Cross country synthesis
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Deliverable 6.1 - COUNTRY SYNTHESIS

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General objectives

The main objective of this deliverable is to summarise and benchmark the results of the EuroBroadMap project with regard to the way in which Europe (or more precisely the European Union [EU]) is seen in different countries, from a non-Eurocentric point of view.

In order to do so, we have elaborated on a grid analysis which tries to compare subjective visions based on a worldwide survey of the mental maps of students, but also in some cases on qualitative surveys on migrants, normative visions based on official political diplomatic documents or textbooks, and finally functional visions based on a statistical analysis of economic, diplomatic or migratory flows. The core aim of this work is to identify similarities or cognitive dissonances between different visions of Europe across the world and to check whether such similarities and cognitive dissonances are the same inside and outside of the EU.

This grid analysis method was therefore applied to the 12 partner countries of the EuroBroadMap project. These countries were selected in order to provide an interesting sample of visions because they represent different degrees of proximity to the EU from a historical, geographical, economic and political point of view. They can be classified into six groups according to their global distance from the EU:

1. Original members of the EU: France and Belgium;
2. Members who joined the EU between 1986 and 1995: Portugal and Sweden;
3. Members who joined the EU between 2004 and 2007: Malta and Romania;
4. Candidate and neighbouring countries: Turkey and Russia;
5. Remote countries with strong historical links: Cameroon and Brazil;
6. Major developing (emerging) countries in Asia: India and China.

In order to carry out a sound comparison of visions of Europe as seen by these countries, we elaborated on a two-step approach, whereby each partner country was first invited to propose a summary of analytical results regarding its own situation, before proposing higher-level synthetic conclusions.

It is not necessary to precise that each country was fully responsible for the content of its own chapter in order to avoid "Eurocentrism". The coordination team took responsibility for elaborating on all of the graphic documents to be annotated by each partner in a systematic and standardised way, in order to make the comparisons between the countries easier. In some cases, the Work Package leader who was responsible for the coordination of a vision (mental, functional, normative) provided advice in the form of comments on the results (for example, in the case of economic relations), but in each case, the representative of the partner country was responsible for the final validation of the document.
How to read this document?

*If you are interested in a specific country, you can go directly to the chapter in which it is described.*

The chapter starts with a summary of the key results over two pages. A more detailed description is provided for each country in the analysis section, which is made up of seven topics. Each topic is organised into two pages that can be used as a standalone document. For each topic, the first page presents the major results, which generally consist of a map or a figure with a comment on the key results, while the second page introduces further details or complementary analysis. The second page is not systematically associated with a graphic illustration and generally offers more detailed information.

*If you are interested in a specific topic, you can proceed to an alternative reading of the report that will focus on the differences between countries for this specific topic. For example, if you are more concerned with the analysis of the diplomatic relationships between countries, you can compare the voting patterns of the 12 countries at the United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) by comparing all of the maps relating to topic 3 for each country in the entire document. In this case, it is important to look at the guidelines that have been addressed by the author of the chapter in order to obtain comparable results.*

The countries in this study have been ranked according to their distance from the EU (Belgium to China). This allows the analysis of the variation in a given topic in more and more remote countries. However, while there is an obligation to proceed from "close" to "remote", it can be interesting to read the document in reverse order, from "remote" to "close".

*If you are interested in benchmarking a subset of countries, you can decide to proceed to a systematic comparison of these two countries with regard to each of the seven topics. It is, for example, very interesting to explore the similarities or differences between the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China), which are all EuroBroadMap countries. Another option is to compare the vision of EU countries located along various external borders in the South West (Portugal), South (Malta), South East (Romania) and North (Sweden).*

*If you are interested in benchmarking two topics, you can also proceed to a systematic analysis of correlations or differences. It is, for example, very interesting to compare the spatial pattern of the attractiveness of countries (topic 1) and bilateral trade exchanges (topic 2): in both cases, clear effects of proximity, related not only to geography but also to linguistic linkages and historical heritage, are revealed.*

*A multimedia application called "Subjective mapper" will be delivered at the end of the project, in December 2011, in order to visualise and to facilitate the exploration of the results. Currently, the first approach (by country) is the easiest and it is relatively difficult to proceed to alternative forms of exploration because of the linear structure of the paper document. Do not hesitate to send us feedback and ideas in order to improve the future multimedia version of the document (webservices@eurobroadmap.eu).*
All of the various topics of the EuroBroadMap project contribute to highlighting the strong embeddedness of Belgium within the European and/or EU space. In relation to the themes developed in this country synthesis, we observe the intensity of the links between Belgium and European countries. In addition, we show here that this embeddedness within the European space is also very clear in the perception that Belgian students have of the world and of the European space.

Thus, Belgium appears to be strongly embedded in the European space from an economic and political point of view. This is related to both distance effect and the EU membership of Belgium, which became one of the six founder members of the EU in the 1950s. Hence, Belgium trades mainly with EU countries, especially its neighbouring countries. In addition to distance effect, the economic integration which accompanies the monetary union and trade agreements that constitute the EU are essential to our understanding of this geography of trade. In the same way, Belgium has voted at the United Nations (UN) like other EU countries during both the current and Cold War periods. In addition, human flows between Belgium and the rest of the world are mainly intra-European, while the importance of immigration flows from non-EU countries of the Eastern or Southern Mediterranean Bank, such as Morocco and Turkey, must also be noted. When looking at the countries which are most commonly lived in and visited by Belgians, they confirm the importance of distance but also of nearby touristic Mediterranean destinations, such as Spain. Hence, all of Belgium’s preferential relationships have been made within the EU space. However, the intensity of its links with New Member States is clearly weaker. Finally, Belgium maintains some specific relations with the countries of its old colonial empire in Central Africa (in terms of trade and migration in particular), but at a much lower intensity than its relations with EU countries. The USA appears not to be a specific trade partner nor a political model for Belgium. The balanced vision of the USA held by Belgian students confirms these facts.

The perceptions of Belgian students are very much in line with this strong economic, political and migratory embeddedness of Belgium within the EU/European space. Even if Belgian students do not identify themselves primarily as European, they are clearly part of a European area. However, within the European space, the Belgian students seem to all agree that they belong to the EU-12 West European space, while some adopt larger definitions of the space to which Belgium belongs, namely the EU-27 or even the Northern Hemisphere. In addition to this strong affiliation to Europe, Belgian students also appear to be very global and a significant number consider themselves to be citizens of the world. Interestingly, when Belgian students are asked to define the area which includes Belgium, they call it Europe, rather than the EU. Hence, in both objective flows and perceptions, it seems to be very difficult to choose between belonging to Europe and to the EU. On the one hand, many Belgian students limit Europe to the EU, and the words they use to define Europe are strongly related to the political construction of the EU (Union and Euro are the two most frequently quoted words). On the other hand, the limits they draw and the word they use to describe the European space do not restrict or extend to the EU. Finally, the words used to define Europe are mainly positive and are linked with political, economic, cultural or historical aspects. Like French students, Belgian students have a more positive vision of Europe than non-EU students, and especially those in Cameroon.
**Areas which are perceived positively:**

Western Europe appears to be clearly the most attractive area for Belgian students. Nevertheless, its neighbouring countries (except France) are less well appreciated than Mediterranean countries (Spain, Italy) or Northern European countries (Sweden, Denmark, the UK, Ireland). North America appears to be the second major potential destination for Belgian students. The USA is the most frequently quoted destination (58% of the sample), but in a more balanced way than Canada, of which Belgian students have a very positive opinion. Furthermore, some Southern Hemisphere countries such as Argentina, Canada and New Zealand are also often referenced positively, especially if we take distance into consideration. These countries are considered to be "new countries" with great opportunities for migrants.

**Areas which are perceived negatively:**

Middle Eastern countries (with the exception of Egypt and the UAE) are usually negatively cited by Belgian students. Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Russia are also commonly mentioned in a negative light. Southern and Eastern Asia are generally mentioned in a negative way, and particularly Pakistan, Afghanistan, North Korea and, to a lesser extent, India and China. Japan is, however, a special case: this country, like the USA, is mentioned by as many students who would like to live there as those who would not. The image of its being a prosperous country explains the difference between Japan and other Asian countries in the eyes of Belgian students.

**Areas which are rarely mentioned:**

As we can observe on the cartogram map, some areas are very small in comparison to their real weight in the world, at least in demographic terms. This highlights those areas of the world which are largely ignored by Belgian students. A large part of Africa is concerned, and especially South and West Africa. Some countries in this part of the world are not even mentioned once: Zambia, Angola, Namibia, Botswana and Mozambique. This is also the case for Central America and South East and Central Asia.
Within the EU and its neighbouring areas, Mediterranean and Scandinavian countries are more frequently mentioned in a positive light by Belgian students than by the rest of the EuroBroadMap sample. This is particularly the case for Spain, Sweden, and Luxembourg. For these countries, considering their proximity and their high incomes, we could have expected that Belgian students would often mention them positively. However, in reality, they are more frequently positively referenced by Belgians than by other countries in the survey. In contrast, some EU countries are less frequently mentioned in a positive light: Central European countries, Italy, and particularly Germany are mentioned less often as places to live by Belgian students. Despite its proximity and prosperity, Germany is not very attractive to Belgian students. The UK is also mentioned positively less often than expected. This is not the case for Eastern EU countries: although they are not frequently mentioned in a positive light by Belgian students, this result is in line with what is observed in the other countries. The Belgian pattern is very similar to the French one: in both cases, we can observe the attractiveness of the neighbourhood as well as Mediterranean and Scandinavian countries in contrast with the less positive image of Central Europe in comparison to the whole sample. In both cases, we can explain the attractiveness of the Mediterranean in terms of heliotropism, especially in countries in which French and Belgian tourists often spend their holidays (Spain in particular). As regards Scandinavian countries, their image of prosperity is probably a common explanation. It is more difficult to explain the less frequent positive perceptions of Germany for Belgian and French students: history may play a role, but, as confirmed by the countries the students had visited, Germany is not a major tourist destination for Belgian students. Other countries are more frequently viewed positively in Belgium than in other countries, i.e., American countries except Brazil and Chile, New Zealand and Australia, South East Asia and former Yugoslavian countries. The particular attraction of Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia is somewhat surprising and may be related to the Mediterranean heliotropism already mentioned, as well as the confusion between all of the states which derived from the dislocation of Yugoslavia. The positive view of the other countries cited above is related to either "new countries" which are considered to be open to economic migrants or to sunny tourist destinations. The USA, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Argentina belong to the former category, while the Caribbean Islands, Mexico, Vietnam, Thailand, and Indonesia belong to the latter. It is also worth mentioning the unexpected attractiveness of some African countries like Congo, Tanzania, and Mauritania, that could be explained by some specific personal links of a few Belgian students with people from these countries. In contrast, some other countries are recommended less frequently by Belgian students than expected: large EU neighbourhood countries (Russia, Turkey), Asian countries (China, Japan, India) and Singapore are less likely to be named as places to live by Belgians than by other nationalities.
The figure shows that EU countries, and especially Belgium's neighbouring countries (the Netherlands, France, Germany) are Belgium's main economic partners. The USA and East Asian countries such as China and Japan are far behind the EU trading partners of Belgium. Africa, South Asia and South America are very marginal economic partners for Belgium.

Concerning the asymmetry of trade as regards the manufacturing of medium- and high-technology goods, Belgium is involved in three main situations:

**Symmetrical relations** (in yellow/light orange/light green): this concerns neighbouring countries with a similar level of economic development, such as France, the Netherlands, Spain, the UK, Italy, etc. It also concerns some South and South East Asian countries (India, Singapore, Indonesia). However, in these cases, it should be mentioned that most of the imports are of medium-technology electronic goods, which are only assembled in these countries. In contrast, Belgium sells more sophisticated goods to these countries.

**Dominant asymmetrical relations** (in red/dark orange): trade relations in which Belgium buys raw materials and sells manufactured goods. This concerns the trade relations between Belgium and peripheral regions of the world; mainly Africa, South America, the Middle East and Oceania. More surprisingly, Hong Kong, as the turntable of Chinese trade relations, has asymmetrical relations with Belgium concerning raw materials, which is not the case for China. This is because a large proportion of trade relations between China and Belgium regarding low-technology goods go through Hong Kong's harbour.

**Dominated asymmetrical relations** (in dark green): trade relations in which Belgium buys higher-technology goods than those sold. Ireland (probably due to chemical industry exports) and Japan (machine tools and the chemical industry) are Belgium's two major partners in this case. Japan, like Germany (which also has a moderately positive balance in medium and high-technology goods), is characterised by its position in the international division of labour, as it is highly specialised on the most technological segments of manufacturing. The Irish case is different, as it also includes very positive balances for assembling electronic goods.
Preferential trade relations for Belgium are clearly intra-EU relations, with a few exceptions (Austria, Finland, Denmark, Eastern EU countries). Their proximity combined with a completely unified market between highly-developed economies explains this picture. Within the EU, distance is also a strong variable for explaining trade relations: Belgium has much stronger trade relations than expected with its neighbouring countries.

Outside of the EU, Belgium has a stronger trading relationship than expected with Congo and some other West African countries. For Congo and Rwanda, this could be explained by the historical colonial relationship between Belgium and Congo, which existed until 1960. Belgium also shares the French language, leading to stronger links with ex-French African colonies than expected. It is worth noting the privileged relationship with India and Israel without putting forward an interpretation. In contrast, Belgian relations with North America and Asian countries are generally less intense than expected, considering the weight that these countries represent in global trade.
All of the countries marked in red are those which shared more than 80% of their votes with Belgium during 2009 and 2010. With the exception of Japan, Korea and New Zealand, all of these countries are part of the EU 27 and some are near neighbours within the European space. Thus, all of the actual EU countries present similar patterns to that of Belgium in terms of UN votes, as well as the Balkanic countries (except Serbia), Ukraine, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Georgia. Turkey has more than 60% of votes in common with Belgium. For Russia and Belarus, this figure falls below 60%. Only a few countries have more than 60% of votes in common with Belgium, i.e. Canada, Peru, Argentina and Australia. Despite their common membership of NATO, Belgium has rather dissimilar voting patterns to the USA, mainly because of the very specific voting pattern of the USA on questions such as the nuclear issue or the Middle East.

Hence, the "diplomatic border" of Europe for Belgium is clearly delimited by the Mediterranean Sea to the south and by the Russian and Belarusian borders to the east. Belgium's voting patterns at the UN are very much like those of other EU countries.
The pattern which existed before the fall of the USSR has not altered completely, but some relations have changed. The number of countries which share more than 80% of their UN votes with Belgium has been greatly reduced. Only EU12 countries (with the exception of Greece and Spain), as well as Canada, are part of this group. For EU countries, UN votes seem to be strongly linked to EU membership. When considering the group of countries which share between 60 and 80% of their votes with Belgium, most of them are NATO or ANZUS members (Turkey, Norway, Australia, New Zealand and Iceland) and/or US allied states, such as Japan. Therefore, during the Cold War, Belgium primarily voted like the rest of the Western Block. However, as observed in the recent period and despite the strong embeddedness of Belgium in the Western Block, Belgian votes in the UN are very different from those of the USA, with less than 40% of similar votes. Hence, paradoxically, Belgium shared more votes with the USSR than the USA during the end of the Cold War.

Outside of the US, very few countries share less than 40% of votes with Belgium (mainly Brazil and some African and Middle Eastern countries).

In conclusion, Belgium already had a very EU-oriented diplomacy in the Cold War. As the EU has enlarged, the number of countries with similar voting patterns has enlarged over time.
Considering the size of Belgium and the proximity of borders to each of the three cities in which students were questioned, many countries are mentioned at least once by the Belgian students. Neighbourhood countries and South European countries (Italy and Spain) are very well known by Belgian students (more than 30% of them). In the cases of Spain and Italy, the huge proportion of Belgian students who visited these countries can be explained by the significant amount of Italian and, to a lesser extent, Spanish immigration to Belgium, as well as the importance of Mediterranean countries as holiday destinations. This may also have been reinforced by the importance of low-cost flights to these destinations. Furthermore, more than 80% of the interviewed students had visited France frequently. On the contrary, Germany is (considering its proximity to Belgium) much less visited, as it is not a major tourist destination. Finally, North American countries, Central European countries like Switzerland, Czech Republic, Poland and Austria and non-EU Mediterranean countries like Turkey, Tunisia and Morocco had been visited by more than 5% of the students. In addition, it is worth noting that many African countries are quoted at least once, especially those in Central Africa where Belgium had colonies. Some students had lived for several years in these countries.
WHAT ARE THE MAIN DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANT FROM YOUR COUNTRY ABROAD
On the basis of various sources, what are the countries where many citizen of your country have emigrated and are active diaspora that maintain links in the present?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>In Belgium</th>
<th>Belgian Abroad</th>
<th>Migrants from...</th>
<th>Migrants in...</th>
<th>% in BEL</th>
<th>% BEL abroad</th>
<th>% Migrants from in BEL...</th>
<th>% Belgian in...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.409</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>25,9</td>
<td>1,9</td>
<td>7,3</td>
<td>1,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>1.485</td>
<td>17,8</td>
<td>30,9</td>
<td>14,5</td>
<td>5,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>16,3</td>
<td>10,0</td>
<td>15,5</td>
<td>7,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.628</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>11,8</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>4,9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>6,3</td>
<td>10,4</td>
<td>6,8</td>
<td>3,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.573</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>5,9</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>1,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.758</td>
<td>4.067</td>
<td>5,5</td>
<td>8,5</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.395</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>4,1</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>2,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.208</td>
<td>1.310</td>
<td>3,8</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.527</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2,7</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1.115</td>
<td>17.841</td>
<td>1,6</td>
<td>15,8</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>0,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>0,6</td>
<td>6,2</td>
<td>28,8</td>
<td>10,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>2.357</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>7,7</td>
<td>2,0</td>
<td>0,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows the migratory relations between Belgium and the other countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and Morocco. Although approximately 650,000 foreigners live in Belgium, only 250,000 Belgians live abroad. Foreigners in Belgium come from four main countries (around 70% of the total number): Italy, France, the Netherlands and Morocco. The French, Dutch and Luxembourghish migrants in Belgium represent more than 15% of the citizens of these countries who are living abroad. As previously explained, proximity and the common language could explain this pattern. By contrast, immigration from Italy, Morocco and Southern Europe was the result of employment-seeking in its early period (the 1950s for Southern Europe; the 1960s and 70s for Morocco and Turkey), and family reunification in recent decades. On the other hand, around a third of Belgian citizens living abroad live in France. The other main destinations for Belgian migrants are the USA (16%), Spain (mostly pensioners) and the Netherlands (10%). Belgian citizens represent more than 5% of the foreigners in three of its four neighbouring countries: Luxembourg (10%), the Netherlands (7%) and France (5%).

This migratory pattern of Belgium is similar to the countries which are visited by Belgian students: first, Belgians live and visit their neighbouring countries, then touristic and sunny countries in Southern Europe, and finally the USA or the ancestral homes of Belgians who came from abroad. We should add the importance of immigration to Belgium for the purpose of finding work from the 1950s onwards, which explains the preferential relations and positive vision of Morocco, Turkey and Italy held by Belgian students.
The three levels of inclusion of Belgium in different regions highlight the different aspects of the vision of Europe held by Belgian students. In fact, contrary to other big and powerful countries like Brazil, India or Turkey (among the EuroBroadMap partners), Belgian students perceive their country as being part of a region which is larger than their own country. The minimal core of countries included in a definition of "Europe" is relatively large and includes at least 20 countries in Europe. All of the EU-15 countries (except Greece) are always included in this minimal core, as well as several Central European countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and even the Balkan countries (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia). In comparison with France, for example, another EU-6 member, the Belgian minimal core is much larger, especially towards the East and the North.

The medium extension of Europe as seen by Belgian students gathers together all of the EU-27 countries, as well as former Yugoslavian countries, Ukraine and Belarus. This core is almost identical to the French version. Finally, the maximal extension is influenced by the number of Belgian students who referenced a unique region called the "world" (4.4% of Belgian students) as the amalgamation of two figures: one "Western/developed" and the other "Eurasian". This could be associated with the high number of Belgian students who declare themselves to be "citizens of the world", before being Belgian or European. The Belgian maximal core is extensive, reaching from Mexico to China and including almost all of the Northern Hemisphere. Therefore, it seems that students from core members of the EU have a similar regionalisation of their country, although the French version is more restricted as regards the minimal core.

**WHAT IS THE EXTENSION OF THE WORLD REGION WHERE THE STUDENTS LOCATE THEMSELVES?**

On the basis of the answers to question "Divide the world in regions -maximum 15 -", in which part of the world did the students include their own country?

The three levels of inclusion of Belgium in different regions highlight the different aspects of the vision of Europe held by Belgian students. In fact, contrary to other big and powerful countries like Brazil, India or Turkey (among the EuroBroadMap partners), Belgian students perceive their country as being part of a region which is larger than their own country. The minimal core of countries included in a definition of "Europe" is relatively large and includes at least 20 countries in Europe. All of the EU-15 countries (except Greece) are always included in this minimal core, as well as several Central European countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and even the Balkan countries (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia). In comparison with France, for example, another EU-6 member, the Belgian minimal core is much larger, especially towards the East and the North.

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Europe is clearly the most common name for the region around Belgium. More than half of Belgian students use it. We can highlight the fact that words like "Africa", "India" and "China" are used by several Belgian students to define the area including Belgium. This could probably be explained by an approximation of the delineation of the regions. The words "European" and "union" are very uncommon, despite the fact that the limits of Europe in the minds of Belgian students often correspond to the limits of EU. This shows the complexity of the relationship between Europe and the EU in the minds of the students. According to the questions, the two words may or may not be confused.
When drawing limits around Europe, we can distinguish between core, small, medium and large versions of Europe. The small Europe corresponds approximately to the EU-12 without Greece and Ireland. The southern part of Sweden is also included in this area, and it is worth noting that Belgian students excluded Switzerland from this small Europe. French students propose approximately the same pattern, but they also include Norway, Sweden and Finland in this core Europe, and do not exclude Switzerland. Among the EU-15 countries in the survey, Belgium has a vision of a small Europe which is closer to that of Portugal than those of France and Sweden. For the latter two countries, a small Europe is restricted to the EU-12, whereas the other two countries define Europe as the EU-15.

The limits of a medium Europe by Belgian students are the same as the median extension of the region in which Belgium is included (see 5.1): it thus includes the EU-27 + the Balkans, Ukraine, Belarus and Iceland. The other three surveys in European countries (France, Sweden and Portugal) suggest a similar medium Europe, which differs as regards Turkey. While French and Belgian students locate the border of medium Europe on the Bosphorus, Portuguese and Swedish students delineate it in the "Asian" part of Turkey, near the coast for the former (including Cyprus) and at the level of Ankara for the latter.

Finally, the borders of the large Europe according to Belgian students are extended towards the north and the east but not towards the south. Russia, Turkey, Caucasian countries, Cyprus, Greenland and the Canarias are now included in Europe, but the Strait of Gibraltar as well as the straits between Malta, Lampedusa, Sicilia and North Africa remain the southern limit of Europe in the minds of Belgian students. This difference between a fuzzy eastern and southeastern limit and a southern limit strictly delineated at the Mediterranean Sea is a very interesting result. The combination of physical and cultural barriers may explain this pattern. Once again, Swedish students propose a larger "large" Europe than the other EU students included in the survey: they include a large part of the Middle East and the coastal areas of North Africa in their large Europe.
Three main borders appear clearly on the maps drawn by Belgian students: a line from the Strait of Gibraltar to Malta, one from the Sea of Marmara to the Strait of Bosphorus and one from the Russian border with the Black Sea to the Arctic Ocean.

More than 20% of the Belgian students drew at least one grid on the first border, and more than 50% delineated the Strait of Gibraltar. In the minds of the students, this seems to be the most symbolic border in Europe. It is interesting to note that the same pattern is visible for each EU sample.

Secondly, the Marmara Sea and the Strait of Bosphorus are also commonly delineated by EU students, and especially Belgian and French subjects. This effect is less obvious for Swedish students, for whom the northeastern coast of Cyprus seems to be more important than the Strait of Bosphorus.

Finally, the Western Russian border is a very important border for Belgian students; more than 50% of them used it to draw their limits and very few included any part of Russia. This border is also very visible on the French and Swedish maps, but is less obvious on the Portuguese versions.

In general, the limits of Europe drawn by students in the EU, including Belgians, are less extensive for a small Europe (restricted to the EU6) but larger for a large Europe (especially to the east, including Caucasus and Central Asia) than those proposed by non-EU students. It seems therefore that EU students have a more precise politically-oriented perception of Europe, but also that they are more inclined to define a very large European space that includes countries which are not usually defined as European.
Two words appear prominently among the nearly 500 words quoted at least once by the Belgian students: "union" and "Euro". Students confuse the EU and its currency with the concept of Europe; 36% of the students who gave at least one word quoted the word "union", and 26% gave the word "Euro". If words are quoted frequently, they are also over-represented by Belgian students. The red underlines that Europe is clearly associated with positive words, most of which are related to a political, historical, cultural or economic whole.

It is noteworthy that non-EU students use very different words to define Europe than Belgian and European Union students. The world "racism", for example, is often proposed by Cameroonian students, while "developed" and "development" are frequently quoted by Brazilian and Indian students. It seems that for European students, including Belgians, Europe is primarily a political construction, while this aspect is not central to non-European students, who perceive Europe first and foremost as a prosperous, and sometimes closed, space.
In the following table, we have synthesised the main results regarding the over-representation of words associated with Europe according to the characteristics of Belgian students. The words "European", "Commission" and "collaboration" are over-represented by females and under-represented by males. This is perhaps because female Belgian students are more positive about Europe than males. The students who declared themselves to be the most wealthy are over-represented among the students who propose the words "prosperity" and "power". For them, Europe is frequently associated with a wealthy and stable area. As regards the variation according to the first scale of belonging, we can essentially distinguish the students who chose the supranational scale from those who feel that they are primarily Belgian. Those who consider themselves to be citizens of the world over-quoted global and positive words such as "world" and "free" in order to describe Europe, and seemed to be more open-minded about the world. On the contrary, it is not surprising to see that the word "borders" is quoted more frequently by students who feel that they are more Belgian than by others. To conclude, we could note the over-representation of political science students in the political and peace lexical fields, with words like "democratic", "human rights" and "peace". On the contrary, economic terms like "Euro" are over-represented by business students and under-represented by political science students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Characteristics of students</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>european</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>commission</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>collaboration</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>power</td>
<td>High level of income</td>
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<tr>
<td>prosperity</td>
<td>High level of income</td>
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<tr>
<td>world</td>
<td>Supra national belonging</td>
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<tr>
<td>free</td>
<td>Supra national belonging</td>
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<td>borders</td>
<td>National belonging</td>
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<tr>
<td>money</td>
<td>National belonging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>democratic</td>
<td>Political science students</td>
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<tr>
<td>human rights</td>
<td>Political science students</td>
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<tr>
<td>peace</td>
<td>Political science students</td>
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<tr>
<td>euro</td>
<td>Business students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. The specific attraction of French students towards Western Europe and distant countries

The EurobroadMap survey, conducted in autumn 2009 with a sample of 600 French students located in Paris, Le Havre and Lyon, confirmed that the countries in which these students would like to live in the near future are concentrated in Western Europe and, to a lesser degree, in North America, and that they would not like to live in countries which are subject to war, political crises and poverty (see 1.1). These results are not very original and can be observed in other countries in this survey. What is more specific to French students is their relative attraction towards Western Europe and a clear lack of interest in new member states of Central and Eastern Europe. French students also do not hesitate to declare that they would like to live in countries which are located far away from America or in Oceania and some parts of Asia and Africa (see 1.2).

2. A pattern of trade influenced by distance, EU membership and former colonial relations

Compared to the relatively widespread attraction of French students towards the rest of the world, France's bilateral trade appears to be highly concentrated on the neighbouring countries of Western Europe. The comparative advantage of France as regards bilateral trade in industrial products is limited to the EU and often not in favour of France. At a longer distance, the balance of industrial products appears to be positive with the USA, but negative with East Asia. France appears to have the best relationship with less-developed countries (see 2.1). Looking at the specificities of bilateral trade relations, France appears to concentrate on the EU and also on countries with which it has former colonial links (see 2.2).

3. A diplomatic position which is increasingly linked to the EU and the neighbourhood

France has inherited from history a very large diplomatic network which covers most of the countries in the world, but its diplomatic influence is increasingly defined by its capacity to reach a common stance with other countries of the EU and in the neighbourhood. As regards the voting on resolutions at the UNGA in 2009, France appears to be similar to a group of countries located in the EU and its neighbours in the east, but different from countries in the rest of the world, and particularly countries located in Africa, South America and Asia (see 3.1). Compared to the diplomatic situation in 1986, before the fall of the Iron Curtain, France is now a member of a larger group (an extension of a common position towards Eastern Europe) which focuses more on "Europe" and less on "Occident" (see 3.2).

4. An experience of international mobility generally limited to the EU and North America

Thanks to the opening of internal borders and the development of specific programmes in favour of student mobility, such as Erasmus, the majority of French students have a wide experience of international mobility. Western Europe, Mediterranean countries and North America are the favourite destinations of French students abroad, but very few of them have visited new member states in Central and Eastern Europe or countries in South America, sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Oceania (see 4.1). This pattern of student mobility is relatively similar to the pattern of emigration of French citizens. The majority of French people living in OECD countries are located in the UK, Germany, Belgium and the USA (see 4.2).

5. The feeling of belonging to a world region called "(Western) Europe" rather than the "EU"

When they are invited to divide the world into regions, the majority of French students agree to locate France in an area that they call "Europe" rather than the "EU" (see 5.2). This area covers the majority of the EU15, plus Switzerland and Norway. However, only half of the French students include the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the same region of the world as France. In such cases, they use a broader definition than the EU27, including the Western Balkans, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova. Only a minority of students propose including France in a larger area, sometimes oriented towards Asia (with the inclusion of Russia and Turkey) and sometimes oriented towards North America (with the inclusion of the USA and Canada). Regardless, this area clearly belongs to the "North" in both a geographic and an economic sense (see 5.1).
6. A delimitation of "Europe" oriented towards the northwest and strongly delineated towards the south and east

When they are invited to draw an area called "Europe", French students use more or less the same delinea-
tion as they use to locate France within the world (see 6.1). Very few of them follow the official limits of the
EU27, as they prefer to use more restrictive or more enlarged definitions. Looking more precisely at the
drawing of borders, it appears that many French students use the Gibraltar Strait, the Dardanelles Strait and
the western border of Russia as anchor points for their mental maps. The situation is less clear to the
northwest (see 6.2).

7. A functional vision of "Europe" as a political and economic instrument of power and security

When they are invited to propose five words which are associated with "Europe", French students mention
first the idea of a "union", which seems to prove a clear awareness of the political reality of the EU. This analy-
sis is confirmed by the fact that the most common words which are associated with Europe by French
students relate to EU policies in the fields of trade, migration and more generally the control of external
borders. A specific trait of French students (shared only by Belgians) is to associate Europe with the idea of
"power" more than usual. Concepts of "history" and "culture" are also mentioned by French students, but no
more and occasionally less than in other countries in the survey (see 7.1). This general picture of words asso-
ciated with "Europe" by French students is subject to some variations according to individual parameters. For
example, as regards gender, the vocabulary used most frequently by women refers to solidarity ("aid", "mutual", "cooperation") and spatial interrelations ("exchanges", "Schengen"). The semantic field of male
responses is linked with politics ("power", "peace") and competitive sports ("champions", "league", "UEFA").
Gender seems to produce contrasting visions of Europe: a cooperative Europe for women and two different
views for men. The notion of peace appears as a specific word for men only (see 7.2).

Conclusion

The role of proximity seems to be important in order to explain French students' representations and trade
relations. The first kind of proximity is geographical distance. Western Europe clearly lies at the geographical
core of the places in which French students declare that they would to like to live in the near future. The
second kind of proximity is defined by historical relations inherited from the colonial period. For example,
France still has much stronger trade relations than expected with countries located in North and West Africa.
Another kind of proximity concerns language. The attractiveness of French-speaking countries is due to
various factors: strong cultural and historical connections, the positive image of these countries and better
knowledge. As a whole, French students propose a very "technocratic" vision of Europe before the enlarge-
ment to Central and Eastern Europe. This vision is assimilated to the political infrastructure of the EU and its
main fields of competence (common market, single currency). The words "union" and "Euro", which combine
economic and political dimensions, are often associated with the adjective "European". French students' percep-
tions seem to be strongly influenced by tradition. There is no hesitation confusion between "Europe"
and the "EU", confirming that they have a continental perception of the world which has been influenced by a
long-standing academic tradition. Their spatial definitions of Europe correspond to the EU15 (plus Norway
and Switzerland), which is the extension to which they have been exposed during the majority of their secon-
dary school education. Positively perceived countries are places in which the languages taught in French
schools (English, Spanish, Italian, German) are widely spoken. The most striking difference emerges in the
conception of France's place in the world. A contradiction appears between the real diplomatic situation and
the students' mental representation. The idea that the EU could be a way to maintain the historical influence
of France in the world is a national specificity inherited from the "Gaullism" vision and its followers. According
to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France must have a particular voice in the world regarding the dissemina-
tion of human rights. Despite its universal ambition, the "Patrie des Droits de l'Homme" finally appeared as a clas-
sical "Northern" or "Occidental" country in diplomatic terms.
Western Europe clearly lies at the geographical core of the places in which French students declare that they would like to live in the near future. By quoting mostly Western European countries, they confirm the role of proximity in representations; this may also express the explicit knowledge of the freedom to travel in the EU, tempered by language barriers. Even though it is clear that countries located northeast of France are less attractive than European Mediterranean countries and Nordic countries (Sweden, UK, Ireland, etc.), these countries are places in which the languages taught in French schools (English, Spanish, Italian, German) are widely spoken. North America is the second most popular potential destination for French students. The USA is the best known destination, but its evaluation is less positive than Canada, but better than Mexico. South America is mentioned less frequently, but usually positively. Oceania (and particularly Australia) is mentioned positively by a minority of French students. The attractiveness of Canada is due to various factors: strong cultural and historical connections with France (the French language is spoken in Quebec and other parts of the country) and the positive image of the country (numerous opportunities for professional success, the beautiful landscape and well-preserved environment, etc.). Russia, the Balkans and the Middle East are often mentioned, but mainly in a negative way. All of these countries are unattractive due to various factors: a poor economic and social situation; political instability; war and insecurity; and authoritarian regimes. Positive exceptions appear only in the case of Lebanon and the UAE, where Arab-speaking French students of North African origin can find many job opportunities. South Asia and East Asia are generally mentioned in a negative light, and particularly Pakistan, China, North Korea and, to a lesser degree, India, perhaps for the same reasons as the negatively perceived regions. Japan is more specific: it is mentioned by an equal number of students who would and would not like to live in this country. Eastern and Central European countries are ignored by the majority of French students. Consequently, it is difficult to measure their positive or negative appreciation. Southern Mediterranean countries are in more or less the same situation, although at a generally positive level. Finally, small countries in Central Asia and Central America are not mentioned, probably because most students ignore their names.
Inside the EU, French students are specifically attracted to Spain, Sweden, Ireland and Belgium. However, they are clearly less attracted than other students who took part in the survey by Central and Eastern Europe (Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Austria) and by the majority of Mediterranean countries (Portugal, Italy, Greece, Turkey, etc.). In addition, Russia is mentioned somewhat less than usual. North and South America appear to be especially attractive for French students, who more often than others declare that they would like to live in the USA, Canada, Argentina, Chile, Peru or Mexico.

We suspect that the Spanish language is an important component in the attraction of Latin American countries to French students. Brazil is mentioned no more than usual. This could be due to the very positive image of Brazil as a beautiful country and as an emerging and dynamic economy in which opportunities for success are numerous. In addition, Africa and Muslim countries are also mentioned less than usual, with some exceptions, such as Morocco, Cameroon, Madagascar and Kenya. This can be easily explained by the economic situation of the sub-Saharan countries, which is perceived as being poor. Low levels of development and long-lasting political instability in various countries can create a bad image. As regards Morocco, its relatively high level of attractiveness is certainly determined by the presence of a large Moroccan community in France (international migration during the aftermath of decolonisation). Strong connections (family connections, for instance) and perhaps an attachment to the country of origin still exist. As a whole, the preferences of French students are unique compared to other students in the EU, because they involve a lot of distant countries. This interest in long-distance destinations is related to a relative lack of interest in neighbouring countries located in the European and Mediterranean area, and particularly in the eastern neighbourhood.
Western Europe in general, and Germany in particular, are France’s most important trading partners. As in the case of the students’ mental maps, we can observe a clear concentration of exchanges with France at a short distance and a very limited number of important trading partners located outside of the EU. Contrary to common perceptions, East Asia plays a minor role in bilateral trade with France, and the same is true for the USA and Russia. The rest of the world also appears to be minimally involved in bilateral trade, although Africa and the Middle East are the major providers of oil to France.

The balance of medium- and high-technology products is generally equilibrated between France and the EU. However, this general balance hides the contrast between the countries of North West Europe, which have a positive balance with France in this field (Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands), and countries that are dominated by France (the UK, Spain, Sweden). Outside of the EU, the balance of technological products is clearly negative for France in East Asia (China, Japan, South Korea), but positive in North and South America. Finally, in Africa and the Middle East, France is dominant in terms of technological exchanges.
The distance effect and belonging to the EU are clearly the two most important forces that shape the bilateral trade pattern of France. With very few exceptions (Austria, Finland, the Baltic countries, Bulgaria), France exchanges more than expected with other countries located in the EU. France’s neighbouring countries are clearly responsible for the most important positive residuals of trade, compared to a flat world model in which trade is only related to the import and export capacities of countries, without any consideration of distance. As a counterpart to these preferential relations inside the EU, fewer exchanges than expected are observed between France and the major trading powers of North America and East Asia.

Historical trade relations inherited from the colonial period appear to be something more specific in France, which still has much stronger trade relations than expected with countries located in North and West Africa. Of course, these differences from the flat world model are not very important in absolute terms because African countries are not important trading partners on a global scale. However, they are very impressive in relative terms. Compared to a random model of trade, countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, Niger and Madagascar exchange four to 10 times more than expected with France. These preferential relations can also be observed with countries in the Middle East, such as Turkey, where many French firms have invested or relocated industrial plants.
France’s position in a European diplomatic area is clearly demonstrated by an analysis of its voting practices at the UNGA in 2009-2010. Excluding Japan, South Korea and New Zealand, the countries that have voted similarly to France in more than 60% of resolutions are clearly limited to an area covering the EU and the associated countries, at least in an easterly direction. The limits of this area of common diplomatic practice are more or less equivalent to the mental maps of "Europe" that were produced by French students, including Turkey and Ukraine but not Belarus, Russia or countries from the southern bank of the Mediterranean Sea.

However, beyond the limits of the EU, this area of common diplomatic practice fits well with the limits of the Council of Europe and suggests that it is based, at least in part, on common attitude towards human rights and democratic practices. Inside this "European" area, some countries appear to be more similar to France than others in terms of voting, particularly Mediterranean countries (Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece) and North West European countries (the UK, Belgium, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Iceland, the Baltic countries). The level of similarity appears to be lower with Germany and new member states in Eastern and Central Europe. Looking at the rest of the world, the level of voting similarity is lower (between 40 and 60% of votes in common) in America and East Asia. The level of similarity with the USA is apparently low, but is in fact higher than usual if we consider that the USA is generally very different from other countries because of its support of Israel. Excluding this topic reveals that France is one of the most similar countries to the USA, all things being equal. Finally, the most striking fact is the clear voting difference between France and the majority of countries located in Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia. In brief, France is clearly involved in a major opposition between "North" and "South" (which was probably inherited from the colonial period) and the movement of "non-aligned countries" which were born in Bandoeng during the Cold War. Despite its universal ambition, the so-called "Patrie des Droits de l'Homme" finally appeared as a classical "Northern" or "Occidental" country in diplomatic terms.
An analysis of similarities in voting at the UNGA in 1987, before the end of the Cold War, can be used in order to benchmark with previous analyses of the period from 2009-2010. During the Cold War, the similarities in voting were clearly organised according to the ideological division between the socialist and capitalist countries, but also between "Northern" and "Southern" countries. As a result of these two divisions, France appeared to be very isolated in the group of "Western countries", which, in practice, means the members of the EU15 + Switzerland, Norway, Iceland, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. In other words, the group of rich countries which were members of the OECD, with the exception of the USA, which presented a different voting pattern, related (as it is now) to its specific attitude towards Israel but also to the defence of its own interests.

The comparison of the two situations as regards diplomatic association in 1987 and 2010 confirms that France is not characterised by a specific diplomatic strategy but that it remains a member of an "Occidental" club that was initially a group of rich countries (OECD) but which has now been transformed into a more regional group of countries located in the EU and its neighbourhood to the east.
Spain appears in first place and has been visited by more than 50% of the students that participated to EuroBroadMap survey. The fact that the places of survey was located at a relative long distance from the Spanish border (Paris, Lyon, Le Havre) indicate that this attractiveness of Spain is not induced by a sample bias. The other neighboring countries (Belgium, Germany, Italy, Switzerland) or countries located at short distance (Netherlands, United Kingdom) appear also as major destination for French students abroad and has been visited by 10 to 50% of students. Those countries represent neighboring places where the languages taught in French schools are spoken. At longer distance, we can also notice a relative important number of travels toward more remote Mediterranean countries like Greece, Morocco, Tunisia and at a lesser degree Turkey and Egypt. Out of these countries, French students have also sometimes visited Portugal or Ireland, but very few have visited new member states of east central Europe and Scandinavian countries. Out of Euro-Mediterranean area, the major destination is Northern America (USA and Canada) and only a minority of students has visited other countries like Senegal, China, Australia and Thailand. As a whole, the practice of international mobility of French students appears very concentrated along the border of France and eventually the Mediterranean countries and northern America. Very large part of the world are ignored, in particular Southern America, Subsaharian Africa and Asia.
4.2 - MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

WHAT ARE THE MAIN DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANT FROM YOUR COUNTRY ABROAD
On the basis of various sources, what are the countries where many citizen of your country have emigrated and are active diaspora that maintain links in the present?

According to Brennetot and Colange (2008), “international mobility and globalisation bring about a spatial reorganisation of the ties that unite democratic states and their people. The spectacular increase in the number of French people living abroad in the past 15 years raises the question of the aims pursued and the resources provided by institutions to support this population. In order to counteract the centrifugal force which is inherent in geographical distance, the modernisation and redeployment of the consular administrative network is being accompanied by renewed efforts on the part of the republic's institutions to stimulate the participation of expatriate French citizens. The latter are now emerging as a political force on which the government can rely to conduct its strategy of political integration into globalisation”.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF FRENCH LIVING ABROAD IN 2007

Despite the methodological limitations of the available sources, the official census (“Registre des Français établis hors de France”) reveals interesting geographical patterns in the distribution of French people living abroad. Half of the French citizens living abroad are located on the European continent, particularly in neighbouring countries (Switzerland, the UK, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy). There are also a lot of French people living in North America, with 185,151 official residents in Canada and the USA, the Maghreb countries (more than 15,000) and also in the Middle East (Israel, Lebanon) and China. In Eastern and Central Europe, as well as in the emerging countries of South East Asia, the number of French people has increased dramatically over the recent period, probably in relation to the enlargement of the EU and the development of new markets in Asia. On the contrary, the presence of French people remains very limited in sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of former colonies which are linked to francophonia. In these countries, the French presence is often related to humanitarian missions. In Latin America, the number of French people appears to be clearly related to the level of development and the economic dynamism of the country. As a result, the largest number of French people are to be found in Brazil, Argentina and Chile.

