

**Comparison of the development of the Icelandic and Norwegian European  
integration debates by means of a discourse analysis**

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# 1. Introduction

## 1. 1. Background

In every potential European Union (EU) member state, a certain debate takes place whether this country should join the EU or not. In the corresponding literature, there are two obvious characteristics how the national debates can be distinguished. On the one hand, the intensity of this debate is variable among the different potential member states. On the other hand, (national) debates can be distinguished, according to the actual issues of the debate. Moreover, concerning these issues of the national debates, there are also, in most scientific writings, different positions put forward. These three aspects are used to analyse and categorise national debates. Furthermore in this context, a comparison will be conducted between the European integration debates of two countries. To realise the categorisation and the comparison, a "discourse analysis" of the European integration debates will be conducted. According to Fulcher (2012), this kind of analysis focuses on written or spoken language. It is about a categorisation of the debates into different phases. Basically there is a two step categorisation conducted in this thesis that in the first step describes the different issues that were intensively discussed and in the second step the positions that were especially present in the debate. In this thesis, the comparison is conducted between the Icelandic European integration debate and the debate related to the different steps towards a certain degree of Europeanisation of Norway. The comparison between Iceland and Norway is a quite promising one because there are many similarities between the countries. Among others, both countries are rather political isolated countries in Northern Europe because they do not belong to the EU.<sup>1</sup> There is also a clear historical connection between these countries ("History of Iceland", 2006).

Although the mentioned similarities are already significant ones, there is another aspect that needs to be put forward that refers to the special decision-making in both of these countries.

Both countries allow their citizens the final decision whether they should join the EU or not. In 1972 and 1994 a referendum already took place in Norway where the citizens decided in a close decision not to join the European Economic Community (EEC)/EU<sup>2</sup> (Szabó, 2007). Iceland also applied for EU membership in 2009.<sup>3</sup> That is why Iceland and Norway can be considered as part of this most similar cases study concerning important characteristics like their reluctance to join the EU or their willingness to make decision according to referenda. So due to the similarities, these countries can be considered as a good opportunity for a comparison. Comparisons between Nordic countries are also quite common in the

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<sup>1</sup> The political isolation refers to the comparison to a member state of the EU.

<sup>2</sup> Due to the fact that the EU was officially founded by the Maastricht treaty in 1992 (Nugent, 2006), it is crucial to include the EEC in the research question to make it possible to relate to the organisation that can be seen as forerunner of the EU. To simplify this issue, I will only write "EU" when I refer to a phase when the EEC and the EU existed.

<sup>3</sup> Because of its importance in the current EU negotiations, Iceland is the country that is a bit more in the focus of this thesis.

literature. So it is an idea that had been successfully realised in other scientific papers.<sup>4</sup> Moreover the comparison is especially interesting because of the clear connection between the Icelandic citizens and Norway.

According to the "Eurobarometer", a survey created by the European Commission, on different attitudes in Iceland, most Icelanders see Norway as the most appropriate (national) model for their country. Furthermore for most Icelanders, Norway is the country that they feel closest to (European Commission, 2011).<sup>5</sup> Due to the many similarities and the clear connection between these countries, there might also be some similarities in the debates that were conducted within these countries in the context of an EU membership. In general, this thesis need to be considered as a "case-oriented analysis". According to Babbie (2007, p.379), a case-oriented analysis can be defined as "an analysis that aims to understand a particular case or several cases by looking closely at the details of each". The planned analysis of the debates seems to be appropriate, because there are examples for writings (among others Nugent (2006)) that explain that the different attitudes related to fishing are the main reason for an Icelandic rejection of an EU membership. Aegisson (2011) contradicts this statements by putting forward that fishing is only one aspect among several others issues in the debate around the attitude of Iceland towards EU membership.

So the aspect fishery need not necessarily be the most important one. Concerning Norway, there is the example of the oil resources of the country that often dominate the debate (Schroth, 2011) but, similar to Iceland, simplifying the debate towards this economic topic is not appropriate. So this thesis can also be considered as a paper to clarify how far the mentioned Icelandic aspect play a role and how far the Norwegian oil aspect is undermined by other aspects like the national identity or "democracy and distant decision making". Still, the focus is on a general comparison of the created Icelandic and Norwegian categorisations. Concerning the key issues in the debate that are presented in this thesis, most important for the comparison are not on the economical questions that every potential member state has to face before an accession takes place. So the questions of general economic gains and losses are not central to this thesis. Instead different characteristics of these countries from various domains, provide the basis for the chosen aspects in this thesis. Moreover this thesis deals with the relevance of the analysis for the European integration debates. All in all, these sections provided the rough plan of this thesis to analyse the debates in Iceland and Norway concerning European integration and to create the corresponding categorisations.

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<sup>4</sup> As an example for such a successful realisation, the writings of Ingebritsen can be mentioned, that will be explained in detail later on.

<sup>5</sup> In both questions of the Eurobarometer, there is also a clear difference to the country that is ranked second.

## 1. 2. Research question

A research question is central to most scientific research. It is a part of the research that requires a lot of thinking. Otherwise there is the danger that the research question aims at an aspect or a procedure that does not fit to the intended research plan. To find out what is planned by this thesis, the following central research questions need to be answered by this thesis: *How has the EU discourse in Iceland and Norway developed since the first significant steps towards European integration in the 1950ies?* In the context of the research question, there are also sub questions added. The first sub question concerns the general (national) developments concerning European integration. These general developments are important to examine to provide a good picture whether there is a general interest in European integration of these countries which gives the analysis of the debate a practical relevance.<sup>6</sup> So there is the corresponding sub question: *What are important general developments in the modern European Integration history of Iceland and Norway?*<sup>7</sup> This is an aspect that is crucial to examine because it shows how far there is a practical relevance of the results of this thesis for EU developments like an accession or other agreements in the future. In this part of the thesis, there are different events like the participation in different agreements or international organisations described.

Due to the fact that it is also the purpose of this thesis to compare, a further sub question needs to be answered. So the following question is the second sub question of this thesis: *In how far is the EU discourse in Iceland comparable to the one in Norway?* This examination for comparability is based on the different issues and positions in the national debates. To put it in a nutshell, from the described research question and sub questions, there is the following objective that should be achieved: At the end of the thesis, both of the categorisations for the national European integration debates in total will be compared. These categorisations are based on the trends that the different intensities of the various issues and the corresponding dominant positions show. They allow it to reconstruct the development and to determine similarities and differences between the (historical) European integration discourses of these countries. In this context, these similarities and differences should not only be related to the overall categorisation that is provided at the end of the thesis. There is also an examination how far certain dominant positions of the different national discourses are comparable. In the end, it is the objective of the thesis to present the result of the analysis of the similarities and differences of the national categorisations in the context of the other categorisations/divisions in the literature and the Norwegian and Icelandic general interest in European integration to show how far the debate has a practical relevance.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Especially in the context of the Euro-skeptical political elite (Aegisson, 2011), this is an aspects that needs some elaboration.

<sup>7</sup> "Modern European integration history" refers to a period that starts after the Second World War.

<sup>8</sup> Basically a categorisation that is not conducted on a certain idea is called "division". To make the paper more easy to read, I will only write "categorisations" when I refer to categorisations/divisions in the following parts of this thesis..

To refer to categorisations and other already described ideas in the literature, the state of the art needs to be clarified. Concerning the state of the art in the scientific literature and the relation of the scientific literature to the research question, there are several theories that could explain European integration. However, it is often put forward that integration efforts in the Nordic countries can not be explained by the traditional theories of European integration neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism (Aegisson, 2011). That is why social constructivism, a corresponding discursive approaches and national identity will be applied in this thesis. In general, in Thorhallsson (2004) there is especially a connection to Icelandic European integration. So in Thorhallsson (2004), there are significant developments of the Icelandic European integration mentioned that are important to determine the practical relevance of the Icelandic discourse. All in all, these developments that are put forward in Thorhallsson (2004), confirms a general Icelandic interest in European integration. Moreover there are different variables for the responses of small states to European integration, related to the case study Iceland, mentioned. Partly these variables (for example fishery for the economic aspects, national identity or security and the special relationship to the USA) are visible in the issues of the debate. These issues are important to analyse Icelandic European integration debate in a categorisation.

Furthermore, in the writing of Thorhallsson (2004), there is also a categorisation of the Icelandic European integration into different periods as it is the aim of this thesis. It distinguishes Iceland's historical way to the EU in seven rounds of debate. These different rounds of debates are distributed among four phases of the European debate: EU debate 1957- 1980s: Careful European steps, EU debate in the 1990s: Limited participation in European integration, EU debate: 1999-2007: Debating EU membership and EU debate 2008-2010: From economic crash to EU membership application. This categorisation focuses on different steps in Iceland's Europeanisation like the EFTA agreement. Beside that, there is another important source for the European integration debate of Iceland. Aegisson (2011) is the only source of this thesis that directly focuses on the intensity of a debate is, but this writing only measures the intensity of the debate from 2008-2010. So in Aegisson (2011), there are also certain issues put forward that were central in the debate of the last years. Concerning the writings for the state of the art of the Norwegian European integration debate, the following ones need to be put forward: In Geyer, Duane, Herthweck & Klaus (n.d.) and other writings like Löffler (2003), there are important general developments of the European integration in Norway mentioned. These developments also confirm a general interest of Norway in European integration. Hille (2005) also tries to explain the sceptical attitude of this Nordic non-EU country. Beside that, this paper refers to Switzerland.

In this context, Hille (2005) mainly refers to different aspects of the "national community" or national identity that are central for the EU sceptics. However, economic aspects are also part of this paper. In

general Hille (2005) refers to important aspects for the issues of this thesis. In Tanil (2011), the author analyses different aspects of the Norwegian Europeanisation debate in the 70ies, the 90ies and the 2000s. This paper mainly explains the issues in the debates around the Norwegian referenda. So, Tanil (2011) can be considered as a division that focuses on the referenda. In Neumann (n.d.) there is also a discourse analysis on the attempted EU accessions and general European integration in Norway. In this writings the debate in Norway is distinguished between a debate in the 17th and 18th century, a debate in the 19th century, a debate in the inter-war period, a debate in years after the Second World War and a debate around each referendum.<sup>9</sup> However, there is no explicit description in Neumann (n.d.) and in Tanil (2011), concerning the criteria for the divisions. Neumann (n.d.) and Tanil (2011) also mention important aspects of the issues that are part of this thesis like national identity. Schymik (2007) also creates a categorisation of the Norwegian Europeanisation efforts in his paper. Schymik (2001) tried to categorise a period from 1945 till (at least) 2001. He distinguishes the Norwegian European (Union) integration into five phases: Post-war period: 1945-1961, first significant European debate: 1961-1972, quiet intermezzo: 1973-1987. The second significant European debate: 1988-1994 and the semi integration: 1995- open end.

As the list of the different scientific sources showed, there is no detailed comparison of these national debates concerning European integration. So this is one aspect why this thesis needs to be seen as a contribution to the scientific debate on EU accession efforts in Northern countries. Moreover, the focus of this thesis is different in comparison to the other mentioned literature. In this thesis, there is the central idea of the identification of trends based on the two steps of the categorisation since the first significant steps towards European integration in the 1950ies. Concerning the first step of the categorisation especially a detailed analysis of a certain aspect is rather rare in the scientific literature. In many writings, there are few direct statements on the intensity of a debate. Concerning the second step of the categorisation there is neither a proper categorisation in the literature. This is basically the central contribution of this thesis to the literature that, based on intensive issues and the corresponding positions in the debate, it creates a concrete categorisation into different phases and compares them. So, all in all, this thesis provides a reasoned estimate during which periods these aspects need to be seen as a significant part of the debate and when they were of a minor relevance. Furthermore the categorisations also provide a possibility for a comparison of the debates and the paper concretely show how far the general debates in Iceland and Norway are comparable and how far there is a practical relevance for the national debates. In this context, it could show common pattern that further research related to European integration could be based on.

Concerning the contribution to a scientific debate, it is first of all important to clarify which scientific debate this thesis could contribute to. In this paragraph there are basically four different debates

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<sup>9</sup> However, the first two sections are only to a very limited extent comparable to the more recent discourses.

distinguished: First, it could contribute to the literature on the general debate on scepticism concerning European integration. As Hille (2005) already shows, such scepticism is a topic that can also be related to other countries like Switzerland. Second, the thesis can also contribute to the debate on Nordic countries and their attitude towards European integration. Third, the part on Iceland could contribute to the research on small states responses on European integration. Furthermore this paper can also be seen as two single case studies. So it could contribute to the debate on the question why explicitly Norway and Iceland did not join the EU yet. Concerning the first three possible domains, the thesis provides categorisations of the Icelandic and the Norwegian debate that could be used to provide patterns that could also be applied to other cases. The pattern could emerge in the final categorisations as well as in the different issues/positions that they are based on. In the context of the Icelandic and Norwegian case studies, the contribution need to be seen in the advancement of the existent categorisation of the Icelandic and Norwegian Europeanization like the one of Thorhallsson (2004) or Schymik (2007). In general, the relation to the different positions can also be seen as contribution to the scientific debate about a categorisation. All in all, this section already provides some information about the way of proceeding in the whole thesis as well as the literature review and an estimate of the contribution to the scientific debate.

### **1. 3. Approach**

Research questions alone provide only limited information about the way how they will be answered. That is why it is important to describe the approach of the research to clarify how the different aspects of a paper will be tackled. To conduct the analysis of this thesis, it is important to explain the chosen research approach "discourse analysis". For this reason, there is a short description of important ideas in the literature for discourse analysis presented. According to Parker (1992), discourses can be defined as "a system of statements which constructs an object" (Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2004, p. 636). It is the purpose of a discourse analysis to "... identify categories, themes, ideas, views, roles..." (Fulcher, 2012). Moreover it is important to put forward that discourse analysis looks for patterns in public statements (Wæver, n.d.). So, as it is described in Wæver (n.d.) and Phillips et al. (2004), the discourse analysis looks for patterns in public statements to "construct an object". In this thesis, the phases of the debate are constructed. To achieve this aim, first there is a categorisation of the issues of the debate into different periods of intensive debate. Afterwards, within these identified periods of an intensive debate, it is examined when the different positions of each issue were especially put forward. So the discourse analysis is chosen as an approach to provide a more reasoned categorisation of the national debates than the current ones in the scientific literature. This is basically an aspect that still needs to be researched in detail.



Especially concerning the intensity of the debates in the first decades of European integration (60ies-2000s), there is a deficit in the literature particularly for Iceland.<sup>10</sup> In the context of discourse analysis, a special approach is chosen. The discourse analysis is based on the central idea of the "genealogic" approach of Foucault (Ruge, 2010). It aims at reconstructing the historical development since the first significant steps towards European integration in the 50ies and is basically related to the European integration debate of Iceland and Norway in this paper. Moreover, there are also other elements of the genealogical approach used in this thesis. For example, the idea of "power relations" is an important concept in the analysis chapter (concerning some of the chosen issues in this thesis). Beside that, the thesis is based on the classical history approach mentioned in Ruge (2010). This approach is necessary to grasp some of the issues that cannot be grasped by the genealogic approach, after studying important scientific literature. Basically, due to the complexity of the pure approach of Foucault, there are elements from the classical history and of the approach of Foucault applied in this thesis.

Due to the fact that a detailed categorisation does not exist in the scientific literature yet, it seems to be appropriate to create such a categorisation as a first step to provide an overview of the national debates and enable a comparison between them. However, one could argue that it might be the better choice to analyse the debates and their intensities by using surveys instead of relating to scientific literature that is only partly based on surveys. In general, this statement is correct. Nevertheless, there are many aspects that need to be taken into account to receive reliable and generalisable data from surveys. Due to limited resources, it is not possible to receive a significant quantity of reliable Icelandic and Norwegian data on precisely the aspects that are necessary for this thesis. That is why it is reasonable to concentrate on the scientific literature to write a paper with a more reliable data base. In general the discourse analysis seems to be a good choice because it allows to apply the current literature and expands it towards the categorisation of the debates according to intensively discussed issues and positions, that are not directly in the focus of the literature. Due to the fact that Aegisson (2011) mentions that the traditional theories of European integration neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism cannot completely explain the European integration in Nordic countries, there is a certain necessity to take social constructivism into account and a justification to choose the corresponding practise discourse analysis as an approach.

Especially concerning the periods beside the referenda in the Norwegian categorisations of the debate (Schymik (2007), Tanil (2011) and Neumann (n.d.)), there are also the possible described deficits of a (too) intensive analysis of the referenda in the categorisations. So there is another argument why the thesis can be beneficial for the Norwegian categorisation of the Europeanisation debate. To conduct the discourse analysis, there are several sources like the one of Aegisson (2011), Tanil (2011), Schymik (2007) or Thorhallson (2004) that provides important information to determine what are the central issues

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<sup>10</sup> Concerning the Norwegian debate, the intensive analyse of the referenda, partly equalizes these deficits.

and the corresponding contrasting positions in the European integration debate in Iceland and Norway. Additionally it is part of this thesis to analyse EU documents to check whether there is a necessity for reforms in Iceland and Norway. So a certain basis for the discourse analysis needs to be seen as present. These and other sources can be used to improve the mentioned categorisations of the Icelandic and the Norwegian debate towards better ones which allow a qualified comparison of the national debates and its corresponding categorisation. Concerning the organisation of the thesis, the following aspects need to be mentioned: It tries to answer the research question step by step. First there is the first sub question on the general interest that is answered by mentioning important developments for the Icelandic and the Norwegian international cooperation like the participation in the EEA agreement. This part of the thesis starts with the part on Iceland before it examines them on Norway. It tries to provide estimation whether the discourse analysis on the debates has a practical relevance. This refers to constructivist's logic.

To be precise, it is based on the "logic of appropriateness". This logic is determined by appropriate rules in the corresponding social situations. Actors try to do the right thing by following their own rules. So if a country regularly conducts further steps towards European integration, it follows the logic of appropriateness if it joins the EU (Wæver, n.d.). Afterwards, the next part of the theoretical framework deals with the different issues that are significant in the debate and that are chosen according to three important criteria. Concerning this part of the theoretical framework, the issues that are part of the debate in Iceland will be mentioned before the ones that only play a significant role in Norway are put forward. Then there a section in the theoretical framework on the description of the different positions in the scientific literature for these issues, that the discourse analysis is based on. These positions are contrasting ones that show a certain disagreement in the scientific literature related to the corresponding issues. In the following methodology chapter, there is a description how precisely the different issues and positions are analysed. For that reason, there is a detailed description of the theoretical ideas that are applied and how they are applied in this thesis.

Beside that, the chapter also examines the different significant sources and the corresponding data that are part of this thesis and it explains justified choices that significantly influence the content and research plan of this thesis like the selection of Iceland and Norwegian as the countries that this thesis focuses on. In general, the descriptions of these contentual and methodological aspects provide a certain framework for the discourse analysis of the national debate following in the next chapter. Thereby, each of the discourse on the different issues is described separately before the different national debates in total are categorised. This categorisation is conducted according to the trends of the mentioned two steps of the categorisation. Finally the two categorisations (and other categorisations in the literature) are compared in the analysis and the results of the comparisons are evaluated in the conclusion.

All in all, one can say that this thesis provides knowledge about the chosen issues of the Icelandic and Norwegian Europeanisation debate, the corresponding intensity and positions. Beside that it also provides knowledge about the (historical) willingness of the Icelanders and Norwegians for international cooperation. Concerning the Europeanisation debates (of both countries), it is the aim to create a new categorisation of the debates that tries to correct the deficits of the previous ones as good as possible and that enable a comparison between the these national categorisation of the Icelandic and the Norwegian debate.

## **2. Theoretical framework**

This chapter mainly describes the issues and positions that the categorisations of the national debates are based on. The categorisations make it possible to present the development of the national debates that the research question aims at. Moreover, concerning the first sub question, the general development related to European integration is analysed to estimate the attitude of both countries towards it. This attitude is expected to show whether there is a general interest of these countries in European integration or at least international cooperation. This is what the first section describes. As already mentioned in the introduction, this is based on the 'logic of appropriateness' that actors follow. So general interest stands for practical relevance for further steps concerning European integration in Iceland or Norway which is also relevant for the evaluation of the categorisations. Concerning the issues for the first step of the categorisation, there are basically three criteria that are important to determine them. These issues are described in the second section. After describing the issues, I will address in the following section the different (contrasting) positions that are put forward in the scientific literature, to enable a discussion through the whole thesis. Furthermore, the different position are necessary for the second step of the categorisation of this thesis. In total, both steps of the categorisation are used to identify trends that categorisations can be based on and that indirectly enable a comparison between them.

### **2. 1. Icelands and Norways relations towards the EU and other organisations that strive for significant European/international cooperation**

As the Eurobarometer and the historical connection showed, there is a certain link between Iceland and Norway. In this section the historical connection will be explained a little bit deeper. Beside that, this section mainly fulfills another function. Concerning the Icelandic attitude towards European integration, it mentioned in Aegisson (2011) that there is in general a Europe-skeptical elite in Iceland. This elite significantly differs from others in Europe concerning certain characteristics like their realist conception of foreign policy. According to Aegisson (2011), these characteristics are responsible for the Euro-sceptical attitude. For this reason, there is a certain necessity to examine how far there has been a certain interest in European integration which provides practical relevance for the debate. So this section examines the participation of Iceland in (European) international organisations and agreements from the end of the Second World War till the recent years.<sup>11</sup> In the Norwegian case, the concept of a Europe-skeptical elite can not to the same extent be applied as in Iceland. However, there are also some events in the modern history that could confirm a rejecting attitude towards the EU like the referenda to join the EU.

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<sup>11</sup> Due to the fact, that this sections examines the willingness for international cooperation in general, the development is analysed before the foundation of the EEC.

For this reason and for reasons of completeness, the (modern) history of Norway is also checked concerning a general interest in European integration.

Since many centuries there is a connection between Iceland and Norway. In the 13th century Iceland belonged to Norway. Beside that, they also belonged to other countries in the course of history (History of Iceland, 2006). Iceland just received its independence in 1944. However, this decade is not in the focus of this thesis. What is especially relevant for this thesis, is the connection between Iceland and Europe since the 1950ies. This is a significant point in time of the development of modern Europe because it stands for the founding of the organisations that were the basis for the current EU. The European Coal and Steel community (ECSC) and the EEC were crucial for the European integration that became a very advanced one in the following decades<sup>12</sup>. During this time (the 1950ies), the first steps of Iceland towards European (Union) integration took place (Aegisson, 2011). They are one of the founding members of the NATO (NATO, n.d.) and they joined the Council of Europe in 1950 (Council of Europe, 2012). The Icelandic government also showed some willingness for increased European cooperation by founding the Nordic Council with some other European nations (Denmark, Norway and Sweden) in 1952.

