

## **Spatial Reflections of Regional Legal Treaties:(A Case Study of the EU Legal Treaties)**

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Received: 20/07/2019

Accepted: 22/10/2019

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### **Abstract**

Regional treaties are set out to make regional institutions efficient and transparent, and pave the way the member states to work in harmony. From the other hand, the regional treaties legitimize every action by the regional institutions, because they are proven democratically and voluntarily by the member states. The regional treaties affect every regional space and can have some negative and positive consequences as well. The European Union is often viewed as the epitome of regional integration which has challenged most of regional studies theories. The EU has tried to base every action on treaties, because it is based on the rule of law. The EU treaties have transformed the regional space after the Second World War. This paper argues that these treaties have some positive and negative reflections on the regional space. Positive reflections of the EU treaties are as follows: regional peace and security, the establishment of a new regional identity, the establishment of a security community, development and blurring national boundaries. This paper also challenges this claim that the EU has only positive reflections and the public and the elites enjoy from the EU, equally. The sense of marginality and exclusion by some of the Europeans is also the negative reflection of the European integration.

**Keywords:** The EU; Regional Treaties; Spatial Reflections.

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## **1. Introduction**

‘Treaty’ is ‘an international agreement concluded between states in written form and governed by international law, whether embodied in a single instrument or in two or more related instruments and whatever its particular designation’ (The Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 1969, Article 2(1)(a)). The European Union is based on the rule of law. This means that every action taken by the EU is founded on treaties that have been approved voluntarily and democratically by all EU member countries. A treaty is a binding agreement between EU member countries. It sets out EU objectives, rules for EU institutions, how decisions are made and the relationship between the EU and its member countries. Treaties are amended to make the EU more efficient and transparent, to prepare for new member countries and to introduce new areas of cooperation – such as the single currency. Under the treaties, EU institutions can adopt legislation, which the member countries then implement (Europa, 2019).

Treaty of Lisbon, Treaty of Nice, Treaty of Amsterdam, Treaty on European Union- Maastricht Treaty, Single European Act, Merger Treaty - Brussels Treaty, Treaties of Rome: EEC and EURATOM treaties and Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community are the EU main treaties from latest to oldest. The treaty defines the European Union’s values and principles. It also determines the EU’s obligations and decision-making procedures. The treaty also defines the relationship between the EU and the member states (European Parliament, 2019).

By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Europe was the most powerful, prosperous, and advanced continent in the world. A huge investment in militarism and power games encouraged inter-state and international wars. Constant wars and insecurity led to the logic of balance of power among alliances. The alliances broke, mostly and led to protracted wars; for example, the Thirty Years War, the Franco-German Wars, the First World War and the Second World War. The impact of wars in Europe left indelible memories for future generations. Those who survived the wars, and future generations learned a lesson and vowed to abolish war and establish structures that encourage peace, unity, security, and prosperity (Rachman, 2004).

Today, European integration is a developed new regionalism case and

a political system which challenge the prevalent perception of state all around the world. European Union can be seen as the second pole of the political and economic power of the world after the US. European Union is a reality that will play role as a prominent player in economic and political arenas until foreseeable future. The EU has been intended to build perpetual peace and to be as active player in international arena by setting up some treaties in 1990 decade. But it has some obstacles, and the future of the union depends to responses to these challenges.

Regional legal treaties as political phenomena have some consequences and facets which have transformed the geographical space of the Europe. Like other political phenomena, legal treaties have some negative and positive reflections. Investigation of the spatial reflections of regional legal treaties is an issue that has not taken much attention of the specialists. This paper intends to characterize spatial reflections of the EU legal treaties. Investigation of these reflections can pave the way to understand the challenges that the EU facing.

## **2. The Research Method**

This paper using descriptive-analytic method intends to characterize spatial reflections of the EU legal treaties. Data gathering procedure is based on qualitative and quantitative methods.

## **3. Historical Background: the EU Treaties**

The integration thought of Europeans backs to the ancient times. The study of Europe history shows Europeans wills to integration and unity. What made European unity footstone was European Community which its establishment backed to the Robert Schuman announcement on joint plan for steel and coal in May 9, 1950 that its architecture was Jean Monnet (Khalouzadeh, 2004: 13). The main reason which encouraged France to propose the treaty was to control Germany's coal and steel resources, so that Germany could no longer mobilize its armed forces without others knowing. This treaty signed in 18 April 1951 and entered into force in 23 July 1952. Germany welcomed the suggestion and the European Coal and Steel Community was established by Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands (Dedman, 2009). These states signed

Rome Treaty in 25 March 1957 to set up the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). This treaty extended European integration to include general economic cooperation (Pascal, 2006). The Treaty focused on economic co-operation, and not only tried to create closer co-operation in economic and trade issues, but also it set out a wider political vision for 'an ever-closer union' to 'eliminate the barriers which divide Europe' (Maclean, 2015: p. 1). The Treaty of Merger signed in 8 April 1965 to create a single Commission and a single Council to serve the three European Communities (EEC, Euratom, ECSC) (Europa, 2019). The following treaty was Single European Act entered into force in 1 July 1987 to pursue deeper integration by making it easier to pass laws, strengthening the EU Parliament and laying the basis for a European foreign policy. The SEA's main effect was to set a deadline for the creation of a full single market by 1992 (Maclean, 2015).

