



NEW CONFIGURATION OF BORDERS – NEW DIVISION OF EUROPE? MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF SLOVENIA'S ACCESSION TO THE SCHENGEN REGIME

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The article's goal is to present media representation of the new regime of the Slovenian borders, introduced in December 2007. Critical discourse analysis of news items, published by all major Slovenian media between the beginning of December 2007 and the end of January 2008, reveals that there was no single homogeneous representation of the border included by all the media. Instead, there are four discourses: discourse of borderlessness, discourse of the Iron Curtain, discourse of the Schengen fortress, and discourse of everyday life problems. All discourses are fragmented, neglecting political and social contexts, but only the last one, which appeared in the regional media only, critically represented the new regime on the Schengen border. The elite Slovenian media also have thoroughly changed the dominant representation of the Slovenian borders. What used to be "an Iron Curtain" was reconfigured into "borderlessness", and what used to be "borderlessness" was reconfigured into "a fortress" and "a problematic border". They also reproduced a clear division, with Europe/Europeans and Slovenia/Slovenians on one side and the region and people behind the southern Schengen border on the other.

Keywords: border, media representation, European Union, Schengen regime, Slovenia



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INTRODUCTION

On 21 December 2007, Slovenia became part of the "Schengen Europe", as Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša said at the celebration of "the abolition of the European borders". However, did "the abolition of the European borders" really happen that day? It is true that from this day forward, all border controls between Slovenia and the European Union (EU) member states were abolished, yet the southern border with Croatia became much more closed and controlled. But is this not "a European border"? How is it possible that Slovenia accepted the "Schengen regime", which creates "existential, material, and communication problems for the people living at this border" (Zajc, 2007), without hesitation? What is the dominant Slovenian representation of the borders? As the mass media have been the central site for the proliferation of information in high/late modernity (e.g., Giddens, 1991), and the key agent of dominant representation of borders (e.g. Anderson, 1991; Strüver, 2004), we will try to find an answer to the questions by analyzing media representations of the new configuration of the borders.

The prevailing research in the field of media and journalism studies about the EU issues (e.g., de Vreese, 2002; Machill et al., 2006; Schlesinger, 1999) has been looking for an answer to the question whether news media within the EU live up to the ideals of the EU-public sphere in the content of national elite news media. The answers that have been offered are more or less uniform: the elite national news media contribute negatively to the democratic deficit in the EU, because a natural consensus on what the EU is and how the EU represents citizens' interests, European nations and their borders does not exist (Machill et al., 2006; Slaatta, 2006), and the media themselves are structured according to political and economic structures in society and are participating in the constant negotiation and contestation of what kind of EU we might be asked to imagine. We call for a more bottom-up approach to media and journalism studies and propose a study on how the media representations and meanings are linked to the reproduction of the EU social structures, in our case the new regime of the Slovenian borders. The media and journalism scholars also have to go beyond prevailing studies of news content in major privileged, elite news media in different countries, and also study popular, more local and field-specific news media (Slaatta, 2006).

Therefore, this study's goal is to research how different Slovenian news media have represented an important EU topic, i.e., the introduction of the new regime of the Slovenian borders. We presuppose that the analysis will reveal different

discourses about the border, articulated by different news media.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: REPRESENTATION OF BORDERS

Social theorists have generally favored one of two broad approaches to theorizing about borders, although these are by no means mutually exclusive (Rumfold, 2006, 155). On the one hand, borders have been contextualized by the idea of the network, which has shaped much current thinking on society, particularly under the influence of globalization theories (e.g., Castells, 2000; Urry, 1999). The network, along with associated ideas of mobilities, flows, fluids, and scapes, has become a key metaphor for understanding modern life in a "world in motion". Rumfold (2006) claims that, in this reading, borders remain important both because they have been rescaled by global networks and projected at a distance from the "old" borders of national territory, and because access to networks can act as a bordering mechanism: those not in the network and still existing mainly in a space of places are excluded from important circuits of information and economic exchange.

