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## The Role of the Media in Changing the Meaning of Borders

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**Abstract:** *If the borders as a territorial limit lose a little of their significance along with the deepening of the integration process, the mental perception of border as a difference or acceptance of multiplying the meanings of border must be assumed by us as a part of our existence. Transforming the perception of the border from territorial limit into a different border is a process which is part of the foundations of the European Public Area, in which the Media must play a very important role by maintaining the balance between close and open and the balance between memory and identity. The European Public Area will not be the direct result of the interaction of European public actors; it will be an indirect result by the action of the local, regional and national media phenomenon mediated by European governance and alternative media, which could ensure the transformation of the perception of the border from limit into difference.*

**Key words:** *borders, frontiers, media, European Public Area*

In the book *Europe's Next Frontiers*, Olli Rehn, the European commissar for enlargement, offers a topic of deep reflection when rhetorically posing the question “instead of limits and borders – Maginot lines trying to insult ourselves from global Interdependence – couldn't we Europeans think in terms of the next frontiers?”<sup>1</sup>.

First of all a **rethinking of the concept of border, is highly required and of its sense of limit. It is acknowledged that the notion of border is closely linked to that of territory and sovereignty.** Analysts in the field of international relations are compelled to re-conceptualize its territoriality in connection with the idea of sovereignty and with that of borders<sup>2</sup>. According to J.G.Ruggie, the contemporary sovereignty is shared at multiple nodal points in an international system of power relations that first “un-bundles” the relations between sovereignty and territoriality and, second, redesigns the “single perspective” state as a “multi-perspective polity”<sup>3</sup>. The European Union is the best example of this new type of politics<sup>4</sup>.

Borders limit our minds, chain actions, and reduce our influence. If borders are restrictive, the frontiers are innovative. The frontiers free our minds, stimulate action, and increase our influence. We mean frontiers that open ways for innovative products and services. We mean frontiers that improve flexibility and security on the labour market, and thus the employability of Europeans in the face of global competition. We mean frontiers that promote a new institutional settlement, and thus a more effective and democratic Europe, better able to enhance the security and well-being of its citizens. We mean frontiers that enable Europe the project its civilian power of democratic and economic transformation, especially in the countries that aspire to become members of the EU<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Olli Rehn, *Europe's Next Frontiers*, Baden-Baden, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2006, p. 13

<sup>2</sup> Mabel Berezin, Martin Schain, *Europe without Borders. Remapping Territory, Citizenship and Identity in Transnational Age*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2003, p. 5sq

<sup>3</sup> John Gerard Ruggie, “Territoriality and Beyond: Problematising Modernity in International Relations”, in *International Organization*, 1993, 47 (1), pp. 139-174

<sup>4</sup> Ioan Horga, “Why Eurolimes”, in *Eurolimes*, vol.1, Oradea, 2006, p. 4

<sup>5</sup> O. Rehn, *op. cit.*, p. 13

From what point of view, « *l'Europe est un véritable laboratoire, elle est une avant-garde supra-étatique expérimentale, « une sorte de mondialisation méta-statocentrique »*<sup>6</sup>, où il y a la transition de l'anthropocentrisme primaire, conçu comme une affaire exclusive de l'Etat, à l'anthropocentrisme ouvert à la dynamique cosmocentrique qui « se font entendre, entre autres, sur quatre niveaux fondamentaux : identitaire, étatique, politique et communicationnel »<sup>7</sup>.

Secondly it is highly required **to assume the concept of frontier as an existential factor, living with ourselves, but which we have to administer.**

Europe as a cultural area [space] is dominated by the “emotional attachment”<sup>8</sup>. Europe does not dispose of yet another common civic space<sup>9</sup>, a public space<sup>10</sup> or of a common cultural space<sup>11</sup>, which is the foundation of forging the European identity. There are still many obstacles in the effective development of a public European space, as a ground of common identity. It is enough to mention that never the problem of public European space was a priority for the political and economic elites in the process of European construction<sup>12</sup>. Paradoxically, a common European memory exists only from the time of the historic conflicts between the EU member states.<sup>13</sup> Preserving the historical and national memory leads to the enhanced durability of the nation-state. The continuous hegemony of the nation-state, even in the presence of the European integration process, underlines the fact that nowadays and for a long period of time, the problems of the internal borders of the EU has to be viewed only from a *trans-national* manner and only timidly as a *post-national* attribute. That is why there can be heard lots of discourses that lead to the setting up of a solid coherence beyond the internal EU borders and a closing up at its external borders<sup>14</sup>.

The topic of European identity, as a component part of the problems of borders must be amplified as well with points of view that non-Europeans settled on the continent share. Adaptation of non-Europeans to the European environment shall have profound consequences upon the European origin inhabitants, forcing them to rethink their own identity and perhaps to invent a new one.

Naturally the question arises as to what kind of entity Europe is<sup>15</sup>. There are two answers to this. One is given by the majority of its members, and by those who are part of the old Europe, underlining the unitary character of the European entity. The other one is given by the new-comers to Europe, citizens of the new member states and non-Europeans settled in Europe. They emphasize the pluralist character of the European entity, based on the respect of the difference and diversity. By a closer look at the two answers, there is in all a common ground, given by the cultural characteristics of European identity.

Thirdly the cultural answers given to the European identity must compulsorily go through a **diversification of the senses and examples of border.** The current problems of

<sup>6</sup> Georges Contogeorgis, “Identité nationale, identité “politeiene” et citoyenneté à l’époque de la “mondialisation”, in *Europa em Mutação. Cidadania. Identidades. Diversidade Cultural* (ed. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro), Coimbra, 2003, p. 160

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*; I.Horga, *op.cit.*, p. 5

<sup>8</sup> M. Berezin, *op. cit.*, p. 16

<sup>9</sup> Renaud de la Brosse, “Espace médiatique européen et « communauté de destines »: complémentarités ou oppositions entre échelles continentales, nationales, régionales et locales ?», in *Ideias de Europa: que fronteiras?* (ed. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro), Coimbra, Quarteto, 2004, pp. 283-296

<sup>10</sup> Ioan Horga, “The National Media Impact on European Security”, in *International and European Security versus the Explosion of Global Media* (ed. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro, Renaud de la Brosse, Ioan Horga), Bruxelles, 2004, pp. 25-41

<sup>11</sup> Mercedes Samaniego Boneu, “Las fronteras socio-culturales de la Unión Europea”, in *Ideias de Europa: Que fronteiras* (eds. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro), Coimbra, Quarteto, 2004, pp. 87-98

<sup>12</sup> Craig Calhoun, “The Democratic Integration of Europe” in *Europe without Borders. Remapping Territory, Citizenship and Identity in Transnational Age* (ed. M. Berezin, M. Schain), p. 272

<sup>13</sup> Yann Laurent, “Existe-t-il une mémoire commune européenne?”, in *Le Monde*, 5 mars 2003

<sup>14</sup> C. Calhoun, *op. cit.*, p. 272

<sup>15</sup> Willfried Spohn, Anna Trandafyllidou, *Europeanisation, National Identities and Migration. Changes in Boundary Constructions between Western and Eastern Europe*, London, Routledge, 2002

European construction – constitutional blocking, the competitiveness of the European economy in the world, creating a very dynamic labour market, affirmation of Europe in the global intercultural dialogue, transforming the EU into an actor with weight in international relations – can be provided answers that fall within the same area of diversifying the senses of the notion of border<sup>16</sup>.

