



## **FORUM PER I PROBLEMI DELLA PACE E DELLA GUERRA**

*Forum per i problemi della pace e della guerra - Forum on the Problems of Peace and War*  
Via G.P. Orsini 44; 50126 Firenze – Italy. tel. +39 0556800165; fax. +39 0556581933; [www.onlineforum.it](http://www.onlineforum.it)

### **GARNET Working Paper No. 17/07**

#### **RESEARCH REPORT**

## **THE EXTERNAL IMAGE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

**Director of Research:**

**Sonia Lucarelli**

(Forum on the Problems of Peace and War - Florence – and  
University of Bologna at Forlì) – [sonia.lucarelli@unibo.it](mailto:sonia.lucarelli@unibo.it)



The survey *The External Image of the European Union* has been conducted in the Framework of the Jointly Executed Research Project 5.2.1. (*Normative issues*) of the Network of Excellence *Global Governance, Regionalisation and Regulation: the Role of the EU* – GARNET (Contract No 513330); (EU 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme 2005-2010; Call Identifier: FP6-2002-Citizens-3 – Garnet web page: <http://wi-garnet.uni-muenster.de/index.php?id=192>). We are grateful to Garnet and to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for their financial contribution to the project.

# THE EXTERNAL IMAGE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Edited by Sonia Lucarelli

## CONTENT

About the Authors

Acknowledgments

Summary

Executive Summaries of Reports

### Introduction

- [\*EU political identity, foreign policy and external image\* - Sonia Lucarelli](#)

### Country reports

- [\*Australia\* - Katrina Stats](#)
- [\*Brazil\* - Arlo Poletti](#)
- [\*Canada\* - Osvaldo Croci, Livianna Tossuti](#)
- [\*China\* - Arlo Poletti, Roberto Peruzzi, Shuangquan Zhang](#)
- [\*Egypt\* - Soya Bayoumi](#)
- [\*India\* - Lorenzo Fioramonti](#)
- [\*Japan\* - Natalia Chaban and Mark Kauffmann](#)
- [\*South Africa\* - Lorenzo Fioramonti](#)

### Transversal reports

- [\*NGO image of the EU\* - Massimiliano Andreatta, Nicole Doerr](#)
- [\*The Commission's diplomats and the EU International Image\* - Caterina Carta](#)

### Conclusions

- [\*EU self-representation and the self-other's cognitive gap: drawing some conclusions\*](#)  
- Lorenzo Fioramonti, Sonia Lucarelli

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Massimiliano Andretta** ([Massimiliano.Andretta@eui.eu](mailto:Massimiliano.Andretta@eui.eu)) is Assistant Professor at the University of Pisa where he teaches Political Science, Comparative Politics, Political Communication and Political Participation and Social Movements. Among his publications are a book on the Global Justice Movement written with Donatella della Porta, Lorenzo Mosca and Herbert Reiter (*Globalization from Below*, University of Minnesota Press, 2006), an article on the Europeanisation of Italian Social Movements, written with Manuela Caiani ('Social Movements in Italy: Which Kind of Europeanisation', *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 7, 2005) and an article on the identity of the European Social Forum ('Il framing del movimento contro la globalizzazione neoliberista', *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, 2, 2005). His research interests cover social movement practices and theory, new forms of political participation and democratic theory.

**Soha Bayoumi** ([soha\\_bayoumi@yahoo.fr](mailto:soha_bayoumi@yahoo.fr)) is an Egyptian PhD candidate in political theory in the Paris Institut d'Etudes Politiques (Sciences Po) affiliated to the Sciences Po Center for Political Research (CEVIPOF). Her fields of interest include political theory, politics of justice, liberalism, Marxism, social democracy, international relations theories, European political identity and EU foreign policy.

**Caterina Carta** ([cate.carta@gmail.com](mailto:cate.carta@gmail.com)) is a PhD candidate in Comparative and European Politics. She collaborates with the University of Siena. Her fields of interest include: European foreign policy, European international identity, European diplomacy.

