the questions in the questionnaire were discussed by scientists in special theory groups and they were standardised between waves and between countries. A set of various socio-demographic background variables was part of the questionnaire to make research on the determinants of values possible. To make sure that the same questions were asked in each country, the translation process was closely supervised. The result was a questionnaire in different languages and adjusted to different social contexts, for example, a German questionnaire for Switzerland. (Halman *et al.*, 2011) More than 300 questions have been asked in a representative multi-stage or stratified random sample of the adult population (18 years and older) of the selected country in face-to-face interviews. In total, about 1,500 people were personally interviewed in each country. According to statistical rules, this number is sufficiently large enough to make reliable predictions about a population and about subgroups within this population. Interviewers were thoroughly trained before they went into the field and made at least three revisits in case they did not reach the selected respondent on the first visit. Interviewers completed a predefined contact form for each visit and quality control back-checks were carried out.

In 2005 the survey results, which were normally presented in numerous tables and interpretations by sociologists, were edited in the ‘Atlas of European Values’ (Halman *et al.*). Because of its success the results of the fourth survey from 2008 have been published this way: Atlas of European Values: Trends and Traditions at the turn of the Century (Halman *et al.*, 2011).

The outcomes of the European Values Study are systemised in the Atlas of European Values in chapters about Europe, family, work, religion, politics, society and well-being. As it would be too much to discuss all the outcomes of the European Values Study only some basic findings, which are particularly interesting for geography teaching, will be outlined in the next section. Furthermore basic theories which can be connected to the findings are enlightened to get a deeper understanding of the patterns offered by the maps. Another section discusses why the results of the European Values Study are important for geography and geography in education. In addition the content and aims of the educational website www.atlasofeuropeanvalues.eu, which accompanies the Atlas of European Values in its striving to disseminate the results of the European Values Study, are outlined. Finally this article ends with a discussion about the challenges facing the educational use of the Atlas of European Values maps in the future.

2. WHAT IS THE STATE OF EUROPEAN VALUES ACCORDING TO THE 2008 EUROPEAN VALUES STUDY?

The European Values Study attempts to explore the state of European identity. It is not surprising that some geographers have discovered that Europeans feel they belong more to their home town, region or country than to Europe. However, from research about (territorial) identity (Sen, 2006) we know that identity should not be seen as “*or .. or*” but as “*and .. and*”: identity is *multiple*, *layered* and always *context dependent*. Astonishingly Turkish people are far ahead when it comes to solidarity with their fellow Europeans: more than 30% of the people feel very much concerned about the living conditions of other Europeans, only

Swiss people, Germans and Moldavians are a bit more concerned. In Great Britain it's 10% and in the Netherlands it's only 5%. [Figure 1] Despite efforts of supra-national integration, like the EU, nation states still play a dominant role. Smith and Kim (2006) stated that national identity keeps nation states together (cohesion) and that "national pride is the positive effect that the public feels towards their identity as a result of their national identity. It's both, the sense of esteem that a person has for one's nation and the pride or self-esteem that a person derives from one's national identity." There are different reasons why people are or aren't proud of their country: in Germany for example national pride is very low because of the role the country played in World War II. Not astonishingly only 76.3 % of Germans say that they are very or quite proud of their country, in contrast to people in Ireland (98.8%). These results correspond with the results of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) 2003/04. Generally, as Smith and Kim (2006) argued, results for national pride are quite stable and mostly influenced by cohort replacement, as national pride is strongly related to age. National pride is linked to patriotism and nationalism, but being proud of one's country is not the same as being nationalist. Therefore domain specific national pride, which is about positive feelings towards national accomplishments in specific areas, has to be separated from general national pride, which is about feelings of superiority to other countries. The latter is strongly correlated with 'ethnic' ideas of what is important for someone to be considered a true member of a country. That means that aspects like ancestry, place of birth and a long residence in the country are the determinants for national identity. A more 'cultural' view would focus on aspects such as speaking the national language and respecting national laws. These differences in how national identity is defined are of major importance when it comes to migration issues. In countries where people support the ethnic conception it might be hard to ever become a 'true' fellow countryman. [Figure 2].

