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**[The party press anno 2020**  
**– A qualitative study of political self-controlled digital media platforms**  
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# Abstract

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## **The party press anno 2020**

### **– A qualitative study of political self-controlled digital media platforms**

This thesis investigates a new trend in political communication, self-controlled digital media platforms, and how they can be categorized in relation to digital media outlets. The analysis is carried out in a Danish setting in the age of the hybrid media system, where several political parties either produce their own podcasts or are associated with online news platforms.

Comparing content from self-controlled digital media platforms with digital media outlets, I consider how the content relates to the concepts of media logic, political logic and mediatization through qualitative media content analysis.

I argue that this form of political communication should be understood as an expression of perceived agency, illustrating one way in which parties seek to influence information flows. The political parties have agency in a strict sense. They themselves can decide which logic to follow and to what extent their content is influenced by mediatization. In some instances, parties produce content which highly align with media logics. In others, content is not easily categorized. As such, political parties arrange and organize their self-controlled platforms in accordance with what makes most sense for them from a strategic political communication perspective.

On the battlefield of information that is the hybrid media system, the self-controlled media platforms constitute an avenue through which parties can seek to bend and influence information flows. As such, they constitute a return of the party press. However, in its current form, the party press anno 2020 cannot exercise the same power as in its former reign.

**Keywords:** *Political communication, digital media platforms, agency, media logic, political logic, mediatization, the hybrid media system, strategy, Denmark*

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# Introduction

We live in an era where the media system, communication flows and strategic communication is subject to constant change. In fact, media systems around the globe are arguably in a remarkably chaotic period of transition (Chadwick, 2017). The introduction of social and digital media, allowing media consumers to be increasingly selective, the notion of fake news and political polarization influence the way in which parties carry out political communication and by extension Western democracies (Bennett & Lyengar, 2008; Cap & Okulska, 2013; Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013; Strömbäck & Kiouisis, 2014). Not only are there signs of international convergence with regard to the strategic use of social media (Coombs et al., 2016) all democracies also appear to be prone to communication breakdowns and the spread of disinformation (Bennett & Livingston, 2018). As such, matters of strategic communication in general and political communication specifically and changes to these practices are of huge importance not only for incumbents and agents in the media system but also the greater public.

Relatedly, political communication is characterized by hitherto unprecedented levels of complexity. This complexity follows from inter alia intensified professionalization of political advocacy, increased competitive pressures, and a process of “centrifugal diversification”<sup>1</sup> (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999, p. 213-224). The process of centrifugal diversification is related to today’s high-choice media system, where users have the possibility to choose between a wide range of different media, associated with increased selectivity (Aelst et al., 2017; Schroeder, 2018). Accordingly, both the media system in general and individual trends have been undergoing academic scrutiny. Indeed, scholars have both considered how the newer and older media interact and affect each other, the digital and social media platforms themselves and how these changes influence democracy (Aelst et al., 2017; Cap & Okulska, 2013; Chadwick, 2017). However, a recent trend which has gained impetus among political parties in Northern Europe (see appendix 1) is yet to be examined. I here refer to the use of self-controlled digital media platforms<sup>2</sup> such as online newspaper platforms, podcasts and online magazines. In a world with

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<sup>1</sup> The notion of centrifugal diversification refers to how the increased amounts of channels through which political communication flows has both decreased the size of the mass audience, given voice to previously excluded actors and made selective communication more efficient (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999, p. 221-223).

<sup>2</sup> Importantly, I use the term ‘self-controlled’ to underline that I am not referring to social media platforms such as Facebook, Youtube, Twitter etc. but rather digital platforms controlled by the parties themselves.

increased selectivity amongst the electorate, where citizens carefully pick out specific political information, such platforms would arguably have increased relevance. Therefore, this thesis will assess how political actors are strategically using these self-controlled digital media platforms to obtain their (strategic) goals in the hybrid media system.

The thesis sets out to investigate this issue in a Danish setting, where the prominence of self-controlled digital media platforms is noticeable. Indeed, several political parties either produce their own podcasts, are associated with online news platforms or in other ways publish digital content on self-controlled media platforms (Villumsen, 2019). The Danish content is interesting for several reasons, all of which will be elaborated upon in the section addressing methods and research design. Most noticeably, however, the issue of self-controlled digital media platforms has been a clear tendency among political parties in Denmark (Madsen, 2018). This trend has been addressed by the parties themselves and is related to a growing discontent with Danish media. Indeed, two out of the three currently biggest parties in the Danish Parliament, the Social Democratic Party and the Danish People's Party have proclaimed that the media "is not objective" and therefore promoted media outlets with direct links to their respective parties (Domino, Holm & Rohde, 2019; Ritzau, 2018b; Wind-Friis & Berglöv, 2018). This view is perhaps best expressed by the then political spokesperson from the Social Democratic party, Henrik Sass Larsen, when he in 2018 published a debate book suggesting that the media should receive expensive fines and punishment, if they report mis- or disinformation (Wind-Friis & Berglöv, 2018). Henrik Sass Larsen claims that "the yellow press' lies and methods poison the public debate" and states that "the party press is back because the parties are publishers of unique content since no one else is loyal to reference what the parties stand for" (My translation) (Wind-Friis & Berglöv, 2018). As such, parties are trying to circumvent the role of media as gatekeepers, publishing content directly on their own digital platforms, thereby bypassing traditional journalism. One could ask why do they not simply do this using social media accounts? In this thesis, I address this issue by trying to understand how self-controlled digital media platforms are used in political communication.

The use of self-controlled digital media platforms can be considered a recent phenomenon in political communication (Madsen, 2018) and, to the best of my knowledge, has yet to be

addressed in the literature<sup>3</sup>. However, the use of these tools is reminiscent of the party press system in which political parties dictated the content of different media outlets. In fact, prominent Danish politicians in addition to political advisors proclaim - some of them with enthusiasm - that we are witnessing a return to the so-called party press system (Jørgensen, 2017; Steensbeck & Ringberg, 2019). Although this might be an overstatement considering the extent to which agenda-setting media is (mostly) independent of political parties, it hints at the importance central political actors lend to the self-controlled digital media platforms. Certainly, if politicians and their communication professionals themselves believe that they through these platforms can frame political matters and influence the public debate, an assessment of whether and how this holds true is warranted. Potentially, this constitutes a serious democratic problem in the form of lack of accountability and transparency. If the party press is indeed back to its former glory, notions of journalistic independence, public scrutiny and the role of the media as the watchdog of the ruling government are bygones of past media ages.

The issue of self-controlled digital platforms places itself within the strategic communication literature. This thesis will define strategic communication as “the purposeful use of communication by an organization to fulfill its mission” (Hallahan et al., 2007, p. 3). Political communication is in the context of this thesis considered nested within the field of strategic communication in the sense that it refers to strategic communication carried out by an organization with an explicitly declared political goal (Cap & Okulska, 2013; Hallahan et al., 2007). As such, the self-controlled media platforms are regarded to be a part of a communication strategy. Surely, actors involved in strategic communication are forced to “think digitally” (Coombs et al., 2016). Thus, this thesis will directly add to strategic communication literature by addressing this hitherto not researched phenomenon. Specifically, the paper seeks to answer the following research questions:

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<sup>3</sup> Indeed, searches on Google Scholar and other journal article searching platforms yield no results when it comes to literature specifically addressing self-controlled digital platforms.

RQ1:

HOW CAN POLITICAL SELF-CONTROLLED DIGITAL MEDIA PLATFORMS BE CATEGORIZED IN THE HYBRID MEDIA SYSTEM?

RQ2:

HOW DO POLITICAL SELF-CONTROLLED DIGITAL MEDIA PLATFORMS RELATE TO THE CONCEPTS MEDIA LOGIC, POLITICAL LOGIC, MEDIATIZATION COMPARED TO DIGITAL MASS MEDIA?

The thesis is structured as follows. Firstly, following this introduction and a section on background information, I consider how media systems have developed, focusing on Denmark. Moreover, I elaborate on the literature on communication genres used by political parties. From the literature review, I move on to address the theoretical framework for this thesis including the hybrid media system, media logics, political logics and mediatization. Thereafter, the thesis addresses issues of methodology, elaborating on the concept of self-controlled digital media platforms and research design. Here, I also map out the data and methods of data analysis employed in this thesis. Next, I analyze collected empirical material published by political parties (and the government) on their self-controlled digital media platforms. Thereafter, I go on to systematically review media material from digital news sources. This will provide the basis for discussing how to make sense of self controlled digital media platforms in the hybrid media system and its democratic implications before concluding the thesis. I argue that this form of political communication should be understood as an expression of perceived agency through which parties seek to influence information flows.



# Background

## Not just a Danish Phenomena

The Danish case is by no means a unique one. Self-controlled digital media platforms such as online newspaper platforms and podcasts are not only a trend which have gained impetus among political parties in Denmark. Indeed, in countries typically classified to belong to the North-Central European Democratic Corporatist Model (Hallin & Mancini, 2004), self-controlled digital media platforms seem to be a trend. Specifically, in Sweden, Norway, Germany and Holland, a multitude of political parties either produce their own podcasts, are associated with online news platforms or in other ways publish digital content on self-controlled platforms (see appendix 1). For example, the Swedish Social Democratic Party [Socialdemokraterna] has their own online news platform named “Of Interest” [Aktuellt] (Socialdemokraternas Nyhetstidning, n.d.). Similar trends can be observed in Holland and Germany. In Holland, several parties publish their own podcasts (GroenLinks, n.d., Pia’s Podcast, n.d.). Others publish online magazines or control online news platforms (Ledenmagazine, n.d; Nieuwste Idee, n.d.). In Germany, both the Free Democratic Party [Freie Demokraten] and the Social Democratic Party of Germany [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands] recently launched a podcast (FDPod, n.d.; SPD, 2019). Besides that, several parties also run media services or blogs. In appendix 1, a full list of self-controlled digital media platforms published by political parties in four European countries is available. This short review confirms the regency and relevance of the phenomenon of this particular form of political communication, underlining that this trend is not unique to Danish parties.

## Political Parties in Denmark

In Denmark, there exists a multi-party system. Nine parties were represented in the parliament when data was collected for this thesis. Since then, there has been an election with the result of a new government. When I refer to the government throughout this study, I refer to the former government in power from November 2016 to June 2019. Additionally, when I describe and refer to Danish parties, I refer to them in the way they were structured in the election period June 2015 to June 2019.

Seven out of the nine parties have a self-controlled digital media platform or access to one by virtue of their position being a part of the government. The last two parties (the Social Democratic Party and the Danish Social Liberal Party) do not have complete control over such a platform. However, this does not mean that these parties are excluded from the tendency of strategically using digital media platforms but rather that these are not ‘self-controlled’ (cf. above definition). Yet, noticeably, the Social Democratic Party has been criticized for its close relation to the online newspaper [piopio.dk](http://piopio.dk)<sup>4</sup> (Schulz & Dam, 2020), which a prominent member of the party has referred to as a “social democratic mouthpiece” (Geist, 2018). On the next page follows a figure which gives an overview of the Danish parties:

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<sup>4</sup>Pio Pio is not included in the POSOP material because Pio Pio does access public service funding which is conditioned upon public service requirements (SLKS, n.d.).

PARTY NAME:	PARTY LETTER:	DANISH PARTY NAME:	NUMBER OF SEATS IN PARLIAMENT:	POLITICAL STANDPOINT:	SELF-CONTROLLED DIGITAL MEDIA PLATFORM:
THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	A	SOCIALDEMOKRATIET	47	SOCIAL DEMOCRACY	NONE ACCORDING TO THE APPLIED DEFINITION
THE DANISH SOCIAL LIBERAL PARTY	B	RADIKALE VENSTRE	8	SOCIAL LIBERALISM	NONE ACCORDING TO THE APPLIED DEFINITION
THE CONSERVATIVE PEOPLE'S PARTY	C	DET KONSERVATIVE FOLKEPARTI	6	CONSERVATISM INCL. BOTH GREEN- AND LIBERAL CONSERVATISM	'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]
THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY	F	SOCIALISTISK FOLKEPARTI	7	SOCIALISM AND ECOPOLITICS	'THE RED THREAD' [DEN RØDE TRÅD]
THE LIBERAL ALLIANCE	I	LIBERAL ALLIANCE	13	LIBERALISM	'A FREE SPACE' [ET FRIRUM] AND 'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]
THE DANISH PEOPLE'S PARTY	O	DANSK FOLKEPARTI	37	NATIONAL- AND SOCIAL CONSERVATISM	'YOUR OVERVIEW' [DITOVERBLIK.DK]
THE LIBERAL PARTY OF DENMARK	V	VENSTRE	34	CONSERVATIVE LIBERALISM	'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]
THE RED-GREEN ALLIANCE	Ø	ENHEDSLISTEN	14	SOCIALISM INCL. ECOSOCIALISM AND ANTI-CAPITALISM	'THE LIST' [LISTEN]
*THE ALTERNATIVE	Å	ALTERNATIVET	9	ECOPOLITICS AND PROGRESSIVISM	'THE ALTIVIST' [ALTIVISTEN.DK]

\*The Alternative party imploded with most key members leaving the party in March 2020 after several disagreements and a shift in internal power (Batchelor, Just, & Hansen, 2020). There is only one member left to represent the party in the Danish Parliament today. A consequence of this party split up is that The Altivist's POSOP material is no longer available online.

Note: This figure is based on data from the Danish Parliament's webpage and the election period June 2015 to June 2019 (Political parties, n.d.; Resultatet af folketingsvalget 2015, n.d.).

# Literature Review

This literature review will focus on how media systems have developed, focusing on Denmark. Moreover, I elaborate on the literature on communication genres used by political parties. Recent studies have concentrated on how the media system is most accurately described today, how it differs from previous systems and how this way of understanding today's media system plays a role in political communication. While there has been much research on how parties and politicians make use of both traditional as well as social media, no researchers (to the best of my knowledge) have assessed self-controlled digital media platforms as a standalone category.

At all times the context (hence the media system) wherein political communication is operating is of high importance. Therefore, we need to understand how this context has developed through time. In this regard, Hallin and Mancini (2004) describe the relationship between politics and media when comparing media systems across Western democracies. They compare three different Western media systems in a response to earlier attempts to define media systems, most notably *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert, Schramm, & Peterson, 1963). The *North-Central European Democratic Corporatist Model* includes Denmark and is characterized by high levels of journalistic professionalism, a developed press but also state involvement especially in economic matters. If one does not consider the broader context in which the *digital media* is embedded, one runs the risk of downplaying the importance of structure and case-specific characteristics when assessing how political parties use digital media tools to cater to their strategic goals. Since this thesis sets out to investigate the issue of self-controlled digital media platforms in a Danish setting, it is not nearly enough to have an understanding of the North-Central European media system. We should relate historical developments in media systems to the Danish setting. Three different ages in Danish media history can be identified, namely *meningspressen* [the opinion press], *partipressen* [the party press system] and *omnibuspressen* [the omnibus press] (Andersen et al., 1980). This classification has generally been accepted and used in the literature (Andersen et al., 1980; Blach-Ørsten, Eberholst, & Burkal, 2017; Hjarvard, 1995; Jensen, 2016; Søllinge & Thomsen, 1989). However, as Andersen et. al (1980) also points out, the three periods are not completely distinct and cannot be dated to specific years.

Especially the second age in Danish media history, the party press system, which dates back to the middle of the the 19th century reflecting but not caused by effectuation of the constitution in 1849, is of historical relevance to this thesis (Andersen et al., 1980; Jensen, 2016; Schultz, 2007a; Schultz, 2007b). The party press system has, both by scholars and in the general public, been referred to as the “four paper system”, as four publications were present in all major Danish towns; one for each of the four biggest and most powerful parties (Schultz, 2007a). As such, a high degree of bias and partisanship characterized Danish media. Newspapers were directly supported by a specific party and the political standpoint of the editor-in-chief publicly known (Merkelsen, 2007). The third age then, following the party press, is classified as the omnibus press (Hjarvard, 1995; Jensen, 2016; Søllinge & Thomsen, 1989). In the omni press system, the objective of the media is to produce independent, fact-based, objective journalism supposedly being free of partisanship (Merkelsen, 2007; Schultz, 2007b). Hallin and Mancini (2004) qualifies this notion by adding that Danish media as part of the omnibus press is operating in a so-called social responsibility press system. The social responsibility press system is characterized by partly state funded media, which arguably ensures that newspapers are not subordinate to vested interests and commercial structures to the same extent as in the libertarian system (where the media does not enjoy public funding).

The general perception of three overall periods in Danish media history has been challenged by Schultz (2007a; 2007b; 2007c), arguing that the media landscape has undergone some major changes due to the internet including new digital technology and social media. This leads to the question of how the media system today is most accurately described. In this regard, most scholars have done research on either traditional media *or* newer media (newer like social media or traditional like television) (Aelst et al., 2017; Coombs et al., 2016; Pariser, 2011). In general, the two types of media have mostly been seen and studied as separate phenomena (Broersma & Graham, 2015; Loader & Mercea, 2012; Schroeder, 2018). In *The Hybrid Media System*, Chadwick (2017) presents a new theory of how political communication works today, which includes newer as well as traditional media. He emphasizes that “all older media were once newer and all newer media eventually get older” (p. 146) as well as how media and media systems “always are in the process of becoming” (Chadwick, 2017, p. 63). The author claims that we are currently going through a “chaotic transition period”, where older and newer media

practice and political logic emerge alongside each other and become connected in several ways. This aligns with Blumler (2016) who emphasizes how we today witness *The Fourth Age of Political Communication* that is “laced with complexity, multiplicity, variety and cross-currents” (p. 28). According to Chadwick, it is not a question of “either or”. Instead, it is a question of “not only, but also” (Chadwick, 2017, p. 547). The new media-politics system is progressively characterized by actors such as organizations, groups, individuals, and communities, which all can influence the information within the system identified as *The Hybrid Media System*. In the hybrid media system, the newer media practice and logics depart from the older ones. Despite Chadwick engages with the media system in England and United States, he emphasizes that his aim with the book is “to present the hybrid media system as a general analytical approach” and that the trend and patterns he finds “ought to be of interest and significance for those concerned with political communication” (Chadwick, 2017, p. 70-71).

Regarding party political communication and genres, Cap and Okulska (2013) offer both theoretical as well as empirical insights. They address both the long-established genres (speeches, interviews, policy documents, etc.), and the modern, rapidly-evolving generic forms, such as online political ads or weblogs, illustrating the broad spectrum of political communication genres and their complexities. When engaging with contemporary political communication, special attention must be given on the possibilities social media imply for both political parties and single politicians (Bimber, 2014). Social media allows politicians to publish their own content through accounts implying the possibility to bypass traditional media and its role as gatekeeper (Karlsson & Åström, 2018, p. 308). Relatedly, Enli and Skogerbø (2013) point out that social media in general places focus on single politicians rather than the party a given politician represents, which leads to increased personalized campaigning in the political arena. Importantly, we should hesitate to generalize the results from one (digital) social media (platform) to another (Boyd & Ellison, 2007; Kreiss, Lawrence, & McGregor, 2018). Indeed, Kreiss, Lawrence and McGregor (2018) argue that (digital) social media (platforms) vary in many ways including different audiences (users), content, functionalities and algorithms. Consequently, one must refrain from “generalizing the results of single-platform studies to ‘social media’ as a whole” especially because these different digital platforms in the end cater to different strategic values and goals (Kreiss et al., 2018, p. 8-9). This points to the importance of

engaging with the specific characteristics of a given specific digital media platform and what opportunities it offers.

Yet, we should not only be aware of differences across platforms that are commonly understood as social media but also that differences in communication strategies and genres exist on the same platform. In this regard, Römmele (2003) argues that digital media platforms are utilized in various ways by different political parties. Therefore, when carrying out this thesis we might notice differences in communication strategies of parties as well as platforms. But what is the role of social networking services regarding political communication? Considering Twitter, Sæbø's (2011) research shows that political tweets are "dominated by one-way information dissemination from the representatives to an unnamed audience" and "do not encourage anyone to reply or participate in an ongoing discussion" (2011, p. 9). This implies that new technology does not necessarily cause new ways of communicating, since the readers of the tweets (hence the citizens) are (still) treated as "receivers of information, not active participants" (Sæbø, 2011, p. 10). In this example, the main purpose of the communication does not change despite the use of a new digital platform; the purpose is (still) "to communicate information to electors and market the representatives' activities to the audience" in order to be (re)elected as a member of the parliament (Sæbø, 2011, p. 11). Just because a political party (or a politician) communicates by a newer digital media platform, this does not necessarily mean a new way of communicating (e.g., more participation) is evolving. Even though self-controlled digital media platforms are not the same thing as social media accounts, the two concepts are both digital media. Therefore, should the above important studies of social media not be overlooked.

One thing that should be clear to anyone who studies political communication is that political parties (and other actors) must think *digitally* and develop digital ways of communicating to succeed in the hybrid media system (Baldwin-Philippi, 2015; Coombs et al., 2016). The importance of digital thinking is underlined by Coombs et al. (2016) in *Strategic Communication, Social Media and Democracy*. Here, they provide a framework to understand a world where almost everyone spends time online. The book discusses the possibility for achievements that social and digital media offers in order to change and develop relations among organizations and stakeholders including citizens, voters and party members. The emergence of

self-controlled digital media platforms among political parties could be a way of doing this, and one should not underestimate the importance of this *digital thinking*, not least within the field of political communication. Due to the constantly ongoing process of change, Blumler and Kavanagh (1999) highlights the importance of researchers to keep up with new trends and conditions within political communication in order to continue being relevant. This stresses the importance of investigating self-controlled digital platforms.

Overall, much attention has been given to how media systems have evolved as well as how the system looks today. Indeed, scholars have both considered how the newer and older media interact and affect each other as well as the digital and social media platforms themselves (Aelst et al., 2017; Blumler, 2016; Cap & Okulska, 2013; Chadwick, 2017). However, the recent trend with the use of self-controlled digital media platforms, which has gained impetus among political parties in Northern Europe (and specifically Denmark) is yet to be examined. This thesis set out to investigate this exact issue.

## Theoretical Framework

I now move on to the theoretical framework applied in this thesis. I use concepts such as *media logic*, *political logic* and *mediatization* to analyze the collected material on a micro level. These theories will be a tool for understanding different media genres, styles and logics in a context of mediatization. In order to make sense of the self-controlled digital platforms at a macro level I relate the material to a system perspective in the form of *the hybrid media system*.

## The Hybrid Media System

Hybridity offers a powerful way of thinking about politics and society, a means of seeing the world that highlights complexity, interdependence, and transition. It captures heterogeneity and those things that are irreducible to simple, unified essences. It provides a useful disposition for studying political communication (Chadwick, 2017, p. 40).

I intend to apply *the hybrid media system* approach by Chadwick (2017) to this thesis. This means analyzing how parties represent themselves and communicate through content on self-



controlled digital media platforms in relation to mass media and understand this in the context of the bigger picture (hence the hybrid media system). The data content I am going to analyze will not be studied separately without any connection to the established media system. Instead I am aware that both POSOP<sup>5</sup> and media content will be a product of and affected by the established (hybrid) media system in which it constitutes a small fraction. Due to limitations it is not possible to analyze all elements in the system and how it interacts and which different roles it plays, but it is still possible to see the POSOP material in relation to the system as a whole and be aware of that POSOP material can not stand alone without reflecting on how it interacts with the rest of the (hybrid) media system. Chadwick's theory can assist me in uncovering winners in the hybrid media system. These are actors who are able to "combine older and newer media logics in a compelling and effective new way" (p. 547) being "successfully able to create, tap, or steer information flows in ways that suit their goals and in ways that modify, enable, or disable the agency" (p. 541).

## Media Logic and Political Logic

In *the hybrid media system*, media logics play an important role for both newer and older media and the society within these are operating (Chadwick, 2017; Dijck & Poell, 2013; Habler, Maurer, & Oschatz, 2014). Those logics are related to the production of media content as well as the media effects. Even though there exists no common concept of media logics but several, most agree the starting line of this framework begins with Altheide and Snow (1979; Habler et al., 2014). In their seminal paper, Altheide and Snow (1979) argue that politics and media forms are closely interlinked. Therefore, politics is heavily influenced by the media and aligned with the development of media forms. As such, the influence of the media on politics is clearly formed by media logics. This is evident in both cases, issues, political styles as well as political outcomes (Altheide & Snow, 1979, p. 136). Recently, scholars have been concerned with how those media logics adapt and change according to social media (Dijck & Poell, 2013; Klinger & Svensson, 2015). Indeed, the variety of media logics hints at how they are inherently dynamic and change over time. As such, social media logic overlaps mass media logics. This is in line with Dijck and Poell (2013), who show how these social media logics have, in their words,

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<sup>5</sup>For practical reasons, I refer to media material which is published on political self-controlled digital media platforms as POSOP (Published On Self-cOntrolled digital media Platforms).

infiltrated the logic of mass media. Thus, in the hybrid media system, there is a tendency for mass media and social media logic to coincide, being weaved together (Dijck & Poell, 2013; Klinger & Svensson, 2015). This thesis will build on the theoretical framework of Haßler et al. (2014) which mainly focus on five media logic aspects frequently used in recent research: 1) *Absence of policy issues* 2) *Personalization* 3) *Negativity* 4) *Topicality* 5) *Absence of ambiguity* (p. 328-330). This framework has proven effective by Haßler et al. (2014) when examining and comparing media material from political communication channels to media content. Below, I elaborate on how these logics are understood and applied in this thesis.

