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Political Microtargeting

A Mixed Method Study in a Multi-Party System

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Political Microtargeting: A Mixed Method Study in a Multi-Party System.

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ABSTRACT (MAX. 200 WORDS):

This study investigates political microtargeting in a multi-party context, more specifically, in a Swedish setting. By utilizing a mixed-method approach, the objective of the study is two-fold. Firstly, interviewing researchers and political parties regarding their perception of microtargeting to generate a holistic view around the technology and its utilization. Secondly, implementing a survey with the intention to understand the public opinion concerning microtargeting. The results have been contrasted with an extensive literature review regarding the phenomenon. Through the literature review, several aspects that may possibly affect the applicability of microtargeting were identified. These aspects were included in a conceptual framework that operates as an analysis tool for the study. The findings indicate that a multi-party system and legal restriction does not inhibit the utilization of microtargeting as prior literature suggests. The result further displays that other regulations in Sweden enable an effective data gathering process. However, the public perception of microtargeting is somewhat problematic from a user standpoint – for instance, a fear of filter bubbles in terms of skewing the user's perception of a certain topic is identified. Furthermore, there is no inclination to change online behaviour, more specifically, to trade convenience over privacy.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Recently, there has been a noticeable paradigm shift regarding advertisement, where traditional forms of advertising, such as television ads, whose sole purpose is to reach a mass audience, has been substituted with a more sophisticated method - that is Online Behavioral Advertising (OBA) through microtargeting (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). A noteworthy definition of the phenomenon is given by Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018, p.2), who states that; *“microtargeting is a strategic process intended to influence voters through the direct transmission of stimuli, which are formed based on the preferences and characteristics of an individual”*.

Initially, before the emergence of microtargeting, targeting in a general sense was primarily achieved through geographical segmentation and mapping of individuals based on their postal code (Barbu, 2014). An equivalent point can be stated regarding political campaign advertisement, which has, for many decades, been deployed solely based on potential voters' geographical unit, for example, a specific precinct (Endres & Kelly, 2018). However, with the rapid advancements of Big Data, a shift in strategies became evident, where advertisers utilize personal data as a tool to decide which specific individuals to contact (Endres & Kelly, 2018). The latter enabled the collection of data about individuals, which was either done manually or through data mining (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). Thus, political campaigns have transitioned from traditional offline canvassing to more data-driven campaigning that utilizes sophisticated microtargeting algorithms (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018).

Microtargeting has, in recent years, been widely utilized in different political campaigns in the United States (US) (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018), where the method was used in both Senator Ted Cruz's and President Donald Trump's respective campaigns (Wilson, 2017). However, data-driven targeting is not confined to the United States alone since political microtargeting has also been observed a few times in European countries, for example, in the United Kingdom (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). The reason for microtargeting being increasingly appealing in political advertisement is its capabilities in terms of enabling an efficient and effective communication process (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Barocas, 2012). Other benefits include; directing relevant campaign messages to interested audiences while also reaching out to voters with the right message (Barocas, 2012), which can attract up to 63% more clicks (i.e., clicks on a specific advertisement) (Wilson, 2017). Furthermore, Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) states that there are multiple ways in which microtargeting can be perceived as positive from a societal perspective. Firstly, it can increase political participation since relevant advertisements that appeal to specific individuals are utilized. Secondly, microtargeting also has positive effects on public opinion since it promises to increase the diversity of political campaigns (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018).

However, aside from the arguments presented above, several authors highlight problematic aspects with microtargeting, primarily ethical issues related to the utilization of the technology in question (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Barbu, 2014; Wilson, 2017). Firstly, Barbu (2014) and Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) states that privacy concerns are a significant threat for individuals since microtargeting requires a vast collection of personal data,

which for example, could include political preferences. This, in turn, might lead to what Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) depict as “chilling effects” since individuals that suspect that their behaviors are monitored try to escape attention by changing their daily actions. Furthermore, since marketing companies collect large quantities of data, the problematic aspect of data breaches emerges - where a successful hack could result in millions of individual’s personal data being exposed (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018).

Wilson (2017) further elaborates the idea of ethical issues by discussing media powerhouses (e.g., Facebook) and the possibility of these to act as a Big Brother by controlling the content exposed to individuals on the specific platform. These powerhouses will be able to micro-analyze and serve explicit content to particular segments of the population, which could enable them to control individuals by exposing them to particularly selected and customized media and messages (Wilson, 2017).

1.2 Research Problem

From a citizen perspective, the threats are divided into three categories: invading privacy, manipulation, and being ignored (Barbu-Banes, 2013; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017). Furthermore, Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) states that microtargeting also threatens public opinion in several ways. Firstly, voters might falsely assume that certain issues are central for a specific party since they, through microtargeting, receive a vast amount of information regarding a particular topic, which creates a biased view of central questions of political parties (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). A second threat to public opinion is due to the fragmentation and segmentation of the marketplace of ideas (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). The consequences result in fewer efforts to reach a mass market through traditional media-channels and instead focus on tailored promotions and campaigns in accordance to the specific segment of the population (Barbu, 2014), which in turn may result in the possibility of exclusion of voters (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018).

It is worth noting that previous research regarding the problematic aspect of microtargeting is primarily based on elections conducted in the United States (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017; Ward, 2018; Wilson, 2017). From a European (EU) and a Swedish perspective, it is allegedly stated that microtargeting is not as effective compared to in the US since the stricter privacy rules, e.g., the GDPR (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018; Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). Furthermore, the multi-party systems typically employed in EU-based countries, compared to the two-party system utilized in the US, is also perceived as a reason for microtargeting being less effective in the EU (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). However, in a report regarding the Swedish elections 2018, provided by Nord, Grusell, Bolin, and Falasca (ed. 2018), it is argued that targeted messages to potential voters that utilized microtargeting were present and that the technology will receive increasing attention in the future elections. It could be argued therefore that the problematic aspects presented above may, to some extent, become a reality also in Sweden.

Aside from the report mentioned above, the information regarding microtargeting in a Swedish setting is generally nonexistent, except from a few articles such as one provided by Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) regarding microtargeting through the Facebook platform (Hellekant, 2018). In this context, it is recognized that microtargeting has not become crucial and

therefore has not rooted itself yet. In light of this, one does not find it problematic regarding why this has not become a reality as of now, but rather why it has not taken place to a more considerable extent yet.

1.3 Aim and Objective

This study aims to get a better understanding of the phenomenon of microtargeting and its utilization in targeting individuals with tailored messages. The rationale for the study is the growing use of the technology under discussion, which has led to the emergence of concerns related to its applicability. Thus, in order to meet the aims, the study takes the following two objectives as its point of departure:

- Highlight potential beneficial and problematic aspects regarding the utilization of political microtargeting.
- Examine what other factors may affect the applicability of microtargeting in a political context in Sweden, with an emphasis on a multi-party system, the regulatory frameworks and potential data gathering processes employed by organizations.

Our research will be conducted by deriving a conceptual framework from the previous literature, which will be utilized as an analytical tool for examining the phenomenon under study and apply it in a new setting. The intent is, therefore, to contribute to the body of knowledge with new insights regarding political microtargeting and its utilization.

1.4 Research Question

This study utilizes both qualitative and quantitative elements in terms of interviews and surveys (see chapter 3.3 and 3.4). Therefore, two research questions have been developed in order to align with the selected approach in this research. The first question relates to the qualitative element and the second one to the quantitative element.

The work takes its point of departure in the following research questions:

- *What factors could affect the applicability of political microtargeting in Sweden?*
- *What is the population's perception on targeted advertisement and tailored messages?*

1.5 Scope and Limitations

The scope of this study is limited to political microtargeting, thus excluding the utilization of traditional microtargeting for commercial purposes. The research will focus on how political parties may use the phenomenon under study in order to reach out to potential voters, and how they may tailor messages based on what part of the population is targeted. This will be applied to a Swedish setting with the intention to study the possibility of microtargeting becoming a commonly utilized technology in Swedish society. Due to time constraints, analyzing microtargeting in settings aside from Sweden would not be feasible. Therefore, this study is

limited to political microtargeting in a Swedish environment, which entails that other countries are excluded from the research. Consequently, in order to fulfill the purpose presented above, the interview respondents will be limited to Swedish political parties and to researchers who are knowledgeable regarding political microtargeting in a Swedish or European setting. Regarding survey respondents, the thesis will be limited to people situated in Sweden. Discussions emphasizing personal integrity are generally seen as a critical component in the microtargeting context. Therefore, the prevailing regulatory framework for personal data becomes highly relevant. Since this study will mainly cover microtargeting in a Swedish setting, the applicable regulatory framework becomes GDPR. Other data protection frameworks such as California Consumer Protection Act will, therefore, not be covered in this study.

2 Theoretical Background

2.1 The Fundamentals of Microtargeting and Online Behavioural Advertising

2.1.1 *The Fundamentals of Microtargeting*

Several scholars argue that microtargeting has become prominent in recent years because of its frequent use in several political campaigns as a tool to communicate political ideas and beliefs whilst developing a lasting relationship with prospective voters (Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Wilson, 2017). Microtargeting essentially refers to a strategic process with the intention to influence individuals with tailored messages (also known as stimuli), which are based on preferences and characteristics of a given individual (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). Thus, at the heart of the concept lies the utilization of data and analytics in order to develop these targeted messages for specific individuals or sub-groups of the population (Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017). Vast amounts of personal data are required to depict an individual's political beliefs and non-political characteristics, which has become possible because of the continuous datafication of societies in recent times (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). One concrete example of this datafication is the frequent utilization of social media platforms. Several scholars argue that the data required in order to utilize microtargeting can be fully supplied through the many social networks that different users sign up to and frequently use (Korolova, 2010; Barbu, 2014; Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman, 2016). The data is then collected either manually or through data mining (see chapter 2.4 regarding data gathering), which include information ranging from a name, age, or gender to more specific information such as different interests and beliefs regarding various topics (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). In essence, microtargeting has become viable because of the digital footprint that individuals leave in the digital environment.

2.1.2 *Online Behavioural Advertising*

Despite not having a precise definition, Online Behavioral Advertising (OBA) is often considered to be an umbrella term for the process of monitoring online behavior of users in order to use the data to present individually targeted advertisement (Boerman, Kruikemeier & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2017). Practically speaking, this set of data could be the websites a particular user habitually visits, how long they stay and what they there (Ham, 2017). This targeting is often conducted with the help of a third-party or tracking “cookie”, which collects user information to enable personalized targeting (Smit, Noort & Voorveld, 2014).

In a study conducted by the consulting firm Accenture, it became evident that 43 percent of all consumers tend to make purchases from companies offering personalized recommendations (Kirkpatrick, 2017). 41 percent of all consumers switched companies last year due to a lack of trust and poor personalization from a company, thus showing that these customized experiences can be utilized in order to gain a competitive edge over rival counterparts (Kirkpatrick, 2017). Despite showing monetary and reach-increasing benefits for organizations that use some form of targeting in their marketing of a product or service, issues related to invasion of privacy for the user being exposed to this targeting has arisen, such as perceiving it to

be “scary” and “creepy” when actively being aware of the targeting processes and how they occur (Ur, Leon, Cranor, Shay & Wang, 2012). Furthermore, contrary to successes in gaining consumers by personalizing advertisements from an organization side; informed consumers, such as with the study conducted by Turow, King, Hoofnagle, Bleakly and Hennessy (2009) shows that between 73 and 86 percent of the study group states that after being aware on how the data is gathered do not want to be exposed to this kind of personalized advertisement (Turow et al., 2009) and 63 percent believe that “*advertisers should be required by law to immediately delete information about their internet activity*” (Turow et al., 2009, p.3).

In some cases, the issues regarding privacy are of such great importance that 40 percent of the questioned target group would be more careful in terms of what they are doing online if they actively know that advertisers are collecting their data (McDonald & Cranor, 2010). Regarding the practical utilization of OBAs, companies such as Facebook have shifted from only utilizing a model in which the targeting is limited to their particular website, to targeting people visiting all kinds of websites (such as shopping websites and similar) online in order to serve these personalized ads when they revisit Facebook, this trough of tools such as a “like” button on pages that similarly worked as a tracker (Parsons, 2014).

In the recent scandal involving Cambridge Analytica, the very notion of personal privacy and consent has been put into question when it became evident that Facebook gave Cambridge Analytica the right to mass gather personal data on active Facebook profiles without explicitly asking for permission from the users (Lapowsky, 2019). Cambridge Analytica microtargeted individuals with the help of their own developed “OCEAN”-psychological profile (which stands for openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism) combined with the over 5.000 data points (such as likes on pages, certain purchases online, browser history to name a few) for political advertising purposes without requesting formal consent from the targeted individual (Isaak & Hanna, 2018), thus raising questions on the ethical aspect of microtargeting and consent in general.

2.2 Benefits with Microtargeting

There are several benefits with the utilization of microtargeting. From a political view, it can increase political participation from voters since it provides individuals with essential information that is perceived as important and relevant (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). Generating information of this nature is made possible since microtargeting enables tracking of an individual’s predispositions or overall interest feasible, which in turn facilitates political parties to modify their messages in order to comply with the voter’s assumptions and beliefs (Papakyiakopoulos et al., 2018). Furthermore, the utilization of microtargeting is depicted by some scholars as an efficient and effective approach, which has in recent times evolved to a relatively inexpensive solution (Barocas, 2012; Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017). The combination of efficiency and lowered cost has reduced entry barriers which have enabled smaller parties with limited resources to also take advantage of the benefits provided by microtargeting (Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017).

Additionally, reach is another aspect that is perceived as a fundamental strength in regard to the utilization of microtargeting. It is argued by Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) that traditional media channels, such as television advertisements, have problems in terms of reaching individuals that are generally politically uninterested. These individuals have tendencies to be

less susceptible to political messages on traditional channels - and it is therefore argued by Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) that microtargeting could be perceived as an enablement tool in terms of reaching individuals with influential messages that typically is perceived to be politically inactive.

2.3 Issues with Microtargeting

It is apparent that microtargeting can be recognized as a powerful marketing tool that can be utilized by numerous organizations in order to reach a specific group of people. Scholars argue however that there exist some problematic issues with the phenomenon, as mentioned in the former chapter (2.2), primarily related to personal privacy (Barbu-Banes, 2013; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017; Ward, 2018).

As stated previously, the fundamental aspect of microtargeting is data collection, which is then combined in order to develop an understanding regarding individuals' preferences (Papakriakopoulos et al., 2018), which could include political beliefs and opinions that people may perceive as sensitive information (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). Kruikemeier, Sezgin and Boerman (2016) further argues that users typically are unaware that their personal information is used as a marketing tool in order to create tailored messages. This is also strengthened by Caudill and Murphy (2000) who argue that online consumers normally do not appear concerned regarding their privacy being infringed whenever their personal data is being collected online - which could be an effect of a false sense of anonymity. It is suggested that online users have varying perceptions regarding privacy in which some actively trade their information for a more valued incentive, while others do not (Caudill & Murphy, 2000). Therefore, Caudill and Murphy (2000) state that violation of privacy depends on two aspects (1) consumers' control regarding how their information is utilized for marketing purposes (i.e., can users control the amount of data collected), and (2) the degree of their knowledge regarding the collection of their personal information and how it is utilized. The latter is perceived by Isaak and Hanna (2018) as problematic and stresses the importance of transparency regarding how personal information may be utilized. The public should have the right to constantly know what type of data is retained by different services online, how it is used and what information is shared by third parties - directly and indirectly (Isaak & Hanna, 2018). Higher degree of awareness and insights, as depicted above, regarding how personal data might be utilized in microtargeting services would according to Kruikemeier, Sezgin and Boerman (2016) make individuals more cautious and question online advertisements. This is also strengthened by Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) as he argues that "chilling effects" may arise if individuals suspect that their behaviors are monitored in which users try to escape attention by changing their daily actions. However, this type of awareness is, in reality, scarce (Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman, 2016).

The above mentioned became evident after the 2016 US election between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. It is argued by Ward (2018) that many believed that Clinton would win, as indicated by the polls. However, it became apparent that Trump managed to pull an upset victory, which made him the 45th president of the US. One of the reasons for the success of Trump's campaign was, with the aid from Cambridge Analytica, the utilization of big data to influence voting behavior (Ward, 2018; Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017). In other words, Cambridge Analytica divided over 220 million Americans into several behavioral profiles based on personal data gathered from social networks such as Facebook and other data broker

firms. The large datasets were then utilized in order to tailor specific messages that appealed to individuals psychological traits, that is playing on people's fears, hopes and prejudices in order to persuade them to vote for Trump - a process that many message recipients were entirely unaware of (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Ward, 2018).

Apart from the privacy threats presented above, there is also the risk of behavioral manipulation through microtargeting (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Ward, 2018). The ethical dilemma regarding manipulation of individuals is especially apparent in political advertisement according to Bodó, Helberger and de Vreese (2017) since political speech is not judged the same way as regular advertisement, which must follow sophisticated regulatory frameworks intended to protect consumers (Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017). Consequently, aspects such as negative advertisement and smear campaigns aimed to undermine opponent parties or candidates are broadly utilized strategies in political campaigns - with the intention to influence potential voters to vote in a specific way (Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017). However, some conflicting arguments regarding manipulation and microtargeting have been identified since Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) argue that the transmission of tailored messages does not directly imply that individuals are manipulated mainly because they still possess the freedom to decide what party to vote for or what product to buy. Still, it has been observed that the algorithms in recent times have become better and more precise, which in turn may trigger what Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) calls an instant influence, that is, triggering the individual's mind in order to develop a response that parties or companies that utilize microtargeting are after. Whether this falls under the category of manipulation is still up for discussion, according to Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018).

Another perceived dilemma regarding microtargeting is the aspect of exclusion. It has been argued previously that the technology under study enables companies and political parties to reach any individual, especially those that normally ignore traditional advertising channels (i.e., television ads) (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). However, even though organizations have the possibility to reach any online user, the guarantee that everyone will be is not certain. It is argued that organizations that utilize microtargeting, especially political parties, ignore segments of the population (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Endres & Kelly, 2018). From a political perspective, individuals that are perceived as politically inactive or uninterested may be excluded from the targeted focus group - which in turn could lead to an underrepresentation of particular portions of the population, which negatively affects the democratic system according to Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018). The aforementioned is strengthened by Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018), Barberá and Rivero (2015) who address the problematic aspects with exclusion from a more general perspective. The activity of different users may vary heavily on social media platforms (Barberá & Rivero, 2015), and since microtargeting often requires large datasets regarding individuals online behavior - dangers could arise in which the most active users will be targeted due to the larger digital footprint they leave behind (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) therefore argue that this generates an environment where organizations solely base their data-driven behavioral analysis on the most active users, even if that sample does not represent the whole population.

2.4 Data Gathering

In order to successfully tailor messages intended to persuade individuals, organizations must gather relevant personal data that provides the fundamental information regarding different

beliefs and preferences (Schipper & Woo, 2018; Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). Historically, the process depicted above was practically impossible to carry out - which essentially meant that political campaigns, for example, had to base their strategy on general opinion polls and geographic segmentation (Schipper & Woo, 2018; Barbu, 2014). However, a paradigm shift has been noticeable due to the rapid advances in technology and big data - paving the way for new emerging concepts, such as microtargeting (Endres & Kelly, 2018). Modern information technology enables organizations to collect a wealth of personal data through sophisticated data mining tools, which is then utilized in strategic decision making (Schipper & Woo, 2018).

Data mining entails the process of inductively analyzing data in order to find interesting patterns and new relationships within the data, which involves both human and software resources (Murray & Scime, 2010). Social media data mining has in recent times increased exponentially due to the increasing availability of data, decreased cost of collecting and the constant expansion of social media platforms - which in theory means that a growing number of actors can mine data from social networks (Gundecha & Liu, 2012; Kennedy & Moss, 2015). The data mining process could involve simple calculations such as counting the total likes or shares on a specific post, or more advanced methods such as analyzing the metadata (who is speaking and sharing, locations, influence and network) behind the social media sites (Kennedy & Moss, 2015). The actors that mine social media data can vary - the process is typically undertaken by the major platforms themselves (such as Facebook and Twitter), more intermediary commercial companies and regular users that take advantage of different kinds of tools (Social Mention and NodeXL) (Kennedy & Moss, 2015).

2.5 Legal Aspects

2.5.1 *The Fundamentals of GDPR*

The EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) was enforced across all European member states on the 25th of May 2018. It is depicted as a legal privacy framework that was derived from a philosophical approach based on the concept of privacy as a fundamental right of all residents within the EU (Goddard, 2017). In essence, the expected effect of the implemented regulation was improved protection of personal data whilst generating a higher level of transparency regarding the collection and processing of personal data (Momen, Hatamian & Fritsch, 2019).

GDPR covers the personal data of all EU residents regardless of where the data is processed (Goddard, 2017), which essentially imply that companies operating outside the EU must follow the legislation if services are provided to individuals situated in any of the member states (Gruschka et al., 2018; Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019). The interpretation of what personal data includes could be perceived as broad, where personal data is regarded as information that indirectly or directly can identify a particular individual, including information such as IP addresses, cookies and digital fingerprints (Goddard, 2017; Gruschka et al., 2018; Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019). Furthermore, it is argued that the number of aspects that fall under GDPRs personal information category is extensively more compared to the US privacy laws definition of personal information (Goddard, 2017).

The core protection principles of GDPR can be divided into six different categories; “*fairness and lawfulness; purpose limitation; data minimization; accuracy; storage limitation; and integrity and confidentiality*”, where protection by default and design lies as the foundation throughout the regulation (Goddard, 2017, p.703). Furthermore, two aspects are essential in GDPR, namely transparency and accountability. Transparency refers to the process of ensuring that all essential information regarding the utilization and processing of personal data is provided to the users, while accountability refers to the essential steps that companies are required to take in order to demonstrate that sufficient measures are taken when personal data is used (Goddard, 2017). Additionally, a fundamental change to note is the requirement of consent, which is now necessary in order to attain lawful processing of personal data. The consent must be freely given while also being specific and informative regarding the intention behind the utilization of personal data (Goddard, 2017).

Dobber, Fathaigh and Zuiderveen Borgesius (2019) further state that one of the important changes that GDPR has brought is the increased power of data protection authorities which has given them serious enforcement possibilities. Organizations that violate the GDPR regulation can be fined up to 20 million euro or 4% of the total annual turnover (Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019).

2.5.2 GDPR in Relation to Microtargeting

It is argued by several scholars that regulations such as GDPR affect the overall usability of services such as microtargeting (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018), since it fundamentally involves the utilization and process of personal information, thus making the applicable data protection rules highly relevant (Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019). This becomes considerably apparent when analyzing Article 9 in GDPR since it presents several categories of personal information that is considered to be “sensitive data”, which includes personal information regarding an individual's political beliefs (Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). The utilization of this category of personal information is usually prohibited. However, it is worth noting that there are exceptions to this ban, for example, according to Article 9.2.d it is stated that non-profit bodies (such as political parties) can under certain circumstances use sensitive information from current or former members of the party (Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). For targeted marketing by traditional profitable organizations, the only available exception to the processing of sensitive information is according to Dobber, Fathaigh and Zuiderveen Borgesius (2019) the explicit consent from the data subject, i.e., the user.

Some scholars further argue that microtargeting cannot be applied in Europe due to the strict regulations provided by GDPR, according to Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) and Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018). However, Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) conducted a study regarding political data processing and its consequences for Germany, in which they state that despite the legal restrictions regarding personal information, an ample of leeway exists regarding data gathering, for example on social media platforms. This is due to the German privacy law permitting the collection and processing of public information on social media platforms, given that the data subject's interests are not challenged (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). In addition to the latter, it is argued that users on social media platforms provide their consent to allow companies to use their personal data for commercial activities when opting into the social media platform. Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) therefore claim that the legal

requirements for using personal information from social media platforms as a basis for microtargeting could be perceived as met. This is however questionable, given that the terms and conditions document usually is considerably extensive, in which the information regarding how the personal data may be further utilized and processed is outlined, one could argue that it does not signify the transparency level that GDPR demand (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018).

With the information presented above, it becomes apparent that microtargeting could be practically utilized in Europe - it is however more complicated compared to in the US (Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). It is stressed by Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) that GDPR does not solve privacy issues since compliance with data protection laws is often lacking - while also the data protection rules for political parties could be perceived as vague.

2.6 Microtargeting and Political Systems

Generally speaking, literature regarding microtargeting is often emphasizing the practical utilization in either a two-party or a multi-party system. The fundamental idea about a two-party system is that two parties dominate the political landscape in a country or state - the choice of these two is often one being on the right side of the spectrum and the other one leaning towards the left side (Nicholson et al., 2018). Although there can exist more than two parties that are eligible to vote for in this type of system, the consensus is that one of the two most dominant parties are usually the winner in the elections, where the winning party gets the right to govern, and the “losing” party have to wait for the next election take place (Li, 2017). Consequently, with these clear distinctions between parties favoring either the business and private economic activities (the right side) and the other favoring greater use of welfare incentives and income redistribution (the left side) (Li, 2017), the choice for voters has been empirically shown to be perceived as more distinct than those of a multi-party system (Nicholson et al., 2018).

In regard to the two-party system, Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) argues that the utilization of microtargeting is generally more successful in these types of scenarios, where there are two opposing parties to choose from utilizing a majoritarian electoral system in which a “winner-take-all”-system is implemented (such as the case the US-electoral systems) (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). However, the utilization of microtargeting has also been shown in a few European contexts. Some examples include the general UK election in 2015, where the Conservatives, the Liberal Democrats and the Labor party all utilized consultants and experts on microtargeting in order to build their voter databases; and the Dutch Green Party, who hired a US-based strategy firm in order to more efficiently utilize microtargeting (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). Contrasting this, a multi-party system is one that has multiple parties in the left and right side of an ideological spectrum - which in turn can make parties close to each other being perceived as ideologically similar (Nicholson et. al., 2018).

The multi-party systems are often most prevalent in countries that utilize a proportional representation in their parliaments which in contrast to the “winner-take-all” system allows the proportionate number of elected representatives to have a certain percentage of seats, even though the elected parties are proportionally a minority compared to the other parties (Drutman, 2020). In a European context with many countries utilizing proportional electoral

approach with an emphasis on a multi-party system, the idea of microtargeting is considered to be more problematic due to a general focus on even funding across electorates, this due to the weight of votes being spread more equally (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018).

2.7 Data-Driven Predictions

With the incline of digital platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Google - digital traces such as likes and interactions on certain pages and status updates can work as a way to predict voting behavior with a more accurate precision than what the methods traditionally employed within this field could potentially do (Franch, 2012). As Kristensen et al. (2017) highlights in their study, predictions in voting behavior utilized by data points exemplified by Facebook likes, can not only place a specific individual into a “left-or-right”-scale but also predict what this individual might vote for in a multi-party system with greater confidence and thus outperform than those of traditional measurement alternatives (such as pooling of a survey sample). By grouping certain personality traits with specific Facebook likes, such as “Harley Davidson” or “The Colbert Report” - these algorithms can target individuals to a particular segment of people holding a certain political or personality-based attitude (Kosinski, Stillwell & Graepel, 2013).

This digital segmentations has furthermore proven to be able to predict political attitudes and personality traits of individuals more accurately than some of those people close to the individual (such as colleagues, families and friends), but tends to score lower than a spouse by 0.2 points - an example of this based on the five personality traits (such as the OCEAN-profile, described in 2.1.2) can be seen in *Figure 1* (Wu, Kosinski & Stillwell, 2015).

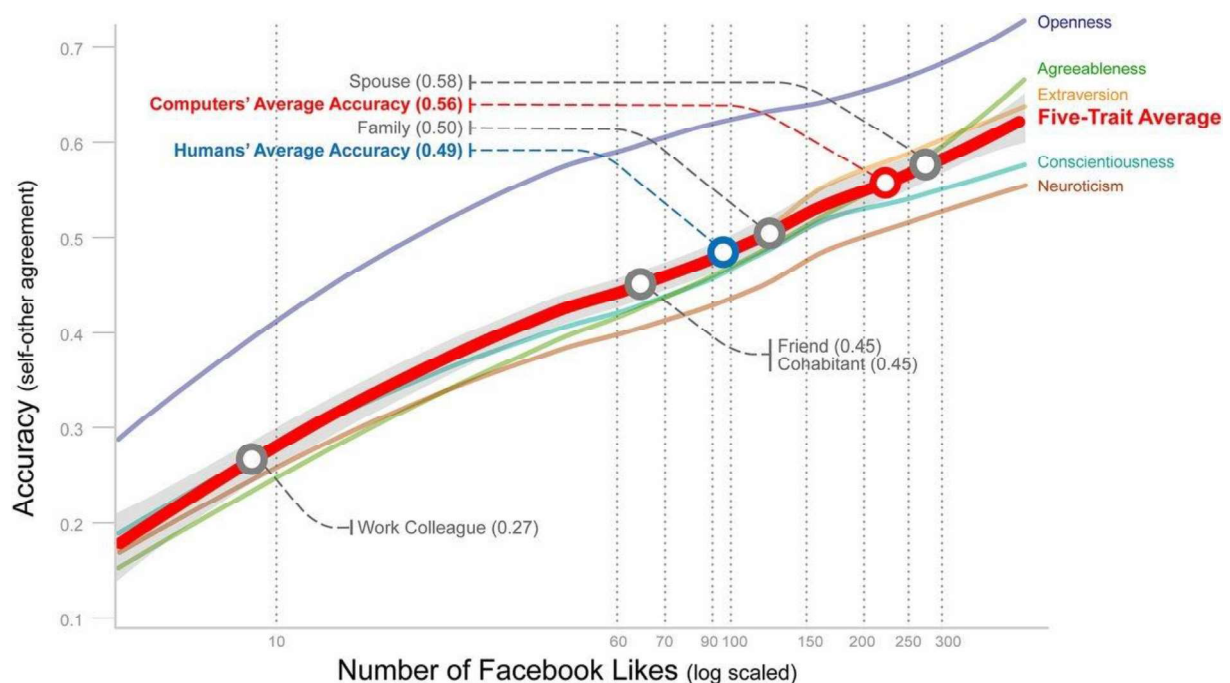


Figure 1: Accuracy of computer-based personality judgement Wu, Kosinski & Stillwell (2015, p.1038)

The figure above represents the "Computer-based personality judgment accuracy (y-axis), plotted against the number of Likes available for prediction (x-axis)" in the experiment conducted by (Wu, Kosinski & Stillwell, 2015).

Following this, the use of microtargeting tools to target a specific segment of people has been shown not only being able to work as a useful tool to target people, but also a very cost-effective method compared to the traditional counterparts (Kruikemeier, Sezgin, & Boerman, 2016). From the perspective of the individual being targeted, the conscious understanding that one is being microtargeted affects the perception of the ad in general - this could, for instance, be that the user understands that the ad is targeted to their attitudes about certain things and thus change the way how he or she perceives it (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018). Furthermore, the knowledge that a specific post is targeted and "advertised" towards them (such as the case with a "sponsored" label on a Facebook post or understanding why Facebook might recommend a particular post) - the intent to distribute and interact with the specific post is significantly less likely to occur and thus can act as counterproductive to the original purpose of the advertisement (Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman, 2016). However, individuals perceiving political advertising regarding a specific candidate or a party generally already have a pre-understanding that it is a certain party that is endorsing and paying for the advertised campaign (Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman, 2016).

2.8 Summary of the Theoretical Background

In summary, the aspect presented previously in this chapter has been, through an extensive literature review, identified as essential components when analyzing microtargeting. It entails that the subject itself is multidisciplinary since it includes technical, legal, and political aspects - which all need to be analyzed in order to explore the phenomenon fully.

Below in *Table 1*, all aspects presented in this chapter are summarized.

Table 1: Summary of the Theoretical Background

Theme	Reference	Content
Fundamentals of Microtargeting and OBA	Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese (2017), Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018), Wilson (2017), Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018), Korolova (2010), Barbu (2014), Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman (2016), Barocas (2012); Boerman, Kruikemeier & Zuiderveen Borgesius (2017); Ham (2017); Smit, Noort & Voorveld (2014); Kirkpatrick (2017); Ur et al. (2012); Turow et al. (2009); McDonald & Cranor (2010); Parsons (2014); Lapowsky (2019); Isaak & Hanna (2018)	Depicts the fundamentals of microtargeting, OBA and political microtargeting.
Benefits with microtargeting	Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., (2018); Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018); Barocas (2012); Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese (2017);	Showcases some of the beneficial aspects in relation to the

		utilization of microtargeting.
Issues with microtargeting	Barbu-Banes (2013), Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018), Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese (2017), Ward (2018), Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018), Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman (2016), Endres & Kelly (2018), Barberá & Rivero (2015); Caudill & Murphy (2000)	Depicts microtargeting and the issues related to its utilization according to previous literature.
Data gathering	Schipper & Woo (2018), Barbu (2014), Endres & Kelly (2018), Murray & Scime (2010), Gundecha & Liu (2012), Kennedy & Moss (2015)	Presents approaches regarding data collection in relation to microtargeting.
Legal aspects	Isaak & Hanna (2018), Goddard (2017), Momen, Hatamian & Fritsch (2019), Gruschka et al. (2018), Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius (2019), Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018), Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018)	Depicts the legal aspects of microtargeting regarding the regulatory framework offered by GDPR.
Microtargeting and political systems	Nicholson et al. (2018), Li (2017), Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018), Drutman (2020)	Presents the difference between a two-party system and multi-party system and relates these aspects to microtargeting.
Data-driven predictions	Franch (2012), Kristensen et al. (2017), Kosinski, Stillwell & Graepel (2013), Wu, Kosinski & Stillwell (2015), Kruikemeier, Sezgin, & Boerman (2016), Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018)	Presents the possibility to predict personality traits through data points with the utilization of algorithms.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

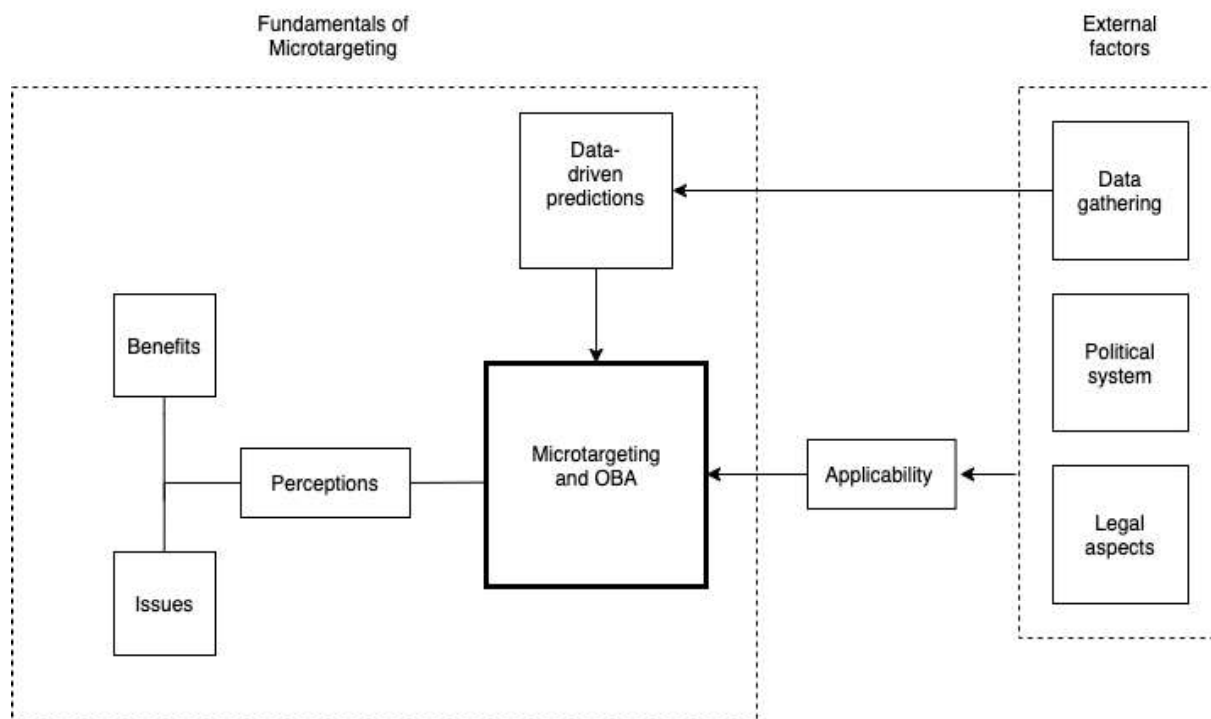


Figure 2: Derived Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework presented above has been derived from prior literature regarding the phenomenon of microtargeting. In order to thoroughly investigate the technology under study, it is apparent to understand microtargeting and all fundamental characteristics related to it. Therefore, several aspects are presented within the lined box “fundamentals of microtargeting” which have been identified as essential components to highlight in order to generate a holistic view of microtargeting. To do so, the box “Microtargeting and OBA” represents the underlying concepts of microtargeting and how it works. Furthermore, both potential benefits and issues related to this technology are included in the conceptual framework, which operates as additional aspects that enable a fuller understanding of microtargeting.

Moreover, through the extensive literature review presented previously in this chapter, several factors that may affect the overall applicability of microtargeting have been pinpointed, all of which are shown in the lined box “external factors”. This includes the data gathering process, the prevailing political system and legal aspects, which in turn can be perceived as both potential enablers or hindrances based upon what the legal aspects, political systems and available data points there are in a particular country or geographical area. As depicted by the framework above, data-driven predictions depend heavily on the data gathered (Kristensen et al., 2017). Thus, this relation is highlighted with an arrow between these two aspects.

In essence, the presented conceptual framework will lie as a foundation of this in terms of operating as an analysis tool and guiding the interview and survey study. This ensures that the qualitative and quantitative elements in the study are directly anchored in the overall consensus of the subject under investigation - which will be further discussed in the chapter below.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research Strategy

In order to gather data, this thesis make use of a qualitative study design with complementary quantitative elements, which could also be described as a “mixed method”-approach. This has been done in order to generate a more holistic view on the topic and also to be able to understand the general populations' perceptions while also examining experts and Swedish political parties' opinions regarding microtargeting, privacy, and its applicability.

A rationale for mixing and complementing different research methods can be derived from Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), where it is argued that a mixed method approach allow for more nuanced answers to research questions because it enables research methods to complement and build upon other, whether they are from the qualitative or quantitative field (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Patton, 2015).

The qualitative and quantitative data collection methods in this study consist of surveys and interviews - where the surveys work as an additional way to figure out and explore specific topics regarding microtargeting from prior literature. Consequently, some of the questions are then subject to be further investigated more in-depth throughout additional interviews. This approach of using some of the survey answers in an interview context can be described by Patton (2015), who states that this conceptual approach is to “*Measure what is measurable statistically, and explore the additional meanings found through interviews*” (Patton, 2015, p. 156). The idea of employing a mixed method-approach is furthermore to bridge the positivist (quantitative) and interpretivism (qualitative) divide. This can potentially avoid a single-method bias and more easily provide a “complete picture” of the subject at hand (Baškarada & Koronios. 2018). This philosophical assumption of fusing positivist and interpretivist methods to generate data can furthermore also be described as a pragmatic approach (Denscombe, 2008). It can be perceived as a way to challenge “traditional” paradigms by allowing the methods to be able to be mixed with each other, but furthermore encourage the practice of doing so in order to provide rich and adequate answers (Denscombe, 2008). Following this, some scholars such as Greene, Benjamin and Goodyear (2001) even argue that employing a mixed method-approach can increase validity, gain more comprehensiveness in regard to the findings, and a more insightful understanding of the results in a study. However, it is also important to highlight that those paradigms employed within the pragmatist approach lack a form of consistency compared to the other types of research paradigms. The latter can be manifested by the way that there is no clear definition and vision regarding what pragmatism consists of practically (Denscombe, 2008). This lack of a defined vision in terms of a mixed-method paradigm can, therefore, result in different results depending on what kind of methodological tools that are enforced throughout the study.

3.2 Conducting Literature Review

To generate a comprehensive understanding of the subject and essential components surrounding it, we have conducted literature review. Bhattacharjee (2012) argues a literature review can be undertaken in order to survey the current state of the subject, identify key

authors, topics, theories, and findings as well as identifying potential knowledge gaps within the literature. Practically, this has been done by utilizing databases such as AIS eLibrary, EBSCOhost, LUBsearch, and Google Scholar in order to get academic articles and conference papers for the thesis. With regards to finding newspaper articles, traditional search engines such as Google have been utilized with the help of specific keywords that are deemed to be relevant for the thesis. As a means to ensure that this study operated within the research field of IS, relevant articles have been sought out through the Association for Information System (AIS) database. However, challenges incurred in that no relevant publication was identified that aligned with the topic of this thesis. The authors of this study argue that this is primarily due to the discussion regarding microtargeting being a somewhat new occurrence. Therefore, it has not rooted itself in the IS field yet. In order to cope with this, journals stemming from similar disciplines related to IS have been utilized and synthesized together in order to ensure relevance to the topic itself.

Drawing inspiration from Efron and Ravid (2019), a summary table has been constructed in order to help the literature review narrative (see *Table 2*). The table consists of literature mapping done by search words in specific databases and then grouping these together with common themes that were found in the readings, such as “Ethics in microtargeting” or “Voting Behavior”. It is worth noting that some references will not populate the table below - this is due to the fact that some literature was identified through the reference list in articles retrieved by the electronic database search. This process is, according to Randolph (2009), one of the most effective approaches to find relevant and useful information. Additionally, Randolph (2009) states that when reliability is crucial in research, having two or more people evaluating the identified literature is beneficial. This reduces the biased view of one single researcher since determining the inclusion and exclusion of literature is based on a common opinion (Randolph, 2009). This process has been adopted in the literature review in this particular study, where inclusion and exclusion criteria have been mutually discussed and adopted. Literature that was deemed applicable and appropriate in the thesis consisted of prior adaptations of microtargeting and OBA; preferably in a political context, privacy issues, data-driven predictions (such as voting behavior), and the applicability surrounding the phenomenon under study. Practical implementations and novel technical frameworks proposed by articles were deemed irrelevant for the study and were therefore excluded.

It is further argued by Randolph (2009) that the reviewer should document the process. In accordance with the latter, the electronic database search process employed in this study is presented in *Table 2* below.

Table 2: Outline of the literature regarding microtargeting utilized in the study, inspired by Efron & Ravid (2019)

Search Term	Database or search engine	Authors	Topic of interest
Online Behavior Advertising Online Behavior Advertising;	EBSCOhost; Google search engine; Google Scholar	Boerman, Kruikemeier & Zuiderveen-Borgesius (2017); Ham (2017); Smit, Noort & Voorveld (2014); Kirkpatrick (2017); Ur et al. (2012); Turow et al.	Discussing Online Behavior Advertisement (OBA), Microtargeting and potential privacy issues related to this.

Online Behavior Advertising AND Privacy Issues;		(2009); McDonald & Cranor (2010); Parsons (2014);	
Online Behavior Advertising AND Facebook;			
Microtargeting	Google Scholar; EBSCOhost	Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese (2017); Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018); Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018); Barbu (2014); Barocas (2012);	Discusses political microtargeting; this with complementary social-media related contexts.
Political Micro-Targeting;			
Online Political Microtargeting;			
Social Media Microtargeting:			
Voter Microtargeting			
Presidential Election Microtargeting			
Issues with Microtargeting	Google Scholar; Google search engine; EBSCOhost	Barbu-Banes (2013); Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018); Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese (2017); Ward (2018); Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman (2016); Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018); Endres & Kelly (2018); Barberá & Rivero (2015); Lapowsky, (2019); Isaak & Hanna (2018); Korolova (2010); Caudill & Murphy (2000)	Covers issues and dilemmas related to the utilization of microtargeting in a general and political context. Furthermore, discusses Cambridge Analytica and privacy issues related to targeting ads on Facebook.
Ethics Microtargeting;			
Microtargeting ethical issues;			
Cambridge Analytica AND privacy;			
Privacy Violation Microtargeting;			
Data Gathering	Google Scholar;	Schipper & Woo (2018); Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018); Barbu (2014); Endres & Kelly (2018); Murray &	Articles that covers the fundamentals in data mining and social media data mining, which
Big Data AND Collection;			

Data Mining; Social Media AND Data Mining;		Scime (2010); Gundecha & Liu (2012); Kennedy & Moss (2015)	is an essential step in microtargeting.
Legal aspects GDPR; GDPR AND mi- crotargeting;	Google Scholar; LUBsearch	Goddard (2017); Mo- men, Hatamian & Fritsch (2019); Gruschka et al. (2018); Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius (2019); Papakyriako- poulos et al. (2018); Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018)	Debates GDPR from a general perspective, while also applying it in a microtargeting con- text.
Political aspects Two-party AND Multiparty Sys- tems; Two-party system; Multi-party system;	EBSCOhost; Google search engine	Nicholson et al. (2018); Li (2017); Drutman (2020)	Covers political sys- tems in terms of two- party and multiparty structures.
Data-driven pre- dictions Social-media AND UK-election; Social Media AND Voting Behavior; Political Microtar- geting AND Face- book;	EBSCOhost	Franch (2012); Kristen- sen et al. (2017); Krui- kemeier, Sezgin & Boerman (2016);	Literature containing Data driven predictions, voting behavior and how this can be utilized with social media.

3.3 Qualitative Data Collection

3.3.1 Qualitative Data Collection Process

Regarding the qualitative data collection, interviews are utilized in this study with a semi-structured method. With a semi-structured approach, the interview is treated as a two-way communication (Recker, 2013). Semi-structured interviews are conversational and have open-ended questions that require some form of improvisation from the researcher (Myers & Newman, 2007). By conducting the interviews in a descriptive manner in regard to the semi-structured approach, the researcher can gain a deep understanding of the interviewee's thoughts and opinions about the concepts presented (Recker, 2013).

From a practical standpoint, the interviews were conducted between the months of April and May 2020. Each of the interviews was held through an electronic communication tool due to the ongoing COVID-19 outbreak in the world. The latter is worth acknowledging, according to the authors of this study, since it inhibited the possibility of conducting interviews in person. The latter may affect the interviews since body language and gestures could become considerably more challenging to observe and analyze. Thus, with permission from the respondents, all except one of the interviews were conducted through video-call in order to generate a more personal discussion, in which the researchers could physically observe the interviewee and vice versa. The interviews conducted with researchers from the universities situated in Sweden and one political party (see *Table 3*) were done using the communication tool Zoom. The main reason for the selection of this software was due to two aspects; firstly, all the respondents had a license to the service, which enabled them to create a room with no time restrictions. Secondly, most of the respondents had experience with the software Zoom, which lowered the risk of technical issues. However, one respondent requested to use Google Hangout and another preferred WhatsApp, both of which were approved by the researchers of this study to ease the process for both respondents. Furthermore, with permission from the respondent, the sound from the interview was recorded with two smartphones. By utilizing two devices, the researchers of this study could ensure that one recording always existed, even if one of the devices would fail during the interview process.

As mentioned previously, the interview followed a semi-structured approach with several pre-defined open-ended questions based on the extensive literature review (see chapter 3.3.3 Interview guide). The researchers' responsibilities during the interview varied, in which one conducted the interview and was responsible for the dialogue itself. While the other took notes and time stamps. The notes were created as a last option if both recordings would fail. The time stamps were generated as a guiding tool for the researchers if a specific question or answer in the audio recording had to be revisited after the interview.

Lastly, each of the interviews conducted was as a final step transcribed in order to enable further analysis (Bhattacharjee, 2012). This was practically done by listening to the recordings and transcribing verbatim into a text document. All the finalized transcripts can be found in *Appendix 5-10*. Below a full list with information regarding respondents, communication tool, date, and duration will be presented.

Table 3: General information regarding the interviews

Respondent	Organisation/Institution	Communication channel	Date	Duration
Michael Bossetta	Lund University	Zoom	8/4–2020	1:02:36
Jonas Ledendal	Umeå University	Zoom	14/4–2020	1:01:34
Jesper Enbom	Lund University	Zoom	15/4–2020	1:08:38
Gustav Georgson	Liberalerna (The Swedish Liberal party)	Google Hangout	23/4–2020	25:14
Respondent 1	Socialdemokraterna (The Swedish Social Democratic party)	Zoom	23/4–2020	28:03
Dr. Judith Möller	University of Amsterdam	WhatsApp	11/5–2020	26:02

3.3.2 Selection of Interview Participants

It is argued by Bhattacharjee (2012) that it is practically not feasible to study an entire population through an interview study because of time and resource constraints. Therefore, an additional suitable selection of representatives must be selected - and the choice of interviewees must be chosen in accordance with their personal involvement with the specific phenomenon under study (Bhattacharjee, 2012), which is in this particular case microtargeting. This has been carried out through an electronic search of research papers where the authors have been involved in some form with research in the microtargeting area. Furthermore, individuals responsible for the targeted advertisement in Swedish political parties have been contacted regarding an interview. Thus, the strategy selected in order to determine what individuals to interview has followed the principles of purposeful sampling (Palinkas et al., 2015). It is described as a technique that is widely utilized in qualitative research with the intention to find information-rich cases whenever resources are limited (Palinkas et al., 2015). The strategy involves the process of identifying and selecting individuals that are knowledgeable regarding the phenomenon under study. Additionally, alongside being knowledgeable, the aspect of willingness to attend and availability is stated as fundamental aspects in purposeful sampling (Palinkas et al., 2015).

Hence, in order to develop depth and understanding regarding the phenomenon under study, individuals that have experience regarding microtargeting, social media as a marketing tool, regulatory frameworks such as GDPR, and digitalization of political advertisement were deemed suitable for further in-depth knowledge generation with the help of interviews. As previously mentioned, this has been practically carried out through an electronic search, with the intention to find researchers within the subjects presented above. The reason for focusing on the chosen researchers is due to the fact that microtargeting operates in a multidisciplinary field, which involves culture, media, law, politics, and social media science. Therefore, to understand and analyze the phenomenon under investigation, researchers within these fields

were considered as suitable to include in the qualitative element of the study. In accordance with the aspect of availability, researchers that currently reside in Sweden have been contacted in order to ensure effective communication between both parties. However, one respondent from the University of Amsterdam was also included due to the interviewees extensive research on the topic.

Furthermore, to generate a concrete picture regarding how political microtargeting can be utilized in a practical sense, all leading Swedish political parties were contacted and asked if they were able to participate in an interview study regarding microtargeting. Two parties answered, namely representatives from the Swedish Social Democratic and Liberal party, who agreed to participate in a short interview.

A complete list regarding the interviewees, their professions, and research is presented in *Table 4* below.

Table 4: Overview interview respondents

Name	Organisation/institution	Role	Keywords
Michael Bossetta	Lund University	Postdoctoral Researcher	Political Science, Data Science, Social Media
Jonas Ledendal	Lund University	Lecturer, Postdoctoral Researcher	Intellectual Property Law, Contract Law, Information Technology, OpenData, Cloud Computing, Privacy
Jesper Enbom	Umeå University	Researcher, Senior Lecturer	Culture and Media Studies
Gustav Georgson	Liberalerna (The Swedish Liberal party)	Head of communications	Online communications, online campaigning, online advertisement
Respondent 1	Socialdemokraterna (The Swedish Social Democratic party)	Head of digital communication	Online communications, online campaigning, online advertisement
Dr. Judith Möller	University of Amsterdam	Assistant Professor, Researcher	Social and Behavioral Sciences, Political Communication and Journalism

3.3.3 Interview Guide

Regarding the design of the interview guide, two central elements have been utilized as the foundation, which includes open-ended questions and a semi-structured approach. Weller et al. (2018) argue that open-ended questions can be used alone or with other interviewing techniques to study a specific phenomenon in depth. It is further stated that open-ended questions may generate lists, short answers, and lengthy narratives (Weller et al., 2018). In this particular study, the phenomenon of microtargeting is to be explored and applied in a Swedish context. Thus, the narrative in which it operates is highly interesting and relevant to the study to find insightful findings. To actualize this, open-ended questions have been developed in accordance with Weller et al. (2018). Open-ended questions encourage the interviewee to elaborate the answers more thoroughly - which in turn may generate enhanced insights into the subject under study.

