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***The Media Construction and Deconstruction of the Borders of
the European Union***

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Cuprins analitic

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Written Press

I. The structure of the study

Research motivation

The grounds for choosing such a topic associate the professional interest of the author and the observation of a certain insufficiency of specialized literature relevant to the analysis of the transfer of the *union concept* in the written press. As for the first motivation aspect, the progressive dedication to the study of the European project by attending certain Bachelor of Arts and Master's programs in the field of International Relations and European Studies established a logical path involving a continuity in the organization of the individual study; whilst the Bachelor's thesis argued aspects of the immigration politics by turning to the accommodation forms, in this case, multiculturalism, and the integration modality of the immigrants in a country of destination *par excellence* (France), the Master's thesis focused on specific aspects of the European Union foreign policy (in this instance, the Sino-European dialogue). Both papers focus mainly on a concept kept subsidiary in the theoretical development, namely, the European identity; the concept it transits and from which it stems is the *border*. The succession is logical and reflects the commitment of the author to an idea and later on to a research field. The opportunity of the author to participate as a scientific researcher in the implementation of the European project *Initiative and Constraint in the Mapping of Evolving European Borders* (coordinator: Professor Ioan Horga, PhD) contributed to a great extent to developing a particular interest towards the concept of *border* and to establishing a research direction; at the same time, the activities carried out during the project facilitated the contact with other fellow researchers which were at different stages in their personal and professional development. The common interest in the subject led to the acknowledgement of its topicality and weight in the field of European Studies.

As will result from the analytical developments in the first two chapters, the concept of *border* and the UE progress are consubstantial. However, the specialized literature is abundant with studies regarding the newly acquired meanings in a union context; as for the transfer modality by means of mass media, it is less prevalent in the literature. And thus follows the second motivation aspect. The analyses regarding the relation between the supranational structure entitled the European Union and the means of communication (audio, video, written media) have focused in most cases on communication regarding epiphenomena (for instance, the expansion of the EU) and less on conceptual evolutions. At the same time, the quantitative analytical interventions outweigh the qualitative ones. This situation arises from the commitment of the publications or television channels to the general purpose of the correspondence between information and the interest of the receiver and to a great extent from the need for quantification in the specialty study of the commitment of the communication means in the formation process of the European Union. Consequently, the research can be determined and delimited if regarded from the point of view of the press content focused on actions, events and specifically on epiphenomena within the development horizons of the EU. The author takes responsibility for the likelihood of the omission following the bibliography analysis of studies having an explicative dimension regarding the conceptual

transfer between the regarded elements, however even if there were a specialized corpus, it would have to be inferior in content in comparison with the above mentioned type of research. Therefore, the current research falls into a niche category and is meant to supplement a literary corpus in its ongoing formation process.

Taken cumulatively, these realities allow the generation of valid motivation resources both in regard to the professional development of the author and to the necessity for the expansion of the specialized literature.

The purpose and the hypothesis of the research

The overall research purpose is constituted of the analysis and the evaluation of the modality of reading and transposition of the concept *union border* in the written press. Each analysis segment contains a development line with the purpose of reaching a finality which can be defined as a subjacent purpose; thus, the evaluating contribution in the first chapter seeks to extract a normativity as regards the interpretation of the consubstantial elements involved in the study of borders, whereas the second chapter focuses on developing interpretative benchmarks, related to the UE discourse and language, on the union border. What results from the two subjacent purposes provides an analysis platform for reaching the overall purpose.

The research hypotheses of the present study are concentrated mainly in the content of the second and third chapter focusing on analyzing variables and developing some perspective points of reference regarding the subject-matter of *union border*. Thus, the second chapter is structurally based on the following hypothesis: the existence of an influence and causality between the European project and the meaning of *border*; the axiality (or essentialization) of the *border* in the union discourse (the manifestation of a tendency to reify the *borders*) and the global perspective as an entity on the systemic element mainly in its exterior form which overlooks the particularities with the purpose of keeping the commitment to the main ideas of the development of the European construct. The latter hypothesis will be conceptually based on the notion of space.

As concerns the hypothesis in the third chapter, it observes the relationship between the status of news and the key-concept, namely the existence of a focused approach (or instantiation approach) by showcasing some instances of the inner and outer borders of the European Union. This is determined as well by the existence of a specific setting based on the reference to median examples between notion and practice that complying with the strictness of the press content which enforces accessibility and localization in the information processing. This hypothesis will be based conceptually on the notion of place marked as a convergence point on the space-time axis (or an instance of the relationship between the two).

The structure of the paper and specific objectives

Structurally, the study is divided in three main sections (plus the introduction and the conclusions) entitled as follows.