The first criteria, *absence of policy issues*, refers to the focus on “procedural and structural aspects of democracy, focusing on politics and polity instead of policy” (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 328). This aspect of media logic includes media stories focusing on opinion polls and competition between parties and candidates, portraying politics as a strategic game or a so called ‘horse race’ (Haßler et al., 2014; Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 328). According to Eilders (2000) “polity and politics” specifically refer to parties, elections, coalitions and political principles (p. 203). Instead of focusing on policy issues, TV news and tabloid newspaper articles in Sweden and Belgium about general elections present the process as a strategic game (Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2011). Political logic, on the other hand, is dominated by policy issues and specific initiatives, exemplified by party websites (Haßler et al., 2014). Second aspect, *personalization*, emphasizing “focusing on individual actors over abstract topics” (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 328). **Second,** personalization is a common news element which focuses on individual politicians rather than issues. At the same time, personalization is not limited to media logic, but also a “popular strategy in communication channels of political parties” (p. 329). Therefore, media logic and political logic are similar regarding personalization.

A third aspect of media logic is *negativity*. Negativity is a central tenet of media logic and has been subject to much scholarly attention (Brants & Praag, 2006; Lengauer, Esser, & Berganza, 2012; Schulz & Mazzoleni, 1999; Takens et al., 2013). Negativity in this thesis refers to the tendency of media to report negative over positive events as well as portray present events in a negative rather than positive way (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 329). Indeed, negative articles have been shown to outnumber both positive and neutral ones in both European and US election

coverage (Plasser, Pallaver, & Lengauer, 2009). Also in non-election coverage mass media tends to focus on negative news (Kepplinger, 2000). However, negativity is not unique to media logic. In fact, negativity also appears to be a central characteristic of political logic (Walter & Vliegthart, 2010), albeit in a different form. Within the sphere of political logic, negativity comes to the fore in the form of negative campaigning. Negative campaigning is here taken to mean the way in which politicians and parties portray opponents negatively, thereby presenting themselves as a better alternative. More specifically, negative campaigning is “talking about the opponent - his or her programs, accomplishments, qualifications and so on - with the focus, usually, on the defect of these attributes”. Importantly, “candidates can lie (or more generously, stretch the truth) about their opponents in negative campaigning” (Lau & Pomper, 2002, p. 48).

The next category is *topicality*. Generally, the attention of the media is thought to be short-lived, as argued by Downs (1972). Within the context of media logic, topicality refers to how the media typically draw attention to short-term events over long-term procedures and decisions (Koch-Baumgarten & Voltmer, 2009). In fact, the very term “news” is underpinned by a sense of urgency, requiring for the media to be ‘up to date’ (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 329). This aspect of media logic stands in stark contrast to the expectation that political parties are able to solve long-term problems. As such, adapting to media logic may “encourage short-termism at the expense of longer-term strategic behavior” (Strömbäck & Aelst, 2013, p. 353). Haßler et al. (2014) suggest that an indicator of topicality is the extent to which articles address short-term events and long-term respectively. Additionally, another indicator is the extent to which the media address present issues and/or long term strategies of both short and long term procedures. For example, considering a long-term issue such as climate change, agents might choose to focus on short-term events such as strikes, single-case solutions, climate conferences such as COP or long-term decisions as long-run strategies for addressing climate change, future scenarios and lengthy political processes.

The final aspect of media logic is *absence of ambiguity*. This category is defined as the absence of vague and ambiguous statement (e.g. “we want to combat climate change”), instead

characterized by concrete plans (e.g. “we want one million electric cars in Denmark in 2030”<sup>6</sup>) and unambiguity. That the absence of ambiguity is characterizing media logic is underpinned by the notion that unambiguity is a criteria of selection for determining newsworthiness (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Contrastingly, ambiguity is often used strategically in political communication (Haßle et al., 2014). The merit of ambiguity in strategic political communication stems from the notion that the electorate is able to project their own perspectives and opinions into vague statements. On the other hand, if voters disagree with concrete policy initiatives, they may be displeased (Reinemann & Maurer, 2005).

Generally, media logic and political logic differ. The distinction relates to both the material and ideational foundation logics originate from. Media logics relate to the ideational notion that “society needs a (sic) journalism that is a rigorous watchdog of those in power and who want to be in power, can ferret out truth from lies, and can present a wide range of informed positions on the important issues of the day”. (McChesney, 2003, p. 299). However, media logics are also influenced by commercial interests incentivizing media to attract the biggest possible audience (McChesney, 2003). Political logic, on the other hand, develops from the goal of not only maximizing influence on policy but also to maximize votes and control over political office (Strömbäck & Kiousis, 2014, p. 111).

## Mediatization

In this thesis, I also draw on the theory of mediatization (Strömbäck & Esser, 2014). Since the 80s, the medias’ role in society has only become more extensive (Hernes, 1978; Hjarvard, 2008). Indeed, the media themselves have been differentiated into an independent social institution with its very own logic. Meanwhile, due to this media empowerment, the institutions of society must (to a certain extent) subscribe to the media logic and are thereby influenced by mediatization. Thus, mediatization means the process through which society in general adjusts to the terms of the media, its technology and its logic (Hjarvard, 2008). One way in which this is evident is that all social institutions are media institutions (Altheide & Snow, 1991; Chadwick, 2017). This thesis will build on the framework of Hernes (1978), which mainly focus on mediatization in

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<sup>6</sup>Policy paper on climate and clean air [Sammen om en grønnere fremtid]:  
[https://www.regeringen.dk/media/5791/klimaministeriet\\_klimaogluftudspil\\_digital.pdf](https://www.regeringen.dk/media/5791/klimaministeriet_klimaogluftudspil_digital.pdf)

regards to five different aspects: 1) *Sharpening* 2) *Simplification* 3) *Polarization* 4) *Intensification* 5) *Concretizing*. This framework has proven effective in order to examine how mediatization has a major influence (Hernes, 1978; Hjarvard, 2008). Below, I will elaborate further on how these mediatization criteria are understood and applied in this study.

The first criteria, *sharpening*, refers to the need for summarizing lengthy details in brief statements. Due to the limited scope of mass media due to time and word constraints, messages need to be ‘sharpened’ and details are replaced with summarizing formulations (Hernes, 1978). Whereas the second aspect, *simplification*, refers to a reduction of complexity. Mediatization decreases nuance, diversity and messages are portrayed simply and succinctly. Next, with regard to *polarization*, it will refer to the use of opposing parties and opinions in media coverage. Polarization entails portraying events as melodramatic, drawing lines between standpoints and fostering conflict. Instead of focusing on an extensive coverage and overlaps between parties, simple, opposing opinions are emphasized (Hernes, 1978). The criteria *intensification* refers to pursuing high-intensity stories over everyday issues. Attention is given to strikes, demonstrations and other events with high intensity as opposed to conventional administration and casework (Hernes, 1978). The final aspect of mediatization, *concretizing*, refers to a tendency of being concrete and specific. Indeed, it is easier to cover a single issue over portraying broader tendencies in society which demands abstract categories. As such, presenting individual phenomena will often be covered over the general and universal, especially seeing that personal perspectives give a sense of ‘human touch’ and makes it easier for the receiver to identify with (Hernes, 1978).

Having addressed media and political logics as well as mediatization, I now go on to discuss their relation to each other, pointing to how the theories will work together and what role each theory will play. Here, I also address what the theories are missing to take into account and why I need to include all of them.

## Making Sense of Multiple Frameworks

In most instances, as described above, media logic differs from political logic. When one thing is present, the other can not be to the same extent, at least not within the same criteria, since they are often equal to dissimilarities and located in each side of a spectrum (within the same criteria). On the other hand, the same piece of content can be affected by political logic within one criteria and at the same time affected by media logic within another criteria. In this way, they also supplement each other, but it will always be according to different criteria, not the exact same. **Except personalization**

The media and political logics support me in uncovering what the self-controlled digital platforms adapts from the media and to which extent they do so (Klinger & Svensson, 2015, p. 1243). Mediatization supplements both media- and political logic, making it easier to understand these logics within a certain context (Hjarvard, 2016). Mediatization is dominant in different spheres of society and as such both in political and media settings (Klinger & Svensson, 2015). Which emphasis it is indeed possible to find content that is influenced by political logic and mediatization at one at the same time. Though, it can be argued that if media logic is present, there is a large chance of mediatization will be present too. Since it makes sense that the surroundings are affected by the mediated reality, if the content leans towards media logics. The theory of mediatization will help me understand the basis for these logics as mediatization “refers to a general tendency in which almost all parts of society are affected by the media” (Klinger & Svensson, 2015, p. 1243).

As synergies exist between criteria, in some instances it might be likely that if one specific criteria is present, there is a likely chance another will be too. For instance, it is to expect that if *sharpening* is present, so is *simplification* - and perhaps even *concretization*. Intuitive logic arguably explains why. If media material is operating with limited scope, as is often the case, summarizing lengthy details in brief statements, it seems almost inevitable that what follows is lack of nuance, complexity and diversity. A way to do this could be through simple examples that concretize content in and scope of certain political proposals. Additionally, it is likely that if all of these mediatization criteria (but especially *concretization*) are present, so is *absence of ambiguity*, where the content will probably lean towards media logic. Thus, if material is concrete and describes a definite agreement, there will be only no or very few ambiguous statements. It is hard to see how being concrete and specific goes together with a large amount of

ambiguous political statements. Other criteria that could be expected to work in extension of each other, would be *negativity* (in form of political logic) and *polarization*. Since they both focus on dissimilarities and competition. The interesting part here is that it would probably be *negativity* in the form of political logic (rather than media logic) which would be supported by the mediatization criteria *polarization*. In this case, because politics is influenced by mediatization, it might be hard to realize the difference between negative campaigning as *negativity* and negative campaigning as *polarization*. Another aspect of media logic is *topicality*. It is to be expected that if *topicality* is present (and takes the form of media logic), it is supported by the mediatization criteria *intensification*. Intuitive logic arguably explains why. If media stories are short-lived, focusing on short-term events over long-term procedures, what follows is pursuing high-intensity stories over everyday issues focusing on the abnormal.

Neither political- nor media logic can stand alone in this thesis and they are difficult to completely separate (Haßler et al., 2014). Though, they still show different things, illustrating important differences wherefore we need them both. Also, in order to be sure if one logic is present, the other logic is a point of reference to compare with. Additionally, media logics can assist me in uncovering “the norms, rules and processes that structure communication” (Klinger & Svensson, 2015, p. 1244). We also need to take mediatization and the hybrid media system into account. Mediatization adds the perspective as “the general tendency in which almost all parts of society are affected by the media” (Klinger & Svensson, 2015, p. 1243). Whereas the hybrid media system becomes the frame wherein societal actors are operating. In the hybrid media system, we cannot separate politics and media completely. It interferes in the mediated reality, which is why this thesis will seek out how and when.

Both the categorization of media- and political logics as well as mediatization criteria can be recognized as “ideal types” (Hay, 2020). An ideal type is a theoretical construction which can help guide an analysis by simplifying and categorizing features (Hay, 2020). For instance, when we are discussing the media- and political logic *negativity*, what does it really mean? Negativity comes in many ways and varieties. The actual reality will never be a one-to-one reflection of the ideal type (Hay, 2020). This is mentioned to emphasize that I am aware that the logics and criteria can merge, that boundaries between them can be blurry and that they do not exist in a

‘pure’ form in the real world. Keeping this in mind they are useful as reference and guidance to advance our understanding of the analyzed content.

Additionally, a holistic approach is taken throughout this thesis considering the analysis in the light of the bigger picture and on the basis of the media and political system as parts of a whole (the hybrid media system). It is important to understand that each part affects the whole as well as “the whole is more than the sum of its parts” (Rosenberg, 2012, p. 170). This is in line with Chadwick (2017) who argues that such an approach is necessary when studying the role of communication in politics, since one should not only focus on neither newer *or* old media but instead look at the media system and its interacting with politics as a whole. This point of reference together with a social constructionist approach ensures awareness of the ways in which we commonly understand the world, the categories and concepts we use and how these are historically and culturally constituted (and thereby specific to time and place) (Burr, 2015, p. 4). Social constructivism has increasingly emerged as an important perspective within social science and pointing to the importance of understanding how (social) reality is socially constructed (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009, p. 33 & 43). By focusing on how parties and actors perceive and perform political communication, acknowledging how imaginaries of self and others inform strategic choices and considering perceived (as opposed to ‘true’ or ‘actual’) agency, my thesis is carried out in line with the social constructivist tradition. Keeping this in mind, this point of origin is useful as reference and guidance to advance our understanding of the analyzed content.

## Methodology

In this section, the paper first defines the concept of self-controlled digital media platforms before justifying the research setting. Secondly, it expands on research design and its consequences for validity and generalizability. Subsequently, I turn to the data and methods of data analysis employed in this thesis.



## Definition of Self-Controlled Digital Media Platforms and Research Setting

This study examines political parties' strategic use of particular digital communication platforms in a Danish setting. Here, I refer to self-controlled digital media platforms as *platforms which actors have full control over content both regarding what is published and how it is framed, strategically targeting voters as media consumers*. Thus, this definition does not include the publication of content created by the parties but published on the parties' social media profiles (e.g. Facebook, Youtube, Twitter) nor the parties' official websites. These three phenomena are arguably not perfectly distinct and overlaps are therefore likely to appear. For example, the same issues are likely to be addressed on both party websites, social media and self-controlled digital media platforms although content is likely to differ in form and logic. Also, self-controlled digital media platforms by definition gives parties full editorial rights implying the possibility to bypass traditional media and its role as gatekeeper. This is in line with social media, which "allow politicians to present a tailored personal image" (Coombs et al., 2016, p. 103).

The main reason for this delimitation is that by opening up for including content on social media platforms, the distinction becomes increasingly vague. In other words, it is not clear how much of the content published by the parties on social media is included by a given definition. For example, the Social Democratic Party has published videos where a renowned journalist and former news anchor (Reimer Bo, red.) interviews key politicians from the party (Socialdemokratiet, 2017; Socialdemokratiet, 2018a; Socialdemokratiet, 2018b). These interviews have been criticized for mimicking the omnibus press and thereby notions of objectivity and independence while actually being paid to conduct a staged interview (Langberg, 2018). As such, these videos could be relevant for this study. However, if the definition is to include these videos, it opens up for other video content on social media platforms. As already mentioned, the use of social media has been researched extensively both in Denmark and elsewhere, illustrating that knowledge considering content on social media already exists (Coombs et al., 2016; Enli & Skogerbø, 2013; Kreiss et al., 2018; Sæbø, 2011; Schroeder, 2018; Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013).

The Danish setting is chosen for several reasons. First, and supporting the importance of this study, seven out of nine Danish parties have prioritized making their own digital publications *in addition* to their usual political communication. The news media bureau and think tank MondayMorning [MandagMorgen] as well as professor at University of Copenhagen Kasper Møller Hansen attributes this development to increased public party funding seeing that public financial support to political parties increased by 40 percent in 2017 (Villumsen, 2019). This highlights how parties have chosen to establish self-controlled digital media platforms over solely increasing spending on traditional channels of communication. As such, parties themselves seem to deem POSOP<sup>7</sup> content relatively efficiently. Second, and in line with the preceding argument, Danish parties also seem to attribute great weight to the importance of these digital media tools in the public debate. In the words of Pernille Skipper from the Red-Green Alliance “we contribute with a more in-depth perspective on current matters, which fill up the mass media, but which we think, are being rushed through and are affected by the government’s rhetoric” (My translation) (Pagh-Schlegel, 2017). Third, the author has extensive knowledge of the Danish media system and Danish political parties. Professional work experience and background knowledge creates a sound basis for understanding Danish parties both in relation to each other, the Danish media system and the electorate. Having been part of the field I am studying, though, can be a mixed blessing. My pre-understanding is informed by field-specific experience, influencing my ability to analyze from an ‘outsider’s’ perspective. Finally, and of less importance, practical reasons of data collection also apply.

## Data Collection

As mentioned, I am concerned with studying the phenomena self-controlled digital media platforms compared to digital mass media and how these platforms can be categorized in the hybrid media system. As my focus is directed to whether these platforms adopt media logics and are following the criteria of mediatization, the study considers media material from both self-controlled digital media platforms as well as digital media outlets. Generally, media content needs to adhere to journalistic rules of news selection and presentation. This is not the case in direct political communication, where politicians have control over both what they say and how

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<sup>7</sup>Recall for practical reasons, I refer to media material which is published on self-controlled digital media platforms as POSOP (Published On Self-cOntrolled digital media Platforms).

to say it (Haßler et al., 2014). With the intention of studying whether self-controlled digital media platforms mimic digital mass media, it thus makes sense to compare the appearance of media logics in ‘direct’ communication platforms to their appearance in digital mass media (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 328).

Overall, the data selection is based on what could be referred to as a thematic approach. Specifically, I focus on content which considers central issues of the public debate at the time of publication. This is in line with Haßler et al. (2014) who focuses on central issues of the public debate in order to investigate political communication outside of elections. In order to assess cases of ‘regular’ political communication I also focus on content outside of the election period. The themes investigated have been chosen on the basis of a poll ranking the most important issue areas for the electorate when casting their votes according to the voters themselves (Øyen & Kragesteen, 2018). This poll was carried out in December 2018 by the survey firm Norstat for the Danish media *Altinget* and *Jyllands-Posten*. The four most important themes ranked from one to four according to this poll are: healthcare policy, climate policy, immigration and integration policy and social policy (Øyen & Kragesteen, 2018). Social policy is here taken to include retirement and public pension policy among others (McGann & Biggs, 2017).

Specifically, I consider content related to four different policy proposals, each of them related to one of the four themes. Therefore, I consider four weeks which all had that in common that a new political initiative regarding one of the four themes was released. As such, the aim is to let the sampling be driven by conceptual questions rather than “representativeness” as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). They argue that one should combine typical/representative, negative/disconfirming and exceptional or discrepant examples thereby exploring both the typical as well as the boundaries of the data field (Miles and Huberman, 1994, as cited in Macnamara, 2005). However, since the POSOP material has been limited to a few pieces (from three to five) for each chosen news week, my sampling includes all POSOP data. As such, I cover the entire data range even though I apply an in-depth qualitative approach relying on a limited scope of data. However, because I include all available pieces being limited by supply of POSOP content, I have included material which does not explicitly relate to the policy proposal published in a given week. These (five) pieces can be found in appendix 2. The four weeks are:

POLICY AREA:	WEEK NUMBER:	EXACT DATES:	REFERRED TO AS:
IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION	21	23-30 OF MAY 2018	WEEK 1

MAY 28 THE GOVERNMENT CONCLUDED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND DANISH PEOPLE'S PARTY TARGETED CHILDREN IN SO CALLED 'VULNERABLE COMMUNITIES'. THIS INCLUDED, AMONGST OTHER THINGS, A MANDATORY 25 HOUR PER WEEK 'LEARNING OFFER' TO CHILDREN FROM SO CALLED VULNERABLE COMMUNITIES WHO ARE NOT ENROLLED IN DAYCARE AT THE AGE OF ONE AND CUTS IN FAMILY BENEFITS IF CHILDREN ARE NOT ENROLLED IN DAYCARE.

POLICY AREA:	WEEK NUMBER:	EXACT DATES:	REFERRED TO AS:
CLIMATE	41	8-15 OF OCT 2018	WEEK 2

OCTOBER 9 THE GOVERNMENT RELEASED A PLAN FOR CLIMATE CHANGE ACTION. THE POLICY PROPOSAL INCLUDED CUTS IN FEES ON ELECTRIC CARS, A PROMISE TO DISCONTINUE SALES OF CARS USING FOSSIL FUELS IN 2030 AND ANNULMENT OF EMISSION ALLOWANCES IN THE EUROPEAN EMISSION TRADING SCHEME.

POLICY AREA:	WEEK NUMBER:	EXACT DATES:	REFERRED TO AS:
HEALTHCARE	3	14-21 OF JAN 2019	WEEK 3

JANUARY 16 THE GOVERNMENT RELEASED THEIR POLICY PROPOSAL REGARDING HEALTHCARE, SUGGESTING A REVISION OF THE CURRENT HEALTHCARE SYSTEM. THIS INCLUDED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, CLOSING DOWN THE FIVE DANISH REGIONS (LARGER POLITICAL RULED ORGANIZATIONS) REPLACING THEM WITH 21 'HEALTH COMMUNITIES' [SUNDHEDSFÆLLESSKABER] (SUNDHEDS- OG ÆLDREMINISTERIET, 2019).

POLICY AREA:	WEEK NUMBER:	EXACT DATES:	REFERRED TO AS:
SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	6	4-11 OF FEB 2019	WEEK 4

JANUARY 22 THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY RELEASED A POLICY PROPOSAL REGARDING PUBLIC RETIREMENT PENSION, SUGGESTING A REVISION OF THE PENSION SYSTEM. THIS INCLUDED, MOST PROMINENTLY, A RIGHT TO EARLY RETIREMENT FOR 'WORN-OUT' WORKERS AND WORKERS WHO 'HAVE BEEN ON THE JOB MARKET FOR MANY YEARS' (SOCIALDEMOKRATIET, 2019, P. 7).

The empirics from political parties' self-controlled digital media platforms includes podcasts, posts (including videos and infographics) and articles. In total, the media sample includes seven out of the nine parties in the Danish Parliament. See the figure below for an overview of political parties, types of media and platforms:

PARTY NAME:	TYPE OF MEDIA:	SELF-CONTROLLED DIGITAL MEDIA PLATFORM:
THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	.....	NONE ACCORDING TO THE APPLIED DEFINITION
THE DANISH SOCIAL LIBERAL PARTY	.....	NONE ACCORDING TO THE APPLIED DEFINITION
THE CONSERVATIVE PEOPLE'S PARTY	ONLINE PLATFORM (INCLUDING ARTICLES AND INFOGRAPHICS)	'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]
THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY	PODCAST	'THE RED THREAD' [DEN RØDE TRÅD]
THE LIBERAL ALLIANCE	PODCAST + ONLINE PLATFORM (INCLUDING ARTICLES AND INFOGRAPHICS)	'A FREE SPACE' [ET FRIRUM] AND 'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]
THE DANISH PEOPLE'S PARTY	NEWS SITE (ARTICLES)	'YOUR OVERVIEW' [DITOVERBLIK.DK]
THE LIBERAL PARTY OF DENMARK	ONLINE PLATFORM (INCLUDING ARTICLES AND INFOGRAPHICS)	'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]
THE RED-GREEN ALLIANCE	PODCAST	'THE LIST' [LISTEN]
THE ALTERNATIVE	PODCAST + ONLINE PLATFORM (INCLUDING VIDEOES AND INFOGRAPHICS)	'THE ALTIVIST' [ALTIVISTEN.DK]

A note should be added regarding The Government as a self-controlled digital media platform. The Government, a platform that “explains the government’s policy with its own words”, is not controlled by any party as such but by the government’s communication unit. Thus, although one party does not have full control over content both regarding what is published and how it is framed, the parties’ that constitute the government together can be said to exercise such control. Therefore, it can be considered a self-controlled digital media platform<sup>8</sup>. The Government has been part of the Danish media system since August 2016 when it was created while the Liberal Party was constituting a one party government. The notion that The Government can be considered a self-controlled digital media platform and differs from e.g. the webpage of the prime minister’s office is underpinned when considering how the government explains the purpose of the platform:

It can be tricky to wrap one’s head around the public debate in TV, radio and newspapers. It is fast paced and many are fighting for the attention. Until now, there has been no platform where citizens quietly can look for and find information considering the government’s policy in its entirety explained in full with the government’s own words (My translation) (Regeringen, 2016).

The emphasis on “own words” illustrates how the parties in government control the framing of the POSOP content while the fact that the platform is created to address that it previously has been ‘missing’ underlines full control of what is published. This categorization is also applied by the Danish media organisation and think tank Monday Morning [MandagMorgen] listing The Government as a self-controlled digital media platform side by side with The Altivist, The Read Thread etc. (Villumsen, 2019).

The empirical data from mass media’s digital platforms consists of podcasts and (online) news sites. As podcasts are part of the POSOP material, podcasts from mass media are also included in the analyzed content to ensure consistency. The media sample presents a broad range of digital mass media channels in Denmark as it includes both broadsheet and tabloid (editorial lines) as well as public and privately owned media (organizational structure). All media including type of media are listed in the figure below:

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<sup>8</sup>Regeringen.dk was taken over by the new government after the election in June 2019. Old articles and content published by the former government was moved to a news archive on the site and can still be found.

MEDIA:	TYPE OF MEDIA:	DIGITAL MEDIA OUTLET:
ALTINGET	NEWS SITE (INCLUDING ARTICLES AND INFOGRAPHICS)	ALTINGET.DK
BERLINGSKE	ARTICLES	BERLINGSKE.DK
BT [B.T.]	ARTICLES	BT.DK
DR [DANMARKS RADIO]	NEWS SITE (INCLUDING ARTICLES AND INFOGRAPHICS)	DR.DK
INFORMATION	PODCAST	RADIO INFORMATION
JP [JYLLANDS-POSTEN]	ARTICLES	JYLLANDS-POSTEN.DK
POLITIKEN	PODCAST + ARTICLES	YOU LISTENING TO POLITIKEN [DU LYTTET TIL POLITIKEN] POLITIKEN.DK

Appendix 3 includes headlines and links from all material. It is important to notice that some of the abovementioned platforms were only recently launched, for which reason I have not been able to collect empirical data regarding all four political issues. An example is the political news site Your Overview which was launched in August 2018. Thus, week one does not include POSOP material from Your Overview. Likewise, the media podcast You are listening to Politiken was launched in the end of October 2018. In addition, some of the self-controlled digital media platforms did not cover the political issue, which was on the agenda the specific week (see appendix 2). That seems especially to be the case for The Altvist (both podcast and online platform), the podcast A Free Space and The Government. This is also the case for some of the chosen mass media material.

## Method and Process of Analysis

When analyzing the data, I make use of qualitative media content analysis, i.e. “an approach to documents that emphasizes the role of the investigator in the construction of meaning of and in the text” (Bryman, 2015, p. 94; Macnamara, 2005). Often such a process of analysis can, coming from the outside, seem like a ‘black box’ where it is hard to get full insight into what it contains and how interpretation is carried out. Therefore, I here elaborate on my process which is focused on comparison, concentrating on a number of different categories in which political and media logic can be contrasted and where the extent of mediatization can be clarified. Initially, I applied my chosen categories as described in the theory section. The first criteria were heavily inspired by Haßler et al. (2014) whereas the following criteria were based on Hernes (1978). When realizing that the category of personalization contributed with little or no analytical value, I proceeded to conduct my analysis, having excluded that criteria (I elaborate on the process below). As such, I was not completely restricted by predefined categories allowing categories to change as I engaged with the data.

