

# Newspaper coverage of TTIP

A comparative case-study of the differences between how  
TTIP was presented in German and Swedish papers

Cecilia Isaksson

# Abstract

Germany is generally considered to be a country that is free trade friendly and had, at the start of the TTIP negotiations, a majority in favour of TTIP. Now however, Germany has amongst the lowest levels of public support of TTIP of all EU member states, while a majority at the same time remain positive of international trade and even increased trade with the US.

Previous studies have shown that newspapers can have a significant influence on public opinion. This thesis therefore examines whether how newspapers in Germany discussed TTIP differs compared to the representation of TTIP in Swedish papers (since Sweden is a free trade friendly country that has a majority in favour of TTIP) during 2013-2014, and whether such a difference might be a possible explanation for the inconsistency in the German public's opinions on TTIP and trade.

This paper found that there were significant differences in how the papers in Germany and Sweden reported on TTIP, in terms of agenda-setting and frame-setting, that seem to support previous studies on newspaper influence, and thus likely played a role of influencing the public perception of TTIP in a more negative direction in Germany.

*Key words:* TTIP, Germany, media, newspapers, influence

Words: 17170

# Table of contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Presenting the puzzle .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	Aim and research question .....	3
1.2	Structure of the thesis .....	4
<b>2</b>	<b>How the study was conducted.....</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1	Why compare German and Swedish papers?.....	5
2.2	Choice of material .....	6
2.3	Analysis of the material.....	7
2.4	How this thesis contributes to previous studies .....	9
2.5	Limitations of the study.....	10
<b>3</b>	<b>What others have said before about media and newspaper influence.....</b>	<b>11</b>
3.1	Media effects on public opinion.....	12
3.1.1	Agenda-setting .....	14
3.1.2	Frame-setting.....	15
3.2	Discussing some of the critique against media effects.....	17
3.3	Expected results.....	19
<b>4</b>	<b>Understanding the context .....</b>	<b>20</b>
4.1	Background about the planned free trade agreement with the US.....	20
4.2	Opinion of TTIP in Germany and Sweden.....	21
4.3	How has the papers reported on EU trade agreements before?.....	23
<b>5</b>	<b>What the results show.....</b>	<b>24</b>
5.1	Agenda-setting in the papers .....	24
5.2	Frame-setting in the papers .....	30
5.3	Frame-setting of TTIP in Germany .....	30
5.4	Frame-setting of TTIP in Sweden .....	38
<b>6</b>	<b>Comparison and discussion of the results.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>46</b>

<b>8</b>	<b>References.....</b>	<b>49</b>
8.1	List of articles.....	52
8.1.1	The German articles .....	52
8.1.2	The Swedish articles.....	64

# 1 Presenting the puzzle

EU trade policy has for a long time been considered somewhat technocratic. Free trade agreements with third countries has been an exclusive competence of the EU since the Treaty of Rome and the concept of free trade is very much an integral part of the Union, considering that the EU itself is, among other things, one large free trade agreement between its member states. EU external trade policy and EU trade agreements play an important role for the Union's relations with the rest of the world, but even so, they very seldom receive any great attention from mass media or the public.<sup>1</sup> This, however, changed with TTIP. In June 2013, the first round of negotiations took place regarding the planned free trade agreement between the EU and the US. If concluded, TTIP would be the largest free trade agreement in the world and according to the European Commission, would mean significant benefits not just for the economies in the EU and the US, but also for the global economy<sup>2</sup>.

Trade between the EU and the US is nothing new, in fact most traditional trade barriers have already been removed. Close transatlantic relations are also nothing new and have continuously intensified and become an ever more important part of EU foreign policy,<sup>3</sup> but while a majority of Europeans believe that a free trade agreement with the US would be something good<sup>4</sup>, TTIP has proven to be politically sensitive.

The critique against TTIP has been centred to mainly two countries, Austria and Germany,<sup>5</sup> and in this instance, Germany is particularly interesting. It is a country generally considered to be free trade friendly, with a majority of the population in favour of trade. At the same time, however, that most of the citizens agree that increased international trade is something positive for Germany and that increased

---

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Woolcock, Stephen (2008), "The potential impact of the Lisbon Treaty on European Union External Trade Policy" in *European Policy Analysis*, Issue 8-2008.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. EC1 (2017), URL: <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/in-focus/ttip/about-ttip/>; EC2 (2017), [http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/in-focus/ttip/about-ttip/impact/#\\_benefits](http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/in-focus/ttip/about-ttip/impact/#_benefits); EC (2013), "EU and US conclude first round of TTIP negotiations in Washington" (Press Release), URL: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-13-691\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-691_en.htm).

<sup>3</sup> Jančić, Davor (2017), "TTIP and legislative-executive relations in EU trade policy" in *West European Politics*, 40:1, p. 202-221.

<sup>4</sup> EC4 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, "Public opinion in the European Union" (First results)

<sup>5</sup> European Parliamentary Research Service Blog (2015), URL: [https://epthinktank.eu/2015/06/16/eu-us-negotiations-on-ttip-a-survey-of-current-issues/support\\_for\\_ttip\\_in\\_eu\\_ms/](https://epthinktank.eu/2015/06/16/eu-us-negotiations-on-ttip-a-survey-of-current-issues/support_for_ttip_in_eu_ms/); Dalia Research (2016), URL: [https://daliaresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2016-05-09\\_pressrel\\_TTIP.pdf](https://daliaresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2016-05-09_pressrel_TTIP.pdf).

trade between the EU and the US would be good, a majority is also against TTIP.<sup>6</sup> In fact, previous studies show that Germany had a majority in favour of TTIP at the beginning of the negotiations, but that it now has among the lowest levels of public support for the planned free trade agreement compared to all EU member states.<sup>7</sup> This observation presents a paradox, since logically, if you are in favour of free trade you should most likely also be positively inclined towards an agreement meant to benefit and facilitate trade.

This raises some interesting questions since it is a clear deviation from the pattern of the German public's 'usual' position on trade and EU trade agreements, as well as deviating from most Europeans' overall positive opinions about TTIP. This is important, in part because it says something about the legitimacy of TTIP as well as EU's ability to negotiate free trade agreements on the part of the member states in a satisfactory way.

However, what makes the situation in Germany the most puzzling are the contradictions in the German public's opinion. The fact that the German public started out with a mainly positive view of TTIP (at the early stages of the negotiations 55 percent believed TTIP to be a good thing compared to only 1 out of 5 when asked again in 2016). This, combined with the fact that most German's reject TTIP but at the same time approve of trade (as well as increased trade with the US)<sup>8</sup> suggests that something contributed to the shift in the German public's view of TTIP. It also suggests that, since the German's still believe trade and increased trade with the US is something positive, that TTIP is seen as something else than just trade with the US.

Previous research has shown that the average citizen usually does not know much about different political issues, and that information through mass media is most people's only contact with politics.<sup>9</sup> One possible explanation for these contradictions in the German public's opinion of TTIP and free trade could therefore be that the German media has discussed TTIP in a way that differs from how the planned free trade agreement has been discussed and reported on in other European countries. Particularly the agenda-setting and frame-setting functions of

---

<sup>6</sup> Bluth, Christian (2016), "Attitudes to global trade and TTIP in Germany and the United States" (GED Study).

<sup>7</sup> European Parliamentary Research Service Blog (2015), URL: [https://epthinktank.eu/2015/06/16/eu-us-negotiations-on-ttip-a-survey-of-current-issues/support\\_for\\_ttip\\_in\\_eu\\_ms/](https://epthinktank.eu/2015/06/16/eu-us-negotiations-on-ttip-a-survey-of-current-issues/support_for_ttip_in_eu_ms/); Dalia Research (2016), URL: [https://daliaresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2016-05-09\\_pressrel\\_TTIP.pdf](https://daliaresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2016-05-09_pressrel_TTIP.pdf); Bluth, Christian (2016), "Attitudes to global trade and TTIP in Germany and the United States" (GED Study).

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. EC2 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, "Die öffentliche Meinung in der Europäischen Union" (Nationaler Bericht), Bluth, Christian (2016), "Attitudes to global trade and TTIP in Germany and the United States" (GED Study).

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. McCombs, Maxwell E. – Donald L. Shaw (1972), "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media" in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:2, p. 176-187; Reeves, Aaron – de Vries, Robert (2016), "Does media coverage influence public attitudes towards welfare recipients?" in *British Journal of Sociology*, 67:2, p. 281-306; Lupia, Arthur (1994), "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections" in *The American Political Science Review*, 88:1, p. 63-76.

newspapers have been raised in previous works as important for influencing opinions. This paper therefore aims at analysing whether a difference in the news coverage of TTIP exists and to examine whether or not it could be a possible explanation for the German public opinion on the planned free trade agreement.

## 1.1 Aim and research question

The aim of this thesis is to examine whether the way German papers have discussed TTIP differs compared to the representation of TTIP in other European countries, and to examine, in particular, whether there are differences in agenda-setting and frame-setting and if this might be a possible explanation for the German public's negative view of TTIP but still positive view of free trade. For example, if the German papers have presented a more negative view of TTIP or discussed it in a way that could have contributed to the public viewing TTIP as something else than just trade.

To be able to say something about whether German newspapers differ in this respect, I have chosen to compare them with articles from Swedish newspapers. Sweden is another European country that is free trade friendly, but that in contrast to Germany, still has a majority in favour of TTIP and one of the highest levels of public support for the free trade agreement, according to Eurobarometer 71 percent in Sweden believe TTIP to be a good thing<sup>10</sup>.

**Research question:** Does the way newspapers have reported on TTIP differ in Germany compared to Sweden, and, if so, how? Could this be a possible explanation for the contradictory views of TTIP and trade in Germany?

---

<sup>10</sup> EC1 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, "Allmänna opinionen i Europeiska Unionen" (Nationell rapport)

## 1.2 Structure of the thesis

The thesis begins by explaining the methodological choices and continues with a discussion on what others have said before about how newspapers influence public opinion with a focus on the role of agenda-setting and frame-setting. The results are thereafter presented regarding the chosen papers representation of TTIP, followed by a discussion and comparison of the results, and ends with a chapter on what conclusions one can make regarding the coverage of TTIP in Germany and Sweden and whether it might be a possible explanation for the contradictory opinions of TTIP and trade in Germany.

## 2 How the study was conducted

### 2.1 Why compare German and Swedish papers?

The reason for comparing German and Swedish newspapers is based on the fact that Sweden is another free trade friendly country, but one that still has a broad popular support for TTIP. Important to note is also that even though newspapers have generally experienced a decline, newspapers in Germany and Sweden remain relatively strong. There is a slight age difference, with the young to a higher degree reading news online or using other media sources. But 93 percent of the German population read newspapers, with around 52 percent reading newspapers daily and 27 percent reading newspapers regularly (at least 1-3 times a week).<sup>11</sup> In Sweden, the percentage that reads newspapers is 96 percent with 67 percent reading newspapers every day and 19 percent reading newspapers at least 1-3 times a week.<sup>12</sup> It is therefore reasonable to assume that newspapers play an important part in both countries in terms of being a source for news.

Other important factors are that both countries have governments generally in favour of the planned free trade agreement with the US, both have stable economies, and trust in the national government and parliament is high (50 percent and 53 percent for Germany, compared to 49 percent and 66 percent for Sweden). Trust in the EU institutions is also relatively high, but slightly higher in Sweden compared to Germany, while the percentage that believes that their country benefits from being in the EU is slightly higher in Germany than in Sweden. As for the percentage that believes that the EU is going in the right

---

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. EC3 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, “Media use in the European Union”; AGMA (2015), *Media-Analyse 2015 Pressemedien II*, URL: [https://www.agma-mmc.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Pressemitteilungen/2015/PM\\_ma\\_2015\\_Pressemedien\\_II.pdf](https://www.agma-mmc.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Pressemitteilungen/2015/PM_ma_2015_Pressemedien_II.pdf); BDZV (2016), *Die deutschen Zeitungen in Zahlen und Daten 2016*; *Media Perspektiven Basisdaten 2015*, URL: [http://www.ard-werbung.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/media-perspektiven/Basisdaten/Basisdaten\\_2015\\_komplett\\_und\\_verlinkt.pdf](http://www.ard-werbung.de/fileadmin/user_upload/media-perspektiven/Basisdaten/Basisdaten_2015_komplett_und_verlinkt.pdf).

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. EC3 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, “Media use in the European Union”, SOM-institutet (2016), *SOM-rapport 2016:26*; Myndigheten för press, radio och TV (2015), “Medieutveckling 2015”, URL: <http://www.radioochtv.se/Documents/Publikationer/1/Medieutveckling-2015-webb.pdf>; Nordicom (2015), “Sveriges Mediebarometer 2015”.

direction, it is almost the same, with 27 percent for Sweden (42 percent answering no) and 28 percent for Germany (38 percent answering no).<sup>13</sup>

Even so, I am aware of the fact that one will never be able to control for all factors,<sup>14</sup> but by covering most of the important ones listed above, I believe it will enable me to do a comparison.

## 2.2 Choice of material

To conduct the study, I analysed the representation of TTIP in leading newspapers in the two countries. Since the aim was to analyse papers that could be deemed to have the largest influence over public opinion, I chose papers that have a significant reach in terms of circulation. They should reach a large amount of people in each country, and it should therefore also be likely that they play an important role in determining what is newsworthy, as well as influence other media. These papers are *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* for Germany, as well as *Dagens Nyheter* and *Göteborgs-Posten* for Sweden. The biggest newspapers in Sweden are ‘independent’ or ‘independent-liberal’. While *Süddeutsche Zeitung* is more centre-left and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* is more centre-right.

Furthermore, since many in both Germany and Sweden read tabloids (and since some who might not read a newspaper might read tabloids instead) I chose to also include articles from *Bild*, from Germany, and *Aftonbladet*, from Sweden, since they are the two largest tabloids for the two countries and also reach a significant amount of the population. Including tabloids are also interesting since these can be argued to usually tend to focus less on ‘heavy issues’. This is not to say that these 6 papers reach every single person in their respective countries, but by analysing these, I believe I will get an overview of any possible differences between the papers and the two countries.

As for the newspaper content, the main focus is on the opinion pieces as well as the more analytical articles, since they are deemed to be more likely to present a clear position on TTIP and to make suggestions to the readers regarding how/what they should think about it, as well as being more likely to suggest appropriate actions. I chose to analyse both the opinion pieces as well as the articles in the papers that are not opinion pieces but still more analytical, since everyone might

---

<sup>13</sup> EC (2015), *Standard Eurobarometer 83*, “Public Opinion in the European Union” (Report)

<sup>14</sup> Teorell, Jan - Torsten Svensson (2007). *Att fråga och att svara: samhällsvetenskaplig metod*. 1. uppl. Stockholm: Liber.

not read the opinion pieces unless they already have an interest in the topic, or due to time limits<sup>15</sup>. These articles were also expected to give a better overview of the paper's overall representation of TTIP.

Due to the large number of available articles about TTIP for the 6 papers, I chose to analyse the articles published from the start of the negotiations in 2013 until the end of 2014. The reason for choosing this time period is due to the fact that the negotiations started in 2013<sup>16</sup>, and the critique and shift in public opinion about TTIP was shown to have decreased significantly by November 2014<sup>17</sup>. I therefore wanted to be able to analyse whether the papers had a clear position from the beginning or if/how the reporting on TTIP developed.

I accessed the Swedish articles from *Research Retriever – Mediarkivet* and the German articles from archives and/or search function on their online websites.

## 2.3 Analysis of the material

The basis for the method is text analysis, which focuses on three aspects. One is volume, namely how many articles about TTIP the respective papers have published, thereby giving an indication as to how salient the issue is perceived to be in both countries. Secondly, I assessed in what way the articles discussed TTIP and divided them into categories as positive, negative or neutral, as well as one category for the articles that mentioned TTIP in discussion of other issues.

Articles were categorised as positive when they actively argued in favour of TTIP, or presented a biased view of the planned agreement (for example by only discussing the positive aspects without mentioning possible critique) and/or actively encouraged the reader to take a positive position on TTIP.

Likewise, articles were deemed to be negative when they argued against TTIP, encouraged the reader to take action against the planned agreement and/or when they discussed only possible negative aspects of the agreement without mentioning its possible benefits.