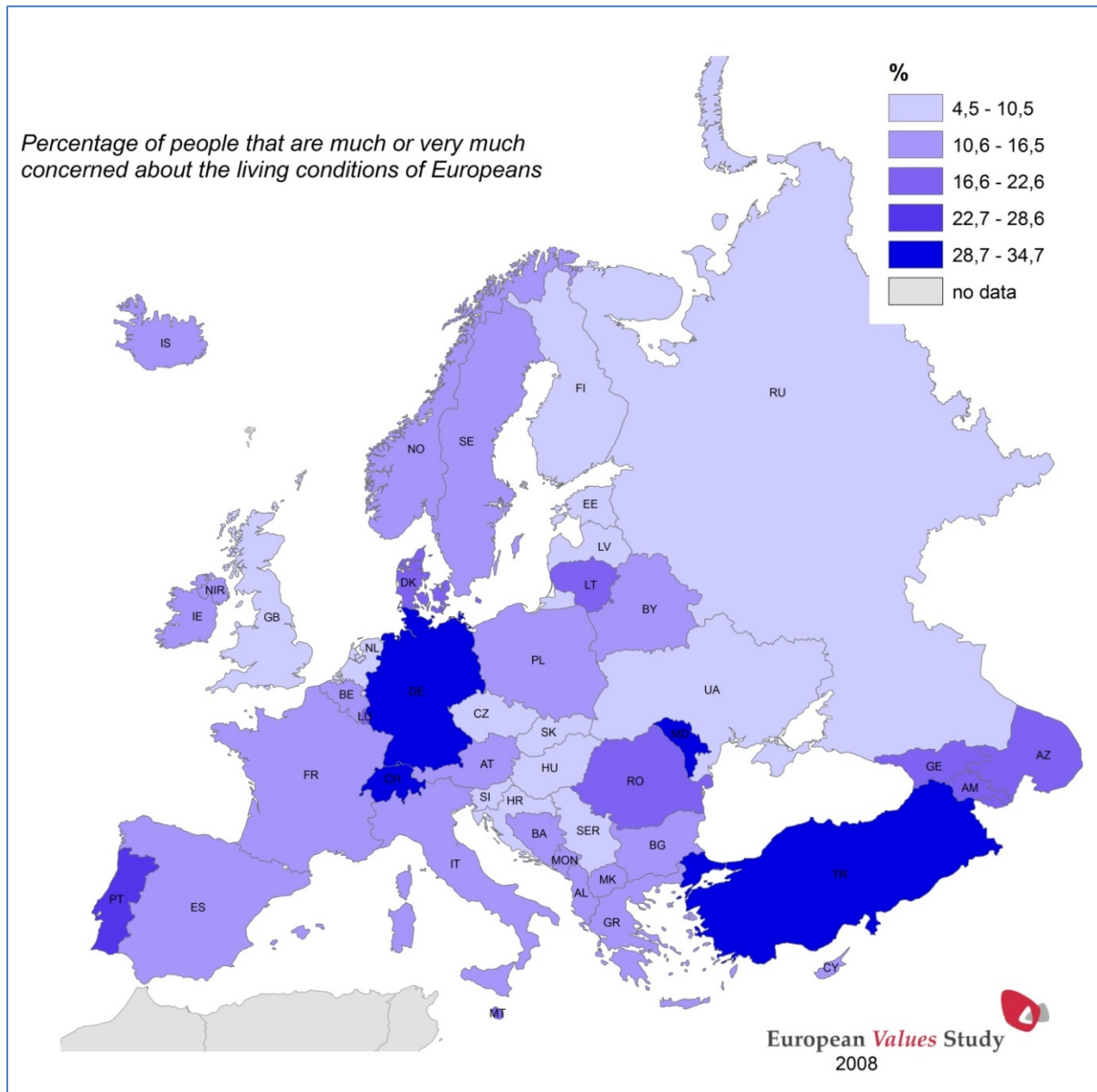


Figure 1. Concern about living conditions of Europeans (2008). Source: European Values Study

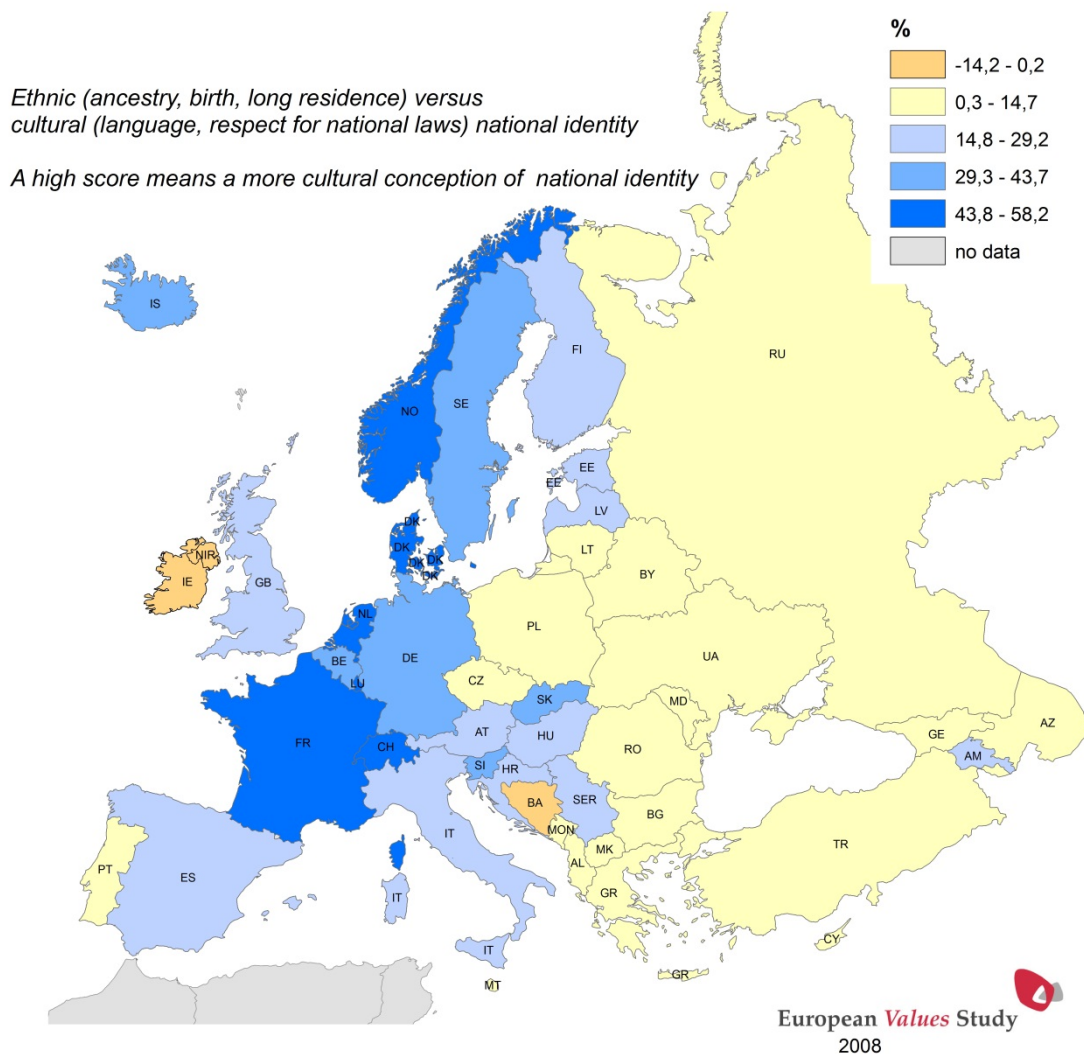


Figure 2. Cultural versus ethnic conception of national identity. Source: European Values Study 2008

This issue is closely linked to tolerance, which is an important issue nowadays in Europe. But tolerance is also a difficult concept (Krause, 2011) because on the one hand it is easily mixed up with indifference and on the other hand, we are not ready to “tolerate” everything. Generally with the questions asked in the European Values Study about tolerance towards other people a difference can be made between people, who are different and people, who might cause trouble. In the whole of Europe, the least favourite neighbours are drug addicts. Regarding migration the European Values Study shows a different picture. The attitude of people towards immigrants cannot only be explained by income level, number of immigrants or unemployment rate. Social scientists don’t agree whether *contact theory* (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006) or *competition theory* (Card *et al.*, 2009) might explain attitudes towards immigrants in a country and if there is such a thing as an optimum proportion of immigrants in neighbourhoods for integration and peaceful coexistence. Run-of-the-mill Europeans are afraid that immigrants are undermining the cultural life (5.5 on a scale from 1-10), putting a strain to the welfare system (6.4) and increasing crime rates (6.7). In quite a lot of European countries people think that there are too many immigrants [Figure 3], and in some countries like Greece and Russia more than 70% of the people think so. Also when it comes to the