EXPLANATORY FACTORS

Structural factors play a dominant role in the location of French people living abroad. First, a clear link can be observed with the intensity of economic exchanges. A strong correlation can be observed between the number of French citizens living abroad and the amount of trade or foreign direct investments from France to the rest of the world. This assumption is confirmed by official documents (Direction des Français à l'Etranger 2007; TNS-SOFRES 2006), which indicates that 50% of departures are related to professional reasons and 27.8% to a request by the employer. Moreover, 12.5% of French people living abroad declare familial reasons, which are in fact related to the previous departure of a relative (husband or wife) for professional reasons. The number of French people living abroad is growing fastest in emerging countries like China and India. The strategy of firms, fiscal advantages and the lower cost of life are various reasons that can complete the dominant economic explanation of French departures from abroad, in relation to globalisation. In 2009, it was too early to evaluate the effect of the economic crisis on departures from France, but we can at least notice an increase of 7.6% in departures between 2007 and 2008.
A clear majority of French students propose a division of the world in which France is included unambiguously in a geographical "European" area. This is mainly due to the trend among French students to perceive the world in a "continental" way. However, it could be surprising that, despite the fact that they declare themselves to belong primarily to the national scale, they do not draw a national region on the world map. France's membership of the EU or the European continent is thereby clearly expressed by French students, showing a feeling of belonging to Europe when positioning themselves in the world.

Both in Europe and on the students' world maps, the Mediterranean Sea appears to be a very important border. Very few students include Turkey in the same region as France, except the so-called "European part" of Turkey. It is only in the detail that some interesting differences can be pointed out between the two delineations.

The first interesting difference is the fact that an equal number of students proposed extending the "world region of France" towards Russia and towards the USA and Canada. In both cases, only 10 to 20% of students proposed such an enlargement, but this is sufficient to demonstrate a division of opinion between the "Eurasian vision" (in which France is linked to Russia and considered as a historical member of Europe) and an "Atlantic vision" in which France belongs primarily to the alliance of democratic countries established after the Second World War against the communist bloc. These two visions support the common idea that France belongs to the "North" in both economic and geographical terms. We have indeed observed a limited number of maps in which students divide the world between the "North" and the "South", bringing together North America, Russia, the EU and Japan.
There is very little ambiguity in the way in which French students name the part of the world in which they include their country. Usually, this part of the world is simply called "Europe", confirming the trend observed on the previous map.

French students' perceptions seem to be strongly influenced by a long-standing tradition which argues that France is, above all, a European country. There is no apparent confusion between "Europe" and the "EU", confirming that the students have a "continental" perception of the world which is largely influenced by a long-standing academic tradition. The fact that the "EU" lags behind the word "Europe" could be explained by a serious lack of visibility of the EU when compared to Europe. The choice of the word "Europe" is interesting because it seems very neutral. There is no apparent political or economic signification behind it. Political and economic categories are used much less often, and France is more commonly presented as belonging to "Europe" than to the category of "developed" and "rich" countries situated in the "North". In addition, the word "West", which refers to the so-called political and cultural category "Occident", is also relatively rare, perhaps because the West includes countries such as the USA, whose popularity has been seriously damaged since the war in Iraq.

This accompanies the fact that relatively few French students proposed extending the "world region of France" towards North America. In this regard, French students are perfectly in line with a long-standing political tradition. France must have a particular voice in the world, and it must implement a totally independent policy in every domain, especially in the field of foreign relations and defence, etc. It sees itself as a voice, as a country with a special role in the world, i.e., in the promotion of human rights, in displaying a social and cultural model which many countries in the world are supposed to be attracted to, as an independent voice with an independent foreign policy in the world and in having independent military capacities. In a word, in this tradition, there can be no confusion with other countries included in the notion of the "West".

5.2 - MENTAL DIVISION OF THE WORLD

WHAT IS THE NAME OF THE WORLD REGION WHERE THE STUDENTS LOCATE THEMSELVES?

What are the names given by the students to the World region where your country is located?

There is very little ambiguity in the way in which French students name the part of the world in which they include their country. Usually, this part of the world is simply called "Europe", confirming the trend observed on the previous map.

French students' perceptions seem to be strongly influenced by a long-standing tradition which argues that France is, above all, a European country. There is no apparent confusion between "Europe" and the "EU", confirming that the students have a "continental" perception of the world which is largely influenced by a long-standing academic tradition. The fact that the "EU" lags behind the word "Europe" could be explained by a serious lack of visibility of the EU when compared to Europe. The choice of the word "Europe" is interesting because it seems very neutral. There is no apparent political or economic signification behind it. Political and economic categories are used much less often, and France is more commonly presented as belonging to "Europe" than to the category of "developed" and "rich" countries situated in the "North". In addition, the word "West", which refers to the so-called political and cultural category "Occident", is also relatively rare, perhaps because the West includes countries such as the USA, whose popularity has been seriously damaged since the war in Iraq.

This accompanies the fact that relatively few French students proposed extending the "world region of France" towards North America. In this regard, French students are perfectly in line with a long-standing political tradition. France must have a particular voice in the world, and it must implement a totally independent policy in every domain, especially in the field of foreign relations and defence, etc. It sees itself as a voice, as a country with a special role in the world, i.e., in the promotion of human rights, in displaying a social and cultural model which many countries in the world are supposed to be attracted to, as an independent voice with an independent foreign policy in the world and in having independent military capacities. In a word, in this tradition, there can be no confusion with other countries included in the notion of the "West".
The maximal extension of Europe proposed by French students includes all of the EU member countries, but also the northern islands and eastern neighbours, including Russia. This limit fits more or less with those of the Council of Europe and excludes all countries located on the southern and eastern banks of the Mediterranean Sea. The median delimitation is more restrictive, but extends to the Russian western border. Finally, the minimal extension more or less matches that of the EU15, i.e., before the enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe. Only Greece, Ireland and the Mediterranean islands are not included in this minimal definition, probably because French students have used the coastline of the continent as the European border. Norway and Switzerland are included in this minimal version of Europe, despite the fact that they do not belong to the EU. Students seemed to give priority to a continuous drawing of Europe based on the addition of contiguous national territories. French students’ definitions of Europe show two different perceptions. The smallest one corresponds to the EU15 + Norway and Switzerland, which is the extension of the institutional Europe to which the students have been exposed during the majority of their secondary school education. This minimal map appears to be relatively wide, when compared to the minimal maps of Europe drawn by students from other countries who generally propose a smaller, hardcore area of Europe. French students appear therefore to be relatively open to the enlargement of the EU to the east (without Russia and Turkey). Nevertheless, as in the other countries, they consider the Mediterranean Sea to be a strong limit. The positive perception of a possible enlargement to the east is not consistent with the official position of the French government (not favourable to any further enlargement, except for the Western Balkans and Iceland). The only point in common concerns Turkey. There is also a gap between the French students’ perceptions and French public opinion. The latter is not favourable to further enlargements. Looking at the specificities of French students compared to the rest of the sample, we noted that they often include the north western countries in their definition of Europe (Iceland). In contrast, they are less likely to enlarge Europe towards the south and east. Middle Eastern countries and former Soviet Republic countries in Central Asia are clearly located outside Europe, perhaps for political and cultural reasons.

WHAT IS THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENSION OF "EUROPE" FOR THE STUDENTS OF YOUR COUNTRY?

On the basis of the answers to the question “Draw your own limit of Europe”, what are the various delimitations of “Europe” proposed by the students of your country?
In general, the limits of Europe drawn by the French students do not follow the coastlines of Europe to any significant extent. Their definition of Europe goes beyond the strictly terrestrial part of the continent. It includes maritime areas of the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean. In some places, students follow the political borders. In three places, the concentration of lines is fairly high. The first is the Strait of Gibraltar, with an extension to the Mediterranean Basin towards Southern Sicily. The second, in the Strait of Dardanelles, separates what is often considered to be the "European" and the "Asiatic" parts of Turkey. The Mediterranean Sea is clearly considered to be a limit, and straits are used as "natural" borders, even though the width of the Strait of Gibraltar does not exceed 15 kilometers and that of the Dardanelles does not exceed 6 kilometers. The third follows the border between the Russian Federation and all of the countries located between the Black Sea and the North Sea: Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Estonia and Finland. This strong limit clearly excludes the Russian Federation from the representation of Europe, although the eastern limit of Europe is the Ural Mountains in French school textbooks. The political opposition between the EU and Russia on many issues (e.g., Iranian nuclear plants, energy procurements, war in South Ossetia and Chechnya), the social consequences of the economic crisis which followed the collapse of the Soviet Union and the authoritarian nature of the regime could explain this. The Mediterranean Sea, from Malta to Cyprus, is also an area where limits are concentrated, although the level of concentration is lower. Here, the lines are not concentrated on straits, and the surveyed students felt free to use different parts of the sea. The degree of concentration is also lower because some students drew a limit going directly to the Straits of Dardanelle and decided not to include Cyprus. This part of the Mediterranean Sea causes a great deal of hesitation in drawing the limits of Europe. There is also a great deal of hesitation with regard to the maritime border of Europe in the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. The students often followed the coastlines until the Scandinavian Peninsula. Beyond this point, they adopted two main solutions: some included Iceland, while others included only the Anglo-Irish islands.
The vocabulary used by French students to represent "Europe" is clearly associated with the EU. The word "union" appears most frequently in the answers and is often associated with the adjective "European". However, there is no confusion between the EU and Europe as a continent. In this respect, the influence of the academic context seems important, because in school books, the difference between Europe as a continent and the EU as a political association is clearly noted.

The economic dimension is clearly dominant in the vision of Europe held by French students. The EU currency ("Euro") is the most frequently used word after "union", and we can also note the high frequency of specific words such as "economy", "exchange", "free", "liberalism", "trade" and "currency". This is due to the school curriculum in France (and also in the USA and Russia): in the textbooks and official instructions, the economic dimension of European power prevails. The representation of the EU is often associated with a series of great achievements concerning agricultural production and crop yield, industrial innovation and new technologies in several domains such as transportation, aerospace and energy. The EU is explicitly studied as one of the three "great powers" in secondary school, alongside the USA and Japan. Moreover, these aspects are in line with the teaching of European institutions (Euro, the Schengen area) and principles (freedom of exchange, trade, travel, etc.).

The political dimension is also important, with specific words used such as "continent", "power", "borders", "Schengen" and "politics". For French students, Europe (or more precisely, the EU) is seen as an emerging political body that can support international ambitions that France is no longer able to assume alone. This vision matches one traditional line of French foreign policy: taking into account the fact that it has become a second-rank economic and political power, France sees the EU as a chance to maintain its influence in Europe and in the world. The vision of French students is therefore perfectly in line with the French project of a "Europe puissance". The political dimension of the EU is less obvious than the economic one, perhaps because French students have perceived the lack of political consistency within the EU.
As a whole, French students propose a very "technocratic" vision of Europe, which is assimilated to the political infrastructure of the EU and its main fields of competency (common market, control of external borders). This pragmatic vision is very similar to the one of students from other rich and long-standing member states of the EU, such as Belgium and Sweden. However, these countries do not include "power" in their specific list of the attributes of Europe. This idea that Europe could be a way to maintain the historical influence of France in the world is a national specificity, inherited from Charles de Gaulle and his followers.

As regards gender, the register of vocabulary used mostly by women refers to solidarity ("aid", "mutual", "cooperation") and spatial interrelations ("exchanges", "Schengen"). The semantic field of male responses is linked to politics ("power", "peace") and competitive sports ("champions", "UEFA"). Gender seems to produce contrasting visions of Europe: a cooperative Europe for women and two different views for men. The notion of peace appears as a specific word only for the group of men. The other aspect is the vision of Europe as an entity, a part of the world with its own role to play. It is also only in the male vocabulary that we find words associated with competitive sports. As regards the level of income, we can note that French students who declared a low level of income for their family emphasise words which evoke the political benefits of the European construction ("circulation", "unity", "people", "free") with expectations of sharing.

For French students with a low-medium income level, Europe appears to be primarily a political object which is developed and rich, without any reference to human inscription ("identity", "culture", "solidarity"). Students belonging to higher classes have a vision of Europe as an economic entity (part of the world) with a high level of income, often centred on their own country. Differences in the use of vocabulary concerning the domain of study reveal that the vision of French students depends on their academic field. For instance, students in the domain of politics highlight ideological issues more frequently ("liberalism", "capitalism"), and also geopolitical legacy ("Occident", "construction", "politics", "war"). Meanwhile, students of economics tend to emphasise words associated with geo-economics ("power", "economy") and the idea of a union ("unity", "union"). For healthcare students, Europe is mostly seen through realisations relating to the European construction ("Euro", "currency", "common", "Schengen", "unique"). Concerning the other domains of study (arts, social sciences), the specific vocabularies seem more disparate (e.g. for engineering students: "equality", "world", "Euro", "wealth", "France", "development"). This sense of belonging reveals that the more French students feel that they belong on a local level, the more specific will be the vocabulary they use in relation to Europe, with words which are mainly related to social relations ("equality", "inequalities"), the European construction ("currency", "unique", "Brussels", "crisis", "Euro") or sports ("champions", "leagues"). In contrast, the more that French students feel that they are citizens of the world, the less specific is their vocabulary. For the highest levels of belonging, no words appear to be particularly representative.
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Three main complementary approaches have been considered for analysing the perspective of Portugal in Europe and in the world: the functional perspective; the political perspective; and the subjective perspective. All of these topics show that Portugal is integrated within Europe, and particularly within the EU.

The functional approach, based on economic and migratory flows, shows the approach to Europe from an economic point of view, especially after 1974 and the EU adhesion in 1986, and from a migratory point of view from the 1960s onwards, with the huge flows into France and Germany. Colonial independence and the economic integration and monetary union within the EU framework explain the change in trade relations in Portugal over the last 50 years. From a colonial economy trade structure, Europe become the main partner in Portuguese trade relations, notably through relations with its neighbouring country, Spain. Nevertheless, African Portuguese-speaking countries represent an important share of its international trade, as does Brazil. Migratory flows also show the strong relationship between Portugal and the European space, and the important presence of Portuguese citizens in France, Switzerland and Germany, but also on the other side of the Atlantic in the USA, Canada and Venezuela. On the other hand, Portugal became an important country for receiving citizens from African Portuguese-speaking countries (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique), as well as Brazil. More recently, Portugal has attracted not only Portuguese-speaking citizens, but also migrants from Eastern Europe, Ukraine and Moldova, and more recently from Romania.

At the political level, Portugal became better integrated into the European political context following the general trend in European voting both before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

From a subjective perspective, the Portuguese survey provides a strong pattern which shows how Portuguese students see the world and the position of Europe within it.

The first results of the survey showed that the students had some general knowledge of the world. Nevertheless, Portuguese students have a fairly limited experience of the world and a pattern of perception that they would like to live in the North, and not in the South, in terms of the world’s states and cities.

The most commonly quoted countries to live in at some point in the near future among the students can also be used to identify some interesting trends. As regards the places in which the students would like to live, neighbouring countries, large, rich countries (the USA, the UK and Australia) and Mediterranean countries were the most commonly quoted. In contrast, Portuguese students have a less positive perception of large, poor countries (Russia, China, India) and small- and medium-size countries which are politically unstable (Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.). Latin America (with the exception of Brazil), Central Asia and South East Asia are very poorly known. Africa is often negatively spoken of as a whole, but the individual countries are rarely mentioned.

Taking into consideration the students' limited experience of the world (traduced by the lowest number of visited countries in the survey), the conclusion that stands out is that Portuguese students' knowledge is indirect, based on information provided by the media and their school, and on the local and national socio-cultural universe.

The students mostly included Portugal in the European continent, but we can see a gradation that varies from the delimitation of the Iberian Peninsula to an extended Europe towards the east (close to the Russian border).
The analysis of the delimitation of Europe by the students demonstrates patterns which are influenced by the specific Portuguese context. The countries that are always present in the list of countries that belong to Europe are those at the core of Europe (with some similarities to the EU15). For this segment of the population, Europe extends to the border of the Russian Federation and is separated from the countries of Africa by the Mediterranean Sea. This shows that Portuguese students verify the differences between European countries and African countries that demonstrate once more the perception that the North contains developing countries while the South contains developed countries. As regards the delimitation to the east, the inclusion of Russia is rare for cultural reasons, and the country's size makes it recognisable to the students and separates it from Europe. Therefore, we can see Russia as an important limit for Europe.

The words that are associated with Europe are generally related to the EU; this means that Portuguese students associate Europe with the EU. Political factors have a stronger influence, as indicated by the extension of Europe and the common ranking of the words describing Europe: "union" is used frequently.

In conclusion, some final reasons should be highlighted: distance, proximity (cultural or geographical) and historical aspects seem to be important for explaining Portuguese students' representations and trade relations. The first type of proximity is geographical distance. Western Europe clearly lies at the geographical core of the places in which Portuguese students declare that they would like to live in the near future. The second kind of proximity is defined by historical relations inherited from the colonial period. For example, Portugal is expected to have trade relations with African countries and with Brazil, both former Portuguese colonies, and where Portuguese is the language spoken. The choice of words relating to Europe demonstrates that in the students' perceptions, there is no physical frontier to Europe, but a mental one, confined by the concept of the EU and by the feeling of identity created by belonging to this political, economic and cultural community, as described by the words quoted by the students. In their drawings, there is no confusion between "Europe" and the "EU", confirming that the students have a continental perception of the world, influenced by a long-standing academic tradition, consolidated by textbooks. Their spatial definitions of Europe correspond to the EU15, that is the extension to which they have been exposed during the majority of their secondary school education.
Western Europe, North America and Oceania are perceived positively, and appear to be the geographical centre of the places where Portuguese students would like to live (mostly the USA, the UK, Italy, Spain and France). The degree of asymmetry is not always fully positive, and many countries in this area are described by a minority of students as places where they would not like to live, which is perhaps explained by their limited knowledge of these countries (Czech Republic, UAE, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Ireland, Austria, Luxembourg, Denmark, Greece, Australia, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Australia). Proximity, tradition and the recognition of importance at the global level explain the choices of the students. The image of most of these countries is good for several reasons: in some cases, they are tourist attractions (Czech Republic) and in other cases, they are immigration destinations (UAE, Canada, Australia, Switzerland, the Netherlands).

Russia, the Balkans and the Middle East, South and East Asia, South America, Africa, Eastern Europe and more precisely, Russia, China, India, Angola, South Africa, Mexico, Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Algeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Morocco, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Romania, Ukraine, Israel, Pakistan, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Sudan, Colombia, the occupied Palestinian territories, Venezuela and Somalia are perceived negatively. These countries are often mentioned by Portuguese students as being less well appreciated. Socio-economic problems and wars that are linked to these countries explain these positions; these countries are perceived as dangerous or uncomfortable, due to information provided by the media (instability, war, historical animosity, natural disasters).

The cases of Japan, Brazil and Argentina are ambiguous, as they are mentioned by many students but with a more or less equal balance between students who declare that they would and would not like to live there. This is caused by the links that these countries have with Portugal (Brazil), or the curiosity to visit the country and find out about their culture.

Areas that are rarely mentioned include Southern Mediterranean countries, South East Asia, Indonesia, Central Asia and Central America. In these areas, the asymmetry of the vision is alternately negative (Algeria, Libya, Morocco, South East Asia and Indonesia), in a state of equilibrium (Egypt) or positive (Tunisia).
The countries in which Portuguese students declared that they would like to live in the near future are fairly consistent with the flows predicted and observed around the world. The major flows are concentrated mostly in the countries to which the students are particularly attracted, and are focused in Western Europe and more precisely in the UK, Italy and Spain, with a smaller number attracted to Greece, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark and Luxembourg. The flows with Western Europe are less than expected, which is emphasised in the case of France, Germany and Switzerland.

Outside of Europe, the students mention Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique more frequently than expected, which is linked to the knowledge gained from migratory flows (the nationality of the students or their parents). These figures are fairly coherent with the places of origin of Portuguese colonies and countries with migratory relations with Portugal. This can be seen to a less important degree in the cases of the USA, India, Japan, the Caribbean Islands (tourist destinations) and the UAE. These countries are a mixture of countries which are attractive for touristic reasons and countries with migratory relations with Portugal (Japan, the USA, India, the UAE). We can see that Japan and India, in general, have more observed flows than expected, which is justified by the nationality of some of the students questioned in Portugal. Students who were not born in Portugal usually have a double nationality (Portuguese and another nationality, depending on their origin), which represents a strong relationship with migration routes and historical and cultural relations.

Despite the attractiveness of living in Australia and Canada in the near future, the flows observed for these countries are less than expected.

It is clear from the map drawn by the Portuguese students that there is a preference for their neighbouring countries in the continent in which they live, and more precisely for Western Europe, which is the preferred choice for students of somewhere to live in the near future. This preference is reflected in the flows for these countries.

Some countries have an overrepresentation (more than expected) of certain nationalities which is the result of migratory flows on the nationality of the students and their family connections (Angola, Mozambique, Brazil).
Most of Portugal's trade relations are with Western Europe. The rest of the world is of very little importance to Portugal, with a few exceptions, such as the USA, Brazil and some African countries. After 1974, Portugal changed its trade relations with its African colonies. With this European integration, Portugal has reinforced its trade relations with Western European countries and Spain has become a major partner, not only in trade but also in a global joint investment partnership. Outside of Europe, with a few exceptions, the rest of the world is of very little importance to Portugal. The USA, Brazil and some African countries, including Angola, are the major exceptions.

Portugal has a peripheral position within Europe, with a negative asymmetrical relationship as regards manufacturing medium- and high-technology goods with almost all of its European trading partners, as well as East Asian countries such as China, Japan and Korea. On the other hand, Portugal has a dominant position over Africa and Latin America, with the exception of Brazil. With the USA, Portugal has a slightly positive trade balance, but with a symmetrical structural balance.
Preferential Portuguese trade relations are strongly related to distance, as neighbouring countries, such as Spain and France, assume particular importance. The neighbourhood is also extended to African and Mediterranean countries, where there are more Portuguese trade flows than expected. The importance of the EU in Portugal’s trade relations does not concern the new member states in Eastern Europe, where the country has fewer trade relations than expected.

Outside of Europe, most preferential links are related to the former colonies, notably Mozambique and Angola, and to a lesser extent Brazil. Special links to other African countries are related to the producers of raw materials, such as Gabon and Nigeria, and oil producers, such as Venezuela in South America. Beyond classical trade, in the recent past, strong relations based on cross-investment between Portuguese, Brazilian and Angolan enterprises have emerged.
As regards the diplomatic situation of Portugal in the world, according to the 67 resolutions passed at the UNGA during the 2009-2010 session, we can highlight a strong relationship between the voting trends of not only the EU countries, but of most European countries, as they follow the same trend as regards voting on resolutions. Among these countries, only Serbia, Macedonia and Azerbaijan have less than 60-80% of votes in common for resolutions. The limits of this area of common diplomatic practice are more or less equivalent to the mental map of the limits of "Europe" that was produced by Portuguese students, including Turkey and Ukraine but not Belarus, Russia or countries from the southern bank of the Mediterranean Sea.

Although, we can say that Portugal follows a thread which is the same throughout Europe, we can argue that Europe's position at the UN cannot be generalised to the rest of the world. However, it can be observed that a few countries vote in the same way as European countries in all resolutions, such as Japan and New Zealand, and other cases with 60 to 80% of common diplomatic practice are more or less equivalent to the mental map of the limits of "Europe" that was produced by Portuguese students, including Turkey and Ukraine but not Belarus, Russia or countries from the southern bank of the Mediterranean Sea.

Looking at the rest of the world, the level of voting similarity is lower (between 40 and 60% of the same votes) in the USA and Asia, South East America and Africa in general. The level of similarity with the USA is low, and despite Portugal's colonial past in some African countries and Brazil, there is no strong relationship between them as regards voting decisions made between 2009 and 2010.
Although it has been a member of the UN since 1955, Portugal, due to its position as a colonial power and due to the war in Africa which began 1961, had a highly constrained diplomatic position in the UN until 1974. After that, the 1980s were years of democratic consolidation and preparation for joining the European Community while other European countries were far from reaching the same position. However, before the fall of the Berlin Wall, we can see that Europe's voting decisions were far from the cohesive position that we can see today. In the UNGA session of 1987-1988, Europe had not yet attained a significant degree of cohesion, and several countries located all over the world had only 20% of votes on resolutions in common with Portugal.

If we look at Europe only, there is a core of Central European countries with 80-100% of the same trends as Portugal, including France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and the UK (all members of the EEC). On the other hand, some European countries showed a 60-80% rate of similarity in decision-making, such as Spain and Greece, some Nordic countries like Norway, Finland and Sweden, and also Turkey. Most Eastern European countries shared only 40 to 60% of votes on UN resolutions with Portugal. In the rest of the world, only two countries stand out in terms of voting in the same direction as Portugal: Canada and French Guiana and with a 60%-80% rate of similarity in decision-making is Australia, New Zealand and Japan. Some of the major world powers, in the UNGA session of 1987-1988, showed a low level of similarity with Portuguese resolutions (and with the major powers in Central Europe), such as the USA, India and also some African countries such as Libya, Sudan, Mozambique and Angola (the latter two are former Portuguese colonies in Africa).
The students’ experience of the world can be observed in the first map of their travels. This map reflects the frequency with which countries were visited by the students and the principal destinations they quoted. The percentage of visited countries was calculated using the total number of answers given by the students relative to the total number of references to each country mentioned by the students (480 students).

On the basis of the analysis of the answers, it was verified that the Portuguese students had already visited most countries in Europe, with a special emphasis on neighbouring countries such as Spain, with 83% of the students having already visited Spain and 47% having visited France. Other popular countries in this national context include the UK (20.4%) and Italy (16%). Germany (9.2%) and Switzerland (9%) are also significant in terms of the number of visits from students.

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Migratory relations between Portugal and other countries are differentiated. Living in Portugal about 440,000 foreigners, the number of Portuguese abroad is more than the triple, as result of a huge migratory flow during the 1960's and the earlier 1970's. Foreigners in Portugal come from the African Portuguese Spoken Countries (Angola, Cape Vert, Mozambique, Guinea and San Tomé), representing 27% of the total, Brazil (25%), and, more recently, from Ukraine (12%) and Moldova (5%). Citizens from European Union represent 19% of non-national citizens, with a major representation of Romania (6%) and Great Britain citizens (4%), almost the same amount that the Chinese community (3%). A common language and cultural proximity, explains the importance of the huge flow of Portuguese speaking migrants to Portugal that started in the end of the 70's for the African migrants that come to work on construction and personal services and during the 80's for the Brazilian flows to work on commerce and personal services. The migrant flow from Eastern Europe started in mid 90's related with the public investment on construction sector.

On the other hand, more than one third of Portuguese abroad live in France (35%), United States (13%), Switzerland (12%), Canada (11%), Germany (9%), Great Britain (6%) and Luxembourg (8%). Other significant destinations are the African Portuguese speaking countries and Brazil. As we said, the outflow was more expressive during the 60's. The last two decades are characterized by a slightly positive migrant balance, but in the recent past outflow become important again.
The students mostly included Portugal in the European continent, in an attempt to be geographically correct. However, in some cases, this delimitation was only adjusted to the Iberian Peninsula, a fact that can be explained by the link between the students and their own country and the objective area in which it belongs. Cultural reasons may also explain this separation from the rest of Europe.

At other times, the students conceptualised their own country as much more attached to the EU, representing what can be called the nucleus of Europe for Portuguese students. This image provides an impression which is limited to the concept of the EU and restricted to the countries that joined it in the first years after the adhesion of Portugal to the EU. Some delimitations of the area in which the students include Portugal extend to the frontier of the Russian Federation (in an attempt to be geographically correct in their delimitation of the European continent).

The countries that are not normally included in Europe by the students (blue colour) are located south of the Sahara Desert and to the south and east of the Arabic Peninsula (with the exception of Saudi Arabia, as the northern region was included in Europe by a small minority of students). It seems that these countries are clearly excluded from the students’ mental maps of Europe, a fact that is perhaps explained by the cultural difference between these countries and European countries.

Other countries (light green colour) sometimes belong to Europe, and sometimes not, or are simply divided into parts, one part belonging to Europe, and the other not. The countries of the East and of the South can be thought of as transitional areas, where the probability of being included in Europe varies. In fact, this situation is fairly different from one country to another. For example, Ireland and Greece, which belong to the EU, are nearly always placed in Europe. Other countries, like Norway or the Balkan countries, are usually (albeit less consistently) placed in Europe. For other countries, the situation is fairly different: a minority of students included countries such as Turkey, Iceland, Greenland and Russia in their questionnaires.
The Portuguese students located themselves primarily in an area called "Europe". This concept of Europe can be seen in a geographical context, as shown by words like "continent" or "Mediterranean". On the other hand, the students also perceive Europe as a political and economic entity, as we can see from the words that the students attribute to their delimitations, like "rich", "developed" and "development".

It can also be seen that the students view their living area as a culturally developed area; this image is reflected in words such as "culture" and the "oldness" of the continent. The general idea of the delimitations is also strongly linked with the context in which Portugal is inserted into Europe (through the EU).

As we can see from the delimitation of the area in which the students locate themselves, they also attributed names to the area, which clarifies the image that the students wanted to convey and facilitates the analysis of the delimitations. We have the example of the "Iberian Peninsula", which was one of the names of the delimitations given by the students and represents a more focused and restricted characterisation of the area in which Portugal belongs, perhaps because of cultural reasons, related to the fact that Portuguese students consider the culture of people on the Iberian Peninsula to be different from the culture in the core of Europe. Some students give a more personal delimitation of the area in which they include Portugal, with words like "home" and "live" which reflect the well-being of the students and the positive image of the area that includes their country.
The map verifies that the core countries that are always present in maps of Europe (95-100% rate of inclusion) are closely connected to what is considered to be the EU15 (with the exception of countries in Northern Europe like Sweden, Finland and Greece). These may represent the number of countries that Portuguese students are sure belong in Europe.

The map also indicates the situation regarding countries that are sometimes placed in Europe and sometimes not. The gradation from west to east is very clear, showing that when the limits of Europe are drawn on a map, a country's proximity to the core of Europe makes it highly probable that it will be included. The most impressive examples are related to Croatia, Albania and the former Yugoslavian countries, that were not excluded from Europe by the students' delimitations because they are located between the core of Europe and Greece, Bulgaria and Romania, which are all members of the EU.

The cases of Ukraine and Belarus are also intriguing, because these two countries often appear to be demarcated as not being a part of Europe; however, if we look at the countries located to the north and south, they are better integrated within Europe.

The situation regarding Turkey and Russia is fairly different, as these countries are often divided into two parts, one belonging to Europe, and the other not. As a result, these countries may be considered as the first sign of the limits of Europe.

The inclusion of all of Russia in Europe occurred in a minority of the questionnaires, perhaps because the country is too big and perhaps because it is mostly located in what is commonly considered to be Asia. Around 10% of the responses included all of Russia in Europe. The Mediterranean Sea acts as a border between the core of Europe and the countries of North Africa. There is no gradation as in the other cases, and the number of responses that include these countries is small or very small (5%), with the exception of Morocco, which has a larger (but not significant) percentage.
The analysis of the delimitation maps drawn by the students shows the intensity of the common demarcations, creating a clear image of the frontiers of Europe according to Portuguese students. The strongest division for Portuguese students is drawn in the Mediterranean Sea between Europe and North Africa. This means that they feel that European countries are very different from North African countries, and so the Mediterranean Sea must be considered as the most obvious frontier in the world and consequently the strongest frontier in Europe.

The western border of the Russian Federation is also a strong border. The eastern border of Europe shows that, according to the students, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine should be included in Europe.

The border drawn by the students is weaker between the Balkan countries like Italy and Greece. In contrast, the limit is fairly strong around Turkey, and equally strong along the border between Turkey and Iraq and Syria. The fact that Turkey is surrounded by two strong limits means that Portuguese students are unsure as to whether or not Turkey belongs to Europe.

To a much lesser extent, it is also possible to demonstrate some extension of Europe to include Russia, but normally it seems that this delimitation is related to the inclusion of Turkey, as delimitations that have Russia as a border normally seem to exclude Turkey.

The strength of the borders around Europe and the connections between European countries clearly show that this map was drawn by European students.
This question asks for the words that the students associate with Europe, in order to provide a clear idea of the meaning of Europe in the imagination of the students. In their answers, the variety of words chosen by the students was fairly wide, and therefore the ranking of the words was analysed according to their frequency. In general, Europe is seen positively by the students. As regards the words that characterise Europe for Portuguese students, there is the concept of a "union", which is the most important word for the students, followed by the concepts of "development" and "culture". Of the 10 most frequently used words, five words describe socio-cultural values (freedom, culture, history, diversity, civilisation), three words describe political values (the EU, Union, community) and three words refer to economic values (development, Euro, economy).

The Portuguese students perceive Europe as a political and economic entity. The general idea was based on the context in which Portugal is included in Europe (EU). Words associated with Europe are also suggested, but, in some cases, they are also connected with the concept of the EU, quoted as a word. In fact, many students answered "union" as a characteristic of Europe, but also "community" and "cooperation". The words associated with political values included "freedom", "peace", "power" and "equality", and the majority of economic values are associated with words such as "development", "Euro" and "economy".

Many of the students emphasise the importance of the cultural and historical dimension in their representation of Europe; the words "culture", "history", "civilization", "old continent", "multicultural" and "knowledge" are quoted frequently. The limits of "Europe" for the students when compared to the words that they use to define "Europe" demonstrate a dichotomous reality. On the one hand, the students' representations of Europe provide an idea of a Europe which extends to the Russian frontier, perhaps in an attempt to represent Europe in a fair and geographically correct way. When the words that are associated with Europe are analysed, this verifies the relation with the EU. In general, we can deduce that, for the students, there is a stronger mental than physical border around Europe, which is associated with the concept of the EU and can be used to identity feelings of belonging to that community.
The female students more frequently indicate words relating to cultural aspects (beauty, diversity, tourism and difference); on the other hand, they are also more likely to quote words like "Euro" that demonstrate an association with the EU and its currency.

Other words are more frequently mentioned by male students than female students, e.g., words linked to economic, historical and political aspects (democracy, cradle, Occident, social and progress). The majority of male students belong to the engineering, politics and business domains, and this is reflected in the words that they commonly use. In the variation in vocabulary according to income level, we can see that students with a high level of income often indicate words relating to cultural aspects, such as "art" or "education", which are also associated with the fact that these students travel more, which gives them this image of Europe. Students with a medium-high level of income frequently quote words relating to political and economic aspects (cooperation, cradle, globalisation, mobility, equality, civilisation). If we compare these with students with a low-medium level of income, we can see that the words have a political perspective, but that there are more common characteristics such as "ancient", "European", "politics" and "tourism". "European" is an important word which is mentioned mostly by students with a low-medium level of income. Students with a low level of income frequently indicate words such as "single" and "football". In general, we can see that as the level of income increases, the more specific words become, and the more they translate the knowledge that the students have of Europe and its territory.

By the variation in vocabulary according to the number of languages spoken, we can verify that students who speak only one language are more likely to indicate words like "knowledge", "solidarity" and "inequality" (associated with a low-income level).

On the other hand, students who speak three languages quoted words such as "union" and "diversity". "Union" is frequently mentioned by students who speak three languages, and relates the concept of Europe to the EU. "Diversity" is also a characterising word that acknowledges the multiplicity of cultures which join together in the same space. "Circulation" and "wars" are very important words to students who speak four languages. This shows a critical point of view by these students which results from their extensive travels.

The variation in vocabulary according to the domain of study is relatively interesting. If we analyse the words quoted by the arts students, we can see that there is an interesting relationship with academia. These students used words like "culture" and "arts" more frequently than the other students, and they also associate Europe with "stability" and "mobility". These choices of words show that these students have extensive experience of the world which is consistent with the amount of travelling that they do. For business students, this relationship is not as clear, as they associate Europe with "union" and "opportunities", while students of engineering relate Europe to "progress", which is understandable in relation to their domain of study.

For students of healthcare, there is an over-representation of the words "tourism" and "culture", which is consistent with extensive travelling, and the words "development" and "conflicts", which demonstrate the students' knowledge of the cultural and historical European context.

In the field of political sciences, the relationship between the word and the domain of study is verifiable. These students associate Europe with "civilisation", "community", "poverty", "Occident" and "cultural" aspects. In the social sciences, we can also associate words with their domain of study; these students more frequently cited words relating to the social characteristics of Europe (diversity, circulation) and economic characteristics (development and economic).

When analysing the words by city, we can see that students in Coimbra and Evora relate Europe to natural and cultural characteristics. Coimbra relates Europe to "gastronomy", "continent" and "single"; these more general words create an impression of a regional mentality. In Evora, cultural and natural characteristics (tourism and beauty) are also associated with Europe, but students in Evora are also more specific in their characterisation of Europe and associate Europe with political, economic and social aspects (politics, opportunities, development). This relates to the type of students in Evora; these students come from all over the country, making it a more open city, despite its location in the inner part of the country, far from the coast.

On the other hand, students in Lisbon relate Europe to "freedom", "mobility" and "power"; these words reflect the cosmopolitan mentality of the capital city and the absorption of the ideals and objectives of the EU as a powerful central body perceived as a space of freedom and mobility.
AUTHORS: Mitchell Reardon & Lisa Van Well (NORDREGIO)
Nordic commonalities, culture and history are still important

Swedish students clearly identify their region of the world as Europe, and yet they also strongly identify with the Nordic countries. Areas with the highest frequency of inclusion as part of the regional identity (identified by more than 90% of the respondents) were Sweden, along with most of Norway and Finland, and a small part of Denmark. In addition, 80% of the respondents included Denmark, Norway and Finland - along with Sweden - in full. Accordingly, nearly all of the students felt that their region fit within a localised Nordic definition. This corresponds with Sweden's historical ties and its traditional northern connections.

While 40% of all Swedish students identified "Europe" as the most common name for the region in which they live, Scandinavia and "Norden" (a term which translates as "the North" or Nordic countries, but which refers specifically to Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Greenland) were selected by approximately 14% and 12% of the students respectively, indicating a more geographically proximate definition of their "home" region. In a similar vein, Swedish students were much more likely than other students to include Greenland and particularly Iceland as part of Europe. This probably stems from a greater awareness of Nordic countries, and also from a geographical and cultural proximity that respondents in other countries are unlikely to share.

As identified by the Swedish students, the most attractive areas in the world in which to live include the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, France and Spain in Europe, as well as Japan and Argentina. The other Nordic countries were close runners-up, although due perhaps to the similarities in culture, they were deemed less "exotic" and therefore not ranked as highly for attractiveness. On the other hand, Northern Europe and particularly Scandinavia are much more attractive to Swedish students than to other students in the Eurobroadmap survey. For example, Norway's recent economic growth has made the country attractive to younger Swedes seeking a short-term, well-paying job.

This perhaps reaffirms that the neighbourhood effect and similarities in culture and language are important elements of identity for Swedish students. One particularly striking result of the survey is that Finland is seen by Swedish students as an unattractive country in which to live. This may be because although it is a border country, the language is very different, as is Finland's history and culture which, over the last century, moved it closer to the former USSR, and this has coloured Swedish perceptions.

Trade flows to and from Sweden also show a strong Nordic and Northern European preference. Swedish trading partners are clearly EU countries, especially its Nordic neighbours, including Norway which, in practice, is part of the European Common Market. Germany is Sweden's most important trading partner, followed by the UK and Finland. Sweden is one of the most specialised countries in the world as regards high-technology goods (cars and trucks, mobile telephony). Thus, its asymmetry in technological goods is positive with most of its trading partners around the world; this means that Sweden dominates most of its partners in terms of the trade in technological goods, although the other Nordic countries have a higher degree of symmetry.

The Nordic countries' interconnections and the extension into the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are crucial in matters of trade. All of Sweden's neighbouring countries in the Baltic Sea region and the North Sea (including Greenland and Iceland) are preferential partners. Interestingly, this area of modern preferential trade relations distinctly mirrors the geography of the strong historical trading ties seen in the powerful Hanseatic League from the 13th to the 16th century. In more modern times, following the fall of the Iron Curtain, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania became important countries for Swedish foreign investment and capacity-building measures.

Growing European identification

Currently, Sweden's voting patterns in resolutions passed by the UNGA bear a strong resemblance to those of other European countries (but to a slightly lesser degree with France, Serbia and Turkey). This is in considerable contrast to voting patterns prior to the end of the Cold War, which displayed a strong similarity (80-100%) to the voting patterns of the other neutral countries in Europe (Austria, Finland, Iceland, Ireland) and other Nordic countries (Norway and Denmark). Post-Cold War, Sweden's identity as a neutral country and a bridge in East-West relations lost its relevance, and Sweden began to position itself towards European integration, becoming a member state in 1995. Sweden's political identity now rests on its cooperation with the EU, the feeling and need for cohesion and on building European common values.
Swedish students also strongly identify with Europe. Western Europe, along with sections of the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as Poland, the Czech Republic and Austria, were included in the region in which more than 70% of the students located themselves. This area also includes the majority of EU member states, with the notable exceptions of Spain and Portugal, indicating that many of the respondents are also willing to identify themselves as a part of the EU.

Given that "Europe" was overwhelmingly the most common response as regards the name by which Swedish students identify their region, there appears to be a strong continental orientation among the respondents. This also suggests that the students have a fairly positive attitude towards Europe, as people are less likely to link themselves to places or concepts that they dislike. This is complemented by the overwhelmingly positive words that Swedish students use to define Europe (culture, history, diversity, home, multicultural, rich, peace). Defining the region as "Europe" could also indicate that many Swedish students also perceive fairly standard geographical global divisions. The dominance of "Europe" is also likely to have been influenced by recent geography textbooks, which emphasise the continent and the EU, and encourage students to think more about the commonalities of Europeans, rather than their divisions. In the map which illustrates what can be identified as Europe's "core" according to Swedish students, it is striking that all of what is traditionally seen as Western Europe is included, as are the Nordic countries. Beyond this core, which was identified as being part of Europe by 100% of the students, 95% identified the Baltic countries and a series of countries along the eastern border of the core, extending from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, as being part of Europe. Furthermore, the Swedish students were significantly more likely to have a broad view of Europe, and to include Cyprus. They were also somewhat more likely to include Turkey in Europe's core. Finally, the Canary Islands and certain parts of Africa were also more likely to be defined as part of Europe, potentially resulting from the travel patterns of Swedes.

Ambiguous relationship with the USA

With regard to voting patterns in the UN, Sweden and the USA still display a degree of dissimilarity. However, while Sweden and the USA may still be at odds politically, culturally and historically they have a long history with a great deal of interaction. Migration from Sweden to the USA and Canada in the latter half of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century was very significant and the cultural ties between the countries remain strong. While the results of the questionnaire show that Swedish students have fairly ambiguous attitudes towards the USA as a whole, the results regarding city preferences show that the USA is much more desirable than expected as place to live for Swedish students compared to other students. This is probably because Swedish students are often influenced by the news media, which have a love/hate relationship with the USA, and because popular perceptions of the American culture as a whole are fairly negative. However, either through personal travels (the USA is the country that Swedish students are most likely to have visited, something that is reflected in the high degree of awareness that Swedes have of the nation) or cultural media, they nevertheless have very positive opinions about parts of the USA and/or certain cities, especially New York City, as attractive places to live.

The global perspective

Swedish students tend to be very well-travelled; beyond the borders of Europe, the countries of Thailand, China and Australia are relatively well-visited by Swedes. Thus, unsurprisingly, these are also the countries for which Swedish students display a greater-than-expected preference, compared to other students. The more unattractive areas for Swedish students include the Middle East (probably due to the volatility of the region), Russia and Somalia, due perhaps to negative media reports. Most of sub-Saharan Africa was ignored by Swedish students, as was Central America, and this view was shared by other students in the Eurobroadmap survey. While the delimitation of Europe was generally marked by the Mediterranean Sea, Swedish students sometimes included sections of North Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Russia within Europe. With regard to Turkey, a fairly equal and significant number of students would and would not include Turkey as a part of Europe. Similarly, a significant number of respondents also felt that Western Russia could also be considered as part of Europe, choosing to use the Ural Mountains, or an approximation thereof, as the limit of Europe. This indicates that although it is not widely considered to be part of Europe, many Swedish students are aware of the continuous Russian influence in Europe.
Despite due caution because of the relatively small size of the sample of Swedish students, we can nevertheless draw a general picture of their visions of attractive and repulsive places. For Swedish students, the most attractive areas of the world in which to live include the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, France and Spain in Europe, as well as Japan and Argentina. These are followed by the neighbouring countries of Denmark and Norway, as well as Italy and Greece, and further abroad, the USA, Canada and Australia. In Europe, countries with large populations and those that traditionally serve as popular European holiday destinations for Swedes are the most attractive. This may be due to familiarity with the places and the perceived opportunities for study, work and a high quality of life. Language also seems to play a role in where students would like to live, as in addition to English, Swedish students generally learn French, German or Spanish. While Norwegian and Danish are very similar to Swedish, students prefer these countries slightly less than the others, perhaps because their similar cultures make them less "exotic".

