

Grænseoverskridende journalistik i Øresundsregionen

Et eksempel på horisontal europæisering?

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MEDIA RESEARCH

Øresund

8. december 2014

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i Øresundsregionen: Et eksempel
på horisontal europæisering?



Øresund Media Platform



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ØRESUND MEDIA PLATFORM er et projekt som drives i et samarbejde mellem Øresundsinstituttet, Lunds universitet og Roskilde Universitet med finansiering fra EU's fond for regional udvikling Interreg IVA ØKS samt en række andre aktører i Øresundsregionen – Malmö högskola, Region Hovedstaden, STRING-sekretariatet, Region Skåne, Københavns Kommune, Helsingørs Kommune, Malmö stad, Lunds Kommun, Helsingborgs stad, Øresundskomiteen, Øresundsbron, Medicon Valley Alliance, Fastighetsägarna Syd og Mats Paulssons stiftelse för forskning, innovation och samhällsbyggande



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MEDIA RESEARCH

Øresund

Media Research Øresund er et dansk-svensk forskersamarbejde som løber 2012-2014 og som indgår i projektet Øresund Media Platform der drives i et partnerskab mellem Øresunds-instituttet, Lunds universitet og Roskilde Universitet med delfinancering fra EU Interreg IV A ØKS og 14 regionale aktører. Arbejdet ledes af Jesper Falkheimer (professor i strategisk kommunikation og rektor Lunds universitets Campus Helsingborg) og Mark Blach-Ørsten (lektor og leder af journalistuddannelsen ved Roskilde Universitet). Medvirkende forskere er Mads Kæmsgaard Eberholst (studielektor Institut for Kommunikation ved Roskilde Universitet) og Veselinka Möllerström (lektor i strategisk kommunikation ved Lunds universitet Campus Helsingborg).

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Grænseoverskridende journalistik i Øresundsregionen: Et eksempel på horisontal europæisering?

En sammenfatning af forskningsresultater fra Øresund Media Platform

Øresund Media Platform er et medie- og forskningsprojekt, der drives i samarbejde mellem Øresunds-instituttet, Lunds Universitet og Roskilde Universitet 2012-2014. Projektets primære mål har været at etablere det uafhængige dansk-svenske nyhedsbureau News Øresund, som gratis leverer nyheder til redaktioner i Danmark og Sverige samt driver nyhedshjemmesiderne www.newsosund.se og www.newsosund.dk. News Øresunds redaktionelle billedarkiv findes på www.flickr.com/newsosund. Mellem 2012 og 2014 er et forskningsprojekt om det regionale mediebillede og de journalistiske forudsætninger i Øresundsregionen foregået parallelt med nyhedsproduktionen.

PROJEKTET FINDER STED i perioden 2012-2014 og har et samlet budget på op mod en million euro (cirka 6,8 millioner danske kroner) og ledes i fællesskab af Øresunds-instituttet, Lunds Universitet og Roskilde Universitet med finansiering fra EU's fond for regional udvikling Interreg IV samt en række aktører i Øresundsregionen – Malmø Universitet, Region Hovedstaden, STRING-sekretariatet hos Region Sjælland, Region Skåne, Københavns Kommune, Helsingør Kommune, Malmø Stad, Lunds Kommune, Helsingborg Stad, Øresundskomiteen, Øresundsbron, Medicon Valley Alliance, Fastighetsägarna Syd samt Mats Paulsson Stiftelse for forskning, innovation og samsfundsbygning

DENNE SAMMENFATNING TAGER sit udgangspunkt i de indholdsanalyser og det interviewstudie, som blev gennemført i forskningsprojektet. En international artikel (sendt til publicering) med mere dybdegående ræsonnement om teori og redegørelse for metode, resultat og referencer vedlægges dette resume. De indledende indholdsanalyser blev også præsenteret i debatformat på Folkemødet på Bornholm samt under Almedalsugen sommeren 2013. Indholdsanalysernes gyldighed (såkaldt inter coder reliability) er blevet testet med tilfredsstillende resultat. Fokus i disse analyser er ni dags- og gratisavi-

ser i Skåne og Danmark og 1396 artikler publiceret 2002-2012 i uge 46. Interviewstudiet er kvalitativt og udgår fra 17 interviews med danske og svenske redaktører og journalister med særlig viden om Øresundsrapportering.

ET TILBAGEBLIK

Interessen for Øresundsregionale spørgsmål har eksisteret i forskellige historiske perioder, men ud fra et nutidigt perspektiv eksploderede denne interesse i forbindelse med Øresundsbroens åbning i 2000. Umiddelbart før og efter indvielse af broen var der flere medieprojekter, som havde til hensigt at styrke informationsudvekslingen mellem Danmark og Sverige og derigennem initiere en regional offentlig sfære. Disse projekter blev drevet både på kommercielt grundlag og med offentlig støtte via blandt andet EU Interreg. Blandt andet udgav danske Berlingske og svenske Sydsvenskan en fælles nyhedssektion i en kortere periode, og danske TV2 Lorry producerede Øresundsnyheder sammen med SVT's Sydnytt. I samme periode satsede regionale aktører på at skabe et områdevaremærke ("Øresund: The Human Capital"), og nogle PR- og reklamebureauer forsøgte at kapitalisere på den voksende regionalisering. Sort set samtlige medieprojekter ophørte ganske hurtigt. I et studie opsummerer den hollandske økonomiske geograf Hospers årsagen: Øresundsidentiteten var "(...) artificially created by a group of politicians and does not reflect the feeling the majority of the inhabitants have: most feel still Danes and Swedish in the first place rather than residents from the Euro region of the Oresund" (Hospers, 2006, p. 1028).

Hvis man går ud fra andre måder at måle udbytet og regionalisering, er de kvantitative forudsætninger for fælles medieprojekter blevet forbedret væsentlig siden broen blev indviet. Mobiliteten er for eksempel øget med mere end 400 procent 2000-2013, selv om den faldt en del fra 2008 som en konsekvens af den forværrede økonomiske konjunktur. Samtidig kan det diskuteres hvorvidt de politiske og kulturelle vilkår har gavnet eller modarbejdet regionaliseringen. I 1990'erne og starten af det nye årtusinde blev regionalisering fremhævet som en positiv samfundsproces. Konceptet "Regionernes Europa" var stærkt i den politiske sfære. I de seneste år er byen havnet i centrum for diskussionen, ikke mindst gennem den kraftige urbanisering, som skete og sker i de fleste lande. Denne tendens

mærkes også i diskussionen om Øresundsregionen som kulturel og kommunikativ forudsætning. I 2013-2014 er for eksempel områdevaremærket Øresundsregionen blev betvivlet af forskellige eliteaktører, som i international sammenhæng vil erstatte det med Copenhagen eller muligvis Greater Copenhagen.