European Union project, citizens in the different European countries are wary: For most inhabitants of EU-countries but also for the non-member states the enlargement has already gone too far. [Figure 4]

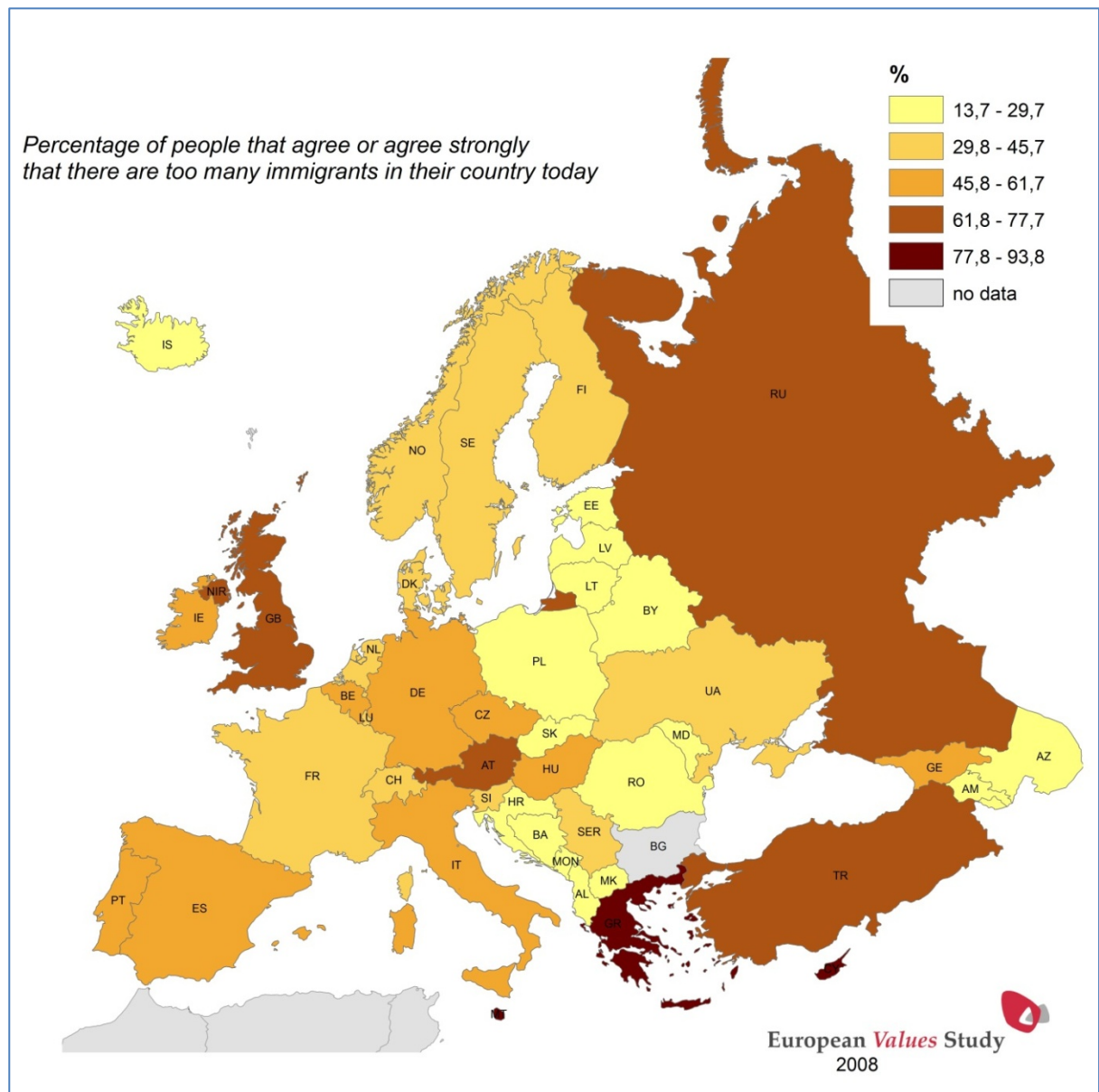


Figure 3. Percentage of people, who think that there are too many immigrants in their country.
Source: European Values Study.

