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EuroSkyCompass: Nation, Europe, world, social representations systems in action and construction

Abstract: The cross-national research program *EuroSkyCompass* was initiated in 2002 and involves a group of 23 participants engaged in collecting data in 10 countries, both members and non-members of the European Union. On the theoretical level, the study finds its inspiration in the Social Representations Theory (Moscovici, 1961, 1976, 2000) and other psychosocial constructs such as Social Identity (Tajfel, 1978) and Social Memory. In continuity with a previous research program conducted between 1993 and 1996 in 10 European Union countries (de Rosa, 1996), the *EuroSkyCompass* project departs from two assumptions: a) identity as a multi-dimensional construct; b) the relativity and conventional character of geographical parameters. Its goal is to analyze how identity, understood as a multi-dimensional construct (de Rosa, Mormino, 2000) and variably anchored sometimes to the sense of belonging to the Nation and sometimes to the supra-national dimension of the European Union, is expressed via social representations of geo-political entities (nation, Europe, world) formulated as a system of interrelated representations in relation to the geographical and geo-political parameters of North-South-East-West. To collect the data, a questionnaire was created ad hoc that integrates structural tools (closed questions and behavior scales) and tools of a projective nature (text and graphic) such as the *EuropeanSkyCompass*, the silent map of Europe and associative networks (de Rosa, 1995, 2002). Consistent with a multi-method and multi-step approach, the data analysis provides for the use of various techniques to provide cross-analysis for results obtained. At this opportunity, we will present, in particular, results concerning the associative networks both in terms attitudinal measures, such as the Polarity Index, and the content and structure of the social representation, analyzed using the Analysis of Lexical Correspondences (ACL). These results will be accompanied by those obtained from the Factorial Analysis (ACP) conducted on the data collected with a behavior scale in respect to various European states.

Foreword: changes in Europe from the second to the third millennium

“For us, the XXth century Europeans, the old world order existing over the last century, rested on the rivalry between the two powers, USA and the Soviet Union. Their continuous struggle deployed around the challenge between two different political and

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ideological systems, democracy and totalitarian communism. After the so-called fall of the wall, thus such a division, there is probably a new order on the way. But it seems that the attack on the World Trade Center, on September the 11th, 2001, has introduced something new, that in turn shuffled the cards. But what does exactly this something new consist of?" (Todorov, 2002)

In the following pages, Todorov gives an answer to this question; it is the end of the old national world order and the beginning of a new one in which the role of individual actions is the main element. These individual actions are able to intervene into the world equilibria in different ways, for example from an economic point of view, as for the multinational systems and globalisation or from the warfare point of view through terroristic strategies also thanks to the support of the new technologies.

Is this an idea individually put forward by an intellectual or rather is it witnessing, though in a more articulated and organic fashion, scattered ideas circulating today in the common sense?

The last decade of a century which is defined as *the short century* by Hobsbawm (1995) and as *the tragic century* by Todorov, saw a definite will to completely change such a violent and rude world into a magnificent cooperation and aggregation dynamics engine (with exponentially growing power cycles). It is mainly in the "Old Europe" that such dynamics are opposed to the ancestral divisions and fights between states and regions.

The institutional actions, which are growing accordingly, and their increasing importance for "new Europe" history ushering in the third millennium are briefly sketched in table 1.

What is to understand is what brought about this kind of evolution in terms of belonging, identification and national feeling for the citizens of this Europe which seems to be continuously trying to fill a gap with a social reality that does not match the idea of an "Old Continent."

Changes are actually happening day by day, and the decision makers involved are not the only ones to play a major role: on the contrary, they receive the inputs from everyday life changes and value systems of society that, with different targets and through different groupings (more or less integrated, majorities and minorities, nomic or anomic) are expressed in different ways.

Understanding such a dynamics means understanding the representation for some key objects, in this changing system, that different social groups, in different countries, compare and negotiate with each other within institutional or non institutional frameworks, relying on different knowledge and cultures, and moving from different definitions of themselves and their reality, towards different aims.

In his book *Mito e Pensiero presso i Greci*, Jean Pierre Vernant (1997), quotes Pausanias. The king of Sparta, describing the six couples of gods sculpted by Fidias around the monumental Zeus statues in Olympia, includes the couple Hermes-Hestia: Hermes, the messenger, implicitly represents the passage, the change and Hestia represents the fireplace, therefore the stability and the permanence.

Such a duality, constant along the centuries, is probably a common trace for the way space is thought in private and public culture in the Greek-Mycenaean societies and the European ones later. This duality seems to persist also in the light of the most recent events and it is expressed through the many movements found in the

results of the research we are going to illustrate in the following pages. We will see a quest for multiculturalism together with the sake for traditions, a search for unity and at the same time a need to be singled out inside the European framework, the pride for the people's history together with the myth of progress, and the transformations of the concept of nation and culture, seen as the bundle of actions that mankind takes on nature.

