

Acknowledgements

I would primarily like to thank my supervisor Pieter de Wilde for the good cooperation, clear feedback and valuable input regarding this thesis. I would also like to thank him for his encouragement, and for always pushing me in the right direction.

Secondly, I would like to thank Simon Johannsson for the comments and proofreading, the excel-tutoring, and for teaching me the value of keyboard shortcuts. I am sure it made the process of writing this thesis much more effective.

Furthermore, thanks to Magnus Rom Jensen at the Dragvoll Library for fixing one month's access to Lexisnexis, so that I could access the British newspaper archives.

Thanks to Tonje Jacobsen for proofreading, and to Christian Høkaas for drawing the illustration on the front page.

Lastly, thanks to Henrik, and my friends and family.

Silje Bjellvåg

May, 2017

siljebjellva@gmail.com

Abstract

Norway's association with the European Union (EU) is usually not a source for international news. However, 2016 saw a sharp uptick in international media coverage as the United Kingdom's (UK) decision to hold a referendum on the continuance on their EU membership increased interest in Norway's deal with the EU as an alternative model of association.

This study sets out to measure and compare the media coverage of Norway's association with the EU in two countries, which are EU Member States and thus states of the European Economic Area, the UK and Sweden, in the period 1994-2016. In the thesis, I analyse when and how Norway's association with the EU are covered in these countries' press.

A qualitative analysis identifies peaks in coverage by comparing the number of articles in a selection of newspapers. For instance, the study finds that there was more UK coverage in 2016 than in the rest of the 22-year period put together (326 of 523 articles identified). To explain what creates newsworthiness regarding Norway's association with the EU, a sample of articles are then analysed in a qualitative content analysis, to find which events and issues that led to the coverage, and how these events and issues are reported.

The quantitative and qualitative analyses lead to the conclusion that Norway's association with the EU is more newsworthy when: 1) the country is close to Norway, 2) the EU-Norway relation is characterized by conflict, and 3) when there is clear and direct domestic relevance for the country the newspaper is based in.

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Topic and Relevance	2
1.2 Research Questions	5
1.3 Structure of the Thesis.....	7
2. THEORY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH	9
2.1 News Factors	9
2.2 International News Flow Theory.....	10
2.2.1 Proximity	10
2.2.2 National Traits	11
2.2.3 Conflict, Controversy and Consequences.....	12
2.3 Framing and Personification.....	13
2.4 EU-journalism	15
2.5 EEA-journalism.....	17
3. RESEARCH DESIGN	19
3.1 Comparative Case Study	19
3.2 Case Selection	20
3.2.1 EU-journalism in Swedish and British Press.....	22
4. METHOD AND DATA.....	25
4.1 Quantitative data sampling	25
4.2 Content Analysis	27
4.2.1 Sampling for Content Analysis	28
4.3 Case Newspapers.....	29
4.4 Summary of Expectations.....	31
5. OVERVIEW OF THE COVERAGE	33

6. THE QUALITIES OF THE COVERAGE	39
6.1 Norway chooses «The Norwegian Way» of association	39
6.1.1 The Consequences of the Choice	40
6.1.2 Norway’s Referendum and its influence on European Integration	43
6.1.3 The Coverage of the Norwegian Referendum on EU Membership	46
6.2 The Practices of «The Norwegian Way».....	47
6.3 «The Norwegian Way» as an Alternative Association Model	50
6.3.1 The UK’s ‘Norway option’	50
6.3.2 «Brexit» and its Influence on Sweden.....	52
6.3.3 The British Referendum and the ‘Norway Option’	54
7. DISCUSSION.....	57
7.1 Coverage when Conflict or Relevance	57
7.2 Newsworthy Events and Issues	59
7.3 The Framing of Norway’s Association with the EU	60
8. THE NEWSWORTHINESS OF «THE NORWEGIAN WAY».....	63
Literature	67

Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Overview of trade relations between Norway, the UK and Sweden.....	22
Figure 2: Overview of numbers of articles from the Swedish and British press.	33
Figure 3: Overview of Swedish press coverage from 1994 to 2016.....	35
Figure 4: Overview of British press coverage from 1994 to 2016.	35
Figure 5: Monthly overview of Swedish and British press coverage in 1994.	37
Figure 6: Monthly overview of Swedish and British press coverage in 2016.	37

1. Introduction

In January 1989, Commission President Jacques Delors addressed the European Parliament with the question of how one could reconcile a successful relationship between the member states of the European Community and the ‘other Europeans’, i.e. the member states of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA)¹. The answer to his question was the establishment of the Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA Agreement) (Breidlid & Vahl, 2015, p. 32).

With the institutionalization of the EU-EFTA relation, the EEA Agreement brought the two trade blocs in Europe together in the Internal Market² of the European Union (EU) when the agreement went into force in 1994. The core of the EEA Agreement is it enables three of the four EFTA Member States to participate in the EU’s Internal Market. Members enjoy the benefits of the free movement of goods, services, capital and persons, in return for implementing EEA-relevant EU legislation into their national legislation, to secure a uniform Single Market (EFTA, 2017; Breidlid & Vahl, 2015, p. 33; Baur, 2015, p. 18).

Ever since its implementation, the EEA Agreement has been the cornerstone of Norway’s association with the EU. In addition, Norway has several agreements with the EU in the policy areas of Justice- and Home affairs and Foreign- and Security policy, most notably the Schengen Agreement. The overview of Norway’s agreements with the EU is a distinctive model of association with the EU, as no other countries have chosen this association model (NOU 2012:12a, 2012, p. 35).

Developments in the EU have led to an increase of the scope of the EEA Agreement ever since it went into force. Firstly, the EEA Agreement today consists of thirty-one

¹ EFTA was founded in 1960, and is an intergovernmental organization for free trade between Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein and Switzerland. EFTA maintains management of the EFTA Convention, the EEA Agreement and EFTA Free Trade Agreements (EFTA, 2017).

² The Internal Market of the EU is a single market with free movement of goods, services, capital and persons, created in 1993 (EUR-Lex, 2017).

member states. The EFTA pillar has consisted of the same three countries, Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein, while the EU pillar has grown into the twenty-eight member states of today³. Secondly, the uniform nature of the EEA Agreement leads to a constantly increasing number of EEA-relevant legislative acts from EU-law that the EFTA states implement into their national legislation (NOU 2012:2a, 2012, p. 64).

This continuous adaption to the EU has not been a topic that stimulates to public debate in Norway. Compared to the debate on EU membership, the EEA Agreement has had a dampening and unifying effect on Norwegian European policy. There is broad political agreement on the EEA Agreement, and «compromise and consensus» has been the foundation for the ruling governments for most of the period since 1994 (NOU 2012:2a, 2012, p. 269).

1.1 Topic and Relevance

When the Norwegian Government appointed an independent EEA Review Committee⁴ to undertake a research-based review of the EEA Agreement twenty years after its implementation, the committee concluded the following regarding the level of public debate and knowledge about the EEA Agreement in Norway:

«We can see a paradox in the period 1994-2011: while all curves for the actual extent of Norway's association with the EU have been steadily rising, the political and public debate, media coverage and knowledge of this area have not increased and in some areas decreased. There are few areas of Norwegian democracy today where so many know so little about so much as is the case with Norwegian European policy» (NOU 2012:2b, 2012, p. 9).

³ In 1994, EFTA had seven member states, while the EU consisted of twelve member states (NOU 2012:2a, 2012, p. 40)

⁴ The mandate of the Committee called for a comprehensive and thorough review of the political, legal, administrative, economic and other social consequences of the EEA Agreement (NOU 2012:2a, 2012). The work resulted in an Official Norwegian Report on 900 pages titled «Outside and Inside: Norway's agreements with the European Union».

The EEA Review Committee based this conclusion on an external report conducted by Tore Slaatta about Norwegian EEA-journalism. The report is the first on its topic, and Slaatta concluded that EEA-affairs generally take up little of the daily news reporting in Norway (2011, p. 5). This may be an effect of the consensus approach to the EEA Agreement in Norwegian politics, as little political attention leads to little media attention (NOU 2012:2a, 2012, p. 287).

Norway's association with the EU, then, is usually not news. Not in Norway, and likely even less so abroad. However, 2016 saw a sharp uptick in international media coverage as the United Kingdom's (UK) decision to leave the EU increased interest in Norway's deal with the EU as an alternative model. Some recent headlines include:

Can the UK adopt the 'Norway model' as its Brexit solution?

One option being discussed is the Norway model, but what is it, how does it work and what does it cost?

The Guardian, 1 December 2016

Brussels' Brexit plan: Treat the UK like Norway

Copying EU's deal with Oslo would keep Britain in single market during the transition.

Politico Europe, 13 April 2017

Media coverage is crucial the public's awareness of current events and issues. The public sphere shall inform citizens about political processes, monitor and critically evaluate governance, and enable a public discourse in a democracy (Esser, 2015, p. 5). European affairs should not be an exception. There are links between media coverage of a topic and its perceived legitimacy, support and citizen engagement (De Vreese, Banducci, Semetko & Boomsgarden, 2006, p. 479). Several studies have concluded that issues and events regarding the EU and European integration generally takes little place in the daily news reporting, as Slaatta also found when analysing Norwegian EEA-journalism. Negative news and a lack of news regarding the EU can contribute to the lack of legitimacy and detract from the formation of a European identity. Hence, the

democratic deficit in the EU can be viewed as a communications deficit⁵ (De Vreese et al., 2006, pp. 478-479).

The legitimacy of the media comes from a democratic perspective. Their task is to educate citizens, and give them background for their opinions as a foundation to make democratic choices. Furthermore, the media shall serve the public debate, and light up circumstances worthy of criticism. It has a key role in a functioning public sphere (Eide, 2001, p. 26). Additionally, the media functions as an agenda-setter regarding which issues that become topics of public debate. With its role as an agenda-setter, the media cannot only affect public opinion, but it can also influence agendas of political actors and policy makers. Media coverage influences priorities of the public, and is one of the possible factors that can influence the agenda of policy makers, especially in the early phase of policy processes, when problems are identified (Aelst, Thesen, Walgrace & Vliegthart, 2014, pp. 200-203). The agenda-setting function of the media also relates to their ability to stress some aspects of the issue or event and push others to the background. This process of how journalists report issues and events refers to the process of «framing» (Weaver, McCombs, Shaw, 2004, p. 257).

Modern politics are «largely mediated politics, i.e., politics mainly communicated through different mass media with the mass media being the most important source for information about politics and society», according to Shetana and Strömbäck, (2014, p. 108). In sum, the media determines which events and issues that are covered and how they are covered, which in turn can transform the political reality of the premise of the media's standards for newsworthiness.

⁵ Democratic deficit is a term used by those who argue that the EU institutions and their decision-making processes suffer from a lack of democracy and seem inaccessible to the citizens due to its complexity (EUR-Lex, 2017).

1.2 Research Questions

In light of these considerations, the scope and nature of the press coverage of the EEA Agreement gains relevance. As the public get most of the information on politics from the mass media, it is likely that the press coverage affects the level of knowledge and the public opinion on the EEA Agreement.

This study can be viewed as a replication and as a continuance of the study by Slaatta on EEA-journalism, but with a different approach to the topic. Whilst Slaatta focuses on Norwegian EEA-journalism in the period of 1990 to 2010, I seek to analyse the press coverage of Norway's association with EU, with focus on the EEA Agreement, in a different timeframe and in different case countries.

This study focuses on newspaper coverage of the EEA Agreement from after the agreement went into force in 1994, to 2016. The case countries are two other EEA states from the EU-pillar of the EEA. Furthermore, the in-depth analyses of this study and Slaatta's study have a different focus. Slaatta analyses why EEA-affairs gets coverage in the Norwegian newspaper press, how this coverage is phased in and out of the daily news reporting, which journalistic routines that characterize the production of these news, and how this coverage differs from other types of journalism. These research questions focus on the production of news of EEA-affairs, whilst the focus in this thesis is to answer why the media in other EEA states sometimes considers Norway's main association with the EU, the EEA Agreement, to be newsworthy. This research can thus give new insight of the EEA Agreement from a new perspective, from the eyes of the news selectors of the media in two EU Member States.

In order to determine the newsworthiness of Norway's way of association with the EU in other EEA states, the research question is:

When and how do the media in other EEA states cover Norway's association with the EU?

The following sub questions shall help answer the research question:

- 1) *When does the media in other EEA states cover Norway's association with the EU?*
- 2) *Which events and issues do the media of other EEA states find newsworthy to cover?*
- 3) *How are these events and issues framed by the journalist?*

This study thus analyses how the press in other EEA states perceive the EEA-Agreements newsworthiness. How other parties perceive the EEA Agreement are relevant for several reasons. Firstly, it can give insight on the functioning of the agreement by the perspective of others. This perception is of direct relevance for the development of the EEA. Lastly, the future development of the EEA Agreement is not only up to Norway and up to the EU institutions. Other countries can either directly or indirectly affect the association method, as the EU member states are EEA states as much as Norway, Island and Liechtenstein (NOU 2012:2, 2012, p. 296).

The media of other EEA-states affects public opinion and the level of knowledge about the EEA Agreement in countries that are relevant for the further development of the EEA Agreement. Therefore, both the amount and variation of coverage level is of interest. In addition, the media can emphasize certain aspects of Norway's association with the EU, and tone down other aspects through the process of framing. Thus, when coverage of Norway's association with the EU takes place and how this coverage is framed is relevant for the public opinion and knowledge level about the EEA Agreement in other EEA states.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The analysis of when and how Norway's association with the EU is covered in the media of other EEA states is based on media theory on news reporting and previous research on EU-journalism. Chapter 2 is a review of media theory that is relevant to answer these research questions. Two central and overlapping theories in this chapter are news factors and international news flow. These theories explain how an event or issue becomes a news story, and how this news story flows across borders and becomes news in another country. According to these theories, Norway's association with the EU is not likely to be a subject of immense interest in the newspapers in other countries. Furthermore, the theory of framing is reviewed as this theory explains how an issue or event is reported, i.e. which aspects of the event or issue that the journalist choose to emphasize and which the journalist chooses to ignore. A literature review of previous research on EU-journalism is included as EU-journalism has certain distinctive traits that can help determine how Norway's association with the EU is covered. A central finding in that regard is that EU-topics generally receives little press coverage, and that journalists often frame it on domestic issues when it is covered.