- Chapter I: Border as a subject matter
- Chapter II: Border in the union context
- The European Union border in the written press

The analytical corpus of the paper is as follows:

- I. A brief introduction in the historical evolution of the borders within Europe. The academic history of the borders. The theory of International Relations as a filter in the analysis of the frontier concept. The analysis elements of the border concept in specialized studies.
- II. The European project as a triggering factor for the reintroduction of the border as a subject matter. Specific discursive structures: introduction in the European language and the tendency to reify the borders. The EU vision regarding borders.
- III. Written press: an epistemological tool for the formation of a perception/view. The actual analysis of the chosen excerpts from the press.

Given that the theoretical development from the first chapter is self-explanatory, it would be redundant to lay out any specific objectives related with this section. Consequently, only a few clarifications will be made concerning the subjacent purpose and the order sequence; in this way, the geographic and domain contextualization sets the course of the analysis, in this instance the European space and the research sphere of the International Relations and European Studies. The conceptualization of the border by making use of the specialized literature seeks to establish interpretative points of reference usable in the developments in the subsequent chapters.

Alternatively, the second chapter contains a series of specific objects; when reached, they will generate a support for the analysis in the following chapter. Below are some of the objectives:

- The evaluation of the influence of the European construction process on the meanings of the border; a highly important input at this level is constituted of the proposition to discriminate between *inner border* and *outer border* – a taxonomic reference point emerged predominantly after the *de facto* instauration of the European Union;
- The identification of the dissemination channels of the European vision regarding borders; in this respect, the discourse was identified as a *par excellence* spread method of the main content from which arose the following secondary objectives: the identification of the specialized emitters (institutions/officials), the recognition of the recurrence elements and the vectors in the building up of communication, the detection and explanation of the new meanings given to the *border* concept;
- The identification of the content resources from the European communication with the purpose of singling out a union-standard approach to borders; at this point, elements of the theoretical development from the first chapter are correlated with the elements of the European language established on the basis of the combination of the discursive corpus subjected to analysis and to the *praxis* of the EU at an organizational level. The conclusions reached for this specific objective will create both a support and a counterweight for the analysis and interpretative development in the third chapter.

Similarly, the third chapter is comprised by a series of specific objectives:

- The demonstration of the influence the press exerts over the social life and the explanation of the normative role of the press in the relationships occurring between individual entities;

- The measurement of the material/publications amount (or the setting of a numeric indicator for the analysis corpus) with the purpose of gaining a clear picture with regards to their degree of prevalence on the editorial agenda compared with the other types of articles/subjects;
- The identification for each publication of the vectors used in the establishment of the communication regarding borders;
- The comparison of the theoretical and instantiation approaches in the media communication regarding borders; the second type of approach will be based on an algorithm which involves the combination of three elements: phenomenon – event – place as an illustration of a concept, in this case, the concept of *border*;
- The distinction of a prevalence, with regard to, over the key-concept of the analysis;

Methodology

As regards the research strategy, it corresponds to the set hypothesis and observes closely the specific objectives identified for each and one analysis fragment. Therefore, in the next few lines follows the laying out of the techniques or particular procedures (methods) employed in order to extract the analytical elements and subsequently to obtain the means to make possible the research course.

With respect to the first chapter, it is based exclusively on a bibliographical analysis as a research method correlating the historical perspective (the map evolution), the disciplinary perspective (subject matter) and domain perspective (analysis element in the field of study *International Relations and European Studies*). For instance, the filter brought about by the theories of the International Relations contributes to the systematization of the given meanings and helps the theoretical categorization of the research. In the conceptualization process (the analysis on the notional dynamic) the author predominantly made use of the studies carried out by the researchers, both from the national and international academia, extremely interested the European project. This method was deemed to be the most appropriate for the establishment of the points of reference in relation with the definition and the familiarization with the multidimensionality of the key-concept.

The following two chapters focus on the quantitative and qualitative research. It was deemed to be necessary for the two chapters to contain a combination of the two types of research in order to gain an analytical picture as vast as possible and more accessible to various interests.

The second chapter employs, in terms of research methods, the historiographic study for the transfer to the derived form *union border*, the archival research and the discourse analysis for the identification of the significations attached to it. Given that it is sought to evaluate the official stance of the EU with regards to the meanings and the role of borders, the discourse stood out as the most productive support for reaching the set objective. The quantitative research consists in quantifying the discursive corpus analyzed (115 discourses) belonging to UE officials labeled as appropriate emitters (10) for the research endeavor.

The third chapter is comprised of a case study (organizational strategy) containing a quantitative approach by quantifying the media corpus (484 articles) and the authors signing the media articles (224) (the numerical difference is explained by the existence of certain articles having no author). It also contains a qualitative approach by analyzing the structures of language, introduction and usage of the *union border* concept. At the same time, the quantitative research provides a clear image of the weight on the editorial

agenda of the publications regarded of the articles focusing on the particularities of various systemic elements of the European Union being by far outnumbered by the articles on the European project.