Table 1. Milestones in EU political and economic institutional integration

1950	May 9 th , Robert Schuman, the French foreign affairs minister puts forwards 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 it: France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg.
1957	CECA member states sign the Rome Treaty: the European Economic Community and the European Community for Atomic Energy (EURATOM) were born. The principle is that economic integration might underpin European union.
1973	The United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland join the EEC.
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.
1981	Greece joins the EEC.
1986	Spain and Portugal join the EEC.
	The European economic integration is pushed due to the signature of the European Single Act that drafts the European space as a united, free market.
1989	November 9 th , the Berlin wall falls. The EEC launches the PHARE programme aiming at helping the Central and Eastern European countries in several domains.
1992	The Rome Treaty is specified and better defined through the signature of the Maastricht Treaty. The EEC becomes the European Union (EU). Other institutions are founded, namely the European Monetary Union and the Foreign Policy for Common Security (PESC), and a common justice system pillars are drafted. Old and new policies get along into the new EU framework.
1993	"The Copenhagen criteria" are defined in order to integrate the 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	The Luxembourg European Council launches the enlargement programme for six incoming countries, namely Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, the "Luxembourg group" countries.

	The common currency project is achieved. A timetable for the change over is defined for the 12 member countries.
1999	The 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	The European council estimates that all the Balkan newly formed countries can be considered potential candidates for membership. The 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 1 st , the Euro is the only currency in 12 European countries. A Convention on future Europe is appointed. It has the objective to put forward a draft of the European constitution.
2004	The enlargement is finally achieved. The EU now counts 25 member countries.

Theoretical framework for EuroSkyCompass research program

We are going to discuss below some preliminary findings from the first step of *EuroSkyCompass* cross-national research program. The program has been fully launched in 2002, after a pilot study confined to Hungary. Ten European countries, EU and non EU members, are involved, totalling a survey population of nearly 2 000 subjects.

The theoretic background refers to the Social Representation Theory (SRT – Moscovici, 1961, 1976, 2000). Attention has also been devoted to other psycho-social constructs, such as Social Identity and Social Memory.

On the basis of the extensive research program carried out from 1993 to 1996 in ten EU countries before the enlargement (de Rosa, 1996; de Rosa, Mormino, 2000), EuroSkyCompass projects stems from two main assumptions.

a) *Geographical parameters' relativity and conventionality* – this issue has been vigorously argued by the German cartographer Arno Peters (1974). In several essays he proved that current maps are drafted with a cartographic colonialism perspective. In our maps, the North points out its economic primacy also by altering spatial proportions, emphasizing Europe and North America, while reducing Southern Africa, Latin America and Australia. We are not getting into the argument between Peters and the traditional cartographers, but his criticism bears a significant heuristic dimension for our program

4. We wish to thank the Erasmus students involved in the data collection during their stages abroad for their enthusiastic help and support: S. Moetta (Austria), E. Parzirota (Finland), I. Botsi and M. Chessari (France), S. Vania (Germany), I. Bordini (England), B. Poli and V. Rosti (Italy), N. Bova Fiocco, G. and V. Rosti (Portugal), C. Cavarra, S. Raffaele, M. Hranovic (Spain), K. Kiss (Greece) and our colleague Dora Hen Alaya (University of

framework, also in the light of the SRT. Actually, according to the knowledge social construction approach, the geographic visualisation tools not only match, but even induce different SR in the North-South-East and West of the world.

This issue seems to be also shared by Duvenc (2000). He gives an example in which being unable to exactly locate on a borderless map two cities, traditionally thought of as "Eastern", such as Budapest or Prague, with respect to a traditionally "Western" city, such as Vienna, finally considers that: "This small example illustrates something of the phenomena of social representations. Our image of the geography of Europe has been reconstructed in terms of the political division of the Cold War, in which the ideological definitions of East and West have come to be substituted for the geographical ones. We can also observe in this example how patterns of communication in the post-war years have influenced this process and stabilized a particular image of Europe (...). Whenever knowledge is expressed it is for some purpose; it is never disinterested. When Prague is located to the east of Vienna a certain sense of the world and a particular set of human interests is being projected."

Leonardo da Vinci's ancient though extremely updated intuition that in 1346 allowed him to draft the first map of Europe, is a prophetic definition of the meaning and the conceptual span of figurative language and verbal language: "The more accurate you will be in your descriptions, the more you will mix up the reader's mind and take him away from cognition of the object you described. What is needed is to figure and describe." (Leonardo, RL 19013)⁵

As we assume that maps are meant to express and induct, with the power of visual language, geopolitical equilibria representations, new issues are addressed in this research program rationale, namely:

- How does the social categorization process work, with reference to the attitude in redefining the Europe map, its regions and nations, in the representation of our population?
- How does the representational space frame up the three objects that we consider here as an intertwined representational system: Nation, Europe, World? Which are the common reference nuclei in this system in different cultural universes?
- Which connections are in place between these representations and the population knowledge/experiences?

b) *Identity as a multidimensional construct* – Gregotti wrote in his *Identità e crisi dell'architettura europea*: "After a XIXth century dense in immigrations and emigrations, Europe is now coping with something halfway between such known phenomena and huge population movements as for the 'barbarian invasions' whose stabilisation around the year 1000 is a starting point for the geography of European etnies. (...) That is, the condition of 'exiles' is now generalized."

Tzvetan Todorov once wrote: "I am Bulgarian, I live in France, and I am borrowing this quotation from a Palestinian, Edward Said, living in the US, who in turn borrowed it from Eric Auerbach, a German exile in Turkey." (Gregotti, 2000)

⁵ Quanto più minuziosamente descriverai, tanto più confonderai la mente del lettore e più lo

What Gregotti means is not just putting forward again the conceptualisation of exiles (though nowadays it is quite a current, very interesting issue). Actually, the more general problem he is addressing is national or ethnic identity and the unbalances that quick changes in political and economic geography are producing in these last few years, with respect to individuation and belonging domains.