The Nordic Council is a consultative body that enable parliamentarians of Nordic (European) countries to meet on a regular basis. In the context of the Nordic Council, a 'Nordic Passport Union' was established in 1958. This Passport Union made it easier for Nordic citizens to travel to neighbouring countries (Nordic Council of Ministers, n.d. a). At this time, there were also other efforts of significant Icelandic European integration which took place between 1957 and 1959. During this time the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) tried to establish a free trade area in Western Europe. In the end, Iceland decided not to take part in this free trade area. The second efforts took place in the beginning of the 1960ies when the Icelandic government discussed about accession to the EEC. However, due to the French refusal to admit Great Britain in the EEC, they even decided against an associate membership (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, (n.d. b)). In 1970 the next step towards an European integration took place. In this year Iceland joined the EFTA. In the 1990ies the next successful step followed. In the beginning of this decade, the negotiations to establish the EEA took place (Aegisson, 2011). The EEA is an agreement between the EU and the EFTA states about an internal market (EFTA, 2012). Due to the fact that Iceland joined the EFTA before, it was involved in the negotiations. For Iceland, the participation in the EEA basically meant that they had to adopt these EU regulation and directives into their own legal system, that fell under the agreement (Stommer, 2007). The EEA agreement finally took effect in 1994.

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<sup>12</sup> The ECSC is left out of this discourse analysis, because at that time the ECSC would have few implications for its exports (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. b)). That is why; there was never a real discussion about joining the ECSC in Iceland.

Only five years later (1999-2000), the Schengen agreement was discussed in the Icelandic parliament (Aegisson, 2011). This agreement is about the removal of boarder controls between the different nations in Europe. The Schengen agreement did not cause such an intense debate in Iceland. So it was easy for the Icelandic government to accept it to become part of the Schengen area (in 2001) (Stommer, 2007). In 2003 and 2004 there was another debate about a possible accession of Iceland to the EU. Like the previous ones, this debate also did not motivate the government to join the EU. In the end, after some further debates in 2008, EU membership was put on the agenda of the new government (Aegisson, 2011). Finally on 16th July 2009, Iceland applied for a membership in the EU (Konrad-Adenauer-foundation, 2012). The negotiations between the Icelandic government and the EU are not completed. Moreover a referendum will take place (European Commission, 2012). All in all one need to put forward that there are indeed serious efforts of Iceland to cooperate with (continental) Europe. So the history of the relationship between Iceland and the EU shows that it is not the questions, whether Iceland is willing to cooperate with the EU. As it is already mentioned in Stommer (2007) it is more appropriate to ask, to what extent is Iceland willing to cooperate with the EU. From that one can conclude that a certain practical relevance of the debate cannot be denied.

Beside the general developments in Iceland concerning European integration, it is also necessary for this thesis to describe the corresponding Norwegian developments. Like Iceland, Norway also had to face a long period where the country was ruled by foreign nations. In former times, Norway was in a union with Denmark and Sweden (Godal, n.d.). Similar to Iceland, the current Norwegian state (re)established after the Second World War (Schymik, 2007). Beside that, after the Second World War, Norway was one of the founding members of the NATO in 1949 (NATO, n.d.). In general Norway is a founding member of many organisation that Iceland also belongs to: 1949: Council of Europe (Council of Europe, 2012), 1952: the Nordic Coucil (Nordic Council of Ministers, n.d. b) and 1960: EFTA (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009). The first discussion about Norway to join the EEC took place in the 1950ies (Geyer, Duane, Herthweck & Klaus, n.d.). In the first years, these discussion did not have any consequences, but Norway planned to increase its degree of European integration further. In April 1962, Norway decided again to apply for EEC membership. However in the end, they withdrew their application because Britain was rejected as an EEC applicant. The same happened in 1967 when Britain's application was also rejected. Finally, after the death of Charles de Gaulle in 1970, Norway (and Britain) applied for EEC membership.

As a reaction of the increased likelihood of membership, the opposition in Norway became wide spread and organized. So in 1972, the EC memberships was rejected by the Norwegian citizens in a referendum. In 1986 the new Norwegian Prime minister (Gro H. Brundtland) put the issue of an EEA agreement forward which the Norwegian government signed in 1992. In 1992, after her party declared the

willingness to support an EU accession as well, Brundtland could officially apply for EU membership. Like in 1972, there was again a referendum in Norway after the application (in 1994). Unfortunately the Norwegian citizens rejected a EU membership again in a close decision (Geyer et al., n.d.). At the beginning of the 2000 decade, it was not possible for the Norwegian government to apply for EU membership, because the coalition agreement included a 'suicide clause' for the dissolution of the coalition if EU accession negotiations take place (Löffler, 2003). Although the government rejected a membership in the EU at that time, they still furthered European integration. So Norway (and the other countries of the Nordic Passport Union) joined the Schengen area in 2001 after they signed the corresponding documents in 1999 (European Commission, 2009). In the current Norwegian government coalition, a similar agreement about EU memberships exists, too. So concerning the current situation in the Norwegian government, it will be difficult for them to join the EU in the next years.

To put it in a nutshell, one need to say that there are indeed serious efforts of Iceland to cooperate with (continental) Europe. So the history of the relationship between Iceland and the EU shows that it is not the questions, whether Iceland is willing to cooperate with the EU. As it is already mentioned in Stommer (2007), it is more appropriate to ask, to what extent is Iceland willing to cooperate with the EU. From that one can conclude that a certain practical relevance of the Icelandic debate cannot be denied. The same question that is mentioned in Stommer (2007) need to be asked in the Norwegian case. There were also several European agreement that Norway took part in. However, in contrast to Iceland, in the last decades, the central problem for a deeper integration were the citizens. Nevertheless, the close decision in the referenda shows that there is some interest in European integration in Norway. In general, especially concerning agreements beside an EU membership, the modern Norwegian history showed a clear interest in European integration. The difficulties for the Norwegians to join the EU is also obvious in the current situation. There is the problem of the 'suicide clauses' that prevents a current EU accession. All in all this section showed that it is possible to discuss the final comparison of Iceland and Norway in the context of practical relevance of the European integration debate.

## **2. 2. Key issues of the Icelandic and Norwegian debates on European integration**

After the description of the practical relevance of the debate, it is the next step to return to the actual debate and clarify its possible content. In the scientific literature there are several possible issues of an Icelandic and Norwegian accession debate mentioned. However, to keep the thesis in appropriate limits, it is important to select issues. Concerning the selection of the issues, it is crucial to define the different issues properly and to separate them if its appropriate.<sup>13</sup> The selection of the different issues is important to be able to conduct step one of the categorisation. To be able to present these issues in the described

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<sup>13</sup> This mentioned separation is especially related to the idea of a union and the national identity as it will be explained later on.

context, it is also important to refer to the three criteria that justifies the selection of these issues for the categorisation. First, it is important that the literature shows that the issue was a part of the debate for several decades. This criterion ensures that crucial issues in the (historical) debates are chosen.<sup>14</sup> Second, for the first step of the categorisation, a sufficient data set need to be accessible to be able to provide reliable statements. This refers to the necessity of appropriate data to make meaningful statements. Third, the issues should cover different domains like the economy, national identity and security aspects. The issues from different domains are used to provide a balanced debate.

To examine how far the issues that are described in the following are "appropriate long term issues", it is important to refer to the criteria mentioned previously. In the case of Icelandic fishery, the existence of a long term debate is quite obvious because, according to Aegisson (2011), every step that Iceland took to further European Integration can at least partly be explained by the interests of the fishing sector. Beside that it is further mentioned in Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. a) that since the early twenty century, fishery was responsible for a significant share of the GDP and jobs in Iceland.<sup>15</sup> The concrete problem of the fishery sector for an EU accession, is the Common fishery policy of the EU that would allow foreign vessels to fish in Icelandic water. So it would reduce the available fish stocks for the Icelandic vessels (Thorhallsson, n.d.). In contrast to that, there are not that clear statements related to the Icelandic agriculture. However, agriculture was a part of the Icelandic debate in the several decades as for example Thorhallsson & Vignisson, (n.d. b/c) showed. The reason for the agricultural sector to oppose an EU membership is that the many areas of Iceland's agricultural sector would not stand the free competition in the EU (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. b).

Moreover another factor needs to be explained that provides a certain importance to the domain of agriculture and fishery in Iceland for several decades. In Kristinsson & Thorhallsson (n.d.), it is written that the rural areas are overrepresented in the Icelandic electoral system. These are also the areas where fishery and agriculture are mainly located. This was especially a problem before 1983 when an important reforms took place to increase the percentages of delegates from urban areas. However, a certain overrepresentation of the rural population is still present. In the analysis, the issues fishery and agriculture in Iceland will be dealt with separately, because this way of proceeding shows better the different debates in Iceland. Concerning Iceland's special relationship towards the USA, this is an issue that basically started with the establishment of a military base (the Keflavik base) on Iceland in the Second World War.

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<sup>14</sup> This examination cannot be compared to the first step of the categorisation because it is rather superficial and does not explicitly refer to an intensive debate.

<sup>15</sup> Among others the huge amount of jobs can be explained by the connection of the fishing industry with other occupations like banks, insurance companies or public relation companies. That is why; there are several companies beside the fishing and fishing processing ones that are integrated in this sector. (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. a).



Due to the fact, that Iceland does not have an own army<sup>16</sup>, it needed the USA as an ally to have a high degree of security (Aegisson, 2011). For this reason, Iceland also joined the NATO. Due to additional economic support, this strong relationship towards the EU could replace the necessity to join the EU. Beside the Second World War, the relationship was also important during the Cold war. So this is another long term issue (Thorhallsson and Vignisson ,n.d. d).

The Icelandic issue of national identity was/is another long term issue in the debate. Iceland is a country with an own history, culture, language and values. So there is a real substance that the national identity bases on. For example, the Icelanders consider themselves as the creator of the democratic republic, due to their tribal clan-based society that implemented some democratic ideas (Hálfðanarson, n.d.). However, central to the debate is another aspect, the preserving of the sovereignty. Because of the rather short period of independence in the twentieth century and the domination of foreign powers in previous centuries, the independence of the country is of a very high value in Iceland. The complete sovereignty over the country is a crucial aspect of the independence (Aegisson, 2011). According to Hálfðanarson (n.d.), this is already an issue in Iceland since its independence in 1944. To distinguish the content of this discourse from the Norwegian one on national identity, it is analysed under the heading "Nationalistic discourse in Iceland" in the analysis chapter. Next to Iceland, Norway is also a part of this thesis. So the corresponding issues need to be selected for Norway, too. Concerning agriculture and fishery, it is mentioned in Neumann (n.d.) that these sectors were already part of the debate in the 1960ies and they were also part of the two referenda.

In the Norwegian debate, fishery and agriculture are often mentioned together. That is why in this case a separation of these issues does not provide clear benefits. In Norway an EU accession could create similar problems for fishery and agriculture as in Iceland. Moreover agriculture and fishery are often central in the debate because these sectors are also a crucial part of the regional policy in Norway. It is an important idea of the Norwegian regional policy that whole Norway stays populated. Without a significant share of rural population, the idea "the continent is the town, 'Norway' is the countryside" is no longer valid. So according to Neumann (n.d., p.115) without its rural population "...Norway is no longer Norway". In this context, agriculture and fishery are especially important because they uphold these demographics (Neumann, n.d.). So they ensure that 'Norway can be Norway' which makes these aspects a national identity issue. However, I decided to separate agriculture and fishery and national identity because of the importance of these issues in the Icelandic debate and the idea to put the remaining aspects of national identity more in the focus. Moreover there is an additional sector that is important in the integration debate in Norway. Beside agriculture and fishery, the petroleum sector also plays a significant role. However, the petroleum sector is not a crucial aspect of this thesis, because the petroleum just became

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<sup>16</sup> Even if it had one, it would have had no chance to defend against the Soviet Union.

important in the debate around the time of the second referendum (Neumann, n.d.). This is certainly one of the reasons why, the literature of this thesis only provides limited information about the corresponding debate.

Furthermore, there is also another issue that needs to be mentioned. There is the issue of "national identity and the corresponding values" that, according to Tanil (2011), is present in the debate during the two referenda and during the 2000s. A significant value in this debate is the one of equality. This value is based on the low income differences in Norway. The welfare state is also an instrument that is related to the idea of equality and social solidarity (Hille, 2005). In this context, the distinction between the Bismarck system and the universal (Norwegian) system need to be mentioned. The basic idea of the Bismarck system is that in the social system people are dependent on the career in the working life. In contrast to that, the Norwegian system is a universal one. So people have rights because they are a part of the society. Beside that, there is the religious aspect. This debate basically refers to the fact that Norway is a country where most people are Protestants. In contrast to that, there is a significant share of Catholics in the EU. So there is the dichotomy between Protestant Norwegian Church and Catholic Europe (Tanil, 2011). Moreover there is a historical aspect. So it is mentioned in Tanil (2011) that concerning the debate around the different histories of Norway and the other European countries, the historical differences were especially related to the colonialism of some European powers. In this context the emphasis is on fostering negative development in the colonies. Norway itself cannot be seen as a former colonial power.

Beside the previously described issue, there is also an issues in the Norwegian debate, that is more similar to the nationalistic discourse in Iceland. In the context of the national identity, the idea of a union also plays a crucial role. Similar to the mentioned Norwegian issue, the issue of "sovereignty and the idea of a "union"" were also put forward in the sixties (Schymik, 2007) and in the two referenda (Neumann, n.d.). In Norway, there is a similar situation present as in Iceland. Norway was also dominated by other countries for centuries. Due to the historical union with Denmark (and Sweden) where Norway were dominated by these countries, the word "union" plays a significant role in the public debate. Norwegians especially fear that a union could develop towards a federation which is strictly rejected by most Norwegians. They prefer to preserve their national sovereignty. In this context, the experiences of the Second World War also play an important role. These former ideas are certainly the initial reasons why sovereignty and independence also plays a crucial role in the Norwegian debate. Due to the mentioned events in the past, there are the federalist's ideas of the EU that are especially represented by the citizens that oppose the EU (Schymik, 2007). In Norway this issue is a central part of the debate. So, although this issue could be categorised as a part of the national identity and the corresponding attempts to preserve the sovereignty, I decided to treat it as an own topic<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> In the Icelandic debate, this distinction is less apparent. So there no necessity to separate the issue national identity.

Finally there is the issue of "democracy and distant decision-making" that among others is present during the time of the referenda (Tanil, 2011). In this context, the debate around the democratic deficit needs to be mentioned, which is an important issue in the last decades (Neumann (n.d.)). The democratic deficit describes the rising gap between the EU institutions and the citizens in the member states. This gap exists because the European Parliament is the only directly elected institution in the EU. As such an institution it has only limited competences (Bolton, 2011). In general, it creates problems concerning transparency and democratic legitimacy. Moreover due to the fact that Norway and Iceland are part of the EEA but are not members of the EU, they have to stick to certain regulations that the EU decides on, without having a real chance to influence these regulations within the standard decision-making procedures that the EU conducts (Ekman, 2005). Furthermore there is the principle of subsidiarity that is put forward in the debate (Neumann, n.d.). The principle of subsidiarity describes a concept in the EU that avoids an unnecessary centralisation of political decisions in the institutions of the EU. So there is the idea that every policy should be decided at the lowest level possible (Nugent, 2006). The democratic deficit and the principle of subsidiarity especially refers to the ideas around "distant decision-making". Beside the mentioned sources, there are also additional ones that the researches bases on (see methodological part). So an appropriate data base is present.

All in all, the section showed that there are several issues for the discourse analysis that fulfil the mentioned criteria. As planned, there are several domains that provides issues. So there are issues from different domains chosen like the economical domain, national identity and security. Concerning the economical domain, the issues and fishery and agriculture (especially in Iceland) can be distinguished. Concerning national identity and the corresponding issues the distinction is more complex. So there is the "nationalistic discourse" in Iceland and the discourses on the "national identity and the corresponding values" and "the idea of a "union" and sovereignty" in Norway. However, the "nationalistic discourse" in Iceland is more similar to the issue "the idea of a "union" and sovereignty" in Norway, because it is less related to values. Furthermore there is also the issue "democracy and decision-making" in Norway that is also belongs to national identity but, due to its importance in the debate, is separated in this paper. Finally, concerning the domain security, there is the Icelandic issue "the special relationship towards the USA". The examination of the literature on these issues also confirmed the two other criteria to determine "appropriate long term issues". The literature showed that these issues are part of the debate for several decades. So there is/was a certain long term dimension of the issues. Moreover it presented appropriate sources that provide data on the issues. Beside further sources, that are described in the next chapter, the sources will be examined to analyse the debate.

### 2. 3. The contrasting scientific positions for the key issues

Due to the fact, that a two step categorisation is conducted in this thesis to identify trends, there is still the question on the different position in the debate that needs to be clarified. For each of the identified issue in the previous section, there is a description of the different contrasting positions that are analysed in this thesis. This second step of the categorisation is especially important to show the scientific debate that took place in Iceland and Norway. For this reason, there are also contrasting positions chosen in this section. However, there is not always a clear separation between the single discourses. So, for example, the position of Ingebritsen is relevant for the Icelandic fishery as well as for the Icelandic agriculture. In general the way of proceeding is rather simple. Beside some little descriptions of corresponding ideas that needs to be put forward, this section just explains the contrasting positions for each issue. Some of the issues of the Norwegian and Icelandic debate are connected or similar. These issues are presented in a row. Concerning this presentation in a row, there are two blocs that need to be mentioned. On the one hand, there are the issues "fishery and agriculture" for Iceland and for Norway that is similar. On the other hand, there are the different issues related to national identity in the Icelandic and Norwegian debate on national identity (see previous section). Among the Norwegian aspects, there is a certain connection and the issues of the two countries are similar.

Concerning the Icelandic discourse on fishery (and agriculture), the following aspects and positions need to be put forward: Due to the mentioned economical importance, there are certain fishery interest groups in Iceland that (successfully) try to influence the government. They try to influence several delegates in the Icelandic parliament. So these MPs have a certain connection to fishery. However, fishery is also not the only domain where clear connections towards the Icelandic parliamentarians emerge. The same is valid for the domain of agriculture (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. a). This issue can be referred to Ingebritsen's theory that the leading economic sector plays a crucial role for the European integration of a country, because the sector influence the government (Thorhallsson, n.d.). The aim of this theory is to explain why Nordic states have responded differently to European integration. In this context, Ingebritsen puts forward that the preferences of the leading sector are represented through the government committees, through interest groups by occupational sectors and through social movements. Concerning the interest groups it is mentioned that there are parties and interest groups in Iceland that develop side by side. So there is also a connection of these MPs towards these sectors (Thorhallsson & Vignisson (n.d. a). In general it is mentioned in Thorhallsson & Vignisson (n.d. a) that the theory of Ingebritsen focuses too much on economic preferences.

Beside that, there is some disagreement in the literature what actually need to be seen as "the leading sector" in Iceland. According to Thorhallsson (n.d., p.10), "the fisheries sector is strategically the most

important sector for Iceland". This quotation and a corresponding hypothesis that focuses on fishery and excludes agriculture, shows that in his opinion fishery is the only real leading sector. In contrast to that, according to Ingebritsen, the idea of the leading sector also needs to be applied to agriculture in Iceland (Aegisson, 2011). Although it is not appropriate to simplify the debate in Iceland towards the leading sectors, it is still an issue that needs to be taken into account. The theory of Ingebritsen can also be related to the case of Norway. So in Norway, the resistance of the fishery, as well as the agricultural sector (and the raw material economy), were (partly) responsible for the non-membership in the EU (Hille, 2005). Nevertheless, according to Neumann (n.d., p.89) "what is needed, then, is to move beyond Ingebritsen's rationalist premises to an analysis how the agricultural and fishery sector as well as others arguing in the favour of a no were able to capture 'the heart of the nation'...". So Neumann (n.d.) puts forward that there is also a less rationalist aspect of the Norwegian issue around fishery and agriculture. Instead the positions of Neumann (n.d.) mainly describes fishery and agriculture as a part of the Norwegian identity. As already mentioned, agriculture and fishery are a crucial part of the regional policy in Norway that whole Norway stays populated.

Concerning the special connection between Iceland and the USA, there are authors like Bjarnarson that only mention security aspects in this context. However, beside the security aspects, Iceland also received financial support from the USA through the Marshall plan. In comparison to other countries, the financial support that Iceland received due to the Marshall plan, was even the highest one per capita (Stommer, 2007)). The idea of an economic benefit is basically mentioned in Thorhallsson & Vignisson (n.d. d, p. 122) where it says "Iceland has been bound to the USA by close ties both in the spheres of security and defence and also economy and trade" However, in this context, Thorhallsson & Vignisson (n.d. c) do not only describe the Marshall plan support. They also describe the importance of the trade relations with the USA as well as the employment and the corresponding share at the GDP that the USA provided because of the presence of their military base. So there is the following logic that this aspect is based on: To rely on the economic advantages of the US relationship is better than compromising sovereignty in the EU. For example, problems concerning the fishery policy do not emerge in this relationship. For that reason, the economic advantages of the ties to the USA provide a superior option in comparison to a European integration. That is why the economic aspects of the Iceland-USA relationship are considered as a part of this issue in the Europeanisation debate. Moreover there are the positions around the "nationalistic aspects" in Iceland that needs to be mentioned. According to Hálfðanarson (n.d., p. 191), "...Icelandic political discourse tend to polarize around nationalistic themes, making it difficult for politicians to promote anything that seems to compromise Icelandic sovereignty and independence".

This is basically related to Gstöhl (2002, p.12) who argues that beside economic interests "...national identity must be considered to explain integration policies". However, in this context certain tendencies

need to be mentioned to explain the willingness of the Icelandic government to apply for the EU. So Bauman (1999) has a critical attitude towards the mentioned statements. According to Bauman (1999, p. 162) "the nation state and the republic has become increasingly under pressure in recent years. From above 'globalisation' poses a serious challenge to the ruling political form in the world, both in economic and cultural terms".<sup>18</sup> So, there is the general insight that the idea of a national identity is under threat due to the challenges to the nation state. Concerning the Norwegian national identity, there are many aspects of a national identity that were discussed independently from each other. So there is a debate in Norway concerning history, fundamental values and religion. These debates are summarised in this thesis as the issue "national identity and the corresponding values" and this part provides the corresponding positions to analyse trends for the second step of the categorisation. These aspects of a national identity are part of Tanil (2011). To add these aspect to the idea of a national identity fit to the definition of Smith (1991) which says that a national identity is "a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Spießberger & Ungersböck, 2005, p. 3)<sup>19</sup>.