Chapter 3 presents the research design and the case selection, which are two EU member states that are likely to be most different in terms of outcome of news coverage of Norway's association with the EU. The methodical framework is presented in chapter 4. To answer the research question, I applied a hierarchical mixed methodology, where the qualitative analysis is based on the quantitative findings. The data gathering and choice of newspapers is also reviewed in this chapter.

The quantitative and qualitative analyses are presented in chapter 5 and 6. Chapter 5 presents the results of the data gathering, as a quantitative overview of the level and variance in the coverage level of Norway's association with the EU in the two case countries within the timeframe of 1994 to 2016. To better understand the reasons for this coverage, and better answer when and how coverage takes place, chapter 6 presents the qualitative content analysis that is conducted of a sample of the articles gathered for the study. The results of both the quantitative and qualitative analyses are discussed in chapter 7. This discussion leads to the conclusion that the media in other EEA states do not consider Norway's association with the EU to be newsworthy unless Norway's

association with the EU is characterized by conflict and controversy, or unless events and issues related to Norway's association with the EU have clear and direct domestic consequences.

2. Theory and Previous Research

Previous research on how the media selects which events, topics and issues that are newsworthy, and how they frame the news, can give a theoretical backdrop to help make expectations for, and later explain, the coverage of Norway's association with the EU in EEA states. This section includes a review of key concepts in media theory regarding selection of news, how they flow across borders and how they tend to be framed by the journalist. Moreover, this chapter includes a review of previous research on EU- and EEA journalism. Based on theory and previous research, expectations for the amount and qualities of the coverage of Norway's association with the EU are made throughout this chapter.

2.1 News Factors

News factors and gatekeeping are central complementary concepts in communication science. These concepts influence the process where the journalists select the news. This selection process can be referred to as gatekeeping, as the journalists filters a few events that become news from many possible candidates (Staab, 1990, p. 423). Which events that become news in this process of gatekeeping depends on the numbers of news factors present in the event or issue. The concept of news factors was developed by Lippmann in 1922, and refers to the specific qualities and features present in the event that increases the likelihood of news coverage. This tendency is grounded in the assumption that several news factors determine the newsworthiness of the event, and therefore affects the journalists' decision-making regarding which events that become news stories (Staab, 1990, p. 424). Several studies have found that the more news factors present regarding to an event or issue, the more newsworthy the journalists consider it (Clyde and Buckalew, 1969; Dimmick, 1974; Staab, 1990, p. 245).

However, the theory of news factors neglects individual preferences of journalists, political leaning of newspapers and external pressure from for example the owners, advertiser or other social forces. Thus, it deals with a small part of the process of making news. There are several factors to take into consideration when analysing how journalists pick what is news and not. The journalists can be affected by their own preferences, organizational needs, and ideological functions. In this context, the media is not considered as a reflex of reality, but rather a determined construction of reality

(Staab, 1990, p. 428). The relationship between news factors and media coverage are usually interpreted by a causal model, where the news factors are independent variables and the reporting as the dependent variable. According to this model, news is published because of its particular qualities and because of a consensus as to the significance to these qualities (Staab, 1990, p. 427).

It is likely that the presence of news factors affect when and how Norway's association with the EU is covered in the media. Previous research on news factors have resulted in a number of features that can contribute to explain why something is considered newsworthy by the journalists. The features of events and issues that attract media coverage are for instance unusual and unexpected happenings, disasters and destruction, negative consequences in any regard, and elite person involvement in the event or issue (Staab, 1990; Buckalew, 1969). Researchers who study which news factors that determine international news flow across borders deem some news factors as more relevant in that context and these will be in focus here as this is the type of news dealt with in the research questions.

2.2 International News Flow Theory

International news flow theory can be seen as a continuation of news factor theory, as the theories both deal with the issue of which events and issues that are considered newsworthy and which are not. International news flow theory however focuses on why some news flows across borders and which features of events lead to coverage thereof in other countries. The news factors of proximity, national traits and conflict are highlighted in international news flow theory, and hence these news factors may be explanatory factors when seeking to study the newsworthiness of Norway's association with the EU in other EEA states.

2.2.1 Proximity

Firstly, international news flow theory highlights the extent of proximity as a factor that influences whether something is written about in newspapers or not, and whether or not the news story flows to other country's media. Most scientists highlight proximity in a cultural sense. According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), the articles have to be interpretable within the cultural framework of the reader. This increases the

meaningfulness of the article for the reader, and the journalist whom select the news therefore pay particular attention to the familiar and similar instead of the culturally distant (Galtung & Rude, 1965, p. 67). This is supported by Östgaard, who argues that topics familiar to both selectors and readers of news are more likely to find their way through the news selection process than unfamiliar ones (1965, p. 46). For instance, Norwegian media is more likely to cover an election in Denmark than an election in Djibouti. The greater the possibility of identification, the greater the chance of reaching the newspapers and news flow. The proximity factor can be widened into the geographical, cultural and commercial sense, and regarding proximity in time (Westerståhl & Johansson, Östgaard, 1965, p. 47). Thus, there are many ways to measure the likely proximity, such as geographic distance, shared language and cultural ties (Wu, 2000; Rosengren, 1977; Galtung & Ruge, 1965).

Based on the proximity news factor, one can expect that countries that are close in geographic distance, culturally similar and share language similarities consider news about Norway's association with EU as more important news than countries where these factors do not apply. They are then also more likely to cover the topic in the media. In this study, one can expect that the closer a country is to Norway, the more its media will cover its association with the EU.

2.2.2 National Traits

Secondly, the national traits of a country can be a useful indicator to help determine the amount of coverage events and issues regarding the country is likely to receive in other countries. Previous research on international news flow agree that the economic, social, and political characteristics, such as population and trade level of a nation determine the amount of coverage a country receives in another country's media (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Rosengren, 1977). Wu argues that there are certain systematic factors that can contribute to predict the amount of coverage a country can get, for example trade and territorial size (2000, p. 111). He found that the amount of trade between two countries are a strong predictor of news coverage of the other trade partner (2000, p. 128).

Furthermore, the degree to which a country is considered an elite country on the global scale, in terms of factors such as population, size, military power and GDP, can affect the level of coverage the country receives in other countries. A country's population is

a likely determinant of foreign citations, as highly populated countries tend to be in the news more than small countries (Fracasso, Grassano, Marzetti, 2014). Galtung and Ruge find that the more the event concerns elite countries, the more probable it is that it will become a news item (1965, p. 68). Furthermore, the international news flow between countries is often a one-way flow, as the media in non-elite countries often cover news on elite countries, but elite countries rarely covers non-elite countries (Östgaard 1965, p. 47). For instance, the Norwegian media is more likely to cover events in the US than vice-versa, as the actions of the US have more consequences due to its power in terms of population, GDP, and military- and trade power.

Norway is not an elite country in a global scale in terms of neither GDP, population size nor military power. According to the international news flow theory's focus on national traits as an indicator for news coverage, one can expect that the more powerful and important a country are in terms of GDP and trade, the less its media will cover Norway's association with the EU. In addition, according to Wu's finding on trade relations as an especially strong indicator, the more a country trades with Norway, the more likely the media of the country is to cover Norway's association with the EU.

2.2.3 Conflict, Controversy and Consequences

Lastly, there is broad agreement among researchers on news reporting in general that journalists prefer to make news stories out of events and topics that are characterized by controversy and conflict. As Galtung and Ruge put it in their analysis of newsworthiness of countries: «The more negative the event is in its consequences, the more probable that it will become a news item» (1965, p. 69). This feature has been given different names by researchers: Östgaard calls it sensationalism (1965, p. 48), Westerståhl & Johansson calls it drama (1994, p. 74), Segev calls it events (2015, p. 414), and Galtung and Ruge calls it unexpectedness (1965, p.67). It all amounts to some basic qualities that will increase the likelihood of media coverage: The media see unexpected, rare and sensational events that one can imagine will lead to controversy, conflict and negative consequences as news material.

Galtung and Ruge link their hypothesis of negative news being more likely to be a news item up to another factor that they deem relevant - the frequency factor – which regards the coinciding in time of the event and when the newspapers publish. The more similar

they are, the more probable that the event will be recorded as news by the journalist (1965, p. 66). Negative news fits the frequency criterion better than good news, as negative news often happens fast, while positive news depends on developments that take time. De Vreese argues that the complex and lengthy decision-making processes of the EU are not compatible with the demands for a rapidly delivered and preferably controversial news (2001, p. 301).

The media's preferences for unexpected news can cause the regular, institutionalized, continuing and repetitive not to gain the same amount of attention. According to the media's preference of presence of conflict, controversy, consequences and negative news, one can expect more coverage of Norway's association with the EU when the relation is characterized by these features. However, the EEA is a highly institutionalized agreement, where rapid, unexpected change is a rarity. Thus, one can assume little coverage of Norway's association with the EU, as it generally does not fit this criterion of conflict, consequences and unexpectedness.

The degree of proximity, national traits and conflict regarding events, issues and countries are the three main factors that determine international news flow. The proximity factor and the degree of controversy and negative news is as relevant for national news as for international news flow, while the national traits factor mainly explains the degree of flow of news from one country to another. Based on international news flow theory, one can expect little coverage of Norway's association with the EU in general, as Norway is not an elite country and EEA-affairs are not dramatic in the sense that the theory highlights.

2.3 Framing and Personification

As the research questions ask for a review of *how* coverage of Norway's association with the EU is reported, it is relevant to include the theory of framing. Research on framing can be divided into two approaches: the study of media frames and audience frames. The latter focuses primarily on how individuals perceive and interpret events and issues in the media. The focus in this thesis is on media frames, meaning how journalists presents issues, topics and events in the news.

A central dimension of framing is the selection, organization and emphasis of certain aspects of reality to the exclusion of others (De Vreese and Semetko, 2001, pp. 107-108). Entman defines it as «to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation» (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Framing can construct reality, impact interactions and influence audience responses and opinions towards a particular event after the event enters the public sphere. The journalist's choice of framing is affected by the national context in which they operate, and research has shown that in the coverage of international events, journalists tend to localize the same news story by targeting a specific national audience (Dimitrova. & Strömbäck, 2005, p. 405).

Research on framing has also identified frames that occur commonly in the news. In Semetko & Valkenburg's content analysis of framing in Dutch newspapers and television news, they used the following common frames: conflict, economic consequences, human impact, morality frames, and responsibility attribution. The conflict frame emphasises the conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing interest. This frame tends to reduce complex discussion between political elites to an overly simplistic conflict (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95). The economic consequences frame reports the economic impact of an event or issue on individuals, groups, institutions or countries and the morality frame report topics in terms of religious tenets or moral perceptions. The human-interest frame uses an emotional approach, and the responsibility attribution frame presents the issue or problem in such a way to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution either to the government or to an individual or a group. A consequence of this frame it that it may shape public opinion of who is responsible for causing of solving problems (ibid, p. 96).

Another form of framing is to focus on the central actors of a case, rather than the case itself. Journalists tend to personify the news if possible, as seen in framing on human impact and responsibility attribution. The underlying logic behind this feature is that the more the event can be seen in personal terms as due to the action of specific individuals, the more probable that it will become a news item (Galtung and Ruge, 1965, p. 68). It is also based on the assumption that «only one thing interests all human

beings always, and that is the human being itself» (Östgaard, 1965, p. 47). Furthermore, if the newspapers have the opportunity to frame the news story on an elite person, it will be even more probable that it will become a news item (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 68). The logic behind this can be compared to the national traits factor in international news flow: The actions of elite countries and elite persons will have more consequences than the actions of non-elite people and countries.

Regarding the framing of the coverage of Norway's association with the EU, one can assume that the common frames of conflict, economic consequences, human impact, responsibility attribution and morality frames are used. Furthermore, one can assume to find tendencies of personification of the news. In the coverage of Norway's association with the EU, it is likely that the personification takes form in emphasising on the actors relevant in conflicts between countries or politicians, or framing on politicians from Norway, the case country or the EU.

2.4 EU-journalism

There are certain features about the newspapers work on EU-topics one also need to take into consideration when analysing coverage of the EEA Agreement. The study of media and journalism from a European perspective emerged in the 1990s, and has focused on topics such as EU reporting, news flow across Europe, comparison of European media policies, and examination and characterization of a possible 'European public sphere' (Örnebring, 2009, p. 1).

Based on the existing research on comparative European journalism, Örnebring concludes that the coverage of Europe is largely structured to fit national concerns and national stereotypes, and that national concerns determine the way Europe is reported in the media (AIM Research Consortium, 2006, Baisnée, 2002, Firmstone 2004, Mancini et al, 2007, Pfetsch 2004). Through interviews with journalists, Heikkilä & Kunelius finds that the most commonly used frames for EU news are «national relevance», «national interest» and «common good». The journalists interviewed in the study stated that they found it logical to reintroduce EU news to national settings, as they consider «the EU to have failed at establishing democratic institutions that function as satisfactorily as the national parliaments do» (Heikkilä & Kunelius, 2007, p. 69).

The research project «Europe-topics in Europe's Media» is a meta-analysis of 17 studies analysing media content from several European countries, aiming to answer whether Europeanization of reporting in the national media is taking place in European countries. Europeanization in this regard refers to an increase in the reporting of European topics in the national media (Machill, Beiler & Fischer, 2006, p.65). The researchers however find that EU topics account for a small proportion of the reporting in the national media. When coverage of the EU takes place, it is with a strong national orientation and the actors at the EU level only feature in minor roles. The national topics are the main focus of the coverage in the individual EU states. When an EU-topic is covered, the researchers find that it is in context with to national events and debates that are connected to the EU-topic (Machill et al, 2006, p. 71). If coverage of other states occurs, it is the highest populated EU member states (cf. Germany, France and the UK) that most frequently are the subject of the news stories (Machill et al, 2006, p. 72), which the international news flow theory also predicts according to the focus on national traits.

Even though the overall coverage level of EU-topics is low, the examined studies all concluded that the reporting increases considerably on topics of interest EU-wide or in several EU-countries. These topics and events are often connected to the continued development of European integration and EU policy, for instance accession of new member states or sessions in the EU institutions. They also find that Europeanization of national public spheres increases when these sorts of events take place (De Vreese, 2001, p. 284; Machill et al, 2006, p.76).