Maastricht Treaty signed in 7 February 1992 and entered into force in 1 November 1993 has been the most important treaty in the history of the EU. The treaty brought impressive institutional changes in the EU internal policies and decreased in national states power and authority and delegated some authorities to European institutions. The most important changes made by the treaty were as follows: 1) Economic and Monetary Union; 2) more use of qualified majority voting system in the Council; 3) EU Parliament greater influence in decision making through the co-decision procedure; 4) amendment the provisions of the Treaty of Rome and advancement of the agenda set out under the Single European Act; 5) increase in European Court authority to put sanction on member states when it is required; 6) establishment of Committee of Regions; 7) new arrangements in social policies; and 8) considering minor issues like support consumer rights, education etc. (Eskandarian, 2003: 36).

The main difference between Maastricht Treaty and former treaties refers to the establishment of a new institution called European Union which had three main pillars as follows: 1) setting a deadline to establish single currency and economic integration; 2) creating common foreign and security policy which finally will result in common defensive policy; 3) closer cooperation in citizenship, legal

and jurisdiction domains and social integration in Europe (Khalouzadeh, 2004: 26).

The other treaty in the trajectory of the Europe was the Treaty of Amsterdam which signed in 2 October 1997 and entered into force in 1 May 1999. It took the Schengen Convention in the EU law, opened borders between 12 of the member states, and expanded the role of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) by creating a High Representative. Also it expanded the number of decisions covered by Qualified Majority Voting (Maclean, 2015).

The treaty of Nice signed in 26 February 2001 and entered into force in 1 February 2003 to reform the institutions, so that the EU could function efficiently after reaching 25 member countries. It brought some changes like methods for changing the composition of the Commission and redefining the voting system in the Council. The latest treaty in EU was the Treaty of Lisbon signed in 13 December 2007 and entered into force in 1 December 2009. The main purpose of the treaty was making the EU more democratic, more efficient and better able to address global problems, such as climate change, with one voice. The treaty brought more power for the European Parliament, changed voting procedures in the Council, focused on citizens' initiative, and established a permanent president for the European Council, a new High Representative for Foreign Affairs and a new EU diplomatic service (Europa, 2019).

#### **4. Theoretical Debate: Reflections of Regional Treaties**

Regional treaties are the result and consequence of regional integration. Often, regional integration is seen as a final stage in the spectrum of forms of interaction between states. But integration is a process not a final stage. Integration 1) is a process; 2) that states shift their sovereignty partially or completely to a higher institution; 3) which might be resulted in economic, political, social and security gains; 4) and the objective is *legal* economic, political, social and security *harmony*. Legal harmony is the phenomenon that is called peace (Karimi, 2017) and in regional scale it is resulted from integration.

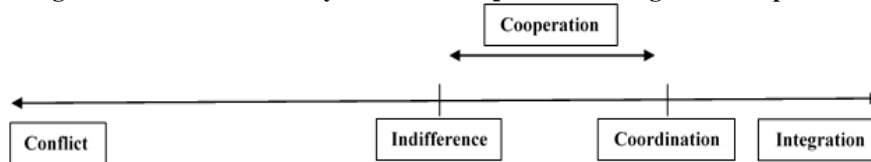
Regional treaties set up by the states to manage the regional space in order to reach regional harmony. The treaties also intend to overcome

barriers that divide neighboring countries. The spatial reflection of regional treaties can be categorized into 5 categories as follows: 1) peace and security; 2) development; 3) establishment of a new regional identity; 4) establishment of a security community; and 5) blurring national boundaries. These reflections will be discussed in this section.

#### 4.1. Peace and Security

Human has taken different ways to build peace; one of them has been creating regional or international organizations. In fact, one of the causes of transformation of international organizations after the Cold War has been settlement of peace and security. Meanwhile, the role of international organizations to settle conflicts is more vital and important, because they have, as transnational organizations, the ability and legitimacy to play the role (Karimi & et.al, 2017: 76). Dobson (1991) in her work entitled “economic policy coordination: requiem or prologue?” explained the relation between conflict and regional integration. She knows integration as a final stage and the most intense form of inter-state interaction. Figure 1 below shows this relation from view point of Dobson.

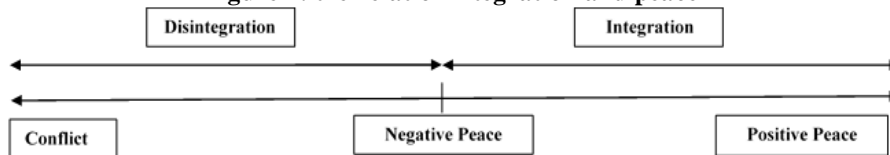
Figure 1: Dobson’s “Policy Conflict-Independence-Integration” Spectrum



Source: (Dobson, 1991: 3)

Her theory is under question from two points of views: 1) conflict is not in contrast with integration, but it is in contrast with peace; 2) integration is not end, it is a process which its end would be harmony and peace. Our proposed model is presented below.

Figure 2: the relation integration and peace



In this model, integration is a process that can be in 4 political,

economic, security and social- cultural dimensions, and its final stage is more harmony between the participating states, a harmony which we call it peace.

Regional treaties bring regional peace and security through creation of common norms like peaceful settlement of the conflicts, increase in interdependence which increases in conflict and war costs, desecuritization of the conflict and change in identity structures which remove self and others mentality. These four impacts are called compulsory impact, enabling impact, connective impact and constructive impact (Diez, Stetter & Albert, 2006).

#### **4.2. Blurring of the boundaries' function**

National states are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new center by establishing regional institutions and regimes. Functions of national boundaries are weakened and their role is developed to regional boundaries. This change is ranged from the remove of tariff barriers to the remove of the boundaries. This is subordinated to the level of institutionalizing of Kantian culture. When the states feel unity and do not have objectifying point of view toward the parties' security, and vice versa they see it as their own security, and perceptive borders of "self" is developed and comprises "others", and "other" and "self" make the same perceptive realm, the functions of boundaries are changed. As Mattli (1999) put it if integration is established among the states, the functions of boundaries are blurred and cooperation is promoted in different facets.

