



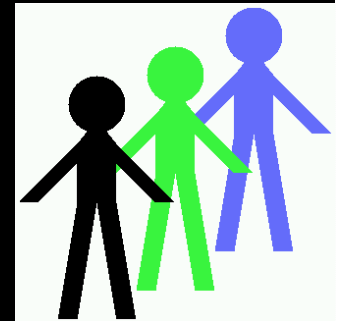
“SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS MEMBER STATES IN THE DYNAMIC CONTEXT OF ITS ENLARGEMENT AND EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION ACHIEVEMENT”

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**15th International Summer School
August, 25th/26th, 2009**

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION



As the members of the Empire Parliamentary Association have stated:

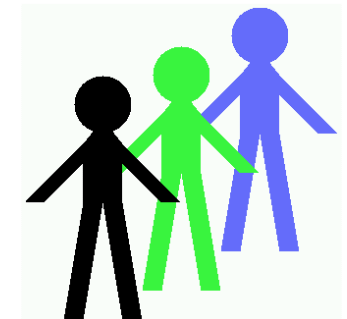
“The old Europe has gone. The map is being rolled up and a new map is unrolling before us. We shall have to do a great deal of fundamental thinking and scrapping of old points of view before we find our way through the new continent which now opens before us.” (Fitz-Gerald, 1946).

The numerous political transformations that have taken place since these words were spoken have confirmed this prediction.

In the last fifty years, Europe has begun to acquire a new form: divided into two realities that are both distinct and interconnected:

Europe and the European Union.

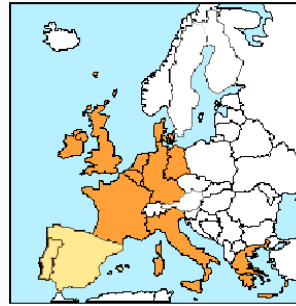
The political/institutional actions promoted by communitarian Europe are certainly beginning to influence our way of life and the way we perceive these two realities.



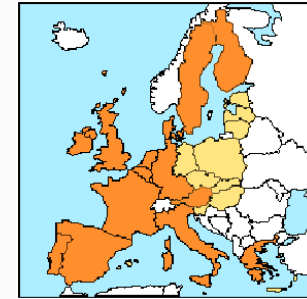
1950	May 9th, Robert Schuman, the French minister of foreign affairs puts forward a new idea for enduring peace with Germany. As coal and steel had been the main reasons for fights between the two countries he proposes to find a way to share these resources.
1951	The European Community for Coal and Steel is founded (CECA). Six countries join: France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg.
1957	CECA member states sign the Rome Treaty: European Economic Community and European community for Atomic Energy (EURATOM) were born. The principle is that economic integration might underpin European union.
1979	An European Parliament general election is held for the first time. Citizens of the member countries are called to send their delegates to a supranational institution.
1989	November 9th, the Berlin wall falls. EEC launches the PHARE programme aimed at helping Central and Eastern European countries in several domains.
1992	Rome Treaty is specified and better defined through the signature of the Maastricht Treaty. The EEC becomes European Union (EU). Other institutions are founded, namely the European Monetary Union and, the Foreign Policy for Common Security (PESC), and pillars of a common justice system are drafted. Old and new policies get coexist in the new EU framework.
1993	“Copenhagen criteria” are defined in order to integrate former Soviet countries in the EU. These criteria consist of a number of political and economic freedom conditions to be fulfilled to join the common European market.
1995	Austria, Finland and Sweden join the EU, now composed of 15 member countries.
1997	Luxembourg European Council launches the enlargement programme for six incoming countries, namely Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Czech Republic, the “Luxembourg group” countries.
1999	The common currency project is achieved. A timetable for the change over is defined for 12 member countries. Helsinki European council opens negotiations with other six incoming countries, namely Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania, Slovakia, the “Helsinki group”. It is decided that Turkey can also be considered a candidate for full membership.
2000	European council estimates that all newly formed Balkan countries can be considered potential candidates for membership. Nice European council modifies the Treaty to allow the entrants to have a share in Parliamentary seats and council procedures, commission composition criteria.
2002	January 1st, the Euro is the only currency in 12 European countries. A Convention on future Europe is appointed. It has the objective of putting forward a draft of European constitution.
2004	The enlargement is finally achieved. EU now counts 25 member countries.
2005	Ratification of the Constitution Treaty, failed in two of the Founder Countries: France and Netherlands via popular referendum reject it. In Luxembourg the treaty to join Bulgaria and Romania is signed and expected for the 1st of January 2007.
2007	Since the 1st of January Bulgaria and Romania are members of the European Union. The euro becomes the official currency for Slovenia.



- **1952:** EC-6 Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands



- **1986:** EC-12 entry of Spain and Portugal



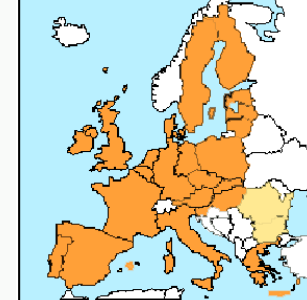
- **2004:** EC-25 entry of Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia



- **1973:** EC-9 entry of Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom



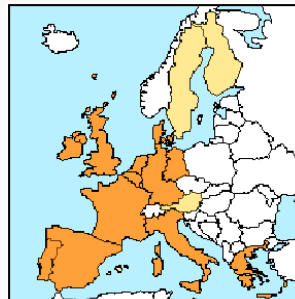
- **1990:** EC-12 German reunification



- **2007:** EC-27 entry of Bulgaria and Romania



- **1981:** EC-10 entry of Greece



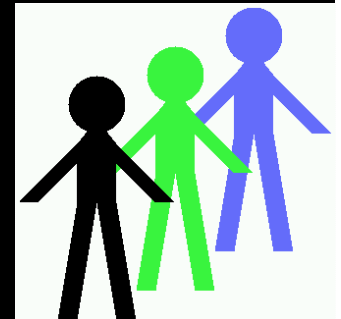
- **1995:** EC-15 entry of Austria, Finland, Sweden

“The transformation of the political geography of Europe has resulted in a plethora of new cartographic depictions. These maps of “new Europes” are a continuation of an historic sequence of cartographic definitions of Europe as a continental and as a cultural-political entity”. (Vujakovic, P., 1993).

ITER DI RATIFICA DELLA COSTITUZIONE EUROPEA

STATO MEMBRO	PROCEDURA	DATA
Austria	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	25 maggio 2005
Belgio	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	8 febbraio 2006
Bulgaria	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	1 gennaio 2007
Cipro	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	30 giugno 2005
Estonia	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	9 maggio 2006
Grecia	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	19 aprile 2005
Ungheria	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	20 dicembre 2004
Italia	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	6 aprile 2005
Lettonia	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	2 giugno 2005
Lituania	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	11 novembre 2004
Malta	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	6 luglio 2005
Romania	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	1 gennaio 2007
Slovenia	Ratificato: decisione parlamentare	1 febbraio 2005
Lussemburgo	Ratificato: referendum	10 luglio 2005
Spagna	Ratificato: referendum	20 febbraio 2005
Francia	Respinto: referendum	29 maggio 2005
Paesi Bassi	Respinto: referendum	1 giugno 2005
Danimarca	Processo di ratifica non completato	
Finlandia	Processo di ratifica non completato	
Germania	Processo di ratifica non completato	
Irlanda	Processo di ratifica non completato	
Polonia	Processo di ratifica non completato	
Portogallo	Processo di ratifica non completato	
Regno Unito	Processo di ratifica non completato	
Repubblica Ceca	Processo di ratifica non completato	
Slovacchia	Processo di ratifica non completato	
Svezia	Processo di ratifica non completato	

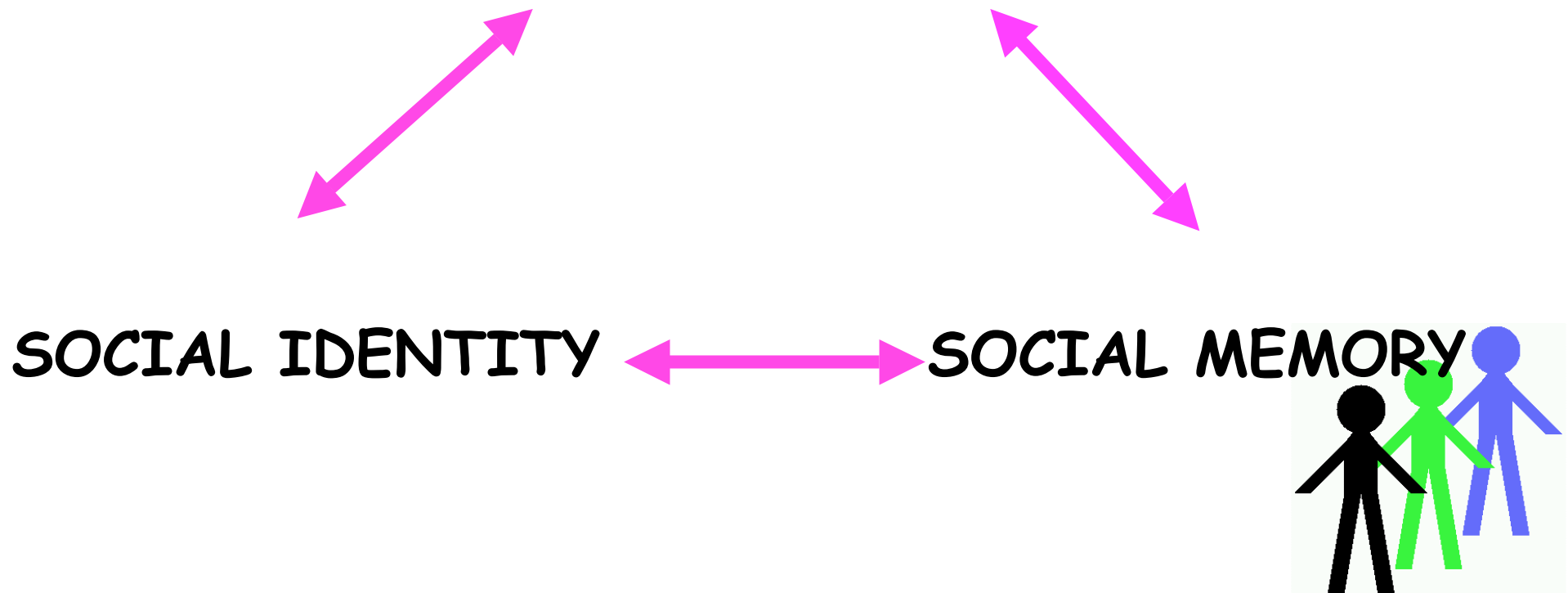
THE RESEARCH



Theoretical framework

- **Social Representation Theory (SRT)** (Moscovici, S., 1961, 1976, 2000).
- **Social Memory.** (Bartlett, 1932, Halbwachs, 1925, 1950, Lyons, 1993)
- **Multi-dimensional Identity** (de Rosa, A.S., 1996)
- **Social Identity** (Tajfel, 1968, 1978, 1981)

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS



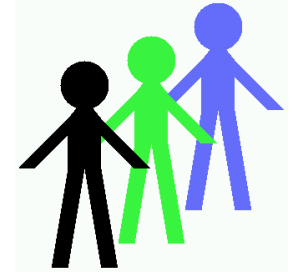


Objectives

Our aim is to analyze the evolution of the Social Representations of the Nation and of the European Union.

Methodology

Data collection tools



Questionnaire of a projective nature

→ **Associative Network** (de Rosa, 1995, 2002),

→ **Questionnaire:**

- Socio-demographic characters and knowledge of European countries;
- Attitude scale referring to the different European countries.

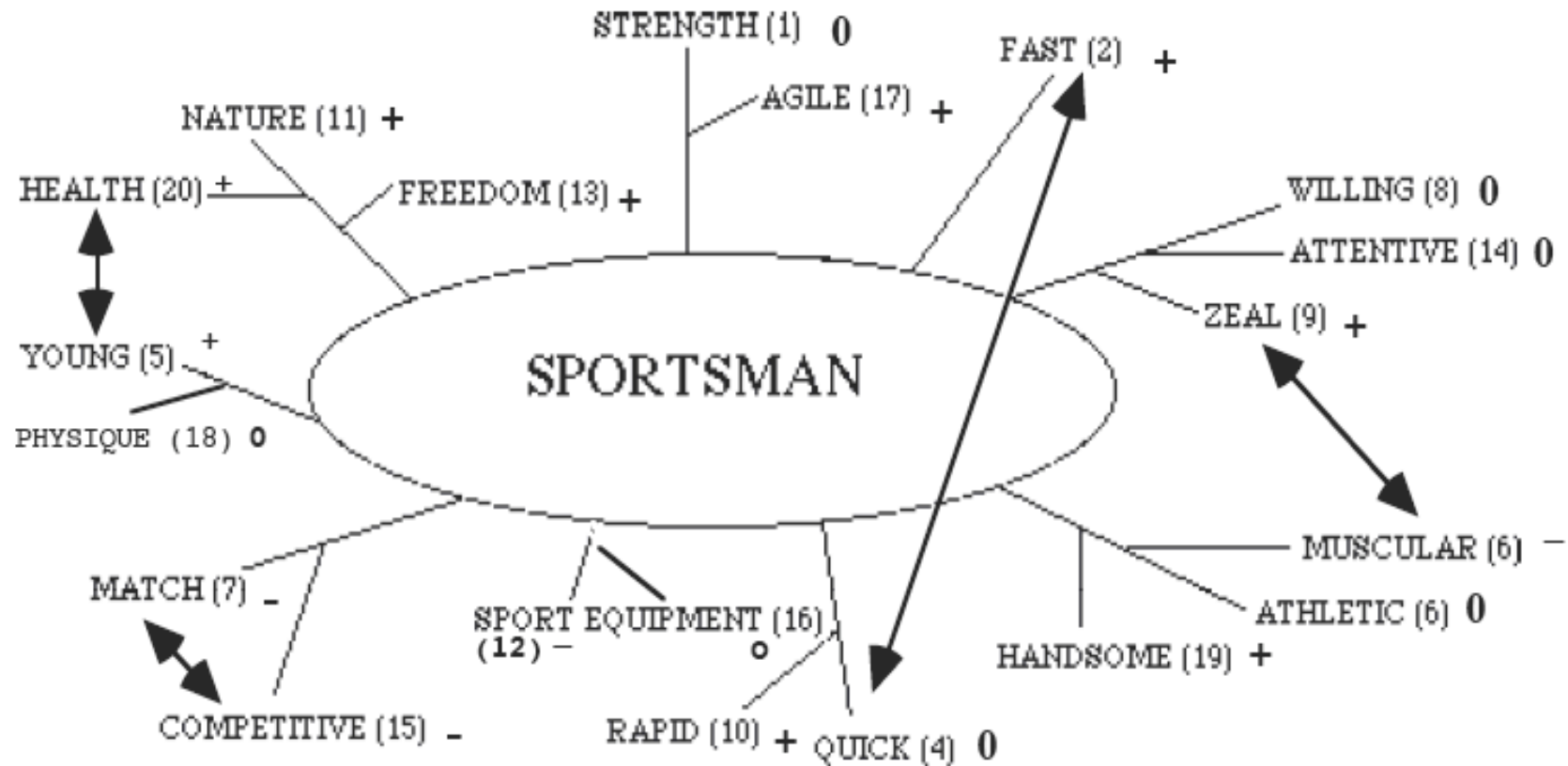
Data analysis techniques

1. Polarity index (for the associative networks)
 2. Correlation analyses and multivariate analysis techniques, such as the Lexical Correspondence Analysis (LCA)
- ❖ **Software:** SPAD.T package.

