

**Frame analysis of civil society documents in the period 2015-2018**  
**(Case of Slovenia)**

**Report**

**Part of the basic project Political and Media Populism: “Refugee crisis” in  
Slovenia and Austria**

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**March 2020**

**Contents**

1 A brief note on the civil society in Slovenia.....	2
2 Critical affective frame analysis .....	4
3 Description of material.....	5
3.1 Authors of analysed texts .....	6
4 Diagnosis .....	8
4.1 Overview and framing of the problem .....	8
4.2 Active Actor.....	11
4.3 Passive actor .....	13
4.4 Affect .....	15
4.5 Populist antagonism(s) .....	19
5 Prognosis .....	20
5.1 Overview and framing of proposed solution .....	20
5.2 Active actor .....	23
5.3 Passive actor .....	25
5.4 Affect .....	27
5.5 Populist antagonism(s) .....	32
6 Frame comparison .....	33
6.1 Diagnosis/prognosis combinations .....	33
6.2 Prognosis/diagnosis combinations.....	34
6.3 Affect – diagnosis/prognosis.....	35
6.4 Affect – prognosis/diagnosis.....	36
7 Discussion/Conclusion.....	37
Literature.....	39

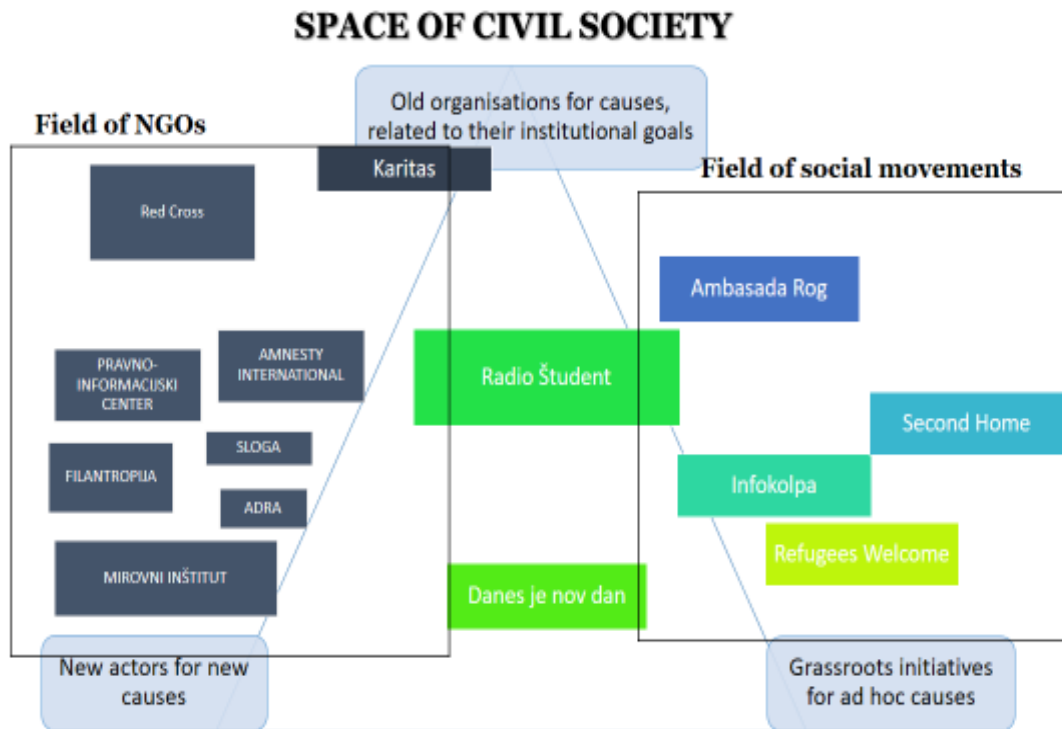
## 1 A brief note on the civil society in Slovenia<sup>1</sup>

Three clustered groups (each clustering various similar institutions, organizations and associations in close proximity to one another) seem to structure the space of civil society in Slovenia (see Picture 1). First two clustered groups (in Picture 1 shown on the left side of the picture) present the actors in the subfield of humanitarian, advocacy and voluntary organizations, subfield that constitutes a part of a larger field of Non-governmental organizations in Slovenia that (in year 2014) includes more than 23.000 associations, federations of associations, private institutes, institutions, foundations, cooperatives and religious organisations (see Forbici et al. 2010, p. 9; Mevlja and Kavčič 2016, p. 26, 34). Following classification of Aitimurto and Staikova (2018, pp. 175–178) they can be classified as: **i)** old organisations for causes, related to their institutional goals. Two organisations that represent this cluster are located at the left top of the picture 1, i.e. Red Cross (Rdeči križ Slovenije) and Karitas. **ii)** Smaller NGOs, established mostly in the 1990s belong to a cluster termed new actors for new causes. Cluster is consisted of numerous smaller NGOs: Legal–Informational Centre for NGOs (Pravno informacijski center nevladnih organizacij – PiC), Slovene Philanthropy (Slovenska filantropija), Amnesty International Slovenije, International African forum, The Adventist Development and Relief Agency Adra (Humanitarno društvo Adra Slovenija), The Peace Institute (Mirovni inštitut), Humanitas, Humanitarian philanthropic association UP Jesenice (Človekoljubno dobredelno društvo UP Jesenice) etc. and mostly coordinated by the platform Sloga (Slovenian Global Action, platform of NGOs for development, global learning and humanitarian help). Third cluster group is constituted from **iii)** Grassroots initiatives for ad hoc causes (i.e. activist initiatives and social movement actors). Those groups are mostly located in the field of social movements (in Picture 1 located on the right hand side). We identified smaller initiatives/actors that exist and belong to the social movement field as well as media field: Danes je nov dan (Today is a new day), Radio Študent, Proti Militarizaciji in ograji (Against the militarization and fence). Smaller initiatives are activist groups primarily focusing on the issue of migrations, integration, anti-racism and anticapitalism: Infokolpa, Ambasada Rog, Second Home, Antiracist front without borders (Protirasistična fronta brez meja).

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<sup>1</sup> Report is not proof-read.

**Picture 1:** Space of civil society in Slovenia



## 2 Critical affective frame analysis<sup>2</sup>

Critical affective frame analysis is a discursive and feeling-sensitive approach to the study of (underlying) norms, beliefs, perceptions, emotions, and affective atmospheres, which are embedded in texts. The basic element of the analysis is an affective frame (for critical frame analysis see Verloo 2005, p. 20). Affects are embedded in and interwoven with meaning and values as perception and cognition always includes affects. Affects create atmosphere (i.e. affect-loaded spaces) and connections or disconnections between people which might create belonging or non-belonging. Affects are expressed through affective words (i.e. words which express an affect or emotion such as fear, “I was afraid”, love, “I love my country” etc.), through the syntax of a sentence (incomplete sentences, repetition), through prosody (rhythm, stress, intonation) (Kleres 2010).

According to a frame analysis each text can be analysed in a way to determine which problem(s) (diagnosis) it addresses and what is offered as a solution to the problems (prognosis) identified. Those diagnosis-prognosis elements in texts constitute elementary units of our analysis and are labelled as “pairs”: project team has identified 36 problem – solution pairs in 19 analysed documents.

Markers are elements of frames and we identified and coded markers as answers to the following “sensitizing questions”: What is the problem to be solved? Who is affected by it? Who/what causes the problem to appear or reproduce? What is the objective? What needs to be done? What is the solution? Who should do it? What references/norms/values/affects are used to support the claims? In diagnosis and prognosis we identified the affects involved and the atmosphere which is created. The marker “atmosphere” proved useful to flesh out the affective dimension of the frames and to note peculiarities that might have been missed by only asking for the affect attached to the single problems or solutions. We also identified the main “populist antagonisms” in a document such as “people-centrism”, “anti-elitism” and “Othering”. Throughout the coding process, we found that claiming problems without presenting solutions might be a characteristic of right-wing-populist rhetoric.

The process of coding was organized in two national teams. After the coding of the documents, the coding results have been reviewed for potential inter-coder inconsistencies and were partially recoded and “cleaned” by one researcher in Austria and in a group effort in Slovenia. In the same process, both national teams reduced the number of coded frames. To ensure cross-country comparability, the list of clustered frames provided by the Slovenian team served as a starting point to assign new frame-names. Where necessary, new frames were added to the list. New frame names were assigned for each coded problem and each solution.

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<sup>2</sup> Part 2 on methodology was in a large part provided by Birgit Sauer (University of Vienna) and I thank her for the contribution.

### 3 Description of material

Documents gathered for frame analysis were selected in accordance with the selection of speeches in the National Assembly in Slovenia (see Report of parliamentary politics analysis for Slovenia). We analysed responses of civil society actors to 7 migration regulating laws adopted in the Slovenian National Assembly period from March 2015 to May 2019: **1)** Draft amendments to the Law on foreigners (*Predlog zakona o spremembah in dopolnitvah Zakona o tujcih*, passed 9<sup>th</sup> March 2015); **2)** Draft amendments to the Defense Act (*Predlog zakona o dopolnitvi zakona o obrambi*, passed on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2015); **3)** Draft amendments to the Act of the organization and work of the police (*Predlog zakona o spremembi zakona o organiziranosti in delu v policiji*, passed on 4<sup>th</sup> November 2015); **4)** Draft of the International protection act (*Predlog zakona o mednarodni zaščiti*, passed on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2016); **5)** Draft amendments to the Act on control of the state border (*Predlog zakona o spremembah in dopolnitvah zakona o nadzoru državne meje*, passed on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2017); **6)** Draft amendments to the Law on foreigners (*Predlog zakona o spremembi in dopolnitvah zakona o tujcih*, passed on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2017); **7)** Draft amendments to the Law on foreigners (*Druga obravnava predloga zakona o spremembah in dopolnitvah zakona o tujcih*, passed on 17<sup>th</sup> October 2017).

We proceeded to first, adopt an inductive approach (searching, finding, gathering, reading etc.) to the selection of vast produced material on the topic. Later we narrowed the selection of documents (statements, appeals and joint (public) letters) to those that directly comment on changing legal policies and provisions (laws, amendments etc.). We excluded those critical responses that did not address the legal aspect of the government's, ministries' or parliament's actions (for example: leaflets, reports, petitions, glossaries, etc.). We accessed the documents online (in word, pdf or webpage version) and later verified the originality with the colleague at the Peace Institute (via archive of the reports written in the time-frame period). We maintained a degree of consistency and comparability when regarding the form and length of chosen documents and produced a final database which is consisted of 19 documents (public letters/appeals/statements) on legal provisions adopted in the Slovenian National Assembly. First public letter was sent on 24<sup>th</sup> August 2015 and last one in the three-day period from 17-19<sup>th</sup> November 2018. The largest amount of letters (11) was sent in the period of three autumn months (September, October and November) of 2015, during the so called "refugee crisis" on the Balkan Trail). 3 letters or public statements arguing against the proposed amendments to the International Protection Act (adopted on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2016) were sent in February and March 2016 and 2 were sent whenever Slovenian government proposed possible legislative changes to the controversial Aliens Act, (one on 25<sup>th</sup> October 2016 and one on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2017). Material selected for the frame analysis amounts to approximately 35 written pages.

### 3.1 Authors of analysed texts

Out of the 19 public letters, appeals and public statements in the analysed period, 12 letters were sent by the coordinated network of non-governmental and humanitarian organizations (NGO Coordination) while other 7 analysed documents were created, signed and sent by individual organisations, initiatives or individuals.

The formation of the *NGO coordination* can be traced back to July 2015, when representatives of Slovenian civil society met to discuss the developing “refugee crisis” in the region. The involved organizations that were concerned with the strengthening of the Balkan migratory route and the arbitrary and inappropriate responses from the governments in the region prepared a plan of activities. /.../ During further internal NGO meetings (september, october 2015), the involved organizations agreed on what needed to be done in preparation for the arrival of refugees and how to divide various activities. The organizations began to refer to themselves jointly as “NGO Coordination” while they remained independent and free to participate in any individual activities and initiatives carried out in the framework of the Coordination or otherwise. NGO coordination established itself as a coordination structure, which agreed on a set of informal rules applied on internal meetings and communication as well as a general division of roles. SLOGA, the Slovenian NGO Platform for Development, Global Education and Humanitarian Aid, was entrusted with the coordination activities, which it carried out throughout the period of the 2015/2016 arrival of refugees – and beyond (Schreilechner et al. 2017, pg. 63-64). NGO Coordination managed to produce and sent 12 public letters, appeals and statements during the analysed period: 3 letters were jointly signed by 6 NGOs, 1 was signed by 10, 1 by 12, 2 by 17, 1 by 21, 1 by 23 and 3 letters were signed by as much as 28 non-governmental and humanitarian organizations. List of signees consists of a small “core” of seven NGOs present in the majority of letters, produced by the coordination (coloured light blue in graph 1): Amnesty International Slovenije and The Peace Institute (Mirovni inštitut) signed all 12 letters, Legal Information Centre for NGOs (Pravno-informacijski center nevladnih organizacij or PIC), Humanitas and Slovene Philanthropy (Slovenska filantropija) signed 11, Ovca organisation signed 10 and SLOGA (Slovenian NGO Platform for Development, Global Education and Humanitarian Aid), which coordinated the list of signees and the coordination as a whole is signed in 6. Jesuit Refugee Service Slovenia with 8, Institute for African Studies (Inštitut za afriške študije) with 7 and The Adventist Development and Relief Agency (Adra Slovenija) with 6 signed letters represent an outer (less vocal) circle of the coordination (coloured darker blue in Graph 1). Slovenian Red Cross and Karitas joined the list of signees half of the time, Slovenian Red Cross signed a joint appeal or letter of the coordination 6 times and Karitas signed it 5 times (both organizations are coloured red in Graph 1).