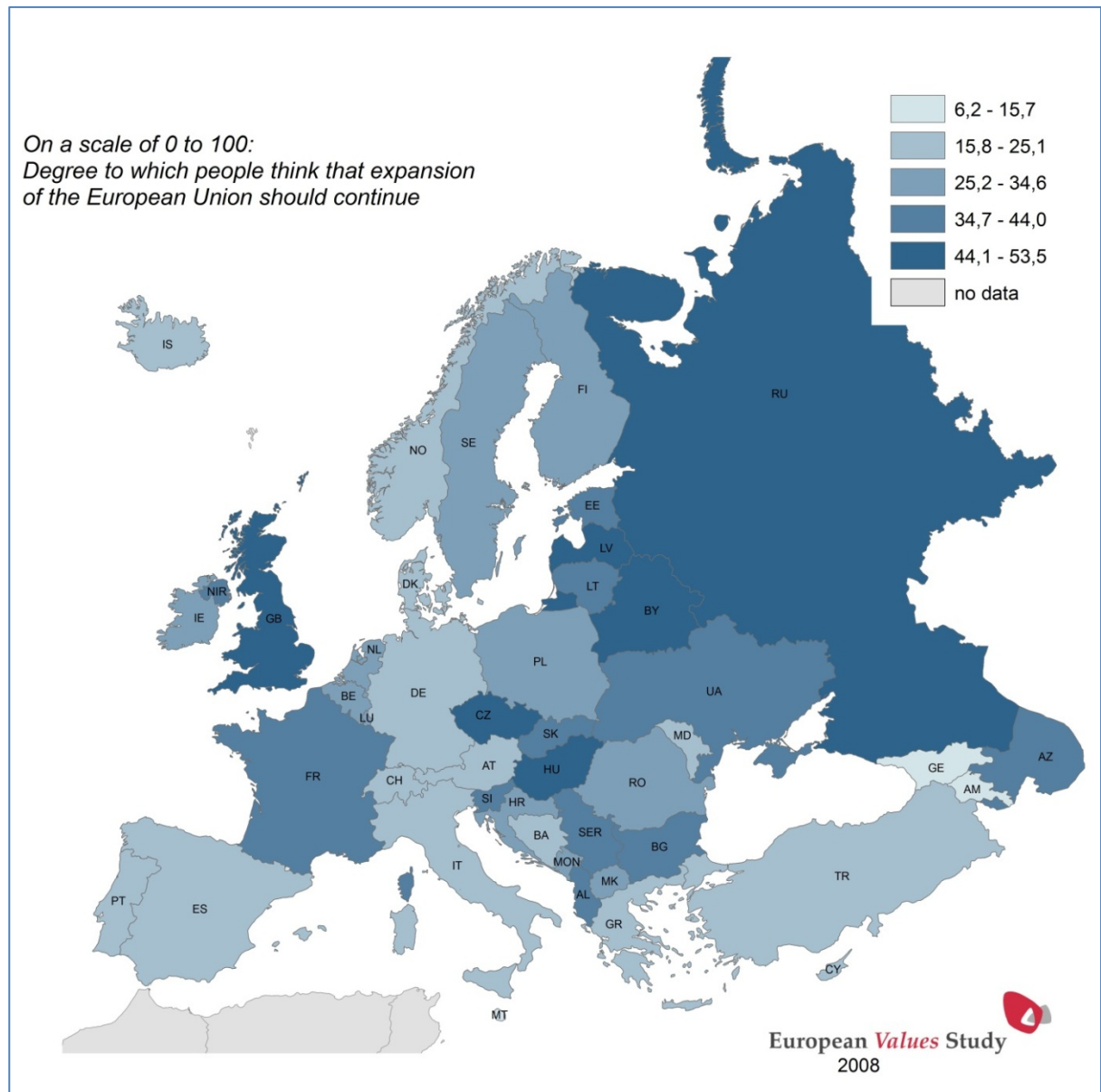


Figure 4. Support for expansion of the EU (2008). Source: European Values Study.

Another theme of the European Values Study is family. Not surprisingly because as Hofstede (2001) pointed out, a substantial part of our values is learned by how we are brought up by our family. Generally speaking, family is very important. However, what Europeans understand by ‘family’ can differ. Only a minority in North-Western Europe, for example, think that one needs a stable, long-term relationship to be happy, but in South-Eastern Europe more than 75% think so. [Figure 5]. Nearly the same pattern can be seen when it comes to the freedom of having children. Family values are changing and this has an impact on demography. On the other hand these values adapt according to changing demography, like for example, single motherhood is becoming more and more accepted. This can be explained by an increasing trend towards single motherhood. As Rampell (2010) pointed out, about 16% of the children worldwide are living in a single-parent household.

And in the United Kingdom for example, the number of children raised by single mothers increased from 5% in 1972 to nearly a quarter in 2006 (Halman *et al.*, 2011).

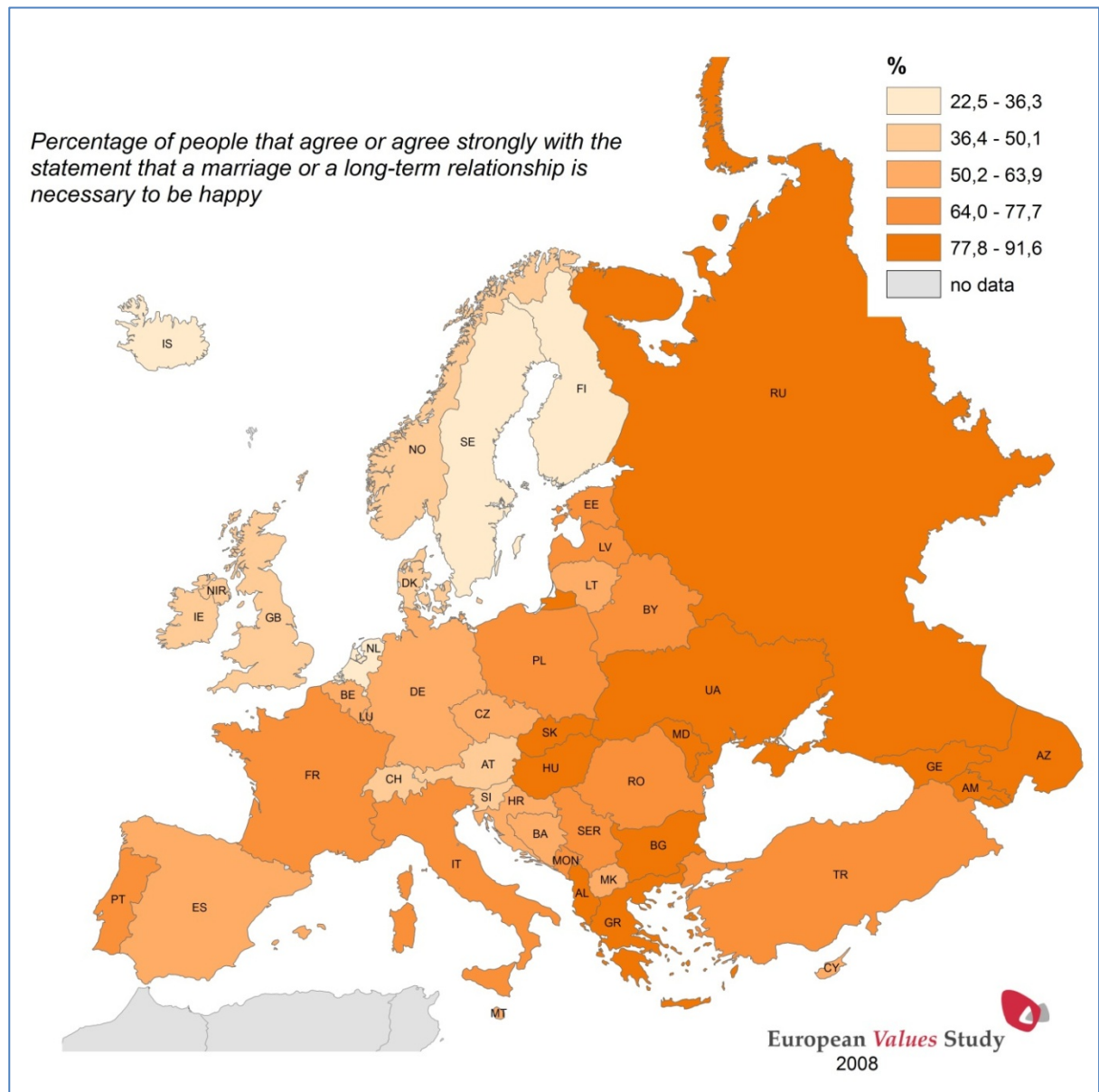


Figure 5. Marriage or long-term relationship necessary to be happy. Source: European Values Study.