---

<sup>15</sup> Readers usually spend an average of about 20 minutes reading the newspaper, and they therefore probably do not always read the full content (see e.g. Myndigheten för press, radio och TV (2015), *Medieutveckling 2015*, URL: <http://www.radioochtv.se/Documents/Publikationer/1/Medieutveckling-2015-webb.pdf>).

<sup>16</sup> EC (2013), "EU and US conclude first round of TTIP negotiations in Washington" (Press Release), URL: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-13-691\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-691_en.htm)

<sup>17</sup> EC (2014), *Standard Eurobarometer 82*, "Die öffentliche meinung in der Europäischen Union" (Nationaler Bericht)

Neutral articles were information pieces about TTIP that discussed both the possible positive and negative aspects of the planned agreement without passing judgement.

Lastly, I analysed what frames were used. In the general debate about TTIP certain aspects have received special attention, in terms of its perceived positive or negative effects. Those positive towards the agreement usually refer to its potential benefits in terms of free trade, such as growth and job opportunities, strengthening international cooperation, and securing environmental and labour standards. While the critique of TTIP has often centred on it being capitalistic, with possible negative effects on the environment, risks for unfair competition, and that it could be negative for democracy and transparency (especially regarding the ICS, *Investment Court System*).<sup>18</sup>

I therefore had predefined frames that I assumed, based on the general debate on TTIP, to have played a role in how the planned free trade agreement was presented. At the same time, I aimed at keeping an open mind while analysing the articles (since there might always exist other frames worthy of attention that one might not have considered beforehand, in terms of, for example, making references to other aspects that I had not already listed above or by repeatedly using certain phrases or metaphors), and determine whether it might be valuable to include these.

The method of this thesis therefore combines both quantitative and qualitative aspects, by analysing the possible role of agenda-setting (presenting something concrete about the number of articles, as well as what kind of articles the papers published) as well as examining more in-depth possible differences in the usage of frames.

---

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. Jančić, Davor (2017), "TTIP and legislative-executive relations in EU trade policy" in *West European Politics*, 40:1, p. 202-221.

## 2.4 How this thesis contributes to previous studies

Previous studies about TTIP have mainly focused on discussing different aspects of the planned agreement in itself or discussed the ongoing negotiations, as well as one article about the NGOs campaigning against TTIP in Germany.<sup>19</sup> With this study, I aim to contribute to the public and previous studies by analysing a topic that has, so far, not been very researched. The reason why it is important to study is in part because it might tell us something about what can cause contradictory opinions, but it is also important since TTIP (if concluded) would be an agreement expected to result in significant economic and political effects for the EU and its member states. As mentioned earlier, it also says something about the legitimacy of the EU and the Union's ability to negotiate trade agreements on behalf of the member states and the public.

The study aims to contribute to existing research by analysing whether there exist possible patterns in the newspapers' reporting of the planned free trade agreement in the two countries, as well as examining the relevance of theories regarding newspaper influence (and agenda-setting and frame-setting in particular) that could possibly explain the contradictory opinions regarding TTIP and trade in Germany.

---

<sup>19</sup> See e.g. Ružeková, Viera (2016), "Prospects for the EU-US Trade Relations in the Light of the TTIP" in *Studia Commercialia Bratislavensia*, 9:34, p. 211-221; Gutu, Ioana (2016), "The TPP and TTIP Trade Agreements: The International Negotiation Process" in *CES Working Papers*, 8:1, p. 81-92; Arfini, Filippo – Maria Cecilia Manvini – Marion Veneziani – Michele Donati (2017), "Sustainability of GI production systems in the framework of the TTIP negotiations" in *Bio-based and Applied Economics*, 5:2, p. 131-133; Jančić, Davor (2017), "TTIP and legislative-executive relations in EU trade policy" in *West European Politics*, 40:1, p. 202-221; Bauer, Matthias (2016), "The political power of evoking fear: the shining example of Germany's anti-TTIP campaign movement" in *European View*, 15:2, p. 193-212.

## 2.5 Limitations of the study

As already mentioned, no two countries will ever be identical except for how the newspapers have represented TTIP. However, by choosing to compare German and Swedish papers and stating the similarities mentioned earlier, I hope to exclude most possible intervening factors due to differences between the countries.

I am however limited in the sense that I do not know the exact opinions of TTIP of the readers of the chosen papers and do therefore not know the opinions of the readers of these specific papers at the start of the negotiations in 2013 compared to at the end of 2014. But since the aim was to analyse broader patterns in the media coverage in the German and Swedish papers, and to examine whether the theory on how newspapers and the media can influence opinions could be a possible explanation for the public opinion on TTIP in Germany, I deem the issue of not having specific data for the readers' opinions to be a lesser concern.

There are also limitations when it comes to the study's possibilities for making generalisations<sup>20</sup>, since I can not determine if contradictory opinions, as in Germany regarding TTIP, are 'always' due to differences in newspaper coverage. It can however still tell us something about the relevance of the theory, and therefore also its possible relevance in other cases.

---

<sup>20</sup> See e.g. Esaiasson, Peter – Mikael Giljam – Henrik Oscarsson – Lena Wängnerud (2012), *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*. Stockholm: Norstedts juridik.

### 3 What others have said before about media and newspaper influence

A substantive part of how newspapers affect opinions is based on its use of language. Text analysis is therefore an important part of the method for this thesis, but it is as much theory as anything else. It is based on an understanding of discourse that emphasises the importance of the way we communicate and understand the world, or aspects of it. It assumes that the way we talk, or in this case write, plays an active role in shaping phenomena and it stems from the idea that knowledge is created through different types of social interaction in which we construct common truths. This does not mean that reality outside of language does not exist, but instead emphasises that how we talk and write about it shapes our perception of it.<sup>21</sup>

Words in themselves have no inherent meanings, but are at the same time not neutral, since how they are used within a specific context entails labels that influences perception. By using a social practise, like writing, we therefore both reproduce and change knowledge.<sup>22</sup> Some statements about the world, or aspects of it, is in this way accepted as true or natural. The assumption is therefore that written text (from newspapers) and the consumption of these, creates and shapes phenomena (namely public opinion on what is considered right or wrong regarding TTIP).

---

<sup>21</sup> Bergström, Göran – Kristina Boréus (2005), “Diskursanalys” i *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok I samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys* by Bergström, Göran – Kristina Boréus (red.), Lund: Studentlitteratur, p. 305-362; Jorgensen, Marianne – Louise J. Phillips (2002), *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, London: SAGE Publications; Phillips, Nelson – Cynthia Hardy (2002), *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction*, London: SAGE Publications.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

### 3.1 Media effects on public opinion

Several studies have shown that how media, and newspapers, report and write about a certain issue plays an active role in shaping public perception and opinion about that issue,<sup>23</sup> and there are several theories emphasising different aspects of how this is done. Some of the main ones, however, focus on agenda-setting, priming, frame-setting and cultivation.

Agenda-setting does not necessarily mean affecting *what* people think, but emphasises how newspapers can play an important role in affecting what people think *about*. By choosing which news to display, and how, media helps shape the political reality. Readers of a newspaper do thereby not only learn information on a specific issue, but also how important they should consider the news to be based on how much information is given and how it is positioned in the paper. This has for example been shown by analysing which campaign issues received attention in the media (as well as how much), compared to which campaign issues the voters then considered were the most salient and important.<sup>24</sup> Also related to agenda-setting is priming, which refers to how messages in the media can create associations by stimulating ideas, knowledge, opinions and/or experience that in some way relates to the content of the message relayed by the media. The theory is based on the assumption that people in general do not know much about different political issues and that media therefore, by choosing to focus on some aspects and not others, has an influence in setting the conditions for the public to make political judgements, and, for example, influencing how the public evaluates different political actors.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. Reeves, Aaron – Robert de Vries (2016), “Does media coverage influence public attitudes towards welfare recipients?” in *British Journal of Sociology*, 67:2, p. 281-306; Balmas, M – T. Sheafer (2010), “Candidate Image in Election Campaigns: Attribute Agenda Setting, Affective Priming, and Voting Intentions” in *International journal of public opinion research*, 22:2, p. 204–229; Pan, Z – G.M. Kosicki (1997), “Priming and Media Impact on the Evaluations of the President’s Performance in Political Communication”, 14:3, p. 3-30; Scheufele, Dietram A. (2000), “Agenda-setting, Priming and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication” in *Mass Communication & Society*, 3:2/3, p. 297-316; McCombs, Maxwell E. – Donald L. Shaw (1972), “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media” in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:2, p. 176-187.

<sup>24</sup> McCombs, Maxwell E. – Donald L. Shaw (1972), “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media” in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:2, p. 176-187; Scheufele, Dietram A. (2000), “Agenda-setting, Priming and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication” in *Mass Communication & Society*, 3:2/3, p. 297-316.

<sup>25</sup> See e.g. Balmas, M – T. Sheafer (2010), “Candidate Image in Election Campaigns: Attribute Agenda Setting, Affective Priming, and Voting Intentions” in *International journal of public opinion research*, 22:2, p. 204–229; Pan, Z – G.M. Kosicki (1997), “Priming and Media Impact on the Evaluations of the President’s Performance” in *Political Communication*, 14:3, p. 3-30; Scheufele, Dietram A. (2000), “Agenda-setting, Priming and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication” in *Mass Communication & Society*, 3:2/3, p. 297-316.

Another important aspect that is also linked to agenda-setting is media's role in choosing which attributes of an issue to highlight and which to downplay. This is usually referred to as frame-setting and while agenda-setting has an influence in deciding which issues to highlight, theory on framing focuses on how one chooses to present these issues.<sup>26</sup> A commonly used definition of frame-setting was formulated by Entman and is defined as followed:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.<sup>27</sup>

Newspapers can therefore, by promoting a certain problem definition, making moral judgements as well as suggestions as to how an issue should be handled, have a direct influence of how the public perceives an issue.

The fourth aspect mentioned is cultivation, but this is however mainly associated with heavy television use. Some researchers argue that a high-level consumption of television may influence one's view of the real world (depending on how it is portrayed by news, TV shows etc). These studies have mainly focused on cultivation's possible impact on stereotypes related to race, ethnicity, gender, as well as attitudes about violence.<sup>28</sup>

As for the relevance of this study, regarding whether the papers differ in their reporting and if this might explain the paradox in the German public's opinion of TTIP, the focus is on newspapers role in agenda-setting and the use of frames.

---

<sup>26</sup> Scheufele, Dietram A. (2000), "Agenda-setting, Priming and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication" in *Mass Communication & Society*, 3:2/3, p. 297-316; van der Pas, Daphne (2014), "Making Hay While the Sun Shines: Do Parties Only Respond to Media Attention When the Framing Is Right?" in *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19:1, p. 42-65.; Entman, R.D. (1993) "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm", *Journal of Communication*, 43:4, p. 51-58.

<sup>27</sup> Entman, R.D. (1993) "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm", *Journal of Communication*, 43:4, p. 51-58.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. Cohen, Jonathan – Gabriel Weimann (2000), "Cultivation Revisited: some Genres Have Some Effects on Some Viewers" in *Communication Reports*, 13:2, p. 99-114; Gerbner, George (1998), "Cultivation Analysis: An Overview" in *Mass Communication & Society*, 1:3/4, p. 175-194.

### 3.1.1 Agenda-setting

As already mentioned, agenda-setting plays an important part in highlighting certain issues over others and influencing what the readers consider salient, and by, as McCombs states “[p]resenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about”.<sup>29</sup> Several studies have shown how media in, for example, political campaigns have selected and chosen to put their emphasis on certain aspects of a political campaign which then had a direct effect on which issues the public then deemed to be of greatest importance, but also in other cases regarding the reporting done on different political issues and the public’s perceived salience of these<sup>30</sup>.

This decision by newspapers and the media to highlight some issues over others is in itself nothing unusual. Media, journalists etc. are often referred to as having a ‘gatekeeping function’, since they, due to the large amount of issues that could be newsworthy, have to filter and chose what to include.<sup>31</sup> What this results in is that media, by deciding which issues and/or aspects of an issue, are important, legitimises the attention of that issue over other issues. As mentioned earlier, most people do not know much about different political issues due to various reasons, whereas one being limitations in how much information one can take in with the limited time one has available, and due to the fact that most that do not already have a specific interest in politics usually do not have the possibility or interest to devote a lot of time researching and making their own opinions about a certain issue. Studies have therefore shown that people use shortcuts, such as the media, when deciding what to think about an issue.<sup>32</sup>

If agenda-setting played a role in affecting the public opinion in Germany and Sweden, one should expect the coverage of TTIP to be much higher in Germany than in Sweden. But more specifically, that the German articles to a higher degree discussed negative aspects of TTIP (such as, for example, potential risks about the planned free trade agreement), while one would expect to observe mainly positive articles about TTIP in Sweden.

---

<sup>29</sup> McCombs, Maxwell E. – Shaw, Donald L. (1972), ”The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media” in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:2, p. 176-187.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. McCombs, Maxwell E. – Shaw, Donald L. (1972), ”The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media” in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:2, p. 176-187; McCombs, Maxwell E. (2005), ”A Look at Agenda-setting: past, present and future” in *Journalism Studies*, 6:4, p. 543-557; Tan, Yue – David H. Weaver (2010), ”Media Bias, Public Opinion, and Policy Liberalism from 1956 to 2004: A Second-Level Agenda-Setting Study” in *Mass Communication and Society*, 13:4, p. 412-434.

<sup>31</sup> Shoemaker, Pamela J. – Martin Eichholz – Eunyi Kim – Brenda Wrigley (2001), ”Individual and routine forces in gatekeeping” in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 78:2, p. 233-246.

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. McCombs, Maxwell E. – Donald L. Shaw (1972), ”The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media” in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:2, p. 176-187; Reeves, Aaron – Robert de Vries (2016), ”Does media coverage influence public attitudes towards welfare recipients?” in *British Journal of Sociology*, 67:2, p. 281-306; Lupia, Arthur (1994), ”Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections” in *The American Political Science Review*, 88:1, p. 63-76.

### 3.1.2 Frame-setting

The second aspect I chose to focus on is frame-setting which is linked to agenda-setting but instead focuses on which attributes of an issue are highlighted and which are downplayed, and how this is done. This involves, as mentioned, defining the way a problem is perceived, determining the causes of a problem, making moral judgements and recommending solutions.<sup>33</sup>

An example of frame-setting that is perhaps the most commonly used in every day language is the concept of the glass being half-full or half-empty. This is of course a very simplistic example, but it illustrates how the same facts can be presented in completely opposite ways. A more emotionally charged example could for example be abortion, being presented either as women's right over their own bodies or babies' lives lost. Both of the examples above can be argued to show how the representation of an issue could result in very different conclusions about what the appropriate action or solution should be.

As with agenda-setting, frame-setting is very relevant when analysing how newspapers affect public opinion, especially when it comes to whether TTIP might have been presented as 'something else' than just trade. Previous studies have shown that newspapers that relayed information in a more biased way had the greatest impact on public opinion<sup>34</sup> and that framing has been particularly effective when media coverage has emphasised an issue in relation to various values and norms shared in the society.<sup>35</sup> Values and norms are standards on what can be considered as 'good or bad' and they are a form of practical knowledge, formed by the actual practises in a community.<sup>36</sup> The reason as to why they are important in frame-setting is because they are an essential part of individuals' opinion formation processes, since people usually rely on their own concept of what is morally correct when deciding what to think about an issue. Frame-setting in newspapers and the media therefore play a part in defining what the 'correct position' should be about an issue by linking it to values and norms in the society, and in this way legitimising a certain interpretation.<sup>37</sup> Media has also been shown

---

<sup>33</sup> Entman, R.D. (1993) "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm", *Journal of Communication*, 43:4, p. 51–58; Katikireddi, Srinivasa Vittal – Hilton, Shona (2015), "How did policy actors use mass media to influence the Scottish alcohol minimum unit pricing debate? Comparative analysis of newspapers, evidence submissions and interviews" in *Drugs: Education, Prevention & Policy*, 22:2, p. 125-134; van der Pas, Daphne (2014), "Making Hay While the Sun Shines: Do Parties Only Respond to Media Attention When the Framing Is Right?" in *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19:1, p. 42-65.