From the other hand, increase in economic, political and social relations cause blurring of the national boundaries. Increasing travel among the states and the lack of required provisions bring traffic and waste of time and capital in tourism and trade sectors. This issue cause to reconsider organizing the boundaries, customs and trade barriers among the states.

#### **4.3. Development**

Development is one of the reflections of regional treaties. Regional economic treaties bring usually broader economic unity. So, it changes in geographic borders, and promote commercial, currency and financial cooperation. The main objective of the regional

economic integration is to promote the member states' development and growth. The other benefit of regional economic integration is benefiting from technology transfer to the member states, accessing broader markets and absorbing foreign investments. It can be said that spillover effects of regionalism pave the way for regional economic development and growth. The member states of regional institutions benefit from scale of economies, comparative advantage and development of production markets which bring economic development and growth.

This reflection of integration has been taken more attention of the theorists. Because, it is in connection with daily life of people, its feedbacks are more tangible, and economic cooperation is easier than political and military cooperation. Human development, increase in trade, national income and GDP and also promotion of peace are the most important feedbacks of economic integration in the region resulted from regional treaties.

The role of regional treaties is not limited to economic development, but they focus on political and social development. In political domain, regional institutions confine the states by developing some principles and norms. In some regions like the case of ASEAN, regional institutions define some norms which confine the states behavior. In other words, these institutions find independent identity and are not the complete reflection of the states' power and interests. Regional institutions can affect the states by defining some norms like being democratic, respect to human rights that can be considered as membership qualifications. These norms can pave the way for political development in national and regional levels, respectively. In social domain, the better supply of human needs, welfare, and other indexes of social progress is in direct connection with regionalism. Index of social progress covers political and social developments and shows the states and regions situation based on human basic needs, wellbeing foundations and opportunities. Social development is subordinated to political and economic development.



**Table 1. Social Progress Index, 2016**

<b>Dimensions</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
Basic Human Needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Nutrition and Basic Medical Care;</li> <li>➤ Water and Sanitation;</li> <li>➤ Shelter;</li> <li>➤ Personal Safety.</li> </ul>
Foundations of Wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Shelter;</li> <li>➤ Access to Basic Knowledge</li> <li>➤ Access to Information and Communications</li> <li>➤ Health and Wellness</li> <li>➤ Environmental Quality</li> </ul>
Opportunity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Personal Rights</li> <li>➤ Personal Freedom and Choice</li> <li>➤ Tolerance and Inclusion</li> <li>➤ Access to Advanced Education</li> </ul>

**Source: (SPI, 2018)**

#### **4.4. Establishment of Regional Security Community**

Patterns of lasting friendship or enmity form regional security complexes. Historical variants like lasting enmity or locating at a civilization area which have common cultural traits affect regional security complexes. Establishment of a regional security complex is emanated from relation between anarchic structure and its consequences for balance of powers from one hand, and geographic vicinity pressures from the other hand. Anarchy and geographical diversity and distance results in a pattern of security complexes in which security interdependency among the complex members is more than security interdependency between non-member states. Different types of security complexes can be defined based on the evolution and structure indexes (Buzan & Weaver, 2003).

Security communities could either be ‘amalgamated’, in which the formal political participating units merge together, or remain ‘pluralistic’ in which the members keep their own independency and sovereignty. Pluralistic security community can be defined as a region comprised of the states in which people expect for peaceful changes. Such a community could be identified in terms of several features, but two are central. The first is the absence of war, and the second is the absence of significant organized preparations for war toward any other members (Deutsch, 1961).

Regional security communities, as Yalem (1979) notes, ‘are groups of

states that have ‘renounced the use of force as a means of resolving intraregional conflicts’ (p. 217). So, it is an ability to resolve conflicts peacefully, rather than the absence of war by itself, a feature that discriminates a security community from other kind of security relationships. Security community is also characterized by lack of arms race. The War among the states seems illegitimate in a security community, and people do not support war. The states in a security community avoid having the offensive arms.

**4.5. Creation of a New Regional Identity**

Ideas which Parsons (2003) regards them as the first stage to from human actions, are the footstones to establish a new identity and culture. As Wendt (2007) put it cultures are categorized into three types as follows: Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian cultures. There is only one issue of subjectivity at the heart of anarchies as follows: in Hobbesian culture “enmity”, in Lockean culture “rivalry”, and in “Kantian” culture “friendship”. Each of these cultures causes taking different policies towards others in terms of use of violence. The state of enmity represents theater hostiles that do not limit use of violence; the state of rivalry represents rivals who use violence to reach their interests, but do not kill each other; the state of friendship represents allies who not only do not use violence to settle the conflicts, but also act as team against security threats.

One of the feedbacks of the regional integration and regional treaties is establishment of new regional identity, namely transition from Hobbesian to Kantian identity. In Kantian culture the states feel unity and do not have objectifying point of view toward the parties’ security, vice versa they see it as their own security. In this culture, the perceptive borders of “self” is developed and comprises “others”, and “other” and “self” make the same perceptive realm. Establishment of new regional identity is reflected in united security- political identity, new economic identity and new social-cultural identity. Table 2 shows regional identity index.

**Table 2. Regional Identity Index**

Dimensions	Indicators
United security-political identity	1. Common foreign and security policy.

Dimensions	Indicators
New economic identity	1. Single currency; 2. Single market; 3. Common economic policy.
New social-cultural identity	1. transition from national to regional identity; 2. transition from sheer trust in national institutions to regional institutions.