Medierne er en vigtig faktor i politiske, økonomiske og kulturelle processer og bidrager til at skabe forestillingen om sted og identitet. Vore studier, som er afgrænset til udvalgte mediers rolle og betydning, viser ingen fremskridt for udviklingen af en transnational regional mediesfære i Øresundsregionen. Konklusionen i vor studie er, at Øresundsregionen, set ud fra et medieperspektiv, kan ses som et eksempel på svag horisontal eksponering. Nedenfor forklarer vi, hvad vi mener med dette.

HORIZONTAL OG VERTIKAL EUROPÆISERING

Der findes stærke belæg for at nyhedsmedier, sammen med politikere og andre aktører, spiller en vigtig rolle som en del af den afgørende infrastruktur, som er nødvendig for at skabe en velfungerede region. En analyse af danske og svenske nyhedsmediers dækning af Øresundsregionen kan ses som et bidrag til den fælles diskussion om europæisering og nyhedsmedier, det vil sige nyhedsmediernes rolle i dækningen af EU. Studier af europæisering skelner mellem forskellige typer: Vertikal europæisering

er som kan defineres som kommunikative koblinger i nyhedsindholdet mellem det nationale niveau (ofte nationale parlamenter og nationale politikere) og europæisk niveau (institutioner og aktører i EU), og hori-

sontal europæisering, som kan defineres som de kommunikative koblinger i nyhedsindholdet mellem de forskellige medlemslande i EU. Hidtil har studier om europæisering i danske og svenske nyhedsmedier især fokuseret på vertikal europæisering. Danske og svenske studier har vist, at selvom der kan være tegn på vertikal europæisering i begge landes nyhedsmedier, så viser danske nyhedsmedier en stærkere tendens mod vertikal europæisering end de svenske. En årsag til dette kan være, at jo længere et land har været medlem af EU, des mere etableret er dækningen af EU blevet. Danmark gik ind i EU (dengang EF) i 1973, mens Sverige først kom ind i EU i 1995.

De få studier, som har fokuseret på horisontal europæisering har bare fundet eksempler på svag horisontal europæisering i nyhedsmedi-

er. Nationale og lokale orienteringer dominerer den moderne nyhedsjournalistik. Europaregionerne, hvoraf Øresundsregionen er en, udgør de bedste platforme for horisontal europæisering, men man kan antage, at det er de samme barrierer, som gælder for horisontal europæisering som for vertikal: journalistisk kultur og etablerede strukturer for nyhedsvurdering.

Danmarks og Sveriges mediesystem med en blanding af kommercielle medier og stærke public service-institutioner er ganske ens. I begge lande blev den trykte presse udviklet tidligt, og der findes en høj grad af journalistisk professionalismisme. Men der findes også forskelle, for eksempel at Danmark har betydeligt færre aviser end Sverige og det faktum, at mediestøtten er større i Sverige end i Danmark. Forskellene mellem den danske og den svenske mediesystem kan også beskrives som forskelle i journalistisk kultur, som igen spejler "national" kultur og vilkår for samfundsdebatten. Dette sagt med reservation, da kulturelle forskelle også afhænger af mediekanal, hvorvidt den er offentlig eller privat drevet kanal, lokalt/nationalt niveau et cetera.

KONKLUSIONER FRA INDHOLDSANALYSER OG INTERVIEWS

Udgangspunktet for studiet er at undersøge graden af horisontal europæisering i nyhedsmedierne. Er Øresundsregionen et godt eksempel på dette? Forudsætningerne er relativt gode: Nationerne har en lang fælles historie, de politiske systemer er ganske ens, det samme med mediesystemet. Sprogbarrierer findes, men er sammenlignet med andre Euroregioner ikke store, og mobiliteten er øget med Øresundsbroen, som nu har eksisteret i 14 år. Vi har forsøgt at besvare to empiriske spørgsmål.

(1) *Er dækningen af aktører og begivenheder i respektive nabolande øget mellem 2002-2012 i de ni dagsblade, som vi har undersøgt: Metro Skåne (S), MetroXpress (DK), Helsingør Dagblad (DK), Helsingborgs Dagblad (S), Politiken (DK), Berlingske (DK), Frederiksborg Amtsavis (DK), Sydsvenskan (S) og Kvällsposten (S)?*

(2) *Hvordan resonerer og bedømmer danske og svenske redaktører og journalister mediernes relation til og dækning af Øresundsregionen?*

Der er redegjort for mediedækningen i en tidligere rapport. Den er nu forfinet og kan ses i sin helhed i den kompletterende artikel. Et enkelt resumé er at:

- Nej, mediedækningen af aktører og begivenheder i de respektive nabolande er ikke øget 2002-2012, men snarere mindsket.

- Omfanget af artikler, som kan defineres som Øresundsregionale, er noget lavere i Danmark end i Sverige, og artikler i svensk presse er længere. Studiet indikerer en nogen større interesse for Danmark i de svenske medier end vice versa.

- De stofområder som fører til flest artikler er forbrydelser, ulykker og kultur. Dette er fælles for dansk og svensk presse. Studiet indikerer, men kan ikke bevise dette med sikkerhed, at svensk presse har et større fokus på emner, som vedrører økonomi, politik og integration, mens dansk presse har noget mere fokus på forbruger- og sundhedsemner.

- Når svensk presse rapporterer om Øresundsregionen, udgør denne betydeligt oftere det væsentlige emne end i dansk presse, hvor Øresundsregionen oftere kun er et underordnet emne.

- Dækningen domineres af såkaldt rutinejournalistik, hvor artiklerne baseres på andres materiale (for eksempel pressemeddelelser eller rapporter), som siden kompletteres gennem en journalistisk indsats. Forskellene mellem dansk og svensk presse er ganske små angående journalistisk format

Når det gælder interviewresultaterne er det vigtigt at betone, at dette er et kvalitativt ma-

teriale, som ikke kan behandles repræsentativt. Men det er fuldt muligt at gøre såkaldte analytiske generaliseringer. De redaktører og journalister, som er blevet interviewet, har alle erfaringer og særlig viden om dansk-svensk medierapportering. Tidligere forskning har vist, at der sjældent er organisatoriske strukturer eller policies, som støtter grænseoverskridende medieproduktion. I praksis bedrives ikke sjældent denne journalistiske produktion af

enkelte individer, som motiveres af tidligere erfaringer, personlige relationer eller interesser for "den anden side". Sydsvenskan i Malmø er den eneste avis, som har haft et eksplicit ansvarsområde for en journalist, placeret i København, at rapportere om Danmark. Dette ansvarsområde forsvandt dog 2011-2012. Interviewstudiet viser, at:

- Interviewpersonerne betoner alle, mindre overraskende, at Øresundsregionen set fra et nyhedsperspektiv vurderes ud fra samme kriterier som øvrig nyhedsrapportering. Dette indebærer, at nyheden skal passe ind i konventionelle og etablerede vinkler og perspektiv (som primært er lokale og nationale).