Olli Rehn, is of opinion that in the actual stage of European construction, three frontiers have to be assumed and overcome in asserting the European identity.<sup>17</sup> *Rebuilding Economic Confidence* is a first example of frontier that we have to assume. Today Europe confronts the double challenge. On the one hand there is the globalization of economy, and on the other hand, there is the problem of population aging. These challenges must be answered with an increase of investments in education, in forming and reforming the labour market in order to make it more flexible and more secure. There are a series of countries in the European area– the Scandinavian countries and of late the countries in Central and Eastern Europe – which invest into an economy of knowledge and are highly open to the phenomenon of internationalization.

Economic performance has obvious political consequences. “To be able to lead at European level, the EU’s political leaders first need to convince their citizens that they can solve pressing problems at home. Legitimacy stems from the prospect of jobs and personal security. That’s why the economic and social revival of Europe goes hand-in-hand with, or even precedes, the revitalization of political project of Europe”<sup>18</sup>.

*Making Europe Function Well* is the second example of the frontier that we could assume. We must assume the fact that the border between widening and deepening is flexible and has to lead towards a strong political and institutional integration in parallel with extending the area “of peace, democracy and prosperity across our continent”<sup>19</sup>. The European Union can develop on the one hand *enhanced cooperation* between the states that are able to assume this aim, and on the other hand by being willing to push integration forward among themselves in certain areas. Any such arrangements “would have to be open to any member state able and willing to participate in them. They should be implemented via the Union’s shared institutions. The new European order must be inclusive of both old and new member states”<sup>20</sup>.

*Building a New Consensus on Enlargement*, the third example of frontier which Olli Rehn<sup>21</sup> offers to reflection, enables Europe to be understood “as a space which is characterized by exceptionally vigorous economic, political and cross-cultural interaction which continually renews and replenishes itself by sucking in products, people, ideas, inventions, technologies, doctrines, practices, skills and talents originating from all over the world and melding them together in increasingly sophisticated combinations”<sup>22</sup>.

The “Europeanness” of a country should therefore be judged, not in accordance with ‘fixed’ cultural or geographical criteria, but by an empirical assessment of the extent to which it has actually been participating in, contributing to, and abiding by the currently prevailing rules, norms and practices of the continually metamorphosing civilization, states system and ‘big market’ which go by the name of Europe. Likewise, eligibility for formal membership of the European Union should be decided primarily on the basis of an applicant’s actual willingness and capacity to contribute to the EU’s success and to comply with its membership rules, norms and obligations, rather than on the basis of more arbitrary cultural and/or geographical preconceptions

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<sup>16</sup> Oliver Zimmer “Boundary mechanisms and symbolic resources: towards a process-oriented to national identity”, in *Nation and Nationalism (Journal of Association for Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism)*, vol. 19/2, 2003, pp.173-194

<sup>17</sup> O. Rehn, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-22

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 18

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 19

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 19-21

<sup>22</sup> Robert Bideleux, “The limits of Europe”, in *Eurotimes*, vol. 1, Oradea, 2006, p. 53

and prejudices. Any country which is meeting or demonstrably willing and able to meet the above criteria should be considered 'European' and eligible for membership of the EU<sup>23</sup>.

Apart from the three frontiers mentioned we are of opinion that there must be assumed at least three more frontiers in order to be able to make the transition from the national identity to the European one<sup>24</sup>: the balance between close and open transforming the border into frontier; balance between memory and identity in transforming the border into frontier; the role of media in transforming the sense of frontiers.

### 1. The balance between *close* and *open* in transforming the border into frontier

According to Gerard Delanty, the "frontiers in Europe thus suggest limits zones, the end of a territory rather than points of transition"<sup>25</sup>. The term was originally a military zone where the enemy was engaged<sup>26</sup>. Such an assertion seems to contradict the logic of our discourse which sees in frontiers a convergence and transition point. However, the same author leaves a door open when asserting that "borders have symbolic roles in defining the political community; they have functional roles with respect to the internal administration and political control of populations and markets, and they have a geopolitical role in respect of territorial defence. The border should be seen as a reflection of the historically contingent situation and is an on-going process as opposed to being fixed or territorially determined by the physical facts of geography"<sup>27</sup>. The EU's constitutive units, its member states, too have been transformed both by the progressive movement towards the trans-nationalization of the state and by wider processes of globalization. In this situation then the question of borders takes on a new significance. Of the many aspects of borders in Europe today is the centrality of the cultural dimension, which can be viewed, like Europeanization itself, as an open process characterised by moments of closure<sup>28</sup>.

The relation between open and closed borders is particularly relevant to the EU and to the general context of Europeanization. The EU itself is an example of a state system that while having relatively hard borders does not have fixed borders that are closed. The political borders of the EU are not final frontiers, but open to new states. The EU member states themselves have more open borders than non-EU states and within the category of EU member states, the Schengen countries have more open borders than those that are not within this agreement<sup>29</sup>.

According to J. Urry, A. Mol and J. Law, the global space can be seen in terms of regions, networks and flows<sup>30</sup>. Regions refer to the space of bounded societies; networks refer to relational constancy between components; and flows refer neither to boundaries nor networks but movement and process. From a conventional point of view, the internal or external dimension of Europe's borders acquires relevance nowadays only at the level of the regional space, where we notice a process of re-territorialization of the space with regard to the centre. The process takes place at two levels, by regionalization of the territory and by the appearance of the Euro-regions.

