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European unification as lived memory: Shared and diverse representations in textbooks of six countries

Inari Sakki,[1] Eemeli Hakoköngäs,[1] Ignacio Brescó de Luna,[2] Istvan Csertó,[3] Katrin Kello,[4,5] Isabel Miguel,[6] Jennifer O'Mahoney,[7] Tibor Pólya,[3] and Joaquim Pires Valentim[8]

[1]*Department of Social Sciences, University of Eastern Finland, Kuopio, Finland,* [2]*Department of Communication & Psychology, Aalborg University, Aalborg, Denmark,* [3]*Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, Budapest, Hungary,* [4]*Estonian Research Council, Tartu,*[5]*University of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia,* [6]*Department of Psychology and Education, Portucalense University, Porto, Portugal,* [7]*Department of Applied Arts, School of Humanities, Waterford Institute of Technology, Waterford, Ireland, and* [8]*Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, University of Coimbra, Coimbra, Portugal*

Concerned about a lack of legitimacy, European Union (EU) institutions have increasingly engaged in memory politics to enhance European identity. Yet, memory of the EU is still closely connected to the collective identity formation of nation-states, especially in the field of education, the focus of this study. Inspired by this dilemma, the present paper examines the representations of European unification in textbooks of six countries: Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Finland, Hungary, and Estonia. By focusing on countries on the margins of Europe, the present study explores shared and diverse narratives of the European unification process and asks whether or not a shared historical charter of European unification exists. All together 86 history textbooks used in upper secondary school were analysed by adopting a three-step multi-method approach. The results suggest that the representation of European unification is more diverse than it is homogenous. It can be narrated as a political value community or as a community based on utilitarian interests, or it can be represented from a unified European or from a more national perspective. Exploring representations of European unification is crucial to understanding how they can be used as legitimizing charters to navigate through the European challenges of the 21st century.

Keywords: collective memory, European unification, lived memory, narratives, social representations, textbooks.

The European Union (EU) is an active memory agent (A. Assmann, 2013). Since the 1970s, various actions have been taken to create a common historical memory of the deepening and enlarging European unification, including the use of symbols, the harmonization of European education policies, and the promotion of greater coordination in the fields of foreign and security policy. Despite the increased impact of the EU in forming transnational memory politics (Sierp & Wüstenberg, 2015), memory is still closely connected to the collective identity formation of nation-states, especially in the field of education (e.g. Carretero, 2011; Carretero et al., 2012; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017).

The present paper sets out to explore narratives of European unification as they are disseminated in the textbooks of six European countries: Ireland (which joined in 1973), Spain and Portugal (1986), Finland (1995), and Hungary and Estonia (2004). None of these countries belong to the original founding member countries of the European Community (EC; forerunner to the EU), nor to the top three EU countries in terms of population or GDP (gross domestic product). They thus provide a peripheral perspective to EU issues and represent historically and geopolitically different parts of Europe: the post-authoritarian south (Spain, Portugal), the west (Ireland), the post-Soviet east (Hungary, Estonia), and the north (Finland). The major question we seek to explore is whether a shared historical charter of European unification exists. Historical charter, as defined by Hilton and Liu (2008), refers to a widely shared and iconic representation that legitimizes group action.

Correspondence: Inari Sakki, Department of Social Sciences, University of Eastern Finland, Kuopio campus, Yliopistonranta 1, FI-70210 Kuopio, Finland. E-mail: inari.sakki@uef.fi

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The European Unification Process as a Lived Memory

The construction of European identity and memory is a political project. Institutionalized European identity building began in 1973, when the EC published a Declaration of European Identity. In the 1980s, European identity

politics promoted by the EC's executive branch, the European Commission, became more intentional through the adoption of common symbols, such as the European flag and anthem, and Europe Day, all of which sought to make the EU more tangible in the eyes of EU citizens. The political importance of shared identity was further reinforced by the establishment of European citizenship and the 2002 launch of a common European currency, the euro, in twelve European countries (Sakki, 2010). The European Commission and the European Parliament have since established several initiatives to promote awareness of European identity and legitimize the EU's institutions. For example, in 2013 and 2014, the EU Commission and Parliament worked together on a project called the "A New Narrative for Europe" to resolve recurring discussions of the EU's political legitimacy following the 2008 financial crisis (Kaiser, 2015, 2017). In 2013, the European Commission and European Parliament initiated "active European remembrance" as a joint endowment to sponsor projects stressing the memory of Europe's totalitarian past (Berger & Tekin, 2018). Since the early 1990s the EU has made increasing efforts to reinforce and institutionalize the shared European memory manifested in a variety of forms such as rituals of remembering (e.g., installation of two official European remembrance days), monuments and museums (e.g., the House of European History, which opened in 2017 next to the European Parliament in Brussels) (Sierp, 2014).

Alongside common cultural policy, education policy has provided a key instrument for European memory and identity politics. Since the 1970s, the EU has aimed at a more effective harmonization of education systems (Pépin, 2007). European collaboration has included, among other things, intensive contacts between curriculum experts, teachers, and textbooks authors from the East and the West (Pingel, 2018). Despite all these actions to reinforce the European dimension in the field of education, history textbooks continue to be collective memory agents of nations, as in most countries their contents are guided by the national curricula set out by the national ministries of education. Indeed, history teaching has been regarded as deeply rooted in the making of national identity (Carretero, 2011; Carretero et al., 2012; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017; Sakki, 2016; Wertsch, 2002). Politics and education are thus interwoven, which leads us to approach school textbooks as institutionalised memory tools. Despite increased pedagogical knowledge, the emphasis in history teaching on developing and refining students' historical consciousness (e.g. Seixas, 2004), and the multi-perspectivity of education (e.g. Stradling, 2003), history teaching still serves political, identity-related, and patriotic interests (e.g. Carretero, 2011; Sakki & Pirttilä-Backman, 2019). This is especially evident in newly independent states undergoing nation-building processes and in many European countries currently witnessing a rise in nationalism and xenophobia (Psaltis et al., 2017; Wagner et al., 2018).

The European unification process can be approached as a lived memory that has occurred within the lifetimes of European citizens (Hirst & Manier, 2008). It is present in everyday life in many "hot" and "banal" ways (Hutchinson, 2005), such as in politicians' rhetoric and when we watch the news, use money, or cross borders. It is thus remembered and performed by most members of society in one way or another. While European unification as lived memory may not evoke feelings as intense as does the object of "hot" memory (Maier, 2002), it can hardly be considered entirely "cold" as it raises emotions, provokes passion, and mobilizes political forces—as the recent events in Europe have shown, particularly in the case of Brexit (Hobolt, 2016).

European unification as a lived memory is shaped by several sources: by media, both traditional and social, by social and political movements, as well as by everyday discussions and exchanges of opinion among people. However, in the present paper, we approach European integration as a lived memory that is transmitted by the institutional school system. The role of textbooks and traditional media may be anticipated as being more important in non-democratic countries where the state has stronger institutional presence in the production of the curriculum and textbooks and in media coverage (Li et al., 2020), while in democratic societies the sources of knowledge are numerous and multiple versions of the same events can simultaneously circulate in the public sphere.

Hakokõngäs and Sakki (2016a, 2016b) have previously approached the relationship between collective memory and narratives from the perspective of social representation theory. They argue that communication, social representations of history, and collective memory constitute a cyclical process in which social representations of history are, on the one hand, repeated and reinforced, and on the other, negotiated and changed. In this circle *discussion addressing the past* leads to the *formation of social representations of history*, of which some are more shared and gain a hegemonic position, while others remain as polemic or emancipated alternative versions of the past. Although hegemonic representations resist change, a continuous debate, or changes in societal or political context may give space to alternative representations and gradually also alter consensual conceptions. Some of these social representations of history acquire *a narrative form*, and through repetition and sharing are gradually preserved in *collective memory*. This circle keeps moving as collective memory guides social communication in the future (e.g., meanings and selection of contents in textbooks), and in this way, the old knowledge is always present while new conceptions are constructed.

The key concepts borrowed from social representations theory—anchoring, objectification, and naturalization—enable analysis of how collective memories are formed, transformed, and maintained. Through the process of anchoring, European unification is given meaning in a culture-specific and value-laden way. Objectification, on the other hand, is a process whereby something abstract is transformed into something almost physical and concrete, which may take the form of a symbol, a metaphor, a figure, a person, or a group (Wagner et al., 1999). In the case of European unification, it may be attached to certain symbols (e.g., the euro), political figures (e.g., Monnet), or even particular places or events (e.g., Brussels or the signing of Maastricht Treaty). Naturalization means that some social representations of history may become ordinary through regular repetition and sharing, and acquire a place in the collective memory. These social representations of history are organized in a narrative that affords the remembered characters and events an identifiable and memorable form (Tileagă, 2009). Hegemonic social representations of history could be also conceptualized as charters (Liu & Hilton, 2005) which guide for example the categorization process between "us" and "them" as well as create sympathy between identities.

Even though repetition and sharing render collective memory more persistent to change, it is nonetheless a dynamic construction that continues to negotiate and be negotiated, to transform and be transformed (Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016b). We return to this circular model in the Discussion to elaborate on the relationship between diverse representations of European unification and the shared collective memory of the EU.

Context: Six Countries

Our study focuses on six nations of the EU: Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Finland, Hungary, and Estonia.

Ireland joined the EC in 1973. Its EC accession was considered a milestone in opening a poor European state to a global economy and reducing its economic dependence on the UK. The Irish economy grew rapidly in the 1990s and it is regarded as one of the success stories of the European unification process.

Following a long period of dictatorship, the two southern countries *Spain* and *Portugal* joined the EC in 1986. In both countries, the European integration took place in tandem with modernization and democratization and received strong support from public opinion and the elite. The integration process has gone hand in hand with the national project itself, as Europeanization has been the main internal strategy for fastening democracy, modernizing the economy and society, normalizing foreign policy, and gaining international influence. The supportive public opinion was increasingly put in question after the eurozone crisis in 2008, namely with the growing feeling that the countries' voices did not count in the EU.