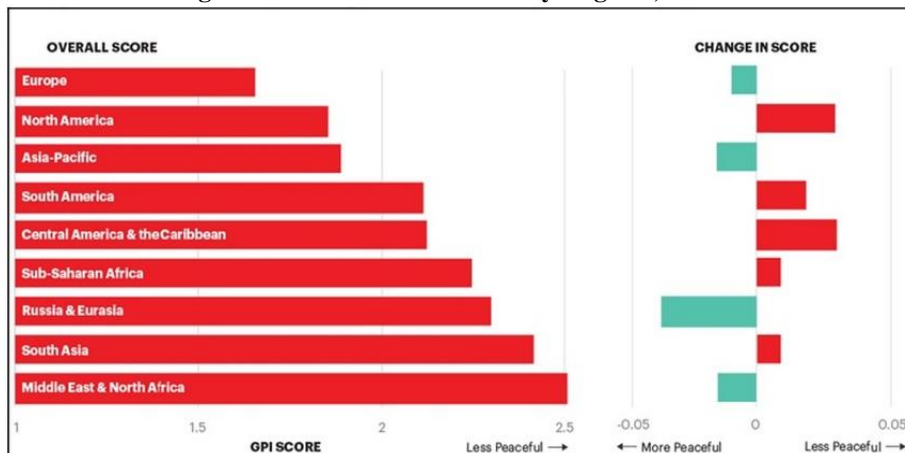
Source: (Karimi, 2017, p. 130)

## 5. Spatial Reflections of the EU Treaties

### 5.1. Peace and Security in Europe

Thirty Years' Wars, Napoleonic Wars, and First and Second World Wars lead Europeans to the logic that war and the following victories cannot bring perpetual peace and there is need to other mechanism to build peace in Europe. Europeans choose integration and law to build peace, as it is reflected in its charter “the EU is established to end lasting war among neighbors” (EUROPA, 2016b). Consequently, after 1945 Europe has witnessed a shift from conflict to peace, in a way that the region has witnessed the lowest level of tension in the world. Figure 3 shows the EU situation in Global Peace Index.

Figure 3. Global Peace Results by Regions, 2019



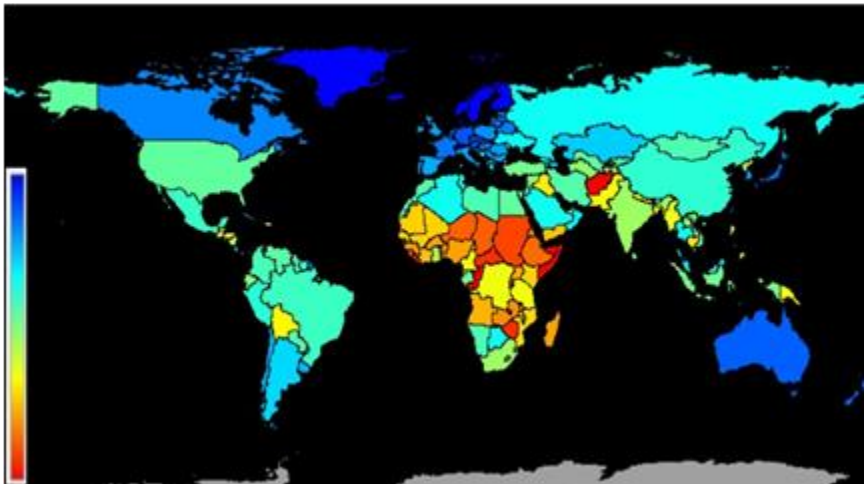
Source: (IEP, 2019)

The most powerful security discourse in Europe after the collapse of Berlin Wall is based on this fact that Europe should avoid backing to balance of power and unpleasant warfare past and in this relation,

integration is a necessity. The most important and pivotal goal of the EU is guarantee of peace and security in Europe. Pivotal idea of the EU is based on against divided Europe. Overcoming divided Europe and preventing war are the main interstate cooperation projects which is emphasized by Schuman Declaration. Essential values of the EU like respect to human dignity, democracy, equality, rule of law and respect to human rights build the EU policies which are reflected in treaties (European Movement International, 2016, p. 4).

Human security index is the most comprehensive index to measure human security and is intended to develop and deepen the concept of security. Security has different facets including economic, food, political, health, environmental, personal and society (Heywood, 2011). Figure 4 shows human security in Europe in comparison with other regions of the world. As the figure shows, the EU countries are among the states with highest level of human security. Europe has not been secure and peaceful than today. European states are committed to peaceful settlement of the conflicts and cooperation thorough common institutions.

**Figure 4. Human Security in Europe in Comparison with other Regions of the World**



Source: (HSI, 2011)

### **5.2. Blurring of the boundaries' function**

Most of the world people know the EU by single currency and Schengen area. Schengen is an agreement in which internal border

checks are largely abolished, police cooperation and information exchange are promoted and a joint system of visa to the citizens of nonmember states is established. Increase in communication between the states and the necessity of provisions in the borders and the boundary problems like traffic and waste of capital and time have caused the EU states to consider reorganization of borders. The establishment of Schengen and abolish of border checks have reduced the costs, and a special corridor is defined for member states citizens. Beside of travel facilities for member states' citizens, the states have joint process in issuing the visa. Based on this process, the citizens who are intended to enter in Schengen area can request for visa from one of the member states representative offices and travel throughout the Europe by that visa.