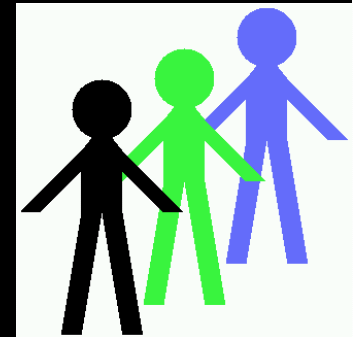
What we are going to discuss now are preliminary results obtained by the comparison between those three studies:

1. The mother research 1993-1996
2. EuroSKYcompass 2002-2004
3. European Costitution 2005-2008

Associative Network



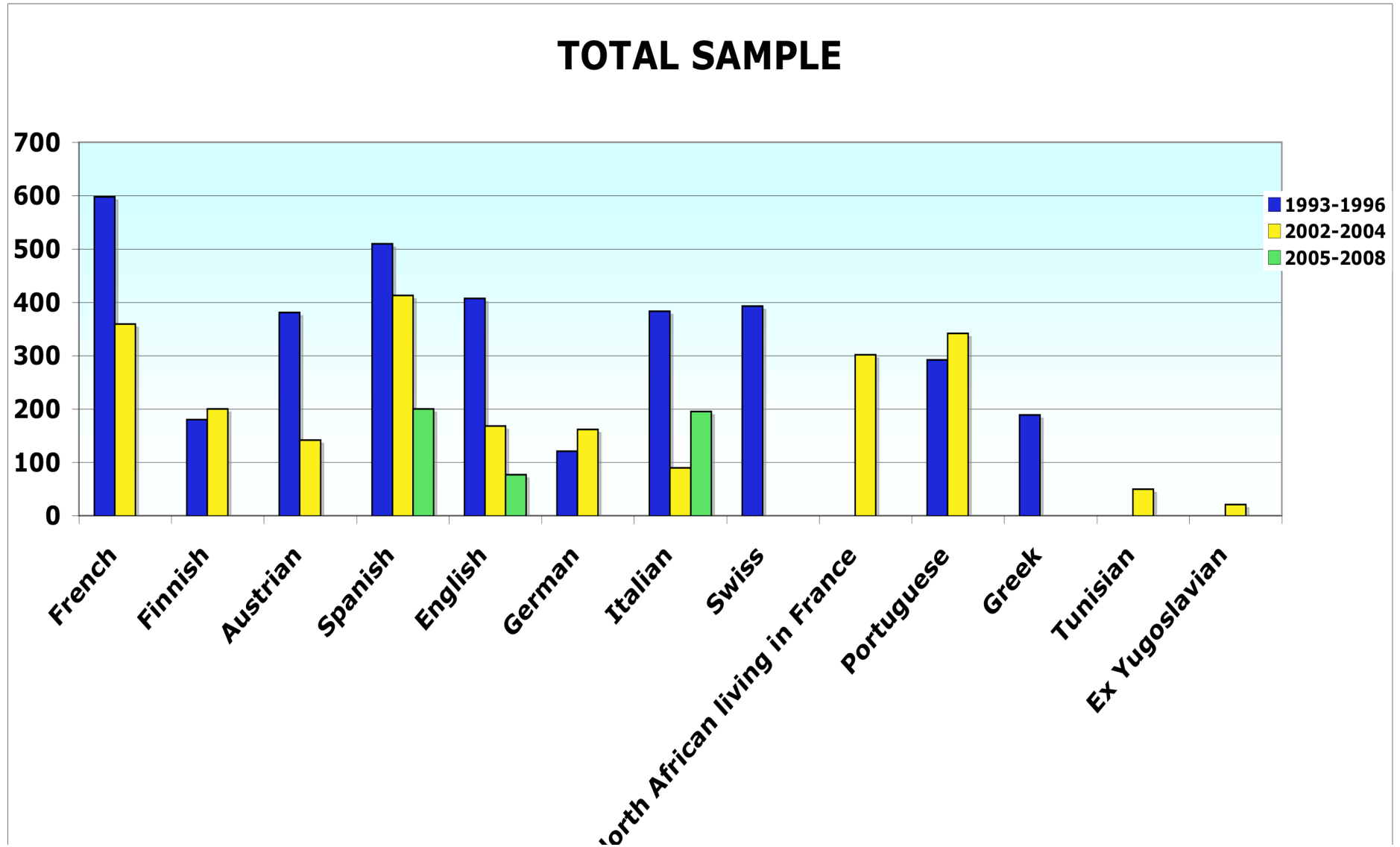
SOME RESULTS



The Sample

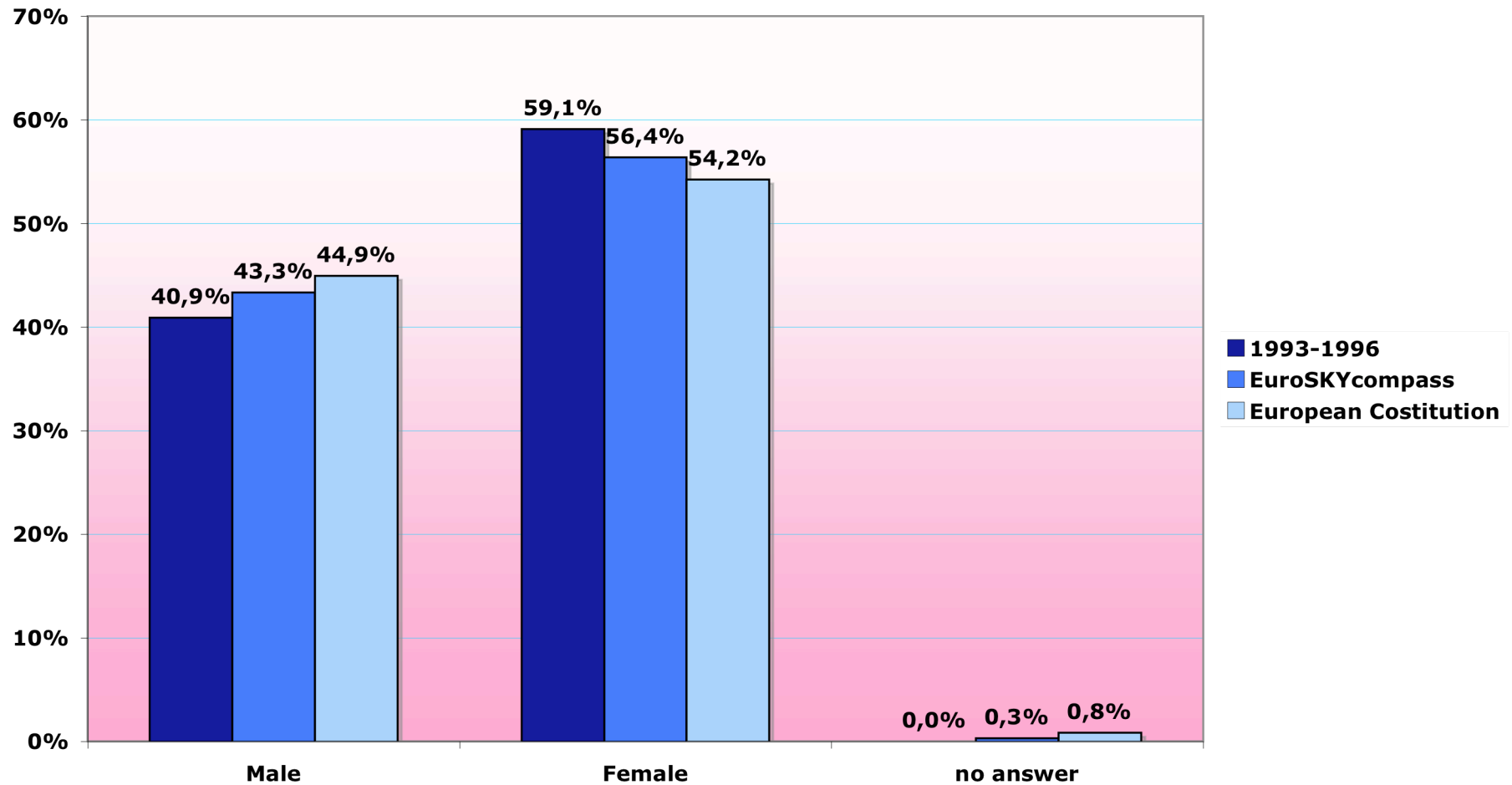
STUDY I		STUDY II		STUDY III	
MOTHER RESEARCH (1993-1996)		EUROSKYCOMPASS (2002-2004)		EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION (2005-2008)	
French	598	French	359		
Finnish	180	Finnish	200		
Austrian	381	Austrian	142		
Spanish	510	Spanish	413	Spanish	200
English	407	English	168	English	77
German	121	German	162		
Italian	383	Italian	90	Italian	195
Swiss	393	North African living in France	302		
Portuguese	292	Portuguese	342		
Greek	189	Tunisian	50		
		Ex Yugoslavian	21		
Tot.	3454	Tot.	2251	Tot.	472

