

Towards a social representational approach to citizenship:
Political positioning in lay conceptions of the Belgian and of the European citizen*

Margarita Sanchez-Mazas

Frédéric Van Humskerken

Annalisa Casini

Université Libre de Bruxelles

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Abstract

Within the theoretical framework of Social Representations, an exploratory study involving French-speaking Belgian citizens (N = 86) was conducted in order to assess the meaning of being a citizen both in the national and in the European contexts. Participants completed a free association task with the stimuli “Being a Belgian (European) citizen is...” coupled with a standardised questionnaire. The shared meanings associated with the notion of citizenship were identified, as well as the organising principles of this representation. Results showed that at both levels a formal/political definition of citizenship emerged together with a more specific national and European significance. Political positioning towards the functions of the State (social vs. penal) and political orientations were found to contribute to structuring both semantic spaces. The relevance of a conceptual distinction between identity and citizenship is discussed in the context of the sociopolitical transformations brought about by the construction of Europe.

Towards a social representational approach to citizenship:

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Will a European citizenship ever be possible? The French sociologist Raymond Aron answered clearly “No”: « There are no such animals as « European citizens». There are only French, German, or Italian citizens » (Aron, 1992, p. 650). By contrast, for Jürgen Habermas, not only is a European citizenship feasible and desirable, but, « state citizenship and world citizenship form a continuum which already shows itself, at least, in outline form » (Habermas, 1992, p. 17). No doubt, European citizenship was and still is, an object of controversy.

Within the current process of European integration, the treaty of Maastricht has replaced an essentially negative economic framework concerned with the *removal* of borders and of discriminations based on nationality in order to ensure free-circulation, with a more positive *political* framework in terms of citizenship¹. For European leaders, European citizenship is a means for encouraging and developing identification with the EU. As can be read in the web page of the European Community²: “The aim of European citizenship is to strengthen and consolidate European identity by greater involvement of the citizens in the european integration process.”

Identity and citizenship

As a process “in the making”, the creation of the EU has attracted an early interest in the attitudes towards Europe (Hewstone, 1986; Tapia, 1977), and has provided social psychologists with the opportunity to test *in vivo* a number of theoretical hypotheses usually studied *in vitro*. In particular, research has addressed such issues as the interplay between

¹ The Treaty of Maastricht recognizes the right to free circulation and free residence in the European territory, the right to vote and election at the local and European levels, and the right to diplomatic protection from member-States, as the basic rights of the European citizenship.

different levels of identification through studies examining the stereotypes associated with European identity (Capozza, Dazzi, Lanzarini, & Santoro, 1994), the impact of ideologies (i.e., environmental protection) vs. different levels of identification in dealing with environmental problems (Bonaiuto, Breakwell, & Cano, 1996), the fluctuation of identities from an individual-cognitive level to a societal level (Cinnirella, 1997), or the comparative strength of European, national and regional identities (Huici, Ros, Cano, Hopkins, Emler, & Carmona, 1997; Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996). Many scholars have thus highlighted the identity side of the construction of Europe (Doise & Devos, 1999; see also Breakwell & Lyons, 1996).

However, citizenship is also concerned with political participation, entitlement of rights, civic agency, exercise of duties, and the election of representatives. Indeed, in conjunction with the emergence of democracy, modern Nation-States have *categorised* citizenry as a group, and *particularised* the citizens as individuals granted with political rights (Habermas, 1992). By neglecting the specificity of this *political* dimension when dealing with national or supranational identities, one may overlook the distinction between the individual as *member* of a civil society and the citizen as a *participant* in a political entity.

Ethnos and Demos

Such a distinction, however, is rather conceptual, since the enactment of citizenship has historically been associated with membership in a Nation-State (see Sanchez-Mazas & Klein, 2003). It has largely been realized through the congruence between political consciousness and identification with the national culture (Gellner, 1983). Modern Nation-States have rooted legal rights and duties in a national context, which has to various degrees a cultural and/or an ethnic substance (Schnapper & Bachelier, 2000). The distinction between the ethnic-cultural and the democratic-civic aspects of national citizenship is sometimes framed in terms of the *Ethnos* and *Demos* dimensions of national citizenship (Habermas,

² © European Communities, 1995-2002, *The Amsterdam Treaty: a Comprehensive Guide, Citizenship of the European Union*. Retrieved 11-21-2002, from: <http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/a12000.htm>.

1992), which are closely associated in the traditional conception of citizenship (Morin, 1991; Soysal, 1994). Although nations vary in the importance they attach to different dimensions of citizenship (e.g. the “German” vs. the “French” models and the corresponding *jus sanguinis* and *jus solis*, Dumont, 1991), a variety of popular approaches to citizenship can nevertheless be expected within a single nation, as it is the case for conceptions of the nation (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) or types of patriotism (Depuiset & Butera, 2003). Specifically, they may differ sensibly in their emphasis on a shared culture and common history (i.e., the identity pole or *Ethnos*) vs. a political project (i.e., the pole of rights or *Demos*).

Some of the questionings about the notion of citizenship brought about by the recent challenges of the classical/national model of citizenship (see Sanchez Mazas & Klein, this 2003) directly derive from this historical connection. Which type of collective identity fosters citizens’ political involvement? How is the political dimension of citizenship articulated in everyday life with such a collective identity? Clearly, what seems to matter in the current debate is the *meaning* of the collective identity attached to citizenship and the *articulation* between this identity and political status and agency (Isin & Wood, 1999). Thus, complementing social psychological research on the level and strength of identification conducted within the framework of the transformations of national/European identities, the present approach focuses on the *content* people assign to the notion of citizenship in an attempt to check out whether identity concerns are associated with this political category. As a matter of fact, much of the present debate in the realm of political philosophy about the notion of European citizenship revolves around the meaning of the identity involved in citizenry and the articulation between identity and political involvement (Lenoble & Dewandre, 1992). For example, it opposes the argument that political involvement and participation require a *substantial* (ethnic or national) identity (e.g. Schnapper, & Bachelier, 2000), to the contention that it can be based on a “constitutional patriotism”, that is, on a shared democratic culture

devoid of ethnic/substantial contents (e.g. Habermas, 1992; Ferry, 2000). The way citizenship is construed is therefore a relevant research question in order to gain an understanding of the sources of identification that sustain peoples' sense of being a citizen and of the functions they assign to citizenship. This article reports an empirical study designed to capture the different dimensions –identity, status and agency - involved in lay conceptions of citizenship both at the national and European level, and to investigate some relevant sources of their variation.

From national to European citizenship

The second question addressed in the present research was concerned with the transition from the national to the European level of citizenship. Europe is said to suffer both from an « identity deficit » and from a « democratic deficit » (Lenoble, 1992; Balibar, 2001), so that ethnic/cultural attachments and political entitlements appear to be similarly problematic. On the identity side, Europe is split in multiple national and sub-national cultures and does not provide a stable substantial identity offering such a powerful frame of unification as the Nation-States. On the political side, the construction of European institutions has primarily meant economic integration and administrative bureaucracy (Habermas, 1992). Using qualitative methods, Chryssochoou (2000a; see also Chryssochoou, 2000b) found in the contents elicited by French and Greeks a consensual core based on the economic aspects of the EU. Moreover, the legal assignment of European citizenship is bound to citizenship in member states, implying that politics (i.e., taking part in the democratic process of opinion and will formation, formulating collective claims, etc.) remain strictly national. Since European citizenship is at once a set of concrete, albeit not all political, rights, and a symbolic tool - especially in view of the population of extra-European origin deprived of EU citizenship (Licata & Klein, 2002)-, it is of practical interest to shed some light on the contents (e.g. in terms of identity and/or rights) - European citizens actually retain to fuel the

notion of a European citizenship. These elements may be derived from a general nationalistic worldview (Billig, 1996), but they can also be borrowed from a variety of normative models of citizenship which conceptualise the relationships between the individual, the groups and the State, in different ways depending on the emphasis put on the individual citizen and the market (liberal model), the political participant and the Nation-State (republican model) or the community and the common good (communitarian model) (see Taylor, 1989, for the debate between Liberals and Communitarians). In a social-psychological perspective, the study of citizenship within the theoretical framework of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1961/1976; Jodelet, 1989; Deaux & Philogène, 2002) should provide insight, at least partially, into how the elements of these different normative models of citizenship have entered common sense.