On the other hand, there are, according to Rumfold (2006, 156), social theorists who have also been concerned with the meaning and role of borders in the context of societal transformations and a new spatiality of politics. He emphasizes Bauman (2002), who sees the terrorist attacks of 9/11 as representing a symbolic end to the era of space and the primacy of territorial power. In global space, borders are translated into extraterritorial frontier lands. Beck (2004) identifies the pluralization of borders as a key development. Borders are no longer only national, but may take many different forms. These themes are echoed in the work of Balibar (2004) for whom borders have become so diffuse that whole countries can now be borderlands, for example, those at the margins of the EU's project of integration: once countries had borders, now they are borders (Rumfold, 2006).

What is Balibar's borderland like in Slovenia? At the end of 2007, Slovenia and other "new" EU members became part of the Schengen zone (with the exception of Cyprus, Ireland, the UK, Bulgaria, and Romania). They accepted the abolition of control over the internal borders within the EU (openness), which, according to the Schengen regime's "compensatory" logic, requires the parallel development of a strong external border (control). Becoming a part of the Schengen zone has been conditioned by changes in Slovenian police law, which resulted in considerably more extensive police powers, which encroach upon the constitutional rights to privacy and freedom of movement. According to Article 29 of the new Natio-

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nal Border Control Act (2007), police officers may examine or search a person in the event of suspected possession of illegal items and objects or to establish identity. This has been limited so far to suspects of criminal or minor offences. The police are authorized to do this not only along the border but also practically within the whole territory of Slovenia (Article 35), which thus became a *borderland*. Slovenia has also integrated the Schengen Information System (SIS), established to enable the authorities designated by each member state to have access by an automated search procedure to alerts about persons and property for the purpose of border checks and other police and customs checks (Anderson, 2004). The key problem of this system is gathering data about persons with the purpose of creating secret records or intentional control of people who are suspected of intending to perpetrate a criminal act. To put it in another way: if a person is registered with the SIS as a suspected criminal, the police are authorized to secretly gather information about this person in every procedure referring to this person. This had before been possible only with permission from an investigating judge, and now it is possible with permission from an attorney general (Jerše & Mrak, 2007).

A key shift not addressed directly by any of these approaches concerns our changing consciousness of borders. The process of debordering nation-states and rebordering the Schengen zone cannot simply reconfigure borders. Perceptions of borders refers to borders' existence in people's minds, to borders' affective, cognitive, and imagined meanings that are assumed to be highly influential in people's individual and social lives. Spatial borders in general – and the ones between the EU member states in particular – no longer enjoy a compelling logic on the "ground", and they are increasingly viewed as being socially constructed and carriers of various meanings. Instead of conceptualizing European borders as self-evident lines, and in addition to an understanding of borders as markers of differences in, for example, language, policy, and administration, borders are understood as undergoing a constant reconfiguring through social relations and as being constituted by imaginations and representations. The idea of socially constructed meanings of territories and borders is based on socio-cultural contingent practices and discourses. The role of discourse for constructing borders' meanings has been taken into consideration since boundaries are not located merely within the empirical contexts of borderlines and landscapes but also in discursive landscapes, which have shaped and continually shape mindscapes and the perceptual images of the observer (e.g., Paasi, 2001; Strüver, 2004). Or to put it in the other perspective, identity is an individual, social, and spe-

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cial category, since the ideas of territory, self, and "us" all require symbolic, socio-cultural, and/or physical dividing lines with other, i.e., a border (Paasi, 2001). In local contexts, solidarity may be based on personal contacts and interaction, but larger-scale territories are inevitably "imagined communities" – the category that Anderson (1991) has reserved to depict a nation above all by the media. Thus, the key process for the construction of national or supranational identity is setting the symbolic border, which in contemporary societies takes place mainly through media representations (Hall, 1989). Thus, one way of assessing a border's meanings is to study media representations.

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NEW REGIME OF THE SLOVENIAN BORDERS

Research methods: Critical discourse analysis

In recent years, mainstream research on media discourses has also accepted the broad framework of critical discourse analysis. The textual analysis of the media discourse was performed on four "levels", which include macro and micro analysis: thematic and form structure, representation of social actors, and choice of keywords.

The analysis of the thematic organization of the news is based on the so-called semantic macrostructure (van Dijk, 1980, 1987, 1988). Macroproposition is derived from local meanings of words by macrorules, such as deletion, generalization, and construction (for more see, van Dijk, 1980, 1987). Close study of the macropropositions made in news items may enable us to look at the news discourse as a whole and thus have a comprehensive view of the new regime of the Slovenian borders as covered by the media.