In the post-war context and due to its special relationship with the Soviet Union, *Finland* has been a cautious player in international politics. Finland joined the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1961 as an associated member in order to emphasize the non-political nature of the cooperation. The collapse of the Soviet Union enabled Finland's accession to the EU in 1995 with Sweden and Austria. In Finland, concerns about the 2008 eurozone crisis, and growing suspicion towards the EU, have been concretized in the rise of the anti-immigrant and anti-EU Finns Party.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, *Hungary* and *Estonia* swiftly turned towards the West and joined the EU in 2004 along with eight other countries. In Hungary, where public opinion strongly favoured EU membership, the EU policy took a complete turnaround in 2010, at least in terms of rhetoric, when populist right-wing Prime Minister Viktor Orbán consolidated power with increasingly authoritarian measures and openly hostile EU politics. Estonia's support for the EU grew after accession and has remained above the EU average more recently. Euroscepticism has been voiced from time to time from various camps, but has not gained high profile either in politics or among the broader public.

These six nations represent different histories, positions, and policies in the European context, as well as different educational systems and textbook traditions. The influence of lived or communicative memory and politics on textbooks may vary between countries and over time (Kello, 2017). For example, Hungarian schoolbooks are currently created in a state-run centre. Previous research on narratives of European integration in curricula and schoolbooks suggests that the story of European integration is largely told from a national perspective, and textbooks are used as vehicles of nationalism (Pingel, 2018; Sakki, 2010, 2014).

The relative scarcity of previous studies, however, means that little is known about the ways in which various countries, particularly those that have not participated in the construction of an EU memory landscape from the beginning, position themselves vis-à-vis European unification narratives. The present study focuses on the shared and diverse representations of the European unification process in the textbooks of six European countries. The study asks:

(1) What are the contents of narratives of European unification?
(2) How are the narratives of European unification structured vis-à-vis one another, and how are different countries positioned in relation to them?
(3) How are the narratives of European unification transforming over time?

Methods

Textbooks as Data

We had several criteria for data selection. First, we decided to focus on history textbooks, as one of the key roles of history education is to establish a collective identity (Korostelina, 2013). Second, since we aimed to examine how the story of European unification has changed over time, we selected textbooks published between the 1950s and the 2010s. Our plan was to select three textbooks from each decade, but in some countries it was either impossible to find textbooks dealing with European unification from the earlier decades, or – in the case of Estonia—no locally[1] written contemporary textbooks existed (see Appendix A). Third, we aimed to select textbooks that were in wide use or published by major publishing houses. However, this information was not always available for the older textbooks. Fourth, since the goal was to examine European integration, all the selected textbooks were required to contain at least some portions that dealt with this topic. Most textbooks included a chapter on European integration or the EU, but very often, especially in older textbooks, the topic was integrated with other subjects. The data selection followed an inclusive strategy, i.e., parts that discussed the post-war European developments less directly were also selected. Fifth, history textbooks aimed at upper secondary schools were selected, because European integration is a compulsory topic for students between the ages of 14 and 18 in most European countries. These teenage years and early adulthood can be regarded as particularly important for the formation of identity (Erikson, 1950).

All together, we analysed 86 history textbooks used in upper secondary schools, 15 from Ireland, 18 from Spain, 17 from Portugal, 17 from Finland, 13 from Hungary, and 6 from Estonia. Depending on the country's position and history within the European unification process, the number of textbooks dealing with European unification varied from one country to another (see Appendix A). As noted above, in some countries textbooks from every decade were not accessible. The textbooks were gathered through different channels in the six countries. Most often they were found in the collections of national and university libraries, and in the textbook collections of the Georg Eckert Institute.

Analytical Procedures

The parts of the textbooks dealing with European unification were scanned and transferred into text files to facilitate the coding process. A multi-method approach was adopted, encompassing three main phases of analysis. In the first step of our analysis, we applied a thematic approach for analysing the content of narratives and theorizing across a number of cases. In the second phase, we relied on statistical analysis to explore the narrative structure, or the narrative field, as we call it. In the third phase, we examined the meanings of the narratives found during the first and second steps of the analysis (Riessman, 2005).

In the first step of our analysis, the textbook materials were manually coded by theme.[2] The coding scheme was developed together by the authors as a COST Action (IS1205)[3] activity. The scheme was constructed partly on an up-down and partly on a bottom-up basis, meaning that based on our previous work on this topic (Sakki, 2014, 2016), our discussions in the working group meetings, and our preliminary analyses of the texts from different countries, we decided on 11 main codes/themes (*Early EU Cooperation, Alternative Cooperation, Economic Cooperation, Political Cooperation, Institutional Cooperation, European Idea, Enlargements, Resistances, Pros & Cons, National Position, US Influence*) that would be used in each participant country. However, we wished to retain the idea that each country has its particular history and position regarding European unification, which meant that we also approached textbook material inductively to allow the emergence of country-specific narratives. Thus, we ended up with 41 subcodes/themes, of which some codes were used more often in one country than in others (see the list of codes in Appendix B). The coding was practised in working group meetings to decrease the impact of different coders and different understandings of the meanings of codes. In three countries (Finland, Hungary, Portugal), the coding was conducted independently by two researchers; in three countries (Spain, Ireland, Estonia), the coding was conducted by one researcher. The assignment of more than one code within the same text was allowed. Instead of the number of codes, we found word count more informative and comparable, and chose it as our unit of analysis.[4] After the coding was completed, the codes were transferred to Excel.

Analysing and comparing the diverse material was challenging (e.g., the different number of books from different countries, the books used for different courses, varying emphasis of content). In the second step of the

[1] During the Soviet era, contemporary history was taught based on textbooks written centrally in Moscow and translated from Russian. Also, in the textbooks written in the Soviet era, European unification was briefly mentioned but mostly from the economic perspective.

[2] We use the terms *code* and *theme* as synonyms.

[3] COST Association, "IS105 – Social psychological dynamics of historical representations in the enlarged European Union." http://www.cost.eu/COST_Actions/isch/IS1205

[4] It should be noted that although we found this approach our best alternative, it does not either guarantee the full comparability between different countries as, for example, some of the six languages of our study require more and some less words to express the same thing.

analysis, to enable some between-country comparisons, we calculated a mean value[5] for each main theme, representing one textbook in each decade in each of the participant countries. This mean value is used in the statistical analysis explained below.

We also did some other preparations before conducting the statistical analysis in the second step of our analysis. Some heterogeneous categories were dropped; for example, the *Pros and Cons* theme was excluded from subsequent analysis because its content was considered too ambiguous and overlapped with other more content-based themes. Alongside descriptive analysis, correspondence analysis was chosen as the principal analytic method. This method has been found to be an appropriate tool in the investigation of large volumes of textual material (e.g. Holtz et al., 2012). The simplicity and descriptive nature of correspondence analysis make it a useful tool for explorative theory construction and interpretation rather than model testing, and keep the researcher closely connected to the data (Hammond, 1993). In correspondence analysis, two or more categorical variables are given scores on one or more dimensions. Correspondence analysis is based on chi-square statistics, and the dimensions emerging from correspondence analysis are interpreted based on the inertia, absolute contribution, cosine square (cos^2),[6] and coordinates.

Finally, in the third step of the analysis, which was informed by the results of correspondence analysis, an in-depth qualitative reading of extracts illustrating the most dominant themes was conducted to interpret the meanings of the different narratives and country positions. In the third phase, the narrative analysis was interpretative, and the reading of extracts was inspired by discursive tools (e.g., Sakki, 2016). In the analysis, special attention was given to the ways national and supranational categories were constructed and positioned in the materials in relation to European unification. While the first author led the analysis process, the validity of interpretations was reinforced by constant discussion with other researchers of the team (representing different countries) being able to challenge and add value to the interpretation.

Analysis

Contents of European unification narrative. To analyse which shared and diverse narratives of European unification appear in the textbooks of the six countries, we first considered which contents emerged in different countries as the most and least dominant themes (See Table 1).

As Table 1 suggests, *Political Cooperation* appears to be the dominant theme. This theme often discusses the foundation of the EU in the Maastricht Treaty (See Appendix C: political cooperation: Portugal, Spain), a united Europe as a superpower (Ireland), and the formation of a political Europe as a federation or confederation, or as a group of sovereign states (Estonia, Finland). It also discusses many policy areas such as agricultural policy, security policy, and social policy. This theme appears among the most dominant themes in textbooks representing the more "Western" countries in our study (Portugal, Spain, Ireland), but its importance in the textbooks of other countries too may suggest that it is at the core of the European unification narrative.

Another top-ranked theme that often appears in textbooks is related to the post-war developments in western Europe. The *Early EU Cooperation* theme goes back to the end of the Second World War and the years following it, and tells the successful foundation story of the EU. The institutional starting point for European unification is most often, regardless of country, located in the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951 and the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1956 (see Appendix C: Portugal, Spain, Estonia). The convergence of the former enemies France and Germany is narrated as the motivational foundation of the unification process (see Appendix C: Hungary, Finland, Spain, Estonia). The foundation story has clear actors. France and Germany appear as the key players in the foundation story of western European unification. French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman is most often mentioned as the father of Europe, but others are mentioned, such as Henri Spaak of Belgium, Chancellor Adenauer of Germany, and Jean Monnet of France (Appendix C: Hungary, Spain, Finland). Like the *Political Cooperation* theme, although *Early EU Cooperation* is narrated in textbooks of all countries, it is given clearly more space in the textbooks of "Western" countries. This foundation story of the European unification process is portrayed as a success that can be used as a tool to legitimate the EU as a political actor (see also Kaiser, 2017). In Liu and Hilton's (2005) terms it appears as a moral charter that confers legitimacy and allows member states to see themselves in a positive light.