A social representational approach

If social identity is an answer to the question “Who am I?”, “citizenship answers this question when posed in the public sphere” (van Gusteren, 1988, quoted by Habermas, 1992). Jovchelovitch (2001) has recently elaborated on the articulation between the theory of the « public sphere » initiated by Habermas (1989) and the theory of social representations. In particular, she contends, the transformation from the durkheimian concept of collective representation into the concept of social representation (SR) by Moscovici parallels a radical change from traditional and unquestioned orderings to the « emergence of an informed public of citizens who together construct a public sphere » (Jovchelovitch, 2001, p. 168). Much like scientific information (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1984), philosophical and political knowledge is transformed when it penetrates the public sphere (Staerklé, Clémence, & Doise, 1998). As a concept tracing back to philosophical ideas (Barbier, 2000), and bearing upon a variety of normative models of inclusion within a Nation-State (Koopmans & Kriesi, 1997), citizenship is at the same time a notion abstract in nature, characterised by descriptive poverty, and

widely used and debated in contemporary democracies. SR theory posits that, given the plurality of viewpoints and the multiplicity of communication channels and networks that characterise contemporary societies, such notions give rise to a *shared*, but *not consensual* knowledge (Clémence, 2001). Hence, while expressing their own sense of citizenship, people can take up a variety of positions against the backdrop of a common frame of reference. They can do so by expressing contents denoting abstract concepts inherited from political philosophy, but, according to social representations theory, they are more likely to refer to concrete images or metaphors that usually imbue commonsensical thinking. The exploration of these contents should provide a more precise picture of the specificities that the notion of national and European citizenship acquires in a given democratic context, marked by a plurality of visions and of disputed political standpoints.

Political positioning

As a political category, citizenship is a suitable candidate for the study of *social positioning* which refers to the anchoring of shared knowledge in different groups with specific beliefs and experiences (Clémence, 2001). Because it stands at the articulation between a shared knowledge and group normative principles orienting its interpretation, social positioning, rather than being a mere opinion or a personal belief, is a « means for articulating the variations between intergroup beliefs and knowledge with the temporary crystallization of a network of meanings in a given public sphere » (Clémence, 2001, p. 87). To give rise to social positioning, the abstract notion of citizenship undergoes a dual process of *objectification* – through a specific content – and *anchoring* – the definition of this meaning from the point of view of a particular reference group or prior knowledge and beliefs acquired during socialization (Moscovici, 1976; Jodelet, 1989).

As Doise (2001) has shown in the study of SR of Human Rights, systematic variations in a representational field are anchored in other collective symbolic realities, such as peoples'

beliefs about other aspects of social reality or other social positioning (i.e., taking a particular position towards human rights according to one's values, or according to one's perception of social conflicts). Adopting a political perspective towards citizenship, we propose that institutional and historical definitions of citizenship may be appropriated and transformed through their anchoring in different *political* positionings. For example, Echebarría and colleagues (Echebarría, Elejebarrieta, Valencia, & Villareal, 1992) found that political positionings of Spanish youngsters within the traditional leftwing-rightwing spectrum anchored a positive vs. a critical attitude towards Europe, respectively.

Besides classical political right-left orientations, we predicted that attitudes towards the social functions of the State such as social redistribution provisions (Welfare State, see Staerklé et al., this issue) and the security and crime-related policies -(Penal State) should be relevant anchoring variables for the representations of citizenship. While the Welfare State developed, prior proximal solidarities were replaced with individual protection, and thus a management of social insecurity by the mechanism of redistribution, hitherto implemented by the Nation-States (Castel, 1995). Hence, positioning toward the Welfare State should underlie popular conceptions of citizenship inspired by models that stress “cold” vs. “warm” solidarity (State's redistribution or proximal solidarities, see Clémence, Egloff, Gardiol, & Gobet, 1994; Staerklé et al., this issue).

The second and complementary variable, positioning towards the Penal State, appears to be relevant in terms of the meaning of citizenship in democracy. Indeed a policy of security enforcement may be conceived as a means of « defensive exclusion from the public space » (Young, 1999), motivated by fears, which today are mostly associated with non-citizens or ethnic minorities (see Hopkins et al., this issue). Hence, a repressive policy can also be interpreted as a major shift in the way the effects of unemployment and insecurity are dealt with by the State, replacing social protection with a “penal management of misery”

(Wacquant, 1998) and associated with an emphasis on individual responsibility in line with a liberal approach to citizenship.

In addition, the redistributive vs. repressive functions of the State are highly salient in the debates surrounding the European construction process. European leaders have taken many steps in the realm of security and repression, and criticisms have risen against the current process of European integration assimilated to the building of a « European Fortress » (Balibar, 2001). Concerning social issues, European integration goes hand in hand with a decrease in the legitimacy and strength of a Nation-State based on welfare provisions. Yet, some people may have the feeling that European Institutions lack the ability and willingness to tackle social justice issues (Bribosia, 2000; Däubler, 1995). This last notion was therefore taken into account as an additional anchoring variable, through a measure of people's confidence in European Institutions for implementing social justice and the recognition of collective rights'. Lastly, the frequency of political discussion has been brought into account, first because the notion of communication plays a key role in the study of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1961/1976), and, because it seems to be an adequate tool for seizing individual implication in political life.

Overview

An exploratory study on the social representation of citizenship was conducted in Belgium, a multi-ethnic State that has, from the start, supported the European construction process and hosted many of its institutions. In this country, the very notion of citizenship is highly sensitive. The citizen status has been repeatedly on the political agenda, with debates revolving around the political incorporation of ethnic minorities and the opening of local voting rights for European citizens. In addition, a « Belgian model » has emerged as the result of a « subnational building » separating the Flemish and the Walloons along linguistic lines. Thus, two “sub-nations” coexist within the same political framework, so that the Belgian

identity is more a certain « Belgian spirit » based on common social values and political habits than an identity with ethnic cohesion (Magnette, 2000). Often depicted as complementary, the Belgian and the regional identities are nevertheless in tension and marked by several asymmetries (e.g., Flemish are more strongly attached to the linguistic/regional entity than Walloons, see Van Dam, 1997). Yet, as a whole, a majority of the population identifies primarily with the nation (Maddens, Beerten, & Billiet, 1998). The purpose of this study was to elicit the meanings associated with the notion of Belgian and European citizenship and to examine the structure of this semantic space according to political positioning hypothesised to be of particular relevance (i.e., Welfare and Penal political orientations). Respondents were Belgian citizens from the French-speaking part of Belgium (Wallonia and Brussels).

Method

Sample:

Eighty-six French-speaking Belgian respondents were asked to fill a questionnaire during one of the courses they were attending at the Free University of Brussels (ULB). The sample was composed of professionals enrolled in an evening program leading to a degree at the ULB and of regular students from the Faculties of Philosophy and Literature, and of Social, Political and Economical Sciences of this University. 14 non-Belgian citizens were excluded from the analyses. The final sample of 72 was composed of 30 women (41.7 %) and 42 men (58.3 %), aged between 18 and 52 ($M = 28.53$).

Questionnaire:

The questionnaire was composed of two parts:

(1) First, a free association task was presented in order to investigate the social representations of the European and the National citizenships. The stimuli proposed were: “*to be a European citizen is...*” and “*to be a Belgian citizen is...*” (The order of presentation of the Belgian and

European association tasks was counterbalanced). Participants had to provide five words related to these stimuli. The purpose of this task was to elicit the contents of the shared knowledge participants held about the abstract notion of citizenship when applied to Belgian and European contexts.