In this sense, I make use of the method of abduction, which has characteristics of both induction and deduction. This does not imply that abduction is simply just a mixture of the two (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017, p. 5). Specifically, theory is dynamic and adjusted in the data analysis process - as evident in the example above - while the empirical area of application is not treated as static. The method of abduction allows me to focus on “underlying patterns and understanding” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017, p. 5). Moreover, although the starting point of analysis is an empirical basis, abduction does not preemptively reject theoretical preconceptions within the study area. These preconceptions were exactly what guided my discovery of patterns in the empirical data and made me understand these in a larger context of *the hybrid media system* (Chadwick, 2017). Hence, I followed “a repeated process of alternating between (empirically laden) theory and (theory-laden) empirical ‘facts’” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017, p. 7). In this sense, I went through a hermeneutic process where I went in depth with “the empirical matter with the help of theoretical preconceptions” (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017, p. 7).

The following paragraphs describe this process, with emphasis being put on a qualitative act of judgment. With regard to the category *absence of policy issues*, I was considering to which



extent policy issues were present. The criteria in itself corresponds to little or no presence of policy issues, almost purely focusing on procedural and structural aspects of democracy or political principles. The opposite phenomenon then entailed solely addressing policy issues such as climate change, public pension schemes and healthcare. Regarding *personalization*, I quickly found out that it did not make sense to include this aspect for a number of reasons. It was extremely hard or even impossible to distinguish media logic and political logic with regard to personalization, since they largely overlap as already mentioned. Moreover, personalization was nearly not present in collected data. Two reasons explain why. *First*, all weeks were chosen after a thematic approach focusing on four specific policy areas when policy proposals or political agreements were made. This meant a general focus on these topics rather than individual actors (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 328). *Second*, the material was collected outside the election cycle, which personalization highly is related to (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 328). For the criteria of *negativity*, I searched for the reporting of negative events focusing on negative aspects and consequences when assessing media logic and, contrastingly, material purely dedicated to negative campaigning when searching for political logic. Thus there is more than one aspect of negativity. To specify, negativity is present in both political and media logic as illustrated above, with negative campaigning being the unique way in which negativity is present in political logic. Here, I take negative campaigning as referring to addressing perceived wrongdoings of other parties instead of focusing on what a given political party would or should do instead. Regarding *topicality*, I considered whether data material addressed short-term events with a short term focus, downplaying the bigger (historical) context as induced by media logic. Correspondingly, I looked for addressing long-term procedures and decisions with a long-run focus in the search for political logic. However, political logic can also be ‘infiltrated’ with media logic - a ‘middle of the road’-logic - which then could be both short-term events with long-run focus or long-term events with short-term focus. In the final criteria, *absence of ambiguity*, I looked for no or very few ambiguous statements (in line with media logic) or no concrete statements of plans (in line with political logic).

Turning to the mediatization criteria, I also analyzed with regard to certain aspects. In terms of *sharpening*, I looked for headlines with no or little detailed information and, contrastingly, for pieces which were rich on information and in-depth coverage exploring the details of a given

issue. Regarding the criteria of *simplification*, I emphasized nuanced and complex media material, typically correlated with lengthy sentences and a rich vocabulary. In case of the criteria of *polarization*, my analysis focuses on data material consisting only of conflict and contrast between opponents as an example of where polarization is highly present and an absence of conflict and polarization (including content which leave out other perspectives) where the opposite is the case. When it comes to *intensification*, I looked for whether the media material contained high-intensity content focusing on the abnormal or whether, in the absence of *intensification* the data material covered low-intensity, 'normal' events and 'down-to-earth' issues such as everyday life. Finally, with regard to *concretizing*, I considered to what extent the data portrayed an issue from the perspective of an individual or a single case instead of considering the overall perspective. Conversely, data material presenting a tendency, leaving out personal perspectives or specific cases, was clear signs of lack of *concretizing*.

To ensure an emphasis on a qualitative act of judgment, I took notes throughout the content analysis, explaining and rationalizing my analysis to ensure my analyses was based in theory (see appendix 4 for notes on all 32 pieces of content). Likewise I included citations from the content in order to underline important points. Notwithstanding these precautions, qualitative media content analysis builds on the interpretation of the researcher which makes it susceptible to validity problems (Bryman, 2015). As I am heavily engaged in the research process, my interpretation appears throughout the entire analysis (Bryman, 2015). However, validity problems related to this kind of arbitrary subjectivism is not specifically related to qualitative methods. Rather, it is a fundamental characteristic of social science. To exemplify, Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 235-236) illustrates how issues of arbitrary subjectivism apply to all methods, be it qualitative or quantitative, using the example of choosing categories and variables in large-N quantitative studies. As such, I am fully convinced this thesis will throw light on an essential issue in political communication; political actors' strategic use of self-controlled digital media platforms, and thereby directly add to strategic communication literature.

# Analysis

## The Danish Policy Context

In the following, I address the Danish policy context in which each of the policy initiatives described above is placed, aiming to provide an introduction to the setting and relevant narratives.

*First*, immigration and integration policy has been quite a controversial topic in Danish politics for the last two decades including a shift to the right on the political spectrum. Immigration and integration policy addresses many topics regarding asylum and refugees, foreign nationals and integration. In May 2018 the government concluded an agreement regarding integration policy with the Social Democratic Party and The Danish People's Party targeted children in so called 'vulnerable communities'. This included, amongst other things, a mandatory 25 hour per week 'learning offer' to children from vulnerable communities who are not enrolled in daycare at the age of one and cuts in family benefits if children are not enrolled in daycare (Regeringen, 2018a). *Second*, addressing environmental and climate policy, Denmark is perceived among the most ambitious countries in the world. This can partly be attributed to meeting international obligations relating to climate governance while also being a result of national targets in the energy sector (The Danish Energy Agency, n.d.). In October 2018 the government presented a climate policy proposal. In brief, the proposal presents 38 initiatives, focusing on transport, agriculture, housing and industry (Regeringen, 2018b). *Third*, in terms of healthcare policy, Denmark has a universal healthcare system, based on the principle of equal access for all citizens (Ministry of Health, n.d.). In January 2019 the government presented a healthcare policy proposal positing that patient care shall take more place at general practitioners and healthcare centers. At the same time, the proposal suggests to educate more general practitioners as well as give them a bigger role (Regeringen, 2019b). *Fourth*, addressing social policy focusing on retirement policy, pensions consist of both public and private programs in Denmark (The City of Copenhagen, n.d.). There is a universal state pension paid while most people are also covered by occupational pensions. In February 2019, the largest opposition party, the Social Democratic Party, presented a proposal on retirement policy. Its main focus was to give workers, who enter the labor market early, the possibility to retire earlier (Socialdemokratiet, 2019).

Now, I move on to analyze POSOP material using media and political logics, where after I assess the same material from the perspective of mediatization. Then, I review media material from digital media outlets following a similar approach. This will provide the basis for discussing how and to which extent content produced by political parties mimic media content.

## Media Logic and Political Logic: POSOP Material

Firstly, considering *absence of policy issues*<sup>9</sup>, the POSOP material is dominated by both political and media logic (sometimes both within the same piece) depending on the given piece. Most commonly, the material is dominated by media logics (6 out of 16 pieces, realizing that numbers say nothing of generalizability). For example, two pieces from The Altivist (Altivisten, 2019a; Altivisten, 2019b) focus entirely on political principles (and thereby lean on media logic), concrete policy issues being completely absent<sup>10</sup>. Additionally, three other pieces (Altivisten, 2018b; Redaktionen, 2018; Redaktionen, 2019b) emphasize procedural aspects of democracy such as the release rather than the content of new political proposals as well as the upcoming election aligning with media logics.

Secondly, with regard to *negativity*<sup>11</sup>, no clear trend concerning media or political logic is evident. The content which exhibits both media and political logic is perhaps best exemplified in The List, presenting negativity in several aspects (Listen, 2018a). The content consists of both negative events focusing on negative aspects and consequences in addition to negative campaigning (Listen, 2018a). Interestingly, a sizable amount of the POSOP material (six pieces) is dominated by media logic focusing on the negative aspects and/or negative events in a negative way (see appendix 4). An example is one piece from Your Overview covering the new reform with huge focus on an earlier scandal (Redaktionen, 2019c).

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<sup>9</sup>Recall that when media logic is evident it takes the form of stories focusing on opinion polls and competition between parties and candidates, portraying politics as a strategic game.

<sup>10</sup>The Altivist did not bring POSOP content which addressed the political proposals of week 3 or 4. Instead, the analyzed material includes in week 4 a transcription of a video addressing micro aggressive behavior.

<sup>11</sup>Recall that when media logic is evident it takes the form of negative framing or focus on negative events whereas political logic takes the form of negative campaigning.

Next, turning to *topicality*<sup>12</sup>, there is a clear tendency towards that both media and political logic is present in the material. Despite exhibiting both media and political logic, the majority (ten pieces) lean toward media logic while six pieces lean towards political logic (see appendix 4). All content from The Government are examples of the latter. They consider political proposals or agreements which span across a time horizon of multiple years (up to eleven years), implying a long term perspective leaning towards political logic. Interestingly, however, it is done with a rather short-term approach as dictated by media logic. For instance, very limited historical context is included and one piece is presented mostly in headlines (Regeringen, 2018b). Such manner, presenting long-term issues with a short term focus, is not unique to The Government (see e.g. Altvisten, 2018b; Listen, 2018b). The media logic is more evident in the rest of the material. For instance, in all content from Your Overview much emphasis is put on single issues, which emphasize the presence of media logic. For example in one piece about the government's new healthcare proposal, much emphasis is put on the need for doctors to be included and on board with a potential reform of the healthcare system, even including it in the headline (Redaktionen, 2019a). As such, although the issue has a long term perspective, Your Overview focuses on what they portray as relevant 'here and now'. This again underlines how the short-term procedure stands out. Indeed, emphasis is mostly on the notion that doctors need to perceive the reform proposal positively when citing a politician from the Danish People's Party:

It is key that a good deal is made with the doctors (...). If we do not get the doctors on board [with the reform], we cannot implement it everywhere (My translation) (Liselott Blixt (O) In Redaktionen, 2019a).

Turning to the final criteria, *absence of ambiguity*<sup>13</sup>, the POSOP material is typically dominated by either media or political logic. As a matter of fact, the majority (13 out of 16) of the pieces are either completely absent of ambiguity or overwhelmingly ambiguous. In line with political logic, most pieces from The Altvist do not contain any concrete statements or plans (see appendix 4). Other pieces that lean towards political logic are from The Red Thread, The Government, Your Overview and The List. For instance, in the piece from The List (2018b) nothing concrete is

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<sup>12</sup>Recall that when media logic is evident it takes the form of addressing short-term events with a short term focus, downplaying the bigger (historical) context.

<sup>13</sup> Recall that when media logic is evident it takes the form of no or very few ambiguous statements.

promised or described. The piece is dealing with climate policy vaguely ‘promising’ “turning Denmark in a more green direction” after an election, making Denmark “a green front-runner nation” (Listen, 2018b). In contrast, five other pieces are almost entirely absent of ambiguity. Instead, the content states clear policy goals. A piece from The Government even states the supposed number of hospitalizations that one specific policy initiative should prevent without any form of caveats (Regeringen, 2019b). Quantifying this would make any social scientist skeptical seeing that no clear counterfactual can be established and speaks to the complete absence of ambiguity.

Overall, the POSOP content tends to be induced with both media and political logic to a varying degree. Despite all pieces having a short term focus as dictated by media logic, there are examples of political logic dominating different pieces in different criteria. As such, it is highly context dependent and the dominance of either logic differs from piece to piece and criteria to criteria, sometimes placing itself in between. Now, the paper goes on to consider the POSOP material in terms of the meta theory that is mediatization. Thus, I will go from analyzing media versus political logic, moving towards mediatization, addressing criteria five to nine.

## Mediatization: POSOP Material

*Sharpening*<sup>14</sup>, the need to be succinct to an extent that leaves out details, is adapted as a premise for all the analyzed self-controlled platforms. As such, it is foundational for content production on the self-controlled platforms. This is evident to varying degrees. The majority of the content (11 out of the 16 pieces) is short, sharp and does not provide much information about the given issue leaving out (important) details (see appendix 4)<sup>15</sup>. An example of this is a piece from The Government, focusing on Denmark should be ‘in front’ when it comes to green energy (Regeringen, 2018b). Being relatively short and not containing much information, it reduces the incredibly complex and multifaceted issue of climate change and the role of green energy in relation to a matter of being ‘in front’, letting the understanding of the reader inform what is meant by that expression. Contrastingly, four other POSOP pieces are not to the same extent in

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<sup>14</sup>Recall that when mediatization is evident it takes the form of content which consists of mostly headlines with no or little detailed information.

<sup>15</sup>Again leaving out A Free Space since it can be discussed if this criteria is really relevant for the content because it takes a talk-show format (Liberal Alliance Podcast, 2018).

line with mediatization (Altvisten, 2018a; Larsen, 2019; Listen, 2018a; Regeringen, 2019b). Using the rest of the POSOP material as a point of reference, a piece from The Government is rich in information and describes the suggested healthcare proposal in (some) details (Regeringen, 2019b). Yet, it is still subject to the principle of sharpening, explaining a comprehensive reform of the Danish healthcare system in 700-800 words. Additionally, a podcast episode from The List is information rich, containing in-depth coverage when exploring certain issues and their perceived root cause (Listen, 2018a).

Turning to *simplification*<sup>16</sup>, this principle is similarly a premise which the POSOP content operates from. Indeed, several examples of how the analyzed POSOP content is in line with the principle of simplification, reducing complexity and nuance is easily highlighted (13 out of 16 pieces being clearly dominated by simplification). For instance, all content from The Government and Your Overview is simplified. Regarding The Government, content contains several relatively short sentences, is easily understandable and leaves out complexity. In all cases, only the government's own policy is presented, and not challenged in any way, thereby leaving out other angles and nuance. To exemplify, one piece presents the issue of healthcare as a simple manner of increasing funding and the number of training spots for doctors (Regeringen, 2019b). As such, the issue of healthcare is reduced to a question of merely introducing government policy, simplifying the issue of healthcare and presenting it as if more money/more doctors is equal to better quality. It is also worth mentioning A Free Space which, using a 'talk show approach' (being qualitatively different), portrays talks about and considers 'success'<sup>17</sup> and the way in which it is supposedly achieved in a simple manner. Achieving 'success' is perceived as a matter of hard work thereby decreasing nuance and diversity. Entrepreneurship is considered the universal means to self-fulfillment and 'happiness' in life:

I believe in myself and then I work really hard, and I venture to assert that if I can, everyone could  
(My translation) (Investor Jesper Buch In Liberal Alliance Podcast, 2018).

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<sup>16</sup> Recall that when mediatization is evident it takes the form of extensive use of short sentences, limited vocabulary, easily understandable and comprehensible, leaving out complexity and nuance of a given topic.

<sup>17</sup> In the podcast, 'success' is generally portrayed as establishing and growing a business, associated with relatively high income and notions of being a profitable 'businessman' along capitalist ideals.

After looking at the POSOP material from the principle of firstly *sharpening* and secondly *simplification*, it seems that one principle is not present without the other (the talk-show podcast A Free Space being the only exception). Intuitive logic arguably explains why. If media material is operating with limited scope, as is often the case, summarizing lengthy details in brief statements, it seems almost inevitable that what follows is lack of nuance, complexity and diversity. This is in line with scholarly media criticism, which problematizes this aspect of the media system (Schulz & Mazzoleni, 1999; Vasterman, 2005). As such, POSOP content does not break with this fundamental criticism.

Moving to *polarization*<sup>18</sup>, an interesting observation comes to the fore. Indeed, when considering the content from the criteria of polarization, it is clearly absent. To be more specific, the majority of the POSOP content (10 out of 16 pieces) completely leaves out competing perspectives and thereby parties clearly break with mediatization. Mainly because the POSOP content only presents its own viewpoint regarding a certain issue leaving out perspectives of competing parties or other seemingly relevant actors. Yet, some exceptions can be found. In two cases, polarization is present despite not including the opinion of other parties. This follows in podcasts from The Altivist and The Red Thread, as a ‘horse race’ approach is adopted. Though, it is worth mentioning that The Altivist podcast also tries to depolarize when addressing overlaps between parties. In contrast (to most of the analyzed material), two episodes from The List and one piece from Your Overview is heavily polarizing (Listen, 2018a; Listen, 2018b; Redaktion, 2019b). Thus, when polarization is present it either takes place in form of ‘horse race’ content focusing on election aspects, quotations which draw lines between standpoints or the few examples where the premise for the content is conflict and contrast. In fact, POSOP material arguably follows the principle of polarization to the extent that it benefits the publishing party from a strategic communication perspective, portraying their own policy as superior in contrast to opposing policies.

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<sup>18</sup>Recall that when mediatization is evident it takes the form of material consisting only of conflict and contrast between opponents.



Considering criteria eight, i.e. *intensification*<sup>19</sup>, the majority (13 out of 16) of the POSOP pieces are not high-intensity stories breaking from one of the principles of mediatization. This is especially common for content from The Government. Contrastingly, three POSOP pieces do consist of high-intensity stories subscribing to the criteria of intensification. These focus on the abnormal rather than normal. One episode from The Altivist, for example, is definitely trying to make the content more intense when focusing on worst scenario consequences of climate changes (Altivisten, 2018a). In this, they do not focus on the likely or most possible outcome but the abnormal and catastrophic outcome. Although this is highly justifiable in the context of climate change (Weitzman, 2009), it represents an example of intensification.

With regard to the final criteria, *concretizing*<sup>20</sup>, the content is located at either end of the spectrum; being extremely influenced by mediatization regarding concretizing (less common), or almost not at all (most common). 5 out of 16 pieces are being concrete and specific rather than portraying broader tendencies in society adjusting to mediatization (see appendix 4). One example is the podcast A Free Space, which presents several examples from one of the participant's' life and focuses almost purely at how he succeeded in becoming a millionaire on behalf of his start-up, not portraying tendencies regarding startups (Liberal Alliance Podcast, 2018). This approach ensures a personal perspective that gives a sense of 'human touch' and makes it easier for the media consumer to relate to. In contrast, the majority of POSOP pieces take a more general perspective when for example presenting the government's healthcare proposal (Regeringen, 2019b). Although there are some specific personal cases mentioned, examples are often included to make the specific policy initiatives in the proposal more concrete. Often it is "patients" and "citizens" in plural offering no specific context. This points to how the POSOP material uses examples to concretize the proposals that might otherwise seem general and abstract, lacking specificity. Instead of explaining what can be expected of the system as a whole, the benefits for a specific heart patient retain focus. It is also worth mentioning the content, which rely least on mediatization; interestingly, those are all podcasts which try to address the bigger picture (The Altivist, The List and especially The Red Thread). Having more

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<sup>19</sup>Recall that when mediatization is evident it takes the form of media material with high-intensity content focusing on the abnormal.

<sup>20</sup>Recall that when mediatization is evident it takes the form of content portraying an issue from the perspective of an individual or a single case instead of considering the overall perspective.

time and room to unfold societal tendencies, one podcast is based on an interview with a scholar and author, Lars Olsen, who explains and problematizes the historical developments within the Danish public pension system as it has been developing the last 15 years (Larsen, 2019).

This paragraph concludes the section which directly addresses the POSOP material. From the above I want to highlight the heterogeneous nature and variety of forms, logics and expressions that the analyzed pieces take on. Before discussing how and to which extent this content produced by political parties mimics media material, we need to assess the material that is relevant to compare against. Therefore, I now turn to the media material and wait to summarize the above until the end of this section.

## Media Logic and Political Logic: Media Material

Most common is that the media material, like the POSOP, is dominated by media logics regarding *absence of policy issues* since half of the media material rely mostly on media logics. One fourth is dominated by both logics and one fourth is dominated by political logic. The media material dominated by media logic emphasizes “procedural and structural aspects of democracy, focusing on politics and polity instead of policy” (Haßler et al., 2014, p. 328). This is best exemplified by the media stories which focus on a new political proposal rather than the content of the initiative itself (see appendix 4). Other examples dominated by media logics is content which emphasis on competition between parties portraying politics as a strategic game. Such an example is seen in a piece from Berlingske which is build up as horse race journalism focusing on what exactly will this proposal add to the upcoming election, leaving out what the proposal exists of:

With the healthcare proposal at his disposal, it is Løkke as the fighter, who will try to fight back and win terrain as the election is coming up (My translation) (Borre, 2019).

Similarity between media and POSOP material is also seen when it comes to content which consist of both logics. The most noticeable ones are among the POSOP podcast The Red Thread and the media podcast You are listening to Politiken. Both podcasts 1) address the issue of the public pension scheme and 2) first communicates the basics of the policy proposal (in line with

media logic) while later unfolding the issue more fully and addressing the historical context, having time to unfold the Danish public pension system (in line with political logic). In contrast, two media pieces rely mostly on political logic (this is less than in the POSOP material where political logic was dominating in five pieces). Both media pieces are episodes from the podcast Radio Information, which points to the importance of the medium in communicating political news to media consumers. The podcast format allows senders to dig deeper into policy issues and specific initiatives because of the time the media consumer chooses to spend on it.

With regard to *negativity*, the media material is similar to the POSOP material. It is neither clearly dominated by either political or media logic characteristics. Like the POSOP material, there are single pieces from JP and Radio Information of the media material which are rather free of negativity in all aspects. One piece from JP presents the government's climate proposal and describes precisely what it contains without question any of the initiatives (Ritzau, 2018c). This seems quite similar to the piece from The Government, which describes the same proposal without questioning it or looking at other solutions at all.

A smaller tendency towards political logic can be established with regard to the criteria of negativity (since six pieces of the media material include negativity in the form of negative campaigning meaning directly criticizing government policy instead of promoting own policy). This is interesting because it means that more media material than POSOP material lean towards political logic in relation to negativity and in that sense breaks with what we can expect from mass media. This raises an interesting question: To what extent does the media material indeed represent political logic negativity in the form of negative campaigning? Is it rather a manifestation of mediatization in the form of polarization? Or can it be both? Certainly, polarization and negativity are not mutually exclusive in any absolute sense; and considering the discussion between media logics/political logics and mediatization in the theory section, we realize how mediatization is dominant in different spheres of society and as such also in a political setting. In this case, because politics is influenced by mediatization, it might be hard to realize the difference between negative campaigning as negativity and negative campaigning as polarization. In half the cases, the negative campaigning is rather sober and limited in scope like most of the POSOP material. This counts for content from Altinget, JP and DR. Contrastingly,

three pieces of content has more extreme examples of negative campaigning which are two pieces from DR and one from BT. Both pieces from DR are built upon covering mainly why the new policy proposals regarding healthcare as well as climate from the government is displeasing and problematic (e.g. Jeppesen, 2018).

Next, turning to the *topicality* criteria, there is a clear tendency towards that both media and political logic dominate and most often within the same content. Exactly like the POSOP material. There is just one exception where political logic is the only one which is present. Even though both logics are present in the majority of the media material, media logic dominates the material. In three pieces of content regarding a new integration agreement carried through by the government, the Social Democratic Party and the Danish People's Party, much emphasis is put on what the consequences of reform will be on short term adjusting towards media logic (e.g. Korsgaard, 2018; Mansø, 2018; Ritzau, 2018d). This kind of approach is similar to the POSOP material. Especially content from Your Overview also emphasizes single issues and what is portrayed as relevant 'here and now' adjusting to media logics when covering policy which is long-term oriented. Likewise the media material seems to approach and cover climate change and the new political climate proposal in a way similar to the POSOP content. The media material focuses mainly on short time following media logic when presenting the released climate proposal which runs until 2030. For instance, DR is purely focusing on the new policy paper and what there is good and not good about that, leaving out other aspects or information about the climate (Jeppesen, 2018).

Turning to the final criteria concerning media and political logic, *absence of ambiguity*, the media material do show signs of being dominated by either media or political logic, exactly like the POSOP material. As a matter of fact, 14 pieces out of 16 pieces are either completely absent of ambiguity or overwhelmingly ambiguous. In line with media logic 11 pieces are almost entirely absent of ambiguity. In general the media material is 'straightforward' clearly stating what the reform or proposal they cover contains and what an implementation will entail. The content is answering questions like who, what, when and how. This is the case throughout these pieces of media material but especially prominent on BT, which is specific in how many children will be directly affected by this political agreement regarding integration (Ritzau, 2018d). Thus,

this thesis will move forward to consider the media material in terms of the meta theory that is mediatization. I will go from analyzing media versus political logic, moving towards mediatization, addressing criteria five to nine.

## Mediatization: Media Material

Firstly, regarding *sharpening*, the media material seems to be induced by mediatization, like the POSOP content. In line with mediatization, the majority of the content (11 out of the 16 pieces) is short, sharp and does not provide much information about the giving issue leaving out (important) details. This is identical with the POSOP material. The rest of the content (five pieces) does subscribe to criteria sharpening as well but only to a lesser extent. Examples of media material which subscribe to the criteria of sharpening are content from DR and BT (Mansø, 2018; Ritzau, 2018d). Both pieces only give little information on an agreement regarding integration policy while the main message (and headline) is very simple focusing on the imposed sanctions if one does not adhere to the new law. Noticeably, very similar points were earlier made about POSOP content from Your Overview regarding sharpening.