Due to the fact that Norway did not own colonies, a different history need to mentioned in comparison to other European countries. Moreover there is also a religious aspect due to the distinction between Protestants and Catholics. Concerning the religious aspects, there is also the debate on the high restrictions on alcohol and drugs that are present in Norway in contrast to other EU countries. Central in the debate about fundamental values is the questions whether Norway is similar to the rest of Europe or not (Tanil, 2011). So there the described value of equality. Concerning equality in Norway, it is mentionend in Neumann (n.d., p.119) that "...we are the country in Europe where the differences between people are smallest, where we have built a system of welfare on the premise that the differences between people are small, with rights for everybody". These aspects of the equality and the corresponding limited income differences and the social solidarity of the welfare state, are summarised for the analysis chapter as "values related to the welfare state". In the paper of Hille (2005), it is one of the two aspects that are central in the debate on differences between Norway and the EU. So he describes democracy and certain values related to the welfare state as the Norwegian values.<sup>20</sup> The limitation towards these aspects is similar to Schymik (2007) where it says that 'being socialist and democrat' is the motivation to be EU opponent.

Beside these mentioned aspects, there are also further ones that are part of the debate. However, these values are already covered by the other issues. In contrast to Schymik (2007) or Hille (2005), Tanil

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<sup>18</sup> Especially the aspect "cultural terms" can be related to the idea of a national identity as Spießberger & Ungersböck (2005) clarifies later on. (Háldanarson, n.d.).

<sup>19</sup> The fundamental values need to be seen as a part of the common myth.

<sup>20</sup> The aspect democracy is analysed in the separate Norwegian discourse in detail.

(2011) does not limit the important values concerning the Norwegian national identity to democracy and the values related to the welfare state. So she provides a much broader picture of the identity. Concerning the Norwegian issue "the idea of a "union" and sovereignty", the following positions need to be mentioned for the second step of the categorisation: In the context of the idea of a union, it is accentuated in Schymik (2007) that in this super state the different nation states lose their sovereignty to become the 'United States of Europe'. However, although this is an important argument of the EU sceptics, that is also recognised in Neumann (n.d.), it is also mentioned in Neumann (n.d. p. 112), "...the yes side generally almost without fail referred to the EC as *Fellesskapet* -like its German translation *Gemeinschaft*, this word invokes solidarity, togetherness, indeed community". So the position of Neumann (n.d.) describes significant values that are also part of a union that are beneficial for all of the countries that belong to it. Moreover, he mentions the idea in the debate that Norway could become isolated in Europe if Norway does not join the EU. This idea of an isolated Norwegian basically relates to the experience of Switzerland and their reluctance attitude to take part in many organisations/agreements. So basically the most important difference between the two positions in the debate is that the position of Schymik (2007) and his corresponding idea of a union, is only refers to negative aspects. In contrast of that the position of Neumann (n.d.) also accentuates the positive aspects around it.

Finally there is the Norwegian issue on "democracy and distant decision-making" that requires positions for the second step of the categorisation. In Neumann (n.d.) there is a balanced picture of Norwegian democracy, related to the EU, provided. So on the one hand, he mentions "...that 'the people' is not an exclusively Norwegian phenomenon, but that there exist other people as well, that these other people may be tied in roughly the same way as the Norwegian people are, namely by dint of 'democracy', and that it may even be possible to conceive of 'the people' in Europe as one entity" (Neumann, n. d., p. 118). So this statement shows that in the EU, Norway is one democracy among others and that the EU can even bind democratic states in Europe together. On the other hand, he presented Norwegian democracy under threat by the mentioned "democratic deficit" of the EU. So Neumann (n.d.) also presents the democratic problems of the EU, that are also part of the Norwegian debate. In Hille (2005), there are several negative aspects of EU democracy and its consequences for Norwegian democracy, like the democratic deficit, mentioned. However, Hille (2005) questions whether these arguments in the Norwegian democracy debate make sense. So he explains that statements that are contradictory from a logical point of view, make sense for the popular movements of the EU opponents if these statements allow a positive self-image and a negative image of the EU. In this context he mentions a debate on the role of small states in the EU, where the EU is considered as undemocratic, if small states are overrepresented and if they are not.

In this context the text in Hille (2005) also says that primary, euroscepticism is not an expression of the real defense of democracy. Instead it is about a collective image of a good democracy. So, all in all, he relativises the validity of the negative ideas related to democracy which indirectly supports the arguments for more democracy in the context of the EU. Concerning distant decision-making, the principle of subsidiarity is another aspect that became a crucial part of the Norwegian debate. In this context, the 'no side' of the debate put forward that the principle of subsidiarity is insufficient to equalise this distant decision-making of the EU (Neumann n.d.). So in Neumann (n.d.), there is another argument for the EU sceptics mentioned. Concerning the idea of a distant decision-making, there is also the following aspect mentioned in Ekman (2005) that is part of the debate. In his opinion "the flip side is that Norwegians have to abide by almost every piece of internal-market legislation while having no vote on these laws. In Norway, this has become known as the "fax democracy," since Brussels simply faxes new directives for the Norwegians to follow". So there is the fear to lose sovereignty because of NOT being a member of the EU but a member of the EEA. In general, Ekman (2005) limits his writing to the negative aspect for Norwegian democracy. In table 1, the issues and positions of the national debates that are central for this thesis are summarised.

<b>Issues of the debate</b>	<b>Iceland</b>	<b>Norway</b>	<b>Corresponding position for the second step of the categorisation</b>
Fishery and agriculture (separated for Iceland)	X	X	<i>Iceland: Ingebritsen and Thorhallsson (n.d.)</i> <i>Norway: Ingebritsen and Neumann (n.d.)</i>
Special relationship towards the USA	X	-	<i>Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. d) and Bjarnason</i>
The idea of a "union" and sovereignty /Nationalistic discourse	X	X	<i>Iceland: Gstöhl (2002) and Bauman (1999)</i> <i>Norway: Schymik (2007) and Neumann (n.d.)</i>
National identity and the corresponding values	-	X	<i>Schymik (2007) and Tanil (2011)</i>



Democracy and distant decision-making	-	X	<i>Neumann (n.d.), Hille (2005) and Ekman (2005)</i>
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**Table 1** Summary of the issues of the EU accession debates and the corresponding positions

## 2. 4. Conclusion

All in all, one can say that, due to the examination in the first section, the results of the discourse analysis can be interpreted in the context of a certain general interest of Norway and Iceland for European integration. So, beside the idea of a speedy EU accession of Norway, a practical relevance of the national debates for European integration, is certainly present.<sup>21</sup> Beside that, this chapter provided information to theorize the research question. So it described which precise distinction are drawn, to categorise the national debates according to the issues and positions in the debate, that are separated in the two steps of the categorisation. As the three criteria showed, the identified issues of the debate in the second section, (see table 1) described justified choices of issues in the scientific literature for the categorisation. The issues of the debate are basically relevant to identify certain trends when an issues of the debate was intensively discussed. The third section showed the following insights in the context of the positions for each of the described issues: The position of Ingebritsen plays an important role because the debate on the economical related leading sector, is a part of the debate on fishery and agriculture for Iceland as well as for Norway. In Norwegian case, there is also the idea of a more identity related position for this issue.

Concerning the 'national identity bloc', there are also several positions put forward by scientists. For the nationalistic Icelandic issue, there is the position that preserving sovereignty is the highest goal in Iceland and that globalisation puts the nation state (sovereignty) under pressure. In contrast to that, the two Norwegian issues describe a debate, whether values related to the welfare and democracy can be considered as the central values in the debate and, whether the idea of a union is only limited to negative aspects. Moreover concerning the Icelandic special relationship towards the USA, there is the idea that this relationship is only about security aspects or whether economical aspects also play a role. Finally, there is the Norwegian central democracy issue that describes the debate whether democracy related to the EU can be considered as an ambivalent concept, a concept were the negative aspects are overstated or a concept that degrades Norway to a "fax democracy". These different debates can be used to identify trends towards certain positions in the debate, to categorise the debates in total, reconstruct its development and conduct the corresponding comparison. Beside the positions of the debate, the mentioned trends towards intensively discussed issues, are also important for these research actions. Concerning unresolved aspects, the followign ones need to be mentioned. Next to some minor examples,

<sup>21</sup> So the corresponding part of the research question (and the first sub question) is/are already answered.

the described way to proceed provide many aspect that are still unresolved in the scientific literature. Especially the specific identification of periods of an intensive debate for different issues (beside single events), as well as how the different dominant positions have changed, are reluctant domains in the scientific literature.

### **3. Methodology**

It is insufficient just to describe different issues and positions that a discourse analysis can be based on (see table 1). So this chapter fulfils two functions: First, there is a necessity to explain how the issues and positions can be analysed and why they can be analysed that way. So this chapter describes precisely what "discourse analysis" means in the scientific literature and how certain corresponding ideas are applied in this paper. Moreover it also describes the coding scheme and the corresponding 'ranking' to make trends towards the two steps of the categorisation measurable. In this context, it also explains the "logic of interpolation". Beside that this chapter provides a concrete example for a discourse analysis in the literature and explains how it is realised in this paper. Second, this chapter is also important to justify further choices that significantly influence the content and structure of this paper. So it describes the sources of it and why they were chosen. Furthermore there are further explanations in the context of the case selection and the logic underlying the different sub questions. Additionally it explains the logical order of the steps for answering the second sub question and of conducting the two steps of the categorisation. However, the chapter is not divided according to the functions. Instead there is a separation according to the aspects that are directly related to the research design, that are directly related to the source selection and the aspects that are directly related to the concrete execution of this discourse analysis. So the chapter is structured according to the more obvious aspects in research.

#### **3. 1. Research design for the discourse analysis**

This section clarifies crucial aspects around the research design. Among these aspects, there are the methodological concepts (and its application), the case selection and the logic underlying the first sub question that need to be mentioned. The question on the content of the different aspects of the research design is answered by presenting the following components: Concerning the methodological concepts, this section especially refers to the one of a discourse (analysis) and of Foucault's genealogical approach. In this context, the theoretical ideas around the discourse analytical approach are also put forward. Beside that, it is also explained in this section, how far the approach of a discourse analysis can be distinguished from other approaches that are used in scientific writings. Furthermore this section describes how far the ideas around the genealogical approach are applied in this paper. Another part of this section describes in detail what are the ideas that the case selection of Norway and Iceland is based on. In this context, there are especially aspects put forward how far a similar research plan could have been realised and due to which advantages the thesis was written on the Icelandic and Norwegian case. So it also explains how the case selection influences the concrete research plan of this thesis. Finally it explains the logic behind answering the first sub question of this thesis. There is a separation towards the second sub question because this sub question focuses on the concrete realisation of the research in this paper.

As already mentioned in the introduction, discourses are systems of statements. (Phillips et al., 2004). Discourse analysis needs to be distinguished from cognitive approaches. According to Wæver (n. d.), cognitive approaches analyse what people perceive and think. This is different in discourse analyses where it is irrelevant whether 'they really mean what they say'. So an examination whether the ideas are right or wrong is not what is basically in the focus of this thesis. Instead a discourse analysis should be conducted to categorise the EU accession debate in Iceland and in Norway. This categorisation enable a better comparibility of the two national debates. Moreover discourse analysis also needs to be distinguished towards quantitative studies and other qualitative studies. Quantitative studies deal with numerical data. This kind of data is not central in a discourse analysis.<sup>22</sup> Instead discourse analysis focuses on language (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). In contrast to quantitative studies, qualitative studies (especially qualitative analyses) can be described as "the nonnumeric examination and interpretation of observations, for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships" (Babbie, 2007, p. 378). It is mentioned in Phillips and Hardy (2002, p. 6) that other qualitative research than discourse analysis "interpret or understand social reality as it exists". In contrast to that, discourse analysis tries to find out how it is produced. This refers to the categorisations of the debate that are already present and the question how far they are related to a change of the explained issues and/or positions in the debate.

Discourses can only be studied by exploring the different texts that they are based on (Phillips et al., 2004). So in this thesis, the (scientific) literature needs to be studied for this purpose. Beside the argument of the need of little resources, the discourse analysis is used because it is an approach that aims at a categorisation of the whole debate. This categorisation is useful to identify trends and compare these trends and trends of the other (national) categorisation. Moreover it also provides the possibility to compare the categorisation towards other categorisations that were already published in the literature and possibly adjust their deficits in this new categorisation. To a certain extent, this thesis refers to elements of the approach of Foucault to investigate discourses. This approach is basically chosen because it is an appropriate scientific approach for the paper that increases its quality. In this context the word "appropriate" is used because it is an approach that it includes aspects that are relevant for the issues of the thesis and it can realised the idea of a categorisation into different phases as the writing "Surveillance and punishment" of Foucault concretely showed (Jäger, 2001). Foucault distinguishes an archaeological and a genealogic way for such an investigation. Related to this thesis, the genealogic way can be better referred to it. The genealogic way understands the object of study as historically evolved. So it is necessary to reconstruct the development (Ruge, 2010). In the context of this thesis, the objects of study are the current EU accession debate in Iceland and Norway that (partly) developed out of historical events and debates.

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<sup>22</sup> However, they play a certain role.

In general, the genealogic approach is a quite complicated one that contains many different aspects. In Ruge (2010) there is the distinction drawn between classical history and genealogy. In this paper, the distinction between different perspectives and the object of cognition is especially important. Unfortunately all of the aspects cannot be applied in this thesis. Especially concerning the more economic related issues, it is difficult to relate the aspect "perspective" to them. So this thesis also needs to apply other scientific concepts to identify the trends for the final categorisation. According to Ruge (2010), the genealogical approach especially refers to domains that seems to own no history, like feelings, conscience or instincts. So the genealogic approach especially fits to the issues of a national identity that also refer to national feelings. Otherwise the classical history needs to be applied to the aspect perspective, because the scientific literature does not provide sufficient information on the other issues in the context of this genealogical aspect. This is similar to the object of cognition. This thesis is more based on abstract ideas like a democratic deficit. Abstract ideas are typical for the classical history. In contrast to that, the object of cognition in the genealogical approach needs to be seen in the individual (bodies). Beside that, it is important to add that power relations are a crucial part in the genealogical approach of Foucault (Ruge, 2010).<sup>23</sup>

Next to that, the case selection is an important part of this chapter. This part basically aims at the justification of the two chosen cases in this thesis (Iceland and Norway). There are different reasons why it is appropriate to compare Iceland (assumed that Iceland should stay part of the paper due to its current plans to join the EU) and Norway. Norway is a country that has a certain perspective to join the EU. To have such a perspective, it is important that the country belongs (at least partly) to the geographical continent Europe.<sup>24</sup> Otherwise the practical relevance of the debate stays limited. One could also argue that it might be a better approach to compare the debates of two countries that are currently official candidate states of the EU/recently joined the EU. Croatia, as a country that has recently joined the EU, could be compared to Iceland, too (Kroatien bald 28. Mitgliedstaat der EU?, n. d.). Such a comparison would be especially interesting in the context of a comparison between the progresses of the countries in fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria and its potential to join the EU.

Due to the fact that the actual debate in these countries is analysed, this way of proceeding seems not appropriate because it is quite unlikely that the whole debate in the literature can be limited to the progress reports. So the progress reports are only of a minor relevance in this thesis and this way of proceeding does not fit to the thesis. Due to the different aims, the characteristic of 'being an official

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<sup>23</sup> However, in this thesis, the concept of "power relations" is in general applied if there are references in the literature to this concept, independent from appropriate ideas around the "perspective".

<sup>24</sup> This condition relates to the attempts of Morocco to join the EU. Morocco applied for EU membership in 1987. Their application was rejected because the Council of Ministers decided that Morocco is not a European state (European Parliament, 1998).

candidate state of the EU' is also not significant for the thesis. Beside that, one could also argue that a comparison between Iceland and another Nordic country (beside Norway) would also be possible. Even if a country has already joined the EU, a comparison would be possible between the historical accession debates. The problem about this approach is that it does not take the circumstances of the EU debate from the late 90ies on into account. Problems and developments like the banking crisis, the Euro crisis or the Eastern enlargement certainly influence the EU debate in Iceland. To use such a research design, excludes an important part of the Icelandic discourse analysis, because all other traditional Nordic countries in geographical Europe are already part of the EU since 1995 (Nugent, 2006). That is why Norway is more appropriate to generate the knowledge that the thesis aims at.

To understand how this thesis reaches an appropriate answer to the research question, the following aspects need to be put forward, concerning the logic to answer the first sub question: The logic behind answering the first sub question is a rather simple one. Concerning the first sub question, the different steps towards European integration show a certain general interests and willingness towards European integration. The logic of appropriateness that is applied here is basically based on constructivists thinking. Due to participation in organisation like the EU (or the EFTA), the interests and identities in the country are different, because such an accession makes Iceland or Norway no longer only a European state. Instead their statements are increasingly defined by these organisations due to "...political, social, and economic space enabling private and public actors to define their interests and go about their business (Wiener and Dietz, 2009, p.148). The logic to answer the second sub question is basically explained in the last section in the context of the logical order to answer the research question and the research actions. Due to the fact that this sub question can only be answered after describing the steps to prepare for the answer of the second sub question, there is a complex logic that is explained separately.

All in all, one can say that a discourse analysis concentrates on what is written in the literature. This needs to be distinguished from writings that primary examine if these statements stand for what people perceive and think. In general, the discourse analysis as an approach can be distinguished from several approaches. Beside that, it is important to mention that this thesis can be considered as a writing where aspects of the genealogical and the classical history approach are applied. In this context the section also described that there are problems that would emerge if just the genealogical approach is applied in this thesis. So there is a real necessity to integrate elements of the classical history. This especially reeferes to the ideas around the aspects perspective. Furthermore related to the idea of this paper, to put the scientific literature that deals with the past and the recent events of EU accession debates in the focus, it is a thoughtful choice to compare Iceland and Norway. Next to that, this section summarised, the logic of answering the first sub questions of this thesis. It showed that there is an idea underlying the logic how the sub question should

be answered. So there is a certain justification to answer the sub question the described way because it refer to direct concepts in the scientific literature (the logic of appropriateness).

### **3. 2. Data for the discourse analysis**

In this part, information is provided about the most important sources for the data of the discourse analysis. In general, it is the aim of this paragraph to justify the choice of the central sources. In this context, the question why a certain writing needs to be seen as relevant is most important. The aspect of the relevance basically refers to the presence of data in the writings that are useful to answer the research question. Concerning this relevance, there is also mentioned for which case of the analysis and partly for which period the information in the paper/book are relevant. Moreover it also explains whether a certain writing needs to be seen as a primary or secondary source. In this context, it also clarifies how primary and a secondary source can be defined and what the two kinds of sources means for the analysis of the data. Furthermore it describes whether the whole writing is important for the thesis or only parts of it. Next to that, related to the described sources in this section, it describes what kinds of sources are appropriate in a discourse analysis according to the scientific literature. Finally, there is a description on the period that the data for this thesis need to cover. Based on this description, the section also describes how far the mentioned sources are eligible to cover the whole period that is necessary for the analysis and how far other sources of a minor relevance could equalise that deficit. Beside this section, there is also the list of data references in the appendix to describe the data set.

To see it from a practical way, one can say that discourses are "...structured collections of meaningful texts" (Phillips et al., 2004, p. 636). These texts contain data. To be able to identify the trends for the categorisations, a lot of data is necessary. In this thesis, there are many writings that provide (qualitative) data for the analysis. The documents that are most important are certainly the ones of Thorhallson (2004), Jensen & Wæver (2002), Tanil (2010), Schymik (2007) and Hille (2005). For the further description, it is important to clarify the difference between primary and secondary literature. According to the Princeton University (n.d.), a primary source can be defined as "...a document or physical object which was written or created during the time under study. These sources (...) offer an inside view of a particular event". In contrast to that "a secondary source interprets and analyzes primary sources. These sources are one or more steps removed from the event. Secondary sources may have pictures, quotes or graphics of primary sources in them" (Princeton University, n.d.). As the definition of the two kinds of sources showed, the primary sources provide more reliable data because they are not an interpretation of another source. In the case of Iceland, Thorhallson (2004) is especially important. It is an edited book that contains several articles on the different issues of the debate in Iceland. So large parts of the book can be used to answer

the research question of the thesis. It is also a source of many other articles that deals with the question of the Icelandic debate like Aegisson (2011) or Stommer (2007).

Moreover important positions that are put forward in this thesis, are part of Thorhallsson (2004). So beside Thorhallsson (n.d.), Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. c), Gstöhl (2002) and Bauman (1999) are also part of this writing. So for the Icelandic case this book is certainly the most important writing in this thesis. Furthermore especially for Thorhallsson, as a researcher that focuses among others on the Icelandic foreign policy, there is a certain justification to see his documents as relevant ones (Dr. Baldur Thorhallsson, n.d.). In contrast to Thorhallsson (2004), Jensen & Wæver (2002) is especially important for the Norwegian case. In this book, the chapter on Norway of Iver B. Neumann is clearly the most useful one. For this thesis, the other chapters are only of a minor relevance. However like Thorhallsson (2004), it provides significant information about the views of different scholars on the Norwegian EU accession debate, so it has a certain relevance in the context of this thesis. Beside that, there is the article of Tanil (2011). The central issue of this paper is a quite complex one that does not completely fit to this thesis. However, there are certain parts in the document that are crucial for this thesis. So it needs to be seen as a relevant document because it explicitly analyses the debate during the time of the referenda in Norway. Moreover there is also a certain reference to periods outside the time of the referenda that contains important information on the debate.

Furthermore there is Schymik (2007) that also focuses on the Norwegian debate. In Schymik (2007), the author mainly refers to secondary data as well. This document needs to be considered as relevant because it equalises some of the mentioned deficits of Tanil (2011). Carsten Schymik PhD is in general a researcher that focuses on North European politics. So there are important reasons why this document needs to be seen as a relevant one. In contrast to Tanil (2011), Schymik (2007) focuses more on the general debate in Norway concerning the EU accession efforts. So in Schymik (2007) the focus is less on the referenda. Instead especially the time before the first referendum is also a significant part of this paper. In Hille (2005) the focus is on different aspects of the EU accession debates in Norway and in Switzerland. Due to the fact, that Switzerland is not a case that is analysed in this thesis; this part of the document is not relevant for the thesis. Nevertheless, many of the remaining parts are relevant for the EU accession debates in Norway. All of the mentioned sources are mainly based of secondary sources, but they also include elements of a primary source like excerpts from speeches.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> In Thorhallsson (2004) and Jensen & Wæver (2002) this is especially useful to overcome language problem that might emerge due to the Icelandic or Norwegian sources.