As a counter-narrative to the *Early EU Cooperation* theme, which describes the foundation story of Western European unification, *Alternative Cooperation* is most often related to descriptions of *other* post-war European initiatives aimed at cooperation between countries, such as the European Council, the EFTA, and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon). The latter,

[5]The mean value for each theme in one decade was obtained by summing together the word count of each theme in all textbooks published during the same decade (60s, 70s, 90s, 2000s, 2010s) and then by dividing this word count by the number of textbooks of that decade.

[6]We use this value as an indicator of how much a category (theme/country) is explained by the dimension in the following analysis.

Table 1
Incidences of themes (as percentages) in the history texts of six countries

	Early EU cooperation	Alternative cooperation	European idea	Economic cooperation	Political cooperation	Institutional cooperation	Enlargements	Resistances	US influence	National position
Portugal	**15.6**	3.1	6.3	4.2	**29.2**	7.3	6.3	2.1	**10.4**	**15.6**
Ireland	**28.7**	**13.9**	2.0	5.9	**36.6**	3.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	1.0
Hungary	**12.1**	**17.6**	3.3	**11.0**	**16.5**	**20.9**	4.4	3.3	7.7	3.3
Finland	**12.1**	**20.2**	1.0	9.1	**12.1**	7.1	5.1	5.1	7.1	**21.2**
Spain	**33.0**	9.1	2.3	8.0	**26.1**	9.1	4.5	3.4	3.4	1.1
Estonia	**12.6**	**35.8**	1.1	**10.5**	9.5	2.1	**11.6**	3.2	**10.5**	3.2
Total	**18.9**	**16.7**	2.6	8.1	**21.8**	8.1	5.6	3.3	7.2	7.7
Mean										

Note. Themes above 10 percent are in boldface.

which sought to facilitate the economic development of the Eastern European countries of the Soviet bloc, is narrated in the textbooks as a counter-force to the US-led Northern Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO) and Marshall Plan (Appendix C: Portugal, Estonia). In the Finnish textbooks, on the other hand, *Alternative Cooperation* is most often discussed in terms of EFTA, of which Finland was a member before it joined the EU (Appendix C: Finland). Overall, the *Alternative Cooperation* theme appears more often in textbooks of the eastern, central and northern countries of our study. The emergence of the narrative of *Alternative Cooperation* as more dominant in post-Soviet countries and *Early EU Cooperation* as more dominant in "Western" countries illustrates how prior membership in the Soviet bloc has shaped conceptions of European integration—for example, by excluding those countries from the narrative of the post-war success story of the EU as indicated the *Early EU Cooperation* narrative (see also, Berger & Tekin, 2018).

National Position is among the most common themes in the textbooks of two countries: Portugal and Finland. This theme discusses European developments from the nation-state perspective. The most common subtheme is related to a country's accession negotiations with the European Economic Community (EEC) or EU. However, the emergence of this theme may be related to the way the history of European unification is taught in history curricula not merely as part of international relations but also as part of national history, as in the Finnish teaching of history (Sakki, 2014).[7] Nevertheless, the dominance of the *National Position* theme in the textbooks of these countries is in line with previous studies suggesting that the nation remains the main reference point, an anchor for the history of European unification (Pingel, 2018; Sakki, 2014, 2016).

The least discussed theme in textbooks is the *European Idea*, which is related to such subthemes as European culture, values, symbols, and identities (see Appendix B and Appendix C). This "missing" theme seems important, as it most resembles the idea of cultural memory in J. Assmann's (2008) terminology, confirming our interpretation above that the legitimacy of the current European unification process depends rather on the narrative of *Early EU Cooperation* providing a successful historical charter and actors for the EU.

Some of the differences between countries are indicated in Table 1 by the incidences of different themes in the textbooks of different countries. However, in the next section, we explore qualitatively and in more detail

[7]Also in Finland, where the *National Position* theme was most dominant, clear majority of textbooks analysed for this study were used for teaching international relations or contemporary history (only 4 books out of 17 were used to teach national history).

how the narratives of European unification are structured, how the themes are related, and how the six countries are positioned in relation to them.

The narrative field and positioning in relation to the European unification narrative. To explore the narrative field organized around the European unification narrative, and how different contents (themes) as well as countries are positioned in this field, countries and themes were cross-tabulated and subjected to correspondence analysis in SPSS25.

The correspondence analysis produced five dimensions of the data, of which Dimension 1 explained 52.8% of the total inertia, Dimension 2 explained 28.3%, while Dimensions 3, 4, and 5 accounted for 10.9%, 6.4%, and 1.6%, respectively. As the first two dimensions together explained 81.1% of the data, we chose to present our correspondence analysis as a two-dimensional plane (see Figure 1). There was a significant dependency between the rows and columns, $\chi^2(\ 45,\ N\ =\ 86) = 3403.34$, $p < .001$. The standard deviations for the two dimensions were low (0.009 for Dimension 1 and 0.008 for Dimension 2), indicating that the correspondence analysis had found a stable solution for the given data.

The two-dimensional graph (Figure 1) shows that both themes and countries are positioned differently in relation to the two dimensions.

The first dimension distinguishes between utilitarian and ideological perspectives. The most characteristic

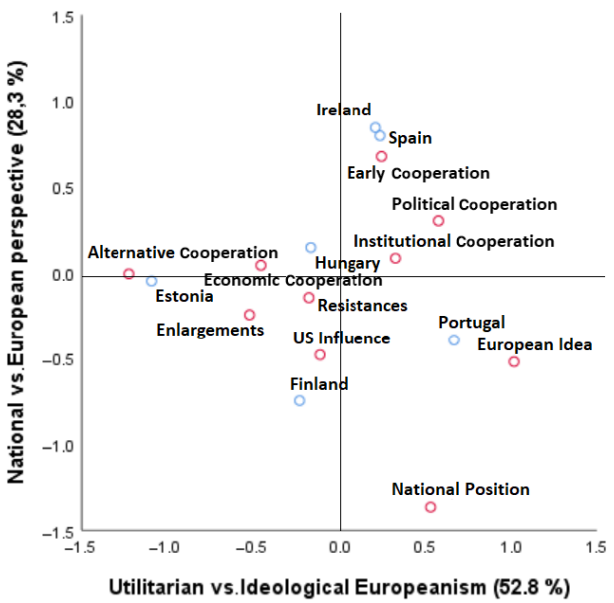

Figure 1 Positioning of themes and countries by correspondence analysis in a two-dimensional narrative field [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

themes of the left-hand side are *Alternative Cooperation* ($\cos^2 = .99$), *Enlargements* ($\cos^2 = .52$) and *Economic Cooperation* ($\cos^2 = .79$). On the other hand, *Political Cooperation* ($\cos^2 = .74$) and *European Idea* ($\cos^2 = .61$) contribute most strongly on the right-hand side of the first dimension, and respectively, explain most of its inertia. The countries that are most strongly positioned on opposite poles of the first dimension are Estonia ($\cos^2 = .95$) and Portugal ($\cos^2 = .75$). As Figure 1 indicates, Hungary and Finland are also located on the left-hand side, while Spain and Ireland are positioned on the right-hand side of the representational field. This suggests an opposition in the representations of European unification between those member states that are located in the more eastern, central, and northern parts of Europe and those that are geographically located more in the west.

The second dimension differentiates between the European and national perspectives. The themes that are located most strongly on the second dimension are *Early EU Cooperation* ($\cos^2 = .74$) and *National Position* ($\cos^2 = .77$), representing the opposite poles of the dimension. Other themes, such as *US Influence* ($\cos^2 = .58$) and *European Idea* ($\cos^2 = .12$), are also located on the second dimension but are more weakly explained by the dimension. The countries that are most strongly positioned on the second dimension are Spain ($\cos^2 = .81$) and Ireland ($\cos^2 = .69$) for the upper side, and Finland ($\cos^2 = .58$) and Portugal ($\cos^2 = .19$) for the lower side of the second dimension.

The quantified information from correspondence analysis was used as a guide for the more in-depth qualitative inquiry to understand the meanings behind the contents of narratives.

Although the first dimension clearly distinguishes between the more "eastern and central" (left-hand side) versus the more "western" countries (right-hand side) of our study, we have labelled the first dimension as *Utilitarian* versus *Ideological Europeanism*, because the narrative's content reflects this difference. Extract 1, from an Estonian textbook, illustrates the content and meaning of the *left-hand side of the first dimension*.

Extract 1:

Under the leadership of the Soviet Union, the organization for socialist co-operation was the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) that was created as counterweight to the Western economic assistance offered by the United States to Europe in the post-war years under the Marshall Plan. The CMEA, created in January 1949, was to help pro-Moscow states overcome economic difficulties and coordinate their economic co-operation. The initially Eastern Europe-centred organization later expanded with the

accession of Mongolia, Cuba, and Vietnam. (Estonia, Avita, 2007)

As Extract 1 demonstrates, utilitarianism is related to economy and the Soviet influence. The theme *Alternative Cooperation*, which is most strongly scored on the left-hand side of the first dimension, deals with economic cooperation outside western European unification. Extract 1 illustrates that the reference point for Soviet-led cooperation is often the US-led Marshal Plan or NATO.