Turning to *simplification*, a trend is evident in the media material. Four pieces (see appendix 4) are very similar to the POSOP material from The Government since it contains several relatively short sentences, is easily understandable and leaves out complexity. Only the government's political proposal is presented whereby the articles do not consider the issue from several angles leaving out nuances. Exactly like the POSOP material (see e.g. Mansø, 2018; Ritzau, 2018c; Ritzau, 2018d; Ritzau, 2019a). Nine other pieces of media material are induced with the principle of simplification thereby in line mediatization as well, but do present different viewpoints adding some nuance. Simple causal mechanisms are asserted without reflecting on the ways in which this can be challenged, equating the reform proposal with increased quality (similar to the POSOP material) (see e.g. Ritzau, 2019a). Contrastingly, three pieces of content from Politiken and Radio Information include the principle of simplification to a way lesser extent. The two episodes from Radio Information are almost leaving simplification out with highly nuanced media material, which deal with the topic chosen (climate and healthcare) from several angles and cover *how* as well as *why* the proposal can be affecting respectively the

climate as well as the healthcare system. This approach looks much like The List from the POSOP material.

After looking at the media material from the principle of firstly *sharpening* and secondly *simplification*, it seems that one principle is not present without the other. The same was the case in the POSOP content, where I emphasized that when media material is operating with limited scope, as is often the case, summarizing lengthy details in brief statements, it seems almost inevitable that what follows is lack of nuance, complexity and diversity.

Next, turning to *polarization*, a trend is clearly present. Thus 13 out of 16 analyzed media content is in line with the principle of polarization, portraying events as melodramatic, drawing lines between standpoints or fostering conflict. Thereby, there is a significant difference from the POSOP material where 10 out of 16 pieces completely left out others' perspectives thereby the principle of polarization and broke with the mediatization. Although, it must be mentioned that 5 of the 13 pieces which subscribe to the criteria of polarization do it only to a lesser extent (see appendix 4). The media content which subscribes to polarization to a lesser extent have more similarities with the POSOP material, since it placed itself 'in between' consisting of some polarization but less. In both cases, media as well as POSOP, material includes quotation which draws lines between standpoints but often only a few and furthermore in a dimension where it is easy 'to overlook' or simply ignore it. When polarization is present it especially takes place in form of either quotation which draws lines between standpoints (e.g. Karker, 2019; Ritzau, 2019b), content which is build up around the idea stressing conflict and contrast (e.g. Jensen, 2019; Olsen, 2019; Ritzau, 2018a), or 'horse race' content focusing on election aspects (e.g. Borre, 2019).

Considering criteria eight, i.e. *intensification*, the media content tends to subscribe to the criteria to an extent that is similar to the POSOP material. The majority (11 out of 16) of pieces are not high-intensity stories breaking form one of the principles of mediatization. This is especially common for content from DR. Contrastingly, five media pieces do consist of high-intensity stories subscribing to the criteria of intensification. Most of the media material covers the news of a political proposal or agreement, which is probably the main reason why the content does not subscribe to the criteria of intensification (see appendix 4). These new proposals and agreements

are most often a response or a solution to a situation or a problem, which has existed over a longer period of time. Which could be one of the reasons why the content is not covering strikes, demonstrations and other events with high intensity. Contrastingly, when the media material does subscribe to the criteria of intensification, they cover new policy proposals as high-intensity stories. This is mainly done by building up the context of the story as intense and fierce as well as focus on worst scenario consequences. For instance, expounding a proposal regarding climate in a context ‘act now or never’ (Sperling, 2018) or placing a proposal regarding public pension in a context of former demonstrations, discussions and conflicts (Thorsen, 2019). This aligns with the POSOP material, which also infuses intensity when focusing on worst scenario consequences and contexts of act now or never.

Regarding the final criteria of mediatization, *concretizing*, the media content is not polarized as it was the case with the POSOP material. The extent to which the material subscribes to concretizing does not vary substantially although half the material is generally more concrete than the other half. Thus, the contrast is not nearly as extreme as within the POSOP material - the media material is centered more in middle ground. For instance, there is no media material which subscribes to the criteria concretizing to the same extent as the POSOP material from The Activist or A Free Space where issues are portrayed through single cases (Altivisten, 2019a; Altivisten, 2019b; Liberal Alliance Podcast, 2018). Media pieces are portraying tendencies in society like the material from the POSOP platform The Government. But unlike the POSOP content, the media content does not frame it like there is ‘a demanded political action *that is* a proposed reform’. In addition, content that includes mediatization (to a lesser as well as larger extent) have examples to make the specific policy initiatives in the reform more concrete, similar to the POSOP material. In general, the media material is quite concrete even when it paints the bigger picture covering public pension throughout time (Thorsen, 2019).

## Concluding the Analysis

Summing up, both POSOP and media content show signs of political logic, media logic and mediatization in several aspects although to varying degrees. This reflects that, as discussed above, these criteria are not distinct but overlap and sometimes support each other. For instance, *sharpening* and *simplification* appear to be not analytically distinct. These are examples of ideal

types which overlap. They can be seen as connected in that if one thing is present, so is the other one. Because they refer to different aspects of the text, however, it arguably still adds analytical value to have both mediatization categories. Still, as shown in the matrix below, the POSOP and media material place itself close to each other in the majority of the criteria regarding media versus political logic. Differences are most noticeable with regard to *absence of ambiguity*, where patterns between POSOP (leaning towards political logic) and media material (leaning towards media logic) diverge. But even here they are not major since both POSOP and media material show signs of being dominated by either media or political logic, reflecting that being dominated by one or the other logic is not sufficient nor necessary to be able to identify content producers. One further difference is that in relation to negativity, the media material has a small tendency to rely on negativity (in the form of political logic and negative campaigning).

Additionally, shown in the (second) matrix below, the POSOP and media material also place itself close to each other in the majority of the criteria regarding mediatization. Only, with regard to polarization, there are noticeable dissimilarities when aggregated. Whereas polarization is clearly absent in the POSOP material, which most often completely leaves out competing perspectives. In contrast to the media material that is in line with mediatization and the principle of polarization. As stated above, the media content did not only include polarization but also had a larger tendency to rely on negativity (in form of political logic) than the POSOP content. Yet, this is largely due to the POSOP material leaving out other perspectives and competing political viewpoints (than their own).

Another important point the analysis shows is that, even though there are patterns and similarities, the content is going in many directions. For instance regarding the POSOP material, Your Overview imitates the mass media to a greater extent than other POSOP material. Though, it makes sense because it is the only POSOP platform which puts emphasis on being a “national conservative *news site*”. The Government on the other hand is more inward-looking focusing on only themselves and their own policy and proposals. A third platform appearance is the podcast A Free Space which is reminiscent of a talk show format, unlike all other material (media and POSOP). Finally, the Altivist seems to be trying its best to be ‘an alternative’ to both POSOP and media material. The Altivist distances itself from media logics, but does not lean heavily



toward political logic either. This aligns with the Alternative's own understanding of the platform as "non-confrontational", "solution-oriented", and "an outcry" against "conflict-creating journalism" (Langberg, 2018). Interestingly, POSOP material, in this way, differs far more across platforms than across weeks and policy areas.

These observations all point to the importance of the type of the medium (podcast, news site, video etc.) in communicating political news to media consumers in the analysis. For example, the podcast format allows senders to dig deeper into policy issues and specific initiatives because of the time the media consumer chooses to spend on it. As a result of that the content on podcasts media might differ. The media material showed something similar, podcast content seems to be perceptible differently than articles. It seems to be much about which medium the content is published on, both regarding media and POSOP content. It can not be underlined enough that it is important to notice that the (mass) media is as different as the (political) media. In fact, one can question whether it is more about the platform (DR or BT) and form of media (podcast, news article ect.) than anything else. One important point to take from this, is that there is a large difference in the platforms in between but not so much regarding the four different weeks.

Summing up, I emphasize that the analysis shows the material (both POSOP and media) has elements of both political- as well as media logic. Furthermore, all material seems to be influenced by mediatization - to lesser or larger extent. The material is operating within and adding to the hybridity of the hybrid media system and, in that sense, we can only expect hybridization. This paragraph concludes the section which summed up the analysis. Several of these points above will be unfolded in the discussion part, which directly follows after matrix 1 and 2 below.

# Matrix 1

CRITERIA	MEDIA LOGIC		POLITICAL LOGIC
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	<p>THE POSOP MATERIAL IS DOMINATED BY BOTH LOGICS BUT MOST COMMON BY MEDIA LOGICS</p> <p>THE MEDIA MATERIAL MOSTLY RELY ON MEDIA LOGICS</p>		
NEGATIVITY		<p>THE POSOP MATERIAL HAS NO CLEAR TREND WITH REGARD TO THE USE OF MEDIA OR POLITICAL LOGIC</p> <p>THE MEDIA MATERIAL HAS NO CLEAR TREND WITH REGARD TO THE USE OF MEDIA OR POLITICAL LOGIC, THROUGH THERE IS A SMALL LEAN TOWARDS POLITICAL LOGIC</p>	
TOPICALITY	<p>THE POSOP MATERIAL CONTAIN BOTH MEDIA AND POLITICAL LOGIC, THUS THE MAJORITY OF THE MATERIAL LEAN TOWARD MEDIA LOGIC</p> <p>IN THE MAJORITY OF THE MEDIA MATERIAL BOTH LOGICS ARE PRESENT BUT MEDIA LOGIC DOMINATES THE MATERIAL</p>		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	<p>THE MEDIA MATERIAL SHOW SIGNS OF BEING DOMINATED BY EITHER MEDIA OR POLITICAL LOGIC BUT LEAN CLEARLY TOWARDS MEDIA LOGIC</p>		<p>THE POSOP MATERIAL IS DOMINATED BY EITHER MEDIA OR POLITICAL LOGIC BUT LEAN TOWARD POLITICAL LOGIC</p>

Note: The figure is color coded so overlaps between media and POSOP material is coded as green, while blue represents the media material only. Red represents POSOP material only not overlapping with media material.

## Matrix 2

CRITERIA	MEDIATIZATION TO LARGE EXTENT	MEDIATIZATION TO SOME EXTENT	MEDIATIZATION TO LITTLE EXTENT
SHARPENING	<p>THE POSOP MATERIAL IS INDUCED BY MEDIATIZATION WITH REGARD TO SHARPENING</p> <p>THE MAJORITY OF MEDIA MATERIAL DO SUBSCRIBE TO MEDIATIZATION REGARDING SHARPENING</p>		
SIMPLIFICATION	<p>POSOP CONTENT DO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS CRITERIA OF MEDIATIZATION TO A GREATER EXTENT</p> <p>MEDIA MATERIAL RELY ON MEDIATIZATION REGARDING SIMPLIFICATION TOO</p>		
POLARIZATION	<p>MEDIA MATERIAL IS IN LINE MEDIATIZATION AND THE PRINCIPLE OF POLARIZATION</p>		<p>IN POSOP MATERIAL POLARIZATION IS CLEARLY ABSENT. THE MAJORITY OF THE POSOP CONTENT COMPLETELY LEAVES OUT COMPETING PERSPECTIVES</p>
INTENSIFICATION			<p>MOST POSOP MATERIAL IS NOT HIGH-INTENSITY STORIES BREAKING FROM ANOTHER PRINCIPLE OF MEDIATIZATION</p> <p>THE MEDIA MATERIAL BREAKS FROM ONE PRINCIPLES WHEN NOT SUBSCRIBING TO INTENSIFICATION</p>
CONCRETIZING		<p>POSOP MATERIAL IS BEING EXTREMELY INFLUENCED BY MEDIATIZATION OR ALMOST NOT AT ALL (MOST COMMON)</p> <p>HALF OF THE MEDIA MATERIAL IS BEING INFLUENCED BY CONCRETIZING, THE OTHER HALF IS NOT</p>	

Note: The figure is color coded so overlaps between media and POSOP material is coded as green, while blue represents the media material only. Red represents POSOP material only not overlapping with media material.

# Discussion

## The Influence of Agenda-Setting Power

Why do parties create POSOP material? Indeed, the amount of users on social media dwarfs the amount of media consumers on all other digital platforms. Understanding POSOP as expressions of perceived agency, parties produce platforms and content to obtain strategic goals. Depending on the platform and the piece in question, advantages of self-controlled digital media platforms include: 1) Having a platform published content is completely controlled (and not subject to editors and algorithms), 2) having the possibility to refer to this content on social media especially in discussions and 3) providing media consumers with (in depth) arguments.

Interestingly, most of the political self-controlled digital media platforms are managed by opposition parties, whereas only one out of three governmental parties has one. The party platform A Free Space (belonging to the Liberals who take part in the government) has only published four podcast episodes in total, which all take a talk-show approach. Whereas before the Liberals became a part of the government, they published several news orientated content (Liberal Alliance Podcast, 2015)<sup>21</sup>. This shows that it might not be necessary for governmental parties to have POSOP platforms, since they already have a whole system in their back including a self-controlled digital media platform (The Government), which can present a new analysis or prognosis if needed. Contrastingly, the opposition parties do not have the state bureaucracy and the same platform for agenda-setting. Opposition parties cannot make policy and reform proposals that credibly can come into existence after it has been put to the vote. As such, the self-controlled digital platforms constitute an avenue through which the parties can publish content on their own terms and set the agenda. This argument is similar to the finding that opposition party members are more active Twitter users due to differences in the need for communicating and expressing views. In this regard and similar to my argument on the reason for differences in the production of POSOP content, Sæbø (2011) points to how party representatives are not equally influential in the decision making process when explaining why differences in Twitter

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<sup>21</sup>The Liberals became a part of the government between two elections on November 28 2016 when the then one-party government became a three party government consisting of LA, K and V (whereas formerly V was the sole governing party).

usage exists. It is also in line with Römmele (2003) who argued how new information and communication technologies (hence digital media platforms) are utilized in various ways by different political parties. Overall, this suggests an area for future research, namely whether the use of POSOP content and platforms depends on the political position of a given party and/or election cycles.

## Hybridization and Strategic Borrowing

The analysis showed us that the POSOP as well as the media material had elements of both political and media logic. Also, it was influenced by mediatization (to varying degrees). As we are operating in a hybrid media system, we can only expect hybridization. Or put differently, concrete manifestations relate to the structures that surround them. The question is to what extent? Is POSOP content hybridization in the extreme to a point where boundaries dissolve completely or is the media material still fundamentally different in some regard?

As argued above, parties use resources on self-controlled digital media platforms to cater to strategic goals however different they might be in content and audience. This is important to answer the question of whether POSOP content is hybridization to the point where no clear boundaries exist. In this regard, I posit that media content is still fundamentally different in its point of origin. Media content is created for readers, POSOP content is created for voters. In other words, despite high degrees of hybridization, the *raison d'être* of self-controlled digital media platforms remains different. In this regard, parties will seek only to give voice to opposing views and counter-narratives to the extent actors perceive it as beneficial whereas media content is characterized by the logic of polarization (which *inter alia* entails the use of opposing views and parties in media coverage). Indeed, the analysis showed that the media material (unlike the POSOP) is in line mediatization and the principle of polarization. Because this tendency is structurally conditioned, we can expect to see it outside the POSOP and media content analyzed in this thesis. As such, we can say that although the content itself showcases extreme hybridization in some instances, the starting point for communication remains non-hybrid. But why then, are clear overlaps in appearance and communication genre then present?

Indeed, the POSOP material makes use of media logics as well as mediatization in order to showcase own political communication as much as possible. Given that political parties are strategic in their political communication it makes sense that the POSOP material uses anything and everything possible from the media, as long as it will make their political message look better. They would, on the other hand, not make use of media logic or be influenced by mediatization to the same extent, if it did not advance their political message. For example, click-bait is not really a thing to worry about for political parties since their media consumers most likely have chosen to be exposed to the party's content, at least if we consider POSOP content. That is, if you as a media consumer find yourself listening to a party political podcast, you must to some extent seek it out yourself. Therefore, when political parties adjust to mediatization it is probably more in order to convince the media consumer to vote for the party - than to educate the media consumer on societal matters.

According to Haßler et al. (2014) politicians under some circumstances only adapt to media logic when they are in touch with journalists. If that is the case, it also makes sense that political parties only subscribe to media logic and are influenced by mediatization to the point where it is perceived as advantageous. An example of this is shown on The Government platform, where political proposals clearly adjust to media logics and are influenced by mediatization, probably in order to communicate with journalists too. There are even examples where DR copy-paste infographics about a political proposal directly from The Government platform to their online article (e.g. Jensen, 2019). This adaptation is paradoxical in that mediatization is often lamented rather than cherished, so when parties are free to produce content independent of nosy journalists, one could argue that content should be more aligned with political rather than media logic.

In line with the above and reflecting on the difference in media types, it also becomes clear that the different digital platforms have different target audiences. They are indeed targeting their voters and people who are aligned with their viewpoints. For instance, the Liberals and their podcast A Free Space has an approach which probably is appealing if you are a man in your 20 or 30's who is 'successful' in the form of a well paid job - or aim to be, who cares about tax level and opportunities for entrepreneurship. Whereas the Alternative and their media The Altivist is

approaching an audience that mostly live in the city and is concerned with climate and environmental matters as well as re-use.

An example of POSOP and media material differing is that the media content did also have a larger tendency to rely on negativity in the form of negative campaigning (political logic). Specifically, the media allow opposition parties to offer counter-narratives and question the actions of the current government. But if the parties in their communication on self-controlled digital platforms perform strategic borrowing, why do the POSOP and media content tend to differ in this regard? One could argue that we in the POSOP material see a whole new form of negative campaigning regarding political communication, or perhaps more accurately, whether negative campaigning becomes superfluous. That is with POSOP material the political parties have the option to just skip other viewpoints and thereby negative campaigning is not even necessary anymore. Political parties can, so to speak, carry on a (negative) campaigning, not letting others have anything to say at all. In sum, hybridization is widespread, as expected, while similarities and differences exist mainly to the extent these are perceived as beneficial by relevant actors.

## Democratic Implications

What does all this mean in the context of the hybrid media system where we can expect manifestations of hybridization? What are the implications for democratic virtues such as transparency and accountability when self-controlled digital media platforms can look so much like digital mass media? Is it a problem that POSOP content can mimic media material to the extent it can? Where does the existence leave the political parties, the media, the citizens and the end the democratic society?

Aelst et. al. have shown that according to the literature the supply side of political information environments is influential (2017). In fact, “the underlying mechanism is that the more political information that is widely available, the higher the likelihood that people will be exposed to, and subsequently learn from, political information” (Aelst et al., 2017, p. 5). Indeed, well-informed citizens are better able to link their interest with their attitudes, choose political representatives who are consistent with their own attitudes, and participate in politics (Aalberg & Curran, 2012;

Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Milner, 2002; Prior, 2007). Overall, knowledge about actors, societal affairs and rules of the game mean that individuals can act meaningfully as citizens. In this view, strategically produced content which serves the interests of political parties seeking to obtain parliamentary goals is therefore problematic if it replaces more nuanced and less one-sided media content. This is a cause of worry especially because avoidance of disagreeable information may become habitual, media consumers may turn to self-controlled digital media platforms no matter the subject (Bennett & Lyengar, 2008).

However, the discussion is not black and white. Because the amount of political information is important, there might even be some value in self-controlled digital media platforms, if these can prompt media consumers to learn from political information. Moreover, these platforms are created in a hybrid media system where the activity on Facebook and other social media platforms many times dwarfs the activity on self-controlled media platforms. Whereas the user base on social media amounts to a large share of the population, the self-controlled digital media platforms remain niche. Therefore, to address a large population of voters, creating POSOP content will rarely be the most effective solution, which is probably not the purpose either (cf. the first section of the discussion).

A further point to consider is that POSOP content often speaks to voters who are already inclined to vote for that party, representing and confirming established political views. Liberal voters who will rarely find themselves listening to a 30-minute long podcast produced by a socialist party and vice versa. This might be a democratic challenge if the self-controlled digital media platforms grow in size and reach as voters are then not exposed. This aligns with the argument above, namely that the quality of the political information matters. Opposing, a wealth of evidence points to the notion of confirmation bias, suggesting that media consumers will always to a certain extent read what they want to (Bennett & Lyengar, 2008; Nickerson, 1998). In other words, the perception of media content is not driven solely by the content itself but also by the qualities of the observer. As such, the POSOP content might just highlight what media consumers (who seek out information to confirm their perspectives) already perceive.



Such arguments are not put forward to say that there is nothing to worry about. As pointed out by Chadwick (2017), there might very well be democratic challenges and costs associated with the hybrid media system. However, in their current form in the Danish context, the existence of niche media does not change the supply side of political information in a way that is detrimental to democratic virtues. Rather, they showcase tendencies that can be causes of worry. Although the POSOP content differs according to platform, it does in some instances mimic mass media content thereby implying neutrality. Moreover, political actors themselves in some cases see POSOP content as directly competing with the mass media rather than being a supplement to it (Geist, 2018; Pagh-Schlegel, 2017). In such instances, where transparency and accountability gets in the way of the strategic goals of political parties, critics should remain skeptical and question the validity of the given POSOP content and platform.

In this regard, financial resources and how they are tied to institutional matters are of importance, as the possibility to produce POSOP content and maintain self-controlled digital media platforms rely on funding. Indeed, the Danish parties' financial support (from the state) has risen with 40 percent in 2017 relative to its former level (Villumsen, 2019). The news media bureau and think tank MondayMorning [MandagMorgen] called attention to how politicians and political parties become their own mass media with self-controlled digital media platforms (without the traditional gatekeeper journalist) and notice that it becomes possible because of the larger financial support (Villumsen, 2019). Therefore, conditioning state media support on public service criteria (Hopmann, 2016), transparency in party funding and accountability mechanisms (e.g. public scrutiny of self-controlled digital media platforms) remain critical to address problematic aspects of POSOP content. This is important in Denmark as well as other Northern European countries where we have witnessed the spread of self-controlled digital media platforms in order to maintain the high degree of journalistic professionalism in the North-Central European Democratic Corporatist Model (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). In this regard, future research should address developments in self-controlled digital media platforms in Denmark as well as other Northern European countries, helping to answer questions of whether self-controlled digital media platforms become a larger democratic challenge in the future.

## Comparing Apples to Oranges?

The analysis showed us the importance as well as influence of which type of medium (podcast, news site, video etc.) used to communicate content to the media consumer. This raises an important question namely whether it even makes sense to compare and analyze across media types. Such questions are general to social science. Which concept and categorizations should we draw upon in analyzing social reality? This is complicated by the notion of “ideal types” mentioned in the theory section. Concrete manifestations of abstract categories never reflect the theorized constructs one to one (Hay, 2020). What is categorized as examples of media and political logic in the analysis and therefore understood as manifestations of the same tendency are, in practice, unique singulars. Moreover, different theories and logics are not necessarily analytically distinct, as the analysis of the criteria sharpening and simplification illustrated. And, as Kreiss, Lawrence and McGregor (2018) remind us, it is not clear that we can automatically generalize across media types or platforms to a broader concept as self-controlled digital platforms. In short, am I comparing apples to oranges?

Considering the POSOP material as a whole is useful in the sense that the POSOP material is a (specific) kind of content with a specific target (to gain political power). Even though the media and content itself might differ, it is still in the same ‘category’ understood as the self-controlled avenues through which a party can seek to obtain its goal. What is important is that we cannot generalize across weeks or platforms due to differences in audiences, communication genres and functionalities associated with different strategic values to different campaigns. As such, saying that POSOP content generally aligns with specific logics falls short due to the fact that the gathered evidence is limited to specific contexts. However, this is actually what the analysis shows. The POSOP content indeed varies across platforms according to functionality, communication genre and audiences, illustrating that the self-controlled digital platforms are of different strategic value to different political communication strategies.

When I maintain that the POSOP category is useful for advancing our understanding of political communication in the hybrid media system, I do so because the POSOP material all flows from political parties which cater to strategic goals. Although POSOP material is heterogeneous in several aspects (media type, content, frequency of publication etc.), political parties face similar

dilemmas when choosing to produce POSOP content. With limited resources parties face the choice of what to focus on in their communication strategy. Which type of medium they choose for POSOP content is therefore conditioned on what they perceive to be beneficial for their respective goals. In this sense, the apples and oranges that constitute the POSOP material are different due to differences along party lines. Finally and also importantly, relevant actors within both the political parties as well as the mass media understand the POSOP content as belonging to the same category (Geist, 2018; Madsen, 2018; Villumsen, 2019) despite the very different nature of self-controlled digital media platforms. In the end, apples and oranges are both fruits.

## Conclusion

This thesis set out to investigate the issue of self-controlled digital media platforms in a Danish setting in the age of *the hybrid media system*, where several political parties either produce their own podcasts or are associated with online news platforms. This has been done through qualitative media content analysis, focusing on 16 pieces of POSOP content on 7 self-controlled digital media platforms as well as 16 pieces of mass media content on 7 digital media outlets. These platforms constitute a recent phenomenon in political communication and have not yet been subject to academic scrutiny as a standalone issue. This study fills out this research gap, throwing light on an important issue in political communication assessing political actors' strategic use of self-controlled digital media platforms. In doing so, I have sought to answer how political self-controlled digital media platforms can be categorized in the hybrid media system considering how party-controlled digital media platforms relate to the concepts of media logic, political logic and mediatization relative to digital mass media. In short, what is the party press looking like in 2020?

All content (both POSOP and media) showed signs of political logic, media logic and mediatization in several aspects although to varying degrees, since these criteria are not distinct but overlap and sometimes support each other. Still, the POSOP and media material are similar in the use of different logics in the majority of the criteria regarding media and political logic. Additionally, the POSOP and media material also show similar degrees of mediatization in the majority of the criteria. Actually, all content (both POSOP and media) differ far more across platforms than across weeks and policy areas. Therefore, this thesis emphasizes the importance

of the type of the media that is communicating the political news to media consumers. It is more about the media platform and form of media (podcast, news article etc.) than whether the content creator is a given political party or **mass media**.