Furthermore, due to the questions being open-ended, the actual interview can take a semi-structured approach as depicted by Recker (2013). This entails that a number of predefined questions are developed and used during the interview, while new emerging concepts can be explored through follow up questions (Recker, 2013).

The interview questions have been anchored in an extensive literature review regarding microtargeting and other aspects related to the phenomenon. This ensures an increased level of objectivity in the development of the questions since they are based on the overall consensus of the subject, thus eliminating a biased view regarding the phenomenon. Alongside this, a survey has been created in order to gain insights from the public regarding microtargeting in order to triangulate the answers from the interview study.

The interview questions and the relating literature regarding each subcategory are presented in *Table 5* below.

Table 5: Overview of interview questions and related literature

Theme	Reference	Content	Question theme	Interview question
Microtargeting	Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese (2017), Zuiderveen Borge-sius et al. (2018), Wilson (2017), Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018), Korolova (2010), Barbu (2014), Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman (2016), Barocas (2012)	Depicts the fundamentals of microtargeting and political microtargeting. Moreover, beneficial aspects in relation to the utilization of microtargeting described.	Covers the respondent's perception of microtargeting and political microtargeting. The questions also encapsulate potential benefits with the utilization of microtargeting.	Questions 1-4d

Issues and microtargeting	Barbu-Banes (2013), Zuiderveen Borge-sius et al. (2018), Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese (2017), Ward (2018), Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018), Kruike-meier, Sezgin & Boerman (2016), En-dres & Kelly (2018), Barberá & Rivero (2015)	Presents microtar-geting and the is-sues related to its utilization.	Covers the re-spondent's per-ception of poten-tial issues related to the utilization of microtarget-ing.	Questions 5-9a
Data gath-ering	Schipper & Woo (2018), Barbu (2014), Endres & Kelly (2018), Murray & Scime (2010), Gundecha & Liu (2012), Kennedy & Moss (2015)	Presents ap-proaches regarding data collection in relation to mi-crotargeting.	Covers the re-spondent's view of the importance of data in relation to microtargeting, and how the data is practically gathered.	Questions 10-11b
GDPR	Isaak & Hanna (2018), Goddard (2017), Momen, Ha-tamian & Fritsch (2019), Gruschka et al. (2018), Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borge-sius (2019), Papakyriako-poulos et al. (2018), Zuiderveen Borge-sius et al. (2018)	Depicts the funda-mentals of the regu-latory framework GDPR and relates it to microtargeting.	Covers the re-spondent's view regarding the po-tential impact that GDPR has on mi-crotargeting in Sweden.	Questions 12-15
Political system	Nicholson et al. (2018), Li (2017), Zuiderveen Borge-sius et al. (2018), Drutman (2020)	Presents the differ-ence between a two-party system and multi-party system and relates these aspects to mi-crotargeting.	Covers the re-spondents view of the potential ap-plicability of mi-crotargeting in the Swedish multi-party system.	Question 16
Data-driven	Franch (2012), Kris-tensen et al. (2017),	Presents the possi-bility to predict	Covers the re-spondent's	Questions 17-18

predictions	Kosinski, Stillwell & Graepel (2013), Wu, Kosinski & Stillwell (2015), Kruikemeier, Sezgin, & Boerman (2016), Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018)	personality traits through data points with the utilization of algorithms.	perception of algorithms and its power in predicting personality traits.	
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It is worth noting that two sets of questions were generated for the study, one set in English and the other one in Swedish. The main reason for this sectioning was due to the fact that the interviewees' native tongue varied - thus, in order to limit the effect of language barriers, a translation of the interview questions was created. The authors of this study argue that it is vital to enable respondents to answer questions in the most convenient way possible and forcing them to speak in their non-native language may limit their capability in terms of conveying a message. Both sets of interview questions are found in *Appendix 1* (English) and *Appendix 2* (Swedish).

3.4 Quantitative Data Collection

3.4.1 Quantitative Data Collection Process

Regarding the quantitative data collection using surveys, practical utilization is that of a web-based approach to send out surveys. As Recker (2013) describes, utilizing surveys can be a cheap and relatively easy way to gather large sample sizes of data. With the help of web-based surveys, specific segments of people on social media platforms can be contacted to collect random samples of different users active in several online groups (Recker, 2013). In this thesis - the primary interest groups deemed relevant to investigate were found on online communities such as the social media site Facebook (which potentially includes people not being familiar with OBA and microtargeting as a concept before) and the professional networking site LinkedIn (which potentially includes people having some familiarity with microtargeting and OBA as a concept before). Thus, in order to get a broad spectrum of understanding in regard to the survey samples, these were the two platforms in which the surveys were distributed on. With the help of these different communities - this paper hopes to counter eventual response biases, as mentioned by Recker (2013). By distributing the survey on a broad scale throughout different target groups, it could potentially minimize certain biases held by a segment of people (such as only professionals working with it, and beginners that potentially never heard of the concepts before). The practical distribution of the survey was done in two ways. Firstly, by posting the survey link on our own profile on the social media sites Facebook and LinkedIn in order to get respondents who might not be familiar with this topic. Secondly, by posting the link to the survey on special groups that might have some expertise within the field. Examples of these groups include Kodapor OT (which is a specialist group on Facebook for people working with IT and programming) and the LinkedIn Groups "Digitala Strategier i Sverige" (which is a group focusing on digital strategies in Sweden) and "Content Marketing i Sverige" (which is a group regarding content marketing in Sweden).

Regarding practical tools, this study utilizes Google forms as a survey distribution and administration application. By using Google forms, the responses are stored and transmitted in a secure manner with the help of SSL (Secure Sockets Layer) and TLS (Transport Layer Security), this offers a high layer of security when using these types of services (Google, n.d. a). By utilizing SSL-encryption, it is also protecting our respondents from potential Man-in-the-middle-attacks which in turn guarantees the answers of the respondents not being compromised or exposed by unauthorized parties (Google, n.d. b).

3.4.2 Selection of Survey Participants

As Bhattacharjee (2012) mentions, the first stage of the sampling process is to define the target population. As the research questions state in chapter 1.4, one of the goals of this thesis is to analyze the perception of targeted advertisement, with an emphasis on political microtargeting in a Swedish setting. Following the aforementioned statement, the target population is as follows: “people residing in Sweden with daily access to online services such as social media, news sites, forums and similar”. By delimiting the sample size to these two types of groups, (the first one being Swedish residents and the second one being daily users of online services), respondents not fitting into this criteria were excluded from the analysis of the data, such as the case with respondents located in the United States or Finland. Following this, the sample frame available for analysis - meaning the accessible section of respondents (Bhattacharjee, 2012) were people who had access to social media profiles such as Facebook and LinkedIn and thus were able to answer and see the survey that we were sending out.

Finding individuals that were deemed fit for answering the survey was mainly utilized by probability sampling in the form of simple random sampling, as described by Bhattacharjee (2012) – in which the specific sample frame was determined by the users who came in contact with the survey through social media pages or groups. By making the survey accessible for all who came in contact with it through these pages or groups, the goal was that the sample truly could represent the population in order to derive inferences that can be applied and generalized to the population of interest (which is people in Sweden) (Bhattacharjee, 2012). However, elements of non-probability sampling in the case of additional expert sampling were also used - seeing that we also wanted respondents who could be deemed to have familiarity with OBA and microtargeting in their professional background (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

3.4.3 Survey Guide

When creating the survey, the main emphasis in regard to questions for respondents has been derived from studies conducting prior studies in OBA, Microtargeting, Terms and Conditions, and privacy issues. For example, inspiration has been derived from authors such as Smit, Noort and Voorveld (2014) and McDonald and Cranor (2010) – who conducted a study covering cookies and trackers. Dobber et al. (2019) and their study on user perceptions towards political behavioral targeting and privacy. Rosen (2019) regarding political targeting within social media. Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) who discusses terms and conditions. Additionally, studies by Iyilade, Orji and Vassileva (2015); Schermer, Custers and van der Hof (2014) and Ceros (2018) regarding explicit consent with data sharing, third party data collection and data protection enforcement were also considered relevant in the survey questionnaire. Furthermore, to analyze different perceptions in relation to microtargeting and privacy in regard to subgroups such as educational level, gender and age in the Swedish context - a study

provided by Dobber, Trilling, Helberger and Vreese (2019) in which the authors present survey results regarding politically behavioral targeting and privacy concerns based on parameters (age, gender, educational background, etc.) were deemed noteworthy to potential contrast against.

When designing the survey, this thesis has utilized binary and Boolean response-scales as described by Bhattacharjee (2012) on questions that have been of “True” or “False” or “Yes” or “No” nature. However, some questions were complemented with an “Unsure” or “Maybe” option if the questions could potentially be deemed uncertain by the respondents.

Questions such as how users perceive their wariness on topics such as “If political parties collect information about you” or if “Third-party organizations keeping track of individual activities online could be considered to be an invasion of personal privacy”, a Likert scale has been utilized with a five-point grading system. The grading in this scale ranges from “I disagree completely” to “I agree completely” or “I don’t care at all” to “I care very much”. This was practically done in accordance with Bhattacharjee (2012)’s explanation on Likert scales. Besides the different types of scales - some questions also included the possibility to give an additional answer to the scales. For example, if respondents answered yes on “I have observed advertisements and posts on social media such as Facebook that seem to be targeted towards ideas and political issues that I tend to agree on or find important?” - the possibility to give a short example of when this has occurred was possible - thus generating a more in-depth investigation of these types of occurrences. Literature relating to the questions utilized in the survey is shown in *Table 6*.

Table 6: Overview of survey questions and related literature

Reference	Literature theme	Question theme	Survey question
Dobber, Trilling, Helberger & Vreese (2019)	Subgroups and privacy perceptions, such as age, gender and education	User perceptions on privacy based on age, gender, country and educational background.	Question 1-6
Smit, Noort & Voorveld (2014)	Storage of websites previously visited with the help of cookies and trackers.	Discussions regarding cookies and trackers, and how these are used to store websites previously visited.	Question 7
Smit, Noort & Voorveld (2014)	Personalized ads with the help of cookies and trackers, if people are seeing the same ads on a webpage or not.	Perceptions regarding cookies and trackers and how they can be used to personalize ads.	Question 8

Smit, Noort & Voorveld (2014)	Virus scanners and the perception that it might work as a way to prevent companies to access search behavior, websites, and online purchases.	Perceptions regarding virus scanners and how they could prevent companies from storing information based on search behavior.	Question 9
Smit, Noort & Voorveld (2014)	The perception that cookies are person based and could possibly work as a way to relate information about individuals	Discussions regarding if cookies and trackers are person based, making it possible to relate information stored to a certain individual.	Question 10
Schwaig, Grover, Segars & Fiedler (2013)	Concerns for privacy information and the perception of user attitudes on companies asking for personal information	Personal information exchange to third parties and if this could be considered invasive.	Question 11
Schwaig, Grover, Segars & Fiedler (2013)	External organizations collecting information about users, external transformation of information about a user.	The user perception of third-party organizations collecting information without explicit consent and the potential invasive elements of this.	Question 12
Smit, Noort & Voorveld (2014)	Online privacy concerns and user perceptions regarding the sharing of data without permission and the misuse of personal data.	The importance of anonymity and personal integrity.	Question 13
Kim et al. (2018)	Political and NGO-based targeting on Social media (with an emphasis on Facebook).	Perceptions regarding people being segmented and “targeted” with certain ideas and ideological affiliations.	Question 14 and 15
Rosen (2019); Ward (2018)	Potential issues regarding political parties or political oriented lobbyist organizations collecting data about individuals	The perception and awareness that individuals might have on political organizations collecting data about them.	Question 16

Vaccari (2013)	User perceptions on only being exposed to or reaffirming a limited number of ideological views.	The perception regarding if and why it could be problematic with only being exposed to some political and ideological viewpoints.	Question 17 and 18
Gerlach, Widjaja & Buxmann (2015); Schermer, Custers & van der Hof (2014)	The user perception regarding willingness to disclose personal information based on the privacy policy and terms and conditions a website might have.	The willingness to read terms and conditions from websites prior to joining them.	Question 19
Iyilade, Orji, & Vassileva (2015); Gruschka et al. (2018)	Legality issues regarding not giving an explicit consent to external data collection and user protection.	User perceptions regarding potential punishments for companies not adhering to explicit consent of collection of user data.	Question 20 and 21

The finalized survey study can be located in *Appendix 3*.

3.5 Data Analysis

3.5.1 Analyzing Qualitative Data

It is argued by Aberbach and Rockman (2002) that coding techniques are of paramount importance whenever open-ended questions are utilized in order to elicit insightful and rich responses. In regard to the analysis of the data gathered from the interviews, this study implements coding as a technique for analyzing the data from the interviews. Practically, this is done by trying to find semantic frequencies in the transcriptions generated from the interview and categorizing them in accordance with a coding system in order to find patterns that can provide explanations regarding the study groups' perceptions and ideas concerning microtargeting (Recker, 2013). Conducting this type of analysis with regards to finding thematic frequencies within a certain number of interviews can furthermore be strengthened by Griffiee (2005). In the article, Griffiee (2005) emphasizes that finding common themes between a certain number of interviews and grouping these themes with the help of codes and colors can work as a way to move a large amount of raw data and further underline the critical aspects within the transcripts. Inspired by this, *Table 7* was created in order to identify these key elements and frequencies within the answers from the interviews. The themes presented in the table below were developed prior to the interviews and are based on the aspects introduced in the conceptual framework (see chapter 2.9). The justification for this assortment is that it enables the researchers of this study to directly contrast the answers derived from the qualitative data inquiry to the overall consensus of the phenomenon under investigation. Moreover, to

simplify what specific sentences that relate to the certain codes derived from the conceptual framework, a color code has been developed and is used to highlight the sentences deemed relevant for the study.

Table 7: Thematic interview table

Theme	Code	Color code
Perception of microtargeting	MT	
Benefits with microtargeting	MTB	
Issues with microtargeting	MTI	
Data gathering	DG	
Legal aspects	LA	
Political aspects	PA	
Data driven Predictions	DDP	
Future perception	FP	

To exemplify this in a practical manner, the following segment from *Appendix 5* highlights two aspects within the answers that can relate to the codes derived from the conceptual framework. First, the yellow markings emphasize the mentioned benefit with microtargeting. Secondly, the cyan markings highlight that the answer also comprises the political aspects of this.

37	M.B.	Yeah there are a couple of things that are worth mentioning. One is the main benefit that most people would say, most academics would say, is that it allows campaigns with less resources to be competitive. I don't know how much that is accurate, this was the big discussion when Twitter banned political ads - a lot of people were coming out saying that this would hurt what we call down ballot candidates, local people running for mayor or something.	MTB, PA
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Figure 3: Sample of the interview coding process

3.5.2 Analyzing Quantitative Data

The quantitative data generated two types of responses that were analyzed accordingly. First, as described by Recker (2013), a univariate analysis approach with a focus on frequencies and tendencies on certain answers were utilized in order to detect common patterns throughout the responses that consisted of scales and numbers. Secondly, a presentation of all the answers that allowed respondents to elaborate on specific topics was presented in a table. The survey was active from the 30th of March until the 22nd of April, where the target goal of 200 respondents was reached. After the gathering of data to the survey was finalized, the cleaning process of the data was initiated. Following the population sample of interest, as stated in chapter 3.4.2, the quantitative data were trimmed in order only to include people residing in Sweden. Practically speaking, this meant that respondents not fulfilling this criterion were

removed from the survey respondents. This, in turn, resulted in 183 respondents that were deemed to fulfill the requirements of the study and thus were included. After the initial process of conducting the survey, the data collected from Google Forms were then exported into an Excel file where the data was analyzed, grouped, and trimmed with the intention to create consistency within the answers. Following the aforementioned, this could practically mean that different spellings and variants of Sweden as a demographic criterion were grouped together, such as “Swe”, “Sverige”, “Dalby” (A locality just outside of Lund) and “Sweden”. A short example of the processed data from respondents that were deemed to fit the inclusion criteria can furthermore be seen in *Figure 4* - where binary answers, Boolean answers, and Likert scales are utilized, as described by Bhattacharjee (2012).

Do you access internet ser	Do you believe that cookie	Do you believe that cookie	Do you believe that a virus	Do you believe that cookie	Do you believe that third-p
Yes	Yes	Yes	SANT	Maybe	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Maybe	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	4
Yes	Maybe	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Maybe	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	2
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Maybe	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	5
Yes	Maybe	Yes	FALSKT	Maybe	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Maybe	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	No	3
Yes	Maybe	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	4
Yes	Maybe	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	SANT	Yes	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Maybe	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Maybe	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	SANT	No	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	No	5
Yes	Maybe	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Maybe	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Maybe	3
Yes	Yes	Yes	FALSKT	Yes	4
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Yes	5
Yes	Yes	Yes	I am unsure	Maybe	3

Figure 4: Example of the data gathered with binary answers, Boolean answers and Likert scales.

After the data were trimmed, the Excel file was then exported and aggregated into Qlik in order to create graphs. Here, an ETL-process (Extract, Transform, and Load) of the data was utilized to create consistency with the charts. One example of how this was done practically was the fact that Boolean answers such as “SANT” (which means true) and “FALSKT” (which means false) were generated as 0 and 1 on the interface of the graphs. Therefore, all data that resulted with the answer 0 and 1 in these use-cases of Boolean answers were transformed into “Yes” and “No”. In order to create a unified presentation in Qlik with the graphs,

custom scripts were generated in order to always show “No” as red, “Yes” as blue, and “I am unsure” as a yellow with the help of RGB color syntaxes. The scripts were created as IF-statements and furthermore followed the LOAD-syntax of “custom expressions” as described by the Qlik-documentation (Qlik, n.d.). An example of these IF-statements can be shown in *Figure 5*.

```

IF([Do you believe that a virus scanner, such as an anti-virus program, can prevent companies from storing information based on search behavior?]='Yes', rgb(68, 119, 170),

IF([Do you believe that a virus scanner, such as an anti-virus program, can prevent companies from storing information based on search behavior?]='No', rgb(204, 101, 118),

IF([Do you believe that a virus scanner, such as an anti-virus program, can prevent companies from storing information based on search behavior?]='I am unsure', rgb(220, 204, 119)))

```

Figure 5: Custom LOAD-expressions created in order for presentation consistency

A sample of how the final result of the aggregated data looks like can furthermore be shown in *Figure 6*.

Do you believe that a virus scanner, such as an anti-virus program, can prevent companies from storing information based on search behavior?

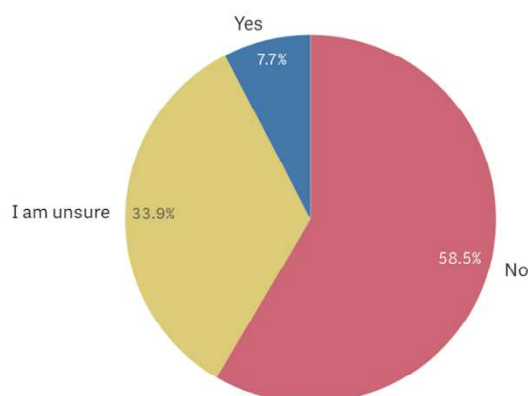


Figure 6: An example of the aggregated data from the survey

Additionally, the survey also included the possibility for respondents to answer in a sentence-based manner on some of the questions. In other words, allowing the respondents to elaborate on some of the questions presented. These answers were grouped based on the question itself, given a specific number and included in *Appendix 4*. An example of how this looks like is furthermore presented in *Figure 7*.

Answer number	Response
Q2:1	You need a broader view that challenge your opinion
Q2:2	Because it's not good to have your whole environment verifying your own political beliefs. I think it can have a negative effect on your critical thinking to not being exposed to a variety of different opinions.

Q2:3	It's better to get as many perspectives as possible on societal problems in order to develop your own view on what is the best solution.
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Figure 7: An example of text-based survey responses

3.6 Research Quality

It is stated by Noble and Smith (2015) that evaluating the overall quality of the research conducted is essential if the findings are to be utilized and applied in a real-life setting. A necessary aspect of social science research is the utilization of measurement instruments to observe and analyze human behavior in order to discern reality - which emphasizes the importance of these instruments being credible (Drost, 2011). Researchers must be able to demonstrate that their study is on par in regard to credibility - where quantitative studies are heavily dependent on the overall quality of instrument construction. In contrast, in qualitative studies, the researcher is perceived as the instrument (Golafshani, 2003). Thus, the credibility of qualitative research depends on the ability and effort of the researchers themselves (Golafshani, 2003).

Research validity and reliability are two fundamental aspects that correlate with the credibility and rigor of a study, and assessing these aspects requires the reflection from the researchers regarding trustworthiness in relation to the methods utilized and the integrity of the final conclusion (Noble & Smith, 2015).

It is argued that reliability is a concept that is often utilized in quantitative studies, but its core idea is also applied in all types of research (Golafshani, 2003). Its primary purpose is to determine the overall quality of a study, which applied to a qualitative study involves how well the research generates an understanding regarding a specific phenomenon (Golafshani, 2003). To ensure a high level of reliability in a qualitative study, the researchers must examine the overall trustworthiness, which, according to Golafshani (2003), is a crucial aspect. In order to generate adequate transparency and trustworthiness, the authors of this study have strived to be as detailed as possible regarding the overall research process, where outlines and descriptions regarding all fundamental elements in the study are presented throughout this chapter. By following the procedure outlined, the authors of this study expect that independent researchers will derive similar conclusions to the ones presented in this research if one were to follow the same methodological instruments as applied in the study.

The validity, as used in quantitative research, is, according to Noble and Smith (2015), perceived by many qualitative researchers as not applicable in qualitative research. However, it is stated that some kind of qualifying measure is necessary (Golafshani, 2003). It is, in its broadest form, still applicable to qualitative studies, according to Noble and Smith (2015) - where it encapsulates the integrity, application of methods, and to what extent the findings accurately reflect the data in the study. From a practical standpoint, this has been achieved by anchoring our fundamental understanding, the interview study as well as survey in an extensive literature regarding microtargeting, including other aspects related to the phenomenon. This ensures objectivity in analyzing the phenomenon itself and in the reflection and conclusion section since the results from the study can be directly contrasted to the literature review.

Furthermore, the utilization of surveys strengthens the objectivity in the analysis since it enables triangulation, which circumvents the aspect of personal biases from the investigators

(Brink, 1993). Recker (2013) argues that one rationale for utilizing a mixed method-approach is to enable triangulation, which from a practical perspective allows this study to pursue corroboration and convergence of the result generated from different types of methods, in this case, interviews and surveys - that examines the same phenomenon (Recker, 2013). This enables us to directly compare the answers provided by the interview respondents and the public opinion from the surveys in order to identify similarities and differences which enrich the results of the data gathered, while also increasing the overall reliability and validity of the findings in the study (Recker, 2013).

3.7 Ethical Considerations

In light of that this paper utilizes both qualitative and quantitative methods when conducting the research, it is arguably of utmost importance to triangulate the data with each other in order to get a more nuanced and objective view of the results, this in accordance to Recker (2013). In practice, this means that the outcome from the surveys and the interviews will be compared to each other and with the literature regarding microtargeting in order to increase the reliability and validity of the study (Recker, 2013). From a practical standpoint, prominent key aspects derived from the interview, as well as the surveys, have been manually contrasted. This enabled a more profound analysis in which statements made by researchers or political parties could be linked with the population's opinion in order to find conjunctions or dissensions.

Due to the nature of the research and how different users might be targeted with particular political or ideological advertisements, extra precautions were employed in order to guarantee the anonymity and security of the participants. Besides utilizing secure survey tools with proven secure storage (as mentioned in chapter 3.4.1), no identification numbers, email addresses, or similar were stored on the participants. This is in accordance with how Bhattacharjee (2012) describes how anonymity should be conducted in regard to surveys. Furthermore, the survey tried to be short in nature and consist of precise, specific questions so that eventual misinterpretations of the questions are avoided as much as possible (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

The interviews conducted were also of a participatory nature, where the interviewees were free to leave as they wanted anytime during the interview process and were presented with the possibility of being anonymous if desired. The subjects under the interview also got a clarification of what the research is about and how the answers will be analyzed and processed. Further, a verbal consent form was presented, which was mandatory to approve in order to begin the interviews, and full transcription of the interview was sent out to the interviewee for review and approval if they have stated that they wish to do so (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

The results and analysis of the data gathered during the survey and interviews are further presented in the appendix at the end of this paper - this in order to give account for all the data collected, and further increase the transparency of the study (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

3.8 Research Perceptions and Biases

It is argued by Bhattacharjee (2012) that as researchers, frames of references and mental models directly affect how a specific phenomenon is observed - which in turn influences the way that research is conducted. Bhattacharjee (2012) further argues that these mental models can be described as “paradigms” or “worldviews” - that is how researchers’ reason about the complexity of the world (Patton, 2015).

The authors of this study are aware of the aspects depicted above regarding how previous assumptions and beliefs affect the research. Our perception is that we share a mental model that is closely related to the ones in the post-positivism worldview, in which inferences regarding a specific phenomenon can be generated through logical reasoning and empirical observation (Bhattacharjee, 2012). This in contrast to the positivist mindset - where it is argued that scientific knowledge can solely be generated through observations and measures (Bhattacharjee, 2012; Patton, 2015) - is not applicable to this specific study since measuring individuals perception regarding microtargeting an applying it in a Swedish context is not practically feasible. The authors of this study further argue that judgment in research is unavoidable and that all methods utilized in science therefore could be considered imperfect, which highlights the importance of combining different techniques in theory building and testing, all in accordance with Patton (2015). Because of the latter, this study implements both qualitative and quantitative elements in terms of semi-structured interviews and surveys - in order to limit biases and presumptions while aiming to strengthen the objectivity in the data analysis.

3.9 Method Reflection and Criticism

As mentioned by Bhattacharjee (2012), it is essential to disclose all the results and potential conflicting aspects found in a study in order to be as transparent as possible. Further, it is also important to be self-reflective and question the tools utilized in the thesis to spot potential shortcomings in the research.

First, with regards to the interviews - there could be potential issues regarding the asymmetrical power relation between the interviewees and the interviewers (Kvale, 2006). Furthermore, it can also be argued that there exists an interpretation monopoly on the interviewer's side, as mentioned by Kvale (2006). Practically speaking, this means that the answers received from the interviewees are often utilized in order to fit the theoretical schemes and frameworks that this study consists of (Kvale, 2006). In order to combat this, this thesis has been trying to increase the transparency and the disclosure of the result as much as possible, such as by offering the full transcription of the interview after it is conducted (as further described in chapter 3.3.1). Continuing on eventual criticisms with regards to conducting interviews, it is worth mentioning Myers and Newman (2007) and their discussions regarding problems and pitfalls while conducting interviews. For instance, the ambiguity of language in the interview, elite biases (such as only interviewing established researchers within the field and politicians rather than people working with microtargeting), and the general artificiality of the interview could potentially have influenced the outcome of the interviews (Myers & Newman, 2007). Also, although not intentional, the Hawthorne effects (meaning that the researcher may influence the interactions and behavior of the interviewees) could potentially have been prevalent when the interviews were conducted (Myers & Newman, 2007).

With regards to the translation of the interviews from Swedish to English in the result part of the study, a large emphasis has been on trying to get as close as possible to the English equivalent of a Swedish word. Practically, this has been utilized with the help of Google translate and dictionaries in order to remain as accurate to the original intent of a sentence as possible. The latter is acknowledged by the authors of this study since it could possibly affect the core statement provided by the respondent. Translating sentences verbatim from Swedish to English is not a straightforward matter. Thus, smaller corrections have been made in the citations in order to make them more readable. Henceforward, all quotations presented in the results section of the study (chapter 4) can be traced back to the source formulation in the appendix - all with the intention to strengthen transparency.

Moreover, the fact that this study only includes two Swedish political parties in the interview study could arguably receive some criticism. The authors of this study argue that including more political parties in the study would have generated a more robust result. However, by only having a dialogue with two parties, the result becomes difficult to generalize to the Swedish political landscape as a whole. All the largest political parties were invited to the interview study but unfortunately only two had the possibility to participate. This is worth acknowledging since the results derived from those interviews does not necessarily embrace how all parties operates in regard to tailored messages and microtargeting.

Additionally, it is essential to highlight some problematic aspects with the utilization of web-based surveys - such as the danger with not only potential viruses but also response biases (Recker, 2013). It is also worth mentioning that time constraints prohibited the study to focus on the different subgroups (such as age, educational level, and gender) and the relationship between them as well as the potential answers depicted by question 1-6. Instead, the thesis focuses on the Swedish population as a whole rather than these aforementioned subgroups. In regard to the avoidance of viruses and other attacks - the tools employed in this study have been deemed secure due to the data transfers being highly encrypted with SSL and TLS-protocols (see chapter 3.4.1 for further information regarding this).

Further, the sample size could potentially be biased, seeing that the survey was sent out to the networks of the authors of this thesis - thus, unintentionally might exclude some people of the population. To help combat this issue and increase the transparency and objectivity of the thesis, triangulation between interviews and literature has been conducted in accordance with Brink (1993).

4 Findings

4.1 Results from the Interview Study

4.1.1 Microtargeting

Table 8: Overview of the transcribed data regarding Microtargeting

Respondent	Appendix	Theme	Row
Michael Bossetta	5	MT	19, 27, 29, 31, 35,47, 59,61, 67, 69, 71, 91, 97, 99, 101
Jonas Ledendal	6	MT	8, 10
Jesper Enbom	7	MT	31, 33, 35, 37, 53, 69,73, 85, 93, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 121, 125, 131, 133, 141, 149, 173, 177, 199, 237, 249, 257, 261, 321
Gustav Georgson	8	MT	28, 36, 38, 42, 52, 58, 60, 64, 68, 78, 84, 86, 92
Respondent 1	9	MT	14, 16, 20, 22, 24, 34, 38, 48, 50, 54, 56, 58, 66, 71, 92, 96
Dr. Judith Möller	10	MT	14, 16, 18,48, 52, 61, 63, 67, 69, 71, 73, 77

As an initial part of the interview, the respondents were asked to describe their understanding and perception of microtargeting. Michael Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 19) and Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social Democratic party (Appendix 9, row 34 & 38) states that the whole discussion regarding the phenomenon blew up in the public debate after the Cambridge Analytica scandal. Bossetta stresses however that he perceived the discussion a bit overblown in terms of what Cambridge Analytica was accused of as he argues;

“...you gotta remember that these are marketers right, and they are trying to sell the efficiency of their product” - Michael Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 19).

Bossetta essentially depicts microtargeting as a tool that is not as sophisticated or effective as many claims. He further argues that many digital strategists disagree with term microtargeting since it implies that it involves one individual, one message. Bossetta therefore contends that a better term is small group targeting since microtargeting typically involves the process of targeting individuals based on groups (Appendix 5, row 27). Jonas Ledendal provides a more general explanation of the phenomenon; he depicts microtargeting more as a term in marketing which operates on an individual level when messages are sent to receivers - that is with tailored messages (Appendix 6, row 8). A similar argument as the latter is provided by Jesper

Enbom who states that microtargeting involves a process in which you try to improve and refine the method of finding and distinguish specific segments of people in different contexts, that then can be contacted with a particular message (Appendix 7, row 31).

“Microtargeting is about finding out as much as possible about the relevant target groups for an organization” - Jesper Enbom (Appendix 7, row 35).

Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social Democratic party depicts microtargeting in a comparable way. More specifically, it is argued that microtargeting essentially implies that targeted messages are created based on information regarding the receiver (Appendix 9, row 22).

Each of the respondents was further asked if there was a tangible difference between traditional microtargeting for commercial purposes and political microtargeting. Bossetta argues that there is no difference in the medium itself, that is how the technology is used, but the difference lies in what type of data is fed into the system that decides who to target and why (Appendix 5, row 29). Enbom argues similarly by stating that the information or data that is utilized in political microtargeting could be perceived as more sensitive compared to traditional microtargeting. He exemplifies this by stating that it is one thing if everyone knows that someone buys a lot of chocolate, it is a different matter regarding information about an individual's political inferences and beliefs (Appendix 7, row 39 & 53). Furthermore, Judith Möller states that political microtargeting operates in an equivalent way as depicted by Respondent 1 above. More specifically, tailored messages are based on personal profiles consisting of personal information (Appendix 10, row 14 & 16).

In terms of how political microtargeting functions from a practical standpoint, Bossetta states that the Facebook platform provides political parties with all essential tools that are required to find suitable individuals to contact with tailored messages. Facebook's advertising platform is described by Bossetta as very sophisticated and robust, in which political parties have the possibility to filter out individuals based on their preferences, which in turn enables political parties to message specific segments of the people, for example filtering out people who lean conservatives, lean liberal or lean moderate (Appendix 5, row 29).

It is worth noting that Respondent 1 from the Social Democratic Party states targeting specific individuals is not isolated to online advertisements; all types of advertising are in a way targeted. This is exemplified by pointing out that women receive certain advertisements in the physical mailbox from different brands such as Libresse, which men would never receive (Appendix 9, row 56). This is also backed by Gustav Georgson from the Swedish Liberal party, who states that political marketers have always used some type of microtargeting, even before the emergence of the internet (Appendix 8, row 52). Political parties have always analyzed results in order to determine where in the country they are strongest and use that information to tailor specific information to those areas.

4.1.2 Perceived Benefits with Microtargeting

Table 9: Overview of the transcribed data regarding Benefits with microtargeting

Respondent	Appendix	Theme	Row
Michael Bossetta	5	MTB	19, 37, 39, 41, 45, 47, 59, 95, 101

Jonas Ledendal	6	MTB	12, 14, 56
Jesper Enbom	7	MTB	55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 71, 77, 87, 107, 111, 123, 181, 255
Gustav Georgson	8	MTB	30, 32, 44, 76
Respondent 1	9	MTB	28
Dr. Judith Möller	10	MTB	34, 26, 28, 30

After the initial phase discussing microtargeting from a general perspective, the respondents were asked if they could think of any positive aspects with the utilization of the technology. Ledendal, Enbom, Möller and Bossetta all state that, from an organizational perspective, microtargeting can be perceived as an effective and cheap solution. It essentially allows campaigns with less resources to be considered competitive, while also making candidates who were not perceived as important more viable.

“One is the main benefit that most people would say, most academics would say, is that it allows campaigns with less resources to be competitive” - Michael Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 37).

“... of course, it costs to advertise, it costs to target a message, so it is obvious that the more precise the more cost-effective it becomes. The old broadcasting media is quite ineffective, you pay quite a bit but get a pretty small hit if I am to be honest” - Jonas Ledendal (Appendix 6, row 14).

“[...]for political parties, it is essentially quite a cheap way especially on Facebook it is not expensive [...]” - Judith Möller (Appendix 10, row 28).

Bossetta also discussed the problematic aspects of the conventional ways of advertising through traditional media, for example, television. He states that television is restricted to certain designated market areas (DMAs), that are certain geographical locations. The benefit with a technology like microtargeting is that it is not limited to those DMAs and that the advertiser is not competing on limited amounts of airtime as with the case of television advertisement - thus making microtargeting a fairly cheap solution (Appendix 5, row 41). Ledendal further argues that this generates value for the receiver as well since the information shown in the advertisement usually is perceived as more relevant - a statement which is also acknowledged by Georgson (Appendix 8, row 32) from the Swedish Liberal party and Möller (Appendix 10 row 24).

“For example when it comes to advertisements that you have to see before you can watch the film on YouTube or something, it is obvious that if you are going to spend some time on that it is better that it is relevant than completely irrelevant...” - Jonas Ledendal (Appendix 6, row 12).

Furthermore, Bossetta and Enbom emphasize several benefits for political parties related to the utilization of microtargeting. Firstly, Enbom argues that microtargeting contributes to a more revitalized democracy, in which political parties have a greater possibility to identify

individuals that may be interested in not just voting but doing other things that could aid the political party (Appendix 7, row 55 & 57). According to Bossetta, an additional way that microtargeting can assist political parties is through its incredible flexibility. He exemplifies this by arguing that whenever a rival candidate attacks a certain political campaign, that attack can be microtargeted to negate the negative effect that it might have. In other words, microtargeting can also be utilized as a defensive tool or counter move since it makes organizations more responsive (Appendix 6, row, 41).

Enbom (Appendix 7, row 123) and Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 45) further elaborate the aspect of responsiveness and flexibility with microtargeting by arguing that the technology does not solely enable organizations to message quickly, it also generates instant feedback on the messages sent. The latter is also confirmed by both Georgson (Appendix 8, row 30) and Respondent 1 (Appendix 9, row 28) who argue that online advertising, from a general perspective, always generates instant feedback regarding the precision of the advertisement and the numbers generated clicks. This feedback can then be utilized to further enhance the messages in order to further increase the accuracy and quality of the online advertisement.

Moreover, the respondents from the Swedish political parties that took part in the study were also asked if they perceived that tailored messages online generated a more substantial political participation. Georgson (Appendix 8, row 44) argues that it could potentially be the case, but he stresses that traditional ways of contacting people such as doorstepping or talking to people on the streets still is one of the most effective methods to generate political participation. The latter is corroborated by Respondent 1 (Appendix 9, row 28), who states that personal contact and dialog is what convinces people; the physical contact is virtually irreplaceable.

Furthermore, Georgson states that one main advantage regarding the utilization of microtargeting in a political context is the fact that parties can reach certain segments of people that were difficult to reach before, for example, individuals that lived in remote locations (Appendix 8, row 76).

4.1.3 Perceived Issues with Microtargeting

Table 10: Overview of the transcribed data regarding Potential issues with microtargeting

Respondent	Appendix	Theme	Row
Michael Bossetta	5	MTI	23, 47, 49, 67, 91, 97
Jonas Ledendal	6	MTI	12, 14, 16, 18, 24, 26, 118
Jesper Enbom	7	MTI	77, 79, 81, 83,85, 87, 97, 109, 111, 141, 183
Gustav Georgson	8	MTI	46, 48, 52. 84, 86
Respondent 1	9	MTI	36, 38, 64
Dr. Judith Möller	10	MTI	32, 34, 38, 40, 48, 77

Following the discussion regarding the overall benefits with the utilization of microtargeting and tailored messages, all respondents were asked if they had observed any negative aspects or issues with the technology under study. Bossetta stressed the dilemma of excluding some information from the original message in order to make it more relatable for a specific individual or segment of people (Appendix 5, row 47). Bossetta essentially pictured a situation in which political parties generate different messages to different people in order to receive their support or vote. However, Bossetta continued this argument by stating that the data does not support this fully; he claims that political parties do not develop various unique messages - they merely show different parts of the same message. Still, even if the messages are not unique for every single individual, an issue still remains;

“... but the sort of danger is that you may win their vote but they do not learn about your other policies. Maybe they disagree with everything else you say. Maybe they don't see that because you are not targeting that message...” - Michael Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 47).

The aforementioned is also acknowledged by Ledendal and Enbom. Ledendal states that messages that are based on personal data will solely mediate information that the receiver already cares about, which in itself could be perceived as a positive aspect, however, this could result in that information that could be interesting to the receiver is excluded - thus generating what Ledendal calls a “filter bubble” (Appendix 6, row 16). Enbom argues in a similar way, as depicted above. He believes that one continuous risk with the utilization of microtargeting is that political parties may divide their messages to a large extent, which could result in parties not addressing the whole population - that the parties adjust their messages too much. This could potentially result in that the same party is recognized differently between individuals, which Enbom states is a worrying aspect (Appendix 7, row 77). However, Enbom furthermore states that there is an exaggerated fear of the concept of “filter bubbles” (Appendix 7, row 141). Following this, Möller states that the idea of filter bubbles does not make much sense in a Swedish context, this due to the strong culture of public broadcasting in Sweden that is consumed by a large segment of the population. By taking part in this kind of public broadcasting, Möller claims that you are stepping outside of the filter bubble (Appendix 10, row 48).

The latter is confirmed by Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social Democratic party, who stresses that core beliefs and ideas are seldom changed when advertising. The message itself can receive a smaller change depending on what segment of people are to be contacted; however, the core idea or belief always stays the same.

“... about pensions for example, depending on if you have an age-group that is a bit older or one with people that are to be retired, of course you adjust that [...] so the text becomes more relevant” - Respondent 1 (Appendix 9, row 48).

When asking the Swedish political parties regarding issues with microtargeting, two main aspects were brought up, integrity and transparency. Georgson argues that it is essential that the data that is gathered is not tampered with and that it is always anonymized - in order to ensure a high level of integrity for all the individuals involved (Appendix 8, row 46). Regarding the aspect of transparency, Georgson argues that he perceives it as an essential component in a democracy. He exemplified this by stating that Facebook has improved transparency in their advertisement platform by enabling organizations to identify what Georgson describe as “dark ads”, while also generating a higher degree of traceability. The concept of dark ads is explained by Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 91) and Enbom (Appendix 7, row 85 & 87) as a potential way to demobilize voters by enforcing certain negative beliefs. Georgson further states

that individuals and media do not normally possess the knowledge regarding how these types of technologies operate. As a result, they might want to examine the underlying advertisement process, which highlights the importance of full transparency in the advertisement process (Appendix 8, row 48). Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social Democratic party reflects on the transparency aspect as well. It is stated that in the case with Cambridge Analytica during the US election, different applications were created with the sole purpose to mine user data and utilize it for other purposes - without the consent from the user (Appendix 9, row 38). In other words, Respondent 1 states that the intent was not to provide a service; but rather to generate user data. This becomes problematic due to the lack of transparency regarding the intent, which could be perceived as an issue related to microtargeting. The aforementioned is also stated by Ledendal, who states that whenever personal data is being processed, the aspects of integrity and transparency becomes essential, in which integrity is the largest problem with microtargeting according to him (Appendix 6, row 18).

Regarding the aspect of how effective microtargeted and tailored messages truly are in persuading potential voters, the answers varied. Bossetta believes that tailored messages are not that persuasive because of the state of mind that people are in when they are on social media. However, this can vary depending on what social media that the tailored message is shown.

“There is an argument that targeting on Twitter might be more effective because you have a more politically engaged population on twitter. Like.. Running you know policy ads on Instagram is probably not going to change anyone's mind” - Michael Bossetta (Appendix 4, row 59).

A similar response is provided by Respondent 1, who argues that all types of advertising affect the user in some way; it is not isolated to just online advertisement (Appendix 9, row 54). Respondent 1 further elaborates this by stating that one aspect that may affect the effectiveness of an ad in regard to its capabilities to persuade individuals depends on the volume, that is how much and often it is shown on various channels. If it is an online advertisement or a traditional TV-advertisement does not matter, it has to be a combination of both that generates a larger volume of the same message.

Bossetta further states that no one is exposed to only one medium in regard to political communications, and therefore states that it is impossible to practically only be inside an echo-chamber.

“People, as you say, are very critical of platforms but it's just, it's absolutely impossible to be in an echochamber. Yes, maybe you are in an echo-chamber on Twitter, but you are also getting information from.. from other sources. Friends, Family, um, you know, walking down the street you see different, you know, signs, newspapers, whatever, people yelling in the street” - Michael Bossetta (Appendix 4, row 97).

Georgson, Ledendal and Enbom all argue that microtargeted messages have a greater chance to persuade individuals compared to traditional online advertisement; however, its effectiveness is limited. For example, Enbom argues that traditionally in Swedish politics, voters seldom shift across the “blocks”. Voters may shift internally within the block, that is casting their vote on a party that leans the same way as the party that they usually vote for. Enbom states that microtargeted messages may be a result of this shift within blocks, but he does not believe that tailored messages will make individuals vote far-right instead of far-left or vice versa.

“... Microtargeting has significance, but it is not [...] as effective as you might believe after Cambridge Analytica. It received a [...] overemphasis regarding how effective it is...” - Jesper Enbom (Appendix 6, row 109 & 111).

Georgson also addresses the statement above as he mentions that the discussion regarding the utilization of microtargeting blew up considerably after the Cambridge Analytica scandal. Georgson further claims that several reporters asked him about targeted messages as a result of this scandal, which Georgson answered by stating;

“We have done this in hundreds of years [...], to have “targets” on specific groups and tailored messages [...] is not something new” - Gustav Georgson (Appendix 7, row 50 & 52).

Regarding the aspect of exclusion, all researchers who participated in the interview study argue that microtargeting could potentially result in certain segments of people being excluded. Bossetta contends that this may be a larger problem in the US or Great Britain since they adopt a first-past-the-post electoral system which results in that “the winner takes all”. He further problematizes this by stating that this creates a climate where insignificant states may be excluded from the campaign. However, Bossetta mentions that in a proportional representation system like in Sweden, there are not the same incentives to target specific parts of the population (Appendix 5, row 67). He ends this argument by stating that the aspect of exclusion is however not isolated to microtargeting; it relates more to the electoral system (Appendix 5, row 69). Ledendal argues in similar ways as he states that the risk of exclusion is always present. He further stresses that this problem is persistent in all technology that utilizes algorithms. These algorithms will always be biased in a way, and that is usually an effect of bad or insufficient data being utilized (Appendix 6, row 16 & 26).

The aforementioned is also confirmed by Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social Democratic party (Appendix 9, row 64) and Georgson from the Swedish Liberal party (Appendix 8, row 74). It is stated that exclusion is always apparent in politics, regardless of how potential voters are contacted. All Swedish parties strive to reach as many people as possible, but it is impossible to reach everyone in the population due to recourse restrictions. Political parties must therefore prioritize, thus excluding some from the conversation.

“...all parties want to send all their information to all people, but [...] there are no resources for that. Then you have to prioritize, which always has been the case” - Gustav Georgson (Appendix 8, row 74).

The same mindset can be derived regarding the possibility of political parties being perceived as a “one-single-issue party” due to the utilization of tailored messages. Georgson argues that the risk is always present, but it has not emerged because of microtargeting, it has been a problem long before the phenomenon appeared (Appendix 8, row 52 & 84). He further states that there are limits regarding how much information people can take in, if a party presents an individual with ten different issues, they will probably forget everything afterward (Appendix 8, row 86). An equivalent point is stated by Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social democratic party. It is argued that even if representatives from the party have physical dialogs with potential voters, they never present all issues that the party perceives as important. The dialog is therefore adapted to what the potential voter could perceive as important (Appendix 9, row 64).

Furthermore, Georgson elaborates the aspect of utilizing microtargeting as a potential manipulation tool. He argues that manipulation is an excessive expression which is not applicable in traditional political microtargeting. Georgson states that it may be manipulation if the advertisement contains lies, fake news or has a fake sender. However, as long as you advertise something that is true and that can be fact-checked - the problem with manipulation will not be applicable (Appendix 8, row 68).

4.1.4 Data Gathering

Table 11: Overview of the transcribed data regarding Data gathering

Respondent	Appendix	Theme	Row
Michael Bossetta	5	DG	29, 51, 71, 73, 75, 77, 97, 119, 123, 137
Jonas Ledendal	6	DG	18, 34, 38, 40
Jesper Enbom	7	DG	17, 23, 71, 73, 151, 153, 155, 159, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 185, 195, 201, 217, 223, 235, 253, 281, 287, 291, 297
Gustav Georgson	8	DG	15, 19
Respondent 1	9	DG	26, 38, 42
Dr. Judith Möller	10	DG	16, 56, 61, 71, 73

Data is, according to Bossetta, Ledendal and Enbom, an essential component in microtargeting. Enbom states that the key element is to know as much as possible regarding relevant target groups, including their fundamental ideas and beliefs, thus making the data collection central (Appendix 6, row 151, 153 & 155). Ledendal argues that this is a result of the ongoing digitalization of society, in which the whole world has generated immense numbers of data points in the past 20 years. He further states that all individuals become increasingly more digital, adding to the already existing digital footprint - which in turn enables technologies such as microtargeting to exist (Appendix 5, row 34). Bossetta argues similarly as he states that data lies as the foundation in terms of who to target with a tailored message. He further underlines that tailored messages, in turn, generate new data points in terms of direct feedback, that is, data regarding the accuracy and success of the advertisement.

“...so it’s really, uh, a cycle, so it’s not just the data going in, and not just the data coming out, it’s both together, um, that’s important.” - Michael Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 73).

Regarding how data is practically gathered, the answers varied. Ledendal and Enbom argue that there is a principle in Sweden which enables the collection of politically related information regarding individuals, which is the principle of public access to official documents (offentlighetsprincipen). Ledendal states that data that is categorized under this principle can and is being utilized to develop tailored messages. He further mentions that this type of information has been used for a long time in all sorts of purposes, not solely microtargeting (Appendix 6, row 38). Furthermore, Ledendal added that Sweden is also distinctive compared to

other countries in Europe since every single one in the population has a unique personal number.

“... all the information that all authorities collect must be linked to the unique number, so there are incredibly good opportunities to secure very large amounts of data in a way that is not always possible in other countries...” - Jonas Ledendal (Appendix 6, row 38).

Enbom exemplifies this by discussing how political parties can use data from the polling results. These results are divided into several constituencies across the country, which enables political parties to specify where in the country they are strong or weak - a process that has been done for a long period of time in Sweden (Appendix 7, row 159, 169 & 175). This traditional and analog way of analyzing polling results has, in recent times, been revolutionized by mixing it with new technologies such as microtargeting. For example, Enbom states that the polling result can be utilized to identify voters and categorize them based on where and how they live, that is a villa or apartment. Through this categorization, several tailored messages can be created in order to ensure that the information is more applicable to the individual being contacted (Appendix 7, row 177).

However, data gathering as depicted above, is not always necessary depending on what type of advertisement platform you are utilizing. Bossetta argues that Facebook has developed a sophisticated and robust advertising platform due to the endless data points related to all of its users. This amount of data regarding users makes Facebook a superior platform because of its enhanced matching capabilities compared to other platforms.

“...if you are buying... or selling a pair of shoes you can just go and type in target this message to people that are interested in shoes in this category” - Michael Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 29).

He further exemplifies this by arguing that when a new user signs up for Facebook's service, they usually give their real name, age, gender, race, and profile picture. This generates vast amounts of personal information, according to Bossetta, significantly more compared to other platforms such as Twitter (Appendix 5, row 75). What is stated by Bossetta could furthermore be seen practically in the utilization mentioned by Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social Democratic party. It is argued by Respondent 1 that they utilize the platform and tools provided by Facebook Business Manager, in which they use the data collected by Facebook.

“We create [...] the target groups based on the information contained in this tool (Facebook Business Manager). But [...] we do not add additional information” - Respondent 1 (Appendix 9, row 42).

Thus, emphasizing that the Swedish Social Democratic party does not gather additional data from other sources, just as Bossetta depicts. Furthermore, Respondent 1 also states that the difference with the emergence of targeting in an internet-context, compared to analog alternatives such as postal codes, is the fact that there is a possibility for utilizing additional data from different platforms as well (Appendix 9, row 24, & 26).