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>24</sup> Will Kymlicka, Magda Opalski, *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported? Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe*, Oxford University Press, 2001

<sup>25</sup> Gerard Delanty, "Borders in a Changing Europe: Dynamics of Openness and Closure", in *Eurolimes*, p. 48

<sup>26</sup> M. Anderson, *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World*, Oxford Polity, 1996, p. 9

<sup>27</sup> G. Delanty, *op.cit.*, p. 49

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 47; Mathias Albert, David Jacobson, Yosuf Lapid, *Identities, Borders, Orders. Rethinking International Relation Theory*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2001

<sup>29</sup> G. Delanty, *op.cit.*, p. 54

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 51; J.Urry, *Global Complexity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2003, p. 40-49; A. Mol & J. Law, "Regions, Networks and Fluids: Anaemia and Social Topology", in *Social Studies of Sciences*, 1994, 24, pp. 641-671

According to Istvan Suli-Zakar, the region is a socio-economic territorial unit, based on “the close co-operation and homogeneity in interest of its “components” but it cannot always be defined by definite geographic boundaries”<sup>31</sup>. The borders of the regions are elastic in the case of regionalism. Partly, in the sense that the influence of several region forming factors may be present at the same time in one segment defined as an entity of the geographical space, on a geographically determined area but their “fields” do not exactly coincide. On the other hand, the elasticity of the regions is also valid with respect to the changes of the factors and their role in time<sup>32</sup>.

The phenomenon of regionalization of the European territory is based on two pillars. On the one hand one talks about the de-centralization process, which designates the forming of new territorial divisions, in which the state authority is reduced. On the other hand, the rapid reforms in the organizational, operational and financial fields of the EU have constituted other vital sources of the regionalization phenomenon. That is why in Western Europe especially the borders no longer separate states, but they are the functional limits between the regions, which become more and more the grounds of European cooperation<sup>33</sup>.

The success of the regions, as actors of European integration is doubled also by the appearance of the Euro-regions, as regional structures which re-territorialize the space at the border between two or more states.<sup>34</sup>, “which agreed to harmonise their activities for the more successful development of their common areas”<sup>35</sup>. It is encouraged the construction of cross-border links and of an infrastructure which would make borders more and more permeable. The mechanisms are still far from being fully functional, because of a lack of a legal quasi-European framework<sup>36</sup> and of certain well defined administrative competences<sup>37</sup>.

In the context of the balance between closed and open in the management of transforming the border into frontier at a European level, remarkable things have been done. On the one hand there was achieved the harmonization of the administration and regional planning; the management of the problems of the employees and cross-border communitarians; the financing of the institutional system of the joint education and training; the mutual recognition of qualification; and the harmonization and financing of the cross-border infrastructural developments. As a result of the achievements, the support of cross-border co-operation was given more and more emphasis in the EU policies<sup>38</sup>.

On the other hand there have appeared the examples of some actions that have gone beyond the strict stage of cross-border cooperation projects, moving onwards toward strategic integrating forms, which should generate, centers of excellence and agglomerations of development. About the agglomeration Basel-Mulhouse, many things are known because they have a tradition of action and there is written literature of them. But about the project Debrecen-Oradea Cross-border Agglomeration, launched on December 8-th 2006, and aims at coagulating efforts of research, development and technical and scientific innovation in Oradea and Debrecen, very little is known, but there are favorable premises for a successful action.

In addition to these new borders, which are generally products of re-territorialization, there is also the increasing salience of the ‘imperial’ *limes*, the border as a diminishing zone of

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<sup>31</sup> Suli-Zakar Istvan, “Regions in the United Europe”, in *Eurolimes*, vol. 1, p. 16

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17; H.W. Amstrong, R. W. Vickerman (eds), *Convergence and Divergence Among European regions*, London, Jessica Kingslay Publishers, 1995

<sup>33</sup> Esther Gimeno Ugalde, “Regions and ethnoregions in Europe. The particular case of Catalonia”, in *Eurolimes*, vol. 2, Oradea, 2006, pp. 45-53

<sup>34</sup> Alexandu Ilies, *Romania. Euroregiuni*, Oradea, Editura Universitatii din Oradea, 2004

<sup>35</sup> Klára Czimre, *Cross-Border Co-operation. Theory and Practice*, Debrecen, 2006

<sup>36</sup> Henri Comte, Nicolas Levrat, *Aux coutures de l'Europe. Défis et enjeux juridiques de la coopération transfrontalière*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2006, p. 15

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 24-25

<sup>38</sup> Suli-Zakar Istvan, *op.cit.*, p. 28; H. Donnan & T. Wilson (eds), *Border Approaches: Anthropological Perspectives on Frontiers*, University Press of America, New York & London, 1994

control over which the centre loses control of the periphery<sup>39</sup>. This border is less a new European version of what W.P. Webb called the 'Great Frontier'<sup>40</sup>; rather it is the zone of semi-peripheries, which in earlier times were buffer-zones but today are borderlands. In the terms of M. Hardt and A. Negri, this aspect of 'Empire' is a feature of states in the present day: "In contrast to imperialism, Empire establishes no territorial centre of power and does not rely on fixed boundaries or barriers. It is a decentred and de-territorialized apparatus of rule that progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open, expanding frontier"<sup>41</sup>. It designates a territorial situation in which there is a general weakening of the border beyond the areas directly controlled by the centre, where the periphery fades into an outer borderland.

In these new borders it is more difficult to conceptualize borders as an edge or frontier separating one region from another exterior space for the outside is often within the inside. Instead it is more helpful to see the border in terms of interconnecting axis, such as those discussed above. For example the central and eastern European countries who have recently joined the EU provide a policing role to the rest of the EU, which provides subsidies for such policing controls. However, the border that they establish is not a straightforward frontier but a more complicated mechanism of control involving policing, economic and military functions. In general the emphasis is less on the military and more on the policing<sup>42</sup>.

Another example of the changing relation of the centre to the periphery in Europe is the emerging of a new kind of governance whereby the EU expands its governance beyond the member states to neighbouring regions. Such regions, while being formally excluded from legal membership, are also not excluded but part of a networked political system in which 'fuzzy borders' come into play<sup>43</sup>. Examples of this are accession association (for potential members), neighbourhood association (Mediterranean and near eastern countries), development co-operation (Africa and wider Asian countries) and various kinds of co-operation<sup>44</sup>.

The balance between open and closed in administering the transformation of border into frontier is much more visible in area networking. Such forms of space are present within European space and have implications for the European border.

Massimo Cassiari thus describes Europe as an archipelago of spaces connected by various links<sup>45</sup>. He argues Europe is a network of differences, a mosaic of overlapping and connecting diversities. There is no overarching or underlying unity, only connections. This notion of Europe is clearly different from the vision of a fortress in which space is bounded by an outer frontier<sup>46</sup>.