Thematic organization is directly connected with the discourse schemata or the so-called superstructures (van Dijk, 1980). Van Dijk (1988) divided the news into a summary category (headline and the lead) and a story category. The story consists of the situation category, which, in turn, consists of the episode (main events and consequences) and background category. Longer news items often contain a background category sub-divided into the context (previous events and circumstances), a history category, and a commentary category, containing the opinions of the journalists themselves, for instance, an evaluation of the main events, or expectations and predictions of what is likely to happen next. This paper aims to present the ways in which journalists use the schemata to construct the thematic organization that ideologically supports the dominant interpretation of the new regime of the Slovenian borders.

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To identify media discourse about the new regime of the Slovenian borders, we also analyze how the media represent the main social actors, i.e., who is included within the "us" realm and who is positioned as "them". As Hodge & Kress (1993) argue, one of the central discursive strategies in ideological struggles relies on the construction of in-and-out group identities using discursive means. Any kind of identity, as Hall (1989) further suggests, is primarily defined as a difference from the other. It becomes clear through linguistic analysis that the meanings of "we" and "they" are not ontologically given but are indeed ideologically constructed.

Further, we analyzed the choice of key words by the media. It is widely accepted that the choice of the words used by journalists is by no means arbitrary. The choice is not only the journalists' own creation but is connected to their own society (Richardson, 2006). Analysis of the naming options of the border will be carried out, as journalists have to provide names for social categories; this naming always involves choice, and by choosing one social category over another, the journalists include them within a category and exclude them from other categories (Richardson, 2006).

Data

Our analysis includes all news items (210) published or broadcasted between the beginning of December 2007 and the end of January 2008 by all Slovenian daily newspapers and all national television programs that respectively dealt with the notion of the new regime of the Slovenian borders: the national daily *Delo* (21), the regional daily *Večer* (19), the regional daily *Dnevnik* (18), the regional daily *Primorske novice* (54), the financial daily *Finance* (4), tabloids *Direkt* (2) and *Slovenske novice* (2), the freesheet *Žurnal24* (16), all major regional (bi)weeklies *Dolenjski list* (6), *Vestnik* (4), *Gorenjski glas* (7), the daily news program on a public service television channel TV SLO (18), and daily news programs *24ur* and *24urZvečer* on a private commercial television station POP TV (39). The media were selected at different levels, i.e., national and regional, quality and tabloid, daily and (bi)weekly news media. The period was chosen to cover not only the celebration at the introduction of the new regime of the Slovenian borders but also its preparations and consequences.

RESULTS

Critical discourse analysis of the media news items about the new regime of the Slovenian borders reveals four main discourses, namely, discourses of *borderlessness*, *the Iron Curtain*, *the Schengen fortress*, and *everyday life problems*.

Discourse of borderlessness

The comparison of the thematic and form structure of all news items about the new regime of the Slovenian borders shows great similarities in thematic and form structures of the news items analyzed. The analysis enables us to discover that the macroproposition "on the western and on the northern border, Slovenia celebrates entering into the borderless" is adopted by the summary category of headlines and/or leads, which summarize the most important pieces of information in the news and orient the audience to process the news in a pre-determined direction (Bell, 1991). This is demonstrated by the typical headlines already: "Solemnity at Škofije: Festivities accompanying the fall of the border between the two European pioneers" (S 1), "Slovenia a part of Europe without borders" (S 2), "Border with Austria and Italy is gone: Solemnity at entering the Schengen region" (S 3). The rest of the news items were structured as commentary, which used the verbal reaction category and extensively cited representatives of the EU and of the Slovenian political elite; these sources evaluated the abolition of control on the northern and western borders extremely positively, and confirmed the meaning from the summary. For example: "Janez Janša said that in the last two decades, Slovenia made great progress and reached the culmination now, when it entered into Europe without borders ... The Italian minister of internal affairs Guiliano Amato said that Slovenia is finally a fully equal member of the EU ... José Manuel Barroso estimated that ... the Portuguese prime minister and the president of the European Council Sócrates summarized ..." (S 4). With this minimal thematic and form structure, journalists constructed "fragmented" discourse (Bennett, 1996, 40), which neglected the background information, the history, and the political context. For example, despite the abolition of border control, Slovenia is not borderless and is not an equal member of the EU, since most EU member states have still not allowed the free flow of workers from Slovenia, as it is in force in the opposite direction; however, this information was not included in this discourse. This fragmented discourse was used to represent an interpretation of the new regime of the Schengen border as a Slovenian and EU success. Even though this discourse prevailed in all analyzed media, the elite media, such as the national daily *Delo* and the public television TV SLO devoted most of their time and/or space to this discourse.