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. Reeves, Aaron – Robert de Vries (2016), "Does media coverage influence public attitudes towards welfare recipients?" in *British Journal of Sociology*, 67:2, p. 281-306; Törrönen, Jukka (2000), "The Passionate Text. The Pending Narrative as a Macrostructure of Persuasion" in *Social Semiotics*, 10:1, p. 81-98.

<sup>35</sup> Teutsch, Doris – Julia Niemann (2016), "Social network sites as a threat to users' self-determination and security: A framing analysis of German newspapers" in *The Journal of International Communication*

<sup>36</sup> E.g. Wallace, James D. (2009), *Norms and Practises*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p. 2-3.

<sup>37</sup> Teutsch, Doris – Julia Niemann (2016), "Social network sites as a threat to users' self-determination and security: A framing analysis of German newspapers" in *The Journal of International Communication*, 22:1, p.

to be particularly effective when the issues raised are personally relevant to individuals in the society and when issues are perceived to be linked to high levels of uncertainty.<sup>38</sup>

Especially opinion pieces tend to arouse emotions and affect opinions, and Törrönen discusses how this is done by emphasising opinion pieces' use of frames and their role in legitimising a certain position and motivating the readers to take action. It is described as a pending narrative, which presents the need for action, which usually comes from something being perceived to be a "shortfall or contradiction that is threatening the collectivity or an individual within the collectivity described", and thereby explaining why something needs to be done. This also involves identifying the obstacles as well as the opposition and in this way, the writer of the article takes control of the future by demonstrating in the text what the current situation looks like and what one should aim at changing, what the optimal solution would be and what specifically needs to change to be able to attain that goal. This presentation of a problem and encouragement to the reader is considered to be highly influential in the sense that it identifies a 'wrong' and a possible threat to the society (for example by something being in conflict with a certain value or norm, or having direct negative effects for the individuals), the obstacles ('the others'), as well as what will be the consequences if nothing is done about it.<sup>39</sup> The articles can therefore, by linking, for example, a political position to a certain value or norm, present the position as being right and other positions conflicting with it to be wrong<sup>40</sup> and be very effective in motivating the readers, the public, to take action by, for example, voting or thinking in a certain way<sup>41</sup>. But it can also play an important role in terms of influencing policy makers, by suggesting that if a specific issue is not resolved, one could expect repercussions because of it.<sup>42</sup>

---

22-41; Brewer, P.R. (2001), "Value words and lizard brains: Do citizens deliberate about appeals to their core values?" in *Political Psychology*, 22:1, p. 45-64.

<sup>38</sup> Tan, Yue – David H. Weaver (2010), "Media Bias, Public Opinion, and Policy Liberalism from 1956 to 2004: A Second-Level Agenda-Setting Study" in *Mass Communication and Society*, 13:4, p. 412-434.

<sup>39</sup> Törrönen, Jukka (2000), "The Passionate Text. The Pending Narrative as a Macrostructure of Persuasion" in *Social Semiotics*, 10:1, p. 81-98.

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. Teutsch, Doris – Julia Niemann (2016), "Social network sites as a threat to users' self-determination and security: A framing analysis of German newspapers" in *The Journal of International Communication*, 22:1, p. 22-41; Brewer, P.R. (2001), "Value words and lizard brains: Do citizens deliberate about appeals to their core values?" in *Political Psychology*, 22:1, p. 45-64.

<sup>41</sup> Törrönen, Jukka (2000), "The Passionate Text. The Pending Narrative as a Macrostructure of Persuasion" in *Social Semiotics*, 10:1, p. 81-98.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Atkinson, Christopher L. (2016), "The power of 'small business' as pending narrative: an ideographic in UK politics 2004-2013" in *Social Semiotics*, 26:1, p. 19-35; Törrönen, Jukka (2000), "The Passionate Text. The Pending Narrative as a Macrostructure of Persuasion" in *Social Semiotics*, 10:1, p. 81-98.

If frame-setting played a role in influencing public opinion, one would (as related to agenda-setting) expect the majority of German articles to have discussed TTIP in a more negative way, and more specifically to have discussed TTIP in a way suggesting, for example, that it would be a threat to other values and norms in the society deemed more important than free trade. Since free trade is generally accepted as something good in Germany, it can be argued to be a type of norm in the society, but if the German articles discussed the planned free trade agreement in a manner suggesting that it would have potential negative effects on, for example, other norms such as democracy, that could potentially explain why a majority of Germans discard TTIP while still approving of free trade in general. One would also expect the German articles to present the issue as something having direct (negative) effects for individuals (personal relevance) and/or to have encouraged readers to reject the agreement, while the Swedish articles, to a larger extent, should have presented TTIP as something good and encouraged a positive view of the planned free trade agreement.

## 3.2 Discussing some of the critique against media effects

As already mentioned, most would probably agree that media influences public perception and opinions.<sup>43</sup> The extent of that influence has however been debated and there are at times difficulties in determining exact results regarding whether media actively changed attitudes about a particular issue. One critique focuses on the fragmentation of the media market and some researchers argue that because of it, media only has a minimal impact on attitudes or that it mainly serves to reinforce pre-existing attitudes.<sup>44</sup> At the same time, others have pointed to the fact that most of these studies showing only minimal effects have been conducted in the US, and that studies in other countries show different results. Furthermore, one can also argue that the change in the availability of different media might actually enable media to further mediate the way the public perceives different events and issues.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> See e.g. Ladd, Jonathan McDonald – Gabriel S. Lenz (2009), “Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media” in *American Journal of Political Science*, 53:2, p. 394-410; McCombs, Maxwell E. – Donald L. Shaw (1972), “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media” in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:2, p. 176-187; Reeves, Aaron – Robert de Vries (2016), “Does media coverage influence public attitudes towards welfare recipients?” in *British Journal of Sociology*, 67:2, p. 281-306.

<sup>44</sup> See e.g. Norris, P. (2006), “Did the Media Matter? Agenda-Setting, Persuasion and Mobilization Effects in the British General Election Campaign” in *British Politics*, 1:2, p. 195–221.

<sup>45</sup> Reeves, Aaron – Robert de Vries (2016), “Does media coverage influence public attitudes towards welfare recipients?” in *British Journal of Sociology*, 67:2, p. 281-306.

Regarding the importance of newspapers compared to other media outlets, studies have shown that articles in newspapers that are highly partial have had a larger effect on swaying public opinion compared to reporting done on for example television. People are, of course, not just passive receivers of information and can make their own judgements on things they read, but, nevertheless, people often identify with what they read in their newspapers and articles that are partial can have a significant effect on political attitudes.<sup>46</sup>

However, there are also further aspects one needs to consider. Newspapers do not exist in a vacuum, they influence public opinion but are of course also influenced by the context in which they exist. If there is a significant positive or negative opinion about something in the society, this should likely also be picked up on and reflected in the papers. However, the significant shift in public opinion in Germany for this particular free trade agreement (starting out with a positive opinion of TTIP which then drastically decreased), while a majority at the same time remain free trade friendly, I would argue indicates some kind of outside push.

Many NGOs and activists have actively campaigned against TTIP, by trying to lobby policy makers and trying to affect public opinion, and have been very active in Germany (with demonstrations, Facebook-groups etc).<sup>47</sup> This has likely also played a part in influencing opinions about the planned free trade agreement, however, for reaching a large amount of the population, media's attention is often necessary.<sup>48</sup> Nowadays, there are several opportunities for publishing material and reaching people through the Internet and social media (such as for example Facebook or Twitter) and it is clear that, for example, social media could technically allow you to create networks and reach a larger amount of people than any national newspaper.<sup>49</sup> However, even though many now use the Internet to find information, it is mainly used as a supplement to traditional media. Furthermore, to the extent that information, or news, that has originated from the Internet has had an impact, this has mainly been due to the fact that it has already been covered extensively in traditional media. Most of the political news and material that reaches a wider audience on the Internet are in fact 'repackaged', and

---

<sup>46</sup> See e.g. Reeves, Aaron – Robert de Vries (2016), "Does media coverage influence public attitudes towards welfare recipients?" in *British Journal of Sociology*, 67:2, p. 281-306.

<sup>47</sup> Bauer, Matthias (2016), "The political power of evoking fear: the shining example of Germany's anti-TTIP campaign movement" in *European View*, 15:2, p. 193-212.

<sup>48</sup> Strömbäck, Jesper (2008), "Four Phases of Mediatization: An analysis of the Mediatization of Politics" in *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13:3, p. 228-246.

<sup>49</sup> See e.g. Strömbäck, Jesper (2008), "Four Phases of Mediatization: An analysis of the Mediatization of Politics" in *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13:3, p. 228-246; Howard, Philip N. – Muzammill M. Hussain (2011), "The Role of Digital Media" in *Journal of Democracy*, 22:3, p. 35-48; Robertson, Alexa (2015), "What's Going on? Making Sense of the Role of the Media in the Arab Uprisings" in *Sociology Compass*, 9:7, p. 531-541.

therefore do not replace media such as, for example, newspapers and television.<sup>50</sup> I would also argue that the critique against traditional media when it comes to the argument of it not affecting, but rather reinforcing, attitudes, should perhaps be even more so for new media forms such as social media, since you often must actively search for information or choose what/whom to follow.

Some cases that have received a lot of attention for new media's perceived role in affecting public opinion and actions are, for example, the Green Movement's challenge and 'Twitter revolution' in Iran, and the Arab Spring. But in both of these cases, studies have later shown that traditional media was essential in spreading information to the larger public. This is not to say that NGOs, activists and new media are irrelevant, and the extent of their influence might differ depending on the situation, but it indicates that traditional media still has an important role in reaching and affecting the public (especially considering that such a large percentage in both Germany and Sweden still regularly consume news articles).

### 3.3 Expected results

To summarise, if newspaper influence (and agenda-setting and frame-setting in particular) has played a role in affecting public opinion, one would expect to see a significant difference in agenda-setting, in terms of more negative than positive articles in Germany (and vice versa for the Swedish papers). As well as differences in the framing of TTIP, with the German articles to a larger degree emphasising negative aspects, aspects relating to the planned agreements possible negative effects on values and norms and negative effects for individuals, as well as encouraging the readers to reject the agreement. While one would expect the Swedish articles to discuss TTIP in a more positive way, emphasising benefits and/or encouraging a positive view of the agreement.

---

<sup>50</sup> Strömbäck, Jesper (2008), "Four Phases of Mediatization: An analysis of the Mediatization of Politics" in *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13:3, p. 228-246.

## 4 Understanding the context

### 4.1 Background about the planned free trade agreement with the US

TTIP, which stands for the *Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership*, is, as already mentioned, the planned free trade agreement between the EU and the US and that if concluded, will become the largest free trade agreement in the world. Negotiations started in June 2013 and the aim of TTIP is, as with all trade agreements, to reduce trade barriers on goods and services. In the case of trade between the EU and the US however, most of the traditional barriers to trade have already been eliminated. A large part of the negotiations have therefore focused on reducing NTBs (*Non-Tariff Barriers to trade*), by reducing regulatory barriers through for example the harmonisation of standards regarding health, safety, environment and financial security, and improving investment protection.<sup>51</sup>

What this means, however, is that TTIP touches upon issues that are more politically sensitive compared to trade agreements that mainly focus on traditional trade barriers such as tariffs. The issue that has received perhaps the most concern is the ICS (*Investment Court System*), formerly called ISDS, which aims to ensure that foreign investors are not discriminated by the state where the investments are taking place based on the fact that they are foreign.<sup>52</sup> Other issues have been harmonising standards for, for example, vehicles, chemicals, cosmetics, medical devices, pesticides etc., but also to agree on regulation regarding GMOs (genetically modified-organisms), GIs (geographical indications) as well as issues regarding exchange and protection of personal data and how to ensure sustainable development.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Jančić, Davor (2017), "TTIP and legislative-executive relations in EU trade policy" in *West European Politics*, 40:1, p. 202-221.

<sup>52</sup> EC3 (2017), "Why the new EU proposal for an Investment Court System in TTIP is beneficial to both States and investors" (Fact Sheet), URL: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-15-6060\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-6060_en.htm)

<sup>53</sup> Jančić, Davor (2017), "TTIP and legislative-executive relations in EU trade policy" in *West European Politics*, 40:1, p. 202-221.

Even though external trade policy is an exclusive competence of the EU, free trade agreements can be considered mixed if they also regulate matters that fall outside of the EU's exclusive competence within the Common Commercial Policy and involves issues that are shared competences or member states exclusive competence. Resulting in the agreement then having to be approved by parliaments in each member state. However, even if an agreement also regulates matters that are not within the exclusive competence of the EU, this does not automatically mean that the agreement is a mixed one, since the matters in question might be considered 'ancillary' aspects (which therefore does not require the agreement to be mixed). For TTIP, however, it is likely that it (when/if negotiations are concluded) will be considered a mixed agreement due to the broad scope of policy impacts beyond trade, thus making it, or at least some argues, more sensitive than trade agreements that do not require approval by parliaments in all member states.<sup>54</sup>

## 4.2 Opinion of TTIP in Germany and Sweden

Despite the fact that TTIP is a planned free trade agreement that is considered to include many sensitive political aspects, most Europeans are in favour of TTIP.<sup>55</sup> Opinion polls in the early stages of the TTIP negotiations showed that a majority of the German public were positive towards TTIP, with 55 percent in favour and 25 percent against, but the support for TTIP has later plunged significantly in Germany. In November 2014 the percentage of Germans that believed TTIP to be a good thing had dropped to 39 percent and when polls were conducted in 2016 only 1 out of 5 Germans believed TTIP to be a good thing. Most surprisingly perhaps is that at the same time as a majority in Germany are against TTIP, in 2016, 61 percent still answered that increased trade with the US would be a good thing.<sup>56</sup>

Important to mention is that the positive opinion of trade in Germany has decreased as well from the start of the TTIP negotiations until now. However, even though the positive opinion of free trade has decreased, a majority in Germany still believe that free trade is something good and that Germany has benefited from globalisation as well as being in the European single market. A

---

<sup>54</sup> See e.g. Jančić, Davor (2017), "TTIP and legislative-executive relations in EU trade policy" in *West European Politics*, 40:1, p. 202-221.

<sup>55</sup> EC4 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, "Public opinion in the European Union" (First results)

<sup>56</sup> Bluth, Christian (2016), "Attitudes to global trade and TTIP in Germany and the United States" (GED Study); Bertelsmann Stiftung (2016), URL: <https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/topics/aktuelle-meldungen/2016/april/in-deutschland-und-den-usa-waechst-die-skepsis-gegenueber-ttip/>; EC (2014), *Standard Eurobarometer 82*, "Die öffentliche meinung in der Europäischen Union" (Nationaler Bericht).

majority also answered that they understood that a large part of the turnover for German companies is generated abroad, as well as that export is important for the country and that many jobs in Germany are dependent on it. Furthermore, Germans also believe that companies involved in export offer their employees higher wages.<sup>57</sup>

The main concerns of TTIP among the public in Germany centres on a fear that the free trade agreement will lead to a ‘race to the bottom’. The main fear is that European standards will be ‘watered down’, especially when it comes to consumer protection and environmental, labour and social standards. The survey done in 2016 found that there was no clear position among the Germans regarding what effect TTIP might have on trade issues such as growth, competitiveness and the labour market.<sup>58</sup>

In Sweden, the support for TTIP started out high at the beginning of negotiations and has remained high, with 71 percent of the population believing TTIP to be a good thing.<sup>59</sup> Opinion polls about Sweden and TTIP have therefore mainly focused on measuring the general opinions of TTIP and not so much regarding what aspects of TTIP in particular that the public approve of or dislike.

---

<sup>57</sup> Bluth, Christian (2016), “Attitudes to global trade and TTIP in Germany and the United States” (GED Study); Bertelsmann Stiftung (2016), URL: <https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/topics/aktuelle-meldungen/2016/april/in-deutschland-und-den-usa-waechst-die-skepsis-gegenueber-ttip>.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> EC1 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, ”Allmänna opinionen i Europeiska Unionen” (Nationell rapport).