(2) The second part of the questionnaire addressed several issues assumed to organize the meanings associated with the notion of citizenship. Besides the level of identification with Belgium and Europe, political attitudes towards the Nation-State welfare and penal policies, perceptions of European Institutions as rights guarantors, participants' political orientation and communication were assessed. Six-point Likert scales were used to assess participants' degree of identification and approval.

Anchoring Variables

Level of identification

Participants were asked to answer a question related to the extent to which they recognise themselves within a national identity and within a European identity. On the basis of these two questions, participants were divided through a median-split procedure³ into Low vs. High national/European identifiers (NAT ID: $\underline{M}$ = 4.04, $\underline{Mdn}$ = 4.00, $\underline{sd}$ = 1.5, LOW: $\underline{n}$ = 24; HIGH: $\underline{n}$ = 47 and EU ID: $\underline{M}$ = 3.71, $\underline{Mdn}$ = 4.00, $\underline{sd}$ = 1.48, LOW, $\underline{n}$ = 27, HIGH: $\underline{n}$ = 45; $t[70] = -1.278$; $p = n.s.$).

Political positioning

Positioning towards the Welfare State: Participants had to express their attitude towards a set of 10 statements related to the positioning towards the role of the Welfare State⁴. Given a

³ This was done in order to further submit the entire corpus of data to a Correspondences Factorial Analysis, which performs comparisons between categorical variables. This procedure will be presented in the "Results" section of this paper

⁴ 1) The problem with welfare is that too many people try to take advantage of it; 2) The State should help every distressed person; 3) The State puts out too much money for refugees; 4) It's primarily the family, and not the State, who should uphold distressed persons; 5) Unemployed people should follow courses to ensure finding a

reasonable internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .72), a single index was computed ($\underline{M}$ = 4.07, $\underline{Mdn}$ = 4.14, $\underline{sd}$ = 0.90; 7 = positive attitude towards the Welfare State).

Positioning towards the Penal State: This variable included 8 items⁵ tapping different aspects of the Nation-State security and repressive policies. Responses were summed into a single index (Cronbach's alpha = .80) measuring participants' positioning towards the Penal- State ($\underline{M}$ = 3.31, $\underline{Mdn}$ = 3.37, $\underline{sd}$ = 1.00; 7 = positive attitude towards the Penal State).

In order to establish a Pro/Con positioning on the issues of Welfare/Penal State, the median-split procedure was used on both measures (WELFARE STATE: PRO: $\underline{n}$ = 42, CON: $\underline{n}$ = 30; PENAL STATE: PRO: $\underline{n}$ = 29, CON: $\underline{n}$ = 43).

Confidence in the European Institutions: This measure was intended to assess participants' trust in the ability of European Institutions (EI) to warrant a number of rights (social rights, minorities' rights, women's rights, workers' rights and implementing an impartial justice). This was done through a series of five questions asking respondents' level of confidence in EI concerning these different rights. Responses were added to form an index of Confidence in European Institutions (CEI: Cronbach's alpha = .85; $\underline{M}$ = 3.69, $\underline{Mdn}$ = 3.70, $\underline{sd}$ = 1.01). Low vs. High levels of confidence were established by median-split (LOW CEI: $\underline{n}$ = 38, HIGH CEI: $\underline{n}$ = 34).

Political Orientation: To assess participants' Political Orientation, a seven-point scale ranging from extreme left to extreme right, together with an option "No preference", was designed to

new job; 6) In our society, it is possible to succeed without the help of the State given enough motivation; 7) For upholding poorest people, the State should do much more than what it is doing nowadays (cheaper houses, no-cost insurances, etc.); 8) Drug addicts should be forced to follow a treatment for addiction; 9) If welfare benefits remain as high as at the moment, people will be induced to stop working; 10) It should be compulsory for unemployed people to accept any free job, even when it is not well paid.

⁵ The State should: 1) Increase the presence of the police in the streets and public sites; 2) Forbid mendacity in the street; 3) Expel asylum-seekers in case of misdemeanour; 4) Reinforce measures for locating and expelling false refugees; 5) Intensify video surveillance in public sites and commercial areas; 6) Really apply capital punishments; 7) Reinforce punishments to people benefiting from social aid in case of abuse or fraud; 8) Punish more severely people's use of illegal drugs.

answer the question: “*Where would you locate your political preferences, if you have any*”? Respondents were divided between Leftwing (extreme-left, left, centre-left) (LEFT, $\underline{n} = 37$), CENTRE ($\underline{n} = 7$), Rightwing (centre-right, right, extreme-right) (RIGHT, $\underline{n} = 11$) and No preference ($\underline{n} = 17$).

Political communication: The relative importance of political communication was tapped by a question asking the frequency of political discussions with friends or relatives (PolCom NEVER ($\underline{n} = 8$), PolCom RARELY ($\underline{n} = 23$), PolCom TIME TO TIME ($\underline{n} = 27$), PolCom REGULARLY ($\underline{n} = 14$)).

Socio-biographical data

Finally, several socio-biographical data (age, gender, nationality, family origin, education and profession) were collected. Participants were also asked to indicate in which region (Wallonia, Brussels-Capital or Other) they spent most of their time.

Results

Correlations

A correlational analysis between all the linear predictors was first performed in order to gain a better understanding of their meaning. As far as identification is concerned, the moderate correlation between the national and the European levels ($r = .32$; $p < .001$) suggests that these are complementary rather than mutually exclusive. However, only the strength of European identification correlates with the Confidence in European Institutions ($r = .34$, $p < .001$). In turn, confidence in EI is positively correlated with the Penal State variable ($r = .32$, $p < .01$) and negatively correlated with the Welfare State variable ($r = -.31$, $p < .01$). As expected, a strong negative relation was found between the Penal/Welfare orientations ($r = -.69$, $p < .01$). A positive orientation towards the Welfare State, which parallels a weak confidence in EI ($r = -.31$, $p < .001$), is also found to correspond to a leftwing political

position ($r = -.357$, $p < .01$), while the correlation between the attitude towards the Penal State and the Political Orientation measure does not reach significance.

Frequencies

Responses to the open-ended question related to the verbal associations with the notion of citizenship were submitted to a frequency analysis. Table 1 presents the words elicited at both levels, national and European, above a frequency of seven. Inspection of these frequencies shows that the very concept of *right* is the most representative of both Belgian and European citizenships. Rather than being framed in terms of identity, citizenship is primarily concerned with rights in general. Rights appear to be overwhelmingly preferred to obligations. Examination of the frequencies offers complementary information about the commonalities and differences between national and European images of citizenship. If we consider the words associated with each level of citizenship, we find (apart from rights invariably at the top of the list), only four words in common: *to belong*, *to participate*, *to live*, *to respect* and *culture*. Besides this shared content composed of few meanings, the Belgian citizenship is otherwise represented by the words: *to have*, *Belgian*, *policy*, *to reside*, *to live*, *nationality* and *obligations*, while the European citizenship elicits most frequently the words: *European*, *to adhere*, *openness*, *community*, *country*, *to circulate*, and *group*. The presence of these different contents suggests a contrast between a rather static, status-related and politically framed national citizenship and a more open and mobility-related notion of belonging and participation at the European level of citizenship.

Insert Table 1 about here

Factorial correspondence analysis

In order to seize the universes of meaning associated with the notion of citizenship at different levels as well as their structure and the potential role played by anchoring variables, the corpora of words associated to Belgian and to European citizenship were analysed separately using a FCA - Factorial Correspondence Analyses - procedure (Lebart & Salem, 1988; Doise, Clémence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1992)⁶. Before the analysis, and for both corpora, terms have been aggregated following a semantic criterion⁷. The two correspondence analyses have been performed only on words derived from this reduction, repeated segments (i.e., a sequence of words) and the transformed Anchoring Variables as active variables. The FCA presented below included the socio-biographical data as illustrative variables only because they did not have sufficient explanatory power in an initial FCA not reported here. Tables reporting the coordinates and the absolute and relative contributions of the words, repeated segments and modality variables on the factors analysed below are presented in Appendix 1 for National citizenship and Appendix 2 for European citizenship.