Finally, there are also the EU documents that evaluate how far Iceland and Norway have reached an EU standard. These documents are written by the European Commission. So they are written by an institution that deals with EU enlargements on a professional level. That is why; their documents on this topic need to be considered as relevant ones. In the report on Iceland, it is mentioned that it is based on different sources of data that include primary as well as secondary ones. Concerning the concept of a discourse analysis, there is still the question how far the mentioned literature is in line with this concept. This discourse analysis focuses on the scientific literature. However, some pieces of the scientific literature are based on political speeches. So indirect political speeches are also part of this discourse analysis. The described sources fit to what is written in Phillips and Hardy (2002, p. 8) about the variety of possible sources in a discourse analysis. According to them, in a discourse analysis "...diverse texts that range from academic articles to CNN newscasts" are used. In general the data about the debates need to cover the period from the founding of the EEC in the 1950ies until the last years. In many of the mentioned writings (Thorhallson, 2004, Jensen & Wæver, 2002 or Hille, 2005) these years are not part of the analysis. So additional literature like Ekman (2005) or Konrad-Adenauer-foundation (2012) needs to be used to analyse the last years of the European integration debate.

This section shows that there are good reasons why and how far the mentioned sources are in the focus of this paper. In this context, it clarified the difference between a primary and a secondary source and showed that primary sources provide more reliable information because secondary sources are one or more steps from the events removed. In this paper, some aspects of a primary source can be related to the sources of this thesis, but in total most of the applied sources need to be considered as secondary sources. So the typical problems of secondary sources could also emerge in this thesis. However, due to the fact that the sources can be considered as part of the scientific literature, the problems should be limited. Beside that, it showed that there are several writings that are highly relevant to answer the research question. So the scientific literature enables an appropriate research on the two cases and the corresponding topic. In general the section made it obvious that several writings need to be used to answer the research question. Otherwise there could be the problem that some parts of the literature, that should be analysed in this thesis, cannot be analysed due to missing data for this period. Moreover it showed that the different kinds of sources, which are used in the analysis, fit to the scientific description of the imaginable sources for discourses analyses.

### **3. 3. Executing the discourse analysis**

One important similarity of the previous sections is that it mainly describes the content of the literature concerning the mentioned aspects. However, to conduct a discourse analysis, it is also important to explain how (far) the ideas for discourse analysis are realised in these concrete cases. So in this section,

there are different aspects put forward that belong to the research actions. In the first part of this section, there is a description of the logical order of the steps to answer the second sub questions. Due to the fact, that the results of the steps are connected, a certain logical order to answer them is present. So this part is especially on the structure. In this context, it also describes the logic to answer the second sub question which is an important aspect because it also describes the corresponding research actions. Furthermore, the "coding scheme" for this thesis is presented. This coding scheme describes how observation can be interpreted to make a certain concept measurable. Related to the coding scheme, there is also a 'ranking' presented that belongs to this part. This ranking describes which indicators are especially important for an intensive presence of an issue or position in the debate. Moreover the "logic of interpolation" is explained that is crucial in this thesis to analyse the data. An additional concrete relation of the coding scheme to the analysis is mentioned in the following part. Finally, there is the list of data references that shows which information are used from the different sources that describe one of the positions in the debate. This list of data references is important to make the data set transparent.

To understand the setup of this thesis, it is important to explain the logical order of the steps to prepare for the answer to the second sub questions of this thesis. First, there are the most important issues summarised that are mentioned in the literature. These issues were chosen based on the three criteria described in the theoretical framework. Second, the scientific literature is examined to identify contrasting positions that make an appropriate analysis possible. After having determined the necessary issues and the corresponding positions of the analysis, the second sub question about a possible comparability of the Icelandic and Norwegian discourse can be answered. To determine how far the discourses can be comparable, the categorisation of the Icelandic and the Norwegian debate need to be constructed. To answer this sub question becomes even more complicated by the fact, that there are also two corresponding steps for the categorisations in this thesis. First there will be an examination when which issues of the Europeanisation debate in Iceland and Norway were intensively discussed. In this context, each issue in table 1 will be analysed separately. The categorisation is based on the coding scheme in this chapter that also included a ranking.

Second, once the periods of an intensive debate have been defined, they are further categorized according to the different positions that were central in these periods of an intensive discussion (see table 1). So the second step of the categorisation is conducted that contribute to the scientific debate on specific this issue. To conduct the steps of the categorisation in this order is important to provide more reliable statements. Otherwise, there might be the problem that, although the second step of the categorisation shows that there was an intensive debate around a position of an issues, the position was not significant in the total debate because it took place in a period where no intensive debate emerged. So it is examined which positions were dominant in the debate of the identified intensive periods. However, there is one exception.

In the case of the Icelandic nationalistic discourse, there is a period further categorized in the second step that has not been identified as periods of an intensive discussion. This is based on the idea that the position of Bauman (1999) explains significant step of European integration like an EU application. The fact, that the described logic is not applied in this case might reduce the comparability of the results. Nevertheless, for the second step of the categorisation it is appropriate to draw reasonable conclusions.

Moreover, it is important that the logic of interpolation is applied in the analysis chapter. This is a useful logic to identify, according to the data, the trends concerning European integration that this thesis aims at. So if there are statements related to certain points of time that confirms observations, the logic of interpolation also confirms the presence of the observation for the time in between these two points in time, although there are no (direct) data on this time in between (Shadish, Cook & Campell, 2002). The logic is useful for the thesis, because usually in the literature there are not observations for each year of the debate mentioned. Nevertheless, this is a logic that researchers must be careful about. That is why to reach reliable conclusions, the time in between must be limited. So in the analysis, the maximum period that the logic of interpolation is able to explain, is a decade. However, to provide more reliable statements, most of the periods in the analysis between two points in time will be much shorter. Another aspect that needs to be mentioned is, that many of the precise years that stands for an end or a beginning of a period, are estimated numbers. That is why there might be in some cases, a precise year that fit better as a starting or end point of a period. However, based on the information in the literature, the stated years are appropriate point in time to describe a general trend. So the mentioned years need to be seen as approximated values.

The results of the two steps make it possible to create the national categorisations of the debate. These categorisations are compared in the following part. Beside the different categories, relevant aspects concerning the single issues will also be compared like contentual similarities between the dominant positions in the national debates. "Coding" is another important aspect of the discourse analysis. This coding refers to the idea to make intensity of a debate and the significant presence of a position measurable. In this thesis, there are several ways to measure the intensity of a debate. In general, for most of the issues, the statements in the literature provide the most important way to determine when the debate on certain issues/positions was especially intensive. In this context, the statements of the literature that cover a longer period of time are considered as more meaningful because the authors of these literatures had the possibility to compare to other periods. So they are able to provide an estimate on the 'relative' intensity of the debate because in their paper they could also check the intensity of the debates in other periods. That also explains why, the general statements are considered as more important than excerpts of a speech. Concerning the EU documents on the progresses to adapt to the EU, the relative importance of the mentioned issues is decisive. For the EU documents, the role of the *acquis communitaire* needs to be put forward again.

Especially in the negotiations between Iceland and the EU, the *acquis communautaire* plays a central role. To analyse Iceland's problems to realise the *acquis communautaire* in the progress reports is a possibility to determine whether there are problems about the European integration that are not part of the public debate.<sup>26</sup> That is why it is necessary to analyse whether the corresponding issues play a more significant role than other issues in the progress reports. So for the coding it is especially important to analyse how far the wording on deficits in sections like agricultural and fishery is different in comparison to other sections in the progress reports. However, in comparison to the general statements in the literature that cover a longer period, the information in the progress report and other sources that only explain the debate in the last years, play a minor role. Concerning the comparison in total, they are especially relevant to confirm trends of decreasing /increasing intensity of a debate.

Connected to the statements, there are also some other indicators that play a role. For example, in the context of the Icelandic debate around fishery and agriculture, the share of fishery and agriculture at the GDP, the percentage of MPs with a connection to the sector and the (relative) amount of people working in this sector is mentioned. Partly these indicators are also expanded to cover almost the whole period of the debate. In the context of the power relations of Foucault, especially the MPs with a connection to the sector play a crucial role. So due to the genealogical element(s), this way to measure the intensity is considered the most important one.<sup>27</sup> Related to the idea of the power relations, there is also the electoral reform in 1987 mentioned that changed the overrepresentation of the rural areas.<sup>28</sup> In contrast to that, the share at the GDP and the relative (and absolute) employment in the fishery and agricultural sector (and the general statements) are less important than the share of the MPs to determine when an issue was intensive in the debate. This way of proceeding is based on the idea that the indicators concerning the employment and the GDP do not directly show an intensive debate. However, the logic cannot be completely denied that at a time when a sector was especially important, it is quite likely that this sector also played a crucial role in the debate.

Especially concerning the Icelandic fishery sector, the theoretical framework showed that it is reasonable to take the importance of the sector into account. Concerning the Icelandic issues fishery and agriculture, in the second step of the categorisation, the leading sector is determined according to the ideas of the first step of the categorisation. Based on the idea that there are important indicators parts of the first step of the categorisation, which are crucial to determine a leading sector, this interpretation seems to be appropriate.

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<sup>26</sup> Although Iceland participated in the EEA agreement, and is obliged to implement certain EU legislation, it is important to analyse the negotiations about the *acquis communautaire*, because there are still domains where the Icelandic legislation is not in line with EU legislation. In general, the impact of the EEA agreement on the adoption of EU legislation is controversial. (Stommer, 2007).

<sup>27</sup> If the data enable this way of measuring.

<sup>28</sup> However, the role of the indicator of the electoral reform, is limited to an additional indicator that is related to the result of the categorisation, because the changes that this reform should be responsible for, should be obvious in the other indicator for the power relations.

So, the leading sector is mainly determined by its political importance which is visible in the MPs with connection to this sector and the meaning of the sector in the European integration debate.<sup>29</sup> In general, typical characteristics of Ingebritsen of a leading sector are applied here. So there is this connection of the MPs towards these sectors analysed and provided priority to draw conclusions. A characteristics that, according to Thorhallsson (n.d.) is also visible in the Icelandic case. Moreover, there are indicators to determine the economic importance of these sectors (GDP and employment). These economic indicators are not explicitly described as a characteristic of a leading sector. However, they are part of Thorhallsson (n.d. a) and without a certain economic importance, there is no necessity for the politicians to take their interests into account. Finally the statements on the intensity of the debate are only to limited extent applied for the second step of the categorisation. The presence of a debate can be considered as an indicator for a certain (political) importance of the sector.

However, the link towards the other indicators is more obvious. That is why the single statements on the intensity are only applied to a limited extent to draw conclusions. Concerning the remaining issues of the second steps of the categorisation, the coding scheme for the first step of the categorisation remains valid (see table 2). To show a more concrete picture of a discourse analysis, this part puts Phillips & Hardy (2002) forward where examples are mentioned how to conduct a discourse analysis. The ideas that are mentioned in one of the examples are used as basis for this discourse analysis. In this example it is also explained that there is a central concept (in this case the accession debate in Iceland and Norway) that draws from other discourses (the different issues of the national debates). Based on the coding scheme, it is possible to evaluate the data mentioned in the different writings. The evaluation provides different periods as a trend for the first step and for the second step of the categorisation. These results make it possible to identify further trends to set up the final categorisations of the Icelandic and Norwegian debate that describe the debate and its development in total. Based on these final categorisations, the comparison of the national discourses can be conducted that the research question aims at. So there are significant similarities and differences between the two national discourses mentioned. Moreover the final categorisation can be related to the practical relevance of the debate. The corresponding implications are described in the further parts on this thesis.

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<sup>29</sup> The European integration debate is especially important due to the European perspective of this paper.

	<b>First priority</b>	<b>Second priority</b>	<b>Third priority</b>	<b>Fourth priority</b>
<i>General coding scheme</i>	Indicators in the literature for power relations (relevant for the first step of the categorisation of Icelandic fishery and agriculture)	Statements on the intensity from a writing that analyse a significant period of time (for example several decades)	Statements on the intensity from writings that only analyse certain events or a few years	Quantitative (economic) indicators like the share at the GDP and relative and absolute employment
<i>Fishery and agriculture in Iceland (exception for the second step of the categorisation, relevant for the positions of Ingebritsen and Thorhallsson (n.d.))</i>	MPs with connection to this sector	Quantitative economic indicators like share at the GDP and relative and absolute employment	Statements on the intensity from a writing that analyse a significant period of time (for example several decades)	Statements on the intensity from writings that only analyse certain events or a few years

**Table 2** Ranking of the coding scheme

As this section showed, there is a certain logical connection between the steps to prepare the answer for the second sub questions. So the issues need to be identified before the different (contrasting) positions in the debate are identified. Beside the steps to prepare the answer for the second sub question, it was explained that there is also this logical order in conducting the two steps of the categorisation. For the categorisations, there is the logic of interpolation that is used in the analysis chapter. Furthermore it also showed that the concrete concept in Phillips & Hardy (2002) and (Phillips et al., 2004) how to conduct discourse analysis, can also be realized in this thesis. So the debate on European integration in Iceland and Norway draws from the discourses on the single issues. Beside that, it described the coding scheme. In this context it is mentioned that for most parts of the categorisation, the statements in the literature that stand for a significant period of time, can be considered the most valuable ones. Moreover, it is also described that there are some exceptions to this rule. For the issues on fishery and agriculture, the MPs

with connection to these sectors, can be considered as the most important indicators. This basically refers to the idea of power relations of Foucault. Beside that, there is also a difference for fishery and agriculture in the second step of the categorisation. So in this case, the general statements only play a minor role and the quantitative economic indicators are more in the focus.

### **3. 4. Conclusion**

All in all, the research actions in this thesis can be described the following way: After having chosen the key issues, based on the mentioned three criteria, and the contrasting positions, the two steps to prepare the answer for the second sub question are already conducted. They make it possible to start the different discourses on each of the issues. These discourses primary aim at trends in the debate that are necessary to create the categorisation of the national debate in total. For this reason, the first step of the categorisation needs to be conducted. To conduct this step of the categorisation, the coding scheme needs to be applied. So for the analysis chapter, I checked the different scientific literature (especially the one mentioned in the "data for the discourse analysis" section) for the indicators that were described in the coding scheme. In this context, it also important to stick to the "ranking" that is presented in the context of the coding scheme (see table 2). So, beside the Icelandic discourses on fishery and agriculture, the general statements that cover a longer period of time, are basically the most important way to conduct the first step of the categorisation. Afterwards, the second step of the categorisation can be conducted. The second step of the categorisation is based on the result of the first one. To conduct the second step of the categorisation, the former coding scheme remains almost completely valid. For the second step of the categorisation, the literature is analysed for the positions in table 1. According to them, the results are further categorisation due to the dominance of a certain position in the debate.

In the context of the coding scheme, the logic of interpolation also needs to be put forward that enables a better analysis of the data. After having conducted the two steps of the categorisation, it is possible to identify the different trends of each issue and distinguish different phases in the national debates in total. So the final categorisations show how the national discourses have developed from a situation at the foundation of the EEC. Moreover, based on these final categorisations of the national debates, the comparison can be conducted, that the second sub question (and indirectly the research question) aims at. In this context, there are not only the different identified periods compared. Instead it also compares different noticeable aspects concerning the identified positions in the debates. These results are related to the practical relevance of a European integration debate that can be considered as given according to the previous chapter. The question on the practical relevance basically refers to the first sub question of this thesis. However, the practical relevance still needs to be analysed in the context of the comparison of the final categorisations. Concerning the further methodological insights, it is important to say that this

chapter refers to different scientific ideas for discourse analysis. Among these ideas, the approach of Foucault is directly applied to power relations in the analysis. Moreover the chapter showed that there is a certain logical order in answering the sub questions and conducting the two steps of the categorisation. So to a certain extent, the structure in this paper can be considered as given.



## 4. Analysis

Central to this chapter is the answer to the second sub question. Due to the fact, that the discourse analysis is chosen as approach for this paper, there is the necessity to apply features of a discourse analysis like the feature of a categorisation. The categorisation makes it possible to compare the Norwegian and Icelandic discourses. Both steps of the categorisation are carried out in this part of the paper. For that reason, the other chapters described the chosen issues of this thesis and the corresponding positions (see table 1).<sup>30</sup> So the corresponding two steps to prepare for the answer to the second sub question have already been conducted. Concerning the two steps of the categorisation, they are carried out in the evaluation parts in the different national discourses. They are based on the corresponding data part. The identified periods of the two steps of the categorisation make it possible to provide a simplification of the total national debates towards some trends. Based on these trends, a new categorisation is created to show a picture of the development of the national debates in total (see table 8 and 9). This inquiry enables the providing of knowledge about the comparability of the two national discourses in total. Moreover it refers to the first sub question by describing the practical relevance when analysing the two national discourses. So this chapter provides the central insights to answer the research question and corresponding questions concerning the scientific development and the power players in the national debates.

### 4. 1. Icelandic discourse on fishery

As mentioned in the context of Phillips and Hardy (2002), there are the different issues that are part of the accession debate. That is why these discourses on the different issues are presented in this and the following sections. This section is about the discourse on fishery in Iceland. Based on a significant importance of the sector, it is also likely that it is central in the debate. This discourse aims at the trends that the two steps of the categorisation for fishery describe. To identify these trends, it is first of all important to describe the necessary data. This necessary data is described according to the ranking, and its corresponding importance, of the coding scheme. Concerning this part of the discourse, the analysis starts with the number of MPs that have a connection to this sector. This refers to the idea of power relations of Foucault. So there is the idea that the MPs with connection to the fishery sector influence the policy that is implemented. From that one can conclude that the parliament shows certain power relations, where the interests of the fishery sector are realised. Afterwards the general statements in the literature (including an EU progress reports) are analysed that (directly) describe when a debate was intensive. The last criterion that is applied, are quantitative indicators that show when this sector was especially important in the country. Afterwards, the trend for the first step of the categorisation is presented.

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<sup>30</sup> The different issues already shows the classical history element of the abstract ideas that is important in this thesis.

Related to the approach of Foucault and the corresponding idea of the power relations, the central indicator to determine the intensity of this issue in the debate and whether this sector can be considered as a leading sector, is the percentage of MPs with the connection to the fishing sector. This refers to the idea mentioned in Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. a) that the leading sector is only represented through interest groups of the occupational sectors. Especially from 1956-1971 the amount of MPs that were connected to this sector was remarkable (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. a). Table 3 shows the corresponding data. So the corresponding value for this period is around 35. The numbers in this table stand for the percentage of MPs in different Icelandic parliamentary terms that have a connection to the agricultural or the fishery sector. So this is a table that is also relevant for the next issue of the categorisation. Although there are quite high values from 1956-1971, in total the indicator does not provide such a clear picture. There is a decreasing share of the MPs with a connection to this sector until the mid of the 90ies (except the 1967-71 term), but the share rises in the following last two terms. So concerning this indicator, there is no clear trend and it seems to be appropriate to rely on other indicators/statements.

	<b>Fishery</b>	<b>Agriculture</b>
<b><i>1956-58</i></b>	38,5	36,6
<b><i>1959-63</i></b>	33,3	25,0
<b><i>1967-71</i></b>	38,3	26,7
<b><i>1987-91</i></b>	23,7	28,6
<b><i>1991-95</i></b>	17,7	23,8
<b><i>1995-99</i></b>	28,5	15,8
<b><i>1999-03</i></b>	27,0	12,7

**Table 3** Percentages of MPs with connection to individual occupational sectors in seven parliamentary terms

Source: Thorhallsson, B. & Vignisson, H. T. (n.d. a, p. 80). Life is first and foremost saltfish

First there is the examination of the single statements on the debate. This is an indicator that is especially relevant for the first step of the categorisation. In Aegisson (2011) it is mentioned that every step that Iceland took to further European Integration can at least partly be explained by the interests of the fishing sector. In the 1960ies when they considered an EEC accession, it withdrew its proposal in the end. One of the reasons for this action was the blocked EEC membership application of the United Kingdom by France. Due to this decision, EU membership was no longer beneficial for Iceland because the United Kingdom was the most important fish market for Iceland. Afterwards in 1970 Iceland decided to join EFTA to make the export of fish to EFTA countries easier and to open up the (theoretical) opportunity of

a free trade agreement with the EU. Finally this opportunity opened up for Iceland when the EEA agreement was created. One of the reasons for Iceland to join the EEA in 1994 was the guarantee of a better accession of Icelandic fishing product to the European market. Still in 2000 the Icelandic minister of fishery stated "...that the main obstacle in the way of Iceland's joining the EU was the Union's common fishery policy" (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. a, p.89). This statement clearly shows a certain importance of the fishery sector that was still present in 2000.

Nevertheless, although there is this significant influence of the fishing industry on the Icelandic European integration, in 2009 the Icelandic parliament decided to apply for an EU membership. They decided to apply although the Common Fishery Policy remained unchanged. This is a clear sign that different issues are more in the focus of the governmental debate than the fishery sector (Aegisson, 2011). In this context it is also important to refer to the idea of Kristinsson and Thorhallsson (n.d.), that the rural areas were overrepresented due to the electoral system. This overrepresentation was especially present before the reform in 1987. As already mentioned, in the rural areas fishery and agriculture were mainly located. So it is an aspect that is relevant for fishery as well as agriculture. In the analytical report 2010 of the European Commission, there is an analysis how far the different Copenhagen criteria are realised in Iceland. In this context, the chapter 13 (fishery) is especially important. In the summary of this analytical report, it is mentioned that fishery is a deficient domains concerning Iceland's attempts to fulfil the *acquis communitaire*. However, it is only one domain among several others that is described that way. Beside that, it is important to mention that the negative feedback in some of the other chapters is influenced by the fishery sector (for example in the domain free movement of capital). Nevertheless, the feedback on the chapter "fishery" is less critical than the one related to agriculture (European Commission, 2010).

Finally, there are the quantitative indicators put forward that show when the sector was economically especially important in Iceland. These indicators are also part of Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. a). The indicators are important for both steps of the categorisation. However, they are especially important for the second step of the categorisation to determine the economic importance that is crucial for a leading sector. According to Thorhallsson (n.d.), the fishing sector is the leading sector in Iceland. During the last decades, the fishing sector was responsible for a significant share of the GDP and a significant share of the jobs in Iceland. From 1950-1980 about 15% of the Icelandic employments were provided by the fishing industry. Nevertheless, this situation did not last forever. After the 1980ies, the share of the Icelandic GDP and the percentage of the employments in the fishery sector decreased (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. a). So in 1990 the percentage of the employment decreased to 11,6%. The share at the Icelandic GDP became especially low in 2000 (9,9% for 2000). The trend of a decreasing share at the GDP it also visible in the following year. In the last years, the fishing industry only reached a relative

high share (of the GDP) after the banking crisis (Aegisson, 2011). Most of the mentioned developments (until 2000) are summarised in concrete numbers in table 4.