The left-hand side of the first dimension also demonstrates how the position of eastern, central, and northern European countries, and especially the influence of the Soviet Union, is entangled in the story of a unifying Europe. Very similarly, in the Finnish, Estonian, and Hungarian schoolbooks, Western cooperation and Eastern Soviet-led cooperation are presented side by side or often as a competitive relationship in which Soviet action follows Western development, as shown in Extract 2 from a Hungarian textbook:

Extract 2:

In response to European economic cooperation, the Soviet Union established the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties (Cominform) in September 1947 (Hungary, NTkvk, 2003)

The threat of the East and the controlling eye of the Soviet frames the narrative of European unification on the left-hand side of the narrative field, although it is often expressed indirectly, especially in the older textbooks. The Soviet threat is also present in the Finnish schoolbooks in the period preceding the Soviet collapse, as Extract 3 demonstrates:

Extract 3:

The actual accession to the EEC was not a question for Finland, due to Finland's neutrality policy and eastern relations. After all, the majority of NATO countries are members of the EEC, and the organization itself has a clear political agenda. After a long round of negotiations and consideration, Finland—as well as Sweden and Norway—concluded a free trade agreement with the EEC in 1973. It provided for the gradual abolition of customs duties on industrial products by 1978. Finland stressed that the agreement should not jeopardise good Eastern relations. At the same time, Finland strengthened its economic and technical cooperation with the east. (Finland, WSOY, 1974)

The expressions "long round of negotiations" and "consideration" used in Extract 3, and the listing of other Nordic countries, reinforce the hesitation associated with accession to Western cooperation. Extract 3 thus makes visible Finland's position as a fulcrum between East and the West.

However, *the right-hand side of the first dimension* is characterized by the ideological nature of European cooperation, emphasizing its unifying values and culture, as well as its political function. The two most strongly scored themes related to this side of the narrative field are *Political Cooperation* and *European Idea*. *Ideological Europeanism* based on common values is expressed in Extract 4:

Extract 4:

By contrast, it was also from Europe that a series of terrible nationalist confrontations broke out. Peace was disturbed by them, and the prospects of the whole of humanity were reduced to nothing. Yet there is a way to resolve this. What is this solution? It consists in remaking the European family as much as possible, and then nurturing it in such a way that it can develop in peace, security, and freedom. It is necessary to build a kind of United States of Europe. (Portugal, Porto Editora, 2015)

Nationalist movements are presented as a current challenge to European unity. Interestingly, Extract 4 repeats the old metaphors of "European family" and "United States of Europe" (e.g., Smith, 1992) as solutions to European nationalist confrontations. The question further emphasises the point. Peace, security, and freedom are presented as the cornerstones of Europeanism. The construction of the United States of Europe is presented as a necessity. All this demonstrates commitment to a united Europe.

As we discussed above, the left-hand side describes the European unification in largely economic terms. In contrast, the right-hand side of the narrative field describes European unification as a political project, as Extract 5 from a Spanish textbook illustrates:

Extract 5:

The first step, the free movement of capital, took place on 1 July 1990. The transition from the European Economic Community to the European Union took place in Maastricht. In the Dutch city, on 11 and 12 December 1991, a new treaty was signed, which should have been ratified by the member states in 1992, although the adverse result of the Danish referendum delayed it. The Treaty on European Union, commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty, proposes several goals with a timetable for its compliance. (Spain, Vicens Vives, 1994)

The signing of the EU foundation treaty in the city of Maastricht provides the place of memory (Nora, 1989) for the narrative of *Political Cooperation*. It is repeated in the textbooks of all of the countries of our study. The location and date of the narrative are often expressed in detail, but the actors of the event are not: As in Extract 5 above, they remain invisible.

The second dimension of Figure 1 distinguishes clearly between the *European* and *national* perspectives. While the upper side of the dimension represents a unifying European perspective, the lower side presents diverse perspectives, national and other, to the European unification narrative.

The theme that is most strongly scored on *the upper side of narrative field* is *Early EU Cooperation*, or the foundation story, as we have previously discussed. The textbooks of Ireland and Spain are most strongly positioned on the upper side of the second dimension.

Extract 6:

> Gasperi, Blum, and Spaak founded the "European Movement", from which emerged, on 5 May 1949, the Council of Europe, based in Strasbourg, with a consultative Assembly formed by members of the different national parliaments, as the core of a possible European parliament. It was then that the French minister Robert Schuman presented the "plan" for a "Coal and Steel Community," with the participation of the German Federal Republic, as the first base "for an indispensable European federation for the preservation of peace." The "Schuman plan" was accepted by the German government of Chancellor Adenauer and by Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg, who signed the ECSC treaty in Paris (18 April 1951). (Spain, Edelvives, 1979)

In Extract 6 above, the description of the foundation steps is typically detailed: It consists of several steps related to presenting, signing, and accepting the plan. The preservation of peace is portrayed as the main goal and justification for European unification. As in most textbooks, as the founding father, the main designer of a unified Europe is Robert Schuman of France. France is given most agency in Extract 6. It appears as the main designer "presenting" the plan, while Germany is presented in a more passive role, participating in and accepting the treaty. Unlike France (Schuman) and Germany (Adenauer), the other nations are not personified and thus remain in the role of bystanders in the narrative. Surprisingly, however, at the beginning of Extract 6, Gasperi, Blum, and Spaak are presented as founders of the European movement, although they are not connected with their respective nations but appear as actors of the European cause.

In contrast, *the lower side of the narrative field* approaches European unification from other than "European" perspectives. We have labelled the lower side of the second dimension *National Perspective*, although it could have been labelled "diverse perspectives." The theme that scores most strongly in this dimension is *National Position*, but also *US Influence* is related to this dimension. The countries most strongly positioned on the lower side of the dimension are Finland and Portugal. The discourse raises national questions and actors in relation to European unification, as Extract 7 from a Finnish textbook demonstrates:

Extract 7:

> The question of Finland's accession to the European Union raised strong opinions both for and against. The matter was submitted to an advisory referendum in October 1994. The key themes were security policy and the survival of agriculture through the opening of the market. Supporters of membership felt that Finland had a unique opportunity to join the Western community, which had been part of its spirit and culture for hundreds of years. It was thus about sealing Finland's Westernism. Political integration also sought security, as the world situation had become difficult to predict. The background was especially influenced by uncertainty about Russia's future development.
>
> Opponents of EU membership argued that membership would lead to too much decision making in Brussels, and that Finland would eventually lose its independence. They feared that opening borders would bring more refugees, crime and foreign influences to Finland. (Finland, Edita, 2013)

Extract 7 reveals that Finnish textbooks present Finland's accession negotiations as something that divided the Finnish people. Opposition to EU membership culminated in concerns about the future of agriculture and security issues. Despite the clear Soviet/Russian influence in the narration of European unification in Finnish textbooks, Finland is firmly anchored to the West, which echoes the myth of the Finnish national canon, which, since the foundation of the Finnish nationalist movement in the nineteenth century, has emphasised the country's Western ties (Ahonen, 2017).

As in the latter part of Extract 7, the idea of losing sovereignty and independence through EU membership is also an oft-repeated notion in Finnish textbooks. Although the author of the text distances himself by using terms such as "opponents of EU membership" and "they," the list of three threatening factors, combined with the

explicit expression of fear, creates a strong negative perception of EU membership and its consequences. Brussels is portrayed as a living being that threatens Finland, and this objectification resonates well with the populist anti-EU rhetoric of the Finns Party, for example.

Transformation of European unification narratives. Originally, our aim was to examine how the narrative of European unification changed between the 1950s and the 2010s. However, as we explained in the method section, this task proved more difficult than we had assumed, because we could find no textbooks dealing with the topic from the 1950s, and very few from the 1960s. On this basis, we could already conclude that European unification did not exist in textbooks prior to the 1960s, and indeed, the amount of space devoted to it only starts to increase in the 1970s (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 shows that in most countries the amount of text related to the European unification process slowly increases from the 1960s to the 1990s, after which it starts decreasing in four countries: Finland, Spain, Ireland, and Estonia (note that we lack data from Estonia and Ireland from the 2010s, because no new textbooks dealing with EU history had appeared prior our data collection in 2016). In contrast, in Hungary the space devoted to the European unification process remains at a very low level until the 1990s, after which it starts to increase. This, we believe, reflects the collapse of the Soviet Union and Hungary's willingness to foster its ties with Western countries (Batory, 2002; Saxonberg, 2001). The most striking exception to the general pattern is Portuguese textbooks, where the amount of space devoted to European unification increases from the 1970s onwards, and most radically

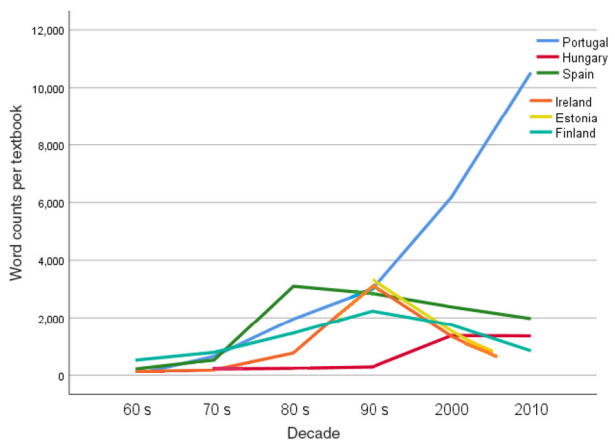

Figure 2 Changes in the amounts of European unification narratives (mean values of word counts per textbook in each decade) in the textbooks of six countries between the 1960s and 2010s [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

after the 1990s. These data may reflect the near total absence of European issues before the democratization process in Portugal, and more strongly, its growing importance after the EC integration in 1986. The benefits which European integration provided for Portugal, the strong support by the political elite, and the positive attitudes of Portuguese citizens until the economic crisis of 2008 (Freire & Santana-Pereira, 2015) could explain this. Even if we cannot completely discard the possibility that this result simply reflects differences in length of the textbooks, as a whole it could also point to a shift in social representations of Portuguese national identity from an old colonial empire (Valentim & Miguel, 2018) to a modern and democratic European nation.

We also seek to examine whether the content of narrative related to European unification changed between the 1960s and the 2010s (see Figure 3).

As Figure 3 indicates, *Early EU Cooperation* (in red) increases until the 1990s, after which it starts decreasing in all of the countries of our study. Perhaps the onset of peace and the early post-war memories, along with the actors and events associated with the start of European cooperation, are becoming distant memories, something that most citizens have not experienced personally (Hirst & Manier, 2008), and this narrative thus no longer suffices to legitimate the present-day EU, at least in the same sense as in previous decades.