In 1981, Tajfel, wrote the following: "We live in a world where unification and diversification processes take place quickly, faster than ever. Somehow, large groups of humans communicate between each other more than ever, they know more than ever about each other and they are increasingly more interdependent. At the same time, there is a strong tendency, virtually present throughout the world, towards the preservation and successful diversity of their particular characteristics and identity." (Tajfel, 1981)

Perhaps we can read the events marking our recent evolution towards new political and economic systems in which the idea of a boundary seems fainting, on the basis of what we could define an unwritten rule of the boundary overcoming involved from time to time.

In the last few years, there have been several and different discussions about the effects (mono- or bidirectional) and the relationships established from a local to a European-wide dimension, between cultural uniqueness and integration, in other words, between National Identity and Supranational Identity.

In this project identity is seen as a multidimensional and relational construct (de Rosa, 1996; de Rosa, Mormino, 2000) not only as the product of the personal social and demographic characters, or even the product of a social and cognitive categorisation, but rather on the basis of the sense of belonging felt in front of one's own nation, EU and Europe, and their inclusive or exclusive attitude patterns, based on integration/differentiation processes for the different countries with reference to their geographic and politic positioning, and the mutual positioning in the interviewed people's mental maps.

The objective of EuroSkyCompass consists in analyzing the way in which the multidimensional identity is expressed in social representation of geopolitical objects (nation, Europe, world) with reference to geographical and geopolitical parameters North-South-East-West.

What we intend to study are the SR that the young EU residents have of the EU member, non member, future member countries and of those countries which do not even belong to Europe in a historical, geographical and cultural sense. With respect to this, we feel that the current context of deep changes and tense relationships among North and South, East and West, in Europe and in the world as a whole is very important.

The next step, in this research program, will be the comparison of the results we are discussing now, with those of the previous research. The aim will be to verify the resistance rather than the change in some SR that the previous work found extremely dependent from a polarisation between political, economic dimension (focusing the opposition between the rich North and the poor South-East) and a geographic dimension focused on stereotypes about the weather, and, finally, the referential to relevant for the social memory, which was more present for one's own country than

Methodology

Data-collection tools

For the data collection (currently under way) a multi-lingual (Italian, English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Finnish, French, Hungarian) questionnaire of a projective nature (textual and graphic) integrating structured tools was designed.

More specifically:

- *associative networks* (de Rosa, 1995a, 2002), a tool that assigns to the subjects expressing the representation the task of identifying ramifications and links between the words that they themselves write around a stimulus word that appears at the centre of the page. Additional information requested: the elicitation order for the words, which is indicative of their salience and the valence attributed to them in terms of positive/negative/neutral. Such a tool was proposed for three stimulus words: *Nation, Europe, World*;
- *European Sky Compass*, a projective relational tool that, aside from indicating the cardinal points as anchors, does not offer any circumscription of geographic limits, leaves a complete liberty to the subjects to represent the relationships between themselves, their own country, their own favourite foreign country, Italy and Europe as the subjects actually imagine them in terms of inclusion, exclusion and proximity (in the case of the North African sample, France). This tool allows to superpose the verbal projective dimension to the graphical one. Thus, the space we will study is dense in socially provided meanings;
- *the Silent Map of Europe* – consistently with what was described above on the relationship between the SR of the geopolitical equilibria and cartographic representations, we asked the subjects to draw the North-South and East-West axes on a map of Europe in order to express, in their perception, what is Europe's center of gravity and which countries are included in the four quadrants they drew with the cardinal axes;
- *questionnaire* in three sections: questions on social and demographic features and on the experience and knowledge of European countries; a set of questions on how those countries represent Europe and its different regions and finally an attitude scale referring to the different European countries.

On this occasion, only the results about the associative networks for the three stimuli (*Nation, Europe, World*) and the attitude scale will be discussed.

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and the multivariate analysis techniques, such as the Lexical Correspondance Analysis (LCA), the Principal Component Factor Analysis (PCA). The former has been carried out using the SPAD.T package, the latter using SPSS v.12.

The sample: social and demographic features and students' knowledge of the analysed countries

The results presented in this part refer to the university student answers (18 to 27 years old), with a 60% share of women from the following 8 European countries: Austria (143), the Basque Country (180), Finland (200), France (376), Germany (161), Italy (90), Portugal (344), the United Kingdom (168), totalling 1.662 subjects.

Our population is also characterised by the experience, the cultural and ideological dimensions as follows:

- *frequency of journeys abroad*: this is a variable pointing out a clear difference between Mediterranean countries (Portugal, the Basque Country, Italy) and the Northern and Central Europe countries (Finland, Britain, Germany, Austria and France), as the persons from the former countries are not used to travel, or less than once a year (57 to 61%), while those from the latter use to travel more than once a year (70 to 80%);
- *studies abroad*: study periods abroad are not that common for our sample. We registered a "roof effect" for the answer "no," yielding 80% for almost all countries;
- *self-evaluation of geographic knowledge*: the Finnish people are those who feel they have the soundest knowledge in geography (51%), whilst the French feel less confident (67.81%). The Basque people are in the middle (37.22%), while the other countries show uniform distributions;
- *self-evaluation of historic knowledge*: the English feel more informed (54,16%), the Italians follow (44%), then the Germans, the Finnish and the Portuguese. For these countries the percentage is around 35% though they also present a slightly higher share of uninformed people. The French and the Austrians neatly feel not so informed (50%) and the Basque stand with the highest level of average information (cod 4, 33.88%), but also with the highest level of missing answers (2.22%);
- *self-evaluation of historic knowledge*: again, the English feel more informed. The percentage for the highest levels is more than 50% (levels 5 to 7, 52,38%), then we see the Italians (49%), the Austrians and the Germans (39%);
- *political orientation*: the majority of our sample is placed on the centre-left, whilst for Austria a higher share (32%) is placed in the political centre.