In terms of data gathering with the help of cookies, Bossetta exemplifies the tradeoff with privacy and convenience. This, according to Bossetta, is stated as although he tries to employ a tendency to monitor and clear cookies for privacy reasons, the annoyance of losing passwords, autocompletes and search words is a painful process which in turn makes it more

common to just let the cookies be saved. This argument is also emphasized by Möller, who mentions that there is no balance between privacy and convenience and that people generally choose convenience (Appendix 10, row 73).

“... If I clear my browser because I want to get rid of the cookies for privacy reasons or whatever [...], then I lose all my passwords that I have put in, right? And that’s a pain. So I usually just let the cookies go. I try to kind of monitor and clean the cookies and whatever, [...] after a while I get annoyed. [...], and it deletes, you know, when I get to search, it messes up auto-complete for pages I visited all the time. So, and that’s the tradeoff between privacy and convenience.” - Michael Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 119).

4.1.5 Legal Aspects

Table 12: Overview of the transcribed data regarding Legal aspects

Respondent	Appendix	Theme	Row
Michael Bossetta	5	LA	49, 51, 57, 81, 83, 89, 91, 115, 117, 119, 121, 131, 135, 137, 141, 147, 153
Jonas Ledendal	6	LA	26, 30, 40, 42, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 78, 82, 86, 88, 126, 135, 137
Jesper Enbom	7	LA	23, 39, 199, 209, 213, 217, 219, 237, 239, 245, 269, 271, 275, 277, 279
Gustav Georgson	8	LA	54, 68, 72
Respondent 1	9	LA	44
Dr. Judith Möller	10	LA	61, 65, 77

The discussion regarding the legal aspects with the utilization of microtargeting has been a central point in the interview study - namely concerning the regulatory framework GDPR. Ledendal, who has done research on GDPR, states that most of the existing technologies require the processing of personal information and whenever something involves the processing of personal data, the applicable data protection rules become highly relevant - which here in Sweden translates to GDPR. He further states that several technologies are released in which the developers state that the personal data utilized is fully anonymized, which makes GDPR inapplicable to their case. However, Ledendal mentions that he has never seen a technology that anonymizes individuals in the way that GDPR requires (Appendix 6, row 46).

“...it has never been anonymous in GDPR’s opinion. So what they call anonymous data is not anonymous enough so that it does not fall into the scope of GDPR” - Jonas Ledendal (Appendix 6, row 46).

This essentially means, according to Ledendal, that if the utilization of microtargeting is to be considered legal, the regulations presented in GDPR are required to be followed. Ledendal stresses however that GDPR should not be perceived as prohibiting legislation. It is not

forbidden to process personal data - it just requires that the personal information that is utilized in microtargeting is handled in a correct manner (Appendix 6, row 50).

Furthermore, Enbom states that political microtargeting may involve personal information related to political beliefs and preferences. These are according to GDPR a particular type of personal information which is categorized as sensitive information - and should be handled with extra caution (Appendix 7, row 209). Enbom further states that in order to legally process personal information in this category, the explicit consent from the user is required (Appendix 7, row 213). This is also confirmed by Ledendal, who specifies that this is all stated in Article 9 in GDPR. He further affirms that explicit consent is one requirement that would enable the processing of sensitive information; however, he stresses that it is not the only exception. Ledendal argues that the exception called legitimate purpose could be relevant if political parties utilize microtargeting.

“...political parties have a legitimate purpose in terms of reaching out with their message, it is a fairly important democratic aspect that parties reach out to [...] many people, that you get to know what all political parties think, that you make a rational decision when you vote in parliamentary elections...” - Jonas Ledendal (Appendix 6, row 52).

Ledendal further argues that GDPR is misinterpreted in terms of organizations believing that receiving explicit consent is the only way to enable the processing of sensitive information. This is, however, wrong according to Ledendal, there are many exceptions to Article 9 and explicit consent is in actuality reasonably hard to get according to what is stated in GDPR (Appendix 6, row 58 & 60).

In terms of how political parties handle the legal aspects from a practical standpoint, it is stated by both the Swedish Liberal and Social democratic party that they utilize the platforms and services provided by Facebook, and Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social Democratic party specifically stated that they did not congregate additional data sources in order to merge it with the data and information that Facebook (Appendix 9, row 42). This implies that Facebook is the responsible entity regarding the fair processing of personal data, not the political parties themselves. It is further stated by both Georgson and Respondent 1 that Facebook has made significant improvements on their platform compared to how it was before 2018. Now users have the possibility to see who pays for specific advertisements, and it is possible to see what particular advertisements different political parties show on the platform and how much money that has been spent on them (Appendix 9, row 44) – which in turn highlights an increased level of transparency on the Facebook advertising platform. Georgson further states that the Liberal party has taken additional measures in order to ensure legality and transparency in their advertisement process by utilizing services provided by certain advertising that are specialized in ethical issues. These firms develop several frameworks or guidelines regarding fair advertisement – which, for example, includes rules such as not targeting less than 100 people at a time (Appendix 8, row 58 & 60).

What is stated above by the Swedish Social Democratic and Liberal party is strengthened by Möller as she states;

“It is very very sensitive all political information about people, it is among one of the categories of sensitive data that is highly protective. [...] the only reasonable way of doing microtargeting in this context (in Sweden) is to go through the social platforms that has an X pool of

people and let them do the microtargeting through this profiling” - Judith Möller (Appendix 10, row 61).

Furthermore, Ledendal and Bossetta elaborated on the discussion regarding consent, more specifically consent on platforms such as Facebook. Bossetta argues that invading privacy could be perceived as a potential problem when platforms such as Facebook utilize personal data for microtargeting. However, he further states that this process is to be considered legal due to the fact that new users accept the terms and conditions document when opting in to the service.

“...of course there is data that no one reads the terms of service right, so at a legal level you have already consented to being microtargeted. But the question is if it is ethical of platforms to hide their term of service” - Michael Bossetta (Appendix 5, row 49).

Ledendal argues differently regarding the aspect of users giving consent through the terms and condition document. He considered it wrong to hide aspects such as the consent to microtargeting in extensive terms and condition documents since GDPR states that nothing should be hidden from the user. Furthermore, the principle of fairness in GDPR states that platforms and organizations should strive to make it as fair as possible for the user - in other words, being transparent regarding how personal information is to be utilized and processed (Appendix 6, row 68). However, Ledendal stresses that he has seldom seen implementations that fully follow these rules, which is an effect of GDPR still being a relatively new regulatory framework.

“...I think the requirements will increase there, I think that the supervisory authority now says in the beginning "we understand that you have lots of legacy systems and stuff" and [...] it takes a long time to change things and improve. But in the end, they will lose patience if nothing more happens” - Jonas Ledendal (Appendix 6, row 70).

One matter that Ledendal, Enbom and Bossetta are united in, is that GDPR has generated an increased awareness regarding integrity online. It is argued that online users are constantly reminded regarding this because of the many messages on websites regarding how they process personal information and cookies (Appendix 5, row 115, Appendix 6, row 78 & Appendix 7, row 279). Ledendal further states that he has several colleagues that have researched this specific topic, which enabled him to express with confidence that GDPR has increased the public's overall awareness regarding privacy issues. A similar response is provided by Möller, who argues that awareness has increased among certain people. The latter is mainly due to the many “cookie walls” that users are forced to click on.

“[...] even though we don't know anything at all. At least it reminds us that something is going on [...]” - Judith Möller (Appendix 10, row 67).

Ledendal states another legal aspect that is worth noting. Political statements and advertising do not need to follow the marketing rules in Sweden like advertising for commercial goods. Political standpoints and ideas can freely be expressed in Sweden due to the freedom of speech - which essentially implies that traditional microtargeting is regulated more strictly compared to political microtargeting.

“...the whole purpose of freedom of speech is to protect free public opinion, political views simply, [...] you should be able to express not least political opinions” - Jonas Ledendal (Appendix 6, row 88).

4.1.6 Political System

Table 13: Overview of the transcribed data regarding Political aspects

Respondent	Appendix	Theme	Row
Michael Bossetta	5	PA	37, 39, 47, 67, 69, 75, 89, 95
Jonas Ledendal	6	PA	52, 56, 88, 104
Jesper Enbom	7	PA	17, 21, 23, 25, 47, 49, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 77, 99, 105, 107, 117, 125, 137, 169, 173, 177, 185, 221, 223, 235, 247, 249, 251, 255, 259, 261, 293, 313
Gustav Georgson	8	PA	34, 36, 44, 50, 74, 78, 80, 82
Respondent 1	9	PA	28, 46, 50, 52, 64, 66, 71, 74, 76, 78
Dr. Judith Möller	10	PA	26, 28, 75

Regarding the aspect of how different political systems may affect the applicability of microtargeting, the answers in the interview study varied. Bossetta and Enbom argue that the main difference between parties in a two-party system and a multi-party system is the ideas and beliefs that the parties represent. Bossetta states that in a two-party system, like in the US, results in more issues under the two parties. In contrast, a multi-party system enables ideas and issues to be divided across all parties (Appendix 5, row 95). This is also emphasized by Enbom, who argues that parties in a multi-party system usually are more niched towards certain issues or questions (Appendix 7, row 255). Consequently, this affects the utilization of microtargeting since it is necessary for the parties to find potential voters that fit their niched ideas and beliefs. Enbom, therefore, argues that microtargeting could be utilized as a tool to identify potential voters that fit the political party's profile (Appendix 7, row 249).

Georgson from the Swedish Liberal party argues that the politics in the US and its two-party system could be perceived as “black and white” - in which the goal is to convince individuals to vote for your party and push people to actually vote (Appendix 8, row 78). The circumstances differ in Sweden since voters typically have between two and five different parties that they potentially can vote for. This could, according to Georgson, make the utilization of microtargeting more complex since it complicates the process of deciding who to message and what issues to feature in tailored messages (Appendix 8, row 80). Georgson states that one could argue that the targeting process is more straightforward in a two-party system like in the US (Appendix 8, row 82).

Ledendal and Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social Democratic party argue that the applicability of microtargeting is not based on the prevailing political system; instead, it is the polarization in a county (Appendix 6, row 104). More specifically, the US is in its core a more polarized country compared to Sweden, which is an argument for microtargeting being more

effective in the US, according to Respondent 1 (Appendix 9, row 74). It is therefore stressed that this is related to the political culture in the country, not the political system in place. The topic of political culture as an essential aspect is also discussed by Möller, who states that the utilization of microtargeting potentially can result in backlashes for a particular party utilizing it (Appendix 10, row 75).

4.1.7 Data-Driven Predictions.

Table 14: Overview of the transcribed data regarding Data-driven predictions

Respondent	Appendix	Theme	Row
Michael Bossetta	5	DDP	73
Jonas Ledendal	6	DDP	110, 112
Jesper Enbom	7	DDP	91, 93, 101, 145, 147, 215, 219, 299, 319
Gustav Georgson	8	DDP	42, 56
Respondent 1	9	DDP	30, 32, 56, 64, 71, 86
Dr. Judith Möller	10	DDP	81, 83, 85, 87, 89

Another aspect covered in the interview concerned algorithms and their possibility to predict personality traits and voting behaviour. Bossetta states that at the end of the day, those are just predictions, which can be accurate or inaccurate. The accuracy depends on the overall quality of data that the algorithms utilized in order to make decisions (Appendix 5, row 73). An equivalent point is stated by Ledendal, who argues that algorithms today encompasses a reasonably high precision in determining personality traits. However, it fundamentally comes down to the amount and quality of data (Appendix 6, row 110). Larger companies such as Google may have a more precise accuracy in their algorithms since they have gathered personal data for an extended period of time.

However, Ledendal states that there are some issues with algorithms these days and presents Netflix as an example. Netflix algorithm often predicts movies and series badly, which is, according to Ledendal, a result of a lack of data. The algorithm does not possess data regarding what someone watched before Netflix, thus excluding that central information from the calculation and prediction (Appendix 6, row 112). The latter may, however, change in the future, with more people growing up as “digital natives” in which more personal information could be available to the algorithms from earlier stages in life.

Moreover, Möller emphasizes that algorithms are efficient in carrying out specific tasks, for example, calculating a certain number or identifying an article with the highest relevance in a pool of millions of different options (Appendix 10, row 81 & 83). However, it is further stated that the importance of the human aspect in relation to algorithms should not be undervalued. In essence, algorithms are great at developing data - but it is the humans that interpret it and gives it some sort of meaning and apply it to the real world (Appendix 10, row 89).

4.1.8 Future Aspects

Table 15: Overview of the transcribed data regarding Future aspects

Respondent	Appendix	Theme	Row
Michael Bossetta	5	FP	101, 105
Jonas Ledendal	6	FP	118, 120
Jesper Enbom	7	FP	143, 267, 269, 271, 277
Gustav Georgson	8	FP	64, 66, 90, 92
Respondent 1	9	FP	46, 84, 88, 90, 96
Dr. Judith Möller	10	FP	77

As a final step in the interview study, the respondents were asked about their perception of the future of microtargeting. Bossetta argues that microtargeting as a business model will never disappear without the large advertisement platforms fading away. He further stated that the scenario in the future will be that online advertisements will grow and become considerably more expensive in the future (Appendix 5, row 101). Enbom, Ledendal and Möller argue in a similar way as they state that less targeted advertisement is not the future.

“There may come a legislation that states “you may not collect anything (personal information) and then it will of course change, but in itself I think that it is not a trend. [...] to refine the message, to tinker with it somehow. It is, after all, a way to use resources as efficiently as possible” - Jesper Enbom (Appendix 7, row 269).

“The opposite does not have the future for itself, some form of targeted advertising is the future - the question is just how targeted it is” - Jonas Ledendal (Appendix 6, row 120).

“The natural progression is that it will get ever more better and refined” - Judith Möller (Appendix 10, row 77).

Enbom further argues that the Cambridge Analytica scandal may have some consequences in terms of political parties being more transparent regarding how they advertise online, but their overall online presence will not decrease in the near future (Appendix 7, row 271).

However, Enbom states that the possibility of a stricter regulatory framework becoming a reality in the future is not precluded, and that would, of course, affect the usability of microtargeting (Appendix 7, row 269). A similar thought is provided by Möller, who states that the fear and public debate is so fragmented and out of control, due to which in turn has resulted in a strong move to more regulation (Appendix 10, row 77).

Georgson does not believe that targeted advertisements in a political context will decrease in the near future, on the contrary, it will most likely increase and also evolve into new technologies (Appendix 8, row 90). He exemplifies this by stating that people generally do not watch traditional cable TV anymore but rather favors streaming services. One could therefore argue that microtargeting might emerge on those media channels as well. However, it is stressed by

Georgson that some say that the future of political information will solely appear on social networking sites such as Facebook. This is not the case; Georgson believes that traditional media and journalism will always be of utmost importance as long as politics exist (Appendix 8, row 90).

Respondent 1 from the Swedish Social Democratic party argues in a similar fashion. Targeted advertising is here to stay; the question is on what platforms it will appear in the future (Appendix 9, row 84). A new trend has been apparent in recent times in which communication applications such as Messenger (Facebook's communication platform) have started to increase their presence of online advertisements. There will always be advertisers that pursue new models and approaches - advertising is such an old concept, and people will find new ways of doing it (Appendix 8, row 88). Respondent 1 further elaborates on the answer and states that the main question is whether analog media will present in the future.

“But as I said, [...] it may be that suddenly the printer becomes the only way to reach people in any form of filter bubble [...]. So I don't think you should ignore the analog” - Respondent 1 (Appendix 9, row 90).

4.2 Results from the Survey

4.2.1 User Perceptions on Cookies, Trackers and Microtargeting

The initial part of the survey was aimed towards understanding the general user perception of microtargeting with an emphasis on cookies and trackers as a possible way to gather information about certain users and their internet habits. The first question with regards to this, *“Do you believe that cookies and trackers are used to store websites that you have visited”* resulted in 168 respondents believing that this is the case and answered “Yes”, whereas 10 respondents answered “Maybe” and 5 respondents answering “No”. Thus, this generated a percentage rate represented in the following graph:

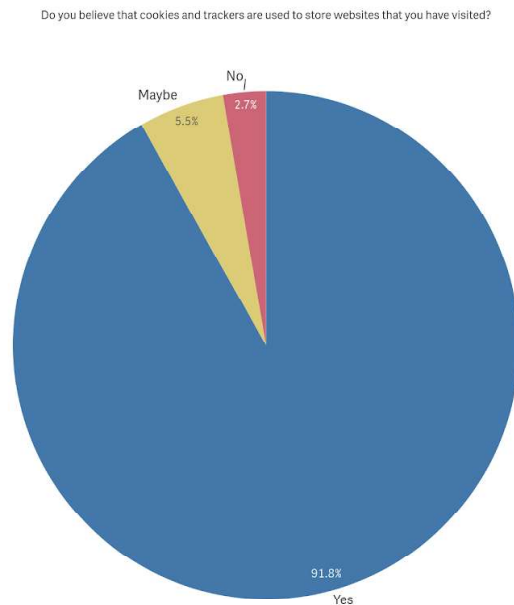


Figure 8: percentage rate of respondents believing that cookies and trackers are used to store websites that has been visited

Following this, a question regarding the general perception of how microtargeting works practically with the help of utilization of cookies and trackers was presented as the question “*Do you believe that cookies and trackers can be used to personalize ads?*”. The response rate stretched to 179 respondents answering “Yes”. In contrast, two respondents answered “Maybe” and another two respondents answered “No”, which in turn also can be shown percentage-wise in the following graph:

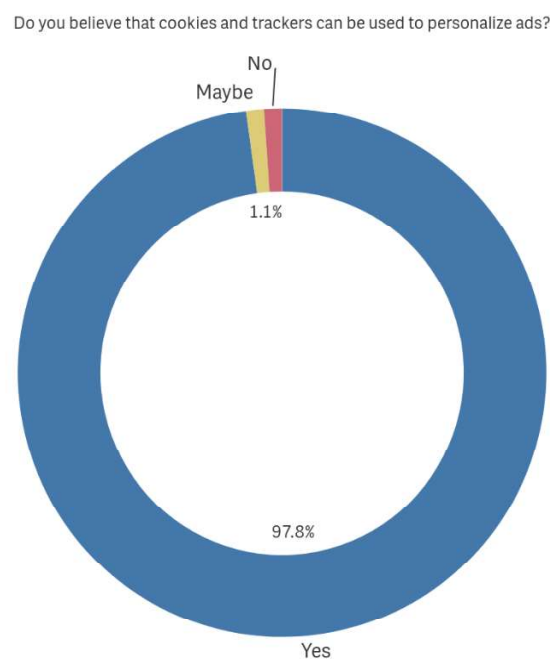


Figure 9: percentage of people believing that cookies and ads can be used to personalize ads

With regards to safety and the perception that respondents can safeguard themselves from being microtargeted with cookies and trackers, the question regarding anti-virus programs and their usefulness in preventing companies from storing search behavior on individuals were presented as “*Do you believe that a virus scanner, such as an anti-virus program, can prevent companies to store information based on search behavior?*”. Here, “False” dominated the response rates - where 107 respondents believed that anti-virus programs are unable to safeguard them from this. Contrasting this, 62 respondents were unsure about this and answered, “I am unsure,” and 14 respondents believed that this was the case and answered “True”. Following the response rates, the following graph was generated:

Do you believe that a virus scanner, such as an anti-virus program, can prevent companies from storing information based on search behavior?

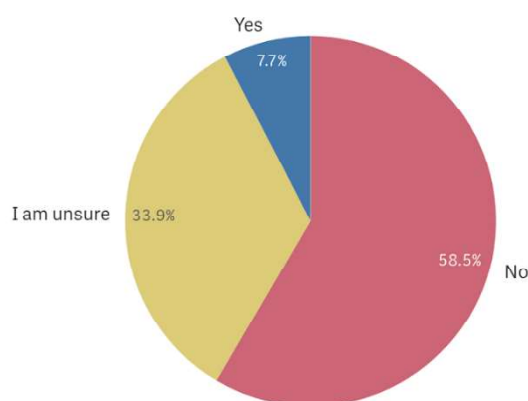


Figure 10: Percentage of people believing that virus scanners, such as an anti-virus program can prevent companies from storing information based on search behaviors

4.2.2 Data Gathering

The questions involving data gathering were focused on political parties and lobby organizations collecting information without explicit consent from the users, if they should face repercussions for doing so and what repercussions that could be considered appropriate for overstepping this. The first question regarding the general opinion on politically-oriented organizations collecting information about the respondents was formulated as “*Do you care if political parties or politically oriented lobby-organizations collect information about you*”, where both the graphs and the survey questionnaire were represented as Likert scales ranging from 1 being “*I don’t care at all*” and 5 being “*I care very much*” where the average of all 183 answers being 4, thus showing a general trend towards respondents more leaning towards caring about political organizations collecting information about them than not. The Likert scale of respondents can furthermore be shown in the following graph:

Represented in a Likert scale where 1 is "I don't care at all" and 5 is "I care very much"

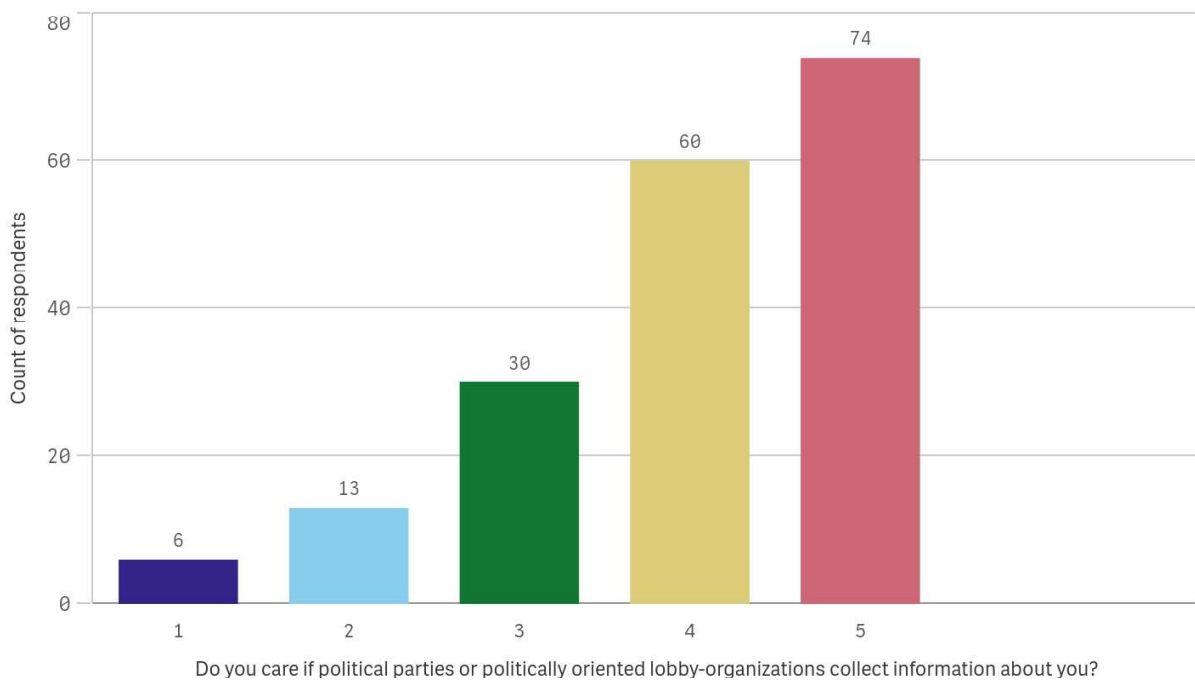


Figure 11: A Likert scale representing the respondent's perception on their information being collected by political organizations

Following this, another question regarding third parties collecting data without asking for explicit consent in doing so was investigated with the help of the question "*Third parties collecting information without my explicit consent should be punished for this*". Here, the general trend leans towards "Yes", represented with 107 respondents. 59 respondents answered "Maybe," and 17 respondents answered "No" which in turn resulted in this graph:

Third parties collecting information about me without my explicit consent should be punished for this.

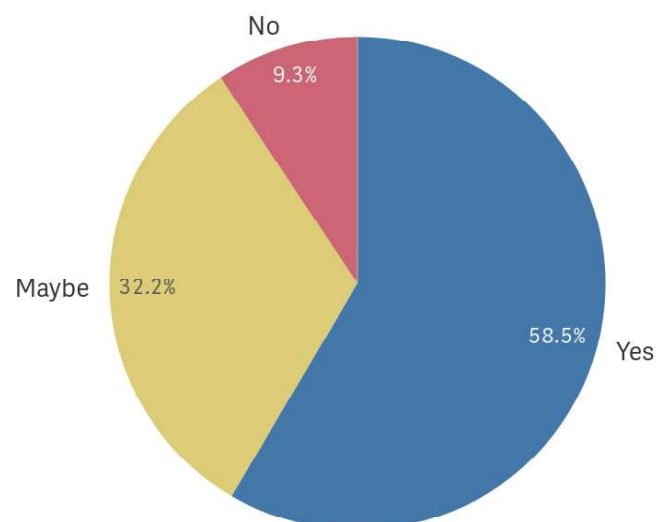


Figure 12: The percentage of people believing that third party organizations collecting information without the respondent's explicit consent should be punished for this

As an additional step in this, respondents were also allowed to elaborate on this if they had answered yes on the previous question. Here, the respondents could reflect on what a potential punishment for not explicitly gaining consent prior to collecting data about an individual could be. The whole list of individual answers is furthermore represented in *Appendix 4, Question 3*. Generally speaking, a broad consensus of responses (33 out of 47) were in some way suggesting that an appropriate punishment for this type of infringement would be some form of economic sanctions towards the organizations, such as the case with fines or fees. Some answers, such as Q3:8, mentioned the importance of what the information is used for, such as a more severe punishment for selling data, and milder consequences for pure advertisement. Some respondents stressed that if this type of information gathering were conducted, the responsible party for doing so should get their license revoked in some form (Q3:24; Q3:29; Q3:35) or even penalties involving prison time (Q3:9; Q3:28). There were also respondents who stressed the importance of transparency if this is the case, such as Q3:5 mentioning the deletion of information and the importance of opt-ins in the future and Q3:18 who further states that it is essential to know what they do with the “stuff” they have collected. However, one respondent (Q3:38) even mentioned that GDPR and the European cookie restrictions have failed, and that the data collected should not lie as a basis to be punished for. Practically, suggestions regarding how consent in data gathering should work were presented by Q3:39, who stated that it should instead be decided and standardized in a way that users decide on a browser level if they want to partake, and not every single site.

4.2.3 Legal Aspects

Regarding the legality issues, the questions focused on the general tendency to read the terms and conditions from a website prior to joining the specific site. This was utilized with the help of a Likert scale, ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 being “*I never read the terms and conditions*” and 5 being “*I always read the terms and conditions*”. Here, a general average of all of the 183 answers is 1.8, showing that there is a tendency to never or seldom read any terms and conditions prior to joining a website. The count of the respondents spread throughout the Likert scale can furthermore be shown in this graph:

Represented in a Likert scale where 1 is "I never read the terms and conditions" and 5 is "I always read the terms and conditions"

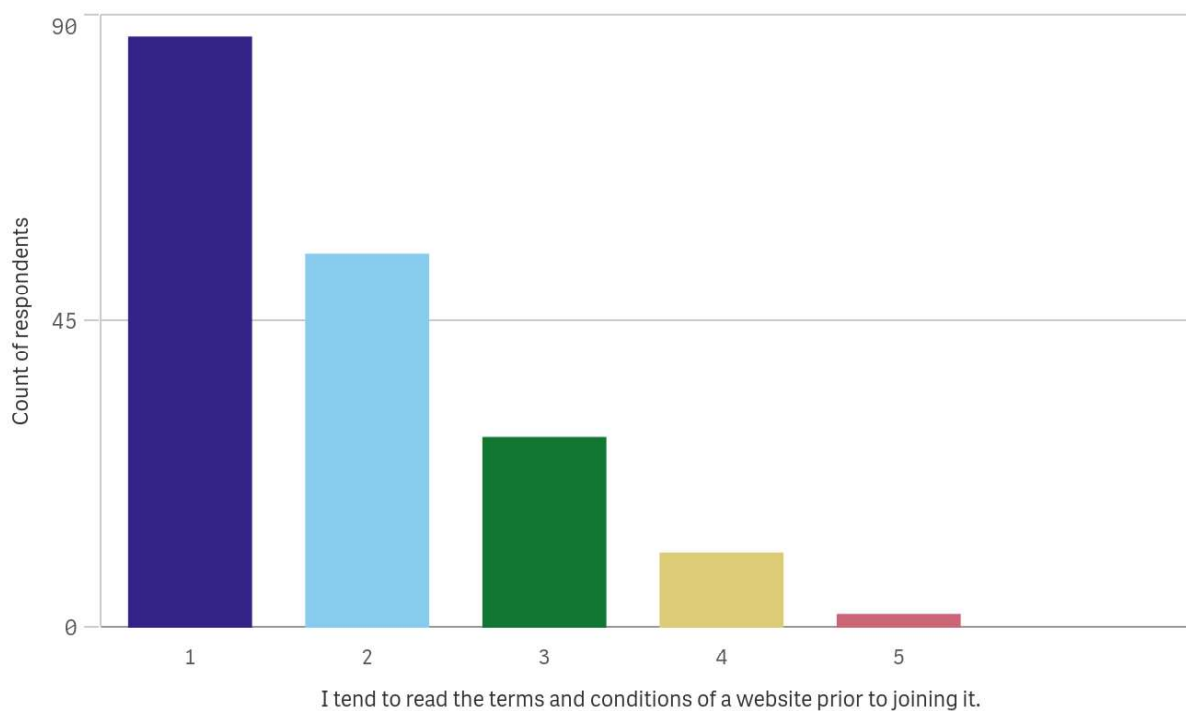


Figure 13: A Likert scale representing the respondent's general tendency to read terms and conditions of a website prior to joining it

4.2.4 Data-Driven Predictions and Political User Perceptions

Questions regarding data-driven predictions were focused on the general user perceptions and awareness of being targeted by specific political organizations. First, there was a question regarding the respondent's perception of advertisement being targeted towards them based on what they could potentially agree upon. This was formulated as "*I have observed advertisement and posts on social media such as Facebook that seem to be targeted towards ideas and political issues that I tend to agree on or find important*". The results in this section were fairly even in terms of spread. 79 of the respondents answered "Yes", whereas 59 respondents answered "Maybe" and 45 answered "No". The percentage of these numbers are represented in the following graph:

I have observed advertisement and posts on social media such as Facebook that seem to be targeted towards ideas and political issues that I tend to agree on or find important?

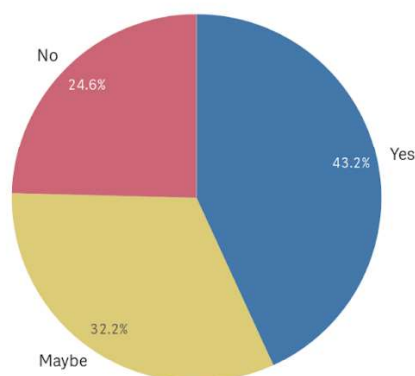


Figure 14: Percentage of people represented in “I have observed advertisements and posts on social media such as Facebook that seem to be targeted towards ideas and political issues that I tend to agree on or find important”

With regards to individual answers in this question, respondents who answered “yes” also had the possibility to elaborate on this in their own words, which can furthermore be found in *Appendix 4 - Question 1*. A few respondents answered that this had been mostly observed during the run-up to the elections in Sweden, such as Q1:8 mentioning that debate articles with an opinion that the respondent tended to agree on showed up during the election period. Q1:3, Q1:41, Q1:42, and Q1:54 also answers that election periods seems to be one of the cases where this happens. Q1:23 mentions that the searches made on Google seem to be similar to the things that the respondent experiences on Facebook, which is furthermore also stated by Q1:43, who mentions that it seems to happen across many different platforms. Observations regarding getting ads based on a particular involvement in a community or with a certain group of friends are also mentioned; for instance, Q1:20, who mentions that the respondent follows some political debaters on Facebook and seems to get ads from political parties related to them. Q1:21 also mentions that although the respondent is not very active, they have friends who are politically active and share the same view as the respondent, thus it might more relate to circumstances rather than algorithms. Q1:32 mentions despite having a diverse network of friends, it seems that it keeps recommending content the respondent agrees with or likes. Furthermore, Q1:33 mentions that they consider themselves to be more socialist, which in turn observed getting targeted content regarding the same from groups and communities.

Another question in this section that respondents answered was if “*Being exposed only to some political and ideological viewpoints that I tend to agree upon is problematic*”. Here, a clear majority of respondents (119) answered “Yes”, whereas 48 respondents answered “Maybe” and 16 answered “No”. This, in turn, resulted to the following graph:

Being exposed only to some political or ideological viewpoints that I tend to agree upon is problematic

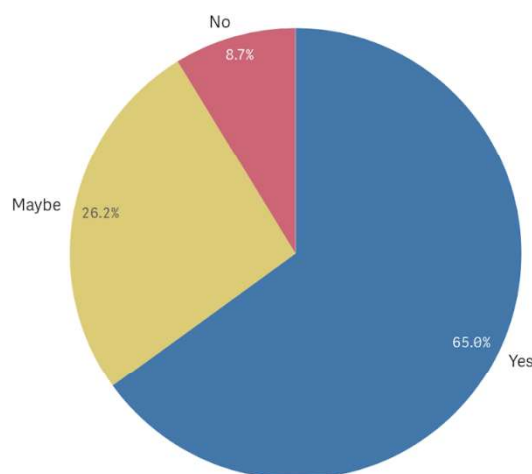


Figure 15: Percentage of people represented in “Being exposed to some political or ideological viewpoints that I tend to agree upon is problematic”

This question also gave the possibility for respondents who answered “Yes” to elaborate on this. The full list of the responses can be shown in *Appendix 4 - Question 2*. A portion of the respondents (Q2:27; Q2:28; Q2:33; Q2:66; Q2:69; Q2:71; Q2:73 and Q2:100) mentioned that this tends to create a filter bubble or confirmation biases (Q2:78, Q2:79, Q2:90). Following this, Q2:28 mentions that this can be problematic due to, for instance, right-wing extremists only get information that confirms their worldview. Q2:71 mentions that filter bubbles furthermore create a form of responsibility for people in regard to what news they consume. A similar idea is presented by Q2:100, who states that if you do not have the full picture about something and view all possible scenarios, you can be lied to without knowing about it. Furthermore, this can practically, according to Q2:68, cause “tribalism and hatred toward each other”. Another consequence mentioned being problematic in regard to these filter bubbles is presented by Q2:92, who states that “If politicians change their view depending on what they think most people want, they are pointless”. Q2:5 also mentions people who are uncertain of their political view can be heavily influenced by these targeted ads, which furthermore can be seen in Q2:59, who mentions that no one is immune to influence.

4.2.5 Issues with Microtargeting

When conducting this part of the survey, the key focus related to the respondent's general perceptions regarding potentially being microtargeted and getting their data collected about them. The questions further also investigated the users' wariness in terms of changing their online behavior if they knew that data was being collected. The first question presented was dealing with user perception of third-party organizations keeping track of activities online. Hence, the question presented was, “Do you believe that third-party organizations keeping track of individual activities online considered to be an invasion of personal privacy?”. Here, the result was presented as a five-point Likert scale with the answers ranging from 1-5, where 1 being “I disagree completely”, and 5 being “I agree completely”. Out of 183 respondents, the average generated was 3.9 and thus showing a lean towards the “Agree” portion of the Likert-scale. The graph of the total number of respondents in the Likert scale is presented below:

Represented in a Likert scale where 1 is "I disagree completely" and 5 is "I agree completely"



Figure 16: A Likert scale representing the respondents' opinion on third-party organizations keeping track of individual activities online, and if this could be considered invasive

The other question raised concerning perceptions of microtargeting was if the awareness of advertisers collecting information about respondents would result in changing the online behavior. This question was formulated as "*I would be more careful online if I knew advertisers were collecting data regarding my online behavior*". This was also presented as a five-point Likert scale, where 1 represented "*I disagree completely*" and 5 represented "*I agree completely*". This generated an average response number of 2.9, which in turn shows that the average respondent tends to lean slightly towards disagreeing with being more careful despite knowing this. The result is furthermore presented in the following graph:

Represented in a Likert scale where 1 is "I disagree completely" and 5 is "I agree completely"

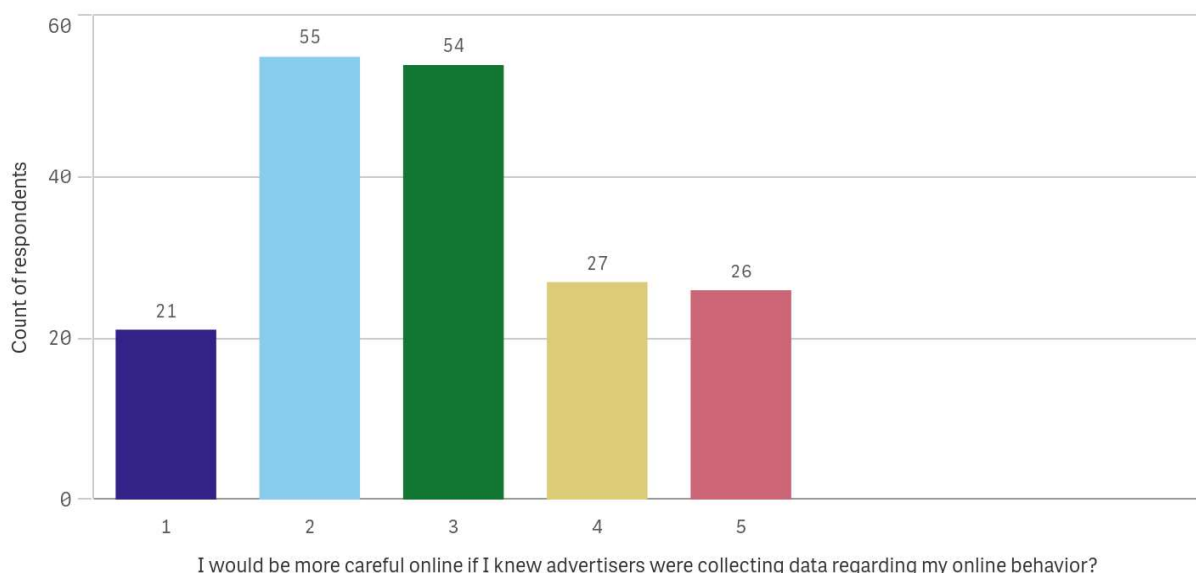


Figure 17: A Likert scale representing the intention of respondents' being more careful online despite knowing that information is collected about their online behavior

Lastly, the issue regarding the importance of the respondent's perception of personal integrity and anonymity was also emphasized and thus was formulated as "*Personal integrity and*

anonymity is of importance to me". Out of the 183 respondents, 123 believed that personal integrity and anonymity were either agreeing or strongly agreeing to this, while only 14 people disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. Following this, the responses furthermore showed that 46 people considered themselves neutral in this context. The full percentage of this number is presented in the following graph:

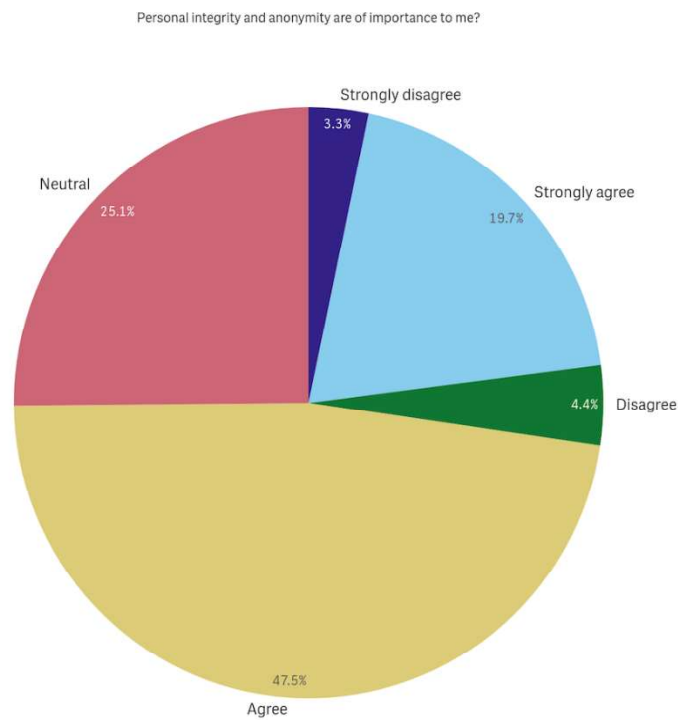


Figure 18: User responses regarding personal integrity and anonymity

5 Discussion

5.1 Perceptions on Microtargeting and OBA

The benefits of Online Behavioral Advertising (OBA) has become apparent in the academic literature. For instance, it is argued that a large number of people tend to make purchases by companies that provide users with personalized recommendations, while also switching from companies that lack the more personalized experience (Kirkpatrick, 2017). Thus, indicating that personalized experiences can lead to monetary gains and increased competitive advantage over rival counterparts (Kirkpatrick, 2017). From a practical standpoint, the personalized messages can simply be based on data regarding what websites a particular user visits, the duration of the visit and movement patterns - which in turn is collected using trackers or cookies (Ham, 2017; Smit, Noort & Voorveld, 2014). It has become apparent in the study that the public opinion is generally aware that this type of advertising exists, in which almost all of the respondents asked in the survey were aware that cookies and trackers are saved whenever specific web pages are visited. The survey results further indicate that individuals are knowledgeable regarding how this is done in a practical manner, more specifically, that cookies and trackers are utilized as a means to personalize advertisement. This could therefore arguably indicate that microtargeting and OBA personalization is not a niched technique limited to practitioners or experts within the field but can generally be understood as a well-known phenomenon among the population as a whole.

It is stated by Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) that the form of OBA in regard to political microtargeting can be depicted as a strategic process intended to influence potential votes through a stimulus - that is, tailored messages based on the preferences and characteristics of a specific individual. The aforementioned statement is embraced by all interview respondents, in which they depict microtargeting as a technology that enables instant messaging based on preferences and profiles of specific individuals. The findings also show that the phenomenon has received increased attention due to its frequent utilization in recent political campaigns as a communication tool, which is aligned with the perception derived from other scholars (Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Wilson, 2017). Some of the interview respondents further argue that the discussion regarding microtargeting blew up after the Cambridge Analytica scandal. However, it is also stated by some interview respondents that the phenomenon has received an exaggerated view after this incident, in which individuals believe that it is far more effective than it truly is. It is argued that microtargeting should not be perceived as “one individual, one message”. Instead, a better description of the phenomenon should be more aligned with “small-group targeting”. A pervasive theme throughout most of the previous literature regarding the phenomenon has become apparent, in which it is stated that microtargeting is perceived as a powerful and useful marketing tool. However, a large emphasis is put on several problematic aspects with its utilization related to issues such as; privacy concerns, exclusion, manipulation and more (Isaak & Hanna, 2018; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Endres & Kelly, 2018; Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018; Ward, 2018; Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017). It is noteworthy that this view is not fully supported by all the interview respondents. It is argued that there are undoubtedly some issues related to microtargeting as a marketing tool. However, these problems are not isolated to this specific medium, but rather prevalent in all sorts of marketing tools.

Moreover, it is stressed by all the political parties in the interview study that microtargeting is not isolated to an online environment. It argued that all forms of advertisement are, in a sense, targeted - even the advertisement that individuals receive in the physical mailbox. It is stated that microtargeting was employed before the emergence of the internet, in which political parties manually determined where in the country they had a strong position and tailored information based on those areas. These arguments differ compared to what is argued by many scholars who mostly stresses that the utilization of microtargeting, including both the data gathering and advertising process, is done through digital platforms - such as social media platforms (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018; Korolova, 2010; Barbu, 2014; Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman, 2016).

Nothing in the interview study indicates that there is a significant technological difference between microtargeting for commercial purposes and political microtargeting. As stated by the interviewees, there is no inequality in the technology itself. The deviation lies in the data that is used by the system that decides who to contact, as well as for what purpose it is utilized. For instance, the utilization of dark ads and the enforcement of certain perceptions and potential “smear-campaigns” targeted towards a fixed segment of the population is not an uncommon occurrence in political microtargeting, as evident by the Cambridge Analytica scandal - but could arguably be considered very rare in a similar, commercial context. This could relate to the issues highlighted by Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese (2017) in terms of political speech not being protected by the same regulatory frameworks as those of traditional advertisement intended to protect customers.

5.1.1 Benefits with Microtargeting

Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) argues that microtargeting increases voters' political participation since it provides them with essential information that is perceived as more relevant and vital. Furthermore, microtargeting is depicted as reasonably inexpensive in combination with being effective and efficient (Barocas, 2012; Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017). This combination of efficiency and lower cost enables smaller parties with limited resources to benefit from the advantages that microtargeting provides (Bodó, Helberger & de Vreese, 2017). All aspects aforementioned are aligned with the responses from the interview study, as it is stated that microtargeting allows campaigns with fewer resources to be competitive. Since advertising is typically considered to be a costly matter, one could argue that the more precise the message is, the more cost-effective it becomes. It is furthermore stated in the interview study that traditional advertising through television is a reasonably expensive matter, in which the generated hit-rate is relatively low. Traditional television media is typically limited to specifically designated market areas (DMAs) while also competing for limited airtime. A technology like microtargeting circumvents these types of limitations since online advertising does not compete for exposure in the same manner as television-based advertising. The lack of competition is one of the reasons that microtargeting is perceived as a relatively cheap solution, thus confirming the argument presented above by Barocas (2012) Bodó, Helberger and de Vreese (2017).

Relevance and reach are depicted as beneficial aspects related to the utilization of microtargeting in the interview study. It is argued that the value of the information is increased since it is tailored based on the characteristics and preferences of that specific individual or group, thus, generating more relevant information for potential voters. Furthermore, regarding the aspect of reach, it is mentioned that microtargeting has enabled Swedish political parties to

extend their network to individuals that previously were excluded due to geographical limitations, such as individuals living in remote locations. Relevance and reach are also depicted by Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) as beneficial elements emerging due to the utilization of microtargeting since traditional media channels, such as television advertisements, have issues in terms of reaching individuals that are politically uninterested.

Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) further state that microtargeting could be utilized as an enablement tool in terms of reaching individuals with the right type of message, thus increasing political participation. However, the latter is not aligned with the statements derived from the interview study, in which all political party respondents argue that targeted messages are not the superior method in terms of creating political participation. They perceive traditional ways of contacting individuals, such as doorstepping or having a physical dialog on the streets, is the most effective method. In other words, physical dialogue and contact are irreplaceable, and it is argued that those aspects truly convince people.

The interview study has generated some new insights regarding benefits related to microtargeting, which builds further upon what is presented in some of the previous academic literature. One of these being the aspects of flexibility and responsiveness within microtargeting. It is argued that microtargeting can be utilized as a defensive tool against bad publicity from rival parties. In other words, attacks can be microtargeted as a countermove in order to negate the negative effect that it might have. Furthermore, some interviewees highlight that microtargeting does not solely enable organizations to push messages in a quick manner; it also allows for instant feedback regarding the advertisement. This can include information regarding what type of advertising that generates the most clicks, the “user profiles” that have a tendency to click on these certain advertisements and in what context. This feedback, in the form of new data, can be fed into the underlying microtargeting system in order to improve and increase the precision rate of the tailored messages. Regarding the latter, an interviewee depicted this as a type of “ecosystem” in which the data goes in and out in a circular and continuous manner. Hence, microtargeting is not a single event; it is more an incessant process.

5.1.2 *Issues with Microtargeting*

Potential issues identified with regards to microtargeting have mainly been concerned with privacy issues and the exclusion of some political messages while enhancing others (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018; Endres & Kelly, 2018). The latter is confirmed by some of the interviewees, and it is argued that this process is utilized as a way to receive support from different segments of the population. However, some of the interviewees also state this practically means that different segments of people see different parts of the same message, and not that political parties tailor various unique messages for each individual. This, in turn, could possibly imply that users being exposed to microtargeting might not learn about the other policies in which a political party might have and thus create a “filter bubble”. The idea of excluding people with microtargeted advertisements are furthermore strengthened by the survey, in which a portion of the respondents in *Appendix 4* either mentioned “filter bubbles”, echo-chambers or confirmation biases as a potential issue with regards to only being exposed to some political or ideological viewpoints that they tend to agree upon. Following this, the idea of modifying messages to fit a specific group and excluding others is mentioned by interviewees to be a worrisome aspect, due to the fact that the perception of different parties might vary heavily based on individuals belonging to various segments of the population.

While some survey respondents and scholars such as Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018), Ward (2018), Endres and Kelly (2018) emphasizes the risks of excluding people by the segmentations utilized in microtargeting, some of the interviewees highlighted the fact that there already is some form of exclusion apparent in all forms of political advertising. Following this, it is emphasized that although all parties would be inclined to send out all information to all of the people, there are not merely enough resources to actualize this. Furthermore, one respondent compared targeted ads to talking to people on the street, in which you talk about specific vital points that are adapted to the potential voters' interests and not all the parties' policies. Thus, prioritization and the risk of exclusion are always evident regardless of the medium - which emphasizes that this problem is not isolated to microtargeting, rather, it is always prominent.

In the light of this, despite the worry of some of the respondents in the survey, this perception of “filter-bubbles” is considered by some of the interviewees to be somewhat exaggerated. This, due to the fact that one does not solely receive all the information from one single place, but rather through many different sources such as friends, families, colleagues or the case with Sweden - through a large part of the population taking part of the public broadcasting offered. It may therefore be argued that the overall effectiveness of proclaimed echo-chambers and filter bubbles is not as extensive as it may be perceived by the survey respondents. The discussion regarding effectiveness in terms of microtargeting is also varied and the actual implication of this in a practical manner can be debated. As some of the interviewees argue, voters rarely shift between the different political “blocks” in Sweden, but rather within them. In these cases, microtargeting could, at most, result in a voter casting their vote on a party that leans the same way as the party that they usually vote for.

Furthermore, Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) states that a potential problem related to microtargeting is the fear of being tracked online. In situations when online users suspect that their actions are being monitored, it is argued that “chilling effects” occur in which individuals change their activities online in order to avoid attention (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). According to the results from the survey, inferences can be derived that aligns with the argument presented by Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018). A majority of survey respondents perceive personal integrity and anonymity online as vital (*Figure 18*), while also leaning heavily in the tendency to agree with the statement that third-party organizations keeping track of individual activities online is considered to be an invasion of personal privacy (*Figure 16*). One could argue that this could be seen as the “chilling effects”, as stated by Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018), which in turn would result in users altering their online behavior in order to escape the monitoring process. However, according to *Figure 17*, the majority of the respondents lean towards disagreeing with being more careful despite knowing that third-party organizations monitor their actions online, which goes against Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) argument. One could question why this is; that integrity online is essential and tracking online is perceived as invasive, but an existing unwillingness to change online behavior is prominent. An explanation could be derived from some of the interviewees' responses regarding the tradeoff between convenience and privacy, such as not clearing cookies in order for passwords and autocomplete-functions to be stored, which could furthermore strengthen the arguments presented by Caudill and Murphy (2000) and their discussion regarding trading users privacy for a more valued incentive.

5.2 Data Gathering

The paradigm shift that involved the movement of general segmentation of a specific population, as mentioned by Barbu (2014), Schipper and Woo (2018) to a niche aggregation of people with the help of sophisticated data points, has been essential in the makings of microtargeting. Data gathering is considered by several interview respondents to be a central element in microtargeting and the sophisticated generating of information about target groups, their ideas, and beliefs. However, this type of data gathering in a political context is generally perceived as intrusive and overstepping the line by the respondents in the survey conducted, where the average of answers in *Figure 11* leaned towards the respondents caring much about political organizations collecting information about them. This could be related to the fact that personal data regarding political standpoints and preferences are depicted as more sensitive in nature compared to other forms of information (Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018).