Alternative Cooperation (in blue) seems to form a counter-narrative to *Early EU Cooperation*, not only semantically but temporally, because it follows the same path, increasing until the 1990s, after which it drastically decreases. The culmination of the narrative can be located in the end of the Soviet Union, and the consequent decline of the *Alternative Cooperation* narrative clearly suggests the power of political change in shaping memory landscapes.

Unlike *Early EU Cooperation* and *Alternative Cooperation,* Figure 3 indicates a clear rise in *Political Cooperation* (in purple) between the 1980s and 90s, and then again between the 2000s and 2010s. *Political Cooperation* seems to have replaced the two other narratives describing the early steps of the unification process. A similar pattern can be found for *Institutional Cooperation*, although to a lesser extent. In these narratives, European unification appears largely as an elite-driven project. It has no clear actors. For example, no politician is emphasised more than any other. Instead, the small city of Maastricht in the Netherlands appears as the place of memory (Nora, 1989), and the signing of the EU foundation treaty as the only distinctive narrative. Otherwise, the content of this narrative concerns the discussion of various policy areas and treaties. For example, EU citizenship is generally discussed less than agricultural or security policy. The narrative thus remains rather

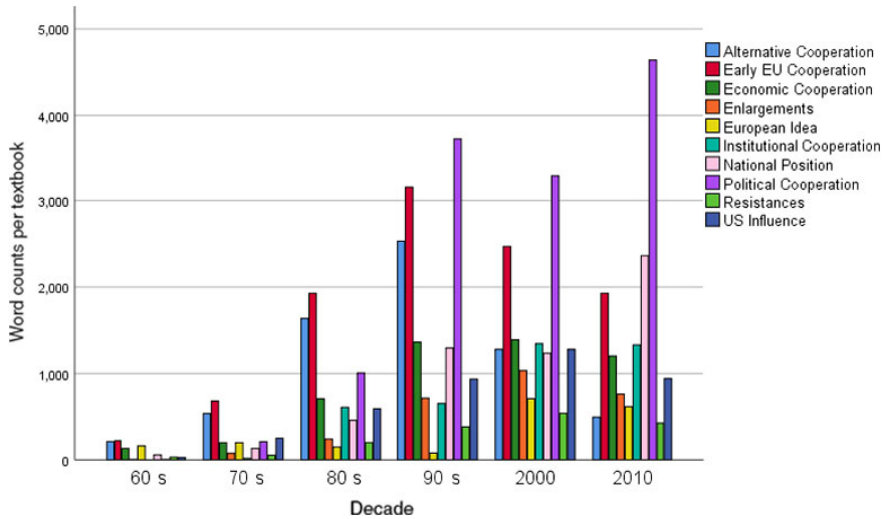

Figure 3 Changes in the themes of European unification narratives (mean values of word counts by theme per textbook in each decade) in the textbooks of six countries [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

abstract and elite-driven—it does not serve as a moral charter (Liu & Hilton, 2005) and may not be the most powerful narrative to legitimate the EU in the eyes of textbook readers (e.g., Kaiser, 2016, 2017).

Another interesting transformation in the European unification narrative concerns *National Position* (in pink), which increases between the 2000s and 2010s. However, because we lacked textbooks from Estonia and Ireland published after 2010, we cannot generalize this pattern for all countries. Furthermore, a country-based examination does not show an increase in the nationalist perspective in Spanish textbooks. Yet in Finnish, Portuguese, and Hungarian textbooks, we can see a clear increase in discussions related to the national perspective, perhaps reflecting the EU economic crisis in 2008 and other political setbacks (such as the rejection of the European Constitution in 2005), and the increasingly Eurosceptic atmosphere (e.g., Eurobarometer, 2010).

Overall, the 1990s appears as a golden era for the European narrative, because it was the decade when most space was devoted to it in four countries of our study, and it was in the textbooks of the 1990s that the Western and Eastern stories of early European unification were still frequently recounted alongside the rising narrative of the EU as a political superpower. Drawing from the social representations approach (Moscovici, 1984), we may thus speculate as to whether the 1990s was a period of novelty in terms of the founding of the EU and EU citizenship, which required more symbolic coping and sense-making in national textbooks (e.g. Wagner et al., 2002). In other words, through the processes of symbolic coping, that of anchoring and objectification, the newly founded EU and its different policy fields were made understandable and meaningful through the textbook narratives (Sakki, 2016). The specificity of this period can be partly explained with the preceding historical transformation (the end of the Cold War and collapse of the Soviet Union) reflected also in the informal collective memories in the 1990s (Liu et al., 2005).

Discussion

In this paper, we have approached European unification as a lived memory that is narrated to young citizens through school textbooks. The beginning of the European unification process dates back to the years following the Second World War and therefore in the 2010s temporally refer to J. Assmann's (2008) idea of communicative memory. However, as European unification is not dominantly communicated in everyday conversation but through institutionalized channels such as the school textbooks of this study, we have found Hirst and Manier's (2008) concept of "lived memory" useful. Such lived memories are strongly politicized and belong to memory politics, as the results of this study suggest. We have shown that discussions concerning European unification increased from the 1960s, reaching their highest points in most of the countries of our study in the 1990s, when the unification process was most intense, with the formation of the EU and the creation of the foundations for common monetary cooperation and foreign and security policy. However, in these same countries, we also observe a decline in the European narrative in the 2010s, which we interpret as reflecting the changing atmosphere, with a growth in distrust and Euroscepticism in Europe after the crises of the 2000s.

The big question we aimed to address with this study was whether a historical charter of European unification

exists. Figure 4 summarizes our findings regarding the relationship between social representations of European unification and historical charters, and the way in which the charters are constructed through the processes of social representations, namely anchoring, objectification, and naturalization, and the functions they might serve in terms of group identities and missions.

To follow the phases in Figure 4, our analyses showed that in textbooks European unification was made meaningful through different anchors, such as the politics, economy, and institutions of the West and East. In most textbooks, European unification was dominantly objectified in the imagery of founding fathers and the signing of the Maastricht Treaty. Various social representations of European unification were formed, *Political Cooperation, Early EU Cooperation*, and *Alternative Cooperation* being the largest themes. However, only a few of them were organized in a narrative form with clear actors, events, and locations, which can potentially hinder their being repeated and shared, thereby lessening their utility for constructing and mobilizing a historical charter that is a "widely shared and iconic representation where selective elements of group history, its causes and consequences have been elaborated to give moral and sometimes legal implications for group action," as outlined by Hilton and Liu (2008, p.351). As an exception for the lack of shared European charters, we identified a clear foundation story for European unification that was told surprisingly consistently in the textbooks of six countries, although the narrative was clearly more typical for the textbooks in the "West." This kind of imagery, drawing on objectifications of the "founding fathers," and of locations and clear events taking place in post-war Europe, have been found in other studies as well (Kaiser, 2017; Sierp, 2014), suggesting that through continuous repetition and sharing, the social representation of *Early EU Cooperation* has been organized into a consistent narrative form, preserved and naturalized as part of historical a charter of the EU. Obviously, the fact that the actors and locations in the foundation narrative are dominantly in the West suggest the narrative may be regarded as more exclusive than inclusive by countries which played no role in the "successful" unification process in its early years. This is also why some scholars have suggested that it might be better to anchor the shared narratives of European unification in more distant events in history such as the Greek and Roman traditions, instead of in post-war Western European unification (e.g. Kaiser, 2015, 2017). Such a historical charter based on shared values, symbols, and identities was essentially absent from the textbooks. The theme appeared as smallest in most of

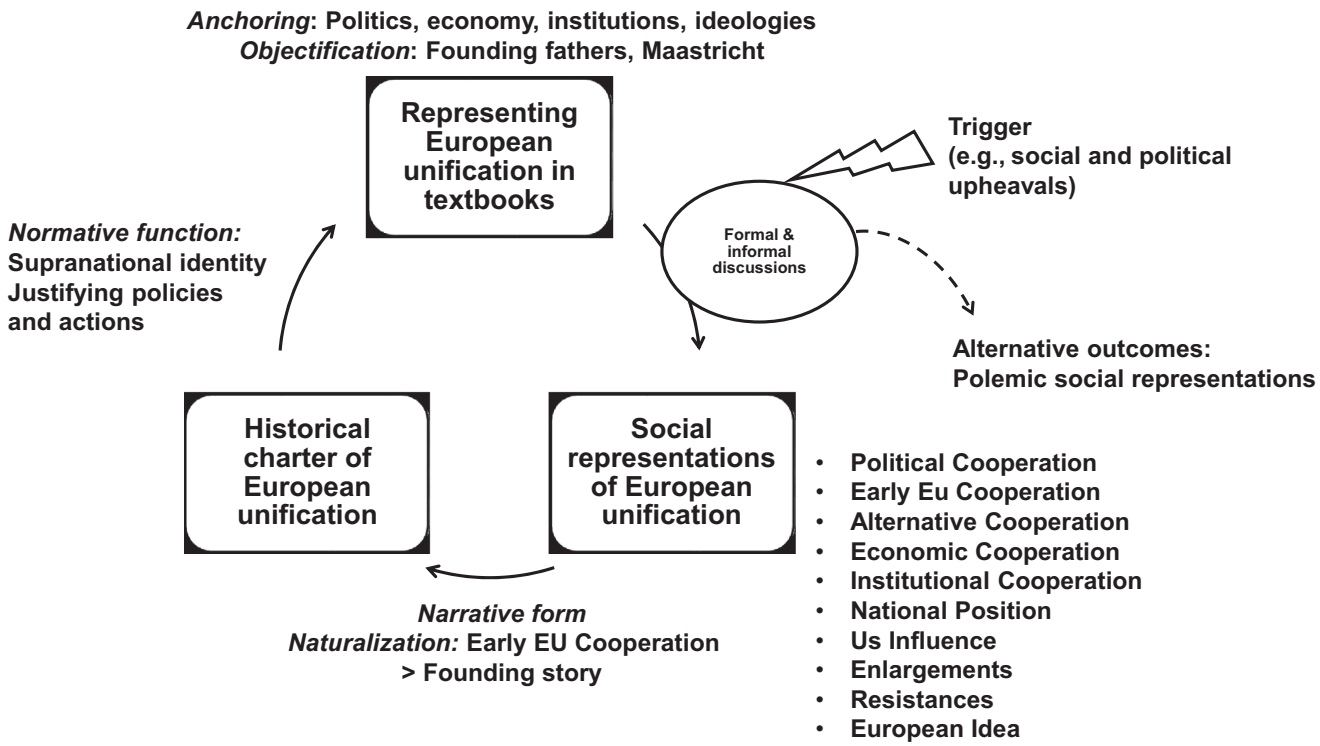

Figure 4 The cyclical process of constructing a historical charter of European unification. From "Visualized collective memories: Social representations of history in images found in Finnish history textbooks," by E. Hakokõngäs and I. Sakki, 2016. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 26,* p. 498 (https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2276). Copyright 2016 by John Wiley & Sons. Adapted with permission.

the six countries suggesting that European unification has not been naturalized as an identity-community based on shared values and symbols.