Work remains important in the lives of Europeans and the obvious explanation is that people need a job to have an income. Nevertheless, the number of countries where people value leisure time more than work is growing: 3 countries in 1990, 11 countries in 2008. When asked about job qualities Turkish and Moldovan people value both intrinsic and extrinsic job aspects very highly, but people from Belgium or France value them quite low. The general picture doesn't confirm Max Weber's theory from 1904 about protestant work ethic in the North-Western parts of Europe. Migration from Eastern Europe towards these regions nowadays is also explained not only by higher wages but also by a higher work ethos of those people (Halman, 2011).

Nonetheless, for Europe as a whole a good pay still remains essential: we can clearly see a pattern: good pay seems to be more important in the less wealthy countries.

Are Europeans still religious? When having a look at the Atlas of European Values maps you could answer this question with a “yes, but...”. Yes, in a lot of countries the majority of the inhabitants call themselves religious but in many countries it is no longer the case. This does not mean that people are becoming non-believers. Voas (2009) used the term “*fuzzy fidelity*” to express this development of believing in ‘something’. More common in sociological terminology is to use the expression ‘secularisation’ (Wilson, 1998), which should not be mixed up with secularism. The latter term refers to the separation between religion and the state, whereas “secularisation” describes the process of religion being less and less important in people’s daily lives.

Europeans do not seem to have much of an interest in politics. In only a few countries do the majority of the people say they have an interest. Notwithstanding the low interest in politics and (some may argue perhaps that this is even worse) very low confidence in political parties (the European average is 20%), most Europeans support democracy: even in the country with the lowest score (Ukraine) 66.3% of the people think that having a democratic political system would be a very or fairly good idea (Turkey 90.2%). What people understand by democracy, however, may differ from country to country. Europeans’ support for democracy, however, is not always visible in their confidence in parliament and government. In Luxemburg the citizens’ confidence in parliament and government is the highest, with nearly 70% for both. On the contrary Greece’s confidence in its government is about 20% and in parliament about 30%: far under the European average, which is 38% for both. In times of severe financial crises these figures have an extra impact because the government and parliament are the institutions, which have to solve the problems, but their people have no trust in them.

Inglehart (1977) developed a theory that argues that growing levels of economic prosperity in industrial societies causes a gradual shift from materialistic desires to more post-materialistic orientations like self-realisation, freedom of speech, healthy environment or gender equality (see also the pyramid of needs developed by Maslow). The European Values Study indeed shows that when people could choose between four options, the political priorities differ in European countries. Maintaining order in the nation scores the highest in most of the South-Eastern and Eastern countries (which might support the theory of post-materialism), but also in Norway, Denmark and Sweden (which might be contrary to it). When it comes to opinions about nature we see that people, who live in countries which have been industrialised for a long time, don’t believe that nature can cope with industrialisation or that humans are meant to control nature. People in Central and Eastern Europe are less frightened by the prospect of ‘disastrous consequences’ or an ‘ecological catastrophe’. According to Terlouw & Paul (2011) this pattern could be explained by a different conceptualisation of nature and ecology.

3. THE ATLAS OF EUROPEAN VALUES AND ITS RELEVANCE TO GEOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY IN EDUCATION

The title of the Atlas of European Values is in fact misleading. The atlas does not show values, but opinions. Opinions about a wide range of topics like work, religion, politics, society, family and Europe itself. Because it shows maps of Europe, it would seem obvious that it is relevant for geographers and geography in education. The question to be answered is ‘why?’.

The data representation in maps on a country level already has its limitations. Nevertheless, a part of the development of one's system of values is partly shaped by national borders, especially when it comes to the educational system or the media, like the press and television. Political and social discussions are more national debates rather than debates, which are held together with other nations (which doesn't mean, that the same issues can be discussed in several countries at the same time). However, the educational system isn't organised in all European countries based on a national level, but on a regional level (e.g. Germany). Regionalising the maps would definitely help to find more correlations and thus may also lead to possible explanations.

But there is another problem with the maps: As Massey (2005) pointed out very clearly they are not even space, if one defines space as a product of multiple trajectories with a past and a future. Maps in general are (a piece of) time. However, the maps are about Europe and therefore they contribute to the construction of knowledge. The point is that Europe is produced and reproduced by the daily actions of Europeans and not something static. According to Massey's fundamental work on space, Taylor (2008) tried to derive key concepts, which might help to develop an understanding of space. She suggested using the concepts of *diversity*, *change*, *interaction* and *perception and representation*. These perspectives might also be used to interrogate the maps of the Atlas of European Values. First of all they show the *diversity*, but also the similarities concerning the opinions on the European continent. Due to the differences in space it always has to be negotiated, as Massey emphasised. We see this *interaction* on a supra-national level e.g. in discussions about or within the European Union, but also on a national level when e.g. regarding migration when different groups with perhaps different opinions have to live together. As Enklaar (2007) stated, values are of major importance, how we perceive the world and how we act in it. According to him, the *perception and representation* in the Netherlands of Greece's 2011/12 economic crises, for example, is determined by the values of Dutch people. Because of their tradition, hard work and truth are one of the core values and are constantly reproduced and represented in daily life. According to the Dutch, Greek people were not sticking to these rules because of lying (to European institutions), avoiding taxes and being lazy: pictures which have been represented not only in the Dutch media, but on a wide scale. The Atlas of European Values shows that nearly as many Dutch (14%) as Greek (17%) people think that it can be justified to cheat on your tax statement. Although on an individual basis values seem to be quite stable. On a society or country level, ideas and opinions of people *change*, mostly due to cohort replacement. The explanations given for that change are generally linked to modernisation and individualisation theories when it comes to family (Hagenaars *et al.*, 2003), society (Inglehart 1997) or work (Ester *et al.* 2001). Secularisation theories, which are correlated to modernisation and individualisation (Wallis *et al.*, 1992), play an important role when explaining opinions about religion. However, sociologists are aware that country-specific circumstances lead to deviant patterns from modernisation (Wilson 1998).