	<b>Employment</b>	<b>GDP</b>
<i>1940</i>	20,2	28,2
<i>1950</i>	16,2	-
<i>1960</i>	16,3	-
<i>1970</i>	14,4	15,7
<i>1980</i>	14,4	16,5
<i>1990</i>	11,6	15,0
<i>2000</i>	9,0	9,9

**Table 4** Contribution of the fishing industry to the Icelandic economy, percentages of to  
Source: Thorhallsson, B. & Vignisson, H. T. (n.d. a, p. 80). Life is first and foremost saltfish.

Concerning the discourse on fishery in Iceland, the first step of the categorisation provides the following results: Due to the fact that the power relations that are mentioned in Foucault's approach are part of this thesis, the indicator of the MPs with connection to the fishery is the most important one in this thesis. The problem about this indicator is that it hardly presents a clear trend. The only important aspect, that needs to be taken into account, are the relative high values (above 30%) from 1956-1971. Beside that, similar to the share of the MPs, the share of the employment in the fishery industry is significantly lower at the beginning of the 90ies. Concerning the GDP, the share is especially low at the beginning of 2000. However, due to the fact that a value for the mid 1990ies is not included, this value could be appropriate for a central point in time of a decreasing debate, too.<sup>31</sup> So this refers to the logic of interpolation. This logic is also applied to the percentage of employment in the fishery sector which shows a significant decrease between 1980 and 1990. So in this case the corresponding central point in time is 1985. This period from 1985 till 1995, as the end of the intensive debate, also fits to the description of the different steps of Iceland in European integration and the corresponding importance described in Aegisson (2011).

The last significant agreement, where fishery interest played an important role, was the EEA agreement in 1994. However, due to the fact that it seems inappropriate to apply the logic of interpolation from 1970-1994, the usefulness of these general statements alone is rather limited to determine the intensity of the

<sup>31</sup> Due to the fact, that the value between also shows the lowest difference towards both extremes, the value in between is an appropriate approximated value.

debate in this period.<sup>32</sup> So the economic indicators are used. All in all, the different indicators/statements show that fishery was an intensive issue of the debate (from the foundation of the EEC) until approximately 1985-1995. This is also in line with the reform of the electoral system. To have a concrete number to refer to, 1990 as the year in between seems to be appropriate. Thereby, it is important to say that the debate on this issue was especially meaningful in the first decades as, among others, the percentage of MPs shows.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, it is still an issue that is present as the progress report and the statement of the minister of fishery showed. For the second step of the categorisation, it is necessary to compare how far fishery and agriculture can be considered as leading sectors in Iceland. That is why this step of the categorisation is finished after the data part of the following section of the corresponding "Icelandic discourse on agriculture".

This section presented the results on the first step of the categorisation of the Icelandic discourse on fishery. In contrast to what was written in the ranking of the coding scheme, partly another ranking had to be applied. There was this necessity to implement some changes because for the period after the 70ies, table 3 does not show a clear trend related to fishery in this table. So, although for this section the idea of the power relations could be applied, the importance of the indicators "MPs with connection to the fishery sector" is limited because of this problem. That is why economic indicator and the general statements were upgraded in comparison to the previously mentioned ranking (table 2). As the general statements on the Icelandic debate showed, the last time that fishery was an important part of a debate, was in the debate around the EEA agreement in 1994. However, the problems of interpolation need to be taken into account. In contrast to the general statements, the economic indicators provided a less clear picture concerning the end of the period. According to these indicators, the end of the most intensive phase of the debate was between 1985 and 1995. Finally, the reform of the electoral system was also considered as an important aspect because of the changing rural-urban voting weight. The reform in 1987 approximately also fits to the categorized period of an intensive debate. In the end, the analysis of this issue showed that the issue was discussed most intensively from about 1960-1990. This is a trend that is line with all the important indicators that were mentioned previously.

#### **4. 2. Icelandic discourse on agriculture**

Concerning this Icelandic discourse on agriculture, the way of identifying the trends is the same as the one that was used previously. So the necessary data are presented. Again the percentage of the MPs with connection to the agricultural sector is the most important way to determine the intensity of the issue in the debate. For this issue, as well as for the issue fishery, this indicator stands for the political component

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<sup>32</sup> The statements beyond the EEA agreement are based on an excerpt of a speech and documents that only analyse short periods of time. So the statements are considered as less meaningful for the identification of trends.

<sup>33</sup> However, there is no further distinction conducted in comparison to the other periods of an intensive debate.

of the leading sector. Then the general statements are described and finally the same kind of quantitative data as in the previous discourse will be used to determine the importance of a sector. That is why, related to the logic of the two steps of the categorisation, at first these indicators are used to determine trends concerning the periods when the issue agriculture was discussed intensively. Afterwards this information, as well as the results of the previous discourse are used to determine which positions of the debate were especially relevant during which periods. In this context, the second step of the categorisation of this discourse and the previous one is conducted because there is a connection between this discourse and the previous one. So there is the question whether the fishery sector can only be considered as a leading sector (the position of Thorhallsson (n.d.)) or whether the fishery and the agricultural sector can be considered as the leading sectors (the position of Ingebritsen). For the second step of the categorisation there is also the change in the ranking of the coding scheme that needs to be taken into account. So the economic indicators are considered as more important than the general statements in the literature.

In table 3, it is clearly visible that in total the amount of MPs with connection to the agriculture declined rapidly (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. a). In total, there is a decreasing trend in the last four terms. However, there is also an increasing trend from the second term till the fourth time. In spite of this unclear trend, one aspect needs to be put forward. There are especially low values from 1995-2003. So the table only provides little significant data to determine a general trend. That is why it seems again reasonable to refer to other aspects in the literature. Since the late 1950ies there were already discussions about the Icelandic agriculture that was too weak to face international competition. The discussion was revived in 1961 when the possibilities to join EFTA were examined. At that time, there were also agricultural interest groups that opposed an EFTA accession and in 1969 "...farmers took a firm stance against the agreement, arguing that it would be to the detriment of Icelandic society and agriculture" (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. b, p.32). Several years later (in 1991) the agricultural interests groups also opposed the EEA agreement. Thereby they were also supported by "...many types from the state..." (Thorhallsson & Vignisson, n.d. c, p. 45). The idea of Kristinsson and Thorhallsson (n.d.), that refers to the electoral system also need to be put forward. As already mentioned in the previous part, this overrepresentation of the rural areas was especially present before the reform in 1987.

Beside that, the economic indicators that were applied in the fishery case will also be used in the data part of this discourse. In the following table, there is the share at the GDP and the share of jobs of the agricultural sector analysed. These different indicators are summarised in the table 5. Table 5 shows a decreasing trend from 1977-1990 concerning both indicators. Due to the mentioned importance of the issue in 1969, it is necessary to analyse the years in this decade before 1977. For this reason, table 6 is part of this analysis. It describes the absolute number of worker in the agricultural sector in Iceland. Beside that, in the analytical report 2010 of the European Commission there is an analysis, how far the

different Copenhagen criteria are realised in Iceland. Concerning the progress report, chapter 11 (agriculture and rural development) mainly deals with this sector. In this chapter, the text says "Iceland's agricultural policy is not in line with the *acquis* and will need to be adapted before accession" (European Commission, 2010, p. 66). Such a clear statement is unique in the feedbacks of the analytic report. Concerning the statement on agriculture in this analytic report, it is important to add that the report more fits to the thinking of Thorhallson (n.d.) and relativise the role of agriculture in the current Icelandic society.

	1977	1980	1985	1988	1989	1990
<i>Gross value added in agriculture as percentage of GDP</i>	5,2	5,0	4,5	3,0	3,0	2,7
<i>Employment in agriculture as percentage of civilian employment</i>	9,0	7,9	6,1	5,1	5,1	4,9

**Table 5** Two important Icelandic indicators

Source: OECD. (1994, p. 47, 48). OECD Economic surveys 1993-1994 Iceland

1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
10121	9800	9605	9620	9822	9326	9326	8915

**Table 6** Workers in the Icelandic agricultural sector

Source: Statistics Iceland (2003) Census on Icelandic agriculture: selected characteristics  
The number of man in the agricultural sector from 1963-1997 (absolute)

Concerning the first step of the categorisation, the following aspects are especially important: The power relations are also the most important way to determine the intensity of an issue in the debate for this section. However, due to the little significant data in table 3 for agriculture, it seems (again) to be appropriate to relate to other data. The general statements provide a special meaning to this issue from the late 1950ies until the years when Iceland joined the EFTA. Afterwards, it mentions another event, where the issue was put forward, in the context of the EEA agreement in 1991. Again this period (from 1969-1991) is too long to interpolate. So indicators need to be taken into account that were previously mentioned in Thorhallsson & Vignisson (n.d. a). Both of these economic indicators show a constantly decreased importance of the sector from 1977 till 1990. That is why it is more reasonable to put the decades of the 70ies in the focus. According to table 6, a significant decrease is visible beginning from 1975. So according to this analysis, agriculture is especially important for the debate from the late

1950ies until about 1975-1977. However, the analysis of the progress report also showed that it is still an issue even if, according to the mentioned indicators, the intensity of the debate has been reduced. All in all, according to the mentioned appropriate indicators, the categorisation from the late 1950ies until 1975-1977 for an intensive debate seems to appropriate although this is not in line with the important electoral reform in 1987.

In the second step of the categorisation, it needs to be determined when which position of the debate was especially present. There are the two positions of Ingebritsen and Thorhallsson (n.d.) that describe different attitudes towards leading sectors in Iceland. To determine the leading sector, the connection of MPs towards this sector, as well as the economic indicators, are especially relevant. Concerning the other indicators, for the first step of the categorisation, there were few statements that provided direct information on the intensity of a debate and these statements, related to the logic of interpolation, are also in line with the economic indicators. That is why it seems to be appropriate to use the results of the previous step of the categorisation to determine the leading sectors as well. As the Icelandic discourses on fishery and agriculture showed, from the late 1950ies until about 1975-1977<sup>34</sup>, both issues were an important part of the debate. This fits to the idea of Ingebritsen that both sectors can be considered the leading ones. However, according to the analysis, in the following years the agricultural sector is no longer an intensive issue of the Europeanisation debate. So approximately until 1990, the fishery sector is the only remaining leading sector of these two. So this period confirms the position of Thorhallsson (n.d.). Due to the fact that Thorhallsson (n.d.) refers to the ideas of Ingebritsen, this result seems unexpected because he focuses on fishery but provides limited information on agriculture. This does not fit to the result that agriculture and fishery need to be seen as leading sectors for several decades.

To put it in a nutshell, there are the following important insights provided by the section: Similar to the previous discourse, the data on the share of the MPs with connection to the sector did not provide sufficient clear data to categorize the period from the late 1950ies on. So the other indicators also become relevant for the evaluation. Concerning the general statements, there are debates in 1961, 1969 and in 1991, in the context of the EEA agreement, mentioned. However, there are more than two decades between 1969 and 1991. So interpolation is not appropriate. This is also in line with the economic indicators that show that agriculture was especially important from the late 1950ies until 1975-1977. So for the first step of the categorisation this period is also identified as the period where the most intensive discussion took place. Due to the fact that, there were changes in the described ranking, the economic indicators played were crucial to identify the period for the first step of the categorisation. That is why it was not necessary to set up an additional analysis for the second step of the categorisation. So for the second step of the categorisation, the results of the first step (fishery: 1960-1990; agriculture: late 1950ies

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<sup>34</sup> For the following analysis, I choose the year in between (1976).



till 1975-1977) were used to determine which sectors are leading sectors. From that one can conclude that Ingebritsen's position was right when both sectors were intensively discussed and the one of Thorhallsson (n.d.) was right when only fishery were an intensive part of the debate. So, according to this step of the categorisation, none of the positions is completely in line with the developments in Iceland.

#### **4. 3. Norwegian discourse on fishery and agriculture**

In this section, the discourse on the same issues of the Norwegian debate is presented. Concerning the presentation of the necessary data to identify trends, the way of proceeding is another one than in the previous part. So it focuses on the reconstruction of (the intensity of) the Norwegian debate on fishery and agriculture by using the different statements in the literature. The statements are presented in a chronological way. These statements do not only refer to the intensity of the debate at a certain point in time. Instead they also describe concrete aspects that were discussed to determine the dominant position for the second step of the categorisation. Due to the fact that the part on the necessary data also refers to the contentual aspects of the debate, it is possible to identify the corresponding trends for the second step of the categorisation in the evaluation part. In general this part on the Norwegian debate on fishery and agriculture less refers to quantitative data than the Icelandic one. This can basically be explained by the positions that are defined differently than in the previous discourse. The second step of the categorisation deals with the question whether fishery and agriculture in Norway primary refer to economic aspects (the position of Ingebritsen) or whether it is considered as an identity issue (the position of Neumann (n.d.)).

According to Neumann (n.d.), the approach of Ingebritsen can in general be applied to Norway, too. Beside Neumann (n.d.), the idea that Ingebritsen position is relevant for Norway, is also mentioned in Hille (2005). However, as further put forward by Neumann (n. d.), the issue fishery and agriculture seems to be less related to economic aspects. Especially in the early 1960ies, a special nexus between the Norwegian people and the Norwegian territory is accentuated.<sup>35</sup> In this context, the opportunity to fish and to conduct agriculture belongs to the Norwegian territory. In the debate this is seen as something "Norwegian" because (most) other nations do not have the same opportunities (concerning fish and agriculture). In this context, there is also the idea that the Norwegians might have to give more of their national territory for the resources than they will receive (Neumann, n.d.). In the 1972 referendum, the issue fishery played an important role as well. At the time of this referendum it was (again) argued that fishery (and agriculture) is/are much more than making money in Norway. They are responsible for the demographics because they are "...institutional mechanism that sustain a certain representation of Norway" (Neumann, n.d., p.115). So these sectors can be seen as a part of the regional policy to populate whole Norway.

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<sup>35</sup> So beside the issue fishery and agriculture, these are also aspects that belong to the issue national identity.

Because of the idea that "the continent is the town, Norway is the countryside", Norway also needs its rural population due to identity aspects. In the 1994 referendum debate, the Anti-EU side argued that the regional policy needs to stay active to equalise standards of living between rural and urban areas (Tanil, 2011). This seems to be still an issue as an article from the year 2003 showed, where the following statement of Olav Boye, an EU sceptic, was published: "We see how the European Union rules are destroying our regional policy, so people have to leave the districts and move into the cities, which is a political development we disagree very much with" (Bevanger, 2003). However, regional policy need not necessarily be related to agriculture and fishery. Still, as Neumann (n.d.) already stated, fishery and agriculture need to be seen as a crucial part of it. Beside that, it fits to the idea to avoid an undesired urbanisation. Moreover in the 1972 referendum, agriculture was also an important aspect because farming is seen as part of the early nation building. It is associated with the struggle for the independence of the country. So this is another hint that agriculture also belongs to the national identity (Tanil, 2011). In this context there is also a statement from 1998 in Neumann (n.d.) that the more identity related meaning of these sectors: "Only a small and shrinking percentage of Norwegians are involved in the primary economic sectors of fishery and agriculture"(Neumann, n.d., p. 89).<sup>36</sup>

In general, it is mentioned in Neumann (n.d., p.115) that agriculture and fishery are two parts of the economy that, in terms of productivity, are rather peripheral in a heavily industrialised country and these sector could only become a significant part of the debate due to its importance for demographics. Especially in the last years, the share at the GDP of fishing and agriculture (1% in 2009) and the percentage of employees in these sectors (3% in 2010) became very low (Worldbank, 2012). So the debate on fishery and agriculture (leaving national identity out) seems to be even less dominant in the last years. This is also in line with a statement in the BBC news. According to this article, the Norwegians do no longer believe that an EU membership would kill off the fishery and agriculture in Norway. Instead they regard other international bodies like the World Trade Organisations as much more detrimental to these sectors than the EU (Bevanger, 2003). In the 1993/1994 negotiations between the EU and Norway the sectors fishery and agriculture were important issues. Similar to the case of Iceland, there were several issues discussed that needed some improvements. However, especially in the agricultural sector severe problems emerged to adapt towards the standards in the EU. Concerning the fishery sector, there were also significant problems mentioned but it "...was only one of the more difficult and complex subjects of the negotiations" (European Commission, 1994, p. 4). In Tanil (2011), it is mentioned that fishery was also an important issue in the 2000s.

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<sup>36</sup> The same is true for the share of agriculture and fishery at the Norwegian GDP.

Concerning the first step of the categorisation, there are the following aspects that especially need to be taken into account: All in all, the (scientific) literature states that fishery and agriculture started to play an important role in the debate in the early 60ies. Beside that, it was an important issue in the debate around the first referendum. So there were several aspects of this issue of the Norwegian debate put forward like the idea that farming was important for the early nation building. Furthermore, in the second referendum agriculture and fishery remained an important issue because of the demographic component of the issue. Moreover at that time, it was also an important issue in the EU negotiations. Due to the fact, that in Neumann (n.d.) it is already put forward in a statement from 1998 that the primary sector becomes less important and in a general statement of 2003, these sectors are also declared as less important in the debate, it seems to be appropriate to declare the period from about 1960 till about 2000 to be the one where these issues were discussed intensively. Thereby, the aspect fishery seems to be a little bit longer an intensive part of the debate because this part is also mentioned in the 2000s debate. However, to provide a clear trend for the whole issue, the period for the first step of the categorisation of this issue is set from about 1960 till about 2000.<sup>37</sup>

The trend from 1960-2000 allows it to conduct the next step of the categorisation that relates to the question which position was especially present in the identified period. In the scientific literature on fishery and agriculture in the Norwegian European integration debates, there is also the approach of Ingebritsen put forward that was also mentioned in the Icelandic discourse. However for the second step of the categorisation, it is important to say that, in the context of the Norwegian discourse, the issue is dealt with differently than in the Icelandic discourse. In the Icelandic discourse, the position of Ingebritsen refers to the leading sectors and corresponding economic performance and the connections of these sectors towards Icelandic MPs. In contrast to that, in the Norwegian discourse, the debate around these two sectors is often referring to identity aspects. So Neumann (n.d.) accentuates the nexus between the Norwegian people and their territory and Tanil (2011) states that farming is in the focus of the debate because it is part of the early nation building. However, this aspect of the nexus seems to be a rather ambivalent aspect because it also refers to the idea that Norway gives more than it receives. That could be interpreted as an economic aspect. Still, in general the identity aspects are most important for the described nexus. Beside that, there is the demographic aspect that is a significant part of the debate.

Ingebritsen also recognised the different aspects that are related to the Norwegian sectoral approach. So in Hille (2005) it is even stated that, according to Ingebritsen, the EU scepticism need to be seen in the context of rural ideology. This seems to be contradictory to Ingebritsen's economic approach. However, as a reaction to the mentioned empirical facts, this switch seems justified. All in all one can say that there is hardly a clear reference towards the economic aspects of these sectors. So to identify a trend towards a

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<sup>37</sup> Concerning the time between the two referenda, there are special circumstances, as will be explained in the last section,

period where this position was dominant seems not to be appropriate. The lacking of this kind of information is even valid for the less identity related papers of Schymik (2011) and Hille (2005). So the identified trend cannot be explained by a bias of the writings that this discourse is based on. That is why, according to the data, especially the position in Neumann (n.d.) is present in the debate. So the Norwegian discourse on fishery and agriculture mainly deals with identity aspects. In contrast to that, a clear period can not be identified where the classical position of Ingebritsen was especially relevant. So this discourse provided the insight that there is the trend that the position of Neumann (n.d.) dominates this debate during the whole period that was identified as trend for the first step of the categorisation (1960-2000).

The section showed that due to missing (references to) quantitative data, this discourse mainly analyses the general statements in the literature. Concerning the first step of the categorisation, it showed that in Norway, agriculture and fishery were already part of the European integration debate before the first referendum in 1972. Beside that, next to the two referenda, it was also an intensive part of the debate after the last referendum. So according to the first step of the categorisation, there is the trend that the period from about 1960 till about 2000 need to be considered as the period of an intensive debate. Concerning the second step of the categorisation, there is a clear result presented in this discourse. The literature focuses on the identity aspect of Neumann (n.d.). This dominance cannot be effectively prevented by the few references to economic aspects that are typical for the classical attitude of Ingebritsen. Especially the description of the nexus between the Norwegian people and the Norwegian territory and the importance of farming for early nation building, undermines the typical position of Ingebritsen. These reasons were certainly a motivation for Ingebritsen to change her position towards a more identity related one. So, all in all, the period that was identified in the first step of the categorisation, equals the trend when the position of Neumann (n.d.) was dominant in the debate.

#### **4. 4. Nationalistic discourse in Iceland**

Next to the economic factor, there is also the factor of a national identity that plays an important role in the Icelandic European integration. In this part it is analysed how far the idea of a national identity was/is present in the Icelandic debate, in spite of the approach of Bauman (1999) concerning globalisation and national identity that shows a certain tension towards the idea of national identity and the corresponding sovereignty. This discourse only bases on general statements. In the data part, there is the following way of proceeding: First it refers to the origin of the nationalistic debate and, related to that, which important value played an important role in it. In this context, there are different events of the Icelandic Europeanisation mentioned where a debate of the nationalistic issues took place. Beside that, it also refers to a purely domestic event that showed presence of nationalistic debate in Iceland. Concerning the trends for the second step of the categorisation in this discourse, the result of the first step of the categorisation is

again linked to the results of the second step of the categorisation. So the data provide relevant information to identify trends for both steps of the categorisation. Beside the position of Bauman (1999), there is also the one of Hálfðanarson (n.d.) that the Icelandic discourse tend to polarize around nationalistic themes and so it is hard to promote anything that endangers Iceland's sovereignty.<sup>38</sup> These are the significant positions to identify relevant trends for the second step of the categorisation.

When Iceland became independent in 1944, several speeches were delivered which contained important statements concerning the national identity and the corresponding reluctance for European Integration. Freedom and the sovereignty of the Icelandic nation were declared as the fundamental objective of all political efforts in the future. Moreover they put forward that the idea of a democratic republic is an Icelandic idea. In their opinions it has its origin in the "...tribal clan-based society of the middle ages..." (Hálfðanarson, n.d., p.132). As a consequence they rejected the idea of a common European heritage that motivated them to establish an own democratic republic (Hálfðanarson, n.d.). According to Aegisson (2011), these nationalistic themes appeared in different debates about furthering European integration. Especially in the debate to join EFTA (starting in 1965, according to Thorhallsson & Vignisson (n.d. a)) and to participate in the EEA agreement, nationalistic themes were put forward. Thereby Aegisson (2011) accentuates the long and heated debates about losing sovereignty and independence in the context of the EFTA accession. Moreover in the three cod wars<sup>39</sup> (1958, 1972 and 1975) the nationalistic themes were also put forward (Aegisson, 2011). Beside that, he states that at the beginning of the 1990ies the nationalistic themes prevented a serious debate concerning an EU accession.