Repulsive areas include the Middle East, probably due to the volatility of the region, Russia and Somalia. These are countries that are perceived as being unstable and have had recent negative associations in the media, e.g., Somali pirates. Particularly striking is the fact that Finland is also seen by Swedish students as an unattractive country in which to live. This may be because although it is a neighbouring country, the language is very different, as is Finland's history, particularly during the last century, when its proximity to the USSR coloured Swedish perceptions.

Ambiguous areas for Swedish students are China, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Ireland and Greenland. One explanation is that these countries are very attractive places in which to work or visit in the short term, but not to stay for a longer period. Another explanation is that one group of students, perhaps those with family ties in these countries, gave fairly positive opinions, while others reacted negatively.

Areas ignored by Swedish students include most of sub-Saharan Africa, Central America, Mexico, Columbia and Peru, and in Europe, the Baltic countries, Switzerland and Brussels. This, however, may be the result of the small sample size.
Northern Europe, and particularly Scandinavia, are more frequently mentioned as attractive places to live by Swedish students than by other students in the survey, and for Norway at least, the difference is clearly much greater than expected. This perhaps reaffirms the neighbourhood effect and the importance of cultural similarity for Swedish students.

Conversely, it may also depict that students from other parts of the world forget to mention Sweden and Scandinavia as places to live because they are considered as relatively peripheral, cold and expensive. Within Europe, Swedish students are also somewhat more interested in Spain than other students, possibly because Spain has a good reputation as a tourist destination or because it is a feasible place to live for students with roots in other Spanish-speaking countries. Countries in Central and Western Europe (such as France and Italy) are mentioned relatively less often as places to live by Swedish students compared to other students. Outside of Europe, Thailand is also seen as more attractive to Swedish students than to others, once again because it is a very popular tourist destination for Swedes. Surprisingly, Canada is less attractive than expected, although the reason is not evident. There appears to be a specific lack of interest from Swedish students compared to other students with regard to the attractiveness of Africa, Russia and the Central Asian countries. An interesting group of countries includes those in which the difference between observed and predicted flows is not large, but still greater than expected: China, Australia, Brazil and the USA. While the results of the questionnaire show that Swedish students have fairly ambiguous attitudes towards the USA as a whole, their city preferences show that the USA is a much more desirable place to live than expected for Swedish students compared to other students (although, at the same time, Swedish students also frequently mention the USA as a place where they would not like to live). This is probably because Swedish students are often influenced by the news media, which have a love/hate relationship with the USA, and because popular perceptions of the American culture are fairly negative. However, either through personal travels or cultural media, they nevertheless have very good opinions about parts of the USA and certain cities, especially New York City, as attractive places in which to live.
Sweden's trading partners are mostly EU countries, especially its Nordic neighbours (including Norway), and most are part of the European Common Market. Germany is Sweden's most important trading partner, followed by the UK and Finland. The USA is also an important partner, as are, to a lesser extent, East Asian countries like China, Japan and India. South American and African countries, with the exception of South Africa, play a very small role in Swedish trade relations.

Sweden is one of the most specialised countries in the world in high-technology goods (cars and trucks, mobile telephony). Thus, its asymmetry in technological goods is positive with most of its trading partners around the world; this means that Sweden dominates most of its partners in terms of the trade in technological goods. African, American, Asian, Middle Eastern and Oceanic countries are almost all dominated by Sweden. Notably, India, Russia, Australia, Saudi Arabia and Canada all export raw materials to Sweden. The pattern within the EU countries is more symmetrical, and Sweden displays a strong symmetry with its Nordic neighbours, Finland and Denmark. Countries such as Spain, Portugal, Norway and the Baltic countries are relatively powerfully dominated by Sweden in their trade relations in technological goods. Only a few partners are dominant in their relations with Sweden: Germany, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Ireland.
Swedish preferential relations are mostly intra-EU, due to both geographical proximity and the EU Internal Market. The Nordic countries and the Baltic Sea region are very preferential regions for Swedish trade relations. All of the neighbouring countries around the Baltic Sea region and the North Sea (including Greenland and Iceland) are preferential partners for Sweden (in orange or red on the map). Interestingly, this area of modern preferential trade relations distinctly mirrors the geography of the strong historical trading ties seen in the powerful Hanseatic League from the 13th to the 16th century. In more modern times, following the fall of the Iron Curtain, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania became important countries for Swedish foreign investment and capacity-building measures.

Most of the other EU countries, even those in the southern part of the EU, are also preferential partners, including France, Spain and Greece. Italy is the only large EU country with weaker trade relations with Sweden than expected, although the reason for this is not apparent. Outside of the EU, only a few countries have preferential links with Sweden (Bangladesh, Ghana, Tanzania). Bangladesh and especially Tanzania have long been important recipients of Swedish development aid and remain among the most important countries for Swedish investment and capacity-building in physical and human infrastructure. Ghana, as one of the most important sub-Saharan African markets for Sweden, has also been prioritised in its relations with Sweden as a result of the recent increase in the exchange of university students and tourism opportunities.
Currently, Sweden’s voting patterns in resolutions passed by the UNGA bear a strong resemblance to those of other European countries (this is slightly less apparent with France, Serbia and Turkey). This is in considerable contrast to voting patterns prior to the end of the Cold War (see 3.2). Post-Cold War, Sweden's identity as a neutral country and bridge in East-West relations lost its relevance, and Sweden began to position itself towards European integration, becoming a member state in 1995. Nowadays, Swedish non-alignment does not hinder its participation in the Common Foreign and Security Policy. Instead, Sweden's new identity rests on its cooperation with the EU, the feeling and need for cohesion and on building European common values (Herolf and Lindahl 2000). This atmosphere of cooperation is influenced by new types of threats and challenges that are not just security-policy related, but include terrorism, environmental and technological threats and global capacity-building. Swedish foreign policy goals also extend to areas such as EU enlargement, climate change policy and democracy and human rights, for which Sweden has a strong track record within Europe. Thus, the striking similarity between Swedish voting patterns at the UNGA and those of the rest of Europe is indicative of the remodeling of Swedish foreign policy towards ever-greater Europeanisation.

Globally speaking, Sweden is also similar to other developed countries, especially New Zealand and Japan, but also Australia, Canada, Argentina and Peru. Despite its much-improved relations with the USA and the Obama administration, the USA remains one of the countries to which Sweden has somewhat dissimilar voting patterns, although the dissimilarities are not as extensive as they were prior to the end of the Cold War. Israel is among the countries with the most dissimilar voting patterns to Sweden. Traditionally, Swedish foreign policy has been more pro-Palestinian than pro-Israeli, but this dissimilarity may be more specifically due to a Sweden-Israel dispute over a media report which chilled diplomatic relations in the latter part of 2009.

Contrary to the results for 2009-2010, Swedish UN voting patterns towards the end of the Cold War displayed a strong similarity (80-100%) to the voting patterns of the other neutral countries in Europe (Austria, Finland, Iceland, Ireland) as well as other Nordic countries (Norway and Denmark). There is a considerable degree of consistency in the way in which Sweden (and the other neutral countries) has pursued foreign policy within the UN aegis. Sweden's policy of neutrality during times of war dates back to the eve of the First World War and was reaffirmed in 1939 during the outbreak of the Second World War. While there has been considerable discussion about Sweden's tacit reliance on the Western Allies and the extent to which Swedish policy (and especially its foreign trade policy) was actually neutral during the Cold War (Gustavsson, 1998), the doctrine of neutrality is closely linked with the Swedish identity and its former perceived place in the world as both a bridge and a buffer between NATO and the Warsaw Bloc.

As an "active neutral", Sweden's influence on the world was ideological and relied on verbal interventions. This "third way" constituted a strategic position for Sweden in Europe and the world in terms of providing the state with prestige and various mediation functions. This also meant that Sweden had somewhat frosty relations with the USA, particularly during the Vietnam War, when Sweden loudly criticised US involvement. Swedish voting patterns in 1987-1988 showed a pattern of dissimilarity with the voting of the USA (and, to some extent, the UK), which is in line with the conflictive diplomatic relations with the USA during this time, and in particular Sweden's work towards arms control and nuclear non-proliferation. The latter can also help to explain the similarities between Greek and Swedish voting, as Greece, together with Sweden as countries on the edge of the Iron Curtain, actively took steps to halt further nuclear build-up.

In summary, the international political profile of Sweden during the Cold War rested on the three legs of national neutrality, Nordic cooperation and a commitment to UN collective security (af Malmborg 2001, 15). The spatial depiction of the voting patterns in the 1987-1988 UNGA confirms Sweden's official and rhetorical foreign policy during the latter half of the 19th century.

Swedish students are most likely to have visited large Western European countries, including France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK. Sweden’s neighbours, Denmark, Norway and Finland, are also well visited, as are the popular European tourist destinations of Greece, Croatia and, to a lesser extent, Turkey, all of which border the Mediterranean Sea.

Beyond Europe, Swedish students are most likely to visit the USA, something which is reflected in the high degree of awareness that Swedes have of this nation. Furthermore, Thailand, China and Australia are relatively well visited by students. Thailand is a popular winter holiday destination for Swedes, while Australia is a common destination among young people who are seeking extended trips abroad. The relatively high number of students who have visited China is probably due to their spatial origins; however, there was considerable reluctance among these students to disclose their countries of origin, therefore making this theory difficult to verify.

These findings illustrate the fact that Swedish students are most likely to visit countries that are very well known internationally (as is the case with the first group), local countries (as is the case for the second group) or sunshine holiday destinations (as is the case for the third group).
There are significant populations of Swedish descent in the USA, Canada, the UK, Finland and Norway. The historical development of these populations follows a number of different trajectories. Immigration to the USA and Canada (along with Australia, but to a much lesser extent) involved major, and for the most part permanent, relocation. Migration to these countries took place in three waves: the first from 1885 until 1915, the second from 1919 to 1939 and finally following the Second World War. Home to the largest Swedish population outside of Sweden, the USA saw the arrival of 1.2 million Swedes during the first wave of immigration, eventually making Chicago second only to Stockholm in terms of the total number of Swedish urban dwellers.

According to the 2001 USA Census, approximately four million Americans claim Swedish ancestry, although this is a considerable underestimation by some accounts. Ties between Sweden and the USA remain strong, with a number of organisations, including the Vasa Order of America, the Swedish-American Chamber of Commerce and the Swedish American Institute, active in maintaining relations. Organisations such as these promote cooperation through business partnerships, scholarships and cultural events. Clear links are also exemplified by daily flights from Stockholm to New York and Chicago, and by the number of Swedes who visit the USA annually. Furthermore, the American media is very popular among Swedes, and certain level of emulation takes place, as exemplified by the recent branding of a neighbourhood in Stockholm as "SoFo", based on neighbourhoods in New York and London.

A considerable number of Swedes migrated to Canada during the three waves of immigration, although never to the same extent as migration to the USA. Approximately 60,000 Swedes migrated to Canada between 1895 and 1960, and the country is now home to around 240,000 people who claim Swedish origins. Subsequent to the completion of the transcontinental railway in 1885, Swedish migration increased considerably, as a great deal of previously inaccessible land could be occupied easily. This was particularly important as desirable land in the US was becoming more difficult to attain. People of Swedish descent are spread across Canada, with particularly high concentrations in Vancouver and Winnipeg. Links between Sweden and Canada are maintained through several organisations, including Swedes in Canada and the Swedish Press, which produces the only Swedish-language magazine in North America.

There are approximately 300,000 people in Finland who speak Swedish as their mother tongue. This group, often referred to as Finnish-Swedes, presents an interesting case, as they are often seen as a distinct ethnic group. Furthermore, unlike migrants to the USA or Canada, Finnish-Swedes have been present in Finland for centuries, with a strong likelihood that they have had a continuous presence in Finland since at least 1150. Today, this group makes up approximately 5.5% of Finland's population; a sharp decline from 13% in 1900. However, the population is believed to have stabilised. The presence of this group is clear in Finland, where Swedish is an official language, and the Swedish People's Party of Finland has representatives in parliament. Furthermore, there is considerable movement between Finland and Sweden, as illustrated by the 60,000 Finnish-Swedes currently residing in Sweden.

Conversely, migration to Norway is a much newer phenomenon, and people typically migrate for shorter periods of time. Norway's recent economic growth has made the country attractive to younger Swedes seeking a short term, well-paying job. Between 1990 and 2007, the number of Swedes living in Norway increased from 18,000 to 35,000. This number is heavily influenced by short-term and seasonal workers from Sweden; however, given the strong contact that these workers maintain with Sweden, this group has a considerable impact on the Swedish economy. Finally, they represent Sweden's strongest current emigration trend.

It is also worth noting that there are many people in Britain with some Scandinavian heritage; however, given that many of these descendants have roots in the Viking Age, few people claim to have this background. Since joining the EU, the number of Swedish people born in England doubled between 1990 and 2001, reaching 22,000. This group is predominantly located in London and maintains extensive ties with Sweden, with many of them spending several years there before returning home.
From a specific town, up to the entire world, there is a considerable range in the extent of the region of the world in which Swedish students locate themselves. Areas with the highest rate of inclusion (identified by more than 90% of the respondents) were Sweden, most of Norway and Finland and a small part of Denmark. Accordingly, nearly all of the students felt that their region fit within a localised Nordic definition. This corresponds with Sweden's historical ties and its traditional northern connections.

In addition, 80% of the respondents included Denmark, Norway and Finland - along with Sweden - in full. Western Europe, along with sections of the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as Poland, the Czech Republic and Austria, were included in the region in which more than 70% of the students located themselves. This suggests that a significant majority of the respondents feel that they live in a region that includes Western Europe, along with several Baltic states and several former Eastern Bloc countries. This corresponds with Sweden's long-standing connection to Western Europe, and with the general proximity and regular transport connections to the states lying across the Baltic Sea. This area also includes the majority of EU member states, with the notable exceptions of Spain and Portugal, indicating that many of the respondents are also willing to identify themselves as a part of the union.

More than half of the students delineated their region along traditional European boundaries - from Portugal and Spain in the southwest, up to the UK in the northwest, to Finland in the northeast and down along the Russian border to Greece in the southeast. This reflects a traditional definition of Europe, and one that was probably present in Sweden's geography curriculum at an earlier point in the students' education. Iceland was included by more than 40% of the students; this is a surprisingly low figure considering Iceland's Scandinavian roots. This may be explained by the fact that Sweden does not have a maritime connection with the island and as a result of diminished ties with the country over the last century. In addition, more than 20% of the students included Greenland in their region, while more than 10% included large swaths of North America and the Arctic. The inclusion of North America stems from answers such as "the West", while "the Arctic" or "the North" were typical responses when including an area surrounding the North Pole.
The region in which Sweden is located is described using a variety of names by the Swedish students. Europe was the most common response, which was offered by more than 40% of the students. Scandinavia and Norden (a term translating to "the North", but referring specifically to Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Greenland) were selected by approximately 14% and 12% of students respectively, indicating a more geographically proximate definition of their "home" region.

The next most common response, "the world", indicates a very different perspective among 8% of the respondents. Several students defined their region along national boundaries, while one also provided the very local answer of "the Stockholm region". A number of students also used various socioeconomic measures to define their region, including "economically stable/wealthy", "high welfare" and "powerful & rich countries". Finally, several broad yet distinct definitions such as "civilised Europe", "the Germanic world" and the "Western world" were offered.

These answers offer a number of valuable insights into how Swedish students define their surroundings. Given that "Europe" was overwhelmingly the most common response, there appears to be a strong continental orientation among the respondents. This also suggests that the students have a fairly positive attitude towards Europe, as people are less likely to link themselves to places or concepts that they dislike. Defining the region as "Europe" could also indicate that many Swedish students also perceive fairly standard geographical divisions of the world. The dominance of "Europe" is also likely to have been influenced by recent geography textbooks, which emphasise the continent and the EU, and encourage students to think more about the commonalities that Europeans share.

A more specific area was defined by students who identified their region as Scandinavia or Norden. These respondents chose less broad areas which correspond to Sweden's position within Europe. One striking difference between "Scandinavia" and "Norden" is that the former refers to a specific ethnic group, in addition to a geographical area, thereby excluding Finland.

At the other end of the spectrum, the response "the world" suggests that a number of students feel that more localised boundaries are not necessary. This group adopted a more inclusive region, which could be influenced by the increased ease of access to a more global community as a result of digital and technological developments.
This map illustrates what can be identified as Europe’s “core” according to Swedish students. It is striking that all of what is traditionally seen as Western Europe is included, as are the Nordic countries. Beyond this core, which was identified as being part of Europe by 100% of the students, 95% identified the Baltic countries and a series of countries along the eastern border of the core, extending from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, as being part of Europe. In addition, it is notable that 90% of the respondents felt that all of the countries west of Russia should be included as part of Europe, the same number who felt that Iceland should also be included in Europe. Despite the inclusion of Eastern and Central Europe, the map also illustrates that Europe’s core remains in the West, indicating that traditional Western biases persist to some extent.

Swedish students were much more likely to include Greenland and particularly Iceland as part of Europe. This probably stems from a greater awareness of Nordic countries and also from a geographical and cultural proximity that respondents in other countries are unlikely to share. Furthermore, Swedish students were significantly more likely to include Cyprus, and somewhat more likely to include Turkey. Finally, the Canary Islands and certain parts of Africa were also more likely to be defined as part of Europe, potentially resulting from the travel patterns of Swedes.

Conversely, the students were less likely to include Russia as part of Europe. This could reflect the negative perceptions of the country that exist, as illustrated by the fact that Russia was found to be a country in which the students would not want to live. This could make the respondents less likely to associate “their” region with Russia.

The fact that such a wide swath of countries was considered to be part of Europe by at least 90% of the respondents suggests that Swedish students have an open and flexible view of which territories are part of Europe. Furthermore, the fact that such a high percentage of respondents included countries which are not part of the EU also indicates that there is a relative openness to further EU expansion.
In evaluating the way in which Swedish students demarcate Europe, one of the most striking aspects of the map is the variation that exists. According to the widest definitions provided by Swedish students, Europe includes sections of North Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Russia and the North. This variation is particularly relevant in a Nordic context. In this region, a wide range of responses were provided, with some indicating that Europe is limited to Norway and the UK in the northwest. A similar number of students felt that Europe extended further out into the Atlantic, thereby including Greenland, while the majority of the students felt that Iceland served as the European border in this area.

In the south, the Mediterranean Sea serves as a common border of Europe. This border remains consistent until the eastern edge of the sea, where there is considerable disagreement as to whether or not Turkey should be considered part of Europe. Here, a fairly equal (and significant) number of students stated that Turkey is and is not part of Europe. Given that Turkish entrance into the EU has been a common news topic in recent years, students’ perceptions are probably based to some extent on the similarities and differences between Turkey and other EU member states. It is also worth noting that a number of students included sections of North Africa in the continent, indicating an awareness of the influence of European Union in this region.

Swedish students’ eastern limits of Europe are also worth considering. Here, the majority of the respondents defined Europe’s eastern border as running along the Russian border. However a significant number of respondents also felt that Western Russia can also be considered as part of Europe, choosing to use the Ural Mountains, or an approximation thereof, as the European border. This indicates that although it is not widely considered to be part of Europe, many Swedish students are aware of the continuing Russian influence in Europe.
Swedish students think of Europe on a primarily political, cultural or historical basis. The words "union", "power", "democracy", "Western" and "bureaucracy" are closely associated with politics, while words such as "colonialism", "divided", "multicultural", "diversity", "freedom", "peace" and "rich" are associated with a wider range of factors, such as politics, history and the quality of life. In considering the differences in frequency, it is evident that Swedish students view the concept of the "union" as being the most important to Europe. This selection of words suggests that Swedish students have a positive perspective of Europe, something underlined by the fact that only a few explicitly negative words are among the top 25 most frequent selections.

The Swedish respondents were more likely than students in other countries to characterise Europe using the words "European" and "union", their two most common responses. The high rate at which words were selected indicates that Swedish students perceive Europe as primarily a political entity, something supported by an over-representation of "bureaucracy". As such, they have a greater focus on the EU and the different characteristics that it encompasses than on the geographical formation of the continent. Furthermore, the frequency of use of the words "diversity", "included", "multicultural" and "different" suggests that the respondents feel that Europe is open to a range of people with different backgrounds. Higher than average use of "colonialism" also indicates an awareness of a past in which the aforementionned words did not characterise Europe. It is notable that colonialism is the only historical word that is over-represented and is one of only two historical words in the top 25 responses, something that could signify that the students have a fairly contemporary view of Europe. Finally, the over-representation of "Western" suggests a more general focus on the wider context in which Europe is situated.
In Sweden, the most significant variation according to student characteristics concerned the scale of belonging, on which a number of words were over-represented at different levels. Conversely, there was very little difference in the words associated with Europe according to gender or academic field. This may result to some extent from the sample size, but may also indicate relatively similar notions of Europe amongst students with an array of backgrounds.

As regards the vocabulary associated with Europe selected by students with different scales of belonging, those who identified with the national and infranational levels were more likely to highlight Europe's economic status, using words such as "industry", "education", "money" and "capitalism", all of which were over-represented at these levels. These students have a clear focus on the economic and development potential for which Europe is known. Furthermore, an infranational sense of belonging is likely to reflect self-identification as a "European" or a member of the EU. As the EU has a strong focus on economic issues, it follows that those who identify with it would also have an awareness of such topics.

For those with a national sense of belonging, imperialism is also very important, garnering the highest number of responses in this category. This could reflect the fact that imperialism had an effect at a national level, but also that Sweden did not take part in these actions. In doing so, the students could be offering an implicit criticism of "Europe" while simultaneously promoting their own country's approach.

At the "other" and "supranational" levels, there was a mix of positive and negative characterisations of Europe. The words "bad" and "crusader" were both over-represented in the "other" category, suggesting that "Europe" has more negative connotations for those who seek an alternative level of belonging. This is accompanied by an over-representation of the word "genocide" at the supranational level, suggesting that some negative aspects of Europe's past remain prominent with individuals with a wider sense of belonging. Conversely, words such as "beautiful", "centre" and "liberal" are also identified by those who have a supranational sense of belonging, thereby indicating a mix of both positive and negative associations with Europe.

In terms of gender, there were very few significant differences in the vocabulary used by male and female students. Males were more likely to select the word "democracy", as it was over-represented among males and under-represented among females; however, it was the only significant word for both genders. Given the sample size, it is difficult to provide a definitive answer as to why there is so little variation between genders. However, it is possible that due to Sweden's efforts in the area of gender equality - notably in the classroom - Swedish students have a fairly similar outlook on Europe, regardless of whether they are female or male.

There was also very little significant variation in the words chosen by students of different fields in Sweden.
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The following sections reveal a number of nuances between the answers given by Maltese students and students in the rest of the sample, while also demonstrating that there are many similarities to students from other EU member states. The most striking difference emerges in the conception of Malta's place in the world. Although most students place Malta within the confines of the EU borders, a significant minority of students also include North African states to a much greater extent than students from other countries in the sample. When sketching their region of the world, students tend to emphasise the area encompassed by the Mediterranean and the countries bordering it. This trend emerges in a number of the results in the following sections. Although students do not view the region of the Maghreb as an attractive place in which to live, it seems that in general, students recognise commonalities, as well as their contribution to the establishment of a "Mediterranean" identity. It has been noted that the latter is reflected in the national foreign policy, in which Malta states that its goal is to act as a bridge in order to promote dialogue and the establishment of trade relations between Europe, Africa and the Middle East. Furthermore, the words used by students to describe their region point to a clear divide between Europe and Africa, as well as between the North and the South, which further consolidates the image of the Maltese as "ambivalent Europeans".

There is a distinct parallel between the sections on diplomatic and trade relations. Trade relations between Malta and a number of African and Asian states seem to have their roots in the pre-Cold War era. At that time, the ruling party, the Malta Labour Party, forged relations with a number of socialist and African countries, relations from which the island still benefits today in terms of trade. However, most of Malta's trade seems to be focused on Europe and states bordering the Mediterranean. The diplomatic and trade relations created and maintained with African and Middle Eastern states as a result of geo-political proximity, language and diplomatic relations have further facilitated the functioning of the island state as a bridge between the North and South (both geographically and metaphorically speaking).

Most Maltese students state that they feel a sense of belonging to both the local and national contexts to a greater extent than the sample average. This is especially true with women, as a considerably greater percentage of women than men feel a sense of belonging to the "nation". Taking into consideration that 30% more women than men also feel a sense of belonging to a religion (Roman Catholicism), together with the fact that affiliation to the parish church in Malta is also a source of local identity and civic pride, it may be concluded that students' perceptions and identity constructions are very localised. The student surveys have also revealed that a significantly larger percentage of men choose to study engineering, whilst a significantly larger percentage of women choose to study health and social sciences. This trend may be observed across most of the countries in the sample. This tendency reflects ingrained gender schemas that influence the choice of both men and women's life paths. Whereas engineering is typically seen as an "instrumental" male domain, health and social sciences are portrayed as "communal" and "nurturing" domains. Furthermore, participation in public life is very much a male domain and Malta's national minimal curriculum (NMC) is "symptomatic of the very patriarchal structure of Maltese society, a structure which the NMC perpetuates" (Borg et al. 1995: 348) [Borg, C., Camilleri, J., Mayo, P., and Xerri, T. 1995. Malta's National Curriculum: A Critical Analysis in International Review of Education, Vol. 41, No. 5, pp. 337- 356. Springer], although this patriarchal structure with regards to education may be observed across most countries making up the sample.
Maltese students seem to have a positive perception of Europe as a collection of ideals and a space characterised by freedom of movement, modernity and unity. However, it is clear that the students entertain a different conception of their region and their place within Europe and, to a greater extent, the world. The geographical limitations of their region seem to be encompassed within the perimeter of the Mediterranean, even though their relations extend beyond this border. However, these relations are conditioned by common language, culture, commonwealth membership and previous diplomatic relations. Essentially, it would seem that Maltese students’ perceptions of Europe are separate from their conception of their own place within it, which is rather more localised and constricted to the Mediterranean region and familiar countries (for example, the UK as a result of colonial relations and Australia as a result of the large Maltese diaspora). The Maltese sense of belonging remains a point of contention, further heightened by the influx of illegal immigrants from Africa and the lack of support in this regard on the part of the EU.
From the map above, it is evident that the most attractive country according to Maltese students is the UK, probably due to the extended period of colonisation by the British and the ensuing close relations that were maintained between the two. In fact, Malta is still a member of the British Commonwealth. The UK is also seen as an attractive location for education and encompasses the added benefits of a common language and, to a certain extent, a common culture. Italy is also seen as a very attractive country in which to live, and this is probably due to a shared cultural past and its geographical proximity to Malta. The Mediterranean, food and a knowledge of the language are also shared aspects that further add to the attractiveness of Italy.

Libya, on the other hand, is very clearly depicted in a negative light by the majority of students. Libya is the closest of the North African countries to Malta, and bearing in mind Malta's geo-political position on the border between Europe and Africa, the aversion to Libya may indicate hesitation on the part of the students for Malta to be associated with Africa. Libya is also seen as a source of illegal immigrants making their way to Malta from sub-Saharan Africa. This aversion to the North African region is confirmed by the negative perception of other North African countries, such as Tunisia and Egypt.

There is a clear divide between Europe and Africa for Maltese students, with European countries being perceived very positively and North African and Middle Eastern countries very negatively. The rest of the world does not feature significantly in Maltese students' perceptions, and South America, Central Africa and the Far East are largely ignored. It is clear that students' visions of the world encompass Europe and the countries surrounding the Mediterranean. Indeed, the Mediterranean is seen as being central to Maltese students' visions of the world. The centrality of Europe is also seen with regard to the positive perception of the USA, Canada and Australia and their relatively small size in comparison to European countries. Japan is also an interesting case, as it holds an ambiguous position with regard to students' perceptions, as it is probably perceived in a positive light by some for being a more developed and technologically advanced country, and in a negative light by others because it is part of Asia, which is generally perceived in a negative way overall.

"IN WHICH COUNTRIES WOULD YOU LIKE TO LIVE IN THE NEAR FUTURE?" : COUNTRIES VISION IN MALTA

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In the map above, the comparison of Maltese students’ answers regarding countries in which they would like to live with those of students from other countries in the sample illustrates the centrality of the Mediterranean area for Maltese students. European countries in the Mediterranean such as Italy, Greece, Spain and Cyprus are cited as places to live by Maltese students more than other students in the sample. Conversely, North African countries that form part of the Mediterranean area are cited by Maltese students less often than by students from the rest of the sample. Again, the UK is perceived in a more positive way by Maltese students than by students in the rest of the sample, and this is probably due to the close relations that were maintained following the colonial period. It also worth noting that Malta was the only British colony in which integration with the UK was seriously considered.

Moving away from Europe and the Mediterranean, Australia is seen as significantly more attractive than usual by Maltese students, which may be due to the Maltese diasporas in Australia and the consequent positive relations between the two countries. It is also still perceived as a migration destination, as it holds more opportunities for employment. The US holds an ambiguous position because Maltese students cite it less often as a place in which they would like to live in comparison to students in the rest of the sample. Countries in Asia, Central Africa and South America are rarely mentioned and are perceived as unattractive destinations by Maltese students to a lesser degree than students from other countries. This again emphasises the centrality of the Mediterranean in Maltese students’ vision of the world. Although it occupies an ambiguous position, Japan is seen as more attractive by students from other countries in the sample. From this, we may be able to deduce that Maltese students’ perception of the world is based on positive and negative connotations attached to specific regions, information that may have been garnered from media sources, and, most importantly, that it may be dependent on the proximity of countries to Malta. Thus, Asia as a whole, Central Africa and South America are mentioned less frequently by Maltese students as potential places in which to live. Whether positively or negatively, European countries, Australia, North Africa and North America are well known due to their geographical proximity, Maltese diasporas and their centrality in the international and local media.
On the map above, it is clear that Malta’s main trading partners are centred around Europe, and that they all have a dominant position over Malta in the trade flows of technological products. The majority of Malta’s trade takes place with Italy, France, Germany and the UK, the most dominant being France and Italy. The dominance over Malta in terms of trade with other countries is due mainly to its size and the geo-political isolation of the state. Interestingly, its major trading partners outside of Europe are Japan, South Korea and Singapore, with whom Malta has a negative balance in medium and high-technology goods.

This map yet again indicates the centrality of Europe and the Mediterranean to Malta. The two most attractive countries to Maltese students are consequently also its biggest trading partners. As was alluded to in the previous section, Asian countries are generally perceived in a negative light, with the exception of Japan, which has an ambiguous position in the eyes of Maltese students. However, the map above indicates that Japan is also one of Malta’s biggest trading partners outside of Europe. From the two maps, it may be deduced that Maltese perceptions of other countries run parallel to their economic position in the world, at least in situations in which there are no links through diasporas.

This is further supported by the fact that Malta’s trade relations with Africa, South America and the rest of Asia are virtually non-existent, barring a few exceptions in Asia. There is a minimal amount of trade between Malta and Libya. This case is particularly significant, as it is one of the only trade relations in which Malta plays a dominant role, and therefore further emphasises the clear divide that exists between Europe and Africa, and particularly between Europe and North Africa. In terms of technological goods, Malta has a negative balance with most European countries in terms of manufacturing goods, whereas there is a degree of symmetry in the trade between Malta and the USA, Singapore and China. On the other hand, Malta has a positive balance with its North African neighbours as well as Azerbaijan and Hong Kong.
The map above indicates that Malta has much stronger trade relations than expected with the UK and Italy, which is again related to colonial, cultural and historical links, as well as widespread fluency in both Italian and English. With regard to Europe, Malta has stronger trade links than expected with France, Norway, Croatia and Romania, and far weaker than expected with the rest of Europe. What is perhaps most interesting in the map above is the indication that Malta has stronger trade links than expected with Turkey, Azerbaijan, Libya, Tunisia, Israel and a number of West African countries (Senegal, Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Ghana). The latter is in keeping with Malta’s foreign policy goals which state that the country “seeks to maintain multilateral and bilateral relations in order to promote trade between Malta, Africa, Europe and the Middle-East and to facilitate co-operation in the application of Article 13 of the Cotonou agreement”.

The map also indicates that Malta has strong trade links with developed Asian states, namely Singapore, Japan and South Korea. It is surprising to note that the largest proportion of Malta’s trade on a global basis is with Singapore (the majority of Malta’s exports, 13%). The two countries concluded an open skies agreement in mid-2008, which allows cargo and passenger airlines from both countries to travel freely between Singapore and points in Malta and beyond. The conclusion of this agreement was seen as a reflection of the “warm bilateral ties” that exist between the two countries (http://www.procurement-online.com/news/8099).

Malta’s EU membership and its geographical and linguistic proximity to North African and Middle Eastern states makes it a hub for companies seeking to create business relations with Southern Europe and Africa. It has long enjoyed close diplomatic ties with Libya and other North African countries, and sees its role, due to its geo-political position, as a bridge between North Africa, the Middle East and the EU. This, together with a highly educated English-speaking labour force, makes it an attractive location for foreign investment. Malta’s trade outside of Europe seems to favour other small nation states in Africa and Asia. The minimal amount of trade with Australia, with which Malta has strong ties through its diasporas, is probably due to the number of trade disagreements between Australia and the EU.
The map above illustrates the overall uniformity in voting between Malta and other EU countries (France and the UK display less similarity in this respect). With regard to the European space, other similarities in voting at the UNGA emerge between Malta (and other EU countries) and aspiring EU members, Turkey and Ukraine. It is also worth noting that non-EU members occupying the "European space", such as Norway and Iceland, also vote in the same way. This similarity in voting illustrates Malta's adoption of the European ideals and world vision. Other similarities emerge between Malta and Japan and South Korea, the two Asian countries with whom Malta has strong bilateral trade relations. A number of similarities also emerge between Malta and Australia (and New Zealand), as well as with Canada and Argentina. The latter all have a shared history and close links, both linguistic and cultural, with European countries, and a large majority of their population today is composed of the descendents of Europeans. In the case of Malta, it is not possible to form direct links between bilateral trade flows and diplomatic relations, as a result of the island's size and therefore its limited economic and trade capabilities. However, a parallel between Malta and the aforementioned countries in terms of their voting at the UNGA provides an indication of their shared vision of the world and of global affairs. It is also worth noting in this case that the smallest number of similarities emerge between Malta and the USA, and this is reflected in the altogether ambiguous position that this nation holds in the students' perceptions, as well as the flow of trade between the two countries, which is less than expected. From this map, it is possible to deduce that Malta's vision of the world is largely conditioned by its vision of Europe's place within the world, and is to a certain extent influenced by trade flows and a shared history. It is altogether probable that these factors play a role in shaping students' perceptions of the world and the attractiveness of countries.
The map above shows significant cleavages between Malta’s diplomatic alliances prior to the Cold War and then following the Cold War. The greatest number of differences emerge between Malta and the countries of the then European Community (Central Europe and the UK), as well as Canada and, to a greater extent, the USA. It is worth noting that from 1971-1984, the Malta Labour Party was in power in Malta under the leadership of Dom Mintoff. During this period, Malta forged close relations with a number of socialist and North African states, from which the island has continued to benefit over the years. From the map, it is clear that Malta shared similarities in its voting with a number of North African and Middle Eastern states. The establishment of these close relationships embodies the island’s continual commitment in current times to strengthening relations between the EU and African and Middle Eastern states.

From the map, it is also significant that among the African states which are most similar to Malta in terms of voting are Senegal, Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Ghana. The map in section 2.2 of this document illustrates the fact that trade links between Malta and these four states were stronger than expected, and is therefore suggestive of the close relations built up over the period prior to the Cold War. Consequently, the same degree of similarity is also noted between Malta and Singapore, which is currently one of Malta’s most important trading partners, and may therefore help to explain the special relationship that exists between these two countries, which are otherwise located at a great distance from one another. Conversely, the difference that existed between Malta and the USA in terms of voting at the UN General Assembly during the pre-Cold War period may account for its ambiguous position vis à vis Malta with regard to trade and students’ perceptions. The changes in voting similarities between the periods prior to and succeeding the Cold War run parallel with the changing political realities both in Malta and regionally and internationally. In the case of Malta, the shift from a Labour government to a Christian Democratic government brought about a corresponding shift in the national vision with regard to Europe. However, this shift enabled the maintenance of previous trade and diplomatic relations between Malta and countries outside of Europe.
The map above indicates that Maltese students’ mobility is highly concentrated in and around Europe and the Mediterranean region. The countries which are visited most frequently are Italy and the UK, and more than 20% of students have visited these countries, probably due to a shared history and culture, as well as a widespread knowledge of and fluency in both languages. In many cases, these are also countries in which student exchange programmes, such as Erasmus, take place. The choice of students’ destinations seems to reflect, to a large extent, the previous results regarding which countries students perceive as attractive to live in. Many of these countries are also some of Malta’s most important trading partners, such as Italy, the UK, France and Germany, which are the four most visited countries by students. It is also worth noting that a large percentage of students have also visited Tunisia. Most of the countries bordering the Mediterranean have been visited by students, which further underlines the centrality of the Mediterranean to the Maltese national identity. Students in the Maltese sample seem to have travelled frequently to almost all EU member states, which emphasises the extent to which EU membership has given them more mobility and freedom of movement, and for this reason, may have embellished their perception of Europe by making it more accessible, both through direct travel as well as through accounts by others who have visited these countries.

WHICH COUNTRIES ARE MORE OFTEN VISITED BY THE STUDENTS OF YOUR COUNTRY?

On the basis of the declaration of the "last five countries visited", it is possible to elaborate a map of the mobility of students abroad.
As was alluded to earlier, many of Malta's links outside of the Euro-Mediterranean zone may be connected to the Maltese diasporas. Globally speaking, the number of Maltese people living abroad is estimated to be between 356,000 and 370,000. The largest Maltese diasporas is found in Australia, with over 90,000 Maltese descendants, followed by the US, the UK and Canada. It is evident that Maltese emigrants are more oriented towards English-speaking countries outside of the European region, with the exception of the UK. In the case of Maltese emigrants to the UK, the colonial period plays the most significant role in influencing Maltese migration to the UK, as well as the adoption of English as a national language, together with Maltese.

Perhaps more significant is Malta's role as an immigration destination, albeit an involuntary final destination. The recent phenomenon of illegal immigration to Europe from sub-Saharan Africa, through Malta, has placed the island at the centre of one of the previous decade’s most controversial issues for Europe as a whole. This role further consolidates Malta's position as a bridge between the North and the South. As a transitional country, it has become a platform from which perceptions and visions are being constantly remoulded; both illegal immigrants' perceptions of Europe and Maltese people's vision of their place in the world. Research conducted among Somali immigrant women in Malta by EuroBroadMap Project has revealed a number of ambiguities in their vision of Europe (see. Final report of WorkPackage 3).

Somali women view Europe as a safe haven, and underline their principle reason for leaving Somalia as being to escape the ongoing conflict and violence. Violence pursues immigrant men and women throughout their trajectories and transition through sub-Saharan Africa and Libya, and this further reinforces the image of Europe as a safe haven. However, with regard to the situation in Malta, the detention period may prove to be particularly trying for both men and women. Immigrants' vision of Europe is built on feelings of ambivalence; on the one hand, they recognise that their overall situation has notably improved, especially following their harrowing journey through Libya and sub-Saharan Africa. On the other hand, they experience detention for undetermined periods of time and are constantly faced with legal obstacles that promote an excessively bureaucratic image of Europe. In addition, they are faced with instances of racism on a daily basis and the difficulty of finding employment, which adds to the economic difficulties that are already part of their situation. According to the research conducted in Malta, perhaps the most significant problem identified by women is the absence of family reunification programmes in Malta. Many of the immigrants on the island hope to move to Sweden or the USA, where they already have long-established family networks and where family reunification schemes are available. Thus, the question of diasporas remains active with Somali migrants in Malta, and the acquisition of protected status provides opportunities that benefit the entire transnational family (Al-Sharmari 2006).

As noted in the previous maps, dominant trade flows, diplomatic relations and student mobility all affect students’ and people's perceptions of Europe and the world around them. In the case of migration, the same is happening in reverse, as instead of the creation of external relations, internal relations are being created with external influences that redefine our perception of the external world. This is clearly illustrated in the case of illegal immigration, as the inability of other EU countries to aid in "burden-sharing" and the increasing pressure felt by the Maltese population has led to a reversal of locals' perceptions of their position within the EU. In a seminar on the migration of Albanians and Romanians to Italy given by Dr. Nick Mai at the University of Malta on 4th May 2011, Dr. Mai suggested that targeting Albanians as different from Italians and as the cause of a number of social problems within Italy allows the Italian population to target aspects of themselves which they would rather reject and which consequently immigrants embody. We can note a similar situation in Malta, where the term "immigrants" refers specifically to "black Africans", and the negative feelings surrounding their presence in Malta may allude to the resistance on the part of the Maltese people to association with or absorption into the African continent. The feelings of disdain for illegal immigrants in Malta, and conversely the changing perception of Europe as an absent and disregarding element, further reflect the categorisation of the Maltese as "ambivalent Europeans".
In the map above, the minimal core outlined by the students clearly incorporates the whole of Malta and the surrounding sea. This may be due to the small size of Malta and the representativeness of both the capital and the Mediterranean of a feeling of national identity, based on its geo-political position and a long history centred around the capital. The line detailing the median extension illustrates that the students clearly identify themselves as belonging to the region of Europe, which is defined by the EU member states, and which includes Cyprus, yet excludes Turkey. The map also shows that a larger percentage of students focused on the Mediterranean as an encompassing region that defines Malta. In contrast to the maps of the other European countries participating in the study, Maltese students are careful to include the entire Mediterranean border in their delineation of Europe as a region, and are equally careful to exclude the Maghreb. The median extension line metaphorically denotes the line of contention between the North and the South.

The most telling aspect of the map above is the line indicating the maximal extension. A significant minority of students outline Europe and the African continent as being associated with Malta. In particular, a larger percentage of students outlined the Maghreb as being associated with Malta. This is once again indicative of the ambivalence of Maltese students, as they are torn between association with Europe and association with Africa, in particular the Maghreb. Europe may be seen as the epitome of the progress, mobility and employment opportunities to which students aspire, while conversely, their attachment to the Maghreb may be due to historical and linguistic links, as well as its proximity to Malta. This ambivalence is reiterated in the maps depicting students’ mobility, their perceptions of which countries are attractive or unattractive, Malta’s trade flows and diplomatic relations, and reflects Malta’s foreign policy and mission to act as a bridge between the North and the South, and between Europe and Africa and the Middle East. The area outlined as being associated with Malta is a reflection of students’ conceptions of the limits of their world, which may be due to the proximity of their experience. EU membership links Malta to Europe, while its history, language and geo-politic location links it to the Maghreb, and the influx of illegal immigrants from the sub-Saharan region links Malta to Africa.

5.1 - MENTAL DIVISION OF THE WORLD

WHAT IS THE EXTENSION OF THE WORLD REGION WHERE THE STUDENTS LOCATE THEMSELVES? On the basis of the answers to question “Divide the world in regions -maximum 15 ”, in which part of the world did the students include their own country?

In the map above, the minimal core outlined by the students clearly incorporates the whole of Malta and the surrounding sea. This may be due to the small size of Malta and the representativeness of both the capital and the Mediterranean of a feeling of national identity, based on its geo-political position and a long history centred around the capital. The line detailing the median extension illustrates that the students clearly identify themselves as belonging to the region of Europe, which is defined by the EU member states, and which includes Cyprus, yet excludes Turkey. The map also shows that a larger percentage of students focused on the Mediterranean as an encompassing region that defines Malta. In contrast to the maps of the other European countries participating in the study, Maltese students are careful to include the entire Mediterranean border in their delineation of Europe as a region, and are equally careful to exclude the Maghreb. The median extension line metaphorically denotes the line of contention between the North and the South.