Since the 1990s, European unification has been largely portrayed in political terms. The shift towards a more widely shared narrative of the EU as a political actor away from the potentially more divisive foundation story may not, we argue, be enough to make people feel attached to Europe. The story of the EU as a political actor lacks clear narrative components, actors, and stories which would reduce its elite-driven emphasis, enable the people to see themselves in a flattering light (Hilton & Liu, 2008), and facilitate its mobilization as a historical charter. This finding echoes the suggestion of some scholars that the EU's history project can be described as top-down cultural engineering (Kaiser, 2016, 2017). Following Hilton and Liu's (2008) theorization on the functions of historical charters, the lack of such a shared charter of European unification may prevent the development of a supranational European identity, and provide no basis of legitimacy that could be used to justify the EU's policies and actions (see Figure 4). This also suggests a lack of shared values that could be efficiently mobilized to guide societies in navigating through crises, such as the economic crisis, refugee crisis, or coronavirus crisis affecting many European societies.

It needs to be noted that school textbooks are just one element of the construction of lived memories of European unification, historical charters, and supranational European identity. As Figure 4 illustrates, the construction of textbooks does not take place in isolation but is shaped by the surrounding social and political context. In so doing, narratives are maintained and changed as a result of triggers which bring new elements and meanings into the discourse (see also Wagner et al., 1999). Pupils' everyday experiences, conversations, traditional and social media all participate in the formation of social representations. In democratic countries where there is less governmental control over the textbook content and people get information about European unification from multiple sources, there is also less of a chance for the construction of consensual and hegemonic knowledge, and more possibilities for the emergence of alternative and polemic versions of the same historical event. This may partly explain the lack of unanimous and stable historical charters in our data. In this study, our focus was on the hegemonic, consensual versions of the European narratives appearing in the history textbooks of six nations, while the study of more alternative and marginal versions would require more in-depth analysis within each country and context.

Our findings from the correspondence analysis suggest that the narrative of European unification is more diverse than it is homogenous. The two-dimensional structure of the representational field suggested that European unification is represented on the one hand in terms of utilitarian values (such as economy) or with regard to ideological values (such as politics). On the other hand, it can be narrated from a unified European or from more national perspectives. We have also seen that different countries position themselves differently in relation to European narratives, reflecting a strong influence of national historical backgrounds and perspectives. Social representations of European unification can thus bolster positive distinctiveness strategies of national groups and privilege those dimensions important for their own country (Hilton & Liu, 2008). Our findings suggest a particularly sharp distinction between younger and more "Eastern" and older and more "Western" member countries, and thus support the idea that the EU countries of central, eastern and northern Europe have particular relationships with the concept of European integration shaped by the Soviet influence (Berger & Tekin, 2018). Our focus on six countries on the margins of Europe also suggests that when discussing memories and identities within Europe, we should know which Europe is being discussed, and from which perspective. Our results suggest that there are multiple Europes: the Europe of the EU, the Europe of Comecon, the Europe of the EFTA, the Europe of NATO, and so on. There are many stories of European unification, and the challenge is to bring together the very different post-war memorial landscapes of western, eastern, southern, and northern Europe and to integrate all the stories in the form of a recognized narrative.

Finally, if they are to stay alive, narratives must serve the long-standing cultural memory of society (J. Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995). To survive they must anchor in the existing continuum of dominant historical charters, or succeed in creating new interpretations of them (Hilton & Liu, 2008). The lack of a shared historical charter of European unification means that the local narratives have to serve the national needs to acquire a permanent position in the collective memory (Sakki, 2014). Yet the European unification narrative has been difficult to align with national conceptions of Europe, which are still characterized by extensive contestation about the precise relationship between the national and the European, and the contribution of diverse nation-states to the wider European transnational space (Sierp & Wüstenberg, 2015; Berger & Tekin, 2018). Therefore, we suggest that the inclusion of national actors, events, concerns, and joys in the European narrative might provide more opportunities for identification within the supranational identity, "sympathy between identities" (Liu & Hilton, 2005, p.11), and concurrently tackle the nationalist accusation on the rise in many European countries claiming that the uniqueness of "local histories" are proscribed in the supranational EU.

Our research is not without its limitations. The six countries differ in terms of their history curricula and the ways in which European unification is integrated in the teaching of history. European unification can be taught, for example, as part of general, European, or national history, which can influence the focus of textbooks. Textbooks may have also been used in varied ways in different countries and decades, which need to be taken into account when drawing further conclusions from the present findings. Overall, the material collected from six countries is diverse in many ways, making comparative analysis a great challenge. All this being said, more research is needed on how narratives evolve across time and space in order to fully understand the ways in which European unification is constructed in the past and present, and to shed some light on where it might be going in the future. Exploring shared and diverse representations of European unification is crucial to understanding how they can be used as legitimizing charters to navigate through the challenges of the 21st century.

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Author Contributions

All authors contributed to the design and implementation of the research, to data collection and to the thematic analysis of textbooks. While the first author had the main responsibility for the analysis and took the lead in writing the manuscript in cooperation with the second author, all authors provided critical feedback, and helped shape the research, analysis and manuscript.

Data Availability Statement

The research material consists of 86 history textbooks (published between the 1960s and 2010s) that are restricted by copyright laws of six countries. The copyrights are owned by the textbook publishers so the materials cannot be shared.

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Appendix A

Selected textbooks according to country, publisher, year of publication, and the number of analyzed pages (in parentheses).

Ireland	Spain	Portugal	Finland	Hungary	Estonia
Mercier Press (1968) (3 p)	Edelvives (1965) (1 p)	Livraria Didáctia (1960/67) (1 p)	WSOY (1965) (2 p)		
Gill and Macmillan (1968) (0 p)	Bosch (1965) (1 p)	Continental Editora (1964) (0)	WSOY (1966) (1 p)		
Folens and Co. (1969) (4 p)	Doncel (1965) (2 p)	Livraria Avis (1965) (0)			
Educational Company of Ireland (1974a) (4 p)	Anaya (1972) (2 p)	Porto Editora (1975) (3 p)	Kirjayhtymä (1970) (2 p)	Tankönyvkiadó (1975) (0.5 p)	
Educational Company of Ireland (1974b) (0 p)	Teide (1974) (2 p)	Porto Editora (1977) (6 p)	WSOY (1974) (2 p)	Tankönyvkiadó (1976) (0.5 p)	
Alpha Communications (1975) (0 p)	Edelvives (1979) (2 p)		Otava (1978) (6 p)		
Educational Company of Ireland (1987) (4 p)	SM (1982) (6 p)	Porto Editora (1981) (4 p)	Gummerus (1980) (5 p)	Tankönyvkiadó (1980a) (1 p)	
Mentor Publications (1988) (3 p)	Vicens Vives (1983) (4 p)	Contraponto (1984) (10 p)	WSOY (1980) (4 p)	Tankönyvkiadó (1980b) (0.5 p)	
An Gúm – As Gaeilge (1988) (23 p)	Anaya (1987) (13 p)	Texto Editora (1986) (9 p)	Otava (1988) (5 p)		
Educational Company of Ireland (1991) (17 p)	Anaya (1992) (1 p)	Areal Editores (1994) (4 p)	Otava (1995) (10 p)	Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó (1994a) (0.5 p)	Koolibri (1994) (7 p)
Educational Company of Ireland (1994) (18 p)	Vicens Vives (1994) (4 p)	Porto Editora (1997a) (9 p)	Otava (1997) (6 p)	Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó (1994b) (1 p)	Avita (1999) (3 p)
Mentor Publications (1995) (17 p)	Santillana (1996) (12 p)	ASA Editores (1997b) (14 p)	WSOY (1998) (2 p)	Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó (1996) (1 p)	Argo (2000) (2 p)
Educational Company of Ireland (2004) (11 p)	Anaya (2000) (2 p)	Texto Editora (2001) (13 p)	Otava (2002) (6 p)	Műszaki Könyvkiadó (2003) (5.5 p)	Avita (2002) (2 p)
Gill and Macmillan (2004) (18 p)	Santillana (2000) (10 p)	Porto Editora (2005a) (20 p)	Otava (2006) (9 p)	Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó (2003) (1.5 p)	Avita (2004) (2 p)
Educational Company of Ireland (2008) (18 p)	Vicens Vives (2006) (9 p)	Porto Editora (2005b) (28 p)	Edita (2007) (13 p)	Műszaki Könyvkiadó (2006) (5 p)	Avita (2007) (2 p)
	Anaya (2012) (6 p)	Porto Editora (2010) (24 p)	Edita (2012) (2 p)	Szent István Társulat (2013) (1.5 p)	
	Vicens Vives (2013) (11 p)	ASA Editores (2012) (21 p)	Otava (2013) (9 p)	Nemzedékek Tudása (2014) (6.5 p)	
	Santillana (2015) (4 p)	Porto Editora (2015) (27 p)	Otava (2013) (10 p)	Műszaki Könyvkiadó (2015) (6.5 p)	

Appendix B
Main and subthemes (coding matrix)

Early EU Cooperation
- Early institutional development (EEC, EURATOM etc.)
- Founding Story (French-German hostilities, WW2, peace etc.)
- EU Treaties

Alternative Cooperation
- Comecon
- EFTA
- Other institutions (European Council etc.)