As for the utilized sources, they are primarily threshold documents, speeches by the UE officials, and secondarily press articles, specialized studies.

II. Results of the Study

The present paper represents the product of an assiduous research spanning almost four years. In spite of its span, the paper combines the quintessence of various domains in the attempt to synthesize the particularities of a matter of study, in this instance the *border*, which exceeds the reference frame of a single field of study marking a possible evolution path towards what was generically named postdisciplinarity. The research on the conceptual domain of *border* is in itself fragmented by the multiple contents which can be attached to the reason notion to which the maintaining of a development line becomes a particularly difficult endeavor precisely because of the derivative elements that it employs. The research can take any path from any point without it affecting its substance, thus it is left for the interpreter to choose the subsequent analysis stage. That is why, in some instances, for lack of an impartation in the evolution direction, the research may seem fractured or insufficient. It is no wonder that literature published for over a half a century did not manage to exhaust completely the expressions and meanings of the concept *border*.

Coming back to the contents of the present paper, this began by binding together reflections regarding the *dasein* of the European map evolution – that is, if it can be named so; it has been noted that it needs a systematization which should focus on the fluidity or the instability of the territorial configuration of the states. The endogenous nature of the European border formation process was detected (in contrast with the evolution of the other continents subject to colonialism) as well as a particular pattern in the historical evolution, namely the extraordinary ability to plant in the ideation platform of the new structures the seeds for the following conflict.

Given that the redrawing of the borders affects not only the political landscape of a continent, but it also has implications in the social structures and the collective mentality, the analysis of what borders constitute as matter of study arises naturally. The inclusion of these phenomena in the interest of the research is incremental, reaching its apex right after the fall of the USSR when the new world order takes shape based mainly on the transition from a traditional-static state to a continuous-flow state. It has been ascertained that up until the mid-Cold War time period, the idea of *border* is just rarely the subject of research, constituting for a long time the niche study of some sub-disciplines, whilst the contributions of historians and geographers (and to a great extent the economists) were unidirectional; consequently, the *border* was not the topic of the development of a separate theoretical structure. The material accumulation of territorial information produced a predominantly descriptive corpus consisting in illustrating the historical and geographical evolution of the European continent without providing explanations regarding the way in which borders exert an influence over the construction of the international system. However, the European project introduced new instruments in the analysis of the relations between the national and subnational players, the economic and political integration process of the community members filtering in their contact or convergence areas, in this instance, the *borders*. The progress made in the European integration process reaching its height by the instauration of the EU will raise the level of awareness of the academia regarding

the scarcity of analyses on *borders*, the proliferation of the studies on their nature and functionality being carried out in the last two decades as a consequence of the spatial evolution of the European Union in the context of globalization.

Once the matter of study nature of the *border* was proven, the research could be subsequently tied to a specific research domain, in this case that of International Relations and European Studies. By stating some general aspects regarding the perception of *borders* which, can be built under the influence of the key aspects of the four main theories of international relations- realism, liberalism, constructivism and postmodernism –it was sought to create a complete reference frame of the subsequent research on the particularities deriving from the contextualization of the maintaining or blurring the interstate and infrastructural boundaries (as a result of the implementation and evolution of the supranational structures). Therefore, in the realist theory, it was ascertained that borders remain situated in the state-centric interpretation type, having the role of borderlines corresponding to the maximum territorial sovereignty; in the liberal theory, the interpretation spectrum is limited by the obstructive (the restraint effect) and the binding nature associated with the resource fund cumulated at the borderline between countries, *borders* thus becoming in time the convergence center of the economic interests of the neighboring countries; already in the constructivist theory, *borders* receive a special dimension resulting from the post-national nature and is based on processuality and institutionality, the *border* is seen as a contextual phenomenon and is associated with the essential themes of identity and social dimension; and the postmodernist theory, often classified as the most ambiguous of all, generates an iconographic approach to the *border* based on the totality of symbols contributing to the construction of the history and significations of a territory, focuses on the deterritorialization, reterritorialization and hybridization in relation to the dissemination differentiation forms and policies of and makes use of textuality strategies in the study of narratives cumulated around the concept *border*.