The most telling aspect of the map above is the line indicating the maximal extension. A significant minority of students outline Europe and the African continent as being associated with Malta. In particular, a larger percentage of students outlined the Maghreb as being associated with Malta. This is once again indicative of the ambivalence of Maltese students, as they are torn between association with Europe and association with Africa, in particular the Maghreb. Europe may be seen as the epitome of the progress, mobility and employment opportunities to which students aspire, while conversely, their attachment to the Maghreb may be due to historical and linguistic links, as well as its proximity to Malta. This ambivalence is reiterated in the maps depicting students’ mobility, their perceptions of which countries are attractive or unattractive, Malta’s trade flows and diplomatic relations, and reflects Malta’s foreign policy and mission to act as a bridge between the North and the South, and between Europe and Africa and the Middle East. The area outlined as being associated with Malta is a reflection of students’ conceptions of the limits of their world, which may be due to the proximity of their experience. EU membership links Malta to Europe, while its history, language and geo-politic location links it to the Maghreb, and the influx of illegal immigrants from the sub-Saharan region links Malta to Africa.
The figure above clearly shows that the majority of Maltese students classify their region as Europe, while a significant minority also classify their region as Africa. As noted in the previous sections, Malta's particular geo-political position, history, language and diplomatic and trade relations all contribute to an ambivalent sense of belonging. This divide is clearly depicted in the second set of the most commonly used words for the classification of their world region: "north" and "south". "North" may imply Malta's geographical position as being north of Africa and the Maghreb, while "south" may imply that it is the southernmost state in the EU. The North-South divide may also point towards the associations that these words have in development terminology or core-periphery theory, in which North refers to the developed countries and South refers to developing or under-developed countries. Nevertheless, the dichotomy represents a clear point of contention in the discourse on Maltese identity.

The next most frequent word, "culture", may further build on the ambivalence encircling Malta's association with either Africa or Europe. Culture as a word that is used alone is itself very subjective. It may refer in this case to the accumulation of culture, traditions and traits shared with both Africa and Europe, and thus acquired from its geo-political location at the crossroads of diverse civilisations. The final set of words may further support this argument. The use of the word "Mediterranean" points to its centrality to the Maltese identity, and yet may also represent the large mass that essentially bridges the gap between the two continents. "Home" is also used to refer to the region, which may imply or further emphasise the point that the region encompassing Malta represents the boundaries of the students' world vision. The use of "poverty" may also point to a number of interpretations. It may imply that Malta is poor in comparison with the rest of the EU, or conversely it may refer to the association of Malta with Africa, a continent which is dominated by poverty and, to an extent, representative of the term. What emerges from the more commonly used words is that the students' perceptions point to Malta as a space of contested identities and thus of polarised perceptions of the students' place in the world.
The map above illustrates that Maltese students’ conception of the core of Europe is limited to the Central and Western European states. This delineation of a "small" Europe excludes the UK, and this is probably due to the UK having its own currency and the fact that certain laws which are common among all European countries take a different form in the UK. Thus, the UK often diverges from the common course of action taken by most EU member states.

The delimitation of a "medium Europe" is particularly interesting as it diverges from the delimitations of Europe provided in maps in Maltese school textbooks, in which the European border to the east is portrayed as a natural border provided by the Ural Mountains, which are in fact not a natural border. Furthermore, the Caucasus is omitted in order to allow the inclusion of Turkey. However, in the case of the map above, Russia and Turkey are excluded from this delimitation. The "medium Europe" seems to be representative of the member countries of the EU, although Ukraine and Moldova are also included.

The greatest contrast to the other countries participating in the project emerges in the delimitation of a "large Europe". The southern and eastern states bordering the Mediterranean are included much more often by the Maltese students, whereas the Far Eastern states, such as Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, are excluded more frequently than usual. This clearly supports the results portrayed in the previous maps which reflect the centrality of the Mediterranean and its border countries to the construction of a vision of Europe.

If we consider the three delimitations outlined above together, the map of a "small Europe" seems to represent the main protagonists in the discourse regarding Europe and the EU. The map of a "medium Europe" incorporates a number of seemingly separate entities that fit into the creation of an overall understanding of Europe. The Scandinavian countries tend to be grouped together, as is the case with the countries which make up the UK; both groups are often seen as separate economic entities. The other countries included in the medium delimitation are new and aspiring EU member states. "Large Europe" seems to incorporate countries which occupy the border of the EU and that have close relations with the EU. The stress on the inclusion of countries bordering the Mediterranean may also be an attempt to reject the notion that Malta embodies the southern border of Europe, thus placing the border further to the south.
In the map above, the borders of Europe according to Maltese students are clearly defined in specific areas, with regard to the split between North Africa and the rest of Europe, with particular emphasis on the division between Spain and Morocco. Generally, students' delimitations seem to follow the official borders of the EU; however, there are certain points of contention. As can be seen in the map above, Turkey is included within the limits of Europe by a large percentage of students, and conversely excluded by an equally large percentage, which is emblematic of the current debate encircling its proposed membership.

It is clear that the students also provided alternative limits, such as may be seen with the inclusion of Iceland in the European space, which may be due to its pending membership application, or the marked similarities that exist between Iceland and other Western European states. An alternative (and telling) limit features the inclusion of part of Russia, following the idea of a natural boundary created by the Ural Mountains, as depicted in school textbooks. It may also be built on the perception of Western Russia as modern and fitting into the imagery of a modern and developed Europe; this interpretation may also be extended to Iceland. However, once again, we can note that some students drew limits that also include the countries of the Maghreb. This is emblematic of the continual tug of war between the North and the South and the goal of Maltese foreign policy to act as a bridge between the two.

Overall the limits drawn seem to incorporate not only EU member states, but also more affluent and developed non-member states or regional sections, such as Iceland, Norway, Western Russia and Switzerland, which indicates that Maltese students perceive Europe as being a space which is defined by modernity and affluence. This is further emphasised by the attempt on the part of some students to exclude some new member states which make up the less affluent Eastern Bloc. It is also clear that the students split the Mediterranean in half, which may be related to the arrival of illegal immigrants from Africa. It has been established that the Mediterranean is an important aspect of the Maltese identity. However, drawing the limits of Europe through the centre of the Mediterranean may coincide with the refusal by Malta to acknowledge responsibility for taking in illegal immigrants from south of the island.
The results presented in the diagram above support the results and arguments presented in the previous sections. Maltese students' association of the word "culture" with Europe may be interpreted in a number of ways. It may refer to the image of Europe as a centre for the arts, or alternatively it may refer to the shared cultural heritage between European states which has essentially led to the unification of Europe. The latter is embodied in the second most quoted word (by the Maltese sample), which is "unity". The most commonly quoted words by Maltese people, which were equally quoted by students from other countries, also support the interpretation of Europe as a "union" of "European" people with a shared "history".

Although many of the frequently used words are also quoted by other students, if we consider the words which are specific to the Maltese sample, the overall interpretation that may be constructed supports the discussion in the previous sections. For a significant number of students, the "Mediterranean" is associated with Europe, and "art" and "food" are common cultural aspects that determine the European identity. Thus, culture may be linked to the Mediterranean, an area that is unified by the sea and in which we find multiculturalism, particularly between the North and the South. The differences between the North and the South, both within the boundaries of the EU as well as specifically in the Mediterranean, are aspects which are identified. It has been established in the previous sections that Europe is constructed by differences between North and South and East and West. The latter is identified by the responses given by students in other countries, such as Portugal, Romania and Sweden, where words such as "divided", "multicultural" and "diversity" are used, together with "unity". Thus, within this context, Europe may be perceived by Maltese students as a united collection of diverse countries or regions with a shared history, centred around the Mediterranean.
In the majority of cases, the answers given by male and female students are relatively similar as regards the details of their social backgrounds (socio-cultural baggage), and yet they differ greatly in other areas. One such exception is the uneven representation of men and women in certain domains of study, namely an over-representation of men in the field of engineering and an over-representation of women in the field of health, and to a slightly lesser extent in the social sciences. This clear-cut division between men and women in education portrays gender as a dividing factor (Goetz and Grant 1988), and this division is highly dependent on existing social and cultural norms and distributions. Stereotypes incorporated into the media and education system create hegemonic gender beliefs (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). This may account for the homogeneity of certain answers, particularly as regards social and cultural settings, as both men and women are imbued with the same ideas and conceptions of their social roles and what essentially makes a man a man and a woman a woman.

These culturally assigned social roles and notions of the typical man or woman create a platform for individuals’ conceptions of the divisions between the "self" and the "other", and are instrumental in guiding individuals in their selection of an education or profession (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). Thus, engineering is strongly associated with being an instrumentally "male" subject, while the social sciences and health are more female "communal" and "nurturing" subjects. Engineering is seen as having more use value than the social sciences. "A meta-analysis of studies in which the same gender-neutral product is labelled as produced by a man or a woman shows a modest but significant tendency for the product to be evaluated as better if produced by a man. When the product is associated with a domain that is culturally defined as masculine, such as engineering or the military, but also management, the evaluative bias in favour of men is stronger” (Ridgeway and Correll 2004, 518). Thus, the overwhelming over-representation of men in engineering and women in health and the social sciences is indicative of gender schemas and stereotyping, which are not confined to education, but reveal wider gender-based social stratifications.

Another difference that may be observed between Maltese students, and which is fairly significant, concerns the feeling of belonging to a religion, as 30% more women than men cite a feeling of belonging to a particular religion. In Malta, the parish church can act as a source of local identity and civic pride. Catholics who find pride in national religious unity will be more inclined to direct their sense of belonging towards the national or local context. Bearing this in mind, the over-representation of Maltese women with a religious sense of belonging corresponds to the over-representation of women who opted for a sense of belonging attached to the national dimension. The fact that more women than men also use the words "unity" and "culture" in association with Europe may suggest that Europe is defined not only by a political and economic union, but by unity through shared religion and culture as a result. In the previous sections, it was noted that Maltese students' perceptions of Europe seem to incorporate the Maghreb and the Mediterranean region. The use of the words "multi-cultural" and "different" in association with Europe may point to the religious difference that exists between the North and the South. For students who imagine Europe to include the countries of the Maghreb, this may be the difference between Islam and Catholicism. It may also refer to the differences that exist between Mediterranean countries and Northern and Central Europe, where the Mediterranean is envisaged as one region of Europe and the northern states as another region.

We can note that Maltese students have more experience of other countries than the other students in the sample. However, there is much less of a feeling of being a citizen of the world than the overall sample average. Maltese students’ vision of their world incorporates Europe and Africa as a region, as we have seen in section 5.1. Thus, the feeling of belonging to the national and local levels further supports the "ambivalence" of Maltese identity as being linked to some larger regional entity, such as Europe, Africa or the world. Furthermore, as may be seen from the previous sections, affiliation to the local/national context, in the case of Malta, may in fact incorporate the Mediterranean. Thus, Maltese students’ vision of their place in the world is based on localising characteristics: language; the Mediterranean; a common culture (food and art); religion and the syncretism between the North and South.
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The main result of the research carried out within the EuroBroadMap project in Romania is the elucidation of the "in-between" situation of this country. The various (political, economic, social and cultural) pressures on Russia as a consequence of this type of localisation explain, to a great extent, the Eurocentrism revealed by the Romanian students' answers, as Europe/the EU appears as an anchor, a refuge and a space for resistance. However, this statement must be shaded as long as Romanian students' convictions are the result of pressure from the dominant speeches disseminated in the media over the last two decades, of the social imaginary and of a very mobile and protean education system that is still marked by communist reflexes. In the case of Romania, "the acceleration of history" after 1990 prevented the crystallisation of a stable system of values and decreased the period of time that is necessary for individual reflection on the dynamics of the contemporary world. This is also true of the other surveyed countries in this area (Hungary and the Republic of Moldova).

As a result of a rapidly (and sometimes superficially) changing cultural environment, students are compelled to adopt a reductionist vision of the world, materialised in dual, Manicheist visions. This does not remove the ambiguity of mental behaviours; on the contrary, it strengthens it, because the mobility of the cultural environment lessens the possibility of shaping a collective vision. The Romanian society (like all Eastern European societies) is still atomised and looking for a community spirit that was anaesthetised or perverted by communism.

The nature of the "in-between" space can be synthesised by means of several force lines derived from the results of the research:

1. The students' mental universe oscillates between the European space (anchored in the tough nucleus of the EU) - seen as a clear target from the perspective of future actions - and the Eastern space, perceived as a repulsive area of threats, instability and insecurity. However, Europe's cultural construction induces confusion as regards its geographical limits, with the eastern and southeastern parts of the EU representing genuine shatter belt areas from this point of view. The Romanian students' Eurocentrism and their prudence as regards Eastern spaces can partly be explained by means of their spatial practices, centred on European countries and only timidly extending to North America and circum-Mediterranean tourist destinations (Egypt, Turkey). Direct knowledge of the Russian Federation could perhaps alter this attitude (for example, the students of the Republic of Moldova, who have a better developed knowledge of the East, consider the Russian space to be less repulsive);

2. On the political level, the same positioning between a recent past imposed by the eastern exterior and a present/future marked by Euro-Atlantic integration efforts explains Romania's diplomatic behaviour, which is very close to the EU (from a social, cultural and economic point of view) and NATO/the USA (from a military perspective), but very distant from the Russian Federation in spite of obvious commercial interests;

3. Romania's economic positioning obeys the same principles of arrangement (East-West; past-future). Its trade flows place it in a position that is dominant in relation to the EU states and somehow dominant with regard to some of the countries with which it used to have privileged trade relations during the communist period;
4. The nature of the "in-between space" is also triggered by international migration. As a result of a deficitary (definitive) migration balance (losing people to European and North American countries and Israel), Romania has tended to become an immigration country, sheltering people coming from the former Soviet area (Moldova, Ukraine), from the Middle East (Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey) and from East and South Asia (China, Pakistan). Circulating migration, either legal or illegal, also helps to strengthen the character of an intermediary country. While approximately two million Romanians periodically migrate to EU countries, Romania receives citizens on a temporary basis from beyond its eastern borders (the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, China, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria) who come to Romania in order to work;

5. Last but not least, the EuroBroadMap research has proven the generally positive structuring effect of (geographical, economic, cultural, political and linguistic) proximity as regards the vision of external countries, both on neighbourhoods and concrete flows. It is perhaps worth hypothesising that the (re)discovery of this proximity effect could represent the basis for setting up action strategies which will finally lead to less Eurocentric attitudes and to a decrease in the negative effects brought about by Romania's "in-between" position.
Romanian students’ mental map of the world is dichotomous, as it is clearly divided between attractive and repulsive countries. This Manicheist vision has been triggered by the acceleration of history in the transitional period in which the students are living, without having had the opportunity to shape a personal view of the world. Their vision is strongly tributary to the images disseminated by the media and to the dominant speeches of the past 20 years. In this way, the Western states located outside of the Iron Curtain are considered attractive. The western part of the EU (Austria, Belgium, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK, followed by Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden) appears to be a globally attractive area. This situation could be explained by three elements: the positive political discourse about these states, combined with the classical myth of the Occident; better knowledge of these countries (tourism, studies); and migration for the purpose of finding work. A second category of attractive states contains well-developed countries from other continents (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the USA) which are classical or modern migration destinations for study or work, which have been granted a positive image in public discourses.

The repulsive countries represent a second clearly differentiated group, which includes several categories. The first refers to Romania’s formerly communist neighbouring countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the former USSR, the former Yugoslavia), which are often associated with crises and transitional difficulties. In certain cases, historical animosity can also play a role (Hungary, Russia). The second category refers to countries with ambiguous political and social situations which are marked by a negative image (China, North Korea, India, Mongolia). The third group of states are repulsive due to their low level of development and conflicts (North Africa, South West Asia).

Distant countries and less well-known states (Egypt, Japan, Latin America, the Middle East) are recorded as ambiguous areas, while quasi-ignored countries can be grouped into three categories: Central America; South East Asia; and sub-Saharan Africa. In conclusion, the students' dual vision of the world is the consequence of the geographical and cultural positioning of the country within an "in-between space", marked by a past strongly influenced by the East and a future oriented towards the West.
This complementary analysis focuses on positive choices (countries in which the students would like to live) in comparison with the rest of the EuroBroadMap sample. This analysis strengthens the hypothesis regarding Romanian students’ dichotomous vision of the world which, compared to the vision of the students from the 17 other countries in the survey, describes an extreme concentration of countries in which Romanian students would like to live (which are all in Europe, except Greenland and Iceland) and a complete lack of interest in alternative destinations in the rest of the world (Africa, Asia, Latin America). The exceptions (Belarus, Jordan, Mexico, Nepal, Venezuela, Vietnam, the Western Sahara) can be considered as random variations which are not statistically significant. In comparison to the EuroBroadMap results, in the case of Romanian students, the effect of proximity to the Eastern EU countries is to be underlined. Although the initial analysis revealed a repulsive immediate neighbourhood, Romanian students are increasingly pointing out attractive states such as Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary and Slovakia (i.e., even if the majority of students declare that they would not like to live in a certain country, the minority who declare that they would is higher than usual). Curiously, Poland is excluded from their preferences, which can be explained by the fact that in the case of other students, it represents a more frequent choice for where they would like to live. As in the initial analysis, the Republic of Moldova can hardly be found among the Romanian students’ preferences, which is obviously in contradiction to the national political discourse. The position held by North America (the USA and Canada) evokes a similar explanation. Despite the fact that the Romanian political discourse is pro-American and the continent enjoys a very good image among Romanians, this area appears much less frequently in the preferences of Romanian students. This may be because of the distance separating Romania from the Americas, to the visa system and, perhaps, to the attractive “barrier” formed by the Western EU countries. Distance may also explain the cases of Australia, Brazil and Japan. The situation of the Russian Federation is due in part to the historical animosity between the two political entities. In conclusion, the Romanian students’ vision of the world is Eurocentric and focuses on the EU (excluding the Baltic states, Finland, Sweden and Poland). Attractiveness is represented by well-known/visited countries (Austria, France, Germany, Greece) and by states connected to Romania by means of economic migratory networks (Italy, Spain, the UK).
As in the case of mental maps, Romania's economic position is marked by the "in-between" character of its geographical location. Highly economically integrated into the trading patterns of the former communist countries, Romania experienced a strong trade reorientation after the change in its political regime. The political tropism towards Western Europe appeared very early and trade followed this direction closely.

Until 1990, Romania was an industrial country, with medium-technology industries which were not oriented towards the population's consumption habits. Some of these industries (cars, various industrial equipment, aeronautics, chemistry, plastics, etc.), reconverted by means of foreign direct investments, proved viable and continued to support exportation to countries in the former Soviet area (the Republic of Moldova, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, Ukraine), in the former communist area in Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, the former Yugoslavia) and in the Middle East and North Africa. Therefore, Romania is dominant in its trade relations with these regions. The explanation for the similar case with the USA is based on "captive trade", as Romania exported to the American Federation products made in Romania by either American or European firms. As an offset, consumer goods (food, various household devices and furniture, information technology equipment), which was extremely scarce during the communist period, became the Trojan horse of Western enterprises. After 1990, trade in these products clearly turned the scales in favour of the Western countries, and especially those within the enlarged EU. Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain have become the main sources of imported consumer goods and goods for long-term use. However, the analysis of the relationships with the countries in the EU must be conducted in a thorough way, as the clear "predominance" of certain states such as Ireland, Slovenia or even Switzerland actually represents the predominance of the big household device factories in Germany, Italy, Netherlands and the USA. The prevailing position of some countries such as Japan and South Korea is due to the prudence of EU firms which, until 2007, had very little presence within the Romanian space, thereby making room for Asian companies. In addition to China's recent development, Turkey's economic assertion and Russia's increasingly conspicuous revival on the world stage, Romania is facing the establishment of a new pole of its "in-between" situation.
On the one hand, the complementary analysis of Romania's economic relationships reveals “support” for the Romanian students' dichotomous vision of the world while, on the other hand, it illustrates, by means of other arguments, the “in-between” position of the Romanian territory. The result of the model's application to trade flows emphasises that in the case of Romania, geographical, cultural, historical, linguistic and political proximity plays an extremely important role in the structuring of trade flows. Thus:

- Geographical proximity (in certain cases, combined with recent historical heritage) significantly explains trade exchanges with Bulgaria, Greece and Slovakia or Turkey and Georgia, which are more intense than expected;
- Cultural proximity (German and Hungarian ethnic minorities) and history (Austro-Hungarian dualism, the presence of the Hohenzolern-Sigmaringen dynasty on the throne of modern Romania) explain the higher intensity of Romania's trade relations with Germany, Hungary and Austria;
- Linguistic proximity is largely responsible for the flows with Italy and, to a lesser extent, France, which are more important than expected. In the case of the Republic of Moldova, the explanation for the larger-than-expected flows lies in the "Big Brother" position that Romania has adopted, especially after Transnistria's secession deprived Moldova of its industrial basis and the ambiguous relationships with the Russian Federation repeatedly punished the foreign trade of the republic of Moldova.
- Previous political proximity explains the over-representation of trade flows with the former Soviet area (oil and gas from the Russian Federation, iron ore and coal from Ukraine and Kazakhstan). On these old trade bases, the trade in industrial products (which, before 1990, functioned under the form of clearing, a way of exchanging products without financial agency) has recently started up again. The same causes partly explain the over-representation of the flows with Egypt, Iran and Syria.

On the global level, the distance effect is fairly obvious, as flows which are bigger than expected are concentrated in a clearly shaped Euro-Asian nucleus. The trade with the other two poles of the Triad (North America and East Asia - Japan, South Korea and even China) is under-represented, as the situation is similar to that of Australia, South East Asia, Africa and Latin America.
Three years after its integration into the EU, Romania demonstrated its pro-Western diplomatic behaviour, identical to that of the EU countries and its pro-European neighbourhood, together with Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and South Korea. This behaviour illustrates its diplomatic adjustment after the change in the political regime in 1989 and the beginning of the negotiations prior to its integration into the EU (1995). In fact, the country's foreign policy explicitly pursues the advanced integration of the country into EU structures. The fact that this attitude is not at all circumstantial, is also supported by the position of the countries in the EU neighbourhood, countries which have already commenced negotiations or have been invited to do so (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Iceland, Macedonia, the Republic of Moldova, Norway, Serbia, Turkey). Romania’s position in the global diplomatic environment (which is very close to the EU and relatively distant from the USA) somehow removes any suspicion of duplicity on the part of the authorities in Bucharest. Their closeness to the USA is due, on the national level, to its commitments to NATO and to the need for military security in the country which is involved in fairly distant (historical) relations with Russia.

By describing itself as a regional security provider at the UNGA, Romania acts in a concerted way together with its immediate neighbours or with the majority of those who belong to the Black Sea-centred organisations (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, the Republic of Moldova, Serbia, Turkey and Ukraine). By taking an interest in the integration of the Republic of Moldova into the EU, Romania is supporting the diplomatic efforts of Georgia, Serbia, Turkey and Ukraine. Even though, from a cartographical point of view, the position of Romania is not very clear due to its "in-between" nature, this position can be readily inferred from the analysis of its diplomatic practices as a recent EU member and as a state lying on the eastern border. If its position within NATO and its relationship with the USA (the recent decision regarding housing at Deserveleu, an air military base of the American anti-rocket system) were also subject to analysis, it would become more conspicuous that it adopts stances which are closer to those of the Western world than the former Soviet area, and this would highlight Romania's "in-between" character.

### 3.1 - VOTING BEHAVIOUR AT THE UNGA

WHICH COUNTRIES ARE VOTING LIKE YOUR COUNTRY AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF UN? 

On the basis of the similarity of votes at the general assembly of UN, it is possible to draw a picture of diplomatic alliances and similarities in 2009-2010.
The analysis of the situation as regards the diplomatic behaviour of communist Romania (its votes at the UNGA between 1987-1988) in relation to the present situation provides further explanations for its "in-between" position. As it was completely integrated into the alliance promoted by the USSR, Romania used to play the part of an obedient pupil who voted according to the exigencies imposed by the global revolution which was being pursued by Moscow. Together with the non-aligned countries, Romania's behaviour was consistent with the communist dogma, voting against "neo-imperialism" and "neocolonialism" many times, even to the detriment of its national interests. This attitude explains, to a certain extent, the picture of the current trade flows, which are relatively over-represented in relation to Eastern areas (the former USSR, the Middle East, North Africa, etc.). The historical consequences of belonging to the communist world are still perceptible due to the government's hesitation over certain facts (although they are fairly clear in their speech) regarding the oscillation between the EU, NATO and the USA, their ambiguous relationship with the former ex-Soviet area or the positive image that countries such as Iran, Mexico and Vietnam have among Romanian students.

### 3.2 - Voting Behaviour at the UNGA

**Evolution of the Diplomatic Alliances of your Country from Cold War to Present**

What were the similarities of votes at UN general assembly before the end of the Cold War?

The analysis of the situation as regards the diplomatic behaviour of communist Romania (its votes at the UNGA between 1987-1988) in relation to the present situation provides further explanations for its "in-between" position. As it was completely integrated into the alliance promoted by the USSR, Romania used to play the part of an obedient pupil who voted according to the exigencies imposed by the global revolution which was being pursued by Moscow. Together with the non-aligned countries, Romania's behaviour was consistent with the communist dogma, voting against "neo-imperialism" and "neocolonialism" many times, even to the detriment of its national interests. This attitude explains, to a certain extent, the picture of the current trade flows, which are relatively over-represented in relation to Eastern areas (the former USSR, the Middle East, North Africa, etc.). The historical consequences of belonging to the communist world are still perceptible due to the government's hesitation over certain facts (although they are fairly clear in their speech) regarding the oscillation between the EU, NATO and the USA, their ambiguous relationship with the former ex-Soviet area or the positive image that countries such as Iran, Mexico and Vietnam have among Romanian students.
Romanian students’ spatial mobility is largely confined to the European space. There are some exceptions due to specific occasions (the Russian Federation), rare opportunities to study or travel (the USA) or tourism (Egypt, Turkey). There are several categories of countries in Europe that the students visited more often than others: (1) the first category includes countries in which students have undertaken part of their education, coupled with tourist destinations (Belgium, France, Germany); (2) the second category comprises regional tourist destinations (Bulgaria, Greece); (3) the third category includes states which have been visited due to family relations (visiting people who have emigrated), sometimes coupled with educational experiences (Germany, Italy, Spain, the UK); and (4) the fourth category contains transitional countries (and sometimes winter sports tourist destinations), e.g., Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary. A specific case is that of the Republic of Moldova, which is visited due to its cultural, linguistic and historical proximity. Other European countries which are visited less often largely overlap with the categories outlined above, but with far less intensity: (a) education (Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland); (b) emigration or tourism (Luxembourg, Portugal, the Netherlands); and (c) transit (Croatia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia). This knowledge of a world which is circumscribed to the European space could significantly explain Romanian students’ Manicheist vision of the world (indicated by maps 1.1 and 1.2).
Emigration

Before the fall of the communist regime, the migration policy was very restrictive; nevertheless, between 15,000 and 30,000 inhabitants used to leave Romania every year, and this rate increased at the end of the 1980s (to over 35,000 inhabitants). Migration destination countries included Germany, Israel and later Hungary because, as it was closely managed by the Romanian authorities, migration was limited to ethnic minorities: Jews, Germans (about 44% of the migrants between 1975 and 1989) and Hungarians. After 1989, there was an explosion in definitive emigration (96,929 in 1990; 44,160 in 1991), but the intensity of the phenomenon decreased after 2000, levelling out at around 10,000 people per year. While Germans, Hungarians and Jews initially made up the bulk of these migrations, Romanians rapidly gained the lost ground (from 25% in 1990 to 97% in 2008). In the beginning, the European countries represented a privileged destination (Italy was the target of more than 68% of migrants), but North America rapidly stood out as another main destination. Consequently, in the year 2001, the USA and Canada held 44% of the emigrants. After a decrease in this proportion, in 2008, the two countries held 38.1% of Romanian migrants. Although Italy is still the top destination (12.6%), it lost ground in favour of Germany (20.5%) and other countries (Spain: 2.7%; Australia: 1%, etc.). In addition to those migrants who left Romania for good, the number of Romanians who were integrated into circular migratory structures is estimated at more than two million, most of them in search of EU countries. Everyday studies and practice define countries such as Italy, Germany, Spain and Greece as the main destinations for this "pendular" emigration, followed by France, Belgium, the UK and Northern European countries.

Immigration

Due to the economic transition, Romania did not represent an attractive migration destination for a long time: immigration values were very low until 1995 (approximately 1,500 people/year, as low as 800 people/year). Most of these people were small entrepreneurs from Turkey, China or Middle Eastern countries who immigrated with a commercial purpose. Between 1998 and 2001, Romania started to attract more than 10,000 migrants/year (even reaching a positive migration balance in 2001), but these values decreased drastically because of changes in migration legislation after 2002. However, labour market shortages and economic growth reactivated the immigration flows after 2004, conserving high values, even in the context of the new legislative restrictions in 2007. As regards the ethnic composition of the immigrants, more than 75% were Romanians with Moldovan citizenship; Romania is the EU member with the highest number of foreigners from one country. After a maximum of 700 persons in 2000, the number of Ukrainians decreased because of the option of going to other European countries. Over recent years, the number of immigrants from other non-EU countries has increased. In the case of work migration and entrepreneurship, the major departure points were Turkey and China (even from the beginning of the 1990s), followed by France, Italy and Germany. The age composition of the immigrants indicates a (decreasing) dominance of people of the active labour age (24-40 years old), compared to a rapid increase in young people (18-24 years old) with a study visa or/and in search of a job. After 1990, immigration was consistently dominated by men, but the gap between the sexes is not very large, due to a specific migration pattern according to which the man emigrates first, followed (after he has found a job and a house) by his family (this is specific to Chinese or Turkish people). This gap has been slowly increasing since 2003, despite EU statistics indicating a dominance of women within the main group of immigrants in Romania (the Moldovans). Among the foreigners benefiting from protection in 2008, about one-third had tertiary education diplomas, and about 25% of adults had finished their studies in Romania. Integration into the EU changed Romania into an important transitional territory on the way to other Western European countries, thereby stimulating illegal migration (which increased by 47% between 2007 and 2008). The number of illegal foreign citizens trying to illegally cross the Romanian border increased, reaching 2,120 people in 2008: 1,069 trying to enter Romania and 1,051 trying to exit it using fake documents or hidden in transport vehicles. The number of migrant transporters and cases of human trafficking also increased. The traffic at the most active Romanian frontier (the border with Hungary) increased by 10% between 2007 and 2008, being crossed both by eastern and southern migration routes, including more than 14,100,000 persons (747 foreign illegal migrants and 86 transporters) and 6,250,000 vehicles in 2008.
Romanian students have a fairly accurate idea of the localisation of their country. The minimal core, as described by more than 90% of the students, lies in South East Europe, but not in the Balkans. Comprising the southeastern part of Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, the Republic of Moldova and part of Ukraine, this area excludes the European part of Turkey, Greece, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. This position is in keeping with textbooks, which state that Romania occupies a southeastern geographical position in Europe, described as a “Carpathian-Danube-Pontic” area.

The medium extension of the regions of the world in which the students locate their country is also in accordance with textbooks, while also following the social imaginary. This space, as pointed out by more than 50% of the students, describes a Europe which is confined to the countries in the western part of the Russian Federation or, at most, which extends to the conventional borders of Europe: the Ural Mountains, the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus (40% of the students).

Consequently, we can state that the eastern limit of the region believed to include Romania is a compromise between educational norms (Europe as a continent, also comprising Western Russia) and public perceptions (Russia belongs to Asia). However, the Eurocentric vision of the area in which Romania is located stands out.

The maximal extension of the region is generous but no less interesting. Thus, at least 10% of the students include their own country in an area that spreads from the western coast of North America (Canada and the USA) to the northern half of the Atlantic (Greenland and Iceland included) and further on to Europe, to the former Soviet space and even to the northern part of China. To the south, this region comprises the Mediterranean, North African countries, the Middle East (including Turkey and the Gulf countries) and some states in South West Asia (Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan). Although it is difficult to explain, this mega-region could be the result of a less well-defined vision of the world, or a more original (and larger) version. The mental cartography of this "region" tends to become coherent through the exclusion of the other world regions by the media, which, over the last 20 years, has favoured issues concerning the northern half of the planet, throwing into the shade Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, South East Asia, Australia and New Zealand.
The lexical analysis of Romania's geographical localisation indicates a strong feeling of belonging to the European space. The word "Europe" clearly prevails among the appellatives used by students in order to describe the medium extension of the space which comprises their native country. To a great extent, this is due to the norms imposed by geography textbooks, which are still structured according to "continents" (Europe, Asia, Africa), while lessons on the EU are still marginal. In fact, semantic analysis reveals that "world" is the next most common appellative, with "Romania" and "the European Union" sharing third place. Terms such as "Euro", the "EU", "united" and "centre" are very rare. The high position held by the word "world", together with other names such as "Eurasia", "West" and "culture", may explain the "generosity" of the maximal extension of the world region in which the students located their country.

A second explanation for the Romanian students' attachment to Europe (and to the "world" as a secondary issue) lies in the prevailing Euro-Atlantic discourse of the last two decades, set against the background of the integration of Romania into NATO and the EU.
For about 60% of the Romanian students, the limits of Europe generally correspond to the geographical extension of the continent, as provided by geography textbooks (the medium Europe). This explains the extension of the limits overlapping the Ural Mountains (in the East), the Mediterranean basin and the Atlantic coast. The sub-representation of islands within these limits shows the importance which is granted to distance (in the case of Greenland or Iceland) and to spatial continuity, as well as the reduced knowledge and/or importance granted to smaller territories. Up to 40% of the Romanian students excluded Iceland and some Mediterranean islands (such as Cyprus, the Southern Greek islands and Malta) from Europe. The core of Europe (the small Europe), on the other hand, remains political. It is closely related to the EU - mostly the EU25, except for the ex-Soviet Baltic states (which continue to be associated with the East/Russia in the students’ minds) and Greece. The latter case is another argument in favour of the importance of distance and continuity in the representation of geographical and political entities. This also explains the inclusion of Scandinavian and Balkan states in Europe in 90% of the responses. Only 5% of the students included the entire Mediterranean basin, together with some North African states and parts of Greenland and Russia (the large Europe). An interesting observation is that approximately 5% of the surveyed Romanian students do not feel that they are a (political and geographical) part of Europe, a fact which is probably related to geographical references and the frequent association of Europe with "the West" in their discourse. The Romanian students have a larger vision of the extension of Europe compared to the rest of the EuroBroadMap project sample, who are mainly focused on the political and economic core of the EU15. As expected, for Romanian students, Europe extends further to the east and southeast, including the new EU member states and the rest of the Balkans. The ex-Soviet space is generally excluded, except for the Republic of Moldova (perceived as an extension of Romania) and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which are EU members. The western part of Turkey is also included in Europe, as it is perceived as being economically and spatially "closer" to Europe. Other over-represented territories are the Mediterranean islands, which are better known because of tourism and summer work-and-travel programmes (Greece) or because of immigration routes (Italy).
The map shows that the Romanian students are generally confused by the conflict between the geographical and historical information they acquired in school on the one hand and the political discourse in the media regarding the EU and the international political context on the other. The two shatter belt areas (the first delineated by the frontiers of the Baltic states, Belarus, Ukraine and the countries in Central Asia, and the second overlapping the Black Sea and Turkey) reflect once again the "in-between" position held by Romania, as the students hesitated to include Russia within Europe. The Black Sea is an area in which three European borders converge: between Russia and Central Asia, between Russia and Ukraine/Belarus/the Baltic states and between Ukraine/Belarus/Russia and the EU. The only "anchor lines" are discontinuous and generally overlap natural limits (the Mediterranean Sea, the Bosporus straits, Northern Scandinavia). The overall perception is mostly geographical - students see Europe as a continent and not as the EU. The limits drawn show the importance granted to states' political frontiers, used as a main reference point (which is also supported by school textbooks). The choice between the two perceptions is difficult when the two types of limit (political and geographical) do not correspond. This is the case for Europe's eastern border which, according to geography textbooks, is represented by the Ural Mountains, the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus. Consequently, most of the students include some ex-Soviet states within Europe (the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus). With regard to Russia, they hesitate between splitting the country in two (according to geographical limits) and including it all in Europe, thus complying with the national frontiers. Finally, many students chose to exclude Russia (or a large part of it) from Europe, based on their knowledge of the evolution of the international political framework. There is a similar hesitation in the case of Turkey between the geographical European border (the Bosphorus straits) and the political borders of Turkey. The southern and western borders of Europe are easier to draw because, in this case, geography and politics do not contradict each other in the students' minds: they very rarely go beyond the Mediterranean Sea or the Atlantic Ocean. Nevertheless, a few students chose to exclude islands from continental Europe, depending on distance, including the UK, Iceland and Greenland.
7.1 - MENTAL DEFINITION OF “EUROPE” BY WORDS

The Romanians students’ cartographical confusion in outlining the European frontiers derives either from the country’s localisation in an “in-between space” or from the semantics of the term “Europe”. Lexical analysis of the vocabulary associated with the European space reveals, first of all, its cultural construction. The most frequently used and significant words which are linked to Europe are “culture”, “civilisation”, “diversity”, “history” and “tradition”, which can hardly lead to an accurate geographical delineation of the area under discussion. The words which would illustrate a clearer spatial image of Europe in the students’ mental universe and which would consequently guide them to a more accurate drawing of the borders appear in the middle ground (“power”, “union”, “development”, “continent”, “European”, “economy”). The cultural construction of the European space is another element that can explain the Eurocentric vision of the students in this survey.

NB: The words that are significantly more quoted by romanian students than by students from other countries are in red.

WHAT ARE THE WORDS ASSOCIATED TO « EUROPE » BY THE STUDENTS OF YOUR COUNTRY?

The words associated to Europe by students are characterized by their frequency (the most frequent answers are represented with bigger size) but also by their specificity (in red).
The influence of gender on the students' opinions of Europe is fairly obvious: women perceive Europe as a cultural space, and as an area of beauty and diversity, while men have a more economic and political vision: they see Europe as a dominant space, associated with force and power. In most cases, the words associated with Europe are related to the students' educational background, with the exception of arts students, who deliver a very economic and pragmatic vision of Europe; "money" is over-represented in their discourse. Another factor which differentiates between the students' spatial perceptions is their level of income: students with higher incomes have larger, more objective images of Europe (focused on culture and social rights, e.g. "freedom", "democracy", "multicultural") compared to those with lower incomes, who tend to project their personal economic and social aspirations onto their discourse about Europe (better economic opportunities and social integration, e.g. "prosperity", "richness", "tourism"). The same occurs regarding the level of belonging: students who identify with supranational spatial levels have a broader perspective of the world, while those attached to smaller spatial levels have more pragmatic (economic and social) images of Europe.
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This document presents the main findings of the EuroBroadMap survey that was performed using students in three cities in Turkey (Istanbul, Izmir and Erzurum) in the winter of 2009. This study highlights the most interesting features of Turkish students' mental perceptions of the world and Europe. This picture is drawn from the answers of 734 students, who were asked about their experiences and vision of the world.

The findings show that the spatial mobility of families in Turkey is fairly low: only 14 out of the 734 students who were surveyed were not born in Turkey. Turkish students seem to have a strong sense of belonging on the national (40%) and global (37%) levels. The average number of languages spoken by Turkish students is 2.06. Turkish students had visited an average of 1.9 countries. Most of the students declared that they had not yet visited any other countries (75%).

In line with the visiting tendencies of the Turkish students, most Turkish migrants (1.8 million) choose Germany as their destination. The other chosen destinations are France, the Netherlands, the USA and the UK.

The analysis also deals with the countries in which the students would or would not like to live in the near future. The results reflect the fact that the students mentioned mostly Western European countries (France, Germany), North America (Canada, the USA) and countries in the Mediterranean (Spain, Italy), which are perceived as favourable. Countries which are perceived negatively are primarily those in the Middle East and Asia because of conflicts within these areas. The choice of cities provides a similar picture of the world as perceived by Turkish students. London, Paris, New York and Rome are the most desirable cities, while Baghdad, Tehran, Tel Aviv and Yerevan are perceived negatively.

The analysis of words associated with Europe reveals that Turkish students perceive Europe as predominantly a cultural and economic place or as a political entity (in a positive or negative way). They also mention words connected to religious values or their perception of the European quality of life. The results of the Turkish survey indicate that, in general, Turkish students' perception of Europe and European countries, especially Italy, France, Germany, Spain and the UK, is positive. However, Western and Central Europe are preferred over Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries.

European countries (especially Western ones) are well-known by Turkish students. One of the factors which contributes to this awareness and the positive perceptions of Turkish students about Europe is the education system in Turkey. From primary school to higher education, all courses relating to the social sciences focus on one or more of the following subjects: the politics, culture, economics, history and geography of Europe, European countries, the EU and the relationship between these entities and Turkey. In Turkey, students know the Reformation, the Renaissance period and the geography of Europe better than the history and culture of America or the Far East, or the socio-political structure, economy, culture and history of anywhere other than Europe. This is the result of the education given by the Turkish authority which has embraced a policy of Westernisation since its establishment and Europeanisation since its application for full membership of the EU.

In addition to the education system in Turkey, Westernisation and the EU-oriented foreign policy of the Turkish authorities, the geographical proximity of European countries to Turkey, migration flows from Turkey to European countries (in particular to Germany in the 1960s) and trade relations between Turkey and European countries can be regarded as other factors which determine students' positive attributes towards Europe. Regarding the economic position of Turkey, it is accepted that the developments experienced thus far indicate that the Customs Union, while exposing Turkish industry to intense international competition, has launched a challenging process which facilitated the integration of Turkey into the EU.
The Turkish economy and social statistics, for all their recent improvements, are still a work in progress. Inflation has not been wholly defeated, the current account deficit is large and Turkey's competitiveness in manufacturing is a matter of concern. Worst of all, unemployment is distressingly high, especially in the east and southeast and among women and young people.

The importance of this shift extends far beyond the economic gains that accompany access to more diversified markets. As Turkey fans out across the Middle East and renews contacts in the old Turkic world (which stretches from Turkey through Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and as far as Xinjiang in China), it is helping to underpin a stronger presence in a region that Turkey largely ignored for many years. This reflects a significant shift in Turkish foreign policy - one with which some in the West are far from comfortable.

This result can be interpreted as showing that Turkish students are prone to locating Turkey closer to the southeastern region, which indicates a feeling of belonging to this region. As regards the maximal extension, 10% of the students think of Turkey as part of the highest construct, simply called "the world". Overall, these results are consistent with previous results and experiences. According to these results, we can tell that Turkish students conceptualise Europe according to the EU and that they consider this entity to be "developed" in every way. This result indicates a positive attitude towards Europe. As regards the next most commonly cited words, "development", "economy", "education" and "freedom" all attract attention. These words again show positive thoughts and feelings towards Europe. However, in third place, out of the words "colonialism", "power", "wealth" and "culture", colonialism has negative connotations when considered alongside the words "power" and "wealth"; the Turkish students perhaps want to stress the economic imbalance between Europe and other countries which are in need. Turkish students' emphasis on the word "Turkey" indicates a perception of their country as separate from other countries. After seeing their country as a distinct entity, the students place their country within a larger construct, called the "world". Turkey is regarded as a country of the world, which does not belong to a specific region. Next, not a geographical but a semantic location is pronounced: developing countries. According to Turkish students, their country is among the developing countries, and is not yet developed. In a comparison of the Turkish sample with the entire EuroBroadMap sample, it can be seen that Turkish students have nearly the same vision as the EuroBroadMap sample as regards the extension of Europe. However, Turkish students accept the eastern lands of Turkey as part of Europe, while the EuroBroadMap sample as a whole considers only the western lands of Turkey to be part of Europe. In this report, the variation in the Turkish sample according to field of study and city is also analysed. Although the visions of the students in Izmir and Istanbul, which are located in the western lands of Turkey, are fairly similar, the students in Erzurum have different visions about Europe's limits and extension. In addition, Turkish students' perceptions of Europe sometimes differ according to their field of study. This report also examines the variation in the vocabulary used by the Turkish sample according to gender, the level of income, the scale of belonging, the number of languages the students speak, their field of study and the city. Although there are some differences in the students' perspectives on Europe, in general, Turkish students' views on Europe are positive, and they see Europe in terms of its political, social, cultural and economic aspects.