The reference to the old ideas about sovereignty becomes especially clear in a statement of the prime minister in 2000. In this statement he places the EU and the former hegemon Denmark on the same level (Hálfðanarson, n.d.). This statement shows that Iceland feels to the same extent threatened in their sovereignty as in former times to their hegemon Denmark. Next to that, it also shows that nationalistic themes are even a part of the current debate about an EU accession. Beside the events related to Europeanisation, the importance of the national identity became also obvious when the Icelandic citizens celebrated the 50th birthday of the nation in 1994. According to Hálfðanarson (n.d., p.136), "that so a large part of the Icelandic population came to the celebration was a clear demonstration of the fact that the ideals expressed at the time of the foundation of the republic were still very much alive in Iceland half a century later". However, as Bauman (1999, p.138) already put forward, although the Icelanders try to stick to their former ideals about preserving the national sovereignty, this is an idea than can only be applied to a limited extent in the age of globalisation. So "...the ideal of national sovereignty has changed radically since Iceland became a sovereign state". The age of globalisation is one of the reasons why the

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<sup>38</sup> The position of Hálfðanarson (n.d.) basically refers to Gstöhl (2002).

<sup>39</sup> Due to the fact, that the cod wars took place between Iceland and the United Kingdom, it can be considered as a 'negative Europeanisation' of Iceland because it aggravates the attitude of Iceland towards European countries like the United Kingdom.

ideals of preserving the Icelandic sovereignty seem contradictory to the behaviour of Icelandic politicians concerning international affairs.

In 2009 Iceland applied for EU membership (Aegisson, 2010). This does not fit to the former descriptions of a strong nationalistic attitude. The application for an EU accession needs to be considered as the most crucial step because of the supranational character of the EU. In contrast to that, previous steps of Iceland's Europeanization meant a less significant transfer of competences (Nugent, 2006). A corresponding less intensive national discourse in the late 2000s is also visible in Aegisson (2010). In his content analysis, the amount of newspaper articles that are related to national identity significantly decreases after the crisis in October 2008. So, according to the content analysis of Aegisson (2011), the issue was not very important in the debate of the last years. Beside that, in the literature there is no clear evidence for a decreasing importance of the issue national identity in the debate. Even little time before the Schengen agreement in 2001 was implemented, that Iceland accepted easily, the minister of foreign affairs still stayed reluctant concerning further European integration (Eiríksson, n.d.). From that one can conclude that the debate on the national identity was intensive during almost the whole time since the establishment of the EEC. However, there is some evidence that it became less important in the last years. That is why it could be appropriate to determine the intensive period of the debate from the founding of the EEC till approximately 2008.

Moreover, there is one phase that needs to be cut out of this identified period of an intensive debate. From about 1976 till the beginning of the 90ies, there is a phase where the literature does not concretely describe a debate on this issue. Such a phase is also too long to use the logic of interpolation. As the first part of the discourse showed, national identity is a consistent issue in the Icelandic debate. So it is difficult to find direct data in the literature that supports a significant intensity of the position of Bauman (1999) in the Icelandic debate that globalisation makes national sovereignty less important. In the second step of the categorisation, information and results of the first step of the categorisation are used to determine when which positions of the debate were especially present. Due to the fact, that the position of Gstöhl (2002) is basically a euro sceptical position that accentuates autonomy and national sovereignty, as long as a certain sceptical attitude towards the EU and the other mentioned values are accentuated in the debate, the position of Gstöhl (2002) need to be seen as present. In this context, the application for an EU accession needs to be considered as a crucial event and, according to the literature, national identity was still a crucial issue of the debate in previous decades. So the analysis showed that the position of Bauman (1999) can just be considered as the dominant position since the application of Iceland to the EU in 2008. Otherwise there is the trend that the one of Gstöhl (2002) is the dominant one in the identified periods of an intensive debate.

Concerning the first step of the categorisation, the nationalistic discourse in Iceland showed that since the independence of Iceland, nationalistic themes were important in the Icelandic debate. In this context, the focus was on the reluctance to compromise sovereignty and the Icelandic (democratic) values were only a minor part of the debate. The nationalistic theme in the Europeanisation debate especially emerged in the context of the cod wars, the EFTA agreement, the EEA agreement and a possible EU accession. Due to the fact that there are no information available on the debate between 1976 and 1990, this phase cannot be identified as a phase of an intensive debate. Beside this gap between 1976 and 1990, there is the trend that the nationalistic issue is a significant part of the debate from 1958 till 2008 when Iceland applied for an EU membership. Concerning the second step of the categorisation, the results are quite similar to the ones of the first step. However, the period after 2008 is also analysed. Due to the fact, that the position of Bauman (1999) describes an idea where nation states and their sovereignty becomes less important, this period after the Icelandic EU accession 2008 stands for the phase where the position of Bauman (1999) was the dominant one. Next to that, the position of Gstöhl (2002) is the dominant one in the identified periods of an intensive debate.

#### **4. 5. Norwegian discourse on national identity and the corresponding values**

In the Norwegian discourse, the idea of a national identity is described differently. Nevertheless, this section and especially the next discourse can be considered as corresponding to the previous Icelandic (nationalistic) one. Due to the fact that, the national identity discourse is in the Norwegian case differently defined than in the Icelandic one, it is basically limited to certain values and striving for sovereignty is placed in the background. So this section of the analysis provides the Norwegian aspects for national identity and the corresponding values. To identify the trends for this Norwegian discourse, there are again only general statements used in the data part. Similar to the Norwegian discourse on agriculture and fishery, there is the information in the statements of the data part that is used for the trends of both steps of the categorisation. The data for the two steps of the categorisation are explicitly analysed at the end of the section. For the second step of the categorisation of this discourse, the following positions need to be taken into account: In Hille (2005) there is the idea that the "values related to the welfare state" and "democracy" were the dominant values in the debate. In contrast to that in Tanil (2011) it is put forward that there are several aspects that are central in the debate and that the discourse cannot be limited to the values of Hille (2005).

In the time before the debates around the 1972 referendum, the only aspect of the national identity and the corresponding value that played a role, were the ones concerning fishery and agriculture. Next to that, for that period, there is no clear evidence of such a debate in the literature. As mentioned in Tanil (2011), in the European integration debate, there are several aspects of a Norwegian identity put forward. Among

others, there is the idea of a history that needs to be distinguished toward the one of other European countries. The same is valid for religion. According to Tanil (2011), history was especially a part of the debate around the first referendum. In the debate, the EEC supporters argued that European culture is a positive concept, in spite of the colonial past. In contrast to that, the EEC sceptic remained critical towards colonialism and accentuated the conflicting relationships of other European countries with developing countries due to (post) colonial investments. Concerning the religious aspects, they were especially put forward in the context of the referendum in the year 1972 and in 1994 (Tanil, 2011). In the first referendum, the debate was focused on (religious) differences between Catholics and Protestants. In contrast to that, in the 1994 debate, the religious issue is extended towards another aspect. So, among others, the restrictive Norwegian policy concerning alcohol became part of the debate. This is also visible in the negotiations for the last referendum, where the restrictive alcohol policy and the corresponding Nordic alcohol monopole were described as "an important issue" (European Commission, 1994, p. 7).

Moreover there are the fundamental values that are part of the debate. In this context, the two referenda in Norway (again) play an important role (Tanil, 2011). The values related to the welfare state were present in the time around both referenda. In the first referendum, they are presented as part of the debate on fundamental values. However, these fundamental values basically focus on the values related to the welfare state. In contrast to that, in the second referendum, significant differences between the welfare systems are presented concerning the values related to the welfare state. In the EU, the Bismarck system is quite common. In contrast to that, in Norway another system, the universal one, is used. However, the Norwegian EU supporters argued that there is actually no threat to the Norwegian welfare system. Norway could maintain its welfare system in the EU and the corresponding settlement patterns, the high employment and the high economic growth (Tanil, 2011). Beside that, the values related to the welfare state are presented under the heading "equality" and "solidarity" in the part on the second referendum in Tanil (2011). Furthermore in 2001 the wish for Norwegian autonomy concerning the distribution of alcohol and for social security matters were still put forward by the Christian democrats, the Centre Party, the Socialist Left Party and the Liberals in Norway (Tanil, 2011).

All in all, there are the followings aspects that are important for the first step of the categorisation:

In the 60ies, there was no intensive discussion of the aspects that are part of this discourse.

The identity related aspects that were discussed at that time were already part of the Norwegian discourse on fishery and agriculture. In the time around the first referendum, several aspects of the Norwegian identity were discussed like the religious or historical aspect. So this is a period of a more intensive discussion. Some of the aspects were further discussed at the time around the second referendum. So there was a further debate on the religious aspects and the values related to the welfare state. Beside that, two aspects were issues in the 2001. From that one can conclude, that there was an intensive debate from



1994 till (at least) 2001. So, according to the literature, it seems to be most appropriate to see the trend of an intensive debate one from about 1970 until approximately 2001.<sup>40</sup> Concerning the second step of the categorisation, there is the problem that in the scientific literature there is no clear reference towards a period, when only the values related to the welfare state were important.<sup>41</sup>

In contrast to that, in the writings of Neumann (n.d.) and Tanil (2011) especially the referenda are identified as periods where several issues of the national identity were discussed. These writings might be biased because it stands for the other position. Nevertheless, the idea that several values are important in the debate, does not necessarily contradict that in a certain period, the values related to the welfare state, dominate the debate. In general, in the two referenda, the values relate to the welfare state play an important role. However, beside the issues that are already identified as belonging to a separate part, there is also, at least, the additional religion aspect that is part of the discussion. A similar situation emerged in 2001 when social security matters, as well as the restrictive alcohol policy were put forward in the debate. So there is no clear dominance of the values related to the welfare state in any period. That makes it impossible to confirm the position of Hille (2005), even if democratic aspects are identified as a crucial issue of a certain period of the debate. So instead of only democracy and values related to the welfare state, there are also other aspects that play an important role in the debate. That is why it is one of the insights of this discourse that there is the trend that the position of Tanil (2011) is considered as significantly present during the whole period that is analysed in the second step of the categorisation.

In the context of this discourse, the two referenda especially need to be mentioned to determine when the debate on this Norwegian issue was especially intensive. Moreover, it also became obvious that what is discussed, concerning different aspects of the discourse, changes. This is especially valid for the aspect "religion" as the different discussions in the two referenda showed. Beside the referenda, this section showed that there is also a quite intensive debate in the time after the referenda. In contrast to that, there is no hint in the literature for an intensive debate before the referenda. So, all in all, the section showed that the first step of the categorisation identified the trend for an intensive debate from about 1970 till 2001.<sup>42</sup> Concerning the second step of the categorisation, there is a clear result which position was especially present in the debate. The second step of the analysis showed, that there is the trend that the position of Tanil (2011) dominates the whole identified period in step one of the categorisation. So there are several issues that were important during the whole debate and during no period the literature clearly shows that the values related to the welfare state are completely in the focus. However, the time around the second referendum as well as around 2001, come closest to the position of Hille (2005).

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<sup>40</sup> Due to the fact, that no further data for the 2000s on this issue, the trend is limited to the minimum. Concerning the time between the two referenda, there are special circumstances, as will be explained in the last section,

<sup>41</sup> Due to the fact, that the aspect democracy is described in detail in an own discourse, the values related to the welfare state are in the focus related to the position of Hille (2005).

<sup>42</sup> Concerning the time between the two referenda, there are special circumstances, as will be explained in the last section,

#### 4. 6. Norwegian discourse on the idea of a "union" and sovereignty

This special aspect of a national identity also needs to be clarified to cover the most important issues in the Norwegian debate. This is the other issue that needs to be included to have an aspect that is similar to the nationalistic debate in Iceland. This aspect primary refers to sovereignty. Similar to the previous discourse, this discourse also completely relies on qualitative data (general statements) to identify the corresponding trends. In the data part of this discourse, there is again no clear separation between the two steps of the categorisation. In this part, there are first some aspects mentioned that must be considered as the origin for the debate on this issue. These aspects are described in the section although they are originally not a part of the period that is analysed for this thesis. However, these aspects from the time of the Second World War are important to understand the following ideas in this section. Afterwards, there is an examination how far the position of Schymik (2007) and similar anti federalist's statements are part of the debate. Then the position of Neumann (n.d.) is put forward. Similar to other discourses, the way of proceeding is as chronological as possible. Afterwards there is an evaluation of the data part that puts concrete periods forward. These concrete trends for the periods are determined by using the mentioned two steps to identify the corresponding trends for the final categorisation.

Concerning the origin of this issue in the Norwegian debate, the following aspects need to be put forward: For many Norwegians the idea of a "European Union" is also connected to the historical unions with Sweden and Denmark where Norway was dominated by the foreign power (Tanil, 2011). Moreover during the time of the Second World War, Norway was occupied by the Germans. So they were forced into a situation of occupation that they completely rejected. The consequences of this historical event were still visible in the 1960ies. This is also visible in the "Movement against the Common Market" that can be considered as "...the first major institutionalisation of the nationalists position..." (Neumann, n.d., p. 109). This movement was also called "143" that refers to an incidence of civilian unrest during the Nazi occupation in the Second World War. The movement was founded in December 1961 (Neumann, n.d.). At that time, the idea was (partly) present in Norway that Germany used European integration to establish a new Empire. Related to the Nazi ideology of the Second World War, the thinking was present that Germany could try to use European integration to establish a "fourth Reich". However, this thinking of a former ideology disappeared during the debates around the first referendum (Schymik, 2007). Nevertheless, there was still a discussion around the idea of a 'union'. The negative connotation of the term 'union' was present in the debate around the first referendum as well as in the debate around the second one.

Still, there was one important difference, because, due to the treaty of Maastricht, at the time of the second referendum the EEC was officially called a 'union'. So the anti-federalists need no longer argue

that the EEC is a union (Neumann, n.d.). This anti-federalism was still present in 2003. A statement of an EU sceptic clearly showed it. In his opinion "...Norway must stay out of what he claims is on the way to becoming a United States of Europe, with a centrally elected president and a central budget" (Bevanger, 2003). So the quotation shows that, the anti federalists in Norway also refer to the elements of supranationalism in the EU like a central budget to explain their fear that the EU could develop towards a European super state. All of these mentioned reasons partly described how the fear of a union in Schymik (2007) can be explained. Concerning the mentioned positive aspects around the discussion of the term 'union' in Neumann (n.d.) that a union provides values that are beneficial for all participants, they were especially put forward in the discussion accompanying the first referendum. At the time around the first referendum, the EU sceptics also focused on the former unions with Denmark and Sweden. Moreover at the time of the second referendum the EU supporter argued that there is the danger that Norway will be isolated on the international level if Norway does not join the EU (Tanil, 2011). In this case, the EU supporters referred to Switzerland that experienced a heavy stagnation due to the decision not to join the EEA (Neumann, n.d.).

The described positive (and negative) aspects of the idea of a union show that there is a certain ambivalence for this issue of the Norwegian debate. All in all, the data provide the following picture when the described issue was discussed intensively (first step of the categorisation). As the "movement against the common market" showed, this issue was already an important issue in the 1960ies. Moreover the issue was crucial around the time of both referenda. In a statement of 2003 it is again put forward. That is why, according to the data and the logic of interpolation, there is the trend that the issue was most intensively discussed between 1960 and (at least) 2003.<sup>43</sup> Concerning the different positions in the scientific literature (second step of the categorisation), it became obvious that, at least since 1961, the position of Schymik (2007) was in the focus. This is especially related to the experiences of the Second World War that were still considered by the Norwegians as a crucial part of the debate on European integration.

In contrast to that, concerning that period of time, there is no statement in the literature that confirms the presence of the position of Neumann (n.d.). In the following decades the situation changed. The experiences of the Second World War disappeared as an important part of the debate. Moreover at the time around the two referenda, the discussion was more balanced. So, the positive aspects around the idea of a union of Neumann (n.d.) were also put forward and it is not appropriate to identify these periods as such periods where especially a positive or negative attitude was dominant. From that one can conclude that, at that time, the position of Neumann (n.d.) is considered as especially present. Concerning the two

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<sup>43</sup> Concerning the time between the referenda, there are special circumstances, that exclude this period from an intensive debate. These circumstances will be explained later on. Due to the missing of further data on this issue, for the further analysis, the trend for the first step of the categorisation ends in the year 2003.

referenda one could argue that the EU accession was rejected by the majority of the Norwegian citizens. So the negative aspects around this issue were especially present in the debate. However, there were also other issues in the EU accession debate that influenced the outcome. So this interpretation seems not appropriate. After the second referendum, the position of Schymik (2007) was in the focus again as the statement of Bevanger (2003) showed<sup>44</sup>. So there is the trend that beside the time before the two referenda, the position of Schymik (2007) was especially dominant in the debate after the second referendum.

All in all, there are the following important insights provided by this discourse: Concerning the first step of the categorisation, the literature basically distinguishes the emergence of the debate into four points in time. First, there is the time after the second world/the foundation of the EEC. Then there is the first and second referendum and finally there is the period after the second referendum. According to what is written in the literature, all of these points in time stand for a phase of a quite intensive debate. Due to the logic of interpolation (and the idea to leave a certain period out, as will be explained later on), it is also possible to connect these different debates at the separate points in time. So there is the trend towards an intensive debate from about 1960 till about 2003. The second step of the categorisation provides a rather mixed picture. Based on the mentioned literature, one can conclude that at the time of the referenda, the position of Neumann (n.d.) was especially present in the debate. In contrast to that, the position of Schymik (2007) also plays an important role in the debate. However, this position is dominant in the time before and after the referenda. So from about 1960 till about 1970 and from 1994 till about 2003 the position of Schymik (2007) is the dominant one in the debate.

#### **4. 7. Icelandic discourse on the special relationship towards the USA**

Finally, there is a discourse that includes an economical and security component. Similar to the other discourses, there is a data part where the data is put forward that is analysed to provide trends that are necessary to conduct the final categorisation of this thesis. The way of proceeding is the following one: There is a separation of the data according to the security aspect and the economical aspects of Iceland's special relationship towards the USA. Concerning the economic aspects, there is a further distinction between (mainly) qualitative data and the quantitative data that are evaluated. The data are presented that way to have a good overview for the evaluation. The separation between the two aspects security and economy are especially important for the two positions of the second step of the categorisation. According to Bjarnason only the security aspects are important for this special Icelandic relationship towards the USA. So he argues that the special relationship is only important for Iceland due to the presence of US troops. In contrast to that, according to Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. d), economic as

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<sup>44</sup> Bevanger (2003) can be considered as an appropriate source to draw conclusions from because this source also refers to the two referenda in the Norway. So this sources also mention significant events in the Norwegian European integration history that the debates in 2003 can be compared to.

well as security aspect need to be put forward in this discourse. So for the second step of the categorisation, there is an analysis conducted at what point in time, which aspects are important during the period of an intensive debate. In this context, it is especially important that this aspect was a significant part of the debate, but there is no necessity that the aspect is the most important one of the debate.

Concerning the security aspects that are related to the special relationship towards the USA, the following aspects need to be put forward: In the early 60ies, there was a significant reduction of the American troops in Iceland. However, in the 70ies and 80ies the military situation changed because of a Soviet military build-up in the context of the Cold War. This military build-up reached a peak in 1986. The military build-up basically describes why the US defence capacities were enhanced in Iceland during the 70ies and 80ies. After the end of the cold war, there was again a clear reduction of the defence capacities. This was visible in the American military base Keflavík. So the military personnel at this base decreased from 3300 in 1990 to 2300 in 1995. In 2001 only 1900 people of the military personnel was left. So even in 2001, a certain economic meaning of the US relationship is still present. Nevertheless, due to the Icelandic pressure, the US government did not reduce the scope of the operations as it at first planned to do. After the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the US troops in Iceland were further reduced due to a restructuring of the US domestic defence system. Nevertheless, in 2001 Bjarnason stated that Iceland is not motivated by security and defence interests to join the EU (Thorhallsson and Vignisson, n.d. d). Beside that, in Aegisson (2011) it is also mentioned that the strategic (or security) theme concerning the US relationship did not play an important role in the last years of the debate.

Concerning the economic aspects of the relationship to the USA, Iceland received proportionately the highest Marshall aid. It also received a second round of Marshall Aid from 1956-1960 and it received a highly attractive credit from the USA until 1970. Moreover between 1967 and 1969 the USA strengthened the Icelandic economy by buying large parts of the stockfish that could not be sold due to the war in Biafra. Furthermore, there are further economic indicators which are presented as quantitative data that need to be mentioned. In table 7 it is observable that from 1970-1990, the indicator of the total export earnings showed a constant increase (beside the value for 1975). Concerning this period of time, the trend is less obvious for the GDP. Moreover especially the indicator “total exports earnings” showed that there is a significant decrease of the economic importance since the end of the Cold War (approximately 1990). This is also in line with merchandise exports to the USA that was especially intensive during the time of the 70ies and 80ies (Thorhallsson and Vignisson, n.d. d). The same trend is also visible concerning the GDP. However, from 1970 till 1990 a constant rising trend is not visible.

Although there is this decreasing trend for the two economic indicators, in 2001 a certain economic importance is still present as the remaining military personnel in Iceland showed.<sup>45</sup>

Year	Total export earnings	GDP
1970	5,4	2,6
1975	5,8	2,1
1980	5,7	2,1
1985	6,2	2,6
1990	7,0	2,5
1995	5,4	2,1
2000	4,7	1,6

**Table 7** Earnings from work done for the Icelandic defence force (in percentage)

Source: Thorhallsson, B. & Vignisson, H. T. (n.d. d). The special relationship between Iceland and the United States of America. In Thorhallsson, B. (Ed.). (2004). *Iceland and European Integration: On the Edge* (pp. 103-127). London: Routledge

In general the economic indicators show that the presence of the US troops played especially an important role for the Icelandic economy until the end of the Cold War. That is certainly one of the reasons why Aegisson (2011) refers to the anti-communist propaganda in the context of an EU debate for this issue. Concerning the first step of the categorisation, the following aspects are crucial ones: In the late 50ies and the 60ies the special relationship towards the USA was especially important for Iceland due to economic reasons. Afterwards in the 70ies and 80ies the security component became more important due to the new threat for Iceland that was caused by the Cold War and the corresponding Soviet military build-up. After the end of the Cold War, the military capacities in Iceland were significantly reduced (again) and they were even further reduced after the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. A significant decrease is also visible in the economic indicators for the period after the Cold War. All in all, the indicators showed that the issue of this discourse was especially an important issue in the European integration debate from the foundation of the EEC until the end of the Cold War (in 1991). This is also on line with the further reduction of the military capacities in 2001 and the decreasing economic importance of this special relationship.