Based on conclusions from the research on EU-journalism, one can make the following assumptions about the coverage of Norway's relation to the EU: One cannot expect there to be a lot of coverage on the topic, as there is little coverage of EU-topics. One can also expect that the coverage that does exist have a domestic focus of the country that it is being published in. Lastly, one can expect the coverage that does exist to be about topics that are relevant for several EU states and that are meaningful for the European integration in general. An example of such events in this regard can be the Norwegian referendum about EU membership in 1994.

2.5 EEA-journalism

As Norway's association with the EU is mainly regulated by the EEA Agreement, the EEA Agreement is the main topic of interest regarding the coverage of Norway's association with the EU. The EEA Agreement's position in the media has not been the topic of many research projects, and the amount of previous research is therefore limited. However, the work of Tore Slaatta (2011) goes in-depth of Norwegian EEA-journalism. A review of the main findings in this report of Norwegian press coverage of EEA-affairs may give insight to which topics and issues that trigger media coverage of Norway's association with the EU, and how the media generally covers EEA-affairs.

The report on Norwegian EEA-journalism finds that the development in the negotiations of the EEA Agreement received a lot of newspaper coverage from 1990 to 1992. The possibility of a Norwegian EU membership became the main focus from 1992 throughout 1994. Following that point, the level of coverage is low, interrupted by local heights. There have been a few peaks in the coverage due to so-called «big cases», such as the Services of Internal Market Directive and the Data Retention Directive. The Schengen agreement attracted a lot of press coverage in 1997, and the EEA Agreement itself was an item of many articles in 2003, due to the EU's Eastern enlargement and the renegotiation of the EEA-fees (Slaatta, 2011, pp. 10-11). The typical topic in a Norwegian news story about EEA-affairs is the EFTA Surveillance Authority's (ESA) intervention in Norwegian competition law and regulation. The directives that are implemented into Norwegian law come and go in the media, which according to Slaatta show that the agreement works after its intention. Some of the directives create more debate and coverage than others, depending on the amount of controversy and the time spent to treat the directive (2011, p. 13).

The report also reviews certain features about the structure and workings of the EEA Agreement that can hinder coverage. Norwegian journalists might struggle to get the information they need, due to certain institutional conditions that stop the transparency in EEA-affairs. The EEA Agreements regulations of transparency at different stages of the complex proceedings between the EU and EFTA, the complex institutional structure, and the government's strategies to promote Norwegian interests along the way, are some of the causes that the EEA-coverage to a small degree amounts to

principal debates about the agreement in itself (Slaatta, 2011, p. 17). Slaatta concludes that compared to other events, issues and topics that becomes transboundary news, EEA-journalism can be considered as a narrow topic, even in Norway (2011, p. 15).

One can assume that other EEA states coverage of Norway's association with the EU will follow the same pattern as the Norwegian EEA-journalism, since the journalists are probably triggered by the same news factors. As the years characterized by negotiations of the EEA Agreement and referendum on EU membership was a peak in coverage in Norway, one can assume the same peak in other EEA states. One can also assume that the coverage is low after the referendum, as it was in Norway. As the topic is considered a niche in Norwegian newspapers, it may be considered an even narrower topic in the media of other EEA states. In addition, news factor theory states that highly institutionalized areas more rarely become news compared to other topics, where there is less ambiguity, a clearer image of the actors, and more rapid processes. Furthermore, the media prefers topics and events that are unexpected, rare and sensational (Östgaard, 1965, p. 48; Westerståhl & Johansson, 1994, p. 74; Segev, 2015, p. 414; Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p.67), which are characteristics that do not suit many of the events and issues regarding the EEA Agreement.

3. Research design

The analysis of when and how Norway's association with the EU is covered in the media is conducted as a cross-national comparative case study of three newspapers within each of the two case countries. In this section, the expectations made of the quantity and quality of the press coverage will be specified regarding each case.

3.1 Comparative Case Study

A comparative case study is the systematic comparison of two or more cases (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999, p. 372). Yin defines a case study as «an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and [that] relies on multiple sources of evidence» (2014, p. 16). According to Yin, it is a suitable method for examining research questions that seek to analyse how or why something happens. The phenomenon to be examined is also highlighted in Orum et al.'s definition of a case study: «an in-depth multifaceted investigation, using qualitative research methods, of a single social phenomenon» (1991, p. 2). Ljiphart links the case study to the comparative method, as contrasted with experimental and statistical method (1971). In this regard, the phenomenon that I seek to examine is newspaper coverage of Norway's association with the EU, which makes articles where this phenomenon is the topic the dependent variable.

Ljiphart considers the comparative method to be a method of discovering relationships among variables, and not as a method of measurement. One of the method's main weaknesses is the risk of 'many variables, small number of cases' (Ljiphart, 1971, p. 686). This involves that there are many possible explanatory factors that can affect the existence of coverage of Norway's association with the EU. To attempt to minimize the chances of rival explanations, it is important to focus the research in order to identify the most important variables. In this case, this is the explanatory variables that are highlighted throughout Chapter 2 on theory and previous research that are likely to affect the coverage of Norway's association with the EU.

The expectations regarding the coverage made according to theory and previous research, and these expectations narrow the focus area of this study based on what

previous research and media theory predicts are the most important independent variables that can affect the coverage. However, there is a chance that by narrowing the variables taken into consideration, important variables that could affect the outcome is ignored, which Ljiphart predicts in the focus on the weakness of ‘many variables, small number of cases’ when using the comparative method. Yet, theory should be capable of distinguishing the most important factors to take into consideration, and therefore minimizing the risk of this weakness when using the comparative method (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999, p. 379).

3.2 Case Selection

The goal of comparative case studies is to discover contrasts, similarities and patterns across cases. Therefore, the case selection is a crucial part of the study. Another way to eliminate the risk of ‘many variables, small number of cases’ is to focus upon comparable cases. The cases must demonstrate enough commonality to allow for comparison (Collier, 1993, p. 111). One cannot discover these contrasts, similarities and patterns without variation in the values of the dependent variable. This study therefore falls within what John Stuart Mill calls the most different system design, which is a theory-driven analysis of few cases. When the cases only differ in the dependent variable one can assume that the independent variables explain presence or absence of the dependent variable (Mills, Durepos, Wiebe, 2010).

In order to be able to study when and how Norway’s association with the EU is covered in the media, it is crucial that there is some coverage of the topic in the media. This narrows the possible case country candidates. Based on theory and previous research, Sweden and the United Kingdom are suitable case countries. The countries are comparable, as they are both members of the EU and the EEA, and therefore affected by the EEA Agreement in the same way. Other similarities are the countries’ economic and democratic development. Thus, this study is a most different systems design applied within a framework of advanced industrial democracies. It would have been possible to find countries that are more different, as Sweden and the UK share these basic characteristics. One can expect a different outcome in Sweden and the UK regarding coverage of Norway’s association with the EU, despite of the countries’ similarities. In the review of theory and previous research, proximity, national traits and the degree of conflict, controversy and consequences was deemed likely

explanatory factors of the amount of coverage a country receives in another country, and what determines the newsworthiness of the country. These factors shall now be applied to explain why one can assume different outcomes in Sweden and the UK, and make expectations for amount and qualities of the coverage of Norway's association with the EU.

The high degree of proximity between Norway and Sweden indicate that Sweden has a higher degree of coverage of Norway's association with the EU in the media than the UK. Norway and Sweden are neighboring countries, share language similarities, and cultural- and historical ties due to the «Union between Sweden and Norway». Norway and the UK do also to some degree share cultural- and historical ties, but not to the degree that Sweden and Norway do. Norway's national traits indicate that it is not likely to be one of the most cited subject of international news flow between these three countries. Some of the most measurable factors to determine a country's national traits and «elite status» are the population size and trade relations. With its five million citizens, Norway is the least populated country of the three. Furthermore, the trade relations between the countries does not make it more likely that Norway is of immense interest in Sweden or the UK. Figure 1⁶ shows that regarding trade balance with Sweden and the UK, Norway is not one of the countries' most important trade partners, and therefore not likely to be the subject of international news flow, as Wu argues is a strong predictor for the level of international news flow (2000, p. 123).

⁶ The numbers used in Figure 1 are derived from Observatory of Economic Complexity, which is based on trade levels from 1995-2015.

	Economy status by GDP	Norway's export status	Norway's import status
The UK	5. largest economy	18. place	8. place
Sweden	22. largest economy	2. place	4. place

	Economy status GDP	UK export status	UK export status
Norway	28. largest economy	2. place	5. place

	Sweden export status	Sweden import status
	4. place	1. place

Figure 1: Overview of trade relations between Norway, the United Kingdom and Sweden

Figure 1 shows that the UK and Sweden are more important trading partners for Norway's economy than Norway is for their economies. In sum, the theory of news factors and international news flow indicate that in this scenario, Norway is not likely to be the most common subject of news flow between the three countries, and that the media in Sweden is likely to cover Norway's association with the EU to a higher degree than the UK.

3.2.1 EU-journalism in Swedish and British Press

Previous comparative research on EU-journalism finds several differences regarding EU-journalism in the UK and Sweden, which in all likelihood will affect their media coverage of Norway's association with the EU. For instance, five of the analyses used in the meta-study on «Europe-topics in Europe's Media» agree that the UK represents a special case in European EU-journalism, with a media that reports less than the other countries on EU-topics. Sweden, on the other hand, is one of the countries that have a high degree of Europeanization of its media (Machill et al, 2006, p. 71).

Regarding personification of the articles, they find that British media report more frequently than other EU countries on EU-politicians, in contrast with the other countries' tendency to name national politicians (Machill et al, 2006, p. 72). Thus, one can assume that Swedish media uses national politicians in the framing of EEA-affairs and that the UK to a larger degree frames articles upon EU-politicians.

Lastly, Kevin (2003) found that the media in Sweden report on other EU states more frequently than the media in other countries, whilst the UK report little about other EU countries. These findings support the expectations from international news flow theory, especially regarding national traits. As the UK in the European sense is one of the elite countries, it is less likely that they write about other states. V ice-versa, Sweden is not an elite country to the same degree, measured on GDP and population, and is therefore the Swedish media is more likely to cover other countries in the news (Östgaard, 1965).

4. Method and Data

This study uses primarily written material as data for the analyses of how British and Swedish media coverage Norway's association with the EU. Due to the longitudinal dimension of comparison over a twenty two-year period (1994-2016), the advantages of using written data sources – in this case newspaper articles – is that they do not change over time, in contrast to memories collected through interviews with journalists of how they remember covering EEA-affairs. As the interest in this study is both when the coverage takes place and the qualities of the coverage, it is beneficial to apply a mixed methodology. The combination of both a quantitative and a qualitative approach to the data can help achieve a deeper understanding of which factors that actually leads to coverage, and a stronger accuracy of the measurement. The methodology is hierarchical, as the qualitative analysis is based on the quantitative analysis.

4.1 Quantitative data sampling

The quantitative analysis is based on the number of articles about Norway's association with the EU published in the British and Swedish media between 1994 and 2016. The articles from the British newspapers are gathered from the newspaper database Lexisnexis⁷, and the articles from the Swedish newspapers from Retriever⁸.

All data from these databases was gathered between January 31th and February 16th 2017.

⁷ Lexisnexis is a database with archives from news and business sources.

⁸ Retriever is the Nordic leading supplier of media surveillance and has the markets most comprehensive offer of services for news searches.

The following search string is used to gather data of the level of media coverage of Norway's association with the EU, to see how many times the combination was used in the chosen newspapers.

The UK:

(EEA OR European Economic Area) AND (Norway OR EFTA OR Oslo)

Sweden:

(EES OR Europeiska ekonomiska samarbetsområdet) AND (Norge OR EFTA OR Oslo)

This search string opens up for false hits, as EFTA stands alone in the second bracket. Therefore, I chose to check the newspapers with this control search string, to make sure that the hits were in fact about Norway.

(EEA OR European Economic Area) AND (Norway OR Norwegian OR Oslo)

The number of hits was approximately the same with both search strings. Therefore, I choose to stick to the first search string, since articles on EFTA and EEA is about Norway's association with the EU – even though Norway might not be mentioned in the article.

The aim of the quantitative analysis is to get a broad overview of when coverage has taken place, and this will be used as a foundation for further analysis using qualitative methods. The size of the numbers of articles can however not be used to determine the level of coverage, as there is nothing to compare with, for instance the newspapers coverage of other forms of multilateral institutional cooperation. Therefore, the number of articles will only be used to get an overview of when coverage has taken place, and they also allow for comparison between years, case countries and case newspapers. The intention of the quantitative overview of coverage is to see how the coverage develops over time in both case countries.

The quantitative overview of the coverage of Norway's association with the EU in the Swedish and British media is conducted to answer purely *when* the coverage takes place. As the numbers do not reveal much about what caused the coverage, it is

necessary to look deeper into the years where Norway's association with the EU was covered. This is done in a qualitative content analysis of a sample of the articles that was gathered in Lexisnexis and Retriever.

4.2 Content Analysis

There is a number of ways to examine text data, such as a quantitative approach through a software program, or a discourse analysis which seeks to reveal motivation behind text and choice of words. This study has a broad approach to the text data gathered, as there are many events and issues that might have caused the coverage of Norway's association with the EU. As all events, topics and issues that caused coverage are of interest in the study, it is not beneficial to eliminate certain topics by searching for specific phrases and words in the articles. Therefore, a qualitative content analysis is the most appropriate method.

Content analysis describes several approaches to written text, from interpretive analyses to systematic, strict text analyses (Rosengren, 1981). A qualitative content analysis focuses on particular aspects of the text, and the unit of analysis tend to be words, sentences or paragraphs. In this case, the unit of analysis will be the article itself. Krippendorff defines content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the context of their use. The aim for the research method is to provide insight and increase understanding of the phenomenon one seeks to analyse. According to Krippendorff, this requires close reading of relatively small amounts of text, and interpretation of the text into new analytical narratives (2004, pp. 17-18). Hsieh & Shannon defines content analysis as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying patterns (2005, p. 1277). Furthermore, a qualitative content analysis allows the researcher to test theoretical issues to enhance understanding of data. It has been criticized from the quantitative field for being too simplistic, as it does not lend itself to detailed statistical analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 108). The flexibility offered by the method can be considered as a perk and disadvantage, as the flexibility leads to a lack of definition and procedure, which potentially has limited the application of content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1277).

The primary interest in the content analysis conducted in this study is to identify which topics, issues and events regarding Norway's association with the EU that are covered in the media in Sweden and the UK, and how these topics, issues and events are framed. Eventual variation regarding this between the case countries and the newspapers are another topics of interest.