Moreover, it has become apparent in the interview study that specific regulations in Sweden enable the gathering of politically related personal information. As mentioned by the interviewees, the collection of data on certain segments of people could be utilized heavily in a Swedish context due to the fact that the principle of public access to official documents (offentlighetsprincipen) both allows companies to collect and tailor messages to specific segments of people. This due to citizens in Sweden having a unique personal number which they are tied to. This unique number operates as a key that connects all information that governmental authorities have regarding a specific individual. This grants for a very extensive data gathering, which is not possible to the same extent in other countries. However, it is stated in the interview study that the principle of public access to official documents is employed for all kinds of purposes. It is not isolated to online advertisements or microtargeting.

Additionally, the gathering of data in a political context by conducting opinion polling and gathering data about certain areas (valdistrikt) in which specific parties have a strong presence has been utilized for a hundred years in Sweden in order to segment people. Rather, the data gathered has moved from a more analog context to a digital alternative - in which the parties themselves are not required to manage the data about certain segments of people, but can utilize pre-made datasets gathered from social media sites. This data allows politically oriented parties to target people in a more specific manner than ever before. According to scholars such as Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) and Korolova (2010), the data gathered from sites such as Facebook includes both general information such as age, gender, and city, and also specific interests and beliefs from individual users. Thus, allowing for quite a sophisticated targeting of segments of people. This evolution of data gathering has allowed political parties in Sweden to reach target populations that are non-dependent on their residence area, which in turn, according to the interviewees, is mainly considered beneficial in terms of the traditional reach. This could, therefore, show that this type of digital reach seems to confirm what Barbu (2014), Schipper and Woo (2018) mentions in regard to the new extension of campaigning techniques traditionally that mostly involved geographical segmentations and general opinion polling also is evident in Swedish political campaigning.

Following this, one of the interviewees that employed microtargeting in a political context stated that the party itself does not collect data about people but instead target user groups based on the information provided by Facebook Business Manager. Thus, the data used for segmenting different user groups on social media is not in the hands of political parties, but rather gathered and kept by the platform itself. The aforementioned differs from what is

emphasized by scholars regarding microtargeting and the data gathering process. Scholars argue that the most prevailing method in order to obtain personal information is through data mining on social media platforms (Gundechea & Liu, 2012; Kennedy & Moss, 2015). This can include simple calculations based on likes or more sophisticated measures by analyzing meta-data (Kennedy & Moss, 2015). However, from a practical standpoint, nothing in this study indicates that this approach is employed by Swedish political parties firsthand. Instead, the data utilized in their targeted messages is precalculated by the platform in use (e.g., Facebook). This underlines that no additional data-mining process is employed. Consequently, it is stated in the interview study that the main difference with the emergence of targeting in an internet-context, compared to analog alternatives, is the fact that there is a possibility for utilizing additional data from different platforms - and combining these with traditional advertising approaches.

From a user perspective, the survey respondents' general awareness regarding being in control of the data collected in the form of believing that software such as anti-virus programs could prevent companies from storing information. The fact that the majority of respondents answered no could arguably show some state of awareness regarding how in control users are of their own data in terms of third parties collecting them. However, the uncertainty still counts for a large portion of the respondents and should, therefore, be taken into account regarding user awareness of protection against third-party collection of data.

Data gathering is moreover disputed to not always be clearly defined by the platforms themselves in an explicit manner, but rather it can be argued that this form of consent with regards to the gathering of user data is somewhat of a gray area. Some interviewees mention that the process of being microtargeted in this context is considered to be legal due to the fact that users opt-in when accepting the terms and conditions while joining a specific website. On the contrary, other interviewees argue that the GDPR-regulation states that nothing should be hidden from a user, such as important information hidden in lengthy terms and conditions. In relation to this, the GDPR regulations also state that the principle of fairness emphasizes that companies should be transparent in how personal information is utilized and processed. However, as observed in the survey result - the general tendency to actually read the terms and conditions of a website prior to joining them is very low. Thus, considering the low number in regard to reading these terms and conditions arguably could show that the principle of fairness has a need to be implemented and taken more seriously. This to a much greater extent in countries that fall under the GDPR-regulation, rather than relying on all the users actually reading the terms and conditions prior to joining a specific platform. Following this, a majority of the respondents from the survey believe that third-party organizations collecting data without explicit consent from the user should result in some form of punishment. Thus, not actively opting-in on the specific gathering of data in a transparent manner on social media sites can be seen as problematic both from a legal perspective considering GDPR regulations and on a user-perspective considering the general wariness towards allowing third-party organizations to collect data.

5.3 GDPR and Microtargeting

It is argued in the previous literature that the overall applicability of microtargeting in a European context may be affected by the regulatory framework GDPR (Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2018; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). The rationale behind this argument is the fact that

GDPR regulates how personal information and data are required to be handled and processed. Microtargeting fundamentally involves the process of gathering and processing personal data in order to create tailored messages based on individuals' preferences and characteristics (Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019), thus making the discussion regarding GDPR highly relevant when investigating microtargeting in a Swedish context.

It is stated in the interview study that no observed technology that, to some extent, utilizes personal data manages to circumvent the regulations in GDPR. Some organizations argue that the data is anonymized, which would make the regulatory framework inapplicable. However, as one interviewee mentions, no technology has managed to anonymize personal information at the level that GDPR demands. It is therefore stressed that if microtargeting is to be utilized here in Sweden, the laws and policies presented in GDPR must be followed.

It is further argued by several scholars that following GDPR when utilizing microtargeting for political purposes becomes considerably more critical due to Article 9 in GDPR (Dobber, Fathaigh & Zuiderveen Borgesius, 2019; Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). Article 9 essentially presents specific categories of personal information that are essentially prohibited from processing if none of the exceptions are met under Article 9.2. Political beliefs and preferences are one type of personal data that is covered by Article 9 - thus making it applicable to political microtargeting. The latter is also acknowledged by the interviewees who argue that processing this category of personal information would require explicit consent from the user in order to be recognized as legal. However, it is further argued that GDPR is misinterpreted in terms of organizations believing that receiving explicit consent is the only way to enable the processing of sensitive information. This is problematic due to the fact that obtaining explicit consent is actually reasonably hard, according to GDPR. Alternatively, it is argued that the exception called legitimate purpose could be perceived as better suited to political microtargeting. It is an essential component in a democracy that political parties reach out to potential voters with their ideas and positions in different issues. One could, therefore, argue that using political microtargeting for that purpose could be allegedly recognized as a justifiable argument.

From a practical standpoint, it has become apparent in the interview study that the Swedish political parties tackle the issues presented above by shifting the responsibility regarding the processing of personal information to the service provider. Both parties utilize the advertisement platform provided by Facebook, and as previously mentioned in chapter 5.2 - it is stated that additional digital data sources are never mined and congregated with the information provided by Facebook. This results in Facebook being the data controller, which essentially implies that they have full responsibility for the fair and legal processing of personal information. It is further stated by some of the interviewees that Facebook has made improvements in the advertisement platform compared to how it was just a few years back in terms of traceability and transparency. One could argue that these improvements have been implemented as an effect of the Cambridge Analytica scandal. However, these changes could arguably be a result of complying with GDPR's requirements regarding transparency, as depicted by Goddard (2017). As stated by one of the political parties, Facebook being more transparent is essential if political parties are to use that platform for political advertisement. Transparency is a critical component for Swedish politics in which individuals or media may want to examine how political parties work and what they spend their money on. Thus, emphasizing the significance of openness in the underlying advertisement process. The lack of transparency is also argued to be the main reason for the Cambridge Analytica blowing up in the media. Data was

gathered wrongfully, which could arguably be perceived as one of the reasons that microtargeting has received a bad reputation.

It is stated by Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) and Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) that some argue that microtargeting cannot be applied and utilized in Europe due to the prevailing regulatory framework GDPR. However, through the interview study, it has become evident that political microtargeting can and is, to some extent, actively utilized in Sweden. As argued by the interviewees, it is essential to note that GDPR should not be perceived as prohibiting legislation. Rather, it is a framework that just regulates the processing of personal information by setting up guidelines regarding how it is done in a fair and correct manner.

5.4 Microtargeting in Relation to Political System

Microtargeting in a political context has previously in the literature been argued to generally operate more effectively in elections that embraces a “winner-take-all”-structure such as the US-electoral system, rather than in a multi-party alternative such as the case with countries adopting a proportional system (Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2018). This reasoning is further strengthened by some of the interviewees, who argue that there is a more considerable incentive to microtarget locations with this kind of “winner-takes-all” structure implemented, such as in the US and the UK. This due to the fact that there is a greater emphasis on targeting and winning over certain states to win an election rather than in proportional systems, as seen in countries such as Sweden. However, it is also mentioned in the interview study that parties in a multi-party context usually are more topic-specific than a two-party system counterpart, where a lot of different niches and ideologies can fit under one party (such as republicans both consisting of free-market liberals and Christian conservatives). Some interviewees further argue that multi-party systems that focus on niched issues therefore could utilize microtargeting successfully in a setting such as the one found in Sweden. Following this, it is moreover argued that the utilization of microtargeting with the intention to pull certain people into voting for a specific party by emphasizing these niche issues and questions is, therefore, a potential way to “stand out from the crowd”, and deal with the dilemma described by Nicholson et al. (2018) regarding political parties being perceived too ideologically similar in a multi-party system in terms of issues. The importance of standing out in a politically comparable crowd is further highlighted by one of the interviewees as it is argued that the typical voter in Sweden has about two to five different parties that they could consider voting for. Therefore, the challenge of effectively tailor messages in order to win over voters to their party could be perceived as a bit more of a complicated issue than in a two-party system. In other words, the climate in a two-party system could be perceived as more “black and white” - which in turn has been argued to be better suited to microtargeting, as depicted by Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018).

Regarding the technology itself, it is stated that at a “top-level”, the difference should not matter too much due to the fact that the ultimate goal of microtargeting in a political context is to win over people based on specific issues. It is also noteworthy that some of the interviewees mentioned implementations of successful microtargeting attempts could depend more on the polarization of certain countries, such as in the United States compared to Sweden. Thus, might emphasize the underlying political culture rather than the applied electoral systems.

With regard to the user-perspective, the exposure to only some parties with a perceived political or ideological, which is agreed upon by the respondent in the survey, is generally seen as problematic (see *Figure 15*). This could emphasize that although political microtargeting in Sweden could be utilized by parties in some way by highlighting specific niched issues and thus stand out in an ideologically similar crowd, the majority of respondents being exposed to this type of advertisement that already resonates with their own view could be seen as problematic.

In the light of prior statements, it could therefore be argued that political microtargeting in a Swedish multi-party context is considered a somewhat more challenging process, both in terms of the general effectiveness in its applicability and the user-perception of being exposed to these types of microtargeting attempts. However, the potential to further target undecided voters by emphasizing these niche issues, as previously mentioned, could be considered beneficial in terms of applicability in a multi-party system such as Sweden. Thus, confirming Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2018) arguments regarding the applicability of microtargeting in a two-party system such as the one found in the US versus a multi-party system to some extent, but not fully. Incentives can be derived from the analysis in this study, which are more aligned with the idea that microtargeting potentially has a place in these multi-party systems and therefore could make sense in terms of applicability anyways.

5.5 The Power of Data-Driven Predictions and Algorithms

Regarding the efficiency of data-driven predictions, such as voting behaviors and the utilization of microtargeting, Kristensen et al. (2017) mentions in their study that the effectiveness of predicting what a specific individual might vote for in a multi-party system is generally of greater confidence than traditional measuring alternatives. However, as mentioned by Papakyriakopoulos et al. (2018) regarding the individual who might be exposed to some form of microtargeting, the conscious knowledge of one being microtargeted may affect the perception of the content or ad. Following the line of this, the perceived understanding of why social media sites such as Facebook might recommend a particular post, the intent to distribute and interact with the specific post is significantly less likely to occur and can, therefore, act as counterproductive (Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman, 2016). However, as Kruikemeier, Sezgin and Boerman (2016) states, it only seems to be the case if the user notices that the advertising post itself is sponsored, such as the case with a label or similar. Furthermore, this type of personalized and sponsored advertisement does not seem to affect the perception a user might have of a specific political party either (Kruikemeier, Sezgin & Boerman, 2016).

Regarding the effectiveness of algorithms and data-driven predictions, it is argued by some interviewees that the quality of data is vital to predicting potential voting behavior accurately. Larger companies, such as Google, might have access to a broader array of information and thus being able to target a user more accurately. Another aspect that is heavily influencing the accuracy in terms of data-driven predictions is the digital footprint. It is argued by one interviewee that sites such as Netflix typically predict movies and series in an inaccurate manner due to the fact that they do not possess data regarding the user prior to opting into the service. However, as argued in one interview, this can be subject to change due to people growing up as “digital natives”. This could then arguably indicate that the predictability of algorithms overall has a greater chance to predict user behavior in the future - due to the data collected and processed spans from an earlier stage in life. This general data maturity and amount of

time spent on certain pages in terms of user-profiling could, therefore, explain why some of the survey respondents in *Appendix 4* seem to get a highly personalized feed with content that they agree on despite having an diverse network of friends, while some respondents that they have not noticed this at all (as evident in the large portion answering “No” or “Maybe” in *Figure 14*). Arguably, this could mean that the respondents who are getting highly personalized feeds have an increased amount of qualitative and quantitative data collected about them compared to the counterparts who might be less active or had difficulties noticing this phenomenon.

Other interviewees argue that algorithms are just powerful for certain tasks, such as calculating specific numbers or finding relevant articles based on a query. However, it is underlined that the importance of the human factor in the calculation should not be disregarded. Algorithms generate new sets of data, but it is the individual that makes the interpretation of it and gives it meaning in reality. Kristensen et al. (2017), Wu, Kosinski and Stillwell (2015) generates a view in which data-driven algorithms are able to predict personality traits in a precise manner, and in some instances, better than close friends or family. This view is, however, not fully shared by the interviewees. On the contrary, several flaws are argued upon, mainly related to incorrect or insufficient data. It is, therefore, ultimately the humans who make the final prediction on what the semantic categorization, such as what “Harley Davidson” should bear in terms of value in a political context, no matter how advanced the algorithms might be.

5.6 The Perceived Future of Microtargeting

Nothing in the empirical study supports that political online advertising and technologies such as microtargeting will decrease or disappear in the near future. On the one hand, it seems to be a prevailing consensus among all interview participants that microtargeting and its business model will exist in Sweden as long as the large platforms are present (e.g., Facebook and Google). On the other hand, there seems to be a perception that factors could arise, which would make the utilization of microtargeting and technologies alike more difficult. For example, one potential situation in the future could be the introduction and adoption of even stricter regulations regarding data gathering - a law that could make microtargeting fundamentally impracticable. Moreover, an observable uncertainty regarding the extent to which messages will be targeted in the future is prominent in the interview study. It could be more or less - thus underlining the general doubts related to microtargeting in the future. One certain aspect is that scandals related to personal integrity will have consequences, as the case with Cambridge Analytica. The majority of the interview respondents state that the aftermath of that scandal generated an effect in which advertising platforms such as Facebook have increased the transparency level considerably.

It is further stated by all political parties in the study party that targeted advertisements will not decrease in the near future. It is, for example, argued that targeted messages will presumably expand to new channels such as showing tailored messages on television since society is continuously moving towards digital viewing habits. In other words, the analog way of consuming media is slowly being replaced by streaming, thus enabling technologies like microtargeting to expand. Therefore, the question does not become if microtargeting will exist; instead, on what mediums and channels it will be occurring. Advertising is an old concept, and people will find new ways of implementing it. However, it is also stressed that a traditional printer may be the only way to reach individuals that reside in any sort of filter bubble -

you should, therefore, not disregard analog media completely. Consequently, the importance of analog channels and traditional journalism cannot be ignored - and the political parties argue that it will always be an essential component in society as long as politics exist.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Research Question and Purpose

The purpose of this study has been to better understand political microtargeting, the potential benefits, and problematic aspects with its utilization. The phenomenon under investigation has received increased attention as of late, this mainly due to its frequent use in several campaigns in the US and UK, and due to the aftermath of the Cambridge Analytica scandal. The critical components when studying this phenomenon has been to examine to what extent microtargeting could be utilized in Sweden and what may affect its applicability. In relation to the latter, this research also seeks to understand how the general population in Sweden perceive microtargeting as a concept. Therefore, this research has worked with the following two research questions:

- *What factors could affect the applicability of political microtargeting in Sweden?*
- *What is the population's perception on targeted advertisement and tailored messages?*

The identified aspects derived from the research questions are therefore summarized and presented below.

6.2 Key Findings

Based on previous literature, a conceptual framework (see chapter 2.9) has been derived and has served as a foundation throughout this thesis. By contrasting the empirical findings with previous research regarding microtargeting, several similarities regarding the perception and understanding of the phenomenon have been identified, as well as numerous differences. The key results will be presented below, categorized in accordance with the conceptual framework.

Benefits with political microtargeting.

Some potential positive utilization areas identified with microtargeting is the fact that it allows for smaller political parties without large campaign budgets to be competitive. Another benefit is the possibility of reaching certain segments of the population that were not reachable to the same extent before due to targeting being based on presumptions of voters' postal codes derived from prior election results in the area. With microtargeting, the political messages are boundless of the geographical constraints and can target people based on what they potentially could perceive as important. Furthermore, microtargeting could lead to a more revitalized democracy due to the fact that it cannot only identify potential voters but also connect them to specific campaigns and possibly help political parties in other ways. Microtargeting can also work as a way to combat “attacks” by opposing parties by safeguarding and “responding” to these claims in the same manner and to the same segment of the population as they have been attacked from.

Issues with political microtargeting.

The concept of filter bubbles and exclusion, in general, seems to be an exaggerated concept according to the interview study. One does not gain all the information from solely one

source. Rather, individuals are exposed to many different viewpoints throughout everyday life. Be it friends, family, or public broadcasting. However, a considerable concern for filter bubbles has been identified by the survey respondents, who perceive it to be a potential issue. The perception of political microtargeting in general is furthermore considered to be an issue with the survey respondents, who find it to potentially put them inside these echo-chambers or filter bubbles. However, as evident by both the interviews and the survey - there is a low will for changing their behavior to safeguard against microtargeting and data-collection attempts from third parties proactively, this due to users generally prefer convenience over privacy.

Legal aspects related to political microtargeting.

The argument that the regulatory framework GDPR would inhibit the full utilization of microtargeting in Sweden is, according to this study, not fully legitimate. It has become apparent that GDPR has established some requirements regarding the processing and use of personal information. However, it should not be perceived as prohibiting legislation. On the condition that the rules are followed, the utilization of political microtargeting could practically be carried out in Sweden. One could also argue that, besides receiving explicit consent from online users, political parties have a legitimate purpose since mediating political ideas and issues is an essential component in a democracy. This study can furthermore establish that the Swedish political parties interviewed are using microtargeting, mainly through the Facebook platform. This entails that Facebook becomes the controller, that is the responsible body regarding fair processing and storing of personal information.

The political system.

While factors such as different electoral systems (such as the case with proportional multi-party versus a “winner-take-all” two-party system) could affect the overall applicability of microtargeting, it is stated that at a top-level the overall goal is still to win over people based on certain issues, regardless of the enforced political system. However, since a multi-party system consists of many different parties that might be perceived as somewhat ideologically similar to each other, and since an average voter in Sweden has around two to five parties they could consider to vote for, the issue of being perceived uniquely with “niched” ideological differences in order to win over voters could, therefore, require a lot more effort into the targeting process compared to a two-party system. Furthermore, as also shown in the study, the interviewees from the political parties in Sweden still believe that although microtargeting can be considered useful in order to target a specific segment of the population, the most effective method is considered to be the traditional ways of communication with potential voters, such as doorstepping or having physical dialogs with voters on the street. It is also mentioned that the differences could relate more to a perceived polarization in the political climate (such as the case with the US versus Sweden), and thus could ultimately be an issue with the societal conditions rather than the electoral systems itself. Further, the general perception of being microtargeted with issues that only resonate with their own ideological similarities is seen as an issue from the survey respondents. An overuse of targeted messages could, therefore, arguably generate a potential backlash in which political parties may be criticized for employing these techniques.

Data gathering.

The empirical findings are aligned with previous research concerning microtargeting and the importance of data gathering. However, previous literature revolves around data mining and social media data mining when discussing data gathering concerning microtargeting. The empirical findings do not support that this approach is employed by the interviewed representatives from the political parties in Sweden. More specifically, it has become apparent that the

political parties in the study utilizes the predefined datasets provided by Facebook. Furthermore, the result also indicates that other legislations in Sweden enables political parties to gather additional data regarding potential voters, namely through the principle of public access to official documents. The information found under this principle has been used for political marketing purposes for an extended period of time in Sweden. The core difference today is that this information is merged together with the datasets provided by the advertisement platform in order to generate a more precise segmentation of the population. Thus, indicating that the data-gathering process is not an inhibiting factor for microtargeting in Sweden.

Data-Driven predictions.

Previous literature regarding data-driven prediction conveys a picture in which algorithms are capable of predicting individuals' preferences and characteristics better than close friends or family. However, this picture is not fully supported in the empirical findings. A prevailing skepticism towards algorithms has become apparent, in which it is argued that they depend heavily on the quantity and quality of data. Furthermore, the human aspect should not be disregarded. Algorithms provide new information and data by finding new connections or correlations. However, it is the individual that gives it meaning and applies in a certain context.

6.3 Future Research

This study has, when conducting data gathering and analysis, identified three aspects that could be considered interesting for further research. These aspects have emerged throughout the research process. However, due to limitations in terms of time and resources, researching these additional aspects was deemed not feasible. These aspects are as follows:

- How “influencers” on different social media platforms can be utilized as a microtargeting tool - and how effective this may be in terms of persuading followers compared to conventional methods of microtargeting.
- Investigate use-cases with long-running digital natives and their potentially stored “digital footprint”, is the quantity of a dataset predicting voter behavior more accurately, or does this generally result in more redundant data?
- Comparative study regarding traditional political advertisement (e.g., doorstepping) versus online microtargeting - in order to determine what approach that could be considered the most effective in terms of persuading potential voters.

Appendix 1 – Interview Questions English

Interview Study

Introduction

- **What is your name?**
- **What is your profession?**
 - What is your role?
 - (researcher) What type of research have you conducted?
 - (researcher) Are you working with any research currently?

Microtargeting

- 1. Are you familiar with the phenomenon microtargeting?**
 - a. In what context and when did you hear about it?
- 2. How would you describe microtargeting in your words?**
 - a. Do you have any insights in how it practically works?
- 3. How would you describe political microtargeting?**
- 4. Do you see any benefits regarding the utilization of microtargeting (both from an organisational and citizen perspective)?**
 - a. Does it increase political participation?
 - b. Is it an efficient and effective approach?
 - c. Is it perceived as inexpensive? Can it be utilized by any organisation?
 - d. Can “reach” generated by microtargeting be perceived as a benefit?

Issues related to microtargeting

- 5. Do you see any concrete issues with the utilization of microtargeting?**
 - a. From an organisational or citizen perspective?
- 6. What are your views on microtargeting in relation to privacy?**
 - b. Do you believe that users are normally aware that this type of advertising exists?
 - c. How does awareness affect the “success-rate” of microtargeted advertisement?
- 7. What do you think about the Trump campaign which has been cited in the context of microtargeting?**
- 8. How effective is microtargeting in terms of influencing an individual’s behaviour?**
 - d. Do you believe that it is easier to influence individuals with political microtargeting compared to regular microtargeted advertisement?
- 9. How do you perceive the aspect of exclusion in regard to microtargeting? Do you think that excluding people is common when utilizing this type of technology?**
 - e. From a political perspective, does this affect democracy?

Data gathering

- 10. We perceive the data as essential when utilizing microtargeting, what is your perception of this?**
 - a. Why has microtargeting become more popular in recent times?
- 11. How do you think that gathering personal data regarding individuals is practically carried out?**
 - b. Any specific platforms that are used?
 - c. Beside social media platforms, are there any other ways to gather essential information regarding individuals?

GDPR

- 12. Do you believe that regulatory frameworks such as GDPR affects the usability of microtargeting, and why?**
- 13. It is stated in article 9 in GDPR that personal information regarding political beliefs is prohibited to process, wouldn't this mean that political microtargeting is forbidden in EU/Sweden?**
 - a. Are there any exceptions to this which make political microtargeting possible in EU/Sweden?
- 14. Regarding consent, do you believe that users can give organisations permission to process their personal information through the terms and condition document when opting in?**
 - a. Given the long terms and conditions document, does this signify transparency as GDPR demand?
- 15. Do you believe that the adoption of GDPR has increased the overall awareness of online privacy?**

Political system

- 16. How does different political systems (such as multi-party system or two-party system) affect the utilization of microtargeting?**

Voting behaviour

- 17. How sophisticated are algorithms today regarding analysing individual's behaviour online?**
- 18. Some studies state that algorithms can predict an individual's personal traits better than family members and friends, are you surprised by this?**

Ending questions

- 1. With the aspects discussed above, what is the future of microtargeting?**
 - a. Will it be more or less occurring?
- 2. What do you believe the future regarding algorithms in our everyday life will be like?**

Questions related to the survey

- 1. When conducting the survey, we found that a majority believes that cookies and trackers are person based and thus making it possible to relate the stored information to a certain individual; this is an increase compared to a study made by "*Understanding***

online behavioural advertising: User knowledge, privacy concerns and online coping behaviour in Europe (2014)” why do you think that this perception has increased; or is as high as it is?

2. In the survey - it has been shown that about half of the respondents are considering being more careful in their online behaviour if they knew that they were being tracked by online advertisers. Contrasting this - a majority also believes that third party organizations collecting data about their online activities agrees or agrees completely that it is an invasion of privacy. Why do you think that this could be the case, that a majority believes it to be invasive but still the reluctance towards changing behaviour can be considered pretty low contrasting this?
3. A majority of the respondents believes that third-party companies collecting information without an explicit consent should be punished for this - with “fines” being the most frequent answer when asking what potential, a potential punishment could be. Any idea on why people in general believe that this is the most suitable repercussion?
4. A clear majority of the respondents tends to never or rarely read the terms and conditions prior to joining a website - why do you think this is the case?

Appendix 2 – Interview Questions Swedish

Intervjustudie

Introduktion

- **Vad är ditt namn?**
- **Vad är ditt yrke?**
 - Vad har du för roll?
 - (forskare) Vad för typ av forskning har du genomfört tidigare?
 - (forskare) Arbetar du aktivt med ett forskningsarbete i nuläget?

Microtargeting

1. **Är du familjär med uttrycket microtargeting?**
 - a. I vilken kontext hörde du talas om det?
2. **Hur skulle du beskriva fenomenet microtargeting med dina egna ord?**
 - a. Har du någon insikt hur det praktiskt används?
3. **Hur skulle du beskriva politisk microtargeting?**
4. **Ser du några generella positiva aspekter med användandet av microtargeting (både från organisationers samt invånarnas perspektiv)?**
 - a. Kan det ses om en effektiv metod?
 - b. Ökar det politiskt deltagande på något sätt?
 - c. Kan det ses om en billig metod? Kan det utnyttjas av organisationer av alla storlekar?
 - d. Kan microtargetings egenskap att nå ut till många individer ses som en fördel?

Problem relaterade till microtargeting

5. **I det stora hela, ser du några problem med användandet av microtargeting?**
 - a. Både från ett individs- och ett organisationsperspektiv?
6. **Hur ser du på microtargeting i relation till personlig integritet online?**
 - a. Tror du att privatpersoner online är medvetna om att denna typ av marknadsföring existerar?
 - b. Hur tror du att medvetenhet om denna typ av annonsering kan påverka “success-rate”?
7. **Hur ser du på Trump-kampanjen som är förekommande i diskussionen om microtargeting?**
8. **Hur effektivt är microtargeting i att påverka individers beteende?**
 - a. Anser du att individer blir lättare påverkade av politiska meddelanden jämfört med vanlig riktad annonsering (till exempel produkter)?
9. **Hur ser du på att bli exkluderad när microtargeting används? Tror du att exkluderandet av människor är vanligt förekommande när teknologier av denna typ används?**
 - a. Från en politisk kontext, hur kan detta påverka demokratin?

Datainsamling

- 10. Vi anser att insamlingen av personlig information är grundläggande när microtargeting skall användas, hur ser du på detta påståendet?**
 - a. Varför tror du att användandet av microtargeting har ökat under senaste tiden?
- 11. Hur tror du att insamlingen av personlig information sker rent praktiskt?**
 - a. Några särskilda plattformar som kan användas för att samla in information?
 - b. Bortsett från social media plattformar, finns det andra sätt att samla in väsentlig information angående individer?

GDPR

- 12. Hur tror du att regelverk såsom GDPR påverkar användandet av microtargeting och varför?**
- 13. I artikel 9 i GDPR framgår det att personlig information angående politiska åsikter är förbjudna att använda, skulle inte detta innebära att politisk microtargeting är förbjuden i sverige/EU?**
 - a. Finns det några undantag som påverkar denna bestämmelse?
- 14. Angående medgivande, anser du att organisationer kan få individers medgivande att använda deras personliga uppgifter genom att "baka in" medgivandet i de allmänna villkoren?**
 - a. Med tanke på att villkor-dokumentet i sin natur är väldigt långt, betyder verkligen detta att transparensen är på den nivå som GDPR kräver?
- 15. Anser du att införandet av GDPR har ökat individers medvetenhet kring integritet online?**

Politiskt system

- 16. Hur kan olika typer av politiska system (såsom flerpartisystem och tvåpartisystem) påverka användandet av microtargeting?**

Röstningsbeteende (voting behaviour)

- 17. Hur avancerade är algoritmer på att analysera individers beteende online i dagsläget?**
- 18. Vissa studier menar att algoritmer kan förutse individers personligheter bättre än vad vänner eller familjemedlemmar kan göra, hur ser du på detta?**

Avslutande frågor

- 19. Med de aspekter som diskuteras ovan, hur anser du att framtiden för microtargeting kommer se ut?**
 - a. Kommer det vara mer eller mindre förekommande?
- 20. Hur anser du att användas av algoritmer kommer i vårt dagliga liv kommer att se ut i framtiden?**

Frågor kopplade till enkäten

- 1.** Genom vår enkätundersökning fann vi att en majoritet anser att cookies och trackers är personbaserade och därmed gör det möjligt att relatera den lagrade informationen till en viss person; Detta är en ökning jämfört med en studie gjord av "*Understanding online behavioural advertising: User knowledge, privacy concerns and online coping*

behaviors in Europe (2014)” - varför tror du att medvetenheten har ökat under de senaste åren?

2. I vår enkätstudie har det visats att mindre än hälften av individerna överväger att vara mer försiktiga i sitt online-beteende om de visste att de spåras av onlineannonsörer. I kontrast till detta anser att tredjepartsorganisationer som samlar in uppgifter om sin onlineaktivitet samtycker eller håller helt med om att det är en inskränkning av privatlivet. Varför tror du att detta kan vara fallet? Att en majoritet anser att det är inskränkande men ändå motviljan mot att förändra beteende kan betraktas som ganska låg i kontrast till detta?
3. En majoritet av de tillfrågade anser att tredjepartsföretag som samlar in information utan ett uttryckligt samtycke bör straffas för detta - med ”böter” som det vanligaste svaret när man frågar vilken potential en potentiell bestraffning kan vara. Någon aning om varför människor i allmänhet tror att detta är den lämpligaste straffet?
4. En tydlig majoritet av de svarande tenderar att sällan eller aldrig läsa villkoren innan de registrerar sig på en webbplats - varför tror du att detta är fallet?

Appendix 3 – The Survey Questions



Microtargeting in a political context

With this survey - our aim is to get a better understanding of users perception in regards to microtargeting and how this can be used in a political context. The survey takes about five minutes to answer and will help us tremendously with our research. Thank you in advance!

*Obligatorisk

What is your age? *

What is your gender? *

- Male
- Female
- Other
- Prefer not to say

What is your highest completed educational background *

- Elementary School
- High School
- Some College
- Vocational School
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- PhD-degree

Are you currently a resident in Europe? *

- Yes
- No

If yes - what country do you currently reside in? *

Ditt svar _____

Do you access internet services (such as social medias, news sites, forums and similar) at least once a day? *

- Yes
- No

Nästa

Sidan 1 av 2



Microtargeting in a political context

*Obligatorisk

Cookies, trackers and personal integrity

Do you believe that cookies and trackers are used to store websites that you have visited? *

- Yes
- No
- Maybe

Do you believe that cookies and trackers can be used to personalize ads? *

- Yes
- No
- Maybe

Do you believe that a virus scanner, such as an anti-virus program, can prevent companies from storing information based on search behavior? *

- True
- False
- I am unsure

Do you believe that cookies and trackers are person-based; making it possible to relate the stored information to a certain individual? *

- Yes
- No
- Maybe

Do you believe that third-party organizations keeping track of individual activities online considered to be an invasion of personal privacy? *

- 1 2 3 4 5
- I disagree completely I agree completely

I would be more careful online if I knew advertisers were collecting data regarding my online behavior? *

- 1 2 3 4 5
- I disagree completely I agree completely

Personal integrity and anonymity are of importance to me? *

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I have observed advertisement and posts on social media such as Facebook that seem to be targeted towards ideas and political issues that I tend to agree on or find important? *

- Yes
- No
- Maybe

If yes on the prior question, do you have an example of when this has occurred?

Ditt svar

Do you care if political parties or politically oriented lobby-organizations collect information about you? *

- I don't care at all 1 2 3 4 5 I care very much
-

Being exposed only to some political or ideological viewpoints that I tend to agree upon is problematic *

- Yes
- No
- Maybe

If yes on the prior question - why do you believe that this is problematic?

Ditt svar

I tend to read the terms and conditions of a website prior to joining it. *

- 1 2 3 4 5
- I never read the terms and conditions I always read the terms and conditions

Third parties collecting information about me without my explicit consent should be punished for this. *

- Yes
- No
- Maybe

If yes on the prior question - what could be a potential punishment for not explicitly gaining consent prior to data collection about an individual?

Ditt svar

Bakåt

Skicka

Sidan 2 av 2

Appendix 4 – Survey Questions with Text Answers

Question 1: Individual text-answers regarding “I have observed advertisement and posts on social media such as Facebook that seems to be targeted towards ideas and political issues that I tend to agree on, and can you give an example on when this has happened”.

Answer number	Response
Q1:1	If you don't delete cookies it happens all the time
Q1:2	At the moment
Q1:3	Advertisement from political parties during election period in Sweden
Q1:4	Every day, based on whatever I googled the day before.
Q1:5	I get suggested posts of other candidates that are in the same political party without me searching for them.
Q1:6	I feel like it has happened several times but can't think of an example.
Q1:7	Sponsored content from political parties on Facebook
Q1:8	Debattartiklar som jag delar åsikt med under valår
Q1:9	Don't remember
Q1:10	Daily, I know that Google only shows me the result of the search that I would mostly like. Google has a "bubble" with google answers that would most likely suit me.
Q1:11	Videos that come up in general during elections etc. tend to comply with my ideas pretty well.
Q1:12	Nej, ofta är det små grejer som man tänker på i stunden men sen glömmar bort. Kan handla om möten eller event på fb eller ig som poppar upp ibland.
Q1:13	Djurens rätt
Q1:14	Chile politic, fb have given information around it. But I don't know if I can trust it
Q1:15	Mostly advertising of products I have looked on.
Q1:16	Recently; ads about feminism for example.
Q1:17	-

Q1:18	Reklam för politiska evenemang
Q1:19	i stort sett bara annonser som handlar om samma sak som jag nyss sökt på eller pratat om och inte något politiskt relaterat innehåll vad jag kommer ihåg
Q1:20	I follow some political debaters on FB and sometimes I get ads from political parties related to them.
Q1:21	Well...most of my friends are politically active and share roughly the same view as me. So the posts are maybe not due to algorithms or trackers, as much as circumstances. Also not very active, besides from reading, which I imagine will diminish this sort of exposure.
Q1:22	Unfortunately no
Q1:23	The post I get in Facebook are similar to what I search mostly in Google.
Q1:24	I don't remember
Q1:25	När jag var inne på ig så kom de up grejer på bildelar när ja precis kollat på den delen.
Q1:26	More or less every day on facebook.
Q1:27	Searching after certain clothing wich then recurrently turns up in fb- and Insta flood
Q1:28	After browsing for a certain product on several website typically advertisers will shove that produc down my throat
Q1:29	When I have been shopping on different websites
Q1:30	Almost every time I go to Facebook or Instagram.
Q1:31	Every now and then
Q1:32	Two things. First is what friends with similar ideas share, seem to have a higher frequency than others. I consider my network to be quite diverse. Second is targeted campaigns from NGOs and parties.
Q1:33	I'm more socialist, and I do get targeted content regarding the same from groups and communities
Q1:34	The youtube recommendations is a good example of this, whether it's politics or not it keeps recommending content I agree with or like. It's difficult to watch anything different unless I search for it.
Q1:35	Facebook ads where targeting Products I just recently looked at.
Q1:36	Often products based on searches on other sites, very seldom politics
Q1:37	Not sure

Q1:38	No specific, but I notice it regularly
Q1:39	In SM as FB, Instagram and LinkedIn for example.
Q1:40	Random e-commerce website, everyone use retargeting in some form!
Q1:41	During the Swedish general elections 2018
Q1:42	During election in sweden
Q1:43	Soo many cases but generally after searching for something, then observing ads related to that search across many different plattform.
Q1:44	After i googled something or talked about something
Q1:45	Tidningar med samma politiska inriktning som jag har t.ex.
Q1:46	I am very sure that I see more adverts about enviromental issues, for example than most people :-)
Q1:47	Ads and posts related to my line of work mostly
Q1:48	Products i have looked at online appeared on facebook as an ad
Q1:49	”Skräddarsydda” annonser - som magiskt marknadsför det jag köpt igår. Hade funkar bättre om mitt köpbeteende var mindre impulsivt.
Q1:50	No
Q1:51	You can't advertise about politics on Facebook or Instagram. Facebook won't allow it.
Q1:52	When the election happened
Q1:53	Plan Sverige ads on Facebook.
Q1:54	When looking through different political parties to decide who to vote for when it's been close to an election of government, selected political party commercials would pop up based on what I've looked at.

Question 2: Individual text-answers regarding “Being exposed only to some political or ideological viewpoints that I tend to agree upon is problematic, and why it is problematic?”.

Answer number	Response
Q2:1	You need a broader view that challenge your opinion
Q2:2	Because it's not good to have your whole environment verifying your own political beliefs. I think it can have a negative effect on your critical thinking to not being exposed to a variety of different opinions.
Q2:3	It's better to get as many perspectives as possible on societal problems in order to develop your own view on what is the best solution.
Q2:4	Everything that limits available information about political and social issues leads to greater ignorance and will keep the socio-economic classes further separated
Q2:5	In the memory of Cambridge analytica, people who are uncertain and not sure of their political view, can be heavily influenced by targeted ads.
Q2:6	I feel targeted and not left to expand my views regarding politics. I want to make my own research in order to make up my mind, rather than being ushered into a direction.
Q2:7	It's important for personal and societal growth to see things from different perspectives and be open to new ideas.
Q2:8	Affects my view on other alternatives
Q2:9	Därför att om jag endast ser en synpunkt så är det svårare att få perspektiv på saker och ha en förståelse för de med andra åsikter. Och det kanske är framförallt problematiskt att andra personer som endast umgås med personer med samma åsikt inte konfronteras med en annan synvinkel på saker och därmed fastnar i deras åsikter.
Q2:10	its unsettling - I might be able to detect that this is targeted and maybe untruthful. But the question is if others can see this? In a world of fake news it is worrisome
Q2:11	Because you lose the whole picture and different views on how to solve problems in society.
Q2:12	The big question should be if it's ethical to do so.
Q2:13	Interesting to read messages from "the other side"
Q2:14	Only being filled with the same information you know fools you into believing that your opinion is 100% correct. Being exposed to all kinds of viewpoints and being forced to question your own beliefs makes you think through your decisions and really look at why you believe what you believe.

Q2:15	If everyone only sees or reads things that comply with what they're already thinking they won't stop and question ideas or bias in what they watch/read
Q2:16	This will allow parties to market and adjust their key points to fit a broader target group, i.e. the party with highest tech and analytic skills is more likely to get my vote rather than my actual "best fit party".
Q2:17	To be able to form an opinion about something, it's very important to see the question or problem from several different perspectives. By only listening to one source, one news channel or one perspective, you form a tunnelvision that is dangerous, not only to you, but to society as a whole. Du kan rösta på Trump och SD hur mycket du vill, så länge du vet vad det är du faktiskt röstar på.
Q2:18	It's important to understand and be aware of all perspectives to drive the best solutions forward. We have differing viewpoints. Who is to say who is right or wrong? All viewpoints are all rooted in an individual's own truth. That is what makes us human.
Q2:19	Simply confirming one's own beliefs does not give a full picture.
Q2:20	If my beliefs are considered wrong, extreme or not well grounded in facts, I would then only be exposed to political or ideological viewpoints that might harm my world perception and will only feed my social media with misinformation. Which I could unknowingly spread to other people as it would only encourage my beliefs and not challenge them.
Q2:21	Every viewpoint should be included
Q2:22	Only one view
Q2:23	It is important to know your enemy and to take in different perspectives even if you don't agree with them
Q2:24	It screws my world view.
Q2:25	One needs to see different opinions
Q2:26	Because perspective is key, seeing only one side of the coin, or only the information you want, leads to bias as well as misinterpretation of situations.
Q2:27	It can create a filter-bubble, which is problematic in a way that you only get to see what others think you like, and probably only one-sided such.
Q2:28	Problematiskt om t ex högerextrema endast får reklam för grejer som bekräftar deras världsbild och resultatet blir en "filterbubbla"
Q2:29	För att om man bara får höra saker man håller med om kommer man aldrig bli utmanad i sitt tankesätt vilket kanske får en att ändra åsikt eller hålla med någon annan
Q2:30	Because it just fixes one-sided way of thinking and is likely to plump for polarization among political opinions.

Q2:31	Because you won't get the whole picture if you only would be exposed to one particular view.
Q2:32	My beliefs are cemented because they would not be openly contradicted to me, I would feed my own bubble and bias.
Q2:33	You might end up in a "filter bubble" and only access one viewpoint on social and political issues.
Q2:34	It only adds to my own beliefs and hinders my chances of getting other opinions.
Q2:35	Everyone should be allowed to see the bigger picture before making decisions.
Q2:36	Forced narrative. Which might not be a problem if you have an intelligence that is on a level above the retarded lovechild of a seagull and a surprisingly soft cheese. But considering the amount of stupidity and lack of moral- and logical thinking that flourish in these kinds of environments, yes I believe it to be problematic.
Q2:37	Not for me personally but for those who are unsure about their own political standings.
Q2:38	Because it gives a very narrow perspective of the world.
Q2:39	It makes you inclined to an ideology and blindfolds on the other side. So it can be inciting at time. The critical analysis capacity on a particular situation is limited due to lack of information.
Q2:40	It could be used against me or make individuals or organizations have some sort of prejudice against me
Q2:41	Understanding both sides in politics is pretty important if you are to vote responsibly
Q2:42	One can get lost in an echochamber, and believe the entire world agrees with ones faulty views
Q2:43	because it normalizes the view i have, if i'd be a nazi my nazi views would be encouraged without questioning. it's important to have your views questioned in order to create a view that is your own and also evolve.
Q2:44	det förhindrar att se flera olika vinklar av aktuellt ämne vilket jag tycker är bra att man gör för att få en bättre förståelse för hur andra kanske tänker etc
Q2:45	It's important to see many perspectives so you can compare and see what you agree with most.
Q2:46	It's limiting ones intake of media
Q2:47	People get cemented in their opinions and society as a whole becomes more ideologized and split up, even though most people have relatively reasonable center oriented opinions in most topics

Q2:48	Some people do not research what other options there are and how the parties differ
Q2:49	Truthfulness. Dont surround you with people who only think the same
Q2:50	You only get exposure to one side of the viewpoint and might not construct an unbiased opinion yourself.
Q2:51	I will suffer from confirmation bias
Q2:52	It's easy to create strong biases and influence people in a radical way
Q2:53	It tends to strengthen my own belief structures, rather than challenge them.
Q2:54	It's problematic because it tend to make us people narrow minded.
Q2:55	If I only see ond side of a disscussion it is hard to make a good decision.
Q2:56	I längden kan du styra osäkra väljare till vad du som parti själv vill
Q2:57	not able to form an opinion on all information available
Q2:58	I would be limited in the information I would get and risk to become narrow minded. I must have the overall picture, not just coloured views.
Q2:59	Noone is immune to influence
Q2:60	It limits the views and opinions that I experience, and therefore limits my own understanding of the subject.
Q2:61	I don't get to see the information influencing others.
Q2:62	Svårare att ändra sin uppfattning om vissa saker om allt är vinklat åt ett håll
Q2:63	Need to see all sides.

Q2:64	If only people that agrees on the samething see something they will never question it
Q2:65	Because I get fed only on things I already believe and it makes my perception of any current thing really narrow.
Q2:66	It creates a filter bubble. Enhansing existing beliefs.
Q2:67	If you're never exposed to new ideas, you never learn anything new.
Q2:68	Ideological tunnel vision
Q2:69	Filter bubble, cognitive bias.
Q2:70	It's totally up to me, and is my personal opinion!
Q2:71	Not being exposed to other views creates a feedback loop, a bubble. This means I and others have to take more responsibility for what news we feed ourselves with. (And though I may do that, I don't trust that everyone does.)
Q2:72	It is dangerous to not challenge your ideas/beliefs.
Q2:73	It creates a bubble
Q2:74	I need input from others though times are changing and so do political parties to.
Q2:75	It is important to not only to see things you already agree with. This shrinks your view of what is going on in the world to that you are already familiar with.
Q2:76	All political viewpoints breda to be considered to make a knowledgable choice för elections etc. Only getting one viewpoint creates a bubble that limits people's abilities to see pros and cons with each viewpoint.
Q2:77	Man behöver få blandad information för att kunna göra bra beslut.
Q2:78	Confirmation bias isn't a good thing

Q2:79	It creates a bubble of confirmation bias where you are never challenging your beliefs
Q2:80	That is what makes the society more polarized. I therefore try to "feed" myself with other viewpoints.
Q2:81	Because far too many people, including myself, only get exposed to their own political standpoints. This tend to create tribalism and hatred toward eachother.
Q2:82	Causing ignorance, not enlightenment which is necessary
Q2:83	Might be, depends on the person
Q2:84	It skews my view of reality
Q2:85	Man behöver se alla delar av världen, vet ju inte om jag håller med någon annan oxå om jag aldrig får se det
Q2:86	I want to to read both sides. Otherwise you will never learn new ideas.
Q2:87	A Threat to democracy
Q2:88	Lack of new angels.
Q2:89	Times can change - and I too
Q2:90	Bias - jag tror att gemene man resonerar som jag gör - när verkligheten ser annorlunda ut. Tänk väljarstöd SD. Stort mörkertal - i dubbel bemärkelse.
Q2:91	It Will Effect democracy
Q2:92	It increases unloyalty and "kappvändarmentalitet". I want to see other standpoints as well, how the parties prioritize and what they say to other taget groups. If politicians change their view depending on what they think most people want They are pointless.
Q2:93	It's never a good idea to only view one side of a subject or discussion. It tends to lead to problems, as shows throughout history.
Q2:94	Forms a bubble, and the more a human believes something the harder it is to change her opinion - regardless of fact. And being irrational is dangerous.

Q2:95	-
Q2:96	You get a scewed view of the world. Its not representative to the views of the population, only of those that organizations that use the technique and who pay for it.
Q2:97	Because when people who have ideological viewpoints that are rasist they need to see others point of view.
Q2:98	Then they know what I'm voting for and that should be anonymous
Q2:99	Being exposed to different opinions is crucial for a working democracy. However, I think the main problem on social media is the nature of interaction, as people are (if I'm not mistaken) exposed to a wider range of views, yet this results in them becoming more polarised.
Q2:100	If you don't get to see the full picture then what's the point? Someone can lie right to my face without me knowing about it since I don't have the full idea of what something is or not. One must always view all possible scenarios, ideas and perspectives to actually be able to determind ones opinions, otherwise you just base you "facts" and ideas on false information and bias. Everyone can always teach someone something, there's always something more to learn.

Question 3: Individual text-answers regarding “what could be a potential punishment for not explicitly gaining consent prior to data collection about an individual?”.