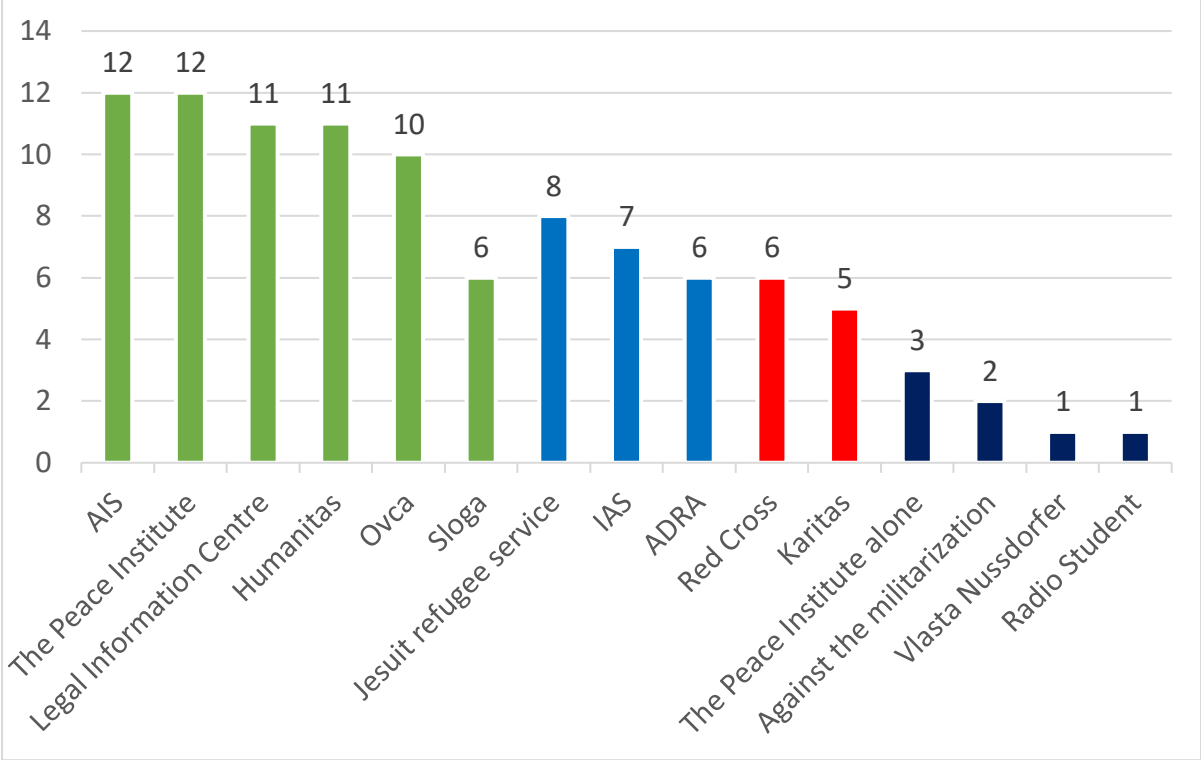
Responses that were co-signed by the largest numbers of NGOs and humanitarian organizations were sent during the autumn months of 2015 (during the so called “refugee crisis” on the Balkan Trail). 4 letters or appeals, sent in September and October of that year addressed governmental pushbacks, the establishment of the corridor for refugees and inappropriate actions of the repressive apparatus (namely Slovenian police and the actions of the Slovenian army). 3 letters were signed by 28 organizations and 1 was signed by 17. Other coordinated and jointly signed appeals were sent whenever Slovenian government proposed possible legislative changes to the controversial Aliens Act, which was finally adopted in the Slovenian National Assembly on

26<sup>th</sup> January 2017. 2 appeals/public letters (one signed by 17 NGOs on 25<sup>th</sup> October 2016 and one signed by 21 NGOs on 26<sup>th</sup> January 2017).

Individuals and individual organisations were also active during autumn months of 2015, i.e. during the so called “refugee crisis” on the Balkan Trail. 7 letters were sent by individual organisations, initiatives or individuals: 3 were sent by The Peace Institute, 2 letters were sent by the Against the militarization initiative – initiative of voters submitting a requirement calling for a public referendum, 1 letter was written by the Slovenian ombudsman Vlasta Nussdorfer, and 1 by editorial board of Radio Študent (an alternative radio station Radio Student).

The Peace Institute sent 3 open letters to Slovenian government in autumn months of 2015 (one in September, one in October and one in November of that year), mainly about the Slovenian-Croatian border. Slovenian ombudsman Vlasta Nussdorfer sent a public letter to Slovenian prime minister informing him on possible violations of the Slovenian Constitution in the proposed changes in The Act Supplementing the Defence Act (25<sup>th</sup> November 2015). Initiative of voters submitting a requirement calling for a public referendum (Against the militarization initiative) published two public statements (16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> November 2015) on its actions and while editorial board of Radio Student sent and published an open letter addressing president of National Assembly Milan Brglez (26<sup>th</sup> October 2015).

**Graph 1:** Number of signed letters (by institution)





## 4 Diagnosis

### 4.1 Overview and framing of the problem

In Slovenian civil society responses we identified 21 different problem frames in total, which were assigned 22 times (one frame “refugees currently in Croatia are going to cross Slovenian territory but legislative procedures and rules in place will strain them” was assigned to a problem definition in 2 different letters, because the problem definition in those 2 letters was being reproduced, i. e. identical). To see the bigger picture, we grouped those 21 basic frames into 7 subframes.<sup>3</sup> Consequentially all frames are distributed rather similarly: the two most popular subframes contain 5 basic frames each, third and fourth contain 4 basic frames each, fifth subframe contains 2 basic frames, while sixth and seventh subframe contain 1 basic frame each. The two most popular clusters or subframes, as already said, contain 5 basic frames each: the first subframe set of basic frames argues that **militarization is an inappropriate response** (to a humanitarian problem), second set of subframes proposes that **legislation is not protecting refugees**. The third set blames the **government for not protecting refugees**, fourth subframe cluster argues that legislation is not adequately protective - it argues that **legislation is not protecting refugees and migrants** while fifth subframe set regards **EU policies as ineffective**. Sixth subframe cluster regards **government as incompetent or harmful for the state**, while last or seventh is arguing that **legislation is not protecting migrants**.

When looking at the cumulative distribution of subframes as they are aggregated into a family of a chosen main frame (on a higher level of abstraction), we can conclude that the largest number of subframes (n=10; 45,4%) belongs to the **Legislation not protecting refugees and/or migrants** main frame. Similar share of subframes (n=9; 40,9%) is part of the **Human rights, democracy and / or the rule of law under threat** main frame, while the smallest share of subframes belong to **EU policies ineffective** (n=2; 9%) and **Government incompetent/harmful for the state** main frames (n=1; 4,5%).

The popularity of the **first** subframe (22,7% of all 22 assigned basic frames), which argues that **militarization is an inappropriate response** (to a humanitarian problem) could be found in 5 letters that were sent in a short period of one month between 26<sup>th</sup> October and 26<sup>th</sup> of November of 2015 (see Graph 2). Interestingly letters were not written by an NGO coordination but distributed among three different individual civil society organizations (The Peace Institute, Radio Student, Against the militarization and the fence Initiative) and the Slovenian ombudsman. Cluster contains 5 basic frames: 1 basic frame that argues that “various public instances and organisations (police, army, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and humanitarian organisations) reproduce an erroneous approach (of the elites) to a humanitarian problem” (Public letter of The Peace Institute to the government of Slovenia; dated 6<sup>th</sup> November 2015) and 1 argued against “Slovenian government’s and parliament’s militarization of a humanitarian crisis” (Public letter – response of Radio Student to Milan Brglez; dated 26<sup>th</sup> October 2015). Other 3 basic frames in the cluster contain basic frames that opposed the proposed Act Supplementing the Defence Act (adopted on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2015). 1 basic frame argued that “powers delegated to the Slovenian army in a proposed Act are vague, general and unclear” (public letter of Slovenian ombudsman Vlasta Nussdorfer to prime

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<sup>3</sup> Project team identified and clustered frames on 4 different levels of abstraction: first level of framing represents frames that were assigned by the coders and which I will label in this report as *basic frames* (sometimes I will also label them as *coder-identified or coder-ascribed/assigned frames*). On the second level, those clustered basic frames are labelled as *subframes* by the project team and in the present report. Subframes are further clustered and grouped and on the third level of abstraction labelled as *main frames*. Main frames are (on the fourth level) clustered into *super frames*.

minister of Slovenia regarding The Act Supplementing the Defence Act; dated 25<sup>th</sup> November 2015). 1 basic frame argued that “irregularities of the new Act on Defence delegated wider powers to the Slovenian army” (Argumentation on the irregularities in the proposed changes to the Act on Defence; dated 18<sup>th</sup> November 2015). Final basic frame in this cluster argued that “Act Supplementing the Defence Act that delegated more power to the Slovenian army exceeded constitutionally delineated framework of army’s defined tasks” (public statement titled Against the militarization and the fence; dated 16<sup>th</sup> November 2015).

As seen in graph 2 the **second** most frequent cluster of subframes argues that Slovenian **legislation is not** (adequately) **protecting refugees**. Cluster was found in 4 letters, and contains 5 basic frames. 1 letter (Public letter of the coordination of NGOs to PM Miro Cerar on the non-refoulement of refugees sent on 18<sup>th</sup> September 2015) framed 2 problems: first problem was framed as “transferring asylum seekers (in accordance with Dublin II) to the EU member states with systemic deficiencies regarding asylum procedures and conditions (especially Italy and Hungary)” and second basic frame was articulated as “refugees currently in Croatia are going to cross Slovenian territory but legislative procedures and rules in place will strain them”. Later basic frame is found in another published public statement (Public statement of The Peace Institute titled Government should establish a corridor and published on 18<sup>th</sup> September 2015). This subframe cluster contains two more basic frames: 1 basic frame is formulated as “new proposal of the International Protection Act limits and narrows rights of asylum seekers and refugees” and second basic frame “Provisions in the International Protection Act would infringe on human rights and various legal institutions, decisions, conventions, procedures” is framing 2 problem definitions in a letter titled Appeals of NGOs before the vote on the International Protection Act, sent on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2016; letter was signed by 6 NGOs).

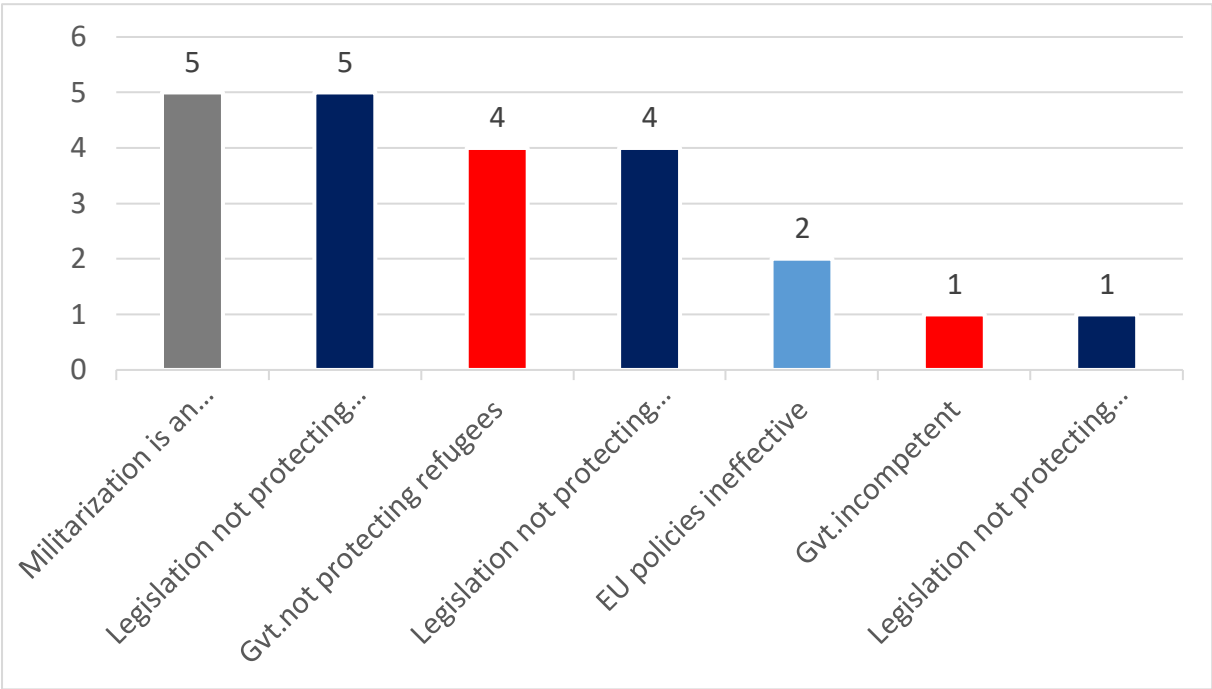
The **third** subframe cluster labelled as “**Government not protecting refugees**” (4 or 11% of all 36 frames). This cluster of 4 basic frames was detected in 4 separate letters sent addressing Slovenian government’s actions in 2015 at the height of refugee crisis in Slovenia and Austria. 1 basic frame labelled as “inadequate response of the Slovenian government to the intensification of the refugee crisis” was used in August 2015 (in an Open letter to the prime minister, signed by 6 NGOs), while other 3 were used in letters sent in October 2015. 1 basic frame argued that “Slovenian government’s processing and acceptance of refugees at the inter-border area between Slovenia and Croatia is inappropriate” (Appeal of The Peace Institute to the Slovenian government on 20<sup>th</sup> October 2015), another basic frame that “refugees suffer at the Slovenian-Croatian border and need help” (Public appeal of 28 NGOs titled Help wherever you can on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2015) and 1 basic frame argued that “Slovenian government was in possible breach of international law for inhumane and degrading treatment of refugees” (Appeal of 17 NGOs to Miro Cerar on 29<sup>th</sup> October 2015).

The **fourth** subframe cluster labelled as **Legislation not protecting refugees and migrants** contains 4 basic frames found in 3 letters. 2 different or separate basic frames frame 2 problem definitions in a Public letter to the Government of Slovenia (signed on 19<sup>th</sup> November 2018). Other 2 basic frames address the implications of proposed changes to the Aliens Act: 1 basic frame argues that “new proposal of the Aliens Act denies the refugees and migrants the right to international protection granted by the constitution, international law and EU law”. The other basic frame addressing the same topic argues that “proposal of the changes to the Aliens Act proposed by the Interior Ministry infringe on human rights of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers and violate various international legal conventions and procedures.”

The **fifth** subframe cluster labelled as **EU policies ineffective** 2 different basic frames in 2 different letters, in a Letter of NGO coordination to the Interior Minister before the urgent meeting of The Justice and Home Affairs Council (dated 10<sup>th</sup> September 2015) and a joint statement of a group of NGOs marking World Refugee Day: tragic consequences because of a lack of solidarity (20<sup>th</sup> June 2016). basic Frame “EU countries do not protect and ensure basic human rights of refuges and migrants” is found in the first letter and basic frame “Rich countries and Slovenia do not accept enough refugees, do not help nor provide sufficient protection for the refugees” in the latter.

Both subframe clusters containing one basic frame a piece are found in (two) letters that each define 5 problem definitions (see Graph 2). The **sixth** subframe labelled as **Government incompetent / harmful for the state** contains a problem definition framed as “Inappropriate response of Slovenian government to a humanitarian problem” (found in a Public letter of The Peace Institute to the government of Slovenia, 6<sup>th</sup> November 2015). **Seventh** and last subframe labelled as **Legislation not protecting migrants** contains a basic frame titled “numerous articles in the new proposed International protection Act are problematic in regards to human rights protection and international refugee law” (joint statement titled Compliance of the proposal of the new International Protection Act with the international laws and standards regarding refugees, signed by 6 NGOs on 7<sup>th</sup> February 2016).

**Graph 2:** Distribution of subframes (diagnosis)



When looking at the distribution of diagnosis subframes *chronologically*, we are able to observe an even distribution of subframes in 2015 and rather uneven one in years 2016, 2017 and 2018 (8 frames in total). In 2015 **Militarization as inappropriate response** subframe was used 5 times (out of 14 frames in total for that year; 35,7%), subframe **Government not protecting refugees** 4 times (28,5%) **Legislation not protecting refugees** 3 times (21,4%) **Government incompetent / harmful for the state** one time (7,1%) and **EU policies ineffective** one time (7,1%). Documents sent in 2016, 2017 and 2018 are much more homogenous when looking at

the distribution of subframes (8 in total in that period): **Legislation not protecting refugees and migrants** is used in 4 cases, **Legislation not protecting refugees** in 2 and **Legislation not protecting migrants** in one. **EU policies ineffective** is another subframe used once in that period. Interestingly **Militarization as inappropriate response** subframe is not used to frame a problem in that period at all.

Since all individual letters (i.e. letters sent by individual organizations and individuals) were sent in latter third of 2015, at the height of the “refugee crisis”, the distribution of frames is rather similar: **Militarization as inappropriate response** subframe was used 5 times (out of 8 frames in total used in documents written by individuals or individual organizations; share for that subframe is 62,5%). Subframes **Government not protecting refugees**, **Legislation not protecting refugees** and **Government incompetent / harmful for the state** were each used one time a piece (12,5% a piece for each subframe). NGO Coordination used 5 different subframes 14 times in the analysed documents and they were distributed rather equally: **Legislation not protecting refugees and migrants** subframe 4 times (28,5%), **Legislation not protecting refugees** subframe 4 times (28,5%), **Government not protecting refugees** subframe 3 times (21,4%), **EU policies ineffective** subframe 2 times (14,2%) and **Legislation not protecting migrants** subframe 1 time (7,1%).