- Nyhedsvurderingen udgår fra om begivenheden kan kobles til følgende faktorer:

identifikation, kulturel sammenligning eller lokal relevans. Netop sammenligning og lokal betydning har stor betydning. En sammenligning mellem barselsdagpenge eller en artikel om udlændingepolitik, hvis konsekvenser bliver mærkbare lokalt, anses have nyhedsværdi. Det er altså unægtelig som sådan, at det er forskellene som anses være mest interessante. Forskellene må dog ikke være for store, de må være sammenlignelige, for at nyhederne skal anses have relevant nyhedsværdi. Det fælles er mindre relevant at rapportere om.

Journalisterne anvender medier fra "den anden side", men mangler ofte professionelle netværk, etablerede kilder eller personlige relationer.

- Ledelserne på svenske redaktioner virker til at være mere interesserede i at producere nyheder med Øresundsregional kobling end deres danske modparter.

- En del af interviewpersonerne mener, at deres medievirksomheder overhovedet ikke har noget ansvar eller betydning for regionaliseringsprocesserne, noget som forståeligt afspejler de journalistiske idealer om at være uafhængige undersøgere og "spejl".

"Nej, mediedækningen af aktører og begivenheder i de respektive nabolande er ikke øget 2002-2012, men snarere mindsket"



DEN DANSK-SVENSK FORSKERGRUPPE BAG MEDIA RESEARCH ØRESUND.

Mads Kæmsgaard Eberholst (studielektor Institut for Kommunikation ved Roskilde Universitet), Mark Blach-Ørsten (lektor og leder af journalistuddannelsen ved Roskilde Universitet), Veselinka Möllerström (lektor i strategisk kommunikation ved Lunds universitet Campus Helsingborg) og Jesper Falkheimer (professor i strategisk kommunikation og rektor Lunds universitets Campus Helsingborg).

Transborder Journalism in the Danish-Swedish Oresund Region: A Case of Horizontal Europeanization?

Abstract

This article examines news and news production in the Oresund Region of Scandinavia. Theoretically the focus is on regionalization and transborder journalism as part of a wider process of horizontal Europeanization. Most studies on Europeanization concern themselves with vertical Europeanization that can be defined as the communicative linkages in news content between the national level (often the national Parliament and national politicians) and the European level (the institutions and actors of the EU). Fewer studies focus on horizontal Europeanization that can be defined as the communicative linkages in news media content between different member states of the EU. Also many studies on Europeanization tend to downplay the importance of news media practice and journalistic culture in the process of Europeanization. In this article we take the wider perspectives of regionalization and Europeanization theory and balance them with theories on news production. As a result we conclude that Danish and Swedish newspapers coverage of the Oresund Region may be seen as an example of weak horizontal Europeanization. However, the newspapers also face a number of challenges (some ideological, some organizational), when it comes to covering news that crosses even the narrowest of borders. First of all news is still inherently national in its focus and its choice of sources and thus few news items focus on the Oresund Region. Secondly journalists have little knowledge both politically and practically of what goes on in 'the other country'. Thirdly journalists have established little or no cooperation across borders even if this could save both time and money.

Introduction

When the Oresund Bridge was inaugurated in the year of 2000 it physically connected Denmark and Sweden; nations that had been separated since the south of Sweden was conquered from Denmark in 1658. Historically there have existed periods after 1658 highlighting Danish-Swedish cooperation where the nations have

come closer together. An early example is a cultural and political movement named Scandinavism, partly organized by university students in Lund and Copenhagen, which increased transnational cooperation between Denmark and Sweden (and Norway) during the mid-1800s. The press played an important role for this movement (Edgren, 2014) that challenged the national states. Over a century later, some decades before the bridge was inaugurated, during the 1960s, a futuristic vision of a Danish-Swedish region, then named Örestad, was produced and communicated in political and corporate spheres. The main argument for more collaboration and a new infrastructure then was increased economic growth, strengthening the positive growth that was already there (Wieslander 1997, p. 87). The mass media also had an important role in constructing the vision during the 1960s. But when the economic recession hit the national economies during the 1970s the visions disappeared from the agenda.

During the 1990s the political and economic discourse focusing on transnational regions in Europe, as a way to compete with other parts of the globalized world, grew stronger again. The two main cities in the Oresund Region – the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen, and the third largest city in Sweden, Malmö, both had a negative development in several aspects during the 1970s and 80s. Besides being an infrastructural tool, The bridge over Oresund became a symbol for the so called new economy in the region. The Oresund Bridge was surrounded by high expectations, e.g. "as a social experiment and a testing ground for cultural integration within the European Union, a model for the new Europe without borders" (Berg, 2000, p. 8).

Today, the Oresund Region is recognized as a cross-border region in the European Union, has 3.8 million inhabitants and strong business clusters in e.g. ICT, medical technology and tourism. The main city is Copenhagen situated opposite Malmö in Sweden, a former industrial town that has transformed into a knowledge-intensive city since the 1990s. The Oresund Region is an important factor in the Swedish and Danish national economies and together develops 27 per cent of the nation's GDP. There are 11 universities and higher education institutions

in the region, some of them highly ranked globally (Öresundskomiteen 2015).

The main argument behind the investment in a bridge was, as in the 1960s, economic growth (Falkheimer, 2004). The connection between Denmark and Sweden was supposed to lead to increased economic prosperity due to better logistical mobility and synergies that new corporate collaborations would lead to. Another main argument was cultural identity. There was a strong belief from several actors and institutions that the physical connection would lead to the development of a transnational identity and a common Danish-Swedish public sphere. Around the year 2000 there were several media and communication Oresund projects in the making. EU-Interreg sponsored a collaborative project between Danish and Swedish public service news television actors. The Danish newspaper Berlingske Tidende and the Swedish Sydsvenskan launched a common supplement for a short period. Regional governmental actors hired public relations and advertising agencies for creating a common brand and identity for the Oresund Region (Falkheimer, 2004). From 2000 and on the Oresund Committee branded the region as "Oresund: The Human Capital", created a branding organization (Oresund Identity Network) and launched different promotional activities. The branding organization was dismantled after some years and the promotional activities were minimized. The main reason was that the effects of the brand strategy were weak. The Oresund identity was "(...) artificially created by a group of politicians and does not reflect the feeling the majority of the inhabitants have: most feel still Danes and Swedish in the first place rather than residents from the Euro region of the Oresund" (Hospers, 2006, p. 1028). Almost all forms of cooperation between Danish and Swedish news media were also put on an indefinite hold.

Today, in 2014, the mobility between Denmark and Sweden has increased a lot, and the number of Swedes working in Denmark and the other way around increased more than 400 per cent 2000-2013, even if this development has slowed down since 2008 due to the financial recession. But the cultural integration and the creation of a common public sphere have not been as suc-

successful according to the most recent studies (Falkheimer, 2004). This article thus picks up where the most recent studies left off. We analyze the news coverage of the Region in Danish and Swedish newspapers from 2002 – 2012 to see if a 'more' common mediated public sphere has emerged in the same time as mobility between Denmark and Sweden has increased. We also interview journalists working today in Danish and Swedish newspapers about how they cover the region, and what obstacles and challenges they face in doing so.