**Figure 5. Europe in 1950 (in Left) and Europe in 2019 (without borders) (in right)**



**Source: (www.interexchange.org)**

European boundaries have been transformed, functionally after the establishment of Schengen area, but these boundaries are featured in geographical space, and only the border checks are abolished for the EU citizens during the peaceful times. When there are terrorist attacks and in other emergency situations border checks are established. The states' rights in this domain are characterized in articles 23-31 of the Schengen Agreement. Promotion of border checks is one of the most important strategies of the EU to fight against terrorism when terrorist

attacks are happened (Bigo et al., 2015). Although the border checks are abolished, but they have their identity-giving role. As Michel Foucher (2016) put it abolish of border checks in contemporary Europe do not abolish the impact of identity. But it makes it necessary transition from defensive identity to open identity. The other reflection of blurring of the boundaries is promotion of European identity in front of non-European identity.

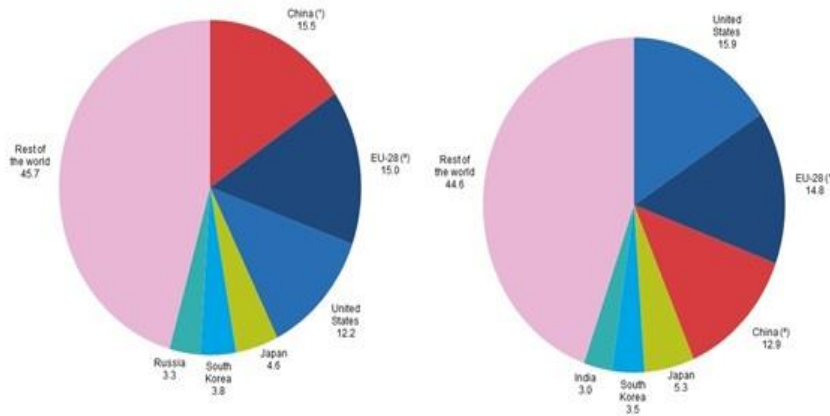
### **5.3. Development**

War and conflict are the main obstacles on the way of development and fighting with poverty. Most of poor states are affected by the conflict and its negative consequences, and they are faced with different problem to decrease in poverty and reach to development goals. Peace and development are supplementary and complementary. Most of the states which are ranked in lower ranks in Human Development Index are engaged in conflict. Development is not possible without peace. From the other hand, decrease in poverty and development bring security and peace and prevent the conflicts (Karimi, 2017, p. 57). This issue has been at the focal point of the Europeans thoughts about integration.

Investigation of the EU treaties shows that these treaties have been established to supply security and economic development in Europe. The treaties focused on economic integration as a motivation of peace and unity (Ette, 2014). The perpetual peace foundation is based on effective economic activities like trade, promotion of agriculture situation, industry, infrastructures and necessary services. Economic integration in the EU is resulted in economic interdependence. This is a real interdependence, in a way that the EU is in cooperation with the member states through institutions like European Commission, Council of Ministers and European parliament to understand how much policies are optimal.

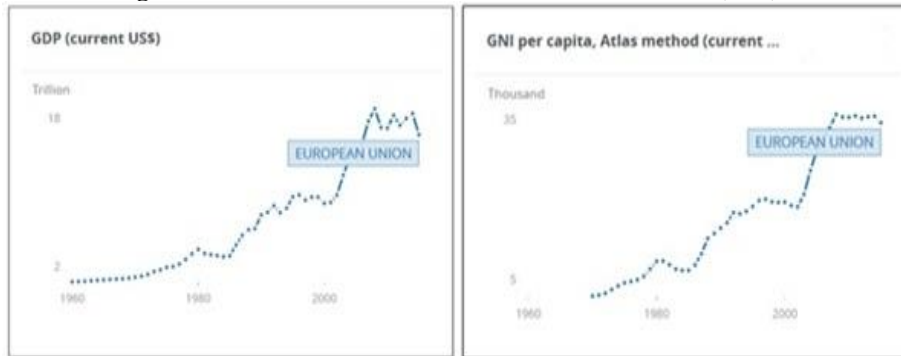
Europe can be considered as the richest region in the world. The EU economy is bigger than the US based on GDP (16.229 trillion dollars in 2015), and GNI (43,434 thousand dollars). The EU shares of 20 percent of global trade that its two third is intraregional. Beside of GDP, the EU is biggest foreign investor in the world with 5,749 billion dollars (EC, 2016b). Figure 6 shows the share of the EU in global trade, and figure 7 shows the EU's GDP and GNI from 1960 to 2015.

**Figure 6. the share of the EU in World trade in export (in left) and import (in right) in 2014 (B/Euro)**



Source: (EC, 2016b)

**Figure 7. GDP and GNI of the EU from 1960 to 2015 (US\$)**



Source: (World Bank, 2016)

In terms of development it can be said that the EU member countries are among the most developed states in the world. Table 3 show the EU member states rank and score in Human Development Index. The level of development is ranged from Ireland ranked in 4th as the most developed state in the EU to Romania ranked in 59 as an upper the middle-developed state.

**Table 3. The EU Member States Rank and Score in Human Development Index, 2017**

State	Global Score in HDI	Global Rank in HDI
Ireland	0.938	4
Germany	0.936	5
Sweden	0.933	7
Netherlands	0.931	10
Denmark	0.929	11
Britain	0.922	14
Finland	0.920	15
Belgium	0.916	17
Austria	0.908	20
Luxembourg	0.904	21
France	0.901	24
Slovenia	0.896	25
Spain	0.891	26
Czech Republic	0.880	27
Italy	0.878	27
Malt	0.878	29
Estonia	0.871	30
Greece	0.870	31
Cyprus	0.869	32
Poland	0.865	33
Lithuania	0.858	35
Lithonia	0.858	35
Slovakia	0.855	38
Portugal	0.847	41
Hungary	0.838	45
Croatia	0.831	46
Bulgaria	0.813	51
Romania	0.811	52

**Source: (UNDP, 2017)**

As it is noted, the process of integration in the EU was started from integration in coal and steel sector. Successful integration in this sector resulted in spillover of cooperation to other sectors and caused the member states to establish Coal and Steel Union, Economic Society of Europe and finally the EU.