4.2.1 Sampling for Content Analysis

The content analysis was conducted by choosing years for examination, then sampling six articles from each year for the analysis. The years chosen for the analysis are 1994, 2007 and 2016. Each of these years represents a distinctive point in the coverage of Norway's association with the EU. The media's interest for Norway's association with the EU was high in both case countries in 1994. In Swedish media, it is the peak in coverage, and in the UK, it is the fourth largest peak. To analyse a year were the newspapers in both case countries showed interest for the topic can give insight in differences in interest areas in the case countries. The coverage in 2007 is chosen because Sweden had its next peak in coverage after 1994, while the UK was at one of its lowest points in amount of coverage. In other words, the Swedish media chose to report on topics and events relating to the EEA, while the UK chose not to do so. This can give insight in differing interest in the media, and how they have different views on what constitutes newsworthiness. In 2016 the tables have turned, as the UK had its peak in coverage, and the coverage in Sweden is on an average level.

The sample of articles is selected randomly, based on a set of elimination criterions. The first elimination step was to make sure that the sample of articles includes content of phenomenon of news coverage of Norway's association with the EU. This elimination process was done by removing op-eds and news agency content from the list of articles, to make sure that the articles are editorial produced content by in-house journalists. Op-eds and news agency content are articles that the newspaper can find worthy to publish, in other words, they have found it newsworthy, but the newspapers have not used its own resources to produce it. Newspapers sometimes use news agency content on topics that they do not have resources to cover themselves, and chronicles are opinion-based and biased, and therefore not news per se. To get insight into what newspapers consider worthy its time and paper, it is therefore expedient to eliminate content produced by other actors.

Secondly, the elimination of false-hits articles was done manually, «by hand». After a read through of the articles from the years chosen for analysis, the articles with low frequency the wording in the search string us was deleted from the list of possible articles to analyse. This was done to make sure that the articles are about Norway's association with the EU, and that the content analysis did not end up concerning six articles where the EEA and Norway's association with the EU are mentioned in a clause at the bottom of the article. These measures created a list of suitable articles for the sample. Furthermore, when possible, the sample from each year consists of one article per case newspaper. This is done to make sure that all the case newspapers are included in order to make the sample representative based on the cases included in this analysis, and to better be able to analyse the possible differences in the coverage in the case countries and newspapers. The articles analysed in chapter 5 are chosen at random from the list of suitable articles for analysis in each newspaper in each of the years chosen for the qualitative content analysis.

4.3 Case Newspapers

The perfect sample of newspapers for this analysis of coverage of Norway's association with the EU would be four major daily newspapers from each case country, measured on readership and circulation, where the sample includes one right wing and one left-wing quality newspaper and the same with tabloid newspapers. However, due to limitations such as time, space and availability, the newspaper sample in this study consists of three newspapers from each case country, two broadsheet- and one tabloid newspaper.

Both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers are included as the nature of the newspaper have been shown to produce differences in quantity and style of news reporting (De Vreese, Banducci, Semetko & Boomsgaarden, 2006, p. 483). These newspapers were selected to provide a comprehensive idea of the newspaper coverage in each case country. Tabloid newspapers are more commercialized than broadsheet newspapers, and are often promoted by pressure of advertisers to reach large audiences (Esser, 1999, p. 291). According to Kurtz, tabloidization can be defined as an increase in soft news such as scandal and sensation rather than hard news such as politics and economics. This causes an overall decrease in journalistic standards (1993, p. 143-147).

De Vreese et al. expected news about the European Parliament to be more visible in broadsheet press than in tabloid press, and confirmed this expectation in their cross-national comparative study of coverage of the elections in the European Parliament (2006, p. 496). In the same study, they did not find any indications that could say that broadsheet and tabloid newspapers wrote in a different tone about EU-topics. Both types of press were overall negative in tone when writing about the elections (De Vreese et al, 2006, p. 497). Both types of newspapers are included to see whether there are differences between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers in coverage of Norway's association with the EU as well. This cross-national comparative analysis thus includes a within-case analysis as well. The intention is not to go in-depth of this part of the study, but to look at tendencies regarding different types of newspapers.

Based on the criteria listed above, these are the suitable newspapers that have available archives from 1994 to 2016 available in the Lexisnexis database: The Guardian, The Independent⁹ and Daily Mail¹⁰. The Guardian and The Independent are centre-left quality newspapers, while Daily Mail is a leading tabloid and represents a right-wing editorial stance. The case newspapers from Sweden are the Gothenburg based daily newspaper Göteborgs-Posten, which claims a liberal political stance, the tabloid Aftonbladet, which has an independent social-democratic stance and the daily newspaper Svenska Dagbladet, which is moderate. All of the case newspapers have available archives from 1994 until 2016, except Svenska Dagbladet, where the archive starts at 1995.

As LexisNexis do not distinguish between online- and print content in the archive of each newspaper, it is appropriate to include both online- and print content from the Swedish newspapers as well. It is also beneficial to include online content in order to properly compare the coverage over time, as the newspapers have had a shift in

⁹ The Independent closed their print in February 2016, and has since then published online only.

¹⁰ The archive of Daily Mail also includes Mail on Sunday, which was not possible to remove in search.

publication channels in the same time period that is studied. A lot of coverage may not have been included in the data if deciding to analyse print content only, and the results of the analysis regarding coverage level would not have been valid.

4.4 Summary of Expectations

The expectations for this cross-national comparative study of when and how Norway's association with the EU are covered in Swedish and British newspapers regards both the amount, topics and features of the articles. The foundation for these expectations are the features and findings highlighted from theory of international news flow, news factors and previous research on EU-journalism. In sum, one can expect to find more coverage of Norway's association with the EU in countries that are close to Norway, and less coverage the more powerful and important a country is in terms of GDP and trade. Furthermore, issues and events that are characterized by conflict, controversy, negativity and consequences are more likely to attract coverage. In addition, events that could affect several EU-states or the European integration process are more likely to receive coverage. In terms of framing, one can expect to find focus on conflict, economic consequences, human impact and responsibility attribution. Overall, one can expect the articles to be personified with a focus on national- and EU politicians, and that the articles have a domestic focus. Lastly, when comparing within-case between broadsheet- and tabloid newspapers, one can assume that the broadsheet newspapers cover Norway's relation to the EU to bigger degree than the tabloid newspapers.

In general, findings from comparative case studies can be used to develop theory, to explore and redefine theory, or to test the theory, either by confirming or infirming it (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999, pp. 61-62). In this analysis, the aim is to test whether the theory of international news flow can predict the findings from the analysis of the coverage of Norway's relation to the EU. This theory is usually applied in a global scale, on the flow of news from peripheral, underdeveloped countries to developed countries (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Segev, 2015; Wu, 2000). In this case, international news flow theory is applied in a highly institutionalized sphere, between countries that are industrially, economically and democratically developed. As the theory is used in a new area, its usage can be confirmed, or one can find a need to develop it further.

5. Overview of Coverage

This chapter present the quantitative overview of the coverage of Norway's association with the EU in the British and Swedish media. The overview of coverage help answers the sub question of *when* coverage of Norway's association with the EU takes place, illustrated by graphs of the number of articles per year between 1994 and 2016. The graphs in this chapter show variance in coverage level of Norway's association with the EU over time between the case countries and newspapers.

Following the data gathering outlined in the preceding chapter, a total of 1553 articles from Göteborgs-Posten, Svenska Dagbladet, Aftonbladet, The Guardian, The Independent, Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday hit the search string, and were included in the analysis.

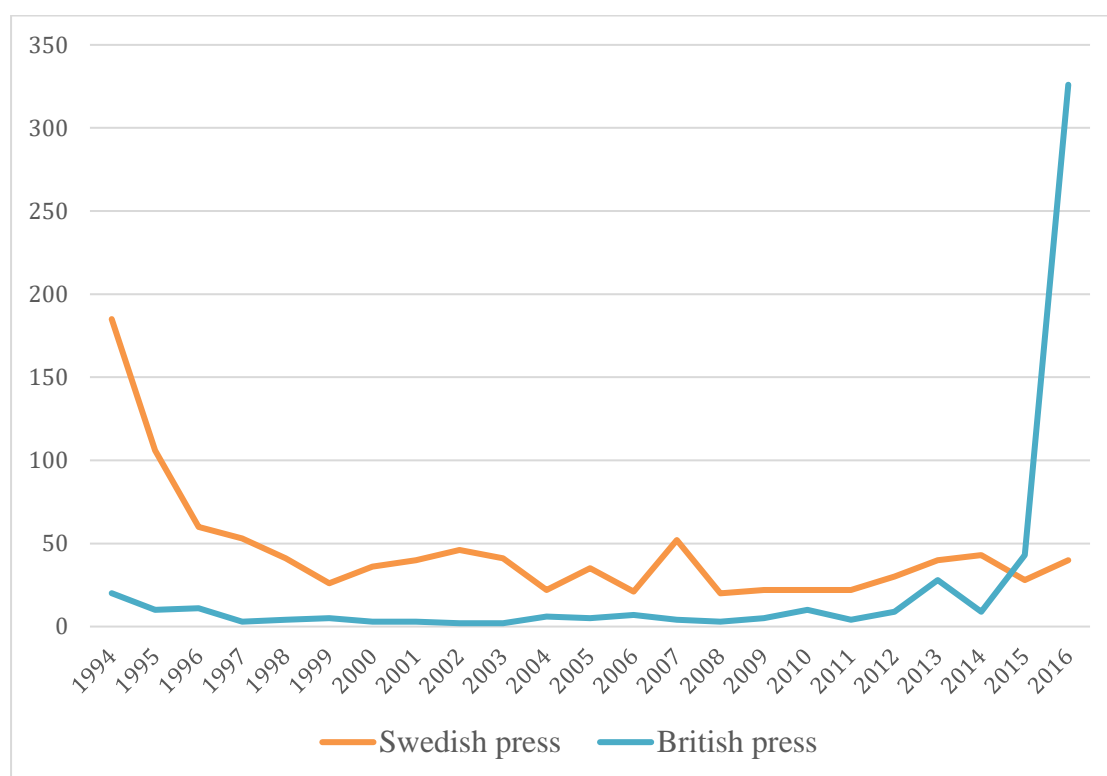
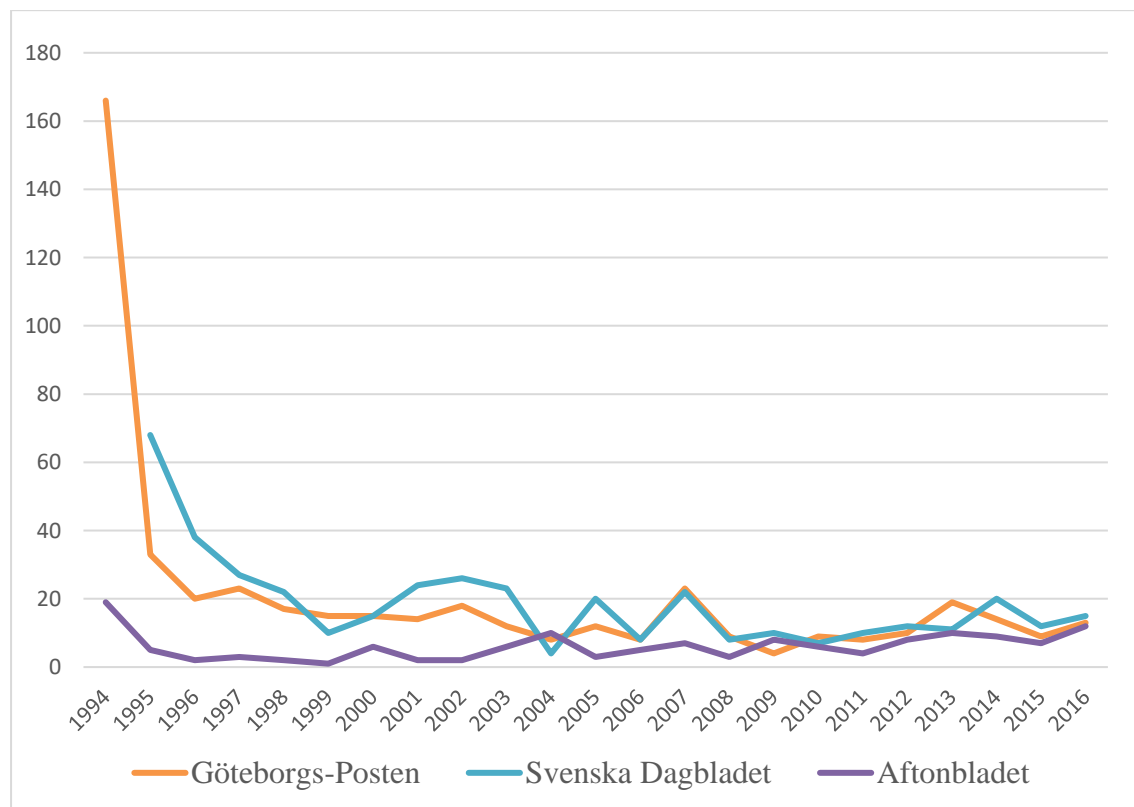


Figure 2: Overview of numbers of articles published in the newspapers in the study from the Swedish and British press.

Figure 2 shows an overview of the development of the coverage of Norway's association to the EU in the Swedish and British media. The graph illustrates that the Swedish press generally covers Norway's association with the EU to a larger degree than the British press, based on the number of articles per year. The newspapers included from the Swedish press wrote 1030 articles that hit the search string throughout the period of study, whilst the newspapers from the British press published 523 articles. The expectation made in Chapter 2 regarding the proximity news factor can therefore be confirmed to be true. The closer a country is to Norway, the more its media will cover its association with the EU. The national trait factor can also be confirmed, as the most powerful country of the two, the UK, have covered Norway's association to the EU the least.

Figure 3 illustrates the variance between the three newspapers included to analyse the coverage of Norway's association to the EU by the Swedish press, Göteborgs-Posten, Svenska Dagbladet¹¹ and Aftonbladet.



¹¹ Svenska Dagbladet does not have available sources from 1994.

Figure 3: Overview of Swedish press coverage of Norway's association with the EU from 1994 to 2016.