**Natalia Chaban** ([natalia.chaban@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:natalia.chaban@canterbury.ac.nz)) is a Lecturer at the National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. She is actively pursuing her research interests in cognitive and semiotic aspects of political and mass media discourses, as well as image studies and national identity studies in the EU context. Since 2002, Natalia has been designing and coordinating transnational comparative research projects investigating images and perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific region. Among those projects are 'Rediscovering Europe: Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in New Zealand' (2002-2004); 'Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in Asia Pacific Region -- Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, and Thailand: a comparative study' (2004-2005); 'The EU through the Eyes of Asia: Japan, South Korea, Mainland China, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Thailand' (2006-2007); and 'Images and Perceptions of the EU as a Developmental Actor: South Africa, Pacific, and the South East Asia' (2007-2008). She extensively publishes in refereed journals and volumes on the subject of the EU's external identity in international public discourses.

**Oswaldo Croci** ([ocroci@hotmail.com](mailto:ocroci@hotmail.com)) is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Memorial University (St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada) where he teaches international politics. He has co-edited two books on EU enlargement policy and EU-USA relations between Kosovo and Iraq and published numerous articles on EU monetary integration, sport policy and transatlantic security relations, as well as Italian and Canadian foreign and security policies.

**Nicole Doerr** ([nicole@plotki.net](mailto:nicole@plotki.net)) is a PhD candidate in Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute in Florence (Italy). Her supervisor is Prof. Donatella della Porta and her thesis titled "Towards a European public sphere 'from below'?". She studies democracy, language and communication in emerging transnational counter publics such as the European Social Forum and the Euromayday campaign. Her fields of interest include discourse theory of democracy, Social Movements, Gender, Multilingualism and Culture in relation to Europeanisation and Globalisation. Her publications include: *Is 'another' public sphere actually possible? 'Women without' and deliberative democracy in the European Social Forum process* (forthcoming in

*International Journal of Women's Studies*) and *The ESF as a test case for an emerging multilingual European public sphere* (Berliner Debatte Initial 2005, 4).

**Lorenzo Fioramonti** ([lorenzo.fioramonti@gmail.com](mailto:lorenzo.fioramonti@gmail.com)) holds a PhD in Comparative and European Politics and he is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Pretoria (South Africa). He has written extensively on EU policies in developing countries, with a specific focus on development and civil society. He is currently collaborating on a comparative study on the external images of the European Union in Asia Pacific and Africa.

**Marco Kauffmann** ([marco.kauffmann@tages-anzeiger.ch](mailto:marco.kauffmann@tages-anzeiger.ch)) is the East Asia correspondent for the Swiss daily "Tages-Anzeiger" and a business writer for the German Daily "Süddeutsche Zeitung". Based in Tokyo since 2004, he mainly covers politics and economics in Japan and on the Korean peninsula. Before becoming a journalist, he worked as a scientific adviser for the Swiss Federal Office for Foreign Economic Affairs (1995-1999). During that time, he was also dispatched to the European Commission in Brussels. Kauffmann has a strong interest in political economy.

**Sonia Lucarelli** ([sonia.lucarelli@unibo.it](mailto:sonia.lucarelli@unibo.it)) is Lecturer of International Relations and European Security Studies at the University of Bologna at Forlì (Italy) and Director of research at the Forum on the Problems of Peace and War (Florence, Italy). Her fields of interest include: International Relations Theory; European Security; European political identity; EU foreign policy. Among her recent publications: *Europe and the Breakup of Yugoslavia. A Political Failure in Search of a Scholarly Explanation*, The Hague, Kluwer Law International (2000); (ed) *La polis europea. L'Unione europea oltre l'Euro*, Trieste, Asterios, 2002; (co-edited with Claudio Radaelli) *Mobilising Politics and Society? The EU Convention's Impact on Southern Europe*, Routledge, 2005; (co-edited with Ian Manners), *Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy*, Routledge 2006; and a wide range of chapters in collected books and articles in areas of her interest.