All the analyzed media used the word combination "the European borders" to name the EU borders, for example, "the fall of the European borders" (S 5), "borderless Europe" (S 2), "the European borderlessness" (S 6). This naming connotes the

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meaning that it was the Slovenian and the EU/European borders that fell – not only the control over these borders. Further, this naming offers also the meaning that "the EU borders is the same as the European borders", since the journalists used the term "Europe" instead of "the EU" in the majority of the articles, and connoted the meaning that Slovenia was not a part of Europe before, or in other words, that those European countries that are not members of the EU yet are not part of Europe, which has already been pointed out by many researchers (e.g., Balibar, 2004; Strath, 2000).

In this discourse, the expression "border" appears in word combinations that offer exclusively very positive connotations and several "empty signifiers" (see Laclau & Mouffe, 1987), in order to emphasize the positive sides of the new regime of the Slovenian borders; thus, the new regime brings "generations of people's dreams fulfilled" (S 7), "freedom and security" (S 9), "opportunities" (S 10), "optimism" (S 4), "relaxation" (S 11), "power" (S 12), "normality" (S 13), "brighter future" (S 8), "a great opportunity" (S 8). Further, these words connoted the meaning that before the new regime of borders, Slovenia was not normal, free, dream-fulfilling, secure, etc. Only now, with the new regime of the Slovenian borders, has Slovenia supposedly become normal, etc. Thus, it implicitly denied the equal position of Slovenia with other EU members when it was not a part of the Schengen zone.

Analysis of the representation of key social actors of this discourse revealed that journalists divide social actors into "us" (Europe/Europeans) and "them" (non-Europe/non-Europeans/Balkan). Slovenia/Slovenians are equated with Europe/Europeans, which is most frequently explicitly represented in sentences such as "Slovenia is a part of Europe without border" (S 2; S 14). There are even cases of journalists asserting that it was not until Slovenia's accession to the Schengen zone that Europe became true, for example: "By Slovenia's accession to the Schengen zone, Europe got the true European face" (S 15), and "today we have the opportunity to see the new face of Europe" (S 16). Slovenia is represented as an equal EU member, as a part of free, developed, peaceful Europe, for example: "Now, when the border fell down, we became a part of the developed, free and peaceful Europe" (S 17). By entering into the Schengen zone, Slovenia finally became Europeanized and normal, for example: "Now the process of Europeanization of Slovenia, which normalized it, is over" (S 6). Non-Europeans are constructed as a hidden contrast to Europeans, as those who live on the other side of the southern Schengen border, and have attributes that contradict those that are ascribed to Europe and Slovenia by journalists. Except in the following case, the attributes are not explicitly mentioned by journalists: "The

border defined where one belongs. We became true Europeans, while our southern neighbors remained inhabitants of the Balkans" (S 18).

Discourse of the Iron Curtain

Even though the discourse of borderlessness prevailed, each media outlet published at least one news item about memories of life along the northern and western borders. The summary category of all analyzed media included the macroproposition that "in the times of the communist Yugoslavia, life of Slovenians along the western and the northern borders was like living at the iron curtain". For example: "The western border: life at the iron curtain" (S 20), or "From the iron curtain in the communist Yugoslavia to the lifted ramps in the European Union" (S 19). The rest of the news items were structured as a combination of the commentary and history categories, which used verbal reactions to construct specific memories of life on the western and northern borders, and to confirm the macroproposition from the summary. This discourse is personalized, because it was constructed of ordinary people's stories, "full of private, emotional meanings in it" (Bennett, 1996, 39). For example, Ferdinand Blažič remembers a difficult life at the edge of the Iron Curtain. He hated the border guards who intentionally made his life more difficult every day; "... his 70-year-old mother had to walk to a frontier guardhouse because of four tomatoes ..." (S 19). This discourse is also fragmented, because it presents the postwar history as history until today, and it constructs only a negative interpretation of postwar life along the border.