## 4.2 Active Actor

Overall, **the government** was seen most often (44,4%, 16/36) as an active actor, i.e. responsible for the addressed problem (see Graph 3, chart 1 titled Overall). Slovenian government solely was responsible in approximately half of those cases (n=8) while government as a responsible actor along other actors was identified in other half of the cases (n=8). If we look further at the distribution of the latter, it could be observed that Slovenian government along with other **parliamentary representatives** was identified in 4 cases, Slovenian government along with citizens of Slovenia in one case, Slovenian government, citizens of Slovenia and the media also in one case, Slovenian government along with Ministry of Internal Affairs in one and Slovenian government along with EU in one case (see *ibid.*).

If we look at the distribution of government’s responsibility to an addressed problems across authorship of documents, we see that that blame of the **government** of the problem is distributed almost equally: NGO Coordination assigns blame to the **government** in 9 (out of its 22) problem definitions (colour blue and brown in Graph 3, chart 2 titled NGO Coordination) while individual organizations, initiatives and individuals assign it in 7 (out of 14) (see colour blue and brown, Graph 3, chart 3 titled Individual org.). NGO Coordination identifies **government as a sole** active actor in 4 cases and **government along with others** in 5 (Slovenian government and EU once, Slovenian government and citizens of Slovenia once, Slovenian government, citizens of Slovenia and the media once, Ministry of Internal Affairs along with Slovenian government also once and Slovenian government with parliamentarians one time) (Graph 3, chart 2 titled NGO Coordination).

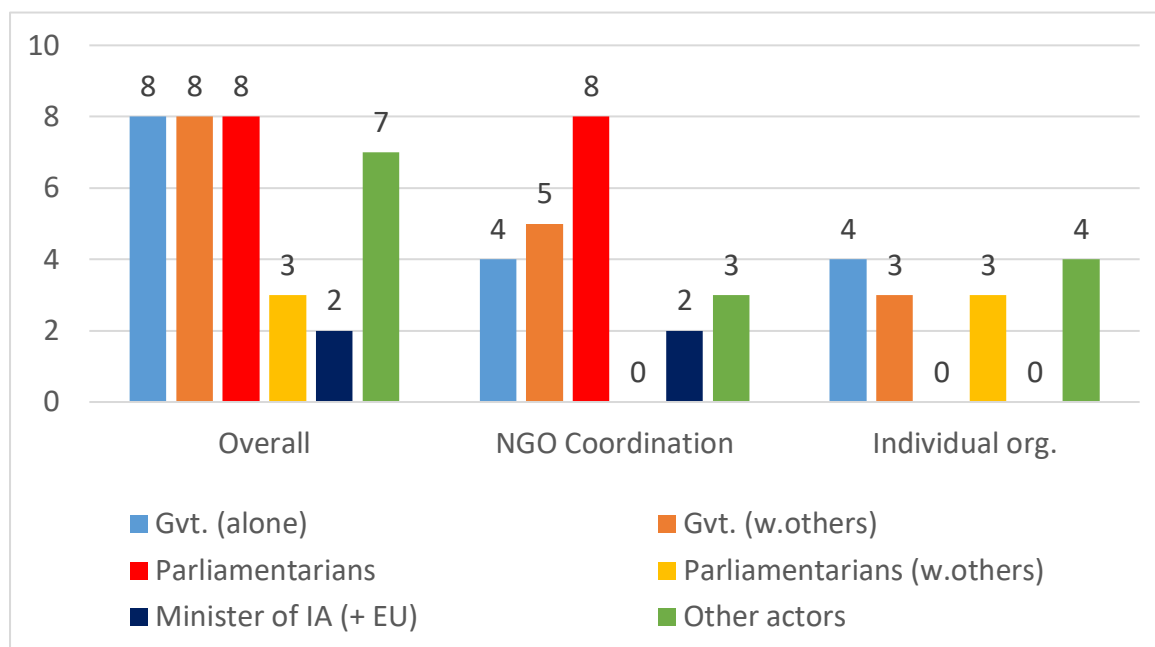
Individual organizations, initiatives and individuals in their documents identify 14 problem definitions, and consequently identify 14 active actors. For them **government** is most likely a culprit in an identified problem as they identify **government** as an (active) actor responsible for the addressed problem in half of the cases (7/14). Government alone is identified in 4 cases

(28,5%) (colour blue, Graph 3, chart 3 titled Individual org.)and government along with parliament in 3 (21,4%) (colour brown, Graph 3, chart 3 titled Individual org.).

**Slovenian parliamentarians** were named less often as (a) responsible actor(s) (11/36, 30,5% of problem definitions). However they could be, if we include already mentioned 4 cases where they are addressed as active actors along with the government (but after the government), counted 15 times as well. Slovenian parliamentarians solely are identified in 8 problem definitions (see colour red, Graph 3, chart 1 titled Overall), those parliamentarians that voted on the specific Act in 2 cases, while Slovenian Parliament with other organizations and individuals is identified in one case. If we add to these 11 those four mentions where parliamentarians are addressed along with the government or addressed implicitly we would, as already said, settle on the number 15.

Looking at the distribution among authors of the documents, we see that NGO coordination, when it blames **parliamentarians** for the addressed problem, it blames **parliamentarians solely**, while individual organizations and individuals blame a group of **parliamentarians specifically** or they blame them alongside with **other actors**. So we can conclude that NGO Coordination names **parliamentarians** as responsible in 8 cases (see colour red, Graph 3, chart 1 titled Overall) while individual organizations, initiatives and individuals identify **members of the Slovenian parliament** as those responsible in 3 (see colour yellow, Graph 3, chart 3 titled Individual org.). Individual organizations, initiatives and individuals identify **members of the Slovenian parliament** in 3 cases (21,4% of all problem definitions): Slovenian parliamentarians (who voted for the Defence Act and Decision) are identified in 2 cases and Slovenian Parliament along with other organizations and individuals in one.

**Graph 3:** Distribution of active actors (diagnosis)



**Minister for Interior Affairs along with EU Countries** is identified in 2 problem definitions (see colour dark blue, Graph 3, chart 1 titled Overall), while 7 actors are only identified once (see colour grey, Graph 3, chart 1 titled Overall). Those actors are: Slovenia along with other rich countries, Slovenia along with other EU countries, police officers, Slovenian army, Slovenian Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief as well as large non-

governmental and humanitarian organisations, Slovenian Prime Minister Miro Cerar and finally elites.

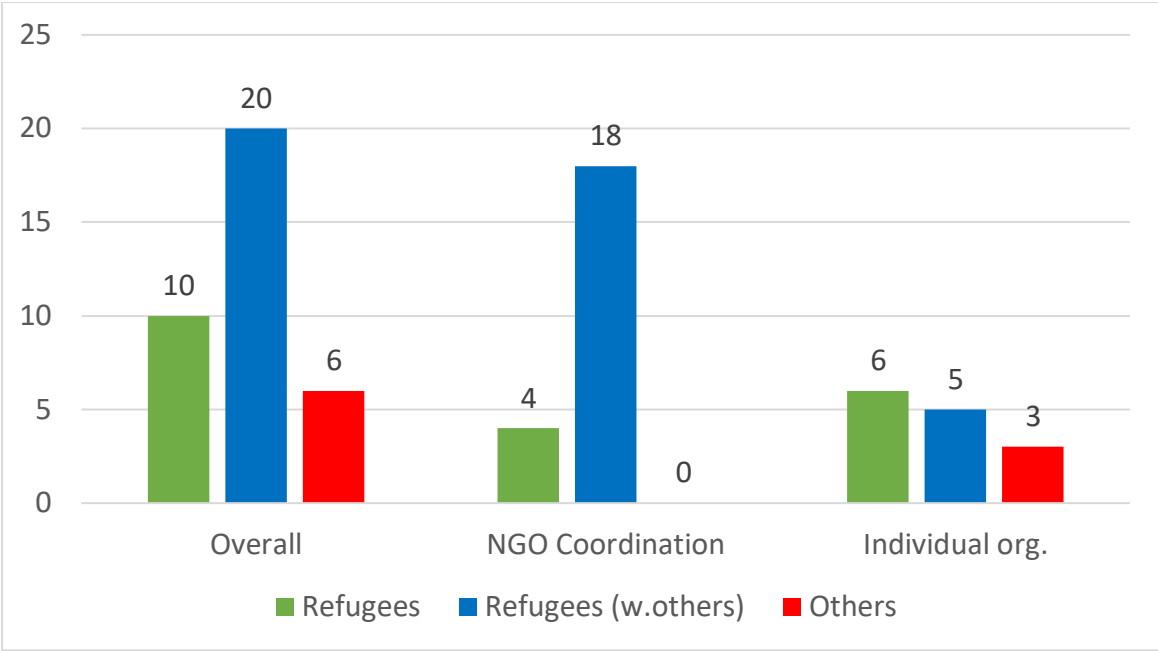
If we look at the distribution for this final group of 9 problem definitions we see that NGO Coordination identifies 5 (see colours dark blue and green in Graph 3 chart 2 titled NGO Coordination) while individual organizations identify 4 (see colour green in Graph 3 chart 3 titled Individual org.). Among authors of public letters we can see that for NGO Coordination **Minister for Interior Affairs along with EU Countries** is identified in 2 problem definitions (see colour dark blue, Graph 3, chart 2 titled NGO Coordination) while **Slovenia along with other rich countries, Slovenia along with other EU countries** and **Slovenian Prime Minister Miro Cerar** are all identified in one a piece (see colour green, Graph 3, chart 2 titled NGO Coordination). On the other hand, for individual organizations, initiatives and individuals 4 actors are responsible for the addressed problem – all 4 are assigned in one problem a piece (colour green, Graph 3, chart 3 titled Individual org.): **Police officers** in one, **Slovenian army** in one, **elites** in one and finally **Slovenian Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief with large non-governmental and humanitarian organisations** in one.

### 4.3 Passive actor

Unsurprisingly **refugees** are the social group that is overwhelmingly represented and identified as a passive actor in the majority of analysed documents. Refugees are mentioned in 30 (out of 36) problem definitions. That number could be divided into two parts: refugees alone are mentioned in 10 cases, while refugees (along with other actors) are identified in 20 cases: refugees and migrants in 7, asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in 6, army, refugees and migrants in 3, refugees and asylum seekers (alone) in 2, refugees and volunteers in 1 and finally various civil society organizations, migrants and refugees in another - one. Slovenian repressive institutions and various agencies are identified as being passive actors in other (remaining) 6 cases: Slovenian police, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and NGOs in 2 (these 2 cases implicitly identify refugees as passive actors as well and could be added to those 20 cases, mentioned above); Slovenian Army alone is identified in 2 cases; Slovenian police, Slovenian army, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and humanitarian organisations are identified in one problem definition and Slovenian Army along with civilians who cross the border (i.e. refugees and migrants) in one as well (Graph 4, chart 1 titled Overall).

As seen in Graph 4 (chart 2 titled NGO Coordination) documents of NGO Coordination invoke refugees as passive actors in virtually all of 22 problem definitions: refugees and migrants are invoked in 7 cases, asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in 6, refugees alone in 4, refugees, asylums seekers in 2 and various civil society organizations, migrants and refugees in 1 problem definition. Even in 2 cases where police, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and NGOs are being defined as passive actors, coder added that refugees are invoked implicitly as passive actors.

**Graph 4:** Distribution of passive actors (diagnosis)

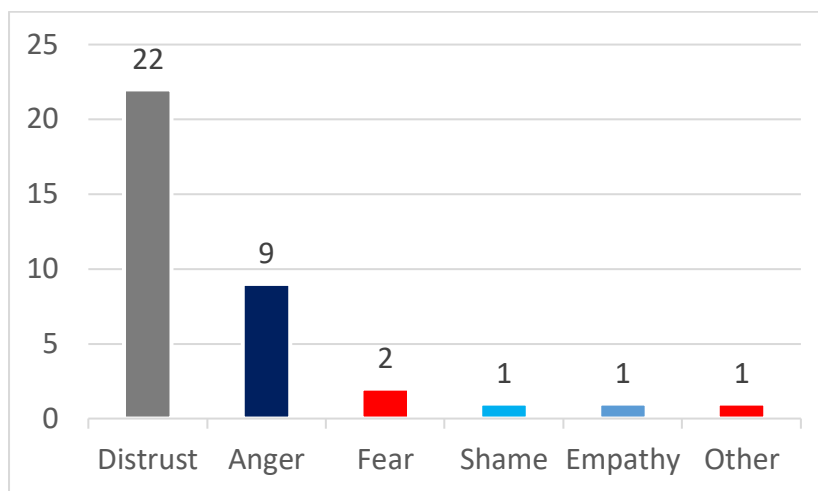


Individual organizations, initiatives and individuals identify only two social groups as passive actors in the analysed documents: refugees and Slovenian army. Refugees as passive actors are found in the majority of their problem definitions, in 11 cases. Refugees alone are mentioned 6 times and refugees along with other groups in 5 (they are mentioned alongside the Slovenian Army in 4 out of those 5 cases). Slovenian army interestingly is identified in 7 cases, twice as a sole (passive) actor and five times as an actor being passive with other social groups, interestingly four cases that (other) social group being refugees (as already mentioned and because of this overlap we also did not get a clear cut sum number of 14 passive actors in 14 cases). In fifth case the Slovenian army is mentioned as a passive actor along with Slovenian Police, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and humanitarian organisations. The reason that refugees and Slovenian Army, two actually antagonistic groups, were being mentioned as passive actors in 4 problem definitions, is that those mentions are from three letters sent in November 2015, when the Act on Defence was being changed and when discussions about the role of the army at the border were circulating widely in media, political and activist fields.

#### 4.4 Affect

Two affects were prominently voiced in the majority of problem definitions of analysed documents (see graph 5, chart 1). **Distrust** was the most prominent emotion (22 of 36 cases), accounting for 61% of voiced emotions while **anger** was the second most frequently detected emotion and was voiced in 25% of problem definitions (9/36 cases). Other emotions were overwhelmingly less represented in defined problems: **fear** was used in only 2 cases, while **shame** and **empathy** were both used in 1 case a piece. One affect (in a Public letter - response of Radio Student to Milan Brglez; 26<sup>th</sup> October 2015) was not determinable and was coded as **other** (coder was deciding between defiance, which is most probable affect in this case as well as determination and rebellion).