European Idea
- Symbols (e.g., flag, Europe's day)
- Values
- Cultural memory (culture, history, religion, European heritage, civilisation)

Economic Cooperation
- Monetary Union (euro, early monetary developments)
- European Budget
- EU

Institutional Cooperation
- EU institutions
- Decision making

Political Cooperation
- Treaties (e.g. Rome, Paris, Lisbon)
- Policy models (e.g. federation)
- Agricultural policy
- Foreign and Security policies/Military forces
- Social policies
- EU citizenship
- Other policies
- Foundation of the EU/Maastricht

Enlargements
- Early enlargement
- 2000s Enlargement
- Enlargements criteria

Resistances
- British resistance
- Other countries resistance
- Farmers resistance
- Euroscepticism

US Influence
- USA- EU Crisis
- USA-EU Political
- Economic and military relations (e.g., NATO)
- USA Plan Marshall

Pros and Cons
- European project achievements
- European project failures
- Pros and Cons –talk

National Position
- Negotiations
- Nation's entrance
- Benefits from the EU
- Damages from the EU
- Other nation's relationship with the EU

Note. Comecon = Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; EEC = European Economic Community; EFTA = European Free Trade Association; EURATOM = European Atomic Energy Community; EU = European Union; NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Appendix C
Extracts illustrating main themes of European unification in textbooks of six countries

	Early EU cooperation	Alternative cooperation	European idea	Economic cooperation	Political cooperation	Institutional cooperation	Enlargements	Resistances	US influence	National position
Portugal	The Treaty of Rome, signed by the same six ECSC countries, is considered the starting point of the current European Union. In this arrangement, the signatory countries undertook to progressively implement the free movement of goods, capital and workers, as well as the freedom to provide services. (Porto Editora, 2015)	To strengthen the economic cohesion of the Eastern European countries, Kominform was formed during an international meeting of communist forces held in Poland in 1947. It is a Communist International replacing the Komintern, dissolved in 1943 under pressure from the United States. This Information Department aimed to promote economic cooperation between the European states of the Soviet bloc and arises in response to the Western adherence to the Marshall Plan and the formation of the OECE. Kominform establishes a number of friendship and assistance treaties between the communist countries, working in collaboration with the Comecon, created in 1949, to coordinate the economic policy of the friendly states and to define norms for international economic relations in order to favour the decrease in developmental gaps. (Texto Editora, 2002)	By contrast, it was also from Europe that a series of terrible nationalist confrontations broke out. Peace was disturbed by them and the prospects of the whole of humanity reduced to nothing. But there is a way of solving it. What is this solution? It consists in remaking the European family as much as possible and then nurturing it in such a way that it can develop in peace, security and freedom. It is necessary to build a kind of United States of Europe. (Porto Editora, 2015)	For twelve years, these countries would make every effort to remove the customs barriers that separated them, allowing the free movement of people and capital. By 1968 the Common Market was fully functioning, making the Community of Six the world's first trading power. (Areal Editores, 1994)	Through the Treaty of Maastricht in 10 December 1991, a European citizenship would be born (Areal Editores, 1994)	European Parliament (518 Members) Council (12 Ministers) Commission (17 Members) The Court (13 Judges, 6 Advocates General) Economic and Social Committee (189 Members) Court of Auditors (12 Members). (Areal Editores, 1994)	The principle of the integration of the new democracies is accepted and, in preparation for it, the Copenhagen Summit (1993) defines the criteria which henceforth should condition entry into the Union: democratic institutions, respect for human rights, viable market economy, acceptance of all Community texts. (Porto Editora, 2015)	The United Kingdom proposes to renegotiate its position in the United Europe, with Prime Minister David Cameron announcing in January 2013 the intention to endorse in 2017 the permanence of his country in the Union. (Porto Editora, 2015)	Western countries are linked to the United States and its economy through the Marshall Plan. (Texto Editora, 2001)	This democratization of the country would also favour the integration of Portugal in the EEC, realized in the year of 1986. (Texto Editora, 2001)
Ireland	Even before the war had ended, the governments of the Benelux states, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, had provided a salutary example of how economic measures could break down political barriers. The first practical step towards integration, in the post-ear period, took place in 1947. . .known as the Marshall Plan (Mentor, 1995).	Britain's foreign interest lay primarily with the British Commonwealth and secondarily with the U.S.A. with whom she was anxious to maintain a "special relationship" (Mentor, 1988).	Although the idea of a united Europe was not a new one, it was only in the period following the Second World War that practical steps were taken towards the voluntary achievement of that aim (Mentor, 1995).	The formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was the most important step on the road to European unity. Once again the problem was what to do with Germany. By 1950, West Germany was well on the way to economic recovery. Even though the Allied governments were still in occupation, a West German government had	With the passing of the Maastricht Treaty, Western Europe had changed a great deal since 1945. The process of European unity had maintained peace in Western Europe for 45 years. It had also created the largest single market in the world, as well as the largest trading power. The Maastricht Treaty laid the	Ten countries signed the statute for the Council of Europe. They were Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, and Sweden. The aim of the Council of Europe was to provide social and cultural cooperation between member states and to look after human rights (EdCo, 1994).	Many countries have applied to join the EC. If they thought there were no advantages they would not bother. Trade barriers between different EC states have decreased and trade has increased (EdCo, 1991).	The EEC, or EC as it is now called, has grown considerably since it was set up in 1957. In 1961 the Conservative politician Edward Heath was put in charge of negotiating Britain's entry into the community. Five of the six members were happy to see Britain join but the French leader, de Gaulle, objected. In 1967, when the British Labour government again applied, de Gaulle once again blocked Britain's entry. De Gaulle was no longer in power when Britain	The Americans now took an historic step. They had been traditionally isolationist and tried to avoid involvement in European affairs. President Truman asked the United States Congress to allow him to give immediate military and financial aid to Greece and Turkey in order to resist Communism (EdCo 1994).	The outbreak of war between the Allies (Great Britain and France) and Nazi Germany, in September 1939, did not find Ireland unprepared. Most Irishmen had already decided that neutrality was the best course of action open to them (Folens, 1969).

Appendix C (continued)

	Early EU cooperation	Alternative cooperation	European idea	Economic cooperation	Political cooperation	Institutional cooperation	Enlargements	Resistances	US influence	National position
				taken over under Konrad Adenauer. In France there was still a fear that once Germany recovered it would attack France. (Gill & Macmillan, 2004)	groundwork for further significant progress in European Unity during the 1990s. (Gill & Macmillan, 2004)			again began negotiations in 1971. In 1973 Britain joined the community along with Ireland and Denmark (EdCo, 1991).		
Hungary	The integration was based on cooperation between France and Germany having been long-standing enemies. Two old statesmen, French president de Gaulle and chancellor of West Germany Adenauer signed a treaty of friendship between the two countries in 1963, which ended centuries of antagonism. (Muszaki Kvk, 2006)	The other Western European capitalist economic integration was the European Free Trade Association (1960) led by Great Britain, which did not prove viable. (Tkvk, 1980a)	The European unity was a subject of century-long debates, dreams and plans. (Muszaki Kvk, 2003)	The importance of the EEC goes beyond the individual interests of the member states, which gain considerable economic advantages compared to non-member countries. As opposed to the USA, which alone makes a market of two hundred million customers, small and medium-size Western European countries were compelled to organize their productive forces in an international state-monopoly system. (Tkvk, 1976)	Experience of the two World Wars led to the victory of democracy and establishment of the "Common European Home" began. Nationalism has fallen back and even patriotic feelings are receding. (Muszaki Kvk, 2006)	Europe and particularly its Western parts show the symptoms of exhaustion and apathy. Democratic institutions do not operate efficiently, less and less citizens vote in the elections to the European Parliament; in 2004, for example, 44.2% of those entitled to vote participated. People are generally disappointed in politicians and political parties. (Muszaki Kvk, 2006)	Then, at the Copenhagen summit in December 2002, the date was appointed as well: 10 states—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Cyprus, and Malta—were invited to join the EU in 2004, and two other states—Romania and Bulgaria—were invited to join in 2007. (Muszaki Kvk, 2003)	The European integration often raised feelings of opposition in the concerned countries' public mind. Norway, which was also admitted in 1972, voted for withdrawal in a referendum after nine months of membership. (Muszaki Kvk, 2003)	The French president was afraid that Great Britain's long-established relations with the United States and with the former colonies of the British Empire may "inflate" the European collaboration. (Muszaki Kvk, 2003)	Further enlargement of the EU may also give hope to Hungarian minorities living in other states of the region (e.g. Serbia, Ukraine) that their economic and social status will improve. (Nemzedékek Tudása, 2014)
Finland	The starting point for European integration after the Second World War was the burial of old conflicts between France and Germany. In 1950, French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman presented a plan that began European integration. (Otava 2002)	The countries of the Free Trade Association are not seeking the same level of economic and social cooperation as the countries of the Economic Community. The main purpose is to reduce and eliminate customs duties in trade between Member States. In trade between Finland and the EFTA countries, certain tariff reductions are slower and imports of certain goods into Finland are restricted due to trade between Finland and the Soviet Union. Finland grants the Soviet Union the same benefits as to the EFTA countries. (WSOY, 1966)	There were many drivers behind European integration. Historical drivers were shared cultural and legal values: humanism and democracy. (Otava 1995)	The Economic Community, whose members are the same as in the Coal and Steel Community, is also known as the "Six" and the "inner market countries." The Treaty of Rome requires the gradual establishment of a customs union and an economic union. (Kirjayhtymä 1970).	The debate on the future of the EU has been, and will surely continue to be, dominated by one question over others: should the European Union become a federal state or a union of states? (Edita, 2007)	Decisions binding on the countries of the Economic Community shall be taken by the joint Council of Ministers of the EEC. An important informal body is the meeting of national government leaders. In addition, the establishment of a joint parliament between countries is envisaged, which would further accentuate the supranational character of the EEC. (Otava 1978)	Before negotiations could begin with countries wishing to join the EU, a huge number of difficult economic, political, ideological and human rights issues and practical issues had to be resolved. Although it was known that the old Member States' net payments to the EU would increase, they were prepared to pay the price of the Union's eastern enlargement. Money could bring peace, security, and stability to Europe. (Edita 2007)	There have been controversies within the economic community, particularly regarding the community's agricultural policy. (Kirjayhtymä 1970)	Eastern European nations have been eager to join NATO. At present, most of the EU Member States are in NATO, but Austria, Sweden, and Finland, for example, have not joined. NATO and the EU also have agreement on the use of NATO troops for a possible Union-led crisis management operation. (Otava 2012)	Finland's accession to the European Union sparked a lively debate on the new goals of Finnish foreign policy. The government was cautious and stated that Finland's foreign policy relied on military neutrality and credible independent defence. However, Finland endorsed the Maastricht Treaty's ambition for a common foreign and security policy for the EU. (WSOY 1998)