In this discourse, the border is most frequently represented by using the metaphor of "the iron curtain" (S 19; S 21), and the words "closed", "uncrossable", and "military" border (S 22). In all stories of "the ordinary people", words such as "fear of control", "barbed wire", "frontier guardhouse", "search", "examination", "military control", "emigration", "smuggling" (S 20; S 23) in connection with the word "border" prevail; they connoted the meaning that there was a strict military border regime between Slovenia and Italy/Austria.

In these stories, the key social actors are Slovenians as individual and collective traversers of the border, going to the West and being impeded by representatives of the postwar communist regime and non-Slovenians/Southerners, especially southern customs officials and soldiers (the Yugoslav army officers and the Yugoslav secret police UDBA adherents). These are represented as "foreigners", "Yugoslavs", "Southerners" having attributes designating them as "unkind", "malicious", "dangerous", "fearful", and "violent" (S 24). This bipolar representation constructs a division: on one hand, there are Sloveni-

ans who are good, do not adhere to the communist regime, and simply want connections with the West, while on the other side, there are southerners represented as a homogeneous group of adherents to the communist regime that impedes them.

Discourse of the Schengen fortress

When reporting about the southern border, the summary category of all analyzed media includes the macroproposition that "the Slovenian policemen successfully protect the Schengen border from the non-Europeans". For example: "Slovenian police: guardians of Europe at the start" (S 25), "New Schengen borders are well protected" (S 26), and "The Slovenian police control the Schengen border" (S 27). The rest of the news items were structured as the evaluation category, which confirms the macroproposition from the summary by numerous more or less identical positive evaluations of the new regime of the Schengen border. The aim was to confirm that the new regime of the Schengen border was successful. For example, journalists quote very detailed information and statistical data about the efficiency of the Schengen border control without any comparison and explanation: "Slovenian policemen have refused entrance to 1770 persons who were registered in the Schengen information system, they have confiscated 140 stolen vehicles ..." (S 26). The evaluation category is constructed by numerous and very detailed facts that do not say much to those who are unfamiliar with the Schengen regime. This discourse is factually fragmented because it includes only a one-sided detailed positive assessment of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs, and avoids background information and an interpretation of the facts.

In this discourse, the border is most frequently represented by the use of the constant combination of words "the Schengen border" (S 28) and the so-called vocabulary of the Schengen security, such as "protection", "border control", "checking in the Schengen Information System", "border control according to the Schengen standards", "keeping records", "persecution" or "prevention" of the "illegal migrations, crime, trading with people, weapons, and drugs" (S 29), and "severe Schengen regime" (S 30).

The key social actor in this discourse is "Schengen", transformed from an agreement and a regime into an actor in itself, which "enables", "realizes", "demands", and "protects" (S 31). In this way, journalists transferred responsibility for measures, especially the non-popular ones, to the imaginary actor called Schengen, while the actual Slovenian actors' responsibility was taken away from them and they were presented as those who had successfully realized the demands of Schengen. These

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Slovenian actors mainly appeared in the role of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and especially as the policemen at the border, who are represented as heroes who successfully protect Europe: they are "the guardians of Europe" (S 25), who "improve security in the EU and Slovenia" (S 32); they are "well trained and equipped" (S 31), "they control all eventual troubles", e.g., "a crush at the borders" (S 33). People from the other side of the border are in a generalized way represented as "the others", i.e., as the potential enemies of Europe. They are not spoken about in any particular way; they are merely mentioned as potential "actors of the illegal migrations, crime, trading with people, weapons, and drugs" (S 32). Thus, everyone who crosses the Schengen border from the south is constructed as a potential enemy.