Content and meaning for the Nation, Europe, World SR

The LCA carried out on the data collected through associative networks, using the stimuli words (*Nation, Europe, World*) in all 8 countries yielded 120 factors (5 factors times 3 stimuli times 8 sub-samples).

The factors show complex semantic universes which are significantly different according to cultural peculiarities and clearly prove to be determinant for the representational subjects we are analysing.

120 factors is quite an extensive output, so we will present, in a comparative perspective, only the main dimension emerging from each single factor, for each stimulus and each country⁶.

The words which saturate each of the factors for any stimulus have been organised, *post hoc*, in 20 conceptual frameworks: *time, memory and events, space and mobility, politics, economy, problems, values, culture, changes, war and conflict, symbols, cultural practices, patriotism, Europe, local issues, social dynamics and population, nature, reference to one's own country, reference to other countries, connotation, religion*.

These frameworks allow us to decompose the semantic universes specific to any sub-sample in order to have a comparison in the analysis.

For comparative purposes only, the results have been listed in tables built by dimension, in order to allow a cross-comprehension referring to categories rather than to the global semantic universe.

Such a system has been also retained for a comparative analysis confined to the strongest characterising dimensions for the factors, in absolute contribution terms. Furthermore, some categories, such as *religion*, have been suppressed, since data do not show an absolute contribution on this dimension that can be considered relevant enough. However, other categories which have been retained, seem to lose relevance, as in the case of *war*.

We have systematically reported a comparison between presence and absence of any of these dimensions, referring to any stimulus and to different lexical and semantic declinations (tables 2-20).

If we look at the tables, we observe a first axis that seems most important, across different cultures, for all stimuli, namely a spatial-temporal underpinning.

As far as the *time dimension* is concerned, events emerge which are placed, by times, in the past, or refer to the present, or are projected into the future (table 2).

With reference either to *Nation* or *World*, we can observe events that have marked the current geography and cultural landscape for the single countries, Europe and the world as a whole. Therefore, for the Basque Country the relevance of fascism is utmost. For Britain, the world wars yield a big absolute contribution. For Portugal, with respect to *World*, the reference is made to current events, namely to president Bush who seems to be related to the wars that are profoundly characterising his administration and the US. Such tragic current events set a landmark in this research as far as the historical context is concerned. Moreover, common threads, attitudes and SR contents for these issues are found in all sub-samples.

When making reference to Europe, the time dimension looks a bit fuzzier, the Finnish memory of their own *colonization* being a significant exception. More obvious is the relevance of the stereotype of an old continent, bearing a long history (important for the Basques and the Italians), or rather with a projection into the future (again for the Basques, the French and the Britons).

Along the *spatial dimension*, we see an idea of greatness and extensiveness (table 3). This is particularly true for the stimulus *Nation* (as a reminder of some kind of patriotic

For *Europe*, the spatial dimension is articulated on a movement idea but we can also find the sense of creation of a new area by overcoming the boundaries that used to limit single national spaces, also due to the new travel opportunities (e.g. *inter-rail*) and the possibility of *mobility* itself. And the question arising is: which are Europe's new boundaries now? Not surprisingly, we see the identification of Europe with *West* for the Basques. This finding is also confirmed by the PCA we are going to discuss later on. We can also see the relevant load of socially determined meanings that the Basques reveal in their heavy use of spatial parameters, such as the cardinal points for example. Actually, these are present again in the background associated to the stimulus *World*, through the dichotomy *North-South*.

Another axis which is present in different cultural contexts and stimuli is the political and economic one.

With reference to *economy dimension*, table 4 shows that, for *Nation*, the sample is interested in circumscribed and concrete issues, as *job* for the Basques, the *Euro* change over for the French. On the contrary, when referred to *Europe*, the representation is centered on the different economic aims and policies, as in the case of *liberism* for the Italians, and the building of a new economic *power* for the Portuguese. Finally, for the stimulus *World*, ideas get more general and abstract and focus on the world economic system, general systems and the relationship *capitalism/poverty*, with reference to the *Third World*.

Table 5 shows that the *politics dimension* more than any other yields references to the political equilibria peculiar to one's own country and the relationship with others. This clearly emerges from the relevance of the *antidemocracy* theme for the Basques and *isolationism* for the British.

On the contrary, the stimulus *Europe* is associated with cooperation, values and policies for the countries involved in the EU building process. Thus, *alliance* is relevant for the French, *cooperation* for the Germans and *common market* for the British, while the Portuguese refer to *globalisation*. Finally globalisation, in association with *imperialism* (a theme evoked by the Basques) takes into the representation the critical scenario of international relationships on a world scale.

The *problem dimension*, pointed out in table 6, is widespread as far as *Nation* and *World* are concerned, and it seems relevant for *Europe*.

The problem of *unemployment* is referred to *Nation* at the economic level (for Finland and Italy), while the issue of *racism* is referred to *Nation* at the social dynamics level (for Portugal). These very people then shift their attention to the ecology domain and ethics and economics when thinking about the stimulus *World*. Portuguese refer to *pollution* and Finnish to *hunger, exploitation, injustice*. The Basques emphasize the intrinsic danger of nowadays world in itself.