This overview of coverage by the Swedish press shows that the newspapers covered Norway's association with the EU the most in 1994, with 185 articles. Further on, the coverage level decreases to 106 articles in 1995 and further down to the first bottom point in 1999 with 26 published articles. From that point on, the coverage has small peaks in 2002 and 2007. The variance between the different newspapers shows that the coverage level in the tabloid Aftonbladet is lower than the two broadsheet newspapers. The tabloid newspaper follows the same coverage pattern to some extent, but to a lesser degree regarding the number of articles published.

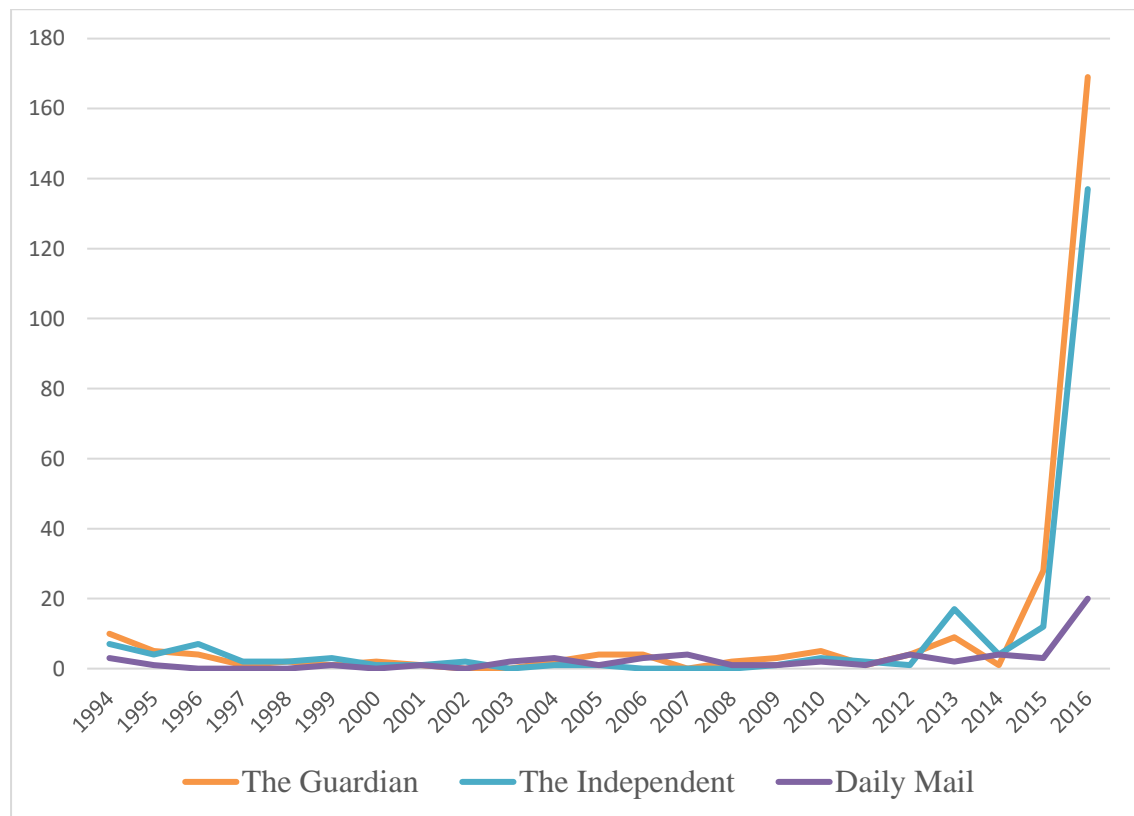


Figure 4: Overview of British press coverage of Norway's association with the EU from 1994 to 2016.

As figure 4 illustrates, Norway's association with the EU has not been a topic of immense interest in the UK press. The coverage follows the same pattern as in Sweden in the early years: There is a peak in 1994, which in the British case consists of 20

articles, followed by 10 articles in 1995, 11 articles in 1996, and from that year, the coverage level is on 3 to 4 articles on average per year. This tendency however alternates in a small peak in 2013 and a striking peak of coverage level in 2016. In 2015, the British newspapers included in the study published 43 articles that hit the search string. In 2016, the newspapers published 326 articles about Norway's association with the EU, which is the highest number of articles of any year in both the case countries.

The same tendency as in the Swedish press regarding coverage level in broadsheet and tabloid newspapers is also illustrated in the overview of the UK's press coverage in Figure 4. Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday overall has a lower level of coverage than the other newspapers throughout the period, and follows the same pattern as the broadsheet newspapers with a peak in coverage in 2016.

These graphs illustrate the variance in the coverage level of articles about Norway's association with the EU in the Swedish and British press. As predicted by international news flow theory, it illustrates that the Swedish press cover Norway's association with the EU to a larger extent than the UK press.

Since 1994 and 2016 are the years where the coverage level is the highest, these years are the basis of the in-depth analysis in the next chapter. Therefore, a monthly overview of the coverage of Norway's association with the EU in these years are illustrated in figure 5 and 6. These figures illustrate the variance in coverage level per month. The coverage takes place in the month ahead and of a referendum in both of the years – The Norwegian referendum in November 1994, and the British referendum in June 2016.

1994	Number of articles in the Swedish newspapers	Number of articles in the British newspapers
January	19	3
February	14	2
March	12	1
April	9	0
May	10	2
June	12	2
July	6	0
August	7	0
September	10	0
October	29	2
November	45	6
December	12	1

Figure 5: Monthly overview of Swedish and British press coverage of Norway's association with the EU in 1994.

2016	Number of articles in the Swedish newspapers	Number of articles in the British newspapers
January	0	4
February	5	12
March	0	11
April	1	30
May	6	43
June	18	62
July	2	29
August	1	13
September	2	9
October	0	13
November	2	19
December	3	9

Figure 6: Monthly overview of Swedish and British press coverage of Norway's association with the EU in 2016.

6. The Qualities of the Coverage

The qualitative content analysis presented in this chapter is conducted of a sample of the articles gathered from British and Swedish newspapers, in order to provide insight and understanding of when and how Norway's association with the EU are covered in Swedish and British media. By analysing which topics and events triggered newspaper coverage, this content analysis can provide a deeper understanding of both why and how Norway's association with the EU is written about in Swedish and British newspapers. The content analysis seeks to answer the sub questions about which events and issues the Swedish and British press considers to be newsworthy, and how journalists frame these events and issues.

Thus, the analysis of the articles focuses upon the topics and framing of the article. Six articles – one from each newspaper, when possible – is analysed in two of the three years chosen for an in-depth analysis. These two years are 1994 and 2016, as these are the years with the most coverage. 2007 is included as it is the year where the Swedish press had the second largest peak in coverage, while the UK press did not cover Norway's association with the EU at all.

6.1 Norway chooses «The Norwegian Way» of association

The early 1990s was an eventful period in terms of European policy, with negotiations taking place between EU and EFTA regarding the EEA Agreement, negotiations between the EU and the countries that applied for accession, and several referendums on EU membership in these countries. In his analysis of Norwegian EEA-journalism, Slaatta found that these events attracted newspaper coverage (2011, p. 9), and De Vreese et al. found that referendums attract coverage, especially in the weeks leading up to it (2004, p. 481). Furthermore, research on EU-journalism has found events that affect several EU-states or the development of the European integration process to attract coverage.

In Sweden, Göteborgs-Posten and Aftonbladet published 185 articles about Norway's association with the EU in 1994¹², which is the highest level of coverage in the Swedish press, while the British newspapers together wrote 20 articles, which is the fourth highest level of coverage in the UK press between 1994 and 2016. Figure 5 in Chapter 5 shows that most of the coverage in 1994 took place in October and November, i.e. the weeks before the Norway's referendum on EU membership. The sample of articles analysed in the next section also illustrates this, as all of the articles relates to the referendum.

6.1.1 The Consequences of the Choice

The Swedish tabloid newspaper Aftonbladet covered the Norwegian referendum with the headline «Nej firade sin drottning i natt» (No celebrated their queen tonight)¹³. The topic of the article is the victory of the no-campaign in the referendum. The journalists frame the headline on the leader of the Centre party, Anne Enger Lahnstein, who was one of the prominent politicians in the Norwegian EU-debate in the early 1990s. One can also say that the framing of the article is positive, based on the focus on the no campaign's celebration of «their queen».

«The no-queen won more than half the kingdom. Leader of the Centre party Anne Enger Lahnstein defeated both Finland's yes and the famous «Swedish suction». And caused Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland's worst defeat»¹⁴

One of the main topics in the article is the political conflict between Lahnstein and Prime Minister at the time, Gro Harlem Brundtland, who fronted the yes-campaign in the debate. That the result of the referendum can be considered as Brundtland's «worst defeat» is stated three times in the article. Hence, the news factor in this article is the event itself, the internal conflict in Norway between the different political parties and their stance in the referendum. The journalist personifies this conflict by framing it on two prominent persons, namely the politicians who fronted the each of the campaigns

¹² Svenska Dagbladet does not have available data from 1994 in Retraver.

¹³ Crofts (29.11.94).

¹⁴ All translation of the Swedish articles is done by the author.

in the referendum. It is expected that this event would gain media coverage. However, the focus on Norwegian politicians breaks with our expectations. According to previous research on EU-journalism, one would expect a more domestic focus on the consequences for Sweden and comments from Swedish politicians, which is not a topic at all in this article.

The article from Göteborgs-Posten has the headline «Delors håller dörren öppen» (Delors keeps the door open)¹⁵. The topic in the article is the measures taken the day after the referendum, and that the President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors stated that the contact between the EU and Norway is not broken despite the result of the referendum. The overall topic is consequences of the victory of the no-campaign in the referendum. The headline has tendencies of elite personification, as it focuses on Delors. Like the article from Aftonbladet, this headline is also positive, emphasising the fact that Delors keeps the door open for contact with Norway.

«It was the famous EU bureaucrat that wanted to make sure about who would participate at the Council meeting – so that all name tags were in order. After Eivinn Berg confirmed the no majority, the name tags were taken down [...] The Norwegian EU-ambassador was not cheerful when he eventually met the press. But he stated that the focus now is to move forward – based on the EEA-agreement».

This article also breaks with expectations, as there is no domestic focus and no use of Swedish politicians as sources in the article. The main focus is on negative consequences for Norway because of the referendum result, but also a positive tone that is emphasised in the headline.

As Svenska Dagbladet does not have available articles from 1994 in the Retriever archives, I chose to include an article from 1995 that is relevant for the initial phase of the EEA-agreement. On February 15th 1995, Svenska Dagbladet published the article «EES-avtalet kritiseras av parlamentet – “orimligt avtal för två länder”» (EEA agreement criticized by the Parliament – “Unreasonable agreement for two

15 Johansson (30.11.94).

countries”)¹⁶. The topic of the article is a debate about the EEA Agreement at a plenary session in the European Parliament, and the article concerns the criticism of the EEA Agreement in this session.

«Titley was not alone in thinking that the EEA-agreement is unreasonable as there are only two members left, Norway and Iceland, in one of the two pillars that was supposed to be equal parties. The Norwegian government has since the referendum about EU tried to achieve close connections to the EU as the EEA Agreement does not give the influence that Norway wants».

The journalist frames the headline of the article on a controversial statement by a British politician, who stated that the EEA Agreement no longer consists of two equal parties, since Sweden, Finland and Austria entered the EU. This article also breaks with our expectations on focus upon national politicians, but the reason for that could be that the Swedish politician did not say anything controversial in the debate that the journalist considered worth highlighting. In this case, it seems as though controversy trumps domestic focus. The only domestic focus at all is the fact that a Swedish member of the European Parliament is quoted, although he is not the focus of the article. Furthermore, this article shows that European politicians saw the EEA Agreement as an alternative association form to attachment to the EU shortly after the agreement went into force.

«The Christian Democrats on the other hand, said that the EEA could survive for the Eastern- and Central European countries that want to enter the EU. [...] The Swede and no-voter Bengt Hurtig, was one of the few who expressed positively to the EEA. His message was that the EEA should remain in case some countries wanted to leave the EU in the future».

16 Nilsson (15.02.95).

6.1.2 Norway's Referendum and its influence on European Integration

The available archives in Lexisnexis shows that the broadsheet newspapers from the UK press had a decreasing coverage level of Norway's relation to the EU in 1994, compared to the years before¹⁷. A reason for this can be the fact that the UK press found more interest in the negotiations between EU and EFTA, as it involves several EU Member States and therefore is more important for the European integration process as a whole. As stated in the Chapter 4, the search string opens for hits on articles regarding EEA and EFTA. However, the media in the UK showed some interest in Norway's relation to the EU as well, as the newspapers in this study wrote 20 articles in 1994, which as previously stated is the news highest peak in coverage between 1994 and 2016. Most of the coverage is about the Norwegian referendum, like in the Swedish media in 1994.

The article derived from The Independent is about the days before the referendum with the headline «Norway favours going it alone; Opinion polls indicate that, 25 years on, voters will reject EU membership, Imre Karacs writes from Oslo»¹⁸. The headline of the article is objective and informative, and states the recent polls regarding the upcoming referendum. The topic of the article is that Norway most likely will not join the EU, and why that is the case.

«Migrating herrings, curved cucumbers and a vision of Germans plundering the fjords are causing sleepless night in Norway. Nearly a quarter century after Norwegians decided to shun the European Economic Community, the ballot papers have been reprinted with the same question, but Norwegians are proving to be equally awkward Europeans. Hopes in Brussels of a grand slam of new members are fading».

The journalist sets the referendum in a historical context reminding the readers of the result of the last Norwegian referendum, and in an international context when he states that:

¹⁷ The Guardian published 23 articles that hit the search string in 1992 and 26 articles in 1991, and the Independent published 22 articles in 1992 and 15 in 1991.

¹⁸ Karacs (24.11.94).

«Austrians and Finns have voted yes and that the Swedish referendum seems trickier, with many undecided voters. The poll in Norway shows that the majority in Norway plan to vote against membership».

Overall, the article appears as a mood report from Norway in the days ahead of the referendum. The article shows more focus upon the Norwegian referendum's place in the European integration process as a whole, compared to the articles that focuses upon the result, and the political conflict between Lahnstein and Brundtland. The journalist's evaluation is that «Norwegians are proving to be equally awkward Europeans», a characteristic that has been used to describe the UK's relation to the EU. Despite that, there is not any domestic focus or references to British or EU politicians in the article. As with the Swedish article, the event is interesting enough to write about without references to the effects for the UK.