This intervention prefaced the theoretical development of the border concept. The subsequent analysis section seeks to indicate some approach directions found in the specialized literature and attempts to put together the contributions in order to establish a general interpretation method by making use of the definition elements identified throughout the fund accumulation in the research on the concept. Step by step, the author identified three classification criteria of the studies on the international border depending on the discourse (the completion of the borders and their permanence and ubiquity)¹, rapport (the relation to the territory mainly in the contributions from the traditional studies and the relation with the society when the attention is focused on the multiple dimensions of the role of the borders by employing the processuality and interaction and also on the identity and norm)² and the theme (when there is an oscillation between the

¹ If the first fund corresponds par excellence to a liberal literature inspired by economy (see for instance Ohmae) which is mainly comprised of the activity of the economic players in the postulation of a world without borders, the second fund involves the constructivist and postmodernist generation which agree upon an in-depth analysis on the concept of *border* by operating with the notions of individuality and identity, society and imagination. The taxonomy belongs to Vaughn-Williams. See Nick Vaughn-Williams, *Border Politics: The Limits of Sovereign Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

² See David Newman, “Boundaries, Borders and Barriers, Changing Geographic Perspectives on Territorial Lines” in *Identities, Borders, Orders: Rethinking International Relations Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001)

disappearance of the border, their role in the formation of the identity, the discourse and the spatial levels)³, two taxonomic principles for the studies regarding the EU borders marked by the type of border (inner or outer)⁴ and the approach to the matter (particular approach – in the specific cases of interaction, and general approach – synthetic presentations on the meaning of *border* in the union context).

Regarding the definition elements, five key concepts were identified – limit, boundary, border, frontier, and border landscape and also three relation concepts: the state, the territory and the sovereignty.

Given that the present research, according to the perspective, falls into the same category as the constructivist one, the thorough laying out of the contribution of this theory to the extension of the meanings core came about naturally. This stage continues the reflections in the previous section and delves into the interpretation horizon; therefore, four new definitions instances of the *border* were selected: the border as an expression of the territoriality (here in the sense of practice associated with national identities and ideologies)⁵, the border as an expression of the power relations between social institutions and between various players involved in the development of the border reality⁶, the border as an institution (explained by the fact that they are regulated by legal texts and incorporate values and moral codes), and the border as a process (because they occur by themselves constantly depending on the nature of the relationships between the entities that inhabit and manage them). Essentially, the border is a social, political and discursive construction. The third element identified in the constructivist discourse is the identity associated inevitably to culture. In the analysis of the role of the border within the EU the four metaphors of O'Dowd were made use of, namely the border as a barrier (placed within the union objective to construct the single market, and subsequently the European Monetary Union), as cement (the leap of perception is attained by implementing the cross-border cooperation policy), as resource (like a milieu for various commercial and economic opportunities) and as symbol (making reference to the European identity).

The main idea resulting from the performed analysis is that borders remain a constant in the social life; just as in nature, nothing is lost, everything is transformed, the borders also suffer mutations in time, but their substance remains unaltered.

As for the border in the context of the European project, research has demonstrated the existence of an influence that it exerted over the meanings and functions which the border acquired in time. For instance, the repercussion of the foundation of the ECSC exceeded the initial expectations and necessities and its deeply integrative nature marked politically and culturally the new composition of the international European system. The evolution towards the European Union validated by the signing of the

³ See David Newman and Anssi Paasi, "Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: boundary narratives in political geography," *Progress in Human Geography* 22,2 (1998). These themes subsume practically the substance of various international relations theories, in this instance that of liberalism, constructivism and postmodernism.

⁴ The cross-border cooperation is an approach belonging par excellence to the first category, while the accumulated fund under the second category builds almost exclusively around illegal immigration and the safeguards implemented by the European Union in order to prevent its expansion.

⁵ For instance, Paasi believes that one of the causes of the border complexities as a matter of subject is the fact that the senses attributed to them are generally inwardly oriented and are closely related to the ideology state apparatus, the ideology practices (nationalism, narrative elements of the national identity) and the material base of these practices displayed through territoriality. As expressions of territoriality, borders exist within the practices associated to national identities and ideologies. See Anssi Paasi, "A Border Theory - an unattainable dream or a realistic aim for border scholars?", in *The Ashgate Companion to Border Studies*, ed. Doris Wastl-Walter (London: ASHgate, 2011), 11-32.

⁶For instance, Wilson and Donnan feel that borders are constituted in "domains of the questioned power, in which the local, national and international group negotiate the subordination and control relationships." See Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, "Nation, state and identity at international borders," in *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Maastricht Treaty brought about neologistic ways of interaction between the states which affected deeply all the elements comprising the state functioning, including borders. Actions such as the creation of the single market or the areas functioning on the basis of the free move principle (Schengen area) brought about major modifications in the perception of *borders* and new mindsets were introduced such as the extraordinary visibility of the *inner* and *outer border*. The most obvious contribution to the theoretical development of the concept is exactly this instantiation, these two instances which surface only after the accomplishment of the ideal from the Schuman Declaration from the 9th of Mai 1950.