The *values dimension*, in table 7, appears to be the most significant representation for the stimulus *Nation*. The Italian and the Germans focus on the issue of *unity*. Together with mutuality, the value of *unity* is also connected with *Europe*, with a special emphasis for Portugal, in the sense of *mutual help*.

Values dimension is less relevant for the *World* representation, as it only appears in a perspective of *diversity* in the case of the British.

Table 8, the *culture dimension* allows us to realize how the elements involved

considered, the basic contents are national peculiarities such as *language*, but in the case of *Europe*, the sample refers again to general issues as *culture* (The Basque Country) in a very general sense, *multiculture* for England, *art* for Portugal. As far as *World* is concerned, the only sub-sample referring to a universal pattern is the French one with *civilization*.

The *culture dimension*, mainly associated with *Nation* and *Europe*, is perceived in opposition to the *nature dimension* (table 9), as the latter is more integrated and rich in content in the representation of *World*, that is reckoned as a part of a wider system (e.g., the universe, the solar system) made up by continents, rich in natural resources and several different species.

All sub-samples, by the way, share a strong positive consideration of ecological issues.

The dimension of *change*, in table 10, is only specific to *Europe* representation, particularly for the Germans, who feel it as a place to *grow together*, while the French associate to it an idea of *development* and the Britons consider it as *different*.

In table 11, results are provided for the *conflict dimension*. It is only associated to *Nation*, and particularly meaningful for the Portuguese, the Germans and the Finnish. Is this issue to be addressed as a national version of the changes involving international dynamics? Furthermore, the absence of conflict perception in relation to the stimuli *Europe* and *World* is quite controversial. Actually, the issue of war is not that relevant in terms of absolute contribution, though it is quite present in terms of words generally saturating all the factors. By the way, it can be useful to step back at previous data analysis where, among all countries, Germany and England are the only ones where the social memory is associated with *Nation*, whereas, for other sub-samples, probably in relation to dimensions, *World War* is an element of the *World* background.

As far as *symbols* are concerned, quite interestingly, table 12 shows that, though all the words saturating the five factors extracted for *Nation* belong indeed to the symbolic dimension, none of these present important contributions, whilst in the background of *Europe* words pertaining to this dimension play a more meaningful role in terms of absolute contribution (*stars* for the Basques, *flag* for the French, *Brussels* for the Portuguese and the Austrians). This result is quite different from what was previously found by de Rosa (1993-1996), where the symbolic dimension referred to social memory was *Nation* representation specific through the role of symbols as national hymn or flag, and the only common symbol referred to *Europe* was ECU-euro currency, that emphasizing a SR definitely economy centred for the EU, thought of just as the heir of ECU.

Patriotism dimension (table 13) is introduced through the metaphor of primary groups (*family* for the French), or the individual private space (*home* for the English). But it is also considered in its extreme meaning (*nationalism* for the Germans). This is a dimension deeply rooted in the idea of *Nation*, as in that of *cultural practices* (table 14). Actually, these dimensions are totally absent as far as the *World* and *Europe* stimuli are concerned in terms of words which are determinant for their absolute contribution.

References to *Europe* (table 15) and to the *local dimension* (table 16) are peculiar to *Nation* representation, seen as a social system bridging the system of social relationships present in local communities with the system of institutional relationships initiated in

Population and social dynamics (table 17) yields, through the three stimuli, a continuum from a static vision of *Nation* (through such references as *people, population*), to an intrinsic dynamics for *Europe* (in terms of *integration, immigration*) and finally to the melting pot associated to *World* (with such expressions as *everybody, multiethnic, population*).

Issues of self-reference can, finally, be addressed as an indicator for the *reference to own country*, on the basis of the system of representations of our three objects.

Actually, in table 18, it is shown that the Austrians and the French, identify their own nations just in the background of a general concept of nation in itself, while the Finnish and, most of all, the Germans definitely project the idea of their own nation into the European region.

As far as the Germans are concerned, their identification with the European dimension is confirmed by another category we defined as *reference to other countries* (table 19). With respect to this, both the French and the English, in relation to the stimulus *Europe*, mentioned *Germany*, while the Basques referred to *France* (the other country involved in the issue of independence), the Finnish to *Europe*, Portuguese to *Italy*, a country which is by far preferred by them, under different aspects. Another interesting finding is in relation to the stimulus *World*. In their current self-definition, indeed, the English and the French, in relation to the concept of others, refer to *America*, the Austrians to the *Third World*, and the Germans to *Asia*.

Finally, *connotation dimension* (table 20) works out an idea of nation along a continuum for inclusion/exclusion, and some criticism emerges with reference to the idea of isolationism. On this dimension, *Europe* sees a unique reference emphasizing its versatility, while *World* fascination is associated to the interest for discovery of what is unknown to mankind, just as a kind of ancestral instinct of curiosity ushered in its associated values and at the same time, is characterized by a paradoxical opposition between the global dimension and the tensions present in the contemporary history of mankind.