According to the results of the survey in Turkey, the most frequently mentioned positively perceived countries are Italy, the UK, France, Spain and Germany, which are all located in Western Europe. It is possible to argue that the positive perceptions held by Turkish students of Western Europe are in line with the foreign policy of Turkey. Turkey has always preferred to be Western-oriented in its foreign policy since its establishment. Thus, Turkish students’ choices are appropriate for Turkish foreign policy. In addition, it can also be seen that there is no direct correlation between positively perceived countries and countries which Turkish students have visited. The most commonly visited countries are Germany, Azerbaijan, the USA and France. However, out of these, only France and Germany are included in the list of countries which are positively perceived. Although Azerbaijan is one of the most frequently visited countries, fewer students see Azerbaijan as a country in which they would like to live. The survey results from Turkey show that Syria, Armenia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel and Iran are the countries in which Turkish students declare that they would least like to live. These negative perceptions can be explained by the ongoing conflicts, turmoil and wars in the regions in which these countries are located. These states have also faced common development and transitional problems, such as an unwillingness to democratise, weakness regarding human rights, Islamic religious fundamentalism, a lack of reforms to the market economy, a deficient work and investment environment, an unjust income distribution and difficulty integrating into the world economy. As these conditions are well-known by Turkish students, it is understandable for Turkish students to have negative perceptions of these Middle Eastern countries. The USA and Russia are among the countries in which Turkish students would both like to live and not like to live. As Turkey has had economic, political, social and cultural relations with these two countries since its establishment, they were mentioned by most of the students. Negative or positive perceptions of Russia and the USA may depend on the students’ political views. While more liberal or capitalist students would like to live in the USA, more socialist students would prefer to live in Russia. Countries that are simply ignored by Turkish students include Australia, Far East Asian countries, Latin American countries, the Balkan countries and African countries. The reason for this ignorance may be the distance between these countries and Turkey.
The difference between the EuroBroadMap sample as a whole and the Turkish students concerning the countries in which they would like to live reveals a general distance effect, but also a specific attraction towards the eastern Mediterranean Sea, the Middle East and Central Asia. As regards African countries (except North Africa), the southern and western parts of Latin America (especially Colombia and Ecuador), Greenland, Latvia and Canada, the difference between the observed and predicted flows is negative, which means that these parts of the world are mentioned less frequently as potential destinations by Turkish students compared to the rest of the EuroBroadMap sample. In contrast to the rest of the sample, Turkish students declare that they would like to live in countries such as Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, followed by Russia, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Norway, the UK, Spain, Sweden. The places that are almost the same (i.e. Turkish students have the same preferences as other students from the EuroBroadMap sample) are the USA, Australia, Morocco, Finland, Romania, France, Germany, Central Europe and the Benelux countries. In general, for Turkish students, their views on the attractiveness of European countries are more or less equal to those of the rest of the sample. Turkish students are familiar with European countries; however, they do not have sufficient information about African countries. Although Italy, the UK, France, Spain and Germany are attractive to Turkish students, complementary analysis indicates that among them, France and Germany are less attractive to Turkish students than the rest of the sample, but that Italy is much more attractive. Although Russia, the Turkic republics, Egypt and Azerbaijan are not among the countries in which Turkish students would like to live, they quote these countries in a positive way more than the rest of the EuroBroadMap sample. The reason for this may be Turkish students’ unusual awareness of these countries as a result of their historical, economic and political ties with Turkey. In addition, although Turkish students have positive or neutral perceptions of the countries of Canada, South Africa, Australia, France, Germany and the Netherlands, the number of Turkish students who declare that they would like to live in these countries is a smaller proportion than in the rest of the EuroBroadMap sample.
With the completion of the Customs Union with the EU (signed in 1995), the Turkish economy has been integrated into an important economic block. Through the Customs Union, Turkey has opened its internal market to competition from the EU and to other countries, while guaranteeing free access to the EU market. Accordingly, in the course of its 16-year implementation, both positive and negative perceptions of the Customs Union have been experienced.

The EU is clearly the biggest trading partner of Turkey. In 2010, the EU accounted for nearly 47% of Turkey’s total exports and 40% of its total imports. Turkey is an important trading partner of the EU as well. The foreign trade statistics of the EU for the year 2010 demonstrate that Turkey ranked seventh in terms of imports and fifth in terms of exports, with shares of 3% and 4% respectively.

The Customs Union has strengthened these traditionally comprehensive trade relations. Turkish exports to the EU increased from US$11 billion in 1995 to US$67 billion in 2010. During the same period, Turkish imports from the EU increased from US$16.8 billion to US$78 billion. Due to the Customs Union, Turkey’s trade relations with the EU also grew, as exports increased by 472%, showing a higher rate of growth than imports, which increased by 343%. In the same period, the total exports increased by 510% and the total imports increased by 465%.

However, due to the global economic crisis in 2009, the EU witnessed an important economic recession and the EU economy contracted by 4.1%. As a result of this recession, total EU imports decreased by 24% in 2010. Accordingly, the EU’s share in Turkish exports decreased to 43.8% in 2010. On the other hand, Turkish imports from the EU decreased by 24.4% in 2010 and the EU’s share in Turkey’s imports remained at 40.1%. As a result, the volume of trade between Turkey and the EU reached over US$105 billion in 2010, while it was US$27.9 billion in 1995. A remarkable development was also experienced with regard to exports to Africa. African countries’ share in Turkey’s total exports rose by 12.3% and reached the level of US$10.2 billion. Germany continued to be Turkey’s largest export market, with a share of 9.6%. However, the total exports to Germany in 2009 fell by 24.3% and amounted to US$9.8 billion. France followed Germany with US$6.2 billion in exports, with the UK in third place with US$5.9 billion.
The major trading partners of Turkey are located in its immediate neighbourhood, including Russia, as well as in Western Europe. In contrast, other major economic powers, notably the USA, have limited trade relations with Turkey. We can observe that Turkey has a negative balance with regard to manufacturing medium- and high-technology goods with all major developed areas, but especially with East Asian economic powers. However, Turkey also has a negative balance with South and South East Asia and most of Latin America. This illustrates its rather weak position in the international division of labour. However, Turkey still dominates large parts of the world in terms of trade. It has a positive balance for manufacturing goods with all of Africa, the Middle East (except Saudi Arabia), notably its Eastern neighbours and, more surprisingly, the former USSR and the Balkans, including Greece. As an offshoring economy, Turkey sells manufacturing products to these regions, including medium-technology goods, such as cars manufactured by large Western European companies in Turkey.

The preferential trade links of Turkey cover four different areas around Turkey: the Islamic world, except South and East Asian Islamic countries, but including Arabic and Persian countries; the Balkan countries; the former USSR; and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe. Distance as well as cultural and historical relations may play a role in explaining the geographical pattern of Turkish trade. On the one hand, cultural links with the Islamic world and, more specifically, with Turkish-speaking countries such as Azerbaijan, are probably an important factor in explaining this geography. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire dominated this whole area for centuries until the First World War, including the Balkan countries. Preferential links with Western Europe have a clear core/periphery pattern, with Turkey selling low-technology goods and buying equipment and more sophisticated products.
Regarding the similarity of Turkish votes to those of other countries at the UNGA during the 2009-2010 sessions, it is interesting to note that one of the countries which made exactly the same choices as Turkey (with a rate of 80-100%) is Greece. It is widely known that Greece has experienced political conflict, such as border disputes and the Cyprus issue with Turkey. This fact indicates that in the case of Greece and Turkey, it is not possible to draw a picture of diplomatic alliances and similarities simply by looking at the rate of similarity of votes for resolutions passed at the UNGA. This result may mean that these resolutions were not related to Turkish or Greek interests. It is possible that looking at the content of the resolutions or evaluating other factors may achieve a better result.

Other countries that have an 80-100% rate of similarity with Turkey are Portugal, Norway, Slovenia, Iceland and Cyprus. As in the case of Greece, Cyprus does not have a diplomatic alliance with Turkey. Turkey votes in a similar way to the whole of Latin America (except three countries: Bolivia, Venezuela and Colombia), almost all European countries (except countries with a rate of 80-90%), Oceania, Canada, some African countries (especially those in the southeast) and some Asian countries such as China, Kazakhstan, Iraq, the UAE and Oman. It is also interesting to note that an evaluation on the basis of the similarity of votes at the UNGA for this period indicates that Turkey is least similar to the USA, which has been accepted as one of Turkey's more important diplomatic alliances since it was founded. As stated in the document prepared for EuroBroadMap WP4, Turkey remains Western-oriented in its foreign policy and Turkey's foreign policy has been largely shaped by its collaboration with the USA in the post-Cold War era. However, an effort to draw a picture of diplomatic alliances and similarities just by looking at the rate of voting similarity is also not valid for the case of Turkey and the USA. The rate of voting similarity between Turkey and the rest of the world is 40-60%.
In terms of similarities between Turkish votes and those of other countries at the UNGA before the Cold War period, there was almost a state of harmony between the countries, as 60-80% of 145 votes were the same as Turkish votes. As in the 2009-2010 sessions, the USA was the one exception. The rate of similarity between American and Turkish votes for the resolutions passed at the UNGA during the 1987-1988 sessions was 0-20%. Only 10 countries had a 40-60% rate of similarity with Turkey's voting habits. These countries were French Guiana and Surinam in South Africa, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, Sudan and the Central African Republic in Africa, France and the UK in Europe and India in Asia. The rest of the world had a 60-80% rate of similarity for resolutions before the end of the Cold War.

Once again, it is difficult to correlate the percentage similarity of votes at the UNGA before the Cold War period with the possibility of diplomatic alliances. Like the evaluation of resolutions passed during the 2009-2010 sessions, the results of the case of Turkey and the USA in 1987-1988 did not reflect reality. Despite the lowest level of voting similarity on resolutions at the UNGA, it is well known that Turkey collaborated with the USA on political, military, strategic, economic, social and cultural efforts during and after the Cold War period.
According to the maps, we can state that the majority of foreign countries visited by Turkish students had been visited by no more than 1 and 10% of Turkish students. This finding can be interpreted as showing that the number of countries visited by Turkish students is not very high. It can be clearly observed that Turkish students visit European countries most frequently, followed by the USA. While very few students visit Russia, Canada, China and Australia, none visit South America or many of the African countries, except for Kenya and Egypt. In addition, no-one from the Turkish sample had visited the South Asian countries of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Overall, these results reveal that the visiting attitudes of Turkish students are based on close frontiers and historical interaction. However, the USA is the only country which had been visited by 1-5% of the students at a moderately high frequency. If we elaborate on these attitudes to visiting, especially for Europe, we can see that Germany stands out as a destination (5-10%). Other countries which were visited at a higher frequency are France, Italy, the UK and the Netherlands. On the eastern border, Georgia and, to a greater extent, Azerbaijan are the two countries visited by Turkish students. To the south, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and, to a lesser extent, Syria had been visited. Overall, we can claim that historical interaction and then geographical proximity are determinants of Turkish visiting attitudes.
According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM, http://www.iom.int/jahia/jsp/index.jsp), with 1.9% of migrants, Turkey is among the countries with the lowest percentage of migrants when compared to the percentage of the world’s population which is made up of migrants (3.1%). Although this percentage is considered to be low when compared with other countries, Turkey’s annual rate of change in its stock of migrants experienced an upward trend in the period between 2000-2010, compared with the period between 1995-2000 (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2009). This can also be observed in figures. Based on these percentages and numbers, migration is considered to be a crucial social and demographic issue for Turkey today. Turkey's geographical location as a bridge between Asia and Europe and its relatively high level of prosperity compared to its neighbouring countries contribute to this migration issue, especially as it is one of the main destination countries affected by human trafficking (IOM, http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/turkey). Immigration has been a reality for Turkey since the Ottoman period. However, large-scale labour emigration started at the beginning of the 1960s (Castles 2007). While it is an attractive country for other citizens, Turkey also has emigrants in several other destinations. According to the World Bank's reports in 2005, 4.4 million Turkish people are emigrants, constituting approximately 5-6% of the total population. In line with the visiting tendencies of Turkish students, most Turkish nationals (1.8 million) have chosen Germany as their destination country. The second most popular destination is France; however, it has a relatively low number of 359,000 Turkish people. The Netherlands is in third place, with 358,000 Turks (including dual citizenship holders). The USA is fourth, hosting 250,000 Turkish people, followed by the UK, with 150,000 Turks (Devlet 2007). Castles (2007) assumes that nearly 4 million people with Turkish origins live in Western Europe, the majority of them (approximately 2.5 million) in Germany. Approximately 1.3 million people of Turkish origin are thought to have become EU citizens, although many of these may have dual citizenship. According to the estimates of the World Bank (2007), the top 10 countries that host Turkish migrants are as follows (in order): Germany (2,706,232); France (197,819); the Netherlands (184,424); Austria (153,836); the USA (100,325); Saudi Arabia (95,752); Bulgaria (95,248); Greece (66,402); Switzerland (61,861) and the UK (60,110) (Siar 2008). However, in addition to major movements of Turkish people to European countries, there has also been recent mobility to the Gulf oil states, Russia and some Central Asian countries (Castles 2007). To sum up, Turkey can be regarded as a country which both sends and receives migrants. Turkish people nowadays are witnessing a period of sharp decline in emigration, while the country has become a destination for economic migrants from Eastern European and the former Soviet countries (including Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Bulgaria) (Castles 2007), and very recently from Syria because of the conflicts.

References:


For this question, the students were asked to divide the world into a maximum of 15 regions. In other words, the students were invited to differentiate between world regions according to their own perceptions, in addition to the classical divisions they had learnt through their primary education. The evaluation of the Turkish sample's answers will enable us to determine the region of the world in which Turkey is located in a probabilistic way. According to this map, at its minimal core (which is represented by 10% of the students), Turkey lies within the borders of Anatolia, excluding Thrace and part of southeastern Anatolia. This result is in accordance with our theoretical knowledge of continents. In the second step, 80% of the students included the southeastern part of Anatolia, whereas Thrace, together with Northern Cyprus, was taken into account by 70% of the sample. In terms of the median expansion, 50% of the Turkish sample perceived Turkey to lie within a greater region composed of its closest neighbouring countries. In this version, there is an inclination towards the southeastern part more than other directions. This result can be interpreted as showing that Turkish students are more likely to locate Turkey closer to the southeastern region, which indicates a stronger sense of belonging to this region. For the maximal extension, 10% of the students think that Turkey belongs in the largest construct, "the world". Overall, these results are consistent with the previously obtained results and experience.
Turkish students were asked to locate Turkey in their drawings in an attempt to reveal Turkey's position among the world regions. Among the names given to these regions, "Turkey" is mentioned most frequently, followed by "world", "developing countries", "Europe", "Middle East" and "Asia". Turkish students' emphasis on the word "Turkey" indicates a perception of their country as separate from other countries. After seeing their country as a distinct entity, the students place their country within a larger construct, called the "world". Turkey is regarded as a country of the world, and not as belonging to a specific region. Next, not a geographical but a semantic location is pronounced: developing countries. According to Turkish students, their country is among the developing countries, and is not yet developed. Although they are not mentioned as frequently, the words "exploited" and "underdeveloped" are consistent with this finding. Therefore, it is clear that the Turkish students positioned Turkey in a vulnerable region by emphasising exploitation and the fact that Turkey is an underdeveloped but promising country, by stressing the word "developing" intensely. After this semantic focus, a geographical focus is observed with the words "Europe", "Middle East" and "Asia". This indicates the sample's inclination and desire to be seen as a European country more than a Middle Eastern or Asian country.
As regards the delimitations of Europe proposed by Turkish students, it can be seen that France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany and Italy are included in a "small Europe". We can say that this result may derive from the fact that these countries are at the centre of the European continent. In addition, with the exception of Italy, we know that other countries at the core of Turkish students' mental maps are those which Turkish people migrate to in Europe.

The area which is accepted as "medium Europe", including the entire European continent, is bordered by Finland and Norway to the north, Estonia, Latvia, Belarus, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Thrace (which is the part of Turkey in the European continent) to the east and Greece (except the Aegean islands), Italy, Spain, Ireland and Portugal to the west. In this region, it can be seen that Ireland, Norway, Finland, Latvia and Moldova are included less frequently compared to other students. In contrast, the area encircled by Spain, Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Austria and Italy is included more frequently by Turkish students than by the EuroBroadMap sample as a whole. The border of the "large Europe" consists of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iraq, Iran and Syria to the east, the Mediterranean Sea, Morocco, Algeria and Tunis to the south, the Atlantic Ocean to the west and Iceland, Greenland and Russia to the north. In addition to the information from other regions, regarding the borders of the large Europe, Turkish students include Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Iceland and Greenland less frequently than other students. On the other hand, in their visions of a large Europe, Iran, Iraq and Syria are included more commonly than by the EuroBroadMap students.
In this section, it can be seen that Turkish students delimitate Europe using large borders. According to this map, most of the students see continental Europe as Europe, with a border including Greece, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, the Scandinavian countries and some Eastern European countries such as Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia and Estonia. In other words, Turkish students focus on those countries when they draw the limits of Europe. It is worth noting that Turkey is also included within the limits of Europe. However, while some students prefer to draw the borders of Europe to only include Thrace, some students include Turkey as a whole, with Thrace and Anatolia together. Another notable point is the situation regarding the UK and Ireland. For Turkish students, these two countries are included less frequently when compared with other countries in continental Europe. In addition, Russia is accepted as part of Europe by some (but not many) students in Turkey.
In order to complement the geographical analysis, this semantic analysis of Europe was realised by asking the students to provide five words that they associate with Europe. According to this analysis, "developed" and "union" are the two popular words chosen by the Turkish sample. According to this result, we can tell that Turkish students conceptualise Europe as the EU and that they consider this entity to be "developed" in every sense. This result indicates a positive attitude towards Europe. When we look at the next most frequently cited words, "development", "economy", "education" and "freedom" attract attention. These words once again show positive thoughts and feelings towards Europe. However, in third place, out of the words "colonialism", "power", "wealth" and "culture", colonialism has negative connotations when considered alongside the words "power" and "wealth". It seems that Turkish students may want to stress the economic imbalance between Europe and other countries which are in need. When we examine the words which are emphasised by Turkish students significantly more than the rest of the sample, we can see that "modern" and "imperialism" are two striking words. While the entire sample did not evaluate Europe as being "modern", it is interesting that the Turkish sample focused on this aspect. This may be regarded as an expression of admiration for Europe, which is a more positive evaluation than the other countries. However, thinking of Europe as an "imperialist" construct shows a more negative attitude, while the rest of the sample does not stress this point. Next, "civilisation" and then "technology" and "Christian" are emphasised by Turkish students more than others. Among these, the word "Christian" needs further explanation. As the majority of Turkish students are Muslims, compared with the rest of the sample, it is expected that they will stress this religious difference. In addition, Turkey’s exclusion from the European Union could also be attributed to religious factors by Turkish students.
First, there are some gender differences regarding the view of Europe among Turkish students. While women describe Europe using words such as "modern", "education", "developed", "contemporary", "health" and "power", which concern the improvement of living standards, words such as "imperialism", "football", "Christianity", "justice" and "nationalism" are over-represented in the men's discourse. According to women, Europe is a functional space and an ideal for human development. On the other hand, for men, Europe is seen mainly as a political and economic space. This is why words such as "democracy", "imperialism", "nationalism", "peace", "liberalism" and "wealth" are used more frequently by men than women. One of the interesting results is that men in Turkey perceive Europe as a religious community. The over-representation of football by Turkish men is also interesting. The reason for this may be that football is the most popular sport among men, and that the football teams of Spain, Italy and Germany are the favourites in Turkey.

Second, there is some variation in vocabulary according to the income level of families. Overall, with the exception of students with low- and high-level incomes, the image of Europe remains positive. Students from families with a low income perceive Europe negatively and describe Europe using the words "crusader" and "expedient". The over-representation of Islam by low-income students may be a result of their efforts to indicate their antipathy towards the religious characteristics of Europe. Students with a high-level income tend to have a more objective image of Europe. On the one hand, they see Europe as a space which is associated with prosperity and a good standard of life. On the other hand, they describe Europe as a negative space using the words "crusader" and "discrimination".

Third, vocabulary analysis of the students' field of study reveals field-related conceptions of Europe. In Turkey, arts students value democracy, freedom and being comfortable when they think of Europe, whereas they do not emphasise development and technology. The arts sample produced contradictory findings: while "exploitation" (or synonyms thereof) is one of the most commonly stated words, "imperialist" is generally ignored by the same sample. In the business sample, most of the words associated with Europe have a positive meaning, such as "opportunity", "wealth", "richness", "civilisation" and "democracy". "Union" and "European Union" stood out as being emphasised by business students. Engineering students have positive perceptions of Europe, including perceptions of modernity. They associate words such as "contemporary", "modern", "culture", "civilised", "justice" and "developed" with Europe, while ignoring the negative words "imperialism" and "religion". While devaluing culture, students from the field of health mostly emphasise technical aspects of Europe, with words such as "technological", "science" and "powerful". As befits their area of study, politics students' associations reflect a political perspective. They primarily emphasise the law, and consider political views such as liberalism, capitalism and politics when thinking about Europe. "Imperialist", "heartless" and "arrogance" are the negative words highlighted by politics students, while they underestimate material words such as "wealth" and "money". Students of the social sciences have sophisticated views about Europe, stating both positive and negative words. While "rascism", "colonialist", "colony" and "hostility" are negative attributes mentioned by these students, the same students emphasise positive words such as "expedient", "prosperity" and "development", which are related to Europe. Ignoring the word "modern", these students report "football" as a word which they associate with Europe.

In the vocabulary analysis of Turkey according to the city in question, there seems to be a wide variation in both the over- and sub-representation of words. It is interesting to see that students from Erzurum associate technical and neutral words such as "technology", "industry", "science" and "power" with Europe, while ignoring positive words such as "wealth", "wealthy", "welfare", "modern", "civilised" and "contemporary". In addition, it should also be emphasised that negative words are also related to Europe by students in Erzurum, e.g. "rascism", "heartless" and "hostility". Unlike Erzurum, positive words such as "wealthy", "developed", "modern" and "contemporary" are associated with Europe by the students of Istanbul. Interestingly, "Christian" is seen to be the most relevant word for Europe by the Istanbul sample. As regards sub-represented words, we can see that "technology", "quality" and "science" are ignored by the students in Istanbul, while they are emphasised by the Erzurum sample. When compared with Istanbul, the sample from Izmir stresses the lifestyle provided by wealth without ignoring wealth, prosperity, welfare and comfort. This result is validated by the words which are sub-represented by the Izmir sample, by whom "wealth" and "wealthy" are mostly ignored.
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The survey of Russian undergraduate students was conducted in October-December 2009 in four cities: Moscow, Yekaterinburg, Stavropol and Khabarovsk, which are located in different parts of the country. An analysis of 827 questionnaires showed a rather limited level of students' spatial mobility, which can be explained by the size of the country-continent, but also as the result of the socio-economic conditions. The overwhelming majority of the students are Russian citizens born in Russia, as were their parents. Self-identification at the national level has deep roots in the national history: a highly centralised state was created in Russia well before the emergence of ethnic identities. In general, the survey confirms the hypothesis that increased spatial mobility and income, a knowledge of foreign languages and a broader personal acquaintance with the outside world contribute to a more positive (but, at the same time, realistic) perception of foreign countries and to Russia's more complicated feelings of belonging.

Although 44% of the respondents had never been abroad, new generations are much more mobile than their parents. The surveyed Russian students had visited a total of 75 countries, and three types of region in particular: (1) neighbouring countries - former Soviet republics (and China, in the case of students from Khabarovsk); (2) traditional European historical centres of culture in Germany, Italy, France, the UK, Greece, Spain, the Czech Republic and Austria; and (3) popular tourist destinations, primarily Egypt and Turkey, which are close and inexpensive. The most frequently visited countries are Ukraine and Turkey. Overall, with the exception of the Far Eastern city of Khabarovsk, the main destination is Europe.

The geography of students' travels determines their knowledge of the world. This study proves that people who have a broader personal experience of the world have a more complicated identity and are more likely to associate themselves with supra-national communities.

The students frequently mentioned world powers, neighbouring countries, principal tourist destinations and a few other "news-making" countries like Israel, Afghanistan and Iraq. This pattern is strongly influenced by information from the main television channels controlled by the state. Russian students have a higher-than-average knowledge and a highly positive opinion of France, the UK, Italy and Germany. These countries are very attractive because of the high level of well-being, associations with tourism and leisure, their historical and cultural heritage and well-developed democratic systems of governance.

Bulgaria, Canada, Australia and Brazil are less well-known but also highly attractive. The USA and Japan, as well as Israel and Egypt, are widely known, but their positive estimations are balanced out by negative ones. Russia's attitude to the USA is particularly controversial. Although Russians appreciate the achievements of the USA in terms of democracy, science and technology, many students perceive it as the hegemonic super-power involved in international conflicts and the leader of NATO, which is imposing its interests on foreign countries.

Russian students also have negative perceptions of Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan, which are affected by war and conflict. Former Soviet republics are also not desirable as places to live. The arrival to Russian cities of thousands of poor and unskilled migrants from post-Soviet states has strengthened this attitude. The perceptions of Ukraine, Georgia and Byelorussia are also a result of their negative coverage on television because of their conflicts with the Russian leadership.

A highly positive perception of European countries is confirmed by an analysis of the words associated with Europe. The hypothesis regarding the relations between representations of Europe with gender, income, the number of languages spoken, area of study and city was tested using the students' associations with the notion of Europe. Their R-analysis demonstrated that as the family income decreased, the students' views became less emotional and more accurate. In addition, the more complicated foreign languages a student speaks, the more complicated are his/her representations. Female students share a more glamorous image than men. Young people from Moscow and Yekaterinburg - more developed and "central" cities, compared with Khabarovsk and Stavropol - imagine Europe in a more accurate way.
The notion of Europe is closely connected to the EU as a club of prosperous and democratic states, and its currency - the Euro. These words (European, union and Euro) are by far the dominant associations. Europe is also viewed as an economic entity, a culturally rich and advanced space, a place for leisure and for the consumption of different goods and services. Compared with the sample as a whole, Russian respondents connect the notions of Europe and the EU more closely. In Russia, the terms "Europe" and "European Union" are often used as synonyms in the media. This vision of Europe has a more pronounced consumerist, glamorous tone. At the same time, the membership of European countries in NATO does not play as important a role for respondents from other countries as it does for Russians. An overly close association between Europe and the EU has important political consequences. As Russia's membership of the EU is not being considered even in the long term, Russia is both within and outside of Europe. Therefore, this association can provoke among young people who believe themselves to be Europeans the feeling of exclusion and failed hopes of modernisation. The EU politics of conditionality and the efforts to "Europeanise" Russia have provoked its self-assertive and often brutal attempts to stress its sovereignty and identity in the face of Western dominance. An analysis of maps which summarise the boundaries of Europe as drawn by Russian students leads to relevant conclusions about the pattern and dynamics of the global geopolitical vision of Russian citizens. Unsurprisingly, in the imagination of Russian students, the core of Europe embraces most West European countries and the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia. The pro-European bias in Russian students' geographical representations as compared with the sample as a whole is clear. The eastern border of Europe appears on their mental maps as a large band with a gradual transition from "Europe" to "Asia". In the minds of the respondents, the composition of this band depends on the place in the world of Russia itself. If the respondents consider their native country to be a part of Europe, they either draw its conventional eastern border along the Urals or extend its limits to include the entire territory of Russia, up to the Pacific. A new phenomenon revealed by this survey is the tendency of young people to separate Russia from its "brother" East Slavic countries - Ukraine and Byelorussia - thereby considering their motherland as the autonomous centre of a multi-polar world. This can be interpreted as a result of the official propaganda of the 2000s, which had a pronounced "statist" and anti-Western tone. Therefore, for most Russian students, the political boundaries of a "cultural" Europe are fluid and can be modified. For them, Europe is not so much a territory as an idea. This has been proven by the extension of European borders by some students to such countries as Turkey, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, etc.

The boundary of the former Soviet Union is still fairly visible on the mental maps. For 70 to 80% of Russian students, the region of the world in which they locate themselves includes all of Russia. The national level of belonging is the most important for Russian students and, moreover, self-identification on this level is strongest compared with other countries. However, significantly, 40 to 50% of Russian students delineate the region of the world to which they belong by drawing the boundaries of a large Europe "from the Atlantic to the Pacific", without the South Caucasus, Kazakhstan or Central Asia. Therefore, they stress the European nature of Russia. The world vision of Russian students revealed by the survey corresponds to the geographical pattern of flows connecting Russia with the outside world. Since 1995, the main trend in the dynamics of Russian foreign trade has been a considerable growth of its turnover with the EU15. On the contrary, the share of the trade with the Community of Independent States (CIS) diminished, and now makes up only around 15% of the total turnover. The structure of Russian trade can be classified as intermediate and is typical of the world's semi-periphery. Therefore, Russia, like Brazil, appears to be a regional power which is dominant in its economic relations with its immediate periphery, but which is dominated by the major world trade powers. Despite the reorientation of its foreign trade in absolute terms, Russia continues to have preferential trade relations with former Soviet republics and European socialist countries, Cuba and Mongolia. There is a clear east-west gradient in Europe: the intensity of trade decreases with the distance from Russian borders.

On the contrary, it seems that the pattern of voting at the UNGA in 2009-2010 was, to a great extent, inherited from the era of the bipolar world, despite major changes to the political and economic world map. The major cleavages are east-west and north-south. Although there are some nuances, the pattern is generally fairly simple: Russia selects the same options as most countries in the South (Latin America, Africa and Asia), or, vice versa, the South votes in the same way as Russia.
Russian students are most familiar with the world powers, their neighbouring countries, principal tourist destinations and a few other "news-making" countries. The list of the most frequently mentioned territories includes 50 states. The students' knowledge of the world is strongly influenced by information from the main television channels controlled by the state. Russian students have a "Europe-oriented" image of the world. West Europe is attractive because of the high level of well-being, associations with tourism and leisure, its historical and cultural heritage and democratic systems of governance. The centre of the Russian students' "universe" is represented by France, the UK, Italy and Germany. These countries have deep historical and cultural links with Russia and are extensively covered by the mass media and in schools. The Czech Republic, Cyprus, Canada, Australia and Brazil are less well-known, but also highly attractive. The USA and Japan, as well as Israel and Egypt (one of the major foreign tourist destinations in Russia), are widely known, but negative opinions balance out their positive estimations. Russia's attitude to the USA is particularly controversial. Although Russians appreciate the achievements of the USA in terms of democracy, science and technology, many students perceive it as the hegemonic superpower which is involved in international conflicts and the leader of NATO, which is imposing its interests on foreign countries. Although in the Middle Eastern conflict, Russian citizens sympathise with the Palestinian side, the position of Israel is receiving more support than it did 20 years ago, partly because of a large Russian-speaking minority. At the same time, former Soviet republics, China, India and some Asian countries which are regularly covered by the media are also listed frequently by Russian students, but mostly as regions in which they do not want to live. Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan are associated with conflict, civil wars and the dominance of Muslim fundamentalists. Negative perceptions of Ukraine and Georgia resulted from their negative coverage on television because of conflicts with the Russian leadership. Former Soviet republics, in general, are perceived as being poor and therefore unattractive, although they had been visited by a large number of students, and particularly Ukraine. The pro-Western policy of the former Ukrainian administration and its intention to join NATO was interpreted as a threat to Russian security. Some post-Soviet countries, especially the Baltic states, were mentioned less regularly by students, and were perceived as unattractive because of reported anti-Russian feelings. China is widely known as the world's largest and most rapidly-developing country. Although it usually has a fairly positive image in the media, China is seen as unattractive because of a perceived cultural distance. There are also some fears of Chinese economic expansion, particularly in the Russian Far East. In this particular survey, many students mentioned Japan and South Korea as attractive places. Some African countries such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Nigeria, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Mongolia and Pakistan are mentioned much less often and are seen as much less attractive as poor countries separated by an important cultural distance. Other African countries, South-East Asia and Latin America were simply ignored.
This map focuses on the specific positive choices made by Russian students and compares the distribution of the countries in which they would like to live with the results for the rest of the EuroBroadMap sample. The former republics of the Soviet Union are generally mentioned more than usual, which does not contradict the predominantly negative opinion of these republics which has been observed previously. Even though most students declared that they would not like to live in these countries, some were of the opposite opinion, and their share in the sample is higher than in the rest of the sample, because they know these countries better. On the contrary, Canada, the USA, Australia and the UK are quoted less often, although the balance between positive and negative opinions about these countries is better. Although Western Europe is the favourite region of respondents from all of the countries in which the survey was conducted, the representations of Russian students are even more “pro-Western European”. The Russian respondents listed Italy, Germany, France, Spain, Greece and the Czech Republic as places in which they would like to live more often than the respondents from other countries. This is certainly related to the distance effect in both a geographical and historical sense. National surveys have shown that Russians citizens have always had positive associations with Europe, which is understood more as a cultural-historical than a political-legal space. Russians consider European countries as their political allies twice as much as the USA. Pro-European feelings are based on the conviction of some Russian citizens that their way of life, culture and values are similar to those of Europeans. France is particularly attractive for Russian students who are more Francophile than the respondents in other countries in the EuroBroadMap survey. The Russian love of France has a long history. Before the 1917 revolution, everything which originated in France was seen as fashionable. Soviet propaganda pictured France as “the best capitalist country”, if not an ally. France is the only country with an image in Russia that is based mainly on cultural, and not political or economic, associations. According to national surveys, in the minds of Russian citizens, Germany is the model country. Germans have always admired Germany's technological achievements and the high quality of German goods. Germany is the best-known Western European country in Russia. Germany inherited the role of the USSR/Russia's main foreign economic partner from the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), and is now the main foreign investor in Russia. Russians believe that Germany plays a positive role in world politics. Russian students paint Greece, Turkey and Egypt in brighter colours than some “tourist” countries which are well known in Russia. They also perceive Israel in a better light than other countries.
In Soviet times, due to the importation and exportation of fuel and raw materials, the economy of the Russian Federation was better connected with the "far abroad", and particularly with Western Europe, than with other republics. Since 1995, the main trend in the dynamics of Russian foreign trade has been further considerable growth in its turnover with the EU15. At the same time, the share of the turnover with the "new" EU members did not change. Overall, trade with the EU makes up more than half of Russian exchange with foreign countries. By the mid-1990s, Germany became the leading trading partner of Russia instead of Ukraine (10.3% of the turnover in 2007). However, the Netherlands (9.1%) are catching up with Germany. The share belonging to Italy, France and Spain in Russian trade also increased significantly. In contrast, the share of trade with CIS was diminishing, and now makes up only 15% of the total turnover. The only CIS country which has maintained and even slightly increased its share is Byelorussia, which entered the so-called "Union State" and established a free trade zone with Russia. This success is due to the restoration of old partnership between large industrial plants and to the opening of the Russian market to relatively inexpensive and high-quality consumer goods from Byelorussia. The importance of trade with the small country of Byelorussia is particularly striking compared to the exchange with Ukraine, which is overly dependent on uneasy political relations with Russia. Outside of Europe and CIS, there are only five countries whose turnover with Russia is 3% or more: China (7%); Turkey (4.4%); Japan (3.9%); the USA (3.4%) and the Republic of Korea (2.9%). The USA and Asian countries have the opposite role in the change in Russian foreign trade: the weight of Korea and Japan but especially China and Turkey is growing, while the importance of the USA is declining. The Russian leadership has paid a great deal of attention to trade with its big eastern neighbours in an attempt to ennable its structure: unlike the recent past, fuel and raw materials now dominate Russian exports to China, while in Chinese imports to Russia, the share of goods with higher value added is increasing. Relations with China are considered to be an important element in the diversification of Russian foreign trade and economic expansion to the Asian-Pacific region. However, despite some exceptions, the success of these attempts was rather modest. Unlike other regions of the world, Russian contact with its European partners is based on long traditions. However, during the Soviet period, the GDR was the main foreign economic partner of the USSR. The majority of Russian demographic and economic potential is located in the European part of the country. In the mirror of foreign trade, Russia looks like a European country. It fully matches the preferences of Russian students revealed by the survey. Their orientation to Western Europe is even stronger than that of the respondents in other countries.
Despite the reorientation of its foreign trade in absolute terms, Russia still has preferential trade relations with former Soviet republics, European socialist countries, Cuba and Mongolia. The territorial division of labour created within COMECON during the Soviet era and based on socialist countries being supplied with Russian fuel, raw materials and some engineering products and the importation of consumer goods still exists. Preferential relations with Finland are also fairly obvious (in the Soviet era, Finland had the highest share of trade with the USSR among the Western countries). More intense trade relations than predicted by the random model can be observed between Russia and a number of EU countries (Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Slovenia), as well as with the Balkans and its neighbour, Turkey. There is a clear east-west gradient in Europe: the intensity of trade decreases with distance from Russian borders. The only exception is the Netherlands, which is one of Russia's major economic partners.

Trade relations between Russia and some "clients" of the former USSR (namely Afghanistan and Syria) are still more intense than predicted.

Russia has weak trade relations with the rest of the world, although there are some surprising exceptions, which are sometimes related to the activity of large Russian companies, such as the aluminum company in Guinea.
The map of voting similarity at the UNGA in 2009-2010 reveals that the major cleavages are east-west and north-south. Although there are some nuances, the pattern in general is rather simple: Russia selects the same options as most countries in the South (Latin America, Africa and Asia), or, vice versa, the South votes in the same way as Russia. This similarity does not depend on the size, economic wealth or independence of the country. It is important to note that the world's largest countries - China, India and Brazil - voted similarly to Russia.

Some exceptions do not change this general picture and usually concern small countries like Panama or Somalia. The countries of NATO, neutral European countries, Japan, Australia and New Zealand differ from the rest of the world. European countries appear to be a monolith which shares, in most cases, the same political perspective. In Europe, only Serbia and Belarus share more votes with Russia than other European countries. Interestingly, among the former Soviet republics, not only Baltic countries (which are now members of NATO and the EU), but also Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia, which were run in 2009-2010 by pro-Western governments, voted in the same way as other European countries more frequently than Russia and the South (in March 2010, the Ukrainian leadership changed). The same applies to Turkmenistan, which for a long time distanced itself from the CIS when headed by Russia.

The USA shows the lowest level of similarity to Russia. It is the only country which supported the same resolutions as Russia in less than 20% of cases. Canada represents the following group, with 20-40% of similar votes. Compared to the USA and Canada, the positions of the EU and other European countries are closer to the views of Russia and the South. Both Russian political leaders and public opinion always distinguish between political relations with the US and with the EU. In the "Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation" adopted in July 2008, relations with the Council of Europe and the EU are respectively the second and the third priorities, after relations with the CIS countries, while relations with the USA are mentioned only in the fifth point out of 11.
Interestingly, it seems that the pattern of voting at the UNGA in 2009-2010 was significantly inherited from the era of a bipolar world, despite major changes to the political and economic world map. The international relations system reveals a great deal of inertia. However, the voting map in 1987-1988 was more differentiated. The most important divides separated the West (the USA, with its allies in Europe, Turkey, Japan, Australia and New Zealand) from the East (the communist bloc, led by the USSR) and the South, which included most countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. On most questions, communist China voted similarly to the Soviet Union, and India was its ally.

Voting at the UNGA, on the one hand, looked more polarised than it does now. The similarity between the countries of the East and the South fluctuated between 80 and 100%; in 2009-2010, this level of similarity was not observed at all. On the other hand, the West was not as monolithic as it is now. The USA, the UK, France and West Germany represented the pole which was almost totally opposed to Russia and its allies. The positions of Canada, Australia, Japan and other EU countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal and Norway) were relatively mild. The divergences in Russian diplomacy with Sweden and Finland were even less salient. It is noteworthy that in 1987-1988, Mikhail Gorbachev was developing his policy of reconciliation with the West and of a good neighborhood based on "basic human values". Soviet foreign policy was much less intransigent than it had been some years earlier.

3.2 - VOTING BEHAVIOUR AT THE UNGA

EVOLUTION OF THE DIPLOMATIC ALLIANCES OF YOUR COUNTRY FROM COLD WAR TO PRESENT

What were the similarities of votes at UN general assembly before the end of the Cold War?

Interestingly, it seems that the pattern of voting at the UNGA in 2009-2010 was significantly inherited from the era of a bipolar world, despite major changes to the political and economic world map. The international relations system reveals a great deal of inertia. However, the voting map in 1987-1988 was more differentiated. The most important divides separated the West (the USA, with its allies in Europe, Turkey, Japan, Australia and New Zealand) from the East (the communist bloc, led by the USSR) and the South, which included most countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. On most questions, communist China voted similarly to the Soviet Union, and India was its ally.

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The geography of students’ travels determines their knowledge of the world. Although 44% of the respondents had never been abroad, new generations are much more mobile than their parents. This means that young people have more freedom to plan their lives, which leads to the diversification of lifestyles which become more universal, and to important shifts in identity. It has been shown that people who have a broader personal experience of the world have a more complicated identity and are more likely to associate themselves with supra-national communities. The surveyed Russian students had visited a total of 75 countries, but the geography of their travels usually included three types of region: (1) neighbouring countries - former Soviet republics (and China, in the case of students from Khabarovsk); (2) traditional European historical centres of culture (Germany, Italy, France, the UK, Greece, Spain, the Czech Republic, Austria); and (3) popular tourist destinations, primarily Egypt and Turkey, which are close and inexpensive destinations. The most frequently visited countries are Ukraine and Turkey. Overall, with the exception of the Far Eastern city of Khabarovsk, the main destination is Europe. While 13% of the students had stayed for more than four months in Western European countries (Germany, Italy and France), 5% had done so in the USA, compared to 4% in Israel and Turkey. The students’ experience of the world clearly depends on income and varies by city. Students from Moscow - by far the wealthiest city in Russia - go abroad far more often than those from other cities. Half of the respondents from Moscow had visited at least three countries.
WHAT ARE THE MAIN DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANT FROM YOUR COUNTRY ABROAD
On the basis of various sources, what are the countries where many citizens of your country have emigrated and are active diaspora that maintain links in the present?

Russia is one of the world’s major poles of immigration, mostly from CIS. In the 1990s, this was related to the repatriation of Russians and other people whose ethnic homeland was in the Russian Federation from the republics which were affected by political instability, civil wars and economic hardship. Immigration peaked in 1994, when Russia received more than 900,000 migrants. Since the second half of the 1990s, labour migrants have represented the prevailing population of immigrants from CIS countries. The proportion of ethnic Russians in the immigration from CIS countries dropped from 81% in 1989-1992 to 32% in 2007. In 2008, the number of foreign labourers officially registered in Russia reached 2.5 million. The official statistics register only a small proportion of the migrants from CIS countries who profit from the visa-free regime. Before 2007, only the number of permanent residents coming from abroad was fixed. In 2007, the constantly changing legislation on migration was liberalised. The objective was to encourage migrants to register. However, a large number of them still avoid official registration. Estimations of the total number of migrants residing in the country fluctuate between 5 and 8 million. Foreign workers make up more than 10% of the labour force.

Russia’s net positive balance of external migrants (around 260,000 a year by the late 2000s) is due mainly to arrivals from the CIS countries (73% of the officially registered labour migrants). The net positive balance of migrants per 1,000 inhabitants in Russia is higher than in France and Germany, although lower than in the UK and the USA.

Central Asia, and in absolute figures particularly Uzbekistan, is the main source of labourers for Russia (37%). In Tajikistan, 37% of households are involved in migration to Russia. Migrants’ transfers provide about half of this country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP). A significant number of migrants come from Kazakhstan (ethnic Russians still constitute a large proportion of them), Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Moldova.

Russian society has still not adapted to this massive inflow of migrants. Surveys show that ordinary citizens do not realise that the Russian economy needs the arrival of guest workers because of the dramatic decrease in the working age population. This situation is aggravated by the increased cultural distance between the inhabitants of large Russian cities and migrants, who often come from the countryside and small towns in Central Asia. More than 40% of these migrants have no professional skills, and 20% cannot speak Russian fluently. This provokes outbursts of xenophobia. The presence of thousands of poor and unskilled migrants partly explains the negative perception of CIS countries by the respondents in the EuroBroadMap survey.