Ultimately, different POSOP materials emphasize political logic, media logic or mediatization to different extents illustrating high degrees of heterogeneity. This shows us that the political parties have agency. They themselves can decide which logic to follow and to what extent their content is influenced by mediatization. POSOP material draws on different logics and varying degrees of mediatization. In other words, parties produce content which imitates the media as long as it will make their political message stand stronger. Political parties arrange and organize platforms in accordance with what makes most sense for them from a strategic political communication perspective. How they produce, plan and mediate content depends (in the end) on how they understand themselves, their voters as well as how they wish to be perceived. Thus, the self-controlled digital platforms are of different strategic value to different political communication strategies. An example is The Government which wants to be understood as reliable and credible. They aim to use their platform in order to facilitate their reality to the voters, journalists and the population as a whole. As Chadwick (2017) reminds us, the power in the hybrid media system is exercised through successfully, across and between media settings, creating, tapping and steering information flows to address one's goals in ways which modify, enable or disable agency of others. To this end, political organizations can only dream of the party press system, where big media outlets would frame information in whatever ways the associated parties saw fit and accountability existed only on paper. With the party press anno 2020, parties try to reestablish some of that former power.

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# Appendix

## Appendix 1

COUNTRY	PARTY NAME:	ORIGINAL PARTY NAME:	TYPE OF MEDIA	SELF-CONTROLLED DIGITAL MEDIA PLATFORM	LINK
SWEDEN	MODERATE PARTY	MODERATERNA	PODCAST	MEDBORGAREN [THE FELLOW CITIZEN]	<a href="https://podcasts.apple.com/se/podcast/medborgaren/id1447747187">https://podcasts.apple.com/se/podcast/medborgaren/id1447747187</a>
SWEDEN	SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	SOCIAL-DEMOKRATERNA	NEWS SITE	AKTUELLT [OF INTEREST]	<a href="https://aip.nu">https://aip.nu</a>
HOLLAND	DEMOCRATS 66	DEMOCRATEN 66	PODCAST	D66	<a href="https://d66.nl/piaspodcast/">https://d66.nl/piaspodcast/</a>
HOLLAND	GREEN LEFT	GROEN LINKS	PODCAST	GROENLINKS [GREEN LEFT]	<a href="https://klimaat.groenlinks.nl/nieuws/podcast">https://klimaat.groenlinks.nl/nieuws/podcast</a>
HOLLAND	THE PEOPLE'S PARTY FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY	VOLKSPARTIJ VOOR VRIJHEID EN DEMOCRATIE	PODCAST + DIGITAL MAGAZINE	VVD	<a href="https://www.vvd.nl/demark-rutte-podcast/">https://www.vvd.nl/demark-rutte-podcast/</a> & <a href="https://www.vvd.nl/liber/">https://www.vvd.nl/liber/</a>
GERMANY	FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY	FREIE DEMOKRATEN	PODCAST	FD PLUS	<a href="https://podcast.fdp.de">https://podcast.fdp.de</a>
GERMANY	THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY	SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHE PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS	PODCAST + BLOG	SPD ++	<a href="https://www.spd.de/presse/pressemitteilungen/detail/news/ausgesprochen-nahles-der-neue-podcast/19/02/2019/">https://www.spd.de/presse/pressemitteilungen/detail/news/ausgesprochen-nahles-der-neue-podcast/19/02/2019/</a> & <a href="https://spdplusplus.de">https://spdplusplus.de</a>
GERMANY	CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION OF GERMANY	CHRISTLICH DEMOKRATISCHE UNION DEUTSCHLANDS	PODCAST	CDU PODCAST	<a href="http://www.cdu-podcast.de">http://www.cdu-podcast.de</a>
GERMANY	THE GREEN PARTY	DIE GRÜNEN	PODCAST	BASISPOD	<a href="https://basispod.uberspace.wordpress/">https://basispod.uberspace.wordpress/</a>
GERMANY	THE LEFT	DIE LINKE	NEWS SITE	MEDIATHEK	<a href="https://www.linksfraktion.de/mediathek/">https://www.linksfraktion.de/mediathek/</a>
NORWAY	THE NORWEGIAN LABOUR PARTY	ARBEIDERPARTIET	PODCAST	ARBEIDERPARTIETS PODKAST [THE LABOUR PARTY'S PODCAST]	<a href="https://www.arbeiderpartiet.no/aktuelt/arbeiderpartiets-podkast/?fbclid=IwAR1Nbmp1kkOVqcEBL3ChrrKwqSWTN2AomuLG84_MoveYINe31pmskKc0NQ4">https://www.arbeiderpartiet.no/aktuelt/arbeiderpartiets-podkast/?fbclid=IwAR1Nbmp1kkOVqcEBL3ChrrKwqSWTN2AomuLG84_MoveYINe31pmskKc0NQ4</a>



## Appendix 2

POLICY AREA:	WEEK NUMBER:	EXACT DATES:	REFERRED TO AS:
IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION	21	23-30 OF MAY 2018	WEEK 1

ALTIVISTEN. (PRODUCER). (2018B). #7 UFFES NYHEDSBREV - EN FRI POSITION [AUDIO PODCAST]. RETRIEVED FROM [HTTPS://PLAYER.FM/SERIES/ALTIVISTEN/EP-7-UFFES-NYHEDSBREV-EN-FRI-POSITION](https://player.fm/series/altivisten/ep-7-uffes-nyhedsbrev-en-fri-position)

POLICY AREA:	WEEK NUMBER:	EXACT DATES:	REFERRED TO AS:
CLIMATE	41	8-15 OF OCT 20188	WEEK 2

LIBERAL ALLIANCE PODCAST. (PRODUCER). (2018). LA PODCAST - ET FRIRUM. EPISODE 1 - JESPER BUCH OG ANDERS SAMUELSEN [AUDIO PODCAST]. RETRIEVED FROM [HTTPS://WWW.LISTENNOTES.COM/PODCASTS/LA-PODCAST-ET-FRIRUM/EPISODE-1-JESPER-BUCH-OG-OSJFOAD8VYP/](https://www.listennotes.com/podcasts/la-podcast-et-frirum/episode-1-jesper-buch-og-osjfoad8vyp/)

POLICY AREA:	WEEK NUMBER:	EXACT DATES:	REFERRED TO AS:
HEALTHCARE	3	14-21 OF JAN 2019	WEEK 3

ALTIVISTEN. (2019B). #TÆNK FØR DU SPØRGER [VIDEO]. ALTIVISTEN. [HTTPS://ALTIVISTEN.DK/TAENK-FOER-DU-SPOERGER/](https://altivisten.dk/taenk-foer-du-spoerger/)

POLICY AREA:	WEEK NUMBER:	EXACT DATES:	REFERRED TO AS:
SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	6	4-11 OF FEB 2019	WEEK 4

REGERINGEN. (2019A, FEBRUARY 5). NYT TALENTPROGRAM TIL STUDERENDE. REGERINGEN. RETRIEVED FROM [HTTPS://WWW.REGERINGEN.DK/NYHEDER/NYT-TALENTPROGRAM-TIL-DE-DYGTIGSTE-STUDERENDE/](https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/nyt-talentprogram-til-de-dygtigste-studerende/)

## Appendix 3

SELF-CONTROLLED DIGITAL MEDIA PLATFORM:	HEADLINES:	LINK:
'THE LIST' [LISTEN]	"GHETTO-BØRN" OG MASSER AF SPØRGSMÅL	<a href="https://enhedslisten.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/12-22Ghetto-børn22-og-MASSER-af-spørgsmål-.mp3">https://enhedslisten.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/12-22Ghetto-børn22-og-MASSER-af-spørgsmål-.mp3</a>
'THE ALTIVIST' [ALTIVISTEN.DK]	#7 UFFES NYHEDSBREV - EN FRI POSITION	<a href="https://player.fm/series/altivisten/ep-7-uffes-nyhedsbrev-en-fri-position">https://player.fm/series/altivisten/ep-7-uffes-nyhedsbrev-en-fri-position</a>
'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]	BØRN I UDSATTE BOLIGOMRÅDER SKAL I DAGTILBUD	<a href="https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/politik-aftale-om-obligatorisk-laeringstilbud/">https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/politik-aftale-om-obligatorisk-laeringstilbud/</a>
'A FREE SPACE' [ET FRIRUM]	EPISODE 1 - JESPER BUCH OG ANDERS SAMUELSEN	<a href="https://www.listennotes.com/podcasts/la-podcast-et-frirum/episode-1-jesper-buch-og-OsjFoAD8vYp/">https://www.listennotes.com/podcasts/la-podcast-et-frirum/episode-1-jesper-buch-og-OsjFoAD8vYp/</a>
'THE LIST' [LISTEN]	DANSKE MEDIER UNDER PRES	<a href="https://enhedslisten.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/3-Danske-medier-under-pres.mp3">https://enhedslisten.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/3-Danske-medier-under-pres.mp3</a>
'THE ALTIVIST' [ALTIVISTEN.DK]	#14 UFFES NYHEDSBREV - EN REDNINGSKRANS TIL PLANETEN	<a href="https://player.fm/series/altivisten/ep-14-uffes-nyhedsbrev-en-redningskran-til-planetten">https://player.fm/series/altivisten/ep-14-uffes-nyhedsbrev-en-redningskran-til-planetten</a>
'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]	SAMMEN OM EN GRØNNERE FREMTID	<a href="https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/miljoe-og-klimaudspil/">https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/miljoe-og-klimaudspil/</a>
'YOUR OVERVIEW' [DITOVERBLIK.DK]	DF FØR KLIMAFORHANDLINGER: FORSKNING FREMFØR FORBUD	<a href="https://ditoverblik.dk/df-foer-klimaforhandlinger-forskning-fremfor-forbud/">https://ditoverblik.dk/df-foer-klimaforhandlinger-forskning-fremfor-forbud/</a>
'THE ALTIVIST' [ALTIVISTEN.DK]	#TÆNK FØR DU SPØRGER	<a href="https://altivisten.dk/taenk-foer-du-spoerger/">https://altivisten.dk/taenk-foer-du-spoerger/</a>
'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]	FLERE PATIENTER SKAL BEHANDLES TÆTTERE PÅ HJEMMET	<a href="https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/sundhedsreform/">https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/sundhedsreform/</a>
'YOUR OVERVIEW' [DITOVERBLIK.DK]	DF BAKKER OP OM SUNDHEDSUDSPIL - MEN LÆGERNE ER NØGLEN TIL SUCCES	<a href="https://ditoverblik.dk/df-bakker-op-om-sundhedsudspil-men-laegerne-er-noeglen-til-succes/">https://ditoverblik.dk/df-bakker-op-om-sundhedsudspil-men-laegerne-er-noeglen-til-succes/</a>
'YOUR OVERVIEW' [DITOVERBLIK.DK]	SUNDHEDSREFORM SKAL FORHINDRE IT-SKANDALER SOM SUNDHEDSPLATFØRMEN	<a href="https://ditoverblik.dk/sundhedsreform-skal-forhindre-it-skandaler-som-sundhedsplatformen/">https://ditoverblik.dk/sundhedsreform-skal-forhindre-it-skandaler-som-sundhedsplatformen/</a>
'THE RED THREAD' [DEN RØDE TRÅD]	REGERING OG NEDSLIDNING M. LARS OLSEN	<a href="https://www.spreaker.com/user/denroedetraad/1-regering-nedslidning-m-lars-olsen?utm_medium=widget&amp;utm_source=user%3A11036983&amp;utm_term=episode_title">https://www.spreaker.com/user/denroedetraad/1-regering-nedslidning-m-lars-olsen?utm_medium=widget&amp;utm_source=user%3A11036983&amp;utm_term=episode_title</a>

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'THE ALTIVIST' [ALTIVISTEN.DK]	#DRØMMER DU STADIG	<a href="https://altivisten.dk/droemmer-du-stadig/">https://altivisten.dk/droemmer-du-stadig/</a>
'THE GOVERNMENT' [REGERINGEN.DK]	NYT TALENTPROGRAM TIL STUDERENDE	<a href="https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/nyt-talentprogram-til-de-dygtigste-studerende/">https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/nyt-talentprogram-til-de-dygtigste-studerende/</a>
'YOUR OVERVIEW' [DITOVERBLIK.DK]	S-ORDFØRER/ 3 MILLIARDER KR. TIL TIDLIGERE PENSION ER KUN EN START	<a href="https://ditoverblik.dk/s-ordfoerer-lavere-pension-bliver-dyrene-end-3-mia-kroner/">https://ditoverblik.dk/s-ordfoerer-lavere-pension-bliver-dyrene-end-3-mia-kroner/</a>

DIGITAL MEDIA OUTLET	HEADLINES:	LINK:
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POLITIKEN.DK	FORSKER AFLIVER DE SEJLIVEDE MYTER: GHETTODEBATTEN ER HELT UDE AF PROPORTIONER	<a href="https://politiken.dk/indland/art6538907/ghettodebatten-er-helt-ude-af-proportioner">https://politiken.dk/indland/art6538907/ghettodebatten-er-helt-ude-af-proportioner</a>
DR.DK	ETÅRIGE BØRN FRA GHETTOER SKAL I DAGTILBUD - ELLERS MISTER FORÆLDRE BØRNECHECKEN	<a href="https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/etaarige-boern-fra-ghettoer-skal-i-dagtilbud-ellers-mister-foraeldre-boernechecken">https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/etaarige-boern-fra-ghettoer-skal-i-dagtilbud-ellers-mister-foraeldre-boernechecken</a>
ALTINGET.DK	SKAL MAN TVINGE BØRN FRA GHETTOER I VUGGESTUE? HER ER ARGUMENTERNE FOR OG IMOD	<a href="https://www.altinget.dk/artikel/skal-man-tvinge-ghettoboern-i-vuggestue-her-er-argumenterne-for-og-imod">https://www.altinget.dk/artikel/skal-man-tvinge-ghettoboern-i-vuggestue-her-er-argumenterne-for-og-imod</a>
BT.DK	NY AFTALE PÅ PLADS: GHETTObØRN SKAL TVINGES I VUGGESTUE	<a href="https://www.bt.dk/politik/ny-ghettoaftale-boern-skal-i-vuggestue-25-timer-om-ugen">https://www.bt.dk/politik/ny-ghettoaftale-boern-skal-i-vuggestue-25-timer-om-ugen</a>
RADIO INFORMATION	KLIMAKATASTROFEN OG REGERINGENS KLIMAUDSPIL	<a href="https://www.information.dk/kultur/2018/10/podcast-klimakatastrofen-regeringens-klimaudspil">https://www.information.dk/kultur/2018/10/podcast-klimakatastrofen-regeringens-klimaudspil</a>
DR.DK	OPPOSITIONSPARTIER OM NY KLIMAPLAN. REGERINGEN SVIGTER, NÅR DET KOMMER TIL LANDBRUGET	<a href="https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/oppositionspartier-om-ny-klimaplan-regeringen-svigter-naar-det-kommer-til-landbruget">https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/oppositionspartier-om-ny-klimaplan-regeringen-svigter-naar-det-kommer-til-landbruget</a>
JYLLANDS-POSTEN.DK	FAKTA. HER ER REGERINGENS LUFT- OG KLIMAUDSPIL	<a href="https://jyllands-posten.dk/politik/ECE10925634/fakta-her-er-regeringens-luft-og-klimaudspil/">https://jyllands-posten.dk/politik/ECE10925634/fakta-her-er-regeringens-luft-og-klimaudspil/</a>
BT.DK	AVISLEDERE SER BÅDE KATASTROFEKURS OG POTENTIALE I KLIMAPLAN	<a href="https://www.bt.dk/samfund/avisledere-ser-baade-katastrofekurs-og-potentiale-i-klimaplan">https://www.bt.dk/samfund/avisledere-ser-baade-katastrofekurs-og-potentiale-i-klimaplan</a>
RADIO INFORMATION	DATA OM SUNDHED, SUNDHEDSREFORM OG SVENSKE LØFTER OM BEDRE TOG I EUROPA	<a href="https://www.information.dk/2019/01/podcast-data-sundhed-sundhedsreform-svenske-loefter-bedre-tog-europa">https://www.information.dk/2019/01/podcast-data-sundhed-sundhedsreform-svenske-loefter-bedre-tog-europa</a>

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DR.DK	OPPOSITIONEN OM SUNDHEDSUDSPIL - KAN REGERINGEN IKKE SE, DER KOMMER MERE BUREAUKRATI	<a href="https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/oppositionen-om-sundhedsudspil-kan-regeringen-ikke-se-der-kommer-mere-bureaukrati">https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/oppositionen-om-sundhedsudspil-kan-regeringen-ikke-se-der-kommer-mere-bureaukrati</a>
BERLINGSKE.DK	LØKKE SVARER IGEN PÅ S-KRITIK AF SUNDHEDSUDSPIL/ »HVORFOR SØREN LAVEDE I INTET OM, DA I SIDST HAVDE REGERINGENS MAGTEN?	<a href="https://www.berlingske.dk/politisk-morgenpost/loekke-svarer-igen-paa-s-kritik-af-sundhedsudspil-hvorfor">https://www.berlingske.dk/politisk-morgenpost/loekke-svarer-igen-paa-s-kritik-af-sundhedsudspil-hvorfor</a>
BT.DK	REGERINGEN AFSÆTTER SEKS MILLIARDER TIL NÆR SUNDHED	<a href="https://www.bt.dk/politik/regeringen-afsaetter-seks-milliarder-til-naer-sundhed">https://www.bt.dk/politik/regeringen-afsaetter-seks-milliarder-til-naer-sundhed</a>
YOU LISTENING TO POLITIKEN [DU LYTTER TIL POLITIKEN]	NY PENSIONSALDER - HVORNÅR HAR VI ARBEJDET NOK?	<a href="https://politiken.dk/podcast/dulyttertillpolitiken/art7021906/Ny-pensionsalder-hvornar-har-vi-arbejdet-nok">https://politiken.dk/podcast/dulyttertillpolitiken/art7021906/Ny-pensionsalder-hvornar-har-vi-arbejdet-nok</a>
DR.DK	HVORNÅR SKAL VI KUNNE GÅ PÅ PENSION OG HVORDAN? SE HVOR PARTIERNE STÅR	<a href="https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/hvornar-skal-vi-kunne-gaa-paa-pension-og-hvordan-se-hvor-partierne-staar">https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/hvornar-skal-vi-kunne-gaa-paa-pension-og-hvordan-se-hvor-partierne-staar</a>
BT.DK	DANSKERNE ENIGE MED FREDERIKSEN OG THULESEN/ NEDSLIDTE SKAL HAVE TIDLIG PENSION	<a href="https://www.bt.dk/politik/danskerne-enige-med-frederiksen-og-thulesen-nedslidte-skal-have-tidlig-pension">https://www.bt.dk/politik/danskerne-enige-med-frederiksen-og-thulesen-nedslidte-skal-have-tidlig-pension</a>
JYLLANDS-POSTEN.DK	SOCIALDEMOKRATIET: VI HAR IKKE SAT ÅRSTAL PÅ PENSION ENDNU	<a href="https://jyllands-posten.dk/politik/ECE11173616/socialdemokratiet-vi-har-ikke-sat-aarstal-paa-pension-endnu/">https://jyllands-posten.dk/politik/ECE11173616/socialdemokratiet-vi-har-ikke-sat-aarstal-paa-pension-endnu/</a>

## Appendix 4

Here follows 32 figures with notes related to the criteria of media logic verses political logic as well as mediatization. Each figure represent one piece of content. The content of appendix 4 will be following the same order as outlined in list of appendix 3, that is the four thematic weeks. The appendix is arranged so each piece of content has its own page. Each page will be presenting the nine criteria of analysis, topic, week number and headline of the given piece of content. I have chosen to do it this way in order to secure a competent correlation of appendix 4 and appendix 3.

CRITERIA	TOPIC: INTEGRATION	WEEK: 1	"GHETTO-BØRN" OG MASSER AF SPØRGSMAÅL
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	The podcast covered a new policy reform regarding ghettos including children up to the year of one in ghetto housing. It focussed a lot on the policy within the reform and proposal and the processes were only mentioned secondary. Quotes: For det første synes jeg, at man skal passe meget på ikke at falde i den fælde, som hedder "ghettoer - og så er alle sådan".		
NEGATIVITY	Consists of a lot of negativity in all aspects. The content consists of both negative events focusing on negative aspects and consequences but ALSO negative campaigning. Quotes: Vi skal tale om, hvordan det går ud over børnene eller hvad der sker med børnene i de her udsatte boligområder - hvad er problemet egentligt og hvad burde man gøre.		
TOPICALITY	Long-term focus on long-events, only a little short time focus on the new proposal and how crucial it is, if that is the way we go. Quotes: Der har vi talt meget om børnefattigdom, konsekvenserne af det.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	The content is double-sided. The government's policy is very specific mentioned, and it is very concrete what Enhedslisten think about that and why they do not believe in it. Their own policy they are a less specific about, they talk about in comprehensive expressions but no concrete statements of plans - but still several suggestions. Quotes: Generelt er tvangsforanstaltninger ikke noget særligt effektivt middel på det sociale område.		
SHARPENING	Information rich and in-depth coverage exploring the details of the issues and behind them too. Quotes: Igen så vil jeg sige, det er den sociale situation, som jeg vil sige, at man skal fokusere på at få rettet op, og det gør man bare ikke gennem de her strafforanstaltninger. For de hviler også på en teori om, at folk faktisk er modtagelige over for straf og kan reagere anderledes uden at få hjælp.		
SIMPLIFICATION	Highly nuanced and a bit complex media material which see the it from several angles and depth into why and how the proposal can be a reform in general but also for the single child. Quotes: Men det er ud fra en helhedsvurdering, at man griber ind og ikke med, at der er en bestemt grænse, der i en periode bliver overskredet. Hvis det endelige skulle være, så tror vi, at den der 15 % grænse er for høj.		
POLARIZATION	The whole content is build up around the idea that the party disagree with it, and Enhedslisten kind of assume Børns Vilkår do to.. Quotes: Med det her giver man jo faktisk børnene ansvar for noget af familiens økonomi, hvilket jeg synes, der er et fuldstændigt urimeligt ansvar at pålægge nogle børn.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	The content is being very alarmist. Quotes: Så det du i virkeligheden siger der, er at der kan findes børn med 10 % som har rigtig store problemer og har behov for, at man sætter ind allerede der. Men dem finder man jo ikke, hvis man har en 15 % grænse		
CONCRETIZING	Quite concrete and tons of examples, but perhaps that could also be because that is their policy - individualism/en individuel tilgang. At the same time, the content really tries to paint the bigger picture. Quotes: Jamen lad os prøve at snakke om, hvad er det for nogle børn, som vi taler om. For jeg tror, at når man hører om ghettoer i det her tider, så kan det godt lyde meget, meget hårdt.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: INTEGRATION	WEEK: 1	#7 UFFES NYHEDSBREV - EN FRI POSITION
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	The content does focus on procedural aspects of democracy such as election the next prime minister to a larger extend. It is clearly a horse race approach especially in the first section of the podcast. It does also include many political principles but very little policy (specific). Very much on the surface and principle over policy. Quotes: Som du måske ved, er vi i Alternativet det eneste parti i oppositionen, som endnu ikke har lagt os fast på, hvem vi peger på som statsministerkandidat.		
NEGATIVITY	Almost free of negativity - both media logic wise and political logic wise. There is quite a focus on what is possible and much is framed as possible even though we can doubt it really is it in reality. Much optimism. Quote: Som jeg har vist i det overstående, så kan vi i Alternativet samarbejde med mange. Nogle kan vi samarbejde med om meget, andre med mindre.		
TOPICALITY	Several of the policy suggestions the party come with in the content, is regarding long term. But the content does not treat it like it. Focus is on the post in the newspaper the new suggestion medførte and how they are proud of the new suggestions her og nu. Also we only hear the headlines of the suggestions so it is not put in to a long term context or treated like long term issues at all. Quote: Netop vores globale ansvar er et af temaerne for vores globale politik, som vi har offentliggjort i dag.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Quite vague about what their new suggestion exactly are about, no background and only focussing on the politics policy in headlines. Very much on the surface - and presenting it like all can come and work together about something... Quote: Netop vores globale ansvar er et af temaerne for vores globale politik, som vi har offentliggjort i dag.		
SHARPENING	In the beginning of the content topic/issue within the content gets quite much space and attention with details and information. Sometimes it even seems more like a dialogic approach where it is assumed that the listener has all time in the world. For instance, quote: Derfor har vi i Alternativet sammen med fire andre partier, LA, Radikale, Enhedslisten og SF, været værter for en konference om, hvordan vi finder en mere holdbar løsning.		
SIMPLIFICATION	There is a use of short sentences, limited vocabulary and it is, easily understandable. The content is kind of leaving out complexity and nuance of a given topic because it does not go into depth. It is clearly headlines without explaining further how it works. Quote: Og det bringer mig endnu engang tilbage til mit missionsudspil "Det næste Danmark", som ligger op til den slags samtaler om, hvordan fremtiden skal se ud		
POLARIZATION	This content leaving out all other perspectives that the one presented in the content itself, but the polarization is still included in the content - other parties' view are not. But there is a focus on "the horse race" and the upcoming election. Quote: Nu er det interessante spørgsmål så, hvem Mette Frederiksen peger på som sit parlamentariske grundlag.		
INTENSIFICATION	The media materia does not have a clearly high-intensity content but it is clearly focusing on the exiting a upcoming elections and new alliances.. Even though they are claiming that they will not let politics be a better of who is the next prime minister, it becomes it a lot they way they end up focusing on it in the end anyway talking alliances all the time. A bit contradictory. Quote: Som du måske ved, er vi i Alternativet det eneste parti i oppositionen, som endnu ikke har lagt os fast på, hvem vi peger på som statsministerkandidat.		
CONCRETIZING	The content is not very concrete about the ideas which it represent and it represent new suggestions as general leaving out personal perspectives or specific cases. BUT there is still a lot talking directly to the listener of the podcast, which pulls in the other directions.. Quote: Jeg har sammen med vores udenrigsordfører, Rasmus Nordkvist, en kronik om udspillet i Information i dag		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: INTEGRATION	WEEK: 1	BØRN I UDSATTE BOLIGOMRÅDER SKAL I DAGTILBUD
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	The text covered a new policy regarding children in ghetto housing. It went quite in depth with HOW and WHY. But still focus on "a new deal/agreement".		
NEGATIVITY	Focussing a lot on the punishment of the proposal.		
TOPICALITY	The content presents policy which is related to longer-term problems with integration.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Quite concrete about WHAT is happening, the kids MUST BE in kindergarden 25 hours a week. Also concrete about WHEN.		
SHARPENING	The text is relatively short but it does contains several details about the paper and why it is made.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text contains several relatively short sentences, is easily understandable and is leaving out complexity and nuance of a given topic. It is only the policy paper which is represented and there is nothing added except what it is about and how it is going to help. No other views are represented.		
POLARIZATION	The absence of conflict/polarization because this text only present one perspective and thereby leave out other perspectives		
INTEN- SIFICATION	This story is about new policy suggestions solving everyday life issues with childred living in ghettoes, so it is nor abnormal or normal. It is in between.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is mostly presenting a general tendency, a problem about children in ghettoes not going to kindergarden and thereby missing out on essential knowledge.		