So, concerning the first step of the categorisation, there is the trend that the period from 1957-1991 need to be considered as relevant. However, in general the aspects that were important during this period are diverging. Until the 1970ies, the economic aspects of this relationship between the USA and Iceland were especially important. Afterwards, in the context of the Soviet military build-up the security aspect became

<sup>45</sup> Due to the consumption of Icelandic products and services, the military personnel can also be considered as an economic aspect.

more important. The anti-communists statements in the European integration debate even show that this aspect was most important from 1970-1991. Nevertheless, for the position of Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d.) is not central that an aspect is the most important one and the economic indicators showed that the economic meaning of this relationship was even more important from 1970-1991. Basically this period refers to the quantitative data of the economic indicators. Due to the lack of other (qualitative) data, they are especially considered as highly relevant. In contrast to the economic meaning, the indicators do not show a significant security meaning in the time before 1970 due to the reduction of troops in the early 1960ies. So the period from 1957-1970 cannot be considered as a phase were security and economical aspects were especially important. So the position of Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. d) only need to be seen as the dominant one in the debate from 1970-1991. In contrast to that, the position of Bjarnason cannot be considered as especially present during the whole identified period of an intensive debate.

As the Icelandic discourse on the special relationship towards the USA showed, international conflicts of the USA and its consequences played an important role. So the US government included Iceland in the Marshall plan to provide significant economical support to them after the Second World War. Beside that, the Cold War was also an important event in the debate on this special relationship. The Soviet threat in the Cold War motivated the USA to increase the military capacities in Iceland. Beside that, there were also the attacks on the World Trade Center that reduced the importance of this special relationship because of the reduction of American troops. In general, the data showed that the special relationship towards the USA became a less important issue in the debate after the Cold War. However, not all of the aspects that were put forward in this discourse are directly related to international conflicts of the USA. So especially (direct) economic support beyond the Marshall plan and the trade relations, are aspect that also influenced the categorisations in this discourse. To put it in a nutshell, concerning the first step of the categorisation, the data showed that this issue of the debate was especially present from 1957-1991. The second step of the categorisation showed the trend that the position of Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. d) was especially present during 1970 and 1991. In contrast to that, the position of Bjarnason can not be considered as especially present during the whole period identified in the first step of the categorisation.

#### **4. 8. Norwegian discourse on democracy and distant decision-making**

This section provides the last Norwegian discourse on European integration. Similar to the previous discourses, this discourse on "Norwegian democracy and distant decision-making" is necessary to set up the final categorisation of the Icelandic and Norwegian Europeanisation debate. In the data part of this section, general statements are the most important way to determine the trends for the two steps of the categorisation. The data in this part provide information for both steps of the categorisation. To identify

the period where an intensive debate on this issues took place (first step of the categorisation), it is especially important to apply the idea of the ranking that the statements of writings are more important than quotations of the writings that only describe a short period. In this discourse, there is the special problem that in the paper of Hille (2005) important parts of this paper do not mention a period to which it refers. So there is the necessity for this paper to check it for other information that provides evidences to which period these parts refer to. This problem especially refers to the second step of the categorisation. In general there are the positions of Neumann (n.d.), Hille (2005) and Ekman (2005) that were described in the (scientific) literature as important ones. Among these positions Ekman (2005) is the most modern one, because it can only be applied to the time after the EEA agreement. So concerning the period before the agreement, there are just two positions that are relevant to identify trends in the second step of the categorisation.

Democracy was already a part of the European integration debate before the discussion around the first referendum took place. In the context of the “Movement against the Common Market” it was put forward that “...Europe is two things. There is a Europe that has inspired our work for freedom, our democracy and our constitution. Yet there is also a Europe that is responsible for wars of conquest, colonialism as well as economic and social oppression” (Neumann, n.d., p.109). Democracy was also an aspect in the debate around both referenda in Norway. In the first referendum it was mentioned that Norway is “...advanced when it comes to democratic rights, including women rights, it may have a somewhat better social policy, but it is basically a variant on a European theme”. (Neumann, n.d., p.112). So democracy is described as only one aspect in the context of common values in Neumann (n.d.) (as well as and in Tanil (2011)). Similar to that, in the context of the idea of a union, it was put forward that an EU membership could eradicate Norwegian democracy if it becomes a ‘United States of Europe’. So democracy is again only one minor aspect in the context of the idea of a Union (Schymik, 2007). In Schymik (2007) the issue democracy also refers to the idea of a union in the second referendum. Based on this connection the slogan “democracy or union” was used in the 1994 election campaign of the EU opponents. However in general, in the second referendum, democracy was more an own issue in the debate.

In the context of the second referendum, the democratic deficit problem of the EU was discussed. Related to the democratic deficit it is written in Neumann (n.d.) that the EU does not have a common press and no corresponding critical opposition. Furthermore the problem of ‘distant decision-making’ is also mentioned as part of the debate around the second referendum. According to Neumann (n.d.), it is especially mentioned in the debate around the principle of subsidiarity. Concerning this aspect, there are arguments from the EU supporters as well as from the EU opponents put forward. The EU opponents argued that there is a dichotomy between the Norwegian parliament and Brussels (and the corresponding EU institutions). Norway is a close to people democracy. In contrast to that, Brussels is a distant and non-



transparent centre. Nevertheless, the EU supporters argued that the physical distance is not important and that the idea of the principle of subsidiarity is sufficient to equalise possible deficits. Next to that another important aspect of this referendum is stated in Neumann (n.d.). He describes his idea that in the EU, Norway would be just one democracy among several others. In the context of the second referendum the position of Hille (2005) also needs to be put forward. In Hille (2005) it is mentioned that the focus of his paper is on the second referendum in Norway.

In this paper the debate around democracy is analysed and it is also describes the position of Hille (2005) in the theoretical framework. So in Hille (2005) it is mentioned that the critique related to EU democracy cannot always be taken serious because it is sometimes based on statements that are contradictory from a logical point of view. In the context of this part of the paper, the slogan “democracy or union” is also put forward that was used during the time of the second referendum. Furthermore the corresponding sources fit to the year of the referendum. That is why, although this is not explicitly mentioned in the text, the position of Hille (2005) is considered as present during the time around the second referendum. Moreover in Ekman (2005) it is mentioned that Norway can be considered as a “fax democracy” and that there are the corresponding problems (see theoretical framework). This aspect is also put forward by the politician John Dale in Tanil (2011). Concerning the evaluation of the data, the following aspect needs to be put forward: As the qualitative data show, there is a blend of the issue “democracy and distant decision-making” and other issues in the debate. That is why; there are some difficulties to determine when precisely this issue was especially present in the debate. To have the clearest possible separation of the issues, qualitative data that describe a blend of this issue and another one that is part of this thesis (for example “Norwegian discourse on the idea of a "union" and sovereignty”), are not applied for the evaluation that is conducted in this discourse.

Concerning the first step of the categorisation, especially the time around the second referendum needs to be put forward. At the time before and around the first referendum, democracy (and distant decision-making) was/were not explicitly mentioned as an important part of the debate. Rather they were presented as one among other values. Similar qualitative data were also presented for the second referendum. However, especially the debate around the democratic deficit problem and distant decision-making were presented as separate parts of the debate. So in the period around the second referendum, the debate around this issue was especially intensive. From that one can conclude that the Norwegian debate on “democracy and distant decision-making” was only especially intensive between approximately 1988 and 1994. In contrast to that, the 2000s are not considered as a period where the issue was discussed intensively because the context of the corresponding statements does not show that a longer period is analysed. Related to trends for the second step of the categorisation, the qualitative data provide the following result: The position of Neumann (n.d.), as well as the one of Hille (2005), can be considered as

present during the time of the second referendum. In the conclusion of Neumann (n.d.) it is put forward that “the people” is the core concept in the Norwegian discourse. However, “the people” is quite general concept that is always relevant for “democracy”. Beside that, there is no 'clear' statement in the literature which of the positions was especially present during the time of the second referendum. So the second step of the categorisation does not show a position that was especially relevant during 1988 and 1994.

All in all, this discourse showed that although "democracy and distant decision-making" was a significant part of the Norwegian debate, the period where this issue was an important one in the debate, needs to be considered as a short one. This is a surprising result, because this issue was basically part of the debate in several decades of the Norwegian Europeanisation debate. The linkage between this issue and other ones in the debate is basically the reason why it cannot be considered as especially present during a longer period of the debate. The distinction prevents an unclear separation of the issues in the analysis. For the first step of the categorisation, the period between 1988 and 1994 can only be considered as a relevant trend because the data beyond the year 1994 are not reliable enough. Concerning the second step of the categorisation, there are even less results that can be applied for the final categorisation. In the short phase between 1988 and 1994, there were two positions that were put forward in the literature. So the ones of Hille (2005) and Neumann (n.d.) are mentioned. However, none of them is described as especially relevant in the identified period of an intensive discussion. So it is not possible to identify a position for the second step of the categorisation that was especially present in the discussion between 1988 and 1994. The article from Ekman (2005), that describes Norway as a fax democracy, is limited to a short period in the 2000s. That is why this article is insufficient to consider this corresponding period as a period, where the debate around this issue was intensive.

#### **4. 9. Categorisation of the national discourses in total and its evaluation**

In the following part, the concrete comparison between the two national discourses is conducted. To conduct the comparison, it is important to evaluate the results of the two steps of the categorisations in the previous discourses. Based on these results it is possible to identify trends that describe the development of the two national discourses in total. In this context, the results of both steps of the categorisation are part of the evaluation. So they are used to identify phases for changes in the national debates, to create two categorisations that distinguish the total national debate in these different phases. However, there is no clear separation between the results of the two steps concerning the final categorisation. There is only a difference in the comparison of the two final categorisations, how far a comparison of the different aspects of the described positions in the debate is possible. This inquiry is only refers to the results of the second step of the categorisation. In general the comparison makes it possible to describe the development of the discourses in relation to another discourse. So it is possible to write a more

meaningful paper on the development of the national discourses. Beside that, it is an important part of this section to describe the contribution of this thesis to the scientific development, to show how far the thesis could contribute to a (scientific) debate and which are the dominant power players in the national discourses in total.

To summarise the trends of the two steps of the categorisation, there is an overview of these results in figure 1. In this diagram, the results of the two steps of the categorisation of the Icelandic and the Norwegian debate are summarised. There is a clear separation between the Icelandic and the Norwegian debate and a separation according to the two steps of the categorisation. As the results of the two steps of the categorisation show, a categorisation of the debate into different phases seems appropriate. So in the part on Iceland in figure 1, there are some trends that stop at the mid of the 70ies and a trend that start at the beginning of this decade. A further change is visible at the beginning of the 90ies until 2008 when only one trend is still present that lasts until the end of the diagram. Related to the trends that the two steps of the Norwegian categorisation show, there are some similarities, but in total, a different picture of the debate is provided. So, similar to the part on Iceland the 70ies are an important decade. So in the Norwegian case, there are some trends that stop at the beginning of the 70ies. Then, there are some changes that last until 1972. Afterwards, there seems to be no discussion until approximately 1988. The trends that emerge from 1988 on are quite constant ones. However, there are some further changes in 1994. The trends that are visible in the debate starting in 1994, last until the beginning/mid of the 2000s.

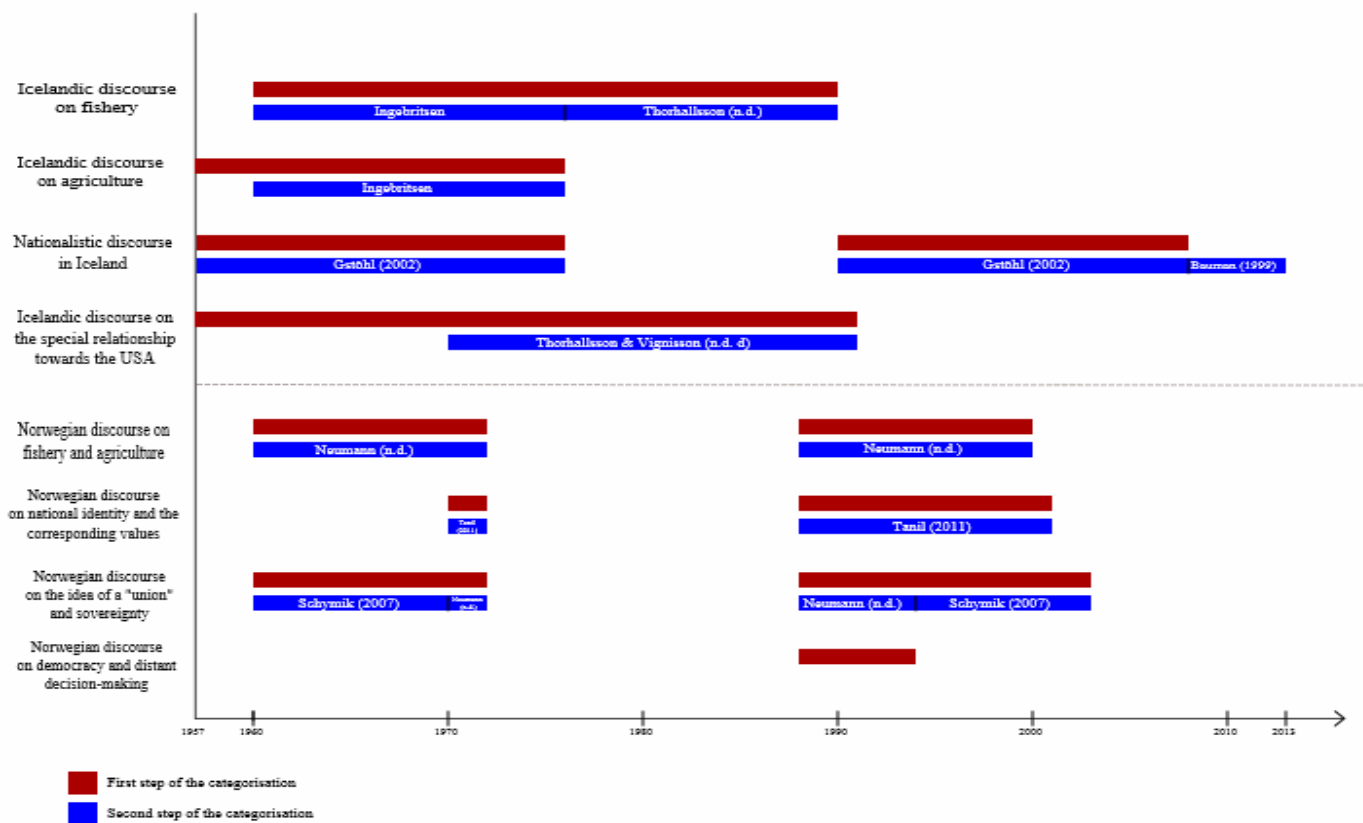


Figure 1 Identified trends for both steps of the categorisation

So concerning the first step of the categorisation of the Icelandic discourses, the data showed that the Icelandic Europeanisation debate can be categorized the following way. At first (from around the beginning of the 60ies), all of the presented issues of the Icelandic debate were intensively discussed. However, in the mid 70ies, agriculture could no longer be considered as an important part of the debate and the nationality aspects were no longer intensively discussed until the beginning of the 90ies. The 90ies are another important point in time because at that time, the debate on the special relationship towards the USA and the issue fishery could no longer be considered as an intensive part of the debate. Finally there was only the nationalistic discourse left until Iceland applied for an EU membership (2008) that seems contradictory to the former striving of sovereignty of the Icelanders. The results for the final categorisation of the second steps of the discourse analysis are similar. From around the beginning of the 60ies on, the positions of Ingebritsen and Gstöhl (2002) were especially dominant in the debate. Afterwards the situation changed in the beginning/mid of the 70ies. Then the positions of Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. d) and Thorhallsson (n.d.) were especially present in the debate. The next change took place at the beginning of the 90ies when only the position of Gstöhl (2002) remained an important part of the debate. Finally, from 2008, the position of Bauman (1999) was the only position that was especially present in the debate. All in all, the following phases can be distinguished in the total Icelandic Europeanisation debate in table 8:

	<b>1st phase<sup>46</sup></b>	<b>2nd phase<sup>47</sup></b>	<b>3rd phase</b>	<b>4th phase</b>
<b><i>Start and end of the phase</i></b>	From around the beginning of the 60ies till the beginning/mid of the 70ies	From the beginning/mid of the 70ies till the early 90ies	From the beginning of the 90ies till 2008	From 2008 till today
<b><i>Issues that were discussed intensively</i></b>	Agriculture, fishery, Iceland's special relationship towards the USA	Fishery and Iceland's special relationship towards the USA	Nationalistic aspects	None

<sup>46</sup> Related to the research question of this thesis, the final categorisation shows how the discourse developed from this situation.

<sup>47</sup> There is also the possibility to identify the period between the beginning and the mid of the 70ies as an own period. However, to avoid unnecessary short periods that provide less meaningful general trends for the debate in total, the more summarising option is chosen.

and the  
nationalistic  
aspects

<i>Positions that were especially present</i>	Ingebritsen and Gstöhl (2002)	Thorhallson (n.d.) and Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. d)	Gstöhl (2002)	Bauman (1999)
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**Table 8** Categorisation of the Icelandic debate on European integration

Concerning the Norwegian debate on European integration, the situation is different. One aspect that needs to be put forward is that the Norwegian society is a quite consents oriented one and that many Norwegians were shocked by the intensive debates that took place in the context of the 1972 referendum (Hille, 2005). That is why a further intensive debate was avoided until 1988, a few years before the next referendum. So this period from 1972-1987 need to be taken into account as a period where no intensive debate took place when analysing the intensity of all the Norwegian aspects (Schymik, 2007). In contrast to that, due to the consents oriented culture that tries to avoid intensive discussion, the periods around the two referenda are declared as the periods where the most intensive debates were conducted. Nevertheless, the different phases before and after the referenda are also part of the categorisation for an intensive debate, but, due to the mentioned aspects, they need to be seen as periods where the debates were less intensive than around the referenda. Concerning the period before the first referendum (starting around the beginning of the 60ies), the issues agriculture and fishery and the idea of a "union" and sovereignty were especially intensively discussed. At the time around the first referendum, all of the Norwegian issues that I described in the theoretical framework, are significant parts of the debate beside the issue "democracy and distant decision-making".

At the time around the second referendum, this issue is even added to the list of issues that are intensively discussed. So at that time, all of the chosen issues of the Norwegian debate were intensively discussed in the Norwegian European integration debate. After the time of the second referendum, all of the issues, beside the issue "democracy and distant decision-making", remained an important part of the debate until the beginning/mid of the 2000s. Related to the second step of the categorisation, there is the following categorisation provided: At the time before the first referendum, the position of Neumann (n.d.) (for fishery and agriculture) and Schymik (2007) (for the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) were especially

present. Afterwards, at the time around the first referendum, the position of Tanil (2011) became a significant part of the debate. Beside that, the position of Neumann (n.d.) (this time for fishery and agriculture and the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) remained a central one. These positions again remained the central ones at the time around the second referendum. After the second referendum, Neumann (n.d.) (for fishery and agriculture) and Tanil (2011) were still especially important position. However, the position of Schymik (2007) (for the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) became a significant part of the debate (again). So, all in all, there is the following categorisation (table 9) for the Norwegian debate concerning European integration:

	<b>1st phase<sup>48</sup></b>	<b>2nd phase</b>	<b>3rd phase</b>	<b>4th phase</b>	<b>5th phase</b>
<b><i>Start and end of the phase</i></b>	From around the beginning of the 60ies till the beginning of the 70ies	Debate around the first referendum from about 1970 till 1972	From 1972 till about 1987	Debate around the second referendum from about 1988 till 1994	Time after the second referendum till the beginning/mid of the 2000s <sup>49</sup>
<b><i>Issues that were discussed intensively</i></b>	Fishery and agriculture and the idea of a "union" and sovereignty	Fishery and agriculture, national identity and the corresponding values and the idea of a "union" and sovereignty	None	All Norwegian issues in the theoretical framework	Fishery and agriculture, national identity and the corresponding values and the idea of a "union" and sovereignty

<sup>48</sup> Similar to the previous final categorisation, this categorisation also shows how the discourse developed from "the first steps towards European integration" (1st phase).

<sup>49</sup> Due to lacking of current data, this categorisation is limited to the mid of the 2000s. It is possible to include the mid 2000s in this categorisation because of several trends that end "at least" at the beginning of the 2000s.

<i>Positions that were especially present</i>	Neumann (n.d.) (for fishery and agriculture) and Schymik (2007) (for the idea of a "union" and sovereignty)	Neumann (n.d.) ( for fishery and agriculture and the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) and Tanil (2011)	None	Neumann (n.d.) ( for fishery and agriculture and the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) and Tanil (2011)	Neumann (n.d.) (for fishery and agriculture), Tanil (2011) and Schymik (2007) (for the idea of a "union" and sovereignty)
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**Table 9** Categorisation of the Norwegian debate on European integration

After having conducted the final categorisation of the two national debates, it is possible to answer the second sub question. The final categorisations show that there are some aspects where the national debates are similar. For example, the beginning of the 70ies, as well as the beginning of the 90ies, are important points in time in both categorisations to separate the different phases. Moreover in both categorisations fishery and the 'nationalistic discourse' (or the corresponding Norwegian issues) can be considered as a constant issue of both debates in several decades. These are the most important similarities in the categorisations of the two national debates. However, although there are the similarities, there are also significant differences between the two final categorisations. In the Norwegian debate the issues (and dominant positions) are rather constant ones.<sup>50</sup> So all of the issues (beside "democracy and distant decision-making") cover at least three phases of the categorisation. In contrast to that, the different phases in the Icelandic categorisation show a constant reduction in the amount of issues that are intensively discussed and there is only one phase were more than two issues were discussed intensively. Beside that, it is clearly visible that the referenda are in the focus of the Norwegian Europeanisation debate. So the phases around the two referenda need to be considered as the most intensive periods of the debate. Moreover, the other phases could also be considered as "before" and "after" the referendum. Furthermore there is also the period between the two referenda where no intensive debate took place.