Like the Swedish newspaper Göteborgs-Posten, the British tabloid newspaper The Daily Mail also published an article framed on Delors on the day after the referendum, and the topic is the result of the referendum. The headline «Delors gets the blame for No vote by Norway»¹⁹ shows a more negatively toned framing of an EU politician than the Swedish newspaper, as expected based on previous research on British EU-journalism. The framing in this headline is also an example of the common frame of responsibility attribution, as they give Delors the responsibility for the result of the referendum in Norway. The journalist explains the headline stating that Delors according to the French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac had made EU's image «less palatable». Accordingly, the framing of the headline is on a conflict between two EU-politicians.

The article is based upon a number of unnamed sources, such as «a foreign office spokesman in London», «EU officials», «one official» and «many Norwegians», without explaining where these sources have spoken or from where the information origin, as it is clearly not from interviews done by the journalist itself. This is an indicator of what Kurtz, in his definition of 'tabloidization', calls «a decrease in

¹⁹ Daily Mail (30.11.94).

journalistic standards» (1991, p.143-147). Furthermore, this article has a domestic focus, with statements about how the result of the Norwegian referendum might affect the UK, such as financial contribution to the EU budget and the use of qualified majority voting.

«The result, which means the EU will have 15 members next year instead of 16, will not change the amount of money Britain pays to Brussels».

This article highlights the negative consequences for Norway because of the result of the referendum, and has a domestic focus with the emphasis on consequences for the UK, with negative framing of an elite EU-politician in focus. Hence, it is an example of an article that has many of the qualities expected based on theory and previous research.

The article from The Guardian is also about the referendum result, with the headline «Norway says no to Europe in tight vote»²⁰. Unlike the Swedish articles and the article from Daily Mail about the result, the journalist does not frame the article on the prominent persons, but on the event itself. The political conflict in Norway is however in focus in the headline due to the emphasis on the tight result. Furthermore, the article does not share the same domestic focus as the article in Daily Mail. The article does however, alike the other articles about the event, also focus on the political battle between Lahnstein and Brundtland. The journalist states that Lahnstein is the «No Queen» and that the result of the referendum is a defeat for Brundtland, like the Swedish tabloid also did.

Like the article in The Independent, this article also sets the referendum in an international context, by stating that Norway breaks with the rest of the Nordic countries with its rejection of the EU membership. Furthermore, it uses the Energy Minister at the time, Jens Stoltenberg, as a source. Stoltenberg is saying that he went to Brussels, not knowing if he would be able to attend the meeting with the rest of EU's energy ministers or not, and that he will now ask his Swedish colleague to try and

²⁰ Palmer (29.11.94).

represent Norway's interest at the meeting. This shows a focus on consequences for Norway. Another statement about consequences is the speculation on Brundtland's position as Labour Party leader, and that it might come under challenge from the No-minority in the Labour party.

6.1.3 The Coverage of the Norwegian Referendum on EU Membership

These previously presented articles can give us an indicator of the qualities of the articles written about Norway's association with the EU in 1994, where the coverage was at a peak in the case countries. As we can see from the sample, the coverage is highly event-orientated.

The event and issues that was considered newsworthy by the Swedish and British press in 1994 was the Norwegian referendum on EU membership. The polls ahead of the referendum, the political debate in Norway, the result and its consequences were all topics that received coverage. The coverage of this event meets the expectation regarding which topics that were likely to receive coverage, as it is characterized by a controversial personal political conflict between two Norwegian politicians, the events led to some negative consequences, and it had effects on the development of the European integration process. This shows that when the degree of conflict, controversy and consequences is high enough, it trumps the fact that Norway is not a likely country to receive media coverage in other countries due to the news factors of proximity and national traits. Thus, the expectation that Norway's association with the EU would be covered when the relation was characterized by conflict, was correct.

The framing of the referendum does however not meet the expectations. It was expected that the journalist would frame events and issues on domestic effects and national politicians. This was not the case in any of the articles in the sample, with the exception of the article from the British tabloid, which included some statements on effects for the UK. A common framing in the articles is to emphasis the political conflict between the two campaigns in the referendum, and personifying this conflict with Lahnstein and Brundtland. The framing in the articles also focus on the negative consequences of the referendum. The two British broadsheet newspapers both put emphasis on the Norwegian referendum in an international context, showing that the referendums

impact on the future of the European integration process might have been more important in the UK than in Sweden, where the coverage does not contain this focus.

The journalist has personified the case in three of the six articles in the sample. However, none of the articles frame the event on national politicians, which was expected. The articles from the Swedish media that concerned the referendum result was framed on politicians – one Norwegian politician and one EU politician – both in a positive tone, focusing on celebration of the «No Queen» and Jacques Delors who states that the contact with Norway is not broken. In comparison, the article published in Svenska Dagbladet in early 1995 has a negative tone and framing, and concerns criticism towards the EEA Agreement. The British tabloid also personified the referendum, with its negative framing on responsibility attribution to Commission President Jacques Delors, a typical frame in British EU-journalism.

The coverage of Norway's association with the EU in British and Swedish media in 1994 contains few of the expected qualities for the coverage. The exception is the British tabloid, which focuses on domestic consequences. Besides that, there is no referrals to domestic effects or national politicians. This can indicate that when the event itself is meaningful enough for the newspapers, they tend to focus on the event rather than the domestic effects of it. In other words, the journalists do not consider it necessary to frame the event for the national audience to make the topic interesting.

6.2 The Practices of «The Norwegian Way»

In 2007, the media in Sweden had its next highest level of coverage, after the peak in 1994, with 52 articles about Norway's association with the EU. In comparison, the UK press coverage of the topic is non-existing. It is therefore interesting to see what topics triggered Swedish coverage of Norway's association with the EU, in comparison with the non-existing coverage in the UK. Overall, the Swedish coverage in 2007 concerns ESA's intervention in Norwegian policy in areas where Norway had a distinctive monopoly policy compared to other European countries.

An example of this is the article from Göteborgs-Posten with the headline «Norgesseger i spelsmål kan påverka EU» (Norway-victory in gambling dispute can affect the EU)²¹. The topic of the article is the decision of the EFTA Court to allow Norwegian monopoly on slot machines, whilst the framing in the headline focuses upon the Norwegian victory, and that it can affect EU-policy regarding gambling policy.

«The EFTA-court in Luxemburg gives a green light for Norway's monopoly on slot machines. The verdict can be of significance for the twist between the EU-Commission and Sweden about the Swedish gambling market».

The quote shows that the Swedish media considers the event to be of relevance for Sweden, and EU policy in general. This article can therefore be seen in terms of both the domestic situation and to a smaller degree the development of EU policy in general.

Another example is Svenska Dagbladet's article «Norge måste tillata nätköp av sprit» (Norway must allow purchasing of spirits online)²². The topic in this article is the request by ESA for Norway to abolish the ban on private imports of alcohol. This article is also framed on a domestic focus.

«ESA's assessment is based on the EU verdict against Sweden in the so-called Rosengren-verdict. ESA sees the conditions in Norway are entirely in line with the Swedish».

The articles published in Aftonbladet that hits the search string can be regarded as false hits, as none of the articles are about Norway and the EEA. The topics covered, based on the headlines, are alcohol policy, slot machines and football. The article about alcohol policy is a result of the previously mentioned Rosengren-verdict, with the headline «Tre liter vin - för 80 kr direkt hem - Men glöm inte att du måste skatta -eller böta till staten» (Three liter of wine for 80 kroner straight home – but do not forget that you have to pay taxes or fines to the state)²³. The article contains questions and answers

21 Göteborgs-Posten (15.03.07).

22 Svenska Dagbladet (08.11.07).

23 Kärman (06.06.07).

about the new rules for purchasing alcohol online, and the journalist states that the rules will also count in Norway because of the EEA agreement.

The different angles on the same topic in the broadsheet newspaper Svenska Dagbladet and the tabloid Aftonbladet is an example of hard- and soft news in practice – as they cover the same event but with completely different focus. Aftonbladet's article does not focus upon the conflict between Norway and ESA. Instead, the focus is consumer oriented, and seems to intend to help the consumers with purchasing alcohol after the new rules.

The coverage of Norway's association with the EU in Sweden in 2007 has similarities to the findings in Slaatta's study of Norwegian EEA-journalism (2011). According to Slaatta, the typical news story in Norwegian newspapers is about ESA's intervention in Norwegian competition- and state aid policy. Both articles in the Swedish broadsheet newspapers are about the same topic. One is about a victory for Norway regarding a disagreement with ESA over EEA-law, and one where Norwegian policy had to change as a consequence of the EEA-agreement. The articles also have a domestic focus. The event that they cover is about the workings of the EEA Agreement and how it affects Norwegian policy, but both articles also emphasise the importance for Sweden. As the disagreements between Norway and ESA are familiar to the Swedish audience, one can argue that the news value proximity has been relevant for the news selectors.

The events covered in these articles are not personified by the journalist, in contrast to events covered in 1994 where the Swedish media to a bigger extent focused on person rather than on case. One can also say that the institutional structure of the EEA Agreement makes it difficult to focus on person, as there is no clear «actor» in this case.

The coverage of Norway's association with the EU in the Swedish media in 2007 shows that the relation's practices can be of interest, as long as there is a domestic angle to it. Norway's association with the EU had to have clear and direct domestic relevance for the relation to be considered newsworthy by the Swedish press. This stands in clear contrast with the coverage in 1994, where the referendum itself was interesting enough. With that event, they had several possibilities of highlighting consequences for Sweden, but the journalists did not take these opportunities. The domestic focus in these articles

also explains why 2007 stands out as a year where the Swedish media covered Norway's association with the EU, while the UK press did not cover it. The main reason for Swedish coverage in 2007 can be that Norway and Sweden had similar policies on the policies that caused twists with the EU law in this period, which was not the case for the UK. No proximity factor was in place for the UK press regarding these issues.

6.3 «The Norwegian Way» as an Alternative Association Model

2016 is the year where Norway's association with the EU got the most coverage in total within the timeframe of this study. The British newspapers wrote 326 articles on the topic. In Sweden, the coverage was average, with 40 published articles. All of the articles are linked to the UK's referendum on EU membership, which was held on June 23th 2016. Figure 6 in chapter 5 shows that as with the Norwegian referendum in 1994, the coverage of Norway's association with the EU mostly takes place in the weeks before the British referendum.

6.3.1 The UK's 'Norway option'

The coverage of Norway's relation to the EU in the British press in 2016 is connected to the debate on whether Norway's association with to the EU could be a possible model for the UK if the Leave-side of the referendum campaign were to win.

In February 2016, The Independent published the article «Norway's Prime Minister Warns that Leaving the EU Wouldn't Work for Britain; Erna Solberg Spoke to David Cameron at Downing Street»²⁴. The article covers a meeting between the Prime Ministers of Norway and the UK. The journalist frames the headline of the article on the two politicians, with main focus on Norway's Prime Minister. The framing of the article is also on possible consequences of the upcoming referendum. In the article, it becomes clear that Solberg said that Norway's arrangement as a member of the EFTA and not the EU would not work for Britain. The article also contains a presentation of the debate around 'The Norway option'.

«Proponents of the so-called 'Norway option' say Norway gets access to the European single market, is not a part of the EU's political union, and pays lower

²⁴ Stone (04.02.2016)

contribution to the EU than it would if it was a member. Critics say Norway has to effectively implement all EU rules, has no say in how they are made, and still contributes a significant amount of the EU budget»

The article has an overall negative tone, and the news factor is the level of controversy of Solberg's statement at the time. The overall topic in the article is actually a domestic conflict, and Solberg's statement can be regarded as an argument relevant to that debate. Hence, the main focus of the article is domestic, and the issue of what is next for the UK after the referendum is personified with Solberg and Cameron.

A few days before the referendum in the UK took place, Mail on Sunday published the article «...As Norway guru ask: why would you want to be like us?»²⁵. The topic of the article is statements from business leaders of countries who are not a member of the EU. These business leaders in this article encourage the UK to stay in the EU²⁶. Hence, the topic of this article is also the British referendum and possible consequences of it. The article is also actualized by polls that showed that most voters favoured adopting the Norwegian model of association, should the UK vote to leave the EU in the referendum. The article is personified in the headline, with its framing on «a Norway guru», which turns out to be Kristin Skogen Lund, the director-general of the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise.

«Lund warned that her country – which joined the European Economic Area but not the full EU in 1994 – faced almost all the rules imposed by Brussels on full members, but had no say in how they were drawn up.

— I just do not understand why you would want to give up full membership to obtain EEA status where you will have to implement the rules without having a say, Lund told The Mail on Sunday».

25 Watkins (19.06.16).

26 Mail on Sunday was pro-Remain, while The Daily Mail fronted the Leave-campaign (Levy, Aslan and Bironzo, 2016, p. 6)

Hence, this article is also about an elite person explaining ‘the Norway option’, and saying that it is not a good solution for the UK. This article can, like the article from The Independent, be regarded as an argument in the domestic conflict in the UK. Again, it is ‘the Norway option’ that is discussed, and it is yet again stated that it will not work for the UK. These two articles share the features of domestic focus and personification on elite persons.

In the fall of 2016, The Guardian published the article «Norway rejects UK request for joint trade taskforce, report says; Country understood to believe bilateral talks could jeopardise EEA agreement and are ‘inappropriate’ before Britain exits EU»²⁷. The topic in the article is Norway’s rejection of the British request to set up a formal taskforce, i.e. the topic is negative consequences for the UK because of the referendum result. This issue is used to exemplify setbacks for the British Ministry for Trade, and its efforts to prepare trade deals for after the withdrawal of the EU. This is the underlying conflict that this article focuses upon. Furthermore, this article also contains a review of what ‘the Norway option’ involves, as another topic in the article is Norway’s warning of eventual blockage of a UK bid for EFTA membership.

«The ‘Norwegian model’ had been held up by some pro-Brexit campaigners as a possible way for the UK to access the single market via the EEA, although the government’s insistence on controlling immigration and regaining parliamentary and judicial sovereignty after Brexit may rule that out: EEA membership requires the four freedoms, including the free movement of people».

6.3.2 «Brexit» and its Influence on Sweden

The British referendum also left its mark on the Swedish newspapers coverage of Norway’s association with the EU in 2016. This is the main topic in most of the articles that hit the search string. In these articles, Norway’s association form and the EEA Agreement is mentioned as a possible association model for the UK. Other than that, there is minimal coverage of the workings of Norway’s association with the EU in 2016 in the Swedish media.