Table 2. *Time, Memoirs, Events*: words referring to this dimension and that saturate with the greatest absolute contribution on each of the two semiaxes for each of the 5 factors taken into consideration for each of the 3 stimuli. The absolute contribution is in parentheses

	Nation					Europe					World				
	1F	2F	3F	4F	5F	1F	2F	3F	4F	5F	1F	2F	3F	4F	5F
country															
series															
people	Fascists (94.1)					Future (21.3), Old Continent (31.1)	Future (41.0)		Colonialism (8.2/8)						World Wars (2.4)
land															
race															
many															
/															
age			Roots (28.9)			Ancient (27.1)									
UK			World Wars (7.1)			Future (18.9)					Bush (17.2)	Bush (27.3)		World Wars (9.7)	World Wars (9.4)

Table 20. Connotation: words referring to this dimension and that saturate with the greatest absolute contribution on each of the two issues for each of the 5 factors taken into consideration for each of the 3 stimuli. The absolute contribution is in parentheses

	NATION					EUROPE					WORLD				
	1F	2F	3F	4F	5F	1F	2F	3F	4F	5F	1F	2F	3F	4F	5F
Italy							Open (18.79)								
Spain				Closed (70.0)											
France			Common (6.5)			Versatile (4.8)					Interesting (6.8)		Unknown (14.6)		Global (12.8)
Germany					National (12.6)						Split (19.3)		Unknown (27.5)		Interesting (4.9)
United Kingdom					National (17.8)							Global (3.9)		Global (35.7)	
USA	Exclusive (2.1)														

Attitudes vis-à-vis European countries

The PCA carried out on data collected through the attitude scale with respect to European nations shows six components with an eigenvalue larger than 1 as shown in table 21. The explained variance is 57.3%.

Table 21. Rotated Component Matrix (a)

	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	Component 4	Component 5	Component 6
Bosnia-Herzegovina	0.783	0.064	-0.009	0.004	0.170	-0.030
Macedonia	0.776	0.159	0.070	0.021	0.006	-0.001
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	0.770	0.084	0.041	0.058	0.102	-0.071
Moldavia	0.760	0.109	-0.008	0.009	0.061	0.128
Belorussia	0.758	0.019	0.075	-0.041	0.174	-0.032
Poland	0.754	0.272	0.105	-0.043	0.020	0.001
Czechia	0.741	0.264	0.152	-0.044	-0.100	-0.066
Slovenia	0.735	-0.006	-0.008	-0.035	0.195	-0.085
Romania	0.733	0.045	0.053	-0.001	-0.002	0.200
Bulgaria	0.728	0.118	0.070	0.073	-0.148	0.274
Croatia	0.702	0.156	0.003	0.038	0.082	0.394
Slovak Republic	0.697	0.168	0.011	0.004	0.052	0.461
Greece	0.671	0.363	0.088	-0.099	0.081	-0.198
Malta	0.644	0.218	-0.148	0.094	0.366	0.019
Portugal	0.644	0.127	-0.152	0.130	0.287	0.151
Hungary	0.558	0.399	0.095	0.192	0.012	-0.072
Turkey	0.537	0.009	0.219	0.279	-0.084	-0.157
Ireland	0.530	0.353	0.225	0.112	-0.204	0.142
Netherlands	0.462	0.347	-0.169	0.160	0.299	0.249

	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	Component 4	Component 5	Component 6
Sweden	0.122	0.695	0.244	0.075	0.096	0.100
Iceland	0.368	0.689	-0.045	0.126	0.043	-0.043
Finland	0.078	0.668	-0.053	0.060	0.409	-0.078
Denmark	0.178	0.624	0.113	0.025	0.393	0.046
Ireland	0.236	0.581	0.118	0.257	-0.080	-0.022
Holland	0.006	0.478	0.073	0.276	0.312	0.297
Germany	0.095	0.132	0.725	-0.022	0.185	0.112
Great Britain	-0.011	0.165	0.666	0.143	-0.025	0.013
France	0.043	-0.007	0.558	0.290	0.184	-0.157
Switzerland	0.031	0.450	0.502	0.087	0.105	0.008
Luxembourg	0.250	0.345	0.368	0.060	0.321	0.046
Italy	0.025	0.136	0.172	0.723	-0.016	-0.041
Greece	0.156	0.137	0.114	0.646	0.075	-0.336
Portugal	-0.050	0.107	0.024	0.618	0.009	0.284
Spain	0.038	0.081	0.063	0.553	0.189	0.116
Belgium	0.138	0.202	0.263	0.079	0.652	0.015
Austria	0.101	0.247	0.215	0.131	0.610	-0.017
Russia	0.542	0.026	0.076	0.168	-0.002	0.546

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin. A Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

If we figure the factors in a chromatic map of Europe, aggregations of different countries emerge:

- the first component (dark green) is clearly made up by Eastern countries;
- the second component (sky-blue) reveals an explicit Northern dimension;
- the third component (yellow) imposes again the theme of the Golden Triangle of the Big Bosses (France, Germany and Britain), though including two more countries such as Switzerland and Luxembourg whose identities can be considered mixed and close to the French and the German cultures;
- the fourth component (blue) is surely representing the Mediterranean soul of EU (enlargement was not yet accomplished at the data collection time);
- the fifth component (green) emphasizes two countries of Central Europe that used to play main character roles, with a relevant symbolic content, though quite little in size;
- the sixth component (red), finally, consists uniquely in Russia, the historical Eastern

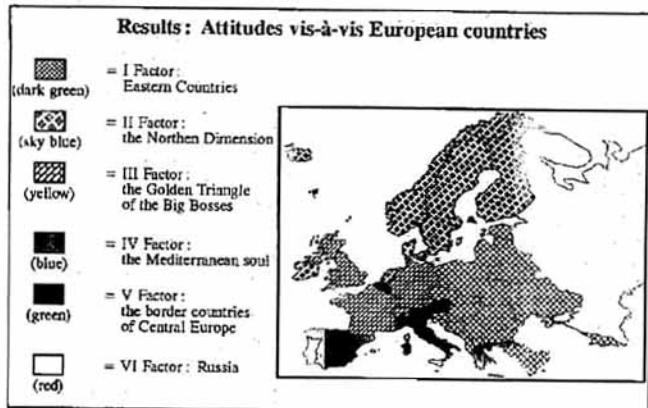


Figure 1. Europe organized in six factors according to the attitudes expressed by our subjects

Thus, the PCA yields firstly a discourse about Europe in which what emerges is the geopolitical settlement based on the relevance of phenomena and reflexes of current issues.