The necessity to operate certain differentiations in the nature of borders leads to the attainment of their axiomaticity in the self-definition process of the EU – a symptomatic evolution for the permanent state that it is now in – and the placement of the concept in the subsidiary of the entire communication action. The analysis carried out on the official discourse resulted in a key observation regarding the relation between the communication act and the two instances of the *border*: in the internal communication, the relation element is the *outer border*, whereas in the external communication the attention is focused on the *inner border* or even the lack thereof. It has been ascertained that the need for the connotation transfer is most frequently in relation to the receiver whose interests cover various perception and need areas. The thoroughness of the discursive content supported the idea that there are constant vectors in the formation of the communication⁷ which is structurally related with a series of principles and reasons ordering not only the discourse, but also the self-perception of the EU on its own ontological substance⁸. In the next step of the analysis, some correspondence elements between these and the *border* concept have been extracted. It has been ascertained that these principals and motives exert their influence on the notion of *border*, mostly on the outer border, by delexicalization or by the inter-notional semantic permutations (for instance, the meaning transfer between the concept of *border* and that of challenge). It has been noted that the essentialization of the *border* in the union discourse owes very much to the ambiguity attached to the geographical structure of the EU as well, which is not made up of territorial coordinates, but rather of political aspirations, of shared European traditional values leading to the existence of a community of principles and commitments. In a simple interpretation, the importance of the border in the discursive context arises from the need to disengage the courses of actions in relation to its practical existence; it is precisely this relation that provides the perspective of a reification of the *border* in the UE communication. The thoroughness of specific perceptions on the *border* concept needs a more in-depth analysis of the vision points of reference making the union narrative possible. The analysis at this point made use of the discursive content by correlating the specific results of the previous section with the semantic synthesis of all declared aspirations of the European project. Its premise was based on the idea that the UE vision on the systemic elements must be anchored in the self-perception argument stemming from the conveyed word. It has been ascertained that the use of the generic denominations reflects an integrated approach on the constituting parts; however, it also makes the relation with the territory ambiguous. The idea fabric points out to deterritorialization and transnationalization, the solidification of the entities around some ideas rather than around the geographic coordinates. The

⁷ For instance, the benefits from belonging to the European Union or from being associated with it, the gravitational attraction of the EU as an instrument in the democratization process and the creation of an extended area of stability, peace and prosperity, the complementary expansion and deepening etc.

⁸ The European family, the European future, the community of commitments, the community of values/principles; recurring motifs: the common destiny and the reunification of Europe.

conceptual support for such a vision provided the space notion which, according to the literature, accompanies the becoming act constituted in a space figure. The imperative of finality, including from a topographic perspective, is canceled by the continuous development. The key assumption which accompanied the research is that the course of the EU incorporates a spatial-genetic component, or in other words, the European Union focuses in its discourse on the creation of spatial points of reference which together with the principles ordering the communication contributes to the propagation of an abstract vision which does not employ geographical decisional consequences. The spatial vision must not be perceived by looking at the homogenization process, but rather by looking at the spatiality as a product of the progressive transformations.

The following stage involved the observation of the mass communication. The introductory section, which observes the feature of epistemological tool in the formation of a perception, showed the extraordinary influence that mass communication, and implicitly the press, exerts over the social life and the public opinion, by inoculating a logical argumentation; the normative role for which the relationships between certain individualities was demonstrated by explaining the four suggested functions, namely the press as a political tool, as ideology tool, as imagology tool and as tool for the rationalization of the information (when the attention was focused on the shaping practices of the communication by means of *agenda-setting*, *priming* and *framing*). The reference frame for the research was that provided by the conceptual and directional force of culture either perceived as a pre-established structure, or heteronomically generated (by consumerism). The research brought to light that the political function can be associated with social responsibilities when the behavior recommendations are taken from the area of the representative democracy principles, the galvanization potential of radical political changes, but also the promotion of some interests governing the intermediary structures of the social life (when the press becomes a milieu for the employment of the power relations which becomes denser in distinct elite areas which in terms of the assumed purpose, can be convergent or divergent). As an ideology instrument, the press can also be used for propaganda purposes, however it has been ascertained that this feature is not operated only on the party line, but also by the constant reproduction of the elements of national and cultural iconography. When exerting this function, the press is constituted in one of the narrative effects of territoriality. In order to clarify the assertion, the analysis horizon provided by the symbolic interactionism and social constructionism was used, these two being theories explaining the way in which the mass-media, including the press, is involved in the process of social development and exerts its order capacity of the identity space. The feature of imagology instrument resides in the ability of the press articles to render a picture and configure an opinion regarding alterity. Their placement with the other systems and nationalities, national or supranational, real or imaginative, constitute an exercise of recognition and differentiation of the constituting elements of various different political and social nuclei. When an article covers the actions of a government other than one of the social-political formation in which the press content is produced, a support for the analysis and the pre-existing report of what can generically be called the *other* is forwarded. But this situation reiterates not only in the context of some governmental actions, but also when a certain segment of the host society is covered perceived as incorporating the element of strangeness. The press is invariably an opinion formation agent and provides the analysis and interpretation points of reference regarding alterity. The manifestation area of the imagology function is provided by the interventions on the immigrant category which inevitably carries