Study1 - Study2 - Study3



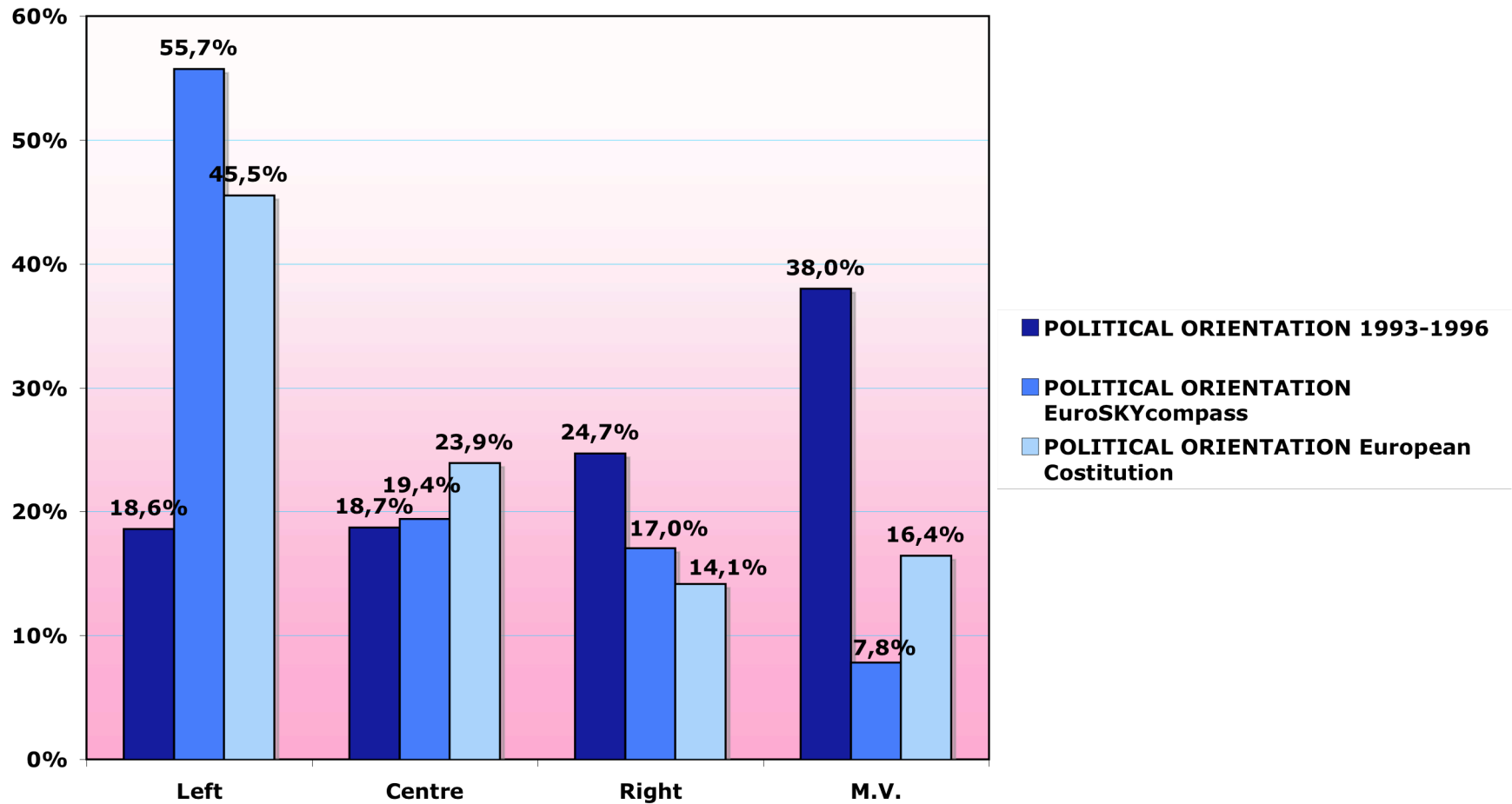
Study1 - Study2 - Study3

SEX



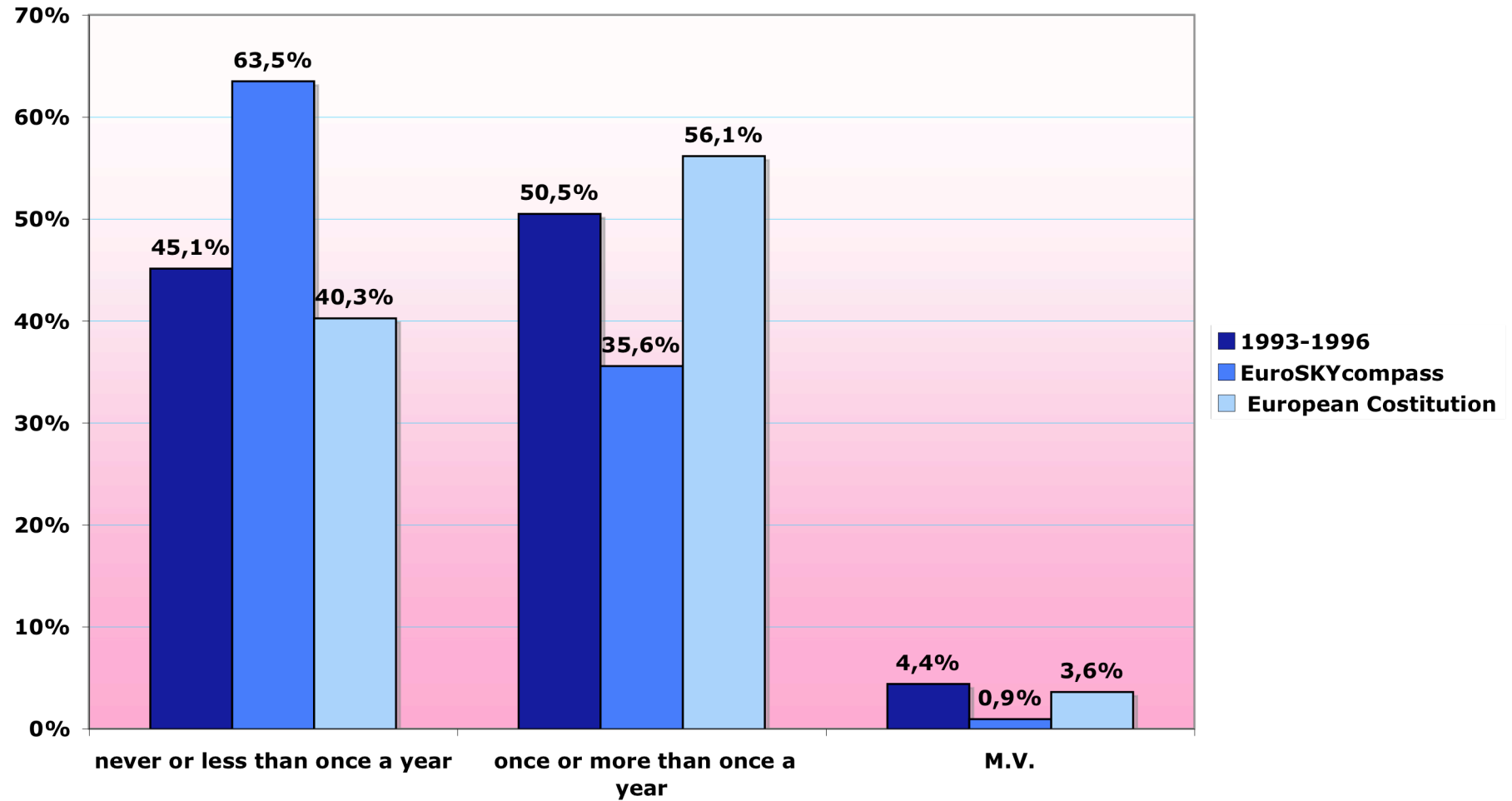
Study1 - Study2 - Study3

POLITICAL ORIENTATION



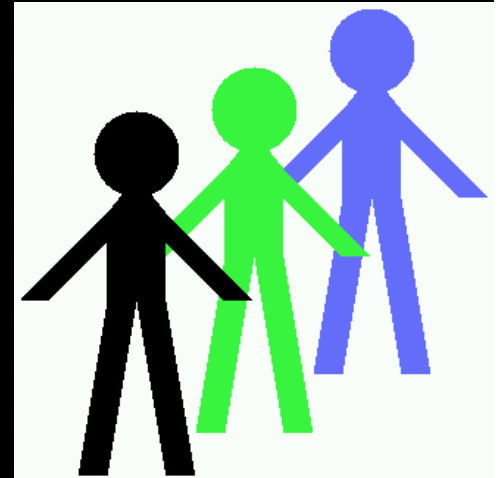
Study1 - Study2 - Study3

TRAVELING IN EUROPE



RESULTS OF THE ASSOCIATIVE NETWORK

- NATION
- EUROPE
- EUROPEAN
CONSTITUTION



Stimulus-word

❑ Mother research 1993-1996:

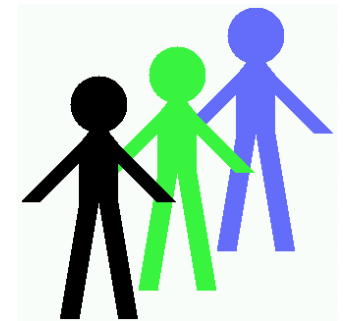
Nation, CE, N/S, E/W, Me, Boundaries, 12 CEE Countries.

❑ EuroSKYcompass 2002-2004:

N/S, E/W, Nation, Europe, World.

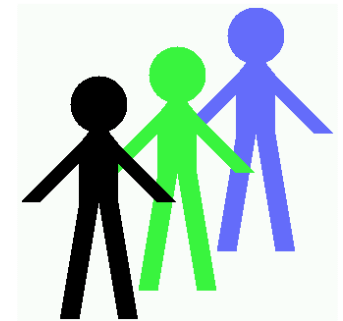
❑ European Constitution 2004-2008:

Nation, Europe, European Constitution.



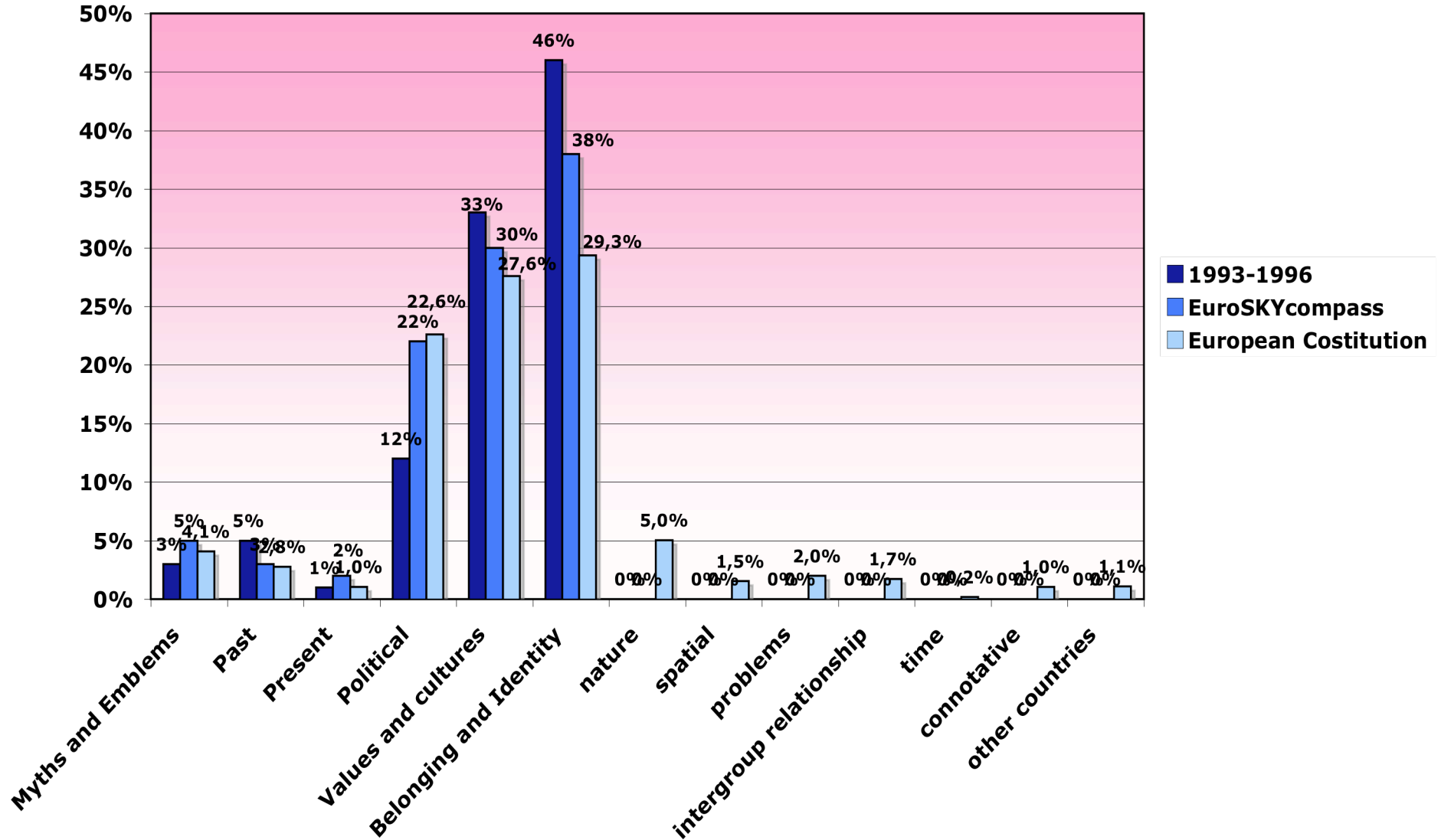
Categorization

1. Myths and Emblems
2. Past events and characters
3. Present events and characters
4. Political-legislative and institutional-organizational elements
5. Values and cultures
6. Belonging and Identity
7. Nature and geographical elements
8. Spatial elements
9. Problems and catastrophes
10. Intergroup relationship
11. Time
12. Connotative
13. Other countries