Social Representation of National Citizenship

The total number of words associated with the stimulus “Belgian citizen” was 2 711, among which 222 were different. Only words and repeated segments with a frequency of 2 ($N = 91$) or more were kept in the analysis. A FCA analysis allowed extracting the organizing principles structuring the SR of National citizenship. Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the factorial space for the two first factors, which explain 42.81 % of the total amount of inertia. The figure presents only terms, repeated segments and variable modalities which reached or exceed the average contribution (COR).

⁶ This technique, based on a double entry table of categorical variables, aims at identifying the minor number of underlying dimensions (factors) so as to summarise the totality of the inertia (i.e., variance in a multidimensional space). The underlying hypothesis is that the rows and the columns of the table are independent. The analysis, after having performed all possible comparisons, reclassifies rows and columns by attributing a rank following an association criterion (expressed by the correlation coefficient). Often used in the studies of Social Representations, the CFA for textual data works on tables having words in rows and anchoring variables in columns.

Dimensions of National citizenship

Factor 1 (26.63% of the inertia) shows a clear polarity between an ethnic and a political view of citizenship. This factor expresses and separates identity and democratic polity and will be called the ETHNOS-DEMOS dimension of National citizenship.

Insert Figure 1 about here

At the ethnic pole (ETHNOS), the factor comprises words expressing identity concerns, either at a regional level (*Brusseler, Flemish, Walloon*) or at a national level (*Belgian origin, Belgian nationality, Belgian*). Both diversity and unity are associated here with Belgian citizenship and this dual dimension is further represented by the notion of *compromise*. The regional and national identities are associated to a “patriotic” content (*proud*) and with an active, but rather apolitical, involvement (*consciousness, activity, to endorse- origin*).

On the political pole (DEMOS), the word *territory* is this time devoid of specific identity references to the country or the region, and evokes instead a more formal geographic reality wherein a number of *rights and duties* are exercised. The notion of *knowledge* is associated with numerous political notions, such as *rights, obligations, recognition, vote, decision*, which fill almost entirely the semantic space of this pole, as can be seen in Figure 1. They clearly indicate the prevalence of a participative role in a State, couched not only in classical formal terms of democratic rights (*to vote*) but also in the more recent notion of *recognition*. Moreover, an idea of sovereignty is attached to this pole with the term *decision*,

⁷ i.e., reducing the total corpus of words through the identification of semantic similarities, for example “to circulate” and “circulation”; standardised use of the masculine singular form.

and with the presence of the individual dimension of citizenship, through the words *individuals, individuals' recognition*.

Curiously, the term *free* is present on the identity side and not on the political side, perhaps because the latter is saturated by the word *obligations*. The obligations are somehow seen as complementary to the rights in the political version of national citizenship.

Anchoring

Political positioning towards the State mainly organizes the ETHNOS/DEMOS factor: a WELFARE CON positioning underlies the ethnic vision of Belgian citizenship while the political approach is anchored in a WELFARE PRO positioning. In the ETHNOS pole, the WELFARE CON positioning is linked with the PENAL STATE PRO positioning and a RIGHTWING Political Orientation and, unexpectedly, a high level of political communication (PolCom REGULARLY). The DEMOS pole is anchored in a low Level of European Identification (EU ID LOW).

Factor 2 (16.29% of the inertia) shows a more composite approach of citizenship. While the first factor reveals a general primacy given to Ethnos versus Demos, the second axis articulates dimensions of Ethnos and Demos, as can be seen in Figure 1. On the bottom of the vertical dimension, republican principles referring to formal status and political participation are associated to a concern with origins and belonging. On the top, a communitarian approach, expressed through informal involvement in the community, also incorporates a notion of belonging, albeit in the concrete sense of local memberships. Thus, both models of national citizenship, present combinations of participation –formal vs. informal-, and identity – national vs. sub national. On the first pole, expressions such as *origin* and *to be Belgian* are associated both with ethnic contents evoking traditions (*roots, country*) and with political contents revealing the national level of the practice of citizenship (*to participate-policy, rights-duties*). Furthermore, rights and duties refer to a citizenship in terms of a status taken

here as a personal entitlement (to have his/her own rights and duties). This pole also includes the notions of *solidarity* and *difference*, and a willingness to *accept* those differences. Rights and duties are associated with the dual reality of a *country* whose *differences* have to be *accepted*. Hence, within this vision of citizenship, we find a clear association between *Ethnos* and *Demos*, which is typical of the REPUBLICAN notion of citizenship.

The opposite pole proposes, in contrast, a citizenship as agency, placed in a more concrete framework of everyday life (*to live, to participate-to live*), where concern for others is evoked by expressions like *tolerance, listening, responsibility*, rather than through an anonymous solidarity. At this pole, the framing of the differences in terms of *diversity* or the *others* confers to the words *participate* and *policy* a more proximal flavour. A civic dimension specifies an individual commitment in the community at a local level (*Brusseler, Flemish, Walloon*) as opposed to the more abstract and distal version of the republican pole. It can be called COMMUNITARIAN.

Anchoring

This interpretation of the second factor is corroborated by the examination of the anchoring variables. The Level of Political Communication organizes the Factor: While the REPUBLICAN ascribed status is anchored in a low level of political communication (PolCom RARELY), the COMMUNITARIAN civic agency is anchored in a high level of political communication (PolCom REGULARLY), suggesting that the latter is the concrete communication framework through which *opinions* are exchanged. Another clear anchoring point for the interpretation of this factor is the low Level of National Identification (NAT ID LOW) on the COMMUNITARIAN pole, suggesting here a more personal commitment than participation in formal institutions. The fact that the REPUBLICAN pole is anchored in a high level of confidence in European Institutions (HIGH CEI) and that, conversely, the COMMUNITARIAN variant corresponds to a low confidence in European Institutions (LOW

CEI), corroborates this interpretation. In brief, this factor separates a formal versus a more informal version of citizenship. Moreover, the anchoring of the REPUBLICAN pole into a PRO-Penal and ANTI-Welfare positioning justifies the labelling, since it expresses the salience of a specific relationship between the citizen and the State, which is absent in the COMMUNITARIAN extremity. Here again, the positioning favours security over redistribution, a pattern found previously in the ETHNOS pole.

Social Representation of European Citizenship

The number of words listed under the stimulus “to be a European citizen is...” was 2838, among which 231 were different. The threshold of 2 was retained as minimal frequency ($N = 95$). The first two factors organizing the SR of European Citizenship account for 41.18 % of the total inertia (see [Figure 2](#)).

Dimensions of European citizenship

Factor 1 (21.72% of the variance) opposes two broad visions of the European citizen. A POLITICAL/CULTURAL dimension of the representation is expressed by this factor, which indeed resembles the ETHNOS/DEMOS distinction. More specifically here, the citizen is either an *actor* who is *involved* or an individual who *circulates* and *shares experiences*. This factor reflects a contrast between a static vision of politics (the citizen is fixed in a *space* and endowed with *rights* and *duties*, e.g. the verbs *to have*, *to live*, and the word *country*) and a dynamic vision of individual movement (the citizen crosses borders to get *experiences*).

Insert Figure 2 about here

The POLITICAL pole collects expressions such as *obligations*, *duties*, *rights*, *policy*, *involved*, and is organized around *knowledge* and *to belong*. Like in the Demos pole of the

Nation, citizenship is framed in terms of status and politics appear in formal terms. Although politically framed, this pole lacks some of the dimensions associated to the National Demos, such as decision and recognition, which more explicitly refer to the national framework of citizenship. No direct reference to Europe is found. Instead, the meaning of belonging here takes on a territorial dimension with the words *country*, *space*, and *world*.