**Roberto Peruzzi** ([roberto\\_peruzzi@yahoo.it](mailto:roberto_peruzzi@yahoo.it)) is a PhD candidate in History of International Relations of the University of Florence (Italy). His main topics are the diplomatical history of modern and contemporary China; the origins of Chinese diplomacy; financial imperialism in Asia; English and French imperialism in East Asia. He also specialises on Central Asia and Chinese politics in this area.

**Arlo Poletti** ([arlopoletti@yahoo.it](mailto:arlopoletti@yahoo.it)) is a PhD candidate in Political Science in the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Bologna (Italy). His fields of interest are European integration, EU policy-making, EU trade policy and EU external relations and foreign policy in general.

**Katrina Stats** ([katrina.stats@adelaide.edu.au](mailto:katrina.stats@adelaide.edu.au)) was the Australian researcher on the international, interdisciplinary *Asia Pacific Perceptions* project, coordinated by the National Centre for Research on Europe at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. She has published widely on this topic in a variety of academic journals including the *European Law Journal*, the *Journal for Language and Intercultural Communication*, and the *Journal of Critical Public Policy: Analysis and Practice*, most recently contributing two co-authored chapters to the forthcoming volume, *Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in Asia-Pacific: Conceptualizing EU Diplomacy* (Routledge, 2007). Having recently completed her Masters through the Department of Political Science at the University of Melbourne, Katrina is now working towards a PhD in European politics in the School of History and Politics at the University of Adelaide in Australia. Throughout her candidature, she has lectured at Victoria University, Melbourne and tutored at the University of Melbourne and the University of Adelaide. Her research interests include European and international comparative politics, regionalism and integration analysis, and media studies.

**Livianna Tossutti** ([ltossutt@brocku.ca](mailto:ltossutt@brocku.ca)) is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada. She has published research on public and elite opinion, political parties, and political and civic participation in: *West European Politics*, *Party Politics*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, the *Journal of Canadian Studies*, and Elections Canada's working paper series.

**Shuangquan Zhang** ([George.Zhang@econ.kuleuven.be](mailto:George.Zhang@econ.kuleuven.be)) is a PhD student in Economics at the Catholic University of Leuven (Belgium), and a PhD student in European Studies at Fudan University (China); he is the first beneficiary of a PhD exchange program between KULeuven and Fudan University. His fields of interest include China-EU relations, EU environmental and transport policy, Political Economics. He is also a researcher in the European Studies in Asia (ESiA) Project, and is responsible for the Chinese section.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project has been a challenging enterprise which has benefited from the constructive suggestions of a significant number of people that I would like to thank. I am particularly grateful to Furio Cerutti, Andrew Gamble and Mario Telò for having believed in this project since the beginning and having accepted to include it within the framework of their Garnet jointly integrated research project on normative issues. I am also grateful to Shaun Breslin, David Camroux, Kenneth Chan, Mahrukh Doctor, Hanaa Ebeid, Laura Guazzone, Richard Higgott, Rajendra K. Jain, Angela Liberatore, Zhu Liqun, Daniela Pioppi, Gareth Price, David Shambaugh, Gamal Soltan, Antonio Tanca, Eleni Tsingou, Xinning Song, Zhang Yun, Loris Zanatta.

I would like to acknowledge the useful cooperation of the research team of the research project *The EU through the Eyes of Asia*, particularly in the person of Natalia Chaban. I wish to thank also our fellow contributors in the Survey project and the other participants to the October 2006 seminar on *The external image of the EU*, namely Furio Cerutti, Elena Acuti, Chiara Bottici, Dimitri D'andrea, Renata Badii, Daniela Piana, Debora Spini, Rosa Balfour, Lisa Tormena, Daniela Sicurelli and Alberto Tonini for their useful insight.

I am particularly grateful to my fellow contributors for their work and active participation in the project, and to Lisa Tormena for her precious research assistance. A particular thank goes to Lorenzo Fioramonti for helping me shape the research project in the first place. Finally, I acknowledge the financial contribution of both Garnet and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

*Sonia Lucarelli*  
Florence, 28 March 2007