STUDY1-STUDY2-STUDY3

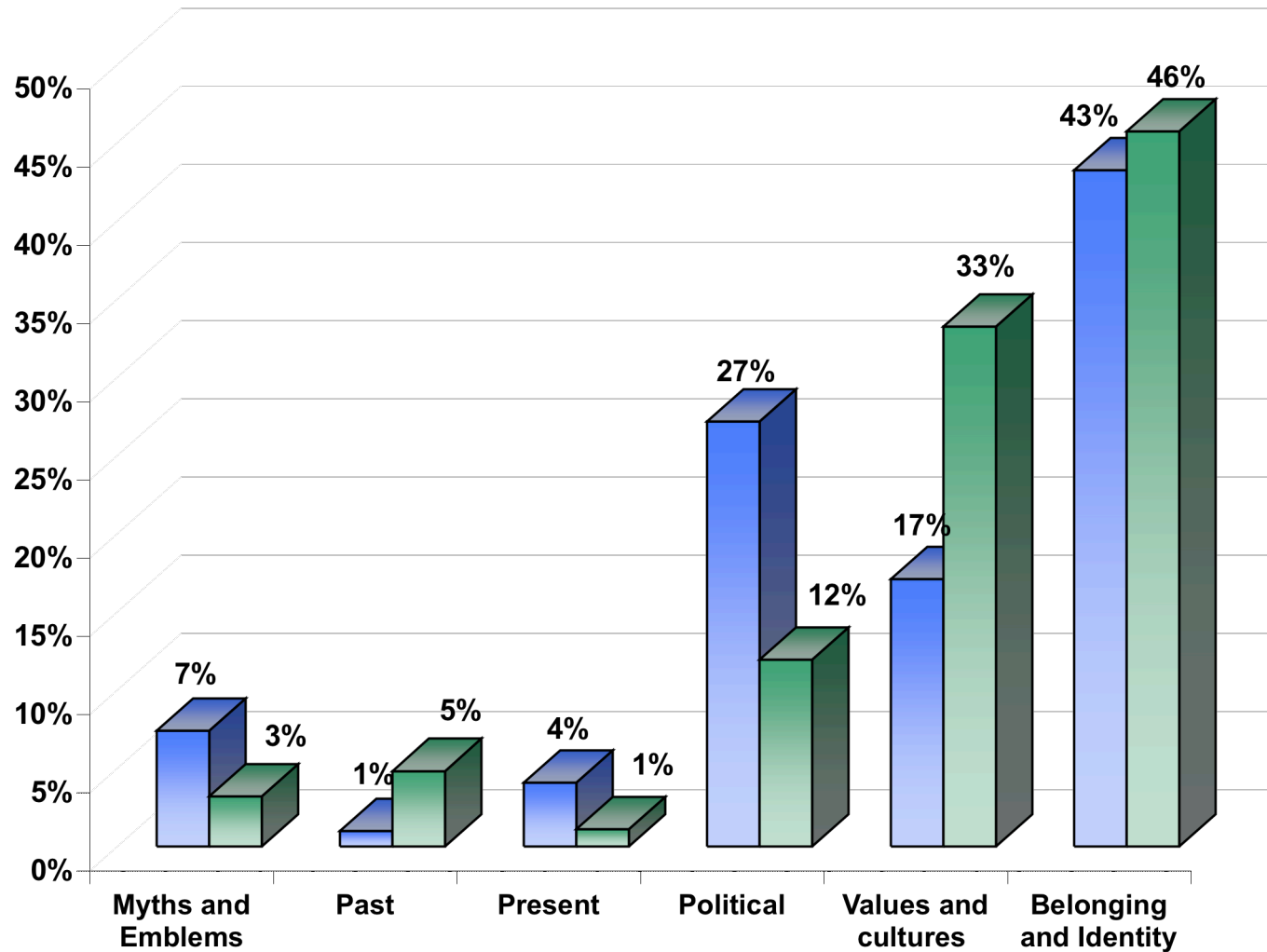
Categories Comparison



MOTHER RESEARCH

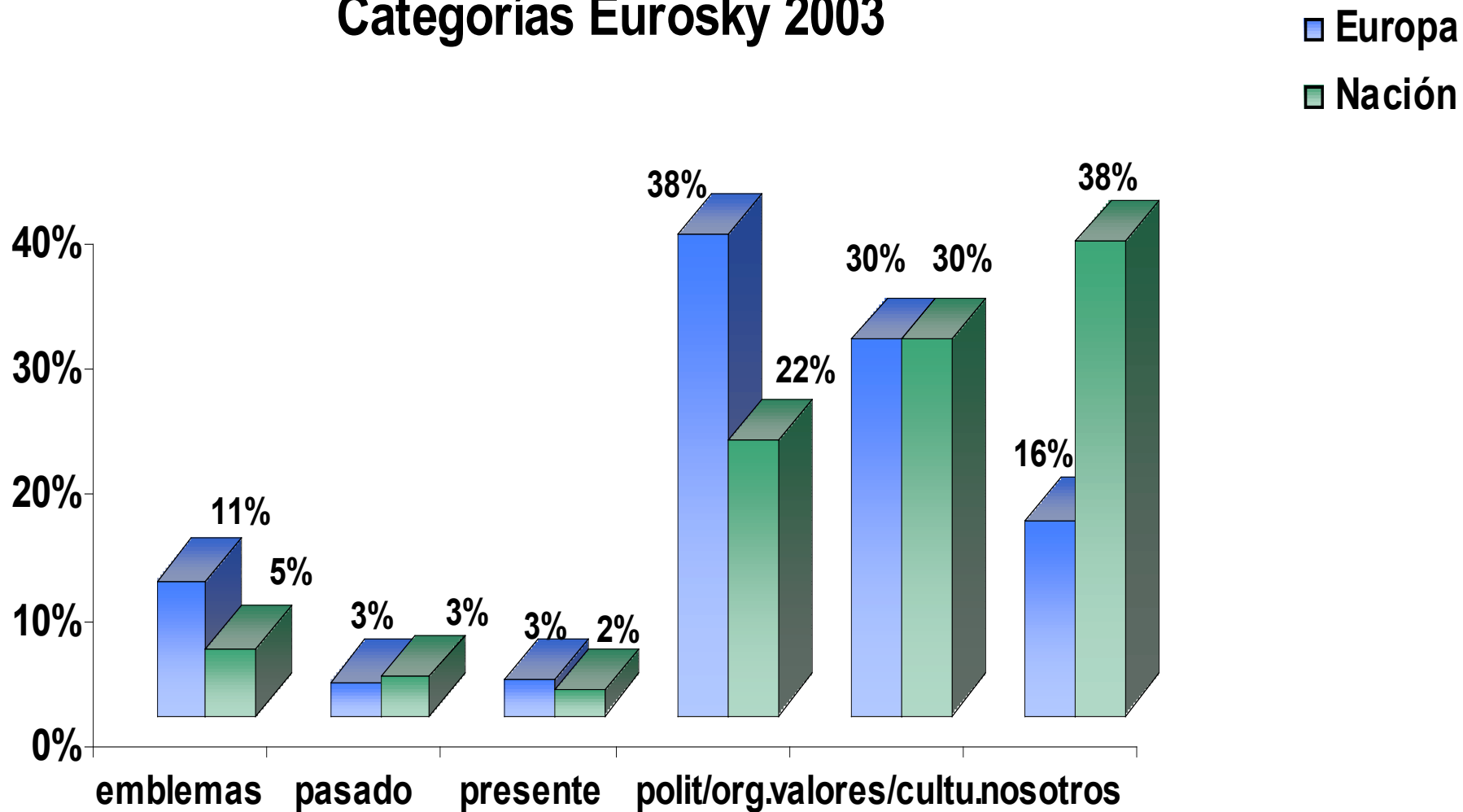
1993-1996 categories

UE
Nation



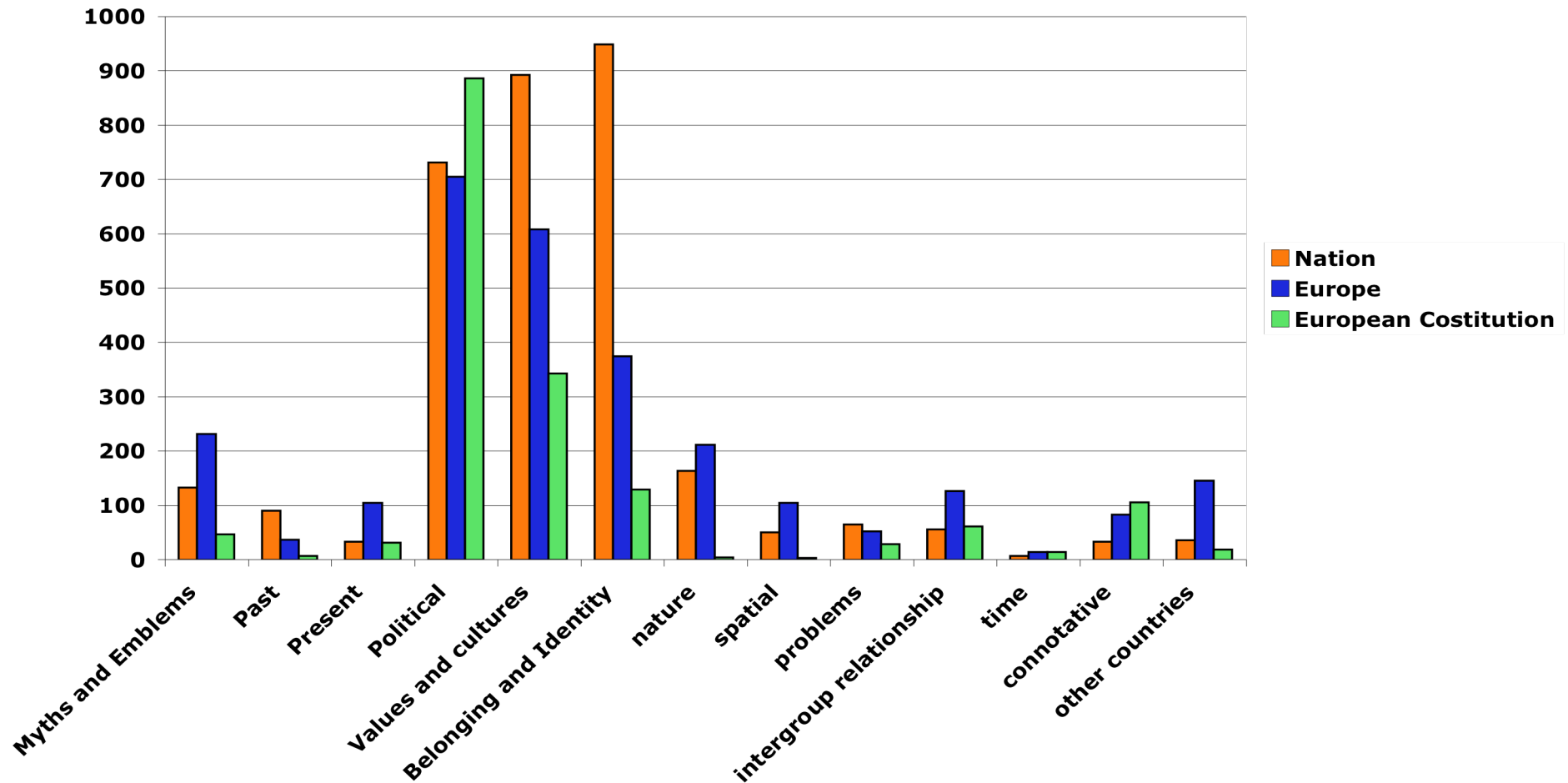
EuroSKYcompass

Categorías Eurosky 2003



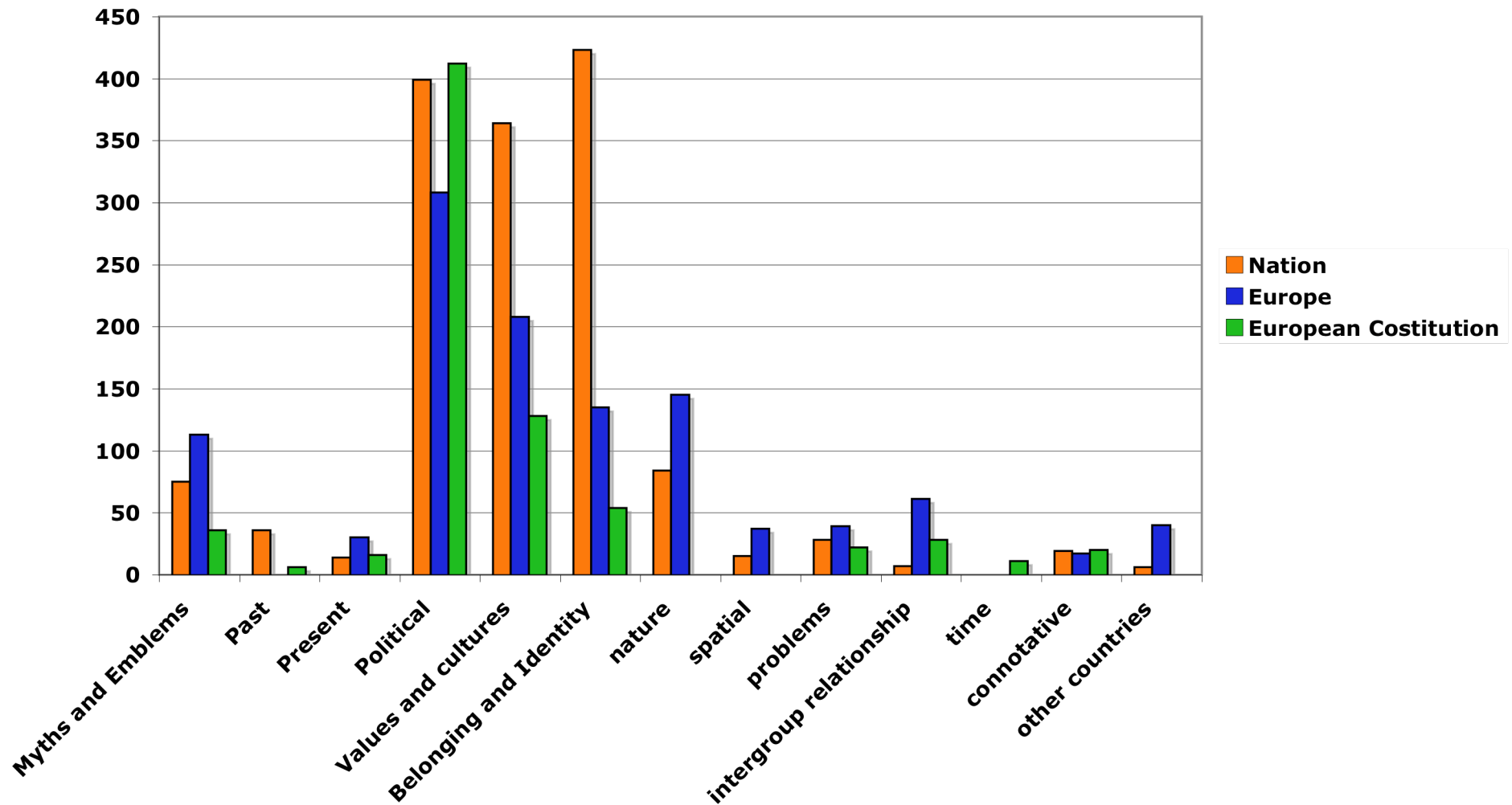
EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION

Total Categories



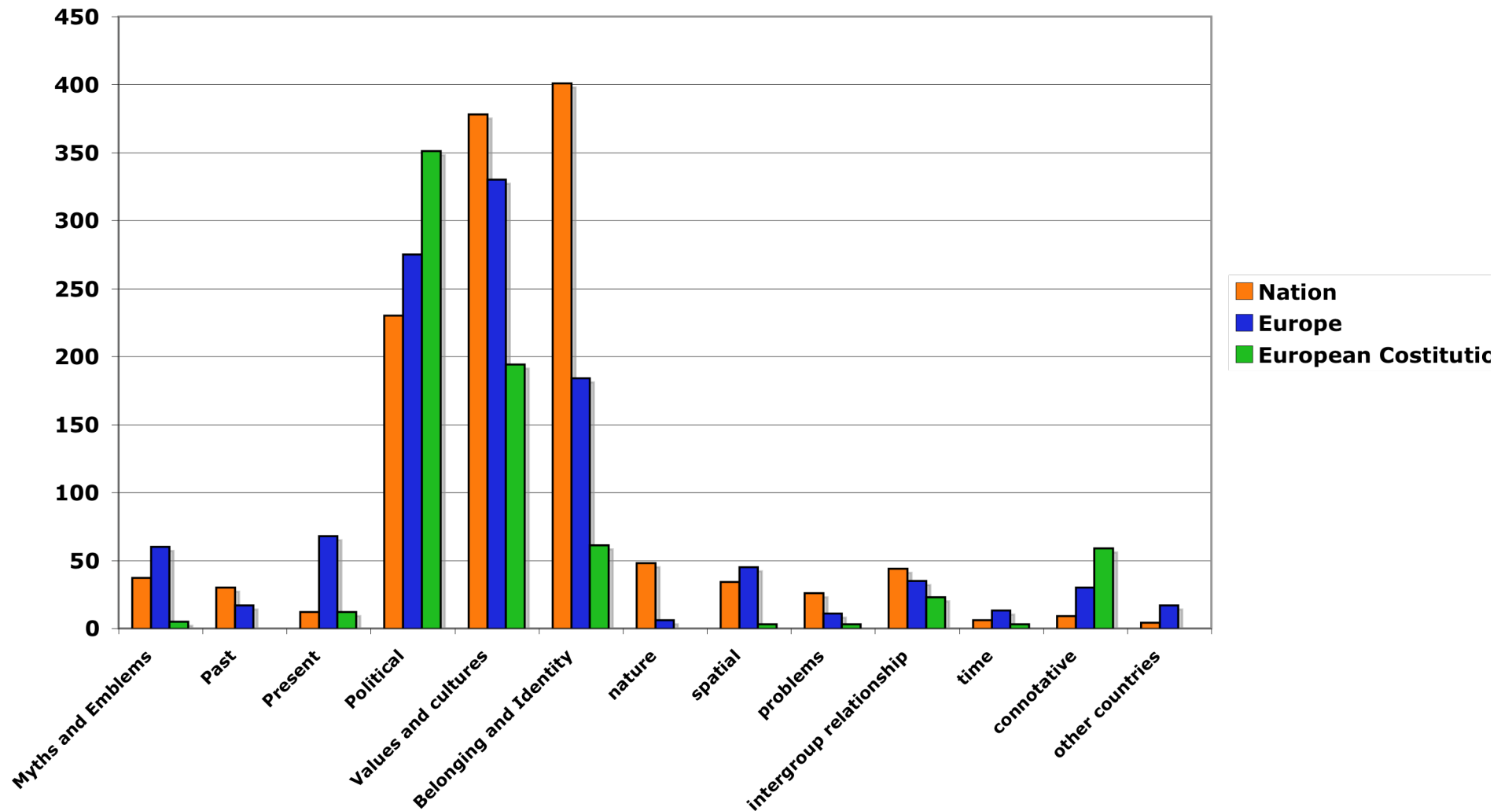
EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION

Italian sample



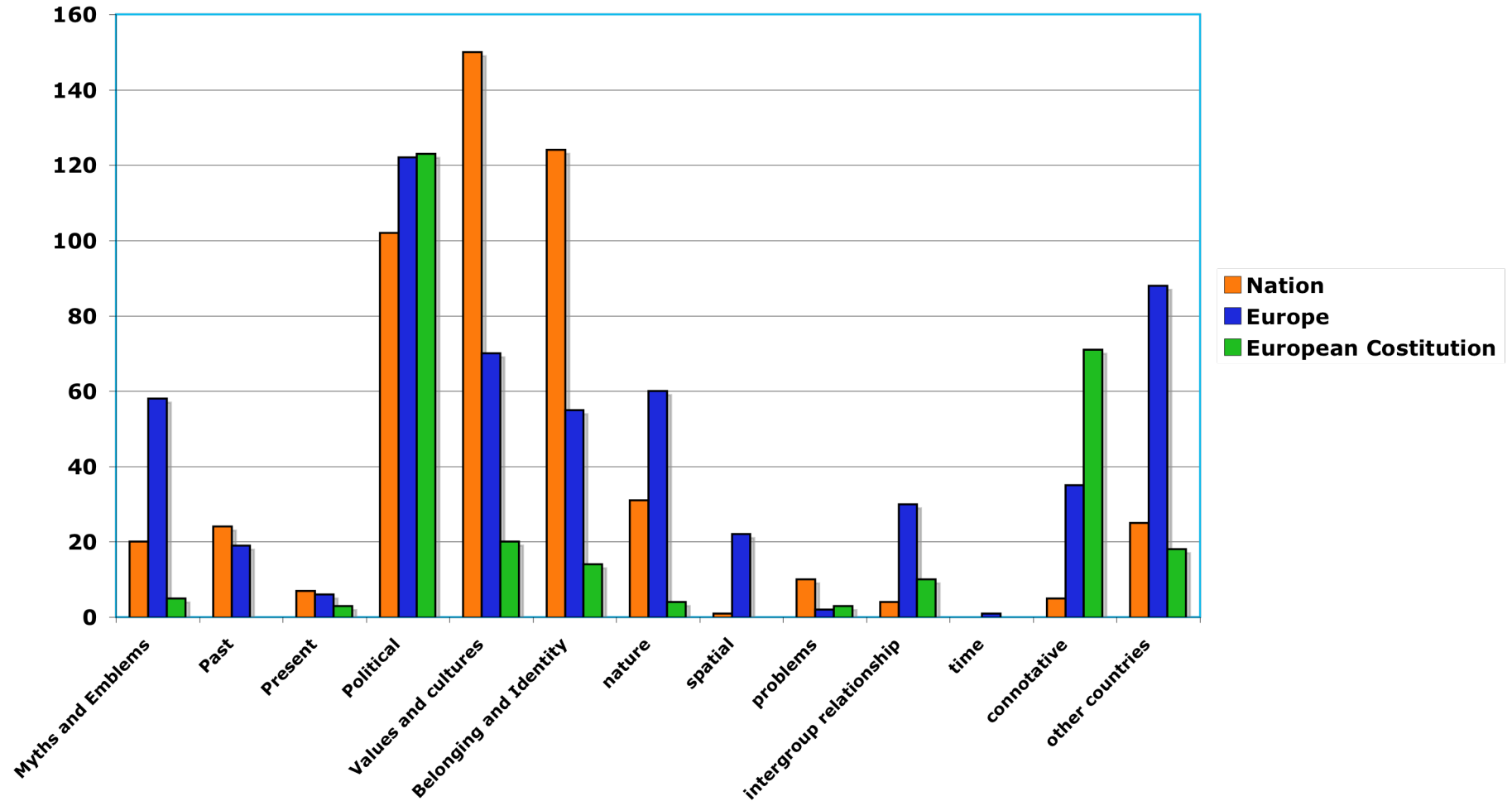
EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION

Spanish sample



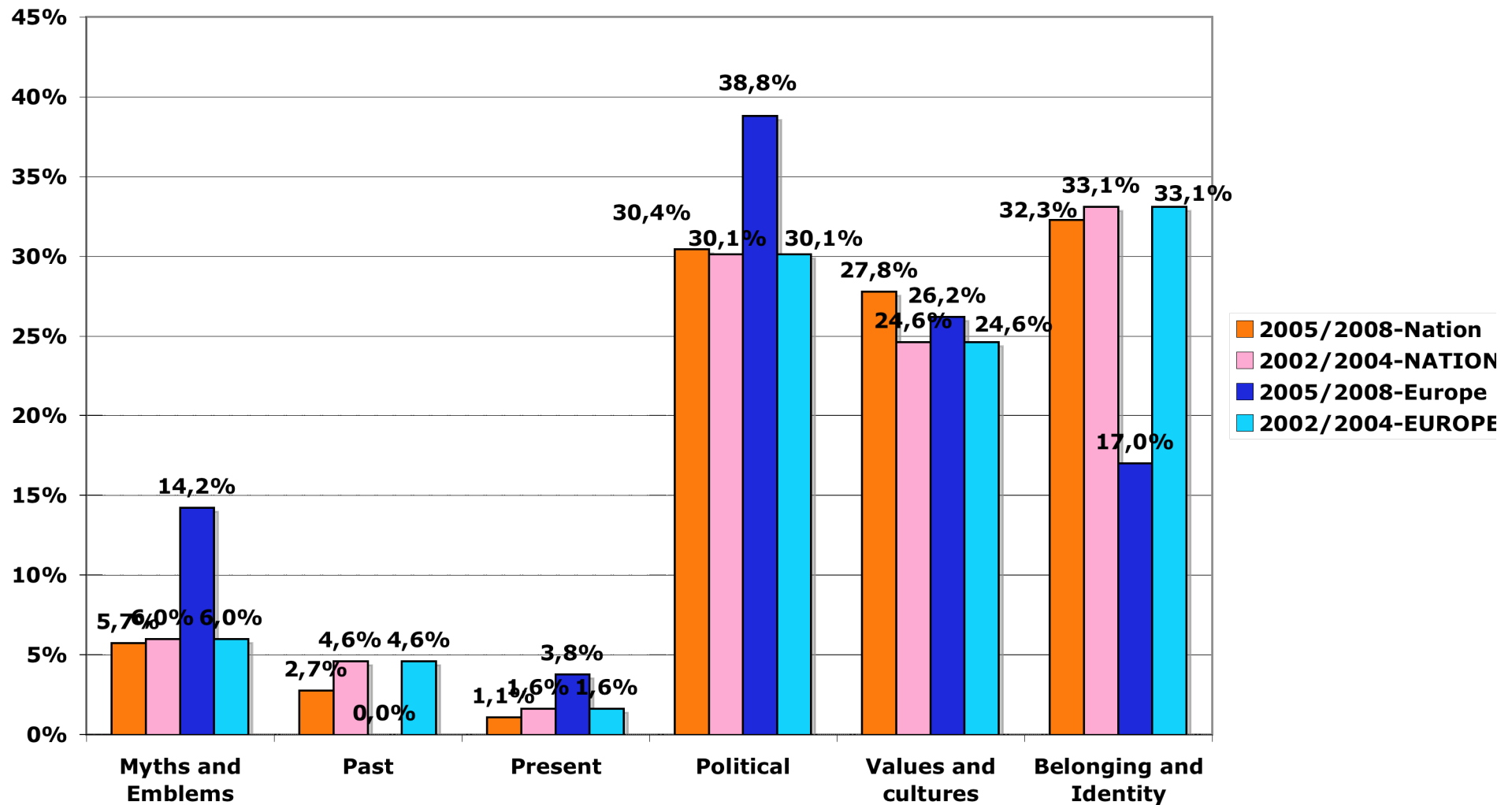
EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION

British sample



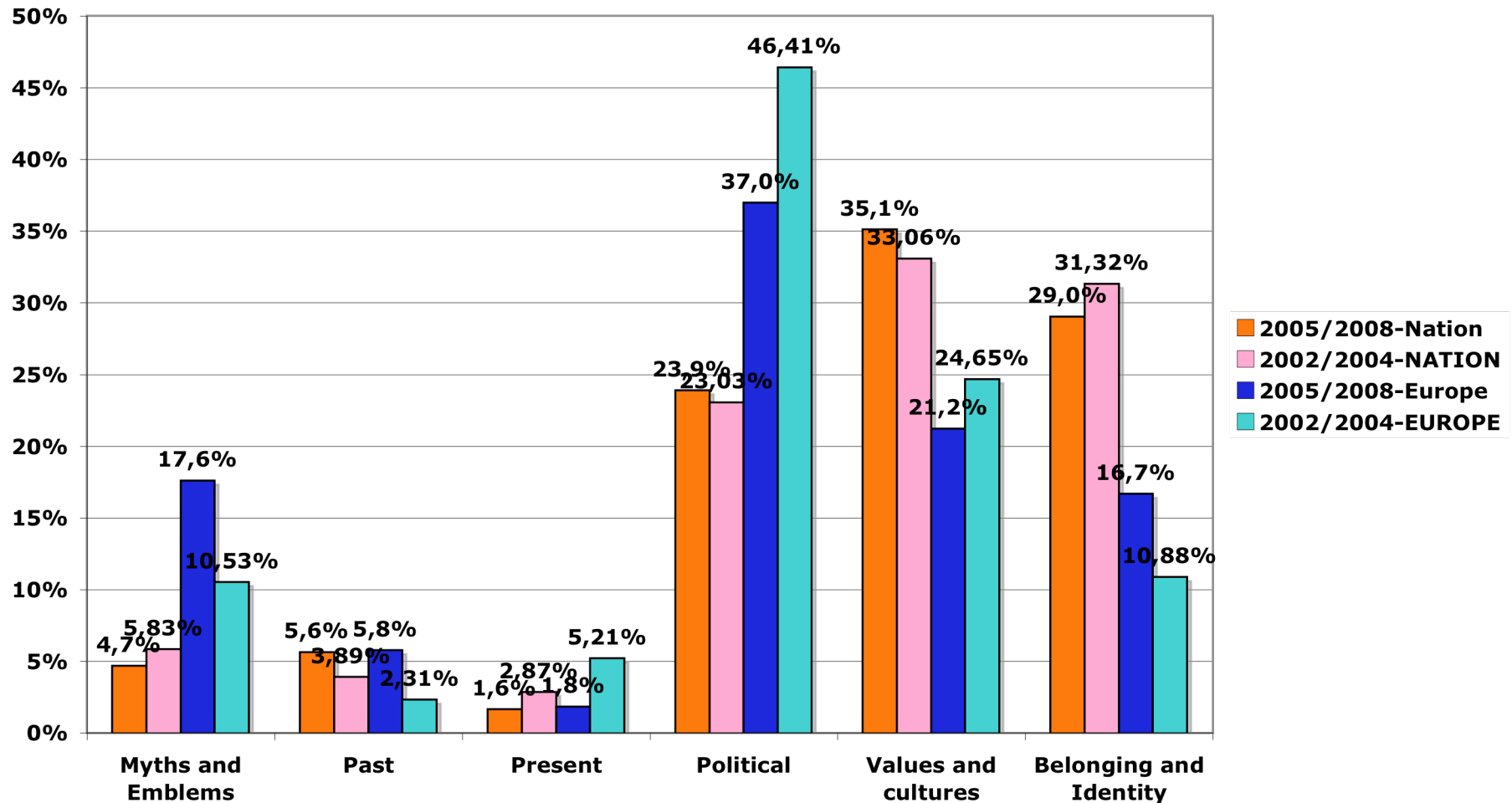
Categories comparison 2002/2004-2005/2008