Enlargement was the most important, long, awaited event in the last few years which was seen and presented at media and institutional level as having a great impact on the political and economic scenario of the continent as a whole, because of the large number of countries involved (10). This phenomenon, being an institutional choice more than anything else, is associated to median values on the Likert scale, that become significantly lower for these countries. The results entail a deep redesign of shared representations of East and West. In particular there is a clear redefinition of a self representation of Europe identified with the West, shifting the boundary once symbolised by the Bertin wall to the Russian subcontinent.

The so-called Eastern European countries are now in the EU, so that old Europeans feel the need to define themselves again with respect to the new others. It seems that Russia is representing this new other, as it is confirmed by the isolated position in its component. The difficulty in identifying themselves pointed out by our survey is confirmed by the definition, on both sides of the countries historically known as the Golden Triangle of the Big Bosses, of two cleavecut souls in Europe on this side of the iron curtain: Northern Europe, i.e. the future, and the Mediterranean, i.e. the history, the cradle of a magnificent

Conclusions

The LCA results discussed above (and most of those not discussed here for the sake of brevity) confirm that the SR of these three objects (*Nation, Europe, World*) work as an intertwined system, where each of the stimuli is present in the semantic repertory of the other two, as if echoing each other.

Such a system is not underpinned by the SR single contents, but rather by the complete dimensions as a whole, working as a common reference for discourses referring to all the objects. Finally these dimensions, in turn, are transversally tied in terms of abstraction from discourses.

Our findings indicate a particular relevance of the spatial and time dimension working as a *fil rouge* entailing, for the three objects, the representation of a space framed in time. Time, in turn, is marked by events going by, whose values are provided by processes of conventionalisation in the biography of the group-nation or Europe. Thus, a social meaning is provided to space.

Another two dimensions definitely worked out across the representation of the three objects, though reflecting remarkable culture-specific differences, are the political and the economic ones.

This axis, representing in a way the present time of the analysed representational system, seems to be much more relevant for *Nation* rather than for *World*. Actually, the *World* is involved just as far as the growing consciousness is concerned, of the deepening of roots for systems and equilibria associated to the capitalist system, and from time to time referred to as imperialism and/or globalisation.

The cultural dimension also presents a continuum from group peculiarity towards universalism, including all mankind. This dimension is based on the capability of cultural systems to connect people (through communication systems such as language and art) allowing them to improve (reference to civilization).

All this necessarily goes through the self-definition and the definition of the other as shown by the PCA results, involving the dimension of attitudes, seen as the evaluation component of SR. With respect to this, the ongoing process of Enlargement (at the time of the data collection) has surely affected our subjects' reactions since they are probably now becoming aware of the context dynamics (discussed above) which mark the end of the European political and economic equilibrium based on the East-West dichotomy.

A reference dimension specific to *Europe* representation is that of change, dynamism, growing together (emerging as the strong issue for the Germans in their discourse about *Europe*) while specific reference dimensions for the representation of *Nation* are conflict and patriotism.

Finally, globalisation, associated with the perception of imperialism, seems to dominate among the scenarios of representations for *World*.

Rezumat: Proiectul internațional de cercetare „EuroSkyCompass” a fost inițiat în 2002, implicând un grup de 23 de cercetători care au colectat date în zece țări atât membre în UE, cât și non-membre. Din punct de vedere teoretic, proiectul a fost inspirat de teoria reprezentărilor sociale (Moscovici, 1961, 1976, 2000) și alte construcții psihosociale, precum cele de „identitate socială” (Tajfel, 1978) și „memorie socială”. Proiectul a constituit o rețea și a continuat

proiectului „EuroSkyCompass” se află două postulate fundamentale: a) identitatea este un construct multidimensional; b) relativitatea și caracterul convențional ale parametrilor geografici. Scopul proiectului constă în analizarea modului în care identitatea, înțelesă ca o construcție multidimensională (de Rosa, Mormino, 2000), ancorată în medii variabile, uneori în apartenența la o națiune, altădată în apartenența la dimensiuni supra-naționale, cea a Uniunii Europene, se exprimă prin intermediul reprezentărilor sociale a entităților geopolitice (națiune, Europa, lume) formulate ca un sistem de reprezentări interrelaționate cu parametrii geografici și geopolitici de nord-sud-est-vest. Pentru a obține datele necesare a fost creat un chestionar compus din întrebări închise, scale comportamentale și elemente de natură proiectivă (textual și grafic), inclusând și Instrumentul „EuropeanSkyCompass”, și rețele asociative (de Rosa, 1995, 2002). Datele au fost analizate prin metode multiple și în pași progresivi, fapt care a permis folosirea mai multor tehnici de analiză și o validare a rezultatelor obținute. În acest articol sunt prezentate rezultatele ce țin de analiza rețelilor asociative abordate din punctul de vedere al măsurării atitudinale, cum ar fi indicele de polaritate, și din perspectiva conștientului și structurii reprezentărilor sociale, utilizându-se în acest sens analiza corelațiilor lexicale. Aceste rezultate sunt completate de rezultatele obținute prin analiza factorială în baza scelerilor comportamentale de raportare față de diferite state europene.