Discourse of everyday life problems

Only regional daily and weekly newspapers that readers in the south of Slovenia are reading extensively exposed the life problems of people by including the summary's macroproposition that "the Schengen border caused the everyday life problems to the people living along the border". For example: "Schengen is causing problems to the people on the southern border" (S 34), "Everyday troubles because of the Schengen border" (S 35), and "People, hostages of state politics" (S 36). The rest of the news items were structured as a combination of the verbal reactions and circumstances category, which includes personal stories about the problems of the people who live along the border, and confirms the macroproposition from the summary. For example: "Vlado Pernič asserts that life has changed for him, as when he meets an armed man in a uniform, he gets a deep uncomfortable feeling in his soul and heart. ... Sašo Ožbolt points out that Schengen divides local inhabitants who must wait on the border even for more hours when they go to work every day ... Cards for crossing the border make me feel as being cattle, said his colleague ..." (S 37). This ordinary people's personalized fragmented discourse is the only one among the identified discourses that includes a negative view of the new border regime; however, this discourse neglects background information, above all the political, economic, and social context, especially the system and structural relations of power that have brought about the problems that people talk about.

In this discourse, the border between Slovenia and Croatia is represented negatively as "the problematic border", naming the border as "a life problem", "a problematic border", "a border of problems", "the Schengen plague", "the iron curtain" (S 38), "a militant wall" (S 39), "a border that is too hard" (S 18),

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and "unjust border" (S 40). This negative representation is connected to measures brought about by the Schengen regime, i.e., "the abolishment of the border crossing points for local border traffic", "demolition of the local road and bridge connections over the border" (S 35), "strengthened border control", "more policemen and police traffic on the local roads" (S 41).

According to the local press, the introduction of the Schengen regime at the border caused many problems, such as the "deepened precipice between people on both sides of the border" (S 40), the "loss of community of people who shared destiny and dialect, distinguished from the Croatian and the Slovenian literary languages", "coming to work every day and shopping are made much more difficult" (S 37), the "life of people who have real property on the other side or travel frequently is made more difficult" (S 36), the "cleavage of the I-strian region" (S 38), the "infernal isolation of the border region" (S 38), and, generally, the "much worse everyday life of people along the border" (S 42).

The key actors in stories about the everyday lives of individuals are people on both sides of the border, who are ignored by the EU and Slovenian politicians. These ordinary people were represented as a special community and called "hostages" and "collateral victims of the EU and the Slovenian politicians who do not understand the civilization and historical connection of people living along the border" (S 36). The EU and Slovenian politicians are represented as those who "do not care about problems of the people living at the border" (S 18).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study shows that there is no single homogeneous representation about the border included in all the media. Instead, there are discourse of borderlessness, discourse of the Iron Curtain, discourse of the Schengen fortress, and discourse of everyday life problems. Only the last discourse, which appeared only in the regional media, critically represented the new regime of the Schengen border. Thus, the national elite media excluded an important aspect of social life: the everyday life problems of people living along the border. This marginalized discourse of the problems of people's lives along the border should be fed back into the dominant news media discourses.

The second key finding of this study is that the Slovenian media have thoroughly changed the dominant representation of the Slovenian borders. The media represented new divisions and exclusions, which arose from the Schengen regime. What had been "an iron curtain" (Baskar, 2003) was reconfigured into "borderlessness". The border that had been percei-

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ved as "borderless" for centuries (Zajc, 2007) was now reconfigured into "a fortress" and "a problematic border." Reconfiguration of the southern Slovenian border started with the process of Slovenia and Croatia attaining independence (1991), and it was strengthened with numerous discussions about (non)defining the border between the two states (Baskar, 2003), and with Slovenia's approach and admission to the EU (Velikonja, 2005). Further, the analysis revealed that the media representation of the eastern border between Slovenia and Hungary is negligible, which indicates the insignificance of this border for the construction of Slovenian identity, which is above all founded on Alpine, Mediterranean, and Balkan elements, and less on the Pannonian elements (Šaver, 2005). Further, the prevalence of the discourse of borderlessness, which links borderlessness mainly to northern and western Slovenian neighbors, indicates the media's intention to represent Slovenia as being open to the more developed west and north, and not to the less developed east or south.