2002/2004-2005/2008 ITALIAN Sample Comparison



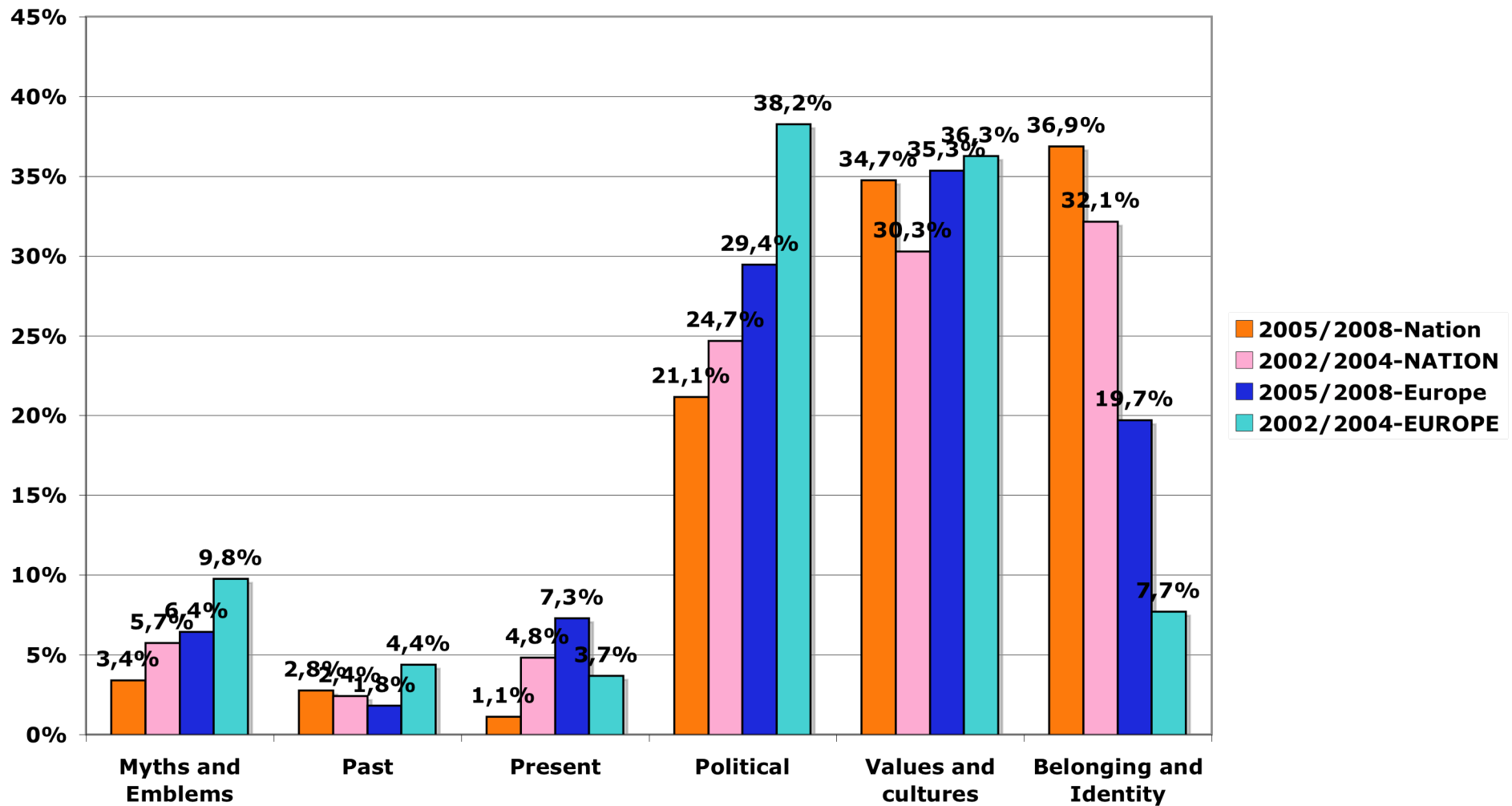
Categories comparison 2002/2004-2005/2008

2002/2004-2005/2008 BRITISH Sample comparison

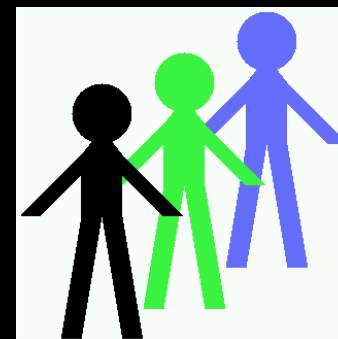


Categories comparison 2002/2004-2005/2008

2002/2004-2005/2008 SPANISH Sample Comparison



CONCLUSION



CONCLUSION

REGARDING THE TOTAL SAMPLE

SR of Nation+Europe comparison:

1993-1996/2002-2004/2004-2008

- Less → culture & values, belonging and identity dimensions
- More → political dimension.

1993-1996 SR of Nation:

- More → culture & values, belonging and identity dimensions
- Less → political dimension.

1993-1996 SR of Europe:

- More → belonging and identity dimension
- Less → culture & values dimension.
- More → political dimension.



REGARDING 2005-2008 Total SAMPLE

2005-2008 SR of Nation:

- More → culture & values, belonging and identity dimension
- Less → political dimension.

2005-2008 SR of Europe:

- More → political dimension.
- Less → culture & values dimension.
- Less → belonging and identity dimension

2005-2008 SR of European Constitution:

- More → political dimension.
- Less → culture & values dimension.
- Less → belonging and identity dimension



2002-2004/2005-2008 Steps

A comparison between the ITALIAN, BRITISH AND SPANISH_{SAMPLE}

ITALIAN:

SR OF NATION: → =categories

SR OF EUROPE:

- More → political dimension
- Less → belonging and identity dimension
- More → emblems dimension

BRITISH:

SR OF NATION: → =categories

SR OF EUROPE:

- Less → political dimension
- More → belonging and identity dimension
- More → emblems dimension

SPANISH:

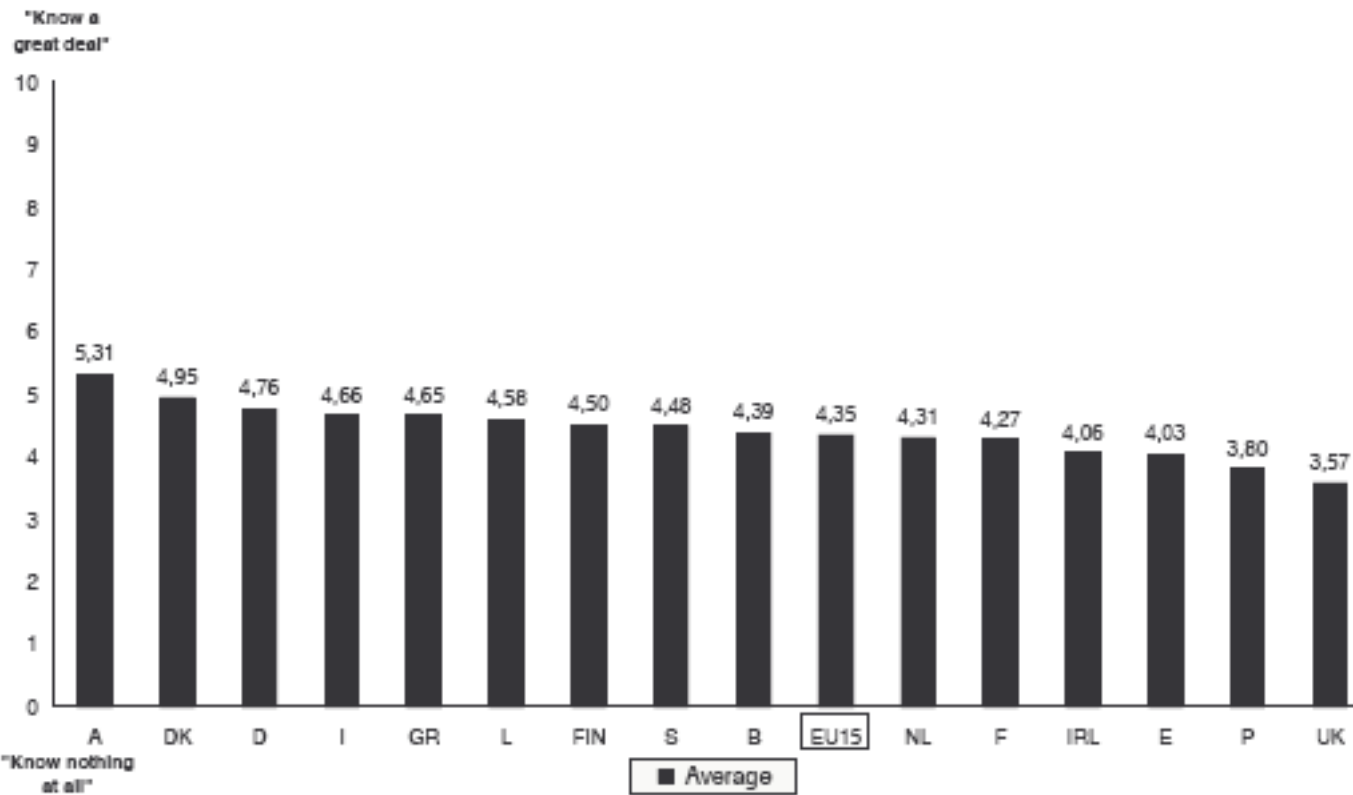
SR OF NATION:

- More → culture & values dimension
- More → belonging and identity dimension
- Less → political dimension

SR OF EUROPE:

- More → belonging and identity dimension
- Less → political dimension
- More → emblems dimension

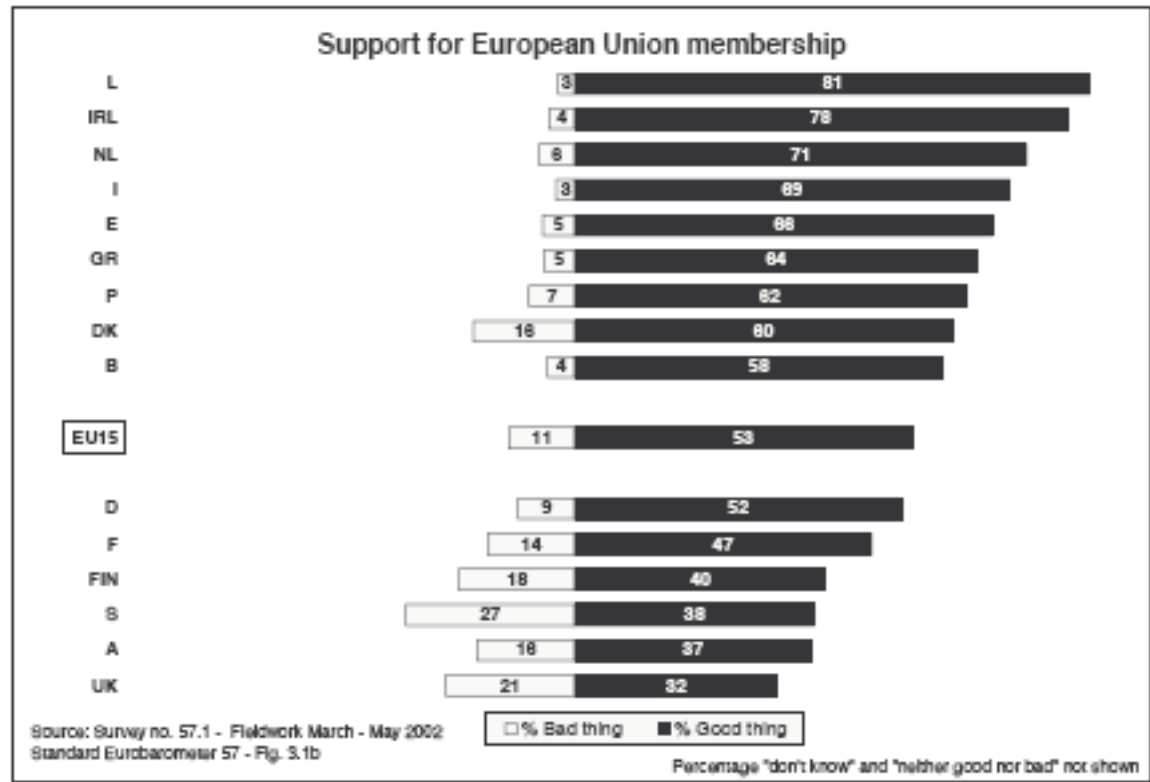
Levels of perceived knowledge about the EU