**Graph 5, chart 1:** Distribution of affects (diagnosis definitions)

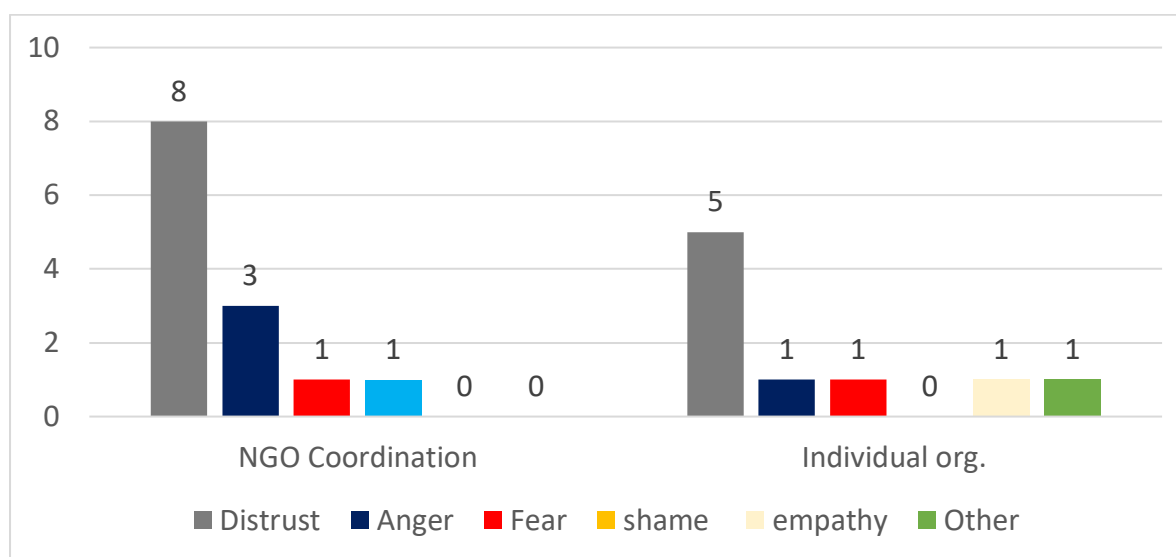


However if we look at the distribution of affects in 19 analysed documents *chronologically* we can see that affects were distributed rather unequally, indicating that events, decisions of the moment and attitudes of the government were determining the affects used in letters (defined problems and proposed solutions). In 2015 affect of **anger** (9 cases of 23) was used as prominently as **distrust** (10 cases of 23), while in 2016, 2017 and 2018 **distrust** was used almost exclusively for the diagnosis of the problem: **distrust** is used as an affect in 12 out of 13 problem definitions in that latter period.

If we look at the distribution of affects according to the *authors* of analysed documents (graph 5, chart 2) we are able to conclude that **distrust** was found in 13 letters and - as mentioned before - in 22 problem definitions. 8 letters containing **distrust** were written and sent by an NGO Coordination of multiple non-governmental and humanitarian organizations, while the other 5 were written and sent by 3 individual organizations (2 letters were sent by The Peace Institute, 2 by the Against the militarization initiative and one by Slovenian ombudsman Vlasta Nussdorfer).



**Graph 5, chart 2:** distribution of affects (across analysed documents):



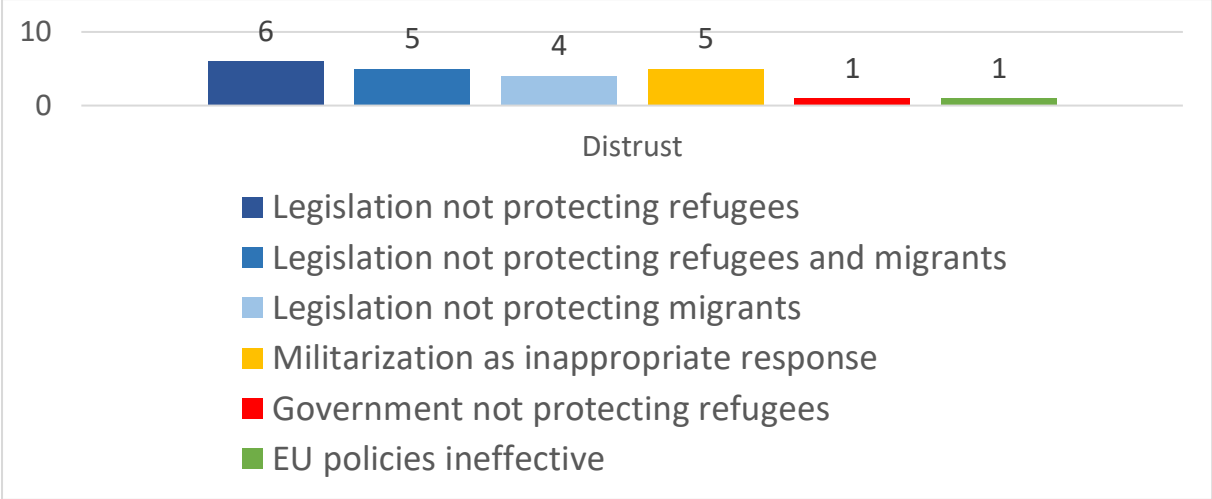
**Anger** was a predominant affect in 9 problem definitions, however found in smaller number, i.e. 4, letters (graph 5, chart 2). Interestingly all 4 letters were sent in autumn of 2015, precisely one letter a month contained anger as an affect (one in August, one in September, one in October and one in November of that year). They were not distributed equally: 3 letters were written and signed by an NGO coordination and one by The Peace Institute, which elaborated 5 problem definitions in an “**angry**” Public letter of The Peace Institute to the government of Slovenia (6<sup>th</sup> November 2015). Other 3 letters were signed by 6 non-governmental and humanitarian organizations (Open letter to the prime minister; 24<sup>th</sup> August 2015), 28 non-governmental and humanitarian organizations (Letter of NGO coordination to the Interior Minister before the urgent meeting of The Justice and Home Affairs Council; 10<sup>th</sup> September 2015) and 17 non-governmental and humanitarian organizations (Appeal of NGOs to Miro Cerar; 29<sup>th</sup> October 2015).

**Fear** and **empathy** were used in two letters sent in close chronological proximity (graph 5, chart 2), both written at the height of the “refugee crisis” and arrivals of refugees on the Slovenian border distributed equally among a NGO coordination and an individual organization (The Peace Institute). **Empathy** affect was visible in an Appeal to the Slovenian government of The Peace Institute (20<sup>th</sup> October 2015) while **fear** was detected in 2 problem definitions in a (single) letter signed by 28 non-governmental and humanitarian organizations titled PUBLIC APPEAL: Help wherever you can (21<sup>st</sup> October 2015). **Shame** was used in a Joint statement of a group of NGOs marking World Refugee Day: tragic consequences because of a lack of solidarity (20<sup>th</sup> June 2016) signed by 12 NGOs. One affect that was not determinable and was coded as **other** (as mentioned coder was deciding between defiance, which is most probable affect in this case as well as determination and rebellion) was found in a public letter signed by editorial board of Radio Student (Public letter - response of Radio Student to Milan Brglez; 26<sup>th</sup> October 2015).

When looking at distribution of affects across basic frames and subframes we are able to see and discern that **distrust** was overwhelmingly used when analysed documents discussed Slovenian legislation, especially when subframes argued about the insufficiently protective legislation. 3 subframes arguing that case were used in 15 out of 22 (68%) problem definitions:

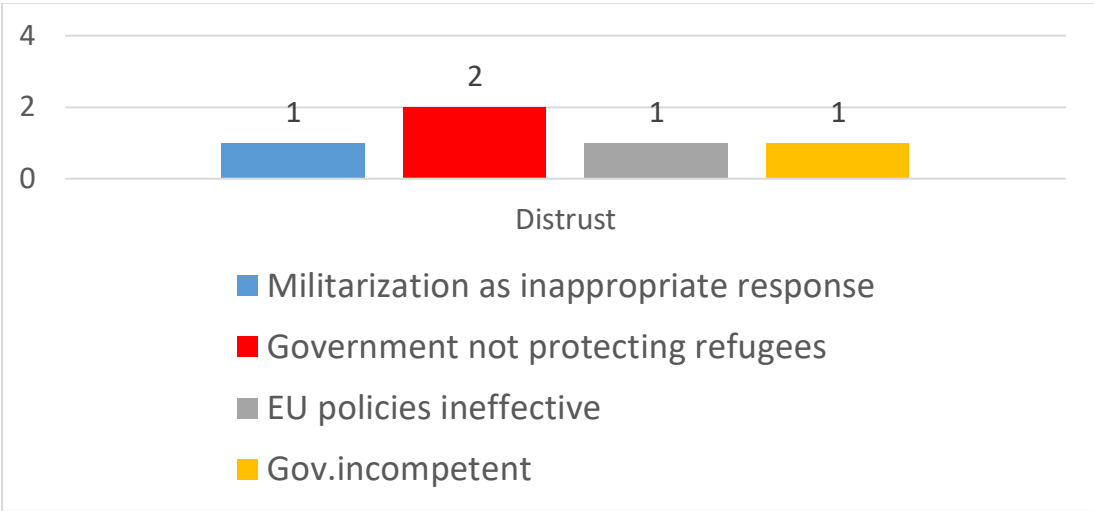
subframe **Legislation not protecting refugees** is used in 6 problem definitions, **Legislation not protecting migrants** in 5, while **Legislation not protecting refugees and migrants** subframe in 4. Distrust is also tightly linked to a subframe **Militarization as inappropriate response** because distrust is found in 5 problem definitions framed by this subframe. **EU policies ineffective** and **Government not protecting refugees** were also subframes that included the **distrust** affect in its framing of the problem but to a much lesser degree than the rest: affect of **distrust** is found once in former and once in latter subframe (see graph 6, chart 1).

**Graph 6, chart 1:** distribution of distrust affect across subframes (diagnosis)



Affect of **anger** is found across four different subframes: **EU policies ineffective**, **Militarization as inappropriate response**, **Government incompetent / harmful for the state** and **Government not protecting refugees** and, as mentioned before, in 4 different letters. 2 subframes **Militarization as inappropriate response** and **Government incompetent / harmful for the state** are found in a single letter (containing 5 problem definitions). Subframe **Government not protecting refugees** is found in 2 separate letters, one containing 2 problem definitions and one containing one. **EU policies ineffective** subframe linked to an **anger** affect is found in a single letter. Interestingly, affect of **anger** is not found in any problem definition where **legislation not protecting refugees**, **legislation not protecting refugees and migrants** and **legislation not protecting migrants** subframes frame the problem. Consequently **anger** is not used when **Legislation not protecting refugees and/or migrants** main frame frames the problem.

**Graph 6, chart 2:** distribution of anger affect across subframes (diagnosis)



**Fear** and **empathy** belong to the same subframe **Government not protecting refugees**, **fear** was coded in a basic frame “refugees suffer at the Slovenian-Croatian border and need help” while **empathy**, belonging to the same subframe is found in a basic frame labelled “Slovenian government’s processing and acceptance of refugees at the inter-border area between Slovenia and Croatia is inappropriate”. **Shame** is used in a subframe **EU policies ineffective** (in a basic frame labelled as “Rich countries and Slovenia do not accept enough refugees, do not help nor provide sufficient protection for the refugees”). Non-determinable affect (coded as **Other**) belongs to a subframe **Militarization as inappropriate response** (basic frame here being “Slovenian government’s and parliament’s militarization of a humanitarian crisis”).

#### 4.5 Populist antagonism(s)

Apart from two populist antagonisms found in 2 problem definitions (only 5% of all problem definitions), there were no other populist antagonisms in all of the 19 analysed documents. This might be attributed to the written word expectations and language imposed by the form of a formal public letter. Both antagonist populisms were coded as **anti-elitism**. One case of anti-elitist populist antagonism was found in a Joint statement of a group of NGOs marking World Refugee Day: tragic consequences because of a lack of solidarity (sent on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2016 and signed by 12 NGOs: Amnesty International Slovenije, Humanitas, Humanitarian philanthropic association UP Jesenice, Association for nonviolent communication, The Peace Institute, Association (Zavod) Abraham, Association (Zavod) Povod, Association (Združenje) Sezam, Association (Zavod) Krog). The second case of anti-elitism was coded in a letter of The Peace Institute (original: Public letter of The Peace Institute to the government of Slovenia (6<sup>th</sup> November 2015)).

In a first letter 12 NGOs identify the fact that “rich countries do not share social, financial, legal, protective responsibility for refugees and that Slovenia promised to accept only 20 refugees” as a problem. They identify Slovenia and other rich countries as active actors and refugees and migrants as passive actors. They attribute affect of shame to the coded populist antagonism and, as coder explains it, “discredit and blame the "representatives of the state" in a vague, anonymous and non-specific terms”. They frame the problem as “rich countries and Slovenia do not accept enough refugees, do not help nor provide sufficient protection for the refugees” that is a part of a larger subframe titled **EU policies ineffective**.

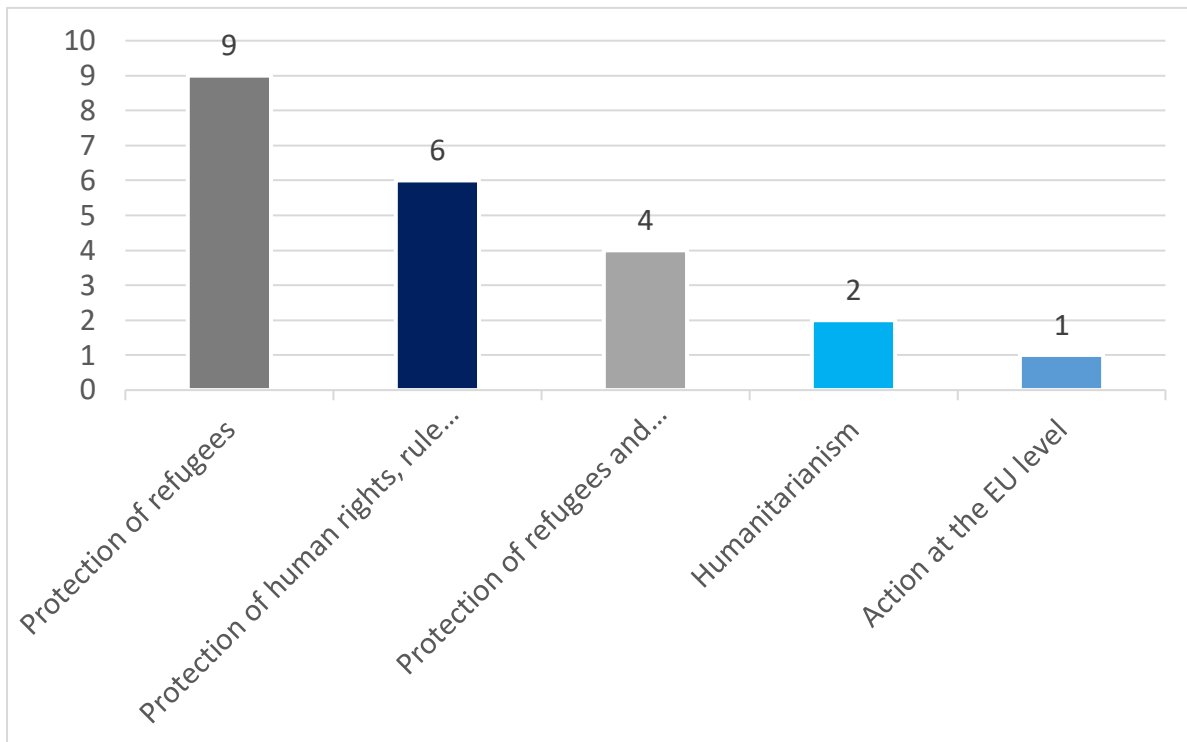
In a second letter, written, signed and published by The Peace Institute organization identifies the problem as “Police, army, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and humanitarian organisations reproduce an erroneous approach – they do the dirty work as dictated by the elites”. According to coder organization identifies elites as active actors and Police, Slovenian army, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and humanitarian organisations as passive. They attribute affect of **anger** to the coded populist antagonism. Coder explains his choice as “Authors appeal to various public and organisational instances to realise that they help guard the concentration camps (as dictated by elites) and that they have to realise that they actually stand across from “the people” not the attackers; ergo: elite is in opposition to “the people”. Problem is framed as “Various public instances and organisations (police, army, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and humanitarian organisations) reproduce an erroneous approach (of the elites) to a humanitarian problem and belongs to the subframe titled **Militarization as inappropriate response**.”