Appendix C (continued)

	Early EU cooperation	Alternative cooperation	European idea	Economic cooperation	Political cooperation	Institutional cooperation	Enlargements	Resistances	US influence	National position
Spain	In 1948, Churchill, De Gasperi, Blum and Spaak founded the "European Movement," from which emerged, on May 5 1949, the Council of Europe, based in Strasbourg, with a consultative Assembly formed by members of the different national parliaments, as the core of a possible European parliament. It was then that the French minister Robert Schuman presented the "plan" for a "Coal and Steel Community," with the participation of the German Federal Republic, as the first base "for an indispensable European federation for the preservation of peace." The "Schuman plan" was accepted by the German government of Chancellor Adenauer and by Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg, who signed the ECSC treaty in Paris (April 18, 1951). (Edelvives, 1979)	The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), formed on January 25, 1949, by the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania to which the German Democratic Republic in 1950 and Outer Mongolia in 1962 joined; Comecon becomes a replica of the European Economic Cooperation Organization. (Edelvives, 1979)	Europe has common features and a common personality, as the result of an identity of beliefs, arising from the same religion: Christianity, and the same cultural tradition: the Greco-Roman-Germanic. This identity of beliefs gives Europeans a special vision of the transcendence of man's life, imposing enormous respect for their dignity and freedom, as well as a particular concept of history as realization of man on earth. (Doncel, 1965)	The introduction of the euro required the participating countries to meet very strict economic stability criteria. These required a deficit of less than 3% of GDP, an indebtedness level of less than 60% of GDP, reduced inflation and interest rates close to the average. As this process coincided with the crisis of the early 1990s, the introduction of the euro caused tensions: the United Kingdom and Denmark achieved non-accession status, and Sweden decoupled from the Euro Zone. Today, the euro circulates in fifteen countries of the European Union, it is the currency of 320 million Europeans and almost 180 million people have currencies linked to it. (Vicens Vives, 2013)	The first step, the free movement of capital, took place on July 1, 1990. The transition from the European Economic Community to the European Union took place in Maastricht. In the Dutch city, on December 11 and 12, 1991, a new treaty was signed, which should have been ratified by the Member States in 1992, although the adverse result of the Danish referendum delayed it. The Treaty on European Union, commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty, proposes several goals with a timetable for its compliance. (Vicens Vives, 1994)	The European Community, through four created bodies, two as decision centres (Executive Commission and Council of Ministers) and two as control centres (the Court of Justice and the European Parliament), has community-based decision-making system. These four organizations, as stipulated in the Treaties of Rome, have become the real engines of integration, and their supranational —and to some extent independent —character allows them to survive any crisis of its members. (Editorial SM, 1982)	From the fall of de Gaulle in 1969, the Common Market acquires new momentum, and in 1973 England, Ireland, and Denmark are incorporated, while the Norwegian people, in a referendum, reject the integration proposal. The Europe of the nine has therefore been constituted. (Vicens-Vives, 1983)	The economy of most other countries has entered into recession or stagnation, which has led to the paralysis of the idea of European unity. (Anaya, 2012)	At the beginning, the United States saw with good eyes and has constantly supported the European Community, for considering it as the best means to achieve European unity; however, the US does criticize the agrarian protectionism and some of its trade agreements. Trade between the two has been increasing, multiplying by three between 1958 and 1972 and being slightly favourable to the United States, which also has direct investments in the Community worth 25 billion $ (compared to 8 billion $ of the Community dollars in the US). (Editorial SM, 1982)	There is no doubt that Spain, because of its history, is an essential part of Europe, and that its full integration into the Community will contribute to boosting its cohesion by having to respond to the challenge of its own enlargement. At the same time, the presence of Spain, along with Portugal and Greece, will give greater weight to Mediterranean Europe in the whole Community. (Editorial SM, 1982)
Estonia	A new phenomenon in post-war Europe was economic integration, i.e., the harmonization of economic policies of different countries and economic cooperation. The pioneers were France and Germany, who wanted to prevent a future war in Western Europe in this way. The European Coal and Steel Community was created in 1951 under the leadership	In 1949, 10 European countries, the United States and Canada, formed a structure for joint defence and political cooperation – the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Under the leadership of the Soviet Union, the organization for socialist co-operation was the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) that was created as counterweight to the Western economic assistance offered by the United States to Europe in the post-war years	Flag of the European Union. The number of stars was chosen as 12, because in ancient and Christian tradition, this number symbolizes perfection. (Avita, 1999)	A new phenomenon in post-war Europe was economic integration, i.e., the harmonization of economic policies of different countries and economic cooperation. The pioneers were France and Germany, who wanted to prevent a future war in Western Europe in this way. . . . Finland and Sweden also disagreed on joining the	The Treaty of Amsterdam, signed in October 1997, marks the further development of the European Union. Under that agreement, within the next five years, about 50% of the justice and home affairs issues previously covered by the so-called Third Pillar should be transferred to	The European Economic Community, created in 1957, expanded, and new pan-European cooperation bodies such as the Council of Europe and the European Parliament emerged. (Avita, 2002)	Alongside strengthening the ties within the European Union, in the 1990s also the expansion of the organization was important. In 1993, in the Danish capital Copenhagen, the criteria for admitting new members were developed. In 1995 Sweden, Finland and Austria joined the EU. A further 11 Eastern European countries, all of	It cannot be said that the necessity of integration was obvious to everyone. Opposition was expressed by those who feared that the national identity of European countries would disappear and that too much national sovereignty had to be given up. (Avita, 2002)	That same year, US Secretary of State George Marshall announced a comprehensive relief plan for European war-torn countries. It was hoped to contribute to the reconstruction of the European economy and to weaken the impact of Communist propaganda. Through the Marshall Plan, the United States provided $13 billion in economic and technical assistance to seventeen European countries between 1948 and 1952. This helped to raise their gross national product	Estonia submitted its application for membership of the European Union on 24 November 1995. Two years later, an EU Commission opinion on this statement—Agenda 2000—was completed, which assessed Estonia's readiness to open accession negotiations. Based on this assessment, the Commission came to the following conclusion. Estonia has the characteristics of a democratic state and stable institutions guaranteeing the rule of

Appendix C (continued)

Early EU cooperation	Alternative cooperation	European idea	Economic cooperation	Political cooperation	Institutional cooperation	Enlargements	Resistances	US influence	National position
of these two countries, with Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands joining. The Community formed the basis of what is today the European Union—an economic and political organization that unites European countries. (Avita, 1999)	under the Marshall Plan. The CMEA, created in January 1949, was to help pro-Moscow states overcome economic difficulties and coordinate their economic co-operation. The initially Eastern Europe-centred organization later expanded with the accession of Mongolia, Cuba, and Vietnam. (Avita, 1999)		European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and accepting the euro as the European currency. Finland decided to join the union, but Sweden not to. Denmark, too, did not want to join the EMU. However, should Denmark and Sweden still decide to join the EMU, it will not take place until 2002. Nevertheless, many Swedish companies have already started their business by means of the euro. (Avita, 1999)	the competence of the European Communities. This gives even more Communities' decisions a supranational force. Among other things, the establishment of European Citizenship was confirmed in Amsterdam, meaning that in future, citizens of the EU countries will also have to have citizenship of the European Union. Nevertheless, the European Union is neither a state nor will it develop into a state, but a highly developed form of international cooperation. (Avita, 1999)		whom except for Cyprus formerly belonged to the Communist camp, expressed their wish to join. (Avita, 1999)		by a quarter. Stalin banned the participation of countries that were in the Soviet sphere of influence in the Marshall Plan. (Avita, 2007)	law, human rights, and respect for and protection of minorities. However, measures are needed to accelerate the naturalization of Russian-speaking non-citizens and to enable them to integrate better into Estonian society. Estonia is a functioning market economy and the country should be able to make progress necessary to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union in the medium term. Estonia has made significant progress in the transposition and implementation of the Single Market acquis (legislation). With further efforts, it should, in the medium term, acquire the ability to fully participate in the Single (EU) Market… (Avita, 1999)