The administration by means of networks must become a lever by which the community model or the partnership model is transferred all over Europe at the same standards, there being produced a strong transfer of loyalty to the participating actors in such networks<sup>47</sup>. One first advantage of the networks consists in valuing the spirit of initiative in the direction of experimenting and implementing European policies, by very dynamic levers highly communicative, trans-national and with low costs. A second advantage is that of spreading out

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<sup>39</sup> G. Delanty, *op. cit.*, p. 51

<sup>40</sup> W.P. Webb, *The Great Frontier*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1952

<sup>41</sup> M. Hardt & A. Negri, *Empire*, Cambridge, MA Harvard University Press, 2000, p. Xii; apud G. Delanty, *op.cit.*, pp. 51-52

<sup>42</sup> P. Andreas, "Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the Twenty-first Century", in *International Security*, 2003, 28 (2), pp. 78-111

<sup>43</sup> S. Lavanex, "EU external governance in wider Europe", in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2004, 11(4), p. 681

<sup>44</sup> G. Delanty, *op.cit.*, p. 52

<sup>45</sup> Massimo Cacciari, *L'Arcipelago*, Milan, Aedphi, 1997

<sup>46</sup> G. Delanty, *op.cit.*, p. 54

<sup>47</sup> John Peterson, "Policy Networks", in Antje Wiener, Thomas Diez, *European Integration Theory*, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 117-135

at the level of whole Europe of a new type of solidarity<sup>48</sup>, the professional solidarity, which in Eastern Europe is almost non-existent at the level of the elite.

Of course that, until the implementation of a functional system of networks a certain time shall pass: as the officialdom and the independent non governmental actors in the new member states must learn the rules of the game applied to the political networks and they must get used to negotiate among themselves<sup>49</sup>; since the majority of actors in the new member states are non-experimented in international organizations and many of them have not worked in the Western system of lobby. This fact indicates another problem, if the political network in an extended EU shall be able to disseminate the norms of conforming to the EU rules, in spite of the great disparities between the levels of re economic modernizing and very strong influence of the public sector upon the private one<sup>50</sup>.

Having in view the fact that the governing through networks is done at several levels of the political networks with actors in the public and private sector shall be more and more difficult to reform EU's system of functioning with 27 de members, having in mind that the reformers are not omnipotent<sup>51</sup>. Since there is no unique sovereign centre having a authority and power to fundamentally change the politics, sustaining a process of reform of the system in the direction of political networks shall be very difficult. Therefore, the development of political networks as future structures of non-state government paradoxically has to be sustained right by the institution it denies, i.e. the national state. Here is the very important problem that the civic will should meet the public transparency. Here is the key of setting up networks and of governing by networks.

Finally there takes shape « *un système triple de solidarités qui s'imposent comme acteurs dans l'espace du gouvernement: solidarités entre les individus, citoyens ou pas, présents au même temps et dans le même endroit ; solidarités entre les territoires avec emphase sur la décentralisation et affirmation des droits d'autonomie collective et personnelle ; solidarité entre les générations et les sexes pour sauvegarder l'environnement, pour protéger les ressources et pour appuyer le développement* ».

Global networks and flows produce borders and also produce new kinds of closed systems as well as new kinds of hierarchies. For example, networks produce lines of demarcation between different networks and also between the spaces that are not networked, spaces in which exclusion is more likely to be high. It is a striking feature of current patterns of territorialization that these spaces can be found in national space, within cities, in abandoned territories, in rural hinterlands. In other words, networks and flows produces less visible borders and ones that are manifest in social fragmentation<sup>52</sup>.

## **2. The balance between memory and identity in transforming the border into frontier**

Suppressing state borders and enhancing the limits of the community borders have direct effects. First and foremost, suppressing the physical barriers, without suppressing the mental circles, that have served to the creation of distorted images about “the other”, as defence

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<sup>48</sup> Thomas Risse, “Social Constructivism and European Integration”, in Antje Wiener, Thomas Diez, *op.cit.*, pp. 159-177

<sup>49</sup> Gerard Timsit, “Globalisation and Governance at the Start of the 21st Century. The Case of Continental Europe”, in *The Turning World. Globalisation and Governance at the Start of the 21st Century* (ed. by Guido Bertucci and Michael Duggett), IOS Press, 2002, pp. 25-32

<sup>50</sup> Grigore Silasi, *Integrarea monetara europeana. Intra teorie si practica*, Timisoara, Editura Orizonturi Universitare, 1998

<sup>51</sup> Fabienne Maron, “Le role de l'Etat et la “bonne” gouvernance. Une perspective européenne”; in *Media and the Good Governance Facing the Challenge of the EU Enlargement* (eds. Fabienne Maron, Ioan Horga, Renaud de la Brosse), Bruxelles, 2005, pp. 44-58

<sup>52</sup> G. Delanty, *op. cit.*, p. 55



mechanisms, shall maintain or shall create new borders. Secondly, it is impossible to be ensured a material development by giving up the potential of mutual cooperation<sup>53</sup>.

Heading towards this direction Enrique Banus noticed that “in real cultural life frontier often have been not so relevant. But we have to speak not only about mental frontier, but also about the significance of the real frontier in the mental world, this collective inner world also is part of culture”<sup>54</sup>. If we combine a real need, the need to belong to a community, with the historically consolidated collective identity, which for long times been the States, the frontiers – a political reality – can become a cultural reality, can distinguish, can be significant as defining elements of “otherness”: the “other” is who lives on the other side of the frontier – not to speak about the problem when the “other” is living within the own community, the problem of the so called “minorities”, people belonging to the same political community, but unified by a different cultural code. Indeed a society in which in a relevant manner different cultures coexist can create insecurity to people needing a clear adscription to an identity<sup>55</sup>.

The population chooses today a few identity types: regional, religious, racial and linguistic. There is a division in the world between the new states and the old states from the point of view of the identity paradigm: the new states, e.g. USA, “a civic nationalism replaced the ethnic nationalism”<sup>56</sup>, thus “the state tries to make an effort to promote civic nationalism that is ultimately weaker”<sup>57</sup>.

Physical borders are mentally assumed as cultural frontiers. These mental frontiers try then to divide the world in closed cultures<sup>58</sup>, in civilizations which have nothing in common with “the other” civilization, with which they often share (physical) frontiers or – in the aforementioned case – even the space.

The balance between memory and identity in approaching the frontier mentality is highly visible in the communities that have different perceptions about the historic past. In a study published in no. 2 of *Eurolimes*, the young Swedish researcher, Anders Blomqvist starting from the case study of the Romanian and Hungarian community in the city of Satu Mare/Szatmar, reaches the conclusion that although “the city has a true interethnic mixture with a strong tolerance” if you stay more “you will notice that Romanians and the Hungarians have their own network of contacts”<sup>59</sup>.