## 5 Prognosis

### 5.1 Overview and framing of proposed solution

In Slovenian civil society responses we identified 22 different solution basic frames in total, a number that equals the number of basic frames identified in problem-diagnosis part of analysed documents (see Section 4.1 above). To see the bigger picture, we grouped those 22 basic frames into 5 categories organised as subframes. The first set of subframes thus argues for **protection of refugees**, second set argues for **protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** and third set of basic frames argues finally for the **protection of refugees and migrants**. Fourth subframe contains basic frames identified as **humanitarianism**, while last (fifth) set of basic frames calls for **Action at the EU level**. Consequentially all basic frames are distributed rather similarly: the most popular subframe cluster contains 9 basic frames, second subframe cluster 6, third contains 4, fourth contains 2 basic frames and last (fifth) subframe contains only 1 basic frame (see Graph 7). The three of the most popular set of subframes (n = 19 or 86%) argue for a protection of any sort: be that protection of refugees, protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy or the protection of refugees and migrants. Those “protective” subframes (86%) also belong to one main frame: **Legislation not protecting refugees** main frame. When we include the Humanitarianism main frame, we can conclude that 90% of proposed solutions belong to the **Protecting fundamental rights** superframe. **Action at the EU level** subframe belongs to the **International response needed** main frame and **Action of Elites** superframe (10%).

**Graph 7:** distribution of subframes (prognosis)



The popularity of the **first** subframe, which argues for the **Protection of refugees** contains 9 basic frames (40,9%) and is found in 8 different letters. These basic frames are found in 5 letters signed by the NGO Coordination and 3 by one individual organization: The Peace Institute. The Peace Institute sent those 3 letters in the autumn of 2015, at the peak of the so called “Refugee crisis”. Solution framed as “Slovenian government should suspend existing rules and enable refugees to easily transit Slovenia” is found in a Public statement Government should establish a corridor; 18<sup>th</sup> September 2015). Basic frame “Slovenian government is responsible and able to help strained refugees and enable them to easily transit Slovenian territory” is found in an Appeal to the Slovenian government (20<sup>th</sup> October 2015). “Slovenian government should provide safe, accessible and helpful treatment of refugees” is found in a Public letter of The Peace Institute to the government of Slovenia; 6<sup>th</sup> November 2015). NGO Coordination voiced its concern for the protection of refugees in 6 letters. Letters are distributed rather evenly across the analysed timeframe: solution basic frame “providing a safe, protected and legal movement of refugees is possible (government is responsible for that)” is found in an Open letter to the prime minister (dated 24<sup>th</sup> August 2015). Similar solution basic frame is found in a letter sent in the same period: “Slovenian government must ensure minimal conditions for humane and non-degrading treatment of refugees” (Appeal of NGOs to Miro Cerar; appeal dated 29<sup>th</sup> October 2015). 2 solution basic frames are found in two documents from 2016. Solution basic frame identified as “new proposal of the International Protection Act should be improved in order to ensure the rights of asylum seekers and refugees” is found in a document sent in 2016. Document is titled A group of NGOs critical about the proposal of the new International Protection Act (dated 10<sup>th</sup> February 2016). Solution basic frame “representatives of Slovenia are responsible to accept country’s share for the protection of refugees & ensuring a decent life of refugees in Slovenia” is framed in a Joint statement of a group of NGOs marking World Refugee Day: tragic consequences because of a lack of solidarity (20<sup>th</sup> June 2016). Rather interestingly last 2 basic frames belong to two different solution definitions that are proposed in one single letter, Public letter of the coordination of NGOs to PM Miro Cerar on the non-refoulement of refugees (dated 18<sup>th</sup> September 2015). One solution is framed as “Slovenian government should help refugees and enable them to easily transit Slovenian territory” and the other as “Slovenian government should not transfer refugees to the countries who have existing systemic deficiencies in their asylum system”.

**Second** subframe **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** that contains 6 basic frames (27, 2% of all frames) is found in 6 analysed letters (see Graph 7). 2 letters were written by the NGO Coordination and 4 by the individual actors, all 4 were sent in autumn of 2015. Latter group framed the proposed solutions in following ways: “legislative action against Slovenian government’s and parliament’s militarization of a humanitarian crisis” (Public letter – response of Radio Student to Milan Brglez; 26<sup>th</sup> October 2015); “Act Supplementing the Defence Act and the Decision to reject the call for a referendum will receive a legal and constitutional assessment” (Against the militarization and the fence; 16<sup>th</sup> November 2015); “legislative propositions in the new Act that delegate more power to the army must be formulated clearly, precisely and unambiguously” (public letter of Slovenian ombudsman Vlasta Nussdorfer to prime minister of Slovenia regarding The Act Supplementing the Defence Act; 25<sup>th</sup> November 2015); “formal institution of ombudsman and the democratic will of organizations and individuals should challenge and prevent the implementation of the new Act

(Argumentation on the irregularities in the proposed changes to the Act on Defence; 18<sup>th</sup> November 2015).

NGO Coordination in its 2 letters framed those solutions in the following way: “Prime Minister and members of the government should reject the provisions and changes which would be in contradiction with international legal standards, international conventions” (Appeals of NGOs on the proposed changes of the Aliens Act; 25<sup>th</sup> October 2016). The last basic frame in this subframe cluster contains a solution basic frame elaborated as “working Group for the development and monitoring of the implementation of governmental migratory strategy should include civil society organisations from the field of migration (Public letter to the Government of Slovenia; 19<sup>th</sup> November 2018; signed by 23 non-governmental and humanitarian organizations). We have to make a note that there are 2 solutions identified in this last letter and those 2 solutions are labelled by two different basic frames (that also consequentially belong to two different frame clusters, the other frame in this case being “migratory strategy should include the topic of migration in its entire complexity” that belongs to a **Protection of refugees and migrants** subframe, discussed below).

**Third** subframe argues for the **protection of refugees and migrants** and encompasses 4 different basic frames (only 18% of all identified basic frames) in 4 public letters all sent and signed by the NGO Coordination. All 4 letters address the legislature or strategy proposed (designed) to change the field of integration of refugees and migrants in Slovenia. 2 letters, both arguing against a number of proposed changes in the International Protection Act and both signed by 6 NGOs were sent in 2016 (one on 7<sup>th</sup> February and one on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2016). Third letter arguing against the changes to the Aliens Act is found in a letter Aliens Act: NGOs firmly oppose the infringements of international law and Slovenian constitution (dated 26<sup>th</sup> January 2017 and signed by 21 different non-governmental and humanitarian organizations). Letter frames the solution of authors clearly: “parliamentarians must reject the proposal of Aliens Act that denies the refugees and migrants the right to international protection, granted by the international and EU law”. Fourth Public letter to the Government of Slovenia was sent last among the analysed documents (on 19<sup>th</sup> November 2018 and signed by 23 non-governmental and humanitarian organizations). It argues that “migratory strategy should include the topic of migration in its entire complexity”. We have to make a note here that there are 2 solutions identified in this last letter and those 2 solutions, as already mentioned, are labelled by two different basic frames (that also consequentially belong to two different subframe clusters, the other basic frame in this case being “working Group for the development and monitoring of the implementation of governmental migratory strategy should include civil society organisations from the field of migration” that belongs to a **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** subframe, discussed above).

As seen in Graph 7 subframe that was labelled as **humanitarianism** is found twice in analysed documents, in a joint letter/appeal titled PUBLIC APPEAL: Help wherever you can (dated 21<sup>st</sup> October 2015) in which 2 solution definitions were framed as “Citizens need to support the Police, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and NGOs and help refugees cross the Slovenian territory”. This subframe is found also in a Public letter of The Peace Institute to the government of Slovenia (dated 6<sup>th</sup> November 2015) which contains 5 (problem and) solution definitions. Those 5 solutions are labelled by two different basic frames (and consequentially also two different basic frames, the other basic frame in this case being “Slovenian government should provide safe, accessible and helpful treatment of refugees” that

belongs to a **Protection of refugees** subframe, discussed above). **Humanitarianism** subframe in this letter labels a basic frame “Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief, humanitarian organisations, Slovenian army and police should carry out humanitarian tasks”.

Last subframe labelled as **Action at the EU level** contains a basic frame titled “responsibility of EU for guaranteeing basic rights of refugees on the borders and providing safe, free and legal migration” (Letter of NGO coordination to the Interior Minister before the urgent meeting of The Justice and Home Affairs Council on 10<sup>th</sup> September 2015).

When looking at the distribution of diagnosis subframes *chronologically*, we are able to observe that **Protection of refugees** subframe largely prevails in 2015 while distribution of subframes is rather even in 2016, 2017 and 2018 (8 frames in total). In 2015 **Protection of refugees** subframe was used 7 times (out of 14 frames in total for that year; 50%), **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** subframe 4 times (28,5%), **Humanitarianism** twice (14,2%) and **Action at the EU level** one time (7,1%). Documents sent in 2016, 2017 and 2018 are much more homogenous when looking at the distribution of subframes (8 in total in that period): **Protection of refugees and migrants** subframe is used in 4 cases (50%), while **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** subframe and **Protection of refugees** are used in 2 a piece (25% for each subframe).

We can also observe the distribution of subframes according to *authorship* of documents. Since all individual letters (i.e. letters sent by individual organizations and individuals) were sent in latter third of 2015, at the height of the “refugee crisis”, the distribution of solution subframes is rather similar to the chronological distribution, however not entirely identical: **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** subframe was used 4 times (out of 8 frames in total used in documents written by individuals or individual organizations; share for that subframe is 50%). **Protection of refugees** subframe is used 3 times in those documents (37,5%) while **Humanitarianism** subframe is used once (12,5%). NGO Coordination used 5 different subframes 14 times in the analysed documents and they were distributed rather equally: **Protection of refugees** subframe 6 times (42,8%), **Protection of refugees and migrants** subframe 4 times (28,5%), **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** subframe 2 times (14,2%). **Humanitarianism** once (7,1%) and **Action at the EU level** once (7,1%).

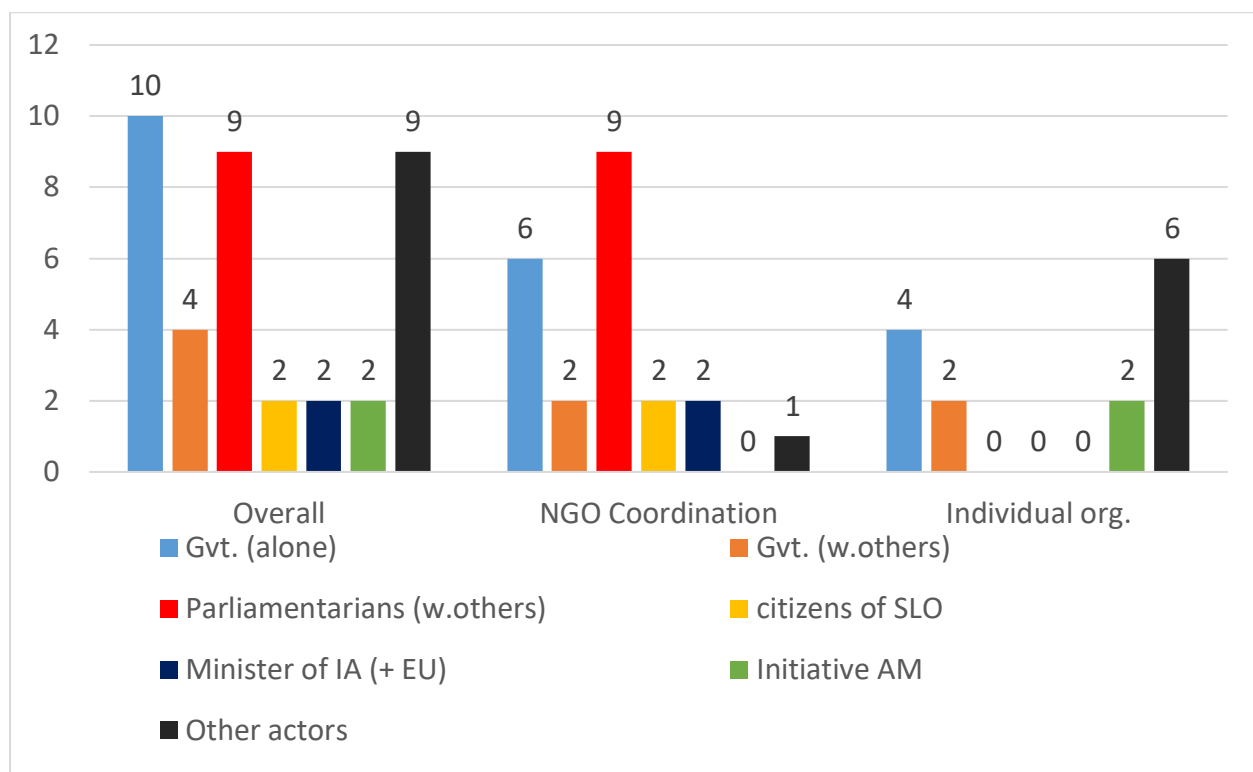
## 5.2 Active actor

NGO Coordination identifies 22 active actors and individual organizations, initiatives and individuals identify 14 in 36 problem-solution definitions. The list of active actors identified as those that are supposed to provide the solution for the addressed problem is highly diversified in analysed documents. Overall, the **government** was seen most often (38,8%, 14/36) as an active actor, i.e. responsible for providing the solution for the addressed problem (not surprising if we acknowledge that the government was also the actor that was most often seen as the one responsible for the addressed problem; 44,4% or 16/36 of problem definitions; see section 4.2 above). Slovenian government solely was responsible for providing the solution in a majority of those 14 cases (n = 10) while government as a responsible actor along other actors was identified in smaller portion of those cases (n = 4; Slovenian government along with parliamentarians was identified as an active actor in 3 cases and Slovenian government alongside EU in 1 case) (see Graph 8, chart 1 titled Overall).



If we look at the distribution of government's responsibility to the addressed and proposed solution across *authorship* of documents (see Graph 8, chart 2 and 3), we see that identifying the government for providing the adequate solution is distributed almost equally: NGO Coordination assigns the responsibility to the government in 8 cases: 6 times the government is isolated as a sole individual actor, which is supposed to provide the solution. Once it shares the responsibility with the Slovenian parliament and once with the EU. Individual organizations, initiatives and individuals in their documents, as already said, identify 14 solution definitions, and consequently identify 14 active actors. For them the government is most likely a culprit in an identified problem (see section 4.2 above) that is why they identify government as an (active) actor responsible for providing the solution for the identified problem in almost half of identified cases (6/14 or 42,8%). Government alone is identified in 4 cases (28,5%) and government along with parliament in 2 (14,3%).

**Graph 8:** distribution of active actors (prognosis)



Slovenian parliamentarians were named less often as a responsible (active) actor (9/36, 25% of solution definitions). However they could be, if we include already mentioned 3 cases where they are addressed as (secondary) active actors along with (and behind) the government, counted 12 times as well.

Looking at the distribution among authors of the documents, we conclude that NGO Coordination names parliamentarians as responsible in all 9 cases, where representatives of Slovenia are coded as sole active actors. They identify Slovenian parliament along with the government as an active actor in (an already mentioned) one case. Individual organizations, initiatives and individuals assign the responsibility for the solution to the Slovenian parliament in only 2 cases, in those also already mentioned cases where parliament is as an active actor mentioned alongside the government.