Answer number	Response
Q3:1	Fines
Q3:2	A fine
Q3:3	Fine
Q3:4	Fines.
Q3:5	Deleting my information and agree to use it as an opt-in in the future.
Q3:6	Fines, and on a bigger scale perhaps even jail sentence.
Q3:7	Not sure - feels like a general cybersecurity issue that is oversanning. It kinda pinpoints that the internet is a Wild West that we don't have control over yet. Maybe we never will

Q3:8	I think it has to reflect what that company decides to use your information for. A high punishment for selling your data to use you and a milder one for just advertising websites for example.
Q3:9	Fines or possibly jail time depending on the nature of the data collected.
Q3:10	Böter
Q3:11	Death(?)
Q3:12	Fines to government. Data payment to the individual.
Q3:13	A fine
Q3:14	kanske böter?
Q3:15	Penalty fee from the government.
Q3:16	€\$£
Q3:17	Money
Q3:18	I want to know if they do, it my stuff and my choice.
Q3:19	Monitoring this would most likely be impossible. But let's say that fines is an appropriate punishment.
Q3:20	No idea
Q3:21	A fee that the company/organisation have to pay.
Q3:22	Debts?
Q3:23	economical punishment
Q3:24	Fines, and eventually shutting down the operation/business.
Q3:25	A fine and removal of all the collected data connected to me, even data sold to 3rd parties
Q3:26	Det är omöjligt att svara på, men rimligtvis vad som står i PUL eller GDPR i dagsläget
Q3:27	Economically oriented sanctions against offending companies.
Q3:28	Fines and prison.
Q3:29	Revoked licenses to operate business or a fine to the people hurt.
Q3:30	Restrictions in online content and management
Q3:31	Fees

Q3:32	High fines
Q3:33	By the power of the seven seas, I curse you. By the everlasting wisdom of the world serpent I curse you. By the name of she-who-shall-not-be-named, the mother of plague and pestilence, i curse you. By all these powers and the ever waning moon , you are cursed. Might your cereal always be soggy, one of your socks always be missing and your internet speeds always slighty to slow*. And as you forever wander the desolate plains of you miserable existence, know that this is the punishment for your sins. Now and until the dying of the light. *for more punishments please advise your nearest GDPR-compendium or Necronomicon.
Q3:34	Fee
Q3:35	License should be suspended
Q3:36	Huge fine for privacy infringement
Q3:37	Have no idea
Q3:38	Not punished for collecting what they've got already, it's just that GDPR and the European cookie restrictions failed. The pop ups with the massive lists of third party actors are just a nuisance.
Q3:39	Really, the cookie pop up should be standardised in a way where people decide on browser level if they want to partake, not every single site. (Sorry for the rant, good luck!)
Q3:40	not sure, no internet for three weeks.
Q3:41	Don't know. Maybe a fee or something
Q3:42	Same approach as GDPR, resultoriented fines, if 3rd party is buying data (without the consent of the user) and using it for targeting their audience both companies are responsible
Q3:43	Höga böter till företaget
Q3:44	Economic sanctions
Q3:45	To get fined
Q3:46	Financial
Q3:47	monetary punishment and it should be for the individual rather than "konkurrensverk", because then it would really hurt
Q3:48	Hefty fines and bans from doing business online

Q3:49	Take down those sites/services
Q3:50	I think it should be illegal. But I let the exact consequences of a violation be decided by someone more schooled within law than I am.
Q3:51	They should be fined as long as it's unlawful
Q3:52	Pay fees, just like if a Companion breaks GDPR laws.
Q3:53	Böter på en viss procent av omsättningen
Q3:54	Company fines; limitation in right to continue business
Q3:55	Damages and a complete truncation of the data.
Q3:56	Apply GDPR punishment
Q3:57	Böter eller fängelse i värsta fall
Q3:58	Percentage of organization income.
Q3:59	Fine that is payed to me
Q3:60	Fines, personal indictment, forced dissolution of the company
Q3:61	Forced liquidation, forfeiture of company assets, never being allowed to run a company again.
Q3:62	Prison
Q3:63	hurt them economically!
Q3:64	No clue

Q3:65	A fine that hurt their business in proportion to their revenue.
Q3:66	Böter eller indragna tillstånd osv.
Q3:67	Fines/taxes that works similarly to emission taxes/fines
Q3:68	I doesnt really matter since user agreements usually are designed in a way that you are not supposed to even read it. And even if you are reading it you might not understand why and how they will use your data.
Q3:69	GO TO PRISON
Q3:70	Fines and retraction of licenses etc.
Q3:71	Fines or exposed in public
Q3:72	A fine
Q3:73	Fees
Q3:74	Financial penalties
Q3:75	No access to internet
Q3:76	Böter datainspektionen a la gdpr.
Q3:77	The have to pay a fee
Q3:78	Economical
Q3:79	A fee
Q3:80	They should be given fines based on turnover / profit

Q3:81	They may not keep the data and they must start gaining consent. Maybe a fine or short jail time for the ceo/person responsible for the site/company/whatever.
Q3:82	Skadestånd (vet inte vad det heter på engelska)
Q3:83	Fine, 1-2 years in prison or volunteering in society
Q3:84	Don't know, I have no insight in what kinds of punishments there are defined and what counts as what so this is an impossible question for me to answer properly. At the very least some kind of fine that needs to be payed, perhaps some kind of indemnity in form of a fine since they intrude on my personal life without me allowing them to or giving me a chance to say no. I guess one could classify it as some kind of espionage even to some extent even though it's not as serious as espionage usually is, and perhaps should be treated as such - or maybe a lite version of it.

Appendix 5 – Transcript Michael Bossetta

Row	Person	Transcript	Theme
1	Researcher 1	<i>The first one is an easy one, what is your name?</i>	
2	M.B.	Yeah haha, so Michael Bossetta	
3	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah, and what is your profession?</i>	
4	M.B.	So i am a postdoctoral researcher at the center of European studies in Lund.	
5	Researcher 1	<i>Perfect, and.. And.. we've looked into your LinkedIn and your webpage and it seems like you are doing a lot of research, so what type of research have you conducted recently?</i>	
6	M.B.	Yeah, so it is mostly looking at.. Ehm.. the impact of social media on democracy broadly, but more concretely its looking at how politicians and citizens use social media to further their political interest, whether that is campaigning for politicians or.. You know also citizens, their public discussion and how they are strategically using platforms to impact politics.	
7	Researcher 1	<i>Right right, super interesting, and is there any specific research that you are conducting at the moment or currently?</i>	
8	M.B.	Um yes, so currently i have two, or mostly two projects, one is looking at, so at the citizen level, looking at.. Does expressing a political opinion on social media lead to more radicalized views. So most of the research says that.. You know.. What citizens are exposed to on social media affect their political attitudes like echo chambers, and we basically say that we don't think that is just the information we think it is the active expression. So we are trying to trace peoples expression patterns around the European parliament elections, and trying to dig in to their timelines to see whether those that was the most expressive later on become you know either more far left or far right. So that is looking at the self affects of political expression. And then i have another project looking at political advertising which is more along these lines, and we are tapping in to facebook's ad API and we are doing some computer vision stuff on the images, to see whether the emotions expressed by the politicians, like their facial expressions, do those impact or guide sort of who is targeted and where they are targeted in the US.	
9	Researcher 1	<i>Alright, that is really cool actually</i>	
10	M.B.	Yeah, it is mostly playing around with this computer vision stuff just to see, it is performing okay, not as great as we thought but... hehe..	

11	Researcher 1	<i>Well.. trial and error so.. I think that you'll make it perfect soon. We also wanted to ask you since.. Well we stalked you a bit on LinkedIn and on your webpage and it seems like you have experience within the data science field and also the political science field, so where did everything start?</i>	
12	M.B.	Ehm, that's a good question, I started looking at online forum, and I was looking at how euroscepticism was expressed there. And one of the differences between denmark and sweden, and then we basically we found out that there were no conversations on forums in denmark because all of it had moved to social media. So, it kinda started looking at forums and online euroscepticism which we then figured out that this is a while ago, people weren't really looking that much into social media, so it was obvious but not so obvious that that where all the conversations were, and then as we started studying what were the conversations around elections we found that over a lot of different national context that it is these really extreme opinions that dominate these conversations, whether if it is in the UK or the Swedish Democrats in... in ... Sweden, so that kind of has morphed into just looking into this phenomenon more broadly because obviously after brexit and the US election social media just became on the map.	
13	Researcher 1	<i>Exactly.</i>	
14	M.B.	So, it's been hustling to kind of make hay of all the sun shines as we say.	
15	Researcher 1	<i>Alright perfect, so i think we should start with the questions more regarding microtargeting. So the first one is are you familiar with the phenomenon microtargeting..</i>	
16	M.B.	Yes..	
	Researcher 1	<i>We have actually listened to the podcast you sent us, so we know that you have discussed it before, but I mean.. It was a while ago that thing was episode.. What episode was that?..</i>	
17	M.B.	Yeah hehe.. The one where he explains that was.. yeah... three years ago.	
18	Researcher 1	<i>Exactly, so it has been a while, so maybe you have found more information regarding that, so.. Well when did you hear about it and what can you tell us about it?</i>	
19	M.B.	Yeah, i mean.. I think it.. Ehmm.. we kinda knew that politicians were using social media to advertise for a long time, but i don't know exactly when.. But the whole microtargeting thing really blew up in the public debate around the cambridge analytica scandal. Which seems to be a bit overblown in terms of what they were claiming.. Which is also an interesting thing for your study.. Is that any material that comes from digital strategists - like the interview and the podcast for example, or any	MT, MTB

		<p>type of case studies that they put on their webpage - you gotta remember that these are marketers right, and they are trying to sell the efficiency of their product. And I think that was what.. What was his name.. Stephen Nicks.. Or was that.. I'm thinking about Stevie Nicks from Fleetwood Mac.. anyway whoever Nicks, CEO of cambridge analytica, had these huge power-points and he was selling that this was like a magic bullet for campaigning, but that was a product that he was selling right, but that is where the term microtargeting or psycho.. Psychographic profiling. What the data suggest is that it is not as sophisticated.. Or.. let me not put it that way.. It is not as effective as those claims made out. It is a very sophisticated operation, but we still don't actually know how effective it is in changing people's opinion. we.. we know it can.. It's very successful in raising money, which is more for the US than other countries, but there is some concrete metrics you can look at like how much money we has been raised through facebook and how much engagement has been gotten, but we still don't know from a science standpoint how effective these ads are in changing people's opinions.</p>	
20	Researcher 1	<p><i>Right right, do you believe that that is something that will be more clear in the future? Is it like a lack of.. You know.. Analysing how effective they are?</i></p>	
21	M.B.	<p>Well.. There is a lot of different factors which is like.. One of the interesting things for me is that you need to keep in mind the state of mind that people are in when they are on social media.</p>	
22	Researcher 1	<p><i>Right..</i></p>	
23	M.B.	<p>You might be scrolling through facebook at a bus stop, but you are not interested in buying a pair of shoes or not interested in getting a political message. And we don't know how facebook decides to insert.. Like we don't know if they prep what they show you before an ad to increase your likelihood to buy something right.</p>	MTI
24	Researcher 1	<p><i>Right.</i></p>	
25	M.B.	<p>I'd assume that that is the case, but we don't know. So there is a lot.. Even though we know a bit about how the tools work, we don't really know at the kind of platform level what they are doing around that.. It is the whole biting market, how much everything cost per click, that can be figured out but but there is a lot we don't know in terms of how these ads are slotted.</p>	
26	Researcher 1	<p><i>True true, and that has been a problem that we've had when we've read about the subject that.. Well.. everything is fairly general when you talk about microtargeting so how it fundamentally works has been a bit of a challenge for us as well, you know just map everything. So when we say microtargeting, how would you describe it in a general sense in your own words?</i></p>	

27	M.B.	Yeah I think.. What I've heard of digital strategists is that they kinda disagree with the term microtargeting, because that implies that you know, that is one person one ad. I forget the exact word they use but it is something like "small group targeting" because you are targeting based on groups. It.. it is basically a form of advertising or messaging that.. A form of messaging at a small group level based on data driven insights i guess would be the..	MT
28	Researcher 1	<i>Well it is a great explanation.. Or.. Well explanation i guess. So would you say that there is a difference between traditional microtargeting and political microtargeting, or would you describe them in a similar way?</i>	
29	M.B.	Yeah that is a good question, because in essence, the majority of microtargeting is advertising right, for commercial goods not for political ads. I think that the difference is not in the medium as such or the way it works, but rather the data that is fed into the decision on who to target and why. So Facebook has this built in to its platform which makes facebook a much better platform for microtargeting, facebook and instagram since they use the same tools right, versus like snapchat, is that facebook can do a lot of data prediction for you.. I don't know they may have removed this since they have been under so much heat, but you know if you are buying... or selling a pair of shoes you can just go and type in target this message to people that are interested in shoes in this category. You could also go and.. Facebook also had lean conservatives and lean liberal and lean moderate, so the difference is what the platform is predicting what those people are. And that is not how the top level campaigns do it, they feed in their own data, and this is a whole other level, it is a very important aspect of this and this is why facebook and twitter.. Sorry facebook and instagram so powerful, is the matching capabilities of these platforms, so that is the difference between facebook and twitter for example, facebook does not only have a larger audience their matching capabilities are so much better. So campaigns.. Political campaigns will bring their own data, and that is really.. People focus so much on the messaging part of it like who is getting the ads, but it is.. Microtargeting is all about the back end before the message is sent, so feeding in the list.. And I think, i don't fully remember what it was, but facebook has superior capability where you only needed someones.. I don't.. It is in a paper I wrote that I can send, where it is like you only needed someone's email address and zip code for example versus needing someone's email zip code and phone number. So you needed less information and you could match more people because more people were on the platform, and that is where the real sort of power of microtargeting really is the data the campaigns collect.. Microtargeting essentially is just how to reach them. But the decision about who and why you want to reach is a lot on the campaign's backend. Now, for smaller campaigns facebook can do alot of that work for them what i was just talking about, predicting. But	MT, DG

		especially in big well funded campaigns it is better to be in control of that.	
30	Researcher 1	<i>Of course, of course. I'm just curious, so Google does not possess the same capabilities in terms of finding the right specific segment of people or..?</i>	
31	M.B.	Thats a good question, I'm not sure. I honestly haven read so much about Google's capabilities. I know that Google is very important to campaigns, because it is the only platform where you can advertise to someone when they are expressing interest. Like when they are googling "Who is Donald Trump" or let's say that you have a controversy around a candidate, let's say Trump's tax return, if people type in Trump's tax return you can hit them with an ad that kinda mitigates that. So when you are microtargeting for the most part, you can do some things like you can change the time when it (the ad) runs and the areas it runs to maybe hit strategic areas during strategic events like a public debate. But I think that Googles microtargeting is more based on when people are searching on specific things. And that is different compared to someone scrolling in the bus stop.	MT
32	Researcher 1	<i>True.</i>	
33	M.B.	So they are already engaged and looking for information. So i don't know exactly how their (Google) microtargeting platform works, I know that they have the google transparency report where you can look and see political ads.	
34	Researcher 1	<i>Okay.</i>	
35	M.B.	And they write some reports about this, and quite frankly most of the people working on this have completely ignored Google and Youtube for whatever reason, it has been mostly facebook and twitter, and that is something that hasn't been done so well by people in my field, including myself.	MT
36	Researcher 1	<i>Right right, so going back to microtargeting, do you see any general benefits by using the technology in terms of reach.. Well we've talked about reach and it works really well, but we wanted to see if there was other general benefits both from an individual and organisational perspective? And we should keep to political microtargeting.</i>	
37	M.B.	Yeah there are a couple of things that are worth mentioning. One is the main benefit that most people would say, most academics would say, is that it allows campaigns with less resources to be competitive. I don't know how much that is accurate, this was the big discussion when Twitter banned political ads - a lot of people were coming out saying that this would hurt what we call down ballot candidates, local people running for mayor or something.	MTB, PA
38	Researcher 1	<i>Right.</i>	

39	M.B.	<p>Ahm which is true to some extent, so that is a benefit, it is cheaper so it allows candidates who may not be previously viable to be viable. But the main benefit of it, and this kinda connects to that, is that it is not constrained to traditional markets. So what is really interesting.. I don't know how it works in Sweden.. But in the US, television have certain designated market areas or DMAs, so that is basically like a radio frequency, so how much area that covers, it is very defined for television, and those markets does not overlap with political markets. So if you are running a TV ad, and this was the case with Michael Bloomberg, where he wasn't running in Iowa but he was running a bunch of ads in Iowa which doesn't make sense, but he did that because those markets were not constrained to Iowa, it spilled over to other states. So he had to invest in a market that was primarily Iowa To get some spillover to adjacent states. And the benefit of microtargeting is that you are not limited to those DMAs.</p>	MTB, PA
40	Researcher 1	<i>Right.</i>	
41	M.B.	<p>You completely negate that factor and that's one of the main factors that it has become so much cheaper. Because you are not competing on limited amount of airtime. So in that sense it is an advantage. It is also incredibly flexible, you can.. You know.. If some attack comes against your campaign you can microtarget on than on the fly basically, so it is more responsive ehm... but all this relates essentially to resources, time and money, it's cheaper and that's why Facebook's value is where it is because you can run a bunch of ads very cheap and this is very appealing than, you know, running a television ad on Super Bowl for X millions of dollars.</p>	MTB
42	Researcher 1	<i>True true, so moving over..</i>	
43	M.B.	And one last thing!	
44	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah sure go ahead.</i>	
45	M.B.	<p>It goes to the idea of being responsive, not only can you message quick but you can also get reactions in real time. And this is huge, and this gets the whole idea of beta testing, which is you can run a bunch of cheap ads to see which of them gets the most traction. And then you can then invest more in that, so like it's the quickness in the messaging but also the feedback is instant.</p>	MTB
46	Researcher 1.	<p><i>Really true, really interesting. Ehhmm.. We discussed the benefits.. When we read about microtargeting found that.. Well.. the majority of academics and scholars really wanted to push the issues with it (microtargeting), which also was the case with The Gerat Hack on Netflix that is was portrayed as a really bad technology in a way, so do you see any concrete issues with the utilization of microtargeting?</i></p>	

47	M.B.	<p>Yeah I mean, and you've probably read about this, I think the biggest risk is that you have different messages going to different segments of the people, you are appealing.. You are basically saying two different things to two different people in order to get votes. To an extent, this is what happens, the data suggest that this is not happening so much. But what we do know, and the Obama campaign really pioneered this, you are not giving different messages to people you are just giving different parts of the messages to different people. And that's.. I think that is a second level risk in that which is you are getting people.. If you are targeting someone like... and this is with the Obama campaign did, like women who were interested in preventative care which essentially like.. You know like contraception or something, if you are just hitting that message to that person because you know that that's what they care about the most, the positives that you are selling your platform or part of your platform that they care about the most to that person, but the sort of danger is that you may win their vote but they do not learn about your other policies. Maybe they disagree with everything else you say. Maybe they don't see that because you are not targeting that message, so in a sense that's the democratic responsibility of the citizen to read up but that is not what people do. So that is one kind of risk I think, that if you already know what somebody cares about and you are hitting them on that message but you are not selling them on the rest of the platform its a bit of a gray area if that is ethical or not.</p>	MTI, MT, MTB, PA
48	Researcher 1	<p><i>Right right, and what is your view regarding microtargeting and privacy for example?</i></p>	
49	M.B.	<p>Aaah.. That's a sticky one. I mean, the rock bottom answer is that you've agreed to the terms of service of the platform. It is an interesting difference between software service, which Facebook is, versus you know.. With other products earlier in the internet era you would pay upfront for a CD and then you would have your privacy. But now you get a free service but you.. Yeah.. of course there is data that no one reads the terms of service right, so at a legal level you have already consented to being microtargeted. But the question is if it is ethical of platforms to hide their term of service.</p>	LA, MTI
50	Researcher 1	<p><i>Right, that is actually a question that we are going to bring up later, but we can take it now. Do you believe that the terms and condition document should be more clear about these things or..?</i></p>	
51	M.B.	<p>Yes, I mean definitely, at the same time I think even if they were.. You know as simple as they could be peoples' would still not read them. So it's more about what is in the terms of service than how it is presented. And you know.. I think there is more research about this but it is something that i haven't really done, but yeah it's a play to pay, you use a free service, and I think.. There is data that shows that people who actually know</p>	LA, DG

		the extent to which the data insights, like.. If people knew that they would probably not use the platform.	
52	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah exactly.</i>	
53	M.B.	So this gets into a whole interesting body of work. Have you guys read anything by Tarleton Gillespie?	
54	Researcher 1	<i>It's not a name that i recognise..</i>	
55	M.B.	Episode 100 of the podcast worth checking out, His research.. He wrote this article back in 2010 that was all about how the platforms use the term platform.	
56	Researcher 1	<i>Alright.</i>	
57	M.B.	And his argument was that they use this term strategically because it enables them to invoke it in different ways. So the example I always come back to Uber, Uber is not a taxi company it is a platform that connects riders and drivers right. So the whole strategic like.. what they chose to call like a friend on Facebook, this is a choice they've made that comes with this normative load. But that is a little bit off topic, but it is interesting how they just say we are a platform, we are a passthrough right, that's a part of it. And I think you should think about this in your thesis, and it is something I've been thinking about in my own work is.. Considering the platform as a strategic actor in of itself right, this has been completely left out. When you look at politicians campaigns and how they are using the platform.. But in that scenario you are not giving agency to the platform itself, and I think that's where part of your work should focus on.	LA
58	Researcher 1	<i>Right, right. That's a really good point and we do agree with you. Ehhm.. well we've been touching upon this in the introduction, but how effective is microtargeting in affecting individuals or pursuing them to vote in a specific way?</i>	
59	M.B.	I really... I don't think it is very persuasive hehe... and I think that goes to what we were talking about with the state of mind people are in on social media. The type of people - and this gets down to different platforms - like maybe.. There is an argument that targeting on Twitter might be more effective because you have a more politically engaged population on twitter. Like.. Running you know policy ads on Instagram is probably not going to change anyone's mind. But where i do believe it is effective is in fundraising or other calls to action. Like.. I know fundraising is not big in Sweden but it might be something like "are you outraged at the Swedish Democrats sign up for our newsletter to beat them" and whatever, in that election. So it is very useful I think for getting people to react to calls to action. And that also gets into what the platform is itself, so I've been running some Facebook ads on our heavy metal review channel on Youtube, so I've been boosting post for that, and you can	MT, MTB

		choose to target people that are more likely to engage with the post versus people that are more likely to click the link.	
60	Researcher 1	<i>Okay.</i>	
61	M.B.	So I've run both, and it is an immense difference. Like if i run a post that says.. You know, on reactions, I'll get like 300 likes but not very many link clicks. Versus if i do the other one I'll get a bunch of link clicks but it'll be like 20 likes. So if you are looking to get people to sign up for your newsletter you want them to click a button.. There is something in Facebook's data that tells me that this person is more likely to take the call to action.	MT
62	Researcher 1	<i>It's so interesting that the data is so sophisticated in a way.</i>	
63	M.B.	Yeah. It's really cool to see when you play around with it.	
64	Researcher 1	<i>Right right, that is awesome.</i>	
65	M.B.	And I can also report that people in Latin America are more likely to click on links a lot, hahaha, for whatever reason.	
66	Researcher 1	<i>We've talked alot about that you can reach many people, but wouldn't that mean that there is a problem of excluding people also? You know these kinds of advertisements and campaign messages?</i>	
67	M.B.	Yeah, and this related alot to the electoral system itself. If you look at places as the UK or the US with the first past the post system where the winner takes all you know.. And this is not just for microtargeting, but all types of political ads, and also where the candidates themselves go - it tends to be the state that matters, there is a lot of states that gets left out. Now in proportional representation system like in Sweden, there isn't so much incentive to target on certain areas, that is an interesting aspect to explore, like.. How much is microtargeting used and how effective would it be in a place where you are not hammering all the ads to one population or one location.	PA, MT
68	Researcher 1	<i>Right, right.</i>	
69	M.B.	But there is a risk with exclusion but it is not excluded to microtargeting. It relates more to the electoral system.	MT, PA
70	Researcher 1	<i>Alright, so we are moving over to the, well, a part that we believe is very essential when it comes to microtargeting - that is data gathering. So our perception is that would it work if there isn't any data. So what is your perception of this regarding the importance of data, and we have talked about it little before in the start.</i>	
71	M.B.	Yeah, i think it's. Um, again we don't really know what.. What data the platforms are harvesting, but it gets really really sticky	DG, MT

		<p>when combining it with location data. We have seen that with the coronavirus like how useful that data can actually be. Um, but that's.. That's i think the part that people would freak out if they knew the granularity of that. But it's.. There is both the backend, i would call it the backend, and the front end data, i don't know if that's correct.. But on the backend, it's kinda like the data used to inform who you're going to target, and this is where most of the machinery, I think, of microtargeting is, it's about polling people before you, um, target them and then predicting audiences to target based on your polling</p>	
72	Researcher 1	<i>Right.</i>	
73	M.B.	<p>Then you actually issue the message and then you get the data in terms of the feedback. And then you put that data back into your models and you repoll and then you run again. And so it's really, uh, a cycle, so it's not just the data going in, and not just the data coming out, it's both together, um, that's important. I think people tend to not think about the first part, all the data that's fed into the decisions on who to target.</p>	DDP
74	Research 1	<p><i>Right. And we have a question here regarding how the data is gathered, but we believe that.. We talk a lot about eh.. Facebook and such and they are possessing a lot of data, a lot of quantities of data, but do you think that data is combined from other platforms or other resources in any way?</i></p>	
75	M.B.	<p>Yeah and this.. This definitely differs um, by the countries regulations but like, in the US, they call it the wild west of data, because you can buy people's credit card information and see what they purchased, um, so.. You could do that, you could, um.. It relates a lot also to how the platforms are designed. So if you look at Facebook, and no one really knew, at least i didn't know this when i signed up for Facebook - but i am giving them my real name, I am giving them my picture which they use for facial recognition, I am giving them my, um, age, race, eh.. You know, all this stuff.. That's a huge amount of data. If you are a platform like twitter, they don't necessarily ask so much.. You don't have to use your real name, um, so that makes it, that makes the data less useful for campaigns, so that's, that's one of the things that makes Facebook so powerful in terms of consent. We willingly give that information to Facebook but we are also kinda coerced into doing that because if you wanna go on the platform.. Facebook's the platform that has the sort of authentication methods. You can't just use a throwaway email.. I mean you can, but they make it difficult to do so. So.. There is that, I am trying to think of other, what other data.. Um.. Can be used, so there is.. There is like the data that the citizen provides to the platform, there is data that is purchased from big data warehouses, um, and a lot of these companies is, it's kinda interesting, i don't know, again, the rules necessarily in Sweden, but a lot of information is just public, like through the courts for example. So there is companies that go and they dig through</p>	PA, DG

		public documents, birth records, death records and court records, um, and then they compile that into a database and they sell it for a ton of money.	
76	Researcher 1	<i>Right.</i>	
77	M.B.	So there is the citizen, the big data warehouses, there's data that campaigns collect themselves, um, and then there is the actual data from the platforms, and I'm sure there is other sources, but that's just, you know, it's all about bringing that data together.	DG
78	Researcher 1	<i>Exactly. Perfect, and you mentioned it now but we were thinking, we have a section of questions regarding the regula.. Well, the framework GDPR..</i>	
79	M.B.	Mhm	
80	Researcher 1	<i>And I don't know how much you know about it really, eh, but just in a general sense, how do you think that frameworks like this would affect the usability of microtargeting, in Sweden for example?</i>	
81	M.B.	Yeah, it's a good question, um, and i'm not exactly sure um, of the effect.. I have asked a bunch of people this and their stance is like we just must comply to GDPR, that's.. That it. But i don't really know what that means, haha, to be honest. Uh, i don't think anyone really knows what that, um, what that means, but, I think there's a, you know, GDPR is this big initiative, but there's lots of other frameworks as well, the biggest one for campaigns is the, uh, the financial regulations of the actual.. I think the "Leave" campaign during Brexit got into trouble for, sort of violating these through microtargeting. They spent more than they were allowed to..	LA
82	Researcher 1	<i>Right.</i>	
83	M.B.	Uh, so there is that, and there is one other but it is slipping my mind, uh, that's important.. It'll come back to me, but yeah, GDPR is kinda complex because it's, you know, its, um, it's a regulation but then there is also each country's regulations as well, so it's a bit difficult.. Uh, and i don't know if this is entirely correct, but at least for research, because we are also affected by GDPR, um, If you.. As i understand it, and again this is like kind of a gray zone, is that if your research is in the public good, like in Sweden there is a law that i think that you can kind of invoke that national law to override GDPR.	LA
84	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah exactly, that's true.</i>	
85	M.B.	Yeah, so i don't really know if anyone has like, made that argument, but it's gonna be a lot of trial and error, um, but no one wants to be the first, you know, campaign, or the first academic to get fired because.. Haha.. they broke GDPR, so. Um, I	

		really.. My impression is that it hasn't changed to much of what's going on.	
86	Researcher 1	<i>True, and it's really interesting because, eh.. It's argued in the GDPR that, you know, information regarding political beliefs is actually perceived as.. It's prohibited to use that information, unless there is some exceptions, and one of them is consent.</i>	
87	M.B.	Mhm..	
88	Researcher 1	<i>Do you believe that, you know, the consent form could be, you know, baked into the terms and conditions in, when using, maybe, Facebook for example?</i>	
89	M.B.	Sure, Yeah it could just be hidden in one of the clauses, right? Um, and it probably already is. Haha. I haven't looked. So.. Um.. so.. Yeah, and i think there is.. I'm not a hundred percent sure, but i think there is a kind of.. It's not quite.. Um.. specific in GDPR, what a political belief is or what a political opinion is, um, so that's kind off. It's going to take some time for all this stuff to get settled in the court. So, we'll see.. But also, i think, just, apart from the UK i don't think it's super sophisticated or really super used by most, um, most European parties.	LA, PA
90	Researcher 1	<i>No, I don't think so too.. We have had a really hard time finding literature regarding microtargeting in a Swedish context, eh, but also you discussed in a podcast with Anamaria Dutceac Segesten, that you know, our political.. Well, if you look at the followers on each political party it's tops 40.000 people or something like that, so.. They aren't really that active either on social media. I think this is gonna progress more in the future elections that there is a start, when they are going to use social media as a tool, to, you know, reach out to the potential voters in a way.</i>	
91	M.B.	Yeah, i think there's also an interesting distinction between um, microtargeting and boosting, because boosting is a form of microtargeting, right? So if you are.. And because of the platforms as an actor they.. They have over time decreased the amount of organic reach a post can get, so you basically have to pay.. You have to boost to hit your own page followers now. Um, and that's, you know, technically that is a form of microtargeting too. Right? You are microtargeting your followers, um, if you take a broad interpretation of that. So, um, because i remember.. I Liked all of the far-right parties in Denmark because i was studying them, and i kept getting, you know, promoted ads from the Dansk Folkeparti saying "kick immigrants out of the country" and i am an immigrant so clearly that is not a very good targeting strategy but i think it's because i have liked the page and they were targeting people.. Or they just did a really bad job in their targeting, but I think it was because I liked their page. That is kind of an interesting distinction because in a sense you like a page it could be considered a "form of consent", to receive that content, right? But then it gets into the	PA, MTI, LA

		whole question of.. We couldn't see that data before, so there was no accountability, um, because you didn't.. They were called "dark ads", because you couldn't, no one knew what the campaigns were actually doing, like, including the Russian for example, Um, there is the whole issue of transparency there.	
92	Researcher 1	<i>Right. Just a final question regarding GDPR. Do you think, when we implemented it here in Europe, did it provide or did it increase the overall awareness of privacy in a general sense?</i>	
93	M.B.	I think so, i think, i think a little bit um, but then again, not really much has changed. I think there is still a pretty strong sense of self-governance for platforms, um, and what we seen platforms do for example, uh, is hire, you know, i think the biggest example is Facebook hiring Nick Clegg, who was the, um, former deputy prime minister of the UK, so they are basically pulling, you know, politicians as lobbyists essentially. So, um, Yeah we'll see how it goes but i don't think it had.. It didn't impact the debate, but it.. I haven't really heard much about it doing anything, haha, to be honest.	
94	Researcher 1	<i>Alright, alright. So.. Moving away to, we have talked about this a little bit, since we have you know, a different type of political system in Sweden compared to the US where it is basically you know, two party system - winner takes all. Eh, how do you think the multiparty system that we have here in sweden would affect the usability of microtargeting?</i>	
95	M.B.	Yeah, it's, um, i guess i would say it relates to the issues. Right? Like, in a two-party system you have more issues under one party. Like, you have, in the republican party, you have, um, you know, Christian conservatives mixed with free-market liberals basically, so it's like, haha, those two don't necessarily go together. Um, whereas in multiparty systems, it's much more based on issues? So in a sense, you know, at the very top level it shouldn't really change anything because you are still trying to get people to vote based on issues. It's just that those issues are divided across different, um, different parties. Um, and, part of the reason that i would say that is that the party membership and allegiance to parties has like crumbled in Sweden right? So, so in that sense microtargeting, you could argue, on issues, could be a good way to pull people into your party? At least for this election or that election, but you - it, it would not seem effective to target based on party, as much as it might 40 years ago, because people don't have that identification anymore.	PA, MTB
96	Researcher 1	<i>True, super interesting - so we also have a section that we want to discuss with voting behavior, and we have read some interesting studies that argues that algorithms has become so sophisticated so they can, you know, well, basically - what is it that you could call it? They can, eh, predict personality traits</i>	

		<i>better than friends and families. Are you surprised about this, or what is your take on it?</i>	
97	M.B.	Yeah, it's a.. Um, i think yeah, at the end of the day it is a prediction. Right? And you can increase that accuracy of that prediction but you will never hit a hundred percent i think? But again, that relates all to the quality of the data, i think. The quality of the data and, you know, how predictable are humans? Haha. And it turns out, can be quite predictable, but it's also, you know, one of the things that, not just in microtargeting, but the whole discussion regarding echo chambers and.. And stuff like that. People, as you say, are very critical of platforms but it's just, it's absolutely impossible to be in an echochamber. Yes, maybe you are in an echochamber on twitter, but you are also getting information from.. from other sources. Friends, Family, um, you know, walking down the street you see different, you know, signs, newspapers, whatever, people yelling in the street, or, haha, you know, conversations like its.. its just impossible to factor all of that into an algorithm. Um, so, um, yeah there is the human element, but, just, i don't think that, that, you.. I don't think you could safely say that people spend so much time on one platform and are so influenced by what they see on one platform that, uh, a microtargeted ad could totally change their.. their opinion.	MT, DG, MTI
98	Researcher 1	<i>Right, right, that is truly interesting.</i>	
99	M.B.	Which is also, just to say like, what actually does work is things that go viral, right? Like think of the british election where like, a rapper makes a song for Jeremy Corbyn that goes viral, that might be influencing someone, but there is also the element that it's been kinda socially validated by so many people by being shared so much. Like, if that video had been a sponsored ad from a campaign it might not actually be effective but because it's being shared by so many people, it rides an organic thing, um, that, i would think has more persuasion potential than coming from a political party.	MT
100	Researcher 1	<i>Super interesting, we have some ending questions, or we are going to end related to the survey that we have done. But just, looking into the future, eh, what do you think is the future for microtargeting? Is it just the start or have you seen the peak of it already?</i>	
101	M.B.	Yeah.. I mean, in.. in essence, if you take advertising broadly, which microtargeting is pretty much the main form of advertising on social media platforms, eh, it is the business model. So it will never.. It can never go away. Without the platforms going away, because they need to make money, uh, and i think it's just a very simple calculation to look at the market cap of Facebook, Twitter, Snap and you see how valuable that.. That model is. So.. Um, and, and again, the platforms kinda pull the levers of, it's kinda interesting they are like, like their own, um, central	MT, MTB, FP

		<p>bank, where if they wanna raise money they can reduce organic reach to encourage people to, to buy, and i think there are still a lot of room for them to.. to do that. Or they can just raise the prices, right? What is the.. Who is setting the prices on the cost per click? The platforms. Um, and i think, you just look at youtube's prices over time for video ads, they are.. They are incredibly expensive now. So, um, so in a sense, I.. and this goes, this relates to the idea of the positive of microtargeting that maybe, you know, candidates with not a lot of resources can enter. There could be a scenario where, um, over time, it just becomes more expensive and becomes more like a traditional, um, medium and i don't know what would drive that, if less people are on Facebook, would that make it more expensive or cheaper? I think there is arguments for both. Because if it will be more expensive if, um, you know, they up the prices because there is less people but they are dedicated people or something, um, so yeah, i don't know how that works but i would think that in the future.. We, and we also might see.. There is also the switch from microtargeting to more native advertising, like influencer posts. Those are incredibly expensive. Um, and there there was this controversy with in.. with Instagram when now they have to state that this has been sponsored.</p>	
102	Researcher 1	<i>True, yeah.</i>	
103	M.B.	There was a period of time where there wasn't right? But those.. Those are like, you know, those could be up to fifty - a hundred thousand dollars if they get the right person to share your content. And if you think about how many people you could reach through microtargeting	
104	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah.</i>	
105	M.B.	But again, because it is a social endorsement it is actually persuasive, right? If Kim Kardashian is wearing your, uh, watch, then you might actually be more likely to buy it than if it came from the company. Um, so we might see more, more of that type of kind of market on the backend of the influencers.	FP
106	Researcher 1	<i>Right.</i>	
107	M.B.	But yeah, it's hard to predict what the future will be but I'm sure it will be.. It will be there in some form.	
108	Researcher 1	<i>Right, right. Alright perfect. So basically we have four questions regarding a survey that we sent out, a few weeks ago?</i>	
109	Researcher 2	<i>I think it was two weeks ago.</i>	
110	Researcher 1	<i>So we just want to basically hear your views on some of the results that we have received.</i>	
111	M.B.	Yeah i have them in front of me.	

112	Researcher 1	<i>That is perfect, if you see the first one in there, so basically we have seen that we, we have compared and basically used the same questions from an earlier, eh, study, and we have seen that a lot of people are aware that cookies can be used in order to, eh well, they are personal based, and making it possible to relate stored information. Why do you think this has increased, or that the awareness has increased in recent times?</i>	
113	M.B.	Understanding online behavioral.. So yeah, why privacy perceptions have increased?	
114	Researcher 1	<i>Exactly, well, the awareness regarding that, the awareness that cookies exist and also why cookies exist and why and how they use them in a way.</i>	
115	M.B.	Uh, yeah well definitely, this is actually quite interesting relating to GDPR, right? The biggest impact of the GDPR is all of these cookies.	LA
116	Researcher 1	<i>Right, you see them all the time on the...</i>	
117	M.B.	Yeah, i.. I've since.. I got a VPN and i VPN to the US, part of the reason is because i don't want to deal with those cookies. Maybe they are already placing them, i don't know that. So I think that is probably the most concrete example, at least for the europeans.	LA
118	Researcher 1	<i>Right, right.</i>	
119	M.B.	Would be that impact that GDPR just you get a cookie awareness all the time, and there is the debate about privacy we talked about, but, um, it also reminds me of one thing that I forgot to mention which I think is important, um, about.. And it relates to like cookies, so.. so if I clear my browser because I want to get rid of the cookies for privacy reasons or whatever, um, then I lose all my passwords that I have put in, right? And that's a pain. So I usually just let the cookies go. I try to kind of monitor and clean the cookies and whatever, but after.. Or after a while I get annoyed. Um, and it deletes, you know, when I get to search, it messes up autocomplete for pages I visited all the time. So, and that's the tradeoff between privacy and convenience.	LA, DG
120	Researcher 1	<i>Exactly, yeah.</i>	
121	M.B.	And this is what a bunch of the digital marketers tell me is that when i ask them about the ethical considerations, this is exactly what they say, they say people prefer convenience 99% of the time and i think cookies are a great example of that, because yeah, who knows how people are using the cookies but you don't care because it gets quicker to find pages you already been to	
122	Researcher 1	<i>Right, right.</i>	

123	M.B.	And that's also the platform transaction right? You give your data for this convenience. Of, of messaging your mom on messenger or whatever, haha, you know?	DG
124	Researcher 1	<i>That's true, the balance is actually really interesting to think about, eh, it's constant when you are online in a way. It's constant when you are online in a way.</i>	
125	M.B.	And so what's interesting relating to this question is that yes there is an increased perception, but at the end of the day people are picking convenience.	
126	Researcher 1	<i>Right..</i>	
127	M.B.	Right, because, there is.. And I think this is what Zuckerberg's argument was when he was, you know, getting, eh.. Answering questions to the senate. It was like, Yeah, people can leave the platform anytime they want, you know haha, but they don't. So, or they go to instagram, you know haha.	
128	Researcher 1	<i>Eh, and the second one there, so.. It is shown in the survey that, ehm, about half of the respondents are considered to be more careful online if they knew they would be tracked, and.. But in a way they.. They.. Many of them also stated they wouldn't change their behavior in a way, as we were just interested in the.. In the correlation between these two that, because like the awareness and like they would feel that they are.. Their privacy is being invaded but it wouldn't change their behavior; is that a bit weird to you or can you understand that in a way?</i>	
129	M.B.	Yeah, is this for social media? Or online..	
130	Researcher 2	<i>It's more general, i wouldn't say it's more about social media.</i>	
131	M.B.	Ok, yeah because its. It's kind of an interesting difference because the online, the internet generally, right, is just, people are not going to change their behavior because you're.. There is so much information you need on the internet. Um, social media is, you know, the power that it is social, so people don't want to leave their friends. And to an extent, they are willing to sacrifice their privacy in order to keep in touch with people on the plat.. Like, if all your friends are on Instagram and you dont like instagram you are still going to be on Instagram because you wanna see what your friends are doing.	LA
132	Researcher 1	<i>Right, right.</i>	
133	M.B.	Um, and that's where they are, and that's what they are posting, you know, their personal stuff. Um, so there is that element and there is also that element that these platforms are engineered to be addictive, um, which is one of the crazy things for me is that the brightest minds of the world are currently working on, you know, juicing your time on instagram by two percent, heh, it's crazy. Um, so, i think it's that. I think.. It's not that people are,	

		not changing their behavior because they.. are creatures of habit, i think they are not changing their behavior because the incentives are so strong from a social perspective, but also the kind of entertainment, addictive, dopamine rewards that we get for likes right? It's those things that are.. are clearly on a world scale more valued than privacy for sure.	
134	Researcher 1	<i>It's a really good answer, and the third one. So a clear majority of those who answered our survey thinks that.. That basically the companies that, you know, breaks the maybe the gdpr or something like that, should be fined. A fine is the keyword in all of this. Any idea why people in general think that this is a suitable precaution?</i>	
135	M.B.	Yeah I mean you could, you could argue that it's a.. a couple of aspects. It could be an innate human desire to... to punish wrongdoing, right? Every society has courts going back to the icelanding chieftains, haha with the ting. But, eh, it could also be a kind of um, you know, this kind of broader revolt against large corporations that we see, especially from the occupy movement and things like that. Could be like that. I think there is a growing, you know, yes fines or bonds, but where to these fines go?	LA
136	Researcher 1	<i>True, that's really true.</i>	
137	M.B.	They go to governments ideally, who then puts it into social services and something. So that's kinda something to clarify. But there is kind of a growing movement for people to be paid for their data. Uh, good luck with getting that going, haha. But, um, but it wouldn't boil down to i think, i think i saw something like that the average user would get like a dollar and six cents, but don't quote me on that specific number. It's a very small number, um, but that, that's one model, and then there is also the idea that, you know, yeah you can sacrifice your privacy and then, you know, get a fine down the road for a company. Or maybe you know, you could do, and some platforms do this, where they are a subscription service, Right? Like I would pay five dollars a month to use Facebook if that could pay out my privacy. Um, so, yeah but i'm not sure why people.. I think it relates to this idea of just punishing big businesses basically.	DG, LA
138	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah, so the last question here, so - why don't people read terms and conditions?</i>	
139	M.B.	Yeah, I don't..	
140	Researcher 1	<i>The million dollar question always..</i>	
141	M.B.	That number seems even low to me.. Um, i'm sure more people don't read them. But yeah, i mean they are long, they are boring and i think to an extent they are designed that way. They are designed for people not to, not to read them.	LA

142	Researcher 1	<i>you mentioned before when you talked about this, that even if you would made them more “dumb” in a way, that they were easier to read, that people would still skip them.. So, we will never read the terms and conditions - is that what you are arguing or is there any, any way we could make it so that people actually... well force people, but i think it’s hard.</i>	
143	M.B.	Yeah, i.. I am trying to think, I'm sure there are other example you could draw from the real word where people.. People just don’t read terms and conditions for.. All sorts of stuff.	
144	Researcher 1	<i>I am one of them so..</i>	
145	M.B.	You read them?!	
146	Researcher 1	<i>No I don't, i.. Haha</i>	
147	M.B.	Haha, okay. But, Um, yeah i think it’s just.. It’s just, they are not just interesting. What is kinda interesting on this line though is that if you look on a platform like reddits, there are terms and conditions in every “subreddit”, right? Like no self promotion, no hate speech and whatever, and those are policed by moderators. Um, and a similar model on wikipedia as well, and there people do read the terms and conditions. Not on Reddit itself but on the particular community.	LA
148	Researcher 1	<i>Right</i>	
149	M.B.	So that's kinda interesting, Um...	
150	Researcher 1	<i>That's true, so is that because they really wanna be part of that community and don’t want to risk anything you know, to lose that?</i>	
151	M.B.	Yeah i think so, i think so. And to an extent, you also have so on facebook groups. Um, right? But, in that sense, it requires a lot of voluntary labour?	
152	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah true.</i>	
153	M.B.	Like these guys, the reddit mods, they do a lot of work, um, a lot of automated bots and stuff that they, that they write, um, so, and also Wikipedia right? Huge amount of free labor put into wikipedia. Um, so that's something that people kinda voluntarily do, whereas I think, with the terms and condition your kind off, your having the platform do that “Free labor”.	LA
154	Researcher 2	<i>Right.</i>	
155	M.B.	So, Um, yeah that's kinda what you sign off to. But, there is also the sense of like, if people really knew, and i don’t know personally how deep that rabbit hole goes of how much data is there but.. There is also some studies that indicates this decaying effect, where people would be, you know, they would be like I'm never using Facebook again, and then two weeks later,	

		that effect goes away, right? Haha. So.. yeah. I'm not sure, but i think, i don't know if it's been published or not but i have seen some studies that do look at terms and conditions.	
156	Researcher 1	<i>Maybe we should look into one of those.</i>	
157	M.B.	Yeah, I just kind of.. Somewhere i heard someone mention that stuff is going on on that so.. I'm sure it's like a good experimental design where they um, you know, gave a couple of different types of terms and conditions to see if people read them or whatnot.	