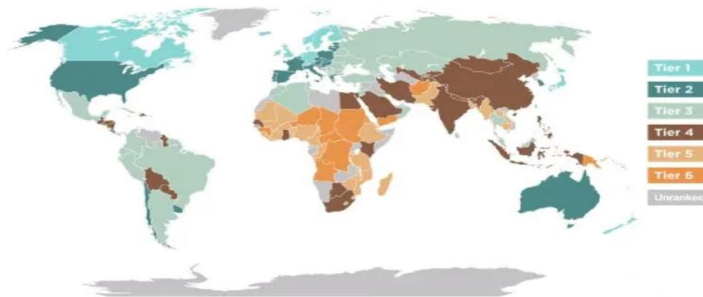
Economic complementary and supplementary is one of the other reasons of EU success. Intraregional trade shares to 64 percent of the total trade which show the EU member states ability to supply their needs. Good economic condition has caused the European states supply their needs to the technology and capital inside the Europe which shows interdependency is promoted and organizational consolidation and loyalty are improved.

Beside of the development index, the index of social progress is another index which shows the regional states good situation in the world. The index of social progress based on three dimensions



including basic human needs, foundations of wellbeing and opportunities shows the EU member states situation showed in figure 8.

**Figure 8. The EU member states situation in Social Progress Index, 2018**



Source: (SPI, 2018)

As the figure shows, the regional states are ranked in very high, high and upper middle categories in social progress index. Undoubtedly, the regional peace and integration is one of the most important factors in the level of development and social progress.

#### **5.4. Establishment of Regional Security Complex**

In the past, Europe foreign policy was based on economy and trade. For the first time, Maastricht Treaty focused on common foreign and security policy of Europe, and a shift of from national states to the EU institutions in policy making domain was focused. After the Treaty of Maastricht, foreign policies are codified and managed under two separate processes as follows:

1. The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) include a Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) that is intergovernmental, and the member states are the main players which act unanimously based on the agreement in the European Council and Council of European union.

2. Foreign policies in the domain of trade, foreign aids and the EU enlargement which are shaped and executed under a supranational or community decision making process involving the three main institutions of Europe including Council of Europe or Council of Ministers, European Parliament and European Council (Mix, 2013, p. 2).

To enhance the coordination between these two strands some changes introduced in Lisbon Treaty to improve solidarity and effectiveness of the EU foreign policies. Lisbon Treaty set out to settle the three problems as follows: 1) lack of consensus among the EU members; 2) lack of effective institutional coherence and coordination; 3) former institutional arrangements were susceptible to shift priorities. Lisbon Treaty innovation to address these problems was the creation of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (Ibid, 3).

Buzan and Wæver (2003) define the EU as a centralized regional security complex that institutions have made it integrated, and the EU is between a complete security community and a superpower with a global player's characteristics. The EU is the most institutionalized section of the world, and its experiences in post-Westphalia era represent new horizons in regional integration and peace. Europe is developing an ideal political system not through reproduction of state in higher level, but through continuation of sovereignty with new forms. Consequently, perspective of European security has been differed.

In the Cold War era, the EU was covered and security concerns were defined external. Security policy included conflict over the severity of securitization of power rivalry against de-securitization of the rivalry through deterrence or containment policy. The EU after the Cold War has been released in spite of the US intervention in NATO framework, security agenda were breakup into different concerns with weak tie with each other that caused different question to be proposed about Europe spatial interconnectedness and its internal security consolidation. Integration plan between the members was the basis of the establishment of the security community. The base of this plan was a type of securitization, namely fear from the possibility of back to the former balance of power and wars (Buzan and Wæver, 2003).

The EU-Europe security cluster can be ascribed as follows: in internal level there are not prominent security problems. Most of the European states are stable and their internal policy is not easily become violent. But, due to post-Westphalia evolutions, most of security players (like ethnic minorities) are located inside of the states and are internal; in regional level the policies are centralized; inter-regional level is not

much important, although it is expected the EU play more effective role in Morocco, the Middle East and Central Asia; global level is more important because the US as the main player is more active in Europe security and one of the causes of European integration has been uniting Europe as global power to protect itself (Ibid). Europe is a security community and it is an ideal example in comparison with other regions. Europeans established an order based on peace and began to blur the boundaries, and different non-state forms of de-securitization were manifested.

### **5.5. Creation of a New Regional Identity**

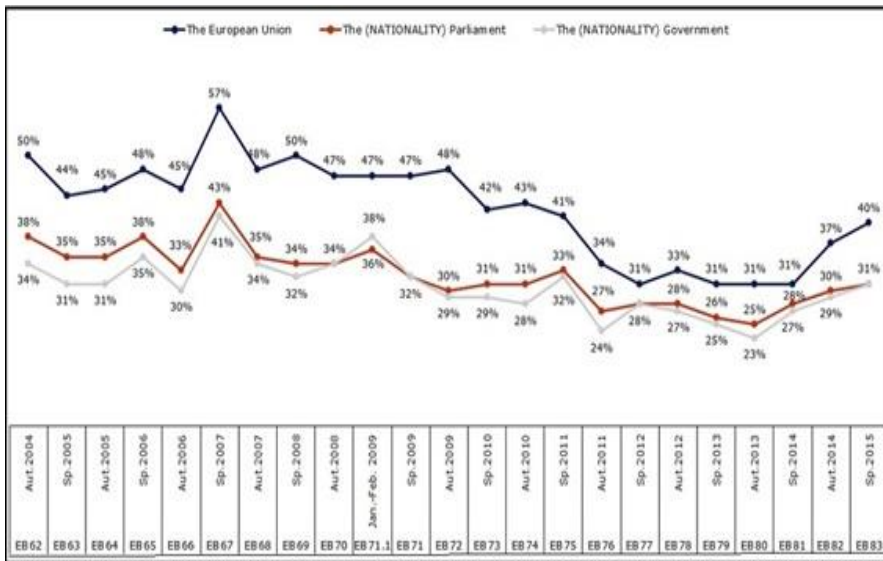
As Wendt (2007) put it, common perceptions about violence range from general (kill or die) to special (to give up). This perception can be categorized into three cultures as follows: Hobbsian, Lockean and Kantian. Each of these cultures causes taking different policies towards others in terms of use of violence.