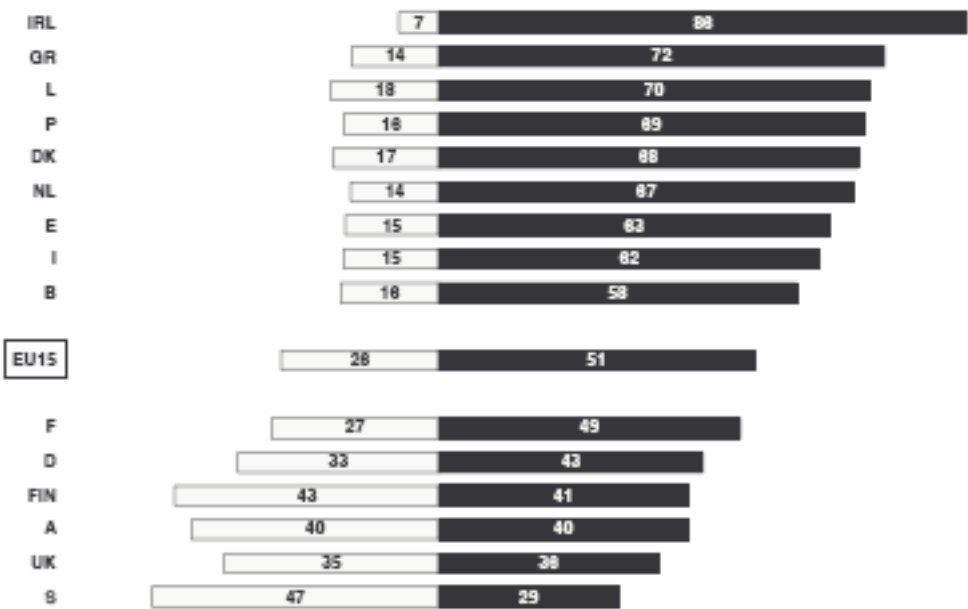
Source: Survey no. 57.1 - Fieldwork March - May 2002
Standard Eurobarometer 57 - Fig.2.2

Average scores are based on a scale of 1 - 10

Support for European Union membership



Benefit from European Union membership

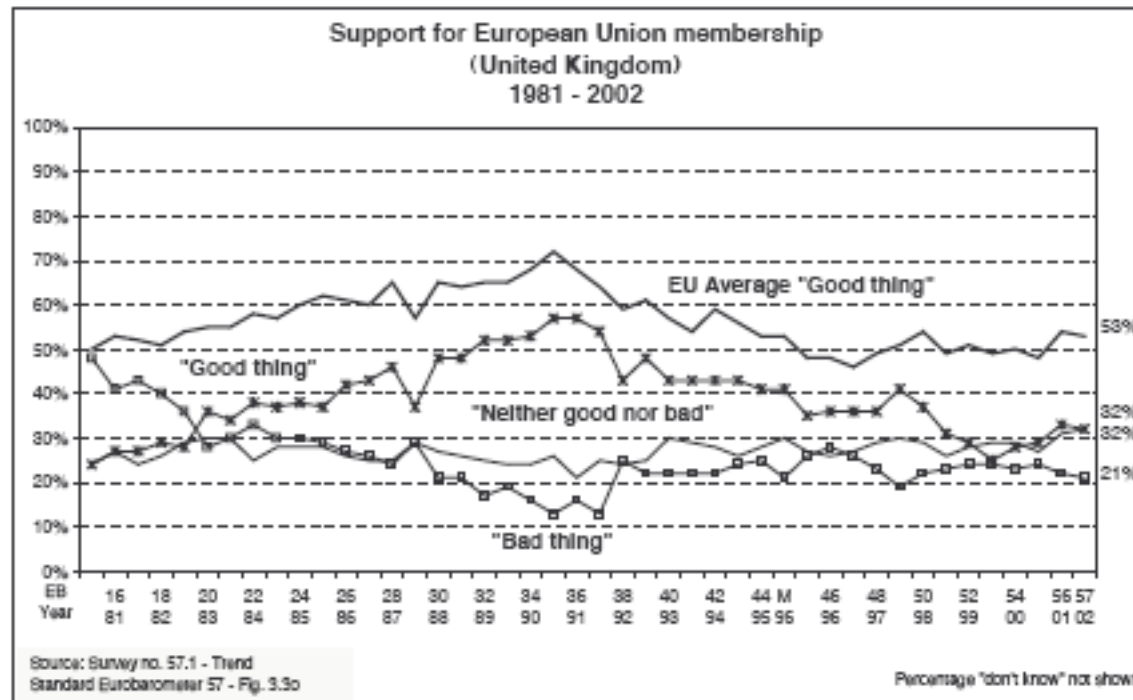


Source: Survey no. 57.1 - Fieldwork March - May 2002
Standard Eurobarometer 57 - Pg. 9.2b

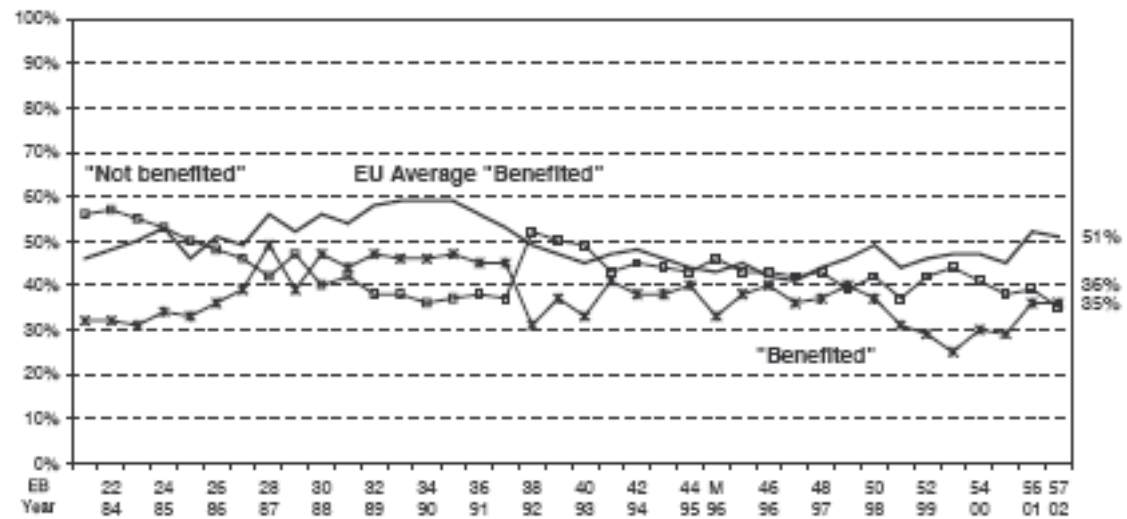
□ % Not benefited ■ % Benefited

Percentage "don't know" not shown

UNITED KINGDOM



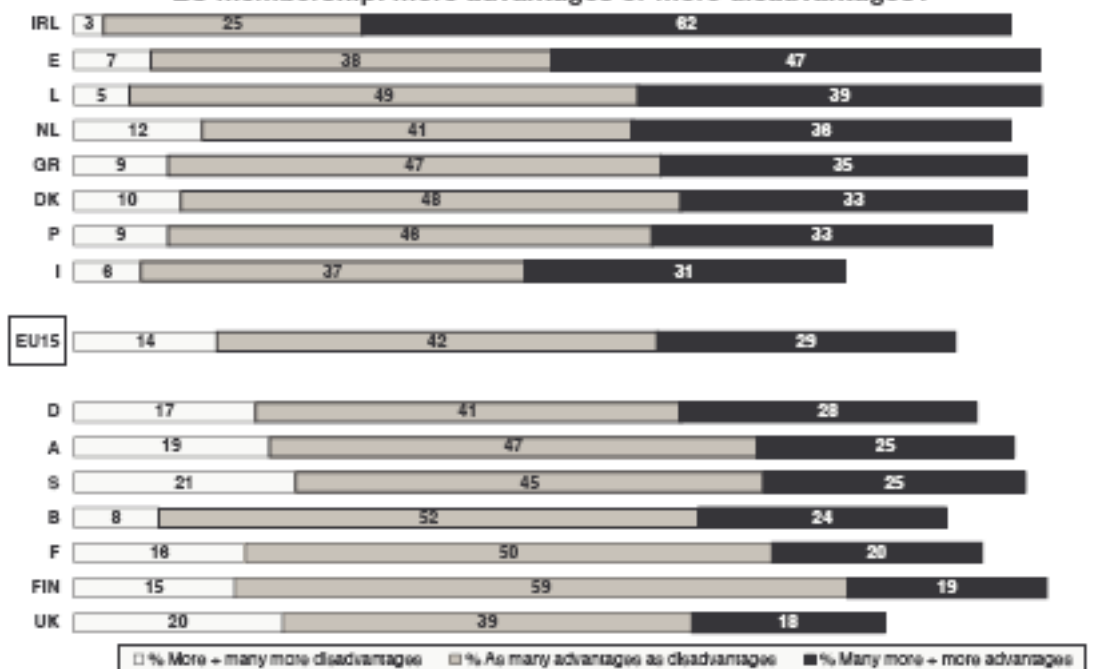
**Benefit from European Union membership
(United Kingdom)
1983 - 2002**



Source: Survey no. 57.1 - Trend
Standard Eurobarometer 57 - Fig. 3.4a

Percentage "don't know" not shown

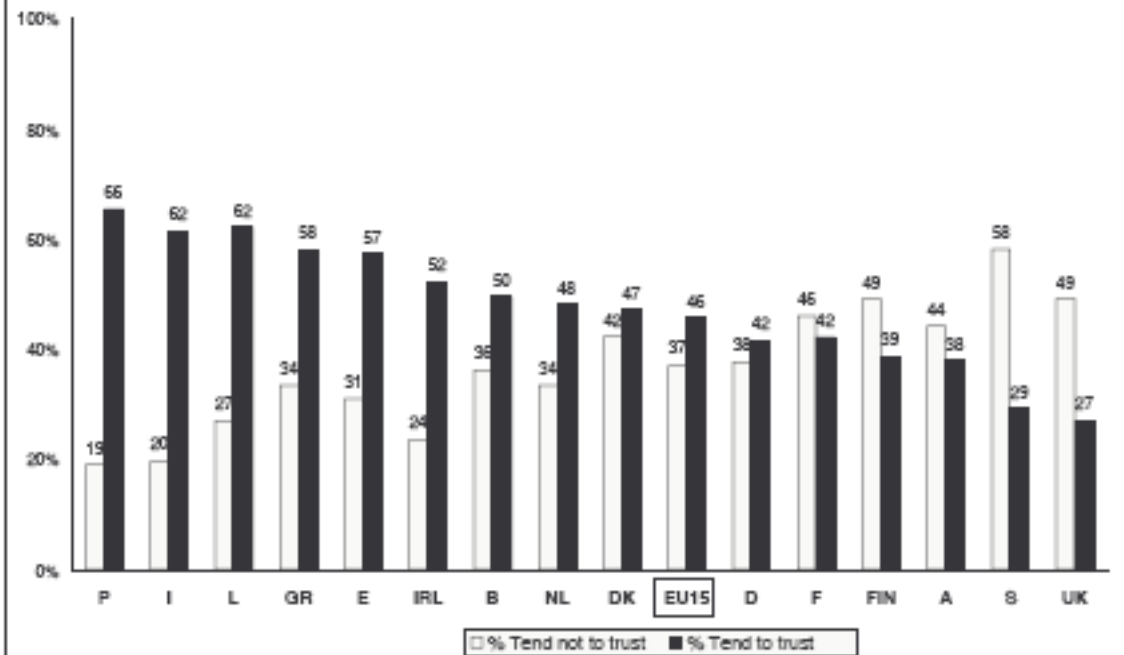
EU membership: more advantages or more disadvantages?