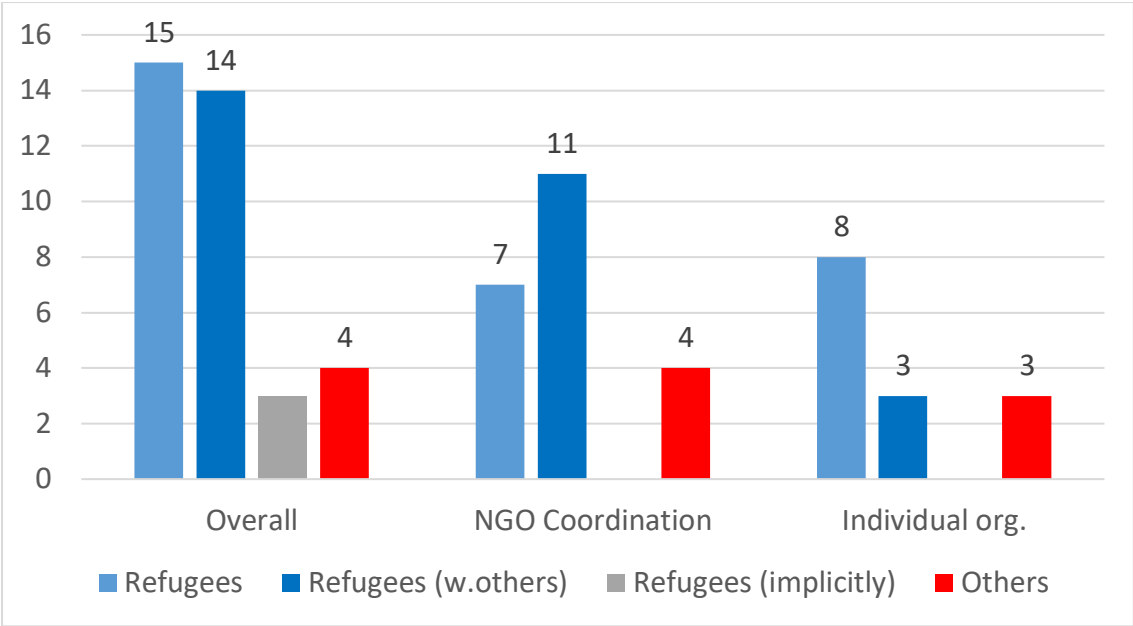
Other actors in this diversified list are named in fewer solution definitions. 3 actors are identified in 2 solution definitions each (n = 6) while a majority of actors (n = 7) are only identified in one solution definition. Those three actors mentioned twice are: Minister for Interior Affairs (along with other EU countries), citizens of Slovenia and first-signed under an application for a public referendum (once first signed under the (Against the militarization) requirement calling for a public referendum are an active actor identified along with Matevž Krivic). First two groups, i.e. Minister for Interior Affairs along with EU countries on one hand and citizens of Slovenia on the other are identified as active actors by the NGO Coordination. Individual organizations, initiatives and individuals identify only first-signed under an application for a public referendum twice (once first signed under the (Against the militarization) requirement calling for a public referendum are an active actor identified alongside a human rights lawyer Matevž Krivic).

7 actors identified only once (i.e. in one solution definitions) are: Prime Minister Miro Cerar; Slovenian Constitutional Court; Slovenian Ombudsman/organizations and individuals; Slovenian police; Slovenian army; Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief as well as large non-governmental and large humanitarian organizations; and finally police, Slovenian army, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and humanitarian organisations. Individual organizations, initiatives and individuals identify 6 actors only once: Slovenian police; Slovenian army; Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief as well as large non-governmental and large humanitarian organizations; police, Slovenian army, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and humanitarian organisations; Slovenian Ombudsman/organizations and individuals, while the last active actor on this list is Slovenian Constitutional Court. 1 active actor is identified by the NGO Coordination: Prime Minister Miro Cerar.

### **5.3 Passive actor**

Unsurprisingly refugees are the social group that is overwhelmingly represented and identified as a passive actor in the proposed solutions of majority of analysed documents. Refugees are mentioned in 32 (out of 36) solution definitions, however as passive actors in the foreground (without the Slovenian institutions) we could count them 29 times (80,5% of cases). This is not only comparable, but almost identical, to the number and distribution of passive actors identified in problem definitions (see section 4.3). As seen in Graph 9 (in blue) number 29 could be divided into two parts: refugees alone are mentioned in 15 cases, while refugees (along with other actors) are identified in 14 cases: refugees and migrants in 4, asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in 6, army, refugees and migrants in 3, refugees and asylum seekers (alone) in 1. Police, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and NGOs are identified as passive actors in 2 solution definitions (in one letter), however refugees are included here also, but implicitly. Ministries, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief along with refugees are mentioned in one solution definition. Other social groups are mentioned only once (i.e. in 4 solution definitions): various civil society organizations (NGOs, research community) once, citizens of Slovenia once, first signed under the (Against the militarization) requirement calling for a public referendum once and Slovenian Ombudsman once.

**Graph 9:** distribution of passive actors (prognosis):



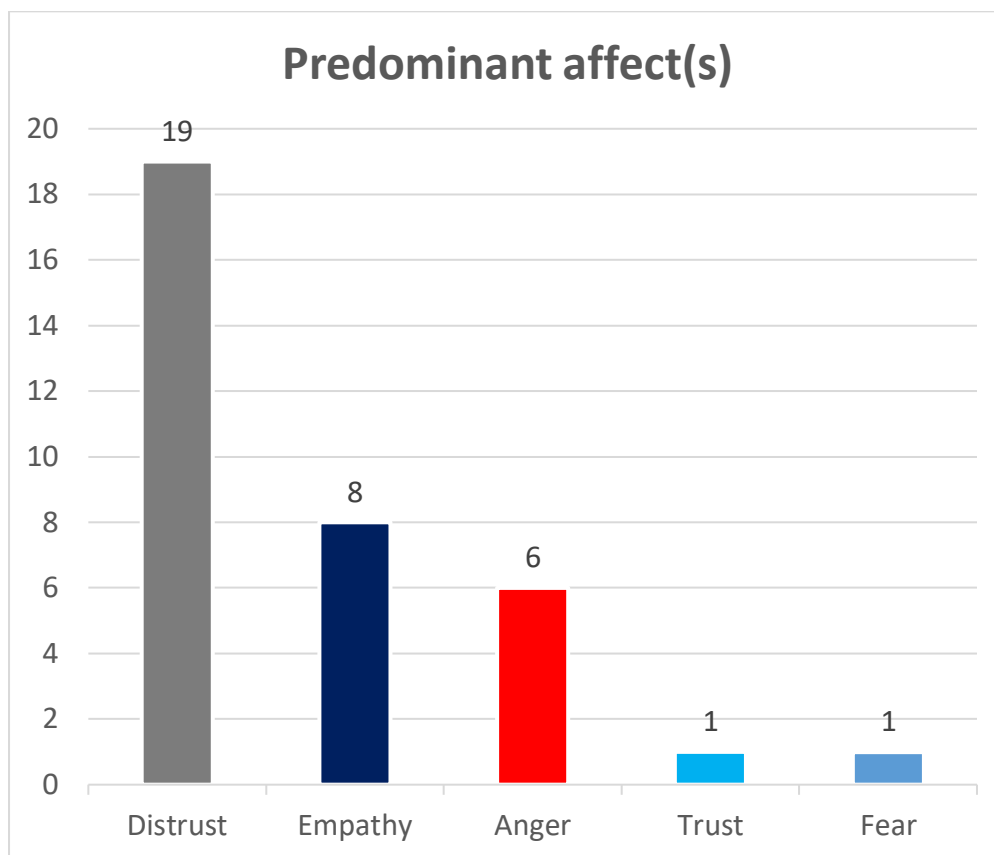
Documents of NGO Coordination invoke refugees as passive actors in a majority of 22 problem definitions: refugees alone are mentioned in 7 cases, while refugees (along with other actors) are identified in 11 cases (see Graph 9, chart 2 titled NGO Coordination): refugees and migrants in 4, asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in 6, army, refugees and asylum seekers in 1. Police, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief and NGOs are identified as passive actors in 2 solution definitions (in one letter), in a letter where refugees are included implicitly. Ministries, Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief along with refugees are mentioned in one solution definition as are various civil society organizations (like NGOs and research community) - also only identified in one.

Individual organizations, initiatives and individuals identify 14 passive actors (Graph 9, chart 3 titled Individual organizations). Refugees as passive actors are in proposed solutions identified 8 times (57,1%). Army, refugees and migrants are identified 3 times, while they identify three different social groups only once a piece: citizens of Slovenia are identified once, first signed under the (Against the militarization) requirement calling for a public referendum once and Slovenian Ombudsman once.

## 5.4 Affect

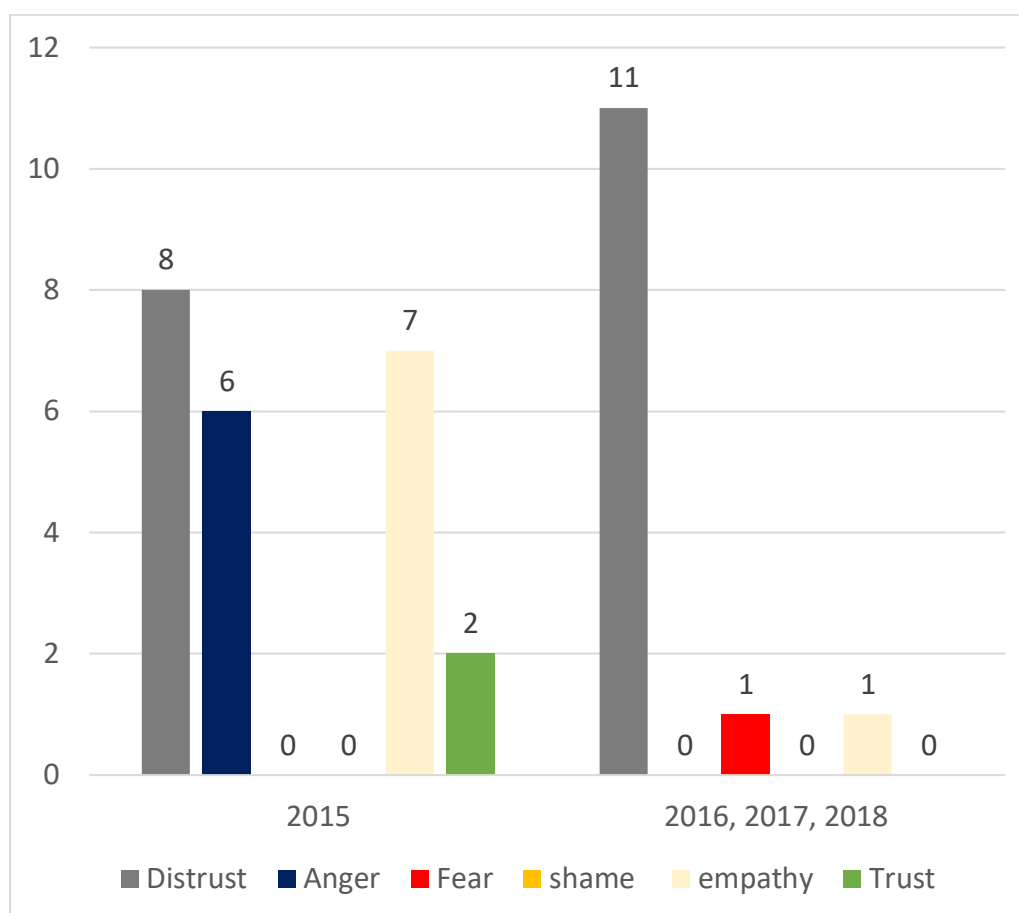
Graph 10 shows the distribution of affects in solution definitions. Two affects were especially prominently voiced in the majority of solution definitions of analysed documents: **distrust** and **empathy**. **Distrust** was (as in the problem definitions) the most prominent emotion used in solution propositions (19 of 36 cases), accounting for 52,7% of voiced emotions. **Empathy** was the second most frequently detected emotion and was voiced in 22,2% of solution definitions (8/36 cases). **Anger** was detected 6 times (16,6%) while other two emotions (**trust** and **fear**) were overwhelmingly less represented in defined solutions: **trust** was used in 2 cases while **fear** was used in only 1 solution definition.

**Graph 10:** distribution of affects (solution)



However if we look at the distribution of affects in 19 analysed documents *chronologically* (see Graph 11) we can see that affects were distributed rather equally in 2015 and unequally in 2016, 2017 and 2018, indicating that events, decisions of the moment and attitudes of the government were determining the affects used in proposed solutions. In 2015 affect of **anger** (6 cases of 23) was used as prominently as **distrust** (8 cases of 23) and **empathy** (7 cases of 23), while in 2016, 2017 and 2018 **distrust** was used in a vast majority of cases: in 11 out of 13 solution definitions **distrust** is used as an affect of the author of the letter.

**Graph 11:** distribution of affects chronologically (prognosis)



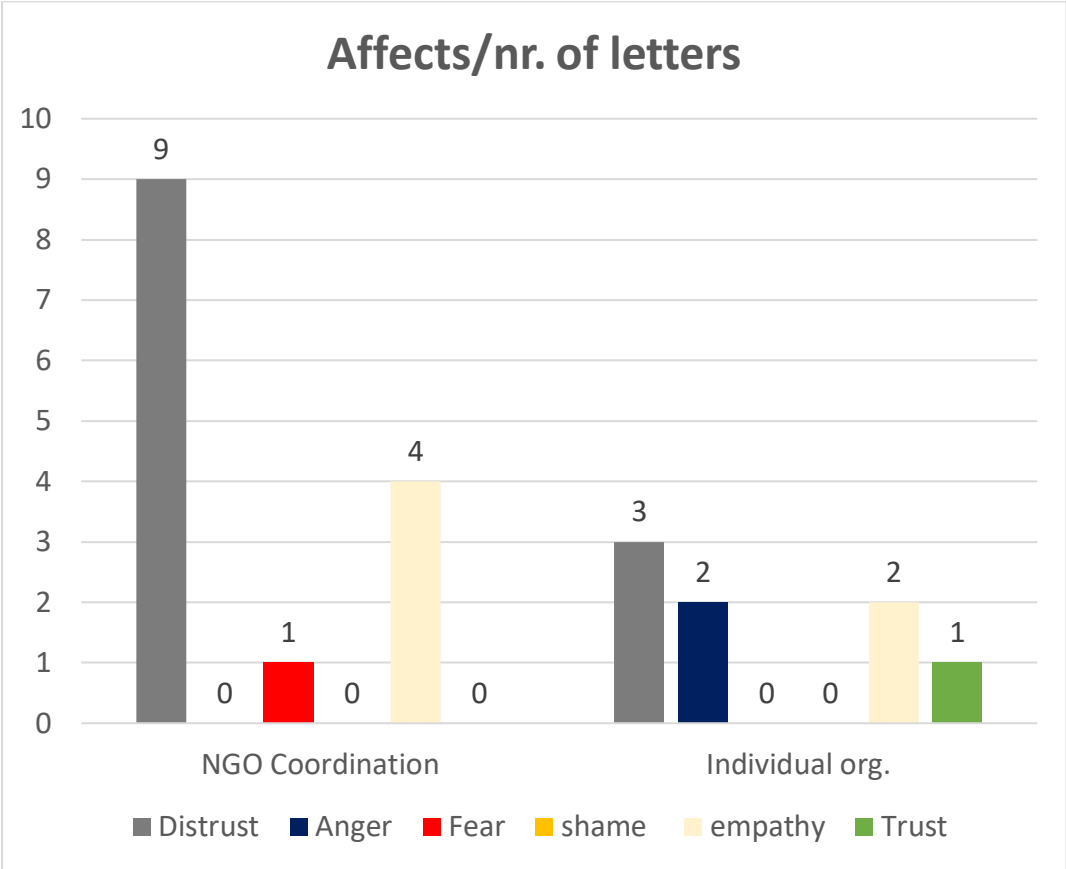
If we look at the distribution of affects according to the *authors* of analysed documents (Graph 12) we are able to conclude that **distrust** was found in 12 letters and - as mentioned before - in 19 solution definitions. 9 letters were written and sent by an NGO Coordination of multiple non-governmental and humanitarian organizations (affect was attributed in 15 solution definitions), while the other 3 were written and sent by individual organizations and individuals (that attribute the affect in 4 solution definitions). 1 letter was sent by The Peace Institute, 1 by the Against the militarization initiative and one by Slovenian ombudsman Vlasta Nussdorfer).