within itself the totality of the identification points of reference both for the individual and the community. Rationalization manifests, on the one hand, on the balancing of editorial agenda with the preoccupations of the public and on the other hand by means of the information shaping techniques which occur in three successive stages: the selection of the topics (*agenda-priming*), the featuring of the analysis guidelines (*priming*) and the categorization of the information by emphasizing certain aspects of a reality (*framing*).

As for the study case the reasons for selecting the four countries as emitters of media corpus are many and they correspond to various geo-socio-political circumstances. Firstly, the author observed the diversification of the contexts in order to broaden the interpretation by identifying various nuclei of the processing of and relation to the union phenomenon. The contexts were chosen based on temporal and geostrategic criteria and also by taking into account the degree of convergence of the union objectives of national states; at this level, the Eurosceptic attitude was a selection criterion. Therefore, France, Great Britain, Spain and Romania provide wildly different contexts with easy identifiable indicators for all three points: time, geo-strategy and purpose correspondence.

The quality of founding-country (France) was opposite to the belonging of the other states in the various waves of accession (1973 – Great Britain, 1986 – Spain, 2007- Romania); the moment of accession becomes essential for the ability to accommodate with the new status until the year 1994 which marks the beginning of the analysis time span. If in the case of the three already members of the EU, the communication regarding borders is filtered by the legal status acquired after the accession (it is important to mention that the psychological alignment already occurred to a certain extent), the national Romanian press will filter its content through the desire of adhesion, which doesn't translate necessarily by the overturning of the meanings of the border, but it shows a certain level of influence over the communication; in equidistance conditions (that is, the non-alteration of the editorial policies by the politics), the Romanian press will assume the positions of the foreign press agencies regularly. Subsequently, the option for the states was generated depending on their representative value for different union subgroups. Consequently, France represents the group of the sixth founding-states; Great Britain represents the states which have the *opt-out* clause (together with Ireland, Denmark and Poland) mainly in the Schengen matter and the single currency (social sphere); Spain represents the Mediterranean expansion; Romania represents the Eastern group (although the position of Romania is rather central-southern than eastern/ the expansion towards Central and Eastern Europe). At the same time, Romania is also a part of the group of the EU member states which have not yet been admitted in the Schengen area (along with Cyprus, Bulgaria and Croatia). Each status generates various approach and relation contexts, either politically or geo-strategically. The third factor taken into account in the selection process was the degree of the sharing of the union objectives by the national authorities. The selection of the journals was carried out considering two points of reference: the market leadership (circulation) and the quality of *agenda setter* (to be more precise, the ability to influence the editorial policies and the communication content of the other journals in the national markets). According to the research made up to the beginning of the present study, the journals *El Pais*, *Le Monde* and *The Times* are

the reference publications from Spain, France and British⁹; as regards the journal *Adevărul*, the selection was carried out by elimination. In comparison to the other national publications, the journal *Adevărul* is the only one which to a sufficient extent meets the requirements for being a reference publication.

The general premise of the research is purely theoretical and stems from the place and space concepts analyzed in relation with the *border* concept; if in the previous section of the paper the spatial vision of the European Union on borders was forwarded and demonstrated, the case study seeks to verify the thesis regarding the local approach of the same phenomenon in the written press. The representative transfer is most of the times involuntarily made, in the context in which it is sought to find univocal affiliation to the union concept. The intrinsic concrete nature of the press material – a feature of the specific communication context – certainly supports a certain attitude; the case study follows the method of inculcation of a reasoning beyond the specific culture and editorial policy of the analyzed publication.

The first analysis stage seeks to extract the vectors used in the construction of the communication regarding borders. The technicality of the language used brought about by the nature of the context in which the information is transmitted affects irreversibly the quality and thoroughness of the vocabulary used in the writing of a piece of news, even though at a first read, only the idiomatic transposition of the political topicality seems to produce the greatest difference between the subjects dealt with in the three publications, there is a series of connections, mostly nationwide, serving as a first differentiation criterion between the materials from the analyzed journals.

The next stage of the analysis presents three major subsections structured based on the conceptual content, and ways of approach; more specifically, reports on the instances of the (inner or outer) borders and the theoretical development elements in the press corpus relating the making of a piece of news will be assessed. This is carried out as it is necessary to clarify the aspects involved in the journalistic communication act on the nucleus concept and in the setting of some future research points of reference regarding the present topic.