Transnational Regions and the News Media

According to much theorizing on the successful development of transnational regions news media is supposed to play a very important role in creating and making sense of place and space (Jansson & Falkheimer, 2006; Stöber, 2004). The development of the modern national state and nationalism as an imagined community has been connected to the growth of print media in Europe (Andersen, 2003) while the globalized imagined community has been connected to international television news (Hanerz, 1996) and the rise of the internet. In the few studies that have been made on the Oresund Region media also feature prominently. Both Falkheimer (2004) and Stöber (2004) work from the assumption that news media play an important part in the development of a well-functioning region. In Stöber's view journalists working in the news media are part of the 'critical infrastructure that "(...) implements ideas of culture and solidifies ways of life by producing images by which we define our place in the world (...)'" (Stöber, 2004, p.113). Other key actors in this critical infrastructure are politicians, academics and regional protagonists. According to Falkheimer (2004) the news media in Denmark and Sweden play an important part in the development of the region by helping to construct a mediated image of the region and thus helping the people living in the Oresund Region to better imagine their new common community in line with the writings of Benedict Anderson. Falkheimer (2004) however also warns that the media is still both very locally and nationally focused, and is populated with stereotypes of different national identities, and thus the news media may as well hinder as help the development of a common regional identity.

Grievés (2012) picks up the debate of a national sphere outside the national state in his study of news coverage in the Sar-Lor-Lux Region of Middle Europe. He argues that the process of

Europeanization, in media context this translates to national news media's focus and inclusion of still more European actors and issues (Esmark & Ørsten, 2006), "is inflected not only by national differences, but by regional specificities as well, thus supporting the argument that studies of European Communication should treat regions as important units of analysis (Grievés, 2012:xx)." But like Falkheimer (2004) Grievés also warns that the process of Europeanization by no means can be seen as a given as both journalistic practices, policies and cultures, in different European countries, may hinder as well as help the news media's ability to cover news that crosses national borders.

Horizontal Europeanization and Transborder Journalism in the Oresund Region

As is clear from the studies mentioned above the news media may play an important role, along with politicians and others, as a part of the critical infrastructure needed to create a well-functioning region. However, the production of news and different journalistic cultures that exist in different countries may hinder this building of a region. In looking at the news media's coverage of the Oresund Region it is obvious to draw parallels to the general discussion on the Europeanization of the news media, i.e. the news media's role in the coverage of the EU, as also Grievés does. Studies on Europeanization sometimes differentiate between different kinds of Europeanization. Koopmans & Erbe (2004), Brüggermann & Königsłow (2009), Koopmans & Statham (2010), Kandyla & de Vreese (2011) all distinguish between two kinds of Europeanization: Vertical Europeanization that can be defined as increase in the communicative linkages in news media content between the national level (often the national Parliament and national politicians) and the European level (Brussels and the institutions and actors of the EU), and horizontal Europeanization that can be defined as increase in the communicative linkages in news media content between different member states of the EU.

So far studies on Europeanization in Danish and Swedish news media has mostly focused on vertical Europeanization. Thus Danish studies (Ørsten, 2004, 2008) and Swedish studies (Tjernström, 2001; Palm, 1996) have shown that while there can be found signs of vertical Europeanization in both countries news media, however, the Danish news media show a stronger tendency towards vertical Europeanization than the Swedish (Tjernström, 2001, Ørsten, 2008, Machill, 2006). A reason for this might be,

as Brüggermann and Königsłow (2009) also suggest, that the longer a country has been a member of the EU, the more established the coverage of the EU will be. Denmark entered the EU in 1973, whereas Sweden first entered the EU in 1995. However in Brüggermann & Königsłow's own analysis, Denmark, represented by the national daily Politiken, only show a moderate degree of vertical Europeanization and almost no sign of horizontal Europeanization.

Also, studies in both countries show that the news media face several challenges in covering the EU. First and foremost is the focus on national politics and the nation itself. Second, organizing the coverage of Europe is also a challenge to the news media since Europe can be many things. Thus the correspondents in Brussels, the journalists covering the national parliament or the journalists covering business news may cover stories on the EU. This means that news on the EU can be published in the national section, the foreign section or the business section of a given newspaper, and also means that the journalists covering the EU are spread out across both countries and within the news organization making the coordination of EU news very difficult (Slaatta, 1999; deVreese, 2003, Ørsten, 2004). Still both Ørsten (2004) and Grievés (2012) describe the emergence of a transnational journalism that covers politics outside (and inside) the national state.

Few studies have focused on horizontal Europeanization, and those that have, like Koopmans & Erbe (2004), Brüggermann & Königsłow (2009), Kandyla & de Vreese (2011) have only found examples of weak horizontal Europeanization with the news media. But writing about news production in the Sar-Lux-Lor Region of Middle Europe, Grievés (2012) picks up the debate on horizontal Europeanization and links it to the production and practices of what he terms transborder journalism. Thus vertical and horizontal Europeanization can be linked to different kinds of journalistic practices: Vertical Europeanization is linked to the practice of transnational journalism, as described above, whereas horizontal Europeanization can be linked to the practice of transborder journalism. Transborder journalism, in Grievés (2012) view, emphasizes "the horizontal regional connections across borders (...)". Indeed, transborder regions may be seen as possible best case examples for the practice of transborder journalism, and thus horizontal Europeanization, since the process of horizontal Europeanization in the specific Euro-regions also has the presence of the other important actors in the critical infrastructure that is needed to develop a well-functioning region, as Stöber (2004) argued. But, despite that fact the Euro regions may be

seen as best cases for horizontal Europeanization a focus on news media production and practices needs to be maintained, as the many studies on vertical Europeanization conclude that journalistic culture and news values often are the biggest obstacles in the coverage of the EU (Stratham, 2008, de Vreese 2003, Ørsten, 2004). Both Denmark and Sweden are placed in the democratic corporatist media system by the media systems analysis by Hallin and Mancini (2004). Both share similarities in their political system, being both examples of the Nordic welfare states, and in their media system with an early development of a printed press, a high degree of journalistic professionalism and a clear focus on public service news media (radio and television).

A study on only the Scandinavian countries and their media systems and political systems concluded, that Hallin & Mancini's analysis was mostly correct, but there were also some differences within the democratic corporatist system, such as the fact that Denmark has significantly fewer newspapers than both Sweden or Norway, and the fact that press subsidies are larger in Norway and Sweden than in Denmark (Strömbäck, Ørsten & Aalberg, 2008). Also with regard to journalism education where, for a long time (1970-1998) in Denmark, there was only one official school of journalism, whereas there was several schools in the other Nordic countries (Esmark & Ørsten, 2008).