### 4.3 How has the papers reported on EU trade agreements before?

To get an idea of how the chosen papers in Germany and Sweden have reported on EU trade agreements before (since there might be differences between the papers and the countries due to, for example, the paper's size) I also did an overview of the papers by making searches using key words relating to trade and recent EU trade agreements and economic partnership agreements with countries such as, for example, Canada, Moldova, South Korea, SADC, Central American countries etc. I made searches both by narrowing down the time frame for the various agreements regarding when negotiations were ongoing, around the time they were signed as well as when (at least for some of them) provisionally applied, but also by searching for the key words with no specific limitation regarding the time period.

These searches showed that even though trade issues in general have been reported on before for all of the papers in both Germany and Sweden, very little attention has been given to specific EU trade agreements, by not mentioning them at all or only do so in a few articles. The one exception being the recently signed free trade agreement between the EU and Canada (CETA), but mainly then after TTIP was starting to receive attention and often by articles making comparisons between CETA and TTIP.

## 5 What the results show

### 5.1 Agenda-setting in the papers

During 2013-2016, TTIP was mentioned in a total of 2641 articles for the three German papers and 205 articles for the three Swedish papers. As mentioned in the methods part of this paper, due to the amount of articles, I chose to analyse the articles published from 2013 until the end of 2014.

What the results show is that there, also for this specific time period, was a significant difference between the two countries regarding the volume of articles for the Swedish and German papers.

The three German papers, *Bild*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, published a total of 452 articles as illustrated in *Table 1* below:

<b>Name of the paper</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>Total number of articles</b>
<b>Bild</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>198</b>
<b>Süddeutsche Zeitung</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>226</b>
<b>Total number of articles</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>452</b>

*Table 1: Number of articles for the German papers, in total as well as divided by year.*

For the three Swedish papers, *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter* and *Göteborgs-Posten*, published a total of 30 articles as illustrated in *Table 2* below:

<b>Name of the paper</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>Total number of articles</b>
<b>Aftonbladet</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Dagens Nyheter</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Göteborgs-Posten</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Total number of articles</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>30</b>

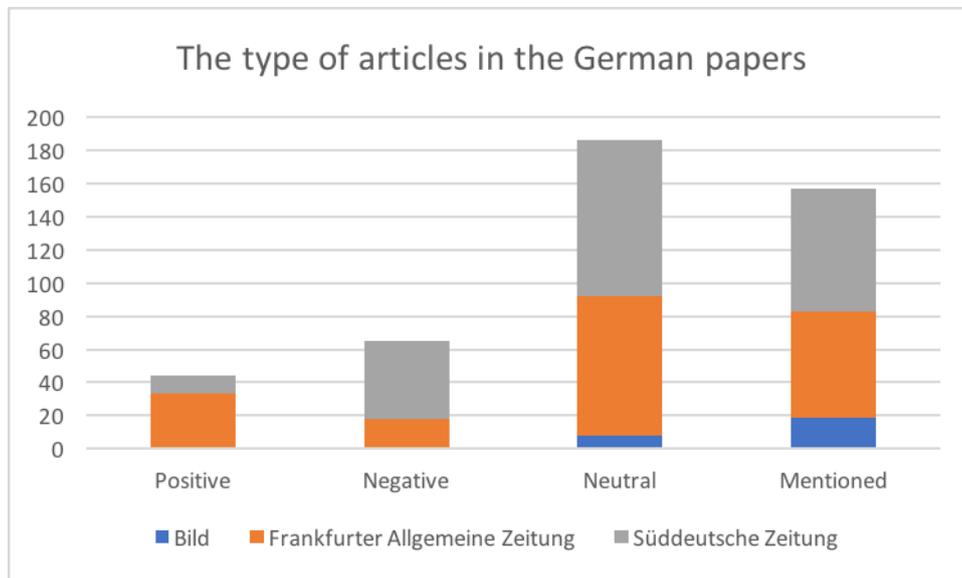
*Table 2: Number of articles for the Swedish papers, in total as well as divided by year.*

This tells us something about how salient TTIP was perceived to be by the papers, even from the beginning of the negotiations, since the planned free trade agreement received much more attention in Germany than in Sweden. Some differences in coverage between the papers and countries might be expected, by, for example, differences in the size of the papers and how much they usually cover trade issues. However, as mentioned earlier, previous EU trade agreements have not received this much attention in the chosen German papers before, and especially for Germany there seems to have been a significant increase in the reporting. Again, with the exception of CETA, that has also received much attention from the papers, but that did so after the critique of TTIP had started and mainly in articles linking the two trade agreements to each other.

To be able to say something about agenda-setting and frame-setting in the two countries and their different papers, it is also relevant to analyse what kind of attention TTIP received. In terms of the volume of positive, negative and neutral articles for the more analytical articles and opinion pieces, as well as how often TTIP was mentioned in relation to other issues.

<b>Bild</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Mentioned (in relation to other issues)</b>	<b>Total:</b>
<b>2013</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>2014</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</b>					
<b>2013</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>2014</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>172</b>
<b>Süddeutsche Zeitung</b>					
<b>2013</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>2014</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>213</b>
<b>Total:</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>452</b>

*Table 3: Number of positive, negative, neutral articles, as well as the number of articles mentioning TTIP in relation to other issues for the German papers. Presented both in total numbers as well as divided by year.*



*Diagram 1: Total number of positive, negative, neutral articles, as well as the number of articles mentioning TTIP in relation to other issues in the German papers.*

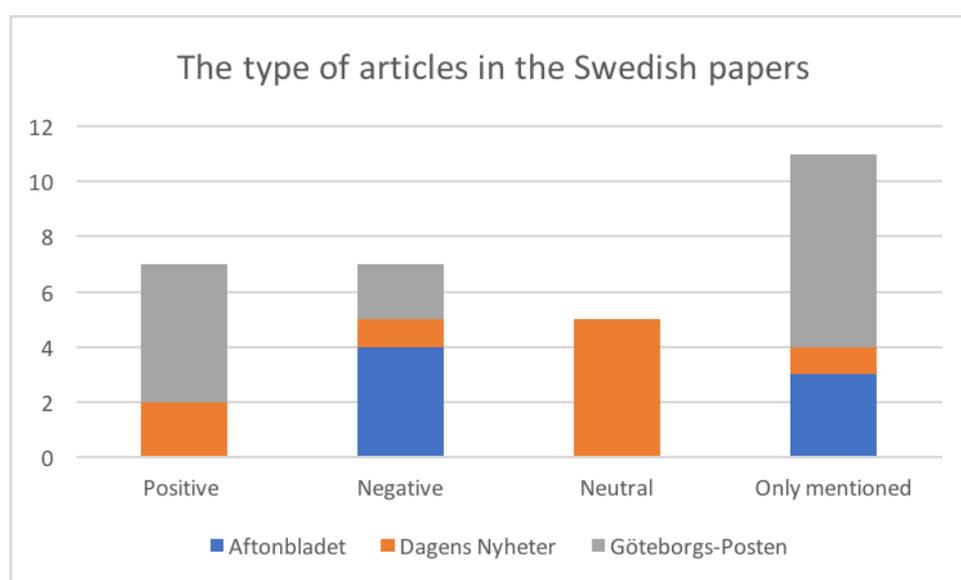
In the German papers, *Table 3* and *Diagram 1* above shows that the total number of negative articles about TTIP outweighs the positive articles, but one can also observe a difference depending on the paper. When analysing the number of positive, negative and neutral articles, that had TTIP as their main focus of discussion, the results show that *Süddeutsche Zeitung* had an overwhelmingly negative coverage of TTIP, with 47 negative articles compared to only 11 positive articles. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, on the other hand, had a more positive representation of TTIP than negative. These results were in line with what was expected, with *Süddeutsche Zeitung* being more to the centre-left, and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* as a newspaper often considered to be more free trade friendly. However, considering that *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* usually has a more free trade friendly approach, the paper could still be considered to have had a surprisingly large amount of negative articles (with 18 negative and 32 positive).

The chosen tabloid for Germany, *Bild*, had a higher coverage of TTIP than the Swedish tabloid. The majority of its articles, however, only mentioned TTIP in relation to other issues, with otherwise a total of 8 neutral articles and 1 positive.

What the figures and diagrams above do not show, is that for a majority of the articles that did not have TTIP as their main focus but that mentioned TTIP in discussion to other issues, did so in a negative way. The articles that only mentioned TTIP in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* most often did so by connecting TTIP to the revelation of the surveillance done by the US and difficulties within the German political parties due to TTIP. While the articles only mentioning the planned free trade agreement in the tabloid *Bild* also had a more negative connotation, but mainly focused on the latter, namely the difficulties within the parties due to differences in opinion regarding the planned free trade agreement. Taking these articles into consideration, the coverage of TTIP was more negative than positive for all of the three German papers.

Aftonbladet	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mentioned (in relation to other issues)	Total:
<b>2013</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2014</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Dagens Nyheter</b>					
<b>2013</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2014</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Göteborgs-Posten</b>					
<b>2013</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2014</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Total:</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>30</b>

*Table 4: Number of positive, negative, neutral articles, as well as the number of articles mentioning TTIP in relation to other issues for the Swedish papers. Presented both in total numbers as well as divided by year.*



*Diagram 2: Total number of positive, negative, neutral articles, as well as the number of articles mentioning TTIP in relation to other issues in the Swedish papers.*

*Table 4* and *Diagram 2* above shows that in total, the three Swedish papers published the same amount of positive and negative articles (7 positive and 7 negative). The two Swedish newspapers had more positive than negative articles about TTIP, with *Göteborgs-Posten* being the most positive of the planned free trade agreement and *Dagens Nyheter* only having a slightly more positive representation of TTIP. The chosen tabloid, *Aftonbladet*, represented the most negative coverage of TTIP of the three papers, with 4 negative articles and zero positive articles during the time period 2013-2014. These results were also more or less expected, with the biggest newspapers being ‘independent’ or ‘independent-liberal’, while *Aftonbladet* is a tabloid leaning more to the left and usually somewhat more critical of free trade. The articles mentioning TTIP in relation to other issues were for the most part neutral information pieces about, for example, important upcoming EU issues to be discussed.

## 5.2 Frame-setting in the papers

### 5.3 Frame-setting of TTIP in Germany

#### *The US as a not trustworthy partner*

The stock of EU-US trust is not at present excessive, neither among politicians nor among the population. Without mutual trust, however, a genuine free trade zone can hardly work.<sup>60</sup>

Many of the articles that had more in-depth discussion, with TTIP as their focus, were neutral. However, there were certain frames that were repeated in several articles, and since previous research has shown that partial articles are the ones with the most significant effect on public opinion, the focus is on the negative and positive frames used. A theme that ran through most of the German articles was the issue of trust (by either questioning it or asking for it). Around the time of the start of the TTIP negotiations in 2013, it was revealed that monitoring had been carried out by the US on German political leaders and the public. Not surprising, this took up a large amount of the news coverage at the time.

The articles about the surveillance often focused on updating the readers on new information, discussing possible political implications, and describing what was considered to be a significant betrayal of trust. Describing the methods as used “only from the time of the Cold War” and what was considered to be a “shaken confidence” and “affront unequalled” by political figures.<sup>61</sup> Most of these articles did not have TTIP as their main focus, but as mentioned, TTIP was continuously brought up in the discussions of the surveillance. Some articles would only mention TTIP in passing, while others would directly connect the free trade agreement negotiations to the question of whether the US could be considered to be a reliable and trustworthy partner for the EU. The latter articles questioned whether the US considered the EU to be an equal partner or not, the motives of the US and/or speculated on the possible disruptions this would have on the negotiations for the planned free trade agreement between the two parties. With articles featuring NGOs against TTIP, and, for example, *Human Rights Watch* wanting it to be branded as a violation against human rights by the US since “The massive communication monitoring revealed by Edward Snowden shows a

---

<sup>60</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, “Verhandlungsstart mit Zähneknirschen”, News article, 2014-05-21 [translation by me].

<sup>61</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, “Gereiztheit unter Freunden”, News article, 2013-07-01 [translation by me].

shocking disregard for the right to privacy by the US [...]”<sup>62</sup>, as well as articles describing the US as being somewhat ‘flippant’ about the severity of the transgression:

While the Europeans are indignant that the intelligence service NSA apparently listened to EU institutions and metadata on a grand scale, the Americans are off. But the affair has long become a test for transatlantic relations. [...] Barack Obama, who is currently traveling through Africa, is silent - as so often. The US president seems to be very interested in the ‘open debate’ about data protection and privacy that he promised during his visit to Berlin in mid-June.<sup>63</sup>

Noteworthy is, as mentioned, that even the articles that were neutral or that only mentioned TTIP in passing, often brought up the surveillance in relation to it. Furthermore, TTIP was often mentioned as being something that was dividing and creating difficulties within the political parties in Germany.

#### *Investment protection lowering (European) standards*

The issue of the US surveillance was however not the only discussion of the agreement that was related to trust. One part of TTIP that has perhaps garnered the most attention is the ICS, which refers to the investment protection clause of the planned free trade agreement that would allow foreign investors to sue a state through private arbitration courts if they considered themselves to have been discriminated by some sort of action taken by the state in question.<sup>64</sup> Investment protection, in the case of TTIP, was continuously connected to four concerns; democracy, social, labour and environmental standards, economic implications, and culture.

In terms of democracy, the ICS was often portrayed as a system outside the rule of law:

[...] the free trade agreement jeopardizes the decision-making power of municipalities in public services. The agreement could facilitate the privatization of water supply and wastewater disposal and eliminate efforts to re-communalize the energy supply.<sup>65</sup>

[...] the fundamental freedom of decision-making and the freedom of organization of the municipalities in the area of public services should not be touched.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, ”EU-Parlament könnte wegen NSA Freihandelsabkommen platzen lassen”, News article, 2014-03-12 [translation by me].

<sup>63</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, ”Gereiztheit unter Freunden”, News article, 2013-07-01 [translation by me].

<sup>64</sup> See e.g. EC (2017), URL: [http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2015/january/tradoc\\_153018.pdf](http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2015/january/tradoc_153018.pdf).

<sup>65</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, ”Demo gegen entfesselten Freihandel”, News article, 2014-10-09 [translation by me].

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

The articles would describe how democratic decisions in Germany would be challenged by corporations, and that the system would allow private profit interests to rule instead. This would in turn lead to the state, and local authorities, losing influence.

The investment protection system was thereby often portrayed, in the articles negative of TTIP, as a hidden agenda that would allow large (American) companies to impose goods and techniques on Europe that would prove damaging for social and environmental standards:

Democracy and environmental standards are important for the citizens - for the EU Commission and lobbyists they hinder the unlimited market. [...] Europeans need to wake up and take action.<sup>67</sup>

and, for example,

Corporations could thus bring states before private arbitration and sue for billions, for example if they see their gains endangered by stricter environmental laws. The American side has clearly signalled that they will not abandon these rules. However, such procedures can be expensive for the taxpayer, as a new study of the network Friends of the Earth revealed Europe. In the past 20 years, EU countries had to pay a total of EUR 3.5 billion to investors and corporations. In 60 percent of the cases, environmental issues were discussed. These complaints were based on investor protection rules in former free trade agreements.<sup>68</sup>

As proof of this, the articles would list different cases brought up through arbitration, and most commonly used were the cases of the Swedish *Vattenfall* (suing the German state for compensation due to the state's decision to decommission nuclear power plants) and the Philip Morris tobacco cases in Australia and Uruguay. As far as the system's economic implications (as the quote above also shows), the articles suggested that an influx of lawsuits against the country demanding billions of euros was to be expected, and that this would result in negative consequences for the economy at large, and for the taxpayers in particular.

Another argument against TTIP centred on expected negative effects on social standards, and labour standards in particular. Some arguing that it would mean lowering standards, and others that this agreement in particular would worsen the situation of workers (by pointing to negative effects of trade and increased competition):

---

<sup>67</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Rote Karte für TTIP und Ceta", News article, 2014-08-05 [translation by me].

<sup>68</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Präsent voller Probleme", News article, 2014-12-11 [translation by me].