CRITERIA	TOPIC: CLIMATE	WEEK: 2	EPISODE 1 - JESPER BUCH OG ANDERS SAMUELSEN
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Almost purely absent of either polity/politic and also policy. Only very, very limited of both things - about political princippels too. Qoute: Nu har jeg været tæt på politikere. Anders selvfølgelig. Tommy Ahlers nu. Og jeg kan jo se, at man som politiker. Det er utaknemmeligt i forhold til tid.		
NEGATIVITY	A little bit of negative campaigning though, saying they did not focus at all on others implying that the other parties did and that it makes them better. Quotes: Det der med kun at fokusere på sit eget produkt og hvad det kan, og ikke hvad de andres ikke kan. Og det er noget af det, som vi gjorde i valgkampen i 2015. Vi brugte kun vores energi på at fortælle om, hvad vi ville og ikke at fortælle, at de andre er idioter.		
TOPICALITY	Tropocality does not really fit with the content - though since the contents is centerered around their dreams for the future it must be long-termed focus if we have to locate it somewhere.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Again, it can be discusied if this criteria is really relevant for the content because it is so talk-show wise. We see few examples of ambious statements and statements. Quotes: Lars Sejr sagde, at han havde tre ting, som han gerne ville. Skabe sig en god familie, en god forretning og gøre noget for sit land.		
SHARPENING	Again, it can be discusied if this criteria is really relevant for the content because it is so talk-show wise.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The content contains a quite simple way of talking about and considering suceess and the way towards success, which is presenting almost at purely hard work. Iværksætterti seems to be the solution to almost everything... Quotes: Det der blev ret tydeligt ret hurtigt, det var, at få at de kunne komme i arbejde, så skulle det gå Danmark godt, for når det gik Danmark godt, så havde de mulighed for at blive trukket ind på arbejdsmarkedet, når det gik ned af bakke, så var de nogle af de første, som røg ud		
POLARIZATION	A little bit but not that much... Quotes: Det der med kun at fokusere på sit eget produkt og hvad det kan, og ikke hvad de andres ikke kan. Og det er noget af det, som vi gjorde i valgkampen i 2015. Vi brugte kun vores energi på at fortælle om, hvad vi ville og ikke at fortælle, at de andre er idioter. For jeg kan godt forstå, at borgerne bliver frustreret, når de oplever, at vi bare taler grimt om hinanden		
INTEN- SIFICATION	Again, it can be discusied if this criteria is really relevant for the content because it is so talk-show wise. Very much talking about their everyday life but though focussing on the unusual in their everyday life...		
CONCRETIZING	A lot of examples and all of the time talking more about Jesper's story in general when talking about start-ups and not that much tendencies and so on,		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: CLIMATE	WEEK: 2	DANSKE MEDIER UNDER PRES
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	This content focus on politics and polity quite a lot. We hear about the structures and fights against opponents and about a climate marge but almost nothing about what Enhedslisten actually want to do when it comes to climate so policy is almost absent, it is only very briefly mention that there are talking about transportation and new windmille parks. Quotes: Det er der ingen tvivl om, her for nylig for nogle uger siden var der jo klimamarch rundt i hele verden. Og her i København var vi i hvert fald 15.000, der var ude og marchere.		
NEGATIVITY	Much focus on a rather positive approach leaving out (media) negativity ON purpose but includes several examples of negative campaigning. Quotes: Negative nyheder vælter ind over os, men sommetider har vi også brug for at høre de opsigts løftende fremskridt, som sker i verden omkring os.		
TOPICALITY	Climate change and politics is a long-term event but in this case covered with short-term focus. The focus is on that by now the opposition parties can work together but also that the politician had one meeting yesterday. Det var jo også om klimaet Victoria. Og Jon synes åbenbart, vores rådgiver, at det er lidt håbefuldt, at vi samarbejder godt på tværs af oppositionen.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Nothing concrete is promised or described, it is a bit vague and just a promise about turning Denmark in a more green direction. Quote: Og ligesom gør, at jeg kan tro på, at vi efter et valg kan stå sammen på trods af interne fløjkrige og på trods af de andre uenigheder, så kan vi i det mindste sørge for, at Danmark igen bliver et grønt forgangsland, og vi gør vores for at bremse klimaforandringerne.		
SHARPENING	The information is limited, not detailed. We do not hear about their suggestion or politics on the area and therefore it is not either related to other parties..		
SIMPLIFICATION	TNo historical background or context, just dealing with the climate perspective and politics i form af that the red/green parties agree to a bigger extend. Not on exactly what and pointing out exactly where not and why that is.. Quote: Ja jeg synes jo, at vi har nogle lidt mere rigtige løsninger på nogle af områderne, men hvis vi sammen kan sætte fokus på det, så vil det være meget givende.		
POLARIZATION	A lot of emphasis on where the parties agree or disagree and them contra us (government versus opporstition). Quote: Men det er jo rigtig nok, der er håb, også selvom vi er skide uenige nogle gange med de andre på venstrefløjen eller hvad man siger. Såkaldt rød blok. Så der er i hvert fald et område her, hvor vi kan samarbejde.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	This content is about how the parties on the left wing seem to agree more on the topic climate which must seem to be nor abnormal or normal. It is in between. Though it is presented in a context of "now we finally agree - which is important for the upcoming election and positive news". Quote: Der er et helt andet ambitionsniveau. Vi tør tale om, hvordan vi får omstillet transporten til at være baseret på elbiler. Vi tør tale om, hvordan vi skal bruge flere penge på at bygge flere havvindmølleparker.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is a bit dobbel sided. The content claim that it is a general tendency on the left wing to care more and more about climate, which is presented as kind of newsworthy. It is not really concrete.. We only get a few examples of what this agreing on climate means for instance transportaion or wind miles parsk. Quote: Det der giver mig håb er, at vi i oppositionen rent faktisk, at vi alle sammen er begyndt at tage klimaforandringerne seriøst.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: CLIMATE	WEEK: 2	#14 UFFES NYHEDSBREV - EN REDNINGSKRANS TIL PLANETEN
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Both focus on politics/polity and policy (the governments new proposal, their own new proposal), though a stronger focus on policy (what it actually contains and why it is important). Quotes: Fx kan jeg da ikke forestille mig andet, end at det betyder, at de går med på vores forslag om at udfase olieagten i Nordsøen - og ikke forlænge den, sådan som SF, Radikale og Socialdemokratiet lige har været med til.		
NEGATIVITY	Both focus on a negative focus on the climate changes (as something that is altødelæggende) but also covered positivly with an approach about what is possible to actually do! Moreover some negative campaigning is appearing regarding both the opposition parties (olie i Nordsøen) and the government's proposal regarding landbruget but also some positive focus on the other parties - where do we meet and what can be done together.		
TOPICALITY	Adressing long-term events with a short term focus - this content focus on UNs climate report, on the governments new policy proposal and the party's own policy proposal. Very much focus on acting now OR NEVER! Quotes: I mandags skete der noget skelsættende. FN's klimapanel offentliggjorde nemlig sin længe ventede rapport om muligheden for at begrænse den globale temperaturstigning til 1,5 grad.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Very concrete on what they would like to change and how. Also very concrete on what climate challenges cost the society. Quote: Derudover har vi en stribe forslag inden for transportsektoren, som også halter efter den grønne omstilling. Det handler om fritagelse af registreringsafgift på elbiler, om gratis transport over Storebælt for elbiler, om skattefradrag for at holde ferie i Danmark og cykle på arbejde, om flyafgifter, om flere ladestandere til elbiler, om eldrevne indenrigsfly og om veje, der kan lade biler op, mens de kører.		
SHARPENING	The content gives a good overview on what is happening, and some details on the new UN report, the government proposal and on what they would like to do/change and how. But still, it is still done with overview and quite short in 8 minutes time, which means even though we hear about their suggestions we hear about them in headlines and not in depth. Quote: Derudover har vi en stribe forslag inden for transportsektoren, som også halter efter den grønne omstilling.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The content gives a good overview on what is happening, and some details on the new UN report, the government proposal and on what they would like to do/change and how. But still, it is still done with overview and quite short in 8 minutes time, which means even though we hear about their suggestions we hear about them in headlines and not in depth. Also there could be several nuances added. We hear about it from their view, so everything is framed from their viewpoint - their is no co arguments or so on.		
POLARIZATION	Moreover some polarization is appearing regarding both the opposition parties (olie i Nordsøen) and the government's proposal regarding landbruget but also some positive focus on the other parties - where do we meet and what can be done together.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	Definatly trying to make the content more intense and focussing on the consequences to make it abnormal and problematic. Quote: Selvom halvanden grads temperaturstigning bestemt ikke er uproblematisk - slet ikke, vi ser jo allerede, hvor store konsekvenser det ekstreme vejr har nu ved en mindre temperaturstigning - er det opløftende, at vi stadig kan nå at bremse klimakrisen, inden den kommer ud af kontrol.		
CONCRETIZING	Climat change is indeed a genereal tendency and a issue that has a broader perspective. In the content it is covered quite specific with main focus on UN's new report, the governments new proposal and the party's own new proposal. Short-term and concrete happenings in the focus. Moreover, focus on concrete numbers and how much it costs the society. Quote: Og klimakampen kan i den grad betale sig.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: CLIMATE	WEEK: 2	SAMMEN OM EN GRØNNERE FREMTID
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	The text is about the governments new enviroment reform... It explains it only in a lot of headline (which you can then read into at another link). Quote: Det skal ske gennem 38 konkrete initiativer, som til sammen sikrer renere transport i by og på land, et effektivt og moderne landbrug, mere miljøvenlig skibsfart og en grøn omstilling af boliger og industri.		
NEGATIVITY	No negative campaigning and focussing on purely a positive approach to the enviroment reform and the enviroment in general, so almost purely absent of negativity. Quote: Danmark skal være helt i front på det grønne område. Danskerne skal have ren luft og et godt klima. Udviklingen skal præges i en grøn retning i Danmark, i Europa og i verden.		
TOPICALITY	The content describes a proposal which will run over the nexy 11 years (2019-2030). The content adresses long-term procedures and decisions with a long-run focus. The historical context it pretty vaugh though and all information is only in headlines. Quotes: Vi skal mindske drivhusgasudledningerne til gavn for klimaet og forbedre luftkvaliteten særligt i de større danske byer. Regeringen foreslår nu 38 konkrete initiativer, der skal styrke den grønne omstilling af Danmark frem mod 2030.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Many ambiguous statements. The text does not states clearly what the reform is about but line up 38 initiatives without explaining them in depth.		
SHARPENING	The content is relative short and does not contain much information. Just much focus on Denmark should be in front when it comes to green energy. Quotes: Danmark skal fortsat være et grønt foregangsland. Ved at sætte nye standarder for klima og miljø inspirerer vi andre til handling og præger udviklingen i Europa og globalt. Med klima- og luftudspillet "Sammen om en grønnere fremtid" tager regeringen det næste skridt på vejen mod et Danmark, hvor luften er ren, og vi på sigt ikke belaster klimaet overhovedet.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The text does not look at the issue from several angles and thereby it leaces out complexity and nuances. It is simplifying the issue of enviroment presenting it like Denmark will be in lead, if it is done what the government suggest. Quote: Danmark skal fortsat være et grønt foregangsland. Ved at sætte nye standarder for klima og miljø inspirerer vi andre til handling og præger udviklingen i Europa og globalt.		
POLARIZATION	Leaving out other perspectives.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	A policy paper about suggestions to the enviroment area which focus on Denmark must be a leader in this area, but Denmark was already assumed that beforehand.		
CONCRETIZING	The content present a specific proposal which shall meet a general case and tendency, leaving out specific examples but talk in general about famers and so on.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: CLIMATE	WEEK: 2	DF FØR KLIMAFORHANDLING: FORSKNING FREMFØR FORBUD
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	The text had much focus on the process and the policy paper which would be released. Also the only thing the article said the party would spend money on was "science/research" but not how, when and which amount		
NEGATIVITY	This article is about negative events (climate change). But also, there is much focus on science instead for "ban" indicating that other parties will ban. Also an example of electric cars from the government paper is made unnecessary...		
TOPICALITY	This topic is a long-term problem but it is not treated like that. Much focus is on the one suggestion with electric cars, and about initiatives for the future, it is just said "let cheaper technology and science solve it"		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Nothing concrete, the party would spend money on "science/research" to act on climate change but not how, when and which amount.		
SHARPENING	Because there is only cited one politician in the article, he gets quite much space. BUT still, all quotes are the "typical" length of mass media (2-4 sentences max)		
SIMPLIFICATION	It becomes very much a question of "bans" OR "science". And science is presented as the only solution that seems natural. We do not even know what the other solutions means and contents. Focus on science is common sense and everything else is not... BUT we cannot do anything before we know more.		
POLARIZATION	It becomes a question of "bans" OR "science". And DF claims to be science, but there is not a BIG gap and therefore not extreme polarization		
INTEN- SIFICATION	They believe in finding a solution with a large majority in the parliament		
CONCRETIZING	Nothing concrete, the party would spend money on "science/research" to act on climate change but not how, when and which amount..		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: HEALTHCARE	WEEK: 3	#TÆNK FØR DU SPØRGER
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	This media content does not comment on policy at all, but it is ALL about political princippels which according to Eilders (2000, p. 203), 'polity and politics' specifically refer to... Quote: Nogle gange kommer vi til at gå over stregen uden selv at vide det - det kaldes mikroaggressioner, altså spørgsmål, som minoriteter ofte møder, som stilles i god mening, men som, for modtageren, kan virke nedladende og diskriminerende.		
NEGATIVITY	This content present a situations in our everyday life in a humoristic but rather negative way with turning the situation upside down and ask "Er du over stregen?" Quote: For at undgå situationerne i filmen, er det et godt råd at vende spørgsmålet mod sig selv, før man stiller det.		
TOPICALITY	The content presents a critique against how we think about, question and talk to people of colour in our everyday life and thereby adressng long-term descion if we want to change it. But the content presents it with a focus a short-time event (a situation which then is not normal AT ALL because it is tuned upside down)... therefore we have both aspects in the content. Quote: Det kan være svært at sætte sig ind i, hvorfor nogle henvendelser er grænseoverskridende, + Kvinde 1 (poc): Jeg tænkte på, om jeg godt må spørge om noget egentligt? Kvinde 2 (hvid): Ja da		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	There is no concrete staments or plans, instead the opinion by the party is presented as questioning and a request... Quote: Kvinde 1 (poc): For at undgå situationerne i filmen, er det et godt råd at vende spørgsmålet mod sig selv, før man stiller det. + Nå, men det var også bare, jaer. Jeg har virkelig også, altså, jeg har virkelig fundet ud af at hvide fyre, er så meget mere min type. Ej. Har du en bror?		
SHARPENING	There is not that many informations, it is short and most of it is sarcastic. The senario is presented very sharpe and sarcastic, the situation is long enough to that you really get the point because the unpleasent and unpropper questions keeps coming. Quote: Kvinde 1 (poc): Jamen altså, hvor kommer du rigtig fra? Kvinde 2 (hvid): Jeg tror ikke helt, jeg forstår Kvinde 1 (poc): Nej øh, jamen, altså sådan hvor stammer du fra? Hvor kommer dine forældre fra?		
SIMPLIFICATION	A scenario is presented as simple as possible, but the content is still referering to at least one complex word that the majority not nescessarry knows about. It is tried to explain in a simple way though. It plays on stereotypes and "common" questions upside down though to make us aware - but to do it in a simple way . Quote: Nogle gange kommer vi til at gå over stregen uden selv at vide det - det kaldes mikroaggressioner, altså spørgsmål, som minoriteter ofte møder, som stilles i god mening, men som, for modtageren, kan virke nedladende og diskriminerende.		
POLARIZATION	This content leaving out all other perspectives that the one presented in the content itself.		
INTEN-SIFICATION	The media materia does not have high-intensity content but it is clealy focusing on the abnorma when turning a situation the other way around showing a scenario which would never exists today. A white person would never been asked where you from in Denmark or getting touch the person's hair. Quote: Kvinde 1 (poc): Jamen altså, hvor kommer du rigtig fra? Kvinde 2 (hvid): Jeg tror ikke helt, jeg forstår		
CONCRETIZING	The issue/the discussion is presented with focussing on one scenario with to young women...		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: HEALTHCARE	WEEK: 3	FLERE PATIENTER SKAL BEHANDLES TÆTTERE PÅ HJEMMET
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	The text is about the governments new healthcare reform... It explains it quite detailed and as a reader you get a understand of what it is about, how it is going to work and why it is needed. Much focus on policy. > Quote: Regeringen vil afsætte 6 mia. kr. i en Nærhedsfond i 2020-2025 for at udvikle og styrke det nære sundhedsvæsen. Nærhedsfonden skal blandt andet bidrage til at forbedre de fysiske rammer.		
NEGATIVITY	Only focussing on negativity regarding negative campaigning but there is not a large focus on negative campaigning. It is mentioed how much extra doctors the former goverment educated and it is hold op against this new suggestion for a reform. > Quote: Med sundhedsreformen vil regeringen løfte antallet af uddannelsesstillinger med yderligere 100. Dermed vil vi øge dimensioneringen af almen medicin inden for den lægefaglige videreuddannelse med i alt 60 hoveduddannelsesforløb i 2019 og 100 forløb i 2020 (i alt 160 ekstra pladser).		
TOPICALITY	The content describes a health care reform which will run over the nexy 6 years (2019-2025). The content adresses a medium-term procedures and decisions with a long-run focus. The historical context it pretty vaugh though.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Only very few ambiguous statements. The text states clearly what the reform is about and in come with a detailed number of doctors, healthcare houses, how much money that should be invested and so on. > Quote: De 21 nye sundhedsfællesskaber skal sikre lokalt samarbejde om sundhed.		
SHARPENING	The content is information rich and gives the details of the reform, though there could be more focus on the issues and reasoning behind. > Quote: Med sundhedsreformen vil regeringen løfte antallet af uddannelsesstillinger med yderligere 100. Dermed vil vi øge dimensioneringen af almen medicin inden for den lægefaglige videreuddannelse med i alt 60 hoveduddannelsesforløb i 2019 og 100 forløb i 2020 (i alt 160 ekstra pladser).		
SIMPLIFICATION	The text does not look at the issue from several angles and thereby it leaces out complexity and nuances. It is simplifying the issue of healthcare and presenting it like more money and more doctors equal to better quality. Though there is still explained how and why, therefore rated 2. > Quote: Dermed vil vi øge dimensioneringen af almen medicin inden for den lægefaglige videreuddannelse med i alt 60 hoveduddannelsesforløb i 2019 og 100 forløb i 2020 (i alt 160 ekstra pladser).		
POLARIZATION	Leaving out other perspectives - only one little comparisson that makes this paper stand out good > Quote: Til sammenligning blev uddannelsen løftet med 12 pladser fra 2011 til 2015		
INTEN- SIFICATION	A policy paper about suggestions to the healthcare system which focus on the everyday life issues regarding heathcare which can be solved closer to the patients home instead of at a hospital. > Quote: I dag skal alt for mange på sygehuset for mindre komplicerede sygdomme. Det er belastende for patienten og pårørende, der ofte skal rejse unødigt langt for behandling eller kontrol. Og det er en uhensigtsmæssig brug af sygehusenes personale og ressourcer.		
CONCRETIZING	The content present a specific proposal which shall meet a general case and tendency, only coming with very few personal specific cases, which is acutally ONLY examples mentioned to make it more contrete. > Quote: En hjertepatient kan både besøge sin egen læge og gå til genoptræning på samme dag. Og lægerne får mere tid til den lægefaglige patientbehandling.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: HEALTHCARE	WEEK: 3	DF BAKKER OP OM SUNDHEDSUDSPIL - MEN LÆGERNE ER NØGLEN TIL SUCCES
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Focus on the policy and what the new reform exists of but also smaller focus on the news of a new policy paper, the process of it and so on. > Quote: Reformen består af 22 initiativer, som skal styrke sammenhæng og nærhed i sundhedsvæsenet.		
NEGATIVITY	The content includes another parties negative campaigning or disagreeing. > Quote: Socialdemokratiet: Skadelig centralisering. Socialdemokratiet reagerer skarpt på planerne. Partiet kalder udspillet for "skadelig centralisering". Det er især beslutningen om at nedlægge de fem regioner med 205 folkevalgte politikere, som har fået socialdemokraterne op i det røde felt.		
TOPICALITY	A reform which is a long-term events (next 6 year) is covered with short-term focus... The most focus is put on that the doctors need to be included and on board > Quote: Men det er afgørende, at der lades en god aftale med lægerne AND Men hvis ikke vi får lægerne med i denne reform, kan vi ikke få den implementeret alle steder. Vi er nødt til at sikre os, at vi har en rigtig god aftale med alment praktiserende læger, som er en af hovedfigurerne i aftalen		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Only a vert few ambiguous statements. The text states clearly that the party supports the government's reform and what that reform is about and in come with a detailed number of doctors, healthcare houses, how much money that should be invested and so on. Also it is clearly stated that they want to close down the regions > Patienten kommer i klemme i det nuværende system, hvor aben hele tiden kastes fra minister til region og tilbage igen. Regionerne skaber ikke nærhed, for regionspolitikere er meget langt fra borgerne, der ikke ved hvem de er.		
SHARPENING	The content gives some information and details about the reform, but the main message (and headline) is also a bit simpel. The content could be way more focus on the issues and reasoning behind - and alternatives. > Quote: Det kan blive en rigtig god reform, hvis læger og sundhedspersonale kommer med ombord.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The text does look at the issue from two angles and thereby it leaces gives it some nuances. Thus, there is a way bigger focus on the opinion the party agree with. It is simplifying the issue of healthcare quite a bit by presenting it like more money and more doctors is equal to better quality. 2. > Quote: Konkret handler det om følgende: (herefter følger en bulletpoint liste)		
POLARIZATION	The text includes an oppornent party (one quote), which is against the reform and their opinion about not shutting down the regions - framed quite polized. But also the text includes the opporsite, support to the government for the new reform > Quote: Socialdemokratiet reagerer skarpt på planerne. Partiet kalder udspillet for "skadelig centralisering". Det er især beslutningen om at nedlægge de fem regioner med 205 folkevalgte politikere, som har fået socialdemokraterne op i det røde felt.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	Text about how DF support the government's new policy paper about the healthcare system which focus on the everyday life issues regarding heathcare which can be solved closer to the patients home instead of at a hospital. > Quote:"Regionerne skaber ikke nærhed, for regionspolitikere er meget langt fra borgerne, der ikke ved hvem de er. Nu får vi borgmestre og kommunale udvalgsformænd med i beslutningerne. De er meget tættere på borgerne," sagde Liselott Blixt, da hun onsdag deltog i Debatten på P1.		
CONCRETIZING	Because the content describe the reform, which represents a general case and tendency. Though is the "patients" and "citizens" described as examples but in plural and in no specific context. > Quote: Patienten kommer i klemme i det nuværende system, hvor aben hele tiden kastes fra minister til region og tilbage igen. Regionerne skaber ikke nærhed, for regionspolitikere er meget langt fra borgerne, der ikke ved hvem de er.		