The historical perception of the past has created two different images of the city’s history. These mental borders have the origin in a process of constructed boundaries and identities of Hungarians and Romanians. In this process factor as ethnocentrism, perception of history, great power politics, linguistic and religious differences play an important role. Perceptions on history, as well as linguistic and religious difference are used as social boundary markers. Both groups have a strong ethnocentrism, which created one city with two images and two communities. However, within the city there are some people who have a kind of situational identity, thus shifting between being “Hungarian” and “Romanian” depending on the situation<sup>60</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Mercedes Samaniego Boneu, “Las fronteras socio-culturales de la Unión Europea”, in *Ideas de Europa: Que fronteiras* (eds. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro), Coimbra, Quarteto, 2004, p. 90

<sup>54</sup> Enrique Banus, “The cultural relevance of the borders”, in *Eurolimes*, vol. 2, Oradea, 2006, p. 201

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 201-202

<sup>56</sup> Sandra F. Joireman, *Nationalism and Political Identity*, London, New York, Continuum, 2003, p. 25

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 46

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Lundén, *On the boundary. About Humans and the end of territory*, Stockholm, Södertörns Högskola, 2004

<sup>59</sup> Anders Blomqvist, “One City – Two Images – Two Communities: The case of the Romanian-Hungarian City of Satu Mare/Szatmárnemeti”, in *Eurolimes*, vol. 2, Oradea, 2006, pp. 37-44. In another study Justyna Kutrzeba follows this difference in the perception of the past in the region Pokuttya and Carpathian region (Justyna Kutrzeba, “Jewish inhabitants of the Pokuttya and Carpathian region, as seen by their neighbors based on the folklore of Oskar Kolberg”, in *Eurolimes*, vol. 2, Oradea, 2006, pp. 96-102)

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 42

The mental borders, the insistence on significance of the geographical borders are underlined in times in which the identity is threatened. It is in the fight for diversity in Europe that the borders have acquired a quasi metaphysical dimension. This is a bitter irony of history.

But the irony of history has caused also that the especially people coming “from the borders” have contributed to make borders relative. And this has succeeded in a project whose core is precisely the relativization of Nation-State, which was dominant during centuries: the project of European integration<sup>61</sup>.

The boundary between the groups is the point at which differences and criteria for inclusion are most clearly articulated<sup>62</sup>. In national communities, where the boundaries have the role to establishment of political sovereignty<sup>63</sup>, the boundaries represents the limits of communal imagination and the borders are used to exclude the non-members<sup>64</sup>. The borders are the physical manifestation of the social boundaries existing around the community<sup>65</sup>.

This geographic criterion cannot be automatically transformed into a social reality. “Border communities, although officially national community members, are also socially integrated with the other, resulting in their being viewed with some suspicion”<sup>66</sup>. The literature referring to the communities at the borders of the national community and identity demonstrates how ambiguous the situation of the members of a community or identity is, to be defined by the people they belong to as well as by the other members of the community they live in<sup>67</sup>. Should things be viewed from the point of view of the nature of the border and particularly of its role of integrating or exclusion factor, one can define what is meant by “us” and who the “others” are. If things are viewed from the perspective of the social community, “we” and “the others” live here. The same social space is inhabited, knowing the same characteristics and similarities. In other words, “we and they are one and the same, sharing one identity”<sup>68</sup>.

The border communities have a double role to play in the national imaginary, according to R. Shields<sup>69</sup>. On the one hand, the inhabitants of these communities are heroes because they live there. The border communities mark the limits of identity<sup>70</sup> and they defend traditions. At the same time they assert the myths and traditions about the unity of the people as well as the myths about the natural unity of the territory<sup>71</sup>. On the other hand, the border communities can represent “the other” in the national imaginary<sup>72</sup>. According to T.M.Wilson and H.Donnan, “the border people are comfortable with the notion that they are tied culturally to many other people in neighboring states”<sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> E. Banus, *op. cit.*, p. 204

<sup>62</sup> Fiona Gill, “Public and private: national identities in a Scottish Borders community” in *Nation and Nationalism (journal of Association for Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism)*, vol. 11/1, 2005, p.86

<sup>63</sup> M. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p. 189

<sup>64</sup> E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalisme*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1994, p. 4

<sup>65</sup> F. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organisation of Culture*, London, George Allain &Unwin, 1970

<sup>66</sup> F. Gill, *op.cit.*, p. 84

<sup>67</sup> A. P. Cohen, *Symbolising Boundaries: Identity and Diversity in British Cultures*, Manchester University Press, 1986; L. O’Dowd, T.M.Wilson, *Borders, Nations and States: Frontiers of Sovereignty in the New Europe*, Aldershot, Avebury, 1996; A. Paasi, *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness: the Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border*, Chichester, John Wiley &Son, 1996; T.M.Wilson, H.Donnan, *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, Cambridge University Press, 1998; H.Donnan, T.M.Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*, New York, Berg, 1999

<sup>68</sup> F. Gill, *op.cit.*, p. 84

<sup>69</sup> R. Shields, *Places on the Margin : Alternative Geographies of Modernity*, London, Routledge, 1992, p. 5

<sup>70</sup> Seen the study about the impact of the cross-borders identity in the territorial marketing (Gábor Kozma, “The use of cross-border co-operation and border location in place marketing”, in *Eurolimes*, vol. 2, Oradea, 2006, pp. 74-80; Luminita Soproni, “Cross-border Identity in Building a Regional Brand: The Northern Transylvania Region”, in *Eurolimes*, vol. 2, pp. 54-64

<sup>71</sup> M. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>72</sup> F. Gill, *op.cit.*, p. 84

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 84-85; T.M.Wilson, H.Donnan, *op.cit.*, p. 4

### 3. The role of media in transforming the sense of borders

Globalization is best understood by its communicational dimension, which crosses all **borders**, which makes the limits of state sovereignty to be futile and annuls the linguistic and cultural differences.<sup>74</sup> In spite of the globalization of communication, of the globalization of media production, mass-media is dominated by frontiers. These frontiers are on the one hand determined by the limits of communication, and on the other hand they also have a heavy identity load.<sup>75</sup> On the communicational limits, Joaquin Roy asserts that not on all continents there is the same dynamics of communication and not everywhere the population has free and cheap access to information<sup>76</sup>. About the identity weight of communication, Tzvetan Todorov sees the TV programs as “cultural models in miniature”<sup>77</sup>, enabling the members of a nation to orientate themselves. This fact is crucial in forming, maintaining and reflecting the national identity, related to the national audience, the national experience and the collective memory<sup>78</sup>.