TTIP is not an agreement whose purpose is to protect or even extend the rights of workers. TTIP is an agreement to facilitate trade and investment between the US and the EU. The rights of workers are nevertheless - or precisely for this reason - a major issue in the negotiations.<sup>69</sup>

and, for example,

We want to trade, but fair. With TTIP it looks different. This agreement would send all farmers in Europe into competition with industrial agriculture in the USA, which costs quality and which many small farms could not last long.<sup>70</sup>

The fourth aspect raised concerns on the possible effects on culture, describing how an already struggling market for German culture (art, movies, books, etc.) would lose its support and not survive the increase in competition. Asking the reader "[i]s culture an asset like any other? Or is it a value in itself?"<sup>71</sup> and featuring, among others, small bookshop owners and people involved in German film production that argued that their businesses would not survive if TTIP was concluded.

#### *Harmonising standards equals lowering standards*

In the articles against TTIP, the potential harmonisation of EU and US standards, to eliminate non-tariff barriers to trade, was often described as a lowering of European standards. The argument being that American standards were always lower than European standards, and that the agreement therefore would allow goods with lower standards to enter the EU market. The most significant here being perhaps the concern for food safety and, for example, the fear that chickens dipped in chloride would be allowed to be sold on the European market.

#### *Lack of transparency*

The free trade agreement negotiations were often described as taking place 'behind closed doors' and many German articles questioned why, if there was nothing to hide with TTIP, the negotiations were not open to the public.

What is actually being negotiated can not be reviewed. Hearers of lawyers in commission and lobbying associations are working on the formulation of treaty texts, but European citizens are fed off with a few soft-washed positions. Members of Parliament are now allowed to read documents in the reading room, make no notes, and certainly not discuss them with their voters. This approach is already a scandal in itself. And the 'learned' texts confirm the worst fears.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Worum geht es eigentlich?", News article, 2014-08-15 [translation by me].

<sup>70</sup> *Bild*, "Kann eine EU-Grüne mal schnell die Welt retten?", News article, 2014-05-22 [translation by me].

<sup>71</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "High Noon in Babelsberg", News article, 2013-07-13 [translation by me].

<sup>72</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Rote Karte für TTIP und Ceta", News article, 2014-08-05 [translation by me].

This demand for more transparency was often brought up in both the positive, negative and neutral articles about TTIP, and several articles featured German politicians asking for more transparency.

Another common frame used was the lobbyists against the activists. According to these articles, the Commission only listened to the lobbyists (being linked to private profit interests), while the NGOs (carrying the public interest) did not get the same attention:

But not the indignant public leads the negotiations, but the EU Trade Commissioner. The Belgian Karel de Gucht is attacked by lobbyists - and especially active are economic associations and groups which are for as unregulated trade as possible. In the early phase of the negotiations, they were given more frequent access to the decision-makers than their counterparts from the TTIP-critical NGOs or trade unions, are now shown by the non-governmental organization Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO).<sup>73</sup>

This argument that NGOs were not receiving the same attention was also presented for discussion about the negotiators on the US side:

The USTR administration is advised by 29 committees, with almost 700 'citizen consultants'. In fact, lobbyists dominate the committees. [...] People who want to sell primarily, do not protect consumers. In the EU, too, lobbyists are over-proportionally influential through so-called expert groups, as a report by the EU-member organization complained only a few days ago.<sup>74</sup>

and, for example,

[...] industry associations are given an insight into the negotiation documents. While they could access the official drafts with all specific rules online via a protected website, consumer groups outside the committees were left with only the public summaries on the website of the office of the US commercial representative, St. Louis of Public Citizen says: 'We have nothing. We have no idea if the office will consider our contributions at all.'<sup>75</sup>

Related to this was the portrayal of 'the little person' against the 'big bad corporations', by for example featuring students creating Facebook-groups against TTIP, interviewing small businesses in Germany that were concerned about effects of a possible agreement, and by giving information about ongoing petitions/demonstrations.

---

<sup>73</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Sturm der Lobbyisten", News Article, 2014-07-08 [translation by me].

<sup>74</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wie die Gentech-Lobby die Freihandelsgespräche ausnutzt", News article, 2014-06-27 [translation by me].

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

### *Negative global consequences*

The EU and the USA are winning at the expense of others - especially the developing and emerging countries. According to a study by the Ifo Institute, Mexico, Niger and Algeria are among the biggest losers through TTIP. According to this forecast, Mexico would lose 7.2 percent of real per capita income. It is precisely in politically unstable states that such a collapse entails great risks.<sup>76</sup>

As illustrated above, a less common argument described how a closer cooperation between the EU and the US would hinder possibilities for developing countries already struggling to enter the market, and that TTIP would have negative global consequences by inducing instability.

### *A strategic partnership*

On the pro-TTIP side, the articles often centred on the planned free trade agreement's possible economic gains by removing unnecessary barriers to trade and further integrating the two biggest economies in the world:

The economic dimensions of this agreement are impressive. The transatlantic population accounts for about 10 percent of the world's population and generates half of the world's gross domestic product. The EU and the United States account for nearly a third (30 %) of world trade, 75 % of global financial transactions and more than 40 % of the world's purchasing power. These figures show: Transatlantic economic relations are by far the largest and strongest in the world. And they are so strong despite the still existing trade barriers. That is to say, the potential of a transatlantic partnership in which trade and investment could be free from tariff and non-tariff barriers is enormous.<sup>77</sup>

The political aspect of this argument was linked to the economic part of connecting the world's two biggest economies, but emphasised the importance of strengthening the West and ensuring that Europe continued to play an important role in shaping global norms (or otherwise risk being left behind):

Perhaps the partnership to be concluded is not an economic project, at least not a political project, but a strategic one. The dramatic world-political changes provide the explanation why this is so. When Americans and Europeans agree on common standards and submit to common regulation, they create a common market and set standards for others. They are growing (still) closer together and thus have the chance to remain the West as the gravity centre of the world (economy).

---

<sup>76</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Verlieren werden die Ärmsten", News article, 2014-08-15 [translation by me].

<sup>77</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Chance des Freihandelsabkommens nutzen", News article, 2013-11-14 [translation by me].

Anyway, this opportunity is not as small as ever. Americans and Europeans could at any rate experience what they have in common, beyond all the allegiance and friendship addresses. They would co-operate as partners with similar liberal constitutional structures, which, for example, feel challenged by China.<sup>78</sup>

In contrast to the negative articles, these articles described the EU and the US as equals in the global political order.

### *Defence is the best offence*

One might almost believe that soon Amazon will demolish German city theatres and Google will take the money from the Federal Cultural Foundation.<sup>79</sup>

Noteworthy is that, except for the argument about potential economic and political benefits mentioned, most of the articles arguing for TTIP did so, not by arguing for the gains, but by trying to lower fears about the planned agreement. Many would question what was considered to be disproportionate concerns about the free trade agreement, arguing that the fears were irrational, and by trying to persuade the reader that no one would, for example, endanger German culture, that possible dangerous goods would not enter the European market (at least not without proper marking) and that the investment protection system would not be misused.

Free trade is intended to prevent democracies from deciding the public's damaging nonsense. Free trade with unhindered traffic of goods, services or workers benefits all, subsidies and trade barriers disguised as environmental or consumer protection distort competition and lead to welfare losses for all.<sup>80</sup>

Or by arguing that the negotiations are not done yet and that judgements about TTIP prior to that are pointless:

Citizens are not allowed to participate in the negotiations, they are only insufficiently informed and have to fear that lobby groups can influence their influence - everything is right. But is it right to reject the negotiations, regardless of their results? As long as a pre-negotiated agreement has to pass through national parliaments, citizens and their representatives remain the most important tool: approval or rejection, in the light of the results.<sup>81</sup>

In terms of the investment protection clause, a couple of articles also emphasised that this was nothing new and that Germany had been a pioneer regarding investment protection. Others would argue that the existing system of investment protection was flawed (due to most of the existing ones being negotiated in the 50's and 60's) and that the TTIP negotiations presented a good opportunity to further improve the system. Overall, they all tried to convince the reader that

---

<sup>78</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Zusammenrücken", News article, 2013-06-29 [translation by me].

<sup>79</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "TTIP", News article, 2013-06-09 [translation by me].

<sup>80</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Demokratie ist überbewertet", News article, 2014-06-08 [translation by me].

<sup>81</sup> *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Zürück zu den Inhalten", News article, 2014-09-18 [translation by me].

investment protection is in fact something that strengthens instead of weakens the legal system.

The draft agreement has not yet been publicly available. However, it is certain that the rules for the protection of mutual investment are very similar to those found in the approximately 3,000 existing investment agreements in the world. Such agreements are not an invention of the European and American negotiators. As early as 1959, the first investment agreement was concluded between Germany and Pakistan. At that time, the contracting parties agreed not to expropriate their respective investors and not to discriminate against national companies. At the time, the Pakistani legal system was not stable enough to offer effective protection against impairments. For legally, a host state does not mind changing its laws to the detriment of foreign investors. Since then, investment agreements have been an important factor in making a state attractive to foreign investors.<sup>82</sup>

Or by arguing that even though both the US and the EU are built on democratic values, they are not without fault:

The disregard of fundamental legal principles is also observed in Europe and North America. Therefore, it is not only diplomatically awkward, but it is simply not possible to distinguish between ‘functioning’ and ‘non-functioning’ legal systems. In America, for example, the case of a Canadian burial company for excitement in the litigation with an American competitor in the case of racist and anti-American accusation in the late 1990s caused an action against America before an international arbitration. The European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg also reminds Europeans that they do not have a spotless past. Germany has already been convicted several times - among other things for the conduct of German courts.<sup>83</sup>

The positive TTIP articles would however also often bring up and mention the same cases that often received a lot of critique (*Vattenfall*, tobacco), and less often brought up good examples of investment protection cases even though they argued that it was an important safety.

---

<sup>82</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, ”Neue Ängste vor freiem Handel”, News article, 2014-01-24 [translation by me].

<sup>83</sup> *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, ”Freihandel braucht Schiedsgerichte”, News article, 2014-11-23 [translation by me].

## 5.4 Frame-setting of TTIP in Sweden

### *Investment protection a threat to democracy*

As already mentioned, there was significantly less material for the Swedish papers to analyse. However, similar to the case of the German papers, the negative frame-setting of TTIP focused on the concern that the agreement would allow foreign investors to challenge the state by creating a private legal system:

A privatized legal system, hidden and out of reach of democracy, where companies by means of ambiguous clauses [gummiparagrafer] on 'indirect expropriation' and 'fair treatment' can sue states for political decisions.<sup>84</sup>

The difference compared to the German articles was however that the main focus of concern was not so much environmental threats, but rather that Sweden might be forced to allow profit interests in welfare services:

With the new US-EU Free Trade Agreement, TTIP, the Union wants to give foreign investors the right to challenge democratic decisions that reduce their profits. The US venture capital company KKR could bring Sweden before a special court when we forbid private profits in the welfare of their company Vardaga (formerly Carema). It's an unreasonable development.<sup>85</sup>

### *Trade is good but...*

For Sweden, as a small export-dependent country, an Atlantic Free Trade Agreement is important. But not at any price.<sup>86</sup>

Many of the negative articles would state that free trade is good, but that there existed concerns that TTIP would allow, for example, goods that were not properly controlled or marked on the Swedish market. The articles therefore demanded more controls of the agreement or that certain aspects of it would be removed (most often the ICS), but did not otherwise reject a free trade agreement with the US.

---

<sup>84</sup> *Göteborgs-Posten*, "Företag vill överklaga demokratiska beslut", News article, 2013-12-02 [translation by me].

<sup>85</sup> *Dagens Nyheter*, "Kräv EU-undantag från påtvingad privatisering", News article, 2014-04-25 [translation by me].

<sup>86</sup> *Aftonbladet*, "EU får inte sälja våra rättigheter", News article, 2014-10-18 [translation by me].

### *Great economic benefits for all*

The benefits of a transatlantic deal are still too big to squander. Increased trade would yield hundreds of billions of dollars in earnings on both sides through higher growth and more jobs. When goods and services become cheaper, people's wages will last longer.

The EU economy continues to have problems, and such a vitamin injection would not be shameful. Little export dependant Sweden's earnings would be significant [inte gå av för hackor].<sup>87</sup>

and, for example,

We already know that trade has built our wealth. More trade creates economic renewal, without troublesome reforms and without expensive stimulus packages.<sup>88</sup>

A common argument for the Swedish articles that were positive of the planned free trade agreement was, as partly illustrated above, the framing of a Europe as a region that had undergone a deep financial crisis and that was desperate for economic stimulus. By emphasising that only a few barriers to trade still exist between the EU and the US, but that “rules, bureaucracy, cultural differences, different standards, and misdirected state subventions”<sup>89</sup> were unnecessary barriers. Harmonising these would be the only logical way forward, and that significant economic gains were to be expected. Emphasis was put on how ‘little export dependent Sweden’ could expect to gain from the agreement.

### *The need to stand up against populism and protectionism*

The second aspect for the positive TTIP articles was the portrayal of how populism and protectionism was on the rise in Europe, and that one had to stand up against forces against international cooperation that threatened a TTIP with great potential benefits for all:

The EU election shows that nationalism is growing ever stronger with simplified EU sceptical messages.

- I am scared of the anti-globalization wave, which also features elements of public criticism against the United States. It's just as if it were dangerous for Europe if the world's two largest economies could grow together even more.

We know from history that those countries that have been open to the outside world are the ones where development has accelerated.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> *Dagens Nyheter*, ”Handla fritt är stort och rätt”, News article, 2014-09-30 [translation by me].

<sup>88</sup> *Dagens Nyheter*, ”Höj rösten för handeln”, News article, 2014-12-21 [translation by me].

<sup>89</sup> *Dagens Nyheter*, ”Handla fritt är stort och rätt”, News article, 2014-09-30 [translation by me].

<sup>90</sup> *Göteborgs-Posten*, ”Nationalismen farlig kraft i EU”, News article, 2014-11-01 [translation by me].

and, for example,

Europe's protectionist choir sings ever stronger.

Free trade talks have aroused a reaction that is increasingly similar to the transatlantic anti-globalization movement in the 1990s.

The myths are familiar. Prior to the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle in 1999, it was said that curry patents would kill Indian restaurants. Today there are chickens dipped in chloride haunting it.<sup>91</sup>

Another point is that the Swedish articles, during the chosen time period, did not feature any NGOs or activists against the agreement, but instead had interviews with Malmström, the then recently appointed trade commissioner of the EU (for the positive articles), and the negative articles would sometimes feature politicians from the left party (Vänstern) and European parliamentarians from the green party (Miljöpartiet) critical of the planned free trade agreement.

---

<sup>91</sup> *Dagens Nyheter*, "Höj rösten för handeln", News article, 2014-12-21 [translation by me].

## 6 Comparison and discussion of the results

Previous studies on agenda-setting have highlighted how newspapers, by choosing to put more emphasis on certain issues, and aspects of an issue, over others, affect public opinion. Newspapers, by continuously highlighting certain issues, play an important role in suggesting what the readers should think, know, and have feelings about. As mentioned in the theory part of this thesis, newspaper articles can therefore be very effective in shaping and legitimising which issues should be considered important as well as certain perceptions of an issue.

The role of agenda-setting is something that we can also see traces of in the results regarding the discussion of TTIP in the German and Swedish papers. When analysing the articles which had TTIP as their main focus of discussion, there were more negative than positive articles about TTIP in Germany. However, important to note is that the readers will have received more or less negative articles on TTIP depending on which of the three papers they read. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* had significantly more negative than positive articles (47 negative and 11 positive). This was somewhat in line with the expectations before this study was conducted, since the newspaper is more centre-left and somewhat more critical of free trade in general. However, the results are still significant considering that EU free trade agreements usually do not receive that much attention in the paper. The one exception being CETA, but the coverage and critique of the recently signed free trade agreement with Canada mainly started after the critique of TTIP, and that critique often centred on CETA being a ‘blueprint’ for TTIP. The readers of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* were therefore presented with a very (negatively) biased representation of TTIP, which is line with the reasoning regarding agenda-setting effects on the German public’s shift in opinion regarding TTIP.