²⁷ Henley (11.10.2016)

The article «Göran Persson: "En chans för Bryssel"» (Göran Persson: "A chance for Brussels")²⁸ was published in Svenska Dagbladet the day after the British referendum. The article is a collection of comments about the British referendum from Swedish politicians, political scientists and business leaders. This article is an example of framing according to the expectations based on research on EU-journalism. They frame on a national politician, and has a domestic focus on the event. The headline is framed on the statement by Sweden's previous Prime Minister, Göran Persson. Norway's association with the EU is mentioned in a comment by the Swedish politician Jonas Sjöstedt:

«We have suggested that one should renegotiate the EEA agreement that EU today has with Norway and Island, since the UK is so important when it comes to trade and economy. Then we can secure free trade, student exchange and movement in the labour market, and the close cooperation with the British even though they voted no».

The article «Får små effekter på Göteborgs näringsliv» (Few consequences on Gothenborg's Businesses)²⁹ published in Göteborgs-Posten regards the effect of the result of the British referendum on the businesses in Gothenborg. The newspaper thus frames the referendum on regional rather than national consequences, to assess the proximity factor as closely as possible. The event covered in the article is a speech held by the leader of the West-Swedish Chamber of Commerce to local companies that have Britain as an important market.

«He believes that the EU and the UK will eventually sign a trade agreement similar to the EEA agreement the Union has today with, among others, Norway, Liechtenstein and Iceland. "Then it will be a bit more difficult to trade with Britain, but in the long term, it should not have any major consequences for trade between Sweden and the UK", says Johan Trouvé».

²⁸ Rossetti & Johansson (24.06.16)

²⁹ Johansson & Gustafsson (25.06.16)

Aftonbladet published an article covering the referendum result with the headline «Storbritannien lämnar EU» (The UK is leaving the EU)³⁰. The article includes comments from the press conference held by the Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Löfven and reactions from EU-politicians Donald Tusk and Jean-Claude Juncker. Norway and the EEA is mentioned in the ending of the article, where the journalist states that it is unclear how the UK will associate itself to the EU, but that ‘the Norway model’ with the EEA Agreement has been discussed, together with options such as a free trade agreement or WTO.

6.3.3 The British Referendum and the ‘Norway Option’

The press coverage of Norway’s association with the EU in 2016 was mainly about the British referendum on the continuance of their EU membership. The coverage of EU-topics in the UK skyrocketed, as European journalism became domestic journalism due to the referendum. The discussion about Norway’s association with the EU as a possible association model for the UK made the British press pay attention to the functioning of the EEA Agreement, and the press suddenly started covering bilateral meetings between Norway and the UK. The amount of coverage shows that a need for information about the rights and obligations of Norway’s association with the EU emerged in the UK in 2016.

International news flow theory cannot explain this sudden peak in coverage. No events or issues regarding Norway’s association with the EU and the EEA Agreement are the causes of this coverage, as there were no conflicts, controversies or happenings to explain the emergence of coverage. Furthermore, this amount of coverage in the UK breaks with international news flow theory’s focus on national traits as a relevant factor for explaining newsworthiness. The UK is a more powerful and important country than Norway in terms of GDP, population and military power, and should thus have a high threshold for covering events in a less powerful and important country.

The explanation for the peak in coverage – from a coverage level on an average of three or four articles per year mentioning Norway’s association with the EU to over 300

³⁰ Thornéus (24.06.17)

articles in 2016 – is found in domestic developments in the UK. Norway’s association with the EU was one of the alternative association models for the UK, and the one that most citizens in the UK wanted if they were to leave the EU, according to the polls presented in the article from The Independent. Thus, Norway’s association with the EU had a clear and direct domestic relevance for the UK in 2016, and therefore the coverage level increased

The overall topic in the coverage is possible consequences of the British referendum. The British newspapers focused on Norwegian politicians- and business leaders who stated that ‘the Norway option’ was not suitable for the UK. Hence, the journalists personified the issue of consequences for the UK framing on elite persons rather than the issue itself. The journalists of the British press in other words used the articles to say: «These are the benefits and disadvantages of ‘the Norway option’, and it will not work for us». The Swedish broadsheet newspapers also framed the British referendum on national reactions and effects, while the Swedish tabloid focused the article on the referendum itself, including reactions from both Swedish and EU-politicians.

In conclusion, the coverage of Norway’s association with the EU in 2016 are more in line with findings from previous research on EU-journalism, as the press in both case countries framed the articles on domestic issues and domestic politicians. Additionally, as the British press often focused on statements by Norwegian politicians, it appears that the finding from the coverage in 1994 about how controversy trumps domestic focus also is valid in the coverage from 2016.

7. Discussion

The quantitative and qualitative analyses of when and how Norway's association with the EU is covered in the media of other EEA states confirms some of the expectations of what features one can identify in the coverage, based on previous research on EU-journalism and the theory of news factors and international news flow. In this chapter, I summarize the findings from the analyses and discuss their meaning in accordance to the sub questions of when the media of other EEA states cover Norway's association with the EU, which events and issues the press finds newsworthy and how the journalists tend to frame these issues and events.

7.1 Coverage when Conflict or Relevance

The number of published articles about Norway's association with the EU indicate that the expectations regarding the amount of coverage was correct. The Swedish newspapers have covered Norway's association with the EU more than the British newspapers. This confirms the expectation that the closer a country is to Norway, the more its media will cover Norway's association with the EU, and that the more powerful a country is in terms of GDP and trade, the less its media will cover the relation.

According to international news flow theory, proximity and national traits are relevant factors that affect a country's newsworthiness. In that sense, international news flow theory can explain the results of the quantitative analysis. Sweden has a greater proximity to Norway than the UK does, based on the historical ties, and the similarities regarding culture and language. Secondly, Sweden is more likely to cover news regarding Norway's association with the EU because of geographical proximity and because of the countries' trade relations. The exception of these general tendencies is the coverage in 2016, where British newspapers wrote more articles about Norway's association with the EU than the Swedish newspapers did, which cannot be explained using international news flow theory. This coverage can be explained by the fact that EU- and EEA-journalism became domestic journalism in the UK in 2016, and thus Norway's association with the EU became a relevant topic.

In addition, the within-case comparison of the newspapers in each country showed that the broadsheet newspapers do cover Norway's association with the EU more than the tabloid newspapers. This was expected due to previous research on EU-journalism, mostly by the research conducted by De Vreese et al. (2006, p. 483).

The third news factor that was likely to affect the coverage of Norway's association with the EU in Swedish and British media, was the existence of conflict, controversy and consequence. Because of the dampening effect that the EEA Agreement has had on Norwegian public debate and media coverage of the relation to the EU, I assumed that the media in other EEA states not have covered the relation much. As there is no point of reference it is difficult to measure whether the coverage can be labelled as high or low, compared to the coverage level of other similar topics, such as other multilateral cooperation in an institutionalized sphere. The level of coverage was however not the main topic of interest when conducting the quantitative analysis, but a measurement necessary to see when coverage took place.

Norway's association with the EU is not characterized by conflict, controversy and negative consequences. The quantitative overview of when coverage took place showed that the Swedish and British press covered Norway's association with the EU the most in 1994, 2007 and 2016. The events and issues that led to this coverage reveals that conflict triggered this coverage. Based on the qualitative content analysis of the peaks of coverage, one can argue that the presence of conflict was a relevant factor for media coverage of Norway's association with the EU. As the peaks of coverage are few, it seems as though little conflict regarding the relation has led to little coverage of the relation.

These findings indicate that one can confirm international news flow theory's validity when used in an institutionalized sphere with economically and democratically developed countries. All three news factors deemed relevant for the international flow of news was useful explaining factor of the coverage of Norway's association with the EU in other the Swedish and British press, except from the coverage in the British press in 2016.

7.2 Newsworthy Events and Issues

The quantitative analysis showed that the Swedish press found Norway's association with the EU to be most newsworthy in 1994 and 2007, and the British press found it newsworthy in 1994 and 2016 (and partly in 2013 and 2015, cf. figure 2). The sample of articles that was analysed in the qualitative content analysis showed which events and issues that led to the coverage.

The events and issues that were considered newsworthy by the Swedish and British press can be characterized as conflicts. Most of the coverage of Norway's association with the EU in 1994 was about the Norwegian referendum on EU-membership in November 1994. The reason for the coverage of this event can be that it had EU-wide interest and affected the European integration process. The British broadsheet newspapers focused upon European wide relevance in their coverage, as the journalists put the event in a historical and international context. However, most of the articles in the sample that covered the Norwegian referendum emphasised the internal political and personal debate in Norway between the Lahnstein and Brundtland. Secondly, conflict was also a triggering factor in the coverage by the Swedish media in 2007, which focused on the conflicts between Norway and ESA, which had similarities to conflicts between Sweden and the EU. Lastly, the British coverage in 2016 was triggered by the domestic conflict in the UK regarding their future after the referendum on EU membership.

A common topic in all of the articles was the focus on consequences – for Norway after the referendum, for Norway, the EU and Sweden after conflicts between Norway and ESA, and for the UK after their referendum. In sum, as the relation between Norway and EU are not characterized by conflict the coverage is sometimes non-existing, mostly low with a few articles per year, and the peaks are at times where Norway's association with the EU is characterized by conflict, controversy and events that can lead to negative consequences.

7.3 The Framing of Norway's Association with the EU

The findings of previous research on EU-journalism is that the most common frame is focus on domestic issues and national politicians, i.e. to increase the proximity of the case for the reader. In 1994, this was not a common frame in the study of articles about Norway's association with the EU. The only exception to this is the Swedish press coverage of the British referendum, and the British tabloid newspaper article in 1994. The most common framing in these articles are on conflict, consequences and on person rather than case. The Norwegian referendum was often framed upon the national conflict in Norway between the two prominent politicians for each side of the campaign, Lahnstein and Brundtland. A similar level of personal political conflict regarding EEA-affairs has not been present after the EEA-agreement went into force. Therefore, it may seem as though if the controversy and conflict regarding the event that is covered is newsworthy enough, it trumps domestic focus.

This lack of domestic focus could be because the Norwegian referendum did not have any newsworthy consequences for the case countries, or that the event was interesting enough for the journalists to report on the event itself rather than frame it upon national policies. Another explanation could be that referendums on EU membership already was a well-known topic in the media in the early 1990s, and that previous coverage had reviewed the possible consequences in advance. As Swedish press however did cover the British referendum with a lot of framing upon and references to national consequences and national- and regional policies, it is likely that the explanation is that the Norwegian referendum was a well-known topic and interesting enough in itself without the domestic framing.

There was an increasing use of domestic framing in 2007 and 2016. The articles analysed of the Swedish coverage in 2007 all have a domestic focus, as the conflict between Norway and ESA share similarities with conflicts between Sweden and the EU. The topic in the UK press in 2016 is also about a domestic issue, as Norway's relation to the EU gets coverage due to the discussion on 'the Norway option' as a possible alternative association method for the UK. Based on the journalists' choice of framing on the articles about Norway's association with the EU on, one can again argue

that Norway is only newsworthy if it has clear and direct domestic relevance, like with the Swedish press coverage in 2007.

Overall, the framing of Norway's association with the EU in Swedish and British newspaper falls within the conflict-frame. The framing also often emphasises the actors relevant in the event or issue, but rarely on national politicians. In this sense, it also seems as though controversy trumps domestic focus, such as when the Swedish newspaper Svenska Dagbladet chose to frame an article on a statement by a British politician rather than a Swedish politician, as the statement from the British politician was more controversial, or when the British newspaper The Independent chose to frame articles on Norwegian politicians rather than British politicians in the coverage in 2016.

8. The Newsworthiness of «the Norwegian way»

In this study, I analysed the newsworthiness of the Norwegian way of association with the EU in the media of other EEA states, by asking when and how the media in other EEA states cover Norway's association with the EU. Due to medias influence on public opinion and level of knowledge, both when coverage of Norway's association with the EU takes place, and how the journalists frame the events and issues are topics of relevance. EU Member States are as relevant as Norway when it comes to the future of the Norway's association with the EU, and hence the way the media portrays the EU-Norway relation can affect how the citizens and politicians in these countries review the functioning of the EEA Agreement. Therefore, I argue that research on EEA-journalism in EU member states can give new insight in how the press of these countries judges Norway's association with the EU and its relevance for their readers.

The newsworthiness of Norway's association with the EU in other EEA states was researched as a cross-national comparative case study and by a mixed method approach. Sweden and the UK was chosen to be the case countries as they, according to international news flow theory, were likely to have some coverage of Norway's association with the EU, which was necessary to analyse when and how the EU-Norway relation is portrayed in the press. In addition, the case countries were likely to have different outcomes regarding the level and framing of the coverage, which allows for comparison between two EEA states. A quantitative approach was necessary to gather data that the research could be based upon. The articles that I gathered from databases of newspaper archives are the basis for the study. The presentation of this data showed when the Swedish and British press covered Norway's association with the EU, and a qualitative approach was necessary to find out which events and issued the Swedish and British press found newsworthy, and what the press emphasized in their coverage of EEA-affairs

The quantitative findings show that the newspapers from the Swedish press wrote 1030 articles about Norway's association with the EU from 1994 to 2016, while the newspapers from the British press wrote 523 articles. 406 of the articles from the British press were published from 2013 to 2016, and 326 of these in 2016. Most of the coverage in 2016 took place in the weeks before the British referendum on the continuance of

the EU membership. Most of the Swedish press coverage of Norway's association with the EU was published in the early 1990s, with 291 of the articles in 1994 and 1995. After this peak in the Swedish press coverage, the newspapers published on average 37 articles per year. These findings confirmed the assumption that the case countries would have a different outcome regarding coverage of Norway's association with the EU. Furthermore, the findings confirmed the validity of usage of international news flow theory in an institutionalized area, as I due to the proximity factor expected that the Swedish press would have more coverage than the UK as Sweden is geographically closer to Norway. In addition, due to the the national traits factor of international news flow theory, I assumed that the more powerful and important a country is, the less its press would cover Norway's association with the EU. These expectations were confirmed in the quantitative analysis.

Moreover, the focus on conflict as a news factor in international news flow theory was the basis of the assumption that Norway's association with the EU was not newsworthy to a large degree, because the Norway-EU relation is not characterized by conflict. However, there has been some conflicts during the timeframe of 1994 to 2016, and I found it likely that the peaks in coverage in the Swedish and British press reflected this.