Due to the initially mentioned similarities between Norway and Iceland, it seems unexpected that the literature does not mention a similar consensus oriented culture in Iceland that prevents an intensive discussion at a certain point in time. Concerning the different positions that were especially present in the debate, there is hardly a comparison possible because there is no position of an author that can be directly considered an intensive part of the two categorisations. There are only some aspects that are present in the

<sup>50</sup> The statements on constancy refers to phases were a significant debate took place. So the third phase is left out to examine the categorisations for constancy.

different positions. So there are aspects concerning sovereignty that are part of Schymik (2007) (for the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) as well as Gstöhl (2002). Moreover the dominant positions in the Norwegian debate showed that there are positions in Neumann (n.d.) that are dominant for different issues. An author that presents several dominant positions in the debate, it not part of the Icelandic final categorisation. In general, there are also more dominant positions in each phase of the Norwegian categorisation. So there is no phase that contains only one dominant position in the Norwegian categorisation. Moreover, there is the question on the contribution of this thesis to the scientific development. This contribution can be considered as a diverse one. First, in general this thesis provides a detailed comparison of the Icelandic and Norwegian Europeanisation. Second, in this paper, there are categorisations presented that are more based on significant characteristics of the debate. Such a clear categorisation cannot be found in the other sources of the thesis. In the context of an analysis of the Icelandic and Norwegian debate, these characteristics make the categorisation an advanced one.

Third, the different positions of the national debates were also analysed in the thesis. Beside its presence in the debate, there is a description how far the different dominant positions in the national discourses can be compared. This is another specific aspect is not mentioned in other scientific writings. Fourth, the paper puts the categorisations in the context of a practical relevance. This shows how far the debate could be meaningful for future EU developments. So this is also unique for this kind of categorisation. Furthermore it needs to be put forward that, there are also different power players in the Norwegian and the Icelandic debate. Although in both countries the governments are the primary power players in European integration, due to the two referenda, there are also the citizens that played a crucial role in the Norwegian accession efforts. Beside that, (economic) interest groups could also play a significant role. Especially the ones related to agriculture and fishery. Finally there is the question of the practical relevance for these national discourses. As the section on 'Iceland's and Norway's relation towards the EU and other organizations' in the theoretical framework showed, there is international cooperation of these countries. These countries even took significant steps towards European integration as the participation in the EEA agreement of the Schengen agreement showed. However, concerning a Norwegian EU membership the section in the theoretical framework showed that the current practical relevance is limited. Otherwise (concerning other international agreements) practical relevance can be considered as present.

#### **4. 10. Conclusion**

The chapter described the debate in Iceland and Norway at the time of the foundation of the EEC. It showed that in Iceland all of the described issues were intensively discussed and that the positions of Ingebritsen and Gstöhl (2002) were especially present in the debate. Moreover it showed how the national discourse developed (see figure 1). In this context, the four phases of the debate need to be mentioned



(see table 8). In this development the amount of issues, that were an intensive part of the debate, was constantly reduced. So in the second phase, the issues "fishery" and "Iceland's special relationship towards the USA" and in the third phase the "nationalistic aspects" were only intensively discussed ones. Finally there are no (intensively discussed) issues in the last phase. This constant reduction is not the same for the significant positions in the debate. So in the second phase of the debate, there are the positions of Thorhallsson (n.d.) and Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. d) that are especially present. Afterwards, in the third phase only the one of Gstöhl (2002) and in the fourth phase only the one of Bauman (1999) are especially present. Concerning the Norwegian debate it showed that the issues "fishery and agriculture" and "the idea of a "union" and sovereignty" were especially important in the time shortly after the foundation of the EEC. Neumann (n.d.) (for fishery and agriculture) and Schymik (2007) were the corresponding dominant positions. In the Norwegian discourse (beside "democracy and distant decision-making") the issues remained constant issues of the intensive debate.<sup>51</sup> The positions also show a certain constancy.

So the position of Neumann (n.d.) (for fishery and agriculture) is a constant position in the debate. Beside that, there is the position of Tanil (2011) that is a significant part of the debate since the second phase. The only exception is the position of Schymik (2000) (for the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) that is only especially present in the first and the last phase of the Norwegian categorisation. In general, the two referenda are central in the Norwegian discourses. This is also visible in the final categorisation that relates almost all phases to the referenda (see table 9). The phase that is not related to the referenda is a phase, where no intensive debate took place at all. In general, the comparison of the Icelandic and the Norwegian final categorisations showed that there are more differences than similarities between the categorisations. So the second sub question can be answered that, based on the two categorisations of the debate, the Icelandic discourse is only to a limited extent comparable to the Norwegian one. There are the similarities that the beginning of the 70ies and the 90ies plays an important role in both categorisations. Moreover in both categorisations the issues fishery and the 'nationalistic discourse' (or the corresponding Norwegian issues) are a constant part of both debates for several decades. However, beside the different issues and positions, there are the significant differences that there is more constancy in the Norwegian discourse and that there is a phase explicitly described as a phase where no intensive debate took place at all. Furthermore it is mentioned that the two national debates need to be considered in the context of a practical relevance of the debates due to the general developments that show a general interest of these countries in European integration.

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<sup>51</sup> Next to that, there is also the issue "national identity and the corresponding values" that is not part of the first phase of the debate.

## 5. Conclusion

Especially the categorisations in the analysis chapter provided the central information to answer the research question on the development of the Icelandic and Norwegian discourse since the first steps towards European integration in the 1950ies. So the categorisation showed that, a significant development took place concerning the Norwegian and Icelandic discourses that revealed significant differences between the two national debates in total. In concrete words, there was the following development: The Icelandic debate developed from a situation where all of the Icelandic issues of the theoretical framework were an intensive part of the debate. Concerning the positions that were especially present at that time (around the beginning of the 60ies till the beginning/mid of the 70ies), Ingebritsen and Gstöhl (2002), need to be put forward. This situation describes the first phase of development. In total the results of the two steps of the discourse analysis showed, that the Icelandic debate on European integration can be distinguished into four different phases. In the second phase of the development (from the beginning/mid of the 70ies till the beginning of the 90ies), fishery and the Icelandic special relationship towards the USA is especially analysed. Concerning the positions that were especially present, the one for Thorhallsson (n.d.) and the one of Thorhallsson and Vignisson (n.d. d) need to be mentioned. The third phase (from the beginning of the 90ies till 2008) shows a different picture. So the nationalistic aspects can be considered as the issue that is intensively discussed and for the second step of the categorisation, the position of Gstöhl (2002) need to be put forward. Finally in the last step of the categorisation (from 2008 till today), there is none of the issues quite intensively discussed. However, the position of Bauman (1999) needs to be considered as especially present.

For Norway, the answer to the research question on the development of the national discourse is a different one. The Norwegian discourses on the corresponding issues showed that the discourses already developed out of a different situation. In the first phase of the categorisation for Norway (around the beginning of the 60ies till the beginning of the 70ies), only the issues "fishery and agriculture" and "the idea of a "union" and sovereignty" were intensively discussed. Concerning the corresponding positions, Neumann (n.d.) (for fishery and agriculture) and Schymik (2007) (for the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) were especially present. Moreover there are differences in the development. In the Norwegian categorisation, there are also five phases distinguished. However, one of these phases shows a situation where no intensive debate took place in Norway (phase three from 1972-1987). In the second phase, that lasted from about 1970-1972, the issues fishery and agriculture, national identity and the corresponding values as well as the idea of a "union" and sovereignty were intensively discussed and the positions of Neumann (n.d.) ( for fishery and agriculture and the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) and Tanil (2011) were especially present. In contrast to that, in the fourth phase (from about 1988 till 1994), all of the described issues were an intensive part of the debate. Concerning the dominant positions, the

ones of the second phase remained especially present. Finally, there is the last phase (1994 till the beginning/mid of the 2000s) where the issues "fishery and agriculture", "the idea of a "union" and sovereignty" and "national identity and the corresponding values" were intensively discussed. At that time, the positions of Neumann (n.d.) (for fishery and agriculture), Tanil (2011) and Schymik (2007) (for the idea of a "union" and sovereignty) were especially present in the debate.

Concerning the two final categorisations, the differences between the two categorisations are quite obvious. So in the Norwegian debate, the issues (and significant positions) are rather constant ones. Moreover, the two referenda are in the focus of the Norwegian debate and the Norwegian debate shows a period where no intensive debate took place. According to the data, there is no such a phase in Iceland. Furthermore, in contrast to the Icelandic categorisation, there is an author (Neumann, n.d.) in the categorisation that stands for two different dominant positions in the Norwegian categorisation. In general there are more identified dominant positions for issues in the Norwegian categorisation. However, there are also similarities between the two final categorisations. The issues "fishery" and the 'nationalistic discourse(s)' are significant issues in the final categorisations of both countries. Beside that, the beginning of the 70ies and the 90ies are significant points in time in both of the final categorisations. Concerning the dominant positions in the final national categorisation, similarities were hardly present. So, all in all, the best answer to the second sub question is certainly that, due to the mentioned similarities, the Icelandic and Norwegian national discourses are to a limited comparabable. Beside the categorisation created in this thesis, there is also the one in Thorhallsson (2004) that describe (the development) of the Norwegian debate. The final categorisation of the thesis of the Icelandic debate shows significant differences towards the one of Thorhallsson (2004). In Thorhallsson (2004) there is a distinction of the debate into seven rounds of the debate. This categorisation focuses on concrete events when a debate on European integration was necessary like the EFTA or the EEA agreement. So the different rounds of the debates only identify short periods where an intensive debate was conducted.

That is why the categorisation of Thorhallsson (2004) can also be considered as a categorisation that distinguishes between periods where an intensive debate took place and where an intensive debate did not take place. Next to this categorisation of the Icelandic debate, there are also the ones that describe the development of the Norwegian debate. In this context, especially the categorisation of the Schymik (2007) needs to be put forward. In comparison to the categorisation of Schymik (2007), the final categorisation of the Norwegian debate in this thesis is similar. He also distinguishes the European integration debate in five phases. In his categorisation, there is also the phase between the two referenda where an intensive debate did not take place. Moreover, it also describes the time around the second referendum as an own period of the debate and it identified a phase that basically deals with the situation after the second referendum. Schymik (2007) does not identify a clear end to this phase. So it is a rather

vague one. Furthermore the categorisation also identified the time shortly after the foundation of the EEC as an own phase. However, in total two significant differences need to be mentioned between the Norwegian categorisation of Schymik (2007) and the one in this thesis. First, Schymik (2007) included the time before the foundation of the EEC in his categorisation. This categorisation starts at the end of the Second World War. Second, Schymik (2007) does not identify the time around the first referendum as an own period of the debate. Moreover the approach in Schymik (2007) is also a different one than in this thesis. Similar to Thorhallsson (2004) the paper orients at single debates towards certain agreements. However, these debates are summarised in longer periods.

Beside that, there are still the divisions of Tanil (2011) and Neumann (n.d.) that also separate the debate into different periods. However, in contrast to this final categorisation of the Norwegian debate, Tanil (2011) starts its analysis of the debate in the 1970ies. So the decade after the foundation of the EEC is left out of the division. Related to the sections, the paper of Tanil (2011) does not explicitly put the two referenda in the focus. Concerning the two referenda, the debates at the time around these referenda are presented under the heading "Ideas and attitude of the Norwegian Political Elite in the 70ies/90ies". However, the corresponding sections show that the debates around the referenda are a significant part of it. So the two referenda can be considered as the contentual focus on these periods. Beside that, this paper does not explicitly mention the reluctant debate between the two referenda. As already mentioned in the methodology chapter, the paper of Tanil (2011) is partly based on Neumann (n.d.). So there are significant similarities between these writings. Nevertheless, the writing of Neumann (n.d.) provides a perspective beyond the Second World War. So it also analysed the attitude of the Norwegians towards Europe beginning from the 17th century. Next to that, its last section is about the second referendum. So, in comparison to other writings, especially the debate in the 2000s is missing.

In general, the categorisations that are presented in this chapter show a different focus. So in the categorisation of Thorhallsson (2004), there are the different agreements that were responsible for a certain debate. In contrast to that, in this thesis, the developments are categorised according to trends of issues and the corresponding positions in the debate to provide phases that encompass several decades. So it presents indicators that show an intensive debate of an issue (and the dominance of a certain position), even if there is no agreement, that the debate can be directly related to. In comparison to the categorisation of this thesis, there is the problem in the categorisation of Thorhallsson (2004) that it does not take a change of the central issues (or position) into account. So in the context of the approach of the thesis, the categorisation of Thorhallsson (2004) seems insufficient. This statement is also valid for the division of Neumann (n.d.) and Tanil (2011) that does not contain a description what criteria the corresponding divisions is based on. The categorisation that is most similar to a final categorisation of this thesis is certainly the one of Schymik (2007). However, there are also aspects that distinguish the

categorisation in Schymik (2007) towards the one in this thesis. So the first phase in Schymik (2007) lasts from the end of the Second World War (1945) until some years after the foundation of the EEC (1961). It seems an appropriate option to add the debate before the foundation of EEC. However, due to little data in on that period, it is left out of the thesis.

Beside that, the fact that the debate around the first referendum is not described as an own phase of the categorisation, does not fit to what is written in the literature. So especially in Hille (2005) it is put forward that the debate around the first referendum was a very intensive one that was a shock for the consensus oriented Norwegians. Although the paper of Schymik (2007) provides a categorisation that is acceptable in comparison to this final categorisation for Norway, it does not fit to the approach in this thesis. So concerning this aspect, the categorisation of Schymik (2007) seems to be insufficient as well. In Neumann (n.d.) the analysis of periods before the foundation of the EEC is even more extreme than in Schymik (2007). So the focus is not necessarily on the "modern European integration history". However, the advantage of the division in Neumann (n.d.) is that it considers the first referendum as a separate part in the Norwegian debate. This is an aspect that is also visible in Tanil (2011). Although there are headings in the paper that distinguishes the debate into different decades, the two referenda are still central in these different sections. So, concerning this characteristic, the Norwegian categorisation in this thesis and the divisions in Neumann (n.d.) and Tanil (2011) are similar. To put it in a nutshell, there is especially one aspect of all the mentioned literature that needs to be put forward for the Norwegian categorisations in this thesis. The categorisations of the Norwegian debate showed that especially the second referendum played an important role in the Norwegian debate concerning European integration.

All in all, this thesis explained, how far the categorisations that are already described in the literature, are in line with a categorisation that is based on different data for the intensity of certain issues in the debate and the significant presence of the corresponding positions. Such a comparison, or a similar one, of different categorisations, was not conducted in the (scientific) literature yet. It showed that especially concerning the Icelandic final categorisation, the categorisation in the literature is insufficient. The phases in this thesis of an intensive debate/dominant position stand for several decades. In contrast to that, in the categorisation in Thorhallsson (2004) intensive debates only refer to a few years. So the data in this thesis showed that an intensive debate around certain issues/positions can also emerge if there is no agreement in the next years that the debate aims at. Moreover it showed that concerning the Norwegian Europeanisation debate, the categorisation that is already in the literature (Schymik, 2007) show significant similarities towards the final categorisation of the Norwegian debate that is described in this thesis. This is especially remarkable because the way of proceeding is different in these papers than in this thesis. So the data that is a crucial part of this thesis is not completely part of other categorisations, which partly reduces the quality and makes it a less reasoned categorisation. The central role of at least

the second referenda is certainly one of the reasons why there is only little divergence in the categorisations of the different papers although they are based on different ideas.

Concerning the practical implications, it is first of all important that the thesis elaborates on the practical relevance of the national Europeanisation debates by answering the first sub question on important general developments in the modern European integration history. This elaboration showed that a certain general interest and a corresponding practical relevance need to be considered as present. So there is a chance that the citizens in Iceland accept the EU accession and that Iceland participates in future EU agreement. In contrast to that, for Norway the current chances to join the EU are limited. However, there is the possibility that Norway could participate in further EU agreements. Although significant similarities between Iceland and Norway were put forward in the introduction, these similarities seem to be rather superficial because the national discourses only confirm similarities between these countries to a very limited extent. Related to the final categorisations of the national debates and the comparison, it became obvious that there are significant differences between the Icelandic and the Norwegian debate. The issues that were discussed intensively in the past might also influence current intensive issues of the debate. Such a situation could especially emerge concerning issues that were not analysed in the thesis. Moreover, it refers to the current decade of the Norwegian debate that is not intensively analysed in this thesis. So the responsible actors in the EU institutions have to keep in mind that the EU discourses developed differently and that the negotiations could focus on aspects that are based on previous issues.

This argument could especially emerge in the context of a blend of issues that was especially mentioned in the context of the Norwegian issue "democracy and distant decision-making". However, there are also other examples of blends in the debate like the Norwegian national identity and agriculture and fishery. So in negotiations for further agreements or an accession to the EU, the different EU institutions that are involved need to keep in mind that there is not necessarily a clear separation between the different issues in the negotiations and that (especially in the Norwegian case, due to the trend of constant issues and limited data for the 2010s) there are some issues and corresponding positions that could still be a dominant factor in further cooperation with the EU. The problem of an unclear past, concerning a meaningful categorisation, is especially present for the Icelandic case. This is based on the lack of such categorisations in the literature that summarises debates into several decades. That is why this thesis can be considered as especially useful because it provides a reasoned categorisation that is based on these ideas. So the thesis shows important trends concerning these mentioned factors that might even be useful for EU institutions due to the mentioned reasons of the blend of issues and a general connection of current issues towards former ones. All in all, the objective of this thesis could be achieved and, in spite of certain limitations, corresponding insights could be generated.

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## Appendix

### List of data references

Concerning the list of data references, the sources that are already part of the "data for the discourse analysis" section need to be mentioned again. In the Icelandic discourse analysis, the book of Thorhallsson (2004) played a crucial role. So it is also the source for much information that is applied in the analysis chapter of this thesis. In the context of the Icelandic discourses on fishery and agriculture, quantitative data in Thorhallsson (2004) were put forward. So the data in the table on "percentages of MPs with connection to individual occupational sectors in seven parliamentary terms" are mentioned in Thorhallsson (2004). Concerning the sectoral approach, the statement that the leading sector is only represented by interest groups in Iceland is also mentioned in Thorhallsson (2004). This is crucial information that table 2 bases on. Beside that, there are also other tables in the Icelandic discourse on fishery that contains data of Thorhallsson (2004). So the table on "Contribution of the fishing industry to the Icelandic economy, percentages of total" is also based on Thorhallssons (2004) data. In the context of the analysis chapter, all of these quantitative data in the table were used. Next to these quantitative data, there were also qualitative data from Thorhallsson (2004) used in the analysis. In the discourse on fishery, all of these steps of European integration are based on qualitative data in Thorhallsson (2004).<sup>52</sup>

In this context, the debates around the different agreements (EEC, EFTA and EEA) were especially relevant. In the Icelandic discourse on agriculture, there is also a relation to these agreements (except the EEC agreement). Moreover, the observation of the 1987 reform of the electoral system in Iceland is an aspect that also plays an important role in the analysis and that is mentioned in Thorhallsson (2004). Concerning the nationalistic discourse in Iceland, in Thorhallsson (2004) there are several statements about the events at the foundation of the Icelandic state that are related to sovereignty and the 'Icelandic value' of democracy. Beside that, there are also information used on the events in 1994 (the 50th birthday of the nation) that showed a clear attitude towards compromising sovereignty. Moreover, concerning this chapter, there is also the information used from Thorhallsson (2004) that the debate around the EFTA already started in 1965. Furthermore, in Thorhallsson (2004), there is information provided of the Icelandic minister of foreign affairs on the future course in European integration and of the Icelandic prime minister that the EU can be compared to the former hegemon Denmark. This information is also used in the thesis. Concerning the discourse on the special relationship towards the USA, there were also several information from Thorhallsson (2004) used. The trends on the US defence capacities in Iceland

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<sup>52</sup> In the analysis chapter, this part of the text refer to Aegisson (2011). However, Aegisson (2011) took the data from Thorhallsson (2004).

from the early 60ies till 2001 are mentioned in this book. Moreover, it also provides the information on the concrete amount of military personnel.

Finally, the indicators for the importance of the economic aspects are also taken from Thorhallsson (2004). So this includes the different US measures that supported the Icelandic economy, like the Marshall plan, from 1956 till 1970. In the context of this discourse, the information in table 6, as well as the informational on the merchandise import also need to be put forward as information that are completely described in Thorhallsson (2004). Beside that, there are also information from Neumann (n.d.) used in the analysis chapter. Among others, there are information used on the special nexus between the Norwegians and the Norwegian territory that was especially important in the early 1960ies (Norwegian discourse on fishery and agriculture). Next to that, there is information taken from Neumann (n.d.) on the decreasing importance of the Norwegian fishery and agricultural sector in term of GDP. Moreover I refer to the observations related to demographics that are put forward in Neumann (n.d.) and Tanil (2011). So in their opinions fishery and agriculture play a crucial role for the Norwegian idea to populate whole Norway. According to Neumann (n.d.), this importance of the demographics also allowed these low-productive sectors to survive in heavy industrialised country. In the Norwegian discourse on sovereignty and the idea of a "union", Neumann (n.d.) provides information on the attitude of the Norwegians towards the idea of a European Union that is related to the experiences of the second world war like the foundation of the "143" movement.

For the discourse on democracy and distant decision-making, there is also information taken from Neumann (n.d.). So the quotation, that shows the presence of the ambivalent Norwegian attitude towards democracy before the first referendum, is mentioned in this article. This is also the source for the information related to the first referendum where democracy is only one aspect among others like the idea of a union or common values. Beside that in this discourse, there is the description of the democratic deficit and the corresponding missing of a common press that is part of this article. Furthermore, there is also the aspect, which is described in Neumann (n.d.), that Norway is only one democracy among others in the EU which is mentioned in this discourse. In Tanil (2011), as well as Neumann (n.d.), there are the important information provided that, in the first referendum, it was one part of the debate that farming was important for the early nation building. Beside that, much of the information provided in Tanil (2011) was used in the Norwegian discourse on the national identity (and the corresponding values). Concerning this information, it was related to several decades and to all of the values (for example the "values related to the welfare state") that were already mentioned in the theoretical framework and described as part of the corresponding discourse.

Moreover concerning the Norwegian discourse on sovereignty and the idea of a "union", there are information used from Tanil (2011) related to the positive aspects of a union in both referenda. Furthermore in Tanil (2011) it is mentioned that the distant decision-making and the related aspects from EU sceptics and supporters are part of the debate in the second referendum. This information is also applied in the corresponding discourse of this thesis. Finally, there is the information provided in Tanil (2011) that the politician John Dale confirms the position of Ekman (2005). From Schymik (2011), the information are used in the Norwegian discourse on sovereignty and the idea of a "union", that the thinking that was typical for the time of the Second World War, disappeared at the time of the first referendum. Next to that, there is the indirect observation in Hille (2005) and Schymik (2011) that the economic aspects in the Norwegian debate on fishery and agriculture are also limited. Moreover, there are information from Schymik (2011) used in the discourse on "democracy and distant decision-making" that refers the idea "democracy or union" to the second referendum in Norway. The last source, that needs to be mentioned explicitly in this context, is the one of Hille (2005). From Hille (2005), the information is applied that there are the different indicators (for example the slogan " democracy or union") that the position was present at the time of the second referendum.