This connection becomes less clear when analysing *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. As with *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* also had a very high coverage of TTIP compared to what could be found for other previous EU trade agreements in the paper, but as a centre-right leaning newspaper, with a generally more favourable position on free trade, it had more positive than negative articles. Noteworthy, however, is that considering that the paper usually has a positive position about free trade, it still had more negative articles than what could be expected. The tabloid analysed for Germany, *Bild*, also put more emphasis on TTIP than what I could find for previous EU trade agreements in the paper, but it had mostly neutral articles and articles only mentioning TTIP.

Noteworthy is also that most of the articles only mentioning TTIP in the German papers did so in a negative way, and this was true for all of the three chosen papers. In *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, TTIP was repeatedly connected to the surveillance carried out by the US on German political leaders and the public. While *Bild*, even though it also mentioned the surveillance, put more emphasis on how TTIP had created difficulties for the political parties, and increased discord within the political parties in Germany over the planned free trade agreement.

The total number of articles discussing TTIP as their main focus, and the articles mentioning TTIP, was therefore significantly more negative than positive. This supports previous studies on agenda-setting in media and newspapers that emphasise that depending on which issues or aspects of an issue get attention by the media, will influence how the public perceives the issue. The majority of the German articles put such a significant amount of focus on negative aspects of TTIP, which seems to support the theory on how newspapers and agenda-setting play a role, since a majority of the population in Germany also centred on TTIP's negative aspects when asked about their opinion of the planned free trade agreement.

Another aspect of importance is that the news coverage of TTIP in Germany, as well as the number of articles discussing it more in-depth, was quite high during the chosen period (2013-2014) when the public opinion on TTIP had not yet shifted (or only just started to do so). One can also observe that the issues that the negative articles put the most focus on in these early articles, are the same issues that were later brought up in the polls as the main concerns of the public regarding TTIP (namely that it would result in a 'race to the bottom' with negative effects on consumer protection and environmental, labour and social standards).

Regarding the Swedish newspapers *Dagens Nyheter* and *Göteborgs-Posten*, their coverage of TTIP was slightly higher than the papers' usual coverage of EU trade agreements, but, from what I could find, not significantly so. Both of the papers also had more positive than negative articles about TTIP (this pattern being the most clear for *Göteborgs-Posten*). This result was expected, considering the fact that both papers are 'independent' and 'independent-liberal'. The total amount of negative and positive articles in the three Swedish papers were however the same (with a total of 7 positive and 7 negative), with the largest percentage of negative articles coming from the tabloid, *Aftonbladet*, that is a more left-leaning paper. The results for the Swedish papers also seem to be in line with theory on newspaper influence and agenda-setting that emphasises how the media can affect what the public consider salient. The coverage of TTIP in the Swedish papers were mainly positive (with *Aftonbladet* being the most negative of the planned free trade agreement), and the Swedish public did therefore not receive the same amount of mainly negative articles as was the situation in Germany, which likely contributed to the Swedish public remaining a largely positive view of TTIP.

While theory on agenda-setting focuses on what issues, or what aspects of an issue, are highlighted, frame-setting theory discusses how this is done. As discussed earlier in this paper, frame-setting in the media has been proven to be effective in influencing public opinion by highlighting certain attributes of an issue, identifying and presenting a ‘problem’, as well as suggesting what the optimal solution would be and motivating the reader to take action. Frame-setting is considered to be most effective when it relates an issue to important values and norms shared in the society, as well as when it emphasises what direct consequences an issue would have on the individuals in the society.

Patterns in the frame-setting were also present in the papers articles about TTIP, since there were significant differences in how TTIP was discussed and what arguments were used (both for the negative and positive articles) between Germany and Sweden. Despite certain differences between the German papers analysed (regarding the volume of negative and positive articles) the same arguments were repeated.

As for the negative articles, the Swedish papers often focused on arguments relating to the *process* of the TTIP negotiations, by questioning aspects of the negotiations and the agreement, but not the value of TTIP in itself. The articles would still highlight the importance of free trade, as well as the importance of a free trade agreement with the US, while arguing that certain aspects needed to be improved, and thus not completely discarding the planned free trade agreement.

The German articles negative of TTIP also brought up arguments that were process oriented and a significant part of that critique focused on what was considered to be non-transparent negotiations, where for example lobbyists had more say in the negotiations than the activists and the average person that were likely to be severely negatively influenced by the planned agreement. But the negative articles in Germany also placed much larger emphasis on arguments relating to the *effects* of the planned agreement. Discussing how TTIP would have negative consequences for food, safety, environment and social standards etc. Furthermore, the expected negative effects of TTIP were often presented as inevitable (‘since the US would not accept anything else of the agreement’, and since ‘the lobbyists would know how to get their way anyway’), and presenting the only good outcome – to reject TTIP.

Furthermore, negative articles in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (but also to a lesser degree in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*) featured NGOs against TTIP and private individuals creating, for example, anti-TTIP Facebook-groups, and gave information about upcoming demonstrations and ongoing petitions against TTIP, which is significant since studies have shown that campaigns by for example NGOs are more effective when gaining coverage in mass media. There were also more articles encouraging the reader to take action against the agreement in a way

that was not present in the negative articles in the Swedish papers. The same kind of encouragement for action was not present in the positive articles in Germany.

One can therefore see linkages to frame-setting emphasising the important role of newspaper articles in presenting a certain problem definition, identifying ‘the other’ and the obstacles for the optimal solution (which for the German articles were mainly the lobbyists and big corporations) and encouraging the reader to take action (by rejecting TTIP).

The language used in the negative articles in Germany was often more forceful compared to the language used in the negative Swedish articles, and the articles often presented a very long list of issues to be expected to influence people negatively if the agreement was concluded. Overall, the list of potential negative aspects of TTIP was considerably longer than the potential gains that were highlighted in the positive articles in the German papers. These issues were often also of a very personal nature (regarding effects on the standard of people’s food, environment, etc.) and the articles continuously presented TTIP as being in conflict with democratic rule and sovereignty in Germany. This is significant for a couple of reasons. Firstly, when media can show a clear linkage between an issue and direct (in this case negative) effects for the reader, it usually has a larger chance of influencing the public’s opinion about that issue. And secondly, the articles often referred to ‘European standards’, democracy and the German legal system being threatened, which is also in line with frame-setting theory on the importance of values and norms for opinion formation. By linking an issue to values and norms in the society such as democracy and environmental and social standards, media is more likely to affect the public’s perception of TTIP.

As for the discussion regarding the positive aspects of TTIP, the articles in Sweden raised many of the same aspects as the positive articles in Germany did, by highlighting the potential benefits of the economy and the strategic aspects of a closer cooperation between the EU and the US (and thereby making sure that the EU continued to be a leader in setting global standards/rules). The Swedish articles, however, also put much more emphasis on the importance of TTIP for (small export dependent) Sweden as well as the importance of standing up for free trade and the values that come with it, in a time of increasing populism and protectionism in Europe and the world. Again, even though these arguments are not necessarily linked to what can be considered direct effects on individuals in the society (overall, both the negative and positive articles in Sweden focused less on direct effects on individuals), it can still be argued to be important since the articles drew attention to a need to protect norms that can be considered important for Sweden and Europe (again, linking the role of values and norms to an issue, and its effect for influencing how one perceives an issue).

The positive articles in Germany used, as already mentioned, many of the same arguments as the Swedish articles regarding the economic and political gains, but noteworthy is how the positive articles in Germany were, for all three papers, much more reactive and defensive in their argumentation. The articles would often question the critique of TTIP as being ‘illogical’ and often listed all the different points of critique towards the planned free trade agreement and thereafter tried to persuade the reader that ‘it would not be *that* bad’, thus discussing very broad potential gains for the economy at large and for the strategic role of the EU, while at the same time presenting a significantly longer list over all of the possible negative effects of TTIP.

As previous studies on frame-setting have illustrated, how an issue is discussed and how the different aspects of an issue are presented play an important role in determining how we as readers interpret it. Even though people are of course not just passive receivers, people are still influenced by how issues are presented to them. The fact that there were many more negative aspects of TTIP raised in the German papers compared to the number of positive aspects, as well as raising negative issues of personal relevance for individuals, seem to support the theory that agenda-setting and frame-setting in the papers played a role in shifting the opinion of TTIP. Likely making TTIP seem more problematic than just a ‘regular free trade agreement’ among the public.

The fact that the negative articles presented such bleak forecasts about the effects of TTIP, suggesting that no good outcome could be expected from the planned agreement and encouraging people to reject it, also seem to support theory based on previous works regarding newspapers effects.

Furthermore, the fact that the positive articles in Germany were overall more defensive in nature and the list of negative aspects being much longer, could also be argued to make the planned agreement appear more uncertain and risky. In most cases, the negative articles focused on discussing why TTIP would be bad due to negative effects on standards etc., but did not in the same degree discuss trade in itself as negative, which could be a possible explanation as to why the German public rejects TTIP but to a large degree remain positive of free trade.

While the Swedish articles on the other hand had a generally more positive outtake on the agreement (even for the negative articles), which likely contributed to the fact that a majority still are in favour of TTIP in Sweden.

## 7 Conclusion

This study found significant differences in how the papers and articles in Germany and Sweden have presented the planned free trade agreement between the EU and the US. These results are in line with previous studies on the role of agenda-setting and frame-setting in media and newspapers (and their effect on public opinion), suggesting that it likely played a role in influencing the German public's attitude about TTIP in a more negative direction.

Agenda-setting has been shown in previous studies to be significant in media and newspapers by making the public focus on certain issues over others and in this way shaping the political reality by emphasising which issues as well as what aspects of an issue are important. The results from the analysis of the articles showed a much higher coverage of TTIP in Germany than in Sweden, with 452 articles compared to only 30 articles in Sweden during 2013-2014. This is significant since it supports previous studies on agenda-setting and it likely increased the perception of TTIP as an issue of high salience in Germany. More importantly, there were more negative articles in Germany than positive, especially when one includes the articles that only mentioned TTIP in discussion of other issues, but that did so in a negative way, which likely contributed to making it appear more controversial in the eyes of the public.

The papers in Sweden, on the other hand, had much less articles on TTIP, and the same amount of positive and negative articles (with 7 positive and 7 negative), with the two newspapers being more positive and the tabloid representing most of the negative coverage of the planned free trade agreement. This also supports previous studies on the role of agenda-setting, since it did not represent any significant shift in the reporting compared to other EU trade agreements, which likely contributed to TTIP not being considered as problematic as in Germany.

Furthermore, the same issues that the people later brought up as the German public's main concerns (in the study from 2016), were also issues that received great attention in the German articles, while the respondents were not really able to say much about possible positive or negative effects in terms of job opportunities etc. which was not really brought up in the articles (at least not from the articles from 2013-2014), and this thus seems to support previous studies.

Previous studies have also shown the effectiveness of frame-setting in newspaper for influencing public opinion by legitimising a certain interpretation of an issue (by for example linking it to values and norms, high levels of uncertainty or direct effects on individuals in the society) and motivating the readers to take action, and there was also evidence of this in the German papers.

The German articles focused a lot on effects and overall raised considerably more possible negative than positive effects. The negative effects were often also of a very personal nature, claiming that TTIP would have negative effects for standards, food, safety, etc. and therefore having direct negative effects on aspects that are important for us as human beings. The negative effects were often presented as being inevitable, while the positive articles about TTIP in Germany mainly brought up broad strategic/political and economic gains, and less about direct positive effects for individuals. Another important note was also the fact that many of the positive articles were of a more defensive nature, and thus also repeated many of the negative aspects while trying to convince the reader that TTIP would not be a bad thing.

A large part of the discussion in the papers also centred on how the harmonisation of standards and the ICS would endanger European standards and democracy, which can be argued to be values and norms that are likely considered more important than the possible gains that a free trade agreement might involve. The representation of TTIP as an agreement with a significant list of possible threats to the society and individuals in the society, while presenting a much shorter list of possible benefits from an agreement, likely contributed to making TTIP seem more risky for the public in Germany.

In Sweden there was also critique of the agreement, but this critique focused more on the process of the negotiations and certain aspects of the agreement, and both the positive and negative articles often pointed out that a free trade agreement with the US was a good thing (even though certain things needed to be improved).

Other aspects that also likely contributed to the negative view of TTIP in Germany was the NGOs and activists, but one could also observe that these received much attention and were often mentioned in the papers, which supports previous studies stating that campaigns by, for example, NGOs are often more effective in reaching the public when the issues are also widely covered by media. This was not observed in the Swedish articles, since when they did feature people it was often the trade commissioner Malmström for the positive articles, and politicians from the left (*Vänstern* and *Miljöpartiet*) that were critical of TTIP, thus likely not providing the same feeling of it being a ‘movement by the people’.

Even though I can not say to what exact extent newspapers in Germany contributed to the negative public opinion of TTIP, based on the comparison with the Swedish papers and the fact that the results seem to support theory on how agenda-setting and frame-setting have had effects before, I argue that it is likely that newspapers did play a role.

## 8 References

- AGMA (2015), Media-Analyse 2015 Pressemedien II, URL: [https://www.agma-mmc.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Pressemitteilungen/2015/PM\\_ma\\_2015\\_Pressemedien\\_II.pdf](https://www.agma-mmc.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Pressemitteilungen/2015/PM_ma_2015_Pressemedien_II.pdf).
- Arfini, Filippo – Maria Cecilia Manvini – Marion Veneziani – Michele Donati (2017), "Sustainability of GI production systems in the framework of the TTIP negotiations" in *Bio-based and Applied Economics*, 5:2, p. 131-133.
- Atkinson, Christopher L. (2016), "The power of 'small business' as pending narrative: an ideographic in UK politics 2004-2013" in *Social Semiotics*, 26:1, p. 19-35.
- Balmas, M – T. Sheafer (2010), "Candidate Image in Election Campaigns: Attribute Agenda Setting, Affective Priming, and Voting Intentions" in *International journal of public opinion research*, 22:2, p. 204–229.
- Bauer, Matthias (2016), "The political power of evoking fear: the shining example of Germany's anti-TTIP campaign movement" in *European View*, 15:2, p. 193-212.
- Bergström, Göran – Kristina Boréus (2005), "Diskursanalys" i *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok I samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys* by Bergström, Göran – Kristina Boréus (red.), Lund: Studentlitteratur, p. 305-362
- Bertelsmann Stiftung (2016), URL: <https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/topics/aktuelle-meldungen/2016/april/in-deutschland-und-den-usa-waechst-die-skepsis-gegenueber-ttip/>;
- BDZV (2016), Die deutschen Zeitungen in Zahlen und Daten 2016
- Bluth, Christian (2016), "Attitudes to global trade and TTIP in Germany and the United States" (GED Study).
- Brewer, P.R. (2001), "Value words and lizard brains: Do citizens deliberate about appeals to their core values?" in *Political Psychology*, 22:1, p. 45-64.
- Cohen, Jonathan – Gabriel Weimann (2000), "Cultivation Revisited: some Genres Have Some Effects on Some Viewers" in *Communication Reports*, 13:2, p. 99-114.
- Dalia Research (2016), URL: [https://daliaresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2016-05-09\\_pressrel\\_TTIP.pdf](https://daliaresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2016-05-09_pressrel_TTIP.pdf).
- EC (2013), "EU and US conclude first round of TTIP negotiations in Washington" (Press Release), URL: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-13-691\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-691_en.htm).
- EC (2014), *Standard Eurobarometer 82*, "Die öffentliche meinung in der Europäischen Union" (Nationaler Bericht).
- EC (2015), *Standard Eurobarometer 83*, "Public Opinion in the European Union" (Report).