In the 1990s, Russia had a negative migration balance with non-CIS countries. In the most difficult years of the transition, this reached 100,000 people per year. Emigration from Russia had a clearly “ethnic” character; Germans and Jews made up 85-90% of the migrants. The main destinations were Germany, Israel and the USA. However, since 1999, this flow has been continuously decreasing, and the negative net balance of migration with non-CIS countries dropped to only 1,800 people in 2008. The main reason for this was the curtailment of the repatriation programme in Germany. At the same time, the economic situation in Russia improved, and the demographic basis of “ethnic” migration shrank. The number of departures to Germany (which still remains the main destination of migrants from Russia) fell from 80,000 in 1995 to 4,900 in 2008. Emigration to Israel also decreased considerably: in 2008, it dropped to 1,000 from 36,600 in 1999. The number of migrants to the USA stayed around 3,000-4,000 persons per year for a long time, but by the end of the 2000s, this number had decreased to around 1,700. Overall, the proportion of emigration from Russia to Germany, Israel and the USA diminished in 2008 to 60%. For Russian society, brain drain (i.e. the departure of young professionals, mainly to the USA and the EU) is more important. It is difficult to evaluate its extent, because it is not usually considered as emigration in the statistics. Skilled migrants from Russia are often interested in retaining their real estate and citizenship in Russia.

Of course, Russian communities abroad were formed not only after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, but have much deeper roots. It is sometimes impossible to distinguish between properly Russian and Russian-speaking communities. Ethnic Russians have never shown a great interest in emigration, and their ratio in migratory flows has never been significant, except for short periods during social disasters. In Europe and North America, Russians are relatively easily assimilated, and it is difficult to calculate the number of people with a Russian background. In former Soviet republics, the total number of Russians and other people whose ethnic homeland is Russia is currently estimated at 17 million. Migrants from Russia first went to Europe. The so-called white emigration which followed the defeat of the White Armies in the civil war (1918-1922) is estimated at between 1.5 and 5 million people. It was directed mainly at European countries, although important Russian communities also emerged in China. On the eve of the Second World War, 24% of migrants from Russia lived in France, 10% in Germany, 18% in Poland, 13% in the Balkans and 7% in Finland and the Baltic countries. Far Eastern communities, which have now completely disappeared, accounted for 22% of emigrants. However, under the Stalinist regime, they could not maintain contact with their families.

The "second wave" of migration was much smaller and originated mainly in Western Ukraine and the Baltic republics. Its principal destination was North America. The "third" (1948-1989) and the "fourth" waves (since 1989) were "ethnic" and related to the repatriation of Germans, Jews and Greeks. Due to the latter two waves of migration, many families in Russia keep in touch with their relatives and friends and have opportunities to travel abroad. This partly explains, for instance, the change in the attitude of Russian citizens towards Israel, where Russian-speaking communities account for more than 1 million people. Russian diplomacy considers former compatriots as a natural basis for economic and political relations with the outside world. It has created 42 Russian centres of International and Cultural Cooperation and 30 other cultural representatives in 65 countries.
In terms of territory, Russia is the largest country in the world. It is situated in both Europe and Asia, which means that a great number of geographical and cultural features can be used as identity markers at the national and regional levels. Russia can be considered as a Northern, Pacific, Baltic or Black Sea country. The Russian population is multi-ethnic, and its identities are complicated and hierarchical. Russian citizens can associate themselves with the East Slavic world, the Finno-Ugric world, the Turkic world, etc. Self-association with a region of the world is an important manifestation of identity and of the change in identity provoked by globalisation and social dynamics. It is an element of the global geopolitical vision which includes an individual's representations of his/her place in the world and his/her belonging to a territory and cultural community. It is related to the individual's attitude towards history, politics, religion and family. The traditional Russian discussion between Westernisers, Slavophiles and Eurasianists has been reanimated since the disintegration of the Soviet Union. When a respondent includes Russia in Europe or Asia, or interprets Russian boundaries as the limits of a separate world region (“civilisation”), this does not relate to geography, but cultural and political values, the model of development and the orientation of foreign policy. Opinions on the extension of the world region in which the students locate themselves vary widely. More than 90% of respondents associate themselves with the core of European Russia, including the area from its western boundaries to the Volga basin, the Kola Peninsula and the White Sea. For 80-90% of students, their world region comprises all of European Russia, limited to the east by the Urals, while 70-80% include Russia as a whole. This is consistent with the other results of the survey: not only is the national level of belonging the most important for Russian students but, moreover, self-identification with this level is strongest compared with other countries. This conclusion also matches the results of a great number of national surveys: 20 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, most Russian citizens in all regions associated themselves primarily with their country. However, the Soviet identity is still alive in a modified form, even among young people. For more than 50% of the respondents, their world region covers the territory of the former Soviet Union, including the Baltic states, but without Kazakhstan, Central Asia and the South Caucasus. However, significantly, 40-50% of Russian students delineate the region of the world to which they belong by drawing the boundaries of a large Europe “from the Atlantic to the Pacific”, without the South Caucasus, Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Therefore, they stress the European nature of Russia. The frequency at which Russia is included in the "true" Eurasia, embracing all (10-20%) or some of the Asian countries is much lower (20-30%). Presumably, the respondents who consider Russia to be part of a "large Europe" or as a country in Eurasia view the world in a different way.
A semantic analysis of the name of the region in which Russian students locate their country confirms the conclusion regarding the primary role of national identity and of self-identification with the Russian territory as a separate world. Characteristically, "Europe" is the second most important name given by respondents to their region. The word "Eurasia", the cultural and historical connotations of which are fairly different in Russia, is mentioned much more rarely. The name "CIS", as a more or less precise territorial synonym of the USSR, is also uncommon. The exotic labels "East" and "Asia", as well as "West", are used even less frequently. In total, only three names - "Russia", "Europe" and "Eurasia" - provide an exhaustive description of Russian students' ideas about the location of their country in the global cultural and political space.
Unsurprisingly, in the imagination of Russian students, the core of Europe (or a "small Europe") embraces France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark. These countries are marked as European by almost all of the respondents (more than 95%). The core Europe also includes the richest areas of the former socialist world - the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia, while 90% of respondents believe that Spain belongs to the core as well.

Although the overwhelming majority of students (80-90%) represent other countries in Western, Eastern and Central Europe as European, they separate them from the core. The UK and Ireland are also separated from mainland Europe because of their geographical location as islands (and because of the UK’s perceived strong pro-American political orientation), as are Portugal and most new EU members, Albania and the former Yugoslavia, because of their lower level of well-being and their socialist past, and simply because they are less well-known than the core countries. The western boundary of the former Soviet Union is still fairly visible on the mental maps. Only half of the students believe that the western republics of the former USSR belong to Europe.

Finally, 30-40% of respondents indicated the "official" eastern boundary of Europe as being along the Urals. Some students include in their "large Europe" the Christian countries of the South Caucasus - Georgia and Armenia. Most students do not care about geographical accuracy, and ignore important islands. Only 20-40% consider Iceland to be part of Europe. However, the same number of students include Cyprus.

The pro-"old" Europe bias in the geographical representations of Russian students compared with the sample as a whole is clear. The UK and Ireland are shown as European more frequently than by the other students. However, the pro-Eastern European bias is even stronger. Russian respondents have a tendency to delimit Europe to the east along the eastern boundaries of the Baltic countries, Byelorussia and Ukraine.

Unlike many students from other countries, Russian respondents rarely include North African countries in Europe, e.g. Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Libya, as well as Cyprus, Georgia, Armenia and Moldova.
Russian students see the limits of Europe in a fairly traditional way. This vision is determined by socialisation at school and at institutions of higher education. In their opinion, Europe is clearly separated from North Africa by the Mediterranean, and also has relatively well-defined boundaries to the west, including the UK and Ireland. As regards the eastern boundary, many students draw it as they learnt at school, along the Urals, although not all students can define the correct location of these mountains on the map. As a rule, the southeastern boundary of Europe divides the North and South Caucasus (or Transcaucasia, as it is called in Russia). It is important to note that for this young generation of Russian citizens, there is no watershed between the "old" or "true" Europe and the "new" Europe.

However, the concept of a "geographical" Europe has been corrected by social representations of a more recent origin. The eastern border of Europe appears on mental maps as a large band featuring a gradual transition from "Europe" to "Asia". In the minds of the respondents, the composition of this band depends on the place in the world of Russia itself. If respondents consider their native country to be part of Europe, they either draw its conventional eastern border along the Urals or extend its limits to the entire Russian territory, up to the Pacific coast (Kazakhstan always remains in Asia).

Perhaps the most important border for a number of students is the dividing line which separates Russia, or the "Russian world" including Ukraine and Byelorussia, from Europe. This line follows the boundary of Russia with the Baltic countries and the former western boundary of the Soviet Union (Moldova is not considered relevant by most students). This is a clear manifestation of the view of Russia as a separate "civilisation" which belongs neither to Europe nor to Asia. A new phenomenon revealed by this survey is the tendency of young people to separate Russia from its "brother" East Slavic countries - Ukraine and Byelorussia - and to consider their motherland as the autonomous centre of a multi-polar world. This may be interpreted as a result of the official propaganda of the 2000s, which had distinctive "statist" and anti-Western tones.

Therefore, for most Russian students, the political boundaries of a "cultural" Europe are fluid and can be modified. According to these students, Europe is not a territory, but an idea. This has been proven by the extension of the European borders by some students to include such countries as Turkey, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, etc.
The highly positive perception of European countries and cities is confirmed by an analysis of the words associated with Europe. The notion of Europe is very closely connected to the EU as a club of prosperous and democratic states, and its currency, the Euro. The words "European", "union" and "Euro" are by far the dominant associations. In Russia and many other countries, the terms "Europe" and "European Union" are often used by the media as synonyms. Europe is viewed as an economic entity, a highly developed area, a wealthy, culturally rich and advanced space and a major tourist destination, a place for leisure and for the consumption of different goods and services. Therefore, the other frequently quoted words associated with Europe are "development", "prosperity", "stability" and "high standards of living". Europe's attractiveness is also based on its cultural values ("civilisation", "culture", "history", "education"). Europe has a rather attractive image which is also associated with "fashion", "beauty", "rest", "travel", "cleanliness", etc. The main places which are symbolic of Europe are the Eiffel Tower and Paris, as the most widely-known capital in the world. In the eyes of Russian students, the only negative association with Europe is "NATO". The difference between the top 20 associations of all of the students and the Russian sample is threefold. First, the Russian respondents see a stronger connection between the notions of Europe and the EU ("European", "union", "Euro"). Second, their vision of Europe has a more pronounced consumerist, glamorous tone because, for many of them, it is a major (even a symbolic) tourist destination ("tourism/tourists/tourist", "travel", "rest", "relax", "beauty", "beautiful", "Eiffel Tower" and "fashion" are eight of the top 20 associations). Third, European countries' membership of NATO does not play such an important role for respondents from other countries as it does for Russians. At the same time, Russian students mentioned political values, e.g. "freedom" and "democracy", less often, and they almost never associated Europe with racism. An overly close association between Europe and the EU has important political consequences. As Russia's membership of the EU is not being considered, even in the long term, Russia is simultaneously within and outside of Europe. Therefore, this association can evoke among young people who believe themselves to be European feelings of exclusion and failed hopes for modernisation. Certain EU measures such as the negotiations over the cancellation of the visa regime and the establishment of four "common spaces" with Russia suggest that Europe and the EU are different notions. At the same time, Russia is often treated by the EU as the constitutive Other. The European politics of conditionality is well known, while, as public opinion polls show, Russian citizens refuse to agree with Russia's subordinated status in its relations with the EU. EU efforts to "Europeanise" Russia provoke self-assertive and often brutal attempts to stress its sovereignty and identity in the face of Western dominance.
Male and female students have different representations of Europe. For young men, the notion of Europe means a territory which dominates the world ("NATO", "world", "mother", "God") and an economically wealthy region ("rich", "dollar"). Young men's connotations are more diverse than women's associations. Their images are more strongly related to the countries, cities and places which symbolise Europe ("Eiffel Tower", "Paris", "Germany", etc.). Female students have a more glamorous vision of Europe than men, associating it with fashion, chic, luxury, entertainment ("clothes", "fashion", "art", "Eurovision") and at the same time with "money" and "mentality". Women also have a more romantic image of Europe, picturing it in pink and as a major tourist destination ("travel", "rest"). Representations of Europe are determined by the student's area of study. Socio-cultural values are frequently associated with Europe by arts students ("music", "history", "pope", "justice"). For these students, Europe is pleasant, but has some negative associations ("barrier", "wall", "division") provoked in particular by the Schengen visa regime. For business students, Europe has more economic connotations, and is also linked with consumption ("shops", "dollar", "Ferrari", "perfumery") and dominance ("queen", "strong"). Associations of Europe with consumption are partly shared by health students, but they also frequently mention the arts, tourism and leisure ("travel", "sights"). Political and economic associations ("developed", "prosperity", "roads") come to the minds of students of political science. They have a romantic and glamorous image of Europe ("relax", "beauty", "perfumery"). Engineering students often associate Europe with concrete places, countries and cities ("Paris", "England", "Eiffel Tower", "Arc de Triomphe") and religious spaces ("God", "cathedral", "mother"). Social sciences and humanities students mostly hold economic associations and an institutional vision of Europe ("European Union", "science", "centre", "banks", "modern", "money").

Students from more central cities - Moscow and Yekaterinburg - imagine Europe in a more realistic way. They stress the phenomena and the definitions which are important for large cities: "standard of living", "stability", "comfort", "cleanliness", "ecology", "economy" and "law". Muscovites also associate Europe with cultural values ("music", "history", "sights", "art"). For students from Khabarovsky, Europe is primarily a tourist space ("Eiffel Tower", "Paris", "Napoleon", "cathedral", "Arc de Triomphe") which is associated with luxury and consumption ("Ferrari", "fashion", "Chanel"). In Stavropol, Europe is also related to entertainment and competition ("sport", "cars", "shops"). These students also have an economic and institutional vision of Europe ("European Union", "countries").

Those with high incomes are more likely to imagine Europe as a wealthy region ("money", "cars"). Students with medium-high incomes have a similar vision ("Mercedes", "Ferrari", "Chanel", "Dior") and consider Europe to be a tourist destination ("Eiffel Tower", "sights", "Louvre", "Napoleon"). Students with low-medium incomes imagine Europe to be an institutionalised space ("West", "European Union", "Eurovision"). Students with low incomes have more economic associations, which are less emotional and closer to reality.

Russian students who experience belonging on the national level consider Europe to be a romantic tourist space ("Louvre", "Arc de Triomphe", "queen"), while students who experience belonging on a supranational (continental or global) level associate it with an advanced and developed territory with a comfortable standard of living ("standard of living", "ecology", "freedom", "law", "culture").

Students who speak one or two languages have a tendency to share a primitive tourist and consumerist image of Europe ("fashion", "shops", "perfumery", "tourism", "countries", "Paris", "dollar", "football"). Those who speak three or more languages have more economic and institutional associations and a deeper vision. For these students, the notion of Europe is related to development, economic efficiency, an advanced civilisation and democracy ("standard of living", "developed", "law", "democracy", "Schengen", "European Union", etc.).
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In Cameroon, the survey was carried out across the entire national territory and mainly in the six cities with a state university: Yaoundé, Douala, Buea, Dschang, Ngaoundéré and Maroua. One of the specificities of Cameroon is that it is bilingual, with both French and English spoken as official languages. Yaoundé, the country’s capital, is in the Francophone area, whereas Buea is the main city of the English-speaking regions. Situated in the Francophone zone, Ngaoundéré and Maroua are the main regional towns of the northern and soudano-sahelian part of the country, where the Islamic culture has a significant presence. Although animist beliefs still remain all over the country, they are powerfully challenged in the southern regions by Christian beliefs. For the whole survey, a total of 1,167 students answered the questions dealing with the places in which they would or would not like to live in the near future. They answered questions on the places they had visited. They also drew the contours of Europe as well as the zone to which they thought Cameroon belonged. Among them, 250 were from Douala, 247 were from Buea, 400 from Yaoundé and 270 were from the remaining universities.

Mixed attitudes caused numerous nuances and specificities in the mental maps of the Cameroonian students, as regards where they would not like to live in the near future. Taking into consideration this last variable, two blocks emerged: the North American block with the USA and Canada, closely followed by Western Europe, where the survey emphasises the UK and Belgium. Paradoxically, France, Germany and Spain are less well appreciated. In contrast, the countries of which students have more negative perceptions are those at war or underdeveloped countries such as the former Soviet Union countries and the Middle East (Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran), followed by Asian countries such as China and India, and also their sub-Saharan African neighbours, represented by Nigeria, Gabon, Sudan and Chad. Their favourite cities are New York, Quebec, London and Johannesburg. This result shows a shift in the Cameroonian perception of the world from Western Europe to Northern America and South Africa, which are English-speaking countries.

However, everything being equal, Europe (except Germany) is not specifically attractive to Cameroonian students. In contrast to an enrooted opinion, Africa and African English-speaking countries such as the South African Republic, Nigeria and Ghana, but also North America, Brazil, China and the Arabic Peninsula, are targeted in the vision of these students.

In a non-flat world economy, particularly in the field of New Technologies of Information and Communication (NTIC), a modern economic market, Cameroon is almost a loser, as the asymmetry of the exchanges is clearly not in its favour, even in Africa. Furthermore, the country’s economy has essentially long been captured by Europe and trapped inside the African continent. However, Cameroon is beginning to diversify its partners towards the south of the Asian continent and the north of Latin America.

Linked to the diversification of its economic partners, the disaggregation of the Soviet bloc has given way to a diversification of diplomatic alliances with recurrent complicities with underdeveloped countries more often than developed ones. In the first circle of complicity are sub-Saharan Africa, followed by middle America, Israel, Mongolia and Greece. Asian countries and the southern end of South America constitute Cameroon’s second group of diplomatic allies. North America and Europe, the Western countries, are in the last group of complicity, as Cameroonian diplomacy is now building a new orientation, characterised by a certain aspiration to sovereignty rather than formality. In fact, during the immediate post-colonial period, the fight for the liberation of the African continent justified a constant state of non-alignment, a moderated pan-Africanism and a form of "independentism". This stronger diplomatic convergence led to similarities in voting on resolutions passed at the UNGA during the 1987 and 1988 sessions with socialist and some communist countries. As a consequence, the level of similarity with Western states, mainly European and North American ones, was much lower.
These general conditions, combined with the confinement of Cameroonian students’ mobility to Africa or towards Europe, expresses the poorness of the perspectives available to these Cameroonian students. Thus, has their vision of the position of their country in the world been built on a sort of African endocentrism? Finally, in their mental division of the world, the students label and stigmatise Cameroon as being "Africa", and particularly "Central" Africa with reference to "CEMAC", but also as "Cameroon". The second component of their perception of their country is that it is "poor" and that there is "corruption". Africa is perceived as a "country" or a group of "countries", which is here associated with the concept of a "zone" and, noticeably, the "Sahara" desert is mentioned as being the northern frontier of "black Africa" or Africa "south" of the Sahara.

In contrast to the vision of Cameroon as essentially African, Europe, as defined by map-drawing, is still anything but African. Its core (countries with 95% inclusion) is centred on Western Europe. Medium Europe (countries with 50% inclusion) is composed of insular and peninsular components, such as the UK. The Atlantic-Mediterranean Europe is made up of countries included by at least 5% of the students.

Finally, the vision of Europe is contained within the peripheral delimitations which were drawn. It presents firstly a hard block, made up of primarily EU countries, and then a Europe made up roughly of medieval Christian areas and, in the wider extension, Europe as an area of modern Western civilisation.

All of these components contribute to today’s vision of Europe outside of Europe, which combines in a performative way the perceptions of facts and acts as well as actors and factors of constant essential elements, such as the ideas of "industrialised", "exploitation", "democracy" and "Occident".
Compared to the global tendencies of all of the students in the survey, the Cameroonian students’ mental map of the attractiveness of countries across the world is somewhat original. All in all, rather than a strict general opposition between preferred countries in the North and unpopular ones in the South, it is the socio-economic categorisation which prevails. The Cameroonian students put together in the group of countries in which they would like to live Western industrialised countries such as France, the UK, Germany, the USA and Canada, but also Turkey, the Gulf Emirates, and, to a certain extent, the South African Republic, Tunisia, Ghana, Japan, Brazil, Australia or Indonesia. The repulsive countries are mainly those with a reputation in the media for insecurity because of civil war or long-lasting social troubles, including neighbouring countries like Chad, the Central African Republic, Soudan or Rwanda, as well as distant ones such as Mongolia and Bangladesh.

Finally, there are mixed perceptions, with nuances and specificities; attractive countries are scattered all over the world. This can be explained both by a particular historical background, and by current spatial and economic factors. Cameroonian students’ opinion is influenced by their colonial experience of Spanish, German, English and French influences. In the 1960s, the country participated in the non-aligned countries’ movements while, at the same time, its independence movements were submitted to tension, conflicts and interventions by powers from both geopolitical sides during the Cold War. Since then, students have started to benefit from scholarships from Western countries as well as Eastern ones.

Moreover, the Islamic religious influence of Middle Eastern Arabic countries has resulted in scholarships and cooperation with countries like Egypt. Belonging both to the Francophone countries and the Commonwealth and considered as an interesting area of potential influence by emerging countries like Brazil, Cameroon has, year after year, diversified its perspectives on migration for its youth and students. The country's official bilingualism allows both the English and French media to inform Cameroonian students' opinions on the countries in which they would like to live in the near future.
Having been confined for many years to the Saharan and Maghreb countries, the potential mobility of Cameroonian students is far from what they would wish. The map of the specific attractiveness of countries sheds more light on the real situation for Cameroonian students as far as their potential migratory tendencies are concerned. Although distant countries like France, the UK, Canada, the USA, Japan, Australia or Brazil are quoted more frequently by these students than the rest of the survey sample, neighbouring African countries like sub-Saharan Senegal, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Gabon and the South African Republic are also quoted more frequently in this group than in the entire survey sample. This is the manifestation of an increasing blocked aspiration to migrate through the Sahara Desert or towards the southern part of the continent.
The main trading partners of Cameroon are located at the economic cores of the world, and especially the European core. France appears to be its most important partner, due to previous colonial relations. Southern Europe (Spain, Italy) and Benelux are also important partners for Cameroon. East Asian countries trade a great deal with Cameroon, more so than the USA. Third, countries in Cameroon's immediate neighbourhood, and oil producers in particular (Nigeria, Gabon), are its major partners. These asymmetrical relations in technological terms show a clear pattern: Cameroon is a producer of solely raw material which is dominated by almost all of the countries in the world. This means that with nearly all of the countries in the world, Cameroon has a trade deficit in manufactured goods. Of course, in absolute terms, most manufacturing goods are bought in Europe and, to a lesser extent, in East Asia. There are two exceptions: Gabon, because it is the main oil provider to Cameroon; and other African countries, which seem to occupy an even weaker position than Cameroon in the international division of labour. However, because the statistics are aggregated with several African countries, we cannot say precisely with which countries Cameroon has a positive balance in manufacturing goods.

WHAT IS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF YOUR COUNTRY IN GLOBAL ECONOMY?
What are the main economic partners of your country (the size is proportional to the volume of bilateral trade)? Is there an asymmetry of exchange in the field of medium and high technological products, revealing the situations where it is dominant (in red-orange) or dominated (in green) in terms of trade exchanges.

FP7 - EuroBroadMap, visions of europe in the world
Authors: C. Grasland (Géographie-cités), T. Giraud (CIST), 2011

The size of a country is proportional to the flow of trade between the country and Cameroon.

Asymmetry in Hi-Tech trade
- economic domination
- economic dependence
- no data

Cameroonian trade flows and asymmetries

The main trading partners of Cameroon are located at the economic cores of the world, and especially the European core. France appears to be its most important partner, due to previous colonial relations. Southern Europe (Spain, Italy) and Benelux are also important partners for Cameroon. East Asian countries trade a great deal with Cameroon, more so than the USA. Third, countries in Cameroon's immediate neighbourhood, and oil producers in particular (Nigeria, Gabon), are its major partners. These asymmetrical relations in technological terms show a clear pattern: Cameroon is a producer of solely raw material which is dominated by almost all of the countries in the world. This means that with nearly all of the countries in the world, Cameroon has a trade deficit in manufactured goods. Of course, in absolute terms, most manufacturing goods are bought in Europe and, to a lesser extent, in East Asia. There are two exceptions: Gabon, because it is the main oil provider to Cameroon; and other African countries, which seem to occupy an even weaker position than Cameroon in the international division of labour. However, because the statistics are aggregated with several African countries, we cannot say precisely with which countries Cameroon has a positive balance in manufacturing goods.

WHAT IS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF YOUR COUNTRY IN GLOBAL ECONOMY?
What are the main economic partners of your country (the size is proportional to the volume of bilateral trade)? Is there an asymmetry of exchange in the field of medium and high technological products, revealing the situations where it is dominant (in red-orange) or dominated (in green) in terms of trade exchanges.
Preferential trade links between Cameroon and the rest of the world can be understood according to three reasons: geographical distance; colonial relations; and common language. It is clear, as for almost all countries, that Cameroon has preferential trade relations with its immediate neighbours (Gabon, Congo Brazzaville, Nigeria, the Central African Republic). These links are sometimes related to oil imports. The specific place of France in Cameroonian trade relations is explained by the fact that Cameroon was a French colony from 1918 to 1960. The previous colonial relations with Germany until 1914 and the UK for a small part of the country from 1918 to 1960 are, in contrast, not particularly visible in the trade relations of Cameroon. The French language appears to be helpful for understanding the geography of Cameroonian trade links: it concerns the Benelux (especially Belgium), which is an important partner, as well as French-speaking West African countries like Mauritania, Senegal and Chad.
Although the general opinion is that African countries' geopolitical options in the international arena usually follow those of their colonial masters (i.e. France or the UK for Cameroon), the study of the Cameroonian attitude during the voting session of 67 resolutions passed at the UNGA during the 2009-2010 session is significantly different. First, the highest (between 60 and 80%) convergence of votes occurs between Cameroon and African countries. This is followed by a limited but important convergence with Third World countries, mainly from Asia and South America. Second, the level of convergence with European countries is lower (just under 40%). Due to a particular diplomatic link, Cameroon's votes have been constantly in accordance with Israel rather than African, Arab or Maghreb countries like Morocco, Algeria and Egypt. Globally speaking, Cameroons reduced convergence with the USA is both the consequence of a weaker proximity between old French colonies in an emerging multi-polar world and a weakening link between old non-aligned countries, whose world is falling apart. After the era of American unilateral domination in the 1990s, the systematic logic of the Cold War blocs has been vanishing. The participation of Cameroon in Security Council meetings has provided opportunities for this new tendency, in which the national diplomatic strategy plays an important role; almost the same as the role of the solidarity between groups of independent countries which were emerging during the 1960s and 1970s.
In the 21st century, before the aforementioned situation occurred, a rather rigid tendency had provided opportunities for the systematic convergence of voting between Cameroon and most newly independent African countries, as well as non-aligned Asian and South American states. Deeply encrusted in this movement, Cameroon voted consistently in line with its allies in this movement, reinforced by the Cold War confrontations. It is for the same reason that the level of convergence with the superpower remained low (mainly with the North American countries and, to a considerable extent, with Canada). Due to further difficulties with diverse partners and allies at the time, the percentage of similarity for the 145 resolutions passed at the UNGA during the 1987-1988 session shows a powerful intensity of convergence in the voting, with a real extension out of Africa and towards the countries of the Soviet bloc, East Asia and South America. At the same time, lower levels of convergence with European countries’ voting patterns increased.
The migratory horizon of Cameroonian students is very limited. Of those who have travelled outside of Cameroon, only very proximal countries like Nigeria have been visited by more than 50% of this group. All of the most frequently quoted countries are immediate neighbours of Cameroon. However, as they are used as transitional countries on the way to Europe, the coastal countries of West Africa were regularly but infrequently quoted as countries that the students had visited. The poor mobility of Cameroonian students is the consequence of both a reduced spread of intense population circulation in the central part of Africa and the somewhat rigid regulations of migration facilities in the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC) and Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa UDEAC zones. The aims and objectives of the migrants from Central Africa, the European countries and mainly France, Germany, the UK and Spain were also rarely quoted. The laws and regulations of this group of countries under the EU have become, year after year, powerful brakes preventing the circulation of Central African students towards Europe.
Overall, Cameroon’s diasporas exist both inside the African continent and abroad. In Africa, they are mainly concentrated in nearby countries like Nigeria, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, the Central African Republic and Chad. Outside of the African continent, they have been founded in Europe (France, the UK, Italy and Spain). In the American continent, they can be found mainly in Canada and the USA. In 1992-1993, students (4,916) represented a quarter of the population of Cameroonian living in France. Among them, the proportion of workers among the women was almost the same as among the men. The small number of Cameroonian residents in these countries does not reflect the real number of those who, while going to and fro, have passed through or stopped for business, school, tourism or other reasons. Some of the members of the older generations who were brought to America through the slave trade many centuries ago have started “touristically” coming back in search of their roots. In 2009, 18% of the 47,000 Cameroonian students were registered abroad. In reality, Cameroon is also a destination; in 2009, 1,260 students came from other African countries. The trade-off in these exchanges could be beneficial if a well-considered strategy is put in place.

Nowadays, movements in investment between the lands of diasporas and Cameroon’s land of exodus is becoming a more popular topic in the literature, arts, culture and socio-economic enterprises, both in Cameroon and abroad. The idea of an unbreakable link between the migrants and their motherland should not hide the existence of many others who, through adopting the nationalities of their new land of residence, become citizens of many countries in Europe, America, Asia and all over the world. For those already out there, as well as those yet to go, like the students of the Euro-BroadMap survey, social, economic and spatial mobility are combined in the same quest for human achievement or fulfillment.
Taking into consideration the divisions of the world proposed by the students of the EuroBroadMap survey, more than 90% of the Cameroonian students in the survey positioned their country in Central Africa, an area they delimited graphically as an individualized region of the world. The core of this region is made up of Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, the Central African Republic, Gabon and Congo. This core is extended by 80-90% of the students in the Cameroonian sample to neighbouring areas and countries like Nigeria, Southern Niger and Chad, the western border of Sudan and the former Zaire (nowadays the Democratic Republic of Congo). For 50% of the sample, all of the sub-Saharan states of Africa are considered to be the world region to which Cameroon belongs.
Cameroonian students consider their country to be located essentially in “Africa”. In accordance with the information shown on the figure above, the name given by the Cameroonian students to both the world region in which they locate themselves and the part of the world in which they locate their country is Africa, and more precisely, Central Africa. This is what the students are taught in school, by the media and also by their long-term experiences, and this continental perception of their geographical location is, in fact, something new in the collective representation of their societies. There was no word in the native language of these students which is equivalent to Africa until European colonisation established the word through colonial contact. However, this perception, which has no equivalent in the students’ native languages, was rapidly adopted until the students of today’s generation could hardly think of their condition and their identity without reference to Africa and, more specifically, to Central Africa. Furthermore, Central Africa itself is very far from being the real core of the continent. In reality, Africa is quoted much more because of specific conditions of living rather than because of the geographical proximity alone.
Heavily influenced by the actuality, the geographical extension of Europe mapped by the Cameroonian students stresses the official EU phases of official extension today. Next, they depict Western Europe as it is taught in schools, and finally, the historical Europe, which is perceived as both Western and Eastern. Overall, the underground perception of Europe is linked to a vision of an expanding neo-reconstruction in which the Cameroonian’s delimitations to the east insist on the perspective of possible integration of the eastern neighbouring countries all of energetic and strategic interest for the EU, whereas, to the west, it is the ambiguous resistance of the UK which is revealed by the lines which are drawn.
The final delineation, which is more socio-economic than geographical, shows an EU made up of a multi-polar central core, divided between east and west, with Europe as a "continent" distinguished from the UK, which is seen as full of rebel islanders, and Russia and the inherited Soviet Union in opposition to Western capitalist Europe. This is a complex composition of many elements overlapping at various points in history, geography and socio-politic composition, which are all perceived abroad (in this case in Africa) as a real, geopolitically coherent group. Europe is interactively emerging from the students’ discourses, with a slight but deep conviction that inside Africa itself, to the south as well as in Asia to the east, there is a real and gradual limit in the deserts separating sub-Saharan Africans from themselves and, in Asia, separating "acceptable" nearer Asiatic peoples from the less "acceptable" ones further away.
Globally speaking, by mixing elements of the European vision of Europe (e.g. in France) and specificities of the vision of Europe in African countries (e.g. in Senegal), the top 20 words associated with Europe by the Cameroonian students have an original profile. For them, Europe is first and foremost "industrialised". This industrialisation, to which Europeans themselves are very sensitive, has brought about "development", a strong economy, "high technology" and "richness". However, something that is felt strongly by African and Cameroonian students alike is that this industrialisation is also the result of the long-term exploitation of others through "colonialism" and "imperialism". This has induced "capitalism" and was constructed with egotism and a strong desire for "domination" which reinforced "racism" and "xenophobia". Worldwide pollution has become a considerable temptation for the Europeans who are continuing their domination through neocolonialism.

However, at the same time, Cameroonian students associate Europe with "democracy" and authentic social advances in a well-built "education", a determining share of "modernity", a performative construction of "peace" and "freedom", which mean that their vision of Europe is not so far from a real "Eldorado".

All in all, the fourth global aspect of the Cameroonian students' vision of Europe is that of an individualised geographical, cultural and geopolitical unit which has been affirmed throughout time: Western civilisation, or "Occident" in French. This is the same core concept which has also been called "the North", "the White" and nowadays "the EU"; something which, although it seems "old", is considered in their eyes to represent "power", a whole "world" and even simply a "country". Noticeable nuances appear in the detail of the bearer of this global collective or common opinion.
Influence of gender. Globally speaking, there is a clear gender difference between the words used by women and men as regards Europe. In the words they use most frequently, both are sensitive to the same aspects, namely “developed”, “industrialised”, “country” and “democracy”, but women’s interests are in opposition to men’s. Women over-represent words linked to the good “milieu” and quality of life, e.g. “developed” and “industrialised”, whereas men stress “continent” and “democracy”, meaning territorial consistency and political power. Men also emphasise negative aspects linked to colonialism (“master”, “imperialism”), to the detriment of economic aspects.

Influence of familial income. “Development” and “racism” appear as key words used by the Cameroonian students when they are distinguished by their parents’ level of income; “development” is clearly over-represented in the words of the high-medium income students whose expectations and chances to improve their living are greater and more certain, whereas it is clearly sub-represented in the words of low-income students whose chances are very low. In the opposition between women and men, the word “racism” does not appear. The use of “racism” is closely connected to Europe by the low-medium income students of Cameroon. This may be the result of frustration, as their high expectations of migrating to Western countries have been disappointed in recent years because of reinforced limitations at the European border. The recurrent spectacle of their elders and peers being brutally or systematically sent back home by European countries when caught at their borders or inside their territory may also have had an effect.

Influence of number of languages spoken. In the variation in vocabulary according to the number of languages spoken, one can verify the complexity and duality of the perception of Europe in Cameroon. On the one hand, for those speaking one, two or three languages, there are few specific words which are used to describe Europe. The most significant words they use are “exploitation”, “polluter” (over-represented) and “racist”. This is in line with their training at school. On the other hand, the more educated students who speak four languages used a richer vocabulary, among which appear the words “xenophobia”, “Eldorado”, “capitalism”, “domination”, “imperialism” and “neocolonialist”, but also “industrialisation” and “urbanisation”.

Influence of field of study. The idea of development as being closely linked to industrialisation, welfare, technology and richness still drives the opinions of Cameroonian students, especially for those studying in the fields of business and engineering. Students are convinced that being developed and industrialized as well as possessing accurate technology guarantee well-being. In contrast, politics and human/social sciences students have the most negative vision of Europe, doubtless in relation to the topics of their studies. Studying art or health seems to produce a vision which is both positive, using words like “modernity”, “industry”, “technology” and “powerful”, but at the same time critical of Europe’s economy (“capitalist”), its history “colonialist” and its behaviour (“exploitative”, “racist”, “thieves”).

Influence of survey location. As regards the variation according to location, the results are presented in two different tables. The first one presents the students of the political (Yaoundé) and economic (Douala) capitals. The second table groups those in the interior cities. In the first table, the word “developed” appears in the visions of students from both cities. However, it is over-represented in Yaounde and sub-represented in Douala. There is seemingly a difference in perception between the two great cities. While students in the capital city think of Europe in a geopolitical and industrialised way, those in the economic capital seem to use the historical dimension (colonisation) and modern facts (democracy) to express their vision. This situation is different in the interior cities (Buea, Dschang, Ngaoundere and Maroua). The table below shows that the word “developed” is over-represented in Buea, due to its close connection to the sea ports in Douala and Limbe. No strong preferences emerged in the opinions of the students of Dschang. This situation may result from the diversification (of a former engineering school) that has modified the students’ profile. In contrast, the students of Ngaoundere and Maroua focused on racism. This can be explained by the history, culture and religious practices (Islam) of these rural cities. Curiously, the results for Ngaoundere show no strong dimension of industrialisation, whereas the university’s academic activities are mainly organised around the food and tourism industries.
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For Brazilian students, Europe still has a positive image due to historical colonisation and linguistic proximity, as many immigrants went from Europe to Brazil in colonial times and during the 19th century. For the Brazilian elites, Europe represented (especially in the 19th century) the model of Western modernisation which was seen as beneficial for the tropical regions. In addition, the whole of Africa (where slaves came from), the Middle East (except the Emirates) and most of Asia (except Japan) do not appeal to Brazilian students, as they are the least developed countries in the world. In comparison with the rest of the EuroBroadMap sample, Brazilian students prefer their own continent and Europe. Japan is attractive due to the presence of a strong Japanese community in Brazil, while Canada and Australia are perceived in terms of wide open spaces and an open society.

The volume of trade with neighbouring countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay) is an obvious effect of the regional integration of Mercosur. In addition to this regional phenomenon, Brazil exchanges with industrialised countries in North America, Europe and Asia (Japan and South Korea), by whom Brazil is dominated. However, it is dominant in its trade with countries in South America, Africa, the Middle East and Oceania (but with very limited volumes in the latter two), which reflects the intermediate position of Brazil between the South and the North. Brazil's preferential relations reflect its physical and cultural proximity to its neighbours in South America and, on the other hand, its distance (both physical and cultural) from Asia and Africa. Based on the data provided, Brazil always appears in the position of a Third World country: its vote is always opposed to that of the USA, and somewhat less opposed to those of other Western countries. On the other hand, it is completely aligned with other countries in South America, Africa and Asia. Almost no difference appears in relation to the previous period, which is obviously not true, as the course of Brazil's diplomacy has changed significantly in the meantime.

More than 100,000 Brazilians emigrate every year in search of better working conditions elsewhere in the world. The total number of emigrants already stands at over 2 million, while around one third are illegal emigrants in their host countries. Emigration used to be directed towards three favoured destinations: the USA, Japan and Europe. More recently (after the 11th of September 2001), favour has shifted towards Europe, where 350,000 Brazilians live, mostly in Portugal.

The response of Brazilian students to the question "in what part of the world do you include your own country?" is very simple: they are primarily Brazilians, and the first level of inclusion coincides with the country's borders. In some way, this is not difficult to understand, due to the continental size of the country, which makes it difficult to be familiar with all of Brazil and which has a strong mental impact on the population as a powerful country in its extension. A second level includes areas in which the pioneers pushed beyond the borders of Brazil, and finally, the students stated that they felt part of South America. Latin America - up to the Rio Grande - received only a minority of votes, and inclusion in the Americas and Africa even fewer votes. There was also no ambiguity in the name of the region, as Brazilian students clearly feel that they are in "America", a word which is associated with the word "South" much more than the word "Latin".

The idea of Europe, according to Brazilian students, is concentrated on Western European countries. There seems to be a distinction between the inner circle and a more distant periphery. The lines which define the limits of Europe for Brazilian students clearly encompass the current EU member states. However, although the outer boundary is extremely sharp to the south, west and north, it is less clear in the east. To the south, the Mediterranean seems to be an obvious "natural boundary" to students, and Northern Europe includes unambiguously all Scandinavian countries. However, to the east, opinions diverge widely.
Words associated with Europe refer to development, culture, history and beauty, associated with the perception of Europe as a place to visit. Among the words quoted most frequently by the Brazilian students, few contain negative connotations, but "xenophobia", "prejudice" and "imperialism" demonstrate that these students' perception of Europe is increasingly that of a region with a low tolerance of other people. The responses according to gender, number of languages spoken, level of income and field of study are as expected.
For nine countries, which are mostly European (France, the UK, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Germany, Canada and Australia, and to a lesser extent Portugal and Germany), the asymmetry is clearly positive, combined with a high degree of knowledge, meaning that the students would like to live in these countries. Portugal has a positive image due to historical colonisation and linguistic proximity, as do Spain, Italy and Germany, from which many immigrants went to Brazil in the late 19th century. Canada and Australia are considered to be open to foreigners and usually feature on lists of places to which people are interested in migrating or studying. Brazilian students mention the USA and Argentina as places in which they would like to live, but at a lower frequency than the countries mentioned above, and with an equivalent number of students declaring that they would not like to live there. These countries receive many Brazilian visitors and migrants, and so an image is formed by the Brazilians who live there and transferred to other Brazilians.

Sweden, Switzerland, New Zealand, Greece and the Netherlands are places in which students would like to live, but know very little about. These countries are perceived as open societies and being receptive to foreigners. Brazilian students have some knowledge of Uruguay and Chile due to their proximity to Brazil and the Mercosur international treaty. However, these countries are not preferred by students as places of residence, because they are very similar to Brazil as regards the standard of living and level of education.

China, Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran are places in which students generally declare that they would not like to live. For the latter two, this is obviously because of their considerable political, social and economic instability, primarily caused by armed conflict. It is believed that China appears in this class due to the rigidity of Chinese society. The whole of Africa, the Middle East (except the Emirates) and most of Asia (including, to a lesser degree, Japan) do not appeal to Brazilian students, probably as they are the least developed countries in the world and are facing serious problems in terms of economic and political order.

Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay, Brazil’s neighbours in South America, are less well-developed than Brazil. Nowadays, Venezuela appears to be a troublesome country due to the trouble created by its president, Hugo Chavez, while Colombia and Bolivia are associated with guerrillas and cocaine trafficking problems. Finally Japan, Cuba and Mexico are mentioned by many students as places where they would not like to live, but with an important minority who declare that they would.
Compared to the rest of the EuroBroadMap sample, Brazilian students are more likely to declare that they would like to live in the countries of North and South America (with the exception of the USA). Outside America, only a very limited number of countries are preferred more than usual as places to live by Brazilian students, particularly in Western Europe (Spain and Portugal), but also in Angola, Mozambique, India, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

As regards the preference for American destinations, the explanation is probably to be found in their accessibility and cultural and linguistic proximity, as the students' second choices include Portugal and Spain. Japan is attractive due to the presence of a strong Japanese community in Brazil, while Canada and Australia are seen as open spaces and open societies, which is not the case in the USA, whose policy towards the migration of "Latinos" is repulsive. In all other cases, the students reject the poor countries of Africa, the Middle East and Asia (except India, as its prestige had been strengthened by a recent telenovela shown by Globo television at the time of the survey) and Portuguese-speaking countries like Africa, Angola and Mozambique.

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Focused on the EU, we can notice that after Spain and Portugal, only France, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands are slightly more attractive to Brazilian students than the rest of the world. However, Brazilians are clearly less attracted than most of the EuroBroadMap sample to Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and, in general, all Scandinavian countries and new member states. There is a clear "gateway effect", with Spain and Portugal playing a major role as an interface between the EU and Mercosur.
Brazil's volume of trade with its neighbouring countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay) and the increase in the volume of charges (the number of trucks as well as airline passengers) is an obvious effect of the regional integration of Mercosur in 1991, which freed up and caused a sharp increase in trade between these countries.