#### 3.1. Media faced with the frontier between manipulation and communication

The immense volume of communication coexist with an immense quantity of stereotypes, manipulated data and facts manipulate, lack of mutual trust, hatred and suspicion, social isolation and exclusion or simply ignorance. Many people consider that the media, in general can be both the source and solution for setting up a real intercultural dialogue. But at a closer look of things, the media is not only the solution of intercultural communication, but it is part of the problem, by its effective absence from the dialogue<sup>79</sup>. It is not about a lack in the sense of absence, but about the blocking of it in front of a frontier, on the one hand, of the lack of experience in the practice of the intercultural dialogue, and on the other hand, because of the discrepancy in the technological advancement between various countries and between various social strata.

Natural questions are raised: “what section of newspapers should be better targeted to engage in this new mission of correcting a mistaken communication? How can the core of the elite press correct these perceptions and endemic stereotypes? Is it possible nowadays, to rely on the leadership role of old-fashioned intellectuals turned into media professionals to redress the negative mutual lack of trust?”<sup>80</sup>. There are many answers here, but there are some without which borders cannot be exceeded: cultural training and intellectual experience by which today’s media professionals must face the task; active role of governments in helping the independent, but economically weak, media in reducing the communication gap between north and south, manipulation of the press through political power must be avoided<sup>81</sup>.

The technological gap creates differences of access to communication. There is an elitist minority, interested in the conventional press (newspapers and magazines) where there appear opinions and critical analyses on the essence and mechanisms of intercultural dialogue. This minority is placed more in the urban, academic and economic environment and especially in the North. There is a mass which is interested in a consumption press, particularly audio-video (films, TV, radio), where information is taken in pure, raw state and by which

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<sup>74</sup> Jan Aart Schlote, *Globalization: a critical introduction*, New York, Saint Martin’s Press, 2000

<sup>75</sup> Tamar Ashuri, “The nation remember: national identity and shared memory in television documentaries”, in *Nation and Nationalism (Journal of Association for Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism)*, vol. 11/3, 2005, pp. 423-442

<sup>76</sup> Joaquin Roy, “The role of media in the north-south intercultural dialogue”, in *Dialogue between peoples and cultures: actors in the dialogue*, Bruxelles, European Communities, 2005, p. 108

<sup>77</sup> Tzvetar Todorov, “The Coexistence of Cultures”, in *Oxford Literary Review*, 1997, 19(3), pp. 3-17

<sup>78</sup> T. Ashuri, *op. cit.*, p. 423

<sup>79</sup> J. Roy, *op.cit.*, p. 111

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*

manipulation is made most simply. This majority is present more in the social urban environments with high rates of illiteracy in the rural area and particularly in the South. Concentration of ownership in few hands in Europe, plus the heavy dependency on public media with governments in key EU countries – financing of huge deficits, and the political control of the boards, appointed by government or parliamentary commissions), have raised doubts about the neutrality of the solution and its effectiveness in carrying a positive message for dialogue building with the south<sup>82</sup>.

Even if in Europe the journalists are not subject, in the name of the democratic system, to pressures of violating the sources of information, this problem can become worrying in the future, regarding what has happened in the USA after September 11, 2001. In these conditions there shall be raised serious doubts not only from the point of view of professional capacity of journalists, but also of credibility of the political system, meant to defend the inviolability of the freedom of expression<sup>83</sup>.

### 3.2. Is Media the last bastion of the national identity?

The explosion of the digital and satellite media, which can no longer be “controlled” but by imposing certain rules of programming and distributing the channels, makes that the identity load to be still present. The television industry was assigned and assumed a dual role: to serve a political public sphere of the nation-state and to act as a locus for national culture<sup>84</sup>.

In the era of globalization this apparent control is reduced, therefore, we could assert that the national identity borders in communication disappear, but still, things are not like that. Tamar Ashuri identifies a few elements which demonstrate that the national identity is audio-visual does not disappear, but is amplified:

- the actors: who are they and what is their relevance to the national experience?
- The roles: who are the heroes and who are the villains? Who are each nation’s friends and enemies
- Place/location: which places are depicted and what is their relevance to the nation’s history and rich legacy of memories?
- Plot/story (time/issues): At which historical moment does the story begin and end, and how do such moments relate to the nation’s heritage? Which historical events will be acknowledged and which will be consigned to oblivion?
- Language: What is the language in use and what is the relevance to the national experience?<sup>85</sup>

These arguments brought by Tamar Ashuri are confirmed as well by P. Preston, A. Kerr, who are of opinion that although the national borders have become more fluid in the last decades, the mass communication did not make “geopolitical borders obsolete or diminished the regulatory control of nation-state”<sup>86</sup>.

Some authors are of opinion that the new media is mobilized in order to forge the national identity. Various movements occurred in the last ten years use “symbolic violence” as a message, which further on mediatized is often exaggerated in lugubrious scenes<sup>87</sup>. This thing

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<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 114; Tony Barber, “Controversial media reform bill heads for final approval”, in *Financial Times*, 29 April 2004

<sup>83</sup> J. Roy, *op.cit.*, p. 115

<sup>84</sup> D. Morley and K. Robins, *Space of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries*, London-New York, Routledge, 1995; J. Harrison, L.M. Woods, “Defining European Public Service Broadcasting”, in *European Journal of Communication*, 2001, 16 (4), pp. 477-504

<sup>85</sup> T. Ashuri, *op. cit.*, p. 431

<sup>86</sup> P. Preston, A. Kerr, “Digital media, nation-state and local culture: the case of multimedia “content” production” in *Media, Culture & Society*, 2001, 23 (1), pp. 109-131

<sup>87</sup> Mary Kaldor, “Nationalism and Globalization”, in *Nation and Nationalism (Journal of Association for Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism)*, vol. 10/2, 2004, p.170

has been of avail to the ex-Yugoslavia, in Rwanda, Uganda, in Palestine, Israel. We also have to deal with a crepuscular nationalism of certain ethnic communities (The Basques, the Catalans, etc)

Mary Kaldor asserts that one cannot reach a European identity since in a technologized world and highly individualized it is hard to generate a passionate loyalty towards a cosmopolitan culture, open to various cultures and born out of various cultures<sup>88</sup> Cosmopolitanism should involve the search for, and delight in, the contrast between societies rather than a longing for superiority or for uniformity<sup>89</sup>.