As regards the theoretical development elements in the support of the analysis, the most obvious ones are those within the mentions regarding publications or the organization of theme events; for example, book reviews seminars or conferences. However, this does not represent a sufficient consistency; consequently the attention must be focused on the other inputs with a significant theoretic contribution. An in-depth analysis of this press sub-fund results in a general observation regarding its structural principles: this sub-fund has in its nucleus, on the one hand, the conceptual development of the configuration forms of the European Union, on the other hand, the relationship between content and form or between the value and geographical perimeter, always subordinate to a modulated institutional reality. The axis determined by the two content categories separates the corpus of the *inner border* concept from the *outer border* corpus; it goes without saying that the organization principles will be in a relation with the inner activity while the perimeter aspects are subject to dialogue with alterity and correspond to the need to define and pinpoint the extension area of the European project.

⁹ Most often, the selection criterion is the circulation and the editorial line marked by a profound elitism (sometimes reproached) based on a strict documentation policy, a superior quality of communication and a genuine interest in the European project, the target readership being those benefiting from higher education in order to facilitate their correct understanding of the union policies aspects. The meeting of all these conditions determined the awarding of the status of reference national press in the states where the three are issued.

Therefore, a first feature of the theoretical exercise in the journalistic communication in relation with the key-concept of the present analysis is given by the distinction between the two types of border – inner and outer – which establishes as well a first way of subordination in relation with the union policies.

Uses of the border concept in the written press

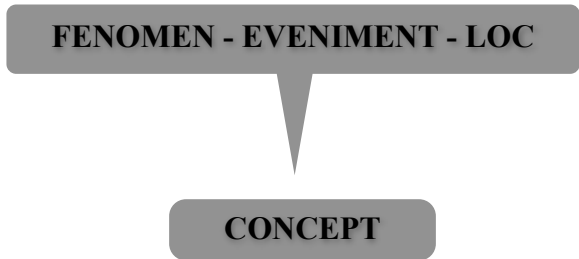
In giving the sense, the press material required a specific frame provided by a situation in the present reality of the world order or in this case of the European organization; a specialized analysis can be included only in a press file or in a special issue which having a historical and philosophical nature often goes against the general purpose of a daily newspaper. Consequently, the use of media examples between notion and practice was made in a universally applicable formula without compromising the essence of the targeted concept. The *border* is a systemic element and a phenomenon through which the extensive natural (or through the fact that it is subject to constant modifications depending on the evolutions of the entities containing it); therefore, the journalistic approach is employed in an opposite way (from particular towards general) starting from the analysis, for instance, of the Schengen code, and gradually advancing towards the notion and meaning of the borders in the European context. Since the Schengen space was mentioned, the explanations regarding the regulations entailed by the Agreement signed in 1985 in the Luxembourg town and ratified in 1995 complemented the news cases related with the refusal to implement the provisions by France, for instance, by keeping the notion of frontier implicit and not giving it a theoretical meaning. In such a context, the *border* supports the message conceptually, but it does not take it over mainly because a theoretical development does not correspond neither to the press language nor the press content; the focus falls on the conflict within a specific area, in this case, the frontier, and the material develops under the incidence of the interaction of certain entities: bordering states and the European Union as supranational directive issuer. This procedure marks a constant in the progress of the information regarding the *border* concept and its usage confirms the need for the access to the content; the endeavor follows a retrieving of a daily through journalistic means based on a clear communication easy to assimilate. The press material, in its standard structure does not constitute a search for a different sense, perhaps only by the nuancing of several phenomena covering something of interest for the reader, but not even this nuance exceeds the level of fund debate, the highest threshold of exhaustiveness is comprised in the predictive material which does establish phenomena relations, however, it is built on a very smooth surface and continues the debate at an event level, generally avoiding the theoretical references too difficult to tackle.

In order to support these assertions, the cumulated dominating instance in framing can be evoked. According to the information resulted in the previous stages of the analysis and by taking into consideration the absolute value of the countable units, a mainly conflictive lecture of the analyzed border concept has been ascertained; the predominant employment of the type 1 framing establishes a first general feature of the press corpus, namely, a frame which limits the topic on an issue and at least two parties disputing a right. Deriving from this, the second type of framing most frequently applied is the type 4, following the real or imagined (predictive) consequences of implementing a certain measure contained in the context of the articles being the type 1 framing. The human interest, embodied in type 2 framing, the most frequently related to the tragedies occurred after the shipwrecks in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea or in the proximity of the Canary Island coast, together with the allotment of the responsibility for a given

situation – that being the type 3 framing- covers a relatively small part in the press fund, significantly smaller in comparison with the other two types of framing.