Transition from Hobbsian to Kantian culture is evident in Europe. European states do not have objectifying point of view toward the parties' security, vice versa they it sees as their own security. In this region, the perceptive borders of "self" has been developed and comprised "others", and "other" and "self" make the same perceptive realm. The basic idea of this claim lies in the formation of a united security- political identity, a new economic identity and a new social-cultural identity.

United security- political identity is reflected in the establishment of common security and foreign policy of Europe. European cooperation in foreign policy has not been converted to a united diplomatic, military and political policy, but diplomatic framework is shifted from national states to the EU institutions, and the establishment of High Representative of European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy intends to establish institutional bridge between interstate and regional levels of the Union foreign policy. Rather, the EU has united policy toward Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, Russia and China. In new security identity domain, it is apparent that none of the member states can consider its security unilaterally, and the establishment of Schengen Area has made this issue inevitable. But it should be added that Kantian culture has not reached to its third level of institutionalization in this domain.

The establishment of a new economic identity has more reflections in geographic space of the EU. Single market and single currency are the most important characteristics of the new economic identity. Single market was one of the EU goals to unite the member states' economies. Also, the EU intended to balance between national currencies and European currency system. This system faced with international economic problems and fluctuations in exchange rate. These issues forced the EU to prioritize Economic and Monetary Union. Not only clash of interests is not existed in economic domain in EU, but also there is harmony in economic policies of the EU member countries.

**Figure 9. The EU Citizens' Trust in the EU, National States and National Parliaments**

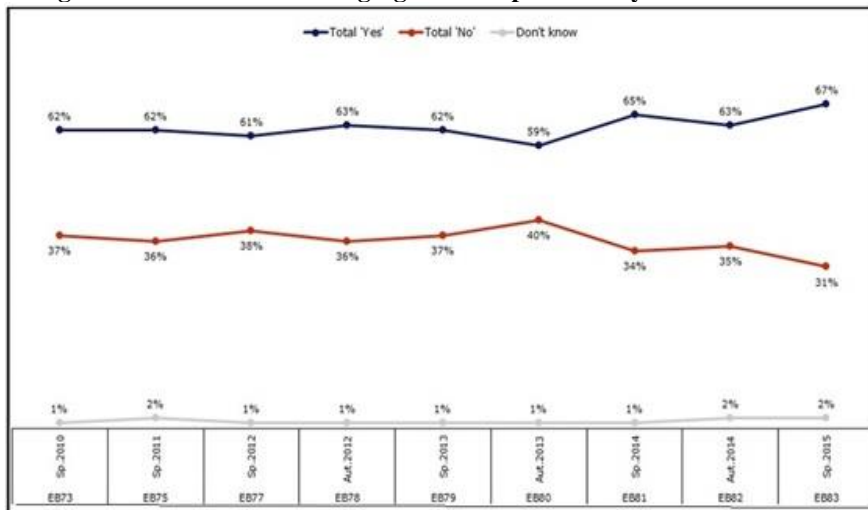


**Source: (Eurobarometer, 2015)**

One of the other sings of transition from Hobbsian culture to Kantian culture in the EU region is the formation of a new social-cultural identity, namely, transition from national identity to European identity and from sheer trust in national states to European institutions. Based on Eurobarometer survey, the EU citizens trust in the European institutions more than national states and parliaments. Figure 9 shows this issue. The other truth that this survey shows is that whether the

EU citizens define themselves as Europeans or by their nationality. Namely, do they have national identity or European identity? Figure 10 shows this issue.

**Figure 10. The Sense of Belonging to European identity from 2010 to 2015**



**Source: (Eurobarometer, 2015)**

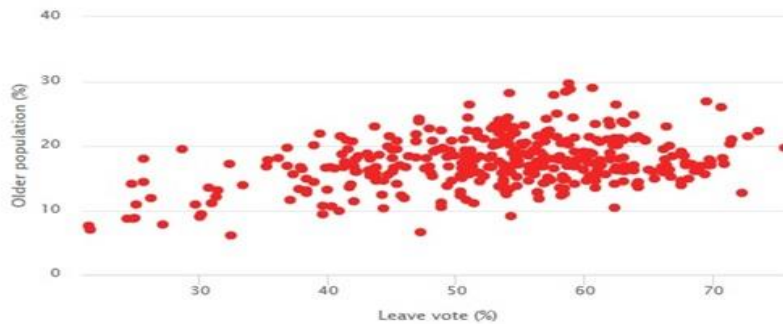
Based on the survey, 60 percent of European citizens define themselves as European, and they have sense of belonging to this identity. Although democratic deficit and refugees’ crisis have faced the European identity with some problems, but this regional identity is an ideal example in the world. In recent years, far right parties in the Europe have challenged European identity, but the European politicians use from these parties’ threats to encourage Europeans to more integration.