**Empathy** was a predominant affect in 8 solution definitions, however found in smaller number, i.e. 6, letters (see Graph 12). Interestingly 5 of those 6 letters were sent in the latter quarter (autumn) of 2015: 3 letters were written and signed by an NGO coordination and two by The Peace Institute. 6 NGOs signed an “empathetic” Open letter to the prime minister (dated 24<sup>th</sup> August 2015), 28 NGOs signed a PUBLIC APPEAL: Help wherever you can (on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2015) and another letter signed by 28 NGOs were signed in a Public letter of the coordination of NGOs to PM Miro Cerar on the non-refoulement of refugees (dated 18<sup>th</sup> September 2015). The Peace Institute sent an Appeal to the Slovenian government (dated 20<sup>th</sup> October 2015) and a Public statement titled “Government should establish a corridor (dated 18<sup>th</sup> September 2015). Last letter, public statement not published during 2015, but rather in 2016, and where predominant affect is **empathy** is found in a Joint statement of a group of NGOs marking World Refugee Day: tragic consequences because of a lack of solidarity (20<sup>th</sup> June 2016) signed by 12 NGOs.

**Anger** was a predominant affect in 6 solution definitions, however found in only 2 letters (see Graph 12), both sent in autumn of 2015 (one sent in October and one in November of that year). One was signed by The Peace Institute, which elaborated 5 problem definitions in an “**angry**” Public letter of The Peace Institute to the government of Slovenia (6<sup>th</sup> November 2015). The other letter was found in a public letter signed by editorial board of Radio Student (Public letter - response of Radio Student to Milan Brglez; 26<sup>th</sup> October 2015). Interestingly, problem definition of this letter contains an affect that was not determinable and was coded as other (coder was deciding between defiance, which is most probable affect in problem definition as well as determination and rebellion; see section 4.4).

**Trust** and **fear** were used in two letters distributed equally among two different authors: an NGO coordination and an individual organization (Against the militarization initiative). **Trust** was found in 2 solution definitions in a single letter titled “Against the militarization and the fence” (Against the militarization initiative; dated 16<sup>th</sup> November 2015). **Fear** affect was visible in a single solution definition in a public letter titled “Compliance of the proposal of the new International Protection Act with the international laws and standards regarding refugees (dated 7<sup>th</sup> February 2016). Interestingly this last letter holds 5 problem-solution definitions (or pairs), however only one solution found an affect of **fear**, while other 4 solution definitions in this letter detect **distrust** (see affect **distrust** above).

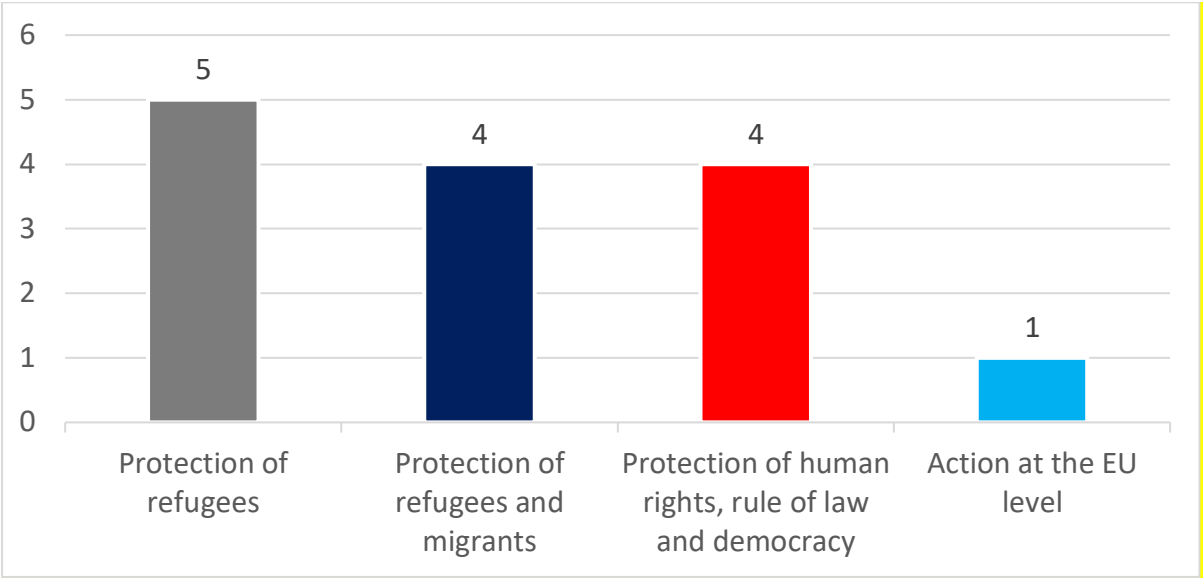
**Graph 12:** distribution of affects in letters



When looking at distribution of affects across subframes we are able to see that letters containing **distrust** affect have 14 framed solutions (see Graph 13). We can furthermore discern that **distrust** was overwhelmingly used when analysed documents discussed the protection:

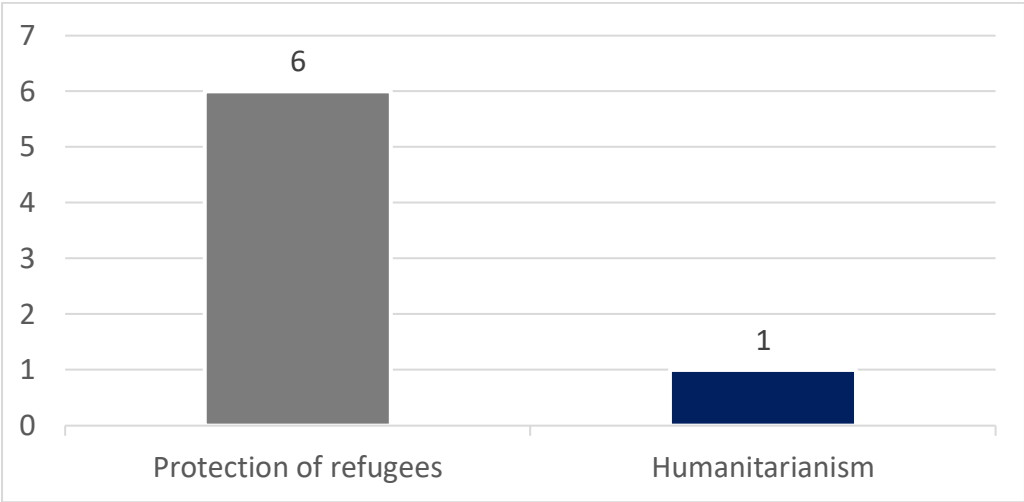
protection of refugees, protection of refugees and migrants or protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy. These 3 subframes contain 13 basic frames in 12 letters. Another subframe **Action at the EU level** is used in one of the letters, i.e. only once. **Protection of refugees** subframe is framed in 5 (out of 14 cases; 35,7%), **Protection of refugees and migrants** subframe is formulated in 4 (28,5%) as is **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** subframe (4 cases or 28,5%).

**Graph 13:** distribution of distrust affect across subframes



As seen in Graph 14 affect of **empathy** was a predominant affect in 8 solution definitions, however found in smaller number, i.e. 6, letters, containing 7 framed solutions (7 basic frames). Rather unsurprisingly those 7 basic frames belong to two similar subframes: **Humanitarianism** and **Protection of refugees**. **Humanitarianism** subframe is assigned in one case and **Protection of refugees** in six.

**Graph 14:** distribution of empathy affect across subframes (prognosis)



As already mentioned **anger** was a predominant affect in 6 solution definitions, however found in only 2 letters, both sent in autumn of 2015 (one sent in October and one in November of that year). One was signed by The Peace Institute, which elaborated 5 problem definitions in an

“**angry**” Public letter of The Peace Institute to the government of Slovenia (6<sup>th</sup> November 2015). In this letter affect of **anger** is linked to two subframes: **Protection of refugees** (with a basic frame “Slovenian government should provide safe, accessible and helpful treatment of refugees”) and **Humanitarianism** (basic frame here being “Administration for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief, humanitarian organisations, Slovenian army and police should carry out humanitarian tasks”). The other letter where affect of anger was found is the solution definition of a public letter signed by editorial board of Radio Student (Public letter - response of Radio Student to Milan Brglez; 26<sup>th</sup> October 2015). Here anger is linked to the subframe of a solution titled **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** (ascribed basic frame of the coder is elaborated as “submission of the application for a public referendum on the new law”).

**Trust** belongs to the solution that Against the militarization initiative framed as “Act Supplementing the Defence Act and the Decision to reject the call for a referendum will receive a legal and constitutional assessment” and belongs to the subframe titled **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy**. Lastly **fear** is tied to the basic frame “proposed legal solutions for parliamentarians who should protect the human rights of asylum seekers, migrants and refugees” and belongs to the subframe titled **Protection of refugees and migrants**.



## 5.5 Populist antagonism(s)

Apart from one populist antagonism found in 1 problem definitions (accounting for only 2,7% of all problem definitions), there were no other populist antagonisms in all of the 19 analysed documents. This might be (as in diagnosis aspect) also attributed to the written word expectations and language imposed by the form of a formal public letter. The antagonist populism was coded as **anti-elitism**. This lonely case of anti-elitist populist antagonism was found in a Joint statement of a group of NGOs marking World Refugee Day: tragic consequences because of a lack of solidarity (sent on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2016 and signed by 12 NGOs: Amnesty International Slovenije, Humanitas, Humanitarian philanthropic association UP Jesenice, Association for nonviolent communication, The Peace Institute, Association (Zavod) Abraham, Association (Zavod) Povod, Association (Združenje) Sezam, Association (Zavod) Krog).

In this letter 12 NGOs identify the fact that “rich countries do not share social, financial, legal, protective responsibility for refugees and that Slovenia promised to accept only 20 refugees” as a problem (see section 4.5). They propose that “Slovenia must accept its share of responsibility for protecting and helping refugees/as well as providing the means for meaningful life in Slovenia” as a solution. They identify Slovenia and other rich countries as active actors and refugees and migrants as passive actors in the identification of a problem. Similarly they identify representatives of Slovenia as active actors and refugees as passive actors in the identification of a solution. They attribute affect of empathy to the coded populist antagonism and, as coder explains authors of the letter “demand responsibility for protecting and helping refugees from the ‘representatives of the state’ however representatives remain written in vague, anonymous and non-specific terms and oppose them (vs.) the numerous good people who opened their hearts and welcomed them (i.e. refugees)”. They attribute affect of shame to the coded populist antagonism in the problem definition as well and, as we elaborate in this report (see section 4.5) “discredit and blame the ‘representatives of the state’ in a vague, anonymous and non-specific terms”.

They frame the problem as “rich countries and Slovenia do not accept enough refugees, do not help nor provide sufficient protection for the refugees” that is a part of a larger subframe titled **EU policies ineffective**. They frame the solution on the other hand “as representatives of Slovenia are responsible to accept country’s share for the protection of refugees & ensuring a decent life of refugees in Slovenia”, frame that is a part of a larger subframe titled **Protection of refugees** (see section 5.1).

## 6 Frame comparison

### 6.1 Diagnosis/prognosis combinations

In Section 4.1. we argued that in 19 analysed documents of Slovenian civil society responses we identified 21 different problem frames in total, which were assigned 22 times and we grouped those 21 identified problem frames into 7 subframes. The first subframe argues that **militarization is an inappropriate response** (to a humanitarian problem), second subframe proposes that **legislation is not protecting refugees**. The third subframe blames the **government for not protecting refugees**, fourth subframe argues that legislation is not adequately protective - it argues that **legislation is not protecting refugees and migrants** while fifth subframe regards **EU policies as ineffective**. Sixth subframe regards **government as incompetent or harmful for the state**, while last or seventh is arguing that **legislation is not protecting migrants** (see section 4.1).

Combinations of subframes in analysed documents (from diagnosis to prognosis in a single problem-solution pair) are not completely balanced, however combinations of subframes are distributed rather evenly and as expected: in majority of cases framing of the problem (diagnosis) correlates to the framing of solution (in prognosis). **Militarization as inappropriate response** problem subframe, the most popular subframe (see section 4.1) is mostly followed in the prognosis by the **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** solution subframe (4/5 cases; 80%). In one case **Militarization as inappropriate response** problem subframe is followed by 2 solution subframes: **Protection of refugees** and **Humanitarianism** subframes.

**Legislation not protecting refugees** problem subframe, the second most frequent cluster of problem subframes, is in three cases (75%) followed by the **Protection of refugees** solution subframe, it is followed by the **Protection of refugees and migrants** in one case.

**Government not protecting refugees** problem subframe is mostly followed in the prognosis by the **Protection of refugees** solution subframe (3/4 cases; 75%). This problem frame is also followed by the **Humanitarianism** solution (prognosis) subframe, in one case.

Problem subframe labelled as **Legislation not protecting refugees and migrants**, identified 3 times is followed by the **Protection of refugees and migrants** prognosis subframe (1 case), **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** (1 case) and a mixture of both, i.e. framed solution that argues for **Protection of refugees and migrants** as well as **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** (1 case).

The least popular subframes are **EU policies as ineffective**, **government incompetent or harmful for the state** and **legislation not protecting migrants** Problem subframe labelled as **EU policies ineffective**, identified 2 times, is followed by the **Action at the EU level** solution subframe (1 case) and **Protection of refugees** subframe (1 case). **Government incompetent / harmful for the state** problem subframe is followed by 2 solution subframes: **Protection of refugees** and **Humanitarianism** subframes. **Legislation not protecting migrants**, identified in one single case is followed by a **Protection of refugees and migrants** prognosis subframe.

## 6.2 Prognosis/diagnosis combinations

In Slovenian civil society responses we identified 22 different solution frames in total, a number that equals the number of frames identified in problem-diagnosis part of analysed documents (see Section 4.1 and 5.1 above). The three of the most popular set of subframes (n = 19 or 86%) argue for a protection of any sort and belong to a **Protection of refugees** main frame: be that protection of refugees, protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy or the protection of refugees and migrants. The first set of subframes thus argues for **protection of refugees**, second set argues for **protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** and third set of basic frames argues finally for the **protection of refugees and migrants**.

Most widely identified subframe titled **Protection of refugees**, identified 9 times and found in 8 different letters, is preceded by 4 different subframes, used 9 times. Solution subframe titled **Protection of refugees** is thus preceded by **Legislation not protecting refugees** 4 times, **Government not protecting refugees** 3 times, it is preceded by problem subframe **Government incompetent / harmful for the state** one time and **EU policies ineffective** one time.