So while the media systems and the political systems in many ways are the same, and in more or less accordance with the definition of the Democratic corporatist media system given by Hallin & Mancini, there room for differences within the Nordic countries. This is also the point made by Falkheimer (2004) when he states that the news media is full of stereotypical descriptions of both Swedes and Danes. The differences between the Danish and Swedish media system can best be described by the differences in journalistic culture, and thus of course also how journalistic culture reflects national culture. Grievies (2012) quotes Hanitzsch for the following definition of journalistic culture: "Journalism culture becomes manifest in the way journalists act and think; it can be defined as a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists, consciously and unconsciously legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful to themselves and others."

Journalistic culture may differ between nations, but may also differ between different types of media outlets; television, paper, online and may also differ a long other lines such as national and local media, private or public service etc. This ambiguity is often downplayed in studies of Eu-

ropeanization that are based solely on content analysis, but seem vital when it comes to understanding, why after so many years of European integration that studies focusing on the Europeanization of news media still start by concluding that "the overall degree of Europeanization of news media coverage is still quite low" (Kandyla & de Vreese, 2011: 55).

The Study: Research Questions and Research Design

The Oresund Region may be considered a possible best case example of horizontal Europeanization. The nations share a long historical relationship, they have developed similar political and media systems, the language barrier is minimal and the region itself is well developed. So far studies have focused on vertical Europeanization and the development of a transnational journalism. However, with the development of the Oresund Region and the increased integration between Denmark and Sweden since the construction of the Oresund Bridge, it seems time to (also) focus on the possibilities of horizontal Europeanization and the development of transborder journalism. This leads to our first research question on horizontal Europeanization:

RQ 1: Is there an increase from 2002 to 2012 in the coverage of actors or events in the other country in respectively the Danish and the Swedish newspapers?

Even though an important part of the critical infrastructure that is needed to support the successful development of a region, according to Stöber (2004), is in place in the Oresund Region, Grievies study of the different journalistic cultures in the Sar-Lux-Lor Region of Europe remind us that different journalistic cultures still represent a huge challenge to even horizontal Europeanization. This is also evident in the study by Brüggemann & Köngslöw (2009), where the Danish newspaper, Politiken, shows almost no sign of horizontal Europeanization. This leads to our second research question concerning journalistic culture:

RQ 2: How do Danish and Swedish journalists think and act with regard to covering the Oresund Region?

Research design

For the content analysis, we have analyzed a total of 1396 articles in the period from 2002-2012 from nine Danish and Swedish newspapers initially identified as the media covering the Ore-

sund Region. We have sampled one week, week 46 in November each year. Methodological this research design is inspired by Lund (2001), Lund, Willig & Blach-Ørsten (2009) and Blach-Ørsten & Willig (forthcoming) who base their analysis of Danish news content on an analysis of week 46 in the years 1999, 2008, and 2012.

The selected and analysed media are somewhat comparable; The Metro Skåne (S) is equivalent to MetroXpress (DK) and both are free newspapers often distributed in morning traffic and places of public transport. Helsingørs Dagblad (DK) and Frederiksborg Amtsavis (DK) are like Helsingborgs Dagblad (S) local newspapers with, obviously, a very local focus on subjects. The two Danish newspapers Politiken and Berlingske are however national newspapers based in the Danish capital, whereas both the Swedish papers Sydsvenskan and Kvällsposten are regional newspapers covering Southern Sweden. The articles analysed are not from the online outlets of these newspapers but only from the paper versions (even if the articles in most, if not all, cases also are published online). By focusing on print media we of course cannot say anything about the coverage of the Oresund Region in television, but as Lund, Willig & Blach-Ørsten (2009) has pointed out many stories on television stem from the newspapers. Also based on other studies on Europeanization where television has come out much lower than newspapers (Ørsten, 2004) there is little evidence to suggest that television content would add much to the analysis.

The articles have been found using various search words covering important geographical locations, cities and topics important to the Oresund reporting in databases in both Sweden and Denmark. Using a common key for coding the content, coders have worked in both countries. An intercoder-reliability test has been performed on the segregated data with satisfying results. The data has then been compiled into one dataset. This data is the basis for this analysis. The compiled data is publicly available at <http://journalismdata.ruc.dk>

For the analysis of journalistic culture and journalistic practices we performed a total of 17 interviews with journalists and editors from the newspapers that were analyzed. The Swedish interviews were performed in September 2013 and January 2014, the Danish interviews were performed in February 2014. Nine interviews were done with Danish journalists and eight interviews with Swedish journalists. The interviewees were selected among authors that had written many of the coded articles, so the interviewees were accustomed to doing reporting on Oresund. The

Swedish interviews were in all but one case done personally while one interview was done over the phone. The Danish interviews were in four cases done face to face and in five cases done over the phone. In the Swedish sample six of eight interviewed were men. In the Danish sample five of nine were men.

Content Analysis: Results

Analysed newspapers and articles analysed
The content coded roughly distributes 50/50 between the two countries with 695 articles from Swedish newspapers and 681 from Danish newspapers. Do however notice, that there is one less newspaper included in the Swedish result which indicates a smaller interest in the Oresund Region and coverage hereof from Danish newspapers since fewer Swedish newspapers produce more articles than the Danish newspapers. This is very much on par with interviews from editors and journalists covered in the next section.

Figure 1: Coverage in percent

There are several differences in the media coverage. The Metro-newspapers have the lowest coverage in both countries. This is a bit strange since these free newspapers are distributed to commuters, including travellers between Sweden and Denmark. In Sweden Sydsvenskan has the most coverage by a large margin, whereas in Denmark Berlingske and Politiken, the two national newspapers, finish first and second. Attention from the local newspapers in both countries are quite sparse, with Helsingør Dagblad and Frederiksborg Amtsavis placing in the lower tier in Denmark, but Swedish Helsingborgs Dagblad is actually finishing second. In the period analysed there has been a clear tendency toward writing fewer articles on the Oresund subject, as observed in Figure 2, but at the same time the length of the articles have increased according to the analysis.

Figure 2: Tendency in articles produced over time

This decline in article production with a trans-border theme could simply be a matter of budgetary restraints and a general decline in media economy, but it could also be a result of the financial support for this type of reporting disappearing, as the earlier EU-project supporting ran out.