Another sceptical person with regard to the forging of European identity, Anthony D. Smith asserts that the European cosmopolitan culture has no memory. He suggests that all bad things that happened in Europe be forgotten – wars, imperialism, holocaust<sup>90</sup>. The European Culture that shall stay at the grounds of the European identity must have in its core the culture of human rights, and that of excluding war. Only two moments can be noted down in the process of real Europeanization, says Mary Kaldor. The first one is after 1945, when the European movement was founded in the Hague as a reaction to the atrocities of World War II and the second one after 1989, when the Cold War ended and when the two parts of Europe met again on the platform of peace movements and the respect of human rights.<sup>91</sup>

These reflections are confirmed as well by other research<sup>92</sup> that notice as efforts for promoting the European issue are being made, at the same extent grows the level of ignorance in this respect, due to the continual changes in the content of the messages, but also due to disregarding the need for transparency. This fact contributes to appearance of a communicational blockage, which leads to a rupture between the producers of European media message and its consumers, with them taking refuge in a kind of regional or local media message, with many sub-cultural accents. After 15 years of freedom of the press in Central and Eastern Europe there is a deep rupture between the participation of media at local or regional level and their participation at national level in the process of creating a European Media Area (EMA), through the place it occupies in the formation of public democratic space in the respective countries.

Analyzing things from another perspective, it is possible to have a more optimistic view regarding this European ignorance of media consumers or of the journalists' predilections for the national viewpoints rather than for the European viewpoints. Regarding about how they both react, we are in the presence of the same cliché – *difference, opposition, resistance* – propelled by various means by the media, up to the “hate speech”<sup>93</sup> – induced by education, and by national environment in which we perform. Can we build a European identity, a European perception on this cliché specific to the national identity? Yes and no. Even if theoretically it would be possible by underlining the differences towards other spaces: the American one, the Asian one, the African one, in reality it is no viable at last due to two reasons. On the one hand, it would create a unity towards exterior, but the cliché of the difference; of opposition and of the resistance would be maintained inside. On other hand, Europe would become a closed space, in a world in which identity is based on another set of values – *transparency, alterity and human rights*.

Attending this set of values that can contribute to the creation of an EPA is difficult task, even from the most important moment of the media activities - selection of the news that

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 173

<sup>89</sup> John Urry, “The global media and cosmopolitanism”, in Department of Sociology, Lancaster, <http://www.comp.lancaster.ac.uk/sociology/soc056ju.html>

<sup>90</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, Cambridge, Polity, 1995, p. 24

<sup>91</sup> M. Kaldor, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175

<sup>92</sup> Ioan Horga, Adrian Popoviciu, “The National Media Impact on the European Security”, in *International and European Security versus the Explosion of Global Media* (ed. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro, Renaud de la Brosse, Ioan Horga), Bruxelles, 2004, pp. 25-40

<sup>93</sup> Gordana Vilovic, “Hate Speech vs standards of European Union”, in *The Contribution of Mass-Media to the Enlargement of European Union* (eds. Ariane Landuyt, Renaud de la Brosse, Ioan Horga), Bruxelles, 2003, pp. 220-225

are to be broadcast. An analysis in this sense shows that it is a greater connotation of independence in the European Union media institutions, but here too occur situations when radical accents emerge, as it happened in the case of the dispute between the USA and the EU on the issue of the International Court of War Crimes<sup>94</sup>. Many times the kind of information that are broadcast do not help to the understanding of the integration effects, of the UE enlargement, or of the functioning of European institutions and policies<sup>95</sup>. Also, the selection of information and particularly in Central and Eastern Europe is made according to “the editors’ interest or by the interest of the political group he/she serves”<sup>96</sup>, ignoring or disregarding the news referring to European issues in the inside pages or in short messages, with no relevance to the media consumers<sup>97</sup>.

These editorial motivations are still marked by the national identity border. Even if the nation seems to be an obsolete entity, we notice that it continues to exist in reality, that it represents the back bone of an “indispensable” cultural matrix. From this point of view, a paradoxical aspect emerges – as economic and political constraints develop around the nation, the national identity models are in full process of recreation to end up in a new model of transparency in global relations. At the origins of this renewal directly lay the media technologies and the communicational practices available for that particular nation<sup>98</sup>.

The explosion of the media phenomenon in the last 10 years at all levels, local, regional, national and international affect first and foremost the national identity border, because of the free outspreading of information. This fact leads us to be optimistic with regard to the coagulation of an EPA in the future. However, our optimism must be tempered since in front of major international security crises– 11 September 2001 and the Iraq crisis of 2003 – or of European blockings– rejecting the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands – the importance of these “extraordinary novelties” and their emotional change have urged the media to question even more its national identity. Likewise, an increase in the level of uncertainty in the world, and an ardent need for information, make the media grow ever more dependent upon sources they cannot easily reach. This fact engenders on obvious question, that Michel Mathien also ask: must the evolution of security in Western democracies modify the role of the Media?<sup>99</sup>.

Out of this brief analysis, it is obvious that by facing the common reflection of this issue concerning the impact of border national identity on the media in relation with Europe’s general interest, the space for differences is extremely large. Practically there is no reflection of this issue in the European media to such an extent as to form in the European citizens a consciousness of their identity in issues of defense that might support the creation of set of values in this sphere, unanimously accepted. We are still far away from the appearance of certain values such as European patriotism or solidarity. Should we accept the other European values as being a common good, these are values that still await to be fulfilled. Also, media could exert a powerful pressure, by means of the public opinion, upon the decision factors in the European governance, in order to drop the divergence and to adopt a convergence in viewpoints in this important issue on which the Europe’s future depend from now on.

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<sup>94</sup> Stjepan Malovic, “News selecting: European Standards, local practice”, in A. Landuyt, R. de la Brosse, I. Horga, *op.cit.*, pp. 69-77

<sup>95</sup> Daniele Pasquucci, “L’Europe Absente: l’Elargissement aux PECO et la Radiotélévision Italienne”, in A. Landuyt, R. de la Brosse, I. Horga, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-95

<sup>96</sup> St. Malovic, *op.cit.*, p. 76

<sup>97</sup> Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie, “From Helsinki to Nice, or seeing Europe through the eyes of the Romanian written presse”, in I. Horga & R. de la Brosse, *op.cit.*, pp. 145-158

<sup>98</sup> Allen W. Palmer, “Transparency and Hidden Transcripts: The Global Media Dilemma of Emergent Nations”, in A. Landuyt, R. de la Brosse, I. Horga, *op.cit.*, pp. 15-25

<sup>99</sup> Michel Mathien, “Les médias face à l’évolution sécuritaire occidentale”, in *Annuaire français de relations internationales*, 2003, vol, IV, p. 804

### 3.3. The role of media in transforming the perception of the border from limit into frontier as a difference

There are premises and conditions for the media to change the interpretations, interests and options from the national perspective towards the European one, but this process is slow and very closely linked to: the essence of the European mediatic reflection, represented by the typology of the community we create; the objective of European mediatic reflection, represented by the place of media in the European mechanism of governing; means of mediatic reflection, represented by the de nature of techniques of information and communication.