Analysis of the media representation of the border also revealed that the analyzed media changed the practice of differentiation with the exception of the marginal regional press at the southern border, which represented people living along the border as a special community. The media reproduced a clear discursive division with Europe/Europeans and Slovenia/Slovenians on one side and the region and people behind the southern Schengen border (non-Europe/non-Europeans, South/Southerners/potential enemy) on the other. The media's element that had been used to constitute the category "we" ("us"), i.e., "the southern brothers" (Baskar, 2003, 199), became "they", i.e., "non-European/Southerners", while their place was taken by other Slovenian neighbors, i.e., "Europeans". We could even argue that the Slovenian media constituted "we" and Europeanizedness through "the significant other", i.e. "non-Europeans", and thus reproduced the centuries-lasting construction of identity of Europe *per negationem*, which is defined mostly through the determination of border and thus through identification of something which Europe is not. This border representation caused exclusion and the construction of a new "Non-Europe" and new "Europe-thirsty". This representation repeatedly confirms that Europe has "always been obsessed with its borders, internal and external" (Boyd, 2001, in Velikonja, 2005, 102). Even more, we could claim that the media represented a mythical image of the EU as Europe, which is universal, free, harmonic and united. Therefore, entering into this Europe was represented as a privileged national project, the biggest one after the Second World War and Slovenia's attainment of independence. "The myth about Eu-

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rope is a bright narrative of values like freedom, democracy, welfare, solidarity, modern technology and, above all, of high culture" (Puntscher & Riekman, 1997 in Velikonja, 2005, 102), while its positivity is constructed through antagonistic negation of all else (Velikonja, 2005, 102). Further, the dominant media construction of the bipolar pair "Europeans – Non-Europeans" and the unconditional Slovenian obedience at fulfilling "the European demands" with the purpose of proving the sufficient and ultimate Europeanization of Slovenians are based on the colonial discourse of the non-Europeans' Europeanization (Velikonja, 2005), which, according to Said (1996), includes not only the arrogance of the colonists but above all the servility of those who are colonized. In our case, this is revealed in the subservience of the Slovenian political and media elite in relation to EU demands, in neglecting to solve citizens' problems, and in the belittling relationship toward everything and everyone from the past and on the other side, so that it is easier to emphasize their own successfulness and Europeanizedness.

We could go even further and say that the Slovenian media rearticulated "the united Europe" through new exclusion and defined the Slovenian identity by rejecting everything that is southern from the border. Thus, the media defined Slovenia's membership in "the EU club" mostly through fixing the boundaries towards those who have not had access to this club (yet), i.e. Croats and other southern neighbors. In this way, the Slovenian own national over-value could be established and the Slovenians implicitly self-represented as the only ones among the Southern Slavs nations who are "Europeans", since they are not "from the Balkans".

The analysis revealed not only *what* the media reported about the border but also *how* they reported it. The news items are structured in an identical way regardless of the media outlet and the genre: the summary category (headlines and/or the leads) constructs the dominant meaning, while the following categories only confirm its macroproposition. With this minimal thematic (minimal incoherent proposition) and form structure (minimal different schematic categories), the news items tried to offer only one coherent meaning of the new regime of the Slovenian borders. This minimal structure constructs fragmented discourses, which do not include in-depth information about the system and a structural context of introducing the new regime of Slovenian borders. For example, citing merely positive opinions of the EU and Slovenian political elite confirms only one meaning of the summary – that on the western and northern borders, Slovenia is celebrating its admission to the borderless Europe. At the

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same time, it conceals that Slovenians are still second-class EU citizens because of the limited migration of Slovenian workers to EU member states. In the discourse of the Iron Curtain, the personification of history confirms the meaning of the summary category that in the times of communist Yugoslavia, life for Slovenians along the western and northern borders was like living behind the Iron Curtain. This discourse represents the "Yugoslav" history of living along the border in a selective, one-dimensional, and generalized way. The media politically instrumentalized and redefined history according to topical political purposes, so that specific public knowledge about history could be produced (Morris-Suzuki, 2005). This ordinary people's historical and personalized fragmented discourse did not allow any complexity or plurality in a way that history actually happens, and it carries along some radical transformations of people's memories and their identities. The third discourse focused only on the southern border and offered the meaning that Slovenian police officers successfully protected the Schengen border from non-Europeans. By de-contextualized citing of precise facts, gathered from official sources, a factual fragmented discourse was constructed, which does not include any critical information about the Schengen regime, i.e., increased inland control and creation of secret records or intentional control of persons. Only marginal regional press at the southern border represented the new regime on Slovenian borders critically, which is probably connected to addressing the audience who come up against the everyday problems and injustices of living along the border. However, because this discourse is mainly based on personal stories of people, it neglects the political context, which could show the system and structural causes of these problems.