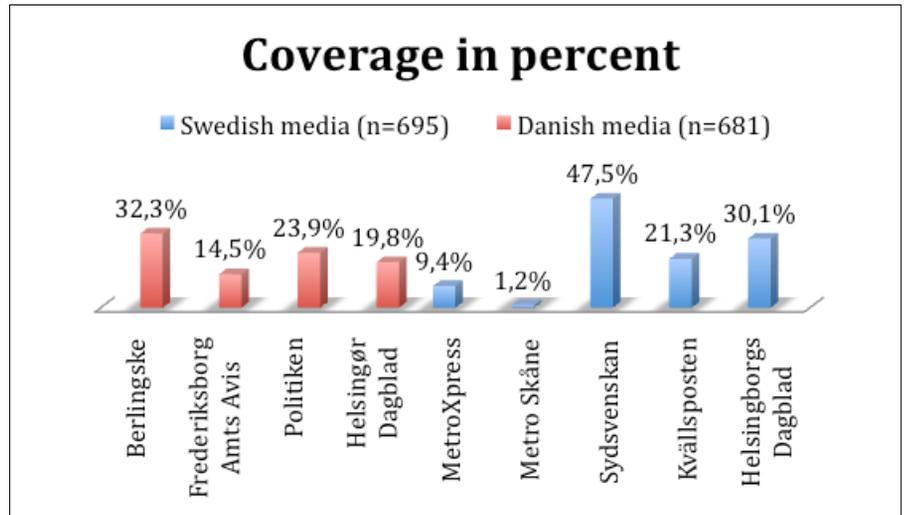


Figure 1: Coverage in percent

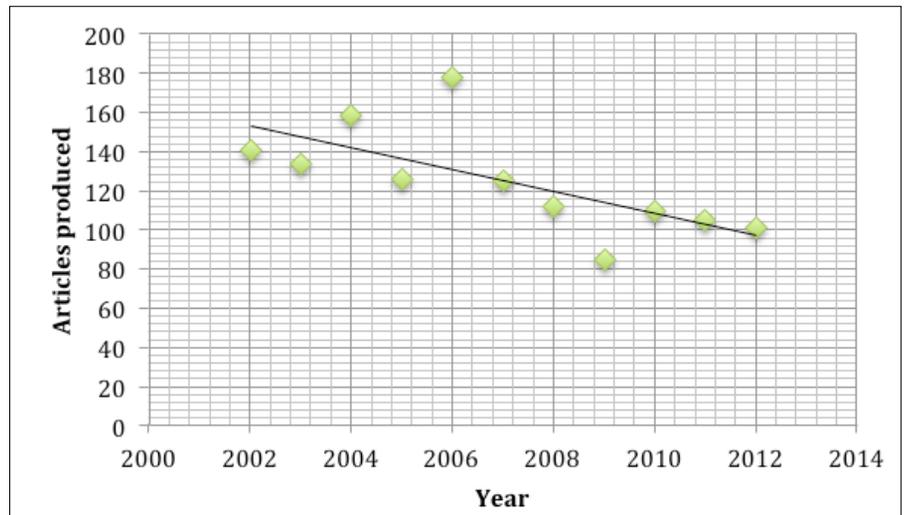


Figure 2: Tendency in articles produced over time

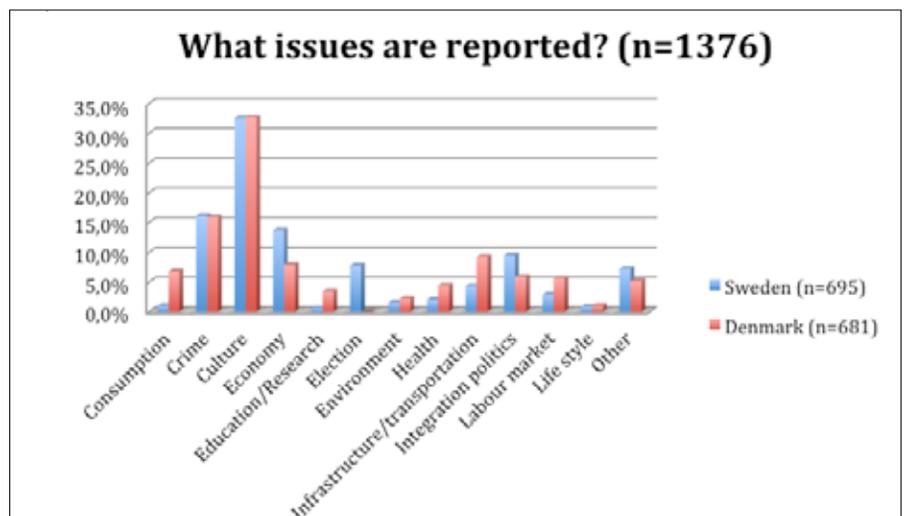


Figure 3: Issues of reporting

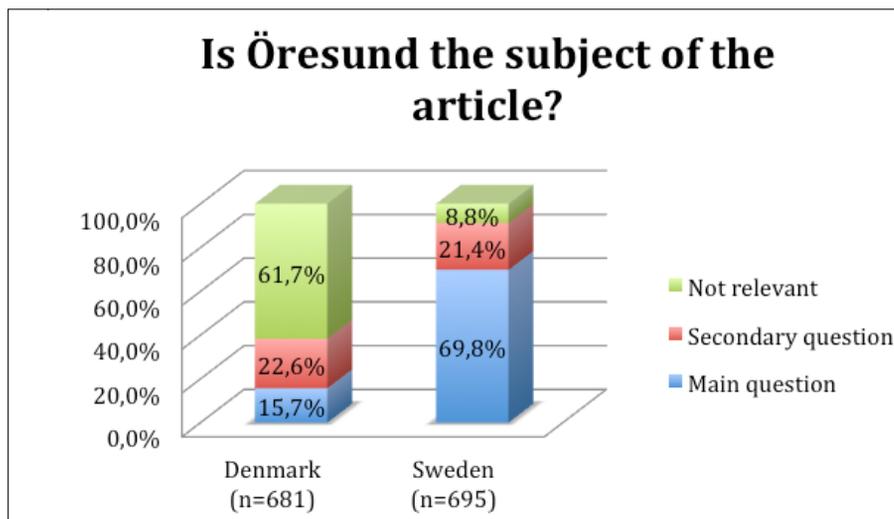


Figure 4: Oresund as main subject

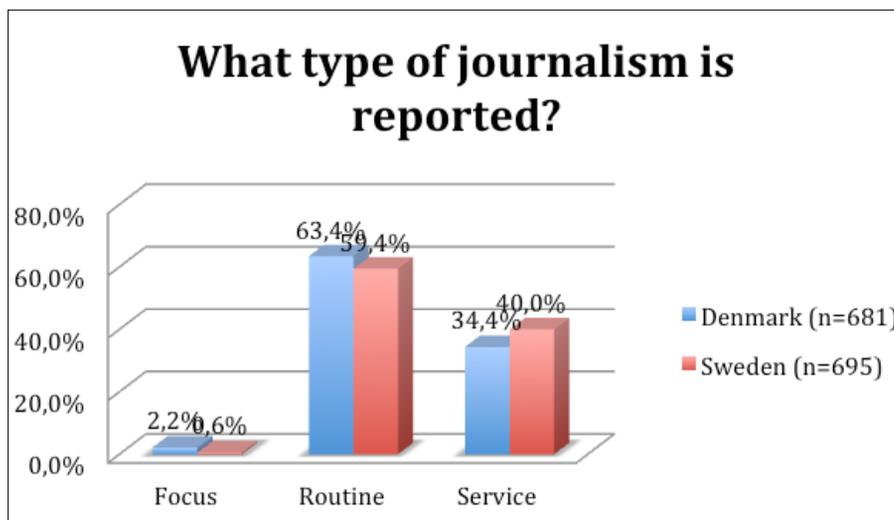


Figure 5: Type of journalism

The reported

Overall the analysed articles are centred on crime and culture. As indicated in Figure 3, the reporting from both countries is rather similar. There are however also small differences, with Denmark reporting higher on consumption issues, as well as about education/research, environment, health, infrastructure/transport and labour market issues. The

Swedes have higher reporting on more classical hard news topics such as economy, election and integration politics. There is unfortunately not sufficient data to elaborate on these differences.