CRITERIA	TOPIC: HEALTHCARE	WEEK: 3	SUNDHEDSREFORM SKAL FORHINDRE IT- SKANDALER SOM SUNDHEDSPLATFOMEN
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Focus on how the policy can improve the nuværene sundhedsvæsen and ensure scandales not to happen again but also smaller focus on the news of a new policy paper, the process of it and so on. > Quote: Hvis udspillet til regeringens sundhedsreform, som blev præsenteret onsdag, var blevet gennemført for 10 år siden, så var sygehusene på Sjælland og i Hovedstaden formentlig sluppet for det skandaleramte it-system Sundhedsplatformen, som indtil videre har kostet skatteyderne mere end tre milliarder kroner.		
NEGATIVITY	The content is covering the new reform with huge focus on an earlier scandale: "Belært af historien, ønsker vi ikke at gentage dens fejl," sagde Løkke på pressemødet.		
TOPICALITY	A reform which is a long-term events (next 6 year) is covered with short-term focus... The most focus is put on that the this new reform will make it less possible with mistakes like it systemet Sundhedsplatformen > Quote: På et tidspunkt fik de to regioner en henvendelse fra Region Midtjylland om at gå med i det danskudviklede it-system, som de tre øvrige regioner benytter. Det blev afvist, men den slags solo-beslutninger vil det være slut med i fremtiden.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Few ambiguous statements but not that much concrete information either. The little information there is, is quite concrete though. Quotes: "Vi ønsker at udstyre Sundhedsvæsenet Danmark med kompetencer til at godkende it- projekter. Med det perspektiv, at Danmark over tid får et sammenhængende integreret system," sagde statsminister Lars Løkke Rasmussen (V), da regeringen onsdag præsenterede sundhedsudspillet på et pressemøde.		
SHARPENING	The content gives some (little) information and (few) details about the reform, but the main message (and headline) is also very simpel and limmited to IT system. The content could be way more focus on the issues and reasoning behind - and alternatives. > Quote: Regeringen lægger med sit sundhedsudspil til at afskaffe regionerne fra 2021.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The text does look at the issue from one angle and thereby it leaves out nuances. The main focus on IT also simplifice it much. 2. > Quote: "Belært af historien, ønsker vi ikke at gentage dens fejl," sagde Løkke på pressemødet. Til gengæld er det ikke planen at skrotte Sundhedsplatformen i første omgang:		
POLARIZATION	Leaves out all other perspectives.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	Text on a new policy paper about the healthcare system which main focus is an former scandale of an IT system and how that will not happen again > Quote: Hvis udspillet til regeringens sundhedsreform, som blev præsenteret onsdag, var blevet gennemført for 10 år siden, så var sygehusene på Sjælland og i Hovedstaden formentlig sluppet for det skandaleramte it-system Sundhedsplatformen, som indtil videre har kostet skatteyderne mere end tre milliarder kroner.		
CONCRETIZING	Because the content describe the scandale which is kind of one case. > Quote: Region Hovedstaden og Region Sjælland har valgt at indkøbe sit eget amerikansk udviklede it- system, Sundhedsplatformen. Systemet blev indført i 2016, men det volder stadig store problemer og har udløst masser af vrede og frustration hos sundhedspersonalet. Systemet har bl.a. medført fejl i recepter og medicinlabels til flere tusinde patienter.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	WEEK: 4	REGERING OG NEDSLIDNING M. LARS OLSEN
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Much focus on polity and politics. For instance they talk about public pension and the politician claim it is one of the most top prioritized issues for the party, but only say that they came with a suggestion but nothing about what it consisted of. But they do also later go way more into details about the policy aspects. Quote: Men inden vi kommer dertil, så vil jeg bare snakke lidt med jer om, hvad der er nyt i SF. Og der er jo mange ting, der er nye i SF.		
NEGATIVITY	Content about public pension there is framed rather negative as if it has been forgotten and overset in Danish politics. Also a little negative campaigning but only to a very little single line. Quote: Og det der var udslagsgivende, det var sidste folketingsvalg. Altså nu kommer jeg fra Sjællands storkreds. Og det at jeg lige pludselig kunne se, at der i nogle byer og kommuner hvor jeg er kommet lige pludselig (Vestsjælland og Sydsjælland), de blev malet gule, forstået på den måde, at der stemte alle lige pludselig Dansk Folkeparti.		
TOPICALITY	The content is addressing first short time procedure (election) and later long-term procedures and decisions with a long-run focus - a new public pension system which have to be done with a new reform.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Quite on the surface with what the 15 krav consists of and also what is their political grandma. Also only saying that they came with a suggestion about public pension but nothing about how it is working or what it really is about. BUT it comes later, where they explain a bit more in depth and details. Quotes: Og det som vores formand, Pia, jo var ude og sige meget klart, det er, at vi har 15 krav, der handler om at bekæmpe uligheden, bekæmpe klimaforandringerne, give folk mere ro på, udvide demokratiet, lavet internationalt samarbejde og lave mere af det...		
SHARPENING	It goes into details some place in the podcast, but at the same time there is much surface. Also a lot of summing up in order to sharpen it and underline the most important points. Quotes: Og i forhold til det med pension, så er det et af de mest højt prioriterede områder for os at finde en form for løsning for de nedslidte. Vi fremsatte et forslag.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The content gives background and goes beyond the 15 important policy things for SF. It opens up lines and shows us why we have ended up in the political situation as we are in now - creates a context for us. Though still in a way that is very easy to follow as a listener. Quote: Men det jeg synes, der er vigtigt at tage op nu her i forbindelse med det forsvundne folk, det er den afstand og utryghed der fra det forsvundne folk til dem der fører ordet i medier og politik og i embedsapparatet.		
POLARIZATION	Nearly only presenting one viewpoint perspective - but there is some polarization. Firstly, they are discussing if SF should be a part of the next government and include problems from last time and state that they will not be a part of it for every kind of price. Secondly, they have invited the scholar who points to several critiques. Thirdly, these two quotes about DF country and from the look of the opponents.		
INTENSIFICATION	Much focus at the coming election, which is not everyday life. Also the question about public pension is framed like some people have been forgotten and it is essential to act now or never. Quotes: Og det der var udslagsgivende, det var sidste folketingsvalg. Altså nu kommer jeg fra Sjællands storkreds		
CONCRETIZING	The second topic the podcast covers is regarding nedslidning. Here an author and scholar cover and problematize the overall tendency with the public pension system as it has been developing the last 15 years. Quote: Og så synes jeg det andet og endnu større problem i det, det er noget, som berører mange er at den stigende pensionsalder.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	WEEK: 4	#DRØMMER DU STADIG
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	This media content does not comment on policy at all, but it is ALL about political princippels which according to Eilders (2000, p. 203), 'polity and politics' specifically refer to... Quote: Vi har den forestilling, at vi er, hvad vi beskæftiger os med, men vi glemmer, at vi kan blive så meget mere end det. Derfor må vi huske hinanden og os selv på at drømme større, og drømme sig til oplevelser, som måske endda er urealistiske. Vi skal finde modet til at hoppe ud af den trygge og komfortable rytme og huske på, at vi er nogen, og ikke bare noget.		
NEGATIVITY	This content present our everyday life in a humoristic but rather negative way for instance with the word kontornusser. Quote: men hvornår er det vi går fra at ville være astronauter, bjergbestigere og superstjerner, til kontornussere?		
TOPICALITY	The content presents a critique against how we live and think in our everyday life and thereby adressng long-term descion if we want to change it. But the content presents it with a focus a short-time event (a normal day)... therefore we have both aspects in the content:		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	There is no conrete staments or plans instead the opinion by the party is presented as questioning the exhistng... Quote: men hvornår er det vi går fra at ville være astronauter, bjergbestigere og superstjerner, til kontornussere? + HUSKER DU STADIG AT DRØMME?		
SHARPENING	There is not that many informations, it is short and humoristic. The senario is presented very sharpe and short. Quote: Det er deres drømme, men jeg skal ikke være nogen af delene. Når jeg bliver stor vil jeg have et fast job fra 8-16. Jeg skal vågne hver morgen kl. 6.30 og ikke et sekund senere.		
SIMPLIFICATION	Very simpel presented scenoarios.. Which play on stereotypes for instance a job as a princess is interesting and something likely to dream about. It is made very easy to relate to and instantly understanding because it plays on our way to simplify the world ourselves. Quote: Når Annika bliver voksen, vil hun være prinsesse. Tobias vil gerne være statsminister.		
POLARIZATION	This content leaving out all other perspectives that the one presented in the content itself.		
INTEN-SIFICATION	Clearly focussing on down to eath and normal day issue that include most of the polulation questioning are we satisfied with the way we live our lifes and do we dream enough? Quote: HUSKER DU STADIG AT DRØMME?		
CONCRETIZING	The issue/the discussion is presented with focussing on one single girl...		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	WEEK: 4	NYT TALENTPROGRAM TIL STUDERENDE
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	The text is about the governments new talent programme... It explains it quite detailed and as a reader you get a understand of what it is about, how it is going to work and why it is needed. Focus on policy, just a little bit focus on the news in that it is released too.		
NEGATIVITY	Portraying the event first positively, but then include negative aspects of that right now the way talents are treated is problematic. No negative campaigning. Quote: Der findes talentfulde og topmotiverede studerende på alle de videregående uddannelsesinstitutioner i Danmark. ++ Der findes talentfulde og topmotiverede studerende på alle de videregående uddannelsesinstitutioner i Danmark.		
TOPICALITY	The content describes a new talent programme for university students, which will run over a longer time. A quite big emphasis is on that it is now happening. The historical context it pretty vaugh though.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Some ambiguous statements (mostly the notes that are much like we need to make it possible to be abitjøs) but also quite concrete information. The text states what the reform is about and how much money that should be invested > Quote: Vi skal være bedre til at dyrke talenterne i Danmark. Mange flere unge tager i dag en videregående uddannelse end for 10 år siden.		
SHARPENING	The content gives some information and details of the programme, though it is not in depth. Also the quotes from the ministers is sharpened, one angle and tries to make it very straight away > Det bliver muligt at skræddersy talentforløbene, så de matcher de individuelle uddannelser og de forskellige behov, de studerende har.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The text does not look at the issue from several angles and thereby it leaces out complexity and nuances. It is simplifying the issue of the talent programme and presenting it like more money equal to better quality. Though there is still explained how and why, therefore rated 2. Most interesting is though how the minister is comparing with football, you could get the impression she talked about kids in school and not (young) adults at university.		
POLARIZATION	Leaving out other perspectives.		
INTENSIFICATION	A suggestion about a talent programme which focus on the everyday life regarding young people's studies, but much focus on how important it is that we develop our talents.		
CONCRETIZING	The content present a specific programme which shall meet a general case and tendency, only coming with very few personal specific cases, which is acutally ONLY examples mentioned to make it more contrete. > Quote: Målgruppen for programmet er de cirka 2 procent dygtigste studerende på tværs af de videregående uddannelser.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	WEEK: 4	S-ORDFØRER/ 3 MILLIARDER KR. TIL TIDLIGERE PENSION ER KUN EN START
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Focus on the process and focussing on that S will not point out the groups that can retire before others. Quote: Leif Lahn Jensens udtalelse kom efter en længere debat, hvor han igen og igen afviste at udpege de grupper, som Socialdemokratiet vil give ret til tidlig pensionering. + Socialdemokratiet vil endnu ikke udpege de grupper, som efter partiets opfattelse skal have ret til at gå tidligere på pension på grund af nedslidning.		
NEGATIVITY	This media material is purely dedicated to negative campaigning focussing on S not wants to point out the groups that can retire early. Quote: "Det er en start" Leif Lahn Jensens udtalelse kom efter en længere debat, hvor han igen og igen afviste at udpege de grupper, som Socialdemokratiet vil give ret til tidlig pensionering + Og mere ville Leif Lahn Jensen ikke gå ind i diskussionen om hvor dyrt det socialdemokratiske valgudspil om tidlig pension, som blev præsenteret for to uger siden, reelt kan blive.		
TOPICALITY	A long time issue framed ONLY focussing on short time. How much money? Who? What? Now!		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	The focus is that S will not point out the groups that are able to retire before, but DF themselves mention BIG groups as 3F, so they are not that specific themselves either. Not very concrete in general... Quote: "HVIS VI SÅ PÅ SIGT SAMMEN MED PARTERNE FINDER UD AF, AT VI SKAL MERE, SÅ VIL VI DET. MEN DET HER ER EN START"		
SHARPENING	Not much information, and mostly the same kind of information just told by different people. For instance, two DF politicians say quite the same. And moreover, a former spindoctor adds to that perspective too. The goes for S, the author has chosen to present to quotes from S that more or less identical.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The story is mostly told from one angle and is made quite simple. For instance, the way the spindoctor make a metaphor underline it. Queto: METTE FREDERIKSEN ER LIDT I DEN ROLLE, HVOR HUN ER TRYLLEKUNSTNEREN, DER BLIVER BEDT OM AT AFSLØRE SIT TRICK. HUN HAR INGEN INTERESSE I AT GØRE DET.		
POLARIZATION	The content plays on conflict and contrast and S not wants to give a clear answer and other parties questioning that > Quote: Og udtalelsen fra S-ordføreren udløste omgående højlydte kommentarer fra de øvrige paneldeltagere.		
INTENSIFICATION	Not relevant in this case.		
CONCRETIZING	Attention to a very specific detail, WHO EXACTLY are able to retire earlier, but still not very concrete. Also, it seems like this i more about the polatization than concretizing.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: INTEGRATION	WEEK: 1	FORSKER AFLIVER DE SEJLVEDE MYTER: GHET- TODEBATTEN ER HELT UDE AF PROPORTIONER
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Not that concrete and describing more the problem about that we talk about integration policy the way we do. Quote: Mener du, at fordi nydanskere og danske- re ligner hinanden mere, end vi tror, så skal politikerne lade ghettoerne være i fred?		
NEGATIVITY	There is no negative campaigning but there is a BIG critique against how this issue and topic is framed by the politicians. Also there is a big emphasis on how this topic is always portrayed negative, while it not nescesary IS IT. The article emphasis that the story which is told, staring from the prime minister, is not the whole true and indeed is pretty far from the truth.		
TOPICALITY	This content is adresssing long-term procedures and decisions with a long-run focus - the scholar is looking at the big lines and try to change our focus on smaller issues to seeing the bigger picture. Quote: Risikerer du ikke at minimere de konkrete problemer, som man står med i daginstitu- tioner, skoler og i boligområder?		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	It is a scholar not a politilcian, but the scholar is saying what he is missing but NOT suggestions concrete plans. Quote: Mener du, at fordi nydanskere og danske- re ligner hinanden mere, end vi tror, så skal politikerne lade ghettoerne være i fred?		
SHARPENING	An information rich and in-depth coverage exploring the details of a given issue. E.g. that often we look and talked about the problem about not passing the Danish test but the biggest problem is Math.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The content is nuanced and complex with lengthy sentences and a rich vocabulary. Lots of focus on HOW in general this problem is being simpelfied and focus on that it should not, trying to explain its complexity and what we also should consider and look at. Quote: »Jeg er tidligere embedsmand i Under- visningsministeriets departement og har arbejdet med læsning, så jeg anerkender , at dansk og læsning er afgørende, men faktisk ser det dårligere ud for matema- tikken, men det taler vi aldrig om«.		
POLARIZATION	There is not really a clear polarization but more a problematization about the way we look at an issue and how it is covered and how we try to solve it. Focus on that we need to be more willing to see it from several sights and so on. Only polarization is about that it is a problem in general the government and politicians do this but WIHTOUT being specific mention specific parties.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	The article is trying to make this discussion a bit more about down to earth issues and take the issue down to eath, because according to the scholar it is where it belongs. Quote: 3.200 personer redder fremtiden Ud over defi^nitionerne er den også gal med vores proportioner, mener Hjarn von Zernichow Borberg og fremhæver et af sine yndlingseksempler: Unge, som ikke er i uddannelse eller arbejde.		
CONCRETIZING	Not concrete examples and actually warning against that. Quote: Din analyse går op i super-helikopterperspektiv, men kan man overhoved det, når problemerne er helt nede på jorden?		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: INTEGRATION	WEEK: 1	ETÅRIGE BØRN FRA GHETTOER SKAL I DAGTILBUD - ELLERS MISTER FORÆLDRE
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Focus on procedural and structural aspects. There is emphasis on this new deal is decided and also focus on what exactly is in it, why, how. Quote: Aftalen betyder, at 1-årige børn fra udsatte boligområder skal have et såkaldt obligatorisk læringstilbud, hvis de ikke går i dagtilbud.		
NEGATIVITY	The content is focusing on negative aspects and consequences, especially the jail. Not so much is mentioned about this is going to help the kids and what kind of positive effects it will have. Quote: Ledere risikerer et års fængsel. Med aftalen er regeringen og Folketingets to største partier samtidig enige om at skærpe straffen for ledere på eksempelvis dagtilbud og skoler, hvis de ikke overholder underretningspligten		
TOPICALITY	Integration of Danes which has parents who originally is not from Denmark is a long term process, but this content presents the long-term with short-term focus not explaining and going in depth with the historic context and so on. E.g. jail is possible now. Quote: Ledere risikerer et års fængsel. Med aftalen er regeringen og Folketingets to største partier samtidig enige om at skærpe straffen for ledere på eksempelvis dagtilbud og skoler, hvis de ikke overholder underretningspligten.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Quite concrete about WHAT is happening, the kids MUST BE in kindergarden 25 hours a week. Also concrete about WHEN		
SHARPENING	The content has a middle length but does describe and explain the new policy on the surface- what is going to happen and how will it be. The details of the issue is not really explored, it is only covered from one side and does not really go behind it.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text contains several relatively short sentences, is easily understandable and is leaving out complexity and nuance of a given topic. It is only the policy paper which is represented and there is nothing added except what it is about and how it is going to help. Only views that support the paper are represented, but one politician that is quoted claim this law should include more children. So everything is simple and points in the same direction without complex views or other takes on the issue.		
POLARIZATION	Parties representatives which are a part of the deal is quoted and they agree with it of course. One would have liked the paper to go further and include more children, therefore 4 and not 5. Quote: Socialdemokratiets social- og børneordfører, Pernille Rosenkrantz-Theil, har i forhandlingerne presset på for en mere vidtgående ordning. - Vi ville gerne være gået skridtet videre og have sagt, at det ikke kun gjaldt børn i socialt udsatte boligområder, men socialt udsatte børn i hele landet, siger hun. Vil I udvide ordningen, hvis I får regeringsmagten igen? - Ja.		
INTENSIFICATION	This story is about new policy suggestions solving everyday life issues with children living in ghettos, so it is not abnormal or normal. It is in between.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is mostly presenting a general tendency, a problem about children in ghettos not going to kindergarden and thereby missing out on essential knowledge. There are examples but not any specific and no case is shown.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: INTEGRATION	WEEK: 1	SKAL MAN TVINGE BØRN FRA GHETTOER I VUGGE- STUE? HER ER ARGUMEN- TERNE FOR OG IMOD
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	This content contains both a horse race focussing on the competition and differencies between two parties. But is it also full of policy explaining where the two party stands and what they want to do. Quote explaining what they want to do: I dag fanger vi dem, når de er tre år, hvor vi kan vurdere dem ud fra sproget og tvinge forældrene til at sende dem i dagtilbud, ellers tager man børnepengene.		
NEGATIVITY	This article is about the different between two parties stand on integration policy - a government party and an opposition party. It is raported rather objective but it includes very few very light attempms of negative campaigning.		
TOPICALITY	Integration of Danes which live in ghetto areas and has parrents who originally is not from Denmark is a long term process, but this content presents the long-term with short-term focus not explaining and going in depth with the historic context and so on. E.g. I am sure this will work at some point.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Quite concrete about WHAT is happening, the kids MUST BE in kindergarden 25 hours a week. Also concrete about WHEN.		
SHARPENING	This content has a middle length and cover the two parties stands on a new policy paper about integration of children. There is two new initiatives described and we hear shortly about them both. Both parties get several (5-6) questions to answer to explain their position.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text is quite easily understandable and is leaving out most complexity of the given topic. When explaining the parties stand they are able to answer several questions with give some nuance but still not much. Different views are presented.		
POLARIZATION	There is much polarization within this content. Focus on contrast between opponents, which the whole article is build upon. What is different between the two parties according to this new policy suggestion and where do they stand.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	This story is about new policy suggestions solving everyday life issues with childred living in ghettoes, so it is nor abnormal or normal. It is in between.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is mostly presenting a general tendency, a problem about children in ghettoes not going to kindergarden and thereby missing out on essential knowledge. There is examples which are brought up by the politicians.		