This uncritical representation of the strict Schengen regime in the Slovenian mainstream media also reveals how the media reproduced the dominant political EU discourse and turned the uncertainty of the EU over to the weaker people living along the southern border. Even more; by glorifying the borderless Europe and by neglecting the unjustness of the Schengen regime, the media avoided some crucial dilemmas which should be dealt with in the name of this same European public. For example, how unjust is the Schengen wall, and where will the next one be? Are the EU citizens actually also Europeans? How to handle the neo-liberalization of politics in the EU? What about xenophobia and intolerance, and the economic selfishness of the EU? And finally, what happened to the common international politics which collapses at each real challenge?

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Nova konfiguracija granica – nova podjela Europe? Medijska reprezentacija ulaska Slovenije u schengenski režim

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U članku želimo prikazati kako su slovenski mediji predstavili novi režim slovenskih granica, koji vrijedi od prosinca 2007. Kritična diskurzivna analiza novinarskih članaka, koje su objavili svi vodeći slovenski mediji od početka prosinca 2007. do kraja siječnja 2008., pokazuje da u svim analiziranim medijima nije bilo jedne jedine homogene reprezentacije granice. Utvrdili smo četiri temeljna diskurza: diskurz bezgraničnosti, diskurz željezne zavjese, diskurz schengenske tvrđave i diskurz svakodnevnih problema. Svi su diskurzi fragmentirani i ujedno zanemaruju politički i socijalni kontekst. Posljednji diskurz (diskurz svakodnevnih problema) najčešće se pojavljuje u regionalnim medijima i predstavlja jedini diskurz koji na kritičan način predstavlja nov režim na schengenskoj granici. Elitni slovenski mediji temeljito su promijenili dominantnu reprezentaciju slovenskih granica. Nekadašnju "željeznu granicu" rekonfigurirali su u "bezgraničnost", a nekadašnju "bezgraničnost" u "tvrđavu" i

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"problematičnu granicu". Ujedno su reproducirali jasnu podjelu: na jednoj su strani Europa / Europljani i Slovenija / Slovenci, a na drugoj su strani regija i ljudi iza južne schengenske granice.

Ključne riječi: granica, medijska reprezentacija, Europska unija, schengenski režim, Slovenija

Neue Grenzen – Neuaufteilung Europas? Der Beitritt Sloweniens zum Schengener Abkommen in der Darstellung der Medien

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In der vorliegenden Untersuchung soll gezeigt werden, wie das neue, seit Dezember 2007 geltende slowenische Grenzregime in den slowenischen Medien dargestellt wurde. Eine kritische diskursive Analyse von Artikeln, die im Zeitraum von Anfang Dezember 2007 bis Ende Januar 2008 in allen führenden slowenischen Medien herauskamen, erbrachte, dass in keinem der analysierten Medien der neue EU-Grenzverlauf homogen dargestellt wurde. Es konnten vier grundlegende Diskurse ermittelt werden: Diskurs ‚Offene Grenzen‘, Diskurs ‚Eiserner Vorhang‘, Diskurs ‚Schengener Festung‘ und Diskurs ‚Alltagsprobleme‘. Sämtliche Diskurse sind fragmentarischer Natur und lassen sowohl den politischen als auch den gesellschaftlichen Kontext außer Acht. Der Diskurs ‚Alltagsprobleme‘ ist in den regionalen Medien am häufigsten vertreten und zugleich der einzige, der das neue Grenzregime nach dem slowenischen Beitritt zum Schengener Abkommen auf kritische Weise präsentiert. Die führenden slowenischen Medien haben die vorherrschende Darstellung der slowenischen Grenzen von Grund auf verändert. Der einstige „Eiserne Vorhang“ wurde zu „offenen Grenzen“ rekonfiguriert, die vormaligen „offenen Grenzen“ wiederum zur „Festung“ und „problematischen Grenze“. Des Weiteren tritt eine klare Spaltung zutage: Auf der einen Seite befinden sich Europa / die Europäer und Slowenien / die Slowenen, auf der anderen Seite der hiesige geografische Raum und die Menschen jenseits der Südgrenze des Schengener Abkommens.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Grenze, Mediendarstellung, Europäische Union, Schengener Abkommen, Slowenien