Figure 3: Issues of reporting

Looking at the framing of the Oresund Region in the newspapers, the differences stand out

even more. As seen in Figure 4, the reporting of Oresund is very sparse in Denmark, where the Swedish coverage has a much higher tendency to report on Oresund as the main question of articles.

Figure 4: Oresund as main subject

These differences are amplified looking at the type of journalism reported in Figure 5. Inspired by Lund (2001, 2010) Figure 5 analyses the content ordered by type of journalism. Focus journalism is the kind of stories every reporter want to do, where the reporter is bringing attention to important subjects, doing original research and reporting. Routine journalism is by contrast reporting based on press releases and similar sources, but with the reporter doing original interviews or gathering other material to elaborate on the original material handed to the editorial by a third party of some kind basing stories on a minimal journalistic effort. Service journalism is the kind of journalism that fills the blanks in a newspaper: re-writes of press releases, new studies or news material from professional sources that are printed without any substantial editing.

Figure 5: Type of journalism

Here it then becomes clear, that even though the two countries distribute very similar type of journalism on the three categories, the tendency toward making routine journalism in Sweden is slightly higher than it is in Denmark. Similarly the tendency to making service journalism in Denmark is slightly higher than in Sweden. Overall the reporting in Swedish newspapers does then seem to be more thorough than the Danish.

Summarizing, the amount of coverage focusing Danish-Swedish issues in the Oresund Region has decreased every year since 2002. There is not any significant difference in amount of Oresund articles between Denmark and Sweden but the Oresund Region is more often main issue in Swedish than in Danish newspapers. The media coverage in both countries mainly consists of routine and service journalism, not focus journalism. The dominating topics are crime and culture and to a minor extent economics, politics, integration and other issues of, what we think, regional relevance.

The Organization and Practice of Transborder Journalism

This section pick-up where most studies of Europeanization based solely on content analysis left off. If we are to understand why Europeanization of news media coverage still is low, it is vital to take into account how journalists think and act in terms of journalistic culture or newsroom practices. Newsroom practices involve journalists, editors and other individuals in the process of making news. They negotiate on a daily basis in making sense of the world, routinely organizing and making the world comprehensible and meaningful for themselves and others. In the process of making sense of the world they bring to the task certain ideas and practices (Allan, 2004). These ideas and practices are informed by norms or rules by which the day-to-day routines are organized. The use of rules is not internalized in a mechanical way but is a creative and interpretative activity. Nevertheless journalists tend to conform to certain patterns when they operationalize the rules on a day-to-day basis. These patterns enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely (Tuchman, 1978). In our study the Danish and Swedish journalists were asked about their routines when covering the region and what obstacles and challenges they face in doing so.

Editors generally make decisions about the content and overall direction of news outlets and therefore have a crucial role. In line with Grieve's (2012) research, this study shows that few organizational structures support transborder journalism production. In fact, transborder news coverage relies mostly on the ambitions and interests of individual journalists. Swedish *Sydsvenskan* is the only newspaper with an explicit mission to make transborder news. To fulfill this objective, *Sydsvenskan* based a reporter in Copenhagen until 2011-2012. Due to the economic downturn the reporter is now commuting to Copenhagen twice or three times a week. The reporter's mission is to fill the editorial section with a longer commentary on Copenhagen every week. Although none of the other interviewed journalists neither have explicitly formulated editorial policies dictating the coverage of the region nor have additional resources devoted to transborder activities, the individual journalists make it happen on a more or less regular basis anyway.

Notwithstanding the ambitions of individual journalists, both Swedish and Danish journalists have a similar way of selecting and valuing what stories to include and what stories to exclude. First and foremost news has

to conform to existing media conventions. All the interviewed journalists stress that news about the Oresund Region are not selected explicit because of the regional focus but because they fit into conventional angles, either local, national or foreign angles. The tendency is that the more nationally oriented the newspaper is, as is the case with *Berlingske* and *Politiken*, the less important the coverage of the region itself is. The Danish national newspapers do not differentiate between transborder news and national Swedish news. Transborder news about the South of Sweden (Skåne) is therefore usually placed in the foreign section. There are some exceptions when transborder news are covered by the national desk, such as news on transborder transportation as well as financial news on some major companies.

The story repeats itself when asking journalists working for the local newspapers. Both Swedish and Danish local newspapers do not, in general, differentiate between transborder news and local news. Even though local Swedish newspapers have separate sections named "Copenhagen" or "Helsingör" news, which are filled on a regular basis, stories have to be of local value in order to gain journalists' attention. The interviewed journalists are thus still focused on local and national news and angles.

News values

When selecting news, journalists follow more or less unspoken rules or codes of newsworthiness. These codes help journalists to select and justify events as newsworthy while excluding alternative ones (Gitlin, 1980). The interviewed journalists follow conventional principles of selecting and valuing news. The stories have to be interesting and relevant for their readers. Experience-based journalism is highly valued both by the Swedish and Danish journalists. The emphasis is on what the reader would experience as a tourist across the border in terms of shopping, restaurants, museums and cultural events. Crime stories, infrastructural issues and cross border transportation are also found newsworthy. Crime issues can easily be formed into exciting stories by means of dramatization while the latter ones may concern people/readers traveling across borders.

Stories are not selected explicit because they are "regional" but because they are assumed to be relevant and meaningful to the readers. One Swedish reporter explains the case. If the hospital in Helsingör, for instance, lay off a large amount of Danish nurses then there is no story to tell. But if the layoffs involve Swedish nurses

then it becomes a newsworthy local story. A Danish local reporter explains the same logic in a similar way: "If they are changing the harbor in Helsingborg then the view from here will change when you are looking toward Sweden". Identification, cultural comparison and local impact seem to be keywords when it comes to transborder reporting. The Swedish journalists explain how they reason. Issues concerning Danish daily life comparable to Swedish alike are, for instance, found newsworthy. Reports on how Danish daycare function and how parental leave work provide examples against which Swedish readers can compare their own experience. Less comparable issues, though hotly debated in Denmark, get less attention. The Danish pension system is perceived to be too different to get the attention it actually deserves, according to a Swedish reporter. Danish political discussions might also be relevant if the policies have some kind of impact across the border. The tough Danish immigrant policies, for instance, have a direct impact across the border since they lead to increased migration across the border when transnational couples choose to settle in Sweden instead. Stories about border barriers, in other words bureaucratic problems, when living in one country and working in another are also considered being of high value as it involves conflict between national institutions and affect citizens trying to cope with daily life while caught between two different systems.