The CULTURAL pole assembles terms like *open-minded*, *openness*, *mind*, *freely circulating*, and is organized around the concepts of *culture* and *to share*. It is noteworthy that the *European rights* as well as *to vote* are present on this pole, mainly concerned with notions of circulation, cultural benefits and personal experiences, rather than on the POLITICAL pole. The notion of European citizenship, and even of a European “spirit”, appears associated with a concrete, but not necessarily political, meaning in terms of rights. The notions of *force*, *strength* and *status* found on this pole also point at the possible impact of the economic success of the European integration on the representation of European citizenship.

Anchoring

The interpretation of this factor is somewhat confirmed by the low political communication (PolCom NEVER) anchoring the CULTURAL pole of the factor. The apolitical view of the European status and strength is opposed to a more political view of a European public space, in correspondence respectively with a representation of the citizen as a free individual or as an active political agent. This factor is clearly structured by participants’ Trust in European Institutions and their Political Positioning towards the State: A low trust (LOW CEI) and a WELFARE PRO positioning (and PENAL STATE CON) underlie the POLITICAL variant of citizenship, while the reverse approach (HIGH CEI, WELFARE CON and PENAL STATE PRO) is found as anchoring points for the CULTURAL, and more apolitical, version of citizenship. Much like the national level, the

European semantic content of the first factor is organized by the principle related to the functions of the State.

Factor 2 (19.46% of the variance) distinguishes, in a similar way as for the national representation, two combined approaches of citizenship. Both stress participation, but more oriented towards an abstract project and values on the bottom, and towards a concrete involvement in the community on the top of the vertical dimension. Given these analogies, the factor could also be interpreted in terms of models of citizenship. Although the negative pole, with an emphasis on actions carried out individually such as *to learn, to discover, to participate*, and individual adhesion to *values* could evoke a rather liberal view, the high salience of a participative role, either in politics (political participation) or in the common project (*participate in building, unification*) could also suggest a reference to the republican approach. The importance taken by liberal individual opportunities and values does not preclude the recognition of the republican principle of *equality (respect equality)*. This pole appears therefore to be quite mixed in terms of a normative model, but clearly more individualist, as compared to the opposite pole. Nevertheless, the individual *citizen* finds here a frame of identification (*identity*), sustaining its citizenship. This frame is clearly defined in POSTNATIONAL terms (*Europe, space, world*). Since it is explicitly related with the current process of European integration (*to build, unification, strength*) and to specific characteristics of the European society (*diversity, multilingualism*), this pole suggests a model of post national citizenship entailing a participative role of the citizen in a specifically European project. The model clearly associates *politics* and *identity*, and relates them to the notion of *citizen*. Yet, contrary to the national case, a sense of European citizenship seems to emerge from *adhesion to values*, such as *tolerance*, rather than from traditions and substance.

On the opposite pole, as can be seen on the top of the figure, we again find a more COMMUNITARIAN view of citizenship, with the words *to share, to belong, to accept-*

differences. On this COMMUNITARIAN pole, the word *right* has the most important contribution, followed by the word *democracy*. Unlike the civic dimension found in the national Communitarian Pole, a clear reference to DEMOS is therefore present in this case and it takes on quite a concrete meaning with reference to the exercise of formal citizenship (*to vote*). As in the national case, however, this pole expresses a proximal sense of *belonging*, with a concern for the community (*belong to community*) where one has practical *experiences* that are *shared* in *common*. The sense of citizenship is less abstract and ideal than on the opposite pole, as suggested by the word *difference* instead of *diversity*, and to *accept* instead of the value of *tolerance*. Thus a rather idealistic and rather apolitical POSTNATIONAL view is contrasted with a somewhat more realistic vision and politicised approach of the European community. Europe, however, is not alluded to as such in this COMMUNITARIAN pole and seems to be regarded more as an experience that has to be *elaborated* in common than as a project to be built.

Anchoring

A low Level of National identification is associated with the POSTNATIONAL and more individualistic pole (NAT ID LOW), confirming our interpretation in post national terms. It also anchors the COMMUNITARIAN side when it is high (NAT ID HIGH), suggesting that the Nation is seen as the concrete framework for the exercise of a political citizenship. But, above all, the political variables organize this factor: A political positioning outside of the classical spectrum right-left (NO POLITICAL OPINION) together with a high political communication (PolCom REGULARLY) underlie the POSTNATIONAL approach while a LEFTWING political positioning, coupled with a low political communication (PolCom RARELY), grounds the COMMUNITARIAN approach. This suggests an opposition between the figure of a citizen rather detached from traditional political references and more prone to freely discuss political issues to the figure of a citizen more politically

settled in the classical party system. Interestingly, even if they are mainly represented by the notions of belonging and community, the COMMUNITARIAN views expressed at the national and European level differ completely as far as the Anchoring variables are concerned. A shift in the Level of National Identification and in the Political Communication appears with the transition from the former to the latter: The COMMUNITARIAN view elicited by the national stimulus is concerned with informal agency and regional civic involvement while the COMMUNITARIAN view induced by the European stimulus refers to formal politics linked to the national level of citizenship.

Discussion

Within the theoretical framework of Social Representations, we searched for the variations that the notion of citizenship can undergo when it is used at the national versus at the European level, and also within these different contexts. However, some insight could also be gained about a consensual definition of the very concept of citizenship, regardless of the particular level of its definition. Indeed, as revealed in the frequency analysis, the notion of *rights* was found invariably at the top of the list of associations and may therefore represent one core dimension of the very concept of citizenship, together with status and agency, evoked respectively by the terms to belong and to participate. Of particular interest for the present discussion is the fact that the word *culture* also appeared to stand among the most frequent associations for both types of citizenship. This suggests that a political citizenship in terms of status and agency is invariably associated with a frame of identification not defined in strictly political terms. Yet, this shared frame of reference associating rights, membership, participation and culture was linked to diverse contents according to the particular contexts. National citizenship emphasises dimensions of status, territory, and nationality, whereas European citizenship appears to be more a matter of adhesion, to evoke sources of belonging

less determined and more diverse (community, country, group), and to be closely linked to the idea of boundlessness and circulation.

The factor analysis provided us with a finer picture of the commonalities and differences between the conceptions of citizenship at the national and European levels. Taken together, the responses appear to elicit, on the first factor, a general meaning of citizenship, an approach of the notion through a kind of political versus ethnic/cultural prism. In turn, the second factor seems to represent in both cases a more concrete significance of citizenship, as a particular status or a given behaviour attached to an identity. Such a picture suggests that citizenship is conceived at different levels of abstraction, and that beyond a broad orientation towards identity or politics, a more situated citizenship appears to associate both concerns.

Identity versus politics

Following a notion proposed in the realm of political science, the topic of citizenship was addressed in particular in terms of the distinction between ETHNOS and DEMOS, referring to distinct visions of citizenship according to the weight given to symbolic attachments or to political membership in a country. The factor analysis revealed the presence of these two views in the lay definition of national citizenship and a parallel opposition between politics and culture in the representation of European citizenship. In both cases, a first factor clearly separates a rather apolitical view of citizenship represented by the *Ethnos* pole at the national level and the *Cultural* pole at the European level from a more political approach. While *Ethnos* and *Culture* both evoke a rather substantial identity, the different labelling seems justified since at the national level it is articulated to origins, roots and traditions whereas references to space and movement characterize the post national cultural pole. A common feature of this *Ethnic/Cultural* primacy is that they are both anchored in the identical political orientation favouring a penal over a welfare policy. At the national level, an anti-Welfare/pro-Penal State positioning and a rightwing political orientation underlie the

ethnic content and this same positioning anchors the apolitical/cultural approach of European citizenship. The clear conjunction between a substantial identity and security concerns in the *Ethnos* pattern appears to fit with the view that the primacy of an ethnic/cultural, rather than a political, conception of the national community as “naturally” bounded together, is closely tied to a more exclusive citizenship (Lochak, 1993). The same conjunction in the *Cultural* European pattern suggests that, detached from politics, the notion of culture may acquire a similar exclusive turn. These findings deserve special attention, given the susceptibility of the ethnic/cultural sentiment to mobilization by extreme-right leaders (Koopmans & Kriesi, 1997) and to the development of racist attitudes, as it shows to be the case for Belgium (Magnette, 2000; Licata & Klein, 2002). They call for further research relating more explicitly the popular conceptions of citizenship to exclusionary attitudes, in particular xenophobia and racism.