Finally, the oscillation of the media between the national identity and the European one is determined by the very success or insuccess of the process of integration and construction of the belief among the European states and the European citizens. The construction of a European identity, the belief of a “community of fate” separated can be achieved when at a mediatic level there still are lots of defects? The increased interdependency between the member states does not mean that we shall assist, mechanically, to the birth of the European identity. We must talk more about a long term process, a dynamic one, the success of which shall depend to a great extent on the existence of a European mediatic space, which remains and imperative to be accomplished.<sup>100</sup>

Media shall always be more sensible to the national emotional than to the European pragmatism. Paradoxically, however, the notion of European mediatic space is not possible to be seen other than adjacent to the phenomenon of economic integration and of formation of the internal market. Little or even very little is to be anticipated that the European mediatic space to appear in the context of the exclusive action of certain socio-cultural or democratic factors, which are traditionally arguments of the mass-media<sup>101</sup>. Nevertheless, beyond the uncontested economic successes of united Europe, which were very little exploited mediatically, (let us think only at the effects of the Euro upon the European integration and conscience), the differences of opinion between the European governance and the national one or between the EU members, were very well exploited mediatically, but at times with a higher tolerance towards the national actors, in comparison with the European ones.

The national media have got used most often to touch the European actuality from a very frequent point of view, the institutional one, contributing in its own proper manner to the feeding of a would-be “European democratic deficit”, which it repeatedly denounces in front of the consumers of mediatic message. On the contrary, the role of mass-media, be it national, regional or local, or even be it European is to fight the “European democratic deficit” treating the information in such a manner as not to make Europe responsible of lack of action and blocking when it does not have to do entirely with subjects such as unemployment or social insecurity.

From this perspective, even if media still peddles the clichés of the “culpability of Europe” for what does not go well internally, the constitutional blocking of 2005, by the negative vote of France and Holland could represent a crucial point in the balance of the media between the national identity border and the European communicational frontier, given the necessity of a more profound implication of the European institutions in topics which are under the imprint of intergovernmental negotiations: institutional changes, foreign policy, defence and justice and home affairs<sup>102</sup>.

Getting out of the constitutional treaty blockage must be done as a compromise between the interests of the state big and small. The most optimum variant must be found,

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<sup>100</sup> Renaud de la Brosse, “Espace médiatique européen et la « communauté de destins »”, in Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro, *op.cit.*, p. 285

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 287; see Jens Cavallin, “European Policies and Regulations on Media Concentration”, in *International Journal of Communications Law and Policy*, February 11, 1998, p.23 ([http://www.ijclp.org/1\\_1998/ijlp\\_webdoc\\_3\\_1\\_1998.html\\*top](http://www.ijclp.org/1_1998/ijlp_webdoc_3_1_1998.html*top))

<sup>102</sup> Jean-Claude Piris, *The Constitution for Europe. A Legal Analysis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 30-37, 145-178, 192-197; O. Rehn, *op.cit.*, p. 114

which should enable the big states to play an acceptable role, while the small states not to feel they are part of the EU only as a number. The solution with a President of the European Council elected for two years and a half full-time, instead of the presidency rotation; introducing the double majority in the voting system and choosing a foreign minister of the Union are constitutional provisions which places the big states to an advantage and places the small ones in a disadvantage. This system, combined with the provision that the number of commissars to be reduced and to be used the rotation system, which apparently gives gains to the small states<sup>103</sup>, overall introduces in the European public sphere a polemical problem, which the media cannot but approach only from the perspective of the national identity.

Flexibility is the most important dimension of European governance since on the one hand it can face the various challenges appearing in the process of economic modernizing, of demographic changes and of the changes in the political agenda. On the other hand, flexibility enables it to be transparent and to be open to diversity of opinions and solutions.

The research notices<sup>104</sup> that the new attributes of the European governance –such as management through agencies and management through networks –draw little attention to the journalists as media facts, which would lead to the idea that we are in two parallel worlds – European governance cannot interfere with the Public European Sphere, as each one is a distinct entity. If we look into the facts, the media does not influence the appearance of the Public European Sphere directly, although within the national bounds by its regulating and formative function in society; it influences it indirectly by its impact on European governance.

As a regulator, the media has to reach certain parameters: to be pluralist in opinions, transparent and free from all interferences, whether public or private; to serve the citizens by providing information concerning political persons and events; to be vigilant to corruption practices and tendencies; to keep the communication means open and to organize the dialogue amongst different elements of the society respecting human rights no matter the topic.

The New Technologies of Information and Communication (NTIC), which was very soon be implemented in Central and Eastern European countries are an alternative to media suffocated by the nationalist discourse, by the tendencies of the *parti pris*. The impossibility of the State to controlling communication through the NTIC develops in the area encouraging forms for the much desired European Public Area (EPA)<sup>105</sup>. There are many examples where a transnational media have been developed, especially in the economic field, causing a greater transparency in all the fields<sup>106</sup>. At the same time by the NTIC, the national minorities, especially those in Central and Eastern Europe actively take part not only to refreshing the national public space with their contributions, but also to bringing in the European public scenery items of culture, of unique experience, which are hidden otherwise, and would disappear in time<sup>107</sup>.

#### 4. Conclusion

Nevertheless although the media bears a deep national imprint, it still has a great power of influence upon the European governance that will bear the European Public Sphere against the background of the process of economic and monetary union. Consequently, the European

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<sup>103</sup> O. Rehn, *op.cit.*, loc.cit.

<sup>104</sup> Hans-Jorg Trenz, “Media on European Governance. Exploring the European Public Sphere in the national Quality Newspapers”, in *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 19, nr. 3, 2004, pp. 291-319

<sup>105</sup> José Maria Cruz Rodriguez, “The European Audiovisual Policy as Tool for Construction of the Common Identity: the Fall of Socio-cultural Myth”, in F. Maron, I. Horga, R. de la Brosse, *op.cit.*, pp. 215-224

<sup>106</sup> Dominique Augey, “NTIC, médias et économies in transition », in *The Role of Mass-Media and of the New Information and Communication Technologies in the Democratization Process of Central and Eastern Europe* (eds. Ioan Horga & Renaud de la Brosse), Bruxelles, 2002, pp. 195-215

<sup>107</sup> Luca Calvi, “ Minorities and the Net: Reflections on the Carpatho-Rusyn Case Study”, in Ioan Horga & Renaud de la Brosse, *op.cit.*, pp. 283-292



Public Sphere will not be the direct result of the interaction of European public actors; it will be an indirect result by the action of the local, regional and national media phenomenon mediated by European governance and alternative media, which could **ensure the transformation of the perception of border from limit into frontier as a difference.**

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