CRITERIA	TOPIC: INTEGRATION	WEEK: 1	NY AFTALE PÅ PLADS: GHETTOBØRN SKAL TVINGES I VUGGESTUE
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Emphasis is put on the new agreement. Quite vague about what the new suggestion is about - not that much background. Quote: Det skal ske gennem tvungen vuggestue, er regeringen, Socialdemokratiet og Dansk Folkeparti enige om.		
NEGATIVITY	Several quotes that could be categorised as negativity in form of media logic focus on "tvang" even in the headline. Quote: Ghetto børn skal tvinges i vuggestue ++ Hvis børnene ikke møder op, mister forældrene børnechecken, fremgår det af aftalen, som blev indgået mandag i Børne- og Socialministeriet.		
TOPICALITY	A noticeable emphasis is put on that the new agreement and what that means here and now. Quotes: Hvis børnene ikke møder op, mister forældrene børnechecken, fremgår det af aftalen, som blev indgået mandag i Børne- og Socialministeriet. ++ Konkret skal børnene i et såkaldt læringstilbud på 25 timer, som skal fordeles hen over ugens fem dage og så vidt muligt i børnenes vågne timer		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Straight forward about what the new suggestion is about, not much background. Quotes: Regeringen venter, at aftalen vil få betydning for 500 børn det første år stigende til 700 børn på sigt.		
SHARPENING	The content has a middle length but does only describe and explain the new policy suggestion on the surface. The details of the issue is not really explored and all background is almost completely left out.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text contains several relatively short sentences, is easily understandable and is leaving out complexity and nuance of the topic. We hear about the suggestion, which is easy to understand and only include background very limited like. Quote: I dag kan børn tvinges i institution, fra de er tre år. Det bliver nu sat ned til ét år. Men kun i udsatte boligområder.		
POLARIZATION	The content consists of only little conflict between one party that was a part of the agreement and the other parties within the agreement. Quotes: Socialdemokratiet havde gerne set, at muligheden omfattede alle socialt udsatte børn. Også dem, der bor uden for ghettoområderne, siger Pernille Rosenkrantz-Theil.		
INTENSIFICATION	This story is coming after regeringen, DF and S agreed on a new political agreement, so not that intense. Though still framed on how important it is that these kids are included.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is trying to make it very concrete and with specific examples and plenty of numbers. Quotes: Regeringen venter, at aftalen vil få betydning for 500 børn det første år stigende til 700 børn på sigt.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: CLIMATE	WEEK: 2	KLIMAKATASTROFEN OG REGERINGENS KLIMAUDSPIL
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Much policy and just a little politics/polity, where there is some focus on procedures, but it is hold to quite a minimum. The new proposal is explianed quite detailed, especially why it is problematic Quote: Jamen de ligger op til noget som papiret lever op til det mål, som EU har givet os. Nu bliver det indviklet, for det hedder ikke kvote sektoren, og det vil sige vores transport, vores bygninger og vores landbrug.		
NEGATIVITY	This content is about the new policy proposal about climate from the government. It is reported in a negative light (climate changes - we really have to do something now) and there is a huge emphasis on why it is not good enough and actually a katestrofe. Quotes: Regeringen har leveret en klimaplan med kurs mod katestrofen, sådan skrev vi på forsiden onsdag.		
TOPICALITY	Here we get information about a long time event (climate change/climate plan) with mostly long time but also (a little of a) historical focus, only a little shorttime focus (for instance what does this prososal means for the coming election). Quote: Og det det handler om, det er, at hvis kulstofbalancen i jorden, CO2 udsivning fra jorden, er bedre i 2030, end den var sådan i gennemsnit i perioden 2005-2007.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Most of the content is quite concrete and the political proposal they discuss is also but it does not contain that much progress. Quote: Man har afsat nogle penge til en jordfordelingsøvelse, som kan rumme noget godt. Hvor man ligesom skal vælge at tage nogle jorde ud og give en landmand en ny jord på bekostning af en jord et andet sted.		
SHARPENING	This content is quite detailed and dig into the new policy proposal by the government. The things that are focus on, are discussed quite detailed, for instance they tell what tryllepuljken is and how it works including explaining LULUCF. Quote: En meget større del er det, der på den forfærdelige klima jargon hedder LULUCF bidraget. Det står for Land Use, Land Use Change and Forestry. Og det det handler om, det er, at hvis kulstofbalancen i jorden, CO2 udsivning fra jorden, er bedre i 2030, end den var sådan i gennemsnit i perioden 2005-2007.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The content gives background and go beyond the new policy proposal. It opridser linjerne and show us what the starting point is but it is still done in a way, which is very easy to follow because it is made simpler. Quote: Så de 80 procent er fra tryllepuljen. Og den rummer to ting. Den rummer, at Danmark kan smide nogle CO2 kvoter væk, vi er jo en del af EU's CO2 kvote system.		
POLARIZATION	Not that much polarization, because it first of all is two journalists who discusses. But they include some, there is a quite hard attack from one of the journalists, but it is not an oppnoet.. Quote: Og det vi blandt andet havde forventet, det var, at regeringen (som de også havde stillet i udsigt), havde regnet på, hvor meget CO2 har vi tilbage at udlede som nation, hvis vi skal leve op til Paris-aftalen.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	This content is about new policy proposal which is a climate plan for Denmark which must seem to be nor abnormal or normal. It is in between. Though it is presented in a context of "act now or never" with the UN climate report, which rise the intensity!		
CONCRETIZING	This content is presenting and discussing a a new policy proposal for a Danish climate plan. A few explamples is included but never on personal level (always refeered to in plural, as consumers) but it is quite concrete. Quote: Landbruget handler ikke kun om onde landmænd, det handler også om forbrugere, der spiser det forkerte.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: CLIMATE	WEEK: 2	OPPOSITIONSPARTIER OM NY KLIMAPLAN. REGERINGEN SVICTER
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Focus on both procedural and structural aspects - new policy paper about climate but also including some of the things it is about and explaining the policy within it. Quote: Her til formiddag kunne statsministeren sammen med fem fagministre præsentere sit nye klima- og luftudspil "Sammen om en grønnere fremtid". Med 38 konkrete initiativer vil regeringen sikre Danmark en førsteplads som verdens mest klimavenlige land.		
NEGATIVITY	There is several examples of negative campaigning where both S, SF, Alternativet and RV portray the government negative. The most of the article is build on why the new policy paper. is not good enough. Men initiativerne på landbrugsområdet er langt fra tilstrækkelige, mener Radikale Venstres leder, Morten Østergaard.		
TOPICALITY	This content is about climate changes and what do to about, why this is a long-term events. But it is presented with short-term focus, purely focussing on the new policy paper and what there is good and not good about that, leaving out other aspects or infomation about the climate		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Only very few ambiguous statements but instead several concrete statements and plans or suggestions for them.. Quote: Socialdemokratiet har tidligere foreslået en såkaldt jordreform, hvor lavtliggende jorder med højt CO2-udslip udtages fra produktion.		
SHARPENING	This content is quite detailed and dig into the new policy proposal by the government. The things that are focus on, are discussed quite detailed, for instance they tell what tryllepuljken is and how it works including explaining LULUCF. Quote: En meget større del er det, der på den forfærdelige klima jargon hedder LULUCF bidraget.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text is quite easily understandable and is leaving out most complexity of the given topic. But still different views are presented and there is a focus on explaining excatly how the ground/eath is an issue when it comes to climate and how that can be solved in different ways.		
POLARIZATION	There is very much conflict within the content. Big focus on contrast between opponents. S, SF, Alternativet and RV respond negative to the government's suggetstion. The most of the article is build on why the new policy paper is not good enough. Quote: Men initiativerne på landbrugsområdet er langt fra tilstrækkelige, mener Radikale Venstres leder, Morten Østergaard.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	TThis story is about new policy suggestions solving climate change issues which must seem to be nor abnormal or normal. It is in between.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is mostly presenting a general tendency, a problem about climate change that the politicians wan to solve. A few explamples is included but not any specific and no case is shown. An example mentioned it the earth that should be left alone.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: CLIMATE	WEEK: 2	FAKTA. HER ER REGERINGENS LUFT- OG KLIMAUDSPIL
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	The content presents a new political plan/proposal and what it contains. It does not in depth with the policy but present the initiatives in headlines. Quote: Fakta: Her er regeringens luft- og klimaudspil		
NEGATIVITY	Empty of negativity - both according to media and political logic. Just presenting the new proposal and describes precisely what it contains without question any of the initiatives.		
TOPICALITY	This content is about climate changes and what to do about, why this is a long-term events. But it is presented with short-term focus, purely focussing on the new policy paper and what that contains leaving out all other information. Quote: Mere klimavenlige danskere: En adfærdskampagne med klimamærker skal gøre det lettere for danskere at træffe det grønne valg. Klimaets pris skal lanceres til det bedste danske klimainitiativ.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Very concrete content that describe the plan and what it contains...		
SHARPENING	Mostly headlines with only little detailed information presented in bullet points all of them. Quote: Mere miljøvenlig skibsfart. - Regeringen vil igangsætte et internationalt projekt, der skal sikre mere miljøvenlig krydstogtturisme i Østersøen. - De rederier, som ikke overholder lovgivning om svovludledning, skal offentliggøres med navns nævnelse.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The content use short sentences, limited vocabulary, is easily understandable and leaves out complexity and nuance of climate issues - just describing the new policy plan without putting it into any greater context at all. Quote: Udspillet dækker 26 millioner ton med en forventning om, at et farvel til benzin- og dieslbiler får tallet til at stige.		
POLARIZATION	The content leaves out all other perspectives only presenting the governments plan.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	This story is about new policy suggestions solving climate change issues which must seem to be nor abnormal or normal. It is in between.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is onlt presenting a a new climate plan. It is quite concrete about what will happen and gives examples but only in plural and not very specific.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: CLIMATE	WEEK: 2	AVISLEDERE SER BÅDE KATASTROFEKURS OG POTENTIALE I KLIMAPLAN
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Emphasis on what different news editors mean about the government's new environmental proposal but almost purely NOTHING about the proposal and what it contains...		
NEGATIVITY	Several quotes that could be categorised as negativity campaigning but also negativity in media logic. Quotes: ifølge Information har klimaplanen "kurs mod katastrofen". + Men Jyllands-Posten er kritisk over for den drastiske "kursændring", når regeringen pludselig vil have en million elbiler på gaden inden 2030.		
TOPICALITY	A noticeable emphasis on how much disagreement there is between media about the new proposal making it more interesting, on top on the ranking of what we should talk about. Qotes: Regeringens klimaplan splitter dagbladene, der enten kalder planen for "utilstrækkelig" eller "ambitiøs". + ifølge Information har klimaplanen "kurs mod katastrofen".		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Almost purely leaving out what the new proposal is about only focussing on what the different news paper editors think about it. Example Politiken: Avisen kritiserer blandt andet, at regeringen freder landbruget i udspillet og går for meget op i talgymnastik frem for at reducere CO2-udledningen. BUT then we do not hear AT ALL about how and why..		
SHARPENING	The content is relatively short and does almost not describe the new policy suggestion on the surface. The details of the issue is not really explored and all background is almost completely left out.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text contains several relatively short sentences, is easily understandable and is leaving out complexity and nuance of the topic.		
POLARIZATION	The content consists of conflict between news editors, the whole content is framed upon this conflict. Qoutes: Avisledere ser både katastrofekurs og potentiale i klimaplan (headline) + Regeringens klimaudspil får onsdag stor opmærksomhed i dagbladenes ledere. Men der er langt fra enighed om, hvorvidt udspillet er alt for lidt eller lidt for meget..		
INTEN- SIFICATION	This story is coming after regeringen, DF and S agreed on a new political agreement, so not that intense. Though still framed on how the different news editors see at as ambitiøs, katastrofalt osv - all making it more intense.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is not very concrete and the opinions are not backed up or explained very well. they just stand a bit alone.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: HEALTHCARE	WEEK: 3	DATA OM SUNDHED, SUNDHEDSREFORM OG SVENSK LØFTER OM BEDRE TOG I EUROPA
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Much policy and just a little politics/polity, where there is some focus on procedures, but it is hold to a minimum. Quote: Og så har man så til gengæld noget temmelig decentralt, nemlig 21 sundhedsfællesskaber, som er sådan noget tværkommunale sundhedsfællesskaber, som skal drive nogle sundhedshuse.		
NEGATIVITY	Rather free of negative covering and rather free of negative campaigning, only a Quote: Og det er jo en meget smart og nok typisk Løkke-løsning. At man sådan lidt slipper ud af en kattepine ved at imødekomme begge parter lidt. ++ At du nu har skrevet en rubrik med, Løkke har ret. - Arg jeg vil lige sige kolon, at gøre ingenting er ikke noget svare. Og så skrev jeg også, at underfinansieringen er ikke helt god.		
TOPICALITY	Here we get information about a long time event with mostly long time focus, only a little shorttime focus (for instance what does the opponets respond to the proposol and hoe does the organisations in the area respond). Quote: Og der er det jo interessant, at der har været en ret positiv modtagelse af udspillet. Særligt interessant fordi de selvsamme eksperter og organisationer var meget kritiske, før udspillet kom.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Most of the content is quite concrete and the political proposal they discuss is also. Though, the opponets have quite vague statements. Quote: Altså jeg synes i hvert fald, at det var lidt useriøst, skrev jeg i en leder i avisen bare sådan at affeje det som et bureaukratisk monster - hun kaldte det også Løkkes sundheds-cirkus og Mette Frederiksen sagde, at det var en typisk Løkke-Rasmussens centraliserings øvelse.		
SHARPENING	This content is quite detailed and dig into the new policy proposal by the government. The things that are focus on, are discussed quite detailed, for instance they explain 1813 sunhedsplatformen, when mention IT and they turn back refering to it later too. Quote: fx IT. Som er lidt et belastet ord på sundhedsområdet pga. Sundhedsplatformen, som er den der skandaløse IT løsning, som Region Hovedstaden og Region Sjælland er kommet for skade at indkøbe		
SIMPLIFICATION	The content gives background and go beyond the new policy proposal. It opridser linjerne and show us what the starting point is Quote: Man var jo på forhånd meget optaget af, om Løkke ville sløjfe regionerne. Det har DF jo gjort ret klart, at det vil de have. Og LA og Konservative også.		
POLARIZATION	Not that much polarixation, and the one that is, is mostly there because of the politicians statements, but the podcast adds more nuances and blæder polarization op.. Quote: I den her uge kom regeringen og Lars Løkke med et udspil til en ny sundhedsreform og den høstede kritik hos oppositionen. Blandt andet kaldte Pia Olsen Dyr den for et bureaukratisk monster. Men de fik ikke umiddelbart støtte her fra Anton Geist?		
INTENSIFICATION	TThis content is about new policy suggestions improving the healthcare system in Denmark which must seem to be nor abnormal or normal. It is in between.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is presenting and discussing a a new reform that will structure the danish healthcare system different. A few explamples is included but never on personal level (always refeered to in plural, as folkevalgte) but it is quite concrete.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: HEALTHCARE	WEEK: 3	OPPOSITIONEN OM SUNDHEDSUDSPIL - KAN REGERINGEN IKKE SE, DER KOMMER MERE BUREAUKRATI
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	This content is about the reactions to the governments new policy paper on the healthcare system but also about the paper/reform. There is much focus on "horse race" content, where it is about what do all think about - what is bad/good. What is the reactions from opponents. There is also some information about the reform, which is mostly presented in factbox and infographics from regeringen.dk		
NEGATIVITY	There is several examples of negative campaigning where both S, SF, and Enhedslisten portray the government's reform negative. The most of the article is build on why the new policy paper, is not good enough. Though support from DF. Quotes: "Patienten er ikke i centrum, lyder kritikken fra oppositionen. Jo, siger DF. ++ Regeringens sundhedsreform er det sidste, det danske sundhedsvæsen har brug for. Sådan lyder det fra Enhedslistens politiske ordfører.		
TOPICALITY	This content is about the Danish healthcare system and how to improve it with or without new structures, why this is a long-term events. But it is presented with short-term focus, purely focussing on the new policy paper and what there is good and not good about that, leaving out other aspects or infomation about the healthcare		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Only very few ambiguous statements but instead several concrete statements and plans or suggestions for them. There is a factbox about the reform, which short but quite prceisly describe the reform within 8 bulletpoints. The information comes from regeringen.dk.		
SHARPENING	This content has a short to middle length and cover the suggestion about the new reform. There is several new initiatives but we only hear about a few of them and mostly in a factbox. Thereby are all the details of the issue is not really explored. It is covered from different sides and the oppoenents are able to explain what they disagree with.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text is quite easily understandable and is leaving out most complexity of the given topic. When explaining the reform, it is done very much in headlines and briefly information. Different views are presented.		
POLARIZATION	There is much conflict within the content. Big focus on contrast between opponents. S, SF, and Enhedslisten respond negative to the government's suggetstion. The most of the article is build on why the new policy paper is not good enough. Though DF who seem rather postive is included with their perspective too. Quote: Patienten er ikke i centrum, lyder kritikken fra oppositionen. Jo, siger DF.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	This story is about new policy suggestions improving the healthcare system in Denmark which must seem to be nor abnormal or normal. It is in between.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is mostly presenting a a new reform that will structure the danish healthcare system different. A few explamples is included but not any specific and no case is shown. An example mentioned is that the system needs more workers. Qoute: -Problemet med regeringens sundhedsudspil er, at de ikke har fokus på patienterne. Det vi har brug for lige nu er jo ro og flere ressourcer - altså flere medarbejdere, for der bliver løbet alt for hurtigt derude, og det løser regeringen altså ikke, siger formand Pia Olsen Dyhr.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: HEALTHCARE	WEEK: 3	LØKKE SVARER IGEN PÅ S-KRITIK AF SUNDHEDSUDSPIL
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Very much build up as horse race journalism, though also some information about the new policy proposal... Quote: Godmorgen og velkommen til denne uges midtvejsmorgenpost. En hel del kommer til at handle om regeringens sundhedsudspil, som præsenteres i dag klokken 10 i Spejlsalen i Statsministeriet af hele seks ministre med statsminister Lars Løkke Rasmussen (V) i spidsen.		
NEGATIVITY	Examples of negative campaigning from both sides but not that much since there is mostly many commentators . Quote: Socialdemokratiet har også over en bred kam erklæret sin modstand mod at nedlægge regionerne, som de mener vil føre til en centralisering af sundhedsvæsenet.		
TOPICALITY	This content is about the Danish healthcare system and how to improve it with or without new structures, why this is a long-term events. But it is presented with short-term focus, purely focussing on the new policy paper and and especially on how the prime minister is going to use that in the coming election. Quote: Løkke vil bruge sundhedsreformen aktivt i det kommende folketingsvalg.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Few ambiguous statements but instead concrete statements and plans or suggestions for them.		
SHARPENING	This content has a short to middle length and cover the suggestion about the new reform. There is several new initiatives but we only hear about a few of them and mostly in headlines or described very shortly. Thereby are all the details of the issue is not really explored. Only little detailed information leaving out historical context.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text is quite easily understandable and is leaving out most complexity of the topic healthcare reform. When explaining the reform, it is done very much in headlines and briefly information. Different views are presented.		
POLARIZATION	There is conflict and polarization within the content. For instance, focus on contrast between opponents, especially between V and S. Also the most of the content emphasis on the coming election and how this new reform suggestion is going to play a role there. Quote: »Han har til hensigt at vise, at rygterne om hans politiske død er overdrevne. Nok er han trængt, men han vil kæmpe til sidste blodsdråbe for at bevare regeringsmagten, og i lighed med tidligere højspændte situationer har han udformet en plan, som han vil slås for at realisere.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	This story is about new policy suggestions improving the healthcare system in Denmark which must seem to be nor abnormal or normal. It is in between.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is mostly presenting a a new reform that will structure the danish healthcare system different. A few explamples is included but not any specific and no case is shown. Though the content is being as specific and thus concrete as possible. Itt is exemplified by mentioned specific politicians and what will happen to them. Quote: Quote: Her er det ifølge både Berlingske og Politiken regeringens tanker, at tidligere regionsrådsformænd som f.eks. Bent Hansen (S) eller den nuværende Stephanie Lose (V) skal være bestyrelsesformænd.		



CRITERIA	TOPIC: HEALTHCARE	WEEK: 3	REGERINGEN AFSÆTTER SEKS MILLIARDER TIL NÆR SUNDHED
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Focus on the news in that the government is proposing a new health care reform and on the policy and what the new reform excists		
NEGATIVITY	The content does only incude quotes from the prime minister - no one in the opposition and there is no big focus on negativity.		
TOPICALITY	A reform which is a long-term events (next 6 year) is covered with short-term focus... The most focus is put on that the reform is going to be agreed on.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Some ambiguous statements, but not that many. Though are the most quotes defenatly some that you almost cannot disagree with like: Udspillet skal tage fat i de udfordringer, vi har i sundhedsvæsnet i dag, og som rigtig mange patienter oplever. +++ - Patienten skal sættes først. Vi tager patientens parti og vil over de kommende år skabe et endnu bedre sundhedsvæsen, siger Lars Løkke Rasmussen.		
SHARPENING	The content gives some information and details about the reform, but the main message (and headline) is also a bit simpel only concern the amount of money the proposal is about.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The text does look at the issue from only one angle presenting it like this is the only solution to the problems the danish health care system has.		
POLARIZATION	Only one view presented thereby leaving out other perspectives.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	Text about the government's new policy paper about the healthcare system which focus on the everyday life issues regarding heathcare which can be solved closer to the patients home instead of at a hospital.		
CONCRETIZING	Because the content describe the reform, which represents a general case and tendency. Though is the "patients" and "citizens" described as examples but in plural and in no specific context.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	WEEK: 4	NY PENSIONSALDER - HVORNÅR HAR VI ARBEJDET NOK?
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	The whole podcast is build up on a new policy proposal which is not detailed at all, there is only put number on the preliminary expenses - but who it is exactly there has to be able to go on public pension earlier is unknown. On the other hand we hear quite in depth about the reform from 2006 and the policy agreement just before the election in 2011 and how that forms the currently political situation, which there is a lot of policy in. So the reason for not that much policy about the new suggestions is probably more about there is no more policy in that one rather than it is the content that chose not to include it. But also focus on horse race!		
NEGATIVITY	Framed in a rather negative way and also some negative campaigning too or at least both sides presented opposite each other.		
TOPICALITY	Public pension is a long-term procedure addressed with a historical context, though rated 4 because there is still a context of election.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	As few ambiguous statements as it has been possible for the reporters, but they cannot explain more than the policy proposal allow them to, they comment on that though. Quote: S har foreslået syv principper for folk der har været længere på arbejdsmarkedet for tilbagetrækning.		
SHARPENING	Hvordan har vores forventninger til vores otium ændret sig fra dengang vi dyrkede jorden til vi faldt om til i dag, hvor en lang sund alderdom mest er blevet et privilegie for de velbjege? ++ Der var fattighjælpen, der bliver indført i slutningen af 1800tallet, der var en absolut eksistensminimum man kan få, hvis man er fattig - men dybest set er der ikke noget socialt sikkerhedsnet på det tidspunkt.		
SIMPLIFICATION	In some aspects the content clearly try to simplify and explain it in a way where the receiver easily can understand it. Quote: Man kan næsten sige, at man opfinder alderdommen på det her tidspunkt. Ideen om man ikke bare skal arbejde til man dør, men at man aftjener sin værnepligt og så har man ellers ret til en periode, hvor man er senior og passe børnebørnene og lave de ting, som man gerne vil. BUT on the other hand,		
POLARIZATION	Quite limited actually, but it is framed a bit like it especially in the introduction. Quote: Men hvad det så egentligt vi slås om, når vi diskuterer pensionsalder? +++ Så skete det igen, nogen dristede sig til at stikke hul på bylden til de seneste årtiers mest betændte diskussion, lige bortset fra indvandring. Næmlig efterløn og pensionsalder - hvem skal have lov at trække sig tilbage og hvor skal pengene komme fra? Så nu ved vi altså, hvad vi skal diskutere frem til forstående folketingsvalg.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	A policy proposal about suggestions to the public pension system which focus on the everyday life issues regarding pension today which is made WAY more intense taking up former discussions, campaigns, demonstrations and so on.. > Quote: Med de løfter som Poul Nyrup Rasmussen havde givet indtryk af han gav, så rejste der sig et ramaskrig.		
CONCRETIZING	The whole podcast is build up on a new policy proposal which is not detailed at all, there is only put number on the preliminary expenses - but who it is exactly there has to be able to go on public pension earlier is unknown.... On the other hand we hear quite in depth about all earlier reforms like the one from 2006 and how that forms the currently political situation, which is very concrete. So the reason for not that much concrete about the new suggestions is probably more about there is no more in that one rather than it is the content that chose not to include it. they cannot explain more than the policy proposal allow them to, they comment on that though.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	WEEK: 4	HVORNÅR SKAL VI KUNNE GÅ PÅ PENSION OG HVORDAN? SE HVOR PARTIERNE STÅR
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	This content contains it all. It is build up as a horse race focussing on the competition and differencies/similarities between parties. But is it also full of policy explaining where each party stands and what they want to do. Quote explaining what they want to do: Bliver det tre år før den officielle pensionsalder, forventer Socialdemokratiet, at der vil være tale om, at hver ottende lønmodtager vil kunne opnå retten.		
NEGATIVITY	This article is about the different parties stand on pension. It is rappedort rather objective but it includes somr attemps of negative campaigning. Qoute: Og da DF-formand Kristian Thulesen Dahl i sidste uge erklærede sig parat til at forhandle med udgangspunkt i Socialdemokratiets plan, skrev Morten Østergaard på Twitter, at det var "et stilstudie i uansvarlighed".		
TOPICALITY	This content is about pension, why this is a long-term event/policy. But it is presented with rather short-term focus, mostly focussing on the new policy paper from S and where opponets are compare to them. It is also including the historical context of the law from 2006 though. Quote: De Konservative står vagt om velfærdsforliget fra 2006, der gradvist hæver folkepensionsalderen, i takt med at danskerne levere længere.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Only few ambiguous statements but instead several concrete statements and plans or suggestions for them,. Quote: I Socialdemokratiets øjne fungerer ordningen med seniorførtidspension ikke, og partiet er klar til justeringer, men vil indtil videre ikke være konkret om hvordan.		
SHARPENING	This content has a middle length and cover the all parties standing point on public pension sharp and forward. There is several new initiatives described but we only hear shortly about them. Every parti gets around 15 lines to describe their stand in public pension. Thereby are all the details of the issue is not really explored. It is covered from different sides and the oppoenents are able to explain what they think and disagree with.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text is quite easily understandable and is leaving out most complexity of the given topic. When explaining the parties stand on public pension, it is done much in headlines and briefly information. Different views are presented. Quote: Grundlæggende er Alternativet imod en forhøjelse af folkepensionsalderen og ønsker velfærdsaftalen fra 2006 annulleret.		
POLARIZATION	There is much polarization within this content. Big focus on contrast between opponents, which the whole article is build upon. What is different between the parties and where do they stand.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	This story is coming after S released a new suggestion on public pension. The content here is about suggestions improving the public pension system in Denmark which must seem to be nor abnormal or normal. It is in between.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is mostly presenting a a new the stands of the parties and how they will structure the danish pension system different. A few explamples is included but not any specific and no case is shown. An example mentioned is that the system needs to let people that have been working 40 years go on leave.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	WEEK: 4	DANSKERNE ENIGE MED FREDERIKSEN OG THULESEN/ NEDSLIDTE SKAL HAVE TIDLIG PENSION
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	A noticeable emphasis is put on that the poll has not been published before. Quite vague about what the new suggestion is about policy vice, no background and only focussing on the new meeting which is coming up that will gather the politicians to see, if they can find each other. Quote: 55 pct. siger ja til, at brolæggere, sosu-assistenten og andre i oplidende jobs skal tidligere på pension, mens kun 26 pct. siger nej i YouGov-målingen, der er fra november, men som ikke er bragt før.		
NEGATIVITY	Several quotes that could be categorised as negative campaigning takes space in this content. Quotes: »Der er næsten ikke sat nogen penge af til Socialdemokratiets plan, så det minder mest om noget valgflæsk, der er pakket pænt ind. Og derfor tror jeg heller ikke, at de havde tænkt sig, at vi skulle snakke grundigt om det andet end i selve valgkampen.		
TOPICALITY	A noticeable emphasis is put on that the poll has not been published before., except that no focus on the long term issue public pension is BUT only focus on the meeting which it coming up... Quote: 55 pct. siger ja til, at brolæggere, sosu-assistenten og andre i oplidende jobs skal tidligere på pension, mens kun 26 pct. siger nej i YouGov-målingen, der er fra november, men som ikke er bragt før.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Quite vague about what the new suggestion is about, no background and only focussing on the new meeting which is coming up that will gather the politicians to see, if they can find each other. Quotes: Kristian Thulesen Dahl vurderer, at forhandlingerne i beskæftigelsesministeriet ikke bare handler om at teste Socialdemokratiet, men faktisk om at nå en løsning. Ifølge B.T.'s kilder kan en sandsynlig model være, at et bliver gjort nemmere at gå på seniorpension.		
SHARPENING	The content has a middle length but does only describe and explain the new policy suggestion on the surface- The details of the issue is not really explored and all background is completely left out. We hear almost nothing about the suggestion, which is only introduced as following and then it goes directly to if the parties are for or against it. Quote: Det drejer sig om, hvorvidt nedslidte folk i fysisk hårde jobs skal have lov at gå tidligere på pension, og det er politisk dynamit.		
SIMPLIFICATION	This text contains several relatively short sentences, is easily understandable and is leaving out complexity and nuance of the topic. We hear almost nothing about the suggestion, which is only introduced as following and then it goes directly to if the parties are for or against it. Quote: Det drejer sig om, hvorvidt nedslidte folk i fysisk hårde jobs skal have lov at gå tidligere på pension, og det er politisk dynamit. Pensionsdebatten har helt stjålet opmærksomheden fra Løkkes sundhedsreform.		
POLARIZATION	The content consists of conflict and contrast between opponents, but it is still emphasis that DF and S agree. Quotes: Det drejer sig om, hvorvidt nedslidte folk i fysisk hårde jobs skal have lov at gå tidligere på pension, og det er politisk dynamit. Pensionsdebatten har helt stjålet opmærksomheden fra Løkkes sundhedsreform.		
INTENSIFICATION	This story is coming after S released a new suggestion on public pension. The content here is if you are for or against it. Public pension is a topic that regards everyday life issues but here it is framed a bit like a battle or a horse race to make it more intense.		
CONCRETIZING	This content is mostly presenting a new the stands of the parties and how they will structure the danish pension system in two different ways. It is only focusing on the policy suggestion (single case) and whether you are for that or not. It does not look at public pension as a general case.		

CRITERIA	TOPIC: SOCIAL (RETIREMENT)	WEEK: 4	SOCIALDEMOKRATIET: VI HAR IKKE SAT ÅRSTAL PÅ PENSION ENDNU
ABSENCE OF POLICY ISSUES	Focus much on the news in that S is presenting a new suggestion but we only hear on the surface what it is about. So very much a story which focus on structural aspects of democracy. Quote: En masse teknik skal på plads, før S kan pege på, hvor mange år man skal have arbejdet før pensionen.		
NEGATIVITY	The content focus just a tiny bit on negative campaigning by building up to quotes from the government: Venstres næstformand, finansminister Kristian Jensen, er ikke begejstret for Socialdemokratiets udspil om differentieret pensionsalder.		
TOPICALITY	A proposal that regards long-term events is covered with short-term focus... The most focus is put on what the parties can and cannot agree on.		
ABSENCE OF AMBIGUITY	Many ambiguous statements. The most quotes defenatly some that you almost cannot disagree with like. Qoutes: - Man har en oplevelse af fra mange sider, at det er besværligt, og at man skal være enormt meget nedslidt for overhovedet at kunne komme på en sådan ordning. - Derfor er det vigtigt, at vi kigger på, om vi kan forbedre kendskabet til de ordninger, der er, siger han.		
SHARPENING	The content gives some almost no information about what the proposal is really about, we only get the party's mainpoint. There is even a lot of question regarding the suggestion the party will not answer like which year you should be aloud earlier retirement. Quotes: Det slog S-formand Mette Frederiksen onsdag endnu en gang fast under en debat i København om værdig tilbagetrækning, som blev arrangeret af Ældre Sagen.		
SIMPLIFICATION	The text does look at the issue from two angles presenting but except that very sharpening. : The content gives some almost no information about what the proposal is really about, we only get the partys' mainpoint.		
POLARIZATION	Some. They defately try to build it a bit up. Quotes: Venstres næstformand, finansminister Kristian Jensen, er ikke begejstret for Socialdemokratiets udspil om differentieret pensionsalder.		
INTEN- SIFICATION	Text about S's new policy suggestion about early retirement which focus on the everyday life issues regarding retirement. But in a way where it is about having the right to a life when you retire. Quote: Hun mener, at det bliver politikernes opgave at forhindre, at folk, der ikke er nedslidte, vil kunne gå tidligere på folkepension i fremtiden.		
CONCRETIZING	Not that concrete.		