In contrast with the *Ethnos/Cultural* approach, the *Demos/Political* view is concerned with rights at both levels of citizenship. It may illustrate Habermas’ notion of “constitutional patriotism” in which adhesion to republican principles would be detached from a substantial identity. However, this standpoint, as suggested by our results, is bound to remain quite abstract in nature. As soon as a more concrete definition of citizenship prevails, be it in terms of status or agency, or in individual versus communal terms, some kind of connection between rights and identity appears.

On the second factor, responses revealed that different elements of the normative models of citizenship can be present in the popular approaches. This was especially obvious at the European level, with a combination, on the *Post national* pole, of a liberal viewpoint emphasizing the figure of an abstract and individualist citizen and a republican principle of political participation. A contrasting model, closer to the communitarian one, was found at both levels of representation. At the national level, communitarians appeared to favour civic

involvement for the sake of the community (see Stürmer & Kampmeier, 2003), proximal relationships, that is, a kind of “warm solidarity” (charity, volunteerism), as opposed to the “cold solidarity” realized through State’s redistribution (Clémence et al., 1994). At the European level, they also showed to give the primacy to the collective over the individual, while retaining from republicanism its participative dimension and an attachment to the notion of democracy.

Political involvement in the community

Both at the national and at the European level, the *Communitarian* poles associate politics and identity. They present citizenship more in terms of agency than status, even if this agency is more informal at the national and more formal at the European level. Indeed, civic or political involvement, with the nuance of proximity and responsibility specific to the national citizen, appears to be closely associated to an emphasis on the community, rather than on symbols of nationhood or on abstract values, suggesting an approach of collective identity in terms of concrete social attachments. The distinction between “common-identity groups”, based on attachments to the group identity and “common-bonds groups” based on attachments among group members, in recent social psychological conceptualisations (Prentice, Miller, & Dale, 1994) may be of some heuristic value for an understanding of the frame of identification supporting peoples’ political agency. It seems that the “need to belong” (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) attached to today’s sense of active citizenship is more concerned with relationships and interactions with concrete people than identification with abstract categories. Although hypothetical, the notion that affiliative tendencies may sustain people’s involvement within their community invites broadening the theoretical framework currently used for studying social identity. It demands to rehabilitate a more relational approach, largely discarded since the cognitive turn taken by mainstream social psychology. This relational approach, in the realm of political identities, should not necessarily be seen in

terms of *interpersonal* attachments. It could cover identification processes not only driven by perception and motivated by the mental search for positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), but stemming from social practices likely to *enact* a given identity (Reicher, 2000). It may be that, beyond identification with an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983) or mental adhesion to abstract principles, what “involved citizenship” needs is a concrete community where citizenship is actually put into practice.

Peculiarities of Belgian and European citizenships

Besides providing information about the general meaning of citizenship and the structural similarities between its different levels, the present study also sheds some light on specific features that the Belgian and the European citizenship have in the eyes of participants. Hence, in line with the “Belgian model”, *Ethnos* is represented both through regional and national references, the latter rooted into nationality as well as origin. The peculiarities of the Belgian “consociative democracy” (Magnette, 2000), are manifest in expressions such as “compromise” and “freedom”. They illustrate that the cleavages crossing the national divide between the linguistic line are dealt with political compromise rather than frank opposition, and are managed thanks to the large freedom and autonomy left to the “communities”. Formal politics (*Demos*), on the other hand, are involved within a non-substantial (a geographical territory), and an individualistic framework which both evoke a liberal lay conception of citizenship. The status citizenship attached to the *Republican* pole is linked to the idea of solidarity. However, the anchoring of this pole into an anti-Welfare positioning sheds some doubts about the concrete social, rather than symbolic, significance of this solidarity and questions the contention of a well established “primacy of social rights and opportunities in Belgian representations of citizenship” (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2002). The

Communitarian model reflects both the salience of the linguistic issue in this country, and the importance of the unit in which people are bound together in everyday life.

As far as the European citizenship is concerned, the political side shares many dimensions and has the same abstract nature as the *Demos* pole of the Belgian citizenship. What the European political vision loses in relation to the national one is the reference to the individual and the decision making, hence the dimension of sovereignty. Concerning the cultural pole, we note the absence of an *Ethnos* dimension related to origins, tradition or roots whatsoever. Instead, references to space and movement distinguish this supranational approach, together with the importance given to culture, experiences, spirit and openness. Perhaps more than an “identity deficit” as such, it may be that on this abstract level, the European identity elicited in the cultural pole reveals a “democratic deficit”, in that it stands outside the democratic principles and values that shape the political culture in Europe and to politics in general.

But it is above all the *Post national* model that appears to be specifically European oriented (with low national identification and the word *European* among the associations). The sense of a novel European identity that this model seems to convey involves a strong assertion of the individual self. Furthermore, it is oriented towards the future rather than the past, a project rather than a shared memory and a close appeal to *values* rather than traditions. The *idea* of Europe (Delanty, 1995) stemming from this approach grounds the principle of collective identity on adhesion to values and not on recognition of ascribed ethnic/cultural features. Certainly, in a period marked by the issue of the enlargement of the EC, this result is of interest, given that a frame of reference defined through values is potentially more open to diversity than a categorization on the basis of ethnic features. This openness is further illustrated by the presence of the dimension of *diversity* among the associations obtained on this pole. The question is whether this value-based model of European citizenship may sustain

citizens' *political* involvement compared, in particular, to the communitarian perspective. The issue at stake in the construction of a European citizenship, and the research question to be further investigated, could therefore concern the connection of a civic/political *Demos*, not with an unlikely European *Ethnos*, but with a somewhat recognized European *Ethos*.

Conclusion

One general outcome of the present research was to elicit the contents through which people value and combine symbolic attachments, political participation, status and agency, a common frame of reference or alternative sub-national or supra-national identities. These contents appeared to be organized, first of all, along ethnic/cultural versus political lines, in correspondence with a more exclusive and a more inclusive citizenship. Another contribution was to assess how people actively construct their own model of citizenship implying invariably, but in different ways, an articulation between identity and politics. If these first and limited empirical findings about the lay conceptions of citizenship may be of some value in the present debates evolving around democracy and belonging in Europe, they also convey a message concerning a social-psychological subject, whose *free* construction of meanings and categories is in no ways arbitrary, but rather is constrained by specific organizing principles that the researcher is liable to uncover.