The reasons for the coverage that has taken place, i.e. the events and issues that led to coverage, were analysed in the qualitative content analysis. This analysis led to the conclusion that the Swedish and British press do not consider Norway's association with the EU to be newsworthy unless Norway's association with the EU is characterized by conflict and controversy, or unless events and issues related to Norway's association with the EU have clear and direct domestic consequences.

This conclusion is based on the fact that both the Swedish and British press had one of its peaks in coverage of Norway's association with the EU in 1994, and this is the only year in the analysis where the journalists did not mainly frame the coverage on domestic issues and national politicians. One can argue that Norway's association with the EU was characterized by both conflict, controversy and the possibility of negative consequences during the campaign and the referendum on EU membership in Norway in 1994. The political personal conflict between two prominent politicians from each of the campaigns was a topic of interest in both the Swedish and British press, and a

common frame on the referendum. Furthermore, the referendum led to negative consequences for Norway in the eyes of those who wanted Norway to become a member of the EU, and the referendum had relevance for several EU countries and for the development of the European integration process.

The coverage of Norway's association with the EU in the two other peaks of coverage however shows a great degree of domestic framing. Swedish press coverage of Norway's association with the EU had its next highest peak in coverage in 2007, whereas the UK press was at one of its lowest points of coverage. The articles by the Swedish press were about conflicts between Norway and ESA that had similarities to conflicts between Sweden and the EU. Furthermore, the UK press had a striking peak of coverage in 2016, when Norway's association with the EU was actualized as a possible alternative association for the UK after the referendum on EU membership. In both of these instances, the domestic relevance of the events and issues related to Norway's association with the EU are clear and direct.

Media is the most important source of information about politics and society for most people. When the journalists select the news and how they are presented, they do not necessarily decide the public opinion about each topic, but it has a central role in deciding what people should have opinions about. Through the process of framing, the journalists emphasize some aspects of reality and remove focus from other parts, and can thus also affect public opinion. In addition to this role, the media also has a social responsibility for monitoring and evaluating governance. As seen in this study, there are many reasons for why the media in other EEA states do not find Norway's association with the EU to be newsworthy unless there is conflict or domestic relevance. Both the way the media selects the news, the institutional structure of EU and the EEA, and the lack of political debate about the Norway-EU relation are explanatory factors.

The lack of newsworthiness of the Norway-EU relation can be explained in EEA-journalism in Norway and other EEA states. However, this lack of newsworthiness in turn results in a generally low knowledge level about the society and political landscape the citizens surround themselves in. The framing of the articles that do exist become more important, as the little knowledge citizens can achieve from the media of the EU-Norway relation is likely to affect their opinions and understanding. Making it even

more important, is the fact that eventual fail in governance or other circumstances worthy of criticism are not likely to be found by the media itself. It seems as though the media is reactive rather than proactive in their coverage of EEA-affairs. The coverage is a result of events and issues that occurs, but as the EU-Norway relation is not newsworthy in itself, the media do not dig or seek to find news regarding the relation themselves.

The two most newsworthy events regarding Norway's association with the EU for other EEA states was that Norway chose this relation and that there was a debate in the UK about doing the same thing. The EEA Agreement has throughout most of its days not been a topic of public debate, neither in Norway, Sweden nor the UK. The need for conflict or domestic relevance for coverage to happen is likely to be generalizable to other EEA states as well, as these findings can be explained using media theory on how the media selects the news, how news flows across borders and how journalists frame events. One can however assume that the domestic relevance of issues and events regarding Norway's association with the EU is lesser in other countries than the case countries, as the coverage by the Swedish press can be explained by proximity and national traits, while the interest from the British press was due to a domestic conflict which actualized Norway's association with the EU. European countries and their association models with the EU is likely to continue to be a topic of interest for the press, as it is relevant for several EU Member States and the European integration process way forward. For now, there is nothing indicating that other countries will want to discuss other association models with the EU. The debate in the UK and in Scotland is still ongoing. As long as this is the case, and as long as Norwegian European policy debate is characterized by consensus, the EEA Agreement is likely to continue being a topic which the press do not find newsworthy, unless events and issues related to Norway's association with the EU are characterized by conflict, or has a direct and clear domestic relevance, as seen in this study.

Literature

- Aelst, P., Thesen, G., Walgrace, S., & Vliegthart, R. (2014). Mediatization and Political Agenda-Setting: Changing Issue Priorities. In Esser, F., Strömbäck, J. (Ed.), *Mediatization of Politics: Understanding the Transformation of Western Democracies*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan
- AIM Research Consortium. (2007). «*Reporting and Managing European News: Final Report of the Project, Adequate Information Management in Europe*», 2004-2007. Bochum/Freiburg: Projekt Verlag
- Baisnée, O. (2002). Can Political Journalism Exist at the EU level?. In Kuhn, R, Nuveu, E (Ed.). *Political Journalism: New Challenges, New Practices* (pp. 108-129). London: Routledge.
- Baur, G. (2015). From EU law to EEA law: the decision making process. In Grønningsæter, T. (Ed), *EFTA Bulletin*. Brussels: EFTA Secretariat
- Breidlid, J., & Vahl, M. (2015). 20 years on: Current and future challenges for the EEA. In Grønningsæter, T. (Ed.), *EFTA Bulletin*. Brussels: EFTA Secretariat
- Buckalew, J. (1969). News elements and selecting by television news editors. *Journal of Broadcasting*, 14 (1), 47-54.
- Buckalew, J. & Clyde, R. (1969). Inter-Media Standardization: A Q-Analysis of News Editors. *Journal & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 46 (2), 349-351.
- Collier, D. (1993). The Comparative Method. In Finifter, A. (Ed.). *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. Washington D.C: American Political Science Association.
- Crofts, M. (1994, 29.11). Nej firade sin drottning i natt. *Aftonbladet*, p. 7.
- Daily Mail. (1994, 30.11). Delors gets the blame for No vote by Norway, p. 25
- De Vreese, C. (2001). 'Europe' in the News: A Cross-National Comparative Study of the News coverage of Key EU Events. *European Union Politics*, 2 (3), 283-307.
- De Vreese, C. (2014). Mediatization of News: The Role of Journalistic Framing. In Esser, F., Strömbäck, J. (Ed.), *Mediatization of Politics: Understanding the Transformation of Western Democracies*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan
- De Vreese, C., Peter, J., & Semetko, H. (2001). Framing Politics at the Launch of the Euro: A Cross-National Comparative Study of Framed in the News. *Political Communication*, 18 (2), 107-122.
- De Vreese, C. & Semetko, H. (2004). *Political Campaigning in Referendums: Framing the referendum issue*. New York: Routledge

- De Vreese, C., Banducci, S., Semetko, H. & Boomsgaarden, H. (2006). The News Coverage of the 2004 Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 countries. *European Union Politics*, 7 (4), 477-504.
- Dimitrova, D. & Strömbäck, J. (2005). Mission Accomplished? Framing of the Iraq in the Elite Newspapers in Sweden and United States. *The international journal for communication studies*, 67 (3), 399-417.
- Dimmick, J. (1974). The Gate-Keeper: An Uncertainty Theory. *Journalism Monographs*, 37.
- European Free Trade Association (2017). The European Free Trade Association. Retrieved 12.05.17 from <http://www.efta.int/about-efta/european-free-trade-association>
- Eide, M. (2001). *Til Dagsorden! Journalistikk, makt og demokrati*. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag
- Elo, S. & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The Qualitative Content Analysis Process. *Journal of advanced nursing*, 62 (1), 107-115.
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43 (4), 51-58.
- Esser, F. (1999). 'Tabloidization' of News: A Comparative Analysis of Anglo-American and German Press Journalism. *European Journal of Communication*, 13 (3), 291-324.
- EUR-Lex. (2017). Democratic Deficit. Retrieved 12.05.17 from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/democratic_deficit.html
- EUR-Lex. (2017). Internal Market. Retrieved 12.05.17 from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/chapter/internal_market.html?root_default=SUM_1_CODED%3D24
- Feagin, J., Orum, A., & Sjoberg, G. (1991). *A Case for the Case Study*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Firmstone, J. (2008). Approaches of the Transnational Press to Reporting Europe. *Journalism*, 9 (4), 423-442.
- Fracasso, A., Grassano, N. & Marzetti, G. (2014). The Gravity of Foreign News Coverage in the EU: Does the Euro Matter?. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53 (2), 274-291.
- Galtung, J. & Ruge, M. (1965). The Structure of Foreign News. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2 (1), 64-91.
- Göteborgs-Posten. (2007, 15.03). Norgesseger i spelmål kan påverka EU.
- Heikkilä, H. & Kunelius, R. (2007). Journalists Imagining the European Public Sphere. *Javnost: The Public*, 13 (4), 63-79.

- Henley, J. (2016, 11.10). Norway rejects UK request for joint trade taskforce, report says; Country understood to believe bilateral talks could jeopardise EEA agreement and are 'inappropriate' before Britain exits EU. *The Guardian*.
- Henley, J. (2016, 01.12). Can the UK adopt the 'Norway model' as its Brexit Solution?. *The Guardian*
- Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15 (9), 1277-1288.
- Johansson, I., & Gustafsson, A. (2016. 15.06). «Får små effekter på Göteborgs näringsliv». *Göteborgs-Posten*, p. 12
- Johansson, B. (1994, 30.11). Delors håller dörren öppen. *Göteborgs-Posten*, p. 28
- Kaarbo, J., & Beasley, R. (1999). A Practical Guide to the Comparative Case Study Method in Political Psychology. *Political Psychology*, 20 (2), 369-391.
- Karacs, I. (1994, 24.10). Norway favours going it alone; Opinion polls indicate that, 25 years on, voters will reject EU membership, Imre Karacs writes from Oslo. *The Independent*, p. 11
- Kärman, J. (2007, 06.06). Tre liter vin - för 80 kr direkt hem - Men glöm inte att du måste skatta -eller böta till staten. *Aftonbladet*, pp. 10-11
- Kevin, D. (2003). *Europe in the Media: A Comparison of Reporting, Presentation, and Rhetoric in National Media Systems in Europe*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Dehli: Sage Publications.
- Kurtz, H. (1993). *Media Circus – The Trouble with America's Newspapers*. California: Three Rivers Press
- Levy, D., Aslan, B., & Bironzo, D. (2016). *UK Press Coverage of the EU Referendum*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism and PRIME Research. Retrieved 25.04.2017 from http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/UK%20Press%20Coverage%20of%20the%20EU%20Referendum_0.pdf
- Ljiphart, A. (1971) Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *American Political Science Review*, 65 (3), 682-693
- Machill, M., Beiler, M., & Fischer, C. (2006). Europe-Topics in Europe's Media: The Debate about the European Public Sphere: A Meta-Analysis of Media Content Analyses. *European Journal of Communication*, 21 (1), 57-88.

- Mills, A., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (2010). Most Different Systems Design. Encyclopedia of Case Study Research. Retrieved 05.05.17 from <http://methods.sagepub.com/reference/encyc-of-case-study-research/n211.xml>
- Nilsson, Y. (1995, 15.02). EES-avtalet kritiseras av parlamentet – «orimligt avtal för två länder». *Svenska Dagbladet*, p. 12.
- NOU 2012:2a. (2012). *Utenfor og innenfor – Norges avtaler med EU*. Oslo: Utenriksdepartementet
- NOU 2012:2b. (2012). *Outside and Inside – Norway's agreements with the European Union: English Summary*. Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Observatory of Economic Development. (2017). Numbers on GDP, export, import in Norway, Sweden and the UK. Retrieved 25.04.17 from <http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/>
- Örnebring, H. (2009). Comparative European Journalism: The State of Current Research. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Retrieved 25.04.17 from <http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/publication/comparative-european-journalism>
- Östgaard, E. (1965). Factors influencing the flow of news. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2 (1), 39-63
- Palmer, J. (1994, 29.11). Norway says no to Europe in tight vote. *The Guardian*, p. 26
- Pfetsch, B. & Esser, F. (2004). *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, cases and challenges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Politico Europe. (2017, 13.04). Brussel's Brexit Plan: Treat the UK like Norway. ,
- Rosengren, K. (1977). Four Types of Tables. *Journal of Communication*, 27 (1), 67-75.
- Rosengren, K. (1981). Advances in Content Analysis. *Sage Annual Reviews of Communication Research*, 9.
- Rossetti, D., Johansson, S., & Österstam, J. (2016, 24.06). Göran Persson: "En chans för Bryssel. *Svenska Dagbladet*.
- Segev, E. (2015). Visible and invisible countries: News flow theory revised. *Journalism*, 16 (3), 412-428.
- Segev, E. (2016). The group-sphere model of international news flow: A cross-national comparison of news sites. *The International Communication Gazette*, 78 (3), pp. 200-222.
- Semetko, H. & Valkenburg, P. (2000). Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*, 50 (2), 93-109.
- Shehata, A., & Strömbäck, J. (2014). Mediatization of Political Realities: Media as a Crucial Source of Information. In Esser, F., Strömbäck, J. (Ed.), *Mediatization of Politics:*

Understanding the Transformation of Western Democracies. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

- Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (1996). *Mediating the message*. New York: Longman
- Slaatta, T. (2011): Fortiet, forsinket og forvrenget? Norske mediers dekning av forholdet til EU, Europautredningen. *Rapport 11*.
- Staab, J. (1990). The Role of News Factors in News Selection: A Theoretical Reconsideration. *European Journal of Communication*, 5 (4), 423-443.
- Stone, J. (2016, 04.02). Norway's prime minister warns that leaving the EU wouldn't work for Britain; Erna Solberg spoke to David Cameron at Downing Street. *The Independent*.
- Svenska Dagbladet. (2007, 08.11). Norge måste tillata nätköp av sprit.
- Thornebús, E. (2016, 24.06). Storbritannien lämnar EU. *Aftonbladet*.
- Watkins, S. (2016, 19.06). As Norway guru ask: why would you want to be like us?. *Daily Mail*.
- Weaver, D., McCombs, M. & Shaw, D. (2004). Agenda-Setting Research: Issues, Attributes, and Influences. In Kaid, L. (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Communication Research* (pp. 257-278). London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Westerståhl, J. & Johansson, F. (1994). Foreign News: News Values and Ideologies. *European Journal of Communication*, 9 (1), 71-89.
- Wu, D. (2000). Systematic determinants of international news coverage: a comparison of 38 countries. *Journal of Communication*, 50 (2), 110-130.