Appendix 6 – Transcript Jonas Ledendal

Row	Person	Transcript	Theme
1	Researcher 1	<i>Alright vad är ditt namn? Enkel fråga.</i>	
2	J.L.	Haha ja precis, Jonas Ledendal.	
3	Researcher 1	<i>Och vad är ditt yrke, vad gör du just nu?</i>	
4	J.L.	Jag är forskare och lärare vid ekonomihögskolan, Lunds Universitet, institutionen för handelsrätt, jag är universitetslektor där.	
5	Researcher 1	<i>Alright, ehm.. Vad är det för typ av forskning du har genomfört tidigare? Eller i din karriär sådär..?</i>	
6	J.L.	Ja man kan väl kategorisera min forskning som IT-rättslig, det är väl ett rätt så bra etikett. Jag tittar lite brett på hur digital transformation påverkar påverkar rätten och utmanar rätten, och vad man kan hitta för lösningar på det lite brett. Men mer specifikt har jag forskat på öppna data i ett antal år, och nu de senaste åren har det varit mycket fokus på dataskydd, mer specifikt GDPR, men naturligtvis annan sådan reglering. Ehm.. så nu mycket AI.. Mycket inriktning på AI, men även brett, den datadrivna ekonomin.	
7	Researcher 1	<i>Alright, schysst. Som jag sa tidigare är huvudämnet microtargeting, så är det ett begrepp du är bekant med, och i vilket sammanhang hörde du talas om det?</i>	
8	J.L.	Jaa.. Såsom jag uppfattar det så handlar det om att man.. Liksom ett marknadsföringsterm , där man.. Om man tittar på broadcasting media så skickar man ut någonting där man har en ganska bred målgrupp där man vet vem som tittar på ett TV-program eller lyssnar på en podcast och så. Men som jag uppfattar microtargeting är man nere på individnivå när man skickar ett meddelande. Så att inte direkt samma sak som direkt-annonserad reklam även fast denna skickas till en individ och där inte budskapet är lika skraddarsytt. Så uppfattar jag begreppet i alla fall.	MT
9	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, och det ligger ju i linje med det många säger och skriver. Ehm.. skulle du beskriva politisk microtargeting på ett annat sätt sätt? Eller ingår det samma typ aspekter, bara det att man riktar sig till en annan målgrupp?</i>	
10	J.L.	Ehm.. Jag vet inte hur specifik målgruppen måste vara, om den måste vara nere på individnivå.. Men vart fall måste små grupper finnas, och det är ganska preciserad, om inte kirurgisk precision så en ganska hög grad av precision när man riktar budskapet i alla fall. Sen kan det säkert vara så att det inte är helt individualiserat - men betydligt mindre målgrupper i alla fall.	MT

11	Researcher 1	<i>Absolut, och just med denna typ av teknologi och kunna vinkla budskap, ser du några generella positiva aspekter med det? Dels om man ser det från annonsör företaget men även individen i sig som tar emot budskapet?</i>	
12	J.L.	Jo men absolut! Det är så som med allting att det har både för och nackdelar. Om vi börjar med då privatpersoner eller individen då så är det klart att det finns ett värde i att få riktar reklam om den reklamen eller information är mer riktad eller mer relevant och det är ju positivt naturligtvis. Men det är klart att det där är ju också lite.. det är lite klucket också för att samtidigt ibland talar man om filterbubblan som går in lite i det här. Lite av problemet är att om jag bara får annonser om sånt som jag redan är intresserad av, och jag kanske inte får annonser om sånt jag kanske inte har tänkt på är intressant. På något vis kan det vara intressant liksom.. Till exempel när det kommer till reklamfilmer där man tvingas titta på innan man kan kolla på själva filmen på YouTube eller någonting, så det är klart att om man ska spendera lite tid på det där vill man ju hellre att det ska vara relevant än helt irrelevant hehe.	MTB, MTI
13	Researcher 1	<i>Ja men självklart.</i>	
14	J.L.	Så det finns det naturligtvis, så det kan vara både positivt och negativt såklart. Ehhmm. Det positiva för den som annonserar.. Det kostar ju såklart att annonsera, det kostar att rikta ett budskap, så det är klart att ju mer preciserat ju mer kostnadseffektivt blir det ju. Den gamla broadcasting median är ju ganska ineffektiv, man betalar ganska mycket men får en ganska liten träff om jag ska vara ärlig. Så det är klart att det finns en fördel. En nackdel för privatpersoner är såklart.. Ja det kräver ju behandling av personuppgifter hehe. Och då kommer det en avvägning mot ens integritet, så det finns en integritets problematik.	MTB, MTI
15	Researcher 1	<i>Mm, och ska vi hoppa över till nu direkt efter för att resterande frågor är just om det här med integritet problematiken i det. Ehhmm så det är ena delen, ser du några andra generella problem med den här teknologin eller är det just integriteten som är det största problemet?</i>	
16	J.L.	Det är väl den man tänker på i första hand. Men sen kan jag även tycka, lite det jag var inne på tidigare det här med filterbubbla, att ehhmm.. Att på något vis.. det är ju lite samma fenomen som finns i rekommendationer på Netflix och så. Och jag kan ju säga att Netflix hittar ju ganska mycket där på film och serier, där har ju Netflix algoritmen fruktansvärt fel ibland hehe, det är inte min smak. Det kan ju vara så om jag tittar på en viss typ av tv-serier och film på Netflix, och netflix har ju inte koll på vad jag har tittat på resten av mitt liv, så ibland missar den fruktansvärt fel och tycker att det här är absolut ingenting du är intresserad av - men så till slut hittar man det ändå. Sådan nackdelen kan ju såklart också finnas, lite grann samma med microtargeting - det finns en liten poäng i att blanda in lite godtyckligt att du "kanske också är	MTI

		intresserad av det här också, även fast vår algoritm säger att du inte alls är intresserad av detta, men chansa, du kanske gillar det”.	
17	Researcher 1	<i>Så det kanske handlar om en brist på rätt typ av data eller gammal data?</i>	
18	J.L.	Mm, jo men precis det kan man nog beskriva det som åtminstone. Men det är klart att om man har hela sitt liv digitalt och allt har sparats så är det klart att så får man säkert en bättre träff. Men.. hehe.. Det ökar ju också integritetsproblematiken. Det blir liksom en avvägning, man vill både ha kakan och äta. Så absolut men integritetsproblematiken är den främsta (problematiken) absolut.	DG, MTI
19	Researcher 1	<i>Och om vi ser på.. Det finns några som argumenterar för att microtargeting ska kunna manipulera människor. Hur effektiv tror du att sån här riktad budskap eller annonsering är på att få folk att rösta på ett specifikt sätt eller köpa en produkt?</i>	
20	J.L.	Jo men det kan nog vara rätt så effektivt, nu har ju jag inte forskat på detta..	
21	Researcher 1	<i>Nä såklart..</i>	
22	J.L.	Utan där är jag mer allmänt påläst - jag har ju läst om det men..	
23	Researcher 1	<i>Ja men det har jag full förståelse för.</i>	
24	J.L.	Så jag kan inte uttala med som forskare men det känns ju som att att man skulle kunna påverka.. Eller i alla fall kunna påverka.	MTI
25	Researcher 1	<i>Mm precis. Och som en följdfråga på det.. Microtargeting kan ju nå ut till väldigt många i och med att det är på en digital plattform där man når ut med annonseringen. Tror du att det finns en risk med att stänga ut individer som inte passar den här “profilen” - och vad kan det ha för påföljder i så fall?</i>	
26	J.L.	Just den nackdelen finns ju alltid. Det diskuterar man ju.. Det här jackar ju lite i det här allmänna diskussionen om AI och de allmänna problemen och riskerna med AI. Och det pratas ju om biases exempelvis i algoritmer och data kopplat till det - precis som vi pratade om tidigare om alldeles för dålig data, så att så kan det absolut vara. Det kommer alltid vara så att från annonsören eller från avsändaren att oavsiktliga effekter - att man inte menar att det ska bli så utan att det bara blir så på grund av data eller algoritm. Men det är klart att man kan tänka sig att det (microtargeting) kan vara ett verktyg för mer medveten diskriminering. Då hamnar man i det mer klassiska diskrimineringsskyddet, det finns ju regler om det. Och så länge det gäller människor som tar beslut gäller dessa regler här också naturligtvis.	MTI, LA
27	Researcher 1	<i>Okej.</i>	

28	J.L.	Så att inom arbetsliv och.. Det finns annan lagstiftning som skulle kunna fungera här också.	
29	Researcher 1	<i>Okej.</i>	
30	J.L.	Men det är ju så att dataskydds juridiken är lite kluring också, den har ju hehe ganska många syften. Man kan ju tänka sig att det främst ska skydda vår personliga integritet och det är absolut så, att det är huvudsyftet. Men egentligen ska det skydda alla grundläggande rättigheter. Så det finns liksom ett inbyggt diskrimineringskydd i GDPR också, det är därför särskilda personuppgifter är omgivna av andra regler. Det är ju ganska brett skydd egentligen.	LA
31	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, och vi kommer ju diskutera just detta med GDPR och det juridiska alldeles strax, men först tänkte vi diskutera personuppgifterna i sig.. Eller datan i sig. För vi anser väl att datainsamlingen är grundläggande i att få microtargeting att fungera. Så som vi har varit inne på tidigare, algoritmer ska kunna basera sina beslut på data. Hur ser du på det påståendet att data är i detta? Egentligen i hela det här samspelet med nya teknologier..?</i>	
32	J.L.	Hur tänker ni där? Jag förstår inte riktigt frågan..	
33	Researcher 1	<i>Nä jag formulera mig kanske lite dåligt. Nä men vi anser väl att datan är det viktigaste i all detta, och det var väl mer om du höll med om det påstående, och vad är det som har hänt på den senaste tiden som har gjort att dessa teknologier finns? Att data har blivit så pass lättåtkomlig på något sätt?</i>	
34	J.L.	Jaa.. Det är också lite utanför mitt forskningsfält, där jag är mer väl påläst snarare än att ha forskat inom det. Men det är absolut så att vi under i alla fall de senaste 20 åren samlat på oss ofantligt mycket data, så att man pratar ju om den datadrivna ekonomin, och den har ju möjliggjort i och med att vi har producerat stora mängder data, och det är ju klart en konsekvens av digitalisering i sig. Att egentligen alla människor producerar väldigt mycket data från sina prylar helt enkelt hehe. I och med att vi allt mer lever digitalt lämnar vi ju digitala fotspår efter oss om man vill kalla det så. Jag har sett lite siffror och det är fantastiskt mycket data - så det finns ju en koppling där.	DG,
35	Researcher 1	<i>Ja det tror vi också och det...</i>	
36	J.L.	Men som sagt det är inte mitt forskningsområde utan det är mer en bakgrund till det jag sysslar med.	
37	Researcher 1	<i>Nä men jag förstår det verkligen, och det är ett väldigt rimligt svar, så vi hoppar vidare där. Så rent praktiskt, det finns ju lite olika sätt att samla in data, men vi funderade lite kring offentlighetsprincipen här i Sverige, skulle sån data kunna samlas in för användas i sån här typ av annonsering tror du? Och finns det i</i>	

		<i>så fall några begränsningar i hur mycket information man får samla in?</i>	
38	J.L.	Precis det är ju två frågor men absolut jag skulle säga att det går att göra och det görs. Och det har gjorts länge. Så det är inget nytt fenomen utan det är absolut så att offentliga register som är väldigt bra i Sverige - vi har ju en lång tradition av att samla in väldigt bra och exakt data om våra medborgare. Skattemyndigheten har ju haft sån data ganska länge. Till exempel som våra personnummer, alla länder har inte det, alla länder har inte ett unikt personnummer. Och all information som alla myndigheter samlar in måste vara kopplade till det unika numret så det finns otroligt goda möjligheter att på ett väldigt exakt sätt säkerställa stora datamängder på ett sätt som inte alltid är möjligt i andra länder där det blir betydligt svårare.	DG,
39	Researcher 1	<i>Mmm.</i>	
40	J.L.	Vi ser ju till exempelvis.. Jag vet inte om ni ser på Folkhälso-myndighetens presskonferenser, men man säger ju att varför statistiken från Sverige är så mycket bättre än andra länder är för att vi har bra koll helt enkelt. Så vi har bra koll på våra medborgare. Så absolut, det är inget okänt, utan man har använt dom här registren som man hämtat genom offentlighetsprincipen - även när det gäller sån här direkt annonserad reklam. Så det är ingenting nytt. Men det är ju en utmaning absolut. Om man tar begränsningar får man ju fundera på "okej är det här ett problem när det gäller dataskydd och så", och i Sverige hade vi ju världens största nationella dataskyddslag - datalagen - i början av 70-talet, så man har ju haft en sån debatt i Sverige kopplat till offentlighetsprincipen. Datalagen och de nya reglerna när man digitaliserade myndigheterna - samma kommission eller grupp utredde både datalagen och de reformerade reglerna i tryckhetsförordningens andra kapitel om offentlighetsprincipen. Så man anpassade offentlighetsprincipen till digitaliseringen och framför allt digitaliseringen av myndigheterna. Man gjorde alltså detta i samma sammanhang och var först världen med detta. Detta har jag ju skrivit om med Stefan Larsson och Joakim Värnberg en bok som heter offentligheter i det digitala samhället. Och där diskuterar vi problem som uppkommer med den ökade digitaliseringen och varför lagstiftningen inte har anpassat sig till den ökande digitaliseringen. Offentlighetsprincipen har inte riktigt gått i takt med.. På olika sätt.. Och det är på båda hållen, på ena sidan vill man ha öppna data och det är något positivt, och på andra sidan kommer generella risker mot integriteten i och med digitaliseringen av offentliga sektorn. Så det finns ju igen både positiva sidor och negativa sidor med olika typer av risker. Och i den boken så skriver vi just om att lagstiftaren.. På 70-talet gjorde man en stor satsning - men det har ju hänt ganska mycket sedan dess hehe internet till exempel, även fast det fanns lite liknande saker redan då.	DG, LA
41	Researcher 1	<i>Så egentligen i grund och botten handlar det lite om att utvecklingen går så fort att lagstiftningen inte hinner förändras i takt</i>	

		<i>med det, och att man alltid hamnar på efterkälken? Kan det vara en effekt av detta?</i>	
42	J.L.	Ja det kan det absolut vara. Och.. jag vet inte i vilken ordning ni har era frågor men en grej man kanske borde säga här som vi även skriver i den här boken är att det finns en... om man tittar på dessa regler så är två viktiga områden nämligen det här med öppna data, det är harmoniserat genom EU-rätten, [inaudible], och sen har vi det här med dataskyddets rätten GDPR såklart, och det är ju också väldigt harmoniserat inom EU. Men så kommer vi offentlighetsprincipen och handlingsoffentligheten framförallt och då är det inte harmoniserat. Så vi har nationell lagstiftning och sen har vi harmoniserad EU rätt.. Man hade nog behövt harmonisera alla dom tre. Men det är väldigt svårt, Sverige har ganska starka åsikter när det gäller offentlighetsprincipen och vill absolut inte att det ska harmoniseras för att man är rädd att det skulle hamna på den europeiska nivån, den nivån som finns i många kontinentaleuropeiska länder. Och det är ju lite unikt för Sverige och resten av Norden att vi har en väldigt hög grad av öppenhet, en hög generös handlingsoffentlighet. Vilket som jag var inne på tidigare är både något positivt - en hög grad av transparens är väldigt viktigt i en demokrati såklart, men å andra sidan finns det problematik med integriteten och man måste hitta den här perfekta balansen om man nu kan det hehe. Den är svår att hitta, jag är inte riktigt säker på att vi har hittat den i Sverige. Men jag är inte heller säker på att annat land har hittat den heller hehe. Så jag tror att alla länder befinner sig på fel sida mittpunkten där.	LA
43	Researcher 1	<i>Mm, men det är ändå kul att Sverige är ett föredöme i det tycker jag, att vi ändå ligger i framkant.</i>	
44		Ja absolut, öppenhet är oerhört viktigt, motsatsen är ju inte alls bra hehe. Brist på transparens är väldigt dåligt.	
45	Researcher 1	<i>Jag tycker vi hoppar in här på ditt favoritområde GDPR här, Hur tror du att GDPR kan påverka användandet av en teknologi som microtargeting? För när vi har läst litteraturen så är det många.. Eller när det kommer till just microtargeting i en Svensk kontext finns det nästan ingen litteratur om eller obefintlig till stor del. Dom artiklar som har gjorts är baserade från ett amerikanskt perspektiv, och i det som har skrivits sägs det att GDPR gör att microtargeting inte går att använda. Vi är inte helt säkra på det argumentet och vi undrar därför hur du ser på det argumentet?</i>	
46	J.L.	Nä men absolut. Jag har inte sett någon teknologi hitintills, ibland får man höra i ett pressrelease att vissa företag kan göra både det ena och det andra med anonym data, hitintills har jag aldrig sett någon teknologi som fungerar, eller om man omformulerar det lite så har det aldrig varit anonymt i GDPRs mening. Så det dom kallar för anonym data är inte så pass anonym att den inte faller in i GDPRs tillämpningsområde, så kan man formulera	LA

		<p>det. Det kan fortfarande vara bra och det behöver inte vara förbjudet men det dom vill egentligen säga är att dom har hittat en teknologi som går runt GDPR, det har jag hitintills aldrig sett. Utan när man tar dom här sakerna, ansiktsigenkänning till exempel, finns det något företag som påstår att dom kan göra det utan att omfattas av GDPR - jag har inte kunnat de deras teknik, dom har inte avslöjat den hehe, men jag är skeptisk. Och när jag tittar på annan liknande teknik eller applikationer som egentligen kräver identifiering så har jag svårt att tänka mig att det där skulle fungera. Så dom flesta teknologier som finns kräver ju identifiering vilket gör att vi måste hantera personuppgifter, och så länge det rör personuppgifter kommer vi omfattas av GDPR. Möjligen kan man hantera personuppgifter utanför EU, alltså att man är etablerad utanför EU och hanterar personuppgifter rörande personer som inte finns i EU så omfattas man såklart inte. Men om man vill behandla uppgifter på någon som befinner sig i EU, man behöver inte var medborgare i EU, men behöver bara befinna sig i EU, så kommer man helt enkelt omfattas av GDPR.</p>	
47	Researcher 1	<i>Mm helt rätt.</i>	
48	J.L.	Så kopplingen är helt enkelt den att microtargeting det kräver att man följer GDPR helt enkelt - och man måste göra det i enlighet med GDPR.	LA
49	Researcher 1	<i>Precis precis.</i>	
50	J.L.	Men GDPR är ingen förbudslagstiftning, det gör det ju inte förbjudet att behandla personuppgifter, så är det ju inte. Utan man måste bara se till att man följer GDPR, och uppfyller de krav som finns där. Jag skulle inte säga att microtargeting per definition inte är förbjudet i EU, utan det kan vara tillåtet. Men det kräver att man följer kraven hehe, det krävs ett samtycke exempelvis.	LA
51	Researcher 1	<i>Precis och det är något vi ska hoppa in på, för vi har varit lite intresserade i artikel 9, och där ser vi att politiska åsikter går ju in som en särskild kategori av personuppgifter - och det ska ju då vara förbjudet om man inte uppfyller något av undantagen. Hur ser du på det, kommer man alltid behöva medgivande i politisk microtargeting då? Eller finns det en gråzon i personuppgifter eller politiska åsikter i sig?</i>	
52	J.L.	Jaa.. Politiska åsikter är ju det man kallar för känsliga personuppgifter, precis, och det omfattas ju av artikel 9 och då krävs uttryckligt samtycke om man vill använda sig av samtycke - men samtycke är inte den enda rättsliga grunden det finns ju andra undantag. Så det beror lite på vad man ska använda det till. Om det är politiska partier som ska använda sig av det kan man tänka sig att en användning som inte strider mot självaste andemeningen om man säger så, att man inte strider mot själva andemeningen i GDPR så att man gör det på ett schysst sätt - och det finns ett berättigat ändamål, och politiska partier har ju ett berättigat ändamål med att nå ut med sitt budskap, det är en ganska viktig	LA, PA

		demokratisk sak att partier når ut till kanske så många människor, att man får veta vad alla politiska partier tycker, att man fattar ett rationellt beslut när man röstar i riksdagsvalen eller vad det nu kan vara för någonting. Så det måste ju inte vara ondskefullt om man säger så hehe.	
53	Researcher 1	<i>Nä såklart.</i>	
54	J.L.	Men det är klart, om man har icke-berättigade ändamål, sådana kan ju också tänkas finnas, man kan ju säkert använda microtargeting som inte stärker demokratin utan skadar demokratin istället, då kan man ju tänka sig att det inte är lika tillåtet enligt GDPR - då kan man ju stöta på problem.	LA
55	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
56	J.L.	Men annars finns det ju andra viktiga samhällsintressen, det finns ju undantag för exempelvis [<i>Inaudible</i>], och genomförandet av val i en demokrati är ju absolut.. Och politiska partier når ut med sitt budskap är ju absolut det, kan man tänka sig. Det kan ju vara så att ett politiskt parti inser att det här är väljare som vi inte lyckas nå ut till - och om man då kan använda sig av microtargeting för att nå ut till dom så är ju det inte per definition något dåligt, men som sagt det är nog säkert en hårfin gräns någonstans där när man skulle säga att det inte är ett berättigade ändamål. GDPR är ju lite lätt missuppfattat hehe om man säger så, inte minst finns det ett väldigt fokus på just samtycke, man säger ju att allt kräver samtycke men så är det ju inte.	PA, MTB, LA
57	Researcher 1	<i>Nä.</i>	
58	J.L.	Utan det är bara lite klurigt.. Eller många tycker ju då att samtycke är enkelt och om vi bara har det löser sig allt - men så är det ju inte heller.	
59	Researcher 1	<i>Nä.</i>	
60	J.L.	Det är ju ganska svårt att få ett giltigt samtycke enligt GDPR.	
61	Researcher 1	<i>Det är ju intressant att du säger det för att vi.. Ehhh.. Det var en studie som gjorde i Tyskland där det argumenteras att det här med microtargeting att man som användare kunde ge sitt medgivande genom terms and conditions dokumentet, att det gömmer sig där någonstans. Så om man tänker sig Facebook, som är en ganska stor plattform för microtargeting, och ifall dom då har en liten klausul om microtargeting och att man trycker accept utan att läsa igenom det, skulle du säga att det räknas som att ge sitt samtycke för microtargeting då? Eller tror du att det behöver vara tydligare på ett sätt då?</i>	
62	J.L.	Nä det skulle nog.. Jag skulle nog behöva titta lite närmre på det specifika fallet, lite svårt att säga så här generellt, men så som du beskriver det låter det inte som ett informerat samtycke, och det finns ju bestämmelser om det där i GDPR också ju, får se om jag	LA

		kommer ihåg rätt här, har inte allting i huvudet, men är det inte artikel 7 måste det vara rimligtvis hehe kommer inte ihåg punkten exakt..	
63	Researcher 1	<i>*Takes a look in legal text compendium* Mmm villkor för samtycke kan det vara den?</i>	
64	J.L.	Jaa.. Jo precis! Det kan vara punkten 7.2 möjligtvis om jag inte kommer ihåg fel.	
65	Researcher 1	<i>Lämna skriftligt förklarelse gällande..</i>	
66	J.L.	Så den handlar ju om att man inte får gömma undan, speciellt om man läser dom i förening med dom..	
67	Researcher 1	<i>Stämmer.</i>	
68	J.L.	Skälen i ingressen som hör till dom. Ehm så handlar det om det. Nä men du får inte gömma undan något i det finstilla, då blir inte samtycket giltigt, utan man bör jobba lite grann med.. Och det här ställer ju lite krav på dom som jobbar med användargränssnitt och sådant och användarupplevelse då det är där många gör fel. Det är ju inte tanken att man ska ha långa juridiska dokument när man ska informera om GDPR. Och lura människor att acceptera blir ju inte giltigt utan man ska sträva efter att göra det mer interaktivt, det ska vara fare också hehe det finns ju en sån princip också. The principle of fairness som är lite mer - som heter principen om korrekthet av någon anledning - men det är lite så, det ska vara schysst helt enkelt mot användarna och de registrerade. Så allt det där med att lura användarna det håller inte, så enkelt är det inte.	LA
69	Researcher 1	<i>Nä. Så då kan man argumentera mot den artikeln att det här visar inte på transparensen som GDPR är ute efter utan det behöver vara tydligare än så?</i>	
70	J.L.	Absolut, utan jag tycker att det man ser.. Jag har sett ganska få implementeringar som är mitt i prick. Och jag tror att kraven kommer öka där, jag tror att tillsynsmyndigheten nu i början säger "vi förstår att ni har massor av legacysystem och sånt" och att de inte kan.. Att det tar lång tid att ändra saker och förbättra. Men till slut kommer man ju tappa tålamodet med att inte mer händer. Och det kommer väl också komma nya aktörer som är lite såhär.. Ehhh... vad ska man säga.. Man brukar ju prata om att vara born digital att man är liksom.. Jag vet inte vad det skulle heta.. Eller en bra term hehe.. Men att man har vuxit upp med GDPR helt enkelt, som inte har börjat med ha den här ryggsäcken med sig, där man bygger in.. alltså built in privacy och alla dom här bitarna. Att man tänker integritet från början, då kan man få det att fungera men det är ju oerhört svårt ta dom stora befintliga systemen att lira med GDPR, det går ju inte helt enkelt och det är ju det många har insett. Det är då man istället försöker lappa och laga. Men som sagt jag tror att det är en tidsfråga tills man tappar tålamodet helt enkelt, och åter tror jag	LA

		också att ny aktörer kommer komma in och visa att det faktiskt går att göra det helt enkelt, och de kommer få en stor fördel av det också. En spännande parallel är ju det verktyget vi använder nu Zoom ju, dom är ju rätt så kritiserade för att dom inte har varit så jättebra på att prioritera integritet eller IT-säkerhet också historiskt. Det ser man ju lite grann på hur fantastiskt bra det går för dom just nu, dom har gått som en raket upp nu, samtidigt som att de har hållit på att tappa allt det här och med att de inte har tänkt på integritet eller IT-säkerhet - och nu fattar dom att "oj detta är ju jätteviktigt, vi måste bara fixa detta". Dom gör ju helt rätt nu men dom har ju fattat ganska dåliga beslut historiskt sett.	
71	Researcher 1	<i>Men hur länge har dom varit aktiva för detta är första gången som jag har hört talas om dom i och med att det används i skolan? Har dom varit med ett tag så att dom har problem med legacysystem eller är dom tillräckligt nya för att kunna styra om det tror du?</i>	
72	J.L.	Ehm jag har inte hundra koll på deras system men.. Kan det vara.. 2010 kanske? Jag är inte hundra men dom har inte varit med så pass länge att dom.. Dom har ju inte tänkt på det, dom borde ha tänkt på det, för någonstans fanns dessa ideer långt innan GDPR som kom 2016, men ideerna är inte nya. Det dom har gjort bra vilket har gjort att alla universitet använder deras tjänst är det här med att leva i molnet, så att det dom har klarat jämfört med många andra system är att snabbt skala upp. Så jag tror att den licensen som vi kör på just nu hade bara för några månader sedan bara 10 000 användare som den klarade maximalt, och det var ju en ganska okej kapacitet. Nu har man ju skalat upp det och nu är man uppe i 250 000 samtidiga användare så det är en enorm uppskalning. Ehhmm.. Och det är ju.. Nu har jag inte kollat statistiken de senaste veckorna men jag tittade på sådana stapeldiagram där man såg att det bara klättrade upp efterhand när fler och fler lärare lärde sig att använda detta och att allt fler började hålla föreläsningar, men man har klarat det bra medan andra plattformar har inte klarat det bra, utan de har havererat istället. Så att... det är den tekniska sidan. Jag menar att man resonera på samma sätt när det gäller integritet ju. Det krävs ju lite samma tänk, du måste ha tänkt på det lite från början. För sådana grejer måste ju skala osv. Nä men dom hade kunnat göra det här väldigt mycket bättre, det här är en jättemiss. Aktieägarna är inte glada alls.	
73	Researcher 1	<i>Nä jag förstår det.</i>	
74	J.L.	Ja haha aktievärdet gick ju ner lite. Nä men det är spännande.	
75	Researcher 1	<i>Ja verkligen. Om vi hoppar tillbaka till GDPR igen.</i>	
76	J.L.	Ja absolut.	
77	Researcher 1	<i>Vi tänker väl, framför allt om man bor här i Sverige, att man blir väldigt påmind om GDPR i och med att man får meddelanden om cookies på diverse hemsidor. Tror du att GDPR har ökat den</i>	

		<i>generella medvetenheten angående integriteten hos privatpersoner?</i>	
78	J.L.	Återigen, det är en typ av forskning som jag inte har gjort. Men jag har ju tagit del av sådan forskning som andra har gjort, har kollegor som har tittat på dom där forskning-sakerna, så jag känner mig absolut säker när jag säger att ja så är det. Att vi fick GDPR har ökat medvetenheten hos användare och hos konsumenter att det finns den här typen av regler, trots att det är relativt samma regler. Det är inte så många nyheter i GDPR utan vi hade ungefär samma regler tidigare (PUL), men medvetenheten har absolut ökat.	LA
79	Researcher 1	<i>Suveränt. Nu har vi diskuterat GDPR, men vi nämnde lite andra regleringar, men tror du att det finns någon annan reglering som kan komma att aktuell i en microtargeting kontext bortsett från GDPR, och i så fall vilken?</i>	
80	J.L.	Det beror lite på vilket syfte man använder den i, om vi utgår från politiska sammanhang..	
81	Researcher 1	<i>Precis vi utgår från det.</i>	
82	J.L.	Det är ju ett område som inte omfattas av marknadsrättslig reglering till exempel, medan om vi använder st för ren marknadsföring finns ju särskilda regler för det, men dom är ju harmoniserade. Dom ligger ju ganska nära varandra, och jag och en kollega har skrivit en artikel som handlar just om det, den här gränssytan mellan marknadsföringsrätten och dataskyddsrätten, jag kan skicka en länk till den, men jag tror att den finns öppet på Svensk Juristtidning är den publicerad i.	LA
83	Researcher 1	<i>Okej det hade varit suveränt, jättegärna.</i>	
84	J.L.	I vilket fall som helst kan ni gå in, ni har ju tillgång till dessa databaser som studenter. Men jag tror faktiskt att den ligger öppet.	
85	Researcher 1	<i>Så kan man säga att vanlig annonsering regleras hårdare än politiska åsikter, är det svårt att begränsa politiska åsikter på ett sätt?</i>	
86	J.L.	<i>Men absolut, det handlar egentligen om yttrandefriheten.</i>	
87	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
88	J.L.	Vi har tidigare pratat om offentlighetsprincipen vilket är en aspekt i yttrandefriheten och tryckfriheten i Sverige. Den finns ju till och med inbakad i tryckfrihetsförordningen, så det finns ju ett nära samband mellan yttrandefriheten och offentlighetsprincipen och kopplingen är ju eller ett av poängerna med offentlighetsprincipen är ju att dom här dokumenten och informationen ska ju kunna vara underlag för tryckta skrifter, och det står ju i första kapitlet i tryckfrihetsordningen uttryckligen då. Du ska alltså inte bara ha rätt att ha handlingarna utan du ska ju även kunna återge	LA, PA

		<p>dom, i första hand tidningar men idag kan det ju vara vilka medium som helst - bloggar och sånt naturligtvis. Även fast dessa inte skyddas av tryckfrihetsförordningen utan yttrandefrihetsgrundlagen - lite klurigt att vi har två stycken separata grundlagar som skyddar yttrandefriheten. Men så är det, förutom att det finns bestämmelser i regeringsformen haha. Så det är en speciell konstruktion men i grund och botten är det ju samma i alla länder, det handlar om yttrandefriheten och den slår väldigt [Inaudible] om just hela... hela ändamålet med yttrandefriheten är ju att skydda den fria opinionsbildningen, politiska åsikter helt enkelt, att uttrycka dom går ju hand i hand med det såklart. Och det är ju också därför man i marknadsföringslagen också har just den skillnaden att marknadsföringslagen inte gäller på yttrandefrihetens område, utan du ska få ge uttryck för inte minst politiska åsikter, och den går ganska långt, den skyddar ju även företag, dom har också en yttrandefrihet och det kan låta konstigt men det har dom. Så att även företag ska ha rätt att uttrycka politiska åsikter, och är då skyddade av yttrandefriheten, och man kan inte komma åt den typen av budskap genom marknadsföringslagen. Det är inte alltid en skarp gräns och väldigt svår juridisk gränsdragningsfråga när man kommer till.. Inte minst när det kommer till företags yttrandefrihet, alltså när är det kommersiellt budskap och när är det politiskt budskap.</p>	
89	Researcher 1	<i>Mmm...</i>	
90	J.L.	Men det är ju som du säger det spiller ju över till annan typ av lagstiftning absolut. Inte bara GDPR utan mer traditionell klassisk lagstiftning.	
91	Researcher 1	<i>Ja vi har insett det nu när vi gjort information insamlandet och det är mycket att tänka på helt enkelt. Men har vi känt att vi får begränsa oss till GDPR för att det inte ska bli 300 sidor juridik så, men vi känner att det är värt att poängtera att det finns andra lagar som kan påverka i alla fall.</i>	
92	J.L.	Ja absolut. Det kan man ju avgränsa bort.	
93	Researcher 1	<i>Precis precis. Ehhh.. en liten följdfråga på det vi diskuterat nu med att det finns en härfin gräns, vi diskutera det lite under GDPR kursen att vi saknar en del rättspraxis, känner du att det är fortfarande fallet här i Sverige eller här i Europa? Att vi har fortfarande dom här av vägningarna och vi vet inte riktigt hur vi ska tolka det?</i>	
94	J.L.	Det där är lite... Vissa områden är fortfarande lite vita fläckar på kartan fortfarande gällande GDPR. Sen tycker jag att vi har ganska mycket praxis, inte minst från EU-domstolen på vissa områden, men allting är ju relativt. När man tittar på EU-domstolen finns det ju aldrig hundra rättsfall på en specifik fråga hehe, men har man två rättsfall har man ju en ganska fast praxis. Och det tycker jag att vi har på vissa områden, vissa saker vet vi ju ganska mycket om och det är ganska inringat och så va. Och det finns ju mycket vägledning åtminstone från... från.. Europeiska	

		Dataskyddsstyrelsen och dom är ju också ganska bra att hålla i handen, det är klart att dom inte är bindande men. Där är det lite klurigt i juridiken med icke bindande rättsgälder att de är praktiskt relevanta när det kommer till kritan. Återigen ett aktuellt exempel, en debatt som pågår just nu i Sverige är ju det här med varför inte lagstiftning? Varför inte föreskrifter? Varför så mycket allmänna råd? Fast i praktiken är det ju inte så stor skillnad på föreskrifter och allmänna råd. Det är klart att det finns en formell skillnad däremellan, men det ställs på sin spets egentligen då i.. I vissa rättsområden är det ganska vanligt att ha icke-bindande - det man i Sverige skulle kalla allmänna råd helt enkelt. Guidelines kallar man det i EU-sammanhang. Det är jättevänligt konkurrens [<i>inaudible</i>] område där stora delar av detaljerna bara regleras genom riktlinjer av kommissionen.	
95	Researcher 1	<i>Mmm.</i>	
96	J.L.	Men det spelar ingen roll, du måste ju i princip följa dom ändå. Så jag tycker inte att det ser så illa ut som vissa karakteriserar det, jag tycker att om man gör sin hemläxa, om man läser på, om man undersöker det så tycker jag att man hittar svar på en hel del frågor. Men absolut det finns vita fläckar och det finns små frågetecken med lite udda saker där man kan komma tillbaka och fundera på "hur är det egentligen här?". Att man förstår huvudfallen och typfallen - men sen i verkligheten finns det alltid udda fall, och dom vet man kanske inte riktigt för att lagstiftaren inte har gett några exempel på det i skälen eller i ingressen då till GDPR, annars där finns det ju väldigt mycket exempel på..	
97	Researcher 1	<i>Stämmer.</i>	
98	J.L.	På uppräknings och så, men som sagt det finns ganska många frågetecken - men det är inte så illa som många säger.	
99	Researcher 1	<i>Suveränt, vi tänkte hoppa vidare här och detta är kanske inte riktigt ditt område så, det här är kanske mer för statsvetarna som vi snackar med. Men ett till argument för varför microtargeting skulle vara mindre effektivt i Sverige är för att vi har ett flerpartisystem jämfört med USA och ja Brexit där det är ett tvåpartisystem. Vad tror du om det argumentet? Tror du att det kan bli knepigare när man ska.. Eller när man har hela den här skaran av partier? Och att det är svårare att få.. Jämfört med när man ska få folk att rösta på det ena eller det andra?</i>	
100	J.L.	Mhm mhm... precis som du var inne på det där nog en statsvetarfråga hehe, jag har nog ingen spontan.. Om du hade ställt den här frågan i vår hade jag nog vetat mer om det eftersom jag precis ska jag vara med i ett tvärvetenskapligt projekt som handlar om politisk polarisering.	
101	Researcher 1	<i>Aaah okej.</i>	
102	J.L.	Tillsammans med en massa statsvetare, så jag kommer lära mig jättemycket av dom..	

103	Researcher 1	<i>Okej okej.. Det var ju lite otur hehe.</i>	
104	J.L.	Haha ja, tyvärr kan jag ju inte så mycket om just det där. Men det är väl klart att.. Som sagt det är utanför mitt område men det är nog klart att den politiska polariseringen är större i ett tvåpartisystem, redan från början - och i ett flerpartisystem är den politiska polariseringen mindre men jag faktiskt ingen uppfattning som forskare.	PA
105	Researcher 1	<i>Nä jag misstänkte det, och jag kände att man kunde ställa frågan i alla fall...</i>	
106	J.L.	Haha ja absolut.	
107	Researcher 1	<i>Men det är verkligen ingen fara. Vi har två intervjuer med två personer som är mer statsvetarinriktade så vi får nog svaren där.</i>	
108	J.L.	Jo precis ni får ta citaten från dom istället hehe.	
109	Researcher 1	<i>Haha ja det låter bra det. Ehhh.. som en liten parentes i detta arbetet har vi tittat på röstningsbeteende och algoritmer, för vi känner att det är en ganska väsentlig del i allt det här. Och hur avancerade.. Vi prata lite om det angående Netflix och att Spotify har det - hur avancerade är dom här algoritmerna i dagsläget på att förutse beteenden hos människor?</i>	
110	J.L.	Mmm det är också en mer teknisk fråga som går utanför mitt expertområde egentligen, det är klart att som jurist eller oavsett vad man är i för ämne så är det ju så att man är.. Det är ju en fråga man forskar på, som man bedriver forskning på men för att kunna bedriva forskning på den frågan, en juridisk fråga så läser man ju naturligtvis mycket bredare, man måste ju förstås förstå tekniken, man måste på ekonomiska.. Man måste ha en sån bakgrund också. Men det är inget jag har forskat själv inom utan det är något som jag påläst om och kanske har kollegor i forskningsprojekt som har tittat mer på såna frågor. Så även fast det inte är mitt forskningsområde så känns det ju som att dom (algoritmer) har en förhållandevis stor träffsäkerhet. Beror ju inte minst på hur mycket data man har, för här får vissa ett sorts "first mover advantage" för att dom har lyckats samla på sig stora mängder data, inte kanske ursprungligen för det syftet att använda det till microtargeting, Facebook kan man diskutera om det är ett bra exempel, men absolut Google är ett bra exempel på någon som inte samla in datan.. Inte egentligen för annonsering - men kom på sen att de inte hade något sätt att tjäna pengar, så det var lite av en "afterthought" att lägga till annonser hehe..	DDP
111	Researcher 1	<i>Ja det är lite roligt att det är..</i>	
112	J.L.	Jo absolut. Men det finns ju stora brister i det här, vi pratade ju om det tidigare med Netflix att många algoritmer har ju stora brister i det här. Men som sagt det är tekniska termer som ligger utanför..	DDP

113	Researcher 1	<i>Fullt rimligt.</i>	
114	J.L.	Där är jag mer allmänbildad än att ha forskat på det hehe.	
115	Researcher 1	<i>Ja. Men vi håller med din åsikt, det är ju vad de flesta säger om det där.</i>	
116	J.L.	Mmm.	
117	Researcher 1	<i>Och som lite avslutande frågor nu då, med det vi har diskuterat idag, hur ser du på framtiden för microtargeting? Tror du att den här typen av teknologier såsom microtargeting kommer bli vanligare i Sverige eller är det mer en "hype" som kommer dö ut med tiden, hur ser du på det?</i>	
118	J.L.	Det där är ju en bra fråga.. Det finns ju en hel del problem med sån där... digital annonsering har ju ett flertal problem. Nu vet jag inte om du har koll på om det finns några kopplade till microtargeting, men det finns ju väldigt mycket problem med att man har börjat inse att.. Från annonsören att det inte är lika effektivt som man trodde. Att det finns stora möjligheter till bedrägerier helt enkelt, att det ser ut som att fler har sett din annons än vad det egentligen är, det har man ju fått upp ögonen för. Och att detta inte är helt enkelt så detta jobbar man på helt enkelt. Och sedan har man tänkt om lite att kontexten har betydelse, så förr kastade man ut alla traditionella idéerna om annonsering och man tänkte att det var viktigt att följa med konsumenten, följa med kunden, så oavsett vilken hemsida dom är på ska vi göra reklam för våra skor eller vad det nu är för något. Alla vet ju det klassiska att om man söker på skor på en e-handelssite följer dom där skorna dig över hela internet oavsett vad man tittar på. Men nu har man insett att det där kanske inte är så bra, för kontexten har betydelse. Helt plötsligt så ibland kommer våra varumärken upp i en väldigt jobbig kontext, alltså allt runt omkring på en hemsida som man inte gillar. Så jag vet att det är mycket i rörelse när det kommer till det och om ni tittar mer på det. Det har blivit mer ifrågasatt det där.	MTI, FP
119	Researcher 1	<i>Okej mm.</i>	
120	J.L.	Och det där hänger ju lite ihop med microtargeting ju, eftersom där har man bara fokus på användaren egentligen och inte var man presenterar informationen naturligtvis. Men det där känns ju mer som tekniska utmaningar som man kan förbättra. Men rent principiellt tror jag att.. Nä men jag tror att.. Motsatsen har ju inte framtiden för sig, någon form av riktad reklam är ju framtiden - frågan är ju bara hur riktad den är. Men jag vet även att man har "dummat ner" algoritmen, för när algoritmerna blev för smarta blev det lite av "the creepiness factor" över det hela. Man inser liksom "oj dom har koll på mig" så man måste dumma ner dom helt enkelt så att man inte känner sig så övervakad. Men absolut, men det är ju mer tekniska utmaningar. Men den gamla traditionella broadcasting modellen har framtiden framför sig,	FP

		någon grad av targeting om det nu kommer vara micro eller hehe något däremellan..	
121	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, nä det är ett jättebra svar verkligen, ehmm... och vi hade ju en fråga till där om algoritmer men jag känner att vi fick med det där också i det svaret.</i>	
122	J.L.	Mhmm.	
123	Researcher 1	<i>Om vi får avsluta med två frågor - vi har gjort en enkäter samtidigt som vi gjort denna studie..</i>	
124	Researcher 2	<i>Bara två frågor.</i>	
125	Researcher 1	<i>Mycket i syfte för att få in allmänhetens åsikter kring integritet och och hur man såg på det. Och för att kunna triangulera svaren. Så vi har två delar som vi skulle vilja fråga dig om och.. Ah din åsikt egentligen. Så den första är att en majoritet av alla som har svarat på vår enkät har aldrig läst terms and conditions dokumentet när dom signar upp för en applikation eller service, varför tror du att det här är fallet och finns det någon lösning på det här?</i>	
126	J.L.	Ja dom flesta är ju ganska oläsliga helt enkelt. Dom allra flesta är för långa och krångligt skrivna, så till och med jag som forskar inom detta orkar inte läsa denna typen av dokument hehe. Och dom är... ehmm.. Som sagt dom är oftast... Nä men det är just det att dom inte är användarvänliga helt enkelt. Man måste nog presentera dom i mycket mindre bitar och göra dom mycket mer relevanta. Liksom "detta är det du behöver veta just nu för att kunna ta ställning till det här samtycket", så för dåligt implementerat.	LA
127	Researcher 1	<i>Rimligt för det är väl så vi ser det också, vi läser väl aldrig som där dokumenten om man ska vara helt ärlig.</i>	
128	Researcher 2	<i>Nä precis.</i>	
129	Researcher 1	<i>Och det är ju en brist såklart.. Ehmm.. sen har vi en andra här då.. Ehmm.. en majoritet av alla vi frågat.. Vi ställde just en fråga angående om man olovligen skulle använda någons personuppgifter vilken typ av bestraffning skulle ske, och majoriteten säger bara böter och det är det man tycker helt enkelt...</i>	
130	J.L.	<i>Är det det dom tyckte att det skulle vara eller är det vad man tror att det är?</i>	
131	Researcher 1	<i>Jaa det är nog tror och tycker.. Eller nej det är nog tycker i detta fallet..</i>	
132	Researcher 2	<i>Ja det är nog tycker.</i>	
133	J.L.	Ja okej.	

134	Researcher 1	<i>Vi skrev den här frågan på engelska, men jag skulle nog säga att översättningen blir tycker. Och varför tror du allmänheten tycker att det här är det lämpligaste straffet? Eller skulle man kunna bestraffa det på ett annat typ av sätt?</i>	
135	J.L.	Ja det är en svår fråga egentligen, jag skulle kunna ge er ett juridiskt svar på det men i och med att det handlar om vad de tycker så.. Kan det inte vara enkelt som att böter är något alla känner till? Alltså böter är ju ett sånt typiskt straff, att man ur en allmänbildning vet att det brukar röra sig om böter eller fängelse, det är två vanliga straff.	LA
136	Researcher 1	<i>Juste.</i>	
137	J.L.	Och då tycker man nog att fängelse är överdrivet, och böter är något som känns lämpligt. Sen är det ju administrativa sanktionsavgifter, det är ju inte böter hehe det är inte fängelse, det är inte straffbart, avkriminaliserat - även om det i PUL var det innan, vilket är lite spännande men det har man tagit bort. Men det är ju det som är skillnaden mellan administrativa sanktionsavgifter, böter går ju ofta lite förlorad - man brukar prata om GDPR böter men det är ju ingen böter, så det finns väl någon sån förklaring tror jag. Annars skadestånd är ju något som man hade kunnat tänka sig också..	LA
138	Researcher 1	<i>Väldigt sant.</i>	
139	J.L.	Vilket också går enligt GDPR, så annars skulle man kunna tänka sig det. Men det kanske är mer intuitivt i sammanhanget. Men det beror nog på hur man hade frågat, om man hade gett dom ett antal alternativ kanske dom hade varit positiva till skadestånd också, jämfört med om man då själv ska gissa någonting eller föreslå någonting - då är det väl böter eller fängelse man väljer mellan, det är dom alla kan haha.	
140	Researcher 1	<i>Nä men det är väl så vi tänker också. Vi tycker bara att det är roligt att låta er reflektera över detta också för att få ett typ av nyanserat svar på det.</i>	
141	J.L.	Mm mm.	
142	Researcher 1	<i>Och med det har vi egentligen inga fler frågor.</i>	
143	Researcher 2	<i>Nä.</i>	
144	Researcher 1	<i>Vi känner att vi fått allt vi var ute efter. Som sagt vi ville ha dig mycket för GDPR och det juridiska och där känner jag att vi tryckte på det vi tagit del av i tidigare litteratur. Så stort tack för att du tog tog dig tid och pratade med oss.</i>	

Appendix 7 – Transcript Jesper Enbom

Row	Person	Transcript	Theme
1	Researcher 1	<i>Så, vad är ditt namn? En lätt fråga i början.</i>	
2	J.E.	Jesper Enbom, och jag är universitetslektor inriktning strategisk kommunikation vid Umeå Universitet.	
3	Researcher 1	<i>Okej. Eh, och är det någon typ av forskning du har utfört tidigare och om, de, om du är aktiv i någon typ av forskning just nu?</i>	
4	J.E.	Ja, jag är aktiv i ett projekt som heter iAccept.	
5	Researcher 1	<i>Okej.</i>	
6	J.E.	litet i, stort A.	
7	Researcher 1	<i>Ja</i>	
8	J.E.	Och det här projektet är, eh, finansierat av MAW, som är Marcus och Amalia Wallenberg, eh, stiftelsen och det vi tittar på i den här forskargruppen är just då hur, eh, just den här frågan om hur insamling av data sker kring oss människor i, i daglig dags så att säga, och att, också hur, vi är intresserade av, lite grann, hur resonerar de som samlar in datan? Hur resonerar allmänheten kring att få sina data insamlade, och vi tittar också på dem som gör motstånd mot det här på olika sätt - försöker dölja sig, och min del i det här projektet är väldigt mycket inriktat på PMT, alltså political microtargeting.	
9	Researcher 1	<i>Okej!</i>	
10	J.E.	Även om jag då är involverad i de andra delarna också, vi gör enkäter och sånt men.. eh, om hur folk resonerar kring att dela med sig av sina data och så, men, men mitt huvudsakliga intresse i projektet är PMT.	
11	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
12	J.E.	Och det kommer sig av en, en föreläsning som, eller egentligen ett seminarium som jag var på i "Humlan" här på Umeå Universitet 20.. ouch, ja det är nästan 2011-2012 någonting. Daniel Kreiss var här då..	
13	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, ja!</i>	
14	J.E.	..som är, har skrivit rätt mycket om det här ämnet i en nordamerikansk kontext. Eh, och jag blev då fascinerad av det och sen några år senare, eh, 2015, så var jag på, eh, och undervisade på Ohio state university i Columbus, Ohio.	
15	Researcher 1	<i>Mhm...</i>	

16	J.E.	Och det här var just i, man kan säga, upptakten inför primärvalen.	
	Researcher 1	<i>Juste</i>	
17	J.E.	Den, den rundan. Och då fascinerades jag över, eh, jag och min partner vi kom i.. i kontakt med Bernie Sanderskampanjen och.. och dom som.. aktivister och dem som jobbade inom kampanjen, ehm, och då såg vi just hur de arbetade så konsekvent, det här var ju ändå en gräsrotskampanj men den var också ganska.. väldigt välutvecklad på frågan hur data, alltså att samla in data om.. om väljare också vilka dörrar ska knackas och så vidare.	PA, DG,
18	Researcher 1	<i>Precis</i>	
19	J.E.	Vilket ju, vilket då fascinerande, eh, mig och så det var ytterligare en sån del som jag tog mig hem och.. det blev.. de erfarenheter bidrog då till att jag skrev den delen om vårans forskningsansökan som handlar om mer om den politiska, eh, man kan kalla det för politisk övervakning med samtycke.	
20	Researcher 1	<i>Precis. Häftigt, häftigt, och då, det ligger ju verkligen i linje med det här, eh, men jag tänkte som en följdfråga på det - var det, när du säger samla in data, tänker ni på tredjepartsföretag eller tänker ni de stora jättarna så som Google och Facebook?</i>	
21	J.E.	Alltså, eh, när vi.. när vi tittar på det här i en svensk kontext så.. det som är då, det är, det är att vi försöker få en helhetsbild av hur partierna, då, vad ska man kalla det? förfinar, för det här handlar om att förfina sitt budskap och..	PA
22	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
23	J.E.	Och.. eh, finna specifika målgrupper.. och, och det jag har varit intresserad av det har varit.. jag har genomfört ett antal intervjuer, jag och en kollega i projektet har då intervjuat ett antal personer som arbetar med det här, eh, och det som.. det vi har försökt vara intresserade av det är dels.. kanske inte i huvudsak alltid, eh, hur de gör det i detalj. Det är ju ändå på ett, på ett, vi försöker få en helhetsbild över hur de samlar in men också hur de resonerar kring det här.. hur de på olika sätt legitimerar, eh, varför görs det här? Och också är vårt intresse vad är det som.. vad är det som skapar det här? Vad finns det för faktorer bakom som.. som ni nämner inledningsvis i frågan, ja det kan ju vara en fråga om lagstiftning, GDPR till exempel som begränsar möjligheten att göra det här, men också då politisk kultur i Sverige, eh, intern partikultur.	DG, LA, PA
24	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
25	J.E.	Vi kan tänka oss sånt som resursfrågan givetvis. Vi har också hur det politiska systemet är uppbyggt.. det här är ju, PMT är ju ännu mer effektivt i länder där man har majoritetsval med kretsar och så vidare. Eh, så att här.. så att det här har vi då försökt, försöker belysa samtliga av de här delarna utifrån de här intervjuerna..	PA,

26	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
27	J.E.	..Eh, och det finns, alltså hur görs det här? Vad är det som “condition”, vad är det som.. som villkorar det här arbetet?	
28	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, precis. Superhäftigt.</i>	
29	J.E.	Men också hur det legitimeras. Varför görs det?	
30	Researcher 1	<i>Häftigt, och vi känner ju att det är rätt person vi intervjuar i det här fallet. eh, för det är väl det ungefär dem delar vi kommer beröra här också idag tänker jag. Men jag tänker vi börjar och just diskutera microtargeting, eh, vi vet att du är familjär med uttrycket, eh, och vi fick höra nu i vilken kontext du hörde om det men hur skulle du beskriva fenomenet microtargeting med dina egna.. egna ord?</i>	
31	J.E.	Ja.. eh, vad, vad microtargeting handlar om är att egentligen, eh, alltså förbättra det arbetssätt, eller förfina, det vill säga, det arbete som handlar om att urskilja specifika målgrupper, eh, att då i så stor utsträckning som möjligt kunna urskilja då såna där som rör sig i olika kontexter, som kan vara intresserade av viss specifik form av.. alltså vissa specifika budskap.	MT
32	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
33	J.E.	Eh, och så att, att, det handlar ju då om att kanske se gruppen, amen här, en sak kan vara ja men, den enklaste är kanske, eh, gruppen äldre män kontra unga kvinnor. Men att kunna specificera det här ytterligare, eh, när det handlar om också intressen, och, eh.. Nu finns det en hel del direktioner om Cambridge Analytica och hur framgångsrika de var med det här med psykografi och det här men, men värderingsmässiga grunder åtminstone och.. så att det, det är väl ett sätt att försöka beskriva vad microtargeting är och det här är ju inte unikt för polit.. för politiken utan det här är ju någonting som ursprungligen var ännu starkare inom vad det gäller.. vanlig då varuhandel och försäljning. Vi har ju det, eh, då, just detta med hur företagen ser till att vi går med i deras klubbar och..	MT
34	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
35	J.E.	Och så vidare, för att kunna se.. eh, ja, matvaror och sådana saker vi får rekommenderat, såhär ja, rabatter på vissa varor som man köper ofta eller att man försöker få en att köpa varor som ligger i närheten av det som man köper. Så att, att, det är ju.. Microtargeting handlar ju om att ta reda på så mycket som möjligt om de relevanta målgrupperna för en organisation.	MT
36	Researcher 1	<i>Mm... Precis, precis.</i>	
37	J.E.	Och försöka använda det sen i.. när man ska försöka nå ut till folk.	MT
38	Researcher 1	<i>Tror du.. Finns det några skillnader mellan den vanliga typen av microtargeting och politisk microtargeting eller tror du att det i</i>	

		<i>grund och botten fungerar på samma sätt - eller finns det någon konkret skillnad där?</i>	
39	J.E.	Alltså det finns några skillnader.. åtminstone i en Svensk kontext så är ju.. är det ju känsligt.. det är mer känsligt med politik, vi har ju också GDPR, den är ju politik mellan de områden som är av av.. det är ju.. Om jag köper mycket kexchoklad så kan det ju för sig vara att.. jag vill inte att hela världen ska känna till det men, men det är inte, inte lika känsligt som om folk tar reda på vilket parti jag röstar på så.. så att jag skulle nog säga att det, det är en viktig aspekt.	LA
40	Researcher 1	<i>Ja...</i>	
41	J.E.	Eh, så det är väl det första jag tänker på den, men annars så, så kan man väl då också säga att det här.. för företag är det ju enklare egentligen att få in den här informationen. Framförallt med den här utveckling vi har vad det gäller att, att man är medlem i klubbar, men.. men också att om vi tar sånt som, eh, netflix och så vidare, så.. och spotify, då ser ju.. dem kan ju så att säga.. dem tar ju reda på var och en..	
42	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
43	J.E.	Var och en av oss, vad vi tittar på, när vi slutade att titta på det. Jag, eh, jag hade en, ett besök från storytel på seminarium och pratade om dem och dem vet ju precis när olika.. när, alltså olika grupper, eh, slutar läsa en viss bok.	
44	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
45	J.E.	Och dem, dem har ju egentligen, kan ju egentligen skriva den ultimata boken utifrån om man bara tittar på de strukturer.. vad är det som, när intresset, vad är det folk intresserar sig för.. vilka i en bokserie, vilka böcker människor läser, när är det någon tappar intresset och så vidare..	
46	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
47	J.E.	Så att, eh, politiska partier har inte riktigt den möjligheten.	PA
48	Researcher 1	<i>Nä...</i>	
49	J.E.	Eftersom de kan ju inte.. För politiska partier handlar det mer om att människor, eh.. Ja men ska man ta kontakt med dem eller då att, att de likear någonting man gör men vi kanske kommer in mer på det, de olika delarna som är och finns i..	PA
50	Researcher 1	<i>Absolut</i>	
51	J.E.	Den möjlighet som finns för politiska partier att ringa in sina målgrupper.	
52	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	