Second most popular solution superframe titled **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** is preceded by 7 identified subframes in problem definition, which are distributed rather equally: 3 times **Protection of human rights, rule of law and democracy** solution superframe is preceded by problem-defining subframe **Legislation not protecting refugees and migrants** and other 4 times by the problem-defining subframe **Militarization as inappropriate response**.

Superframe titled **Protection of refugees and migrants** is identified in 4 solution propositions and follows 5 problem (diagnosis) subframes: **Legislation not protecting refugees** (in one case) **Legislation not protecting migrants** (in one case) **Legislation not protecting refugees and migrants** (in three cases).

Fourth subframe is identified as **humanitarianism** subframe, while last (fifth) subframe calls for **Action at the EU level**. When solution is identified with the **humanitarianism** subframe (2 cases) it is always (in both cases) preceded by **Government not protecting refugees** subframe (in the diagnosis). When **Action at the EU level** is proposed as a solution subframe (only in one case) it is preceded by **EU policies ineffective** subframe (in the diagnosis).

### 6.3 Affect – diagnosis/prognosis

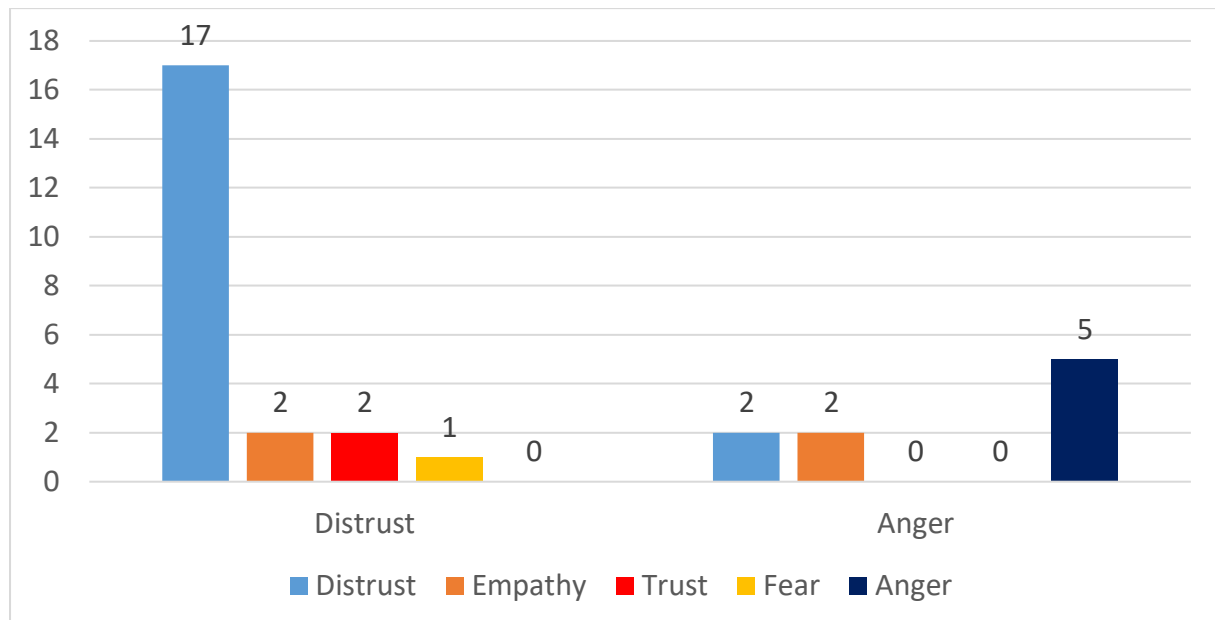
To reiterate (see section 4.4 above): two affects were prominently voiced in the majority of problem definitions of analysed documents. **Distrust** was the most prominent emotion (22 of 36 cases), accounting for 61% of voiced emotions while **anger** was the second most frequently detected emotion and was voiced in 25% of problem definitions (9/36 cases). Other emotions were overwhelmingly less represented in defined problems: **fear** was used in only 2 cases, while **shame** and **empathy** were both used in 1 case a piece.

**Distrust** is the affect most frequently observed in problem definitions (n=22). When distrust is used in a definition of a problem (diagnosis) it is followed by the same affect (**distrust**) in the solution proposition (prognosis) as well: 17 times (77,2%). It is followed by **empathy** twice (9%) and **trust** twice (9%) and by **fear** once (4,5%) (see Graph 15).

When **anger** is the affect used in a definition of a problem (diagnosis) it is followed in the solution proposition (prognosis) by **anger** most of the time, i.e. 5 times (55,5%). **Anger** is followed by **distrust** twice (22,2%) and by **empathy** twice (22,2%) in the solution propositions (see Graph 15).

When **fear** is the affect used in problem-diagnosis (i.e. in two problem definitions of 1 letter) it is always followed in the solution definition by **empathy**. **Shame** and **empathy** are used in problem definition once a piece. Both are followed by the affect of **empathy** as well.

**Graph 15:** distribution of distrust and anger (from diagnosis to prognosis)



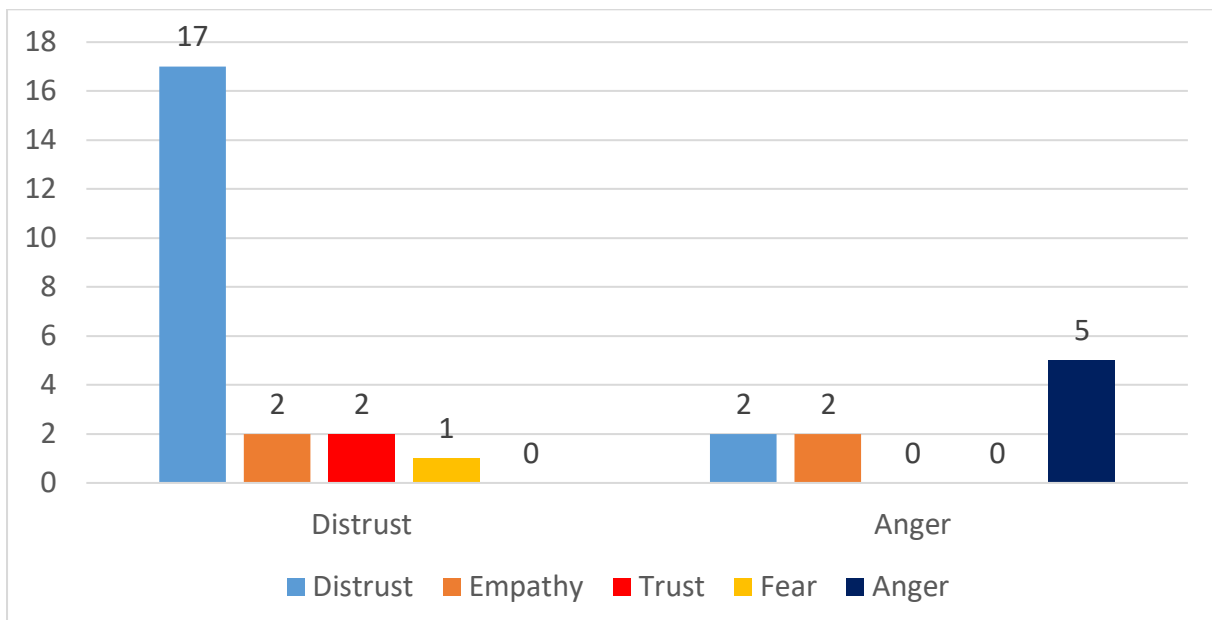
## 6.4 Affect – prognosis/diagnosis

As stated above (see section 5.4), two affects were especially prominently voiced in the majority of solution definitions of analysed documents: **distrust** and **empathy** (see section 5.4). **Distrust** was (as in the problem definitions) the most prominent emotion used in solution propositions (19 of 36 cases), accounting for 52,7% of voiced emotions. **Empathy** was the second most frequently detected emotion and was voiced in 22,2% of solution definitions (8/36 cases). **Anger** was detected 6 times (16,6%) while other two emotions (**trust** and **fear**) were overwhelmingly less represented in defined solutions: **trust** was used in 2 cases while **fear** was used in only 1 solution definition.

Graph 16 shows the distribution of two affects that were prominently voiced in the prognosis: **distrust** and **empathy**. **Distrust** is the affect most frequently observed in solution propositions (n=19). When **distrust** is used in prognosis it is preceded by the same affect (**distrust**) in the problem definition (diagnosis) in the majority of cases: 17 times (89,5%). It is preceded by the affect of **anger** twice (10,5%). This correlation of the same affect used in diagnosis and prognosis in almost 90% of the cases is indicating a certain suspicion on the part of the authors of documents that actor causing the defined problem will not be able to provide the adequate solution.

**Empathy** is the most diversely combined affect used in a definition of solution (prognosis), because it is preceded by 5 different affects in 8 problem-solution definitions (or pairs) that are distributed equally. Empathy is preceded by **anger** twice, by **fear** twice, by **distrust** twice, by **empathy** once and by **shame** once.

**Graph 16:** distribution of distrust and empathy (from prognosis to diagnosis)



When **anger** is the affect used in prognosis (this is the case 6 times) it is mainly preceded by the same affect: **anger** (i.e. present in five problem definitions of 1 letter). Once it is preceded by an undefined affect (coded in the problem definition as **other**).

**Trust** and **fear** are used in problem definition three times: **trust** twice and **fear** once. Both are preceded by the affect of **distrust**, coded in the problem definition.

## 7 Discussion/Conclusion

I would like to conclude this report, using and interpreting the data extracted from in-depth interviews conducted with civil society actors in Slovenia. Data from in-depth interviews serves as complementary data to the frame analysis results in order to fully comprehend the process of writing analysed letters, stances of civil society (responses and critical reaction to the adopted legislation) as well as the atmosphere surrounding those responses and governmental reactions. Here I would also use that data to propose a quick and not yet fully developed explanation of the absence of populist antagonisms in their letters and public statements (see section 4.5 and 5.5) as well as provide some further notes on their similarities and differences.

Project team conducted 5 interviews with civil society actors: representatives of NGOs, humanitarian organizations as well as the individuals active in social movement initiatives. Those 5 interviewees were: an expert associate at the national association of Red Cross; three interviewees were directors or coordinators of smaller NGOs in Slovenia: Slovenska filantropija, Slovenian Global Action, platform of NGOs for development, global learning and humanitarian help Sloga and Legal-Informational Centre for NGOs (Pravno informacijski center nevladnih organizacij – PiC). Finally, deputy of an editor at the local critical journal and a long-time activist provided an insight from the activist initiatives' perspective.<sup>4</sup>

Absence of populist antagonism of “Othering” (expressed as “we-them”, “in-out group”, “people against the migrants”) could be first explained by understanding their position in the field and their explicit (main) organizational goal: advocacy of refugees and migrants (Slovenska filantropija, Amnesty International), protection of human rights (PiC), social protection of migrants, NGOs already working on the integration of migrants before 2015 (Slovenska filantropija), helping authorities in humanitarian disasters as dictated by the law, providing first aid, supply and protection of livelihood (Red Cross of Slovenia), increasing media coverage of migration across Mediterranean, attempts to establish the working group on migration (Interviewee 5, Sloga, 2019, 11<sup>th</sup> July). Second, absence of Othering, is to be explained by understanding the dispositions and stances of interviewees: “protection of the frame of human rights, regardless of the personal circumstances (Interviewee 1, PiC, 2019, 11<sup>th</sup> July), “we felt addressed and answered our institutional call to respond” (Interviewee 2, Slovenska filantropija, 2019, 25<sup>th</sup> July), “helping authorities in humanitarian disasters as dictated by the law” (Interviewee 4, Red Cross of Slovenia, 19<sup>th</sup> July), “protest against the dehumanization of people” (Interviewee 3, activist initiative, 2019, 16<sup>th</sup> July).

Consequently, because helping refugees is the respondents' main task their critique of the government is not framed in the people (“people-centrism”) vs. “elites” antagonistic terms. As

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<sup>4</sup> All 5 interviews were conducted in July 2019. Project team tried to limit the length of interviews to 90 minutes, however we did not forcefully stop the interviewees in the elaboration of their viewpoints. Thus the longest interview lasted 122 minutes, interview with representative of The Slovenian Red Cross lasted 118 minutes, while 2 of the interviews lasted 89 minutes each (i.e. as designed and stated in our questionnaire). The shortest interview, interview lasted 76 minutes. Project team recorded all five interviews, informed every interviewee on his or her rights being secured by the General Data Protection Regulation and provided contacts of the research team at The Peace Institute. All five interviewees signed a consent form prior to the recorded taping. All five recorded interviews were subsequently transcribed in accordance with the sound recordings. Signed consent forms and transcripts are securely archived at The Peace Institute.

already expressed in the explanation of the distribution of social groups in active (see section 4.2 and 5.2) and passive actor category (see section 4.3 and 5.3) clearly determine the social groups responsible for the problem and solution. They also clearly determine the antagonistic groups: in defined problems incumbent government, parliamentarians, Ministers and explicitly defined institutions (see section 4.2) are juxtaposed to refugees who represent a majority (30/36) of defined passive actors (not “the people”, “the nation”, “us”, “the taxpayers”, “the homeland” etc.) (see section 4.3). Picture is virtually identical when observing solution definitions: incumbent government, parliamentarians, Ministers and explicitly defined institutions (see section 5.2) are those who should provide the solution while refugees are those who need it (in 32 out of 36 solution definitions; see section 5.3).

There are couple of answers arguing and explaining this last point: one, NGOs and humanitarian are not succumbed to “office-seeking” and “vote-seeking” (Landerer 2013, p. 247) strategies and mechanisms of political field. Two, the structure of the discourse is thus not delineating “our” people (our/good voters, taxpayers) from the “not our” people (other voters/taxpayers) and foreign outer groups (strangers, foreigners) (Reinfeldt 1995). On the other hand this discourse is not using an “official language intended to construct a homogenised group (“people”) which party and its officials represent in the national parliament” (Bourdieu 2003/1991). A couple of examples from problem and solution definitions in our data base indicate the clear definition of antagonistic social groups: “Slovenian police is militarized, has an inappropriate, racist, overtly physical response to the arrival of refugees”, “Prime Minister and the members of his government should reject all proposed changes to the Aliens Act”, “Slovenian parliamentarians should preserve a notion of a suspensiveness of a lawsuit as a legal remedy in the proposed International Protection Act”.

Long-term practice, physical presence in the field, practical experience, organizational history and orientation as well as accumulated capital gives the civil society actors a clear understanding of antagonisms present in the “refugee crisis” and the parliamentary policy process regarding migration: “We demanded the meeting with the PM Cerar in 2015 and realised that the state and the government were not ready for a large arrival of refugees, /.../ “things were not finalised, plans were not prepared, response of the authorities was being overrun by the events” (Interviewee 1, PiC, 2019, 11<sup>th</sup> July). Or as one interviewee expressed it: “When Cerar’s government established an Office for provision and integration of migrants, NGOs did not play a major role anymore, we only provided suggestions, everything was happening behind closed doors.” (Interviewee 2, Slovenska filantropija, 2019, 25<sup>th</sup> July). During the ‘refugee crisis’ “we collaborated and communicated extensively with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Defence, Office for Civil Protection and Disaster Relief” (Interviewee 5, Sloga, 2019, 11<sup>th</sup> July), the other one said, indicating their involvement with bureaucratic officials in times when their help was needed and required. These points will and should be developed further, providing us some important insights on the formation of populist discourse and the nature of political practice, concluding that observing specific fields and mechanisms in those fields, could provide relevant and needed thought-provoking answers.

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