One very interesting aspect of Brazilian trade is its specific position in the international division of labour. The asymmetry on medium- and high-technology manufacturing goods reveals a positive balance with its neighbours, Africa and the Middle East, and a negative balance with the major economic powers. This means that Brazil occupies an intermediate position between the developed core countries, from which it buys manufacturing goods and sells primary products, and the more peripheral countries (its South American neighbours, oil producers in Africa and the Middle East), from which Brazil sells manufacturing goods and buys primary goods. On the whole, Brazil is dominated by the industrialised countries of North America, Europe and Asia (Japan and South Korea), but dominates its trade with the less industrialised countries of South America, Africa and the Middle East, which reflects the intermediate position of Brazil between the South and the North. Finally, it is interesting to note the positive asymmetry on manufacturing goods with Portugal, reversing the traditional flow of trade between the metropolis and its colony.

It should be noted that the map would be different if more recent data were used, due to the large increase in Brazil's trade with China, which, over the past few years, has become one of its main clients (in commodities and minerals) and suppliers of manufactured goods.
Brazil’s preferential relations reflect its physical and cultural proximity to its neighbours in South America and its distance (both physical and cultural) from Asia.

The interesting cases are those of the Middle East and Africa, where, in addition to their overall distance from Brazil, there are proximities caused by a common language with other Portuguese-speaking countries (Angola, but not Mozambique) or - as is very likely - related to the purchase of oil (Nigeria, Algeria). This latter factor should decrease in importance, as Brazil has been self-sufficient since 2006 through the development of its offshore oil fields and biofuel (mainly ethanol) production.
Based on these data and the resulting map, Brazil appears in a very "Third World" or "North-South" position: its vote is always in opposition to that of the USA, while being somewhat more similar to that of Canada and even more similar to those of European countries and Australia. On the other hand, it is aligned in 80-100% of votes with other countries in South America, Africa and Asia, and is very similar to Russia, Turkey and a series of small countries with very little diplomatic clout.

This would make Brazil part of the "South" block; this is partly true, as Brazil is the leader of one of the most influential groups at the UNGA today, the aptly named "Rio Group". However, Brazil also wants to be a "big player", as it aspires to a permanent seat on the Security Council. The South vs. North pattern of UNGA votes, in 1986 and in 2009, prevents us from seeing the specific evolution of Brazil's position in the global political arena.
There are almost no differences from the previous map, unlike India's and - of course - Russia's. Due to Brazil's fidelity to the same alliances, the two maps show a similar course to China's (the so-called BRIC countries), which is obviously not true, as the course of Brazil's diplomacy changed significantly in the meantime. This is probably not the right arena in which to judge Brazil's position.
Among the countries visited, three groups stand out: first, Brazil's South American neighbours, most notably Argentina and Uruguay (more than 50% of the students); followed by Paraguay (10-50%); with Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia and Peru having much less success. This is obviously an effect of the (relative) proximity of these countries, but it must be stressed that none of the students, even those from Manaus, had visited any of the three Guyanas. North America forms a second attractive group, as between 10 and 50% of students had visited the USA (or at least some part of the country, the most popular being Orlando's Disneyland).

Europe as a whole is a less popular destination, mainly because of the cost of travelling by plane, which places Europe out of reach for most Brazilians. France is the only country which attracted between 5 and 10% of the students. No students in our sample of 1,005 Brazilians had visited any country in the rest of the world, e.g. Africa, Asia (except Japan) or Oceania, which is easy to explain due to the high costs of travelling.
More than 100,000 Brazilians emigrate every year in search of better working conditions elsewhere in the world. The total number of emigrants already stands at over 2 million, and around one third are illegal emigrants in their host countries. Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, due to the economic crisis that Brazil was experiencing, emigration was directed towards three favoured destinations: the USA, Japan and Europe. More recently (after the 11th of September 2001), favour shifted towards Europe, where 350,000 Brazilians live, mostly in Portugal (2006).

The USA. More than 800,000 Brazilian immigrants are living in this country, and around half are illegal immigrants (as of 2003). Around 300,000 live in the New York region, 200,000 in the Boston area and over 150,000 in Florida. California also has a significant number of Brazilians: 25,000 are registered at the Consulate of Brazil in San Francisco and 17,000 in Los Angeles in 2004. A large percentage entered the USA illegally over the border with Mexico.

Paraguay. There are approximately 500,000 immigrants (as of 2006) in Paraguay, and the number of illegal immigrants is also very high. "Brasiguaios" are Brazilians carrying out agricultural activities in the country, especially in soybean production. These producers generally have a good standard of living. In recent times, many Brazilians have gone in search of new land for development in Bolivia, and currently at least 1,000 Brazilian families are living in Bolivian territory.

Japan. The Japanese colony in Brazil started in the 1920s, and today it is the base for a new wave of migration, but in the opposite direction: there are around 225,000 Brazilian immigrants in Japan (as of 2003).

Portugal. For centuries, millions of Portuguese people went to Brazil, and today many thousands of Brazilians come to Portugal to work. The Brazilian community is now very diverse, and the majority have unskilled and poorly paid jobs, but a significant group perform some of the highest paid positions in Portugal. Portugal works for many Brazilian immigrants as a port of call on the way to other European destinations or as a safe haven when things go wrong elsewhere. A quarter of those entering Europe stay in Portugal (as of 2006). This situation is made easier by a common language and culture, plus the sizeable Brazilian community in Portugal. In 2004, they formed the largest immigrant community in the country, and their number has not stopped growing: there were more than 100,000 (85,567 legal) immigrants in 2006.

Italy. Brazilian immigration to this country is new, although it is increasing sharply. In 2006, it was estimated that after Portugal, Italy was the European country with the largest number of Brazilian immigrants (67,187).

Germany. Similarly to Japan and Portugal, the former German colony in Brazil works as a bridge to the immigration of thousands of Brazilians to this country (60,500 immigrants in 2003).

Spain. Since 2002, the number of Brazilian immigrants has not stopped increasing. In 2002, 24,036 immigrants were counted. In the following year, there were around 30,000, of whom only 18,146 had legal documentation. In 2005, after the extraordinary regularisation process, in which 10,431 Brazilians were legalised, this number rose to 50,000, and around 40,000 were legalised. This number was close to 50,000 in 2005.

The UK. Since September 11th 2001, thousands of immigrants have headed for the UK using legal and illegal means. One of the most commonly used methods is the use of false Portuguese passports and fictitious marriages to Portuguese citizens. The actual number of Brazilian immigrants in Britain is undeterminable, as many of them have false documents (http://lusotopia.no.sapo.pt/indexBREmigrantes.html).

"The flow from Brazil to Europe is growing," notes sociologist Teresa Sales from the State University of Campinas. Going to Europe is an alternative for those who cannot enter the USA, especially after the attacks of September 11th 2001. "Moreover, this flow also represents a return migration, most of them are returning to their ancestral countries like Italy and Portugal," adds Sales. "The Brazilian immigrant has a profile of lower middle class, he is young, especially at the beginning mainly boys who made their living here as bank clerks, secondary teachers, business people etc." When in Europe, Brazilians are employed in the services sector, generally in low-skilled jobs, such as dishwashers, housekeepers and caretakers. "There are very strong social networks in the context of migration," says Sales. Therefore, Brazilians are leaving the country with the support of relatives or friends who are already at the destination (Noticias UOL http://noticias.uol.com.br/ultnot/2005/07/27/ult2504u38.jhtm).
WHAT IS THE EXTENSION OF THE WORLD REGION WHERE THE STUDENTS LOCATE THEMSELVES?

On the basis of the answers to question “Divide the world in regions -maximum 15-”, in which part of the world did the students include their own country?

The response of the Brazilian students is very simple: they are primarily Brazilians, and the first level of inclusion coincides with the country’s borders. A second level includes areas in which the pioneers pushed beyond the borders of Brazil: the Guyanas, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay. Finally, they include themselves in South America, as 50% of the responses follow the contours of the continent. Latin America - up to the Rio Grande - collected only a minority of votes, and the Americas and Africa received even fewer.
There is no ambiguity regarding the name of the region: Brazilian students clearly feel that they are in "America", a word which is associated with the word "South" rather than with "Latin". Next comes "Brazil", a country-continent that seems to suffice in itself. Next is the word "countries", (associated to "emerging" or "developing"), which reflect the changing status of the country. Brazil has the seventh highest volume of GDP in the world and is still an "emergent" country.
The idea of Europe according to Brazilian students is concentrated on Western European countries. Western Europe has a much stronger presence in the general media, in literature and in science, as well as in the general information that reaches Brazilian students. There is clearly a gradient of belonging which peaks at a Western "small Europe", including the Iberian Peninsula (not surprisingly for Portuguese-speaking students), and then weakens slightly to the west (Ireland), to the north (Scandinavia) and especially to the east, where the new EU members are all in an intermediate situation as a "medium Europe". There seems to be a distinction between an inner circle and a more distant periphery, which strangely includes Greece at the same level as Bulgaria and Ukraine. Russia is included less frequently in the vision that Brazilians students have of Europe, but they include Kazakhstan, Morocco and Iceland more often than the average student in the EuroBroadMap sample. On the other hand, they include the Maghreb and the Middle Eastern countries less frequently.
The lines which define the limits of Europe for the Brazilian students clearly encompass the current EU member states. However, although the outer boundary is extremely sharp to the south, west and north, it is less clear to the east.

To the south, the Mediterranean seems to be an obvious "natural boundary" for the students: from Gibraltar to Sicily, all of the lines are virtually superimposed, while in the Eastern Mediterranean, they do not coincide as closely. Northern Europe includes unambiguously all of the Scandinavian countries; there was some slight hesitation over Iceland and - less frequently - Greenland.

On the other hand, to the east, opinions diverge, as some students include all of the new EU members and add Ukraine, while others even include Russia. The same is true for Turkey, which is included by some and excluded by others.
The first group of the more frequently cited words is strongly marked by economic characteristics, as shown by the most frequently quoted red word, “development”. In connection with this idea are words like “wealth” and “richness”. Among the grey words in this block, “power” shows a certain ambiguity, because it can connote armed domination or the intrinsic economic characteristics of development. The word “union” appears to be an allusion to the political and economic block and “Euro” to its monetary unit, both of which are grey.

A second group deals with the characteristics of this economic and political development: the red words “quality” and “life” and the grey words “education” and “technology”. These words express a perception of the welfare state which is favoured by development, education and technology. A third group of words shows this quality of life in the arts and sciences, as the red words “culture”, “history” and the grey word “beauty” demonstrate these perceptions. Culture, history and beauty are associated with the perception of Europe as a place to visit: the red word “tourism” stresses this idea. The idea of travelling (to practise tourism) in order to take in the culture, history and beauty offered by Europe features highly in the perceptions of Brazilian students. The red word “old” deserves a special mention. Although it can be understood as something outdated (a contradiction of the idea of development stressed in the first paragraph), it seems more reasonable to associate it with the historical sense of something that remains stable over time. Therefore, we presume that the word “old” is related to the culture and history which is highlighted in the previous paragraph. Of the most frequently cited words, the only reference to the natural characteristics of the European continent is the word “cold”, which is not surprising in a predominantly tropical country like Brazil (although the sample includes students living in Porto Alegre and even São Paulo, which are cities marked by lower temperatures). Among the most frequently quoted words by the Brazilian students, few contain negative connotations. One is the red word “war”, which is probably connected to the two World Wars. Others are the red words “xenophobia”, “prejudice” and the grey word “imperialism”. All of these words demonstrate that these students’ perception of Europe is increasingly that of a region with a low tolerance of other people.
The Brazilian students appear to conform to traditional stereotypes: women see Europe in terms of fashion, beauty and culture and reject football and political connotations, while men do the opposite.

The responses by level of income reflect different connotations: the words used are more abstract for high-income students ("growth", "welfare", "democracy") and more complex for high-medium income students ("seniority" and "modernity", although contradictory, are quoted together). For low-medium income students, the connotations remain positive ("knowledge", "richness", "art"), more than the values of modernity and tradition (another pair of opposites). For the lowest income students, the positive values are more concrete ("wine", "Euro") behind critical connotations ("domination").

Images of Europe as associated with feelings of belonging are more flattering to the subnational ("development", "civilisation", "history") and supranational levels ("knowledge", "world", "money") than at the national level where, among the positive words, appear some criticisms ("conservatism", "protectionism", "inequality").

The variation in vocabulary according to the number of languages spoken seems to reveal an increasing level of knowledge and reflection about the status of Europe in the world. Students who speak only one language relate Europe to individual countries, wealth and intolerance, undoubtedly because of the situation of migrants. Those who speak two or three languages are more abstract, talking about knowledge, tradition and culture. Accomplished polyglots associate Europe with even higher values, e.g. history, security, welfare and integration (mixed with decay and colonialism), and - oddly enough - with beer.

The responses according to the field of study are as expected for most areas. Those who selected the arts gave answers concerning art, fashion, architecture and the cradle (of civilisation) etc., while power and xenophobia are under-represented. Students of business and engineering see Europe in terms of richness, the integration of the continent, but also history, wine and castles, its main tourist attractions. Health students are sensitive to development and culture, but also to cold temperatures. Students of political science see their own topics in the words "union", "integration", "developed" and "wealth", but also "imperialism" and "protectionism". For students of the social sciences, who are traditionally critical, there are no surprises: "power", "imperialism", "colonialism", "capitalism", "domination" and "xenophobia", while the classical notations ("history", "tradition", "wealth") are under-represented.
For India, there is a marked dichotomy between the institutional/structural and individual perceptions of Europe. When we concentrate on individual perceptions, "Europe" emerges as an idea rather than a territory. The perceptions of students on diverse issues have shown that there is a strong relationship between their opinions voiced and the commonsensical view that is reiterated through multiple media forms and their experiential reality. However, in matters of politics and trade links concerning institutions and the official discourse, it can be seen that there is more variety in the projected trends. This may show that information is not filtered from the top to the bottom on the one hand, and on the other, it indicates that in India, people have independent views which may not reflect the political moves/motives of the nation. Although this sample of the perceptions of individuals is limited to students from different educational backgrounds in four cities of India, they can be seen as representative of a class of young people in India who can access public information.

The perceptions of students are increasingly seen to reflect their immediate lived realities or a virtual space of print, electronic media and general opinions. If we focus our attention on the first map, which gives a sense of the mental image that the Indian students have of different countries of the world, it can be observed that the countries that they see as attractive are the rich, developed countries and countries which have a strong sense of cultural identity and that are globally popular. The more developed Northern and Western Europe is more popular than Eastern Europe, and in that light, countries like North America and New Zealand are seen as equally attractive. Repulsive countries are those that have, in recent times, received a great deal of bad press for their connections with terrorism and violence and appear to be underdeveloped, without many facilities and rights. As Indian students have visited very few countries, this reinforces the idea that students are affected by stereotypical passive views which, in turn, are influenced by the prevailing power relations between countries. Countries which make the headlines in a positive or negative sense are largely seen to be the countries that capture the imagination of the students. This not only shows a lacuna in the perceptions of the students, but also reflects the narrowly represented global proliferation of images focusing on particular zones/events. In this light, war, tourist destinations and economic growth are more present in newspaper reports, magazines and hoardings than in the holistic, political, cultural and historical accounts of any country. This may be one of the reasons why one can see a trend in the way in which favourable and unfavourable countries are positioned for Indian students. However, in terms of the global sample, Indian students are seen to be somewhat relaxed in showing their reservations towards African countries.

As regards the trade links and diplomatic relations upheld by India in selecting its respective trading partners and political alliances, it can be observed that there are distinct relationships that have emerged on both fronts, showing that India takes independent decisions which can be interpreted as strategic in the global arena. For instance, in developing trade links with other countries for manufacturing products, India is seen to nurture trade links with those countries that excel in the field of technological products. In this regard, Japan emerges as an important partner for India. Once again, it can be seen that countries like Brazil have become important trading allies for India, rather than the USA. This shows that even though the general media is more focused on the nuclear and trade agreements formed between the two countries, in terms of choosing its allies for manufacturing goods, India is more comfortable trading with Brazil and even China and parts of Eastern Europe than with the USA. This strategic move by India is evident in its choice of multiple partners on different fronts to ensure that its place is globally formidable. In terms of preferences for bilateral trade with specific countries, India is seen to maintain strong relations with most of its neighbouring countries, like Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. India appears to be the fastest growing economy amongst them, and trading alliances with these countries cannot be seen as purely lucrative trading deals, but also as strategic moves on the part of India to maintain cordial relations with its neighbours and to ensure a relatively peaceful South Asia.
No country in Europe emerges as a preferential bilateral trading partner, including the UK, of which India is a former colony. In spite of these historical linkages, the lack of trade with the UK indicates the closed European economy and the fact that India does not have much faith in such a relationship. Interestingly, India has stronger trading links than expected with Middle Eastern countries, some African countries and with Latin America, rather than the USA and Europe. Although there are more apparent networks of proximity between India and the latter countries, such as those of language, recent diplomatic exchanges and other ties, India, by extending its frontiers to include lesser-known countries as trading partners, is making a strong statement about how India is working towards the idea of a "multi-polar" world in which it has a substantial standing, if not a dominant one. Various treaties like Brazil-Russia-India-China (BRIC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) show India's dedication to building a global network of allies based on trade. Even when we concentrate on the voting patterns that India shares with other countries in the UNGA, India is surprisingly seen to follow a similar voting pattern to that of the newly emerging, economically advanced nations like Brazil, Russia and China, rather than, for instance, the USA or Europe. This shows India's growing confidence on the international scene, as it sees itself no longer as a puppet but as a decisive player. The map depicting the voting trends before the end of the Cold War reiterates this point. India in the 1980s was seen to vote in a similar way to almost every country without any specific pattern, indicating that India was unsure of its position and role on the global political map. This indecisive phase can be seen as a preparatory phase for India when it was moving from a strong non-aligned position to one from which it is open to the world, in order to make optimum use of its market and human resources, amongst other things.

In relation to the viewpoints on Europe at the diplomatic level, India sees Europe as having an ambivalent standing in its dealings with India, particularly in trade, and so it has not maintained Europe as a strong ally. However, from time to time, India can be seen to maintain bilateral relations with countries in Europe like France or Germany that are powerful and rich. However, a somewhat different view of Europe emerges when we focus on the students: they are seen to associate positive qualities like "developed" and "beauty" with Europe. Even when we focus on migratory patterns and diaspora networks, it can be seen that parts of Europe are developing as important prospective destinations for Indians. The views of the students on Europe are based on perceptions and popular imagination, an observation which is further reinforced by the fact that Indian students view only Northern and Central Europe as being "really" European. Elite students see racism as a characteristic of Europe to a much lesser degree, while the ethnographic material collected from Indian immigrants settled in Europe points to racism as a key part of their lives. It is also important to note that the myopic view of the Indian students is not limited to Europe, but to their own country as well, which, at a global level, they acknowledge as a superpower but, in defining their own location, they are seen to exclude problematic zones like parts of the northeastern region, Jammu and Kashmir in the geography of the country.
The most attractive areas are parts of Europe, New Zealand, Mauritius, Malaysia and Singapore. In Europe, the northwestern and southern areas like France, Germany, Finland, Spain, Italy and Greece are indicated as being more favourable places to live compared to Eastern Europe, which is simply ignored. North America and then Australia are also listed as relatively favourable places in which Indian students would like to live in the near future. Attractive countries for Indian students are marked by their economic prosperity and the traditional seats of power and wealth. First World countries are the most preferable for Indians, including New Zealand, which is also well-known for its beautiful physical landscape. The repulsive areas indicated by Indian students are its neighbours Pakistan and Bangladesh, many Middle Eastern countries, North African countries and Nepal. Unattractive countries for Indian students are characterised by disturbed relations with India, global projections of violence, economic underdevelopment and political instability. It is interesting to note that Russia, Egypt, the Persian Gulf countries and South Africa stand out as regions which an almost equal number of students like and dislike. Russia has historically shared an amicable relationship with India, which has become less prominent in recent times. Saudi Arabia and the UAE are viewed largely as pilgrimage and holiday destinations only. The countries which were ignored by the Indian students are mostly Latin American countries, sub-Saharan Africa and islands. The selection of countries was striking in that it was affected by conventional perceptions and stereotypes. In this regard, the countries in which Indian students want to live in the near future are affected by the ways in which a good or comfortable lifestyle is imagined in contemporary times, and whether these places can replicate that standard of living. The countries that were seen as repulsive can be seen to jeopardise healthy living, as they are more likely to be prone to violence, mired in poverty and to have limited options for mobility.
It can be observed that although Indian students listed Northern and Western Europe as the most attractive places in which to live in the near future, compared to the global sample, the preferences of Indian students are not as strong. With the exception of the UK and Switzerland, Indian students are less likely to declare EU countries to be favourable places to live than the rest of the EuroBroadMap sample. For the Indian sample alone, China, North America, Russia, South Africa and Australia are seen as relatively attractive places, but in comparison to the EuroBroadMap sample as a whole, the Indian students' preference for these places is very strong. The repulsion of Indian students by North African countries and parts of South America is relatively mild compared to the global sample. The diversity that emerges amongst the Indian students in terms of the range of countries that they found more attractive than usual shows that on the whole, even though Indian students indicate a strong preference for economically advanced countries, they also find developing economies like China attractive, and they do not find underdeveloped countries as repulsive as they are to students from other countries included in the overall sample. Although geographical and linguistic distance are obvious explanatory factors, we can also assume that the pattern revealed by the map shows something more specific to India and the present time. The original preferences of Indian students may be due to the fact that the Indian social psyche has been affected by the globalisation of ideas and images that have opened up a definite territory due to the expanding job market, physical landscape and networks of family and friends. Indian students have a relatively stronger admiration of the USA as a superpower. In recent times, the USA has emerged as a strategic partner on two registers, as partnership with the USA has given India international prominence and economic advantages like nuclear energy deals and has also put India in a stronger position to sustain its claim as a global power by keeping a check on other countries like Pakistan and China.
India has a classical geographical pattern of trade relations. On the one hand, India has intense relations with its neighbouring countries while, on the other hand, it has important relations with major developed areas of the world, namely East Asia, Western Europe and the USA. The importance of trade with the South Asian countries is the result of both limited distance and strong historical links. Beyond the immediate neighbourhood, India's strongest trading partners are mostly spread across Asia, compared to other parts of the world, which may show that viable trade routes and the traditional Look East policy have led to further strengthening of the relations between India and technologically advanced countries in Asia. It is interesting to note that Japan is seen to be one of the most important trading allies due to its dominance in the manufacturing sector (mostly in electronics). In contrast, the relatively weak importance of most of Europe as a trading partner is not surprising, as India has traditionally not opened up its markets to Europe as much as it has to the USA. The rest of the world - Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe - is relatively unimportant to India, with a few exceptions, such as South Africa.

As regards the content of Indian trade, we can observe a negative balance in medium and high-technology goods, with all major core powers as well as South East Asia (the USA, Western Europe, China, Japan) acting as sellers of manufacturing goods to India and positive peripheral countries acting as sellers of raw materials and agricultural products, notably Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. Hence, India clearly appears to be an intermediate country, selling manufacturing goods to its immediate neighbours and peripheral economies while buying manufacturing goods from and selling raw materials to major developed areas across the world.
India is seen to have stronger trading ties with its neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka. However, in addition to the factor of geographical proximity, other factors are also important. India is regarded as a rapidly-growing economy in comparison to these countries. Nepal, a very small country, is highly dependent on the Indian economy. Both Pakistan and Bangladesh have shared historical relations with India, and this has contributed to their trade relations to date. However, even though India was a British colony for more than a century, it has weaker trade links with Europe, including the UK. China is another country with which India enjoys strong trade links. The availability of inexpensive medium-technology goods in China may be one of the reasons why India is keen to trade with China. India has stronger trade links than expected with African countries, Argentina and parts of the Middle East, rather than the USA, Canada and Europe. This is a trend worth reflecting upon. African countries and Argentina do not share any apparent proximity with India; India's trading preferences for these countries indicates a conscious decision to have healthier trade relations with developing and underdeveloped countries, as part of a strategic move to be a dependable global player. India's trade links with parts of the Middle East, like Saudi Arabia and the UAE, may be explained through historical links, present-day touristic linkages and oil deals. India also trades with its neighbours, other countries in Asia and underdeveloped and developing countries all over the world. The reason for such alliances may be due to geopolitical linkages and trade agreements with Asian countries like SAARC and ASEAN. Therefore, the factors contributing to India's trade relations can be seen as part of a strategic diplomatic move as a "newly advanced economically" developed country.
It has been observed that India votes in a very similar way to China, Iraq, Brazil, parts of North Africa like Egypt and its neighbouring states like Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal. India's voting pattern in relation to these countries is almost identical. Interestingly, India is seen to share similar voting concerns at the UNGA with countries with diverse politics and geographical locations. If we are to find the rationale behind this apparent similarity, it can be observed that India’s voting pattern can be understood vis-à-vis clusters of countries. For instance, Brazil, Russia India and China, together tagged as BRIC, are seen by many analysts as the emerging powerful nations of the 21st century. Therefore, it is natural that India would want strong diplomatic and international relations to continue with other major players with economic power and strength in resources. Russia and India are seen to share 80% of votes. At the same time, India's desire for a stronger and more peaceful relationship with countries in South Asia can be seen in its bid to keep the home front quiet and secure. The voting patterns of India and the USA have a similarity rate of only 20%. One would expect them to be much more alike, as India in recent times has opened up talks with the USA on many fronts, including its desire to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council. With regard to Europe, India shares 40% of votes with most parts of Europe, except Germany, Italy, Greece and Turkey, with which it shares 60%. In recent times, India has been seen to be working towards strengthening its diplomatic relations, especially with Germany, one of the strongest economies in Europe. India is seen to vote in a similar way to countries with which it is strategically important to maintain strong links or that it supports on ethical grounds on different issues based on its general diplomatic stance that bends more towards non-interference than intervention in the affairs of other states.
Focusing on the voting pattern of India at the UNGA before the end of the Cold War is important in order to understand the ways in which India's foreign policy has evolved over the past few decades and the confidence that it has gained as a newly formed nation state. As depicted in the WP4, the general stance of India immediately after it gained independence was to maintain a distance from the colonial powers. This non-aligned perspective allowed India to maintain a neutral and ambiguous role in international relations. The map which depicts the voting similarity of India with other countries in 1987-88 shows data from a few years prior to the move towards liberalisation and free market sanctions in the 1990s. This aspect is crucial for examining the general voting trend of India, which voted in an identical manner to China, Russia, Eastern and Central Europe, almost all of South America, Mexico, parts of Africa, the Middle East and other parts of Asia, like its neighbouring countries. India shared only 20% of its votes with the USA. The period accounted for is close to the time when India was trying to break away from the colonial baggage of the erstwhile prime minister of an independent India, who declared a socialist economy and later a liberalised economy. The map based on voting trends at the UNGA, apart from showing that India has a long-standing friendship with the Soviet Union over the USA, does not give much away. This does not necessarily imply that India is indecisive, but instead shows that there was too much activity on the home front and that this made India realise its much deeper role in global politics. The alliances of India in this period cannot be taken as a long-term signal of partnership, but apparent parity in the data indicates that India is preparing the ground for firmer bilateral relationships. This also suggests that India had to prepare for the global stage initially not as an actor/participant, but more as one who had a lot to lose if all of the developing countries left it behind. Over the years, India has taken a more realistic than idealist perspective on the global situation, which has helped it to emerge as a global power with a stake in a multi-polar world.

**EVOLUTION OF THE DIPLOMATIC ALLIANCES OF YOUR COUNTRY FROM COLD WAR TO PRESENT**

*What were the similarities of votes at UN general assembly before the end of the Cold War?*

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<th>SIMILARITY</th>
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Sources: UNBISnet, 2010

Authors: L. Beauguilette (UMR Géographie-cités), T. Giraud (CIST), 2011


The map on the right depicts the voting similarity of India with other countries in 1987-88, showing data from years prior to the move towards liberalisation and free market sanctions in the 1990s. The similarities are crucial for examining the general voting trend of India, which voted in a similar manner to China, Russia, Eastern and Central Europe, almost all of South America, Mexico, parts of Africa, the Middle East and other parts of Asia, like its neighbouring countries. India shared only 20% of its votes with the USA. The period accounted for is close to the time when India was trying to break away from the colonial baggage of the erstwhile prime minister of an independent India, who declared a socialist economy and later a liberalised economy. The map on the right, showing the voting trends at the UNGA, apart from showing that India has a long-standing friendship with the Soviet Union over the USA, does not give much away. This does not necessarily imply that India is indecisive, but instead shows that there was too much activity on the home front and that this made India realise its much deeper role in global politics. The alliances of India in this period cannot be taken as a long-term signal of partnership, but apparent parity in the data indicates that India is preparing the ground for firmer bilateral relationships. This also suggests that India had to prepare for the global stage initially not as an actor/participant, but more as one who had a lot to lose if all of the developing countries left it behind. Over the years, India has taken a more realistic than idealist perspective on the global situation, which has helped it to emerge as a global power with a stake in a multi-polar world.
The most frequented destinations for Indians are the USA, the UK, the UAE and Nepal. However, only 1 to 5% of the students interviewed had visited these places. One destination that stands out as a favourite is Singapore, which more than 50% of the students interviewed had visited. The cultural symbols of development and consumption contribute to its popularity. It can be observed that Indians do not travel abroad a great deal, and there is less diversity in the selection of destinations. Africa and Latin America barely feature as popular destinations. Northern and Central Europe, to different degrees, are much more popular destinations. This may be due to the general idea of Europe as embodying a certain idea of physical beauty, aesthetics and culture. The USA is a popular choice because of media coverage and its connotations in the popular imagination. The mobility patterns of Indians do not indicate a desire to explore diverse cultures as much as a fetish to travel to well-known and developed places. In fact, the colour of the circles indicates the minimum travels that the students undertook, which may be an outcome of an absence of a travelling culture, representative of a general attitude or due to practical financial concerns.
The Indian diasporas in Europe, Canada, Australia, the Middle East and the USA are substantial, and have left their mark on the cultural geography of these places. There are certain striking characteristics of Indian diasporas, the basis of which can be located in the homeland. One is that there are a few regions in India from which huge waves of migration have occurred to different parts of the world, and second, there is a trend that can be loosely associated with a place and the attraction of an ethnic migratory population to its territory. For instance, there has been a considerable migration from the southern state of Kerala to the Middle East and from Punjab to Europe, Canada and the USA. While one way of understanding migratory practices is through family networks, another interesting factor is the culture of that particular place, which creates the desire to migrate in the first place. In this regard, historical events, and especially India's colonial encounters over the last couple of centuries, have had a strong cultural influence on the people. These linkages are especially strong with Europe, as India was a British colony and Puducherry was a French colony. The role of the British Empire in India is completely different, and is not limited to the historical influence passed down through hereditary sources, shared knowledge and textbooks. Its presence is palpable throughout the legal system, in patterns of communication and in the widespread use of English. Tracing the representations of Europe through objects reveals its influence in static objects like architecture, as well as in the codes of ethics in government offices and other objects like school textbooks and the media. British architecture is prominent throughout India, including the national capital, and there are residences and offices that date back to British times. The British influence also suffuses codes of conduct, particularly in the law courts, which resonate with colonial customs. The physical and cultural evidence of the British influence can be overlooked by people who are not interested in the shape of buildings or the source of habitual and customary practices. However, other kinds of objects, like textbooks and media images, incur the systemic reproduction of images of Europe in general and of England in particular. This cannot be seen simply as hegemony, because even in these media, there is a diversity of images of Europe. For example, history books and school textbooks tend to represent a fuller understanding of the relationship between India and the colonising powers. The penetrative colonial power can be seen differently in literature textbooks, however. Europe emerges as a continent with beautiful physical landscapes and a different culture that is often portrayed as somewhat superior. These varied images can be seen in institutionalised representations and the reproduction of a hybrid Europe. People's aspirations are, to a great extent, shaped by the imagery which is developed through lived experiences and objects in circulation. In this regard, the West is still seen as a place of opportunity. Although there is a huge class divide in the Indian population which migrates abroad, it is mostly low-skilled people who migrate to Europe to get jobs and improve their prospects. For the upper class, going to study or stay in Europe may be seen as a status symbol, as the choice is not dependent on any immediate material necessity. India's diasporas are active in the UK, France, Italy and Germany in Europe. In the early 2000s, there were around 1,053,411 Indian immigrants in the UK, 150,000 in Italy, 67,000 in Germany and around 65,000 in France. There are also other places in Europe that have a substantial Indian migrant population, but the aforementioned countries are home to generations of Indian immigrants, from the mid-1970s to the present. The size of the diasporas in these places has increased through family networks, networks of geographical proximity and the relaxation of trade rules and requirements for low-ranking jobs in many of these places. It is usually found that the immigrants placed in low-skilled jobs form the majority of the diasporas, which are trying to create cultural symbols of their homeland through the construction of places of worship and recreation and by maintaining active links with the homeland through visits at regular intervals and keeping in touch through the Internet and over the telephone.
The map depicting the position of one’s own country in the world is interesting in the case of India. It does not represent an extension of the country into other geographical regions, and the emphasis is on the need to be precise about the jurisdiction of the country. For instance, the minimum core of India, as outlined by 90% of the students, does not include the northeastern states or Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (POK) as part of India. This is an interesting point, as the actual boundary of India can also be ignored by some students, and this cannot be seen as merely an arbitrary choice, as there are particular historical and cultural conditions that make these regions distinct in the imagination of the students, through images in the media, the focus of textbooks and general conversations. For instance, in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, there has been an ongoing struggle since independence to demarcate its territory between the two countries of India and Pakistan for legitimate control over its territory. North East India is, in a way, seen as being separate from the cultural ethos of the nation compared to other regions of the country, principally because of its distinctive culture, language and relative geographical isolation. The median extension of India is seen in the majority of the land mass of the globe. A total of 40-50% of the students included China and some of its neighbouring countries as part of India. For the maximal extension, 10% of the students included bodies of water, the North Pole and the South Pole in India. This map is important as it shows the self-consciousness of the students in depicting the exact geography of India, independent of its geographical and cultural inclusion in other parts of the world.
There is a whole range of words that are given by Indian students to describe the world region in which they locate themselves. They use the word "India" to depict a nationalist connection to the region in which they are currently located. Another name given to the world region is "Asia", showing that after the nation, the continent can be seen to create a sense of belonging and rootedness. Indian students view the world as expanding from their present location to the wider world. Words like "country" and "world" add a geopolitical context to the region by referring to political entities that have provided human demarcations between cultures and peoples. Words like "Indo-America", although to a lesser degree, show the ways in which (in recent times) India has been seen to make bilateral agreements on trade and to nurture diplomatic relations with the USA. WP4 on "national political visions" noted that India has shifted in the way in which it approaches the world, from a strict idealist position, to a more realpolitik stance, emphasising the benefits of any partnership for India and its future. Certain characteristics like "diversity", "unity", "power" and "home" are also used to a lesser degree to indicate the emphasis of school textbooks on the notion of national integration, which reinforces the unity of India despite the diversity of its people, languages, terrain and heritage. On the other hand, words like "power" and "home" portray a general sense of comfort and pride in being located in India, which shows a sense of patriotism and confidence in knowing what it means to be an "Indian". Words like "south" and "subcontinent" show an awareness of the larger geographical entity of which India is a part, and lends an identity to its existence in terms of the issues that are faced by people in this part of the world. Outliers like "Australia" can be seen through the popularity that it enjoys as a desirable place, as India may become in the future. As shown in WP4, in the analysis of school textbooks, the absence of "Europe", even as a metaphorical usage, may be due to the relative ambiguity associated with that region in terms of its actual geographical boundaries, the lack of clarity regarding its political ideologies and questions about who is included and excluded from the EU.
Small Europe, for Indian students, consists of France and Germany. This shows that Indian students are not totally unaware of the social and economic conditions in contemporary Europe. The media coverage of the struggling economy in many parts of Europe (like Greece) may be a reason for including the rich and successful countries of Europe at the core. Apart from economic advancement, another criterion for familiarity with Europe for Indian students relates to bilateral relations with the countries, an attitude which has developed as a diplomatic move for India in dealing with the EU, as shown in the WP4 report on national political visions. Both France and Germany, in this regard, through the visits of high-level dignitaries, have pronounced the possibility of future partnerships. Meanwhile, 50% of the students saw Northern, Central and Southern Europe as Europe, but they excluded Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union has undergone several changes pre- and post-Cold War, leading to its collapse and non-membership of the EU, which may make it a peripheral component of Europe. Other Eastern countries apart from Russia may not be seen as part of Europe, due to their being economically less affluent. It is interesting to note, however, that 50% of students do not see the UK as significant. Sweden is also seen as non-significant, but more significant than the UK.

It is striking that the UK is not seen as part of Europe. One way of looking at such a trend is through the UK's own ambiguous stance on the EU, as it is not one of the Schengen countries, and as it maintains its autonomy on many things, including its currency. A total of 5% of the students saw parts of Asia and Greenland as being in Europe, which indicates that there is a lack of awareness of the boundaries of Europe, as it is a continent that is surrounded by many countries. At least in the case of the Indian students, bodies of water may have led to the separation of Europe from Africa and America.
The borders of Europe provide insight into the process of delineating the definitions and visions of Europe held by Indian students. This coincides with the ways in which Europe is imagined on a symbolic plane that may not have any connection with the actual geographical limits of Europe. It is not surprising to see that it is Northern, Central and parts of Southern Europe that form an integral part of Europe. For Indians situated in Asia, Europe is another continent that cannot be explored physically through frequent travelling, but which can be investigated through books, media images and general information. In these media, there is a glorification of the richer and more powerful political nations of Europe over those which are not prominent in the global economic and decision-making processes. Only 10% of the students saw the majority of the territory of the UK as forming an important part of Europe. This can be seen in a symptomatic way, as familiarity with a place can make one overlook geographical distance. Another reason for the exclusion of the UK from the core of Europe may be due to the fact that in recent times, the UK has receded as an inspirational territory for migration. Stringent immigration laws and stagnancy in the job market have made the UK relatively unpopular. In the interviews conducted with prospective immigrants in visa centres in Delhi, it came to our notice that the people applying for work or student visas to the UK were anxious about the increasing visa restrictions and their inability to surpass them.
The borders of Europe provide insight into the process of delineating the definitions and visions of Europe held by Indian students. This coincides with the ways in which Europe is imagined on a symbolic plane that may not have any connection with the actual geographical limits of Europe. It is not surprising to see that it is Northern, Central and parts of Southern Europe that form an integral part of Europe. For Indians situated in Asia, Europe is another continent that cannot be explored physically through frequent travelling, but which can be investigated through books, media images and general information. In these media, there is a glorification of the richer and more powerful political nations of Europe over those which are not prominent in the global economic and decision-making processes. Only 10% of the students saw the majority of the territory of the UK as forming an important part of Europe. This can be seen in a symptomatic way, as familiarity with a place can make one overlook geographical distance. Another reason for the exclusion of the UK from the core of Europe may be due to the fact that in recent times, the UK has receded as an inspirational territory for migration. Stringent immigration laws and stagnancy in the job market have made the UK relatively unpopular. In the interviews conducted with prospective immigrants in visa centres in Delhi, it came to our notice that the people applying for work or student visas to the UK were anxious about the increasing visa restrictions and their inability to surpass them.

**WHAT ARE THE WORDS ASSOCIATED TO « EUROPE » BY THE STUDENTS OF YOUR COUNTRY ?**

The words associated to Europe by students are characterized by their frequency (the most frequent answers are represented with bigger size) but also by their specificity (in red).

**NB:** The words that are significantly more quoted by Indian students than by students from other countries are in red.
As regards the choice of words based on gender, female students are seen to be attracted to the cultural aspects of Europe, while male students are attracted to the geopolitical aspects. It is difficult to reach a conclusion about the attitude of students based on gender. Both male and female students are seen to use similar words to describe Europe, which mostly have positive connotations underpinning the aspects of development, progress and culture, as expressed through words like "industrialised", "traditional", "monuments", etc. Amongst the words that are used at a high frequency by female students, there is not a single one with a strong negative value. For male students, the usage of the word "Hitler" in the over-represented category may reveal the mixed or negative image which is historically associated with parts of Europe and may, in turn, become representative of it. The male students strongly associate football and Hitler with Europe. The former is because of their interest in the European Premier League, which is well known to young football lovers in India.

Based on the usage of words by groups with different incomes, it can be observed that, with the exception of students from the high income group, those in other categories listed Europe as "clean". They are perhaps comparing the cleanliness of Europe to the parts of India that they inhabit. In the case of students from the high income group, the usage of the word "tourism" and references to tourist destinations like "Switzerland" are critical. There was no mention of a specific locale in any other income category. This indicates that the students from the high income group visit or have a knowledge of these places as prospective destinations. Students from the medium-high income category over-represent the word "racist" when talking about Europe. In a broad sense, this category would comprise the urban middle class, who are educated and well-informed about the current situation in Europe. The students from this background can be expected to have a critical view of Europe. Indian students are, in a sense, very sensitive to this issue, as they perhaps see themselves as experiencing or facing some kind of discrimination in the near future. The students in the medium-high income bracket also perceive Europe as powerful and democratic. This is once again based on their own situation in India. In other income groups, students do not associate negative words with Europe.

A link between the words associated with Europe and the level of belonging was observed, as students who felt that they belonged on the local level saw Europe as a separate geographical entity, like a continent or country. At the local level, there is a greater distance inherent in the idea and image of Europe. At the national level, there is comparatively more proximity in the idea of Europe. Europe is conceived through words like "educated", "diverse", etc. This is important, as it shows that students who belong to India see that Europe should be reckoned with through education and diversity, which are the areas in which Europe may have the upper hand over India. When students belong on the supranational or global levels, then they are seen to perceive Europe in terms of the micro-attributes of a sophisticated culture or through objects like chocolates or a specific geographical space, like the Alps. This, in a way, shows that the students who have a global sense of belonging view Europe in a more intimate way than those who have a local or national sense of belonging. They view Europe through broad abstract ideas like "culture", "country", "beauty", etc.

The link between the languages spoken by the Indian students and their perception of Europe is fairly distinct. If the student speaks just one language (which, in most cases, will be his or her mother tongue), then the student will understand Europe through the most basic and overt symbols, articulated through words like "currency" and "Euro". When students speak two or three languages, they use words like "freedom", "knowledge" and "scenic", which provide a subjective understanding of Europe. Students who speak four languages have an expansive spectrum of views on Europe. From words like "Hitler" to "capitalism" and "diverse", this shows that students who speak four languages have a deeper understanding of Europe and its historical, social and economic structure.
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SYNTHESIS

Based on the sample survey of undergraduates from five cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuhan and Guangzhou), we discovered some characteristics through the methods of correlational analysis and plotting sensation maps. Generally speaking, Chinese undergraduates dislike their East Asian neighbours for historic reasons, and few are interested in the developing countries, but they have a strong positive impression of European countries.

TOPIC 1: MENTAL ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE WORLD

Western and Northern European countries, Canada, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand are the most attractive places to Chinese students. Repulsive areas are concentrated in Asia, and especially Japan and West Asia. The USA is a special country, as it is considered as both attractive and repulsive by Chinese students. However, the students born in the 1990s expressed more diverse views. For example, Japan is the country in which the students would least like to live, but also the sixth most popular country in which to live.

TOPIC 2: GLOBAL ECONOMIC POSITION

The main trading partners of China are found in East Asia, such as Japan and South Korea, in North America and in the EU. China also has close trade relations with Australia, Russia, some African and Middle Eastern countries, and even Brazil and Chile, which play the role of raw material producers. We must note the specific weight of the Hong Kong economy as a gateway to China.

TOPIC 3: GLOBAL DIPLOMATIC SITUATION

It can be observed that China voted very similarly to almost all African, Asian and Latin American countries including "Golden Bricks" such as Brazil, India and South Africa. Compared with China's foreign policy before the end of the Cold War, its diplomatic stance has certainly changed over the past 30 years. The EU is now playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. China and the EU have already established a strategic partnership for contact and consultation in international affairs in their common interest.

TOPIC 4: MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

Only 8.26% of the surveyed students had visited other countries. As China is the largest developing country, travelling abroad is expensive for most students. The most popular tourist destinations are China's neighbouring countries, such as Japan, South Korea and South East Asia. European countries are becoming new destinations for Chinese tourists.