- EC1 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, "Allmänna opinionen i Europeiska Unionen" (Nationell rapport).
- EC2 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, "Die öffentliche Meinung in der Europäischen Union" (Nationaler Bericht).
- EC3 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, "Media use in the European Union".
- EC4 (2016), *Standard Eurobarometer 86*, "Public opinion in the European Union" (First results).
- EC1 (2017), URL: <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/in-focus/ttip/about-ttip/>
- EC2 (2017), URL: [http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/in-focus/ttip/about-ttip/impact/#\\_benefits](http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/in-focus/ttip/about-ttip/impact/#_benefits).
- EC3 (2017), "Why the new EU proposal for an Investment Court System in TTIP is beneficial to both States and investors" (Fact Sheet), URL: [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-15-6060\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-6060_en.htm)
- Entman, R.D. (1993) "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm", *Journal of Communication*, 43:4, p. 51–58.
- Esaiasson, Peter – Mikael Giljam – Henrik Oscarsson – Lena Wängnerud (2012), *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*. Stockholm: Norstedts juridik.
- European Parliamentary Research Service Blog (2015), URL: [https://epthinktank.eu/2015/06/16/eu-us-negotiations-on-ttip-a-survey-of-current-issues/support\\_for\\_ttip\\_in\\_eu\\_ms/](https://epthinktank.eu/2015/06/16/eu-us-negotiations-on-ttip-a-survey-of-current-issues/support_for_ttip_in_eu_ms/).
- Gerbner, George (1998), "Cultivation Analysis: An Overview" in *Mass Communication & Society*, 1:3/4, p. 175-194.
- Gutu, Ioana (2016), "The TPP and TTIP Trade Agreements: The International Negotiation Process" in *CES Working Papers*, 8:1, p. 81-92.
- Howard, Philip N. – Muzammill M. Hussain (2011), "The Role of Digital Media" in *Journal of Democracy*, 22:3, p. 35–48.
- Jančić, Davor (2017), "TTIP and legislative-executive relations in EU trade policy" in *West European Politics*, 40:1, p. 202-221.
- Jorgensen, Marianne – Louise J. Phillips (2002), *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, London: SAGE Publications.
- Katikireddi, Srinivasa Vittal – Hilton, Shona (2015), "How did policy actors use mass media to influence the Scottish alcohol minimum unit pricing debate? Comparative analysis of newspapers, evidence submissions and interviews" in *Drugs: Education, Prevention & Policy*, 22:2, p. 125-134.
- Ladd, Jonathan McDonald – Gabriel S. Lenz (2009), "Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media" in *American Journal of Political Science*, 53:2, p. 394-410.
- Lupia, Arthur (1994), "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections" in *The American Political Science Review*, 88:1, p. 63-76.
- Media Perspektiven Basisdaten 2015, URL: [http://www.ard-werbung.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/media-perspektiven/Basisdaten/Basisdaten\\_2015\\_komplett\\_und\\_verlinkt.pdf](http://www.ard-werbung.de/fileadmin/user_upload/media-perspektiven/Basisdaten/Basisdaten_2015_komplett_und_verlinkt.pdf).
- McCombs, Maxwell E. – Donald L. Shaw (1972), "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media" in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:2, p. 176-187.

- McCombs, Maxwell E. (2005), "A Look at Agenda-setting: past, present and future" in *Journalism Studies*, 6:4, p. 543-557.
- Myndigheten för press, radio och TV (2015), "Medieutveckling 2015", URL: <http://www.radioochtv.se/Documents/Publikationer/1/Medieutveckling-2015-webb.pdf>.
- Nordicom (2015), "Sveriges Mediebarometer 2015".
- Norris, P. (2006), "Did the Media Matter? Agenda-Setting, Persuasion and Mobilization Effects in the British General Election Campaign" in *British Politics*, 1:2, p. 195–221.
- Pan, Z – G.M. Kosicki (1997), "Priming and Media Impact on the Evaluations of the President's Performance in Political Communication", 14:3, p. 3-30
- Phillips, Nelson – Cynthia Hardy (2002), *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction*, London: SAGE Publications.
- Reeves, Aaron – Robert de Vries (2016), "Does media coverage influence public attitudes towards welfare recipients?" in *British Journal of Sociology*, 67:2, p. 281-306.
- Robertson, Alexa (2015), "What's Going on? Making Sense of the Role of the Media in the Arab Uprisings" in *Sociology Compass*, 9:7, p. 531-541.
- Ružeková, Viera (2016), "Prospects for the EU-US Trade Relations in the Light of the TTIP" in *Studia Commercialia Bratislavensia*, 9:34, p. 211-221.
- Scheufele, Dietram A. (2000), "Agenda-setting, Priming and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication" in *Mass Communication & Society*, 3:2/3, p. 297-316.
- Shoemaker, Pamela J. – Martin Eichholz – Eunyi Kim – Brenda Wrigley (2001), "Individual and routine forces in gatekeeping" in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 78:2, p. 233-246.
- SOM-institutet (2016), SOM-rapport 2016:26.
- Strömbäck, Jesper (2008), "Four Phases of Mediatization: An analysis of the Mediatization of Politics" in *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13:3, p. 228-246.
- Tan, Yue – David H. Weaver (2010), "Media Bias, Public Opinion, and Policy Liberalism from 1956 to 2004: A Second-Level Agenda-Setting Study" in *Mass Communication and Society*, 13:4, p. 412-434.
- Teorell, Jan - Torsten Svensson (2007). *Att fråga och att svara: samhällsvetenskaplig metod. 1. uppl.* Stockholm: Liber.
- Teutsch, Doris – Julia Niemann (2016), "Social network sites as a threat to users' self-determination and security: A framing analysis of German newspapers" in *The Journal of International Communication*.
- Törrönen, Jukka (2000), "The Passionate Text. The Pending Narrative as a Macrostructure of Persuasion" in *Social Semiotics*, 10:1, p. 81-98.
- van der Pas, Daphne (2014), "Making Hay While the Sun Shines: Do Parties Only Respond to Media Attention When the Framing Is Right?" in *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19:1, p. 42-65.
- Wallace, James D. (2009), *Norms and Practises*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p. 2-3.

Woolcock, Stephen (2008), "The potential impact of the Lisbon Treaty on European Union External Trade Policy" in *European Policy Analysis*, Issue 8-2008.

## 8.1 List of articles

### 8.1.1 The German articles

- Bild*, "Die 8 Größten Problem eder Welt", News article, 2013-06-17.
- Bild*, "Deutschen winkt Lohn-Plus von 5 Prozent", News article, 2013-07-08.
- Bild*, "Handys, Kleidung, Autos – so günstig könnt es werden!", News article, 2013-07-09.
- Bild*, "Die Kanzlerin auf schwerer US-Mission", News article, 2014-05-01.
- Bild*, "Schließen Merkel und Obama Anti-Putin-Pakt?", News article, 2014-05-02.
- Bild*, "Beifall und Buh-Rufe für Martin Schulz", News article, 2014-05-03.
- Bild*, "Chlorhühnchen-Streit bei Anne Will", News article, 2014-05-15.
- Bild*, "Wasserwerfer-Einsatz nach Elbphi-Demo. 2014-05-17.
- Bild*, "Kann eine EU-Grüne mal schnell die Welt retten?", News article, 2014-05-22.
- Bild*, "Entscheidet der Zoff um Chlor-Hähnchen die Europawahl?", News article, 2014-05-25.
- Bild*, "Klare Kante", News article, 2014-07-10.
- Bild*, "Dieser Politiker kassierte bis zu 240 000 Euro seit Jahresbeginn", News article, 2014-07-26.
- Bild*, "Was steckt wirklich hinter Gabriels Wutanfall?", News article, 2014-09-21.
- Bild*, "Darum ist Freihandel gut für uns!", News article, 2014-09-30.
- Bild*, "Italien will TTIP ohne Chlorhühnchen", News article, 2014-10-06.
- Bild*, "Warum uns die Amis plötzlich wieder lieb haben", News article, 2014-10-23.
- Bild*, "So zerlegt sich die AfD", News article, 2014-11-01.
- Bild*, "Was ändert sich in Washington?", News article, 2014-11-05.
- Bild*, "Chlorhuhn-Debatte lenkt von TTIP-Chancen ab", News article, 2014-11-06.
- Bild*, "Amerika wählt!", News article, 2014-11-13.
- Bild*, "Obama: 'Ich habe Euch verstanden'", News article, 2014-11-13.
- Bild*, "Warum der US-Präsident eine gerupfte, lahme Ente ist", News article, 2014-11-13.
- Bild*, "Das Gipfel-Duell zwischen Merkel und Putin", News article, 2014-11-15.
- Bild*, "Dieser Musiker ist Berlins neuer Piraten-Chef", News article, 2014-11-15.
- Bild*, "Warum lernt die CSU den Namen der Kanzlerin nicht?", News article, 2014-12-12.

*Bild*, "Wir müssen auf Pegida-Demonstranten zugehen", News article, 2014-12-17.

*Bild*, "Sanktionen gegen Putin bleiben!", News article, 2014-12-19.

*Bild*, "Mr. Bayern-Sound wird heute 70!", News article, 2014-12-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandel nutzt immer", News article, 2013-02-14.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Amerika stimmt Beitritt Japans zu Abkommen zu", News article, 2013-04-13.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "DIHK will keine Tabus im transatlantischen Handel", News article, 2013-05-02.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Obama schließt letzte Lücken im Kabinett. 2013-05-03.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Angst in Amerika vor Freihandelsabkommen mit Europa", News article, 2013-05-31.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "TTIP", News article, 2013-06-09.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Vom Freihandel profitieren vor allem die Amerikaner", News article, 2013-06-17.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Transatlantische Marktwirtschaftler", News article, 2013-06-18.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Merkeln gegen neue Ausnahmen vom Freihandel", News article, 2013-06-17

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Wirtschaft dringt auf den Freihandel", News article, 2013-06-18.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Zusammenrücken", News article, 2013-06-29.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Merkel und Obama weiter für Freihandel", News article, 2013-07-05.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Obama und Merkel: Freihandel hat Priorität", News article, 2013-07-05.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "TERMIN EDER WOCHE", News article, 2013-07-08.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Finanzdienste stören Freihandelsgespräche", News article, 2013-07-10.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "High Noon in Babelsberg", News article, 2013-07-13.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Amerika und EU loben Verhandlung", News article, 2013-07-13.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "EU-Kommissar droht Amerika mit Vergeltung", News article, 2013-07-13.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "NSA-Skandal droht Freihandelsgespräche zu belasten", News article, 2013-07-18.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandel mit Europa hilft allen Bundesstaaten", News article, 2013-09-25.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Chance des Freihandelsabkommens nutzen", News article, 2013-11-14.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Amerika betreibt keine Industriespionage", News article, 2013-11-15.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "In Europa ist der Rückspiegel einklappbar – in Amerika nicht", News article, 2013-12-04.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Beim Freihandelsabkommen geht es auch um Investitionsschutz", News article, 2013-12-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Was der Handelskompromiss von Bali wirklich bringt", News article, 2013-12-14.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Mittelständler wachsen in Amerika", News article, 2013-12-18.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Neue Ängste vor freiem Handel", News article, 2014-01-24.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Obama will Vollmacht für Freihandel", News article, 2014-01-30.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Streit um Handelsverträge", News article, 2014-01-31.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Handelswege der Zukunft", News article, 2014-02-05.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Auftakt zum 'knallgrünen' Europawahlkampf", News article, 2014-02-07.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Kampf gegen das Chlorhühnchen", News article, 2014-02-10.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Honigbiene statt Handelsabkommen", News article, 2014-02-10.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Eine Chance für den Welthandel", News article, 2014-02-14.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Handelsgespräche mit Amerika stocken", News article, 2014-02-14.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "EU wehrt Hormonfleisch ab", News article, 2014-02-19.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Schiedsgerichte sind keine geheime Paralleljustiz der Konzerne", News article, 2014-02-26.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die rechte Hand von Nahles", News article, 2014-02-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandel mit Risiken", News article, 2014-02-28.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Amerikaner von eigenem Handelsangebot peinlich berührt", News article, 2014-03-06.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Der Preis der Demokratie", News article, 2014-03-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Lobby ist immer und überall", News article, 2014-03-29.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gabriel im Freihandelsspagat", News article, 2014-04-01.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Amerika soll Energie-Export starker öffnen", News article, 2014-04-04.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Mehrheit für Freihandel", News article, 2014-04-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "In Sorge um den deutschen Arbeitsschutz", News article, 2014-04-22.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Wirtschaft drängt", News article, 2014-05-02.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Hilfe, ein Hähnchen aus Amerika!", News article, 2014-05-04.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Der Kandidat ist die Botschaft", News article, 2014-05-05.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gabriel: Bundestag soll über Freihandel abstimmen", News article, 2014-05-06.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Schulz will TTIP nicht um jeden Preis", News article, 2014-05-06.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Angst vor dem Freihandel", News article, 2014-05-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Wir steigern das Brutto-Glücksprodukt", News article, 2014-05-15.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Protest gegen TTIP in Brüssel", News article, 2014-05-15.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandel auch mit Maschinen", News article, 2014-05-17.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Ein Freihandelsabkommen mit vielen Fragezeichen", News article, 2014-05-19.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Im Aufzug in den Weltraum", News article, 2014-05-19.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Ein bisschen Frieden, ein bisschen Rufen", News article, 2014-05-21.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gabriel bindet Kritiker des Freihandels ein", News article, 2014-05-22.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Kann das Parlament den Freihandel mit Amerika stoppen?", News article, 2014-05-22.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Störfeuer gegen das Handelsabkommen", News article, 2014-05-23.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Ein Kreuz für Europa", News article, 2014-05-24.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Wie viel Pestizide dürfen es denn sein?", News article, 2014-05-24.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Merkel wirbt für TTIP", News article, 2014-05-24.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Merkel: Kein Import von Chlorhühnchen", News article, 2014-05-26.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Europa ist uneins über Freihandel", News article, 2014-05-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Grüne Parteispitze scheut Votum für Juncker", News article, 2014-05-31.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Macht der Freihandel den Rechtsstaat kaput?", News article, 2014-06-01.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Unkalkulierbare Gefahr für die Souveränität", News article, 2014-06-05.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Demokratie ist überbewertet", News article, 2014-06-08.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Apologie des Chlorhühnchens", News article, 2014-06-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Das Chlorhühnchen wird nicht kommen". 2014-06-15.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Wirbel um zweites EU-Abkommen", News article, 2014-06-20.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Angstkampagnen gegen Freihandel", News article, 2014-06-24.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Chor der Hysteriker", News article, 2014-06-24