The questions and the maps can also contribute to critical citizenship and European citizenship. A lot of European countries like, for example, the Netherlands tried to stimulate schools to be more engaged in citizenship education (Onderwijsraad 2003). On a European level a framework for European competences has been developed (European Elos Network, 2010). This framework shows the difficulties when it comes to Europe and European citizenship. It is a mixture of knowledge about Europe, general learning or communication skills and attitudes, which derive from a very clear view on what European values are: "peace, democratic decision-making, separation of religion and state, economic prosperity". In another discourse, European values (like being, for example, Christian) are used to define, from a historical perspective, who is European and who is not (Van der Vaart, 2009). Europe

in this context is very often mixed up with the European Union. The questions and maps of the Atlas of European Values show that both approaches have their short comings and they offer possibilities for other approaches: to see Europe as a process (Guerrina, 2002) and to work on goals like freedom, peace, law, prosperity, diversity and solidarity. Separately, as Ash (2007) stated, these goals are not unique for Europe or the European Union, but the ongoing discussion of these values being that the European project might be typically European.

Finally the maps of the Atlas of European Values might contribute to improving common teaching practice. Although textbooks try to provide useful geographical information when it comes to culture or images of regions, they are quite often stereotyping (Palings, 2011, p. 19) or – what is worse – misleading and giving false information. You can find similar stereotypes in a contemporary Dutch schoolbook for 13-14 year old students in which a chapter is titled “Turkish culture”. It is entirely dedicated to the rules of Islam and the Muslim world and shows – not surprisingly – pictures of Mecca and people praying on a street in an Arab country (Maatman, 2007). Another Dutch schoolbook for pupils of the same age teaches that “the open East” of Europe, which is located in Romania, is characterised by “outstretched lowlands, Cossacks on horses, a quickly growing economy and a low population density” (Van den Berg, 2009). In a Turkish schoolbook for high school students (Gürbüz, 2011) the culture of people is described by writing about traditional clothes and rituals, which can merely be described as folklore. These examples refer to a key problem: they don’t take into account the diversity and they don’t recognise the change of space and society. And if so, the focus lies in the past and not in the future. By doing so, the political aspect of space is denied and discussions about what is possible, probable or preferable are avoided. Although the maps of the Atlas of European Values can reinforce stereotypes when used in a wrong way (like all maps and data), they can be a valuable resource when it comes to teaching about culture and Europe. As Hofstede (2001) pointed out, values are at the core of culture and the Atlas of European Values is a mean to explore these values and therefore cultures. Contemporary geography education should transcend the equation of cultural areas with religion, especially when it results in a quite orientalist way of thinking, which has already been criticised by Said in 1978. The teaching strategies offered by the European Values Education project, which will be described in the following chapter, therefore encourage discussion and debate between pupils, which is an important aspect when it comes to learning about such complex issues like cultures and values. The materials of the Atlas of European Values website are means for that discussion and therefore have to be questioned.

4. THE EDUCATIONAL WEBSITE OF THE ATLAS OF EUROPEAN VALUES: EUROPEAN VALUES EDUCATION

After some years of cooperation between the two universities in Tilburg (NL) the most recent version of the educational website www.atlasoveuropeanvalues.eu has been developed within a Comenius project called European Values Education (EVE). The following institutions participated in this project: the Institute of Education London (UK), the University of Potsdam (DE), the University Matej Bel of Banská Bystrica (SK), Bogazici University (TR) and both universities of Tilburg.

The website offers:

- The European maps of all EVS waves (1981, 1990, 1999 and 2008) in English, German, Dutch, Spanish, French, Slovak and Turkish.
- Graphs showing the results for the whole 4 waves of the European Values Study: the development on that specific issue becomes visible.

- A tool, which makes it possible to compare maps in three different ways, for example, to see if there is a correlation between tolerance towards abortion and religiosity. In addition the maps from 2008 can be compared with meta-data like GDP, unemployment rate etc.
- A tool, which makes it possible to combine maps of the Atlas of European Values and create a new one.
- World maps because the European Values Study cooperates with the World Values Study. This allows a comparison between Europe and other countries in the world like the USA, India or China. However, only a part of the questionnaire is the same in both surveys.
- Videos of young people in 5 countries (Turkey, England, Germany, the Netherlands and Slovakia), who were interviewed with questions from the European Values Study about family, society, religion and work. Furthermore a portrait of every youngster has been made to give an impression of his or her daily life.
- A guideline for teachers or lecturers (principles), which outlines how to deal with the developed materials during teaching activities. The suggested approach consists of working with an overarching question, derived from a key concept of the subject and 4 steps to be achieved during the course: relating the content of the maps to the students, describing differences/similarities and recognising patterns, understanding the maps (theoretical background) and stimulating critical thinking, which also includes metacognitive activities.
- Background information about society, religion, work and family provided by the makers of the Atlas of European Values, the department of sociology of Tilburg University, and a special paper to explain the maps about migration and environment, written by the geography department of Utrecht University.
- 21 lesson plans about work and religion developed by experts of the participating universities.
- 20 teaching strategies with a lesson plan format, which help to make teaching activities more active and use the maps to develop a deeper understanding and critical thinking.

The difficulty for the EVE project was that it had to examine how the maps of the Atlas of European Values could be used in teaching practice. Normally, lesson planning starts from teaching aims and subject content and then, in a second step, teaching methods, teaching materials and media play a role, although for a good lesson all components are dependent on each other and the competence of the teachers and students (Blankertz 1973, Jank & Meyer 2009). The lessons with the maps are, of course, in need of teaching aims, strategies and so on. In a first attempt the members of the project made assignments, but then switched to an approach where teachers got tools to make lessons with the materials offered on the website. The reasons were that the developed assignments only fitted partly into the teaching programmes, could be out of date after a while and lead to a more static way of teaching. The approach of teaching strategies, which could be combined according to a lesson plan format to reach the aims formulated in the EVE principles, promised a more active approach to explore and discuss the maps, the videos and the questions, which are at the base of both the maps and videos.