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Tableau 1: Frequencies of the words elicited by the stimuli (National and European level compared)

National citizenship	Frequencies	European citizenship	Frequencies
rights	25	rights	20
to vote	17	to belong	15
to respect	16	European	14
to have	12	culture	14
Belgian	11	to respect	11
policy	11	to adhere	10
to reside	10	to live	10
to live	10	openness	10
to participate	9	community	9
culture	8	country	9
nationality	8	to circulate	8
to belong	8	to participate	8
obligations	8	group	8

Note: only frequencies above seven are presented

Figure 1. Representation of the Belgian citizenship

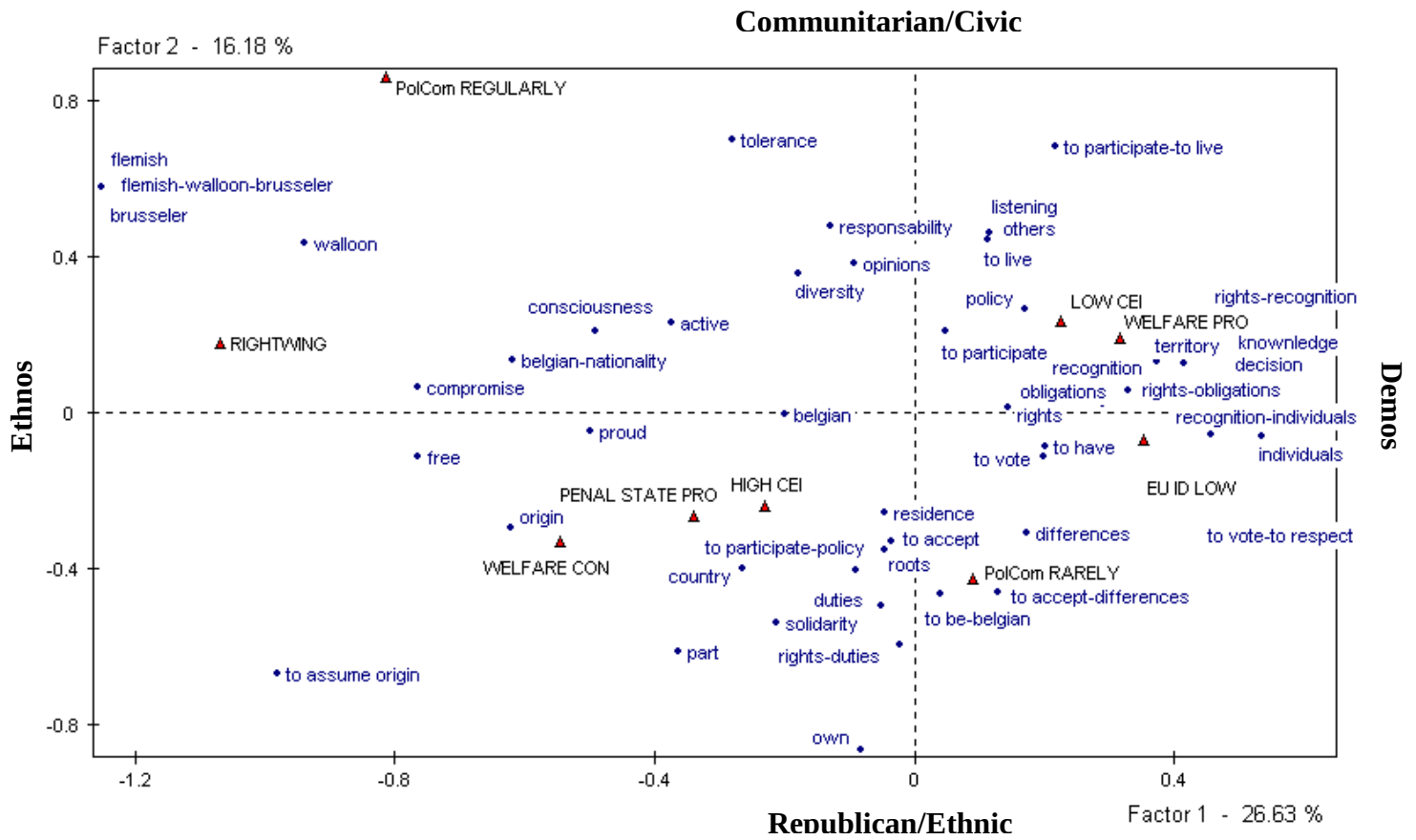
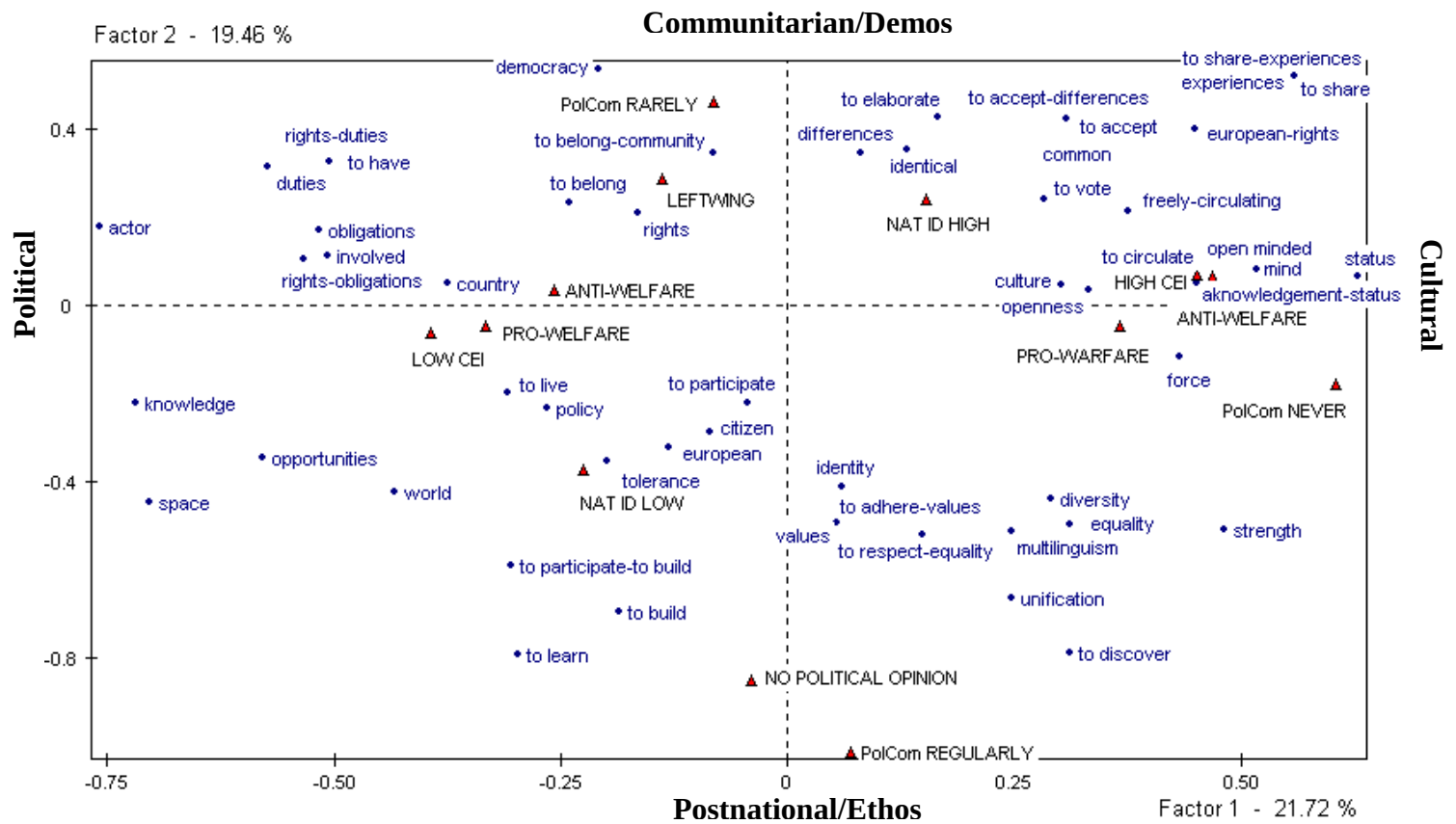


Figure 2. Representation of the European citizenship



Appendix 1. Belgian citizenship: coordinates and absolute and relative contributions of terms, repeated segments and variables taken into account for the interpretation of the first and second factor.