The fact that the reproduction of the concept intervenes on a general-conflictive basis denotes a typical content for the news extract; irrespective of the topic dealt with, the need to grab the reader's attention weighs very much in the structuring of a piece of information together with the affective disengagement related to the reported event which represents a form of professional objectivity. Of course, the last aspect is infringed when the type of framing focuses around the human interest when a certain dramatic shift of the information emerges, the language becomes more and more affected, and the personal opinion of the journalist is significantly more obvious (most of the cases, this situation occurs in editorials); at this level, the editorials make use of the shocking headlines – an information cover-up form which sometimes constraints the reader to read the events disproportionately. Even though currently the language used is as accessible as possible, again, with the purpose of engaging a wider readership whose knowledge in terms of union policies and whose interest in this subject has to be coddled, the information is generally correctly conveyed and documented, and the interpretations are rather idiomatic, the subject per se is brought as close as possible to the mental constitution of the reader and his immediate needs to understand the influence on his own course of implementation of the measures presented in the news article. In the specialized literature, a vulnerability of the journalistic performance regarding European news is on one hand the lack of interest and the lack of the necessary knowledge in order to be able to internalize the information the right way, and on the other hand the lack of knowledge of the target readership, and that is why there is a certain reluctance towards approaching thoroughly the European matter; a press analysis of a general concept in its specific form is even more difficult given that a piece of news is addressed directly to the interested individuals (which are inferior to the total number of readers). As it was demonstrated throughout the paper, the concept of the border represents a significant complexity, and the contextualization of it by taking into account the European project where the approach is distorted by giving it new meanings only makes the phenomenon even more ambiguous; for this reason the journalistic performance sought a linguistic and interpretative formula through which to preserve the core of the information, sufficiently reductive however, so that it does not require an *in extenso* documentation by the reader.

From the thorough analysis of the materials resulted an important feature of the analyzed press corpus, namely the constant attachment of the concept to a phenomenon; the process will be continued with the initial main feature, namely the attachment of the phenomenon to an event and subsequently they will merge together in order to make the transformation of the information into press content. This process would generate the following formula:



This journalistic sample generated a specific approach named as of now *local*, namely the focus on some aspects related to the immediate reality present in certain interest points determined by allowing to tackle the subject in a pragmatic and demonstrative manner for the reader.

The instantiation of the inner and outer union borders in the press communication

A *sui generis* aspect of the reproduction method of the *inner border* concept in the written press is its overlap with the *national border* concept; although, from the author's point of view, this reality occurs as a deliberate act determined directly by the need to turn to a frame familiar to the reader, there is also a condition of the information in order for it to be included in a piece of news¹⁰. For instance, the removal of the inner borders as a result of the implementation of the Schengen Agreement without mentioning an immediate consequence or a situation which can be localized does not provide a stable subject with an extended time span. Precisely because of that, the practice of implementation will always be supplemented by local events – either in the case of the infringement of the provisions, either in the case of the disappearance of a physical point of reference with a symbolic value for the contiguous communities. This procedure allows the revisiting of the subject by observing the evolution of an abstract phenomenon within the territory (in this case, the supranational territory). If in the case of the news benefiting from the type 2 framing it is sought to give a human face, the bringing forward of a public figure with which the reader could resonate and share a certain mindset, the *border* concept must trigger in the collective mind so that through the mere abstractization, it has to receive a form of manifestation which could be assimilated and even perceived as being part of a group of phenomena influencing more or less the individual path of those to which the journalist addresses. In the absence of a well-established interest for European project – the only means through which the union vocabulary and the practice history could provide the necessary frame for the understanding of the existential dynamic of the UE, any reference, either conceptual, either belonging to a continuous development policy, should be supported by a familiar point of reference, easy to locate and grasp. And this point of reference cannot be attained from other sources than the national area, from a meaning core profoundly internalized and applicable to each border to which the article may refer to. Certainly, there is a direct usage of the term *inner border* of the European Union, however, invariably, this *inner border* will belong to a national state, it will either be British or French, Belgian or Dutch, Spanish or Italian, German or Polish etc., the contextualization of a systemic element of the EU in full dissolution is necessary in order to engage cognitively and to be of interest to the reader-citizen of the publication.

The final aspects which can be extracted from the analysis data focus on the support points used in the construction of the media communication regarding European borders, in this case the use, in theoretical developments, irrespective of their number, of *principle* and *phenomenon*, and the instantiation approach to be more precise, the instantiation of the *inner* and *outer borders* in most news articles. As mentioned before, the need for localization reflects the content strictness and purpose crossing the whole information flow and draws the rational alignment in the communication process. The local perspective does not seek anything other than to contextualize the European landscape by transposing its various elements in the language and writing subdued to the abilities of the target readership.

¹⁰ In another interpretation, this overlap could be generated by the confusion of the journalistic corpus regarding the elements implied by the relation between theory and practice.

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