A good analysis of the maps is important. All maps are constructed accordingly by equal intervals using the range between the highest and lowest score and showing the results on a country scale. This method makes it possible to see the differences between the countries. But the disadvantage is that it can also enlarge the differences. Working with the maps therefore requires map reading skills. Furthermore while analysing the maps, similarities and

differences can be investigated. That means that students should have an idea of patterns: Is there a correlation between the analysed map and richer countries or more religious countries? Is it possible to see a difference between the former Communist countries and the rest? Young people are very often not aware of these patterns and in some European languages it seems that there is not even a word for a thing like pattern (Uhlenwinkel, 2010). The module on the website, which compares the maps, makes it possible to problematize both aspects.

The map question offers another way to work with the maps on the website. The question gives the opportunity to relate the map and the topic to the students. As the questions require opinions the student always has to make up his mind first (what do I think about this?) and the questions can lead to a lively discussion. The visualisation on a map allows the discussion to be put into a national (what do people in my country think?) or European (what do people in other European countries think?) context. The maps on the website only show the average for each country. Therefore the range of answers and opinions behind an average result on a map has to be discussed, which could probably be linked to the diversity of answers from the students themselves.

A natural question while working with the maps is of course the reason why people from certain countries or a group of countries answer in a particular way. It might be disappointing, but the maps cannot offer any explanation themselves. As pointed out earlier in this article, sociologists collected this data to derive values from the opinions of people in Europe. Although this is a difficult project they nevertheless succeeded in some ways. In their analysis social scientists have looked at the answers to the survey questions and used additional, mainly economical or demographical, data. The main explanations of the Atlas of European Values maps are available in special background information articles, written by the university of Tilburg and Utrecht. While using the maps, teachers and students need to know about the sociological theories and the specific regional circumstances, which might have an effect on the answers in the values survey. This will deepen the students' understanding of the maps and enable them to think critically about the explanations given by these theories (EVE Principles, 2011).

5. CHALLENGES FOR THE ATLAS OF EUROPEAN VALUES PROJECT

Although a lot of work has been done by the European Values Education project, there is still some work to do. Regionalising the maps of the Atlas of European Values is for sure one of the projects for the future. Probably the most recent data wave allows regionalisation on a NUTS 2 level. Providing more country-specific or regional explanations could and should be the task of geographers by using sociological theories and looking at the specific historical, economical, demographical, political, social and cultural circumstances of a region. Another challenge for geographers and other social scientists is to explore the contexts in which the answers to the questions of the European Values Study were given. The high standard of research guarantees that all questions are translated carefully so that the results can be correctly compared. However, a translation cannot always take into account connotations people might have when they answer the survey questions. Some examples can be given in order to make it clear how important the regional context is so that people will better understand the distribution of values (Palings *et. al.* (2011). When asked if people think that having the army rule would be a good idea, the result for Turkey was quite high: more than 1/3 of the people do think so. [Figure 6]. Connotations in Western countries like the Netherlands would be that this is an indicator for anti-democratic structures in society (which, by the way, would not correlate with the many Turkish people supporting democracy).

However, the Turkish result can only be understood if one knows more about the specific Turkish situation and the different interpretations and connotations of the role of the army. Another question from the European Values Study is whether people think that a religious service is important for a birth. [Figure 7] The question has been translated correctly; the more neutral words “a religious service for birth” were used with the intention of including all religions and avoiding discrimination. But that cannot hide that this question is led by the Christian concept of *baptism*. So, if one wants to understand the low scores on this question in Turkey, but also in Albania or Azerbaijan one has to be aware of this fact – and apparently the low response in the Czech Republic for this question must have different reasons, which have to be examined in a specific Czech context (Krause, 2010).