**6.The other Side of the EU Treaties**

It will be far from the truth if we claim that the EU treaties have had only positive reflections and it has not had any negative reflection or consequence. Investigation of the public views shows that some people who are directly affected by European integration do not support the EU. Some benefit from integration in the EU region more than the public. Mobile persons resist European integration and claim closure of national boundaries to revitalize congruence of participation, social sharing and cultural homogeneity within national

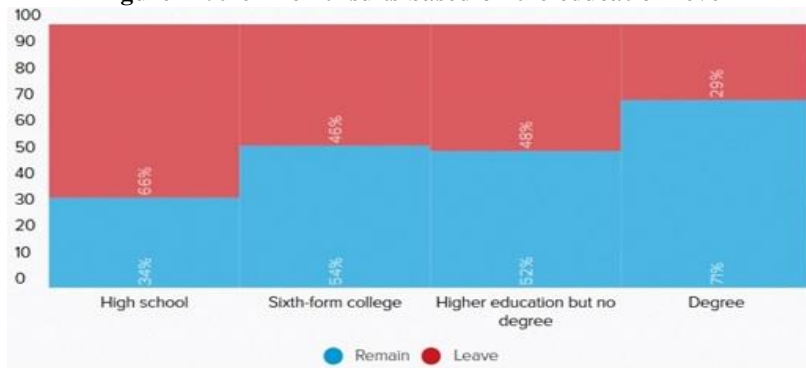
states (Vollaard, 2014). The results of Brexit Referendum implied this fact. Figure 11 and 12 shows the distribution of the referendum results based on age and education.

**Figure 11. the Brexit results in comaprision with people who are older than 65 years; (each point show one place)**



**Source: (Kirk & Dunford, 2016)**

**Figure 12. the Brexit results based on the education level**



**Source: (Guàrdia, 2016)**

As the results shows, people above 65 years old were in favor of the Brexit. The results based on the education level show that 66 percent of the people with high school level of education voted to the Brexit. But 71 percent of the post-graduated people were in favor of membership in the EU. The reason of this issue lies in the fact that immobile people persists European integration due to political, social or cultural reasons. In addition, there is not effective mechanism for Eurosceptics at the EU level to raise their voice. The European Parliament has no decisive role in the distribution of competences in the EU, and the Council represents the governments. Consequently,

without the opportunity to oppose, Eurosceptics have had no other option than to express opposition against the EU. Dissatisfaction promote exit, because the EU loyalty is limited (Vollaard, 2014).

This situation directs us to this question that is there a gap between the public and the elites about European integration? Hooghe (2003) puts that the elites support European integration more than others. This maybe lies in the fact that the elites are more satisfied with the principles of EU governance. But the elites and public are similar in less enthusiasm to Europeanize costly policies like health, education and social policy. Regarding that single market increases in volatility labor market, the public are intended to limit distributive threats through selective and limited Europeanization of policies which flank market integration: employment, social policy, cohesion policy, environment and industry policy. The elites are intended to Europeanize the policies which are predicted by functionalism: single currency, foreign policy, financial supports of the Third World, immigration, environment and defense. This functional rational does not explain the citizens' preferences.

## **7. Conclusions**

The EU is based on the rule of law which increases in regional legal treaties importance. This means that every action taken by the EU is based on treaties that have been approved voluntarily and democratically by the EU member countries. The treaties set out EU objectives, rules for EU institutions, how decisions are made and the relationship between the EU and its member countries. Treaties intends make the EU more efficient and transparent, and to introduce new areas of cooperation.

Treaty of Lisbon, Treaty of Nice, Treaty of Amsterdam, Treaty on European Union- Maastricht Treaty, Single European Act, Merger Treaty - Brussels Treaty, Treaties of Rome: EEC and EURATOM treaties and Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community are the EU main treaties from latest to oldest. These treaties have changed the EU regional space. The most important reflection of the EU treaties has been regional peace and security in Europe. The EU countries are among the states with highest level of peace and human security. Europe has not been secure and peaceful than today. European

states are committed to peaceful settlement of the conflicts and cooperation through common institutions.

The second reflection of the EU treaties is blurring of national boundaries. European boundary functions are transformed after the Schengen treaty and their importance has been reduced. Although, blurring of boundaries in contemporary Europe does not abolish the impact of identity, but they have lost their function to divide Europe which paved the way for citizens to define themselves by European identity, not by national identity.

The third reflection of the EU treaties is development of the region. Investigation of the EU treaties shows that these treaties have been established to supply security and economic development in Europe. These treaties focused on economic integration as a motivation of peace and unity. Europe can be considered as the richest region in the world. The EU economy is bigger than the US based on GDP, and the EU member states are among the most developed states in the world. The index of social progress is another index which shows the region's excellent situation in the world.

The fourth reflection of the EU treaties in the European geographical space can be categorized into four categories. Establishment of a new regional identity is one of these reflections. European states were in perpetual war and conflict before the Second World War, but they have formed a new regional identity which is characterized by a new united political-security identity, a new economic identity and a new social-cultural identity.

The fifth reflection of the EU treaties is establishment of a regional security community. The EU is a centralized regional security complex which is integrated by the institutions. In accurate words, the EU is between a complete security community and a superpower with a global player's characteristics.

The other side of the EU treaties is some negative consequences. Investigation of the public views shows that some people are not in favor of the integration. Immobile persons resist European integration and claim closure of national boundaries to revitalize congruence of participation, social sharing and cultural homogeneity within the national states. This issue was one of the causes of the Brexit.



### **Acknowledgment**

The author would appreciate the Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies for financial and spiritual supports for this research.

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