TOPIC 5: MENTAL DIVISION OF THE WORLD

First, we checked the minimal core, which shows that 90% of the surveyed students locate themselves in the region of China, which means that most Chinese students identify themselves through their country. However, it should be noted that Chinese students drew the shape of China roughly, and so the border of China is not accurate. Then we checked the median extension, and found that 50% of Chinese students locate themselves in East Asia. Finally, we checked the maximal extension and found that 10% of Chinese students locate themselves in the Eastern Hemisphere.
TOPIC 6: MENTAL DEFINITION OF "EUROPE" USING MAPS

In total, 95% of Chinese students can clearly indicate that almost of the countries in the EU belong to Europe. Their knowledge shows that the EU stands for Europe.

TOPIC 7: MENTAL DEFINITION OF "EUROPE" IN WORDS

Some words are frequently associated with Europe by a large number of Chinese students. According to these words, we found that Europe is seen by Chinese students as a developed economy. The European culture is appreciated by a great many Chinese students, and words such as "romantic", "civilisation", "classical", "elegant", etc. are often mentioned, which indicate the diversity of the European culture.

The effects of the media and textbooks are the main contributing factors to the characteristics of the international vision of Chinese students. With the rapid development of mass media technology, Chinese citizens are increasingly exposed to information in their daily lives. The college students' international view is also significantly influenced by the mass media.

Due to the dominant role of Western countries in the global economy and in politics, the Chinese media circulate more information about Western countries. Most of the reports on European countries are positive, delivering a good impression with words such as "prosperous", "culture", "beautiful", "advanced", "polite", "free", "classical", "elegant", "civilised", etc. On the other hand, reports on developing countries tend to be negative, concerning politics and the natural environment. For example, most of the reports on the Middle East focus on the conflict in Arab countries.

The formation of international views and the acquisition of knowledge are significantly influenced by the textbooks used in middle school. In particular, college students' conceptualisation of global geography is constructed during this period, when geography textbooks play an important role. The value orientation of the content has an important impact on the students' international views. For example, the introductions to European countries are often neutral or even positive, leading the students to develop friendly attitudes towards them. However, the impression of neighbouring countries is relatively unfavourable, due to historical factors or boundary conflicts.

Using correlational analysis and mental maps, we summarise the current characteristics of Chinese college students' international views as follows. Students' direct experience of the world is still limited, due to the high cost of travelling. Instead, their conceptualisations of the world are largely (and indirectly) influenced by the mass media and their school education. The value orientation of the media and geography textbooks can influence the students' international views.
Based on the analysis of the map of where students would or would not like to live in the near future, we divided the world into four parts, according to attractiveness to students:

Western and Northern Europe, Canada, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand are the most attractive places to Chinese students. Western European countries are the most typical places where Chinese students declare that they would like to live in the near future, even if this is not possible at the present time. These countries, including France, Switzerland and the Netherlands, are known as the developed countries, and they are the cradle of Western culture. They are attracting more and more Chinese students who come to study. In addition, some countries like Canada, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand, which are members of the Commonwealth of Nations, are also attractive to Chinese students. Compared with this, the UK is less attractive.

The repulsive areas are concentrated in Asia, and especially Japan, Korea and West Asia. These countries can be divided into two groups. One group consists of those countries in which there are still wars and instability, like Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran and North Korea. The other group consists of those which have invaded China in the past, like Japan, as many Chinese students therefore have a strong repulsion to Japan. It is worth noting that Africa is rarely mentioned by the Chinese students, but that it is also a repulsive area. North Africa is part of the Arab world, and is also unstable, like West Asia. As sub-Saharan Africa lacks economic opportunities, Chinese students would not normally like to live there.

The USA is a special country which is considered both attractive and repulsive by students in many countries. On the one hand, the USA is the most developed country, with a strong economy and social development. It is the main destination for Chinese students wishing to receive higher education. On the other hand, there are significant ideological differences between the USA and China, and a considerable number of Chinese students have a negative impression of the USA.

Compared with Africa, Chinese students seem to know very little about Latin America, as it is far away from China, and so Latin America is not attractive to Chinese students.
According to this map, there are some particular countries in which Chinese students (more than other students) would like to live in the future. Compared with the students from the 17 other countries in the EuroBroadMap survey, Chinese students showed more interest in two kinds of country. The first kind of country is Singapore and Australia. The majority of Singaporeans are of Chinese origin, and so Chinese students can mingle easily in Singapore. Australia is one of the main destinations for Chinese students studying abroad and even for Chinese migration. Another kind of country is the developed countries in Europe and North America. The Nordic countries are typical of such countries, which are famous for their high Human Development Index scores. Most Chinese students have heard about such places through television or the Internet, and so these countries are very attractive to Chinese students.

We also noted that the situation for countries in Western Europe is not exactly the same. The flows observed for France and Switzerland are more than expected, while the flows observed for Spain and Italy are much less than expected. Spain and Italy may be the main destinations for European students who make up the majority of the EuroBroadMap sample, while the number of Chinese students who would like to live in these two countries is much lower, as they are not as familiar with them. Furthermore, France and Switzerland are near the top of the list of countries in which Chinese students would like to live, especially France, which ranked first on the list. Therefore, the flows to these two countries are greater than expected.

It should be noted that Japan is a special case for Chinese students. Japan is the sixth most popular country in which Chinese students would like to live in the future. At the same time, Japan is the country in which Chinese students would least like to live in the future, due to the history between Japan and China. One possible explanation is that Japan is close to China and far away from Europe, and the absolute number of European students who prefer Japan is lower than the number of Chinese students who prefer Japan, and so Japan looks like an attractive country for Chinese students, as the map shows. To some extent, Korea is in a similar situation to Japan, as the map shows.

Compared with the countries discussed above, Chinese students showed little interest in Africa or Latin America due to the long distance and language barrier.
When looking at preferential trade relations by the size of the country, we can observe some interesting features of the geography of China’s trade. China’s main trading partners are found in the East Asian neighbourhood, North America and Western Europe. China also has intense trade relations with Australia, Russia, some African and Middle Eastern countries, and even Brazil and Chile in South America, which play the role of raw material producers. We must note the specific weight of Hong Kong’s small economy as the gateway to China.

China has become the "world’s factory". As the picture shows, most countries are a red-orange colour, which means that China is dominant in manufacturing with nearly all of the countries in the world. This general picture gives the impression that China has a positive balance in technological goods with major technological powers, and even with the major industrial powers of Western Europe and the USA. However, an in-depth analysis based on the international division of trade by branches is required. China buys products with high technological content in Western Europe (mainly Germany and the USA), such as machinery, aeronautics and cars, and especially core parts and electrical equipment. In contrast, China mainly sells labour-intensive assembly products with a lower level of technology to Europe and the USA (mainly electronic goods). However, this cannot be illustrated in this picture, which gives us an inaccurate vision. As China has become more open and reformed, many transnational corporations have been attracted to invest in China, and especially electrical producers. Although these corporations only use China as a factory, they are still deemed as Chinese corporations based on trade statistics. This also means that countries in Africa, South America, Australia, and West Asia are dominated by China in high-technology trade, and are therefore a red-orange colour on the map.

Some exceptions are to be found in East and South East Asia. First, Japan and Korea, as major sellers of high-technology goods and equipment to China, maintain a positive asymmetry with China. The negative asymmetry for Sweden and Switzerland probably has a similar explanation. These countries also buy low-technology products from China. Second, we can observe negative asymmetry with Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, especially for high-technology electrical products, including Information and Communication products and micro-electronic components.
How can we characterise the interesting features of the geography of global trade? We have put forward some explanations regarding distance, linguistic proximity, historical relations, trade agreements, and so on. We also want to note that it is not one but several causes which interact to influence a country’s trade with other countries.

Specific intense relations with the immediate neighbourhood are a feature which is common to all countries, as short distances can reduce the cost of transportation and logistics. In the case of China, Eastern countries, including South Korea and Japan, are its major partners. However, China also has preferential trade relations with these two countries because of their advanced economies and huge consumer markets. As the main trading partners of China, North America and Western Europe may also have similar explanations relating to their advanced economies and huge consumer markets. As regards Hong Kong, its trade relations are overestimated, as it plays the role of a gateway to the world for Chinese imports and exports, and preferential trade relations are probably related to location, linguistic proximity and historical relations.

We should also note the specific relations with many major oil producers in the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa. However, in addition to the strategic importance of oil for China, we must note specific trade relations with other African countries as a sign of the rising power of China in Africa. We must also highlight the rapid development of China’s trade with countries from the Association of South East Asian Nations, Australia, Brazil and India in recent years, mainly through importing petroleum, iron ore or other raw materials and exporting mechanical and electrical products. This trade feature is mainly related to these countries’ superior resources and significant need of Chinese industrialisation.

Looking at the whole picture, we can clearly observe the globalisation of Chinese trade, which is leading to specific relations with nearly all of the countries in the world. However, China still has weak trade relations with the Euro-Mediterranean area and Eastern Europe. Therefore, we must recall the importance of Europe for China as a major economic and trade power.
This map shows the voting trends in the UNGA amongst different countries in 2009-2010. We can highlight a strong relationship between China and other countries in the world. It can be observed that China voted very similarly to almost all African, Asian and Latin American countries, including "Golden Bricks" such as Brazil, India and South Africa. If we examine this similarity carefully, we find that the similarity of the voting pattern between China and these countries almost reaches 100%. On the other hand, the level of similarity in voting between China and North America and Europe is much lower. In particular, China and the USA are almost on opposite sides.

China shares the same diplomatic stance as the developing countries. We must note that China and these countries are all emerging countries in the 21st century, and that they are becoming more and more powerful in the world. Therefore, China presumably wants to maintain strong diplomatic relations with these countries in order to form a cluster to serve their common interests. Russia and China share 80% of votes, which is a little lower. They are two powerful and neighbouring countries which are rising up in the world, and they have a great deal in common and few differences. Therefore, both of them want to build a peaceful and stronger competitive relationship. We should note the relationship between China and Japan, as there are many historical disputes between these two countries. China shares 40 to 60% of votes with Japan, which shows that the two countries have common interests.

To return to the Western world, China and the European countries share around 40 to 60% of votes. This fact shows that China and the EU are maintaining a relatively good relationship, unlike the China-USA relationship. It is no secret that China takes the opposite diplomatic stand to several US-led countries (the USA, Canada and the UK).
By focusing on the voting patterns of China at the UNGA before the end of the Cold War, we can easily calculate the evolution of China's diplomatic relations over the past few decades. Under the confrontation between the capitalist and socialist camps during the Cold War, China had a clear diplomatic stance, as China is a core member of the socialist camp. On the one hand, China had a close relationship with socialist countries like the Soviet Union, which led to an almost 100% rate of similarity in voting. On the other hand, China shared only 20% of votes with US-led capitalist countries. We must note that China also shared a similar diplomatic stance with poor developing countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America at the time.

Compared with today's foreign policy, China's diplomatic stance has certainly changed over the past 30 years. With the disintegration of the ex-Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the world was transformed into a multi-polar world. Through the rise of the EU and drastic changes in Eastern Europe, the China-EU relationship has changed. Today, China is more likely to see Europe as a whole, and the difference in its diplomatic stance towards Eastern or Western Europe has disappeared. The EU is playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. China and the EU have already established a strategic partnership in order to make contact and consult on international affairs in order to serve their common interests. Furthermore, China's foreign policy towards emerging developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America has remained positive since the end of the Cold War.

China's diplomatic stance towards other countries has evolved since the end of the Cold War. This is mainly reflected in the evolution of China-EU relations.
According to our survey, most of the Chinese students had not visited any foreign countries. The size of the circles indicates that the most frequently visited foreign destinations are Japan, Singapore, South Korea and the USA, but the light colours show that less than 5% of the interviewed students had visited these countries. Japan, Singapore and South Korea are neighbouring countries of China, which makes travelling to these countries more convenient and less costly. The USA is the major trading partner of China and there are close contacts between the two countries. All of these favourable conditions make these countries the main destinations for Chinese students going abroad. Chinese students also go to some European countries like France, Belgium and Switzerland. Europe is recognised as the region in which Chinese students would not like to live, mainly because of the high cost of travel due to the long distance between Europe and China. Nevertheless, we also noted that the percentage of students who had visited a foreign country was still very low. There could be many reasons, but one of them must be considered: China is a very large emerging country with long borders and reduced mobility. For example, it is thousands of kilometres from the central part of China to the nearest foreign country. Therefore, it is inconvenient for students from such an area of China to go abroad due to the distance.
International tourism is an effective way of improving people's cognition towards unknown countries and regions. In 2010, excluding Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, the number of overseas tourists in China reached 19.7441 million, 1.47% of the country's total population. Out of all of these overseas tourists, 14.0864 million (71.34%) left for Asian countries, particularly for the neighbouring countries of Japan, Korea, Vietnam, etc., while 1.4924 million (7.56%) left for America. Most travelled to America and Canada, while the number who left for Europe was 2.3348 million (11.83%). Most of them travelled to Russia or Western European countries. The tourists who left for Oceania and Africa accounted for 1.102 million (5.58%) and 0.7285 million (3.69%) people respectively.

From the data above, we can see that overseas tourism in China is still at an early stage, as the number only equates to 1.47% of the national population. Due to economic reasons, major destinations for Chinese overseas tourists lie within the neighbouring countries. Europe and North America have less appeal. The spatial pattern of Chinese international tourist destinations has, to some extent, influenced Chinese people's cognition towards the world.

Studying abroad is another effective way for Chinese students to experience international mobility, which can even lead to migration. A considerable proportion of Chinese students abroad study in English-speaking countries. From 2005 to 2009, the number of Chinese students studying in English-speaking countries was around 60%, and all 13 countries indicate that language is an important factor which affects Chinese students' choice of destination. In addition, the developed countries are the main destinations of Chinese students studying abroad. These countries have high social and economic levels, and high-quality educational resources. In addition, Chinese students' habit of studying abroad reveals some regularity. According to the number of Chinese students studying abroad, the world could be divided into four regions. The first region is America, where the number of Chinese students studying abroad is much higher than in other countries; it was over 100,000 in 2009. The second region includes Japan, Australia, the UK and Canada, where the number of Chinese students studying abroad is between 40,000 and 100,000. The third region includes New Zealand, France and Germany, where the number of Chinese students studying abroad is always between 20,000 and 30,000. The other countries belong to the fourth region, with under 10,000 Chinese students studying abroad. From previous changes in the number of Chinese students studying abroad, America, Australia, Canada and France have maintained a high growth rate, as the number of Chinese students studying abroad at least doubled between 2005 and 2009. However, the number in the UK, Japan and Germany has not changed a great deal and has almost remained stable. In addition, more and more students are choosing EU countries in which to study, but the proportion has fallen year on year, from 30% to below 25%, indicating that the number of Chinese students studying abroad in EU countries is increasing slowly compared to other countries and regions.

The destinations for Chinese students studying abroad affect Chinese students' cognitions about the world. According to the statistical data, countries which are recognised by Chinese students studying abroad are mostly distributed across North America, Europe and East Asia. Meanwhile, as students are limited by language, English-speaking countries are considered much more than non-English-speaking countries; if we look at the EU countries as a whole, Chinese students have a higher level of cognitions about the EU.
On the basis of answers to the instruction "Divide the world into regions (maximum 15)" we obtained the Chinese students' mental division of the world. First, we checked the minimal core, which shows that 90% of Chinese students locate themselves in the region of China. However, we should note that the Chinese students drew the region of China roughly, and so the border is not accurate. Then, we checked the median extension, which shows that 50% of Chinese students locate themselves in East Asia, which also includes South East Asia and Middle Asia. Finally, we checked the maximal extension, which shows that 10% of Chinese students locate themselves in the Eastern Hemisphere. It is obvious that Chinese students have a clear and united delimitation of their area. According to the three limits (minimal, median, maximal), Chinese students' delimitations of their area extended from China to East Asia and then to the Eastern Hemisphere, which is deeply rooted in their view of the world. China is an enormous country with 9.6 million square kilometres of land, which accounts for one-fifth of Asia. Therefore, most Chinese students define China as a region of the world and locate themselves within it. As China is already a large area, the larger scale of delimitation includes all of Asia (except West Asia), which is termed East Asia. China is a country with a long history which stretches over thousands of years. Throughout its history, China has always been a dominant Eastern country, and its territory has included most parts of East Asia at one time or another. For example, Mongolia was a part of China before 1921, and many countries around China (like Korea and Vietnam) were vassal states of China in the past. Chinese students may perceive China as the main body of East Asia. Therefore, 50% of them delimited the region of East Asia in which their country is located. As regards the largest scale, the Eastern Hemisphere, 10% of Chinese students delimited this region as the part of the world which includes their own country. It should be noted that this region is not really the Eastern Hemisphere; it is similar, but this region includes almost all of Asia and Europe, and parts of Africa and Oceania. This area is still ultimately centred around China.

From this analysis, we concluded that Chinese students' mental division of the world is centred on their own country, on three regional scales: China, East Asia and the Eastern Hemisphere. This is closely related to the location and history of China.
The focus on the geographical delimitation of the region of the world in which the students locate their country is an original contribution of the EuroBroadMap survey, but it shall be complemented with a semantic analysis of the names given to the region in which the surveyed students locate their own country. As regards the Chinese students' names for their area, the most frequently mentioned word is "Asia". Chinese students seem to agree on the concept of Asia. It should be noted that this name was designed for the 15 regions which the Chinese students divided the world into. Therefore, the Chinese students prefer to use "Asia" as opposed to "China" when naming a region of the world, which shows that Chinese students have grasped the basic knowledge of the regional division of the world from their curricula in primary and secondary school. It is no surprise that "China" has the second highest frequency; as discussed above, China is such an enormous country that many Chinese people consider it to be a region of the world.

Other than "Asia" and "China", the frequencies of other words are much lower. However, there are still some words that should be noted. First, the word "east" was mentioned many times, which can be linked to the division of "East Asia" and "the Eastern Hemisphere". Second, some Chinese students used the word "Europe", which indicates a lack of geographical knowledge. Finally, a fairly small number of Chinese students named the world region from an economic or political perspective, e.g. "developing North countries". This should not be ignored, even though only a few students answered in this way.

Generally speaking, Chinese students name the world region in which they locate themselves based on divisions of the world like "Asia", "China", "Europe" and "Eurasia". This shows the success of Chinese elementary geographical education. A small minority of students lack a knowledge of geography, while others view the world from a different perspective.
Compared to the entire sample, Chinese students included countries which are very close to the EU (like Algeria, Kazakhstan, Greenland, Iceland and Tunisia) significantly more than usual in their delimitations of Europe, and this positive residual is shown in orange. In addition, they included Morocco more often than usual in their delimitation of Europe, and this positive residual is shown in yellow. In contrast, they included countries located to the south of the EU (like Mali, Niger and Sudan) less frequently than usual, and these negative residuals are shown in blue. They also included countries located to the south and southeast of the EU (like the Western Sahara, Mauritania, Chad and Iraq) less often than usual, and these residuals are shown in light blue. It is therefore easy to see that Chinese students propose a delineation of Europe that is bigger than usual.

According to the same type of cartographical approach, three types of delineation are proposed: minimal, median and maximal extensions of Europe. In the Chinese sample, the minimal extension of Europe is much closer to the EU, while only small areas of the EU are not included, like Portugal, part of Spain to the southwest of the EU, three small countries to the east (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) and some parts of Sweden and Finland to the north. The median extension of Europe is much closer to the delineation of Europe, including the part of Russia located to the west of the Ural Mountains. In addition, Greenland, the part of Russia located to the east of the Ural Mountains and a few countries in the Middle East were included in the maximal extension of Europe, like Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and so on. As we can see, 95% of Chinese students can clearly indicate that almost all of the countries in the EU belong to Europe, and believe that the EU represents Europe. They can put their finger on the delineation of Europe. Almost 5% of Chinese students extend the delineation of Europe. Almost all Chinese students have a good knowledge of Europe, especially the EU, owing to studying geography at school, watching the news on television and finding information online. In addition, an underlying reason that cannot be ignored is that almost all Chinese people admire many aspects of Europe, and like to pay close attention to the European news.
Chinese students have a characteristic vision of the location of the linear borders of Europe. Most Chinese students can put their finger on the southern border of Europe. They are sure that the Strait of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea separate Europe and Africa. However, it is easy to understand why the majority consider the Mediterranean Sea to be within the European area.

It can be easily identified that there are bifurcation points on the eastern border of Europe, where two alternative trajectories of European borders diverge. The first follows the southwest border of Russia, the Black Sea and the Turkish Straits, while the other follows the western border of Kazakhstan, the Caspian Sea and the eastern border of Turkey. It is controversial for Chinese students whether or not Russia and a few countries in the Middle East (like Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkey and Armenia) belong to Europe. In addition, there are shelterbelt areas located in the Ural Mountains, the Ural River and the Great Caucasus Mountains. A few students removed Russia from Europe, due to the physical geography. Some students think that the western border should be the political boundary.

It can be seen that there are three trajectories of the European border to the northwest: the first follows the shore of Ireland, the UK and Norway; the second includes Iceland; and the third incorporates Greenland into Europe.

As Iceland is far away from the European mainland, many students ignore it. Turkey, an Asian country and a member of NATO, is often considered to be a European country by Chinese students. As regards those countries and areas which are close to Europe, such as Greenland, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Cyprus, some interviewees included them in the delimitation of Europe.
Some words are frequently associated with Europe by Chinese students. According to these words, Europe gives Chinese students a strong impression of its being a powerful economy which is developed, rich and advanced. They appreciate the European culture, with words like "romantic", "civilisation", "classical", "elegant", etc., which indicate the diversity of the European culture. It can be inferred that Europe is considered to be a good place to live by Chinese students because of the beautiful environment, the cleanliness and the social welfare. In Chinese students’ eyes, Europe is a group of small countries, but not a political union.

The majority of words which are used frequently by Chinese students to describe Europe are used much more often than by other countries in the survey (red colour), which means that these words are specific to the Chinese vision of Europe. These words which are specific to China include "developed", "rich", "advanced", "romantic", "civilisation", "classical", "legend", "beautiful", "environment", "small", "open", "welfare", "good" and so on. The words which are used less frequently by Chinese students are also less common in the majority of countries in the EuroBroadMap survey, such as "freedom", "high", "environment", "democracy", "clean", "countries" and so on.

The words used most frequently by Chinese students are "developed", "rich", "romantic" and "beautiful", which are also the most specific to China. The frequencies of these four words are far greater than the frequencies of others, especially for "developed". The words used more frequently are "civilisation" and "advanced", which are also specific to Chinese students. The words used much more frequently are "small", "freedom", "classical", "democracy", "open", "elegant" and "good", and only "freedom" and "democracy" are not specific to China. The words used less frequently are "high", "environment", "clean", "welfare", "countries", "prosperity", "fashion", "culture", "flourishing", "economy", "leisure", "modern" and so on, while "countries", "clean", "fashion", "prosperity", "culture", "economy", "high", and "modern" are not specific to China. More specific words are used more frequently by Chinese students to describe Europe.

Chinese students have a very different vision of Europe compared with students in the majority of countries. They think especially highly of the European economy and culture and appreciate the environment as do students of other countries.

NB: The words that are significantly more quoted by Chinese students than by students from other countries are in red.

Sources: EuroBroadMap survey, 2010
FP7 - EuroBroadMap, visions of europe in the world
Authors: F. Guérin-Pace (INED), B. Garnier (INED), 2011
The visions of Europe revealed by the words used by Chinese students to describe Europe are mostly positive. Social factors like gender, level of belonging, number of languages spoken, field of study and city generate differences in the visions within the Chinese sample.

The comparison of words according to gender in the Chinese sample reveals the following oppositions: Chinese male and female students have different representations of Europe. For male students, Europe is more strongly associated with a territory of domination (union) and competition (football), and is also known for its science and environment. However, female students prefer to describe Europe using commendatory words, such as "romantic", "gentleman", "elegant", "ancient" and "beautiful".

From the comparison of the use of different words according to the scale of belonging for Chinese students, we can come to these conclusions: for students with an infra-national feeling of belonging, Europe is more strongly linked to a territory of domination and economy. Students with a national feeling of belonging are more likely to describe Europe using commendatory words and to emphasise the culture. Students with supranational feelings of belonging have a more comprehensive understanding of Europe. They use commendatory adjectives to describe it, emphasising the economy. They also pay attention to the environment and the existing challenges and problems facing Europe. Other students are more willing to use the concepts of revival and the sea to describe Europe.

The correlation between the students' choice of words and the number of languages they speak seems to imply that the more languages students can speak, the more aspects of Europe they focus on; the fewer languages students can speak, the more positive visions of Europe they mention. Students who speak only one language (Chinese) think of Europe in a positive and simple manner. Students who can speak two languages (usually Chinese and English) focus on the European life of leisure, romance and culture, and are curious about the mysteries of Europe. In the eyes of students who speak three languages, Europe is much more complicated in many different aspects. These students prefer concepts relating to a common feeling of belonging. Students who speak four languages have a positive vision of Europe because of its diversity. At the same time, they have a negative vision that Europe is crowded.

The correlation between the students' choice of words and the field of study is very interesting, as what interests them is not necessarily associated with their field of study. Art students think highly of the easy life and economy in Europe. Business students have the most diversified and nuanced image of Europe, incorporating economy, politics, culture, geography, personality and the environment. Engineering students show an interest in culture, economy, social life and diversification, in addition to science and calculations. Health students like to consider Europe’s science and cleanliness, but they consider Europe to be a territory of domination rather than politics or culture. Political science students’ choice of words is closely related to their educational background, focusing on social aspects like culture, political, history and society. Social sciences students prefer to think about culture, lifestyle, politics and the environment, as expected. On the one hand, the words associated with Europe are sometimes related to the students’ educational background. On the other hand, students commonly pay close attention to the politics and economy of Europe.

The visions of Europe held by students in different cities differ and are associated with the diverse political, economic, historical and geographical surroundings of cities. Students in Beijing prefer the European standard of living, political rights and leisure activities, as the reason why Beijing is a capital city is that it has good political surroundings and a standard of living. Students in Canton show a lot of interest in the geographical circumstances of Europe. Canton has a warm and comfortable climate compared with other cities. These students also pay attention to the European culture, economy and social surroundings. Students in Nanking think about the arts more than science, due to its long history and good surroundings for the social sciences. Students in Shanghai are somewhat similar to those in Beijing, as they care about the standard of living and political rights, and they also care about circumstances, like Cantonese students, as well as art. The knowledge of students in Wuhan about Europe is more limited and blurrier than others. For them, Europe is flourishing but mysterious, united but polynary, and Europeans are gentlemen.
ANNEX:
GUIDELINES FOR INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS
1.1 Key findings are based on the comments on the maps on which the students noted where they would or would not like to live in the near future. Each partner country has already realised a very detailed analysis of the answers to question B of the EuroBroadMap survey concerning the appreciation not only of countries, but also of cities. The objective is not to repeat everything that has been said in the previous report (which will be available through a link in the subjective mapper application), but rather to focus on the identification of the most salient facts that have been revealed:

- Attractive areas (characterised by their large size and red or dark orange colour) are the places in the world where students declare that they would like to live in the near future, even if it is not possible at the present time. This area may be related to the countries they have visited, countries where migration linkages exist, etc.;

- Repulsive areas (characterised by their large size and dark green colour) are the places in the world where students would not like to live, at least at the present time. This does not mean that this repulsion is related to political hostility; in many cases, it simply depends on the country's lack of economic opportunities, wars and negative images disseminated by the media;

- Ambiguous areas (characterised by their large size and yellow or light green colour) are interesting in the sense that they are parts of the world that are attractive and repulsive to a more or less equal proportion of students. This can reveal a structural conflict in visions (this is generally the case for the USA, which is considered as both attractive and repulsive by students in many countries), but also a dynamic process of changing appreciation, which is unfortunately impossible to demonstrate on the basis of our survey, as we have only one historical point of measurement;

- Ignored areas (characterised by their small size on the map compared to other countries) must also be identified because they are parts of the world of which students are not consciously aware, which is, in a sense, worse than ignorance.

1.2 The complementary analysis is based on a document which is more complex and thus harder for the general public to understand but crucial in terms of benchmarking countries. Focusing on the countries in which students would like to live, it appears that students from the 18 countries of the EuroBroadMap survey presented answers that are strongly correlated (this is less the case for countries in which they would not like to live). It is therefore difficult to benchmark the differences between maps of attractiveness that are mainly differentiated only on the basis of negative choices. We elaborated a statistical model of the random allocation of positive answers provided by the students who participated in the survey (excluding negative choices from the model) and compared the random distribution to the original one in absolute terms (blue or red circles) and relative terms (green to red colour of countries). The residuals of this model allow the easy perception of the specific places where students from one country would prefer to live in the near future, compared to the rest of the students in the other countries of the EuroBroadMap sample. For example, we know that Italy is attractive to French students, but this complementary analysis reveals that Italy is less attractive to French students than it is to the rest of the sample. In contrast, China is relatively unattractive to French students. Nevertheless, the number of French students who declare that they would like to live in China is much more important than in the other countries in the EuroBroadMap sample.
2.1 Key findings in this case are based on a map of bilateral trade in 2005 which was designed in order to facilitate comparisons with the mental maps of students (TOPIC1). This is why the map follows immediately afterwards in the overall structure of the document. The size of countries is proportional to their volume of bilateral trade, thereby revealing which countries are the most important partners or competitors in the global economy. The idea is to evaluate the current advantage of the country in question compared to the rest of the world in the field of medium- and high-technology products. Countries in red are characterised by a lower level of technology and are therefore dominated by their trading partners, at least in the field of manufactured products. Countries in green are, on the contrary, characterised by higher levels of technology and are competitors which benefit from advantages in the global economy. These maps reveal the main trading partners of each country (size), but also which countries are the dominated or dominant partners in the global economic market (colour). It is interesting to compare this synthetic economic map with the mental maps of students (TOPIC1).

2.2 Complementary analysis: In order to reinforce the opportunities for benchmarking between mental visions and functional visions, we used the same type of complementary analysis as in TOPIC1. This means that we have elaborated on a random model of bilateral trade between countries and compared this random model to current exchanges. Another idea behind this model was to contribute to the debate on the abolition of distance induced by the development of New Technologies of Information and Communication (NTIC). Against all the evidence, many gurus have predicted the "end of geography" (O’Brien 1992, 120) or the "death of distance" (Cairncross 1997, 2001) during the last 30 years and have finally declared that, thanks to globalisation, "the world is flat" (Friedman 2005, 2006). The common point in this literature is that economic globalisation, combined with Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and decreasing transportation costs, has abolished all types of barrier and introduced global competition between all of the countries in the world. Even though these prophecies are contradicted by economic and geographic evidence (Leamer 2007), the "flat world" hypothesis is used in our project as an interesting model in order to reveal the preferential trade relations of each country, in relation to distance, linguistic proximity, historical relations, trade agreements, etc. The map presented here describes what is "not flat" in the bilateral trade patterns of countries. In most cases, the residuals of the random model reveal trivial distance effects (France has stronger trade links than expected with its neighbours) as well as the effects of Free Trade Agreements (France has stronger trade links than expected with EU countries) and finally historical effects relating to colonial heritage or common language effects (France has stronger trade links than expected with its former colonies). This residual analysis is likely to provide interesting links, not only between mental and functional visions, but also with normative visions and diplomatic strategies.


3.1 Key findings: As it is difficult to propose a harmonised synthesis of the discoveries made in WP4 concerning National Political Visions, and as the sample of countries used in the WP4 does not exactly cover the 12 analysed countries, we have decided to introduce a simple document that is more easily comparable to the other topics. This document concerns the degree of similarity in countries’ voting behaviour at the UNGA in 2009-2010, with values ranking from 0 to 100% of common votes*. We did not divide this degree of similarity by topic, but we took into consideration only the raw probability of two countries casting the same vote, regardless of the subject. The selection of only one session is not a problem, as we have verified that this degree of similarity is very stable over the years. This index is an indirect estimation of the existence of shared normative visions of the world. It is nevertheless sufficient to introduce interesting comparisons with mental maps (TOPIC1) and economic linkages (TOPIC2).

3.2 Complementary analysis: Political visions change over time and, especially in the case of Europe, it is necessary to take into account the situation that existed before the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989. More generally, it is interesting to examine the global political situation at a point when the G7 was a fairly good approximation of the major economies, which is obviously not the case any more, as shown by the necessity of the creation of the G20. We have chosen to propose the same map of common votes at the UNGA in 1986-87, allowing us to analyse the salient characteristics of political linkages during the last quarter of the 20th century.

(*) For any given resolution, we considered two countries as similar if they made exactly the same choice between “Yes”, “No”, “Abstention” and “Don’t participate”. In all other cases, their choices are considered to be different (“Yes/No” is therefore considered as equivalent to “Yes/Abstention” or “No/Abstention”). For each resolution, two countries are therefore “similar” (1) or “different” (0), and for a group of resolutions, we can measure the degree of similarity as the sum of the common votes divided by the number of votes.
4.1 Key findings: Mobility and migration define a transversal topic that interacts with the three previous topics in order to complete the vision of a given country. However, it is also a major topic in the second part of the analysis, which will focus on the relations between the country in question and Europe. This is the reason why this topic has been placed exactly in the middle. We decided to focus on mobility rather than migration and to take advantage of the original answers collected in our survey about the last five countries visited by students. The problem was that the number of trips abroad differs greatly from one surveyed country to another, and it was initially difficult to compare the results for very large emerging countries like China (where the borders are far apart and mobility is reduced) and small European countries like Belgium (where students are located at a short distance from many borders and have many opportunities to gain international experience). We therefore decided to map two kinds of information. The size of the circle represents the distribution of external mobility of the country, regardless of the level of this external mobility. It therefore answers the following question: “Among the countries visited by Chinese students abroad, which are the most frequently visited?” The colour of the circle indicates the probability that students from the country will visit foreign countries. It therefore answers another question: “What is the probability of Chinese students visiting this particular country?” With this system, it is easy to compare the main destinations of the students in each country (through the size of the circles) and the intensity of their experience of international mobility (light or dark colours of the circles). For example, in China, the size of the circles indicates that the most frequently visited foreign destinations are Japan, Singapore, South Korea and the USA, but the light colour shows that less than 5% of the interviewed students had visited these countries. In a contrasting case, in France, the most frequently visited destinations are Spain, Italy and the UK, and the dark colour indicates that more than 20% of the interviewed students had visited these destinations. We can also see that the USA is a more frequent destination for Chinese than for French students in relative terms (size) but not in absolute terms (colour).

4.2 Complementary analysis: The aim of the complementary analysis is to reveal the network of active diasporas which maintain links in the present. Some partners proposed a figure of the number of migrants living in OECD countries, derived from the work realised by WP5. These data are not perfect (see the methodology in the WP5 report), but they are sufficient to analyse the main destinations of migrants, provided that the destinations are located in the richest part of the world (OECD countries: North America, Western Europe and East Asia). However, this obviously excludes South-South migrations and the possible North-South migrations that are not systematically documented. On the basis of the available documents, we can say that, for example, French migrants are mainly oriented towards their neighbouring countries (Belgium, the UK and Germany) and towards the USA. It was also possible to analyse their importance in the geographical origins of migratory flows converging on various countries. For example, French migration represents an important proportion of the total migratory flows to Luxembourg, but a very small share within the USA.

On the other hand, some partners decided to use the results obtained in WP3 for the qualitative analysis of migration towards the EU in order to complement a more in-depth analysis. This seemed particularly relevant for the partners from India, Malta and Romania, who benefited from specific studies realised by the sociologists and anthropologists involved in the project, described in the final deliverable of WP3.
5.1 Key findings: This topic deals with one of the most important results of the project, which is the mental division of the world by students from a non-Eurocentric perspective. In question C, students were invited to "divide the world into regions (maximum 15) and to name these regions". At the moment, we have limited our investigation to the analysis of the localisation of the part of the world in which students located their own country. This means that, in the case of French students, we used Geographical Information System (GIS) tools to collect all of the geometric areas in which French students included the capital city of France, Paris, and we overlapped the polygons in order to obtain a fuzzy representation of the part of the world in which the majority of French students include themselves. We obtained a map that describes "the region of the world where France is located" in a probabilistic way. We can distinguish a minimal core (i.e. the part of the world which is associated with Paris by 90% of French students), a median extension (i.e. the world region in which France is located according to the majority of French students) and a maximal extension (i.e. the part of the world that is associated with France by a minimum of 10% of French students). This mental localisation of the country by students is clearly strongly influenced by norms and by the geography curriculum in primary and secondary schools. There is no doubt that in many cases, the maps will mainly reflect the classical division of the world into the so-called "continents" (Asia, Europe, America, etc.). However, many variations can be introduced in the delineation of these normative continents. For example, it is difficult to anticipate whether Brazilian students will define themselves as belonging to a greater America (including the USA and Canada), Latin America (including Mexico but not the USA or Canada) or South America (excluding all NAFTA countries and perhaps Central America countries). It is also possible that at least a minority of countries will propose other criteria that will reduce or increase the size of the traditional geographical continents. For example, some Brazilian students may use the economic criterion and reduce their world region to Mercosur. Alternatively, they may consider historical relations and associate themselves with Portugal and Spain in a cross-oceanic region. Many other solutions are possible, such as a "North/South" division. Finally, the students who propose "one world" maps will include their countries in a maximal region covering the entire surface of the earth. This is the reason why each of the three limits (minimal, median, maximal) has to be carefully interpreted in relation to previous analyses of mental attractiveness (TOPIC1), economic flows (TOPIC2), political similarities (TOPIC3) and mobility and migration (TOPIC4). It was also important during the analysis to bear in mind the geographical and demographic size of countries as an element of interpretation. In enormous countries like China, Russia, Brazil or India, it is not surprising that many students define their country as a world region and it is certainly not proof of "nationalism" or a form of rejection of other people.

5.2 Complementary analysis: The focus on the geometry of the region of the world in which the students located their country is an original contribution of the EuroBroadMap survey, but it had to be complemented by a semantic analysis of the names given to the region in which the surveyed students located their own country. As previously explained, students are certainly heavily influenced by the normative content of primary and secondary curricula, and in many cases, semantic analysis will reveal a trivial dominant answer like "America" in the case of Brazil. However, it is of significant interest in such cases to also analyse the associated words like "Latin", "Southern", etc. Moreover, some countries like Russia or Turkey are located on the border of the classical "continents" displayed in textbooks. There is then no guarantee that one word will dominate. We may observe mixtures of dominant words or specific words describing intermediate regions between continents ("Middle East", "Mediterranean") or aggregates of classical continents ("Eurasia"). It was very important to analyse not only the high-frequency words, but also the variation introduced by a minority of students.
6.1 Key findings: In accordance with the critical and non-Eurocentric perspectives of the EuroBroadMap project, it was only at the final stage of the research that the word "Europe" was introduced. In fact, it is important to draw a general vision of one country in the world before launching a specific focus on its relation to the fuzzy notion of "Europe". The previous comments on TOPICS1 to 4 have certainly used the political object of "the EU" (which is defined precisely in space and time, despite changing extensions), but the notion of "Europe" should normally not be used in the comments before TOPIC5, where it appears as a category used by students for the description of the region of the world in which their country is located. In TOPIC5, students were not obliged to use "Europe" when naming the divisions of the world. The fact, for example, that the majority of French students used the name "Europe" to name their world region was not directly induced by the question. In TOPIC6, we analysed the results of question D.1 of the survey, in which students were asked to propose a delineation of "Europe". This question is not purely scholarly, like the problem of delineating "the EU" (which would be a measurement of knowledge), but it is nevertheless a normative question, even though students are invited to propose their "own" definition. Finally, it is important to consider a vital difference in the geometric exercise of delineation proposed in questions C and D. In question C, students were invited to realise a full partition of the world, which means that the delineation of external world regions ("Asia", "Mediterranean") could influence the delineation of what they called "Europe". In question D, such external constraints were removed and the students were theoretically not subject to the same pressure from external world regions in their choice. Moreover, the frame of the cartographic template is smaller, and less freedom is given to include (for example) New Zealand or Australia in Europe. This means that in the case of countries located outside of the EU or its neighbourhood, it is of great interest to compare the delineation realised in TOPIC5 and TOPIC6. In order to make this comparison easier, we followed the same type of cartographical approach and proposed three types of delineation: "minimal", "median" and "maximal" extensions of "Europe". The thresholds are slightly different for minimal and maximal extensions, but this does not really hamper the comparison. In order to make the comparison between countries easier, we completed this delineation of Europe with a measurement of the specificity of answers compared to the entire sample of countries. For example, French students included Iceland and Ireland significantly more than average in their delimitation of Europe, and this positive residual is shown in yellow-orange. In contrast, they included countries located to the south and the east of the EU like Egypt, Armenia and Russia significantly less frequently, and these negative residuals are shown in blue. It is therefore easy to see that French students proposed a delineation of Europe that is more oriented towards the northwest than usual.

6.2 Complementary analysis: The analysis of the mental geometry of "Europe" is not only based on the areal extension, but also on the location of linear borders drawn by students. We can indeed suppose that many students used reference points or reference lines that they consider as anchor elements in their vision of the European borders. In order to precisely identify these anchor elements, we overlapped on a grid the place where the majority of students drew the European border, regardless of the precise area they wanted to identify. This map of the frequency of borders is a useful complement to the previous map of the areal extension of Europe because it reveals the most symbolic places used by students from a given country in their attempts to delineate Europe. The anchor elements are generally easy to identify, and it is furthermore possible to discover "shatter belt areas" where many lines are drawn but with no such precision. Finally, it is also possible to identify "bifurcation points", i.e. places where two alternative trajectories of European borders diverge. For example, the Black Sea is typically a bifurcation point on the EU border, where some students decide to follow the EU27 borders, other students enlarge this area to include Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova and others include Russia and the Caucasian countries. The interpretation of these mental borders of Europe was completed in some cases by input from WP3 on migrants' visions of Europe. For example, when an Indian migrant declares that she or he is not yet in Europe when she or he arrives in Romania, she or he suggests that her or his own vision of Europe is more restrictive than the actual external border of the EU. In contrast, Tunisian migrants arrested in Malta or Lampedusa consider that they have arrived in "Europe" because they have entered the Schengen area and benefit (from this moment on) from a certain number of rights.
7.1 Key findings: As in the case of TOPIC5, it was necessary to complement the geometric analysis with a semantic analysis. We could not directly ask the students to justify their delineation of "Europe", because they were invited to use their own criteria. However, it was interesting to ask them to propose five words which they associated with "Europe" immediately after they had drawn their own geographical delineation of this fuzzy notion. Here, we fully assumed the presence of the "halo effect", i.e. the fact that the choice of words was influenced by the previous question, which was a very specific mental exercise based on maps. The words associated with Europe would probably have been different if the question had been asked in another context, but we wanted to explore potential connections between geographic and semantic visions of Europe and we did not intend to analyse the semantic field of "Europe" per se. In the final WP2 report, we have analysed the huge differences in vocabulary associated with "Europe" by students from the different countries in the survey. We would remind each country in the survey of the words most frequently associated with Europe (size of characters), but also of the most specific words to the students of a certain country, compared to the students from other countries (words shown in red). For example, the word "culture" is frequently associated with "Europe" by French students (large size), but this is also the case in the majority of countries in the EuroBroadMap survey and cannot be considered as specific to France (grey colour). On the contrary, the word "Schengen" is not frequently used by French students to describe Europe (small size), but it is used much more often than by students in other countries of the survey and it is therefore specific to the French vision of Europe (red colour). Finally, the word "union" is also used very frequently by French students, and much more than usual (large size, red colour). It is useful to compare the situation of different countries, as distinct groups were revealed by the final report of WP2. For example, when the words associated with "Europe" by French students are discussed, it is interesting to observe that they are very similar to those used by Belgian and Swedish students, who also belong to old member states.

7.2 Complementary analysis: In the previous analyses, we considered the students of a specific country as one entity, without introducing any differentiation by gender, field of study, level of income or city (in many countries, the EuroBroadMap survey took place in different cities, sometimes located a very long distance from each other, like in Russia, China, India and Brazil). In principle, the variation in the visions of the world and the visions of Europe according to these criteria are explored in another deliverable. We therefore propose to summarise some of the previous analyses (in the deliverable "Mental maps of the world, nº2"), for which each country analysed in detail the differences in vocabulary associated with Europe by the survey location. We consider it to be absolutely necessary to systematically introduce the analysis of gender variation (even if such an effect does not exist). In addition, we leave each country free to add what it considers to be the most interesting aspects of the other topics: field of study, level of income, city, etc.