If issues are not easily framed in terms of identification, cultural comparison or local impact then the events have to be of significant magnitude in order to catch the journalists' attention. A Danish local journalist sums up the reasoning: "We draw a line with the border of the municipality /.../ and if we write something about Helsingborg or Sweden /.../ it will be comparisons and maybe some experience based stories".

When constructing news journalists make negotiations between the rules and codes of newsworthiness on the one hand side and the imagined community of readers on the other. News that conforms to journalistic principles of newsworthiness (i.e. relevance, personalization, cultural specificity, conflict) and implied readers has greater chance in getting selected. News with basis on the Oresund Region are not selected and framed at the regional level but are constructed and written to be experienced at either the local or national level. The interviews of this study indicates a form of ethnocentrism where priority is given to news about issues or people "like us" as opposed to issues or people that are "different from us".

Sources and cooperation

Journalists rely on sources in their news-gathering process in order to have a steady stream of information from which they select stories. Through their interaction with different sources and each other journalists develop ways of identifying newsworthy stories (Tuchman, 1978). Even if both the Swedish and Danish journalists follow media across the border (newsletters, social media, newspapers etc.) they show a lack of good sources and network on the other side of the border when referring to news sources. Reporters on both sides say that they sometimes find it difficult to know how things work across the border, what sources to call or who to ask because they do not know which authorities are in charge in specific areas. In these cases they might ask their cross border counterparts for help, either to understand complicated matters (in order to know what to ask) or to get guidance to relevant sources (in order to know whom to ask). The Swedish journalists do not think a better network would generate more stories as they “get along” and are quite satisfied with their cross border reporting.

There have been some formalized efforts between Swedish and Danish media to cooperate on regional news in order to use each other's knowledge and create synergy – but it did not turn out too well. As mentioned earlier Sydsvenskan and Berlingske Tidende launched a joint supplement, named “Öresundsnytt”, in the year of 2000 that existed for a short period. According to a journalist from Sydsvenskan it did not work out because the newspapers could not agree upon anything: “Two different countries, two different companies, two different cultures /.../ so we could never really get along”. The story repeated itself with other formalized cooperation projects across the borders such as an EU-supported public service television project between the Danish and Swedish television news (Lorry and Sydnytt), and between the free newspapers MetroXpress and Metro.

There has been a recent effort, in 2013, between Helsingborgs Dagblad and Helsingör Dagblad to cooperate and to share resources but this project stopped due to lack of funds. The editor of Helsingborgs Dagblad says that if the cooperation would have succeeded then they might not have had to assign a reporter of their own to cover Helsingör, as they would have received news from their Danish counterpart and vice versa. The editor continues: “But then again I

think we would have it anyway [a reporter covering Helsingör]. What is in fact important to us... is our own eyes, our readers eyes.”

Even though both Swedish and Danish newspapers lack resources and could perhaps have saved money by cooperating, the cultural aspect seem to be an important obstacle in doing so. Resources and lacking political power of the region

News production has two sides. On the one hand side journalists conform to certain preconceptions regarding what the implied reader “wants to know” while, on the other hand, these preconceptions are set against organizational and financial constraints (Allan, 2004). The Danish journalists state that lacking resources is the main culprit of the decreasing cross border reporting. The coverage as it is now is probably as to be expected with the limited resources available. A Danish reporter says that: “we can't take editorial resources and move to Oresund reporting. We have enough on our plate with covering our primary matters”. Other Danish journalists say that if the Oresund reporting is to increase then either the “CEO would have to prioritize it” or you would need “a dedicated employee for this”. In contrast to the Danish newspapers the Swedish newspapers seems to have dedicated employees that make transborder news happen even though some of them lack organizational structures supporting transborder production. One of the Swedish editors states that he is pleased when journalists take their own initiatives turning their ideas into cross border reporting. The Swedish opinion journalists may write debate articles in order to get the politicians attention on border barriers and infrastructural issues in order to urge the Danish and Swedish politicians to improve the infrastructural connections between the two countries. This does not seem to be the case among Danish journalists, though.

The Swedish journalists have difficulties in saying whether the amount of articles over time have decreased or increased but they seem to agree upon that they have more planned cross border reporting due to the economic situation. Most of the Swedish journalists do not think the economic situation have had any significant impact on the quality of transborder news – except for one senior journalist from Sydsvenskan, once based in Copenhagen. The senior journalist says that not only do you miss out the fast news but also the cultural sensitivity when not having any journalist based in Denmark. For him it is quite obvious that the quality has decreased in the sense just mentioned. He states that the development has been toward an inward focus on local events (within the region of Lund and Malmo) at the expense of events a far – due to a

combination of factors like the shrinkage of resources and choices made by editors in charge. Besides reasons concerning the economic situation there is also mention of the lacking political power and awareness of the region, a Danish journalist states that: “There would have to be political and cultural priorities in this too /.../ It would require that politicians started to take interest (in the region)”. The Swedish journalists are quite satisfied with their crossborder coverage, and do not feel they need to cover Denmark more than they do today. One Swedish editor say that if they would increase their crossborder coverage then a better (political) integration must come first as it is not “our mission to carry through the regional integration – it's someone else's”.

Conclusions

Our content analysis and interviews show that the coverage of the Oresund Region in Danish and Swedish media from 2002 to 2012 may be seen as an example as weak horizontal Europeanization. This is to say that there is a little coverage of what goes on ‘on the other side’ but that this coverage is most service- and routine journalism with a focus on current events (mostly of the cultural sort), very little focus on regional politics and very few focus journalism news stories, where the journalists themselves, through their own research, put the Oresund Region on the agenda.

When this is said the weak horizontal Europeanization is ‘stronger’ in the Swedish media coverage than in the Danish news media. This probably has to do with the fact that our Swedish sample is made up by regional newspapers and the not the large national newspapers out of the Swedish capital of Stockholm. However the result may also reflect the fact that regional Swedish politicians do put a strong focus on the Region than both national and regional politicians in Denmark do.

In general the journalists we have interviewed do not think on reporting a cross border region, but follow the usual media logic in terms of what is national, local and foreign. The label “Oresund Region” is almost solemnly used in terms of reporting on infrastructure as well as integration politics. But again the Swedes are more interested in the Danes than vice versa. This difference may also put a hinder on cooperation between newspapers in Denmark and Sweden, but this also seems to be a difficult mission because of the different journalistic cultures. Still reporters on both sides stress that reporting must be relevant to national audiences echoing some amount of shared news values.

Also reporters on both sides stress that more political interest in the region could give increased reporting, but underline that a better integration of the political issues predates increased reporting.

One way to move the coverage in a more regionally minded way would be to create more personal networks and relations between journalists on either side. This was the case in the beginning of the period, when there was an increased focus on the emergence of the new region, but none of those networks have survived till today, where the region has become a reality.

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