a - Factor 1

Modalities				Modalities			
Mean contribution: 100/91=1.10	COORD	COR	Cos²		COORD	COR	Cos²
brusseler	-1.25	7.60	0.75	territory	0.42	2.10	0.54
flemish	-1.25	7.60	0.75	rights-recognition*	0.64	2.00	0.56
flemish-walloon-brusseler*	-1.25	7.60	0.75	rights-obligations*	0.33	1.80	0.53
walloon	-0.94	6.40	0.70	obligations	0.29	1.60	0.55
to endorse	-0.98	4.60	0.52	recognition	0.37	1.60	0.44
to endorse-origin*	-0.98	4.60	0.52	to vote	0.20	1.60	0.39
compromise	-0.76	4.20	0.67	knowledge	0.55	1.50	0.38
free	-0.77	4.20	0.62	decision	0.55	1.50	0.38
origin	-0.62	3.70	0.51	to vote-to respect*	0.46	1.50	0.60
proud	-0.50	3.60	0.70	individuals	0.53	1.40	0.36
consciousness	-0.49	2.30	0.62	recognition-individuals*	0.53	1.40	0.36
belgian-nationality*	-0.62	1.80	0.46	to have	0.20	1.20	0.21
active	-0.37	1.30	0.38	rights	0.14	1.20	0.29
belgian	-0.20	1.10	0.36				
100/18=5.56							
Variables				Variables			
Mean contribution: 100/18=5.56	COORD	COR	Cos²		COORD	COR	Cos²
RIGHTWING	-1.07	24.40	0.62	WELFARE PRO	0.31	8.40	0.57
PolCom REGULARLY	-0.81	15.30	0.39	EU ID LOW	0.35	6.30	0.34
WELFARE CON	-0.54	14.40	0.57				
PENAL STATE PRO	-0.34	5.90	0.30				

Repeated segments are marked by the symbol (*).

N.B.: Interpretation of the output is based on three principal indexes: the coordinate (COORD) of each modality on the factorial plane, the relative contribution (Cos²) indicating the factor's contribution to the explanation of each modalities, and the absolute contribution (COR) expressing the modality's contribution to the rate of the explained inertia. Modalities that have a contribution greater than the mean's contribution (i.e., 100/number of modalities) are considered to contribute to the factor.

b - Factor 2

Modalities

mean contribution:

100/91=1.10

	Modalities				Modalities		
	COORD	COR	Cos ²		COORD	COR	Cos ²
own	-0.87	6.00	0.37	to live	0.44	7.70	0.82
solidarity	-0.54	5.80	0.57	to participate-to live*	0.68	5.50	0.52
to endorse	-0.67	3.60	0.25	responsibility	0.48	4.50	0.44
to endorse-origin*	-0.67	3.60	0.25	tolerance	0.70	3.90	0.32
part	-0.61	3.00	0.36	policy	0.26	3.00	0.42
duties	-0.50	2.90	0.48	brusseler	0.58	2.60	0.16
rights-duties	-0.59	2.80	0.51	flemish	0.58	2.60	0.16
residence	-0.26	2.60	0.45	flemish-walloon-brusseler*	0.58	2.60	0.16
roots	-0.35	2.00	0.31	walloon	0.43	2.20	0.15
country	-0.40	1.90	0.21	others	0.46	1.70	0.35
to accept	-0.33	1.80	0.44	listening	0.46	1.70	0.35
to accept-differences*	-0.46	1.70	0.42	diversity	0.36	1.50	0.16
to be-belgian*	-0.46	1.70	0.34	to participate	0.21	1.50	0.38
origin	-0.30	1.40	0.12	opinion	0.38	1.10	0.24
to participate-policy*	-0.41	1.30	0.29				
differences	-0.31	1.10	0.33				

Variables

Mean contribution:

100/18=5.56

	COORD	COR	Cos ²	Variables	COORD	COR	Cos ²
PolCom RARELY	-0.43	12.60	0.30	PolCom REGULARLY	0.86	27.90	0.44
WELFARE CON	-0.33	8.80	0.21	NAT ID LOW	0.34	7.60	0.20
HIGH CEI	-0.24	6.30	0.23	LOW CEI	0.23	6.10	0.23
PENAL STATE PRO	-0.27	6.00	0.19				

Repeated segments are marked by the symbol (*)

Appendix 2. European citizenship: coordinates and absolute and relative contributions of terms, repeated segments and variables taken into account for the interpretation of the first and second factor.

a - Factor1

Modalities				Modalities					
mean contribution: 100/95=1.05				COORD	COR	Cos ²	COORD	COR	Cos ²
to have	-0.50	4.30	0.64	to circulate			0.45	4.80	0.57
obligations	-0.52	3.90	0.74	force			0.43	3.80	0.46
country	-0.38	3.70	0.64	culture			0.30	3.70	0.64
actor	-0.76	3.30	0.62	openness			0.33	3.20	0.52
rights-obligations*	-0.53	3.30	0.80	status			0.63	2.10	0.32
knowledge	-0.72	3.00	0.65	acknowledgement-status*			0.63	2.10	0.32
duties	-0.57	2.90	0.47	experiences			0.56	1.80	0.32
space	-0.70	2.90	0.43	to share			0.56	1.80	0.32
rights-duties*	-0.57	2.90	0.47	to share-experiences*			0.56	1.80	0.32
to belong	-0.24	2.50	0.44	mind			0.52	1.60	0.25
opportunities	-0.58	1.90	0.48	freely-circulating*			0.38	1.60	0.33
rights	-0.16	1.60	0.33	open minded			0.52	1.60	0.25
involved	-0.51	1.50	0.45	to vote			0.28	1.40	0.22
policy	-0.26	1.40	0.29	strength			0.48	1.30	0.19
world	-0.43	1.10	0.20	diversity			0.29	1.20	0.18
to live	-0.31	1.10	0.32	european-rights *			0.45	1.20	0.28
Variables				Variables					
mean contribution: 100/18=5.56				COORD	COR	Cos ²	COORD	COR	Cos ²
LOW CEI	-0.39	14.00	0.58	HIGH CEI			0.45	16.00	0.58
WELFARE PRO	-0.33	10.90	0.59	WELFARE CON			0.47	15.50	0.58
PENAL STATE CON	-0.26	6.50	0.40	PENAL STATE PRO			0.37	9.30	0.41
				PolCom NEVER			0.60	6.40	0.18

Repeated segments are marked by the symbol (*)

b - Factor 2

Modalities				Modalities			
mean contribution: 100/95=1.05							
	COORD	COR	Cos²		COORD	COR	Cos²
to build	-0.69	9.30	0.75	rights	0.21	2.90	0.54
unification	-0.66	5.70	0.64	democracy	0.53	2.80	0.53
european	-0.32	4.60	0.50	to belong	0.23	2.60	0.41
to learn	-0.79	4.00	0.43	to have	0.33	2.00	0.27
to discover	-0.79	4.00	0.33	experiences	0.52	1.80	0.27
diversity	-0.44	3.10	0.40	to share	0.52	1.80	0.27
equality	-0.50	2.40	0.23	to elaborate	0.43	1.80	0.40
to participate-to build*	-0.59	2.20	0.33	to share-experiences*	0.52	1.80	0.27
multilingualism	-0.51	1.70	0.38	to accept	0.43	1.20	0.37
strength	-0.51	1.70	0.21	common	0.43	1.20	0.37
to respect-equality*	-0.52	1.70	0.22	differences	0.34	1.20	0.39
identity	-0.41	1.60	0.38	identical	0.35	1.20	0.17
tolerance	-0.35	1.60	0.18	to accept-differences*	0.43	1.20	0.37
values	-0.49	1.60	0.39	to belong-community*	0.35	1.20	0.26
to adhere-values*	-0.49	1.60	0.39	to vote	0.24	1.10	0.16
citizen	-0.29	1.30	0.10				
space	-0.45	1.30	0.17				
world	-0.42	1.20	0.19				
to participate	-0.22	1.20	0.15				
policy	-0.23	1.20	0.23				
Variables				Variables			
Mean contribution: 100/18=5.56							
	COORD	COR	Cos²		COORD	COR	Cos²
PolCom REGULARLY	-1.01	32.90	0.73	PolCom RARELY	0.46	14.00	0.42
NO POLITICAL OPINION	-0.85	18.30	0.36	LEFTWING	0.29	9.50	0.52
NAT ID LOW	-0.37	10.40	0.35	NAT ID HIGH	0.24	6.30	0.31