Resumé: Le programme de recherche transnational *EuroSkyCompass* est né en 2002, et regroupe 23 collaborateurs impliqués dans la collecte de données de 10 pays membres et non-membres de l'Union Européenne. Sur le plan théorique, la recherche s'inspire de la Théorie des Représentations Sociales (Moscovici, 1961, 1976, 2000) ainsi que d'autres construits psychosociaux, tels l'Identité sociale (Tajfel, 1978) et la Mémoire Sociale. En continuité avec un programme de recherche précédent, réalisé en 1993-1996 dans 10 pays de l'Union Européenne (de Rosa, 1996), le projet *EuroSkyCompass* se base sur deux concepts: a) l'Identité comme construit multidimensionnel; b) la relativité et le caractère conventionnel des paramètres géographiques. L'objectif est d'analyser comment l'Identité, entendue comme un construit multidimensionnel (de Rosa, Mormino, 2000) et perçue de façon variable, tantôt au sens d'appartenance à la Nation, tantôt à la dimension supra-nationale de l'Union Européenne, s'exprime à travers les représentations sociales d'entités géopolitiques (Nation, Europe, Monde), conçues comme un système de représentations interrelées, exprimées par paramètres géographiques et géo-politiques du Nord-Sud-Est-Ouest. Un questionnaire a donc été conçu pour la collecte de données, intégrant les instruments structurels (questions fermées et échelles de comportements) ainsi que des instruments de nature projective (textuelle et graphique) tels que l'EuropeanSkyCompass, la carte muette de l'Europe et les trames associatives (de Rosa, 1995, 2002). On prévoit, pour l'analyse des données, en accord avec une approche méthodologique et multi-step, l'usage de techniques diversifiées pour procéder ensuite à l'analyse croisée des divers résultats obtenus. Cet établissement fournira, en particulier, les indices relatifs aux trames associatives autant en termes de mesures d'attitudes, comme l'Indice de Polarité, qu'en termes de contenu et structure de la RS, résultats analysés selon l'Analyse des Répondances Lexicales (ACL): ces résultats étayeront les résultats obtenus de l'Analyse Factorielle (ACP) effectuée sur les données recueillies avec l'échelle d'attitudes par rapport aux États Européens.

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Intégration ou annexion? Une étude cross-nationale sur les représentations sociales de l'élargissement de l'Union Européenne de 15 à 25

Résumé: L'article que nous proposons présente quelques résultats préliminaires dans le cadre du projet de recherche cross-nationale EuroSkyCompass, dont le but est d'étudier à partir d'une approche multi-théorique et multi-méthodologique le système de représentations des objets Europe, Union Européenne, États Européens dans une perspective diachronique, par rapport à une précédente recherche cross-nationale menée à ce sujet par de Rosa en 1993-1994 (de Rosa, 1999, 2000; de Rosa, Mormino, 2000). Parmi un plus vaste ensemble de résultats, nous avons identifié les plus intéressants qui concernent l'élargissement de l'UE, à partir du traitement des réponses d'un échantillon de 1 703 sujets résidents en 9 nations européennes (Allemagne, Angleterre, Autriche, Espagne, Finlande, France, Italie, Portugal) et extra-européennes (Tunisie), en plus d'un échantillon d'étudiants d'origine maghrébine résidents en France. L'année de la sortie des données (2003) remonte à une époque particulière, préparatoire de l'élargissement prévu pour le 2004, et successif à des événements qui ont profondément marqué la perception de l'aménagement politico-économique européen et mondial. Au niveau des projections pour le futur de l'UE et de ses membres, les sujets qui ont participé à la recherche en 2003 se distribuent en trois groupes du point de vue de la nationalité, c'est-à-dire les sujets des Pays Saxons (Autrichiens, Anglais, Allemands), les sujets des Pays Méditerranéens (Français, Italiens, Espagnols, Maghrébins résidents en France et Tunisiens) et ceux des Pays Scandinaves (Finlandais). Il s'agit de trois groupes qui partagent attentes et projections assez différentes au sujet des prochains pays membres de l'UE. Les résultats obtenus à partir des analyses structurelles telle que l'Analyse des Composantes Principales (ACP), par rapport à la dimension attitudinale, semblent montrer une certaine constance, face aux résultats de 1993-1994, en ce qui concerne la tripartition de l'UE des 15 en trois macro-aîres, la région de l'Europe du Nord, la région Méditerranéenne et le Triangle d'Or des Grandes Puissances (Allemagne, France et Angleterre), qui, en 2003, sont associés aussi à la Suisse et au Luxembourg. En visualisant les six facteurs extraits par l'ACP dans un plan géographique de l'Europe, il ressort clairement que le bloc des Pays communément dénommés de l'Est, première composante extraite, représente un ensemble intermédiaire entre l'UE des 15 et la Russie, seul Pays de la sixième et dernière composante. Ce déplacement des résultats à Est, autrefois dramatiquement marqué par le Mur de Berlin, n'est pas en soi un indicateur de réelle inclusion et intégration de ces pays, mais plutôt l'expression d'un schéma

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