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Große Fußballpatrioten", News article, 2014-06-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "AfD-Chef bekennt sich zum Freihandel mit Amerika", News article, 2014-07-01.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Luckes Scheitern im EU-Parlament wirft Fragen auf", News article, 2014-07-09.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Lucke erhält kein Spitzenamt in Straßburg. 2014-07-15.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Brüssel verhandelt", News article, 2014-07-15.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Das Freihandelsabkommen wird noch viele Jahre nicht kommen", News article, 2014-07-15.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Sie suchen wa sim Internet, with schreiben mit", News article, 2014-07-16.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gegen Abkommen mit Amerika", News article, 2014-07-16.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Ein Defizitsünder als Währungskommissar?", News article, 2014-07-18.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Rekordresonanz zum Freihandelsabkommen", News article, 2014-07-19.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Profi-Mobilisierer gegen den Freihandel", News article, 2014-07-20.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Im Wilden Westen", News article, 2014-07-22.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Angst vor dem Kapitalismus durch die Hintertür", News article, 2014-07-25.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Goethe-Institut: Kultur von TTIP ausnehmen", News article, 2014-07-26.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Amerika ist noch weit weg", News article, 2014-07-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Wir sind Kümmerer, keine Krieger", News article, 2014-07-29.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Rückschlag für den Freihandel", News article, 2014-08-02.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Suche nach dem guten Amerika", News article, 2014-08-03.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Deutsche Handelsgegner", News article, 2014-08-09.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Protesbewegung in Europa gegen Freihandel", News article, 2014-08-09.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Und die Provinz?", News article, 2014-08-10.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Mittelstand zwischen Hoffnung und Unsicherheit", News article, 2014-08-16.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Das Netz – Raum der Chancen und der Freiheit", News article, 2014-08-18.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Schiedsurteil gegen Turkmenistan", News article, 2014-08-19.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Chlorhühnchen zeigt Wirkung", News article, 2014-09-10.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Chlorhühnchen wirkt", News article, 2014-09-03.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandel nützt den Farmern", News article, 2014-09-04.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Schiefergas als Chance", News article, 2014-09-05.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Amerikaner sehen Deutschland positive", News article, 2014-09-05.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Defiliermarsch des Mister Maut", News article, 2014-09-09.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "EU macht Druck für freien Energiehandel", News article, 2014-09-10.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Maas für Abstriche bei TTIP", News article, 2014-09-17.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandel? Ja, aber...", News article, 2014-09-19.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Merkel warnt TTIP-gegner", News article, 2014-09-20.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandelsgegner ziehen vor EU-Gericht", News article, 2014-09-20.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gabriels Kampf für den Freihandel", News article, 2014-09-21.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "SPD stellt Bedingungen für Handelabkommen", News article, 2014-09-22.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Einigung trotz Misstrauen", News article, 2014-09-22.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Regierung lässt sich ihre Haltung zum Freihandel bestätigen", News article, 2014-09-23.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Unruhe im Düsseldorfer Daimler-Werk", News article, 2014-09-22.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Kommissar De Gucht wirbt für Freihandel", News article, 2014-09-25.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Eine Einfuhr von Chlorhühnchen ist ausgeschlossen", News article, 2014-09-25.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Licht in den Schutz der Investoren", News article, 2014-09-26.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandel, Eiertänze und Rentner in Brüssel", News articles, 2014-09-26.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Rot-Rot-Grün würde am Chlorhühnchen scheitern", News article, 2014-09-26.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Hormonfreie Steaks und griechischer Wein", News article, 2014-09-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Oh, Kanada", News article, 2014-09-28.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Malmström will TTIP ohne Schiedsgerichte", News article, 2014-09-29.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "EU beugt sich Druck der Freihandelsgegner", News article, 2014-09-29.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Besser wenig als nichts", News article, 2014-09-29.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Neue Kommission uneins über Freihandelsabkommen", News article, 2014-09-30.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Bei Ttip geht es nicht um Blinker", News article, 2014-09-30.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Den Bürbern näher gerückt", News article, 2014-09-30.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Integration Russlands in den Westen war eine Illusion", News article, 2014-09-30.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Kommissarin mit Rückgrat", News article, 2014-09-30.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Europa, exportiere deine Were!", News article, 2014-09-30.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Weg frei für Malmström als EU-Kommissarin", News article, 2014-10-01.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Italien will die Chlorhühnchen ausklammern", News article, 2014-10-06.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Warnung vor 'Paralleljustiz'", News article, 2014-10-08.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Angstkampagne", News article, 2014-10-09.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Protest gegen Salafismus", News article, 2014-10-10.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "EU macht Freihandelsdokumente öffentlich", News article, 2014-10-10.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Mal sehen, was die nächste Schweinerei ist", News article, 2014-10-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "De Gucht: Keine Änderung an Ceta", News article, 2014-10-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Protestmarsch gegen Freihandelsabkommen und Gentechnik", News article, 2014-10-14.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Der gejagte Gabriel", News article, 2014-10-15.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "AmCham verteidigt Freihandelsabkommen", News article, 2014-10-16.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Vattenfall fordert 5 Milliarden", News article, 2014-10-16.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gewichtige Bedenken gegen TTIP", News article, 2014-10-16.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Standards in Gefahr", News article, 2014-10-16.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Ärger über Chlorhuhndebatte", News article, 2014-10-22.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Juncker drückt sich", News article, 2014-10-31.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gabriel: Freihandel gelassen sehen", News article, 2014-10-24.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "IG Metall gegen TTIP", News article, 2014-10-14.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Attacke auf Attac", News article, 2014-10-26.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Nachrichten", News article, 2014-10-26.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Notwendiger Nobehef", News article, 2014-10-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Vattenfall-Klage kostet schon jetzt Millionen", News article, 2014-10-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Henkel: Innerparteilich für Aufklärung sorgen", News article, 2014-10-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Brief an den unbekanntenen Querulanten", News article, 2014-10-28.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Der Despot ist bezwungen", News article, 2014-10-30.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandel mit Amerika spaltet Deutschland", News article, 2014-11-01.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Frau für den Freihandel", News article, 2014-11-02.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Henkel will weiter für AfD kämpfen", News article, 2014-11-05.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Wirtschaft greift Gabriel an", News article, 2014-11-08.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Schulden Machen, ohne Schulden zu Machen", News article, 2014-11-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gabriel halt am Freihandel mit Amerika fest", News article, 2014-11-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Kommunen gehen gegen Freihandel auf Barrikaden", News article, 2014-11-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Der leise Fraktionsvorsitzende", News article, 2014-11-16.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "SPD-Linke unzufrieden mit Kurs der Parteiführung", News article, 2014-11-17.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Protektionismus schreitet voran", News article, 2014-11-18.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "EU verspricht mehr Transparenz bei TTIP", News article, 2014-11-20.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Brüssel verspricht Lobbyisten-Kontakte offensulegen", News article, 2014-11-20.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Exporteure bleiben zuversichtlich", News article, 2014-11-20.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Shitstormokratie", News article, 2014-11-20

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Freihandel braucht Schiedsgerichte", News article, 2014-11-23.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gabriel will Asien durch TTIP zu höheren Standards zwingen", News article, 2014-11-24.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Streit um Google belastet Politik", News article, 2014-11-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Das Schiedsgericht und der Ökostrom", News article, 2014-11-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gabriel brüskiert SPD-Linke", News article, 2014-11-28.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Unruhe in der SPD-Linken", News article, 2014-11-29.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Attacs Lieblingsstudie", News article, 2014-11-30.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "TTIP ist für die Menschen in Europa etwas Gutes!", News article, 2014-12-01.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gabriels Nachverhandlungen", News article, 2014-12-01.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Unterstützung für Gabriel im Streit über TTIP", News article, 2014-12-01.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Politik für Stahlwerker", News article, 2014-12-03.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Ack, so denkt man nun also über uns", News article, 2014-12-04.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "SPD streitet weiter über Freihandel", News article, 2014-12-04.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Hysterie über Thüringen ist abenteuerlich", News article, 2014-12-06.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Gewerkschaften ist der Freihandel suspekt", News article, 2014-12-08.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Ein bisschen Brodeln gehört dazu", News article, 2014-12-08.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die Schiefsgerichte sind notwendig", News article, 2014-12-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Vosricht, Stallgeruch!", News article, 2014-12-11.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Fleisch ist zu billig" – "Nein. Wir sind in einer freien Welt.", News article, 2014-12-12.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Die EU-Kommissionen mistet aus", News article, 2014-12-13.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "CSU will 'Taktgeber und Schrittmacher' in Berlin sein", News article, 2014-12-15.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Das Jahr 2015 wird hart", News article, 2014-12-21.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Exportwirtschaft sieht Chancen im Ausland skeptischer", News article, 2014-12-22.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Familienunternehmer verteidigen Freihandel mit Amerika", News article, 2014-12-23.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Mehrklassenjustiz droht", News article, 2014-12-24.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "'Stop TTIP': Einig nur gegen den Konzernkapitalismus", News article, 2014-12-27.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Der Führungsmangel der Europäer", News article, 2014-12-29.

*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "Ich scanne, also fälsche ich", News article, 2014-12-31.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU einigt sich auf Verhandlungen mit USA", News article, 2013-06-14.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Deutschland profitiert weniger vom Freihandelsabkommen als alle anderen", News article, 2013-06-17.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Gereiztheit unter Freunden", News article, 2013-07-01.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "China und Schweiz unterzeichnen Freihandelsabkommen", News article, 2013-07-06.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Mehr Konsum für weniger Geld", News article, 2013-07-08.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wagnis für Wachstum", News article, 2013-07-09.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Der richtige Anstoß", News article, 2013-08-10.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wie die EU ihre Daten schützen könnte", News article, 2013-10-25.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Ischinger wirbt für Anti-Spionage-Abkommen", News article, 2013-11-06.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU-Kommissar De Gucht soll vor Gericht", News article, 2013-11-08.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Was das Freihandelsabkommen für Verbraucher und Unternehmen bedeutet", Newspaper, 2013-11-11.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Viele Fragen, wenige Antworten", News article, 2013-11-16.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Ein Abschluss wie eine Krönung", News article, 2013-12-09.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU spricht mit USA weiter über Freihandel", News article, 2014-01-17.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Feuer unter Freunden", News article, 2014-02-04.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Europa bringt Verteidigung gegen Konzernklagen in Stellung", News article, 2014-02-05.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU-Handelskommissar De Gucht: Kein Hormonfleisch in Europa durch TTIP", News article, 2014-02-18.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Internes Papier zeigt Berlins Skepsis zum Freihandelsabkommen", News article, 2014-02-27.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "US-Firmen wollen an Europas Gasvorräte", News article, 2014-02-28.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU-Parlament könnte wegen NSA Freihandelsabkommen platzen lassen", News article, 2014-03-12.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "'Historische Initiative' mit umstrittenen Klauseln", News article, 2014-03-24.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Hintergrund: Die Ergebnisse des EU-USA-Gipfels in Brüssel", News article, 2014-03-26.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Deutsche fürchten US-Verbraucherschutz", News article, 2014-04-10.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Tempolimit für Turboschweine", News article, 2014-04-29.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Merkel zeigt Feigheit vor dem Freund USA", 2014-04-30.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Europa vor Gericht", News article, 2014-05-01.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU-Parlament winkt Sonderrechte für Großkonzerne durch", News article, 2014-05-01.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Kleinste Gesten der Zuneigung", News article, 2014-05-02.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Merklen und Obama drängen Putin zum Einleken", News article, 2014-05-03.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "In Ohnmacht vereint", News article, 2014-05-04.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Krankenkassen fordern mehr Sicherheit bei Implantaten und Prothesen", News article, 2014-05-04.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Sieg über das Gesetz", News article, 2014-05-04.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Handelsabkommen: EU and USA wollen Verbraucher beruhigen", News article, 2014-05-05.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Mit Arroganz gegen die Angst", News article, 2014-05-05.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Was Politiker über Datenschutz denken", News article, 2014-05-07.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Schulz kämpft mit Wucht – Juncker kontert mit Humor", News article, 2014-05-08.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Merkel verteidigt Freihandelsabkommen", News article, 2014-05-10.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Gabriel lehnt Steuererhöhungen erneut ab", News article, 2014-05-14.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Polizei nimmt in Brüssel 250 Demonstranten fest", News article, 2014-05-15.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU-Spitzenkandidaten für harten Kurs gegenüber Putin", News article, 2014-05-16.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Handelskommissar will mehr deutsches Engagement für TTIP", News article, 2014-05-17.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU und USA setzen Verhandlungen über Freihandelszone fort", News article, 2014-05-18.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wahlkampf der Unsichtbaren", News article, 2014-05-19.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU und USA setzen Gespräche über Freihandelszone fort", News article, 2014-05-19.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "TTIP-Abkommen nur mit Europas Datenschutz-Standards", News article, 2014-05-20.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Juncker gibt sich 'fantastisch' – Schulz ganz dankbar", News article, 2014-05-21.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Schilhabels Vermächtnis", News article, 2014-05-21.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Verhandlungsstart mit Zähneknirschen", News article, 2014-05-21.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Der Prozess ist ganz klar getrübt", News article, 2014-05-21.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Es geht um mehr als nur Zölle", News article, 2014-05-21.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wikileaks veröffentlicht Details von Verhandlungen", News article, 2014-05-21.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Kleingeistige Ego-Show", News article, 2014-05-22.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Kontroverse über Freihandelsabkommen", News article, 2014-05-22.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Kulturstaatsstreich", News article, 2014-05-22.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Eine Debatte oder Furcht", News article, 2014-05-24.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Maschinisten der Macht", News article, 2014-05-25.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wir sind der universelle Sündenbock", News article, 2014-05-27.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Grüne uneins über Votum für Juncker", News article, 2014-05-31.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wählen Sie Ihr Wunsch-Thema", News article, 2014-06-04.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Das Freihandelsabkommen ist Ihr/unser Thema", News article, 2014-05-05.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Verstehen Sie TTIP?", News article, 2014-06-16.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Mehr Aufklärung bitte!", News article, 2014-06-21.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Europa macht sich klein", News article, 2014-06-23.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Das ist keine Bewerbungsrede", News article, 2014-06-25.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Bundesregierung gibt sich ahnungslos", News article, 2014-06-26.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Rindfleisch ohne Grusel", News article, 2014-06-26.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "TTIP im Faktencheck", News article, 2014-06-27.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wie die Gentech-Lobby Freihandelsgespräche ausnutzt", News article, 2014-06-27.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Was sich die Euroäische Union vornimmt", News article, 2014-06-27.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Lehrerverband warnt vor Risiken für Bildung bei TTIP-Abkommen", News article, 2014-06-29.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Als über die Zukunft des Geldes entschieden wurde", News article, 2014-07-01.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Länder für mehr Offenheit bei geplantem Freihandelsabkommen", News article, 2014-07-06.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Zerstörung eines Bündnisses", News article, 2014-07-08.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Gutes Fracking, böses Fracking", News article, 2014-07-08.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Sturm der Lobbyisten", News article, 2014-07-08.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wappentier des Chlorchors", News article, 2014-07-08.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wider die neoliberalen Glaubenssätze", News article, 2014-07-11.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "CDU-Politiker Bosbach will TTIP-Verhandlungen stoppen", News article, 2014-07-12.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "EU und USA sprechen wieder über Freihandel", News article, 2014-07-14.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Wie Bürger TTIP stoppen sollen", News article, 2014-07-15.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Aufklären, nicht abhören", News article, 2014-07-16.

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Speed-Dating mit Lobbyisten", News article, 2014-07-17.

### 8.1.2 The Swedish articles

*Aftonbladet*, "Ett globalt förslag mot vänsterpolitik", News article, 2013-12-13.

*Aftonbladet*, "Jag agerade som en medmänniska", News article, 2014-05-20.

*Aftonbladet*, "EU viker sig för oljeföretagen", News article, 2014-08-04.

*Aftonbladet*, "Likgiltiga liberaler – Anders Johansson svarar Jasenko Selimovic – och varnar för det verkliga hotet mot demokratin", News article, 2014-09-06.

*Aftonbladet*, "EU får inte sälja våra rättigheter", News article, 2014-10-18.

*Aftonbladet*, "Malmström i centrum i en politisk såpa", News article, 2014-10-26.

*Aftonbladet*, "Klein ser ljuset i klimatmörkret – Jesper Weithz läser en bok som ger framtidshopp", News article, 2014-12-15.

*Dagens Nyheter*, "Frågor och svar. Handelsavtalet", News article, 2013-09-02.

*Dagens Nyheter*, "Kräv EU-undantag från påtvingar privatisering", News article, 2014-04-25.

*Dagens Nyheter*, "Ministern lovar stoppa dopad mat – Frihandelsavtalet med USA", News article, 2014-05-27.

*Dagens Nyheter*, "Fabius: Böter hotar avtal", News article, 2014-06-07.

*Dagens Nyheter*, "UD: Så ökar exporten med frihandelsavtal", News article, 2014-07-25.

*Dagens Nyheter*, "Handla fritt är stort och rätt", News article, 2014-09-30.

*Dagens Nyheter*, "Fascismen och kapitalismen sitter i samma båt", News article, 2014-10-28.

*Dagens Nyheter*, "EU och USA har långt kvar till ett färdigt avtal", 2014-12-12.

*Dagens Nyheter*, "Höj rösten för handeln", News article, 2014-12-21.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Företag vill överklaga demokratiska beslut", News article, 2013-12-02.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Obama trevar och avvaktar i utrikesfrågorna", News article, 2014-05-04.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Massans frustration beror inte bara på kulturskribenterna", News article, 2014-05-07.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Chans att öka handeln med miljöriktig mat", News article, 2014-05-20.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Väljarna har mycket att tjäna på stärkt EU", News article, 2014-05-22.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Elevernas frågor imponerar på v-ledaren", News article, 2014-05-24.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Malmström får nytt toppjobb i EU", 2014-09-11.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "EU:s nya skräckkabinett måste stoppas", 2014-09-30.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Rävspelet fortsätter – EU: Den nya ledningen håller på att ta form", News article, 2014-10-11.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "MP:s motstånd mot EU:s frihandelsavtal osakligt", News article, 2014-10-29.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Nationalismen en farlig kraft i EU", 2014-11-01.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Frihandelsavtal med USA bra för Göteborg", News article, 2014-11-04.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Vi granskar vad TTIP-avtalet faktiskt innebär", News article, 2014-11-07.

*Göteborgs-Posten*, "Siktet inställt på nytt handelsavtal", News article, 2014-11-15.