Source: Survey no. 57.1 - Fieldwork March - May 2002
Standard Eurobarometer 57 - Fig. 3.5

Percentage "don't know" not shown

Trust in the European Union



Source: Survey no. 57.1 - Fieldwork March - May 2002
Standard Eurobarometer 57 - Fig. 3.8b

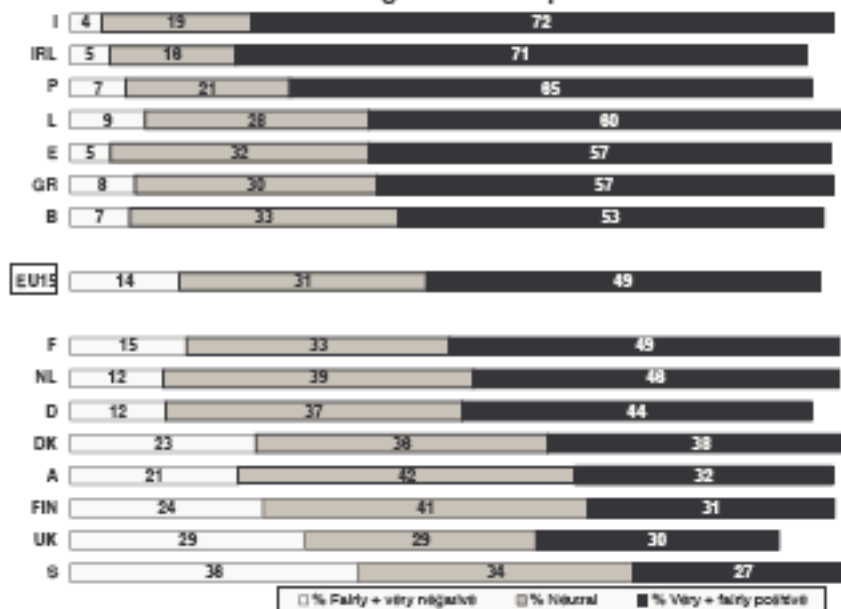
Percentage "don't know" not shown

Trust in the EU institutions and bodies

(Median score - % saying tend to trust for the 10 institutions and bodies, by country)

Country	Median
Luxembourg	56
The Netherlands	49
Ireland	48
Finland	45
Italy	44
Denmark	44
Belgium	42
Portugal	41
France	39
Germany	39
Spain	39
<i>EU15</i>	39
Greece	38
Austria	38
Sweden	33
United Kingdom	20

Image of the European Union



Source: Survey no. 57.1 - Fieldwork March - May 2002
 Standard Eurobarometer 57 - Fig. 4.1

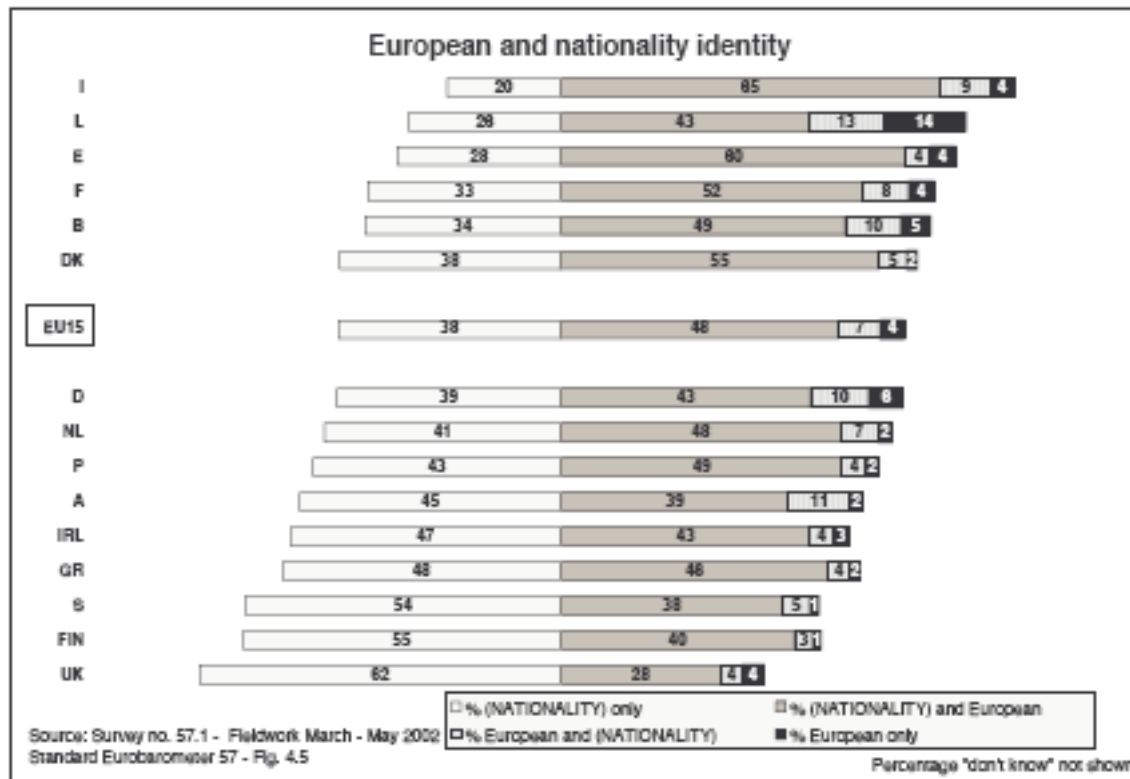
Percentage 'don't know' not shown

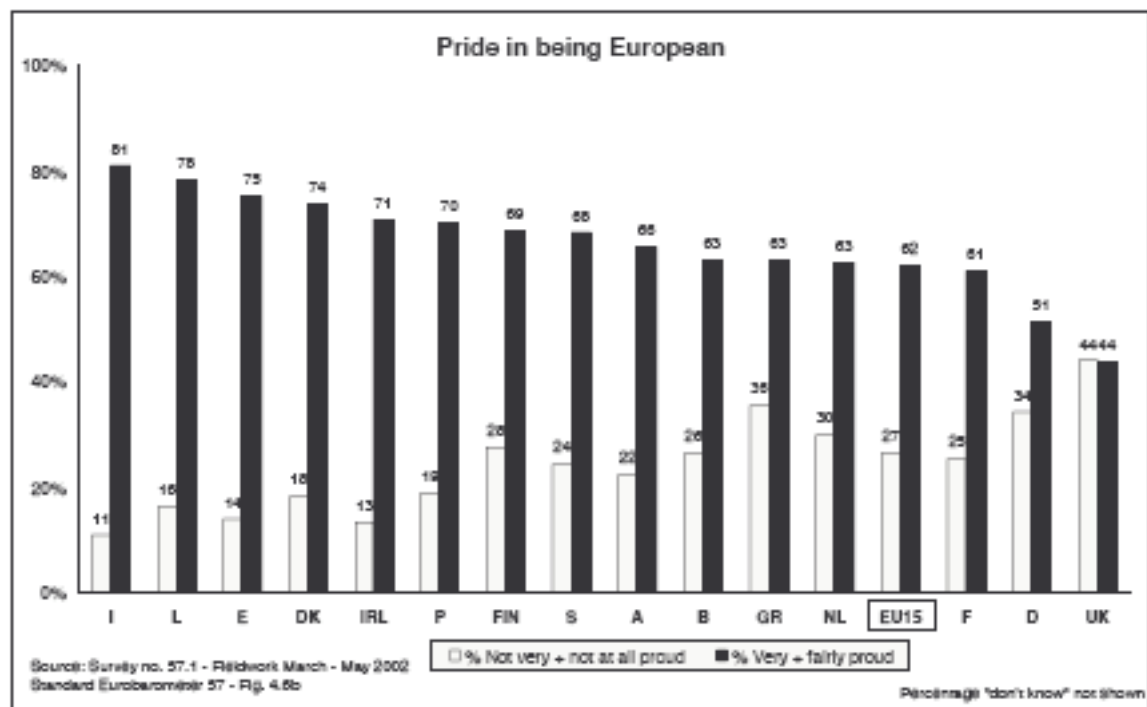
**TOP THREE MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED MEANINGS OF THE EU
(IN %, BY MEMBER STATE)**

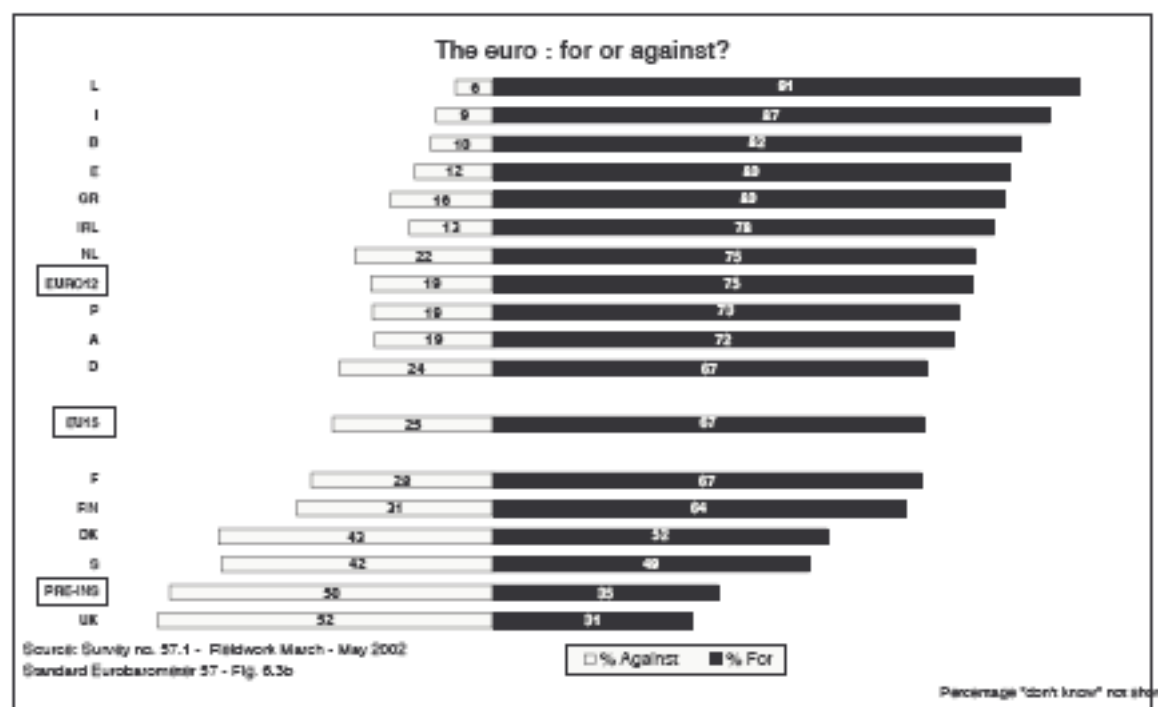
Belgium		Luxembourg	
The euro	71	The euro	67
Freedom of movement	47	Peace	58
Peace	29	Freedom of movement	57
Denmark		The Netherlands	
Freedom of movement	51	The euro	59
Peace	44	Freedom of movement	48
Stronger say in the world	35	Stronger say in the world	40
Germany		Austria	
The euro	54	The euro	50
Freedom of movement	47	Freedom of movement	39
Peace	46	Waste of money	31
Greece		Portugal	
Freedom of movement	50	The euro	42
The euro	44	Freedom of movement	41
Peace	43	Economic prosperity	25
Spain		Finland	
Freedom of movement	54	The euro	57
The euro	49	Freedom of movement	56
Economic prosperity	35	Bureaucracy	32
France		Sweden	
The euro	55	Freedom of movement	59
Freedom of movement	52	Bureaucracy	53
Cultural diversity	35	Waste of money	51
Ireland		United Kingdom	
Freedom of movement	43	Freedom of movement	35
Economic prosperity	41	The euro	24
The euro	40	Waste of money	23
Italy			
Freedom of movement	63		
The euro	55		
Stronger say in the world	34		

**TOP THREE MOST WIDESPREAD FEARS
(IN %, BY MEMBER STATE)**

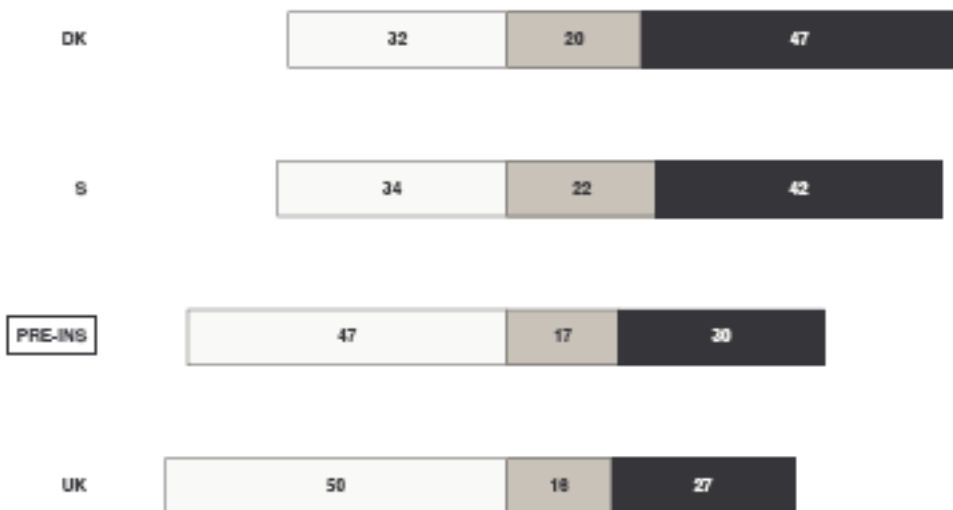
Belgium		Luxembourg	
More drugs & crime	67	More drugs & crime	73
More unemployment	64	More unemployment	70
Big countries decide	55	Big countries decide	60
Denmark		The Netherlands	
Big countries decide	66	More drugs & crime	70
More drugs & crime	62	Big countries decide	67
Loss of social benefits	51	Loss of social benefits	56
Germany		Austria	
More unemployment	74	More unemployment	65
Loss of social benefits	66	Loss of social benefits	61
More drugs & crime	61	More drugs & crime	58
Greece		Portugal	
More unemployment	78	More drugs & crime	81
More drugs & crime	71	More unemployment	75
Big countries decide	65	An economic crisis	72
Spain		Finland	
More unemployment	66	More drugs & crime	83
More drugs & crime	59	Big countries decide	73
An economic crisis	50	More unemployment	60
France		Sweden	
More unemployment	77	More drugs & crime	80
More drugs & crime	75	Big countries decide	74
Loss of social benefits	66	Loss of social benefits	56
Ireland		United Kingdom	
More drugs & crime	66	More drugs & crime	65
Big countries decide	59	Loss of national identity	61
More unemployment	53	Country will cease to exist	60
Italy			
More drugs & crime	55		
Big countries decide	51		
More unemployment	50		







The euro: good or bad? (PRE-INS)



Source: Survey no. 57.1 - Fieldwork March - May 2002
Standard Eurobarometer 57 - Fig. 6.4b

□ % A bad thing □ % A neither (good nor bad thing) ■ % A good thing

Percentage 'don't know' not shown.