53	J.E.	Men, men jag skulle nog säga att den främsta skillnaden är den här känslig.. det är mer känslig information gällande politik.	MT
54	Researcher 1	<i>Jätteintressant. Nä men som du säger, vi kommer att diskutera lite datainsamling och även den juridiska aspekten lite senare, eh, så att, som nästa fråga undrar jag om. Diskussionen kring microtargeting i litteraturen är att dem vänder och vrider på det och presenterar lite båda sidor, eh, så ser du några generella positiva aspekter med att använda en teknologi av denna arten?</i>	
55	J.E.	Eh, ja.. Alltså det gör jag. Alltså vi kan ju tänka oss den här, att det här bidrar till en.. hmm.. en rev.. revitaliserad demokrati.	MTB
56	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
57	J.E.	Eh, just i den mening att, att de. Genom microtargeting finns nog, blir partierna nog bättre på att fånga upp människor som skulle kunna vara intresserade och, och.. Alltså att folket börjar aktivt jobba.. för en del av microtargeting och när man tittar i synnerhet i en nordamerikansk kontext, det är ju att, att identifiera personer utifrån vad de är beredda att göra för kampanjen.	MTB, PA
58	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
59	J.E.	Så det handlar inte bara om då att se till att de går ut och röstar utan liksom en varierande skala där att, från att, eh, men att man kan säga ja okej här har vi dem som vi vill bara få ut och rösta, sen är det några som också kanske kan nå som kanske är beredda att göra någonting, till exempel skjutsa folk på valdagen..	PA, MTB
60	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
61	J.E.	Alltså lite.. inom verksamheten.. De.. nästa steg är kanske de människor som är beredda att skänka pengar för det.. de Amerikanska systemet bygger väldigt mycket på donationer.	MTB, PA
62	Researcher 1	<i>Absolut</i>	
63	J.E.	Eh.. Vilket är en sak som skiljer sig från det svenska, för vi har anorlunda med partistöd och så vidare men.. och att vi inte är lika kampanjbaserade med personer.. Eh, men sen så i USA så handlar det ju, nästa steg också så handlar det om att få folk och vara aktiva att själva knacka dörr, sitta i phonebanking och så vidare. Eh, så att.. Hela den.. Det kan ju då leda till att man kanske, så att säga, hittar de personer som är beredda att.. att gå in aktivt och jobba politiskt då, och försöka identifiera vad.. vad olika personer är beredda att göra.	PA, MTB
64	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
65	J.E.	Så.. så det kan ju då bidra till en.. en ökad politisk aktivism och också kan det.. eh, också vara en förklaring till att vi har sett starka gräsrotsrörelser växa fram.	PA
66	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	

67	J.E.	Om vi ser då i USA till exempel då i Sandersrörelsen.	
68	Researcher 1	<i>Mm. Och just som en följdfråga på det, skulle du se microtargeting som en någorlunda effektiv och billig teknologi som gör att alla kan använda det eller är det så att det fortfarande är begränsat till någon typ av elit i politiken?</i>	
69	J.E.	Alltså det, eh, man kan väl säga såhär, microtargeting kan ju bestå av så många olika delar och vissa delar, eh, då, vad det gäller då att.. att till exempel, eh, det som kan handla att, att ha samarbete med de stora nätjättarna, Facebook till exempel, då, där är ju en resursfråga mer. Sen finns det ju också dem aspekterna som mer handlar om att, på excelark samla in..	MT
70	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
71	J.E.	Nu är ju det här känsligt, jag har sett det här i en amerikansk kontext och kan, de kan sitta och, de har ju, de har ju väldigt välutvecklade appar de kan ju gå in och kolla på, om ni tar de appar där man kan gå in och se specifika, exempelvis en viss lägenhet, vem är det som bor där och så ser var.. och samla information om den personen och skicka in till vote builder, deras databas. Eh, men det här går ju att göra på ett mera fattigmansvis också med några.. samla in excelfiler..	MTB, DG
72	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
73	J.E.	Och se vad.. vilka gatuadresser bor det folk som är beredda att stödja den egna kampanjen och.. Så att, man, man kan säga att det finns olika verktyg i microtargeting. Vissa är mer resurs, mer ekonomiskt resurskrävande. Andra är ju mera personellt resurskrävande och då har ju en gräsrotsrörelse mer möjlighet..	DG, MT
74	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
75	J.E.	..Att få ut folk som knack.. Ringer, knackar dörr, eh så att.. och det.. så att ja, både och skulle jag säga.	
76	Researcher 1	<i>Yes. Och nu har vi berört positiva aspekterna men ser du några problem med användandet av microtargeting generellt?</i>	
77	J.E.	Alltså problemet ligger ju, eh, alltså dels så finns det ju en risk att, att microtargeting leder till att partierna delar upp sina budskap väldigt mycket. Så att, så att det blir en form av rätt budskap till rätt personer och att.. att det blir den här att man inte talar till, till den hela allmänheten så att det blir väldigt uppstyckat, eh och att det här nästan kan gå stick i stäv med olika budskap. Det är väl en sak, en sak är ju då också att risken att det här.. att en välutvecklad microtargeting gör att vi har, att det är i princip nästan åsiktsregister. Vi kan ju se det i USA i och med att människor där är ju då registrerade som väljare. Alltså det här skiljer sig lite grann i olika delstater, men, men det finns dem, dem registrerar ju sig som Demokrater eller Republikaner eller Independent så att det.. Eh, och	MTI, PA, MTB

		<p>så att det finns ju den, det dilemma också. Eh, och sen är ju då ja men att en sån sak som att, som då, det är väl kanske de stora.. Också kanske att partierna anpassar sig för mycket.. Det här är ju som så både positivt att man på något sätt att man, man lyssnar till människor och anpassar.. Ett dilemma politiska partier i Sverige det är ju att dem har gått från att vara verkligen en massrörelse. Det här gäller ju i synnerhet de här folkrörelsebaserade partierna, socialdemokraterna, centerpartiet. Dem har ju gått från att vara det till att tappa väldigt mycket av sin medlemsbas och, ja, och det som tidigare var en förankring genom den här breda medlemsbasen har då försvagats kraftigt de senaste decennierna. Då kan vi ju se det här, om vi tar en.. om vi går tillbaka till den positiva sidan, kan ju då vara det här leder till att man, att man tar pulsen på människors vardag, deras liv och vad de tycker och tänker om det.</p>	
78	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
79	J.E.	<p>Nackdelen kan ju då vara att det blir väldigt mycket av, av en, amen anpassning. Att man inte, att man tappar den helhetsbilden för att anpassa sig till specifika målgrupper som behöver vinnas till.. ja, till exempel, och i det här valet behöver vi vinna, eh, småbarnsföräldrar.</p>	MTI
80	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
81	J.E.	<p>Då blir det.. Då blir det politiska budskapet riktade just mot dem, utspel riktade just mot dem, eh, att det, så att, det styckas upp att, att politiken på något sätt tappar sin helhet.. sin helhetsbild.</p>	MTI
82	Researcher 1	<i>Så att kan man tänka sig att det kan leda till att.. att människor ser ett parti som ett enfrågeparti när dem egentligen har en hel drös av frågor som de vill beröra, bara att man inte får ta del av det egentligen?</i>	
83	J.E.	<p>Ja.. ja men precis, och ännu mer problematiskt det är ju om olika partier uppfattar partiet väldigt olika.</p>	MTI
84	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, precis.</i>	
85	J.E.	<p>Eh, alltså att, att dem har fått olika budskap och det, eh, och den, den stora [inaudible] som uppmärksammades med cambridge analytica, det var ju dessutom att det gick ut budskap till vissa grupper som inte kunde ses annat än, av dem grupperna. Alltså att till exempel då, i det här fallet var det ju då, eh, Trumpkampanjen skickade ut ett visst budskap riktade mot afroamerikaner som syftade till att få dem att inte gå och rösta, eh, och det här budskapen kunde ju då, inte riktigt bemötas. Hade det här varit, hade det här sänts som en, en, som en traditionellt i USA som en TV-reklam, då hade ju Demokraterna kunnat gå ut och bemöta det här och angripa.</p>	MTI, MT
86	Researcher 1	<i>Juste, juste.</i>	

87	J.E.	Eh, men i det här fallet så, det är ju, kallas, det är ju dark-ads. Alltså att de får, de når inte ut till.. och så att det är ju, så att man, det ena är ju då styrkan att det kan mobilisera, det här med microtargeting men det kan ju också demobilisera..	MTB, MTI
88	Researcher 1	<i>Sant</i>	
89	J.E.	.. Som då kan ha varit fallet i USA så att här, här ser vi då bägge.. Både starka och svaga.	
90	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, precis. Det är en konstant konflikt, det märker man ju. Eh, hur ser du på, på integriteten hos personer och microtargeting? Finns det en konflikt där?</i>	
91	J.E.	Det gör det ju, eh, det gör det ju definitivt. Alltså även om vi ser i Sverige så har det varit noggrant med att du ska inte registreras på individnivå..	DDP
92	Researcher 1	<i>Nä</i>	
93	J.E.	.. Så att säga. Men, men någonstans så, heh, kan man väl säga att blir.. blir politisk microtargeting så pass effektiv som det, alltså att man nästan kan förutsäga människors ståndpunkter blir, det blir ju definitivt att om vi tar, eh, om vi tar då, amen Facebook och sånt och riktad reklam så att, den är ju riktad utifrån vad.. vad du har likeat, vilka vänner du har och så vidare och då kan man säga att det finns någon form av integritetsaspekt där.	DDP, MT
94	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
95	J.E.	Och det, det är ju samma sak som man kan känna ibland när man.. Jag sökte på vandringskängor här, och så dyker det givetvis upp reklam för vandringskängor.	
96	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, Yes.</i>	
97	J.E.	.. Den här känslan av att storebror ser dig.	MTI
98	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
99	J.E.	Eh, det, det alltså det fanns ju en omdiskuterad händelse här då, eh, inför senaste valet och det var ju att, att dem som hade besökt centerns och liberalernas hemsidor, eller det var Facebooksidor egentligen, dem fick riktade annonser från socialdemokraterna.	PA
100	Researcher 1	<i>Okej..</i>	
101	J.E.	Som, som då ställde frågan hur kommer, går det att lita på att centern och liberalerna inte sätts i en regering stödd av SD Alltså så, dem hade alltså sett till, alltså att den typen av, av då riktade annonser som plötsligt då dyker upp för att du har besökt en viss sida och så kan ju kännas lite sådär.. ja, storebror ser dig.	DDP
102	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, det är jätteintressant det här. Eh, igen ska vi se vad.. tappade bort mig lite grann här.. eh, jo, där har vi det! Eh, du skriver i det</i>	

		<i>här.. i din text där i "Snabbtänkt", eh, att fler bedömer och ifrågasätter hur effektivt cambridge analytica var i Trumpvalet. Hur effektivt i dina ord, tycker du att microtargeting är på att, att ändra individens åsikter eller få dem att rösta på ett specifikt sätt?</i>	
103	J.E.	Alltså, man ska ju komma ihåg, att, att det är en sak som är svårt vad det gäller politisk kommunikation och det är att att ändra människors åsikter.	
104	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
105	J.E.	Eh, men även i Sverige finns det en mobiliseringsfaktor så att det, eh, det, det som väl kan sägas då är.. i Sverige, nu är det ju, det har ju förändrats lite grann men under en längre period var det inte så mycket rörelse mellan blocken.	PA
106	Researcher 1	<i>Nä.</i>	
107	J.E.	Utan, snarare inom blocket va. Att i synnerhet om man tittar på det borgerliga blocket att, eh, gjorde KD för sig ett bra val så skedde det på bekostnad av centern och folkpartiet och moderaterna. Eh, så man kan ju diskutera den kontexten, hur framgångsrikt det är men man kan ju definitivt tänka sig att partierna kan spara pengar genom att rikta in budskapen på vissa, eh, alltså vissa specifika grupper och det här, det har jag i intervjuerna när jag gjort dem att, att man går från en situation där man skickar ut samma budskap till alla till exempel i en kommun, till att, mer såhär - nämen vi riktar in oss på en tredjedel av kommunmedborgarna. Alltså dem som är.. som är stor.. i störst utsträckning kan tänka sig att rösta på oss, och sen så ser vi till att, att försöka nå dem vid tre tillfällen istället.	PA, MTB
108	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
109	J.E.	Alltså att det, det.. Microtargeting kan ju handla om att, att också se vad är det egentligen som är, som verkligen alltså påverkar väljarna i den utsträckning vi påverk.. så att.. när det gäller det här, eh, det går liksom inte riktigt att svara på exakt hur.. jag, jag skulle nog säga, om jag skulle uttrycka det såhär skulle jag nog säga att microtargeting har en betydelse, eh, sen är det inte lika, då, betydelse, eller effektivt som man kanske har intrycket av i samband med Cambridge Analytic.	MT, MTI, MTB
110	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
111	J.E.	Det blev lite över.. eh, överbetoning på hur effektivt det är, men det är definitivt så att det, att det går, att, på något sätt se till att få, att förändra röstbeteende men ofta kanske i mindre skala. Jag menar, senaste valet, ja men då kanske det var några på slutet som socialdemokraterna lyckas, alltså väljare som socialdemokraterna kan hämta hem från vänsterpartiet som tidigare kanske hade röstat på socialdemokraterna men nu var på väg.. alltså såna där, lite grann på den, alltså att det var på marginalen.	

112	Researcher 1	<i>Jag förstår.</i>	
113	J.E.	Eh, men det, vi kan nog definitivt tänka oss att det har betydelse och det, framförallt kan man ställa sig frågan hur det påverkar partiernas samarbete.	MT
114	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
115	J.E.	Som jag är inne på just detta med att det påverkar partierna mot det att, att i mindre utsträckning gå ut brett för dem ser att.. därför kan man säga att.. jag skulle nog vilja säga att microtargeting i en kontext av någonting som är.. skulle vilja, i brist på bättre ord så skulle jag vilja kalla det för vetenskapliggörandet av politiken.	MT
116	Researcher 1	<i>Okej..</i>	
117	J.E.	Eh, och det handlar om att, att i allt större utsträckning, på något sätt, gå vetenskapligt tillväga när, när du undersöker vilket budskap fungerar, alltså att man, det här är ju återigen USA som har varit, det väldigt framträdande under en väldigt lång period, man kan säga.. Ja, under hundra år kanske, nä men sånt som A/B-testning till exempel.	MT, PA
118	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
119	J.E.	Du har ett budskap och så testar du detta på några olika grupper, eh, bägge budskapen, och så ser du vilket som verkade gå bäst hem hos publiken.	
120	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
121	J.E.	Och så väljer du att gå ut med, låt oss säga, budskap B. Så det, det är ett liknande budskap men formulerad på ett lite annorlunda vis och det är ju en sån sak som, som också, man kan säga som ett lite större tält som microtargeting är en del av.	MT
122	Researcher 1	<i>Och är det.. det är intressant det du säger där men är det också lite fördelen med microtargeting att du kan få den här direkta responsen på de här meddelandena? Eh, och se vad som funkar och inte funkar då?</i>	
123	J.E.	Ja, och, och att du redan tagit fram de meddelandena som du tror kommer funka och med microtargeting så får du också en bättre, eh, träffsäkerhet.	BMT
124	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
125	J.E.	På det här meddelandet. Så det.. och du kan också, som du är inne på, så kan ju också, eh, så används ju.. så använder man ju olika sätt, försök att få en återkoppling, att se.. att folk klickar på en länk till exempel, det är.. en sak som är.. Om vi tar återigen den här Amerikanska kontexten. En sak dem jobbar stenhårt med det är hur dem.. hur ska dem, eh, formulera, eh, e-postbrev, alltså sånt som uppmanar till donationer.	MT, PA

126	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
127	J.E.	Och då kan dem ju se då direkt också, hur många klickar och donerade här, och hur mycket donerade dem.	
128	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
129	J.E.	Också.. så att de kan ju se precis vilka som är effektiva och..	
130	Researcher 1	<i>Juste..</i>	
131	J.E.	Eh, så att jag, jag har ju prenumererat på lite såna nu även den här valrörelsen så jag kan se hur dem gör. Det är ju en del av, återigen en, en del av detta. Eh, jag tycker man behöver se microtargeting ur ett bredare perspektiv..	MT
132	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
133	J.E.	Att det handlar också om att, att nå dem som är sympatisörer.. eh, medlemmar kanske, partimedlemmar kanske, i en svensk kontext och så vidare. Så att, att det.. Jag tror att man ska se det i det perspektivet att det också kan handla om en form av vetenskapliggörande av politiken.. Eh, Issenbergs "The victory lab" är en intressant bok i sammanhanget.	MT
134	Researcher 1	<i>Alright.</i>	
135	J.E.	Som jag har vet.. Den vet jag att många läser som har, som är aktiva inom den, den här.. amen som jobbar med de här frågorna med politiska partierna.	
136	Researcher 1	<i>Superintressant vi skriver upp det så får vi kika på det och så får vi se om vi hittar någonting intressant i den.</i>	
137	J.E.	Ja precis, den är ett försök att göra en helhetsbild av den här vågen som liksom har kommit i USA, mot mer och mer vetenskapliggörande..	PA
138	Researcher 1	<i>Alright, perfekt! Men då ska vi absolut kika på den. Eh, jag vill fånga upp lite med det du sa tidigare om att vissa kommuner hör av sig till en tredjedel av.. av befolkningen eller liknande, kan man tänka sig att det finns ett problem med att exkludera människor med.. i.. när man använder microtargeting? Eller är det ett problem som redan finns i samhället?</i>	
139	J.E.	Ja precis, och det är skill.. det är de politiska partierna i en kommun som gör det här då, alltså att dem, det dem gör är att de, ja att det finns ju.. och det är ju den där demokratifrågan att..	
140	Researcher 1	<i>Ja..</i>	

141	J.E.	Eh, som knyter ann inom vårt forskningsfält är det ju många som understryker att, att det finns en överdriven.. eh, överdriven rädsla för filterbubblor och så vidare..	MT
142	Researcher 1	<i>Juste..</i>	
143	J.E.	Att det är inte ett så stort problem. Eh, så jag vill understryka det. Men i det här.. I det här.. men om vi har den här typen av utveckling att, att politiska partierna, eh, i allt större utsträckning bara riktar in sig på dem där de känner att dem här kan vi nå, så blir, så blir det ju lite grann en uppstyckning, man får olika budskap beroende på..	FP
144	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
145	J.E.	Eh.. och då olika typer av, då, variabler som har, eh.. har styrt det här urvalet på partiernas då microtargeting eller över huvud taget deras valda målgrupper så, och det, det kan ju diskuteras att.. att vi, att det här drar mot en utveckling där vi, där människor då läser en viss sak, man läser vissa tidningar och..	DDP
146	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
147	J.E.	Nu kan man ju säga att det här fanns ju även tidigare, vi hade ju under en stor del av 1900-talet så hade vi ju den här uppdelningen mellan eh, A-press alltså arbetarrörelsens tidningar och borgerliga tidningar i många kommuner, där åtminstone under första halvan av 1900-talet så var det ju en rätt stor skillnad mellan då hur saker och ting beskrevs. Det här kommer ju mer och mer bli.. Suddas ut den här skillnaden på nyhetsplats.	DDP
148	Researcher 1	<i>Mm...</i>	
149	J.E.	Eh, under den här, men så att det är inte helt nytt men man kan ju säga att det här är, det är åtminstone ett steg i den riktningen att, att rikta in budskapen. Eh, ja men bara en grupp och utelägna andra grupper.	MT
150	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Jätteintressant, eh, vi anser ju att, att datainsamlingen är ju den väsentliga delen i, för att, för att få Microtarg.. Microtargeting och funka. Är det, eh, hur ser du på det påståendet? Håller du med om det eller?</i>	
151	J.E.	Det.. Ja men det, det är klart att det handlar om att veta så mycket som möjligt..	DG
152	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
153	J.E.	Om.. om de relevanta målgrupperna.. eh, alltså vad, både vad deras ståndpunkter, var dem.. vilka frågor som är viktiga för dem men också hur når vi dem bäst så att säga?	DG
154	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	

155	J.E.	Var finns dem? Eh, och så att den.. det här är ju, det är ju, datainsamlingen är ju central i det, så är det.	DG
156	Researcher 1	Mm.. Och vilka.. Har du någon insikt i vilka typer av.. hur det sker praktiskt? Är det främst sociala medier där det används eller finns det andra sätt att få tag i om, om potentiella väljare?	
157	J.E.	Ja, det finns.. heh, den främsta grejen är.. en klassiker som partierna haft en längre tid..	
158	Researcher 1	Ja?	
159	J.E.	Eh.. som dom.. annars kanske det har varit så att de har börjat kika mer på det och det är ju, eh, det är ju det val.. alltså vallokalsresultaten.	DG
160	Researcher 1	Mm..	
161	J.E.	Det har ju då.. i Sverige uppdelat på.. eh, alltså valkretsar, valdistrikt och utifrån.. och då titta på en specifik vallokal, jag kikar lite grann på till exempel i Umeå där jag bor och.. Alltså här, det här är ju en, alltså en lite stö.. inte, mellanstor eller jag vet inte riktigt hur dem räknar in det här nu, eh, sveriges kommuner och regioner men det räknas ju som en större medelstor stad.	
162	Researcher 1	Mm..	
163	J.E.	Och här är ju valkretsarna på en.. ligger någonstans mellan.. ja, 1000-1400..	
164	Researcher 1	Mm..	
165	J.E.	..Personer. Och då är det ju nere på ganska.. Många mindre städer så har dem ju ännu mindre. Alltså är ju människor mer utspridda som bor i färre, i varje..	
166	Researcher 1	Precis..	
167	J.E.	Som är.. som röstar i varje vallokal, så att.. Jag tittade även på Gotland eftersom jag själv bodde där, och där, där så är det ju väldigt, ännu mindre så att säga.	
168	Researcher 1	Mm..	
169	J.E.	Då kan du ju se, "okej vilka.. vart är vi starka"?	DG, PA
170	Researcher 1	Mm..	
171	J.E.	Och.. och sen kombineras det här med olika typer av kännedom om de här områdena till exempel Ja men här, här.. det kan ju vara så att den här vallokalen röstar folk både från det här området med lyxiga villor och det här höghusen, hyreshusen.	DG
172	Researcher 1	Mm..	

173	J.E.	Och då, då kan det ju göras en bedömning, okej, eh, var, var kan vi tänka oss att vi har väljarna här och vilka frågor är viktiga för dem här. Så att det här, det är, alltså sådant som redan har funnits tillgängligt. Eh, och som delvis också använts tidigare. Vi kan då tänka oss att partierna, åtminstone på en lokal nivå, även tidigare har jobbat med någon form av magkänsla intuitivt. det som händer med microtargeting det är att den här magkänslan blir, ja men ska vi säga "vetenskapliggöras" och bli.. och så att det kan man väl se på andra områden också, liknande utveckling, att det här.. så att en av de viktigaste.. det är klart att finns detta med sociala medier.	DG, PA, MT
174	Researcher 1	Mm..	
175	J.E.	Då, eh, som då. Ja, det är ju.. det är ju faktiskt intressant att, att komma ihåg att det är sånt här, sånt som har varit tillgängligt tidigare från valmyndigheterna.	DG
176	Researcher 1	Mm.. så man har liksom bara flyttat det till ett digitalt medium istället egentligen?	
177	J.E.	Ja.. eller rättare sagt, att microtargeting innebär ju också att de, att man bestämmer att det är ju rätt så, heh, analogt fortfarande. Man tar in de här, eh, de kollar på de här - okej så här röstar folk, vad kan vi ta.. vad vet vi mer om det här området, och sen kanske det här skraddarsys budskap det är ju också en fråga om hur partierna ser på det här alltså att.. att nästan det här vetenskapliggörandet som jag var inne på. Att partierna börjar tänka, hur ska vi formulera.. vi skriver inte ett och samma budskap då till alla utan här har vi tydligt, att här har vi ett område där vi är starka, här bor det hyresgäster, amen då kanske vi ska.. här kanske vi ska betona att vi vill att det kommunala bostadsbolaget ska, ska rusta upp området..	MT, DG, PA
178	Researcher 1	Mm..	
179	J.E.	Förbättra belysningen här eller vad det kan vara...	
180	Researcher 1	Precis.	
181	J.E.	Så att, att det blir.. och här ser man ju både, kan man säga, fördelar och dilemman. Fördelen är att det blir politik som kommer närmare människorna.	MTB
182	Researcher 1	Mm, precis.	
183	J.E.	Men det.. men samtidigt finns det också risken att det blir väldigt utspritt med budskap.	MTI
184	Researcher 1	Mm, jätteintressant. Eh, och jag tänker..	
185	J.E.	Så det är väl den första grejen jag skulle säga, men sen har vi ju också hur de olika sätt som arbetas med sociala medier och med sök.. man kan ju diskutera sökmotoroptimering, är det en del av microtargeting? Det vet jag att vissa partier har jobbat oerhört hårt	DG, PA

		med. Socialdemokraterna, eh, jobbade så hårt med det att dem.. ett tag så låg, när man söker på moderaterna, så var första posten inte moderaterna utan socialdemokraterna.	
186	Researcher 1	<i>Va, jasanya?</i>	
187	J.E.	Det.. och det blev ju lite liv om det där.. kan ju gå tillbaka och kolla för att de fick ju gå ut och försvara sig då också för att, socialdemokraterna i, eh, det här var inför, inte senaste valet, det var för valet 2014 så..	
188	Researcher 1	<i>Okej.</i>	
189	J.E.	Så det, det..	
190	Researcher 1	<i>Det hade jag missat faktiskt.</i>	
191	J.E.	Ansågs det att dem.. Aktuellt hade ett reportage där de intervjuerna en.. eller det var en debatt då mellan en företrädare för moderaterna och en för socialdemokraterna om just det här. Det var ett fulspel så att säga men det handlar ju då om sökmotoroptimering.	
192	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, det hade jag.. Jag hade helt missat det iallafall, och det är ju jätteintressant. Jag tänkte just ur en svensk kontext så har vi ju.. eh.. nu tappade jag ordet för det.. eh.. det vi snackade om igår med.. offentliga uppgifter eller att generella personuppgifter är offentliga här i Sverige och liknande.</i>	
193	J.E.	Ja offentlighetsprincipen.	
194	Researcher 1	<i>Offentlighetsprincipen, tack! Eh, kan det komma att användas i såna här sammanhang, tro?</i>	
195	J.E.	Ja alltså.. man kan väl då säga att.. det som är, eh, det som är ju, det som är offentligt, ja men det är dels då de här siffrorna från det här, eh, hur de röstar i olika vallokaler och sånt till exempel, alltså att, att, man kan.. över huvud taget så samlar vi in en mängd information om medborgarna, eh, SCB och så vidare.. och det är klart att sånt kan komma att användas, eh, och det är ju också så att partierna får tillgång till den här väljarfilen.	DG
196	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
197	J.E.	För varje val så får de ju uppgifter om alla som är röstberättigade för att de ska kunna bedriva kampanjer.	
198	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
199	J.E.	Och det är ju en.. det är ju en viktig grund så att säga, det.. det, för där ser du ju ålder och så vidare på, på väljare, och adresser och så vidare.. så att, att det lite grann då, vad är det som är grunden för microtargeting? Väldigt mycket är ju offentliga uppgifter, och det är samma sak i USA, det finns en, en forskare som, tappade namnet på honom, men.. vad han tittar på är olika delstater har med de här offentliga uppgifterna, han menar ju att det finns en tendens	MT, LA

		till att styrande i en viss delstat, dem bestämmer vilka uppgifter som ska samlas in om medborgarna, alltså av myndigheterna, för att, med baktanken att det kan vara användbart i, i.. då, amen kampanjer, valkampanjer och sådär.	
200	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
201	J.E.	Så att, nu ska jag inte säga att det ser ut så i Sverige, i Sverige har vi en tradition att myndigheter står på armlängds avstånd från politiken vilket det ju inte alltid är fallet i USA.	DG
202	Researcher 1	<i>Nä, precis.</i>	
203	J.E.	Eh, men så att, men det ju definitivt så att vissa av de här grundläggande uppgifterna, väljarfilen, tidigare valresultat i..	
204	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
205	J.E.	Och så vidare, är en viktig grund för partiernas arbete.	
206	Researcher 1	<i>Mm, förstår det. Jag tänkte att vi skulle hoppa över till de legala aspekterna och främst så är det ju GDPR vi tänker i och med att det är det som är direkt applicerbart i Svenska, eh, aspekten, här helt enkelt. Eh så hur tror du att GDPR kan påverka användandet av microtargeting, om man ställer det i kontrast då till USA till exempel.</i>	
207	J.E.	Ja, ja, precis. det där är ju en, en fråga som jag själv har ställt i intervjuerna, eh, jag får väl då säga som de flesta som jag intervjuade att "Vi tittar på det här just nu", hehe.	
208	Researcher 1	<i>Hehe, okej.</i>	
209	J.E.	Det är, det som är, det här när det kommer ny lagstiftning så här, det är att det är snårigt att veta vad det innebär men om man tittar på det datainspektionen säger så är det ju att, som jag nämnde tidigare att politiska åsikter och i synnerhet anses vara, eh, då en särskilt känslig uppgift.	LA
210	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.</i>	
211	J.E.	Som ska iaktta extra stor försiktighet med.	
212	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, precis.</i>	
213	J.E.	Eh, och det, det är ju också så att det.. Det har ju varit även då tidigare med PUL, personuppgiftslagen har ju faktiskt funnits en del, eh, begränsningar. Och om vi ser en begränsning här så är det ju dels det här med att, man behöver samtycket.	LA
214	Researcher 1	<i>Mm. Precis.</i>	
215	J.E.	Det är ju en sån, liksom, och det här blev så snårigt så att många partier valde ju att plocka ner vissa saker, eh, till exempel så var	DDP

		det ju frågan om det här med Facebookpixel till exempel. Facebookpixeln innebär egentligen att, att om du installerar Facebookpixeln, då skickar du, dem som går in på din sida på Facebook, dem, uppgifterna om dem skickas ju till, in till Facebook så att säga.	
216	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
217	J.E.	Så att du själv kan få använda de här uppgifterna senare. Det är det som är ett.. Själva poängen där med, men då var det ju så att, att, ja men det behövdes så pass mycket varningar om den här Facebookpixeln att det..	DG, LA
218	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
219	J.E.	Man får en känsla av att människor avskräcktes, och i synnerhet kanske då, då med Cambridge Analytica färskt i åtanke. Så att det är väl en sån sak där det har påverkat just den här samtyckesaspekten och att partierna har blivit försiktiga, eh, men redan innan kunde ju då datainspektionen göra "raider" så att säga och titta på vad partierna har sparat, för det ligger ju till så att.. Det här är ju ändå en knepig sak för partierna och det är ju att väldigt många vad det gäller partierna är.. Ja men många kan tänkas bli medlemmar i partier, och sen kanske de inte betalar nästa år. Det kan ju antingen bero på att dem, amen dem kanske bara har glömt det, eller ja. Det är ju ingenting så här, det finns ju ingen direkt konsekvens av det, det är ju inte som en prenumeration där du inte får tidningen så att säga när du slutar, eller netflix, om du slutar betala då..	DDP, LA
220	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
221	J.E.	Då har du plötsligt inte tillgång det, men ett politiskt parti funkar ju inte så eftersom politiska partier ofta vill behålla människor så fortsätter man skicka info och så vidare. Så att, du märker ju egentligen.. alltså du märker ju inte av om du har, av misstag ens, glömt att betala.	PA
222	Researcher 1	<i>Nej, precis.</i>	
223	J.E.	Men, vad man har slagit ner på det är att partierna inte ska få behålla människor i register, eh, och det här blir ju då ett dilemma kan man säga, för partierna känner väl såhär, "ja men okej här kan vara folk som har glömt att betala bara"	DG PA,
234	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
235	J.E.	"Och då ska vi liksom stryka dem och vi får inte kontakta dem", alltså så tenderar det att ligga kvar då, och samma sätt, man får ju egentligen inte ha sympatisörregister för då går det ju i strid med, alltså personer som kanske inte betalar medlemsavgift men som kanske ändå aktiverar sig, de kan till och med vara aktiva i partiets verksamhet men dem betalar ej.. Det här är ju.. och, men där är det ju, där finns det ju en känslighet i vilka uppgifter som får sparas.	DG, PA

236	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
237	J.E.	Och det fanns ju redan med PUL, men med GDPR blir det ju ens, än mer fokus på det. Så att det.. och då är vi ju inne på den här.. eh, dels då den här frågan om sociala medier som vi då pratade om, men också den här frågan som jag menar på är en del av microtargeting, det här med sympatisörer, volontärer, medlemmar alltså de..	LA, MT
238	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
239	J.E.	Eh, den delen och ja, alltså att, dem sakerna definitivt GDPR, för utan att jag är någon juridisk expert kan vi säga att det verkar vara följderna åtminstone för partierna.	LA
240	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, men det är jätteintressant, vi intervjuade faktiskt en jurist igår och eh, hans svar ligger ju i linje med det du säger här också så att, eh, det verkar ju stämma, precis det du säger egentligen, med problematiken. Eh..</i>	
241	J.E.	Och det är alltid svårt att uttala sig om det för att jag har själv svårt att få överblick, även dem, det som också är intressant kanske man ska säga, det är ju att partierna hade svårt att få överblick in i det sista. Det här kom ju 2017..	
242	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
243	J.E.	Eh, och det är ju just då som partierna börjar, i princip, förbereda inför..	
244	Researcher 1	<i>Stämmer, stämmer..</i>	
245	J.E.	..Valrörelser, så att det här, eh, alltså att dem hade ja men det var ett, ett dilemma för partierna, hur det här skulle.. hur det här skulle tolkas. Eh, och dem tog in en hel del juristhjälp i det sammanhanget.	LA
246	Researcher 1	<i>Mm, jag kan tänka mig det. Och jag tycker när vi ändå är inne på, eh, partier här, eh, vi har en fråga angående just politiska system, att vi har ett flerpartisystem här i Sverige. Hur tror du att just den aspekten kan påverka hur användbart microtargeting är? Eh, för vi har väl en tes om att när det är tvåpartisystem så är det lättare kanske och, ja, använda microtargeting för att smutskasta motståndare, men kanske svårare i vårt klimat, hur, hur tycker du?</i>	
247	J.E.	Ja, eh, ja precis, jag tror nog att valsystemet, alltså man kan nog säga att vi har ett flerpartisystem är ju i mångt och mycket en effekt av hur, eh, alltså att vi har proportionella val och så vidare så att man kan säga att i grunden är det valsystemet som är avgörande, att..	PA
248	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
249	J.E.	Att har man då majoritetsvals system som Storbritannien och USA, så tror jag att det har en.. Om mängden politiska partier i sig..	PA, MT

		mängden politiska partier i sig kan ibland göra, tror jag, kan också påverka microtargeting i den meningen att, att det blir en fråga om att, att man kan hitta väldigt specifika målgrupper för ett parti.	
250	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
251	J.E.	Till exempel miljöpartiet och.. Det, det ska jag väl ändå säga att en annan sak, nu har vi inte pratat så mycket om det, men i linje med att det här har förekommit tidigare, en del av microtargeting, som vi inte hann ta upp där, vad det gäller att politiska partier gör, det är ju att göra traditionella mätningar..	PA
252	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Okej.</i>	
253	J.E.	Av, alltså brukar hitta specifika målgrupper, det tror jag är.. till exempel ja men dem här som har den här typen av sympatier och så vidare, och det görs, och det har ju kunnat göras tidigare men jag menar väl på att det här har utvecklats allt mer, och återigen det här stora tältet av vetenskapliggörandet av politiken.	DG
254	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. superintressant.</i>	
255	J.E.	Så att.. och då, som en följd på det där så kan man säga att vi har flera partier, tror jag innebär både.. alltså i grunden är det nog valsystemet som har betydelse men det kan ju innebära att partierna kan nischa in sig väldigt specifikt på..	PA, MTB
256	Researcher 1	<i>Juste.</i>	
257	J.E.	På vissa, vissa grupper av personer. Eh, men kan ju också innebära att partier har mindre resurser..	MT
258	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
259	J.E.	Eh, i USA så har man ju då de två stora "elefanterna", så att säga.. som..	PA
260	Researcher 1	<i>Precis..</i>	
261	J.E.	Som har då större resurser så delvis kanske det är en resursfråga då, men, men i sig så tror jag inte.. att det är framförallt valsystemen kan man säga.	MT, PA
262	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Jätteintressant. Och jag tänker lite som en avslutande fråga så tänker vi just om hur du ser på framtiden, att microtargeting kommer att användas mer eller är det så att vi har sett en hype och att det kommer dala ut, eller hur tror du att det kommer att användas i en framtidskontext eller perspektiv?</i>	
263	J.E.	Hmm.. Ja, jag tror ju att det är lite grann.. alltså mitt forskningsområde, det började egentligen med PR, public relations och hur det har vuxit framåt och sådär..	

264	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
265	J.E.	Både vad det gäller, eh, traditionella medier och sociala medier och jag tittade på fackföreningsrörelsen, hur den, under, jamen från i princip från det att LO skaffade sin första pressekreterare.	
266	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
267	J.E.	Alltså, eller presstalesperson i början av 1930-talet, till det vi har idag. Det, det är lite grann samma fråga som det ska jag säga, kommer PR att öka eller minska, jag tror att när det väl har, när de här teknikerna förfinas så kommer de att finnas där.	FP
268	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
269	J.E.	Det kan ju då komma en lagstiftning som säger att, ni får inte samla någonting och då kommer det givetvis att förändras men i sig så tror jag att, att det inte är en modefluga. Eh, att förfinas budskapen, att skruva på det på något sätt. Det är ju en, ett sätt att använda resurser så effektivt som möjligt.	LA, FP
270	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
271	J.E.	Eh, en del, man, det kan ju komma så här grejer som uppmärksamma, som kring Cambridge Analytica fick kanske partier att vara lite mer försiktiga och så vidare, och det som gjordes också har ju varit det här att det ska publiceras annonser som riktas mot.. att det inte ska förekomma dark-ads utan att partierna ska visa de annonser som de lägger ut. Så att, det är mera kanske att vi kan förvänta oss en högre transparens i hur partierna jobbar, men jag tror inte att partierna kommer att minska sitt arbete med, med att.. att, av samma anledning som att PR inte heller kommer att minska i omfattning utan att det är någonting.. Har man väl "uppfunnit" inom citationstecken, så kommer det att finnas mer, det är.. det, vissa, vissa speciella tekniker kan förändras, det kan förändras genom olika beslut. Låt oss säga att man skulle plötsligt gå ut och säger "Nä, men det ska, ska vara hemligstämplat hur människor röstar i en vallokal"..	LA, FP
272	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
273	J.E.	Ja, då kommer det ju att förändra omständigheterna, men..	
274	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
275	J.E.	Då kommer partierna försöka hitta andra vägar att göra det här..	LA
276	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
277	J.E.	Eh, men i sig så tror jag inte att, tror jag att det här kommer fortsätta att utvecklas, men under då vissa omständigheter. Det är ju en resursfråga också och en fråga om lagstiftning som finns just nu och så.	FP, LA

278	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Superintressant. Väldigt bra input där. Eh, jag tänkte som en sista del här då, så har vi egentligen två frågor som har baserats från en, från en enkät vi har skickat ut till allmänheten för att se hur deras syn på, på integritet online och, och just det här med spårning. Där har vi också sett på enkäten att majoriteten där är helt medvetna om att cookies används som en typ av tracker för att spåra deras historik och liknande, vilket är en ökning jämfört med en studie som gjordes 2014 med en likadan fråga. Hur tror du.. varför tror du att det har blivit en sådan ökning på medvetenheten den senaste tiden?</i>	
279	J.E.	Eh, ja.. Jag tror att en av anledningarna faktiskt är GDPR. Eftersom det, det här kravet att, hehe, man ska..	LA
280	Researcher 1	<i>Precis..</i>	
281	J.E.	Man ska, eh, ge samtycke, plötsligt blir man ju väldigt medveten om att det... det är cookies överallt så att säga.	DG
282	Researcher 1	<i>Men precis.</i>	
283	J.E.	Det, så att, att jag rent spontant skulle jag nog säga att det är det, utan att ha något belegg för det, men det är definitivt i min..	
284	Researcher 1	<i>Det är väl vår tes också, vi delar den med dig faktiskt. Eh, vi tycker bara det är roligt att ställa de här frågorna för att se, ja, er synpunkt ni som ändå forskar om det så. Den andra frågan är enligt enkätstudien så är det mindre än hälften som säger att de skulle ändra sitt onlinebeteende om de visste att, att de blev övervakade på ett sätt. Samtidigt så är det mer än hälften som vet, eller anser att det kan kännas lite obehagligt att man blir trackad på något sätt. Hur tror du att den.. Den relationen ser ut där att man inte riktigt är mån om att ändra sitt beteende fast man är fortfarande lite rädd för att bli trackad om man säger så.</i>	
285	J.E.	Ja, och det, det är faktiskt det som vi är inne på i vårt forskningsprojekt också, vi har med en filosof bland annat i..	
286	Researcher 1	<i>Okej, okej!</i>	
287	J.E.	I det här projektet, och det kan jag väl säga att vår.. Det vi tänker på det är att.. Anledningen att människor inte ändrar sitt beteende, det är att det är så.. Vardagen den blir så oerhört mycket krångligare om du inte accepterar det här. Så att det handlar om att, att ja men du har ett fritt val och säga bara "nä jag vill inte att ni sparar mina uppgifter", då blir det så att, eh, vissa tjänster, då måste du hela tiden gå in och fylla i saker på nytt och så vidare. Men det är ju vissa tjänster du inte får del av heller om du säger "nej, jag vill inte att..". om du inte accepterar det då får du..	DG
288	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
289	J.E.	Då får du inte tillgång till tjänsten, och..	

290	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
291	J.E.	Och, och sen nästa del det är ju den här ekonomiska aspekten med, att du får rabatter om du accepterar amen som, vad heter det, med klubbmedlemskap. Jag känner det, jag ger vika direkt och blir medlem i Claes Ohlsson och apoteket och.. Överallt så, väl medveten om att jag då kommer att få poäng på grejer jag handlar och det.. så att det finns ju den.. den delen också som gör att människor accepterar detta.	DG
292	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
293	J.E.	Eh, politiska partierna har ju lite mer av en svårighet, dem kan ju inte riktigt erbjuda den här typen av..	PA
294	Researcher 1	<i>Det är sant.</i>	
295	J.E.	Det är tjänster och, och rabatter och så vidare.	
296	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
297	J.E.	Så att, men i det stora hela, alltså att man tittar på ett övergripande plan så skulle jag nog säga att det är det som får människor att göra.. och det är därför det blir en sån spridning. Jag tittar själv just nu på, bilder.. eller benägenheten att dela med sig bilder på sociala medier.	DG
298	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
299	J.E.	Eh, och då är då frågan varför man gör det, ja men det är för att det är ett sätt att bygga ett socialt nät.. alltså om man.. man har ju vänner och sånt.. Jag har haft som princip på sistone att inte lägga ut så mycket bilder, men då känner jag direkt att jag tappar sånt som kopplingen till, till flera gamla vänner som jag, som jag återupptagit bekantskapen med.. via Facebook och Instagram till exempel.	DDP
300	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
301	J.E.	Och då hamnar jag plötsligt lite grann utanför det där, eh..	
302	Researcher 1	<i>Precis. Det leder till någon typ av utanförskap. Om man inte likasom är med i svängarna på något sätt.</i>	
303	J.E.	Ja, absolut och dessutom har vi en utveckling, jag skriver en text just nu, här idag, heh, som handlar om.. Också att vi har en sån, en sån "personal branding" och "self-promoting" som ju..	
304	Researcher 1	<i>Juste.</i>	
305	J.E.	Det är, jag menar urtypen av det är ju sånt som social media influencers.	
306	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	

307	J.E.	Men vi har ju det också för såna som, till exempel journalister, eh, inte bara såna som, som, eh, då jobbar mera, alltså, som frilansar och andra yrkesgrupper. Olika typer inom kultursvängen och sånt har det här blivit allt viktigare med att lyfta fram sig själv och då blir du ju så att säga.. då behöver du visa upp vardagen, politiker också.	
308	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
309	J.E.	Politiker blir ju också tvungna på något sätt att bjuda på sig själva, och vissa att de.. vardagen. Eh så..	
310	Researcher 2	<i>Eh, ja. Jag hade en liten fråga här angående influencers och sånt..</i>	
311	J.E.	Ja?	
312	Researcher 2	<i>Jag tänkte lite på det här med.. med microtargeting och influencers. Tror du att det skulle kunna vara en form av microtargeting, att influencers gör liksom sponsrade inlägg, eh, liksom på ett politiskt sätt, liksom? Kan det här bli den nya typen av microtargeting?</i>	
313	J.E.	Eh, ja alltså vi såg ju det redan senaste valet till exempel hur centerpartiet använde detta, eh, alltså att dem, man betalade upp.. Så, så man kan väl säga att det är ju en.. Man kan se det som en konsekvens av deras.. Alltså dem har urskiljt vissa grupper som, eh, ett av de sakerna som jag fascinerades mest av i senaste valet var faktiskt hur pass starkt centerpartiet gick bland, eh, yngre kvinnor.. högutbildade yngre kvinnor från storstäder och universitetsstäder.	PA
314	Researcher 2	<i>Mm..</i>	
315	J.E.	Om någon hade sagt, eh, nu är jag gammal i gamet så att säga, men heh, men om någon hade sagt det för tio år sedan att centerpartiet skulle nå ut till den gruppen då hade jag bara skrattat för att det kändes ju över huvud taget som ett parti som.. amen det är ju gamla bondeförbundet...	
316	Researcher 1 & Researcher 2	<i>Mm..</i>	
317	J.E.	...Och det här med stureplanscentern, det garvade jag mest åt faktiskt. Men, men här var det ju faktiskt ett exempel på att dem lyckades med det, och.. så att det är ju definitivt så att de har identifierat den här gruppen som viktig och dem.. och det dem gjorde var ju också att de visade upp sig själva som ett tydligt alternativ till SD, alltså kvinnliga väljare med borgerliga värderingar i grunden som är väldigt starkt skeptiska till det konservativa blocket eller mot..	
318	Researcher 2	<i>Mm..</i>	

319	J.E.	.. Det konservativa nationalistiska blocket. Det.. det är.. Och influencers var ju en del av den strategin då och även dem, de hade ju andra aspekter också, det här med att dem, eh, reste runt, Annie Lööf.. reste ju runt och debatterade med Jonas Sjöstedt.	DDP
320	Researcher 1 & Researcher 2	<i>Mm..</i>	
321	J.E.	I universitetsstäder, och det är ju väldigt, eh, ja men det är en väldigt tydlig strategi att vara på universiteten. Så att, att återigen en del av den här.. av en uttänkt strategi och.. microtargeting har ju alla de här delarna, att ta reda på saker och ting och sen anpassa budskapen och anpassa arbetssätten och anpassa kanalerna för att få maximal effekt.	MT

Appendix 8 – Transcript Gustav Georgson

Row	Person	Transcript	Theme
1	Researcher 1	<i>Så.. Vad är ditt namn? om vi börjar lätt</i>	
2	G.G.	Gustav Georgson.	
3	Researcher 1	<i>Perfekt, och vad jobbar du med?</i>	
4	G.G.	Jag är kommunikationschef hos Liberalerna.	
5	Researcher 1	<i>Hos Liberalerna, perfekt, perfekt. Eh, och när det kommer till just annonsering online, hur använder ni er av onlineannonsering och isåfall vilka plattformar ni använder er av?</i>	
6	G.G.	Eh, dels så annonserar vi via.. eller om man ska säga så här, mellan valen annonserar vi knappt någonting över huvud taget så det är en fyraårscykel och däremellan ibland med parlamentsvalet men utöver det så har vi väldigt lite annonsering. Eh, utan allting bygger nästan på [<i>inaudible</i>]..	
7	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
8	G.G.	Men var fjärde år så.. Ja det har hänt väldigt mycket så det är svårt att se någon rutin också, på fyra år händer det ju rätt mycket men det senaste, 2018 och 2019 när det har varit val så har vi annonserat via Facebook och Instagram, samt även eh, sån här, vad heter det nu igen, nu tappade jag bort mig.. Programmatisk annonsering.	
9	Researcher 1	<i>Juste, Juste.</i>	
10	G.G.	Via [<i>inaudible</i>] annonsplatserna	
11	Researcher 2	<i>Det bröts lite..</i>	
12	Researcher 1	<i>Vad var det sista du sa där?</i>	
13	G.G.	Jo, programmatisk annonsering på alla olika sajter som.. På digitala annonsplatser så har vi köpt nätrekommendationer.	
14	Researcher 1	<i>Det är intressant det, så att det, man kan tänka att det händer ganska mycket på de här fyraårsperioderna, eh, men har ni sett någon direkt effekt av att köra mer onlinebaserad annonsering kontra traditionell annonsering så via TV eller liknande?</i>	
15	G.G.	Det är jättesvårt att säga, eh, det som, eller det teknisk.. digital annonsering ger en enorm uppföljning som vi inte har fått tidigare utan man har ju liksom köpt uppföljningarna och dem bygger ju på intervjuer eller enkäter och liknande så det är ju, det är ju en helt annan möjlighet att.. och undrar om det ens är jämförbart att kunna mäta att folk uppger enkäter vad de har sett på annonser eller att	DG

		man faktiskt kan mäta på var de har tittat och målgrupp och ålder och ja..	
16	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
17	G.G.	Det är ett annat verktyg.	
18	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, precis. Eh, och när det kommer till..</i>	
19	G.G.	Det som är en effekt är att enskilda annonser eller enskilda frågor kan få en.. kan vi mäta och se att dem sticker iväg, det blir som ett test, alltså det är intressant med omställningar i politiska partier, att vi kan ju aldrig mäta lika exakt, som ett företag - de kan ju mäta.. e-shopping liksom.	DG
20	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
21	G.G.	De kan ju följa kunden från första bannern till om de verkligen köper något.	
22	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
23	G.G.	Vi kan ju aldrig veta vad folk röstar på i slutändan, vi kan ju bara anta. Det är alltid en del av, ett mått av gissning liksom, på vad saker och ting får för effekt.	
24	Researcher 1 & Researcher 2	<i>Mm..</i>	
25	Researcher 1	<i>Och när ni får den här responsen kan ni då direkt anpassa er annonsering också att ni ser att den här typen av annons funkar kontra att den här inte funkar då och gå på det då mer då?</i>	
26	G.G.	<i>Mm.. Ja, vi jobbar rätt mycket med A/B testning och sådär.</i>	
27	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Perfekt, perfekt. Och som jag sa inledningsvis så är det ju lite den här riktade annonseringen som vi är ute efter i den här studien, eller som vi undersöker. Eh, det är också känt som microtargeting så är det ett fenomen eller ett begrepp som du är.. som du är familjär med, eller bekant med och isåfall när hörde du om det?</i>	
28	G.G.	Eh, jag kan säga att jag känner till det i alla fall, eh, och som marknadsföring av ett politiskt parti som har jobbat med microtargeting i någon mån alltid. Det har alltid varit att man har tänkt.. även innan internet så visste man vilka områden som var starka, vilka väljar.. väljargrupper som var starkast och riktade särskild information och.. väljarinformation till dem och reklam. Det alla politiska partier gör det är att man.. vissa vill att man lägger lappar om barnomsorg eller vad det nu kan vara..	MT
29	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Eh, och just med att använda sig av en sån här typ av teknologi, att anpassa meddelanden, hur.. ser du några generella fördelar med att just kunna anpassa meddelanden på det här sättet?</i>	