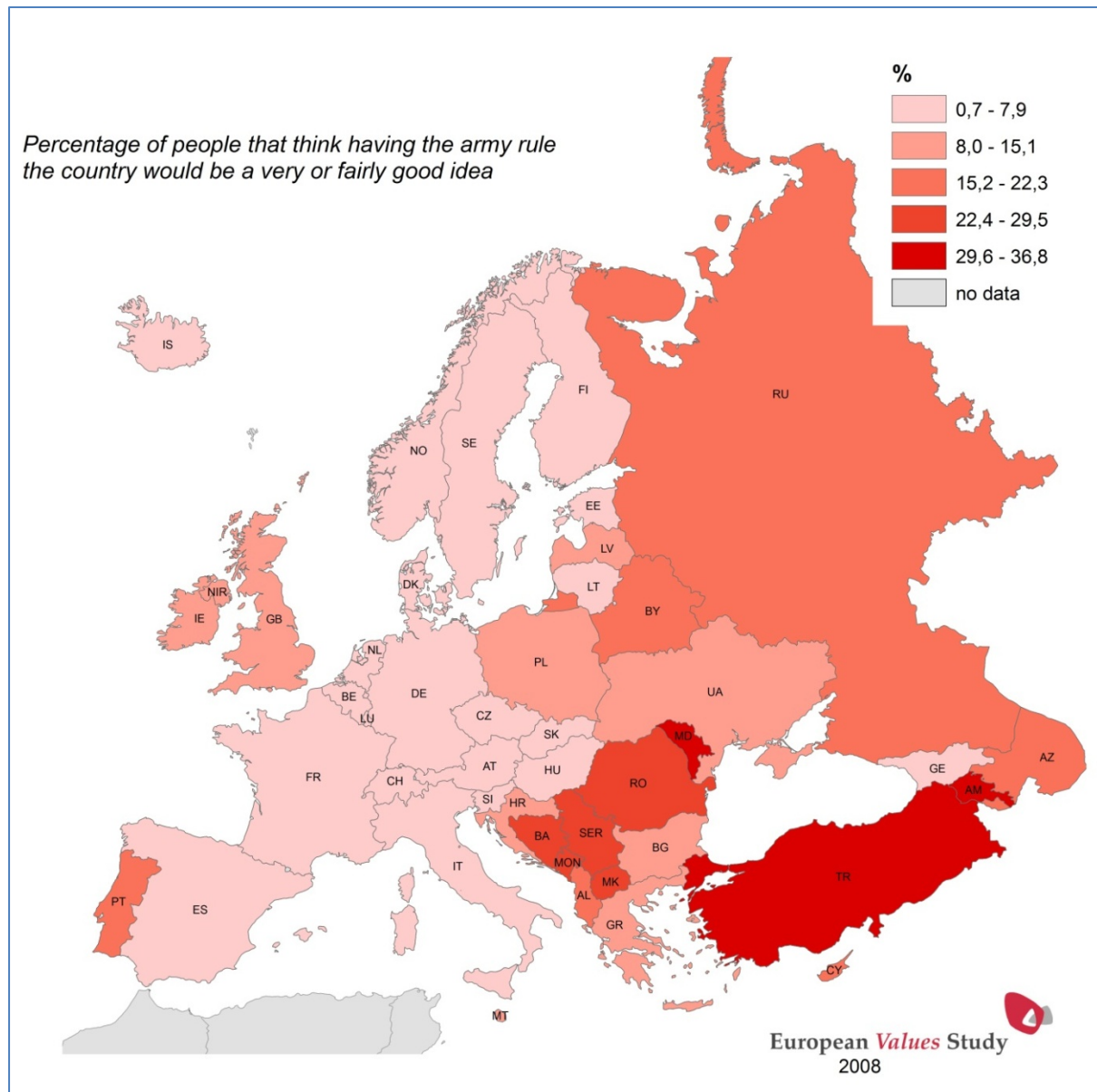


Figure 6. Having the army rule would be a very or fairly good idea. Source: European Values Study

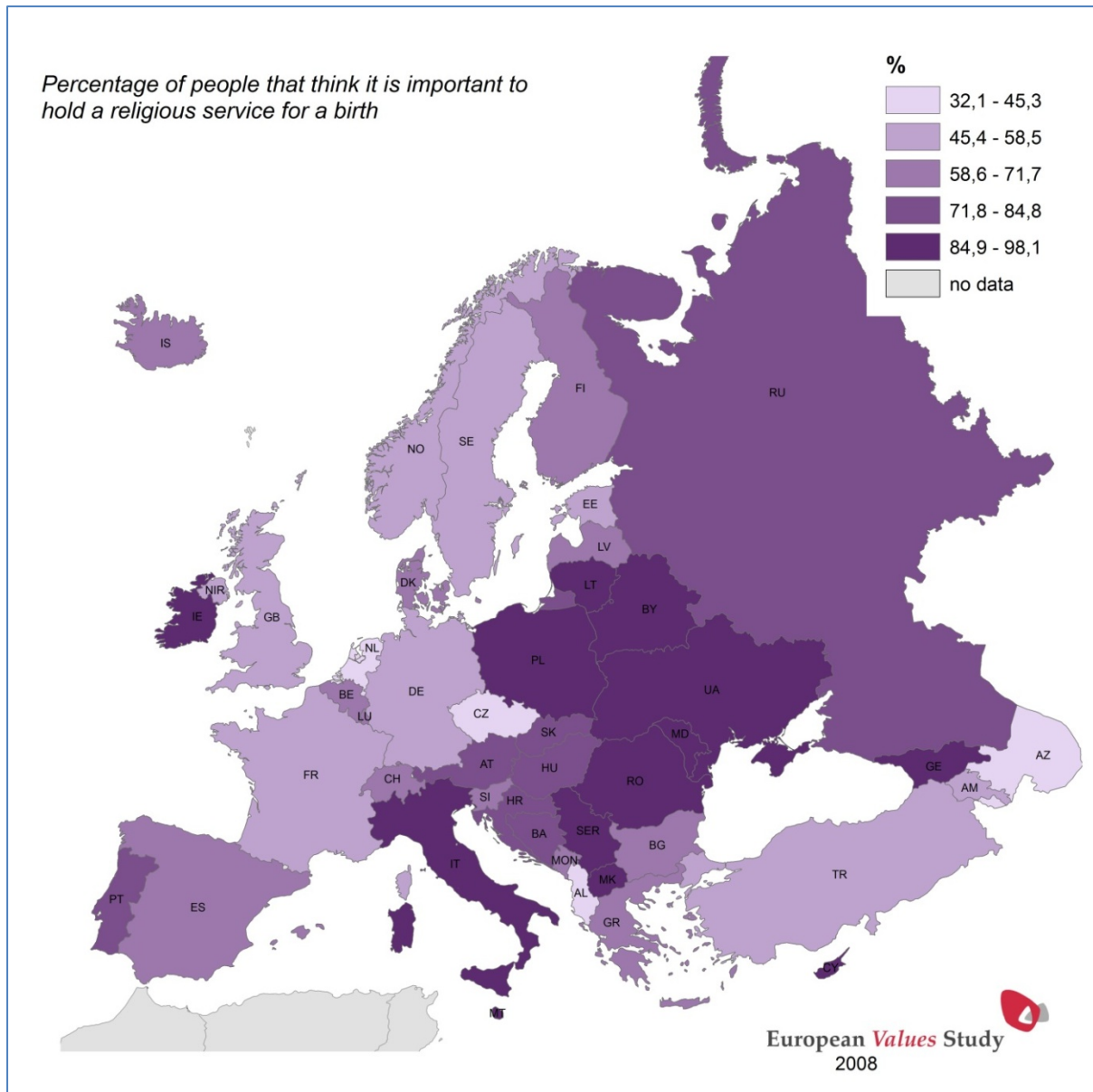


Figure 7. Religious service for birth (2008). Source: European Values Study.

The products which have been developed for the Atlas of European Values website have been trialled in different countries and different contexts for the last two years. One of them was several student exchanges, which made part of the European Values Education Project. The experiences of this project will be (and already partly are) published by the University of Potsdam (Uhlenwinkel, 2010). As the project was a European project, the materials were developed for the whole of Europe and are available in seven languages. But every European country has its specific teaching tradition and circumstances, like curriculum, time table and teaching approaches etc. The materials and approaches offered on the Atlas of European Values website are influenced by what can be best described as a British approach and especially reflects discussions in geography education in England (see for example Roberts, 2006, Lambert & Morgan, 2010). The project members however regarded this approach as the best possible one for working with the Atlas of European Values maps. How the materials are used in the teaching practice and whether the project has reached its aims has to be

examined in the future on a country basis. The results will probably differ from country to country. However, appreciating differences (and similarities) of opinions and values of Europeans remains extremely important, especially regarding the recent Euro(pean) crises and discussions about further integration or disintegration of the European Union.

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