30	G.G.	Eh, ja. Det gör gör det ju såklart. I och med att man då kan göra mer pricksäker information, det är en fördel också för den väljare som får information som känns relevant och det att man direkt ser det istället för att behöva sätta sig in, för de flesta väljare lägger inte jättemycket tid på vad man ska rösta på.	MTB
31	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Precis, precis</i>	
32	G.G	Om man då får grejerna om exakta områden som man bryr sig om och som man lägger mycket tid på så är det ju ett lättare sätt att tränga igenom bruset om man säger så.	MTB
33	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, precis. Och just det här att ni kan vara rätt precisa med dem ni, eh, som, dom ni kontaktar.. Ses det liksom som en kostnadseffektiv metod också?</i>	
34	G.G	Ja, jo det är det såklart men ja.. Jag vet inte riktigt, många säger det, att det är kostnadseffektivt men jag är inte helt.. Det är så svårt det här med politiken också, alltså det är en skillnad mellan den där typen av marknadsföring och företagens marknadsföring. Företags marknadsföring går ut på att lättast sälja varje produkt.	PA
35	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
36	G.G	Det här, det är så himla många olika variabler som spelar in när det handlar om vad väljarna ska rösta på. Det är ju inte så att man ser en banner och så röstar man på det, eller att man ser en film och blir tagen utan det finns ju något, eller när vi tittar på undersökningar efter val och sånt där så handlar mycket om typ vad man har för förtroende för medierna, alltså de flesta väljarna hämtar inte sitt [inaudible] och alternativmedia utan de flesta väljarna litar mest på politisk information från typ SVT, TV4, morgontidningar, Sveriges Radio och sådär. Så för oss är det ju extremt viktigt att vi också syns där och att vi har bra spridning då. Alltså då finns det ju.. Om vi bara gör annonser som typ, att man plockar ut några enskilda så tappar vi kanske den effekten också. Det är klart att det är mer kostnadseffektivt än att bara.. om vi skulle skicka annonser till alla	PA, MT
37	Researcher 1 & Researcher 2	<i>Mm..</i>	
38	G.G	Det finns ju någonting i vår.. Skulle vi liksom göra en storbildsannonsering på stan så kan ju det vara ännu mer kostnadseffektivt.	MT
39	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Så det handlar om att hitta någon typ av balans mellan de traditionella mediumerna och de nya då helt enkelt?</i>	

40	G.G	Exakt.	
41	Researcher 1	<i>Perfekt, perfekt. Eh, och kan det här på något sätt, när man får lite mer personlig reklam riktade till sig, tror du att det ökar den politiska, eh, det politiska deltagandet på något sätt?</i>	
42	G.G	Ja, det tror jag att det kan göra. Absolut, eh, samtidigt ser jag att det allra allra viktigaste är direkt väljarkontakt, det är det som ökar..	MT, DDP
43	Researcher 1	Mm.. Okej.	
44	G.G	.. Engagemanget hos väljare. Att man har folk som pratar om politik, som kommer och knackar på ens dörr, någon som står på torget eller vid tunnelbanan när man går sådär, så man verkligen får.. att få bli lyssnad på eller få prata med och så om frågor. Det är då man verkligen får folk att engagera sig. Men det är klart att all, eller anpassat budskap till mig griper ändå tag i en väldigt väldigt bra i allmänt. Så det är väl en fördel med att man kan anpassa budskap.	PA, MTB
45	Researcher 1	<i>Suveränt. Och i det stora hela, finns det några problem med användandet av en teknologi så som microtargeting eller riktade budskap i din mening?</i>	
46	G.G	Eh, ja det finns det. Dels så handlar det om integritetsdelen. Det är viktigt att den här datan som man samlar på sig inte röjs på något sätt utan är anonymiserad, är ju viktigt såklart. Så det är den ena delen, den andra delen handlar om transparens, alltså det är helt avgörande i en demokrati.	MTI
47	Researcher 1	<i>Precis.</i>	
48	G.G	Eh, de stegen som Facebook har gjort kring, eh, att man ska kunna se annonser och sådär som är riktade, alltså "dark-ads", är nödvändigt och det skulle behöva lyftas ännu mer. Jag skulle också säga att det finns en oro inom media, att man inte riktigt vet hur den här tekniken funkar vilket gör att man vill granska det. Men det är viktigt att väljare och media kan titta på allting som skickas ut.	MTI
49	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Rimligt, för att vi tycker också att diskussionen kring det här och framförallt efter cambridge analytica att det har varit så extremt negativt laddat. Eh, så det vi egentligen vill göra med denna studie är att belysa fenomenet och få en mer objektiv syn på det. Eh, men då känns det ju ändå som att ni är medvetna om kritiken fastän ni jobbar aktivt för att.. för att göra det så bra som möjligt.</i>	
50	G.G	Ja, och alla intervjuer jag har gjort om det här har handlat rätt mycket om cambridge analytica också, så sa jag "Det här har vi gjort i hundra år".	PA
51	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, okej.</i>	
52	G.G	Med att ha "targets" på särskilda grupper och rikta budskap till dem. Att rikta budskap som teknik, det är ingenting nytt. Däremot, det nya är ju, som var kanske med cambridge analytica, var att man	MT, MTI

		inte alls visste vem som var avsändaren, men det fanns ändå ingen möjlighet att liksom faktakontrollera det budskap som skickades ut.	
53	Researcher 1	<i>Juste.</i>	
54	G.G	Och i Sverige har vi liksom tryckfrihetslagen som gäller, där det står bland annat att man inte får sprida falska grejer och då finns det ju med valkampanjer och även politiker, då finns det ju möjlighet att man ställs till svars sen varpå medier kan säga "varför skrev ni såhär, det här stämmer ju inte". Om det är liksom en nättidning i Bulgarien som sprider någon.. Som något ryskt troll har gjort som påverkar det amerikanska valet, då finns det ju ingen möjlighet att ha någon fair chans att faktiskt granska det.	LA
55	Researcher 1	<i>Juste, juste. Så att..</i>	
56	G.G	Det gäller att vara kraftfull, alltså så är det alltid när det kommer nya kulturella verktyg. Att det kommer vara att dem som fattar hur man ska använda det, de tjänar ju på det i början och det här är ju en av [inaudible] verktyg.	DDP
57	Researcher 1	<i>Ja men precis, man kan väl tänka sig att GDPR sätter lite krav på det också, hur det liksom används och hela den delen.</i>	
58	G.G	Ja, det var ett företag som hjälpte oss med programmatiska köp, och dem var ju liksom ledande inom ett etiskt regelverk som de tog fram just när det gäller regler, och det finns regler kring..	MT
59	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
60	G.G	Exempelvis, man får inte köra mindre targeting än 100 personer och sånt där. De hade en massa olika regelverk.	MT
61	Researcher 1	<i>Okej, intressant. Eh, och vi har funderat litegrann på det här med, just den här diskussionen som har varit om teknologin så känns det som att medvetenheten har ökat om just riktad annonsering, tror du att en högre medvetenhet hos onlineanvändare gör att "Success-raten" för de här annonserna sjunker? Att man är lite mer skeptisk till det?</i>	
62	G.G	Nä, det tror jag inte.	
63	Researcher 1	<i>Nä.. Hur effektivt tror du egentligen att sån här riktad annonsering, lite mer personlig annonsering på att, att påverka individers eh, beteenden. Eller beslut?</i>	
64	G.G	Eh, den är mer effektiv än bara allmän annonsering helt och hållet, så ja.. Så däremot är det inga drastiska förändringar men det är klart att det är lite bättre. En metod som skulle behöva utvecklas mer är mer interaktiva annonseringsmöjligheter.	MT, FP
65	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, intressant..</i>	

66	G.G	Och sen i en.. Man kan svara på en fråga, eller att man kan skicka in sitt svar eller att man kan sätta igång en chatt.. Det är nog den mest [inaudible].	FP
67	Researcher 1	<i>Intressant, för vissa forskare som vi har läst under denna studien, de menar ju på att man kan manipulera människor, men då tycker du att det är lite att hårddra det?</i>	
68	G.G	Eh.. hehe, ja. Manipulera tycker jag låter som ett väldigt starkt uttryck. Men sen är det ju klart att man kan påverka människor. Det är ju hela meningen med reklam, att man ska påverka människor. Manipulera gör man ju om man använder falsk fakta eller sprider falska nyheter, man har en avsändare som inte stämmer.. man inte gör det "fair" skyltat liksom. Men så länge man berättar vem man är, berättar sanningsenliga saker som går att testa och faktakollar, och att man kan ange det också, så tycker jag att det är vanligt påverkansarbete. Det är som att man skulle säga om en TV kostar 1000kr, sen stämmer det inte så stämmer det ju inte. Det är ju ett lagbrott.	MT, LA
69	Researcher 1	<i>Väldigt bra poäng..</i>	
70	G.G	Men om man bara annonserar de vanliga varorna så är det ju inte att manipulera någon..	
71	Researcher 1	<i>Så det går lite hand i hand med falsk marknadsföring då egentligen?</i>	
72	G.G	Ja, det är innehållet som är manipulationen då och inte..	LA
73	Researcher 1	<i>Nä, precis precis, väldigt bra poäng. Och någonting vi har tänkt på det här när man riktar annonseringen till en viss, viss segment av människor, finns det problem att man exkluderar människor eller fanns det problemet sen innan också?</i>	
74	G.G	Ja, det där är en intressant diskussion också, för så är det ju, alla partier vill skicka all sin information till alla människor, men det finns ju inte.. Det har man ju inte resurser till. Då måste man ju prioritera det har man ju alltid gjort. Däremot finns det ju oerhörda möjligheter nu som inte har funnits förr, att man har en hemsida som är tillgänglig för alla, alltid.	PA
75	Researcher 1	<i>Juste.</i>	
76	G.G	Och där kan ju vi lägga upp all information. Fördelen med det här, och det här är faktiskt en fördel med de här individuella annonserna som inte fanns tidigare, var ju att tidigare har det utgått från bostadsområden, och att man har targetat utifrån det om man ser på annonser och så. Det vi kan göra nu är att vi kan nå enskilda potentiella väljare som bor någon annanstans, som vi inte tidigare kunde nå men som är i vår målgrupp. För att man bodde någon annanstans, men det kan vi göra nu på ett annat sätt, kampanja på ett annat sätt.	MTB

77	Researcher 1	<i>Jätteintressant, eh, och vi tänkte, vi är också lite nyfikna på just Sverige för det känns som att diskussionen i USA när microtargeting används, så säger dem att det är mer effektivt för ett tvåpartisystem, eh, tror du att det är en skillnad på när det är ett flerpartisystem som i Sverige jämfört med tvåpartisystem i USA då? Att microtargeting har en större påverkan i ett tvåpartisystem?</i>	
78	G.G	Det är en annan kampanjteknik som dem har i partisystemet generellt, där mycket handlar om.. De använder data på ett annat sätt eftersom att mycket handlar om, det är svart eller vitt liksom hela tiden, och målet är hela tiden att jobba över väljarna till sin sida och sen framåt slutet på valrörelsen att försöka jobba in att man faktiskt försöker gå och rösta. Det är mer slagkraftigt, jag har inte ens tänkt på det. Det är möjligt att det, eh, ja, jag vet inte, det är annorlunda iallafall.	PA, MT
79	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, det är en knepig fråga.</i>	
80	G.G	Sen, valforskning säger ju ofta det att man jobbar mot partigrupper eller såhär partistandarder. Alla väljare har, ungefär i början på valrörelsen, två till fem partier som de hade kunnat tänka sig rösta på. Ju närmre valet man kommer, smalas det av till att man sista veckan tillslut bestämmer sig för vilket parti man ska rösta på.	PA
81	Researcher 1	<i>Så är det ju..</i>	
82	G.G	Så att, och då är det lite svårare att.. Om potentiella väljare har fem stycken i sitt.. så kanske det är lite svårare att veta, ja vem ska vi angripa eller vilka problem ska vi attackera i ett visst reklambudskap. Men om det bara är demokrater eller republikaner som man ska attackera så är det kanske enklare.. Ja. Det är en fördel jag har tänkt på som vi skulle kunna dra nytta av [inaudible] att man kan göra just så.	PA
83	Researcher 1	<i>Jag missade en fråga innan om just eventuella problem med Microtargeting, och just när man riktar annonsering till ett visst parti, finns det en risk för att man exkluderar vissa ståndpunkter som partiet har, att man kan ses som ett enfrågesparti om man bombar ett visst segment av folk med en viss typ av fråga? Eller försöker ni jämna ut det så att ni försöker visa fler sidor av partiet, och fler idéer?</i>	
84	G.G	Den risken finns väl, men jag tror inte den har kommit med den här tekniken utan den fanns tidigare också.	MT
85	Researcher 1	<i>Och är det en effekt av att det är ganska begränsat utrymme på de här onlineannonserna då egentligen, hur mycket man kan visa med en annons om man tänker en vanlig.. Ja, banner.</i>	
86	G.G	Begränsning är människors huvuden. Man kan inte ta till sig mer idéer än ett visst antal. Så är det med tidningar, riktade annonser eller att samtal så.. säger man tio saker så försvinner allting, då kommer man inte ihåg någonting.	MT

87	Researcher 1	<i>Väldigt sant.</i>	
88	G.G	De saker som kommer dyka upp att man har haft kontakt med på olika sätt kommer iallafall ha en av dem.	
89	Researcher 1	<i>Jätteintressant, och jag tänker som en avslutande fråga här, eh, hur ser du på framtiden? Tror du att det kommer vara mer av den här teknologin som vi har snackat om här idag och kommer liksom den traditionella så som tv försvinna eller hur tror du att det kommer att se ut?</i>	
90	G.G	Eh, nä, jag tror inte att det kommer försvinna, jag tror att det kommer bli mer av det här i olika former däremot har jag tänkt på då att alla går över till digital tv, att man också börjar liksom, ha microtargeting på vanlig tv-annonsering. Man kollar inte så mycket linjärt längre, utan digitalt, och då kan man anpassa annonser där också tänker jag?	FP
91	Researcher 1	<i>Jätteintressant.</i>	
92	G.G	Men sen så tror jag för politiken i alla fall så är det då som sagt att nu är det bara Facebook som gäller för politisk information, det stämmer inte. Jag tror att klassiska medier och journalistik är ytterst viktigt och kommer alltid att vara så länge politiken finns.	MT, FP

Appendix 9 – Transcript Responder 1 Socialdemokraterna

Row	Person	Transcript	Theme
1	Researcher 1	<i>Så lätt fråga i början, vad är ditt namn?</i>	
2	H.D.C.S	[Removed due to request from the respondent]	
3	Researcher 1	<i>Perfekt, vad är ditt yrke?</i>	
4	H.D.C.S	Ansvarig för digital kommunikation på Socialdemokraterna.	
5	Researcher 1	<i>Perfekt, Perfekt. Och just, på Socialdemokraterna, hur arbetar ni med onlineannonsering och vad är det för typer av plattformar ni använder er av isåfall?</i>	
6	H.D.C.S	Eh, vi har en person som är vår digitala strateg, den positionen hade vi [inaudible] men det var den personen som var ansvarig för det, med onlinemarknadsförings, då ska vi se.. när anställde jag [name of the person], ja 2018 tror jag att hen började.	
7	Researcher 1	<i>Alright</i>	
8	H.D.C.S	Eh, och den personen är ansvarig för att lägga upp annonsplaner, eh så vi, förut så jobbade vi med en byrå som la ut Facebookannonser, men då tog vi liksom en person inhouse och sen hade vi även en extra person under den aktiva delen av valrörelsen som hjälpte till med liksom, administrera alla de här Facebookannonserna, det kan vara ganska omfattande eller mycket att hålla koll på.	
9	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Förstår det.</i>	
10	H.D.C.S	Eh, och de plattformar vi jobbar med var ju Facebook, gjorde en del på Instagram och sen SEM då, men det var ju då i samarbete med en byrå. Sen får man också särskilja det här med det som görs inom det ordinarie medieinköpet. Köpa prerolls till exempel på youtube görs ju med dem som jobbar med reklaminköp. Typ man köper "spottar" på tv eller något annat.	
11	Researcher 1	<i>Så den här processen är liksom likvärdig med traditionella sättet då, som tv-annonsering då egentligen?</i>	
12	H.D.C.S	Ja, det gör man ju också. Jag skulle säga att det som.. Det som blev skillnaden tror jag var väl att vi faktiskt tog en person, eh, liksom inhouse att sköta Facebookannonsering. Alltså egentligen så är det så enkelt, det är ju inte riktigt samma sak att upp.. att ha en person att upphandla printreklam, utan då har man ju mediebyråer så att.. Men att jobba med mediebyråer med sociala medier är ju rätt svårt.	

13	Researcher 1	<i>Okej.</i>	
14	H.D.C.S	Det är ett snabbt medium som bygger på att du kan liksom kan gå ganska snabbt ifrån, amen nu vill vi att fler ska nås av nyheten, att då gå via liksom byråer bli ju trögt.	MT
15	Researcher 1	<i>Okej, jag förstår, jag förstår. Och just när ni använder er av sån här onlineannonsering då, ser ni någon direkt skillnad på det då jämfört med traditionell media såsom tv eller radio eller vad det nu kan vara?</i>	
16	H.D.C.S	Alltså det finns ju en massa olika data på genomslag och så vidare på traditionella medier och sociala medier har väl liksom.. Men skillnaden är väl att du får responsen direkt och att du kan se den. Sen är det ju fortfarande ett väldigt stort genomslag, och det måste man komma ihåg, med traditionella medier. Och i och med att internetanvändandet också är mycket mer, eh, alltså alla har ju sina egna flöden och sina egna intressen så kan man ju säga att på ett sätt liksom, masskommunikation via till exempel utomhusprint är ett av de få sätt nu för tiden att nå alla människor samtidigt. Så våra medievanor förut är ju inte detsamma längre så att.. Bara för att du har reklam på Tv4 så betyder det ju inte när liksom alla.	MT
17	Researcher 1	<i>Nä men självklart.</i>	
18	H.D.C.S	Så utomhusreklam är ett sätt som fått ett uppsving just i och med sånt.	
19	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Precis, precis. Eh, och som jag sa i inledningen så är det ju lite av den här inriktade reklamen vi är ute efter eller microtargeting är väl ett begrepp som brukar användas i det här sammanhanget. Eh, är det ett begrepp som du är bekant med och i vilket sammanhang hörde du talas om det?</i>	
20	H.D.C.S	Alltså microtargeting var sånt som.. som man hörde just mer i den amerikanska presidentvalskampanjerna. Eh, jag hörde det första gången sen tidigare, men det är liksom mitt minne att det var.. Då var det mer diskussion om det.	MT
21	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, precis. Och hur skulle du beskriva microtargeting med ditt egna.. med dina egna ord?</i>	
22	H.D.C.S	Alltså microtargeting, det är ju riktad annonsering som bygger på att man har en viss information om mottagaren. Men jag tycker samtidigt att det är ett väldigt.. det är ju lite vad man lägger i begreppet och i vilken kontext man har diskussionen som bestämmer vad det ska vara.	MT
23	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
24	H.D.C.S	På ett sätt är ju ett direktbrev också riktad annonsering som bygger på insikter om vilka som bor på postnumret eller liksom.. och	MT

		så vidare. Så att, på ett sätt så är väl all annonsering riktad, alltså mer eller mindre. Men det som är skilln.. om man pratar i en internetkontext så är det väl så att man kan få tillgång till data via till exempel vissa plattformar som har gjort skillnaden.	
25	Researcher 1	<i>Precis, precis. Det är ett väldigt bra svar.</i>	
26	H.D.C.S	Det är tillgången på hur datan tas fram alltså som är skillnaden mot vad det analoga är, även om marknadsföring alltid har varit att försöka veta vilka målgrupperna är och var dem är någonstans.	DG
27	Researcher 1	<i>Juste, juste, precis. Eh, och just när det kommer till sådan här att kunna rikta på det här sättet, med då datan som du säger, ser du några generella fördelar med sån teknologi?</i>	
28	H.D.C.S	Ja, det är väl att den annonseringen blir relevant för den som tar emot den. Det är liksom.. Bor man i Stockholm så är det relevant att veta saker och ting som rör Stockholmspolitiken. Det kan vara en fråga som inte alls är relevant i andra delar av landet till exempel.	MTB, PA
29	Researcher 1	<i>Juste, juste. Tror du att när man får den här relevanta informationen, tror du att det ökar valdeltagandet på ett annat sätt jämfört med traditionell media då tillexempel?</i>	
30	H.D.C.S	Jag vet inte om det finns några undersökningar på det, alltså så det kan jag inte svara på. Alltså, det jag har hört om sociala medier när det gäller just röstdeltagande, det är ingen information eller data som jag har hört någonting om. Däremot så vet jag till exempel att direktsamtal är ganska effektivt och dörrknackning och sånt. Just att det fysiska mötet fortfarande är ett ganska ett.. Det som övertygar människor. Och det är ju inte så konstigt egentligen, att den personliga kontakten fortfarande är ganska oanträffbar.	DDP
31	Researcher 1	<i>Nä men det är faktiskt någonting som vi har sprungit på under den här studien, det känns som att det är den här personliga dialogen som oftast är den.. fortfarande anses vara den viktigaste..</i>	
32	H.D.C.S	Däremot kan man ju tänka sig att man.. Det är väl klart att människor kan känna sig.. snarare kanske mindre benägna att rösta om man utsätts för mycket information som gör att man misstror systemet på något sätt eller på andra sätt, eh.. utsätts för desinformation eller propaganda som på ett eller annat sätt gör att du ska tvivla liksom på, ja, systemet.	DDP
33	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Precis, precis.</i>	
34	H.D.C.S	För det är ju inte så att det inte kan påverka, vad ska man säga, valresultatet och valdeltagandet, alltså det kan det ju göra, men just det att det i positiv bemärkelse gå och rösta så vet jag inte, känner jag inte till att det skulle finnas någon sån.. tydlig.. ja.	MT

35	Researcher 1	<i>Då är jag med, och vi var inne på.. Du nämnde det lite nu lite, men ser du några generella.. eventuella problem med att använda en teknologi på det här sättet?</i>	
36	H.D.C.S	Ja.. det beror väl på, eh.. Hur transparensen ser ut kring hur den här datan tas fram..	MTI
37	Researcher 1	<i>Så det är lite det med integritets..</i>	
38	H.D.C.S	Liksom, problemet med cambridge analytica var väl också att man satte upp olika typer av appar eller program för att.. det var väl typ som att.. jag kommer inte ihåg om jag minns rätt men det var väl spel och liknande att folk var med, och så "minade" liksom information ur det utan att personen visste hur informationen skulle användas, hur det togs liksom.. Uppsåtet var ju inte att erbjuda en tjänst utan uppsåtet var att på något sätt ta fram datan.	DG
39	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Så att det är lite av en integritetsproblematik i det då eller?</i>	
40	H.D.C.S	Ja.. eller någon sorts transparens grej liksom..	
41	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. och hur.. är det så att ni använder det på Socialdemokraterna, någon typ av riktad reklam på det här sättet, eller hur arbetar ni där?</i>	
42	H.D.C.S	Vi använder ju, eh, annonsering via Facebook Business Manager som.. Eh, de allra flesta andra med den information som.. vi gör liksom målgrupperna utifrån den information som finns i det här verktyget. Men vi skulle liksom inte, vi tankar ju inte in någon information.	DG
43	Researcher 1	<i>Nä, då förstår jag. Och den informationen ni använder, då är det dem som ansvarar för den här transparensen då eller att det då hanteras på rätt sätt misstänker jag?</i>	
44	H.D.C.S	Ja, precis. Och där har väl Facebook ändå gjort ganska mycket framsteg. Före 2018 var det ju knappt att man hade en avsändare, så nu har man ju.. Nu kan man ju se till exempel vem som betalar, du kan ju gå in på politiska partier och se vilka annonser de har, hur mycket pengar som används och det fanns som sagt inte före 2018.	LA
45	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Precis, precis.</i>	
46	H.D.C.S	Så att det tas ju steg framåt där och jag kan tänka mig att det kommer att ske ännu mer nu, särskilt när presiden.. Framförallt i de amerikanska valen som blir.. Det som styr Facebook mycket och det blev ju lite magplask förra gången så att..	FP, PA
47	Researcher 1	<i>Jo, men det märkte man ju förra gången att.. och som du säger har man märkt att stora förändringar har gjorts på plattformen också. Eh, så det är väldigt väldigt intressant. Men ni.. Så ni</i>	

		<i>riktar inte budskap på det sättet som man har sett då i exempel från då.. Ja, cambridge analytica och USA då? Eh, eller hur.. mer praktiskt, hur går den onlineannonseringen till då, om vi säger inför ett val då till exempel? Anpassar ni budskapet baserat på kommuner eller områden eller så, eller hur funkar det?</i>	
48	H.D.C.S	Alltså man, eh, man kan ju ha en annons, om man bara tar något konkret, det kan ju vara en annons om pensionen till exempel. Men beroende på om man har en åldersgrupp som är lite äldre eller kanske någon som är på väg att gå in i pension, så såklart, så justerar man ju så att texten blir relevant så att säga. Men de övergripande budskapen, dem är ju alltid.. dem är ju alltid den samma oavsett.. "så här pratar vi om pensioner", då pratar man ju om det, eh, men man anpassar lite för att det ska vara.. amen mottagaranpassat så att man gör generellt.. men det är ju inte det att man har en helt annan politik för det ena eller det andra..	MT
49	Researcher 1	<i>Nä..</i>	
50	H.D.C.S	Och det tror jag kanske lite är missuppfattningen med att man som parti skulle liksom, skulle svi.. att man skulle säga någonting som inte.. bara för att locka väljare så skulle man säga något helt, som skulle vara.. som skulle stå i motsatsförhållande till en annan grupp utan det är ju egentligen inte mer komplicerat än vad man brukar mottagaranpassa material från på just man ska ta emot det.	PA, MT
51	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, det är intressant att du säger det för att många argumenterar för att microtargeting kan leda till att partier ser ut som ett enfrågeparti eller att man helt enkelt kan manipulera människor men vi tycker väl att det argumentet kan vara lite att ta i kanske..</i>	
52	H.D.C.S	Alltså man kan ju gå in på socialdemokraterna.se och läsa vår politik om pensioner och då är det den politiken det är liksom inte någon annan politik, eller liksom.. så att.	PA
53	Researcher 1	<i>Nä, intressant att du säger det. Eh, om vi tänker oss just det här med, att om vi skulle rikta reklamen och göra den väldigt personlig. Hur mycket tror du att en sådan typ av annons kan påverka någons beteende eller liksom val egentligen?</i>	
54	H.D.C.S	Det är väldigt svårt att säga. Eh, jag tror att det måste bero på hur.. Alltså hur omfattande de budskap som trycks ut i alla kanaler samtidigt kan väl såklart.. Det är klart att all marknadsföring liksom påverkar, jag tror inte det är en så stor skillnad egentligen liksom på sociala medier eller inte, det är mixen.	MT
55	Researcher 1	<i>Kan medvetenheten påverka liksom, att man blir lite mer skeptisk till ifall man misstänker att en annons är lite targetad eller.. anpassad om man säger så?</i>	
56	H.D.C.S	Det är svårt att säga.. Ja, människor idag är ju vana vid att få ändå annonsering via Instagram eller Facebook eller Google ads. Eh, jag tror ändå att det här faller sig ganska naturligt för folk. Vi	DDP, MT

		har haft det så pass länge. Eh, och jag tror precis, lite som jag sa förut att jag liksom.. man vet ju själv också var man får liksom reklam i brevlådan utifrån att man kan vara en viss grupp, alltså jag som kvinna har väl också fått såna hära.. utskick med mensskydd ett antal gånger liksom från libresse. Det är klart att dem.. Så det är väl lite samma sak som att de också dyker upp i mitt flöde.	
57	Researcher 1	<i>Det låter lite som.. Oj ursäkta vad sa du?</i>	
58	H.D.C.S	Jo, nu har vi ändå levt med det här i snart 20 år så det känns som att det inte.. Vi tycker nog inte att det är en främmande fågel på samma sätt längre tänker jag.	MT
59	Researcher 1 & Researcher 2	<i>Nä..</i>	
60	H.D.C.S	Det har normaliserats.	
61	Researcher 1	<i>Så det känns litegrann, som om du är inne på det här med targeted-annonsering, det har funnits länge, det är liksom ingen nyhet egentligen, eller det är en gammal nyhet?</i>	
62	H.D.C.S	Det tar liksom bara nya former.	
63	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, jag förstår. Det är en väldigt bra poäng där. Vi tänkte också på det just, om man skulle välja segment av populationen och visa en viss annons till dem, finns det ett problem med att man liksom exkluderar delar av befolkningen då, i det här och vad kan det ha för påverkan? Eller har det här ekluderandet redan funnits? Är det också en gammal nyhet?</i>	
64	H.D.C.S	Ja, jag skulle säga att man alltid, oavsett om man är i ett samtal med en väljare på gatan eller om man står vid en valstuga det är inte.. Det är klart att man alltid försöker prata.. adressera den personen utefter vad man tror att den personen tycker är relevant och intressant. Man står ju inte liksom och berättar hela valprogrammets 50 sidor utan mer så här, vad tycker du är viktigt?	DDP, PA
65	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
66	H.D.C.S	Så att jag tror liksom.. det är alltid, att veta vad partierna står för i alla frågor, det går ju väldigt lätt att söka upp. Den informationen finns ju väldigt tillgänglig. Men det är ju svårt liksom i kommunikationsarbete som på ett eller annat sätt via kanaler alltid är riktade att prata om allt.	PA, MT
67	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Det förstår vi verkligen. Vad hade du för fråga där du ville ta upp?</i>	
68	Researcher 2	<i>Eh, nä men det här med typ effektivitet och sådär, eh.. vi såg det.. det som skickades angående det här med marknadsföring i sociala medier. Exempelvis det där med barnbidrag till en målgrupp</i>	

		<i>som kan tänkas ha barn. Vi tänkte väl bara såhär, har man generellt sett en större interaktion med de specifika målgrupperna efter man har.. liksom, vad ska man säga, eh, haft såna kampanjer ute eller är det svårt att se?</i>	
69	H.D.C.S	Du menar att man kan hitta, att man kan mäta eller utvärdera genomslag i målgruppen?	
70	Researcher 2	<i>Precis.</i>	
71	H.D.C.S	Eh, det är svårt att mäta, alltså inte genomslag.. alltså det man, man kan ju direkt på sociala medier se engagemangsgraden.. Alltså, skriver folk? Kommenterar dem, likear? Ju högre interaktion, ju högre engagemangsgrad, då kan man ju se att det här verkar ju vara någonting som engagerar målgruppen. Sen hur det sen flyttar liksom åsikt, det går ju inte riktigt att spåra eller direkt härleda till de här insatserna på sociala medier. Det kan vi ju alltid mäta med opinion i olika frågor men det blir ju på en aggregerad nivå.	MT, DDP, PA
72	Researcher 2	<i>Ja..</i>	
73	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Stämmer, stämmer. Vi tänkte väl.. vi är väl också lite intresserade av det här med.. som vi snackade om innan så blåste det här upp under cambridge analytica och det amerikanska valet, och vi har funderat lite på om det är så att microtargeting kan ha en större påverkan i ett land där det är ett tvåpartisystem kontra flerpartisystem? Att det blir väldigt.. väldigt svart och vitt kan vi tycka i USA medan det kanske är svårare här i Sverige. Hur ser du på det argumentet?</i>	
74	H.D.C.S	Ja, jag såg den frågan, jag tror till och med att jag noterade typ, till början med "ingen aning", men alltså just, jag tror mer att det handlar om att USA är ett polariserat land.	PA
75	Researcher 1	<i>Sant.</i>	
76	H.D.C.S	Än att det har med partisystemet att göra. Alltså det finns, man kanske kan göra en jämförelsestudie kring det men jag har lite svårt att föreställa mig hur.. Jag tror mer polarisering just hänger ihop med den allmänna liksom politiska kulturen än partisystemet.	PA
77	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Det är en väldigt bra poäng.</i>	
78	H.D.C.S	Sen kan jag också säga att ha flera partier generellt ger mer pluralism i debatten kanske för att det blir fler aktörer, men polarisering eller hårdhet och.. brutal antagonism det kan bero på andra faktorer liksom. Det är mer en kulturfråga.	PA
79	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Väldigt intressant, så egentligen, vi tycker också det är svårt men det är svårt att kanske svara på vad för effekt och vad microtargeting skulle kunna ha i en sån här kontext kontra den här..</i>	

80	H.D.C.S	Isåfall får man nog nästan göra en jämförelsestudie liksom isåfall.	
81	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, jag tror det också. Vi tycker bara det är en väldigt intressant fråga. Det är en fundering som vi har brottats med och det har varit svårt att hitta svar på den faktiskt, men vi har väl landat någongstans i precis som du säger, att polariseringen, eller klimatet ser helt annorlunda ut i USA jämfört med i Sverige.</i>	
82	H.D.C.S	Mm..	
83	Researcher 1	<i>Så det är superintressant verkligen. Men vi tänkte som en avslutande fråga, funderade just kring framtiden, tror du att sån här typ av teknologi som microtargeting, är det bara början? Kommer vi se mer av det och kommer traditionell media försvinna eller hur tror du liksom att klimatet i Sverige kommer att vara i framtiden?</i>	
84	H.D.C.S	Nä men marknadsföring på sociala medier som ju.. eh, där man liksom riktar annonsering, ja det är väl här för att stanna. Sen är väl frågan hur.. och sen märker man också att marknadsföring har hittat sig in i plattformar som också är i.. vad ska man säga? Kommunikationsplattformar, typ messenger till exempel.	FP
85	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Juste</i>	
86	H.D.C.S	Så att det som hela tiden händer väldigt mycket blir att plattformar där marknadsföring inte finns är att någon alltid kommer att vilja göra en affär och se om det går. Och det verkar ju som att till exempel att folk verkar tycka att det är okej att det dyker upp i messenger eller något sånt och sen vet jag ju inte hur effektivt det är, det är ingenting vi har arbetat med, men..	DDP
87	Researcher 1 & Researcher 2	<i>Mm..</i>	
88	H.D.C.S	Så att jag tror att så fort det kommer att komma upp nya typer av eh, sociala plattformar, oavsett om vårt beteende blir att hänga kvar på plattformar liknande Facebook, som liknar väldigt mycket nyhetsflöden eller om vi mer bara, och det ser vi redan nu, att folk går över mer till liksom messenger och den typen av liksom, snap, alltså chattplattformar så kommer det ju alltid att finnas marknadsförare som försöker hitta nya modeller så det.. det tror jag är.. Reklam är ju så himla gammalt och vi kommer fortsätta att hitta nya vägar.	FP
89	Researcher 1	<i>Det tror vi också.</i>	
90	H.D.C.S	Men så frågan är väl snarare, hur mycket kommer vi fortsätta med den analoga reklamen? Men.. kontra liksom det digitala, ser man på svenskarna och internetanvändandet så ser man ju att internetanvändandet ligger på i princip hundra procent från folk mellan 16-25 till exempel. När dem sen blir.. Så att från	FP

		generationen från dem och under kommer det ju att vara.. Deras mediabeteenden kanske kommer att vara irrelevant med vanlig, liksom linjär-TV till exempel. Men som jag sa, samtidigt så kan det ju vara, att plötsligt blir printen det enda sättet att nå folk från någon form utav filterbubbla, det kanske kommer att få leva jättestarkt. Så att jag tror inte man ska räkna ut det analoga.	
91	Researcher 1	<i>Nä, det tror inte vi heller.. Och just som en följdfråga på det, just det här med att det blir mer personifierat, eller riktat. Tror du att det kommer att öka i framtiden?</i>	
92	H.D.C.S	Alltså det känns ju som att, eh, onlinemarknadsföring nästan oavsett blir ju liksom det. Jag vet inte om man kan prata om att det blir mer eller mindre. Eh, det är liksom per definition riktat, jag har svårt att se, vad är mass.. eller masskommunikation online, det kanske är så att man har någon.. ja, någon banner på Aftonbladet kanske ska räknas som masskommunikation	MT
93	Researcher 1	<i>Ja, faktiskt.</i>	
94	H.D.C.S	Så där är ju en så otroligt stor grupp som inte går att liksom få ner.	
95	Researcher 1	<i>Juste.</i>	
96	H.D.C.S	Men där har vi också pratat om bannerdöden, jag vet inte riktigt hur det går för banner.. hehe, banneraffärerna men eh, nä men jag tror att det digitala har ganska mycket inbyggt i sig att det blir mer riktat. Så jag tror mer att det hänger ihop med det än att det liksom.. Än att det skulle vara någon just särskild liksom.. Att det blir mer eller mindre riktat. Jag bara ser att liksom, internet har det inbyggt i sig.	FP, MT
97	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Så det är riktat och det kommer att vara riktat helt enkelt, mer eller mindre?</i>	
98	H.D.C.S	Ja.. ja.	

Appendix 10 – Transcript Dr. Judith Möller

Row	Person	Transcript	Theme
1	Researcher 1	<i>So the first one is pretty simple, it's just.. What is your name and what is your profession?</i>	
2	J.M.	Hah, okay, I can answer that. My name is Judith Möller and I am an assistant professor of political communication.	
3	Researcher 1	<i>Okey, and what type of research have you conducted prior?</i>	
4	J.M.	Eh, mostly researching media effect [<i>inaudible</i>] and contribution to society.	
5	Researcher 1	<i>Okay, and are you working with any research currently?</i>	
6	J.M.	Yeah, currently no, because i am also a mother so at this point it is teaching only but i should be working on a [<i>inaudible</i>] on how algorithms contribute to a biased perception on public opinion with like, eh, enables nisch audiences or i call it friend bubbles to radicalize.	
7	Researcher 1	<i>Okay!</i>	
8	J.M.	so think about.. Those opposing vaccinations..	
9	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
10	J.M.	Without social media they might figure out quickly that they have a minority opinion and keep silent about it, like a spiral of silence...	
11	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
12	J.M.	... Theory but because of social media they actually they get over-estimation.. They get an overestimated, eh, picture of how many people agree with that and that might them feel like more efficacious	
13	Researcher 1	<i>Okay, yeah that's interesting. Eh, so we are going to jump into and talk about, eh, a question regarding microtargeting in general. So, the first question is how would you describe political microtargeting in your own words?</i>	
14	J.M.	Yeah, heh, that is already quite a complex question because there is a lot [<i>inaudible</i>]. I see a lot of people that is describing.. defining political microtargeting as just political targeting.	MT
15	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	

16	J.M.	So they are speaking about profiles, and these profiles can be really broad like gender, men versus women and then have tailored messages directed for them.	MT, DG
17	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
18	J.M.	And however I think of an interesting case of political microtargeting is if matches are of one-to-one match to a person. So it is not based on profiles but really on all of your behavior that you have online, there are even possibilities to create a message in a moment that you are visiting that site based on what would be most effective at this point of time for this visitor.	MT
19	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Okay. Interesting. Eh, do you see any benefits with the utilization of microtargeting? Eh, both in a.. Like an organizational sense but also in a citizen sense, like.. Can it increase political participation and stuff?</i>	
20	J.M.	Sorry, can you repeat that question? I did not understand it very well.	
21	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah of course, eh okay. So the question is do you, eh, personally see any benefits with utilizing microtargeting, like is there any benefits from an organization side, and is there any benefits from a citizen perspective, like with the applicability of microtargeting?</i>	
22	J.M.	Yeah you said you read the paper so there is several advantages connected..	
23	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
24	J.M.	.. With it. For the citizen it is, eh, likely that these very tailored messages can be tailored in a way that they actually speak to people..	MTB
25	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
26	J.M.	Because we know that there is a lot of.. The absolute majority of citizens are not interested in politics, eh, in many countries there are also not turning up, that is not true for Sweden. There is a lot more.. There is prominence of civic duty. This is more of an American problem than a Swedish problem, but anyway you can.. Microtargeting can create messages to actually, eh, are interesting to specific citizens and that they are more likely to process and therefore do even show some political behavior, and if that political behavior takes place it could be better even for..	PA, MTB
27	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
28	J.M.	Eh, and then on for political parties, it is essentially quite a cheap way especially on Facebook it is not expensive, and if you are a small political party that are very regional, election is happening or something, then it is really really hard if you are a bunch of small.. to get to voters at all if you can't pay for one tv-ad.	PA, MTB

29	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah.</i>	
30	J.M.	But enough people see that and do something with it. Through these really highly precised techniques on social media, they can reach those that are likely to vote for you and inform those.. For new and starting up parties to extend to, and, eh, yeah. And on a societal level I think it is also good to have a better informed like [inaudible], on a micro level the citizens can make more informed decisions. It is also good for the overall inactions because people voted for what they should be voting for if it works perfectly.	MTB
31	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. Exactly, and.. Do you see any issues with microtargeting? Like, from the same perspectives? Like, organizational-wide or citizen-wide?</i>	
32	J.M.	Yes, same here, as the article stated basically. So you can, on the citizen level you might very easily be misled through these kinds of messages, eh, you.. If you just repeat the same message that is highly effective to the same person, a lot of time it has a much higher chance to affect behavior than if you just do it once..	MTI
33	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
34	J.M.	..There is this problem that you might create an [inaudible] so that people are not aware but the policy agendas that are presented to other people. So if you are maybe.. You go on Facebook, all the political parties talk to you about, eh, the environment, but I am getting a lot of messages about education. So, after the election it is unclear which of those two topics should now be the most important one because we believe that we have been told that these political parties would take care of those issues, but yeah, it just tells different stories..	MTI
35	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
36	J.M.	..To both of us. And you can also, eh, maybe tell a young person your going to lower the pensions, and then you can tell older people that you are going to lower the pension age..	
37	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
38	J.M.	So it's both, heh, positive news for the age groups but its inconsistent and also, yeah, gives a biased perception of what the quality agenda of these political parties is really about.	MTI
39	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
40	J.M.	Yeah, and then the really bad and the manipulative things that happened also more again in the US context, so matched ads just specifically tailored to demobilize people because it is much easier to demobilize voters than it is to mobilize voters, especially in the US..	MTI

41	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah..</i>	
42	J.M.	It is much easier to keep people at home, basically lie to them or tell them the truth in a very distorted way to get them to stay at home. There were a lot of [inaudible] voters in the presidential election that..	
43	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.. yeah that's interesting, eh, so we have talked a bit with other, eh, interviewees as well specifically regarding filter bubbles as a concept, eh, i would say it has been a bit of two camps, where there is one talking about filter bubbles being a big issue in terms of, like securing the political.. How should you say, like.. The political discussions from all aspects and there is some people that say that filter bubbles in general are a bit over exaggerated in how they are effective. Do you have any like input or ideas about this?</i>	
44	J.M.	Yeah, eh, heh i just wrote a book chapter so..	
45	Researcher 1	<i>Mhm!</i>	
46	J.M.	So it can probably be a forty five minute lecture. I don't, heh, want to really do that..	
47	Researcher 1	<i>Hahaha.</i>	
48	J.M.	I just.. The idea of the filter bubble is kind of connected to technological determinism. So it is the technology that drives the part to exactly [inaudible]. In a society as Sweden it doesn't really make a lot of sense because you have this very strong public broadcasting that nearly everyone is watching and just by watching broadcast news every day, you are already out of the filter bubble..	MTI, MT
49	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
50	J.M.	Because you have here a different version and the argument that no longer has this all-powerful way to determine what you see and what you don't.	
51	Researcher 1	<i>Mm..</i>	
52	J.M.	And the second point is that the algorithms aren't really as evil as they are made out to be on most of these medias that we were able to research. However, researching the internet is incredibly difficult because the platforms won't let us.	MT
53	Researcher 1	<i>So... moving over to data gathering. Ehm... so we perceive, like the data collected as the most essential part of microtargeting eh.. Exactly what kind of data that the microtargeting provider has on the user is the most is the most important. Ehm.. how would you provide.. Or what is your perception of this? Or is it something else that is the most important thing about microtargeting?</i>	
54	J.M.	At the moment, I think that that is true, and that has a lot to do with that they do not actually understand how it works.	

55	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.</i>	
56	J.M.	So what they are using is a method called categorial filtering, without having any idea why it works, just the fact that it works for person X and person Y, it looks alot like person X..	DG
57	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.</i>	
58	J.M.	[inaudible] so so.. I'am feeding person X the same thing that worked with person Y. that is how it is done very often. However, I do think over time that they will get more understanding of what it is and how it actually works, and then the content becomes more important.	
59	Researcher 1	<i>Mmm, okay.</i>	
60	Researcher 2	<i>Hey this is Sebastian, I just have a follow up question on that, do you believe that it is mostly the services like Facebook that gathers the data or do they collect data from other sources as well?</i>	
61	J.M.	Yeah, there is a huge difference between the US and Europe here because of the data protection laws that exist in the European Union. In the US you can get so much information about the voter because they have to register for voting and then all of this other information that you can pull together about one person, and that then ironically makes the platforms less powerful because they have to own databases already. Here in Europe, they are forces.. I am not sure if this is a 100% true, you need to speak to a data protection specialist about this, but i think that after each election they have to destroy the entire registry, everything that they got to know about a person need to be destroyed. It is very very sensitive all political information about people, it is among one of the categories of sensitive data that is highly protective. And this... Yeah.. the only reasonable way of doing microtargeting in this context is to go through the social platforms that has an X pool of people and let them do the microtargeting through this profiling. So, thats.. You know.. Target people who like the color blue, who have been traveling at least 6 times last year, and who have avoided airplanes and give them a blue message about the environment.	LA, DG, MT
62	Researcher 1	<i>Mmm.</i>	
63	J.M.	Something like that. Environmentally traveling.. Yeah, so that how you can do it here in Europe. So it is basically the only option they have.	MT
64	Researcher 1	<i>Mmm okay interesting. And we touched a bit upon it in this question as well but it would be interesting to elaborate it a bit, ehh.. It's regarding laws and GDPR, do you think that regulatory frameworks like GDPR can affect the usability of microtargeting?</i>	
65	J.M.	Oh it definitely does. However, it's not a level of how.. Like how we are protected we are against it, it's all the levels of data	LA

		protection, so you are making this... it's actually a problem of manipulation and information processing, it is a problem of data connection so you need to solve the data connection problem. And I think that I think [inaudible] what kind of message you don't want to see.. Ehh.. yeah, how manipulation plays out, what kind of benchmarks and red lines and [inaudible] there as well, outside the data protection. Because I think that you are not addressing the problem at the level that it plays out.	
66	Researcher 1	<i>Mmm. Okay. and do you believe that the adoption of GDPR has increased the overall awareness regarding online privacy? Like from a user perspective as well?</i>	
67	J.M.	Yes and no, I think it has raised the awareness among certain people, and slowly raising awareness in the wider population, as there is seen that manifestation [inaudible], like clicking yourself through these cookie walls even though we don't know anything at all. At least it reminds us that something is going on, that it affects them a bit more.	MT
68	Researcher 1	<i>Mmm. Okay, ehmm..</i>	
69	J.M.	A lot of people just don't care.	MT
70	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah exactly.</i>	
71	J.M.	Most people feel safe, they have a lot of trust going on there... Or maybe they don't trust them but the services are offered for free as a [inaudible].	MT
72	Researcher 1	<i>Exactly, so it is a balance a bit between convenience and privacy? Or like usability and privacy?</i>	
73	J.M.	Yeah.. But there is no balance, people choose convenience.	MT
74	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah hehe exactly. So, in the discussion between the US and Europe and the adaptability of microtargeting, do you think that different political systems such as multi-party systems or two-party systems affect the overall usability of microtargeting?</i>	
75	J.M.	Definitely it does because negative campaigning is really hard to do in a multi party context, the decisions you make to talk about is a lot less interactive, if you know the other person using means that you are winning, this is not the case in Sweden, if you demobilize this type of [inaudible] it doesn't mean that you will automatically win the election. But I think a lot more important is political culture, so what... Okay... If you find out that party X is using microtargeting, would that create some sort of backlash for the party or would that be okay.. and.. So I think that that matters more than the political system even though as I said it is important.	PA
76	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah exactly. And we have some ending questions as well, what do you think that the future of microtargeting will be? Is it going</i>	

		<i>to be more occurring or is it something that we will see less of in the future?</i>	
77	J.M.	Haha yeah excellent question! The natural progression is that it will get ever more better and refined, and as I was talking about in the beginning, like messages that fits you and your specific context, your own suggestions.. Maybe a certain type of message works better in the [inaudible], and another thing is that they will get better at it, then again.. There seems to be a strong move to more regulation because the fear and the public debate is so fragmented and out of control.. Ehh.. has forced regulators.. As a response to not being regulated the platforms have made a move first, so Google for example set a [inaudible] political microtargeting, so what they really did was they meant political microtargeting, so they can only use geography and gender, something very broad as targeting, for electoral targeting. But then, as you know, a lot of political messages do not need to mention the candidate, which can mobilize people as you saw with Cambridge Analytica. Ehmm.. you can mobilize people and demobilize people with messages that never have mentioned their candidate and don't even look all that political. So just talking about you know.. On a [inaudible] side.. Like how much climate change is happening, like even talking about more bushfires than usual - that can look really innocent but it can be a highly mobilizing method to some people. So but then in some forms of microtargeting they are allowing others.. You might see that it moves more and more to the shadows and becomes more and more hidden, and that is the opposite of what you want.	FP, LA, MT, MTI
78	Researcher 1	<i>Okay, ehmm.. And since you mention that you do a lot of studies regarding algorithms in this, ehmm.. In the beginning, we were a bit interested in a question regarding predictability of algorithms compared to person based predictions I would say. So we've read some studies that algorithms generally, like some models, can predict personal traits better than like some family members and friends. Is this something that surprises you.. Or...</i>	
79	J.M.	Haha yeah I'm..	
80	Researcher 1	<i>Or is it like obvious?</i>	
81	J.M.	I would always want to know what the gold standard is.. the person that identifies more than the algorithms describes him or her or how her parents describe her, I don't know, I'm not sure. Hehe I think that algorithms are really good ehmm.. For specific tasks, when they are optimised they can do things that we cannot do, like calculate the one million number of pi number..	DDP
82	Researcher 1	<i>Mhmm..</i>	
83	J.M.	Or you know find out of a pool of millions of articles to find the one with the highest relevance for you. Maybe i could do it better but then i have to read millions of articles..	DDP

84	Researcher 1	<i>Yeah exactly.</i>	
85	J.M.	I think when you look at algorithms, it is important to keep in mind that there is not one there are so many versions of them. And there is a lot of room to design those and also decide what they are optimized for.	DDP
86	Researcher 1	<i>Mm.</i>	
87	J.M.	What are the KPIs, what is it you want to do. And then reflect.. I try to reflect if all the algorithms achieve all the goals that you wanted to achieve, ehmm.. Yeah.. that's a very vague answer.. But I think a useless.. It is useless to think algorithms as evil or good or better than humans, I think that you are starting a pointless war because.. Ehmm.. There was one analogy that I read that algorithms will replace artists because they can paint better - and the answer was no hehe. You see a new collaboration, so it gives new tools to artists to create their art. It's more like.. How do you use them and to what end, and there is some room to maneuver here.	DDP
88	Researcher 1	<i>Mm exactly. I think that the reason that we thought that this question was interesting was because we read a study about some scientist who did like a algorithm prediction of what type of voter the person would be based on Facebook-likes. So it was like people who had tendencies to like Harley Davidson had a general tendency compared to other likes to align themselves to a certain political ideology and stuff. So we thought that that was pretty interesting that those likes correlated.</i>	
89	J.M.	J.M: Yeah, haha these algorithms have no idea why people who like Harley Davidson would make them more likely to vote for the republican party, but as a human being understanding that there is a certain type of lifestyle attached to that, like people who select this they also praises certain types of norms that align more with a liberal ideology, and the funny thing is that the algorithm has no idea of this. It could be that tomorrow they find that people who tie their left shoelace first are also more likely to vote for the republican party, and it will weigh exactly the same as the Harley Davidson and.. I don't know.. We human beings can interpret this data, and the algorithms can find this, identify those better.	DDP
90	Researcher 1	<i>And with that, I don't think we have any more questions.</i>	

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